LAURI HEIMO

Discursive Construction of Conditional Cash Transfers

Analysis of a Global Policy Model

Tampere University Dissertations 1009

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
To be presented, with the permission of
the Faculty of Social Sciences
of Tampere University,
for public discussion in the auditorium D11
of the Main Building, Kalevantie 4, Tampere,
on 26 April, at 12 o'clock.

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
Tampere University, Faculty of Social Sciences
Finland

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The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

Cover design: Roihu Inc.

ISBN 978-952-03-3412-3 (print)
ISBN 978-952-03-3413-0 (pdf)
ISSN 2489-9860 (print)
ISSN 2490-0028 (pdf)
http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-03-3413-0

Carbon dioxide emissions from printing Tampere University dissertations have been compensated.

PunaMusta Oy – Yliopistopaino
Joensuu 2024

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Seitsemän ja puolen vuoden aikana ehtii tapahtumaan kaikenlaista ja kertymään paljon ihmisiä, joita tulee kiittää. Toivon, että muistan tässä mainita suurimman osan väitöskirjani ja akateemisten puuhieni kannalta olennaisista henkilöistä ja yhteisöistä. Esitän pahoittelut kaikille, jotka unohdan. Muistan hyvin NBA-tilastoja 90-luvulta, mutta olennaisten asioiden kohdalla on aina ollut vähän niin ja näin.

Ensin on tietysti syytä kiittää väitöskirjani ohjaajia Anneli Anttosta ja Pertti Alasuutaria. Kiitän Annelia jo graduni ohjaamisesta, rohkaisusta tutkimuksen tekemiseen, tarkkanäköisistä kommenteista ja tuesta väitöskirjaan ja muihin kirjoitusprojekteihin liittyen. Annelia haluan kiittää myös Pertin ja Ali Qadirin toimittaman National Policy-Making: Domestication of Global Trends -teoksen esittelemisestä. Tuosta kirjasta löysin väitöskirjaani vahvasti ohjaavan teoreettisen käsitteistön, ja erilaisten vaiheiden seurauksena päädyin löytämään myös toisen väitöskirjaohjaajan ja tutkimusryhmän.

Perttiä haluan kiittää TCuPSiin (Tampere research group for Cultural and Political Sociology) mukaan ottamisesta, tutkimusrahoituksesta, ja avusta teoreettisen ajattelun syventämisen ja artikkelikirjoittamisen nyanssien kanssa. TCuPS osoittautui väitöskirjaprosessin kannalta massiivisen tärkeäksi akateemiseksi yhteisöksi, jonka seminaarit toimivat minulle varsinaisena tutkijakouluna. Kiitän kaikkia TCuPSin toimintaan vuosien varrella osallistuneita sekä seminaarien kommenteista ja keskusteluista että ”retriittien” ja konferenssien illanistujaisista ja läpänheitosta. Muutamille TCuPSilaisille lähtee tässä erityiskiitos.

Jukkaa kiitän upeasti sujuneesta yhteisartikkelista, luottamuksesta rahoitushakemuksissa ja edelleen jatkuvasta tutkimusyhteistyöstä. Eetua kiitän vertaistuesta, kahden hengen pääkaupunkiseudun tutkimusyksiköstä ja yleisestä hengenheimolaisuudesta koko väitöskirja-grindauksemme ajalta. Marjaanaa kiitän rohkaisusta, neuvoista ja inspiroivasta yhteistyöstä näiden vuosien aikana. Kaikkia edellä mainittuja kiitän myös TCuPSin henkeä jatkavasta tutkimusryhmästämme sekä mainioista seikkailuista. Alia kiitän mahdollisuudesta operoida professorin sijaisena ja hypätä akateemisen maailman syvään päähän väitöskirjan viimeistelyvaiheessa. Hannaa kiitän mukavista opetussessioista.

Liisa Häikiötä ja sosiaalipolitiikan oppiainetta kiitän mahdollisuudesta tehdä tätä väitöskirjaa kahden vuoden ajan palkattuna tutkijana. Liisaa kiitän myös luottamuksesta ja palkkaamisestani menetelmäopettajaksi. Laadullisten menetelmien opettaminen Henna Luoma-Halkolan kanssa oli TCuPSin ohella etenkin väitöskirjan alkuvaiheessa olennaisen tärkeä osa tutkijaksi oppimista. Kiitän samalla myös Hennaa erinomaisesta yhteistyöstä.

Marko Saloselle kiitokset mahdollisuudesta tehdä mielenkiintoisia hommia kandiohjelman suunnittelussa. Kandiohjelman luomista koordinoidessa opin, kuinka yliopisto toimii (ja joskus miten se ei toimi), ja kuinka opetus yliopistolla järjestetään. Tämä pesti mahdollisti osaltaan myös väitöskirjan viimeistelyä.

Global Healthin Salla Atkinsia, Meri Koivusaloa ja Mikko Perkiötä haluan kiittää yhteistyöstä opetuksen, artikkeleiden ja Globaali sosiaalipolitiikka -kirjaprojektin kanssa. Sallaa kiitän myös rahoituksesta ja mahdollisuudesta oppia systemaattista tutkimusta uudesta näkökulmasta.

Gibrán Cruz-Martinezille kiitokset mainion työpajan ja kirjaprojektin johtamisesta. Antti Halmetojalle tutkimussuunnitelman kommentoinnista ja vinkeistä jatko-opintojen alkuvaiheessa. Chilestä kiitän Gabriela Rubilaria, Cecilia Osorio Gonnettia, Taly Reiningeria, Carolina Muñoz Guzmánia ja Dagmar Raczynskia kommenteista, keskusteluista ja muusta avusta tutkijavierailun aikana.

Sakari Heiskasta kiitän nerokkaista ideoista.

Summasille suuret kiitokset lastenhoitoavusta kirjoiturupeamien aikana.

Lopuksi haluan kiittää isää ja äitiä kaikesta avusta, tuesta ja kannustuksesta ennen väitöskirjaa ja sen aikana.

Lindalle, Alvalle ja Taistolle pahoittelut iltojen ja viikonloppujen kirjoitussessioista. Teille esitän loputtoman suuret kiitokset rakkaudesta, tuesta ja ymmärryksestä koko projektin aikana.

Omistan väitöskirjani mummuilleni Irjalle ja Anjalle.

ABSTRACT

Since the mid-1990s, roughly one-third of the world's countries have implemented social assistance programmes known as *conditional cash transfers* (CCTs). These programmes aim to mitigate poverty through strictly targeted cash transfers and conditions designed to promote human capital accumulation among those living in poverty. By now, the CCT model has been established as one of the most well-known and widespread policies worldwide, with the majority of them implemented as developmental social policy programmes in the Global South. Notably, CCTs have been adopted by governments across the ideological spectrum. However, CCTs were not universally embraced and were met with a considerable amount of controversy and criticism as well as with observations that simply giving money to the poor has the same positive effects.

Against this background, the extensive global proliferation of CCTs has been remarkable and begs the following question: *Which qualities have enabled the global proliferation of CCTs?*

The aim of this dissertation is to contribute to the scholarship on the global proliferation of CCTs, which has commendably explored the domestic and international determinants that have led to and facilitated the adoption of CCTs in different countries. This scholarship has examined the qualities of the adopting countries and actors involved in diffusion of these programmes. The main motivation for my study is that more research is needed on why this particular policy model has been able to proliferate so broadly to a very heterogeneous group of countries and political settings. From this perspective, two important elements in the emergence and proliferation of the CCT model call for new research.

First, the story repeated in previous studies and reports by international organisations (IOs) begins with the notion that the CCT was created more or less concurrently in Mexico and Brazil, from where diffusion to other countries began. While scholarly research has diversified from early overviews, an overwhelming majority of studies have continued to reproduce the narrative that Mexico and Brazil created the CCT model, which then caught the attention of IOs because of the positive results drawn from early programme evaluations. Accordingly, the CCT case continues to be used as an example of how IOs pick up locally rooted policy models

from innovative Southern countries and then engage in facilitating and promoting them. Existing research has paid little attention to IOs' involvement with the CCT model prior to the implementation of Mexico's and Brazil's national programmes.

