The “Trimbiosis” between societal apathy and its externalities in local development: an exploratory perspective

ABSTRACT

Societal management, although important for the development and democratization of the State, is not yet recognized as a theoretical model of public administration, and academic studies on this subject remain few in number. The principal aim of this study, bearing in mind its exploratory perspective, is to study societal apathy and its externalities in local development. To this end, it seeks to answer the following question: how is it possible to understand whether there is a symbiotic overlap between societal apathy and its externalities in local development? In methodological terms, this aspect is based on the purposes of exploratory and explanatory research and the means of bibliographic research. The results show that societal apathy has a direct impact on local/regional development due to the lack of inspection by society with regard to public management, generating negative externalities. Consequently, patrimonialist political interests prevail over collective interests.

KEY WORDS: Societal apathy. Externalities. Local development. “Trimbiosis”.

INTRODUCTION

Societal apathy, i.e., the non-participation of the population in Public Administration, is assumed to cause externalities in local/regional development and influence the culture of society through corruption, concentration of income and patronage.

In this sense, considering the limitation of the exploratory perspective of this study, the relationship between societal apathy and its externalities in local development will be analyzed in order to answer the following question: how is it possible to understand whether there is a symbiotic overlap between societal apathy and its externalities in local development?

In keeping with the problematization of this study, centered on the objective of gauging the (non-)existence of negative externalities for local/regional development owing to societal apathy, an attempt is made to confirm (or refute) this assumption.

The study is justified by helping to advance knowledge in the field of societal management, which remains in its early stages at the academic level and is not formally recognized by Public Administration as one of the types of study chronologically focused in the literature on this theme, namely patrimonial, bureaucratic and managerial (NPM). The externalities that societal participation or non-participation may have on local development are also analyzed. Therefore, the central point of the work, bearing in mind its limitation to an exploratory perspective, is to relate societal apathy symbiotically to what its externalities generate in local development.

METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, this study is based on the characteristics of exploratory and explanatory research and means of bibliographic research, as it materializes in the shape of a probe, which does not justify the formation of hypotheses. At the same time, it is in contact with facts that have already been written on a given subject, especially in books, scientific articles and technical publications.

Regarding the nuances of studies of this nature, Oliveira et al. (2013) found that:

(... studies of an exploratory character/purpose conducted using bibliographic, documental and observational means have been valued and widely accepted in the academic world, considering the scope, relevance and contributions of the subject in question, for which the strictly positive and parametric application that at other times reigned over academic perspectives is not necessarily justified.

Nevertheless, seeking to avoid merely theorizing the theme as a theoretical hypothesis divorced from applicability, this article is also methodologically justified by the results of other studies of the same or a similar nature, as seen in its corpus.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
THE “TRIMBIOSIS” BETWEEN SOCIETAL APATHY, EXTERNALITIES AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Trimbiosis? Should it not be symbiosis? The term symbiosis was originally coined in the field of biology and expanded to the other sciences, given the relationships and dependencies between studied variables not being exclusive to that particular science. In short, symbiosis means an association of two beings that, despite being from different species, live together, with reciprocal, albeit unequal, advantages. Extending the concept, it could be said that symbiosis is an association between two elements that work together to obtain advantages for both.

Focusing on the field of Economics, a classic example can be given of a symbiotic relationship, Supply and Demand, which when associated with one another generate market balance. Supply and demand are forces that make market economies work, as they establish the amount of each product that is produced and the price at which it will be sold (MANKIW, 2012, pp. 65-66).

Supply and demand are among the fundamental elements of economic theory. This symbiotic relationship was first studied in the Middle Ages. British economist Alfred Marshall analyzed supply under the new neo-classical focus of demand, and observed that both work to generate the market price. An important part of his work was the mathematical application of the theory that created Marshall’s Cross, which represents supply and demand in crossed lines, with the point of interception marking the equilibrium between the variables (KISHTAINY et al, 2013, pp. 110-111).

Nevertheless, the wide theoretical spectrum with regard to symbiosis in a variety of sciences is not the object of this work, which will address a broader relationship, namely that of the “trimbiotic” relationship in the field of public governance and regional development. This is based on the study of Oliveira and Albuquerque (2014), the first to coin the term “trimbiosis” (trimbiose in Brazilian Portuguese), the relationship between the State, Government and Public Administration, founded on knowledge from diverse fields, especially the law, public administration and political and social science.

