Bolsa Família in the Spotlight of Public Opinion: Some Observations and Theories on the Political Economy of CCTs

Kathy Lindert, Sector Manager
Safety Nets Core Course
February 2009

Preliminary Results – Not for Citation without Permission
CCTs first emerged at municipal level in Brazil in 1995, then spread to Mexico in 1997.... (Bangladesh developed similar scheme with food)
Spread of Conditional Cash Transfers Around the World

2007

Exporting the Trademark in LAC and Beyond: The Spreading Influence of CCTs.....
(including recent pilot launched by Mayor Bloomberg in NYC)
Why Are CCTs so Popular?

Three Theories:

1. **Implementation**: Technical design broadly aligns with political
   - What works technically
   - Broadly aligns politically
   - (This is not the case with many policies: e.g., labor, taxation, retirement pensions)

2. **Impacts**: Proven record
   - Importance of data collection, impact evaluations
   - Lots of evidence (internationally)

3. **Politics**: "Philosophical" appeal at both ends of political spectrum
   - Political support, votes
Why Are CCTs so Popular?

Philosophical Appeal Across Political Spectrum

Left:
- Social debt to the poor
- Poverty relief, “emancipation”
- Conditionalities as basic rights

Right:
- Not very expensive
- Not just a cash handout
- Conditionalities as contracts

Hypothesis: Conditionalities play a “political role” in garnering credibility, political support for cash transfers
Bolsa Família in the Headlines

An Analysis of the Media’s Treatment of CCTs in Brazil
Preliminary Results

Kathy Lindert & Vanina Vincensini
February 2008
DISCLAIMERS

• The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this presentation are preliminary. They are also entirely those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions of the World Bank, its Board of Directors, or the countries it represents.

• This is a research study. It has no links to the World Bank’s direct engagement with the Bolsa Família program, or the BFP itself.

• The findings are largely descriptive – based on the readings of the texts in the press, without cross-references to the actual CCT program developments except in a broad, macro-sense.
Outline – Media Analysis

• Brief Background:
  – The Quiet Revolution of Bolsa Família
• Objectives of Media Analysis
  – How has the press treated this quiet revolution in social policy?
• Methodology for Media Analysis
• Preliminary Results
  – Coverage of CCTs in the Media
  – Macro Perceptions & Tone
  – Micro Perceptions: Design & Implementation
    • Overview of Hot Button Topics
    • Drill Downs on Hot Button Topics
• Summary, Take-Away Messages
The Evolution of CCTs in Brazil

Federal Programs Consolidated into Bolsa Familia Program in 2003

Bolsa Escola (2001-03)
Bolsa Alimentacao (2001-03)
Auxilio Gas (2002-03)

About 100 Sub-National Programs (since 1995)

Municipal CCTs
Municipal CCTs
Municipal CCTs
State CCTs
Rapid Expansion in Coverage (Scaling Up Dilemma....)

Figure 1 – Rapid Expansion of the BFP (in millions of families and individuals)

Source: MDS.

But still relatively cheap at 0.4% of GDP
The “Quiet Revolution” of Bolsa Família

Innovations in Social Policy

**Brazilian Tradition:**
- CCTs pioneered in mid-1990s
- BFP launched in 2003 to consolidate Social Safety Net
- CCT model has spread to dozens of countries around the world

**CCT Objectives:**
- Alleviate poverty today via cash transfers to poor families
- Reduce poverty tomorrow by conditioning transfers on family investments in human capital (education and health)

**Technical Report Card: Good!**
- Improvements in registry
- Massive recertification
- Payments through banking system
- Conditionalities monitoring
- Oversight and Controls Network
- Innovations for implementation in decentralized context
- Building bridges to complementary services

Impressive Impacts

**Near Universal Coverage of Poor**
- 11.1 million families
- 46 million people
- 25% of population

**Strong targeting outcomes:**
- 73% of benefits to poorest 20%
- 94% of benefits to poorest 40%

**Reducing Poverty & Inequality:**
- BFP accounts for 18% of fall in Gini from 2001-06
- BFP contributed to 25% of fall in extreme poverty from 2001-06

**Human Capital Impacts:**
- School attendance
- Drop-out rates
- Food consumption

**Relatively “cheap” price tag:**
- Less than 0.4% GDP
How Has the Press Treated This “Quiet Revolution” in Social Policy?

