

INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Effects on the pluralization of citizenship

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to understand how the environmental field in Brazil has been shaped through the relationship between the state and civil society, based on processes of institutionalization and deinstitutionalization of environmental policy and their effects on the pluralization of citizenship. To this end, networks of civil society organizations and projects are constructed across different federal administrations between 2007 and 2021, revealing distinct patterns among these administrations.

KEYWORDS: *socio-state interactions; civil society organizations; federal administrations; public policies; environmental policy in Brazil*

Institucionalização e desinstitucionalização da política ambiental: efeitos na pluralização da cidadania

RESUMO

O objetivo deste artigo é compreender como a área ambiental foi sendo moldada na relação entre Estado e sociedade civil no Brasil a partir de processos de institucionalização e desinstitucionalização da política ambiental e os efeitos disso na pluralização da cidadania. Para tanto, são construídas redes de organizações da sociedade civil e projetos em diferentes gestões federais entre 2007 e 2021, revelando distintos padrões entre essas gestões.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *interações socioestatais; mapa das organizações da sociedade civil; gestões federais; institucionalização e desinstitucionalização de políticas públicas; política ambiental no Brasil*

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INTRODUCTION

The objective of this article is to understand how the Brazilian environmental field has been shaped by the relationship between the state and civil society through projects carried out by civil society organizations (CSOs) under different government administrations, and their implications for the pluralization of citizen-

ship in this area. The environmental field has received increasing attention, mainly due to the urgency that climate change has imposed on society. Additionally, it is an area in which the dynamics of neo-extractivism impact access to social rights and citizenship, spanning governments of different ideological orientations in Latin America, albeit with important differences (Svampa, 2019). Furthermore, the environment is a policy area that requires the involvement of diverse actors across society and policy sectors, encompassing dynamics that extend beyond the state and reflect its relationships with civil society actors and the market— in what has come to be known as environmental governance. It is also a field strongly influenced by interactions between the state, civil society, the market, and international actors, including agreements, treaties, and the dynamics stemming from these frameworks.

This article investigates these interactions by analyzing the relationships between CSOs and the projects they developed under different federal administrations from 2007 to 2021, encompassing the second term of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula II, 2007-2010), the first and second terms of President Dilma Rousseff (Dilma I, 2011-2014; Dilma II, 2014-2016), and the administrations of Presidents Michel Temer (2016-2018) and Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022), in order to reveal distinct patterns in the networks of each administration. The data derive from the Map of Civil Society Organizations (MOSC), which tracks socio-state interactions based on Law n. 13.019/2014, which regulated these relationships and became known as the Regulatory Framework for Civil Society Organizations (MROSC). The data reveal a clear trend of decreasing numbers of CSOs and projects across administrations, with an atypical pattern in the most recent period: a significant increase in the number of CSOs alongside a substantial reduction in the number of projects registered in the MOSC.

It could be argued that the regulation introduced by the MROSC itself may have negatively affected the number of projects across administrations, since it was implemented in 2014, mid-way through the period covered by the data. However, the change in patterns only emerged several years later. Moreover, a study on the transfer of resources through partnerships facilitated by the MROSC – which underpin the projects analyzed here – shows that the number of funding agreements increased more than the number of CSOs benefiting from them from 2019 onwards (Brazil, 2024). The same study indicates that it is not yet possible to determine whether more CSOs are establishing a greater number of contracts or whether there is a concentration of opportunities in partnerships with the federal government (Brazil, 2024). The data analyzed in this article help to

refine this issue, showing that fewer projects are being carried out by a larger number of CSOs in this most recent period, at least in the environmental sector.

This change observed in 2019 coincides with the beginning of Jair Bolsonaro's administration, widely known for its attacks on the environmental sector. The government interaction with civil society was marked from the outset by Decree n.9759/2019, which proposed the extinction of federal-level collegiate bodies. Bezerra, Rodrigues e Romão (2022) e Bezerra et al. (2024) analyzed the effects of this decree on several such bodies and found that the most affected areas were the environment and social rights, precisely because they were central arenas of political dispute under this administration. A year later, in a ministerial meeting in April 2020, the Minister of the Environment, Ricardo Salles, explicitly stated to high-ranking government officials, including the President, the administration's orientation: to take advantage of the attention focused on deaths during the Covid-19 pandemic to "push through everything, change all the regulations, and simplify the rules" (Bronz et al., 2020, p. 10). As noted by Bronz et al. (2020), the proposal was "a deregulation exempt from public debate, to be conducted through 'infra-legal reforms' – ordinances, normative instructions, and administrative acts – that do not depend on approval in Congress" (p. 10). The authors argue that this is not a previously absent political approach; rather, it already had some representation in Congress and among specific interest groups. However, it gained greater prominence as a governmental agenda "with an explicitly ideological character centered on an anti-indigenous, anti-environmental, and anti-science stance" (Bronz et al., 2020, p. 10).

In this context, one might expect a reinforcement of the downward trend in CSOs engaged in environmental projects; however, the findings are counterintuitive, given their increase during this period compared to previous administrations. It is important to note that, despite this increase, the number of projects carried out was lower than in previous administrations, revealing a concentration of many CSOs in a smaller pool of projects. Thus, in an administration marked by the deinstitutionalization of environmental public policies through deregulation, there was a noticeable increase in the plurality of CSOs operating in the sector, alongside a decrease in the plurality of projects in which they participated.

The concept of pluralizing the role of civil society through CSOs and their projects is part of the broader historical dynamics of citizenship in Brazil. During redemocratization, the expansion of citizenship occurred through a process that combined the universalization of social rights under the 1988 Federal Constitution with the pluralization

of citizenship – that is, the recognition of “collective subjects as legitimate actors capable of challenging the state and influencing the definition, implementation, oversight, and access to public policy” (Gurza Lavalle et al., 2024, p. 3). This dynamic can be observed across various policy areas where new social actors have gained access to rights through public policies. In this context, CSOs can be understood not only as entities that demand policies and rights, but also as actors within public policy, particularly in environmental governance, through their roles in the design, monitoring, implementation, and evaluation. In this sense, CSO projects operate in complement to state-led initiatives.

Based on this starting point, the article explores the hypothesis that the institutionalization and deinstitutionalization of environmental policies affect the relational patterns of CSOs and their projects, either fostering or constraining the pluralization of citizenship through the expansion of actors (CSOs) and agendas (projects).

The analysis is grounded in a relational approach that considers the mutual constitution of the state and civil society (Gurza Lavalle et al., 2019), proposing that projects developed by CSOs be understood as repertoires of interaction among these actors (Abers et al., 2014). The methodology employed is Social Network Analysis, used to examine the relational patterns between CSOs and their projects across different federal administrations. This article is structured into four sections, in addition to this Introduction.