Second, as CCTs have been implemented by an ideologically heterogeneous group of governments in numerous countries, there are policy elements that obviously appeal to a diverse group of policymakers on a wide scale or, at the very minimum, make it acceptable to them. Conditional cash transfers and their diffusion have been studied extensively, yet little attention has been paid to political decision makers' views on CCTs. Considering these shortcomings in the study of CCTs, the dissertation has two research objectives: *The first* is to explore the roles of IOs in constructing the CCT model and advancing its proliferation. *The second* objective is to examine the extensive appeal of CCTs to policymakers.

In this dissertation I argue that a constructionist reading of the phenomenon is needed to make a reasoned interpretation of the conditions under which the diffusion of this policy model has taken place. I approach the proliferation of CCTs through a qualitative analysis that focuses on the characteristics and creation of the global CCT policy model. I conceive of global policy models as *constructed policy templates carrying certain core features* and draw attention to the involvement of transnational actors and governance beyond the borders of nation-states.

I am interested in global governance through knowledge production, as well as dissemination and usage of knowledge, and therefore I apply epistemic governance as a frame of mind that informs the analytical choices made in the articles of the dissertation.

This dissertation consists of three articles and an introduction. In the first article, I examined how the Mexican programme PROGRESA was constructed as the innovative pioneer CCT and the consequences this had for the general perception of CCTs. Article II explored the roles of the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Food Policy Research Institute in discursively constructing the global CCT policy model and in crafting and upholding the CCT narrative. In Article III, I studied how CCTs appeal to a wide range of policymakers by exploring how the model was embraced by ideologically opposing coalitions in Chile.

Based on the results of the three articles, I present three arguments in this dissertation:

1. International organisations, including the WB, the IADB and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), played central roles in the discursive construction of the CCT policy model and in crafting the CCT narrative. I argue that

in the widespread proliferation of CCTs, it is important that the model was considered to originate from locations perceived as legitimate. I make the claim that the WB resorted to *ghostwriting the CCT policy script*, thereby expurgating its own central role in bringing forth the CCT policy model. In essence, the CCT model was strategically constructed as a novel and innovative policy in the leading countries of Latin America instead of the WB, which had largely exhausted its good standing in the region during the highly unpopular structural adjustment era of the 1980s.

2. The construction described above also resulted in a *discursively malleable* policy template, which could be charged with many kinds of meanings and understood and justified from different political perspectives.

3. As a synthesis of the three articles, I argue that for a policy model to proliferate globally, it needs to be *symbolically viable*.

In sum, the dissertation shows that policies should not be understood simply as strategic interventions to resolve or assist in resolving problems and that the proliferation of policies cannot be understood simply in terms of their efficiency in doing so. This dissertation shows that global policy models are also *symbolic* entities with contingent attributes and qualities. In the case of CCTs, this is evident—as shown in the three articles—in the way that the CCT policy model has been discursively constructed by IOs and in its capacity to convey different meanings and represent different objectives and ideals to different policy actors. Through the case of CCTs, this dissertation contributes to shedding light on how global policy models are developed and which qualities global policy models exhibit that enable them to proliferate and be adopted in different contexts.

TIIVISTELMÄ

1990-luvun puolivälistä lähtien noin kolmasosa maailman maista on ottanut käyttöön ehdollisen käteisavun -ohjelman (conditional cash transfer – CCT). Näissä ohjelmissa etuudet ovat tiukasti kohdennettu köyhille kotitalouksille. Säännöllinen rahallinen etuus edellyttää sen saajalta tietynlaista käyttäytymistä (esim. lasten terveystarkastuksia ja koulunkäyntiä), mikä ajatellaan investoinniksi inhimilliseen pääomaan. Tätä kirjoitettaessa CCT-politiikkamalli on yksi laajimmin käytetyistä köyhyydentorjunnan työkaluista maailmassa. Suurin osa niistä on otettu käyttöön globaalissa etelässä. Kiinnostavaa on, että näitä ohjelmia ovat omaksuneet hallitukset vasemmalta oikealle ja sosioekonomisesti vaihtelevissa maissa. CCT-ohjelmia on myös kritisoitu, ja samalla on kiinnitetty huomiota siihen, että ilman ehtoja toimivilla käteisavustuksilla on mahdollista saavuttaa samat positiiviset vaikutukset.

CCT-mallin globaali suosio herättää seuraavan kysymyksen: *Mitkä ominaisuudet ovat mahdollistaneet CCT-mallin maailmanlaajuisen leviämisen?*

Tämän väitöskirja sijoittuu CCT-mallin leviämistä käsittelevään tutkimusperinteeseen. Aikaisempi tutkimus on tarkastellut CCT-ohjelmien käyttöönottoon liittyviä kotimaisia ja kansainvälisiä tekijöitä eri maissa. Tutkijat ovat analysoineet CCT-mallin omaksuneiden maiden ominaisuuksia sekä tutkineet paikallisia ja globaaleja politiikkatoimijoita. Sen sijaan vähemmälle huomiolle on jäänyt, miksi juuri tämä politiikkamalli on omaksuttu niin laajasti hyvin heterogeenisten maiden ja ideologisesti eroavien hallitusten toimesta. CCT-mallin syntymistä ja leviämistä koskevassa tutkimuksessa on puutteita, joihin tämä tutkimus vastaa kahdella tavalla.

Ensiksi, niin akateeminen kirjallisuus, kansainvälisten organisaatioiden raportit kuin myös yleisluontoiset esitykset aiheesta ovat tarkastelleet ehdollisen käteisavun ohjelmia yleensä ilmiönä, joka sai alkunsa joko Meksikosta tai Brasiliasta, ja levisi sieltä ensin Latinalaiseen Amerikkaan ja myöhemmin muualle maailmaan. Maailmanpankin on usein katsottu olleen keskeinen toimija ehdollisten käteisavustusten tukemisessa. Tämän roolin Maailmanpankin on katsottu ottaneen sen jälkeen, kun Meksikon ja Brasilian ohjelmat oli käynnistetty ja ryhtyneen sitten esittelemään näitä ohjelmia raporteissaan sekä tukemaan ehdollisten käteisavustusten käyttöönottoa taloudellisesti ja teknistä apua tarjoten. Maailmanpankin (ja

Latinalaisen Amerikan kehityspankin) rooli ehdollisten käteisapuohjelmien luomisessa – erityisesti ennen Meksikon ja Brasilian ohjelmien perustamista – on kuitenkin jäänyt vähälle huomiolle.

Toiseksi, ehdollisen käteisavun ohjelmia ovat ottaneet käyttöön hallitukset vasemmalta oikealle. Mallilla on laaja suosio poliitikkojen ja politiikkatoimijoiden keskuudessa. Myös näiden toimijoiden tarkastelu edellyttää uudenlaista lähestymistapaa. Olen asettanut väitöskirjalle kaksi tutkimustavoitetta. Ensimmäisenä tavoitteena on tutkia kansainvälisten organisaatioiden toimia CCT-mallin luomisessa ja sen levittämisessä. Toinen tavoite on tutkia CCT:n laajaa vetovoimaa poliittisten päätöksentekijöiden parissa.

Tutkimuksen toteuttaminen perustuu konstruktionistiseen lukutapaan, jotta voidaan ymmärtää, millaisissa olosuhteissa kyseisen politiikkamallin leviäminen on tapahtunut. Lähestyn CCT-mallin leviämistä laadullisen analyysin kautta, keskittyen mallin ominaisuuksiin ja luomiseen. Käsittelen globaaleja politiikkamalleja konstruoituina ”sapluunoina”, jotka koostuvat tietyistä ydinosista, ja kiinnitän huomion ylikansallisiin toimijoihin ja hallintaan yli kansallisvaltioiden rajojen. Olen kiinnostunut globaalista hallinnasta tiedontuotannon, tiedonvälityksen ja hyödyntämisen näkökulmasta, ja käytän episteemisen hallinnan viitekehystä ohjaamaan analyyttisia valintoja väitöskirjan artikkeleissa.

