



ULISA: Uluslararası Çalışmalar Dergisi Journal of International Studies

Cilt 5, Sayı 1 - Volume 5, Number 1

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Breaking the Ice: Recent Administrative Reforms in Brazil

Brazil has been shown as one of the superpowers of this century, beyond being a "coffee and football" country. The role of public administration reforms in the development of Brazil is remarkable. In this perspective, Brazil is a unique country with a federal structure consisting of 26 states and many local units, management, and reform movements. This article will examine the various dimensions of contemporary public administration reforms (marketization, civil society, civil service, performance management, intergovernmental) from Brazil's perspective. This article aims to examine the reform movements in Brazil's new public management (NPM) and governance framework and analyze the fundamental dynamics of Brazilian public administration reform in a theoretical framework.

Keywords: Brazil, Administrative Reforms, Public administration, New Public Management.

Brezilya'daki İdari Reform Hareketleri

Brezilya, "kahve ve futbol" ülkesi olmanın ötesinde, gelecek yüzyılın süper güçlerinden biri olarak gösterilmektedir. Brezilya'nın kalkınmasında kamu yönetimi reformlarının rolü dikkat çekicidir. Çünkü Brezilya, 26 eyalet ve birçok yerel birimden oluşan federal yapısı, yönetim kültürü ve reform hareketleri ile benzersiz bir ülkedir. Bu makale, Brezilya çağdaş kamu yönetimi reformlarının çeşitli boyutlarını (özelleştirme, sivil toplum, kamu hizmeti, performans yönetimi, yerel yönetim vs.) inceleyecektir. Bu çalışmanın amacı ise, Brezilya'nın yeni kamu işletmeciliği (YKİ) ve yönetim çerçevesindeki reform sürecini ele almak ve Brezilya idari reform hareketinin temel dinamiklerini teorik çerçevede analiz etmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Brezilya, İdari reform, Kamu yönetimi, Yeni Kamu İşletmeciliği.

Araştırma Makalesi | Original Article

Atf: *Ulisa: Uluslararası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, Cilt 5, Sayı 1 (2021), ss. 35-51.

Citation: *Ulisa: Journal of International Studies*, Vol 5, No 1 2021), pp. 35-51.

Başvuru 06.05.2021 Received | Kabul 29.06.2021 Accepted

Ulisa, Uluslararası Çalışmalar Dergisi, Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Enstitüsü (ULISA) tarafından yayınlanmaktadır.
Ulisa: Journal of International Studies is published by the Institute for International Relations and Strategic Studies (ULISA).

E-ISSN: 2602-3245 | <https://aybu.edu.tr/yulisa>

Breaking the Ice: Recent Administrative Reforms in Brazil

1. Introduction

The 1980s was a phase of massive progressive reform across Latin American countries. Administrative reform has affected all areas of each country's political, economic, cultural, and social behavior, primarily since Latin America's transformations into democracy started in the 1980s. Political and economic advancement, various national political commitments, incomes, and access to human and financial resources determine each government reform (Meacham 1999: 41). Moreover, many significant changes have benefitted from the influences and impact of external forces and domestic pressures to decentralize bureaucratic powers, like conflictual politics and privatization. Latin America is reconsidering the institutional changes implemented during the past three decades to enhance the government system. These efforts have been focused on the 'professionalization of public administration, making plans and monitoring of government services, performance in public service management, and governance' (Olavarría-Gambi, 2019; Yıldırım & Önder, 2019). In Latin America, the transformation of public administration has differed in scope and efficacy across governments. The size of the bureaucracy, the introduction of merit criteria for selecting officers, and more performance-based human resources have been three critical aspects of the structural change. In addition, the scope and efficiency of the reform of the public administration depend on the size of each country's political culture and system (Lora, 2007: 14-16; Aydın et al., 2020). Public administration reforms have greatly influenced Brazil's state capacity. Brazil has been one of the developing countries that successfully led the public administration transformation after 1980. The public administration reform process had a significant progression on the international integration of Brazil. In this perception, this article will consider Brazilian public administration in the context of a historical reform process. By the new public administration approach, reform movements will be examined in a wide range from "civil society" to "marketization".

2. Historical Development

Brazilian federalism follows a historical process dating back to the 19th century. The federal republic was established in 1889 by peace with the overthrow of the emperor. The first constitution transformed the existing provinces into states, provided the necessary powers to elect state governors, and created a separate constitution for each state. The Brazilian public administration is recognized for its comprehensiveness and sophistication. Furthermore, the history of the Brazilian public administration and, consequently, the state's constitution was characterized by the presence of authoritarian and patrimonial political conditions (traditional, bureaucratic, and political dimensions). In addition, its high level of heterogeneity is another component that deserves research interest, primarily due to the income inequalities between the federal and local levels. Due to an accelerating period of modernization and rapid economic and social change, the authoritarian regime implemented the first significant administrative restructuring in the 1930s. Brazil passed from an agricultural economy to an industrial, but civil service was hardly the classical Weberian principle of the bureaucratic system (Cavalcante, 2018: 888). According to Reining (1945) The regime of Getulio Vargas has created a massive transformation in the federal government of Brazil. A vast centralization has taken place whereby the States rights direction of the post- Empire period 1889-1930 was reversed, and both the states and the municipalities were brought under control. (Reining, 2020). The first step to correct this was taken in the constitution of 1934, wherein the policy was stated that competitive tests for office should restrict appointment. The Federal Civil Service Council was superseded in July 1938 by the single-headed DASP (Departamento Administrativo do Serviço Público) (Reining, 1945: 537-540). Through DASP, the basic structure of the administrative apparatus is promoted by instituting the public tender, the rules for admission and training of

