

CADERNOS GESTÃO PÚBLICA E CIDADANIA

**THE BRAZILIAN PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP
PROGRAM: AN OVERVIEW**

Marta Ferreira dos Santos Farah
Peter Spink

Os Autores

Marta Ferreira Santos Farah

Doutora em Sociologia pela Universidade de São Paulo. Professora da EAESP da Fundação Getúlio Vargas de São Paulo, participou do processo de implantação do Programa Gestão Pública e Cidadania e é vice-coordenadora do Programa desde 1995.

Peter K. Spink

Ph.D em Psicologia Organizacional pela London University. Professor Titular da EAESP da Fundação Getúlio Vargas de São Paulo. Implantou e coordena o Programa Gestão Pública e Cidadania desde 1995.

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SUMMARY

1. Introduction	7
2. An Overview of the First Seven Years.....	11
3. Dissemination and Research: Increasing the Program’s Impact.....	13
4. Recent Trends In Social Policies and in Public Management in Brazil.....	16
5. New Policies and New Processes at the Sub-National Government.....	18
6. Conclusion.....	24
7. Bibliography.....	25
8. Tables	28

Abstract

The Brazilian Public Management and Citizenship award is a joint initiative of the Ford Foundation and the Getulio Vargas Foundation of São Paulo, with additional support from the Brazilian National Economic and Social Development Bank – BNDES. The program seeks to identify and disseminate innovative initiatives from Brazilian sub-national governments. Since 1996 more than five thousand programs have taken part in the annual awards cycle. Among the many experiences that have been identified are: methods of popular planning and participation, information systems, inter-municipal and regional arrangements, environmental preservation, solid waste treatment, water distribution systems, health, education, housing, transport, culture and sports, welfare, human rights, children and adolescents, minority groups, rural development, industry and employment. The experiences have come from all Brazilian states, from municipalities (by 2001 almost 10% of the nation's 5592 municipalities had participated) and from organizations of the indigenous peoples. There are initiatives focusing both on the rural zones and the urban areas.

The selection process has several stages, which count with the participation of researchers and members from non-governmental organizations and a variety of institutions. The program's impact occurs through activities linked to the media, political actors, public sector technical staff and the academic community. Teaching material, books and articles have been developed from the program, produced by the program team and by members of its advisory Technical Committee, which also takes part of the annual award cycles.

The study of the experiences gathered in the six years of the program has helped to identify new types and areas of public policy and new systems of management, decision-making and public service provision. Significant in terms of policy is the inclusion of new groups within the sphere of state action, such as women and those with special needs, as well as the adoption of new perspectives, especially in social policies, such as the adoption of the preventive perspective in health care and the rights perspective within the policies for youths who have infringed the law. Also significant is the way in which many different organizations from the public sector and from civil society are being involved in the search for effective local action and the general increase in active citizen participation.

1. Introduction

The Public Management and Citizenship Program, developed by the Fundação Getulio Vargas and the Ford Foundation, with the support of the Brazilian National Economic and Social Development Bank (BNDES), has as its main objective to identify and disseminate innovative actions by states, municipalities and the indigenous peoples own governments, to solve public issues and respond to community needs. The program's approach is summed up in its title: it refers not only to the importance of effective public management but also to its impact on the construction of citizenship and the reduction of social and political exclusion.

The program has as its focus: programs, projects and activities at the state, interstate, municipal, inter-municipal and indigenous (tribal) levels. These can include partnerships or alliances with civil society organizations (such as non-governmental organizations, community associations and business firms) but the coordination has to be clearly in the hands of sub-national public sector agencies or the indigenous peoples own organizations. The same applies to activities carried out in conjunction with Federal Agencies. All programs, projects and activities must have at least a year of effective operation and demonstrate results that:

- represent a substantive change, qualitatively or quantitatively, in previous practices and strategies within the geographic or thematic area in focus, either through the implantation of a new program or set of activities or the significant improvement of existing activities or programs;
- permit or point to ways in which the experience could be repeated or built on by others and transferred to other regions and jurisdictions;
- broaden and consolidate forms of access and dialogue between society and its public agencies, increasing the quality of political and institutional practice;
- utilize local resources and/or national and/or international opportunities within a perspective of responsible development and stimulates, where possible, autochthonous and autonomous practices that can become self-sustaining.¹

¹ Taken from the program regulations. A full description of the program, application forms, regulations and all material generated can be found on its website : <http://inovando.fgvsp.br> or by post at Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Av. Nove de Julho 2029, Bela Vista, São Paulo (SP) CEP 01313-902, Brazil . Telephone 55-11-3281-7904, Fax : 55-11-287-5095, E-mail : inovando@fgvsp.br

The Program uses a broad approach to informing people, jurisdiction, agencies and other organizations of its existence and to attracting innovators to show their work to others². It tries to reach all parts of the country, finding its way through often quite complex state level administrative structures, as well as to over 5,500 municipalities and the indigenous peoples' territories and communities. It has to get to areas that are both densely and sparsely populated and find those involved in the innovations themselves. It has to deal with possible administrative filters on lower level initiatives, be able to see past shop window innovations to reach those that are happening on the periphery of the public service and, finally, to find those innovative practices that may not necessarily be seen as such by their authors. Local innovation often takes place because it has to take place – problems exist and there is no other option. Problems are tackled because they have to be, using whatever resources are available; otherwise they won't be solved and those involved may not see what they are doing as innovation until they are prompted. Innovations can come in all shapes and sizes, from the actions in a major urban industrial center that push forward the boundaries of inter-agency working through careful negotiation and engagement, to the problem solving skills of the mayor of a rural municipality trying to get credit to agricultural small-holdings and poor farmers.