Väitöskirja koostuu kolmesta artikkelista ja johdannosta. Ensimmäisessä tarkastelin, miten Meksikon PROGRESA-ohjelmasta luotiin innovatiivinen edelläkävijä-CCT ja millaisia seurauksia tällä oli yleiselle käsitykselle näistä ohjelmista. Toisessa artikkelissa käsittelen kansainvälisten organisaatioiden roolia globaalin CCT-politiikkamallin diskursiivisessa rakentamisessa sekä CCT-narratiivin muodostamisessa ja ylläpitämisessä. Kolmannessa artikkelissa tutkin, miten CCT-mallit vetoavat poliittisiin päätöksentekijöihin analysoimalla, miten malli omaksuttiin ideologisesti vastakkaisten koalitioiden toimesta Chilessä.

Artikkeleiden analyysiin perustuen tutkimukseni tärkeimmät tulokset ovat:

(1) Maailmanpankki, Inter-American Development Bank ja International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) olivat keskeisessä asemassa CCT-politiikkamallin diskursiivisessa rakentamisessa ja CCT-narratiivin luomisessa. Esitän, että CCT-mallin leviämisessä moniin maihin on ollut olennaista, että mallin katsottiin saaneen alkunsa legitiimeiksi koetuista maista. Väitän, että Maailmanpankki toimi CCT-politiikkakäsikirjoituksen (policy script) haamukirjoittajana, häivyttäen näin oman keskeisen roolinsa CCT-politiikkamallin luomisessa. Näin CCT-malli nähtiin uutena ja innovatiivisena mallina, joka on luotu Latinalaisen Amerikan johtavissa maissa sen

sijaan, että sen olisi katsottu olevan lähtöisin Maailmanpankilta, joka oli menettänyt legitiimiyttään alueella erittäin epäsuositun rakennesopeutuksen aikana 1980-luvulla.

(2) Yllä esitetyn politiikkamallin rakentamisen seurauksena syntyi diskursiivisesti muovautuva (discursively malleable) politiikkamalli, johon voitiin liittää hyvin monenlaisia merkityksiä ja jota voitiin tukea ja perustella erilaisista poliittisista näkökulmista lähtien.

(3) Kolmen artikkelin synteesinä esitän, että politiikkamallin maailmanlaajuisen leviämisen kannalta mallin on oltava symbolisesti elinkelpoinen (symbolically viable).

Yhteenvetona väitöskirja osoittaa, ettei politiikkamalleja tulisi tarkastella vain strategisina interventioina, joilla pyritään ongelmien ratkaisemiseen, eikä niiden leviämistä tule tarkastella vain niiden tehokkuuden perusteella. Kun huomio kiinnitetään mallin kvalitatiivisiin ominaisuuksiin, voidaan päätyä siihen, että globaalit politiikkamallit ovat myös symbolisia entiteettejä, joilla on monia mahdollisia piirteitä ja ominaisuuksia. CCT-mallin tapauksessa tämä näkyy - kuten kolmessa artikkelissa on osoitettu - siinä, miten CCT-politiikkamalli on diskursiivisesti konstruoitu kansainvälisten organisaatioiden toimesta ja siinä, miten se kykenee välittämään erilaisia merkityksiä ja edustamaan erilaisia tavoitteita ja ihanteita eri poliittisille toimijoille. Ehdollisen käteisavun ohjelmien tapaustutkimuksen avulla väitöskirjani valaisee sitä, miten globaalit politiikkamallit kehittyvät ja millaiset ominaisuudet mahdollistavat niiden leviämisen ja omaksumisen erilaisissa yhteyksissä.

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Article III Heimo, L. (2024). Discursive malleability of a global policy model: How conditional cash transfers transcend political boundaries in Chile. Global Social Policy, 24(1), 96-116. https://doi.org/10.1177/14680181231197218

1 INTRODUCTION

> Conventionally, policy is described in instrumental terms as a strategic intervention to resolve or assist in resolving a problem. From this perspective … policy is analysed objectively in terms of efficiency or effectiveness. And this is not entirely wrong. But it neglects the fact that the very same policy is a symbolic entity, the meaning of which is determined by its relationship to the particular situation, social system, and ideological framework of which it is a part. (Fischer, 2003, p. 60)

Since the mid-1990s, roughly one-third of the world's countries have implemented social assistance programmes known as *conditional cash transfers* (CCTs). These programmes aim to mitigate poverty through strictly targeted cash transfers and conditions designed to promote human capital accumulation among those living in poverty. Conditional cash transfers began to gain recognition after the first evaluations of the Mexican programme PROGRESA came out at the turn of the millennium. By now, the CCT model has been established as one of the most well-known and widespread policy models worldwide, with more than 60 countries having implemented these programmes (Honorati et al., 2015), the majority of which as developmental social policy programmes in the Global South.[1] Notably, CCTs have been adopted by governments across the ideological spectrum (Osorio Gonnet, 2014; Sugiyama, 2011).

Initial impact evaluations and broad overviews by international organisations (IOs) maintained that Mexico and, concurrently, Brazil created exemplary evidence-based programmes which yielded positive results regarding increased school attendance and improved health and nutrition (e.g. Inter-American Development Bank [IADB], 2003b; Skoufias & McClafferty, 2001; World Bank [WB], 2004). However, CCTs were not universally embraced and were met with a considerable amount of controversy and criticism (for an overview, see Landhani & Slater, 2018), as well as with observations that simply giving money to the poor has the same positive effects (Hanlon et al., 2010).

[1] The term 'Global South' is disputed and not particularly descriptive, but it is used here as a shorthand to refer broadly to mostly low- and middle-income countries in the regions of Latin America, Asia and Africa (see, for example, Dados & Connell, 2012).

Against this background, the extensive global proliferation of CCTs has been remarkable and begs the following question: *Which qualities have enabled the global proliferation of CCTs?*

The question is significant and of theoretical and empirical interest for global social policy. On a global scale, contemporary discussions about social policy principles and the course of welfare reform are increasingly informed by policy adoption in the Global South. As a concrete example, following the global proliferation of CCTs middle and high-income countries in Europe and North America[2] have also adopted these programmes or added conditionalities to existing social assistance schemes (Rinaldi & Leone, 2023; Medgyesi, 2016). Importantly, the decisions regarding the type of social policies adopted and implemented structure the direction of future reforms, as policy arrangements tend to become locked in and become fundamental institutional frameworks, creating constraints *on* and incentives *for* future political action (Myles & Pierson, 2001, p. 312).

Because of the magnitude of the CCT phenomenon for social and international development policy, an extensive body of research has explored CCTs and their global proliferation. The first wave of literature concerning CCTs was produced mainly by international financial institutions (IFIs), programme officials and development organisations. It consisted of evaluations and overviews that largely highlighted the positive aspects of these programmes (e.g. Morley & Coady, 2003; Skoufias & McClafferty, 2001). The second wave of research emerged around 10 years after the first evaluations and sought answers to the rapid proliferation of CCT programmes, either through the lens of diffusion (e.g. Brooks, 2015; Osorio Gannett, 2014; Simpson, 2018; Sugiyama, 2011) or through policy transfer-oriented studies analysing local political processes, global actors and transnational policy chains (e.g. Fenwick, 2013; Franzoni & Voorend, 2011; Peck & Theodore, 2015; Howlett et al., 2018; Morais de Sá e Silva, 2017; Porto de Oliveira, 2019). In summary, the second wave provided insights into the proliferation of CCTs by examining the qualities of the countries that adopted the policy (policy diffusion) and the actions of individuals and collective actors involved in local and transnational policy processes (policy transfer). Furthermore, Leisering and von Gliszczynski (2016; see also Leisering, 2018; von Gliszczynski, 2015) examined the active roles of IOs in the construction of different cash transfer models and made valuable contributions to the study of CCTs by proposing a well-justified list of factors underlying the successful rise of these models to the global agenda.

