

New Technologies as Exclusion Instrument in the Social Security System. The Brazilian Covid-19 Pandemic Case

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Abstract

The covid pandemic 19 had negative effects worldwide, however, the Brazilian case, among many others, was marked by errors and by the way technology ended up promoting the exclusion of the poorest portion of the population from government benefits for income maintenance. Some Brazilian particularities need to be highlighted, such as the fact that the right to connect is not yet seen as a fundamental right. Likewise, an administrative policy of budgetary restrictions related to investments in social security - which in Brazil encompasses health, assistance and social security - promoted the dismantling of a structure that had been consolidated for years and that supported social development. The article intends to study the phenomenon that arose at a time when access to benefits capable of ensuring income were made available only digitally, due to the need for social distance, to a population marked by increasing in poverty rates and with a considerable portion of the population in a situation of food insecurity, having an opposite effect to what was intended.

Keywords:

Technology, Pandemic, Social Security Benefits.

Introduction

Brazil's population is very diverse and marked by very long-term standards of inequality. As result, digital inclusion still challenges effectiveness of a public policies. In the past, though up providing access to new technologies should be enough to increase social inclusion, but as Covid pandemic reached the country, urging social security system to create distributive policies to fight hungry and unemployment, it became very clear that is

no simple solution to urgent national risks in informational societies of underdeveloped countries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the analysis of official surveys that measure inequality and income in opposition to the requirements for emergency benefits to face the social

risk of the pandemic, it was possible to verify that the virtual inclusion is still a challenge in countries that are still struggling to fight poverty and hunger as Brazil.

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

1.1 The social political context.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Un addition, since 2016, we have experienced a constant decrease of registered workers and consequent increase of informal workers and “entrepreneurs²”. It’s necessary to clarify that what Brazilian data calls entrepreneurs is a very large group that reunites low-income workers who receive their wages as if they’re a company (pejotizados) and small and micro entrepreneurs with annual incomes not exceeding R\$ 81.000,00³ (USD 15.055,00) maximum in 2020.

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

So, when official research pointed to very high rates on unemployment⁴ - 11,9 % by the end of 2019 - we are referring to unsuitable workers, people

1 Ulrich Beck, *Sociedade de Risco, Rumo a uma outra modernidade*. (Editora 34, 2010) 206.

2 Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística-IBGE, ‘Síntese de Indicadores Sociais. Uma análise das condições de vida da população brasileira’(IBGE, 2020) <<https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv101760.pdf>> accessed 21 January 2021.

3 In January, 21, 2021 R\$ 81.000,00 equals USD 15.055,76.

4 Marcelo Silva and Elaine C. F Volpato, ‘Trabalho escravo contemporâneo e a Pandemia SARS-COV2: Reflexões sobre o Biopoder, A Biopolítica e a Necropolítica’ (2020) 14 CDA 256 <<http://www.cadernosdedereitoactual.es/ojs/index.php/cadernos/article/view/561/307>> accessed 2 January 2021.

without ability to work, who need capacitation and couldn't adapt to technological transformation ongoing in labor work. This people, for lack of a better policy, make up a large contingent of served by social assistance program, which distributes income to the vulnerable population considered unable to work.

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

In the same way, especially after 2016, year in which new forms of exercise of paid activity were regulated with less guarantees, there was a migration from the group of protected workers to the group of precarious workers⁵.

Beck believes the unemployment problem could be fixed by the decrease rates of births, which could provide some stability in Europe⁶.

But in inequality's countries, it's not so simple. Brazil also experiences a decrease in the number of births; however, the age pyramid inversion has resulted in an actuarial problem for the social security system, which is structured in intergenerational solidarity and in the simple non-capitalized distribution system⁷. Government reacts with large changes in constitutional text that broke with the welfarist tradition and inaugurated rules that aim to decrease the participation of the State, relativizing rights, reducing and limiting investments in social rights, creating a state of unconstitutional affairs.

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

1.2 The social security context:

Brazilian's social security system is based in solidarism and the whole society participation in the funding form. The collection base is broad,

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

6 Beck (n 3) 207.

7 Brasil, Ministério da Fazenda, 'Envelhecimento da população e Seguridade Social' (2018) 37 MF 8 <<http://sa.previdencia.gov.br/site/2018/06/colprev37.pdf>> accessed 2 January 2021.

ranging from social contributions to taxes levied on contests of forecasts and sale of assets captured by the courts and arising from criminal actions, such as drug trafficking.

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

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

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

The wide financing network is what ensures that we have free public health care accessible to everyone on national soil and also what guarantees the population exposed to the situation of long-term vulnerability - which has been agreed to measure in two years here - a minimum income capable of guaranteeing subsistence.