In this respect, the contributions of Oliveira and Albuquerque (2014, p. 46) explain that “trimbiosis” is a link that connects three elements, e.g., people, territory and government or executive, legislative and judiciary branches of government or the state, government and public administration to serve the interests of the common good. In the case of this study, the trimbiotic relationship is analyzed between Societal Apathy, Externalities and Local/regional Development.

According to Gohn (2011, p. 16), the universe of participation is older than the concept itself. The participation of civil society in public policies leads to an understanding of the process of democratization of Brazilian society, highlighting the struggles of citizens for social rights, citizenship and better living conditions.

Jean J. Rousseau is considered the leading theoretician regarding participation, as his political theory includes citizens’ participation in the decision-making of the community and views it as a way of ensuring good government. He believed that a person becomes a true citizen when there is interest in the common good rather than private interests, leading to a change in how individuals are educated (GOHN, 2011, pp. 24-25).
The landmark of social participation in the Brazilian political scenario was when, after 20 years of the Military Regime, in 1984, the country underwent the defining moment of the “Direct Elections Now” movement. At this time, Brazilians hoped that democracy would bring not only political changes, but also economic and social ones, such as the return of civil liberties, economic growth and distribution of wealth. The high point of the movement came on the eve of the voting of the constitutional amendment that would allow a direct popular vote for President of the Republic. However, despite significant manifestations, the amendment did not pass due to a lack of quorum, leading to the first disillusion of the Republic (GIAMBIAGI et al, 2011, pp. 97-98).

Following this interim, popular participation grew. However, the popular bases were not very well organized, due to the lack of social interest in the political movement (OLIVEIRA et al., 2015, p. 114). This was in spite of the growing social movements of the late 1970s, with ideas focused on everyday problems of society, even without the definition of political parties (like the excessive multi-party system of today), having marked the raising of awareness of the rights of society.

According to Oliveira et al (2015, p. 114), the right to vote was recognized in the nineteen eighties through the Constitution of 1988. The vote was guaranteed to all capable adults and was optional for adolescents over the age of sixteen. Therefore, political participation may be viewed as one of the elements involved in societal participation, as aversion to politics, in other words, not participating in elections could have an impact on society. Today, with increasingly professional and expensive election campaigns, the population feels more abandoned, as the interests of the people are overlapped by political interests, patronage and cronism. This consequently leads to a lack of interest in politics, affecting the participation of society.

For this reason, before 1990, the international literature claimed it was impossible for participation channels to emerge in developing countries in Latin America, as the characteristics of political actors and institutions were surrounded by informal pacts and a weak civil society (CORDES, 2007, p. 125). A point in question was the reelection of President Lula in 2006. Even with the revelations of the Justice Department concerning the “Mensalão” corruption scandal attributed as a practice of his government, he was elected because of distribution of income, economic stability and social policies that aided the poorer economic classes. Despite the importance of these public policies, this situation does indeed characterize a certain degree of apathy on the part of the Brazilian people. This is because most of them consider the social benefits provided by the government when it comes to electability, disregarding other variables that, in the long and short term, affect the social, economic and political sustainability of the country. People value the immediate consequences of policies rather than their outlook for future stability.

Thus, beginning in the 1990s, more institutionalized forms of popular organization and partnerships between society and public authorities emerged, such as forums, participatory budgeting and municipal councils. These organizations were involved in issues concerning the participation of citizens in the management of public business. Regarding local and regional political and administrative mobilization, in addition to participatory budgeting, management councils may also be mentioned, involved in health, education, social work, children, teenagers and the elderly. Other entities that deserve to be mentioned...
are councils on the conditions of women and Afro-descendants, to name a few (GOHN, 2011, p. 342).

In 1990, participation became one of the main demands, involving the creation of channels, the definition of their quality and the forms of participation available to citizens. Thus began a new phase of participation, which came to be viewed in a new light, with Citizen Participation based on the universalization of social rights, a broader scope of citizenship and a new understanding of the role of the State. This innovation came to be implemented as a public policy at a time when public policies were gaining prominence in the strategies of development, transformation and social change (GOHN, 2002, p. 12).