Basic Question: What is the debate in the press?

“Macro Perceptions” of CCTs

• How much press coverage?
  - How has this varied over time and with changes in CCT programs?

• How favorable or unfavorable has been the press treatment of CCTs in Brazil? (TONE)
  - How has this tone varied:
    • Over time?
    • With changes in CCTs?
    • With political cycles?

Micro: “Hot Button Issues”

• Which design and implementation issues get the most attention in the press?
  - Coverage, unit values
  - Targeting, registry, payments
  - Fraud and fraud control
  - Conditionalities
  - Welfare dependency and graduation

• How has this attention varied over time?

• What is the flavor of the debate in the press regarding each of these “hot button” issues?

Key Point: Brazil has a Free and Independent Press
Media Analysis Methodology: Overview & Approach

How to Analyze the Media Treatment of CCTs?

• **Unit of analysis** = the printed press
  - Newspaper articles (reports, briefs, interviews, opinion columns)
  - Excludes other important media (radio, television, internet)

• **Study period:** 6 years, two social policy eras:
  - Pre-BFP Era (2001-03): 4 pre-reform programs
  - Bolsa Familia Era (2004-06)

• **Sample of six newspapers**
  - 3 national, 3 state/regional
  - Use search engines to identify all articles that mention CCTs across study period

• **Basic methodology:** catalogue articles into database
  - Read and classify all articles into database (types of articles, key variables)
  - Study patterns using quantitative and qualitative means
Media Database: Sample Methodology, Cont’d

Identifying Articles on CCTs Using Search Engines

All Articles Identified: 6,531 Articles

Articles FOCUSSED on CCTs: (“Focused Articles”) 1,991 Articles

Articles Merely Mentioning CCTs: (“Mere Mention Articles”) 4,540 Articles
Media Database: Methodology for Content & Variables

Overview and Classification of Variables

• Basic identification variables
• Contextual Variables
• Perceptions Variables: Tone (see next slides)
• Variables Related to Design and Implementation (see later slide)
Coding the “Tone” Variable: Inherently Subjective

• Tone Variable:
  – “What is the take away message on CCTs that the average reader will keep in mind after reading the entire article?”
  – Not tone of single quote, or headline
  – Whole article

• Inherently subjective:
  – But biases reduced by fact that all articles were read and coded by one person
  – Database Researcher is:
    • Fluent in Portuguese
    • Politically independent (not Brazilian but strong enough familiarity with Brazil)
    • Technically independent (not MDS or WB staff member)
### Coding the “Tone” Variable: Tone Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Tone</th>
<th>Perception of CCT CONCEPT</th>
<th>Perception of CCT IMPLEMENTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favorite</td>
<td>Undefined</td>
<td>Undefined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorite With Limitations</td>
<td>Favorable</td>
<td>Critical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>Critical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undefined (for info only)</td>
<td>Undefined</td>
<td>Undefined</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **No Tone = 0**
  - Perception of CCT CONCEPT: Undefined
  - Perception of CCT IMPLEMENTATION: Undefined
  - Overall Tone: Undefined (for info only)

- **Favorable Tone = 1**
  - Perception of CCT CONCEPT: Favorable
  - Perception of CCT IMPLEMENTATION: Favorable
  - Overall Tone: Favorable

- **Ambiguous Tone = 2**
  - Perception of CCT CONCEPT: Favorable
  - Perception of CCT IMPLEMENTATION: Critical
  - Overall Tone: Favorable With Limitations

- **Critical Tone = 3**
  - Perception of CCT CONCEPT: Critical
  - Perception of CCT IMPLEMENTATION: Critical
  - Overall Tone: Unfavorable
Media Database: 
Content & Variables, Continued

Overview and Classification of Variables, Cont’d

• Variables Related to Design and Implementation:
  – Coverage
  – Value of transfer
  – Funding
  – Registry, targeting & payments
  – Fraud & Fraud Controls
  – Conditionalities
  – Welfare Dependency & Graduation Strategies; Assistentialism
  – Complementary Programs

• “Drill-down” Sub-Databases
  – For themes in RED above
  – Random sub-sample 20% of articles covering each theme
  – Conducted more in-depth analysis of flavor of debate
  – Qualitative and quantitative
Preliminary Results:
How Much Coverage? LOTS

Substantial & Increasing Coverage (saturation by 2006):
- 6,531 articles over total period (only 6 newspapers!)
- Almost twice as many articles in BFP era
- Increased to 2,172 articles in 2006 – averaging an article every day in each newspaper!