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

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

The intricate legal tangle, sometimes conflicting, that created several zones of opacity and exclusion, which segregate the beneficiaries of the

8 ¹⁰ Beck (n 3) 205.

9 Marco Aurélio Serau Junior, *Seguridade Social e Direitos Fundamentais* (4th edn, Editora Juruá, Curitiba 2020).

social security system into first- and second-class citizens, the first to be protected and the second not to.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In this way, all benefits required before the social security agency, whose policyholders had implemented access conditions as of November 12, 2019 should follow the new rules, however the social security platform only adapted to the new rules in April 2020¹⁰. In this *vacatio temporis*, no benefit subject to the new rules was granted whatsoever.

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

10 Ana Paula Branco, ‘Simulador do INSS volta a funcionar e adaptado à reforma da previdência’ (Agora, 3 April 2020) <<https://agora.folha.uol.com.br/grana/2020/04/simulador-do-inss-volta-a-funcionar-e-adaptado-a-reforma-da-previdencia.shtml>> accessed 4 June 2020.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Deregulation of this type of activity encourages the evasion of social contributions from individual taxpayers, which would not happen if the employment relationship were recognized, since the retention of contributions would become mandatory. This policy results, was the spread of distrust and the judicialization of social rights which increased 140%¹². It's captured the CNJ- Conselho Nacional de Justiça- attention, because since 2011, INSS- Instituto Nacional do Seguro Social- is the major litigant of all Brazilian justice system¹³.

11 Caixa Econômica Federal, 'Auxílio Emergencial clique aqui para ver os últimos números' <<https://caixanoticias.caixa.gov.br/noticia/20795/auxilio-emergencial-que-aqui-para-ver-os-ultimos-numeros>> accessed 4 June 2021.

12 Luciana Otoni, 'Debate aborda dados preliminares sobre judicialização da previdência' (Agência CNJ de notícias, 30 April 2021) <<https://www.cnj.jus.br/debate-aborda-dados-preliminares-sobre-judicializacao-da-previdencia/>> accessed 6 June 2020.

13 Luiza de Carvalho, 'INSS lidera numero de litígios na Justiça' (Agência CNJ de notícias, 31 March 2011) <<https://www.cnj.jus.br/inss-lidera-numero-de-litigios-na-justica/>> accessed 6 June 2020.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Covid 19 pandemic arrived in Brazil in the middle of this social security chaos, with newly structured programs at the federal level, as well

14 Álvaro Sólón de França, ‘A Previdência Social e a Economia dos Municípios’ (ANFIP, 2019) <https://www.anfip.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/2019-Economia-dos-munici%C3%A7%C3%B5es_b.pdf> accessed 7 June 2020.

15 Central Unica dos Trabalhadores, ‘Municípios também serão afetados com a reforma da previdência’ (Brasil de Fato e edição da Redação Spbancários, 7 February 2018) <<https://spbancarios.com.br/02/2018/municipios-tambem-serao-afetados-com-reforma-da-previdencia>> accessed 6 June 2020.

16 Lizandro Mello, ‘Discurso de Ódio Neoliberal: o feitiço do malfare state’ in José Ricardo Caetano Costa, Marco Aurélio Serau Junior and Hector Cury Soares (eds) *O “Estado de Mal-Estar Social” brasileiro* (Belo Horizonte, IEPREV, 2020)69.

as state programs in full restructuring - Brazil is a Federative Republic and each federated state enjoys autonomy to regulate related issues to the welfare of its employees - including rules related to the costing and actuarial balance of the entire system.

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 Jéssica Otoboni, 'Entenda o motivo das filas para a concessão de benefícios do INSS' (CNN, 14 March 2020) <<https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/nacional/2020/03/14/entenda-o-motivo-das-filas-para-a-concessao-de-beneficios-do-inss>> accessed 6 June 2020.

18 'Bolsonaro diz que militares que receberam auxílio emergencial serão punidos' (UOL ECONOMIA, 14 May 2020) <<https://economia.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2020/05/14/bolsonaro-diz-que-militares-que-receberam-auxilio-emergencial-serao-punidos.htm>> accessed 6 June 2020.

Since 2019, when the virtual platform needed to be restructured, many difficulties presented themselves.

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

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

It costs so many lives, and now¹⁹ we faced more than 210.000 losses.

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

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

Harari²⁰ points out that there is no way to contain pandemic risk without restricting the movement of people, without quarantines. But the paralysis of cities, affects the local economies very strongly. Security in international cooperation is what would motivate the adoption of restrictive measures in a timely manner to avoid excessive mortality.