In this respect, Pinheiro (2010, p. 91) asserts that societal participation is “the preparation of the participation process with the production of information in an accessible language and, finally, the training of local technical managers and citizens so that everyone can understand and become involved in decision-making processes”. However, the author (2010, p. 76) also warns that “constructing effective participation processes is a great challenge and comes up against considerable resistance”, requiring knowledge and considerable organization and political will.

Therefore, the societal aspect emerges with the expectation of replacing technical-bureaucratic management with more participatory management, in which different individuals participate in the decision-making process. This can be understood as a deliberate political action, in which citizens participate by making decisions as people, workers or consumers (PAULA, 2005, p. 45).

Especially with regard to sustaining the emergence of this new aspect, valuing citizenship, Redruello (2015, p. 64) believes that:

The participation of citizens is not only limited, as in the past, to electing or being elected and exercising the right to vote. Today, the exercise of citizens’ right to participate has been expanded and they can participate in subjects of public interest, present projects with initiatives of a normative nature to create, amend or update laws, regulations, resolutions and agreements. They can also be consulted and present projects intended to improve and legitimize decisions taken in the public sphere.

Nevertheless, problems have been identified in Brazilian society such as corruption and economic and social inequality, with governments adopting a form of governability through coalition presidentialism, distribution of ministries and other positions that is not necessarily a moral stance but rather a stance intended to win victories for the government, thus facilitating governability. This way of governing partly explains the population’s lack of interest in societal participation (OLIVEIRA et al, 2015, p. 115).

To feel dissatisfaction in relation to a problem it is necessary to know it, be interested in it and then wish to improve it. Now what causes apathy is the feeling that nothing can be done to change the situation and that it is impossible to fight against the immense and omnipresent political system. On the other hand, the elitist theory characterizes apathy as satisfaction with the system, as this reduces the number of complaints and creates social stability. However, it is well known that in Brazil there is currently no satisfaction with the system, but rather a desire...
for change and reform. However, for this to occur, active participation in matters of the public interest is necessary instead of creating a potential for apathy.

Thus, Redruello (2015, pp. 61-62) explains that a citizen’s inactivity is not due to illiteracy, poverty or lack of information, but rather to a lack of democratic practice. In other words, apathy stems from rejection of the system and not a lack of options to participate. Therefore, two motives can be given that cause apathy (“any resemblance to the current situation in the Brazilian republic is purely coincidental”): the control of the political class over manifestations of the population or the corruption generated by economic powers within the system, which benefits dishonest politicians and fuels the alienation and apathy of citizens.

The development of societal participation requires the political will of democratic forces to create public spaces consolidated by institutions that are founded on human rights and citizens’ participation through forums and other channels. According to Gohn (2002, p. 19) a “proposed form of participation can occur if the active citizens in a community fight to guarantee the existence of democratic features in these new spaces right from the start, as soon as they are implemented”.

In this respect, questions are asked and answers are given regarding how societal apathy, through its externalities, affects local/regional development. Through the advantages that administrators can enjoy due to the lack of inspection by society in public management, many problems may arise, such as cronyism, corruption, bureaucracy, corporatism, patronage and political interests, which prevail over the interests of society, creating negative externalities of societal apathy regarding local and regional development.

Regarding externalities, in the 1950s, economists began to refer to invisible costs that have a latent impact on society as externalities, as they are not reflected in market prices, and affect third parties. In this sense, according to Nusdeo (2014:155-156), externalities are costs or benefits that circulate outside the market. Thus, these external effects do not mean that they are outside of economic units, but rather that these events occur outside the market and may be viewed as parasitical effects. There are numerous examples of externalities, as they are not the exception but the reality, constantly permeating the socio-economic tissue.

Negative externalities are seen when the external effect results in costs/losses for determined or undetermined third parties. Therefore, this type of externality is known as an external cost or social cost, according to whether they are identifiable by those who suffer the effects. For this reason, when externalities result in a cost/loss for someone, they are negative, and when they benefit someone, they are positive (NUSDEO, 2014, p. 157).

