

CIDADANIA, POLÍTICAS DE IDENTIDADE E RENOVAÇÃO POLÍTICA: UM DEBATE À LUZ DA TEORIA DA JUSTIÇA DE JOHN RAWLS

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CITIZENSHIP, IDENTITY POLICIES AND POLICY RENEWAL: A DEBATE IN THE LIGHT OF JOHN RAWLS' THEORY OF JUSTICE

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RESUMO: Este presente artigo objetiva analisar a concepção de justiça nos termos do liberalismo igualitário concebido pelo filósofo inglês John Rawls (1921-2002) com a cidadania brasileira, identificando nesta uma estrutura procedimental não regular, que não obedece a ordem lexical de conquistas de direitos universais inspirados nos ideais liberais, principalmente por se tratar de um país que muito tardiamente abriu mão de uma economia escravocrata. Partindo deste fato, apresentamos duas situações de atuação política que atribuímos como parte do contexto dos problemas sociais no país e o exercício da cidadania: destacamos o movimento LGBT, uma população que demanda por reconhecimento e direitos sociais. Em seguida, chamamos a atenção para a tendência da renovação política, a partir da formação das organizações suprapartidárias nos últimos anos, com a intenção de oxigenar a atividade política, em um momento político no qual as instituições públicas perdem progressivamente a credibilidade e a confiança da população.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Cidadania. Movimento LGBT. Movimentos de renovação política. Teoria da justiça.

RESUMEN: Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar la concepción de la justicia en términos de liberalismo igualitario concebido por el filósofo inglés John Rawls (1921-2002) con la ciudadanía brasileña, identificando en esto una estructura procesal no regular que no obedece el orden léxico de los logros de los derechos universales inspirado en los ideales liberales, principalmente porque es un país que muy tarde consoló una economía esclava. Partiendo de este hecho, presentamos dos situaciones de acción política que atribuimos como parte del contexto de los problemas sociales en el país y el ejercicio de la ciudadanía: destacamos el movimiento LGBT, una población que exige reconocimiento y derechos sociales. A continuación, llamamos la atención sobre la tendencia de la renovación política, desde la formación de organizaciones suprapartidistas en los últimos años, con la intención de oxigenar la actividad política, en un momento político en el que las instituciones públicas pierden credibilidad y confianza de la población.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Ciudadanía. Movimiento LGBT. Movimientos de renovación política. Teoría de la justicia.

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ABSTRACT: *This article aims to analyze the concept of justice in terms of egalitarian liberalism conceived by the English philosopher John Rawls (1921-2002) with Brazilian citizenship, identifying in it a non-regular procedural structure that does not obey the lexical order of conquests of universal rights inspired by liberal ideals, mainly because it is a country that very late gave up a slave-like economy. Based on this fact, we present two situations of political action that we attribute as part of the context of social problems in the country and the exercise of citizenship: we highlight the LGBT movement, a population that demands recognition and social rights. Next, we call attention to the trend of political renewal, based on the formation of supra-partisan organizations in recent years, with the intention of oxygenating political activity in a political moment in which public institutions progressively lose credibility and trust of the population.*

KEYWORDS: *Citizenship. LGBT movement. Political renewal movements. Theory of justice.*

Introduction

The political community is characterized by its organization around shared cultural values among the members of the same territory, sharing a sense of solidarity, identity and common interests around a good life. Political liberalism, a current that often appears in the wake of democratic governments, has been playing an important role in the development of this premise.

In **A Theory of Justice**, John Rawls (2000) highlights the problems of the basic structure of society and the principles of justice, which appear as important issues for the condition of society, citizenship and political virtues. Rawls presents an example of his theory in the hypothetical situation of the original position: people with rational choices, possessing moral and political values characterizing objectivity as a necessary condition for justification, and the veil of ignorance, an initial situation in which individuals are unaware of the consequences of other judgments to reach a consensus with reflective balance, adapting the issues at stake, eliminating any possibility of intolerance and maladjustments.