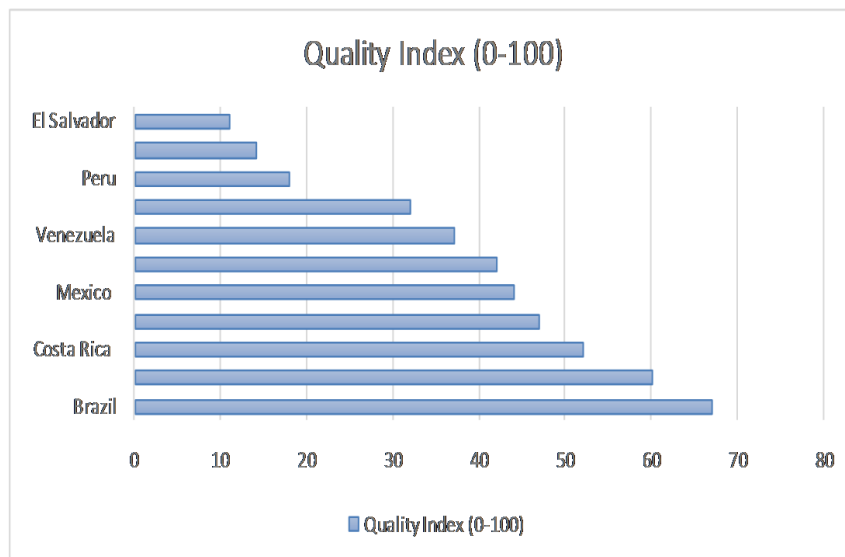
civil servants. Besides the creation of DASP, the government of Vargas was marked by social achievements, such as labor laws, the secret vote, and the right to vote for women. This phase became known as bureaucratic reform was the first attempt to reform public administration, that is, to eliminate practices whose applications were shown to be exhausted.

The bureaucratic model sought to modernize the public machine, based on the Taylorist, Fayolian and Weberian paradigms, based on administrative theory imported from more developed countries (Önder, 1998). In this context, Brazilian bureaucracy inspired by these paradigms was constituted by principles that emphasized the rationalization of public administration in search of efficiency through professionalization, formalism, impersonality, and functional hierarchy. DASP has progressed as the main reform locus. The organizational or personnel functions have been highlighted in scopes, such as staff, expenditure, and performance management. According to Siegel (1966), the implementation of command and centralized policy led to the collapse of administrative reforms and the fall of the DASP, formulated as the instrument of change (Siegel, 1966: 53–54).

Economic deterioration and crises experienced in Brazil, have affected a long period of the military regime. The formation of the government's program in line with the principles of the free market started the neo-liberal reform period. The reforms carried out in the following period have reached the width that would profoundly affect the political, administrative, and social policy areas outside the economy, as in other countries where neo-liberal policies are implemented. Throughout the 1980s, the shift from military to civilian government was crucial for shaping modern public administration (Olavarría-Gambi, 2019: 12). Nevertheless, the process of re-democratization that started in 1985 and the change in the growth paradigm caused by the financial collapse of in-export industrial growth turned out to be uniquely tumultuous. The Brazilian polity and its economy began to spin out of balance by the late 1980s. In the 1990s, a new state is being established after the great depression of the early 1980s. This modern state is the product of profound reforms.

Additionally, reforms that will allow the state to function the market's roles are unable to perform (Bresser-pereira, 2015: 21). The first real market-oriented reform effort-was moved forward in the 1990s (Gaetani and Heredia, 2002: 4). One of the significant reforms to which the Cardoso administration is committed is the administrative reform. In 1994 the president decided to transform the old bureaucratic secretary of the presidency that managed civil service into a new Ministry of Federal Administration and State Reform (Bresser-pereira, 2015: 7). Moreover, The National School of Public Administration (ENAP) has annually conducted the FAPMI since 1996. Besides the inspirational goal, the prize has provided a comprehensive data source for studies and research aimed at increasing knowledge about innovation in public management. The primary focus of FAPMI is public management activities, projects, and programs at the federal level, including the wide range of public organizations (Cavalcante, 2018: 893).

Figure 1. Quality of Public Administration (Latin American Countries) Source: (Lora, 2007: 17)



The 1995 public management reform was the second significant administrative reform in Brazil. Public management reform started in 1995, with the 'Plano Diretor da Reforma do Aparelho do Estado' (White Paper on the Reform of the State Apparatus), and with the executive branch submitting to Congress a constitutional amendment to the chapter on public administration of the 1988 Constitution (Bresser-pereira, 2001: 131). 1998 Constitutional Amendment created a favorable legal environment for some of the main guidelines of the New Public Management, such as management contracts, to be implemented (Tripodi and Sousa, 2018: 236–237). In this context, The constitution of the state and public administration in Brazil recognizes three distinct phases: "the patrimonialism model; the Weberian bureaucratic model; and the managerial model" (Bresser-Pereira, 2001).