The first section develops the theoretical framework for analyzing CSO projects and their effects on citizenship. The second section presents the Brazilian Regulatory Framework for Civil Society Organizations (MOSC), the main data source for this study, as well as the methodology employed. The third section examines the institutionalization and deinstitutionalization of environmental policy in relation to Brazilian civil society, with subsections dedicated to the period spanning the federal administrations from Lula II to Bolsonaro. The fourth section compares data from the social networks of CSOs and projects across these administrations, exploring the pluralization of citizenship. The article concludes with final remarks.

CSO PROJECTS AS A REPERTOIRE OF SOCIO-STATE INTERACTION FOR PLURALIZATION

The perspective of neo-extractivist dynamics helps to illuminate how the environmental field has been configured in Brazil, including its implications for the pluralization of citizenship. This is because the extractive practices associated with this model are largely anchored in political and institutional arrangements that reduce the regulatory

role of the state and reposition it as a guarantor of this type of exploitation of environmental resources (Fontes, 2024). In broad terms, the concept of neo-extractivism refers to mechanisms of reconfiguration of capitalism and neoliberalism in the 21st century, based on the intensification of large-scale exploitation of natural resources and the subordination of national markets to global and financial market dynamics (Acserald; Michelotti, 2024; Assis, 2025; Soares; Bonduki, 2024), with repercussions for relations between the state and society, as well as between these actors and natural resources. Acserald and Michelotti (2024) identify a new international ecological division of labor, where productive activities with socio-environmental impacts are transferred to peripheral economies, where these impacts are associated with territorial and environmental conflicts pitting vulnerable communities against both corporations and the state.

When analyzing neo-extractivism in Latin America, Svampa (2019) addresses the ideological positioning of national governments. On the one hand, she highlights a convergence of these governments towards an economic model she defines as the “Commodities Consensus.” This consensus is marked by productive specialization and the export of primary goods with significant socio-environmental impacts – particularly in mining and agribusiness – accompanied by the illusion of productive development and the denial or minimization of the new social, environmental, and territorial inequalities.

On the other hand, important distinctions emerge in terms of discourse and social policies. According to Svampa (2019), progressive governments (left or center-left) combine policies of expanding public spending with social inclusion through consumption, using revenues derived from neo-extractivism. Gudynas (2012) argues that this financing of redistributive policies is ambiguously paired with mechanisms of social participation and environmental sustainability, serving as a guarantee of governance for these governments. Conservative and neoliberal governments, in turn, deepen environmental deregulation in pursuit of greater profit extraction, according to Svampa (2019). In these contexts, state violence against communities intensifies and is accompanied by setbacks in social rights. An example cited by the author is the conservative shift in Brazil consolidated with the 2018 election of Bolsonaro.

Thus, the environmental field and social rights are closely interconnected within neo-extractivist dynamics. This model intensified in Brazil from the mid-1990s onwards, driven by growing global demand for natural resources and the consolidation of neoliberal reforms during this period (Nobre, 2024). It is important to note that this trajectory coincided with the process of redemocratization

and the universalization of social rights under the 1988 Constitution, which marked the pluralization of citizenship in the country.

This specific combination of state reform and the expansion of social rights generated shifts in the meanings of citizenship, participation, and civil society, as identified by Dagnino (2004). She characterizes this process as a “perverse confluence” between the neoliberal project and the democratizing project emerging from struggles against authoritarian regimes in Latin America, particularly in Brazil. According to the author, on the one hand, a political project emerged in which social responsibilities were transferred to civil society, especially to non-governmental organizations (NGOs),¹ which expanded and consolidated from the 1990s onwards. On the other hand, another political project envisioned the sharing of decision-making power between the state and civil society, through the expansion of participation and citizenship aimed at deepening democracy. The confluence between these projects stems from their shared expectation of an active and proactive civil society. Its perverse dimension lies in the “nebulousness surrounding the different intentions that guide participation” (Dagnino, 2004, p. 143), as the neoliberal project relies on a shrinking state, with NGOs playing a greater role in implementing public policies than in deliberation and decision-making.

It is within this context that CSOs began to operate in public policies in ways that complement the state, particularly through projects. These projects can be defined as a “set of operations, limited in time, that result in a product intended to satisfy interests shared by the public administration and the civil society organization” (Ipea, 2019). The development of projects by CSOs thus tends to align with relational dynamics between the state and civil society in public policy, and can therefore be understood as a repertoire of socio-state interaction.

The concept of a repertoire of state-society interaction is based on the existence of a set of practices and techniques of collective action that have been experienced and legitimized over time, and that can be mobilized by civil society actors depending on the context (Abers et al., 2014). The authors develop this formulation by observing that, in Brazil, social actors not only engage in contentious interactions but also collaborate with the state and, at times, even join it as a strategy to advance their agendas.

The proposal to consider CSO projects as repertoires of socio-state interaction is grounded in the understanding that they reflect the articulation of interests and policy agendas between CSOs and the state in implementing public policies. Even when these interests are not fully aligned, CSO projects are designed to influence public debate and the expansion or contraction of social rights shaped by

[1] NGOs are a type of CSO; therefore, the terms are used interchangeably in this article. The term NGOs is used when it appears in the cited references; otherwise, CSO is preferred, as it is more comprehensive and includes other types of civil society actors, such as social movements.

policies – that is, they serve as a way of acting alongside and/or within the state, increasing the capacity of these actors to influence it (Castro et al., 2022). In the literature on civil society and socio-state interaction, there is limited focus on the internal projects of CSOs. The notion of “project” is more commonly elaborated as a broader political project and/or as strategies of interaction with governments and other actors (Dagnino, 2004; Abers; Von Bülow, 2011). The formulation of projects as a repertoire of interaction thus seeks to bring analytical visibility to this instrument.

For project development, CSOs require funding, which necessarily places them in negotiation with both state and non-state actors. Funding is obtained through transfer instruments and partnerships established through collaboration agreements, funding agreements, and cooperation agreements (Mello et al., 2019). These transfers and partnerships are established with the federal government as well as with other federative entities, and may also involve parliamentary amendments, private entities, and international organizations, reinforcing the socio-state interaction dimension – even when private sources are involved.

Furthermore, projects are designed and implemented both within and beyond formal state regulations. MROSC, developed in 2010, constitutes an important institutional framework (Gurza Lavalle et al., 2019), emerging from the “need to improve legislation on CSOs [...] and their partnership relations with the state in the execution of public policies” (Lopes; Bezerra, 2022). In addition to establishing definitions of thematic scope and institutional models, this framework created the Map of Civil Society Organizations (MOSC) (Decree n. 8.726/2016), a comprehensive database of Brazilian CSOs managed by the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA).