In this work, it is possible to relate the emergence of societal participation/apathy with externalities, considering that:

(...) with the exercise of new practices, difficulties, limits and new requirements have emerged due to the new economic, social and political conjuncture. Several of these difficulties resulted from problems rooted in the national political culture, in which values such as patronage, paternalism and solving public business problems through direct procedures that favor private interests are prevalent. There is also a lack of faith in the effectiveness of the law because it

is usually only applied to the poor and weak as a punitive mechanism. The national mania of using “Gérson’s law” and gaining advantages generates processes such as the naturalization of corruption as just another way to gain an advantage (GOHN, 2011, p. 55).

Therefore, emphasizing the issue addressed in this work, it may be assumed that situations such as backwardness, hunger, patronage and patronimialism, although not considered cultural values, are incorporated into Brazilian culture, generating a society with little participation, a society that is silent and passive, which can affect local and regional development.

Local and Regional Development

The key factor of the democratization process based on societal participation is local/regional development. This is because citizens’ demands are first forwarded directly to public agencies, especially local governments. It falls to the agent to decide on the demands of the holder of the original power, i.e., the people (GOHN, 2011, p. 54).

Local and regional development, the focus of this study, is rooted in and limited by the concept of economic development, which is constituted as:

(...) a historical process of sustained growth in income or value added by residents, implying a better standard of living for the population of a determined national state, resulting from the systematic accumulation of capital and the incorporation of knowledge or a technical process into production. In these terms, economic development is a process of transformation, which implies changes at the three levels or instances of a society: structural, institutional or cultural (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2006, p. 9).

Focusing on local/regional development, it is possible to use this concept to refer to the social and economic development of a region or country, or also a set of geographically close countries/regions, providing that they have strong economic, political and institutional relationships with each other, thus constituting a system (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2006, p. 17).

The lato sensu study of local/regional development, according to Mendes and Cavedon (2014, p. 342), emerged in the 1990s, with the basis of its characteristics linked to economic development as a form of criticizing the model for development, which, before that decade, was based on theories of modernization, technology and industrial structure to define the development of countries. Thus, to arrive at the concept of local development, the integration of other aspects was taken into consideration, such as social, environmental and cultural features (MENDES & CAVEDON, 2014, p. 342).

In principle, the intention of local development was to decentralize public administration, as it was impossible for the state to conduct development processes. Thus, development processes at the local level would enable social
groups to achieve economic, social and environmental support from their practices (MENDES & CAVEDON, 2014, p. 342).

Therefore, local development is produced by diverse players and practices that support economic improvement, reduce social inequality and improve the quality of life and access to goods and services. According to Mendes and Cavedon (2014, p. 343), through these actors and actions a social articulation process comes into play, with a view to the: (i) inclusion of social sectors in new economic and political and cultural dynamics; (ii) generation and consolidation of local entrepreneurial initiatives; (iii) harmonization and regulation of relationships between citizen, community and business in their social and environmental context; and (iv) construction of economic sustainability in local activities.

Focusing mainly on the symbiosis between societal apathy and development, it could be argued that local governance is about management shared between different actors, from both civil and political society, a point in question being Participatory Budgeting. Other participatory mechanisms included in local governance are based on popular engagement as a productive resource, with strategies designed to solve public problems. It should be emphasized that in the social movements of the seventies and eighties in Brazil, new participatory experiments were conducted that played an educational role among their participants, training them to make decisions and providing them with political knowledge. These citizens and their actions obviously contributed to the development of their communities (GOHN, 2002, p. 20).

Likewise, Gohn (2011, p. 25-26) affirms that the development of a community helps to create an active characteristic in individuals with regard to popular participation, claiming that the best place for participatory learning is at the local level. This is because it is at this level that citizens learn to govern themselves and learn about democracy. Therefore, local participation provides individuals with learning about democracy and extending their participation to the regional level.

In Brazil, social participation instruments are in their early stages and have been studied little. Thus, without these instruments, the societal aspect becomes improbable and there is a tendency for public authorities to serve only the interests of capital. Therefore, the actions of local players and governments in implementing public policies that focus on the city is the beginning of an embryonic process due to the creation of means for social participation (VILLELA et al, 2016, p. 621).

National articulation has proved to be fruitless because of the continental size of the country. This makes it difficult to plan and coordinate regional processes without an alignment with local reality. Thus, Henriches and Meza (2017, p. 128) point out that “the success of governance for development depends on plans being in symmetry with reality and the territorial dynamic in which it is situated, attentive to the circumstances of the local level in which projects are better articulated to resolve disputes”.