Cardoso administration (1995-1998) New Public Management Policies were integrated into the federal government. A specific department (Ministerio da Administracao Federal e da Reforma do Estado), Ministry of Administration and State Reform (MARE), was created. A ministry became a more effective institutional forum for the allocation of resources and political status. Previously, the MARE was created to direct monitoring towards federal government transformation, focusing on the development of management techniques, strategic planning, quality management, and civil service integration (Woortmann, 2012: 32). Increasing strategic planning flexibility has increased in parallel with Brazil's continuing professional development. Despite the progress of the reform of public administration introduced in 1995, its result was to strengthen the federal administration's existing meritocracies rather than transform the state structure under managerial principles (Lora, 2007: 18).

A central framework was established that would drive the reform and guide the modern approach to public administration. To summarize, the significant factors of Brazilian administrative changes were domestic pressures as an administrative model that posed problems and external factors as New Public Management. In this framework, during the first term of President Cardoso, which ran on a platform of macroeconomic stability, economic reform, and privatization, a powerful desire for change emerged in Brazil (Akkoyunlu, 2018: 19–20).

There had been a tree prior to administrative reform; Firstly, beginning in 1936, the bureaucratic reform established a professional civil service and the principles of bureaucratic

public administration. Secondly, established by the military regime was the developmental reform a kind of pioneering public management reform (Önder & Nyadera, 2020) that was discontinued in 1988, with democratization. Thirdly, embodied in the 1988 Constitution, a counter-reform tried to re-establish bureaucratic rules in managerialism perception within the Brazilian state. In this context, the history of Brazil's public administration reforms discussed in several phases listed table.

Table 1. Historical Development of Brazil Public Administration Reforms Source: (Author) developed based on :(Cavalcante and Carvalho, 2017; Gaetani and Heredia, 2002; Lambert, 1969; Oliveira, 2017; Ter-minassian, 2012).

Historical Time Period	Public Administration Reform
1822-1889	Building the national State and identity. The independence (Brazil became a Kingdom/Empire by its own) and return of part of the bureaucracy to Portugal brought a need to develop Brazil's own public administration under an absolute State controlled by the Emperor.
1889-1930	The State in the "Old Republic". Brazil became a republic. Patrimonialism as mode of public administration continued from the monarchy, now controlled by a political elite. The public administration used to serve this elite.
1930-1945	Building the bureaucratic public administration under the national state controlled by a dictatorship. Vargas centralized and modernized the state bringing in the main principles of the Weberian administration and professionalization of the public administration, creating the Department of Administration of the Public Service (DASP)
1945-1985	Military dictatorship dominated public administration. State pushed for rapid industrialization and economic development leading to urbanization and the creation of several State companies. Modernization of public administration continued under authoritarian rule with high degree of centralization.
1985-1992	Democratization, neoliberalism and dismantling of the national developmentalism. Economic stagnation and high inflation led to the neoliberal reforms in the public administration. Government tried to introduce some ideas of the New Public Management reforms along with liberalization of the economy. The Constitution of 1988 gave more responsibilities to states and municipalities leading to political and administrative decentralization and the growth of the public administration in those entities.
1992-2002	The state in the era of the managerialism. The opening the economy continued more gradually. Search for more efficiency and professionalism in the public administration with the attempt of "de-bureaucratization".
2002-	National developmentalism returned to the agenda of the federal government. Number of public employees gradually increased. Liberal trends were reversed in the economy, but some of the managerial reforms continued in the federal public administration.

3. Contemporary Reform Movements in Brazil

Brazil encountered extremely massive inflation supplied by pervasive inflation during the 1980s and through 1994 and repeated crises in the balance of payments. However, 'The Plano Real,' introduced by the then Finance Minister in 1994, and after that president, initiated the first successful stabilization by Cardoso Government (Ter-minassian, 2012: 4). With the Real

Plan, radical reforms have taken place in Brazil from the perspective of the new public management approach. Furthermore, the reform movement has brought about changes in the field of 'marketization and privatization'. The Ministry of Federal Administration and State Reform (Ministério da Administração Federal e Reforma do Estado) was created to lead the reform administrative reform process (Cavalcante, 2018: 5). The purpose of the program, called Plano Director de Reforma do Aparelho do Estado:

- Improving the democratic accountability of the state, understood as its administrative capacity to govern accurately and economically, with an emphasis on public services to citizens;
- Decentralization to states and localities of almost all social policies;
- Trying to transfer national policy from the Federation to States in part and fostering interaction between them (Cavalcante, 2018).

The reform movement includes optimization-oriented actions in terms of privatization, localization, planning and civil services. Post-plan process neo-liberal transformation moved from the federal government to local units. However, the most intense implementation of the economic stability program in Brazil was in 1994. With the devaluation in line with the "Real Plan", inflation fell, but this time the balance of payments gaps increased, and the country entered the competition. IMF prescriptions for the economic deterioration included administrative, political and social reform proposals in economic, regulatory work. IMF proposals for reducing the public sector, accelerating social security reform and rapidly privatizing public enterprises can be evaluated in this context. The expansion of the reform area with the suggestions of the IMF and the emergence of policies that will proceed in line with neo-liberal principles have been effective in enabling other international organizations to participate as active actors in Brazilian state reform. The World Bank and OECD have contributed to the process with detailed reports and recommendations on how neo-liberal state administration in Brazil.