**Increasing Focus on CCTs Over Time**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Articles Focused on CCTs</td>
<td>1,663</td>
<td>2,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles With Mere Mention of CCTs</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>1,209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preliminary Results: Macro Perceptions - Tone

• Scaling up dilemma: (2004 transition)
  - Scale up quickly, improve systems as you go?
  - OR: Pilot first, improve systems before scaling up?
  - How strong do core systems need to be before you scale up?
  - What sequencing is needed to strengthen core systems as you scale up?

Evolution of Tone of Press Articles on CCTs Over Time:
% of Focused Articles, 2001-06
Preliminary Results – Macro Aspects: Tone & Electoral Cycles

Elections Bring Increased Scrutiny, Criticism, Regardless of Program or Administration

Average Tone by Quarter and Political Events

- Mere Mention Articles
- Articles Focused on CCTs

- 3rd Year FHC
- 4th Year FHC
- 1st Year Lula
- 2nd Year Lula
- 3rd Year Lula
- 4th Year Lula

More Critical of CCTs

Average Tone

Year Leading to Presidential Elections

Year Leading to Municipal Elections

Launch of Bolsa Familia

Pre-BFP (Bolsa Escola)  
Bolsa Familia
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Frequency of “Hot Button” Topics

• What design and implementation topics receive the most press coverage?

Media Treatment of "Hot Button" Implementation Features: Frequency by Topic (2001-06)

- Targeting, Payments: 44%
- Coverage: 44%
- Fraud & Controls: 25%
- Conditionalities: 24%
- Unit value: 15%
- Dependency/Exit: 9%
- Financing: 8%
- Compl. Programs: 4%
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: “Hot Button” Trends in Debate

- How has the debate over “hot button” design and implementation topics evolved over time?
  - Important interplay with technical challenges and advances
  - Emergence of second generation CCT issues

![Media Treatment of "Hot Button" Implementation Features: Trends in the Debate](chart.png)
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Tone and Hot Button Issues

• What are the perceptions of key design and implementation issues in the press?

Tone of Articles that Also Treat Specific "Hot Button" Themes:
Share with Favorable Tone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
<th>Unit Value</th>
<th>Funding</th>
<th>Registry, Targeting, Payments</th>
<th>Fraud &amp; Fraud Control</th>
<th>Conditionalties</th>
<th>Dependency, Graduation</th>
<th>Complementary Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Share of articles with positive tone that also treat theme X</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Media Database: Methodology for Drilling Down on Hot Button Debates

## Focused Articles Covering Theme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>% of Total Focused Articles</th>
<th>Total Articles (Full Sample)</th>
<th>Drill-Down # (20% Sub-Sample)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cadastro (registry, payments)</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraud &amp; Fraud Controls</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditionalities</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistencialismo</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Dependency, Graduation</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Registry (1)

Operational Mechanisms

- What operational mechanisms get more attention in press?
- How does this relate to technical improvements over time?

![Press Treatment of Operational Mechanisms Relating to Cadastro](image)

(Sub-Sample, NOBS = 174)
Does the press pay more attention to errors of inclusion or exclusion?

Frequency of Press Treatment of Targeting Outcomes in Articles on Cadastro
(Sub-Sample NOBS = 56)

- Targeting Outcomes
- Errors of Exclusion
- Errors of Inclusion

2001-03
2004-06
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Fraud & Fraud Controls (1)

What is meant by F&E?

