

Policy diffusion: international modeling of the Brazilian public policies for poverty reduction

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Abstract

The relation between public social policies for poverty reduction and the requirements of international organizations like the UN, IMF and World Bank on the issue might explain the similarities of such public policies in countries that have significant economic and cultural diversities. Better saying, the formulation of such policies might be linked to factors of domestic political and economic environment, but also to the institutional encouragement and international cultural standard, as discussed in the literature on international modeling and the Theories of Policy Diffusion and Policy Transfer. This article aims to present the results of ongoing research that investigates social policies for poverty reduction of the Governments of Cardoso, Lula and Rousseff (between the years 1995 to 2012) under the perspective of these theoretical currents. The methodology is in the exploratory phase, organizing data and bibliography. The results suggest that in the Government of Cardoso, Lula and Rousseff the so-called "positive" modeling (isomorphism) predominated by the adherence of national policies to international policies focusing on the low-income population, and also due to the fact that Brazilian conditioned cash transfer policies were recently considered by the international political community as a model. On the other hand, in the second Lula and Rousseff Government period there is the negative modeling (or else, policies that by referring to the widespread notions are formatted in opposite manners) identified in the connection between policies of economic growth and increasing or maintaining the values of social public spending. This is contrary to the recommendations of international financial institutions which prescribe economic austerity and reduction on social public policy. On the other hand, it remains as positive modeling due to centrality that the Governments have been assigning to policies that prioritize low-income people, this priority may bring a risk of weakening the universal policies, instead of strengthening the articulation between prioritization of the target group and universalization.

Keywords: social policy, poverty, policy diffusion, policy transfer

I. Introduction

The relation between social public policies directed towards the reduction of poverty and the indications about the theme spread by international organizations such as UNO, IMF and World Bank, for instance, might explain the similarities among these public policies spread around the countries, even those economically and culturally diverse. Besides that, there could be access of governors and State personnel to cultural and institutional standards spread among groups of countries, as well as the

encouragement from international financial institutions. This means the modifications and social policy are due to domestic political, and economic environmental factors, but also due to the incentive from institutions and to the international cultural patterns, as discussed by the theoretical perspective for public policy analysis denominated international modeling (Skocpol Amenta, 1986), as well as by the Theories of Policy Transfer and Policy Diffusion (Pessali; 2010; Weyland, 2004; 2005).

Recent studies about modeling and also about public policy transplant quotes as reference recent actions of international entities as the IMF and the World Bank,

Mainly through what became known as the Washington Consensus. According to orientation from such entities, countries in search for economic growth and further on for the reduction of social differences should review their macroeconomic policies and their institutions following the standard model adopted by developed countries. (Pessali, 2010: 3).

In Brazil the Federal Constitution of 1988 (FC1988) represents an inflection in the field of rights and social policies. After this period the governments of Cardoso, Lula and Dilma formulated expressive public policies for the reduction of poverty, for instance, Bolsa Escola in the first case and Bolsa Família¹ for the Labor Party governs. These public policies differ from the ones promoted by the governments of Sarney, Collor and Itamar because for them the policies for the reduction of poverty were subordinated to economic and political reforms, as for in the selected governments, apart from the differences between Cardoso and the following governments, the reduction of poverty becomes a social policy of redistributive character and articulated with economic policy. Data from official institutes as IPEA and from articles of Fagnani (2011) and Neri (2011) point out the positive impact of these policies on the reduction of inequality and especially on the reduction of poverty. I agree with the conception of the positive impact if we take into consideration the historical series, particularly between the years 1960 and 2000, which gave Brazil its position among the most unequal countries in the world and with a large number of the population with low income (aspects which have improved in the years 2000, but not reverted). This position

¹ The Bolsa Família program is part of the “umbrella policies” such as Fome Zero and also Brasil sem Miséria. Data about the positive impact of social policies may be found in the document “A década inclusiva” available at: http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/images/stories/PDFs/comunicado/120925_comunicado0155.pdf

was not based on the size of the Brazilian economy, but on factors related to the predatory standard of appropriation of social wealth and privileged use of public resources and services on the part of Brazilian economic elite with the consent of the State ruled by the absence or weak social redistribution policy and by economic and fiscal policies without tangible criteria of social justice, which is understood as a universal promoter of access conditions to the cultural and material wealth of a society for the population.