In this sense, in developing countries like Brazil, many poor communities lie outside the consumer market or job market. There is less respect for their rights and they are excluded from the social dialogue and public decision-making. These citizens also suffer to ensure the basic survival of their families in aspects such as health and safety (ISHENGOMA & KAPPEL, 2007, p. 16).
The issue of poverty, lack of resources in a given location, can heighten societal apathy in this area, as it is difficult to achieve conditions for the active participation of this community without first solving the problem of their basic needs. This generates a vicious circle, in which people are contented to receive minimal social benefits in exchange for electing a government representative.

**Actual Trimbiosis**

The trimbiosis characterized in this analysis is the result of societal apathy that is negatively reflected (in the form of externalities) in local/regional development. Therefore, to what extent does societal apathy affect development? This is not known, but the result is obviously negative.

In Brazil, the following are historical characteristics: a strong political party system (despite the extensive multiparty system); the weak organization of interest groups; and, among other aspects that are subject to negative externalities, corporatism and patronage. Thus, the diverse players in a process of formulating public policies, for instance, are either excluded from it or represented (LOBATO, 2016, pp. 299-301).

Societal corporatism is found in democracies with open and competitive party electoral systems, i.e., in advanced welfare state democracies (LOBATO, 2016, pp. 294-295). However, a small change has been noted in relation to populations that used to be excluded, such as native Indians and poor black people from urban peripheries, whose voices are heard today, increasing their importance in societal participation (MONTE-MOR, 2015, p. 60).

Nevertheless, with Brazil’s democratic transition, it has proved difficult for the State to handle diverse forms of the representation of interests stemming from the societal dynamic. However, despite the State’s barrier to opening spaces for them, popular movements have succeeded in having their demands heard (LOBATO, 2006, pp. 299-300).

Social goods, for instance, are rights of society and, therefore, are the responsibility of the collective. The State can and does act as a go-between through political channels to ensure the constitution of these rights, but it is through societal channels that they become material rights. Thus, the State only discusses and implements demands that have been previously defined between it and society. To do so, it is necessary to conduct social negotiations with its members.

In this situation, it could be said that social policies, for example, are not fully implemented in Brazil due to the incorporation of social rights in an isolated manner. Historically and culturally, this incorporation occurred through patronage and exchanges of interests that do not serve the interests of citizens.

The problem is that citizens are driven by their immediate emotions in relation to politics and do not base their decisions on specific interests. Therefore, sudden and radical changes often occur in the political direction of national, state and municipal governments, causing a political and administrative rupture between one government and another. Such changes are common in Brazilian politics (FREY, 2000, p. 245).
Therefore, the intervention that occurs in political decision-making processes is a direct action of political parties or associations. Nevertheless, there is a weakness in the democratic institutions. This can be seen in the presence of other informal institutions that have a decisive influence on political and administrative processes, including in the form patronage, cronism and corruption (Frey, 2000, p. 249). Thus, it may be inferred that the tools for society to participate, such as public hearings and municipal debates, are consultative and not very effective, hindering local/regional development through the generation of negative externalities (Franzoni, 2015, p. 26).

HIGHLIGHTS OBSERVED IN OTHER STUDIES OF THE SAME OR A SIMILAR NATURE

Studies on societal apathy and the societal aspect were researched on the main platforms of academic articles (Scopus, Scielo and Periódicos Capes), with scanty results. In this regard, one of the few articles found on the societal theme discussed the conflict in Colombia in a peace process during the administration of Andrés Pastrana. In this article, through a theoretical framework, an analysis is conducted, concluding that the participation of society was fundamental in this respect, with the public prevailing over the private and the recognition of protests over rights. Therefore, unlike the study object of this work, the article by Jimenez considers the participation of civil society in government processes (Jiménez, 2006, p. 51).

Another text involving the societal discusses the anti-capitalist background that emerged in the new constitutionalism in Venezuela and Bolivia, addressing this aspect as the beginning of a path that transforms and surpasses the current capitalist market. The author is not limited to denying capitalism, but also supports new historical possibilities of returning to ways of life that focus on the collective; in other words, a universal community of peoples, as suggested by Karl Marx (Rivera-Lugo, 2010).