The underlying proposition of the program's work is that helping to direct attention to the range of innovation and helping to build bridges between innovators, will strengthen a wider network of social authors and of collective authorship, reinforcing competence and increasing the stock of knowledge available. At the beginning of the program in Brazil, there were many suspicions about political neutrality, regional and topic biases; here the action of program staff and Technical Committee members who establish contacts over the phone with initial inquirers and encourage them to make submissions is very important. Credibility is also helped by the fact that both the foundations involved are highly respected for their treatment of data and information and for their broad concern with strengthening democracy. The results of the first years in which many different jurisdictions have been highlighted, both big and small and across the political spectrum have also been important.

One of the first acts of the program was to set up a Technical Committee, or steering committee, which forms an outreach network of organizations active in the public sector and provides regional and thematic orientation to the program as a whole. Active also in

² The operational aspects of the program and the overview of the first years was described also in SPINK, 2000.

the evaluation process, Technical Committee members also join the research efforts of the program. Currently the following institutions are represented: The Post-graduate Administration Programs of the Federal Universities of Bahia, Paraíba and Rio Grande do Sul; the Brazilian School of Public Administration (EBAP-FGV/RJ), from Rio de Janeiro; the School of Government of the State of Minas Gerais (João Pinheiro Foundation); the Nucleus for Studies of the Amazon, Federal University of Para; the Polis Institute, São Paulo; the Post-graduate Program in Environmental Science and the Nucleus for the Study of Violence, both of the University of São Paulo; the Center for Actions in Gender, Citizenship and Development (AGENDE), Brasília; the Council for the Articulation of Brazilian Indigenous Peoples and Organizations (CAPOIB), Manaus; Geledés - The Black Women's Institute, São Paulo, the Fluminense Federal University/Viva Rio, the Ford Foundation and the BNDES.

The program's annual cycle begins during the months of December, January and February with emphasis on outreach, dissemination and identification of potential innovations through a 25,000 strong mailing list that covers all sub-national jurisdictions and many other associations and organizations active in the broad field of governance. Applications usually take place in April by filling in a simple four-page form with descriptive questions and a self-evaluation of results and contribution. This is followed by the selection of 100 projects as the year's semi-finalists. For this, members of the Technical Committee, FGV teaching staff, postgraduate students and NGO colleagues work in small groups over two days. Each entrant is discussed and rated separately by two groups, followed by a final discussion by all evaluators of the selected experiences. The chosen semifinalists are then invited to send further details of their activities by replying to a set of questions formulated by the program team and Technical Committee.

At the next stage, normally in June, some thirty specialists drawn from Universities, Technical centers and NGOs with considerable practical experience in different fields of public administration and social action, helped by members of the Technical Committee and other colleagues, choose thirty programs and projects as pre-finalists. In judging, each project is placed in two different clusters; one by thematic area and the other mixed. This way each is seen both in its specific technical context and within the general context of innovative action. Again each is evaluated by a different set of panelists and there is a general all-in discussion at the end.

In July, site visits are made to each of the thirty pre-finalists by independent advisors, many of whom are either NGO staff, staff from research centers or advanced post-graduate students. A preparatory training week is held during which the overall program is discussed, evaluation methods suggested and a lot of debate about innovation takes place. Following the site visits, the Technical Committee plus selected colleagues study the field reports and chooses the twenty finalists.

The finalists are invited to an all day meeting in São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro, where they make oral presentations of their projects and reply to questions formulated by a “jury” composed of leading figures from civil society, who have also studied the site reports. All are invited to be present at the oral presentations to hear about the programs and many opportunities are also provided during the day for individual finalists to meet and talk. All the finalists are already prize winners and will receive their certificates but, in keeping with the climate of friendly competition and in a very culturally appropriate way, at the end of the day the jury deliberates privately and declares five of the twenty as the most outstanding. A cocktail, with opportunities to talk to the press and generally be together, follows the presentation of certificates. The awards are small in value (US\$ 2,000.00 for each finalist and US\$ 7,00.00 for each of those chosen as outstanding) and have to be used in activities relating to the project itself, such as publications, equipment, visits and seminars. What is most striking and generally commented about “finals day” is the spirit of togetherness that builds up between people from the most different of jurisdictions, from the north to the south of the country and across the political spectrum.