I stand from the observation that the policies for poverty reduction in Brazil were both absorbed and generated widespread conceptions in the international community. Such incorporation of conceptions of poverty, coverage and sources of financing occurs either by a vertical enforcement of international financial institutions, or due to horizontal contagion among countries and governmental experts (Weyland, 2004, 2005).

The aim of this article is to present preliminary results on the research about social public policies for reducing poverty in the governments of Cardoso, Lula and Dilma, under the perspective of the Theories of Policy Transfer and Policy Diffusion that deal with international modeling, or else, present the first round of bibliographical review. The research questions are:

a) How did social public policies for poverty reduction in Brazil (gov. Cardoso, Lula and Rouseff), absorb widespread cultural patterns and policy models transferred internationally and among regional blocks?

b) How is the transfer of such policies, as a Brazilian model, and the diffusion of cultural patterns and institutional arrangements pertaining to them?

The text is divided into two main items: the first discusses the theoretical current in study and the second presents the discussion on moments of the Brazilian social protection system.

II – Public Policies and International Modeling

The set of public social policies in the 19th and 20th centuries, along with Keynesianism, was responsible for building the social order that configures a default capitalist interventionist state in social protection. Studies of Rezende (2008) and Draibe (2003) demonstrate that modifications in this default, after the years 1980 until early 2000, meant less decline and more adaptation. Rezende (2008: 36) confirms that

"the States continue to show strong patterns of intervention in social policies." Even in the case of Brazil, the "social spending represents large portion of government spending and (...) there is a significant expansion of social policies". Draibe (2003) stated to be rare cases where the changes have provoked exterior changes to the models of State Welfare to which Esping-Andersen (1991) referred to as liberal, conservative and social democratic, and that can be grouped into bismarckian and beveridgean. Hammoud (2008) agrees that modifications have occurred in each country according to their own institutional constraints to each model, historically.

In this context of the so-called economic crisis and of austerities proposed in recent years, these findings are in line with the institutionalist analyst line as discussed in Perissinotto (2004); March, Olsen (2008) and Souza (2006), as well as with the incrementalism which underline the concept of path dependency, that is, the importance of the historical trajectory and institutional arrangements within the framework of public policy for delimitation of the possibilities in the present and future change.

For the Brazilian case, the institutional standard configured as conservative meritocratic, suffering a significant inflection. In this conservative model there is a link between employment and access to benefits, and the premise is "that people should be able to provide their own needs based on their work (...). Social policy intervenes only partially, completing and correcting the positioning actions of the market ... "(DRAIBE, 1993b: 7). The changes in the default occurred under two directions under pressure: the Federal Constitution of 1988 with distribution principles, universalist and of public-state services (Draibe, 1993a, Arretche, 2000). On the other hand, there are also liberal principles devoted to lowering the financial load and social state provision, as well as establishing criteria for prioritizing (selectivity), whether it be focusing on poverty groups or in misery (Figueiredo, Limongi, 1995; Fagnani, 2005). This path acts on the current formatting of the public system of social policy, including policies and anti-poverty programs of the years 2000.