However, he recalls that the balance is not stable, being able to untie the contractual situation, however, it reinforces his argument that nobody knows their place in society, characterized by the original position, in this way, free and rational people adjust their modes of cooperation. For this, Rawls will have Kant's concept of public reason as a reference, assuming the condition of equality and association of interests for this purpose, thus establishing the root of a constitutional democracy.

Rawls (2000b) considers that the rights of individuals should not be neglected, however, they are also responsible for ensuring a more comprehensive social welfare situation. Within what it's understood to be a well-ordered society - or political society, justice with equity can

only be incorporated with the cooperation of the whole society for the benefit of all from its organization around its basic structure.

This structure is incorporated through social actions and interactions in order to produce the largest number of goods, attributing them a share of these recognized goods, in the expression of rights based on the assumption of an intuitive idea, as this hypothetical result will be qualified as a principle of pure procedural justice, with the duty to apply the fair with certain restrictions on which asset should be divided. The principle of justice must mainly take into account the differences between people. In this way, it refutes the idea of a particularistic individual and a restrictive idea of well-being by expanding the principle of equity.

Based on this context, we will analyze the problem of Brazilian citizenship in terms of Rawlsian justice, involving two important political movements in the country's political decisions in recent years: the LGBT movement and the sectorization of identity policies around public policies, which at the beginning of the 2000s, gained scope mainly in the actions of social minorities in proximity to the State, and the most recent case of the so-called political renewal movements, which has enabled the participation of members with diverse ideological beliefs in their composition, concerned with the qualified training of people to run for political office, based mainly on parliamentary renewal, incorporating ethical and professional values in the exercise of public life.

The Difficult Substantive Citizenship in Brazil

The universalization of rights created a constant for the respect of the values of all citizens. However, there are more and more cases of claims for rights dissociated from local aspects, seeking to give visibility to their cultural identity, in opposition to national uniformity, supporting the value of differences in the articulation of specific forms of life, which generally face the legal plan for the recognition of these values called nouns.

It is understood that advances in democratic institutions must at the same time consolidate the rights of the citizen, as liberal ideals in the 18th century dispensed. However, in Brazil, there were obstacles to building citizenship in line with the progression of rights. The dimensions of citizenship are understood as: civil rights (right to freedom, property and equality before the law), political rights (right to participation, the right to vote and to be voted), social rights (right to education, health, and the extension of labor rights - salary, fair work and retirement). As political events advance, human rights (rights to a dignified life, freedom of expression, religious freedom), called fourth generation rights, become an important component

in reducing peoples' inequality and promoting citizenship after the overwhelming years of world wars.

In Brazil, it was not properly applied, as Carvalho (2002b) points out: the right to freedom was only possible after the signing of the *Lei Áurea*² in 1888, a letter that imposed the liberation of black slaves, which, however, belatedly obeys a demand from Nation States that had already conditioned the freedom of ex-slaves many years before, the right to vote was restricted to men of a certain class (farmers and traders), denying the poor and illiterates the right to vote, the right to health, work and education would come into force in the Second Republic in 1930, however, its realization resulted in the partial suppression of civil and political rights, which centralized power and the possibility of expanding these rights in the figure of the head of state, and human rights only appear as a value in opposition to the military government, against the intimidation of opponents of the regime and the repression of classes, which have had their civil and political rights suppressed.

For Carvalho (2002b), there was no relationship between the masses and institutions, which extended social policies from top to bottom, having a way of governing using clientelist practices. There was a political opening between 1945 and 1964, in which civil and political rights advanced out of step with each other, until they were completely suppressed by the 1964 military coup. Brazil did not have civil society and union organizations strong enough to strengthen a democratic regime, having a system of government susceptible to an authoritarian government.

Society, as elucidated by Tocqueville (2005), represents the action that society acts on itself, obtaining sufficient strength to require democratic processes, crystallized in laws and practices that weave equality and freedom. In this way, citizens would be conditioned to political participation.

Rawls (2000c) confers the principle of participation as a necessary organization to avoid an arbitrary and unfair division of electoral districts, which must follow the standards adopted by the constituent of each seat.