During the evaluation and choice of the semi-finalists, finalists and outstanding programs care is taken to ensure that each phase is seen as representing the community of innovators as a whole. The aim is to avoid any sense of “winners” and “losers”, for each and every program, project and activity submitted has something to say and something to teach others. Thus the five chosen as outstanding are seen as represent the twenty finalists, who in turn represent the hundred semifinalists who represent all those who are taking part that year and who, in their turn, represent all that have taken part in the previous years of the program.

2. An overview of the first seven years

Perhaps the more significant and the most overlooked result of these first seven years is that the questions posed in the brochure did indeed seem to make sense to a sizable proportion of sub-national jurisdictions and continue to do so (table 1)³. So far, the program has received some 5100 different entrants from a variety of different sub-national jurisdictions, led by different political parties, many of which have over five years of effective implantation. There is indeed a lot going on and the framework of administration and citizenship is clearly a valid one: programs, projects and activities submitted are generally clear, well thought out and extremely honest in terms of perspectives and possibilities.

In the first year of the program (1996), 629 valid initial entries were received from state, municipal and indigenous peoples' organizations. This was the final year of the four-year municipal government cycle and some 120 municipalities submitted experiences, often with many projects together, as well as many different state agencies and a small but significant number of indigenous organizations. In the second year it was expected that there would be a reduction in numbers, both due to it being the first quarter of the first year of the new municipal term of office and also to jurisdictions doing their own pre-selection of possible candidates. The impact in the press to the first year of the program had been considerable for a new event and, despite the municipal change around, there were still 297 valid entries. In 1998, the trend continued to rise with 631 programs from state, municipal and indigenous peoples' agencies and in 1999, with 888 valid entries. In 2000, four years on from the first cycle the number of entrants reached 946, falling back in the following post electoral year to 728. This was a most encouraging result as it showed a growing tendency for local jurisdictions to maintain useful actions developed by their predecessors. In 2002 the level was up to 981 with many new jurisdictions and agencies taking part.

Whilst entries have been received from all over the country, there is a strong presence of the southeast and south, followed by the northeast and north (Table 2). This distribution reflects partially the distribution of municipalities across the country: the southeast and the

³ Special thanks to Fabiana Paschoal Sanches, Fernanda Martinez de Oliveira, Francine Lemos Arouca, Hélio Batista Barboza, José Luis Abreu Dutra, Luis Mario Fujiwara, Patricia Laczynski, Rafael Marques Osório, Ricardo Ernesto Vasquez Beltrão, Roberta Clemente, Rosane Keppke and Vivianne Nouvel Alessio for the tables presented in this paper.

south having, together, 51% of the Brazilian municipalities, and the northeast having 32% (www.ibge.gov.br).

Innovations are emerging in both large municipalities and in the very small ones. Whilst the municipalities in the 50,000 – 500,000 population group have a higher presence in the program than they do relatively in the country (46% of municipal entries versus 8% of all municipalities in the country), a substantial number of entrants do come from the small municipalities of less than 20,000 inhabitants (26%) a group normally seen as weak in resources and in competence (Table 3).

All entrants are asked to self classify their program, project or activity within seven categories of governmental action (Table 4), most of which are also subdivided. Thus, Public Services include topics such as: education, health, housing, transport, culture, leisure, public safety and policing. Citizenship and Human Rights is subdivided by focus populations: children and adolescents, age, black citizens, women, people with impairments, consumers and minorities. Administration and Government covers forms of planning, inter-agency coordination, public buildings, budgeting, information systems, popular participation in government as well as staff development and forms of control. Economic and Social Development covers science, technology, industry, agriculture, fishing, agrarian reform, skill training and employment creation. Infrastructure and Environment covers such topics as water, sanitation, energy, telecommunications, urbanism in general, environmental controls, solid waste and pollution.

Whilst nearly all programs are working clearly at the interface of public management and citizenship, citizenship is not necessarily chosen as the descriptive category for their activities. Rather, the programs submitted tend to classify themselves within the activity related terms that are normally used to describe their work, suggesting that there is indeed an emerging new framework for public administration, at least at sub-national level. A concern with citizenship, or a rights based approach to public administration, is not being seen as a separate category of administrative action or yet another division of governmental service, but as a way of thinking about administrative action and governance as a whole.

Table 5 shows some of the most popular sub-areas of classification. Education, children and adolescents, health and social welfare head the list, all of which are areas in which there has been a growth of sub-national competence either because of the dramas of

demand, or through the process of decentralization and municipalization that has been taking place in Brazil since the new Constitution of 1988. A further stimulus may well be with the various consultative councils at State and Municipal level that were set up by the Constitution of 1988, especially in the areas of Education, Health, Children and Adolescents, Social Work and Employment.