Finally, the article by Arach (2015) highlights the emerging societal movements against a destructive expansion in Latin American countries. It also emphasizes characteristics of social movements, focusing on right to land, the universal characteristic of the modern concept of nature and the challenges of the global environmental crisis.

Therefore, it could be said that some studies address societal participation, but, strictly speaking, from different angles, such as conflicts in countries such as Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia and the environmental crisis. However, no article specifically addresses the issue of societal apathy as a way of impairing local/regional development, justifying the central goal of this work.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

A true citizen is one who participates in society’s decisions, not only recognizing his own interests, but also those of the community. This participation ensures good government, because with the participation of society, governors feel pressured and are more cautious about acting in their own interests, as they
know that they are not “alone”. At the very least, participation guarantees that the general will of the people is considered in government decisions.

Thus, apathy can be considered as a relief for patrimonial politicians because they can influence the masses and make decisions based on interests rooted in the collective vision of the public/res publica, which gives substance to the State, the specific “ownership” of which belongs to the people (its stakeholders). They are established in a territory with the support of a government, with its transitory nature and political direction. They are required to belong to a political party as a sine qua non for reaching higher levels of power as a representative of the state structure.

Citizens are directly affected by government actions, even with effective participation or participative apathy. Therefore, without the participation of the people, there are greater possibilities for corruptive interests, patronage, cronyism and other ills that plague the public/res publica.

In keeping with the framework in question, in Brazil, people base their vote on immediate results. Instead of thinking of the future of the country, citizens are carried away by temporary emotions and fallacious arguments, which lead to radical changes in the political directions of governments. Participation in forums, municipal councils and participatory budgets only began in Brazil in the 1990s. That decade was the embryo of the participation of citizens. Unfortunately, these participation tools, as well as public hearings and municipal debates, are not very effective and are merely consultative in nature. This has an adverse effect on and even mitigates the development of cities and regions.

However, it is known that to prepare a participatory process, organization and political will are required. Unfortunately, in Brazil, the lack of participation of the community is commonplace. Therefore, it can be inferred that the inactivity of citizens is not due to a lack of education or information, but rather to a lack of democratic practice, in other words, a rejection of the system. To improve this situation, it would be necessary to restructure the administrative culture, which is based on bureaucracy and corporatism, strengthening citizenship and respect for the collective.

Thus, societal apathy directly affects local/regional development because society does not monitor public management. This generates negative externalities, with patrimonial political interests prevailing over the collective interest, creating situations like backwardness, hunger and patronage. Although these are not Brazilian cultural values, they are incorporated into the national culture, generating a silent and passive society.

In closing, it should be mentioned that poverty can exacerbate societal apathy, as citizens have immediate interests that involve satisfying their basic needs. Justifiably, they cannot concern themselves with the collective without first resolving their own problems. Therefore, it is only with the development of the community that it is possible to develop societal participation. Thus, in response to the concern that guides this study, it can be said that societal apathy has a negative effect on local/regional development and is thus characterized as a negative externality. This confirms the need to address societal apathy “trimbiotically” owing to the externalities that affect local/regional development.
A trimbiose entre a apatia societal e suas externalidades no desenvolvimento local: um recorte exploratório

ABSTRACT

A gestão societal, embora relevante para o desenvolvimento e democratização do Estado, ainda não é reconhecida como um modelo teórico de administração pública, e estudos sobre a matéria ainda são escassos no âmbito acadêmico. O objetivo central do estudo, respeitando seu recorte exploratório é estudar a apatia societal e suas externalidades no desenvolvimento local. Para tanto, em pressuposto busca responder: como se forma a compreensão de que (in)existe um imbricamento simbiótico entre a apatia societal e suas externalidades no desenvolvimento local? Metodologicamente, este artigo fundamenta-se quanto aos fins na pesquisa exploratória e explicativa e quantos aos meios na pesquisa bibliográfica. Como resultados têm-se que a apatia societal impacta diretamente no desenvolvimento local/regional devido a não fiscalização da sociedade na gestão pública, gerando externalidades negativas, com os interesses patrimonialistas políticos prevalecendo sobre os interesses coletivos.

NOTES

1 Gérson’s Law or the Law of Advantage is a precept determining that a Brazilian person or business should obtain advantages indiscriminately without regard for moral or ethical issues.

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