2.1 Explanatory theoretical currents on social public policy

Theoretical currents that explain the emergence, development and social public policy changes were summarized by Skocpol and Amenta (1986) and Arretche (1995). On the basis of these texts it is possible to arrange four theoretical subdivided matrices as follows:

The first is the chain of economic character that emphasizes the process of industrialization or explains the advent of a social policy system as dependent on the development of capitalism. The structural-functionalist strand highlights the transition of agriculture mode to industrialism- the economic growth-and especially demographic changes caused the process -as the primary cause to explain the development of the welfare state. However, the form of its expansion and subsequent modifications in each particular society has as one of the factors the political culture concerning the relationship between built social needs and public modes more or less extensive to their attendance. The neomarxist vertent theorizes on social policy as a variable dependent on interior development of capitalism, that is, the transition from competitive capitalism to monopoly capitalism. Social policy should be functional to the need of social reproduction, whether in aspects of accumulation, legitimation and maintenance of social stability, or in the participation of the constitution of the working class and its forms of consumption.

The second explanatory current is of political-institutional character and focuses on democratic institutions or the expansion of rights. The focus on rights covers the effects of the addition of the social component of citizenship to civil and political dimensions on the patterns of economic inequality. The focus on democratic institutions takes into account, on the one hand, that the distribution of resources and results is affected by Governments and, on the other, that the social welfare policy of states have redistribution effects. This approach produces explanatory vertents that will: a) relate the institutions and formal procedures of democracy (electoral participation, especially competitive elections) with social policy growth in its various sectors; b) highlight the impact of the party system and the competition among political parties; c) understand that the demands and popular protests influence the formulation of social policies; d) share with the neomarxists the view that the issue of class is the fundamental axis of power and politics in the industrialized capitalist democracies, folded in the formulation of public policies, among them the social ones.

The third is of institutional and historical character centered in the State. Public policy is shaped by the social organizational structure and capacity of the states as well as political effects of established policies. One of its sub currents does not interpret the states as mere administrative mechanisms or arenas instrumented by groups interested in formatting the policies, on the opposite, this sub current considers the state as actors and structures. The attention falls on the historical sequence of construction of the

institutional structures of the state, which affects the formulation of social policy and, thus, has an impact on the political parties, the formation of class and political culture. Another sub current examines the political consequences of the policies already put in place, noting that the causes that lead to public policies are not necessarily the same causes of its subsequent development, in part because their own public policies affect policies. Public policies ² are historical products of past actions and decisions, and the institutions, once formed, acquire a development and virtually autonomous movement.

The last current is the transnational context. The way in which the economy, the geopolitical context and the international culture have developed, contributed to shape national social policies before, during and after the 20th century. In this current, this analysis is grouped among theorists that a) fall within the scope of social policy of government strategies linked to world economy; b) relate to social policy with geopolitics and understand their formulation as one of the resources deployed in the environment of international competition and; c) note that a pattern of social policies has spread in countries with different levels of development, particularly after 1920 and from the first deployments in Europe and the Americas.

The research aims at operationalizing the last sub current (c) denominated international modeling, for which social policies are explained by the access of rulers and State personnel to a cultural standard and institutional features and, also, for the encouragement from intergovernmental organizations. Modifications and adaptations in social public policy therefore, are related to factors of domestic political and economic environment, but also to encouragement from institutions and to international standard.

This approach has points of contact with the theories of Policy Diffusion and Policy Transfer. Policy Transfer is "a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, and institutions in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, and institutions in another time and/or place" (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996, 344). And Policy Diffusion is a particular way in which policies spread among people and regions, for example, how policy formulations are widespread among people and groups through interaction in meetings,

² "As new research is designed, scholars should presume that the causes of policy origins are not necessarily the same as the causes of the subsequent development of policies, in part because policies themselves transform politics. Researchers should likewise be sensitive to precise time periods on national and world scales and attuned to processes unfolding over time. Analysts of states and social policies must, in short, become unequivocally historical in their orientation" (Skocpol & Amenta, 1986: 152).

conferences, and other networks. "States or other entities are more likely to adopt a given policy when their officials interact with officials in states who have already adopted a given policy" (Newmark , 2002, p. 7).