[2] For example, in the United Kingdom, Belgium, Estonia, Latvia, Hungary, Croatia, Bulgaria and several states and cities in the United States (Rinaldi & Leone, 2023; Medgyesi, 2016)

The aim of this dissertation is to contribute to the scholarship on the global proliferation of CCTs, which has commendably explored the domestic and international determinants that have led to and facilitated the adoption of CCTs in different countries. This scholarship has examined the actors involved in proliferation and provided valuable insights into the phenomenon. However, I argue that it has not fully examined why this particular policy model has been able to proliferate so broadly to a very heterogeneous group of countries and political settings. Therefore, further research is needed to shed light on the qualities that have enabled the global proliferation of the CCT model. I argue that a constructionist reading of the phenomenon is needed to make a reasoned interpretation of the conditions under which the diffusion of this policy model has taken place.

Therefore, I have decided to approach the phenomenon through a qualitative analysis that focuses on the characteristics and creation of the CCT policy model. I have conceptualised CCT as a global policy model. I conceive of global policy models as *constructed policy templates carrying certain core features* that are considered universally applicable to different contexts. Global policies can then be defined as templates that are 'developed, diffused, and implemented with the direct involvement of global policy actors and coalitions at or across the international, national, or local levels of governance' (Orenstein, 2005, p. 177). In conceptualising CCT as a global policy model, I draw attention to the involvement of transnational actors and governance beyond the borders of nation-states. Through the constructionist approach, I highlight that by the qualities of a policy model, I am referring not only to its technical components, such as delivering cash and monitoring children's school attendance, but also to the meanings that the model carries. If global policy models are understood as constructed policy templates, then the qualities are predicated on how the policy model is both formulated and perceived.

From this perspective, two important elements in the emergence and proliferation of the CCT model call for more research. Considering this, the dissertation has two research objectives:

The first is to explore the roles of IOs in constructing the CCT model and advancing its proliferation. The story repeated in previous research and reporting by IOs begins with the notion that the CCT model is a novel and innovative approach to poverty reduction. In this story, the CCT was created more or less concurrently in Mexico and Brazil, from where diffusion to other countries began. While scholarly research has diversified from early overviews, an overwhelming majority of studies have continued to reproduce the narrative that Mexico and Brazil created the CCT

model, which then caught the attention of IOs because of positive results from early programme evaluations. Accordingly, the CCT case continues to be used as an example of how IOs pick up locally rooted policy models from innovative Southern countries and then engage in facilitating and promoting them.

Existing research has paid little attention to IOs' involvement with the CCT model *prior* to the implementation of Mexico's and Brazil's national programmes. The predominant narrative on the genesis of CCTs disregards certain essentially similar policies that existed before the Mexican and Brazilian CCT programmes, some of which were designed and financed by the WB and the IADB. In addition, their involvement in the creation of the Mexican CCT has been well documented. Therefore, there is a need to explore and scrutinise the roles of IOs—the WB and the IADB in particular—in the construction and proliferation of CCTs. This first objective is emphasised in the dissertation, as both Articles I and II tackle this issue from different perspectives.

The second objective is to examine the extensive appeal of CCTs to policymakers. As CCTs have been implemented by an ideologically heterogeneous group of governments in numerous countries, there are policy elements that obviously appeal to a diverse group of policymakers on a wide scale or, at the very minimum, make it acceptable to them. Conditional cash transfers and their diffusion have been studied extensively, yet little attention has been paid to political decision makers' views on CCTs. As the research goal is to tackle the broad question regarding the qualities that have enabled the CCT model to proliferate at such a scale, there is a need to further examine how CCTs appeal to a wide range of political decision makers.

This dissertation contributes to the scholarship on CCT proliferation through a theoretical framework that is, in broad terms, informed by *social constructionism* and *methodological transnationalism*. In more concrete terms, this means tapping into different interpretive analytical lenses through which I examine the global policy model. I build on the constructionist take on policy diffusion, which is grounded on sociological neo-institutionalism (e.g. DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer et al., 1997; Strang & Meyer, 1993), and on research conducted on *epistemic governance* (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014a, 2019) in the Tampere Research Group for Cultural and Political Sociology (TCuPS). I am interested in global governance through knowledge production, dissemination and usage and therefore I apply epistemic governance as a frame of mind that informs the analytical choices made in the articles of the dissertation.

From a constructionist perspective, 'understanding how public policies become socially accepted is the key to understanding their proliferation' (Dobbin et al., p.

452). Starting from this premise, this dissertation reverses the analytical perspective favoured in the literature on CCT diffusion and shifts the focus from the qualities of countries and the processes leading to policy adoption to the qualities of the policy model by examining CCTs through the meanings attached to them. This entails analysing ideas and discourse entwined with the policy model because meaning is central to understanding human action, and communicative interaction through ideas and discourse is central to conveying meaning in policy processes (Schmidt, 2008). Thus, the essence of policymaking can be seen as a discursive struggle over ideas:

> All political conflict revolves around ideas. Policy making, in turn, is a constant struggle over the criteria for classification, the boundaries of categories, and the definition of ideals that guide the way people behave. (Deborah Stone, 2012, p. 13)

In summary, the central element in the discursive struggle over ideas in policymaking is *what is done to and with these ideas*. Therefore, exploring ideas is vital to understanding how public policies become socially and thus politically accepted. What follows from this is that policies should not be understood simply as strategic interventions to resolve or assist in resolving problems and that the proliferation of policies cannot be understood simply in terms of their efficiency in doing so. The measured efficiency in obtaining the goals set for a policy is undoubtedly a central part of its social and political acceptance. However, this dissertation shows that global policy models are also *symbolic* entities with contingent attributes and qualities. In the case of CCTs, this is evident—as shown in the three articles—in the way that the CCT policy model has been discursively constructed by IOs and in its capacity to convey different meanings and represent different objectives and ideals to different policy actors. Through the case of CCTs, this dissertation contributes to shedding light on how global policy models are developed and which qualities global policy models exhibit that enable them to proliferate and be adopted in different contexts.

Based on the results of the three articles, I make three arguments in this dissertation:

1. International organisations, including the WB, the IADB and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), played central roles in the discursive construction of the CCT policy model and in crafting the CCT narrative. It has been established that country examples, theorisation and perceived cultural and political ties and links to national contexts and conditions are important in explaining the adoption of policy models (Dobbin et al., 2007; Leisering, 2018; Leisering & von Gliszczynski, 2016; Rautalin et al., 2021; Rautalin et al., 2023; Strang & Meyer, 1993;

Syväterä, 2016). This has important implications for the construction of policy models. Administrations do not follow country examples or emulate just anyone's policies, and they do not take policy advice from just anyone. I argue that in the widespread proliferation of CCTs, it is important that the model was considered to originate from locations *perceived* as legitimate. I make the claim that the WB resorted to ghostwriting the *CCT policy script*, thereby expurgating its own central role in bringing forth the CCT policy model. In essence, the CCT model was strategically constructed as a novel and innovative policy in the leading countries of Latin America instead of the WB, which had largely exhausted its good standing in the region during the highly unpopular structural adjustment era of the 1980s.[3]

2. The construction also resulted in a *discursively malleable* policy template, which could be charged with many kinds of meanings and understood and justified from different political perspectives. I argue that discursive malleability is an important quality in explaining how a policy model can resonate among or appeal to such a wide range of policymakers. Based on this, the CCT policy model could be seen as having the capacity to convey different meanings to different people, allowing it to be interpreted to fit a variety of different perspectives and thus helping in building a consensus between different political camps.

3. As a synthesis of the three articles, I argue that for a policy model to proliferate globally, it needs to be *symbolically viable*.

This dissertation consists of three articles and this introduction that together build a case for the above claims. This introductory chapter elaborates on the research approach, background, theoretical framework and methodological choices of the three articles. It broadens the scope of the three articles, which are concise. In addition, this introduction makes an independent contribution by discussing the qualities of the CCT model through the concept of *viability*. Throughout this chapter, the term 'dissertation' refers to the three articles in addition to this introductory chapter.