Brazil's administration was carried out its State reform, mainly from the 1990s. In other words, the reforms generated after 1990, initiated during the government of trade opening (1990); National Privatization Plan (1990); renegotiation of external debt (signed in 1992); Plano Real (1994); breaking of monopolies and restrictions on foreign capital (1995) and the Public Service Concession Law (1995), will be fundamental for carrying out market-oriented reforms (Leme, 2011: 348). Following the inauguration of the Cardoso administration in 1995, constitutional amendments designed to reform the state have become significant items on the new government's agenda. In addition to a first constitution eliminating the state's energy and communications monopolies, quickly passed by Congress in the first months of the new administration, the Cardoso government sent Congress three essential constitutional changes to reform taxation, social security, and public administration (Bresser-pereira et al., 2002). Economic reforms or marketization reforms in Brazil, led by the Real Plan and IMF-OECD recommendations in 1990, are mainly the result of adapting to the NPM approach (Önder, 2012). In this context, the NPM perception on Brazilian public administration and administrative capacity can be analyzed in various dimensions.

Table 2. NPM Perspective of Brazil's Administrative reform Source: (Costa, 2008: 868-890)

institutionalization considers that the reform can only be carried out with the change of the legal basis, starting from the reform of the Constitution itself;

rationalization	which seeks to increase efficiency, by cutting costs, without losing "production", making the same amount of goods or services (or even more) with the same volume of resources;
flexibilization	which aims to offer greater autonomy to public managers in the management of human, material and financial resources made available to them, establishing control and a posteriori collection of results;
publicization	which constitutes a variety of flexibility based on the transfer to non-state public organizations of activities not exclusive to the State (devolution), especially in the areas of health, education, culture, science and technology and the environment;
privatization	which includes privatization, outsourcing and deregulation

To summarize, the aims of the reform movement of the 1990s, which is the cornerstone of the Brazilian reform movement:

- To strengthen the technical capacities of ministries to increase the administrative capacity of the state and to adopt new tools for the coordination and control of government-related actions,
- Reorganization of the state, to limit its direct action to the functions that the state has accumulated in itself more than necessary, to decentralize the provision of social and scientific services to non-governmental institutions promoted by the state and to customize the production of goods for the market,
- Improving efficiency and quality in services offered to citizens by adopting result-oriented control and incentive tools (such as rewards) for performance and development in business programs and processes by modernizing rules and laws.

3.1. Privatization

During the 1980s, the reforms proposed at the global level, mainly for Latin American countries, covered the theme of strategies for development. With the consolidation and hegemony of the political-economic orientations of liberalizing Reforms worldwide, there is intense pressure for developing countries to integrate and create the institutional arrangements necessary for the free functioning of the market economy. This process was marked by factors exogenous and endogenous to developing countries and presented two major movements within the scope of the national state. The first refers to the so-called structural adjustments, that is, the reforms whose centrality was to adapt the state to the new global contingencies, to the market economy, to trade integration and, consequently, to the institutional changes necessary for this adjustment process promoted by the World Bank and IMF (Abbo and Kura, 2018;Woortmann, 2012). The second movement refers to changes in the scope of the organization of State administration, that is, the bureaucratic-rational management model, striking and fundamental for the functioning and organization of the modern state in the 20th century. Brazil's public administration needs to be replaced and complemented by a managerial management model, more focused on market logic. The economic recession of the 1980s also contributed to the need for state reform. In this sense, it was due to a set of "exogenous and

endogenous" factors linked to diverse pressures and actions by different actors (national and international), that the reforms of the Brazilian state. Moreover, privatizations as a fundamental component of these reforms, enter the governmental agenda (Leme, 2011).

In this perspective, privatizations in Brazil were directly related to the Washington Consensus, held in 1989, which presented a series of economic recommendations that acted as an instrument of international pressure to adopt neoliberalism, mainly by underdeveloped or developing countries. However, highly instrumentalized by the IMF, the recommendations of this consensus were widely disseminated in Brazil and privatizations are highlighted. The main recommendations from international financing agencies as IMF demarcated as fundamental points by the Washington Consensus were: "structural adjustment of the public deficit, reduction in the size of the government, privatization of state-owned companies, opening to international trade" (Olavarria-Gambi, 2019). While not particularly large in size and scope, the Brazilian state-owned enterprise sector has played a vital role in the country's economic and industrial modernization and in causing the problems of macroeconomic imbalances that have considerably slowed the pace of the catch-up process over the past two decades.