Programs and projects cover a vast range of different actions and contain many different aspects and approaches that, to resume some of the comments made by observers, may range from the “ingenious”; the “so obvious but why didn’t anybody think of it”; the “absolutely brilliant”; through to the “one percent inspiration, ninety-nine percent transpiration” or the very down to earth “let’s try to do it right for once and stop reinventing the wheel”. What, however, marks them out is the constant involvement of electors, communities and citizens in discussing what should be done and the collective, if not indeed civic, pride that they display in talking about what has been achieved. In relation to the indigenous programs, the bringing together within the same space and with the same criteria of the different institutional components of Brazil’s sub-national arena has made at least a small contribution to widening respect and transferring knowledge in a variety of directions. Here practical responses to questions such as crop and game management, demarcation of land, the recuperation of traditions and the development of health and education services in a culturally compatible form have been amongst the topics brought forward.

3. Dissemination and research: increasing the program’s impact

The Public Management and Citizenship Program’s work does not finish with the annual awards; indeed the award cycle is only one half of each year’s work. One of the most important objectives of the Program is to disseminate what is happening in Brazil at the sub-national level of government, to stimulate the exchange of experiences and the analysis about the effective public policies that are taking place in the state and local governments.

The first step is the registration of the material received from the innovative initiatives. All the valid entrants received⁴ are registered in a database that is permanently open to the

⁴ At least one year of effective operation and coordinated by a sub-national public sector agency or indigenous peoples own government.

public along with other materials (such as videos, documents and brochures) that are sent by the different sub-national governments. Lists are produced of the different programs for distribution, and the database is made available in both paper and electronic form.

The program created a website – <http://inovando.fgvsp.br>. In this site there is information about the program objectives, the results of the award process, the list of publications - some of them available through the site - and a databank with the main information about all the governmental programs and links to the other Ford Foundation sponsored innovation programs around the world in the United States of America, Mexico, Chile, South Africa, China and the Philippines. Recently, an agreement was reached between a number of different data banks working at the local level to provide common Internet links through a single web page (www.web-brazil.com/gestaolocal).

Dissemination also takes place through the media. Press relations have been handled by professionals with encouraging results both in major daily newspapers and in the use of material by local press and radio stations. In partnership with the Polis Institute, a leading NGO specializing in local government administration, descriptions of innovations in different areas are distributed to a number of active municipalities (PAULICS, 2000). An evaluation study carried out with support from the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB) about the joint work by Polis and the Public Management and Citizenship Program has confirmed that the two are seen as an important source of information on what is taking place.

A third approach to dissemination is through the production of videos about the initiatives, focusing on selected programs – such as the twenty finalists of 1999 - or a specific theme, such as the contribution of the initiatives to the eradication of poverty. The videos have been used by universities as well as municipalities and states in training courses aimed at public servants. Some video programs have been produced also in partnerships with TV stations. One example is a series of 8 programs on different themes (such as indigenous questions, education and job creation) developed by a leading educational cable channel (TV Futura). Each TV program focused one of the initiatives selected by Public Management and Citizenship.

Dissemination occurs also through radio, a very powerful medium in Brazil. Here the efforts have gone into the creation of both documentary and “soap” programs (“radio-novelas”) in cooperation with a leading NGO “Criar Brasil”, in Rio de Janeiro. The radio

“soap” centers on a small town supermarket (Supermercado Mesa Pronta). In the supermarket, the discussions about different topics from every day life include debate of the innovative initiatives at the sub-national level. Currently the programs are being distributed to some 400 local radio stations. The initial results suggest a positive impact, the program being seen as a stimulus to the participation in public affairs.

To encourage dissemination amongst politicians and public sector managers and in the academic community, program staff and members of the Technical Committee regularly participate in different forums, including academic meetings as well as seminars of NGOs, social movements, public sector managers and politicians. The directors of the program, the members of the Technical Committee and the research members of the program team are committed to spreading the program’s results.

Research has been developed since the beginning of the program in Brazil by the FGV academic staff involved in program coordination, as well as by members of the Technical Committee. Sixteen analytical papers have been already published, dealing with general trends suggested by the programs and with different thematic issues. The program has also published 5 books containing case descriptions about the 20 programs that received each years awards. A sixth is being prepared now. Support from the National Economic and Social Development Bank (BNDES) has also enabled a magazine style report on the twenty finalists to be compiled on an annual basis, since 1999. This more easily readable and quick access material has been very useful for teachers both from FGV and other universities, as well as for students, researchers, professionals and politicians.

A number of masters and doctoral dissertations have been produced from the Program’s material both from FGV and the other universities participating in the Technical Committee, as well as conference papers. The program’s data bank is also used by many other institutions, both academic and non-academic (such as the Political Science Department of the University of Sao Paulo, the NEPP – Nucleon de Escudos de Politicos Publicans of the University of Caminos and CEPAM – an institution that gives technical support to the municipalities of the State of Sao Paulo).

More action-oriented dissemination also takes place through the Program’s workshops. One kind of workshop is that used to prepare master and PhD students in public policies evaluation and usually happens in July, with the presence of over 30 students and researchers from different institutions all over the country, and even from institutions

abroad. These students and researchers are then responsible for the field visits to the 30 programs (pre-finalists) from which the 20 finalists will be selected. Their reports will also form the chapters of the annual book about the 20 finalists; which is itself an encouragement to a research career.