In the first article, I examined how the Mexican programme PROGRESA was constructed as the innovative pioneer CCT and the consequences this had for the

[3] The following definition by Babb (2012) captures the essential features of structural adjustment: 'Structural adjustment refers to a set of related economic policy reforms implemented by developing countries, beginning in the 1980s, with the support of international financial institutions (IFIs), particularly the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The term is usually used to refer simultaneously to two distinct types of reforms: short-term fiscal and monetary policies designed to control inflation and stabilize domestic currencies; and long-term structural reforms designed to open national economies to market forces, such as removing trade barriers and privatizing state-owned industries' (Structural adjustment section, The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization, Online library).

general perception of CCTs. Article II explored the roles of the WB, the IADB and the IFPRI in discursively constructing the global CCT policy model and in crafting and upholding the CCT narrative. In Article III, I studied how CCTs appeal to a wide range of policymakers by exploring how the model was embraced by ideologically opposing coalitions in Chile.

This introductory chapter consists of nine sections. In Section 2, I tackle the question of what is talked about when CCTs and their global proliferation are talked about. I contextualise the phenomenon under study by discussing it as a *global policy model* and a *policy idea*. In Section 3, I discuss the body of research that has explored CCTs and their global proliferation, assess their contributions and limitations and elaborate on the gaps that this dissertation aims to address. In Section 4, I outline the aims and objectives of this research, and in Section 5, I present an overview of the theoretical framework of the dissertation. This is followed by Section 6, in which I provide the methodological approach of this study. I have titled Section 7 'Results' and use this section to elaborate on the three arguments made in this introduction. In Section 9, I present the conclusions of the dissertation and reflect on its limitations and avenues for further research.

2 BACKGROUND

In social policy vocabulary, the programme design that was packaged as a CCT policy model is a non-contributory[4] social assistance scheme designed to distribute cash to households whose income falls below a predetermined threshold of income poverty, on the condition that the beneficiary household's children use supply-side services in the form of schooling and healthcare. The combination of behavioural conditions and cash is considered to result in an increased capacity to overcome intergenerational poverty through accumulated human capital; failure to meet these requirements generally results in suspension of parts of the benefit, removal from the programme or, in some cases, an intervention by a social worker (Lindert et al., 2007). Based largely on the design features of the Brazilian programme Bolsa Escola[5] and the Mexican PROGRESA[6], the paradigmatic *model* has been codified to consist of three key features: *a monetary transfer* instead of an in-kind transfer (generally favouring women as the recipients of the transfer), *conditions on education and health* and a *targeting mechanism* to identify the extremely poor (Cecchini & Madariaga, 2011; Fiszbein & Schady, 2009). In addition, locally implemented CCT programmes have included tailored features and emphasised different elements in the design.

2.1 Conditional Cash Transfer as a Global Policy Model

I conceive of global policy models as *constructed policy templates carrying certain core features that are considered universally applicable to different contexts*. This conceptualisation is informed by Orenstein's (2005, p. 177) definition of global policies, which highlights the direct involvement of global policy actors and coalitions across the international, national or local levels of governance. According to Orenstein, the term 'global' in global policy is due to the policy being *spatially global*. This means that they are

[4] Here, the terms 'contributory' and 'non-contributory' refer to payroll contributions to social insurance schemes. Non-contributory social assistance refers to benefits funded from tax revenue.

[5] Bolsa Escola was later integrated into Bolsa Familia.

[6] In 2002, the name was changed to 'Oportunidades' and, in 2014, to 'PROSPERA'. The programme was terminated in 2019.

adopted in whole or in part in multiple national contexts and are thus implemented in a global or transnational policy space. Second, they are *politically global* to the extent that they reflect the priorities or innovations of global actors. Employing the concept of global policy draws attention to two essential features of the phenomenon under study. First, the construction and proliferation of CCTs cannot be understood without considering the direct involvement of global policy *actors* in the process. Second, the phenomenon cuts across different levels of governance.

The direct involvement of global policy actors could be construed as their participation in a political contest over the content of global social policy. What follows from this view is that global social policy is perceived as a field of competition over ideas between different actors. In this contested terrain of global governance, global policy actors seek to establish a global consensus around their policy ideas (Deacon, 2007, p. 15). In relation to policy ideas, scholars have paid attention to IOs' roles in the production of internationally agreed norms, scripts and models for national policymaking and intra-organisational processes within IOs, in which norms are codified into concrete policies and then promoted through research, financing and policy recommendations (Kentikelenis & Seabrooke, 2017; Park & Vetterlein, 2010). Kentikelenis and Seabrooke (2017) referred to such codification of norms into prescriptive behavioural templates as 'script-writing' (p. 1066). Following Halliday et al. (2010), they defined scripts as 'a medium by which [an organization] frames its own definition of a reform issue: a diagnosis of problems followed by a set of prescriptions' (p. 84). This entails that multiple and possibly competing scripts that are recursively adapted, institutionalised or discarded circulate at the transnational level. In sum, competing policy ideas are produced and championed by global policy actors to influence the content of global social policy.

If understood as cutting across different levels of governance, then CCTs could be perceived as translocal governance instruments. Employing this concept developed by Simons and Voß (2018, p. 19) implies perceiving CCTs through two different levels of abstraction. Thus, CCTs lead double lives as *abstract functional models* and as *implemented arrangements of governance*. In this conceptualisation, abstract functional models refer to abstract blueprints[7] or can be understood as the *paper appearance* of governance instruments grounded on theoretical models, as well as to claims and data produced in scholarly treatises, scientific simulations and evaluations of field trials. Implemented arrangements of governance refer to the actual governance in a specific policymaking context, a particular configuration of material practices with wider effects (Simons & Voß, 2018, p. 19).

[7] Such as basic income or child allowance.

Hereby, the concept of CCTs carries two intertwined meanings and simultaneously refers to *abstract functional models* constructed and codified by IOs and concrete *implemented arrangements of governance* in the form of locally set-up social assistance programmes, such as the Mexican PROGRESA or the Chilean variants Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar.

2.2 Conditional Cash Transfer as a Policy Idea

In contextualising the studied phenomenon, it is important to note that the emergence of CCTs took place alongside other forms of social assistance. Although different types of social assistance measures have had long histories in poverty relief in both the Global North and the Global South, a significant expansion of these measures can be observed in the Global South at the turn of the millennium (Barrientos, 2018). A major change in development and poverty thinking around the mid- to late 1990s has been identified as the driver of this expansion, comprising 'a combination of shifts in ideas and policies that reasserted social issues in development agendas' (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2016, p. 8). The key to this was the rediscovery of poverty as a global social problem (Peck, 2011), which led to a 'global anti-poverty consensus' culminating with the adoption of the United Nations Millennium Declaration; the latter made eradicating extreme poverty and hunger the first of eight Millennium Development Goals (Noël, 2006, p. 305).

Accordingly, scholars have signalled a paradigm shift[8] in development policy and poverty reduction in the Global South (Hanlon et al., 2010; Leisering, 2018; Merrien, 2013; Niño-Zarazúa, 2019), which has taken social protection as a fundamental element in both social and economic development. Many low- and middle-income countries began building their social protection systems from the ground up or expanding systems that were retrenched during the structural adjustment era of the 1980s. Central elements in this process were different types of *cash-based social assistance* programmes (Barrientos, 2018; Hanlon et al., 2010), including CCTs.