Since the 1980s, the privatization plan started in 1991 with the approval of the Programa Nacional de Desestatização (PND). This plan has become the central text on privatization policy through various administrations. The PND described the aims of privatization clearly (Estache, Goldstein, and Pittman, 2001: 18):

- Reducing overall the Government debt;
- Encourage the state to alter the scope of its involvement by focusing social policy behavior and resources;
- accelerating investment;
- To promote demand and lead to the quality advancement of products and services; and to boost the financial markets by broad shareholding

The PND has developed a consistent and open legal and regulatory system for state consolidation, implemented by a series of incremental progress, often adapting to new demands occurring during the privatization process itself. The principles of localization and decentralization have been used in the privatization of public services in Brazil. Growing debt stocks of the states attracted the reaction of the federal government. As a solution to the local debt problem, the federal government wanted to transfer some services to the states with staff and resources. Privatization of public enterprises and public services in Brazilian structural reform gained pace, especially in 1997 and 1998. In this period, the source provided by the state budget from privatizations has exceeded 65 billion dollars (Bresser-pereira et al., 2002; Oliveira, 2017).

Brazil seems to want to consolidate its motivation for privatization through regional development reforms. The main reason for regional development projects can be explained as reducing inter-regional inequality. In this context, marketization reforms have been one of the central dynamics of public administration reform. Moreover, it has been the main pillar of public administration reforms in other areas. Efforts were made to promote a management reform perspective, aligning bureaucratic.

3.2. Civil Society

Civil society reforms are another dynamism of Brazilian marketing reform. The key theme in the restructuring of Brazil's public sector centers on strengthening openness, transparent governance, and responsibility. A comprehensive examination of Brazil's civil society reform strategies shows that almost half of the reform activities include those core values of effective execution (Abbo and Kura, 2018: 6). Civil society organizations and scholars were generally hesitant to participate in public safety and criminal justice reform problems in

the 1980s and 1990s because these players were the military regime's goals. During this time, mainstream human rights groups have adopted the required function in condemning individual human rights abuses committed by police. However, the broader and more nuanced questions in systemic reform, including collaboration with more radical policing components, have become far more complex. Cooperation with police reform in attempts to influence systemic reform was seen as a violation of the values and goals of civil rights. Civil society members' aversion to participating in negotiations on public safety issues was most likely also a product of institutional limitations on such participation. One of the important provisions of the 1988 Constitution was the development of modern structural frameworks to design, enforce, and track public policy to assure transparency of governance (Leeds, 2013: 4). The Constitution of 1988 defined a contribution to the restructuring of the civil service that would be accomplished by the modernization of meritocracy and civic engagement.

Furthermore, due to the reform of the NPM, the Brazilian state has succeeded in developing notable developments that connect government and society through organizations that use participatory mechanisms to combine social movements, community organizations, campaigners, and civil society leaders with members of different governments (Filgueiras, 2018). The marketization reform has provided a significant opportunity, as it were, to excavate local state-civil society relations. With the restoration of governance in Brazil in the 1990s, "municipios" started experimentation with democratic changes intended to encourage engagement in civil society (Baiocchi et al., 2008).

E-government transformation is a crucial point for Brazil's civil society reform aspect. In these perspectives, the processes of state reform in the 2000s, together with the development and utilization of information and communication technology (ICT), culminated in Brazil's e-government programs and strategies (Laia et al., 2011: 44). Brazil's Digital Governance Strategy (2016-19) is the core digital public policy strategy that provides a framework for programmers and activities. Brazil's government aims to mobilize the public, private, and civil society sectors to strategically adopt the advantages of electronic technologies to advance a digital government and public administration capable of serving an increasingly digital economy and civil society. Throughout this sense, Brazil has also considered the ability to emerge technology to promote more transparent and inclusive mechanisms with civil society as one of the main assets of the digital transition (OECD, 2018: 44).

3.3. Civil Service Reform

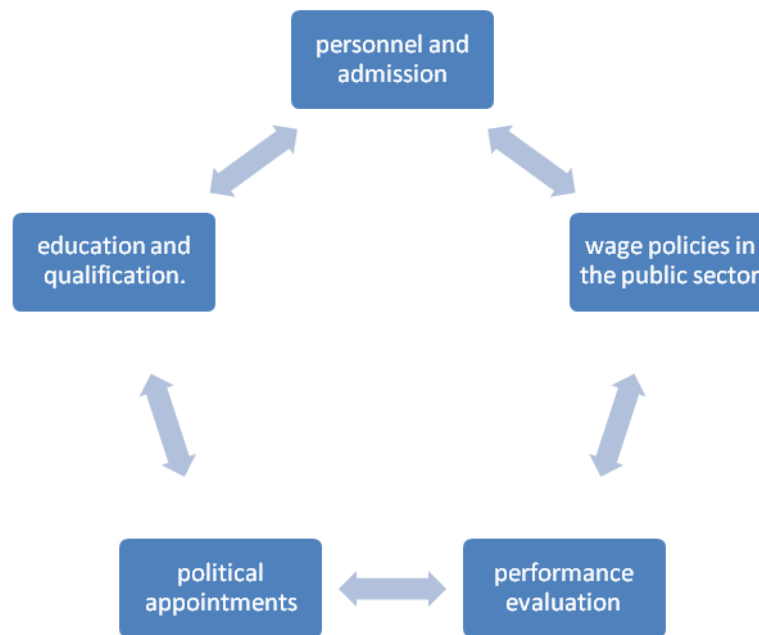
The civil service reforms are another point of the public administration reforms in Brazil. Brazil's public administration has three vital aspects: patrimonialism, bureaucracy, and managership. Despite reform efforts, all three persist in some level together, more or less intense depending on the organizational framework. Before 1930 political elites dominated the civil service. Government officials and other influential authorities have appointed public employees. Firstly, the Getulio Vargas policy (1930-1945) made efforts to introduce the bureaucratic and more professional model of public administration (Önder & Köylü, 2018), which, along with the role of the state in the economy and culture, also developed under his regime (Lambert, 1969: 171). The military regime (1964-1985) implemented some of Vargas' policies, including successful structure for the administration. The administrative changes began to take hold in the 1980s and intensified in the 1990s but are still tentative about the administration scale. Bureaucracy and patrimonial structures are designed to govern the public sector in Brazil (Olavarría-Gambi, 2019: 11). However, 1995 administrative reform in Brazil was characterized as a public management reform. Designed to replace the existing mix of bureaucratic public administration and clientelist or patrimonial practices in Brazil, the new managerial public administration reform broadly follows the "new public management" model (Bresser-Pereira, 2003).