I consider that this point – the international modeling - has not yet been sufficiently explored in studies on social policy. For instance, Hammoud (2008) does not deepen this analytical line when dealing with the domestic determinants of changes in the model of the welfare state in European States, even when taking into account both the pressures of the European Union -EU for the convergence of policies, with regard to the preferences of national political actors. Mauriel (2009: 60) does not thicken this theoretical perspective entering the social protection reforms in Brazil in a favorable international scenario "to the growth and strengthening of market mechanisms". The same occurs in Ugá (2004) when treating the poverty category structure as part and expression of a social, political and cultural order. That is why I believe it is important to explore some strategies in order to establish relationships between conceptions of current international modeling, especially theories of transfer or policy diffusion, and the policy on poverty in Brazil.

III – Moments of the Brazilian System of Social Protection and international diffusion

In the last decades of the 20TH century, especially between the years 1980 and 1990, the neoliberal perspective guided reforms of social programs in countries with Governments of different ideological orientations and with various trajectories of social policy and welfare state. There is a kind of "revival" of the neoliberalizing wave or a new impetus from the crisis in the financial system of the years 2000 and worsened from 2006 in the U.S. and much of Europe.

International organizations have been diffusers of values and guidelines towards the reformatting of public offering of social goods and services with the substitution of "post-war Keynesian policies by restrictive spending policies" (Souza, 2007: 65). The influence and impact of the international system on national social policies is effective "by diffusion and institutional learning processes" and also "by impulses, incentives or vetoes." Not rarely it is an "asymmetric articulation of the international agenda and national public policies" (Draibe, 2007: 36). In attention to these determinations some

countries, including Brazil, have conditioned the implementation of public policies to comply with the fiscal adjustment and the balance between revenue and expense budget, restricting, in a way State intervention in the economy ", prioritizing the target group (Souza, 2007: 65) and devising legal arrangements for partnerships with civil society organizations³ (Bresser-Pereira, 2004). The main justifications for austerity guidelines and "reduction of the State" are excessive centralization and bureaucratization of the State (and its supposed incompetence in social management or inability to meet the new socioeconomic demands) and the financial-fiscal crisis. However, another interpretation can be given to the imbalance between revenue and expenditure. This is what is called crisis or collapse of the welfare State "and it is first and foremost the problem of the tolerable socialization degree of certain number of goods and services." One of the reasons for this delegitimization of the welfare State by groups and international organizations is of cultural order, that is, "the crisis of a development model and a crisis of a given system of social relations" (Draibe & Henrique, 1988: 67).

However, until the early 2000, studies have shown that policies undertaken in this sense were able to emphasize the prioritization of the target the most impoverished social groups, reduce universality, change social security standards (Brooks, 2004) and reduce social spending, but in general, failed to dismantle the public previously existing protective standard, in other words, the Welfare State model previously established in each country. According to Hammoud (2008: 30), European Union data showed that in the first decade of the years 2000, although changes have occurred, the major trends remained the same: "the Nordic countries are continuing with the broader Welfare State and more universal, the countries of the continent with a medium Welfare State, and England with the most modest and most linked to the market...". In the case of Brazil, the social spending meant less decline and more adaptation towards the determined social groups (Rezende, 2008; Draibe, 2003).

Once the current context is different from the one present in the emergence of social public policy systems³, the understanding of this strength can be aided by concepts such as autonomy and path dependency, or else, public policies are historical products of actions and past decisions, being that the institutions once formed acquire an almost autonomous development (March, Olsen, 2008; Nascimento, 2009). The institutional and historical conditions are observed in certain rigidity and permanence in the systems of social policy, even after the last three or four decades of the neoliberal

movement and practices, to change the direction of social spending and undermine the principle of universality that is based on the condition of citizenship and not on poverty.