The principle of participation also holds that all citizens must have an equal right of access, at least in a formal sense, to public office. Each citizen is able to participate in political parties, run for political office and occupy positions of authority. Certainly, there may be qualifications for age, residence and so on. But they must be reasonably related to the position; it is assumed that these restrictions are in the common interest and do not unfairly discriminate against

² Golden Law in a literal translation.

people or groups, which means that it should affect everyone equally, in the normal course of life (RAWLS, 2000, p. 224).³

To circumvent this problem with historical roots in Brazil, organizations and social movements unite around the strengthened public policies as guidelines for collective action, which need the recognition of the State to be affirmed, proposing in these terms the reduction of inequalities with actions that seek to remedy differences and oppressions against smaller groups and organizations.

Despite gaining notoriety at different times, and having different objectives, the new congregations have civil society as their birthplace, which in Brazil was strengthened in the era of redemocratization in 1985 and as popular movements in the decades between the 1980s and 1990s. With this, a scenario is designed for the involvement of the popular mass and professionals who will be represented in social movements and political parties.

These movements are born from the evolution of Brazilian democracy, which starts to incorporate diverse demands and to reconcile with the values and contributions of different actors in politics, adjusting itself in the structure that currently presents itself in the form of a federal and constitutional republic.

The maturation of the LGBT movement in the country around identity policies

Social demands, which are being challenged by social movements, civil society and political representations, have their origin in a conception of social justice discussed in territories that have undergone several political instabilities and deal with social differences as a determining factor for the realization of State policies, revolving around the economic, political, social and sustainable principles, verified in countries with established democracies, one of the most present conceptions revolve around the 1948 Human Rights of the UN, and institutionally as a principle of laws, is based on the conception of distributive justice⁴.

³ O princípio da participação também sustenta que todos os cidadãos devem ter um direito igual de acesso, pelo menos num sentido formal, aos cargos públicos. Cada cidadão é apto para participar de partidos políticos, candidatar-se a cargos políticos e ocupar postos de autoridade. Certamente, pode haver qualificações de idade, residência e assim por diante. Mas elas devem razoavelmente estar relacionadas ao cargo; é de se presumir que essas restrições sejam do interesse comum e não discriminem de forma injusta pessoas ou grupos, o que significa que deva afetar a todos igualmente, no curso normal da vida (RAWLS, 2000, p. 224).

⁴The discussion is present in the work “A Theory of Justice” (1973), which will precisely cover in the debate of the demands of populations assisted by the State. The actions that guide the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the countries will ensure the claims based on the understanding of an equitable justice, which provides for the contemplation of plurality and freedom. See: RAWLS, John. **Uma Teoria da Justiça**. 1. ed. Martins Fontes, 2000.

In parallel, Brazilian society, which has a constitutionally reestablished democracy, is going through numerous problems of political institutionality and an ambivalent conservative ethical-moral judgment in the treatment of vulnerable populations, observable until today. One of the most striking was the republican rupture promoted by the Armed Forces in 1964 that resulted in the Military Dictatorship. As a result, several demonstrations against authoritarian power took to the streets, student organizations, trade unions, artistic organizations, intellectuals, ethnic groups and class members fought against the regime that would last for 20 years.

When referring to that period, the extreme physical and symbolic violence practiced by the regime against its offenders is marked, which provoked the exile of people registered as dangerous to the army, the torture against people considered deviant, such as students, artists, women, and in addition, gays, bisexuals, lesbians and transvestites.

This last specific public frequented bars, houses and streets in the city during the night in the big cities, the schedule favored the service to its clients, since some of them worked with prostitution or worked during the day in some other profession, however, social prejudice did not allow their sexuality to be openly assumed.

During the dictatorship, these places were banned by DOI-CODI⁵ and its regulars become victims of the military, as there are reports of torture, sexual abuse and deaths, and even embarrassment to homosexual officials who worked in public agencies. These actions were part of a social hygiene practice, observing acts considered subversive and people who classified them as degenerate (BARBOSA; ARAÚJO, 2017).