- All transfer programs have some degree of fraud & errors
- Technicians distinguish between intentional fraud, corruption vs. errors
- The press also makes this distinction, but the terms are also often used interchangeably
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Fraud & Fraud Controls (2)

Types of F&E Reported in Press

Types of Alleged Fraud & Errors Mentioned in Press Articles

- Clientelistic Fraud
- Errors of Inclusion
- Duplicated Benefits
- Corruption
- Official Errors
- Errors of Exclusion
- Registry Out-of-Date
- Fraudulent Interception of EBCs

% of articles on fraud & errors mentioning issue, NOBS subsample = 71
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Fraud & Fraud Controls (3)

Who Alleges Fraud & Errors in Articles

Sources of Allegations of Fraud & Errors
(Sub-Sample NOBS = 71)

% of Articles Cited as Source of Allegations of Fraud & Errors

- The Press/Media
- Hotlines & Complaints
- Federal Audit Agencies
- Govt Ministries

Government sources = 33%

NOTE: Reports of fraud & errors do not confirm fraud and errors occurred.
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Conditionalities (1)

Conditionalities Do Matter to the Press / Public

Debate on the Importance of Conditionalities in the Press
(Drill-Down Sub-Sample, NOBS = 193)

% of articles mentioning importance of issue (existence, monitoring)

- Existence of Conditionalities
- Monitoring & Compliance

2001-03 vs 2004-06
Which Conditionalities Get More Attention?

Education or Health?
(Drill-Down Sample NOB = 96)
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Conditionalities (3)

WHO Cares More About Conditionalities?

WHO Suggests Conditionalities Important? (Sub-Sample NOBS = 41)

% of Articles Reporting that Conditionalities Important

- Journalists
- Politicians
- Brazilian Researchers
- Program Managers
- Intl Org Staff

2001-03
2004-06
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Conditionalities (4)

Why Do Conditionalities Matter?

Frequency of Perceived Role of Conditionalities
(Full Period, Drill-Down Sub-Sample: NOBS = 86)

Why Do Conditionalities Matter?

% of Articles Highlighting Importance of Specific Role

- As Rights to Social Services
- For Incentives
- For Long-Run Structural Impacts
- To Reduce Assistencialism
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Welfare Dependency & Graduation Agenda (1)

Overall Frequency & Tone (Full Sample)

Frequency and Tone of Articles Treating Welfare Dependency & Graduation Strategies Over Time (Full Sample)

- % of Total Focused CCT Articles
- % with Ambiguous or Critical Tone

2nd generation CCT issue
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Welfare Dependency & Graduation Agenda (2)

Do CCTs Inherently Create Welfare Dependency?

% of articles mentioning WDG Agenda that conclude that....

Perceptions on CCTs & Welfare Dependency
(Drill-Down Sub-Sample, NOBS = 36)

- CCTs create dependency
- CCTs do not create dependency
- Neither; CCT should be designed to avoid dependency
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Welfare Dependency & Graduation Agenda (3)

What is Meant by “Exit Doors” (Portas de Saida)?

The Many Meanings of "Exit Doors" (Graduation Agenda)
(Full Period, Drill-Down Sub-Sample, NOBS = 24)

- Emancipation from poverty
- Tools to promote productivity and employment opportunities
- Exit from transfers (time limits, etc.)
- Dignity and citizenship

Examples of Exit Doors
(Full Period, Drill-Down Sub-Sample, NOBS = 24)

- Adult education and literacy programs
- Job training
- Micro-credit
- Health and food security
- Time limits

% of Articles Mentioning Exit Doors with Specific Examples
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Assistencialismo (3)

**Assistentialist or Not?**

- Not all articles that use the term assert that the CCT is assistentialist

**Graph: Assistencialismo: Accuse or Reject the Hypothesis?**

- (\% of articles mentioning Assistencialismo, Sub-Sample, NOBS=44, Full Period)

- \% of Articles Mentioning Issue and either asserting it (yes assistencialista) or rejecting it (no assistencialista)

- **Yes-Accuse Assistencialismo**
  - 80\%

- **No-Reject Assistencialismo**
  - 20\%
Informants: Who Accuses and Refutes?

Who Accuses CCTs of Being Assistencialist? Source of Accusations
(Sub-Sample, NOBS = 35)

- Program Managers
- Brazilian Researchers
- Politicians
- The Press

Who Refutes Notion of CCTs as Assistencialist? Source of Rebuttals
(Sub-Sample NOBS = 13)

- Beneficiaries
- Brazilian Researchers
- International Org. Staff
- The Press
- Program Managers
- Politicians

Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Assistencialismo (4)
Preliminary Results – Micro Aspects: Focus on Assistencialismo (5)

Why Assistencialists or Not?