At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, however, the economic and fiscal crisis brought the opportunity for international organizations to recover the minimum State conception and to encourage the development and acceleration of changes in the public social protection system that tend to undermine the institutional arrangements of Welfare State which in the twentieth century, defined the extended rights and citizenship through social public policies (Lavallo, 2003). These are selective incentives for the implementation of policies focused on target groups and their specific needs or instead of universal policies based on the generality of citizenship, that is to say, without the articulation or the "virtuous merge among universal programs and focused programs" (Draibe, 2002: 8) that could combine the advantage of universal guarantees and the allocation of additional resources and services for specific groups with a view to the decrease social inequality. On the contrary, in the understanding of international financial organizations focus on target population represents a ceiling for social spending in the countries of the South and also a "bargaining chip for the ... reform of European welfare state regimes – an austerity measure to tackle the fiscal crisis" of the years 2000 (Fagnani, 2011: 12).

In Brazil, in the last decades of the twentieth century was a period of formatting and consolidation of the current system of social public policy based on the Federal Constitution of 1988 – FC1988 and regulatory laws. This legal norm determined social policy formatting oriented for statist solidarity, in other words, the establishment of social rights among the fundamental rights; public provision and universal social public policy; and cash transfer programs, among other things.

According to Fagnani (2011: 12), the process of formatting of the current Brazilian system of social public policy can be divided in three moments. In the first, covering the end of the dictatorship and the constitutional process, the country walked "against the world" and followed "the reverse route of neoliberalism." Social and political movements prompted the introduction of articles on rights and social policies in the FC1988 – with principles of universality and the State's public provision of social services as already mentioned. The case of Brazil therefore, brings a peculiarity, the FC1988 "institutionalizes the agenda of universalization and access equality in the

decade in which on the international scene, the strategies of dismantling of the Social Welfare State are strengthened." (Franzese & Abrucio, 2009: 12).

The second moment, between 1990 and 2005, is a period characterized by the prioritization of lower income targets and also the regulation of the Brazilian social policy. This process reveals the pressures to reduce the reach of constitutional guarantees by complementary law and for the relocation of social spending, although there were some politic movements that showed resistance to such changes on the constitution guidelines.

The processing of laws and amendments after the Constitution required "intensive negotiations within the Government and with the opposition coalition" (Melo, 2005: 860). In these arenas there were groups whose political values were compatible with articles of FC1988 and also groups whose values were inconsistent. In other words, the first saw in the Constitution the personification "of progressive hopes that inhabited the minds of leaders and political activists located to the left of the ideological spectrum during this period" (Perissinotto, 2010: 13); and the second had affinity with traditional conservative social policies standards or aligned themselves with the liberal perspective engaging in reforms in this direction; this way some of the strategies of these groups were the postponement of complementary legislation and restrictive interpretations on the occasion of the adoption of laws for regulating and, also, in the constitutional amendments.

Between 1992 and January 2004, fifty amendments to the Constitution were presented. Twenty-six of these amendments dealing with institutional issues, twenty-two of federalism, twenty-two of fiscal control, eleven of social policies and eleven of economy. Such areas organized by Melo (2005) are not exclusive, since an amendment may cover more than one subject. Constitutional amendments on social policies and make up twenty-two of the total, but this percentage increases if we consider two data: "42 of the constitutional amendments approved refers directly to aspects of Brazilian federalism" and of the "total amendments pertaining to federalism, more than half (53) relate to policies and social rights" (Melo, 2005: 860 - 862).

The proportionately large number of amendments around social policies reflects both its constitutionalization as the reform program in the area it was undertaken, especially in the years 1990 and early 2000. This means, once the constitutional text covers specific policy issues, much of the reform and "initiatives on social policy and poverty reduction" was made possible by via constitutional (Melo, 2005: 867).

However, in spite of amendments and regulations not always being aligned with the general "tone" of the FC1988, the great constitutional lines for social policy promoted a social democracy-inspired legal standard.

In summary, in the 2nd moment of BSSPP, especially in the governments of Cardoso and beginning of Lula, the social policy is being regulated. In these years they are formulated with focus on poverty and cash transfer program.

The third moment of the formatting of the current system of social public policy would be from 2006 on in which, in Fagnani (2011: 13) the social policies are articulated to a "macroeconomic strategy, directed to economic growth with income distribution".