The plan for a transformation of Brazil's public sector has professionalized the public service following the Weberian model as its central guideline. A few regulations were introduced to introduce these reforms to value merit-based federal government employees: "fair tendering, work security and career planning." After the development of the Public Service Administration Department (DASP) in 1938, a significant proportion of those modifications was established with the primary aim of encouraging the bureaucratic rationalization of the public service, having significant influence from the North American public service organization (Cavalcante, 2018: 14). The re-democratization, which began in 1985, introduced some significant developments in civil sector professionalization. The above adds to autarchies and foundations that peace already exists for the servants of direct administration. In addition, the establishment of government schools such as ENAP (National School of Public Administration) and CEDAM (Center for the Creation of Public Administration), both connected to the Secretariat for Human Resources, suggests a severe frustration for the education and qualification of State employees, previously rarely regarded as priorities (Cavalcante, 2018: 6). ENAP school was created in 1989, with the assistance of France's well-known "École Nationale d'Administration," to train high-level public administrators (managers) for the entire public administration.

To begin with, during its six years of existence, the school had six different presidents. More importantly, the training of managers assumed the existence of a particular career in management. Accordingly, the 1988 Constitution suggested a transition to the Weberian concept of merit-based governance by promoting direct administration and implementation for government employees of the Unified Juridical System (RJU). The new framework placed an end to public sector activities in the private sector, promised employment and full state employees post-retirement compensation, and created new divisions and occupations in the public service. The Constitution of 1988 also established the ENAP and the CEDAM, both under the Human Resources Secretariat, prioritizing public employee's education and qualifications. (Akkoyunlu, 2018: 19) The first would be responsible for forming new public sector managers. The second would be responsible for training and recycling public servants, aiming at a more logical and rational allocation of public employees. Complementing this policy, the Secretariat of Public Administration (SEDAP), when trying to rescue the merit system, prepared a new career plan, revising the civil service statute and a remuneration plan. In addition, MARE identified a new human resources policy that defined that only those with state careers (exclusively engaged in-state activities) would start to be recruited.

In contrast, performance standards should be subcontracted, and social and research actions outsourced. MARE also proposed that the existing public servants be employed by highly educated and paid well (Bresser-Pereira, 2003: 91). During the 1990s and the early 2000s, NPM also became a buzzword among liberal reformers in Brazil who saw the traditional bureaucracy as an administrative failure, an economic burden, and, contrary to the earlier belief, an impediment to democratic governance. 1995 Directive Plan for the Reform of the State Apparatus (PDRAE) was to transform the state apparatus based on rationalization, flexibility, and publicization. Regarding the professionalization of the public service, the plan focused on promoting the strategic core, in other words, strengthening government careers in both qualification and wages (Cavalcante and Carvalho, 2017: 7). According to (Cavalcante and Carvalho, 2017) professionalization of civil service is associated with several variables:

Figure 2. Civil Service Reform Dynamics in Brazil Source: (Author Contribution)



On the other hand, modernization of public management or administrative reforms is a process of changes following the State reform, whose aim is to adjust the functioning of the administrative apparatus of government to achieve the goals assigned to the public. The modernization of administrative reform denotes a set of changes restricted to structures and organizational processes in the public sector to improve effectiveness in its functioning. Then, modernization may imply redesign of structures of public organizations aimed at achieving more flexibility and quickness in the delivery of goods and services to citizens. It also may imply modification of delivery procedures, changes in the way public organizations relate to their users, seeking to improve user satisfaction, and changes in the recruiting, selection, promotion, incentives, and retiring systems of public personnel.

3.4. Intergovernmental Reforms

Intergovernmental reforms have spread throughout Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s. Every country, federal or unitary, with a reasonably powerful or weak subnational government, enacted initiatives to improve the function of local and regional governments. Decentralization impacts intergovernmental relations within federal structures. The stronger decentralization enhances the federal government's subnational sovereignty and decreases the hegemony of the federal government over sub-national governments (Vezbergaitė, 2016: 56). Decentralization has gained strength in Latin America with the re-democratization of several countries since the 1980s. In general, after more than three decades of decentralization experiences, the most relevant question does not seem to be whether this process will be reversed, but how much it contributed to produce more effective public policies. In its origins, inter-governmental reform was initiated to bring governments and their public policies closer to social demands and territorial realities. Moreover, it should qualify the implementation of actions, make them more efficient and reduce their costs, especially at the central levels. Thus, promises of re-democratization of the state before society, responses to the fiscal crisis in the 1980s, and solutions to governance dilemmas were mixed.