At that moment, groups were formed that sought to resist repression, acting in artistic movements and newspapers aimed at the LGBT public, with a strong criticism of the dictatorship and expectations in the fight for civil rights. At the end of the decade, the first groups to promote the debate about the LGBT condition emerged with characteristics of a social movement, such as Somos Group.

The LGBT struggle started in the 1960s, belonging to the first generation of social movements, which mainly sought civil liberties in dictatorships, repressive governments and apartheid. At this time, the homosexual was considered a health problem, a pathologized being and subversive to the system. The Stonewall revolt in 1969, which was the result of a police

⁵ The Detachment of Information Operations - Center for Internal Defense Operations (DOI-CODI) was an organ commanded by the army during the Military Regime, whose purpose was to register the main names and organizations that opposed the power established by the coup orchestrated in 01 April 1964

raid on a bar frequented by gays, lesbians and transvestites, became a symbol of the LGBT struggle against repression, prejudice and ways to advocate resistance against oppression.

In the early 1980s, another factor ended up influencing discrimination around homosexuals, due to the discovery of the AIDS virus. Society, influenced by the news surrounding the epidemic, has an impression of fear about LGBT people in general. With this, the groups represented gay, lesbian, bisexual and transvestites organize themselves in movements against discrimination, fighting for social rights in access to health and social security.

The intensification in the fight against AIDS in the 1990s represents an amplitude of the participation of LGBT groups in democratic instances, with the emergence of civil society groups and new social movements in this period. Sexuality and gender gain attention at this time as central purposes for strategies of political activism, thus advancing in the struggle for recognition and in actions reversed in public policies. It articulates with human rights, civil society and the State to establish guarantees for the exercise of citizenship. The process of recognition and citizenship took place at a time of democratic transition (CARVALHO, 2002c).

In this period, there is an expansion of discussions on health and safety policies. With regard to sexual rights, the struggle for health care due to the AIDS epidemic becomes prevalent in the claim of LGBT groups at that time. The recognition of identity and gender, germinated in the military dictatorship, now play a fundamental role within the actions of the LGBT movement in its articulations and social demands.

Recognized as democratic values, the political actions instrumentalized in the Federal Constitution of 1988 and in the struggle of social movements and NGOs for the guarantee of public policies, which come to be aggregated by governments in the understanding of their social responsibility. The National Human Rights Plan (PNDH, Portuguese initials) was the first to extend the concept of social rights to the LGBT population. Launched in 1996 by the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PSDB), only in the second part of the plan in 1998 is social security associated with the inclusion and care of the State.

For this reason, there was a need to install specific technical areas to care for these demands, directly under the Presidency of the Republic, such as the Ministry of Human Rights in 1997 by the Brazilian government, which assigned actions to be carried out in areas of social development to serve this public.

The discussion of a plan that offers the guarantee of social rights in addition to those already established by the Constitution is now incorporated by various groups within the scope of civil society in meetings, congresses and conferences in the 1990s. In order to mobilize forces

for the construction of policies that guarantee citizenship and access to public services, several entities forwarded proposals to the Brazilian government requesting that the demands considered essential for the LGBT population be met.

With public policy status, the rights of the LGBT population take shape with the *Brasil Sem Homofobia* program in 2004, promoted by the Government of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) in his first year in office. The plan offers a wide discussion around social rights in the right to health, safety, education and social recognition, with that, the events that brought together the diverse demands occurred in the years that followed as the National Conference on LGBT Human Rights in the years 2008, 2011 and 2016, the launch of the 1st National LGBT Plan in 2009, the organization of the National Human Rights Council in 2011 and the program to Combat Violence against LGBTs in 2013 (IRINEU, 2014).

From this trajectory that began in the past decades until the beginning of the 2000s, greater formation of the actors in this field was required. As political subjects, we understand here the relationship of the LGBT movement in a dynamic that manifests itself among the public, the spaces of claim and the identities of this movement, thus enabling intimate experiences to be publicly appreciated (IRINEU, 2009).