This periodization allows an establishment of relationships between the moments of formatting and consolidation of the current Brazilian system of social public policy (BSSPP) and the moments more or less coincident with the periods of Governments (table 1).

Table 1. Brazilian system of social public policy in the governments of Cardoso, Lula and Dilma (1995-2012)

Years	governments	BSSPP moments
1995-2002	Cardoso	2nd moment (low income targeted group; social policy legislation)
2003-2010	Lula	2nd moment (low income targeted group; social policy legislation) 3rd moment (low income targeted group; articulation of reducing poverty policy and economic policy)
2011-2012	Dilma	3rd moment (low income targeted group; articulation of reducing poverty policy and economic policy)

In the literature there is a debate about the existence of similarities or differences, and up to what extent, between the Governments of Cardoso and Lula. Boito Jr. (2007) argues that social programs target on the low-income population in the governments of Cardoso and Lula, have in common the fact they neglect universal social policies. This situation drives part of the lower middle class and the upper income classes to seek for educational and health services on the market, for example, strengthening thus the sale of services.

Diniz (2007) understands that the differences between Governments of Cardoso and Lula are precisely in the aspect of the fraction of business sector favored by

Government policies. In the Cardoso period, the reform of the State broke with the corporatism to templates of national developmental period and loosened the State's intervention in the areas of economic and social policies, which was aligned to the business sector facilitation measures tied to international financial capital. In the first period of the Lula government, although they are retained on macroeconomic policy and the hegemony of finance capital, there is the implementation of economic policies that come with development objectives and the business sector is linked to productive national capital.

Boito Jr. (2005: 54) also says that in both governments the prioritization of compensatory policies through cash transfer programs is aligned with the "neoliberal ideological discourse that stigmatizes the social rights as privileges." Fagnani (2005: 551) places, especially to the government Cardoso, the alignment between the Brazilian social policies and the neoliberal guidelines of the institutions such as IMF. With regard to the government of Cardoso, Draibe (2003: 11) diverges from this conception. For the author, the programs for combating poverty, under the mantle of universal programs, has the potential to "reduce the chances of reproduction of inequality", therefore, the priority allocation of resources to targeted groups would be linked to universal policies, not replaced by them.

To illustrate this debate, the table 2 presents examples of Brazilian social policies for poverty reduction.

Table 2: Examples of Brazilian policies for poverty reduction (governments Cardoso, Lula and Dilma)

Policies and programs names	Country	Governm ent	Approximated duration of the program
Previdência social (modalidades não contributivas)	BRASIL	Cardoso	(CF 1988) (1992)1995– atual
Comunidade Solidária	BRASIL	Cardoso	1995 - 2002
Benefício de Prestação Continuada da Assistência Social (BPC)	BRASIL	Cardoso	(CF 1988) (1993) 1995- nowadays
Bolsa alimentação	BRASIL	Cardoso	2001-2002
Agente Jovem	BRASIL	Cardoso	1996 - nowadays
Auxílio Gás	BRASIL	Cardoso	1996 -nowadays
Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil (PETI)	BRASIL	Cardoso	1996 - nowadays
Agente Jovem de Desenvolvimento Social e Humano	BRASIL	Cardoso	1995 -2002

Bolsa Escola	BRASIL	Cardoso	(1999) 2001-2002
Bolsa Alimentação	BRASIL	Cardoso	2001 - 2002
Fome Zero	BRASIL	Lula	2003-2010
Bolsa Família	BRASIL	Lula	2003- nowadays
Benefício de Prestação Continuada da Assistência Social (BPC)	BRASIL	Lula	
Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil (PETI)			
Brasil sem Miséria	BRASIL	Dilma	2011 -nowadays
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bolsa Família • Bolsa verde • Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos • Benefício de Prestação Continuada da Assistência Social (BPC) • Ação Brasil Carinhoso • Programa Água para Todos • Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil (PETI) • Minha Casa Minha Vida 			

Neri (2007, 2011) and official data (IPEA (2012), as mentioned before, stated that the policies with selectivity criteria and cash transfer implemented from the governments of Cardoso until Lula and Dilma's have had positive impact in the sense of reducing income inequality and reducing poverty. I understand that this is where the aspect of continuity of public policies to combat poverty lies, of Cardoso, Lula and Dilma governments, regardless of their differences in concern party and ideological positions, priorities, budget options and in the formulation of social public policy in general.