Regarding this last aspect, it is essential to consider the political context of the crisis of legitimacy of the central elites, especially their inability to respond to the economic deterioration of national states and the emergence of new subnational spaces of power. Decentralization emerged as a possibility of agreeing on agreements between the central and regional elites around an agenda for the redistribution of power that includes structural aspects but had its particularities in each country. The 1988 Constitution considerably expanded the importance of municipalities in the Brazilian federative system; it also increased its autonomy and financial resources.

In Brazil, decentralization was from central government to states and principally municipalities (Bresser-pereira, 2001:126). Two main arguments have been put forward in favor of decentralization: firstly, in a country with the continental dimensions of Brazil, the provision of public goods and services tends to be more efficient when in charge of municipal authorities. Secondly, municipal authorities are more sensitive to their constituencies, and therefore, political accountability will be improved through decentralization (Martins, 1997: 39-41).

This process was considered a side-by-side response to democratic governance and economic reforms that together would support the decentralization of political authority, administrative responsibilities, and fiscal resources. In the case of Brazil, it would help reduce the historic concentration of power in the national state in favor of greater autonomy for democratically elected subnational governments, which would increase their levels of "responsiveness and accountability". The Brazilian Constitution, adopted in 1988 after more than twenty years under the control of the military regime, represents a turning point in terms of the democratization process in the country and the development of autonomy of local governments. 1988 Constitution, a wide range of autonomy was granted to states and local governments. In Brazil, unlike most federative structures, local governments are not part of the states but part of the federation along with the states. Administratively, because of the scarcity of public resources in the face of increasing social demands, it would be possible to deal with them more efficiently and quickly. Administrative intergovernmental reforms in Brazil started with two units: decentralization of healthcare and decentralization of education. In this context, it can be understood that Brazil's inter-governmental reforms started for inequalities between regions (Gaetani, 1998; Pereira et al., 2018). In many countries, 'poverty and inequality are the main obstacle to the reform movement. Thus, it makes sense to direct reform efforts to the governmental agencies responsible for addressing these problems (Andrews, 2008: 179). Moreover, in Brazil, cautious action has been taken regarding intergovernmental reforms that started with micro reform movements. At this point, Brazil, a federal state, has acted step-by-step in intergovernmental reforms in line with the country's culture of administration.

Intergovernmental reform marks a shift in the essence of the intergovernmental economic connection. The primary restriction enforced on subnational financing has been modified by comprehensive monitoring of fiscal and financial records, which helps avoid unsustainable borrowing and, thus, a financial crisis. The implementation of the Fiscal Obligation has reinforced this modern strategy (Jha, 2008). Financial decentralization in Brazil has also been attempted in connection with localization efforts. The states were given more autonomy in terms of their authority to impose taxes, and they were asked to create self-resources. However, the provinces with low population density and weak development potential were largely dependent on the resources transferred from the central government.

As a result of the reform programs, imbalances between regions increased. Through Complementary Laws 243 of 2003 and 284 of 2005, Brazil established the decentralization and deconcentrating of the structure of the State Government and government actions in the capital for the Regional Development Secretariats (SDR) (Ensslin et al., 2006: 1-7). This reform culminated in the creation of 30 SDR in 2003. Brazil's decentralization process aims to improve the performance of government agencies and allow decisions to be taken at the local level to

expand the possibilities of popular participation and improve the service to citizens' demands (Oliveira, 2017). The decentralization process is based on guidelines that seek:

- to make decisions on a scale more appropriate to each case, deconcentrating the decision-making process, expanding possibilities for popular participation and increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of the state's administrative machinery
- providing a better service to the citizen, reducing costs, modernizing and streamlining the performance of the bodies of the governmental structure;
- ensure that government decisions are taken in the spaces closest to the problems, facilitating the effective participation of society;
- reduce discrepancies between different regions of the government; and,
- minimize the rural exodus resulting from traditional government centralization.

The effective performance of the SDR's is of fundamental importance to achieve the objectives intended with the Administrative Reform. Regional development reforms are one of the cornerstones of intergovernmental reforms in Brazil. In this framework, Brazil, where regional disparities are high, has taken steps towards regional reforms. The governance model is applied in the rural development project in Northeast Brazil. While the principles of participation, decentralization, responsibility, effectiveness, and transparency are frequently mentioned during the preparation and execution of the project, private sector and non-governmental organizations are identified as important actors of the project process.

3.5. Performance Management

One of the essential components of the Brazilian public administration reform is performance management. Reform movements in other areas (marketization, decentralization) have directly or indirectly affected performance management. One way for the public institution itself to monitor its operations is to carry out a constant evaluation of the performance of public management, to improve the quality of its services. Proceeding with a constant evaluation of the performance of public management comes to be considered one of the fundamental conditions for the success of the state's administrative reform in the various governmental structure (Mellahi et al., 2016). Therefore, the central focus of these reforms was to review the functions of the state and its internal administration to move away from the bureaucratic organization to a more efficient and effective managerial system of administration (Ensslin et al., 2006). The concept of managerialism was introduced to bring management practices from private enterprises and adapt them to the public sector to seek more flexibility (Guimaraes et al., 1998). The notion of staff performance management is not new to the federal government of Brazil and many reforms have taken place in this area since the 1960s. However, the history of human resource management policies in the Brazilian public administration is marked by a series of discontinuities and significant difficulties regarding the structuring of its central systems. The creation of the DASP, in the 1930s represents the first effective effort to establish a professional public service in Brazil. The establishment of a central body for human resources policy, the creation of new job classification systems and the structuring of staff, the establishment of rules for the professionalization of civil servants and establishing a career system based on merit are the most prominent measures of that period.