It is important to note that, from a relational perspective, the MROSC itself was shaped by demands from civil society: a network of over one hundred CSOs submitted a letter of commitment to presidential candidates advocating improved regulation of the sector (Lopes; Bezerra, 2022)². Thus, it is a regulatory framework instituted by the state in response to civil society demands

Following Law n. 13.019/2014 (MROSC), additional regulations have been established to organize relations between the state and CSOs, promoting greater transparency and incorporating guidelines to address social inequalities (Brazil, 2024). The MROSC regulates partnerships between public administration and CSOs and has “stimulated democratic public management in different spheres of government and valued civil society organizations as partners of the state in guaranteeing and realizing rights” (Brazil, 2024, p. 4). Its opening provision establishes that CSO projects or activities are

[2] This is why the creation of the MROSC is considered to date back to 2010, even though it was formally established by law only in 2014.

instruments for “achieving purposes of public and reciprocal interest” between public administration and these organizations.

According to a report by the Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (Abong)³, the MROSC represents “recognition of the very existence of civil society organizations and the inclusion of these entities as a fundamental part of the execution and monitoring of public policies” (Abong, 2022, p. 35). In this sense, CSO activities are understood as part of public policy, encompassing agendas, actors, and rights recognized by the state through their projects. The same publication includes an interview excerpt that highlights the connection between the MROSC and citizenship:

It is also worth noting that the guiding principles of the MROSC are characterized by a paradigm shift in the relationship between public authorities and civil society organizations. The idea of public authorities as partners of CSOs is part of an international trend that emphasizes the construction of spaces for citizenship. (Abong, 2022, p. 74)

Thus, establishing rules governing the relationship between CSOs and the state through the MROSC constitutes part of a broader process of institutionalizing this relationship. Furthermore, recognizing CSO projects as complementary to the state’s role in public policy, and understanding them as a repertoire of socio-state interaction – insofar as they position CSOs as collective subjects with the capacity to influence public policies – CSOs contributes to the pluralization of citizenship in two ways: by enabling such influence and by expanding access to policies for other social actors. In a neo-extractivist context marked by environmental conflicts and the retrenchment of social rights, analyzing patterns of relationships between CSOs and projects across federal administrations becomes even more relevant.

DATA SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

This article’s primary data source is the Map of Civil Society Organizations (MOSC). Created in 2016 and managed by IPEA, the platform aims to increase public transparency regarding data on Brazilian CSOs. It also operates as a collaborative platform, as most of the data is voluntarily provided by CSOs⁴ and combined with information extracted from other databases.⁵ The scope of entities in the MOSC is derived from the Company Registration Number (CNPJ) database of the Brazilian Federal Revenue Service (SRFB), with updates every two years. However, data within the MOSC thematic blocks are updated at

[3] Abong is a facilitator – that is, an entity that acts as an articulator and intermediary for other CSOs (Gurza Lavalle et al., 2007). According to its website, it is a “national association created in 1991 with the objective of strengthening Brazilian civil society organizations (CSOs) that work in the defense and promotion of common rights and goods.” (Abong, [n.d])

[4] To encourage self-reporting by CSOs, ipea provides the MOSC Completion Index and Seal as tools for monitoring response rates. (MOSC, “Metodologia”).

[5] Among them is the National Registry of Environmental Entities (CNEA).

[6] I would like to thank Carla Bezerra, Felix Lopes, and Paula Pompeu for clarifying questions regarding the MOSC data collection methodology.

different intervals.⁶ Given this continuous updating, it is important to note that the information and databases used in this article were extracted in April 2024.

The MOSC adopts a definition of CSOs based on the following criteria: “*private ...; non-profit ...; institutionalized*, that is, legally constituted; *self-administered or capable of managing* their own activities; and *voluntary*.” (MOSC, “Metodologia”, emphasis added). These criteria encompass a wide variety of organizational types included in the database.

According to the methodology available on the MOSC website, the data are organized into thematic blocks that characterize CSOs and their interactions with the state, based on organizational profiles, public resource transfers, and forms of social participation. These thematic blocks are distributed across seven databases. From these, Block (2), on areas and sub-areas of CSO activity, was selected, comprising 815,676 entities and 68 variables; and Block (4), on CSO projects, comprising 10,245 entities and 32 variables.

Although the MOSC includes a large number of CSOs, the databases that compose it present discrepancies in the available variables, due to differences in updating cycles and data collection methods, which are not always synchronized across thematic blocks. For this reason, despite the existence of 662 CSOs in the environmental area, project data are available for only 327 of them, which carried out 164 projects.

Another important feature of the MOSC is its stock-type database structure (Mello; Pereira, 2022), meaning that only data from the most recent update are available. While this could initially limit the historical analysis of relationships between CSOs and projects, it was possible to overcome this constraint by using project start dates (available by month and year) to establish the temporal boundaries of federal administrations.

One might expect an overreporting bias in more recent years, since the MOSC was introduced in 2014, in the middle of the period analyzed. However, this was not observed. On the contrary, the data show a general downward trend in the number of CSOs and projects in more recent years, even after the law came into effect, suggesting that any potential biases are randomly distributed within the dataset. The counterintuitive variation appears only in the most recent administration, beginning in 2019, several years after the implementation of the MOSC.

Thematic Block (2), on areas and sub-areas of CSO activity, was used to identify entities operating in the environmental field. Within the MOSC as a whole, entities self-classify into eleven categories. The distribution of CSOs by area is presented in Table 1 (see Appendix). Only 662 entities are classified under environment and animal

protection, representing 0.1% of all CSOs in the MOSC. This is the second least common category, above only of housing, which represents 0.001%. The most frequent category is “development and defense of rights,” accounting for 33.5%, although this classification is notably broad given the range of activities performed by CSOs.

This low percentage of entities in the environmental field indicates that relatively few CSOs explicitly identify with this area within the MOSC. It should be noted that organizations may operate across multiple areas in practice. However, for the purposes of this analysis, the classification declared in the MOSC is adopted, as it represents the most objective self-description of organizational activity within this instrument.

Thematic Block (4), on projects, includes 10,245 entities associated with 45,579 projects. This database was matched with Block (2), on areas of activity, to identify projects linked to environmental CSOs.⁷ This procedure revealed that 0.36% of projects are associated with the environmental sector.

After selecting and matching data on environmental CSOs and their projects, a relational matrix was constructed for analysis using the Ucinet, Social Network Analysis (SNA) software. Sociograms and network measures were generated from this dataset. In this way, relational evidence was produced, capturing structural processes and patterns of relationships formed through contacts, ties, and connections that extend beyond individual actors to encompass the relationships established among them (Marques, 2000; Scott, 2000).