Diversity has been worked on as a knowledge of the cultural forms existing in the world, in which its dynamics are extended beyond the territory, promoting exchanges of experiences and an awareness of the actions that determine the fixations of social groups, when dealing with power relations, hegemony and regulation of life. Currently, human rights are represented in the form of fundamental rights, in ensuring that laws are established for the full exercise of human life in freedom, equality and dignified conditions for a good relationship in society, free from abuse and violations.

This is due to changes in the structure of the State, which now identifies agendas of different social groups within the identity policies. Institutional control starts to privilege the universal attendance of demands coming from organizations, networks and groups representing minorities. In this contour, new health, social security and citizenship policies are designed, which facilitate the access of these people to basic services and quality of life.

Over the years, the demands have grown and institutions have difficulties to shelter them, despite the breadth of the social protection system. Social groups, more and more comprehensive, feel the need to organize themselves around their most specific demands, which meet the diversity of each instance. In this way, these groups organize themselves in collective actions to pressure the public power and obtain more consistent answers to their demands, as it is common to observe questions that demand recognition from the State to be debated in the

first instance in the Supreme Federal Court and later to be incorporated in the projects of law by the House and the Senate.

Crisis in politics and the rise of political renewal movements

The notion of politics, a necessary condition for the permanent dialogue of society, is being depreciated by an authoritarian experience that has been pouring into this practice a collusion of group interests, privileging material results. At the same time, financial capitalism, which recently underwent a new crisis in 2008, ended the expectations of many citizens and investors in the financial markets around the world, creating discouragement in governments and the lack of confidence of the population in representative bases.

Since then, the models of working capital have changed, making the acceleration of industrial growth to accompany that of economic growth, applying new information technologies to market forces, thus changing the relations between state, society and the economy, which starts to make its production and service scale even more flexible. The mechanized industry leaves the scene and a new technological standard for companies comes into effect, with repercussions on the large-scale economy, implying the financialization and materialization of social life.

Within this context, post-republican experiences in the current scenario, due to the population's disbelief with institutions, have been distorted by the action of autocrats, who aspire to the aversion of politics, using anti-democratic instruments such as reaction, distrust in fact, through articulations encouraged by think tanks, which served as a gateway to fake news.

The democratic system of the United States, always highly praised by other nations, has seen its systems of rights and laws that for centuries balanced the political game take indiscriminate directions in 2016, causing distrust in the institutions. The North American Republic operated under the system of checks and balances between the powers, its functions are now questioned in operating in favor of citizenship. The election of tycoon Donald Trump to serve as president of the Republic was an example of the political radicalization resulting from disbelief with the American political system, reinforcing the feeling of anti-politics.

In an unorthodox style, Trump attacked Democratic and Republican candidates throughout his Campaign. In his long list of criticisms, Trump highlighted the decline of the United States' global power and its exploitation by allies and opponents. Although in an erratic way, Trump articulated a foreign policy program in line with his populist narrative and based on an anti-

elitist discourse, mistrust of technical and scientific knowledge and a strong feeling of national affiliation (PENHA, 2017, p. 11).⁶

A speech based on nationalism, promoting the entry of non-specialized people, with an aversion to the bureaucratic model of institutions, packed the political rhetoric of the latest electoral results in Europe and South America, which took place for the ultra-right governments, who bring in baggage the strong apathy to knowledge, to the social justice system, thus damaging the geopolitical, environmental relationship, dialogue with developing countries and peace agreements, established in the guidelines of diplomatic relations.

In this logic, it is noted that the global political configuration has undergone many significant transformations. There was an increase in citizens' mistrust of representative democracy, questioning whether this would be the best form of government choice. The justification of these people is in the way in which the policy appropriates the state machine.

Zovatto (2005) points out that the current crisis of the parties in Latin America stems, above all, from scandals caused by its illegal financing, attentive to the numerous cases of corruption, and that, therefore, it would not be a surprise to us that the demonization of politics because of the money are so high. It is also criticized that social participation would be increasingly intertwined with political interests. As a result, the political party model would not be fulfilled with its role of renewal, nor that of fulfilling social demands.