The arguments in favour of cash transfers made the distinction between *monetary* benefits and *in-kind* transfers (e.g. food stamps, vouchers or distribution of staple

[8] The shift has been termed 'social turn' (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2016), 'development revolution from the global south' (Hanlon et al., 2010) and 'socialization of global politics' (Deacon et al., 1997).

food items). In-kind transfers were considered inefficient and often poorly allocated. Regular cash transfers could provide households with a form of insurance, which would allow saving, investing and taking more risks regarding their livelihoods (Hanlon et al., 2010, pp. 31–32). Arguments from the WB (1990) also highlighted efficiency and convenience: 'Cash transfers are often more effective than food rations: cash is faster to move and easier to administer, and it does little or no harm to producers and hence to future food security' (p. 97). Additionally, it was noted that allocating the benefit in cash instead of in-kind transfers avoids the creation of secondary markets and price distortions[9] (Rawlins, 2005, p. 147).

Several variants of cash transfers emerged, with varying policy goals and an emphasis placed on distinct design features. Importantly, IOs began to promote cash transfers as tools for poverty reduction. Different IOs promoted different variants of cash transfers, with the most notable being CCTs (e.g. WB and IADB), *social pensions* (e.g. HelpAge International and International Labour [ILO] Organization[10]), *family allowances* (e.g. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, Save the Children and ILO) and *general household assistance* (e.g. ILO) (Leisering, 2018; Leisering & von Gliszczynski, 2016; von Gliszczynski, 2015).

What makes CCTs distinct from the other cash-based social assistance variants listed above is the use of *behavioural conditions* and the emphasis placed on *targeting*. Conditionality has a long history in social assistance programmes, but in the case of CCTs conditions were defined in a new way that uses the vocabulary of economists in which *investments in human capital* are highlighted. Santiago Levy, the economist credited for being the main architect of the Mexican programme PROGRESA, crystallised this in the following:

> The central idea is very simple; it is basically to try to help poor families today with investments in their human capital, in nutrition, education and health, with the idea that we won't have to help them tomorrow, because these investments in their nutrition and education will enable them to gain better salaries and more productive jobs in the future enabling them to leave poverty. The idea is that a cash transfer improves the wellbeing today, but that it is conditioned on these investments to avoid becoming permanent and the beneficiaries can leave poverty tomorrow. (INDES BID, 2013)

[9] Subsidizing a food item or providing it to beneficiaries has the possible effect of altering market prices for that (and other) food item (Rawlins, 2005); the benefits do not necessarily go to those who need them, as was the case in Mexico prior to the creation of PROGRESA (Levy & Rodríguez, 2005).

[10] In all the cases of social cash transfers listed here, the International Labour Organization promoted them as part of the Social Protection Floor initiative (von Gliszczynski, 2015).

It is useful to take an example from an often-cited[11] WB policy research report titled 'Conditional Cash Transfers: Reducing Present and Future Poverty' to illuminate more concretely the types of programmes generally included in the category of CCTs. In this report, the authors, Fiszbein and Schady, provided a list of programmes considered CCTs. They defined CCTs as follows:

> [P]rograms that transfer cash, generally to poor households, on the condition that those households make prespecified investments in the human capital of their children. Health and nutrition conditions generally require periodic checkups, growth monitoring, and vaccinations for children less than 5 years of age; perinatal care for mothers and attendance by mothers at periodic health information talks. Education conditions usually include school enrolment, attendance on 80–85 percent of school days, and occasionally some measure of performance. Most CCT programs transfer the money to the mother of the household or to the student in some circumstances. (Fiszbein & Schady, 2009, p. 1)

Conditions and investments in human capital

The theory of human capital[12] began to emerge around 1960 with the pioneering work by Jacob Mincer, Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker. In the early 1960s, economists had problems explaining the growth of the US economy through the main factors of production, which are physical capital, labour, land and management. The missing piece came to be identified as human capital, which broadened the notion of capital to a more multidimensional factor of production (Nafukho et al., 2004). Labour came to be perceived as a form of capital—a skill or ability to do something that cannot be separated from the person who possesses this ability. From this perspective and in simple terms, the abilities of human beings can be divided into inherent (biological) and acquired abilities. Acquired abilities are the ones that the government can possess certain control over. Thus, human capital theory suggests that individuals and society derive economic benefits from investments in people (Sweetland, 1996, p. 341). Accordingly, education and health investments began to take hold in the 1960s as part of economic modernisation projects. Foucault (2008) observed the rise of the influence of human capital theory in his 1978–1979 lectures at Collége de France:

> And in fact, we are seeing the economic policies of all the developed countries, but also their social policies, as well as their cultural and economic policies, being oriented in these terms. In the same way, the problems of the economy of the Third World

[11] A total of 3,488 citations in Google Scholar as this text is ready to be published (1.4.2024)

[12] However, the use of the term 'human capital' has a longer history.

> can also be rethought on the basis of human capital. And you know that currently an attempt is being made to rethink the problem of the failure of Third World economies to get going, not in terms of the blockage of economic mechanisms, but in terms of insufficient investment in human capital. (p. 232)

What Foucault foresaw in the late 1970s began to fully take hold in social policies in the 1990s with the emergence of what has been labelled the *social investment perspective*; scholars have widely considered this to have reached a predominant status in social policy in the mid-1990s (Jenson, 2010; Jenson & Saint Martin, 2006; Morel et al., 2011), coinciding with the paradigm shift in development and poverty thinking in the Global South. As the term suggests, social investment involves the idea of certain resources being allocated to enhance the abilities of human beings and the allocated resources paying economic dividends in the future. Although there are many definitions and varying emphases placed on different elements of social spending as a social investment, a common feature is described by Morel and Palme (2017) as follows:

> A core element of the social investment perspective is its emphasis on human capital. Investing in human capital from early childhood is understood as crucial to future economic growth and as an important element in reducing the intergenerational transmission of inequalities. (p. 151)

As expressed by Leisering (2018), this manifested in the poor being redefined as potential agents of economic growth, so social assistance for the poorest began to appear 'not only as a "social" idea, but as a matter of economic interest' (p. 13). Certain kinds of government social spending came to be seen as investments. This had profound consequences in recalibrating social policies and reassessing strategies to tackle poverty. Directing resources (in the form of social spending) to the poorest in development contexts was redefined from unproductive charity work to economically productive investments. Accordingly, as Leisering (2018) continued, 'actors with an economic remit turned to supporting social cash transfers which had been rejected earlier on economic grounds' (p. 13).

As shown in Articles I and II, the WB was one of the actors that rejected social assistance and cash transfers on economic grounds but pivoted to supporting them as sound investments. After spending the first half of the 1980s focused on trade liberalisation, supply-side economics and structural adjustment loans (Kapur et al., 2011), the WB reassessed the roles of governments and social assistance in economic development. This led to the promotion of targeted social safety nets with the purpose of allowing governments to 'fulfil their humanitarian duties and at the same time reinforce a social consensus in favour of economic growth' (WB, 1987, p. 58).

In the 1990s, this turned to promoting safety nets connected with human capital investments.

While human capital theory entered the WB agenda in the 1960s through the promotion of education and health investments as part of economic modernisation theory, it did not fully enter WB policy recommendations until the release of the bank's flagship publication in 1990, the *World Development Report*, which promoted human capital investments in conjunction with poverty reduction. The 1990 report outlined a two-part strategy for governments in developing countries to achieve sustainable progress against poverty:

> The first element of the strategy is the pursuit of a pattern of growth that ensures productive use of the poor's most abundant asset: labor. The second element is widespread provision to the poor of basic social services, especially primary education, primary health care, and family planning. […] The strategy must be complemented by well-targeted transfers, to help those not able to benefit from these policies, and by safety nets, to protect those who are exposed to shocks. (WB, 1990, p. iii)

The report indicates a strengthened focus on *human capital investments* through *health*, *education* and *nutrition* and outlines a change to *cash-based* social assistance (WB, 1990, pp. iii, 79, 97). Subsequent reports (see Articles I and Article II) promote a two-part strategy that underpins the importance of *targeted cash transfers* connected with *investments in human capital* among those living in poverty.