The strength of SNA as a method “lies in the possibility of constructing highly precise descriptive analyses, without imposing an *a priori* structure on reality and actors, and allowing them to be re-inserted into the contexts in which they operate” (Marques, 2019, p. 5). Within this approach, networks express more or less stable patterns of social relations among interdependent actors (Klijn, 1998), such that network structures can reveal the outcomes of dynamic processes in which actors are embedded (Knoke, 1990), even when capturing only a snapshot of these patterns at a given moment. Given the premise of actor interdependence, the configuration of these relationships shapes a wide range of social processes and influences the flow of material resources, ideas, information, and power (Marques, 2006).

Relational data derived from the MOSC enabled the development of bimodal networks, consisting of two distinct sets of elements between which connections are established. A key analytical feature of this type of network is that ties occur only between the two sets, without internal connections within each set (Wasserman; Faust, 1994). This allows for the analysis of relational patterns both between and

[7] I would like to thank Jordano Roma for consolidating the databases, which made these analyses possible.

within sets, mediated by the opposite set – for example, examining how CSOs are connected through participation in the same projects. This article prioritizes a comparative quantitative analysis of networks across federal administrations in order to examine patterns of citizenship pluralization.

In addition to sociogram visualization, SNA produces descriptive structural measures and centrality measures for actors. These measures are derived from patterns of relationships among network nodes, enabling the identification of central actors and hierarchical structures within the network (Hanneman; Riddle, 2005). For the purposes of analyzing the pluralization of citizenship, the quantitative comparison of networks across administrations is more relevant than an in-depth examination of centrality measures.

Based on this data processing, a network was constructed for each federal administration, enabling comparison of descriptive indicators across these networks. Variations in these indicators reflect changes in patterns of interaction between the state and environmental CSOs in the projects developed under each administration. Changes in the number of nodes (CSOs or projects) are interpreted as indicators of the degree of pluralization within each administration.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IN RELATION TO THE PLURALIZATION OF CITIZENSHIP

The earliest records of the emergence of environmental issues in Brazil date back to the 1970s, although environmental organizations had already existed since the 1950s, according to Carvalho (2001).⁸ It was from 1974 onwards, with the beginning of the process of political détente, that the struggles of these organizations gained greater national visibility, marked by the creation of the Commission for the Defense of Community Heritage (CDPC). Earlier, in the mid-1960s, there had been an initial attempt to establish a National Environmental Council, but it never became operational. In 1973, however, the Special Secretariat for the Environment was created, including an advisory council. This council also carried out few activities, holding limited meetings and having restricted powers (Fonseca; Moura, 2011). Nonetheless, both initiatives indicate early attempts by the state to institutionalize the environmental agenda in response to the growing national impact of civil society's actions in this area.

Starting in the 1980s, environmental activists began organizing to elect a representative to the Constituent Assembly. During that decade, even before the 1988 Federal Constitution, the National Council for the Environment (CONAMA) was established in 1981, alongside the creation of the National Environmental Policy (PNMA)

[8] Among the environmental NGOs analyzed here, the oldest was founded in the 1960s (in one case, in 1968), while the most recent dates from the 2010s.

(Federal Law n. 6,938/1981). At the time of its creation, CONAMA was linked to the former Ministry of the Interior (MINTER) and later became part of the Special Secretariat for the Environment of the Presidency of the Republic (SEMA/PR). It thus represents one of the earliest National Public Policy Councils in Brazil and continues to hold deliberative authority and incorporate mechanisms of social participation (Fonseca; Moura, 2011).

The 1990s, marked by the consolidation of neoliberalism and the increase of neo-extractivism in Brazil, brought important developments to the environmental field. The most significant was the 1992 Earth Summit (ECO-92), held in Rio de Janeiro, which mobilized civil society actors throughout the early part of the decade, notably through meetings of the NGO Forum. This forum formed a coalition of NGOs, social movements, and environmental groups, and organized eight national meetings involving 1,200 registered organizations (Carvalho, 2001). According to Carvalho, this period was crucial for the expansion of the environmental agenda among these actors and for the ongoing negotiation of their identities and affinities, allowing the dissemination of environmental concerns among collectives that had previously viewed them as separate from the struggle between capital and labor. An example of this shift is the creation of an environmental department within the Unified Workers' Central, during this period. It is important to note that environmental ideology already contained significant internal differences among actors, with "various translations, according to the conditions of reception of the sectors with which it interfaced: radical, socio-environmental, realist, fundamentalist, eco-democratic, popular-environmental" (Carvalho, 2001, p. 7).

As further outcomes of the 1992 Earth Summit (ECO-92), several key documents marking international agreements on environmental issues were produced, including Agenda 21, the Earth Charter, and the Climate Convention. It is worth highlighting that Agenda 21 includes a chapter called "Strengthening the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations: Partners for Sustainable Development" (UN, 1992), as well as multiple references throughout its chapters to the role of NGOs in environmental citizenship⁹ and in addressing development and poverty issues (Nhancale, 2022). Among the actions proposed in this chapter for the United Nations system is assessing funding levels and "the scope and effectiveness of their [NGOs'] participation in the implementation of projects and programs, with a view to increasing their role as social partners" (UN, 1992, p. 312). Another important milestone in this context was the creation of the Green Party (PV) in 1996, with its first branch in Rio de Janeiro, as well as the candidacy

[9] The concept of environmental citizenship used by Nhancale (2022, p. 51) refers to "the set of conditions that enable human beings to act in defense of life. It concerns the participation of each citizen, from anywhere in the world, in promoting the environmental balance of the planet".

of Fernando Gabeira for governor of the state in coalition with the Workers' Party (PT).