In the Brazilian political structure, the new trend perceived in the representative bases is in the performance of supra-party groups, who share ideas of overcoming the old politics, called independent political renewal movements - political training organizations that combine transparency, respect to democracy, political ethics, with a mission to combat social and political inequalities as their slogans.

The first groups in this format appear in Brazil in 2014, as a diagnosis of the nonconformity of the youth who took to the streets at the Journeys of June 2013. The image of traditional Brazilian politics was further compromised with the money laundering investigations of Operation Lava Jato in 2014, which until today results in developments involving high-ranking politicians from the Chamber, Government and Senate, in addition to businessmen, which deepens the distance of new organizations from the usual image of Brazilian politics, usually composed of middle-aged people, with some professional activity

⁶ Num estilo pouco ortodoxo, Trump atacou candidatos democratas e republicanos ao longo da sua Campanha. Na sua longa lista de críticas, Trump salientava o declínio do poder global dos Estados Unidos e a sua exploração por parte de aliados e adversários. Embora de forma errática, Trump articulou um programa de política externa em consonância com a sua narrativa populista e que assentava num discurso antielitista, de desconfiança no conhecimento técnico e científico e num forte sentimento de afiliação nacional (PENHA, 2017, p. 11).

notable, by betting on the choice of young people who have leadership characteristics and the ability to dialogue with different groups.

It is believed that today the supra-party organizations in the country are around forty, of which we can mention: Renova BR, RAPS⁷, Agora!, Acredito, Ocupa Política, Brasil 21, Livres, Frente Favela Brasil, Vote Nelas, Lemann, Nós, Frente Pela Renovação, Bancada Ativista and the most notable one the MBL⁸. In general, these groups have collective funding from individuals and business groups linked to politics and education. The selection of members to compose the organizations, offering classes for the formation of political leaders and scholarships for this purpose, is done through selective processes every semester. There is no requirement that soon after graduating its members enter the political career, however, many end up making that choice.

Political renewal movements bring together names of all ideological aspects in their ranks, inserting names in parties such as the PDT⁹, REDE¹⁰, CIDADANIA, NOVO, PODEMOS, PSDB¹¹, PSOL¹², DEM¹³, SOLIDARIEDADE. In the 2018 elections, several members of these groups were elected, highlighting the elections of João Campos (PSB-PE), son of the former governor of Pernambuco and ex-presidential candidate, Eduardo Campos, candidate launched by Lemann and Acredito, Tábata Amaral (PDT-SP), candidate trained in Renova BR, RAPS and Acredito, Kim Katagari (DEM-SP), representative of MBL and Sâmia Bonfim (PSOL-SP), of the Ocupa Política movement.

The overriding factor in the high correspondence of these organizations is the proposed expectation of transforming the obsolete relationship between political representatives and institutions, and in this way, trying to bring the population closer to politics. In an interview with Estadão, the president of Renova BR, Eduardo Mulafej, reinforces the proposed objective, just before the 2018 electoral dispute happens: “We want to make it possible for people who are not currently involved in politics or who have no traditional parties. Nobody stops to (sic) think about the difficulty of anybody in running for office”¹⁴, in this way, it guarantees the members autonomy in relation to the choice of the parties they choose to join, emphasizing the

⁷ Rede de Ação Política Pela Sustentabilidade (Political Action Network for Sustainability).

⁸ Movimento Brasil Livre (Free Brazil Movement).

⁹ Partido Democrático Trabalhista (Democratic Labor Party).

¹⁰ Rede Sustentabilidade (Sustainability Network).

¹¹ Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (Brazilian Social Democracy Party).

¹² Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (Socialism and Liberty Party).

¹³ Democratas (Democrats).

¹⁴ COTRIM, Jonathas; MAGATTI, Ricardo. Em busca de renovação, grupos buscam partidos para candidaturas cívicas em 2018. **ESTADÃO**. Available at: <https://infograficos.estadao.com.br/focas/politico-em-construcao/materia/em-busca-de-renovacao-grupos-buscam-partidos-para-candidaturas-civicas-em-2018>. Access: 04 ago 2019.

integration of its members in party activities and the practical foundations in their political education.