From this perspective, the poverty of individuals and their families is perceived as a social problem not only in terms of poverty being an unfavourable human condition but also in terms of the poor and their qualities being hindrances to the economic growth of nations. The root cause of poverty is considered to lie in individuals, their qualities and their behaviours, in contrast to perceiving the root cause to be found in structural factors. This is reflected in what Deacon and Mann (1999) referred to as 'a revival of interest in human agency' (p. 423); this shifted the focus from structure to individual behaviour and choices, manifested in an increased focus on welfare dependency and the aim of changing people's behaviours instead of focusing on responding to poverty and inequality through changing the distribution of resources. Accordingly, CCTs have been described in terms of *not* being *government handouts* or *money for nothing*. Conditional cash transfers are dissociated from the types of benefits that can lead to 'dependency' rather than 'productivity' (Article II; IADB, 2003a).

Targeting

In addition to promoting investments in human capital through behavioural conditions, CCTs are characterised by an emphasis on *targeting*. This is related to operating a CCT programme in practice. At first there is a need to identify who is eligible for the cash transfer. The target population for these types of social assistance policies is determined by applying a predetermined income threshold at the household level. Hence, in social assistance programmes, targeting refers to limiting the scope of beneficiaries, typically via means tests, income tests, behavioural requirements and status characteristics (Gilbert, 2001). Targeting has been deemed to denote procedures designed to concentrate provisions for those individuals considered deserving or needy (Burgess & Stern, 1991, p. 64). This contrasts with granting universal benefits as a matter of social rights to the entire population without predetermined selective measures (Anttonen, 2012; Mkandawire, 2005).

The process of targeting in CCTs is usually carried out through one or two complementary methods, with the most common being geographic targeting and proxy means tests, which are commonly used simultaneously (Fiszbein & Schady, 2009). In geographic targeting, entire poor communities are identified, and all households in the community are categorically included as beneficiaries (Hanlon et al., 2010). A proxy means test is a targeting mechanism to determine the socioeconomic situation of a household based on criteria that consider not only purely income but also observations of household characteristics, such as observable assets, the location and quality of dwelling, ownership of durable goods, demographic structure of the household and the education and professions of adult members of the household (Alvarez et al., 2007). Once the eligibility criteria are set, households that meet the criteria can apply for the cash benefit, which is available to them if they conform to certain predetermined behaviours that are considered to result in their children's increased human capital.

Other features

In addition to the core components of the CCT model—a cash transfer, conditions on education and health, and a targeting mechanism—different types of evaluations incorporated into the programme design are common features of CCT programmes. Other CCTs followed the lead of the Mexican programme, which included 'one of the first large-scale Randomized Controlled Trial (RCT) research projects ever implemented in social program evaluation in a "developing-country" context'

(Faulkner, 2014, pp. 230–31). It has been argued that this evaluation was integral for the programme's early survival and influence and that it 'spearheaded broad changes, not only in Mexican social policy, but also around the world, impelling both the CCT and Evidence-Based Policy (EBP) movements' (Faulkner, 2014, pp. 230–31). Another common and significant feature of CCTs is that the benefits are allocated to the mothers of households. It has been argued that making mothers central to CCT programmes has been one of the keys to their success. These claims are built upon the notion that women in general are more reliable than men in spending money in the best interests of their children (Molyneux & Thomson, 2011, p. 196).

Related to the evaluations was the notion of building an apolitical programme design. One of the elements that Levy (2007; Levy & Rodríguez, 2005) brought up while reporting the history of the Mexican programme PROGRESA was the goal of designing the programme as a transparent and depoliticised arrangement to avoid it from being used for clientelist purposes. The running of PROGRESA was turned over to a new decentralised agency, the enrolment of beneficiaries was stopped several months before general elections, and no payments were made before elections to establish a transparent and non-political system for allocating the benefits. This was to deter the programme from following the clientelist trajectory of previous social assistance programmes in Mexico.

In addition to these features, academic scholarship and reports by IOs tend to view the CCT phenomenon as having clear-cut boundaries that trace the origins of CCTs to Mexico and Brazil. In these countries, CCT programmes were created in the mid- to late 1990s; the prevalent perception in the CCT literature is that Mexico and Brazil introduced the first programmes and that the wave of diffusion or proliferation of CCTs took off from these countries (e.g. Ibarrarán et al., 2017; Parker & Todd, 2017; Simpson, 2018; Stampini & Tornarolli, 2012; Sugiyama, 2011; Tomazini, 2019; von Gliszczynski & Leisering, 2016; Lamanna, 2014). Thus, in most sources, CCT refers to a particular kind of social assistance programme that has been inspired by, at least partly, the programmes from Mexico and Brazil. These programmes are discussed in more detail in Articles I and II.

In terms of the policy idea, it is worth noting here that while the core designs of the Mexican and Brazilian CCT variants are essentially similar, the underlying motivation has been considered to differ in emphasis. For the Mexican PROGRESA–Oportunidades, it was human capital accumulation, whereas that of Bolsa Escola/Bolsa Família is considered more universal (Bastagli, 2009) and redistributory (Fiszbein & Schady, 2009). In practice, one of the significant differences between the two programmes is the monitoring of conditions. The

Brazilian variant has not controlled the conditions as rigorously as the Mexican programme did.[13] In Mexico, compliance was verified, and the cash transfer was suspended briefly or entirely if the household or one of its members did not comply with the requirements. In Brazil, if a household fails to fulfil these conditions, the programme sends a social worker to check on the household and see whether something could be done to improve its situation (Lindert et al., 2007).

However, as argued above, the narrative that Mexico and Brazil created a new and innovative way to tackle poverty, which started a wave of diffusion to other countries, does not tell the whole story of CCTs. Considering CCTs as particular *social assistance instruments* implemented in different local settings and as *global policy models* is therefore useful.

[13] At the time of writing, the Mexican programme has discontinued, while the Brazilian programme is ongoing. This explains the tenses used to discuss the programmes.

3 THE CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER LITERATURE – EVALUATIONS AND POLICY DIFFUSION

The literature on CCTs can be roughly divided into two general strands of studies. The first strand consists of reports, such as impact evaluations and broad overviews produced by IFIs, programme officials and development organisations. These studies focus mainly on evaluating and comparing the performance of different programmes. The second strand consists of academic studies exploring the global proliferation of CCTs.

3.1 Evaluations and Overviews

The *first* strand of literature concerned with programmes that came to be known as CCTs consisted of impact evaluations and broad overviews of different CCT programmes. As de Britto (2004) pointed out, early studies and reports were mostly published as 'grey literature' (p. 7), mostly highlighting the positive aspects of the programmes, and were produced by IFIs, programme officials and development organisations with the purpose of providing information to policymakers (e.g. Morley & Coady, 2003; Rawlings & Rubio, 2003; Sedlacek et al., 2000; Skoufias & McClafferty, 2001). The earliest published reports consisted of evaluations of the Mexican programme PROGRESA. The evaluations were part of the programme design from the beginning and were financed by the IADB and conducted by the IFPRI (Behrman, 2007). The early evaluations were the results of randomised controlled trials (RCTs) incorporated into the programme design. Parker and Teruel (2005, p. 208) described the evaluation design as somewhere between a randomised experiment and a quasi-experimental evaluation. Hence, these studies measured the impact of PROGRESA on school enrolment rates, income poverty and nutrition intake while also examining different programme components, such as targeting efficiency. In sum, the literature consisting of evaluations and overviews focused on

examining how different elements of the programme performed (e.g. Parker & Skoufias, 2000; Skoufias, 2001; Skoufias & McClafferty, 2001).

Shortly after the IFPRI published the first evaluation results, the WB and the IADB began to feature PROGRESA in their key publications (Blomquist et al., 2002; Klugman, 2002; WB, 2001a). PROGRESA was discussed as the pioneering programme of its kind in Latin America, which served as a model for other countries in the region (Lustig, 2000, p. 164; Skoufias & McClafferty, 2001). The WB and the IADB presented the programme as an innovative and domestically created initiative that was discovered by these development banks after early evaluations demonstrated its success. However, while IFPRI, IADB and most WB publications promoted PROGRESA as the pioneer CCT programme, the Brazil Country Management Unit of the WB began publishing reports on the Brazilian programmes *Bolsa Escola* and *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil*. In these reports (e.g. WB, 2001b; WB, 2001c), Brazilian efforts were presented as the initial programmes that served as models for the rest of the countries in Latin America and thus set the proliferation of CCTs in motion.