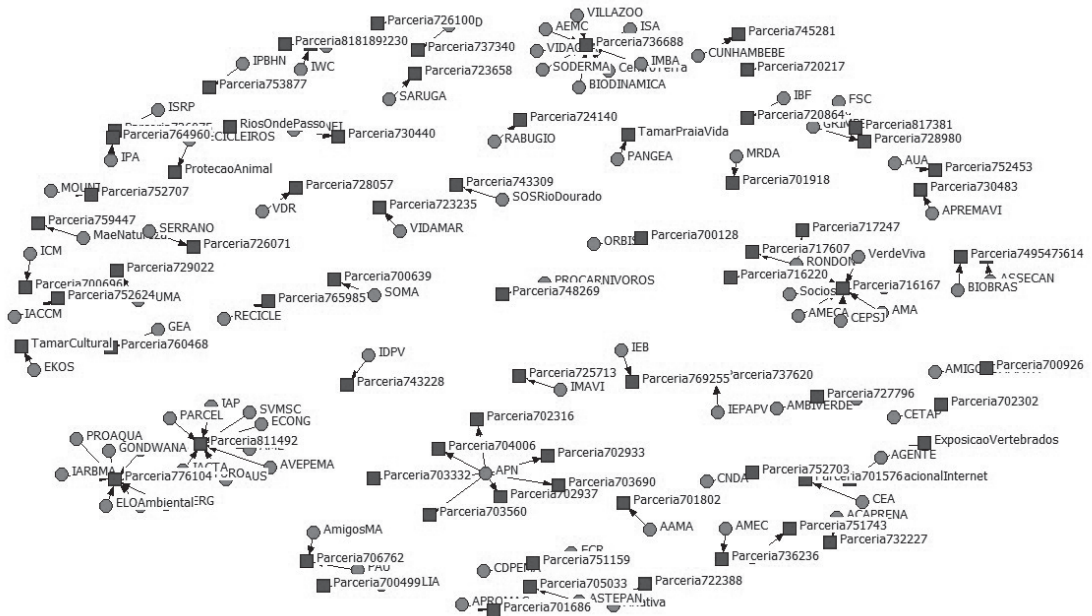
At this stage, according to Carvalho (2011), NGOs became more independent in relation to broader social movements and began to act as distinct social actors. Dagnino (2004) relates this shift to the process of perverse confluence, where these actors increasingly take on responsibilities traditionally associated with the state in the field of public policy. At the same time, this period also witnessed the creation of various participatory and collegiate governance bodies for water resource management across all three levels of government, spaces that environmental organizations increasingly came to occupy (Abers and Keck, 2013).

A) Lula II administration

Starting with the Lula I and II administrations (2003-10), the interaction between civil society and the state in the environmental field involved both maintaining existing institutional spaces, such as CONAMA (National Council for the Environment), and creating new participatory channels, such as the National Conference on the Environment (CNMA). Losekan (2014) highlights the occupation of the Ministry of the Environment (MMA) by environmental organizations, as well as their mobilization in support of Marina Silva's appointment to lead the ministry, as examples of civil society action. These initiatives were combined with the filing of public civil actions through the Public Prosecutor's Office (MP), as a means of influencing or revising environmental policies.

However, although expectations for these administrations included strengthening of public policy, expanding environmental education, and increasing public engagement as a mechanism to exert pressure, the complexity of federal governance limited the results, according to Losekan (2014). The author shows that the influence of civil society on political decision-making remained constrained in a context marked by competing and antagonistic demands within environmental policy, reflecting neo-extractivist dynamics. The project data available in the MOSC refer only to Lula's second term; therefore, the network of CSOs and projects analyzed here covers this period.

Network of csos and Projects in the Lula II Administration (2007-10)



Source: MOSC. Elaborated by the author based on the sociogram. In circle, 92 CSOs; in square, 73 projects.

During the Lula II administration, the network reveals the presence of multiple components structured as dyads between CSOs and projects, indicating plurality in these relationships. At the same time, larger components are also present, generally centered on projects, suggesting collaborative action among CSOs. Only the CSOs Rondon (Associação Rondon Brasil) and APN (Associação de Preservação da Natureza Vale do Gravataí) are connected to multiple projects.

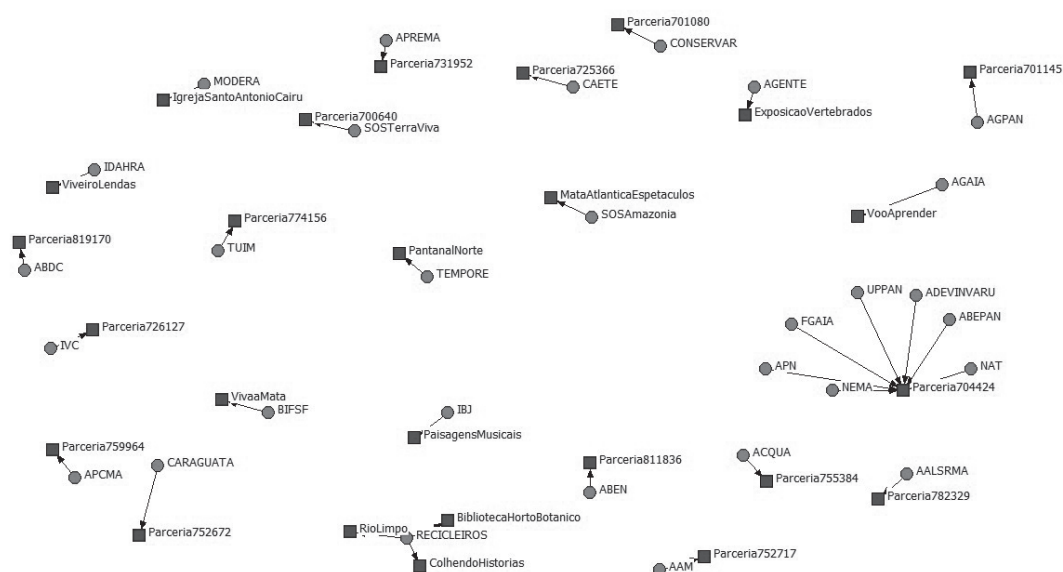
B) *Dilma I and II administrations*

In the transition from Lula II to the Dilma administrations, certain projects that reflected the ambiguities of the federal government's environmental stance gained more prominence in public debate, such as the demarcation decisions concerning the Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous land and the construction of the Belo Monte hydroelectric plant. During Dilma's first and second terms (2011-16), pressures for intensified environmental exploitation, driven by the developmentalist logic of neo-extractivism, increased amid political and economic crisis, as well as conflicts with populations affected by these projects.

At the same time, large-scale infrastructure projects associated with mega-events hosted in Brazil – the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games – were executed and consolidated. Many of these projects had significant environmental impacts, including the displacement of populations and the construction of roads, stadiums, and urban infrastructure, contributing to tensions between the federal government and civil society in both housing and environmental domains. The following analysis examines how networks of CSOs

SOCIOGRAM 2

Network of CSOs and Projects in the Dilma I Administration (2011-14)

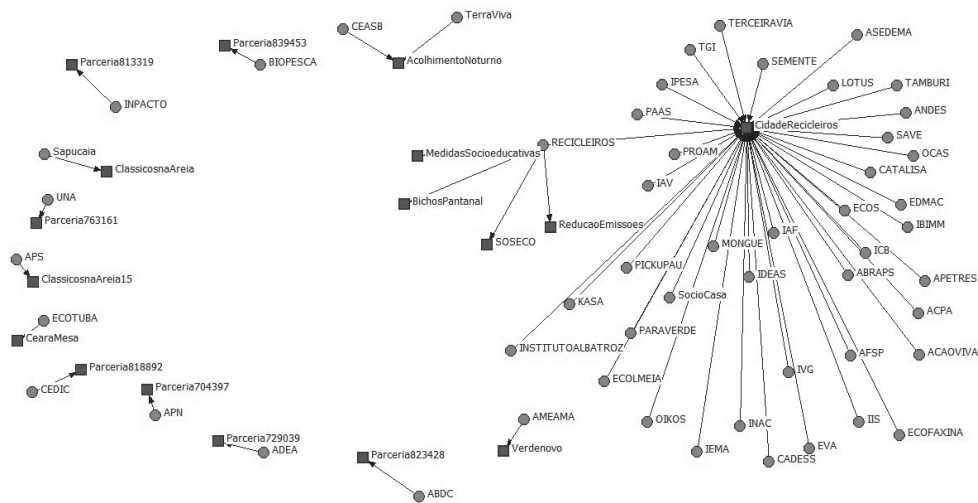


Source: MOSC. Elaborated by the author. In circle, 30 CSOs; in square, 26 projects.

and projects evolved across the two presidential terms.