Most of these groups seek to escape the polarization between left and right, proposing a diversified renewal plan, trying not to base themselves on supporting the ideological characteristics of their graduates, giving greater prominence to performance and proposals that contribute to the revitalization of politics, such as result of the content promoted by these organizations and their loyalty in contributing to the formation of leaders, they highlight the ethical, political and social responsibility values. Another supra-party formation that drew a lot of attention in the last elections was the so-called collective candidacy, originated by members of the Activist Bench, composed of members of PSOL and REDE, which launched the name of Monica Sanches (PSOL-SP) in the valid votes, which took with herself five representatives of the parties that will help her to form a parliamentary post with ideals in different social axes.

Many of the campaigns of members of the political renewal movements were not supported or promoted by the political parties in which they were affiliated, but by people who are part of the organization (social movements and civil society) and the candidates' communication on social networks, counting with a strong instrument of transmission and mobilization in new media. Another important factor for the structure of the members' campaigns was to resort to collective financing through applications, which made it possible for many people to trust the candidacies, since it is a public collection with transparency, since the largest share of the Campaign Financing Fund was allocated to candidates who had already held office. According to data from the newspaper O Globo, 843 million reais were distributed to political parties, and 67% were used in the campaigns of former senators and federal deputies¹⁵.

The parties viewed with optimism the candidacies of members coming from the renewal groups, following the challenge of international orientation, they were pointed out as a means of supplying the exhaustion of the image of the political parties. However, taking advantage of the erosion of the image of political representatives and the fall in confidence in politics, the claims of these organizations would be more based on reorganizing the party structure or opening the way to party independence, as is already practiced in some countries, in which the candidate is taken into account and not the party.

¹⁵ PORTINARI, Natália. Políticos Profissionais ficam com 67% das verbas do fundo eleitoral. **O GLOBO**, 2018. Available at: <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/politicos-profissionais-ficam-com-67-das-verbas-do-fundo-eleitoral-23073398>. Access: 04 ago 2019.

Final considerations

The concept of person is a fundamental concept for us to understand the synthesis of the type of society that Rawls wants to represent. The moral being presupposes basic premises of coexistence, presenting as key foundations respect for the other, freedom, political convictions and moral duties. In this way, this subject would be carrying with him a conception of what is fair. Counting on social interaction and political activity, a well-ordered society based on moral ideas is founded.

A democratic society must be guided by reasonability, choosing the general rules of procedure in relation to each other, which is guaranteed as a fundamental right that would apply to all. Thus, at that point, citizenship would be conditioned to justice as equity, with the subjects that stipulate this agreement to comply. Primary goods are nothing more than the first principles that each person wants for oneself, but prefers to have in excess than in a smaller proportion, based on social expectations, that is, one will take goods such as rights, freedom, autonomy and equality.

It is observed that in the two cases presented an important issue in the role of political society and in citizen formation: the expression of fundamental rights and the exercise of political action. New ways of acting are experimented, focusing on the development of political ideas, on the formation of representative individuals, on increasing the content of interventions, giving importance to envisioning the good performance of the exercise of civic and political duties.

This is due to the rooting of democratic values, which started to account for an important mark in Brazilian citizenship after the 1988 Constitution, which will attribute the universalization of rights. However, the problem of individuality, which in a democracy can be harmful, should not be considered, considering that its terms are defined as freedom and equality, which needs social cooperation to manifest itself as a consensual value.

Rawls considers the social nature of the citizen to be of great importance, as well as the power to exercise autonomy. For this, individuals must share freedoms that are fully exercised, which requires a reflective balance on the terms of justice in the basic structure of society. Nevertheless, political freedom would be among one of the characteristics prioritized in his theory, however, it must have the outcome in the concept of well-defined person politics, and have objective principles that guide the composition of the just in political institutions, even when dealing with of a plural society.

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