Another kind of workshop is that organized by a special project of the Public Management and Citizenship Program on “Public Practices and Poverty”. This seeks to identify and disseminate practices and knowledge aimed at the improvement of quality of life and the effective reduction of poverty. This project, which has received support from the Ford Foundation, the World Bank and currently from the Hewlett Foundation, has already organized workshops on the following topics: employment and income generation, integrated actions for social and economic development, urban services, gender and public policies and small-scale rural production. These bring together academics, activists, community leaders and local government practitioners to discuss local possibilities for action and debate potential innovative practices.

As a result of all these different efforts, the data bank and the Program’s different documents are being regularly used by journalists, students, political parties, mayors and government advisors that want to learn about possible actions and establish contacts with the sub-national government’s innovators.

4. Recent trends in social policies and in public management in Brazil

The analysis of the programs gathered by the Public Management and Citizenship program suggests some important trends in public policies and public management in Brazil. These tend to show that, at the sub-national level in Brazil, governments are making important changes in public management and to the contents of public policies, in order to guarantee a better quality of life to the communities represented by them. These innovations are part of a wider incremental process that also includes changes in the role of the National State and the reform of government policy in many areas.

Changes began in the 80s, under the influence of two main factors: the democratization of the country and the fiscal crisis and lead to what has been called the crisis of the National-Developmental State. These factors define two moments in the controversies about the State Reform and Public Policies Reform in Brazil.

The first period began with social movements at the end of the 70s and was reinforced during the 80s within the process of Brazilian re-democratization. The reform agenda that was established had, as its central demands the democratization of the decision-making processes and the equity of public policies. The main issue was to implement changes, not only in the political regime, but also in the public policy system and in the public management. Here, amongst the features present were: a) centralization; b) institutional fragmentation; c) private management approach; d) exclusion of the poor from the access to public services; d) sector based approach; e) segmentation between social groups in most of the social areas; e) privatization of interests; f) bureaucratic and hierarchic pattern of management; g) exclusion of Civil Society from the decision making process; h) opacity and impermeability of policies and state agencies to citizens and users; i) lack of social control and of evaluation of policies and social programs⁵.

Many proposals were developed to deal with this situation and a number were also specifically cast within the 1988 Constitution, referred to at the time as the “citizens charter”. Of key importance were the decentralization and citizen participation in the formulation and implementation of social policies. These were seen as the main mechanisms of democratization that would guarantee the necessary changes in the previous system.

But the democratization process and the demands for public services and more benefits had to face limits that came with the second feature mentioned above: inflation and the fiscal crisis. By the 90s, the scarcity of funds became a core issue, due to the limits it imposed on the capacity of the State to answer the growing demands in the social area. Slowly and in a number of at times competing manners mixed with concerns about democratization and equity, the discussion of efficiency, efficacy and effectiveness of state action was introduced into the public agenda, as well as overall concerns with the quality of the public services.

By the mid 90’s, this new agenda was becoming clearer: decentralization, seen as a means to democratization but also as a way to use resources more effectively; the establishment of priorities (selectivity or focalization), due to the urgent demands associated with the crisis and the process of fiscal adjustment; new forms of articulation between State and Civil Society, including the democratization of decision-making processes as well as

⁵ FARAH, 2000

participation of civil society organizations and the private sector in the provision of public services; new forms of management of public policies and governmental institutions, to give them more efficiency and effectiveness.

5. New policies and new processes at the sub-national government

The programs from the Public Management and Citizenship's data bank show some trends that have affinities with the reform agendas that emerged in the 80s and in the 90s in Brazil⁶. They suggest that under the impact of democratization and the fiscal crisis constraints, and influenced by the reform agendas related to public policies and public management, a process of effective reform is taking place at a sub-national, mainly municipal, level.

The sub-national government initiatives include important changes on public policies as well as in public management in Brazil, affecting both the policies contents and the processes associated to the promotion of social policies. Two themes are worth highlighting: the presence of new policies and the creation of new political and administrative processes.

New policies

Concerning the contents of Social Policy, the inclusion of new areas in the sub-national government's scope of action occurs, as well as innovations in the approach to Social Policy itself.

Here a key issue and growing trend, at least sub-nationally, is the concern with policies and programs focusing on segments of the Brazilian population that were until recently only considered in a marginal way by local and state governments. Thus, for example, there are a number of key policy actions with a focus on children and adolescents, elderly people, women, people with disabilities and the indigenous communities. These are areas in which there is a more expressive presence of sub-national government action, again mainly municipal.

These can be considered as "new" because they are new areas of intervention for sub-national governments and until recently were centralized in the federal government. But they are also new because they oppose the assistance perspective dominant in the previous

⁶ FARAH, 2001b

period and replace this with what can be called the rights approach⁷. The recognition of gender, ethnic and age differences, for example, is in fact a novelty for Social Policy in Brazil and an important step to enlarging the space of citizenship.