Decree-Law No. 200 opened up the possibility of structuring Auxiliary Activity Systems to manage the 'activities of personnel, budget, statistics, financial administration, accounting and auditing, general services and other actions common to all federal administration bodies" which, at the discretion of the Executive Branch, lacked central coordination (Guimaraes et al., 1998: 48). Such activities were subject to normative guidance, technical supervision and specific inspection by the central body of the system, without prejudice to administrative subordination

to the body in which they were integrated. Still in the spirit of reform, instituted a new job classification system. This new law also determined the transposition of a series of positions and jobs into the so-called Job Classification Plan (PCC) evaluations exist and good performance is necessary for promotion. (Guimaraes et al., 1998) However, in reality, and despite recent improvements, performance management plays a minor role in most people's careers and compensation (OECD, 2010: 13–27). Plano Bresser development shows (the "Bresser Plan") accelerated a more real thrust for the process management and ideologies being addressed in 1987. This government program aimed to implement flexibilization measures in the public sector by reforming organizational structures empowering and assigning responsibility for the outcomes of organizational acts to government managers and supporting general managerial practices (Woortmann, 2012).

In 1990/91, Brazil companies started a process of organizational change for which it used strategic planning techniques. Initially, the company analyzed its external and internal environments when the opportunities were listed vis-à-vis the existing external threats and the organization's strengths and weaknesses were identified. In these perspectives, some significant private sectors redefined organizational mission and implemented a new research planning methodology. Brazil's government was affected by these private sectors' managerial aspects. The implementation started in 1996, of goals and results programs for its research centers, based on the programming expressed in the research projects. The reform of the State apparatus proposed by the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government reinforces the need for state-owned companies to adopt measures to increase efficiency and productivity.

Faced with the challenge of increasing productivity and reducing costs, in 1996, Embrapa's management prioritized, among other goals, the development of performance evaluation methodologies at different levels of the organization (units, projects and people) (Guimaraes et al., 1998: 50-52). At that moment, the company defined, with greater clarity than it had previously done, the primary objectives of its performance management system. These objectives aim to identify: the production goals, how the goals are being achieved (measures of efficiency and cost control), and who is doing what in the different processes that result in Embrapa's products. Stronger action plans with the emergence of the PPA (pluri-annual plan) 2000-2003, where new efforts were made to rationalize the State structure and processes. These actions implicated aspects such as managerial training and development, internal and external marketing campaigns in promoting the image, as well as management techniques including organizing, monitoring, evaluation, and review of programmed plans and management strategies to be enacted (Woortmann, 2012: 30–33).

According to OECD (2010), The Brazilian career system has undoubtedly helped ensure a transparent and merit-based HR system, but its rigidity and high transaction costs also characterize it. Through a competitive selection into a specific and often narrow career, the public service cannot change to another career without passing another entry-level competitive examination (OECD, 2010: 12–13). Horizontal and vertical career opportunities are limited in Brazil. Performance requirements are minimal for staff to move up within job categories. DAS system (Direção e Assessoramento Superiores), which comprises about 22.000 positions including most management and senior management positions and also fewer senior positions, allows for a welcome degree of flexibility in the system, as entry is open to applicants coming from outside the public service (OECD, 2010: 13).

As a result, the adoption of the performance management approach in Brazil was complementary to other public administration reforms. Performance management also supported both marketization and civil service reforms as an essential part of the administrative transformation.

4. Conclusion

Brazilian public administration reform is considered a multi-dimensional reform movement that impacts many reform areas. Brazilian public administration reform motivation, which started in the 1930s, has evolved to various points with the new public management (NPM) perception in 1980. Brazil, which has implemented a reform movement in line with the NPM movement that has taken over the whole world, has undergone multi-dimensional reform processes. On the other hand, the reform movement in one area enables radical changes in other areas. For example, the post-1980 marketization reform supported both localization and civil service reforms. The multi-dimensional effect in the reform movement has prepared a reform ecosystem suitable for forming new reforms. However, civil political governments and presidents (Cardoso- Embrapa) played a crucial role in supporting administrative reforms. Democratic civil governments that came after the military coup government showed intensive support to the public administration reform process.

Another crucial point of the Brazilian public administration reform movement is constructing specific institutions to carry out the reform process. Institutions such as DASP or MARE have led the reform movement to prepare, organize, and coordinate the reform movement. These intuitional identities allowed the public administration of Brazil to perform as planned within an institutional framework. Public administration reforms, led by marketization and privatization reforms after 1980, were supported by digital transformation in public in the 2000s. The multi-faceted reform movements in public administration have an essential role in forming Brazil's increasing economic and political power on a global scale.

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