The network during Dilma's first term was also largely composed of dyads, similar to Lula II. Exceptions include components centered on the Recicleiros Institute (Instituto Recicleiros) and the Parceria 704424 project. A decrease in the number of CSOs and projects is already noticeable (as will be shown comparatively below).

Network of CSOs and Projects in the Dilma II Administration (2015-August 2016)



Source: MOSC. Elaborated by the author. In circle, 54 CSOs; in square, 17 projects.

During Dilma II, the network continued to display a predominance of dyads but also included a large component centered on the Recicleiros Institute and the Cidade Recicleiros project, consolidating multiple connections, as well as a smaller triad structured around the Acolhimento Noturno project (Temporary Night Shelter for People Experiencing Homelessness).

Considering both administrations together, an increase in the number of CSOs can be observed in Dilma II, despite a decrease in the number of projects, already indicating a trend that would become more evident later. Table 2 presents a comparison for this period.

TABLE 2
CSOs and Projects in the Dilma I and II Administrations

	Dilma I	Dilma II	Total
CSOs	30	26	56
Projects	54	17	71

Source: MOSC. Elaborated by the author.

C) *Temer administration*

The Temer administration began after the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff. Despite ongoing conflicts in the environmental field and prior flexibilization of environmental, social participation,

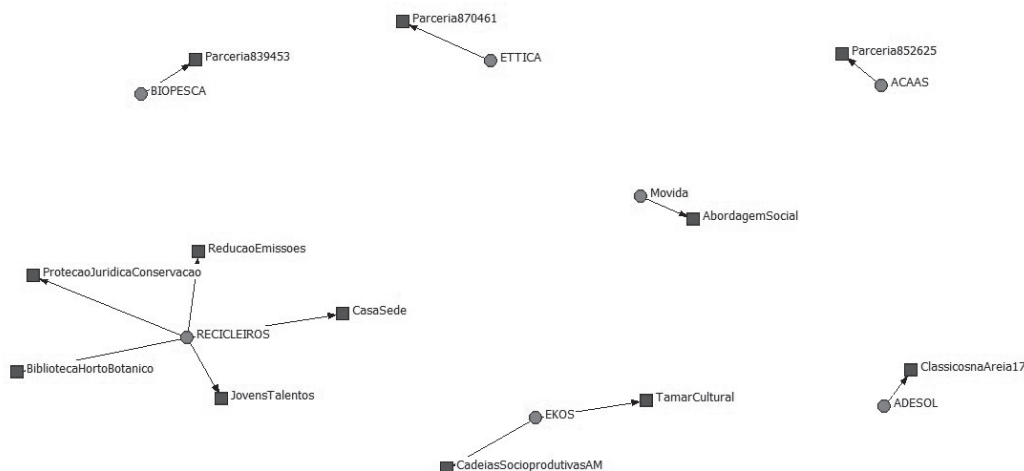
and sustainability agendas before Temer took office, further concessions were made to political actors advocating environmental deregulation.

There was a rise of the economic agenda associated with neo-extractivism, particularly reflected in increased deforestation. In the mining sector, this administration appointed individuals closely linked to mining companies to the Ministry of Mines and Energy (MME); implemented changes to legislation on exploratory concessions without approval from the National Defense Council; auctioned public areas owned by the Geological Survey of Brazil (CPRM) to mining companies; and revoked the National Reserve of Copper and Associated Minerals (RENCA), reducing protections over a vast area rich in gold and iron (Fontes, 2024). These measures occurred even after the environmental disaster/crime in Mariana involving the company Vale.

However, Hochstetler (2021) notes that environmental institutions were not fundamentally weakened during this period. In other words, despite institutional changes, a more profound process of de-institutionalization of environmental policy – such as that observed later – had not yet taken place.

SOCIOGRAM 4

Network of CSOs and Projects in the Temer Administration (September 2016-2018)



Source: MOSC. Elaborated by the author based on the sociogram. In circle, 7 CSOs; in square, 12 projects.

The network during the Temer administration shows a significant contraction, representing the smallest network in terms of total nodes, particularly in the number of CSOs engaged in projects, with only seven cases. There is a slight concentration of projects around the Recicleiros Institute and the Environmental Research Institute.

D) Bolsonaro Administration

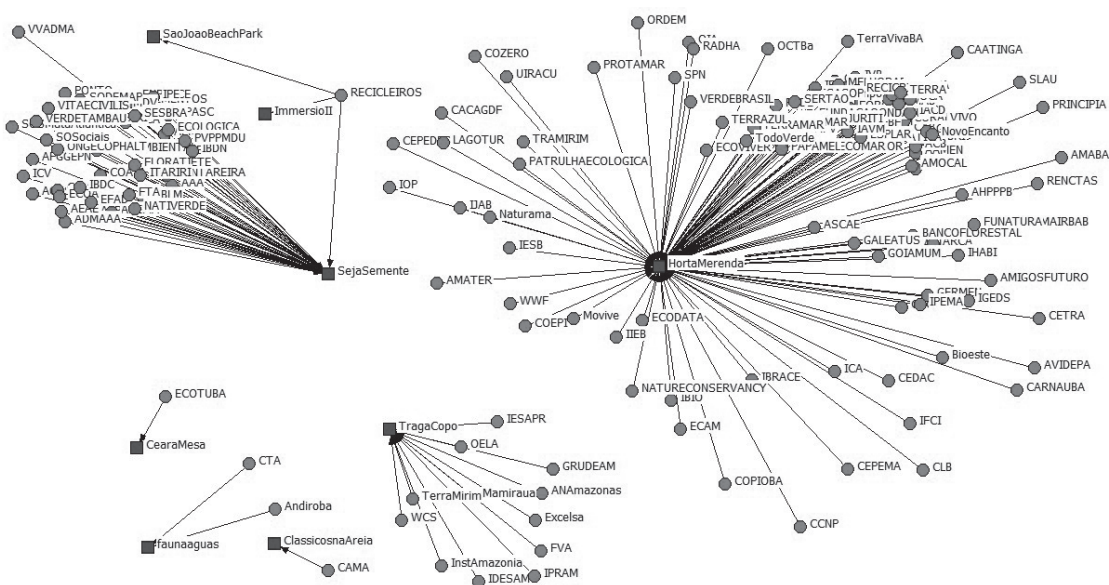
During the Bolsonaro administration (2019-2022), more far-reaching changes occurred, driven by presidential actions targeting both environmental civil society and institutions in the sector. From the civil society perspective, conservative and anti-democratic actors emerged, challenging prevailing moral frameworks and contributing to the creation of new CSOs (Szwako; Gurza Lavalle, 2021). Although such actors had already been gaining relevance prior to the 2013 protests, they expanded their influence within the state during this administration. Abong (2022) shows that, although distrust and criminalization of CSO activities existed in previous periods, they intensified significantly during this government. The report indicates that most CSOs facing defamation, slander, or libel by the federal government were precisely those engaged in partnerships with it, and also documents pressures from funding agencies during the Covid-19 pandemic that threatened the continuity of projects (Abong, 2022).