The rights approach can be seen in policies related to each one of the above-mentioned focus populations. Initiatives targeting elderly people try to socially integrate this segment of the population through programs of integral care, which include activities in areas such as health care, job training, leisure, and psychological support⁸. Programs for people with mental or physical disabilities, on the other hand, include the “humanization” of health care as well as the social integration of those who have disabilities⁹. The gender perspective is slowly being integrated into social policies, not only through policies specifically directed at women, but also through a transversal approach with the gender perspective appearing across different sectors.

An increasing number of local government programs are directed at children and youths. These are actions that are committed to the social integration of children and youths living under personal or social risk situations (such as living in the streets, without families or not in school). These are programs which have as a key reference a new national legal framework – the Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente – Children and Youth Statute, from 1990 which sought to break with the repressive-assistance emphasis that was a characteristic of previous Brazilian programs. The new programs have an integral approach, that is, they include a whole set of services aimed at the social integration of the children and adolescents. There are activities related to professional qualification, reintegration with school and family, sexual orientation, as well as leisure, cultural and health activities¹⁰.

⁷ SPINK, 2000

⁸ Examples from the Program: the Centro de Referência e Assistência a Idosos (Elderly People Assistance and Reference Center), from the municipality of Vitória, Espírito Santo, which provides health care to elderly people comprising a series of complementary actions such as leisure, sports, cultural activities, and psychological support.

⁹ Examples: Center for Psychosocial Attention), from Rio de Janeiro municipality, which guarantees attendance in a “open regime” to psychiatric patients, as opposed to the psychiatric hospital model and Inserção de Deficientes no Mercado de Trabalho (Insertion of People with Disabilities in the Employment Market), from the State of Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁰ Examples: Programa Cidade Mãe (Mother City Program), a very comprehensive program developed by the municipality of Salvador, Bahia; Programa Miguilim, from Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, whose objective is to assure the rights of children and adolescents living in the street, through full assistance and Projeto Alerta (Alert Project), from Presidente Prudente, São Paulo, which has as its focus adolescents that infringed the law. The program includes as “penalties” the execution of services to the community, in a “assisted liberty” regime. This is an important example of a municipal initiative that goes against the repressive-assistance model that prevailed in Brazil in this area, which collapse has been demonstrated in the last years through a set of rebellions in one of the institutions of the previous system – the FEBEM (Fundação do Bem Estar do Menor – Foundation for the Welfare of the Person under Legal Age).

There are also policies and programs focusing on the indigenous groups, in areas such as health and education, which introduce an important change in the centralized and standardized programs from the previous Social Policy System: they try to integrate a general orientation in these fields to the specificities of each indigenous community¹¹. Increasingly, such programs are now complementing the very key and innovative actions that are being developed by the indigenous peoples' own governments in a number of areas.

New approaches to public policies are also present in areas such as education and health. In education, there is still the need to guarantee universal access especially in some areas of the country where in the 1980s, in regions such as the rural Northeast, in the 70% of the children were not at school¹². But the main focus in the educational sector has been the fight against evasion from school and against failure during the educational process. The emphasis here is on the quality of the educational process, through changes in the process, through measures related to the administration of educational programs, as well as through measures not directly related to education itself, that give support to the permanence of children at school¹³.

In health programs, new approaches put emphasis on preventive measures. Programs, promoted by the municipalities, replace the curative pattern that was dominant in the Brazilian health policies. An important example has been the Family Health programs, which emphasize the transmission of knowledge about health to the families, substituting programs, which focused on disease treatment¹⁴, now adopted by the Federal government. In these programs, multidisciplinary health care teams associate domiciliary assistance with ambulatory care, going to the communities - urban and rural - and carrying out preventive actions.

¹¹ Examples: Rede Autônoma de Saúde Indígena e Programa "Construindo uma Educação Escolar Indígena" (Autonomous Network for Indigenous Health and Program "Building an Indigenous Education System"), from São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Amazonas).

¹² FARAH, 1995

¹³ Examples: The Zero Failure Program (Zerando a Repetência), in Itabuna, Bahia, which seeks to attack scholar failure in the basic cycle through the reformulation of the didactic and pedagogical proceedings; The Community Center for Children's Education (Programa de Educação Infantil Comunitária), in Quixadá, Ceará, where the search for quality and effectiveness occurs through the transference of the school administration to the community and The School-Grant Program (Bolsa-Escola) from Brasília. In this program, the families that live in a situation of extreme poverty receive an income complement to maintain their children at school.

¹⁴ Several projects have this perspective, such as Programa Saúde Global (Global Health Program), from Joáima, Minas Gerais, Programa Médico da Família (Family Doctor Program), from Londrina, Paraná, Programa Médico de Família (Family Doctor Program) in Niterói, Rio de Janeiro and Programa de Agentes Comunitários de Saúde (Program of Community Health Care Agents), in Alcantil, Paraíba. Some of them were born as a initiative from the municipality itself. Others answered to stimulus from the federal government that was responsible for the creation of the Family Doctor Program.