During the Lula and Dilma governments there is the worsening of the global economic crisis and the rise of the measures and recommendations of the IFIS in the sense of economic austerity with shrinkage of the universalist social protection system and prioritization of the allocation of expenditures and social services to impoverished

groups. At the same time, the Brazilian social policies for poverty reduction are regarded as models by the international organizations and the data about the positive impact of these policies implemented in Brazil since the early 2000 are diffused internally and internationally (IPEA, 2012; Neri, 2007; Neri, 2011).

Besides Brazil other Latin-American countries implemented similar policies and programs, as we can see on table 3.

Table 3: Examples of policies for poverty reduction (Mexico, Venezuela, Chile)

Policies and programs names	Country	Government	Approximate program duration
Programa de Desarrollo Humano Oportunidades (transferência monetária)	Mexico	Ernesto Zedillo	1997 - nowadays
Programa de Estancias Infantiles para Apoyar a Madres Trabajadoras (transferência monetária)	Mexico	Felipe Calderón	2007 - nowadays
Misión Hijos de Venezuela	Venezuela	Chavez	2011 - nowadays
Programa de Erradicação de Extrema Pobreza (TM)	Bolívia	Evo Morales	2009 - nowadays
Chile Solidário	Chile	Ricardo Lagos	2002 - nowadays
Subsidio Familiar	Chile	Ricardo Lagos Escobar	2002
Subvención pro retención escolar para estudiantes que pertenecen a familias Chile Solidario	Chile	Ricardo Lagos Escobar	2004 - nowadays
Subsidio de Discapacidad Mental	Chile	Ricardo Lagos Escobar	2004 - nowadays
Sistema de pensiones solidarias (TM) (reforma)	Chile	Michelle Bachelet	2008 - nowadays

The initial examination of the literature suggests the formation of an epistemic community. Brazilian leaders and policymakers shared values and institutional arrangements which were spread internationally, as well as, Brazilian public policies for poverty reduction were models diffused internationally.

IV - Conclusion

The question that has framed the discussion is whether and how the theories of international modeling (policy diffusion and policies transfer) could contribute to the

understanding of social public policies for poverty reduction in Brazil from 1995 and on. Some partial findings may indicate they reply as it follows.

The articulation between the Brazilian social public policies to fight poverty and misery, the learning and cultural dissemination and international institutional incentives demonstrate both a "positive" modeling (isomorphism) as, well as a "negative" modeling (based on common concepts, but in the opposite direction). In the government of Cardoso and the first Lula administration there would be a greater degree of incorporation and contagion of international requirements in comparison with the second government of Lula and Dilma, in which the Brazilian cash transfer policies are disseminated and considered successful models to be learned.

The negative modeling is observed in the preparation of the Federal Constitution that, inversely to the neoliberal international environment, consolidated the State social responsibility and the combination of universality and selectivity of the coverage. The isomorphism is identified in the governments of Cardoso, Lula and Dilma, both towards the accordance with international guidelines about policies towards low-income population as, also, of the Brazilian cash transfer policies being considered by the international political community a model. In the last two periods of governments there is negative modeling observed in the articulation between social and economic policies and growth of social public spending (contrary to recommendations of international financial institutions on austerity with reduction of social policy) and, also, positive modeling due to the centrality of targeted groups and the risk to the universalist perspective.

Therefore, in the specialized literature there is evidence of the relationship between culture and institutions in the transnational context and the Brazilian social policy concerning poverty.

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