From the state's perspective, the deinstitutionalization of the environmental sector was substantial, involving a reorganization of national administrative structures (Hochstetler, 2021). Two changes are particularly noteworthy. First, the transfer of functions from the Ministry of the Environment (MMA) to the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply (MAPA), reinforcing an development agenda at the expense of environmental conservation, while weakening the MMA. Second, the Minister of the Environment was "granted extraordinary budgetary powers," "allowing the allocation of resources with limited oversight" (Hochstetler, 2021, p. 277). Shortly after taking office, Minister Ricardo Salles suspended agreements with CSOs for 90 days, raising suspicion on existing projects as "corrupt and ineffective" (Hochstetler, 2021, p. 281). He also halted the contracting of 34 environmental recovery projects, in line with the President's directive not to involve CSOs in federal initiatives (Hochstetler, 2021).

Regarding the relationship between the state and civil society, Decree n. 9.759/2019, which aimed to eliminate collegiate bodies, had particularly strong effects in the environmental and social rights fields, as previously noted (Bezerra; Rodrigues; Romão, 2022; Bezerra et al., 2024). CSOs identified the suspension of public calls for

proposals related to the Amazon Fund and the Climate Fund as one of the consequences of this decree (Abong, 2022). These transformations have been analyzed as processes of deinstitutionalization of public policy, involving the dismantling of institutional arrangements and the simultaneous advance of conservative actors who “challenge the State’s capacities for action, imposing their symbolic categories and agendas” (Szwako; Gurza Lavalle, 2021, pp. 458-9).

Sociogram 5
Network of csos and Projects in the Bolsonaro Administration (2019-2021)



COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ACROSS FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIONS

Comparing federal administrations makes it possible to examine how relationships between CSOs and projects were structured in the context of processes of institutionalization and deinstitutionalization in the environmental sector during this period. Table 3 provides descriptive information on the number of CSOs and projects in these networks, shown as percentages, as well as weightings adjusted to the duration of each administration in years.

TABLE 3
Comparison of CSOs and Projects across Federal Administrations

Administration	N. OSC	% OSCS	N. Projects	% Projects	Total number of OSCS + projects)	Period in years	Weighting OSCs/ period	Weighting Projects/ period
Lula II	92	26.7	73	56.2	165	3	6.6	5.2
Dilma I	30	8.7	54	41.5	84	4	2.1	3.9
Dilma II	26	7.6	17	13.1	43	2	1.9	1.2
Temer	7	2	12	9.2	19	2	0.5	0.9
Bolsonaro	172	50	8	6.2	180	3	12.3	0.6
Total (SUM)	327	95.1	164	126.2	491	14	23.4	11.7
Total	344	100	130	100	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Author's elaboration based on MOSC data.

As announced, a general downward trend can be observed in the number of environmental CSOs involved in projects across administrations. Despite sharp declines – such as the drop from 92 CSOs in Lula II to 30 in Dilma I – an even more pronounced reduction is observed during the Temer administration, although the decrease in the number of projects is less marked compared to the previous administration.

The Bolsonaro administration, however, stands out in both dimensions. On the one hand, there is a substantial increase in the number of CSOs, accounting for 50% of all entities in the dataset. On the other hand, there is the most significant reduction in the number of projects, representing only 6.2% of the total, or 0.6% when adjusted by period. When considering administrations with the largest total number of nodes (i.e., the sum of CSOs and projects), the difference between Lula II and Bolsonaro is relatively small, reinforcing the contrast in patterns of pluralization. While Lula II exhibited a more balanced distribution between CSOs and projects, the Bolsonaro administration shows a network strongly concentrated in the number of CSOs.

Additional descriptive measures of the networks, based on density and diameter, further support this comparative analysis (Table 4).¹⁰

[10] The absolute values of these measures are of limited importance; their relative values are more relevant for comparison.

TABLE 4
Comparison of Descriptive Data in the Networks

Administration	Density	Diameter
Lula II	0.015	0.981
Dilma I	0.041	0.964
Dilma II	0.063	0.578
Temer	0.143	0.865
Bolsonaro	0.126	0.535

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from MOSC.

Network density is calculated as the proportion of existing ties relative to the total number of possible ties among actors in a network. This measure tends to decrease as the number of nodes increases. In comparative terms, density rises across administrations, largely as a result of the reduction in the number of nodes in at least one of the sets. This reinforces the previously identified trend of a decline in the number of CSOs and projects, with the exception of the Bolsonaro administration, where a concentration of CSOs in fewer projects is observed.

Network diameter, in turn, is a size measure that indicates the capacity for connectivity within the network. It is determined by the number of nodes and the distances between them: the larger the diameter, the more complex the network and the more difficult it is to establish connections among nodes. In this case, the reduction in diameter across administrations confirms the concentration of CSOs and projects and aligns with the observed decline in the number of components over time. For this analysis, this supports the idea of concentration, since the greater number of components – especially dyads – is associated with a higher diversity of projects carried out by a broader set of CSOs, indicating greater pluralization of citizenship. Conversely, a reduction in components signals increasing concentration.

Examining the presence of CSOs across administrations, only eight organizations appear in more than one administration. Among these, the Instituto Recicleiros is the only one with projects in all administrations. The remaining CSOs are associated with projects in only one administration, and their distribution is noteworthy. As shown in Table 5, the Bolsonaro administration presents a significant increase in CSOs that did not participate in projects in previous periods, accounting for half of the sample. Thus, the pluralization of environmental CSOs during this administration was not only more intense in quantitative terms but also reflected the inclusion of new actors not previously present in earlier administrations.