There are many other “new” fields of sub-national government action: such as those for employment and income generation as well programs oriented to local development. This is a new area for state and especially municipal action, due in part to the reduction in Federal development action and to the decrease of economic activities and their impact on the level of unemployment. These new local policies give financial and technical support to the creation of new productive units and, at the same time, guarantee qualifying courses to small enterprises, producers associations, autonomous workers, workers from the informal sector and to the unemployed¹⁵.

There are also policies and programs for the rural area that head in this same direction: giving an impulse to the activities of small producers, through financial and technical support, and at the same time formulating plans of local development. Most of them are committed to environmental issues, such as water resources preservation, soil conditions and so on¹⁶.

New political and administrative processes

The initiatives that have been received both from state level agencies and especially from the municipalities have also pointed to changes not only in the contents of policies but in the organizational processes through which they are developed and delivered - their formulation and implementation. These changes include many different aspects, such as the reduction of the distance between citizens and governmental agencies, through simplification of procedures and an emphasis on the access to information about services delivery; qualifications programs for the public sector employees; development of new organizational mechanisms and especially the inclusion of other organizations, both governmental and non-governmental in resource mobilization approaches to seeking practical solutions for community needs.

A first trend consists of the promotion of integrated actions. This occurs through the incorporation of an inter-sector approach as well as through the collaboration between different agencies within the same governmental branch. The aim is to overcome the

¹⁵ An example is the Câmara do Grande ABC (Great ABC Chamber), created by seven municipalities in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, to formulate and implement a plan for the development of the region.

¹⁶ Some examples are: Programa de Verticalização da Pequena Produção Rural (Small Rural Production Verticalization Program), in the Federal District, which supports the creation of small agro-industries in the rural communities, further assuring support for the commercialization of the products of these new production units and Process of Sustainable Rural Development at Urupema, in Santa Catarina (Processo de Desenvolvimento Rural Sustentável em Urupema), a comprehensive program, which includes a whole set of actions such as technical support to landowners and to cooperatives; access to credit; fight against the pollution of the local river; reforestation, and so on.

institutional fragmentation and the sectorialization that was a characteristic of especially the Social Policy System until the 80s. Initiatives here are emerging from different areas of government action, such as children and youths, women, housing, education and others. The purpose is to stimulate the global development of the communities considered by each policy; an approach which requires simultaneous actions in different areas, such as health, education, job qualification, income generation, and others. Whilst inter-sector approaches are clearly a government initiative, there are also a number of important examples where the integration has been the result of a more gradual process beginning with the community in question and integrating other elements in a pragmatic manner as the need arose.

A second trend has been the slow but steady rise of inter-municipal consortium arrangements in a number of areas, especially environment, local development and health. These are important also because they show a different perspective on inter-municipal relations from those produced by the increase of industrial and commercial competition, leading to the presence of fiscal wars mainly between states but also between municipalities. The inter-municipal consortium is a new institutional design, developed in recent years following initial experiences in the 1980's. Through this mechanism, neighbor municipalities articulate themselves to deal with problems that require a wider geographical remit - such as garbage destination, water and natural resource preservation.

The consortium, as an instrument of governmental action, has also been stimulated by the decentralization of competences to the municipalities since the Constitution of 88. The use of this instrument varies also according to different regions and different policies. In some states, the presence of the consortium is very expressive, reflecting a stimulus by the state government to the use of this form of associated management. In the health sector some 143 different consortia have been identified and the environmental and local development area has produced a significant number of finalists for the Public Management and Citizenship Program.

There are consortia, which articulate and stimulate the development of economic activities in rural areas by linking these more clearly to the demands of metropolitan areas¹⁷. In some cases, this cooperative action on a horizontal basis has already evolved to a more complex institutional design; for example the Council for Greater ABC (seven towns in

¹⁷ Intermunicipal Consortium of Maranhão is an example.

the industrial region around São Paulo). This includes the participation of mayors, of representatives from the Legislative Power, the private sector and the community. The Chamber has as its objective the planning of the future of the whole region, including the search for economic alternatives as well as the resolution of problems such as garbage destination, water resources preservation, housing and employment generation.

A third trend concerns the participation of civil society and private sector in policy actions, through new forms of articulation between different government agencies and between these and civil society. In an earlier study carried out by the Program, some 72,5% of innovations examined included some kind of partnership with civil society¹⁸. Table 6 provides an overview with the data up to 1999, showing that in fact programs and projects run singly by a sole government agency are the exception amongst programs submitted. On the contrary, the norm is to have other public sector agencies, civil society organizations or both.

A fourth and linked trend has been the clear incorporation of different aspects of citizen participation in the design, implementation and control of social policies. Citizen participation, as mentioned previously, was a core item of the democratic reform agenda from the 80s and a reversal of the previous pattern in which civil society was excluded from the process of public policies formulation. This has taken place in both institutional and non-institutional ways. Following the 1988 constitution, a number of instruments for management of social policies and programs have been created, which include citizen participation. In the health sector, health councils were instituted at the local level. In the educational sector, councils have been created at the state level, and also at the local level and in each school. The presence of councils in education has also been strengthened through Federal requirements in policy decentralization.