Why are CCTs accused of being Assistencialists?

- Value of transfers: 5%
- Inevitable feature of CTs: 10%
- CCTs replace employment policy: 5%
- Fail to eradicate poverty: 15%
- Clientelism (vote-buying): 20%
- Lack monitoring of conditionalities: 25%
- Generate dependency: 30%

Why are CCTs defended as NOT Assistencialists?

- CCTs = Citizens' Rights: 10%
- Conditionalities prevent Assistencialismo: 15%
- CCTs = Educational Programs: 20%
- Electronic payments prevent vote buying: 25%
- CCTs inject income into local economies: 30%

Why NOT Assistencialists?

CCT = Citizen Right
Conditionalities
CCT = Educational Program
Proposed Actions Suggested in Press Articles to Reduce “Assistencialism” potential of CCTs:

- Tools to exit poverty / exit doors: 40%
- Invest in education system: 30%
- Monitor conditionalities: 40%
- Employment: 10%
- Integrate with other programs: 0%

Frequency of Proposed Solutions to Reduce Potential of Assistencialismo in CCTs (Sub-Sample NOBS = 26)
Why Are CCTs so Popular?

Three Theories:

1. **Implementation**: Technical design broadly aligns with political
   - What works technically
   - Broadly aligns politically
   - (This is not the case with many policies: e.g., labor, taxation, retirement pensions)

2. **Impacts**: Proven record
   - Importance of data collection, impact evaluations
   - Lots of evidence (internationally)

3. **Politics**: 
   - “Philosophical” appeal at both ends of political spectrum
   - Political support, votes
Why CCTs Popular: Theory #1: Intersection of Technical and Political

**Technical Design & Impl.**

- **Targeting, Registry, Coverage**
  - Improvements in Registry
  - Strong targeting outcomes

- **Payments through banking system**
  (efficiency)

- **Oversight and Controls**
  - Management tools
  - Audit mechanisms (O&C network)

- **Conditionalities**
  - Linking transfers to human capital incentives & impacts

**Political (Media + de Janvry)**

- **Targeting, Registry, Coverage**
  - Coverage rewarded
  - Errors of inclusion penalized
  (media analysis; votes – de Janvry)

- **Payments: Press Perceptions**
  - Payments through EBCs reduce potential for Assistencialismo

- **Fraud, Oversight & Controls:**
  - Press critical of fraud, less when controlled
  - Social controls councils important (de Janvry)

- **Conditionalities (Existence + monitoring)**
  - They do matter in press
  - IF monitored, contribute to favorable press
Why CCTs Popular: Theory #1: Intersection of Technical and Political

Philosophical Appeal Across Political Spectrum

Left:
Social debt to the poor
Poverty relief, “emancipation”
Conditionalities as basic rights

Right:
Not very expensive
Not just a cash handout
Conditionalities as contracts

Hypothesis: Conditionalities play a “political role” in garnering credibility, political support for cash transfers

Media Analysis Results:
• Conditionalities do matter in the press, public debate
• IF monitored, they are a “political asset”
• Contribute to overall favorable treatment of CCTs in press due to:
  ➢ Long-run impacts
  ➢ Help reduce perceptions of assistencialismo
  ➢ Boost credibility of transfers
Why CCTs Popular: Theory #2: Proven Impacts – Poverty & Inequality

% of the reduction in **inequality**:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BFP 18%</th>
<th>BPC 11%</th>
<th>Pensions 27%</th>
<th></th>
<th>2001-06</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BFP 41%</th>
<th>BPC 24%</th>
<th>Pensions 27%</th>
<th></th>
<th>2005-06</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

% of the reduction in **extreme poverty** (2001-05):  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BFP 25%</th>
<th>BPC 12%</th>
<th>Pensions 16%</th>
<th>Headcount Index (P0)</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BFP 33%</th>
<th>BPC 18%</th>
<th>Pensions 16%</th>
<th>Poverty Gap (P1)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BFP 41%</th>
<th>BPC 22%</th>
<th>Pensions 17%</th>
<th>Severity (P2)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Government outlays as % **GDP (costs)** (2004-06):  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pensions 10%</th>
<th>Of which, 40% are tax-financed subsidies (deficit)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