Brazilian case is indeed peculiar since it exposes new technologies offers to users, an extra power that distinguish them to those who can't afford it. In inequality societies, these individuals end up being gradually banned and made invisible. What actually happened was that the pandemic caused the need for adaptation and them was leaved behind. Had no longer access to essential incomes, public services, legal services and education. So, for the most vulnerable part of Brazilian population, the use of new technologies in the public services increased vulnerabilities, promoting exclusion and maximizing social problems.

19 Till January 21 th 2021, 212.831 people died.

20 Yuval Noah Harari, *'Na Batalha Contra o Coronavírus, Faltam líderes à humanidade'* (Companhia das Letras, 2020) 7.

It revealed the urgency to promote a serious debate on the essentiality of the right to connection, as well as digital inclusion in public education, a very distant reality to Brazilian's classrooms and its analog devices.

1.4 The digital inclusion challenge in Brazil

To trace the geography of digital inclusion in Brazil, professor Marta Arretche, holder of the Political Science Department at the University of São Paulo, published a study from the perspective of regional inequalities in the city of São Paulo- the major Brazilian city²¹. She found evidence to support the following hypothesis:

[...] the new digital technologies have revolutionized the economy, politics and knowledge production, on the other the speed of the expansion of its use would be marked by inequalities, due to the opportunities opened up by the digital world isn't equally accessible to everyone.²²

The digital world is capable to become different realities depending of the engagement of the use. Professor Arretche measured it, identifying the diversity of the activities carried out online. Two kinds of users came up. The first-class user, and the second-class user.

The first group had unlimited online activities, complexes online engagement. They receive widest opportunities to education and to economic activities, even civic participation. The second group is more associated with domestic broadband access, with cellphones and using social medias. They're less connected with simple interaction with digital content and unable to do complex operations in virtual environment. For this group, internet can't provide the same opportunities.

It reveals a stratification of users, a new component to make more complex distributive solutions in inequality societies.

As internet access depends of the broadband, devices and connections costs, is very plausible to suppose that low-income individuals had more difficulty to reach the same opportunities as those who can afford for it.

As a matter of fact, the overlap between stratification of the offline world and the online world, turning inequality ever worse. This can easily

21 Marta Arretche, 'A geografia digital no Brasil: um panorama das desigualdades regionais', in *Desigualdades digitais no espaço urbano: um estudo sobre o acesso e o uso da internet na cidade de São Paulo* (NIC.br, 2019)55-80 <https://cetic.br/media/docs/publicacoes/7/11454920191028-desigualdades_digitais_no_espaco_urbano.pdf> accessed 21 January 2021.

22 Marta Arretche, *A geografia....* (2019, 60).

explain why a country with large internet coverage has so many citizens unable to access digitally available services.

In the Brazilian case, therefore, it is not true that the technologies have eliminated spatial barriers to the integration of individuals to economic opportunities and civic engagement that the place where you live affects opportunities for inclusion digital. In addition to the division between rural and urban areas that, in good measure, reveals genuinely physical barriers, the territorial inequalities in internet access and use are an expression the spatial concentration of low-income individuals, that is, not they are only physical, but also social and economic; in the case Brazil, the territorial inequalities of the offline world are still a strong predictor of inequalities in the online world.²³

The urgency in making public policies to attend pandemic necessities caused a rupture in the face-to-face service model, segregating the access of the less favored from emergency services and policies, including emergency income.

The digital difficulties of the most vulnerable population are the result of poverty, low income and educational deficit, indicators that Brazil has struggled to improve for decades.

In the current moment, in which the Brazilian state seeks to discharge its social obligations, as has been demonstrated in the previous items by the limitation of investments, the ideal digital inclusion, which provides broad access to the same quality of exploitation to the digital environment, is unthinkable.

The evolution, dissemination and use of new technologies will not be interrupted due to Brazilian difficulties, which projects for a future in which the overlaps of real and virtual stratification promise to increase social inequalities and income distribution.

Conclusions

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

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

23 IDEM (2019, 60-61).

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

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

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

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

As social detachment was initiated and essential services had to adapt themselves forcefully to the most advanced technologies to provide emergency and essential services, it ran into the digital access, which in Brazil, overlaps traditional models of social exclusion, virtually repeating them.

As a result, the most vulnerable were unable to access the available resources and, desperate, exposed themselves even more to the risks of contamination, crowding in search of face-to-face assistance, for lack of conditions to access the new technologies. In the Brazilian case in particular, the progressive adherence to new technologies without solving important obstacles to their equal incorporation into society, made it accelerate processes of exclusion, segregating social segments.