TABLE 5
CSOs and Projects Present Exclusively in Each Administration

	Admin.	Lula II	Dilma I	Dilma II	Temer	Bolsonaro	Total N. of Exclusives by Admin.
OSCs	N	88	26	48	4	170	336
	%	26.2	7.7	14.3	1.2	50.6	100.0
Projects	N	71	24	14	9	6	124
	%	57.3	19.4	11.3	7.3	4.8	100.0

Source: Author's elaboration based on MOSC data.

By contrast, project data do not follow the same pattern. The Bolsonaro administration, which has the highest number of CSOs, shows the lowest proportion of projects exclusive to that period. Earlier administrations – especially Lula II and Dilma I and II – concentrate a larger share of projects that occurred exclusively within their respective terms, albeit already showing a declining trend. Thus, while the pluralization of CSOs increased over time, this was not accompanied by a corresponding pluralization of projects. Instead, the decrease in projects reflects a concentration of a larger number of CSOs in fewer initiatives.

The data presented reveal distinct patterns in state–society relations in the environmental field, particularly regarding projects carried out by CSOs across different federal administrations. These patterns suggest that projects, as a repertoire of socio-state interaction, have been gradually less mobilized by CSOs over time, especially during the most recent administration. This raises two possible interpretations: either this repertoire was constrained by the state as a result of the deinstitutionalization of environmental policy, reducing incentives for CSOs to engage in public policy through projects in Bolsonaro administration; or CSOs themselves strategically reduced their use of this repertoire, opting for alternative forms of action or withdrawing from this arena altogether.

In summary, the data indicate a general trend of reduction in both CSOs and projects across administrations, with variations in intensity depending on the period and dataset, suggesting a process of decreasing pluralization of both actors and initiatives. This trend is partially interrupted during the Bolsonaro administration, with a sharp increase in the number of CSOs, indicating greater pluralization of actors. However, this expansion is not accompanied by an increase in the variety of projects, which instead decline in quantitative terms.

This shift, combined with processes of deinstitutionalization of environmental policy and the retrenchment of social rights, suggests that

these patterns reflect the effects of institutionalization and deinstitutionalization processes on the repertoire of CSO activity. The findings indicate that the diversification of actors and their agendas has been shaped by these processes, linking federal public policy dynamics to the actions carried out by CSOs through projects. The data thus support the hypothesis that the level of institutionalization of environmental policy at the federal level affects the pluralization of citizenship, both through access to rights enabled by public policy and through the participation of environmental CSOs in these policies via projects.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article analyzed the relationship between the state and environmental CSOs by mapping and examining patterns of interaction between projects and CSOs across different federal administrations. The relational analysis of projects revealed variable patterns consistent with ambiguous processes of pluralization of citizenship and trajectories of state-civil society relations, as explained by the frameworks of perverse confluence and neo-extractivism. In this sense, the article contributes to the literature linking commodity extraction to social policy by showing how variations in CSO engagement through projects reflect broader political dynamics across administrations. In addition to existing arguments regarding the effects of ideological differences on social policy and rights, this study provides evidence that such processes also affect the pluralization of actors and agendas represented by CSOs and their projects in the environmental sector.

A second contribution lies in the use of the MOSC for the construction of relational data. The MOSC itself can be understood as a product of interactions between the state and civil society, both in its institutional design and in the integration of data provided by CSOs and state agencies. The article further advances this contribution by constructing and analyzing bimodal social networks to examine the pluralization of environmental CSOs and projects in quantitative terms across administrations. Social Network Analysis allowed the identification of relational patterns between actors (CSOs) and interaction repertoires (projects), producing evidence of general trends over time and their connection to broader federal political agendas.

A third contribution is the conceptualization of CSO projects as repertoires of socio-state interaction. This perspective draws attention to a form of interaction widely mobilized by CSOs across policy areas, yet still underexplored in the literature.

Finally, the article engages with the debate on the institutionalization and deinstitutionalization of environmental policy by examining how these processes – particularly during the Bolsonaro

administration – affected the pluralization of CSOs and projects in contrasting ways. The unexpected increase in the number of CSOs, combined with a decline in the plurality of projects, suggests that regulation through the MROSC alone does not account for the general downward trend observed in both CSOs and projects across administrations. Instead, the shift in relational patterns in the most recent administration highlights the influence of broader policy dynamics in the environmental field on citizenship and its pluralization.

Future research could build on this analysis by incorporating qualitative data on the content of projects and the profiles of CSOs, complementing the quantitative data available in the MOSC. This would help determine whether the pluralization of citizenship observed here is limited to the number of actors adopting the project repertoire or also reflects diversity in organizational profiles and thematic agendas. Given that the environmental field is not internally homogeneous, such analysis could also identify divergences, including positions that may be at odds with environmental protection.

Another avenue for future research is the inclusion of more recent data and subsequent administrations, in order to assess whether relational patterns are maintained or transformed in response to processes of (de)institutionalization. The current Lula III administration, for example, shows ongoing tensions in environmental policy while simultaneously pursuing institutional recomposition of the environmental agenda, including measures to address climate change implemented from the outset of the administration.

Finally, further studies could examine CSO projects as a repertoire of socio-state interaction in other policy domains, in order to determine whether this repertoire is indeed constrained by processes of policy deinstitutionalization or shaped by strategic choices made by CSOs across different political contexts.

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DATA AVAILABILITY

The data used were provided by the Map of Civil Society Organisations, from which the selection of the bases of blocks (2) and (4) of the CSOs' areas and sub-areas of activity was made. These data are available at MOSC ("Base de dados") and were extracted in April 2024. The systematisation for the Social Network Analysis is in a private file.

DECLARATION OF USE OF

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

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APPENDIX

TABLE I
oscs by area declared by MOSC

Areas	N	%
Housing	8	0,0
Environment and Animal Protection	662	0.1
Healthcare	9,608	1.2
Others	21,466	2.6
Employers', professional and rural producers' associations	28,309	3.5
Education and Research	30,220	3.7
Social Assistance	44,685	5.5
Other associative activities	80,687	9.9
Culture and Recreation	89,825	11.0
Religion	245,408	30.1
Development and defense of rights	273,454	33.5
TOTAL AREAS	824,332	101.1
TOTAL of CSOs	815,675	100.0
Repeated Areas	8,657	1.1

Source: Author's elaboration based on MOSC data.

The percentages were calculated based on the total number of CSOs. However, some entities reported operating in more than one area, which explains the difference between the total number of area classifications and the number of CSOs, as well as the overlap across areas due to repeated entries. It is worth noting that the Housing category accounts for 0.001% and appears as zero only due to the standardization of values to one decimal place.