BFP = 0.4%; BPC = 0.5%

Sources: Lindert et. al. (2006) 
Paes de Barros/IPEA (2007)
Why CCTs Popular: Theory #2: Proven Impacts – Reported in Press

• Increasing investment in conducting impact evaluations
  – >40 evaluation studies of CCTs since launched in 1995
  – 16 of which have been conducted for BFP (since 2004)
  – Important investments in data collection (PNADs, cedeplar)

• Small but increasing media coverage of impacts

Source: Lindert and Vincensini (forthcoming 2008)
Why CCTs Popular: Theory #3: Technical + Impacts => Votes

- Voters were more likely to re-elect incumbent mayors when they were perceived as managing BE program effectively:
  - If had higher coverage
  - With higher targeting accuracy (perceptions of lower errors of inclusion)
  - If had established local social controls council
  - In municipalities with higher impacts

*Statistically significant results from 2004 municipal elections, controlling for other factors, for sample of 261 randomly-selected municipalities in Northeast. World Bank study by de Janvry, Finan, Sadoulet, Nelson, Lindert, de la Brière, and Lanjouw (2005) and subsequent paper by de Janvry et. Al. (2006)
What has Lula done well in Office?  FIRST MENTION
(IPSOS September 2007)

Bolsa Família: 43%
Economic Stability: 20%
Helping the Poor: 10%
Modernizing the Country: 3%
Other: 2%
Pro-Uni: 1%
Jobs: 1%
Increasing Minimum Wage: 1%
Increasing Exports: 1%
Fighting Corruption: 1%
Nothing: 8%
Don't Know: 10%

(all mentions = 54% for BFP, with “helping the poor” 2nd place at 31%)

Why CCTs Popular: Theory #3: CCT => Political Support for Lula
Why CCTs Popular: Theory #3: CCT => Political Support for Lula

What has Lula done badly in Office (FIRST MENTION) (IPSOS September 2007)

- Don't know
- Nothing
- Other
- Safety
- Unemployment
- Lack of attention to education
- Lack of investments in
- Lack of attention to health
- Air Crisis
- Corruption

% of 1000 respondents

Opinion Polls

(all mentions = 54% for BFP, with “helping the poor” 2nd place at 31%)
Why CCTs Popular: Theory #3:
CCT => Political Support for Lula

- Effects of social programs on evaluation of Lula government:
  - Dependent variable = favorability to government
  - “Index of social proximity” (social programs coverage; BFP = highest mention)
  - Statistically and independently significant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.291</td>
<td>0.000</td>
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<td>0.085</td>
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<td>1.365</td>
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<td>age_m60</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>1.984</td>
<td>0.048</td>
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Opinion Polls

Source: IPSOS (May 2006)

50
Why CCTs Popular: Theory #3: CCT => Political Support for Lula


Lula as "Teflon President": Ranking of "What Lula did good/bad in Office" (IPSOS September 2007)

Voter Patterns by Income Group (October 2002, 2006; IBOPE)

Opinion Polls
Policy Implications for CCTs

• Intersection of technical and political
• Scaling Up Dilemma
• Coverage matters
  – But errors of exclusion less so (ouch!)
• Targeting matters
  – Errors of Inclusion penalized (targeting accuracy)
• Oversight and controls matter
  – As does transparency in reporting
• Conditionalities matter
  – Credibility booster: ↑ LR impacts, ↓ assistencialism
  – Monitoring matters – not just “existence”
• Welfare dependency
  – Important second-generation issue
  – Potential political liability (perceptions of assistencialismo)
Bolsa Família, a nova estrela da área social

Bolsa Família: 94,2% das crianças atendidas comem três vezes ao dia
Pesquisa encomendada por O Globo, June 7, 2006

Ministro anuncia medidas para apertar fiscalização do Bolsa Família

“A questão dos pobres saiu do campo do clientelismo”, diz Patrus Ananias

‘Bolsa Família não tem porta de saída’
Educadora assume amanhã divi
O Globo, April 10, 2005

Fácil de entrar, difícil de sair
Revista Veja | Brasil
26 de agosto de 2007

Fantástico’ denuncia fraudes no programa Bolsa Família

Enfim, o Bolsa Família