In the housing sector and in urban development projects, since the eighties, there has been a diffusion of initiatives based on mutual help, seeking ways to engage the community in the definition of housing and urban development projects, as well as in the following up of the construction and the project implementation themselves¹⁹. There are also experiences with civil society participation in the process of budget planning, which includes the

18 SPINK, CLEMENTE & KEPPKE, 1999

19 Example: Saint Peter Project – Integral Urban Development of the Swamplands, from Vitória, Espírito Santos, which consists in a set of integrated actions on housing, sanitation, health, education and others – with the objective of upgrading the conditions of life of 15000 families living in Swamplands, at the same time contributing to the preservation of this area.

definition of priorities in the allocation of resources in a variety of different areas²⁰. The same occurs with policies of local development: different social actors are engaged in the discussion and proposal of measures aiming at the economic and social development of municipalities.

The inclusion of new “players” in the policies implementation process also means a new form of public service provision, which includes partnerships with NGOs, the private sector and the community itself. The execution and the management of public services are sometimes transferred to community organizations, to NGOs and to the private sector. In the educational sector, there are initiatives in which school management has been transferred to the community²¹. The same occurs in the health sector, where community associations have become responsible for the management of local health units. There are also experiences with water and sanitation in rural areas, with the community assuming the maintenance of the whole system. In the housing sector, as well as in garbage treatment, there is also an expressive presence of community organizations as central players²².

Finally, a critical issue in Brazilian public administration has been the presence of discontinuity of public policies with changes in government, especially after the elections. Fortunately, the programs, projects and activities emerging within the Public Management and Citizenship awards show a reversal of this trend and when asked about the reasons for some 80% surviving and continuing from one government to the next the answer is usually: it is because the project is working, bringing results and resolving community needs.

6. Conclusion

The results of the seven years of the Program suggest that, at least at the sub-national level of government and especially mainly in the municipalities, an important process of policy reform is taking place in Brazil. In the first place, new players are present in the formulation and implementation of public policy. The civil society is no longer outside

²⁰ The Participative Budget (Orçamento Participativo) developed in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, is by now being reproduced by different municipalities all over the country. In this program, a part of the municipal budget is discussed with the community that can participate in the definition of priorities related to resource allocation.

²¹ This is the case, for instance, of an education program for the indigenous community, already mentioned in this paper (see note 12).

²² Examples: Mutirão em Autogestão (Joint Work and Self-management), from Ipatinga, Minas Gerais, a program that has a NGO responsible for resource management and for the program itself and the Programa de Gestão de Resíduos Sólidos (Solid Waste Management Program) from Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, that includes recyclable waste street collectors cooperatives in the process.

these processes. At the same time, this orientation towards democracy and equity is followed by measures that seek to improve the efficiency and the effectiveness of public policy. The scarcity of resources is an important constraint that explains these new concerns.

The movement of reform in the sub-national level of government is not homogeneous. The general trends that have been identified are affected in different localities by specific social forces and the local political organization, as well as by the local government capacity. Some of these initiatives are born at the local level and, from a specific locality, began to “spread”, serving as a reference to other municipalities or states. Some others have linked themselves to federal programs, which define the great parameters to be followed by the sub-national level. But it is possible to feel, even in these cases, the creative presence of the local level, creating different variations according to the specificity of local circumstances.

The Public Management and Citizenship program, in its seven years of existence, has been able to attract some of the initiatives that are taking place in Brazil at the sub-national level of government. Through the dissemination of these initiatives and the analysis of the processes of change involved, the program seeks to contribute to the diffusion of the knowledge and practices produced by the municipalities, the states and the indigenous organizations, aiming to increase citizenship and improve public management in Brazil.

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Table 5 - The percentage distribution of the most present subareas for each of the years 1996-2002

Subarea	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Education	15,6	20,2	11,7	13,7	19,3	18	18,7
Children and Adolescents	7,9	9,1	15,5	15,9	18,2	18,8	13,4
Health	12,9	15,2	11,9	12,8	10,7	10,3	11,3
Social Work	2,9	2	4,1	7,9	6,3	8,5	8
Culture, Historical and Artistic Patrimony	6	5,7	3,6	3,6	5,7	4,4	3,9
Job training, Employment and Income Generation	2,5	4	4,8	5,3	4	3,7	3,1
People with disabilities	1,9	2,7	4,8	1,4	3,1	2,5	2,9
Local and Regional Development on a Sustainable Basis	3,3	4	3,2	2,4	3,1	3,4	3,4
Others	47	37,1	40,4	37	29,6	30,4	35,3
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Table 6: broad patterns of linkage amongst entrants 1996-1999 expressed as an annual percentage

Partnership with other government agency	Partnership with civil society organizations	1996	1997	1998	1999
No	No	19	24	19	20
Yes	No	27	18	17	19
No	Yes	16	13	13	13
Yes	Yes	38	45	51	47
		(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)