The evaluations and programme descriptions were followed by overviews of Latin American programmes that were considered to be modelled on or inspired by the Mexican PROGRESA. In this stage, the term 'conditional cash transfer' was not the only way to refer to these programmes; other unified labels, such as 'targeted human development programmes' (IADB, 2001) and 'targeted conditional transfer programmes' (Sedlacek et al., 2000), were used. These reports provided information on the results of the impact evaluations while beginning to classify and synthesise the qualities of different programmes in Latin America that were considered to exhibit similar characteristics (e.g. IADB, 2003b; WB, 2003, 2004); 'conditional cash transfer' then emerged as an umbrella term to discuss the different programmes (see Article II). The most notable of these overviews and comparative reports was the WB's policy research report titled 'Conditional Cash Transfers: Reducing Present and Future Poverty'. In this key publication, the authors Fiszbein and Schady (2009) defined and classified programme features and listed all programmes considered CCTs by the WB.

It could be concluded that the above-described literature was mostly focused on the performance of concrete *implemented arrangements of governance* in the form of locally set-up social assistance programmes. As more than 60 countries have implemented CCT programmes, an abundance of these types of programme evaluations and background papers have been published at the time of writing. Importantly for the arguments made in this dissertation, after the initial evaluations of PROGRESA, the

reports by IFIs began to classify and compare these programmes using the claims and data produced in scientific simulations and evaluations of field trials, thus beginning to lay out the blueprint, i.e. the *abstract functional model of CCTs*.

Conditional cash transfers were met with a fair amount of positive reviews and evaluations (for an overview, see Bastagli et al., 2016) and positive publicity, prompting *The Economist* (2010) to refer to CCTs as 'the world's favourite new anti-poverty device'. However, the general design features and the implemented CCT programmes also received a fair amount of criticism and questions (for an overview, see Landhani & Slater, 2018), with the conditionalities being the major points of emphasis of the critiques. The policy rationale was deemed patronising (Freeland, 2007; Slater, 2011; Valencia Lomelí, 2008) and in conflict with human rights, as those living in poverty are subjected to behavioural control (see Landhani & Slater, 2018; Sepúlveda Carmona, 2014). Conditional cash transfers were considered to burden poor women, as the female heads of households were made responsible for fulfilling the conditions (Molyneux, 2006; Tabbush, 2010). Importantly, there has been a lack of demonstrable evidence on the effects of the conditions (the central element of CCTs) on long-term poverty reduction and human capital accumulation (the central goals of CCTs; Barrientos & Villa, 2014; Sandberg, 2015). A wealth of results point to CCTs increasing school attendance and reducing income poverty. However, targeted but *un*conditional cash transfers have shown similar results, but without the costly bureaucracy of monitoring conditions (Davis et al., 2016; Hanlon et al., 2010); this suggests that merely compensating the opportunity cost for school attendance results in increased school enrolment rates. Considering this would also undermine functional explanations of CCT proliferation, pointing to CCTs simply outperforming other comparable social assistance programmes. Furthermore, the design and implementation of CCTs have been considered to require rather complex mechanisms of targeting, registration, delivery and monitoring, all of which need technical and administrative capacities and resources (e.g. Samson et al., 2006). Against this background, the rapid global proliferation of CCTs was remarkable and began to attract interest from academia.

3.2 Policy Diffusion and Detailed Case Studies

The *second* strand of literature started to gradually emerge around 10 years after the first evaluations and overviews were produced by IOs. Academic scholars have taken an interest in the CCT phenomenon and have sought answers to the rapid

proliferation of CCTs through quantitative policy diffusion studies and qualitative case studies focusing on the actors and mechanisms central to policy processes.

Scholars examining CCTs through the lens of policy diffusion (e.g. Brooks, 2015; Osorio Gonnet, 2014; Simpson, 2018; Sugiyama, 2011) began to ask questions about the prerequisites for adopting CCTs, the internal and external factors contributing to the diffusion of CCTs and the diffusion mechanisms explaining policy adoption. The analysis of why a CCT has been implemented in such a large number of countries usually starts by looking at the qualities of the countries that have implemented the policy. Diffusion analysis conducted on CCTs has commendably studied the domestic and international mechanisms that have led to and facilitated the adoption of CCTs in different countries, and has provided valuable insights into the phenomenon. Scholars have tested a number of variables from geographic proximity, human development index, level of inequality, level of poverty, gross domestic product (GDP) and government ideology to the effectiveness of the government, among other factors (see Brooks, 2015; Osorio Gonnet, 2014; Simpson, 2018; Sugiyama, 2011). The diffusion literature has established, among other things, that CCTs have been designed and implemented in equal measure by the political left, centre and right. Geographic proximity has been shown to matter, as countries close to Mexico and Brazil were the first to *adopt* the policy, and the pattern makes an S-shaped curve when displayed in a chart showing the cumulative temporal adoption of the policy (Osorio Gonnet, 2014; Sugiyama, 2011). In addition, Brooks (2015) pointed to a divided government and Simpson (2018) to donor influence in determining the likelihood of countries adopting CCTs.

Qualitative case studies have focused on how policy adoption happens at the local level of implementation (Fenwick, 2013; Franzoni & Voorend, 2011; Morais de Sá e Silva, 2017; Osorio Gonnet, 2014). Most studies on the actors associated with CCTs have examined the actors involved in formulating policies or in working to export them. For one, the proliferation of CCTs in Latin America has been explained by a closed and influential *epistemic community* (Franzoni & Voorend, 2011; Osorio Gonnet, 2014; Sugiyama, 2011). This line of explanation points to a small network of policy actors comprising top-ranking officials and policy experts 'sharing a belief in a common set of cause-and-effect relationships as well as common values to which policies governing these relationships will be applied' (Haas, 1989, p. 384). In other words, high-level policymakers converge around a set of epistemic assumptions and normative beliefs and exert their influence on policymaking. Other studies have discussed actors or groups of actors in specific cases of CCT policy processes

(Franzoni & Voorend, 2011) or programmes being transferred from one context to another (Saguin & Howlett, 2019).

Overall, the case studies have been more concerned with agency than with the structural determinants of policy adoption and have focused on the actors involved in local policy processes and transnational policy chains (Howlett et al., 2018; Porto de Oliveira, 2020). More recently, the spread of CCTs from Latin America to other regions of the world has been explored by looking at these processes through the concepts of policy ambassadors (Porto de Oliveira, 2020) and instrument constituencies (Béland et al., 2018; Howlett et al., 2018). Both concepts point to either particular individuals (policy ambassadors) or groups of actors (instrument constituencies) that have influenced the transfer of CCTs.

In addition, support from IOs, particularly the WB and the IADB, has been discussed in the existing scholarship (e.g. Osorio Gonnet, 2019; Teichman, 2007; Yaschine, 1999). Peck and Theodore (2015) have documented the WB's central role in pushing for CCT implementation across the globe by promoting results driven emulation and offering financing and technical assistance. The WB's involvement in the construction of the CCT model was discussed by von Gliszczynski and Leisering as part of an overarching *metamodel* of social cash transfers (von Gliszczynski, 2015; von Gliszczynski & Leisering, 2016). Sharing an approach similar to that of this dissertation, von Gliszczynski and Leisering paid attention to the central role of the WB in conceptualising the abstract CCT model and in constructing it as a strategic uptake of innovative national models in the Global South. However, they also emphasised that the programmes from Mexico and Brazil 'were the starting point[s] for CCT' (von Gliszczynski & Leisering, 2016, p. 334), which 'attracted the attention of the WB because of positive program evaluations' (p. 337). Accordingly, the WB was 'riding a wave' by 'drawing on country examples' (p. 337), allowing the authors to conclude that the CCT case works as an example of how 'international organizations tend to pick up models from innovative Southern countries' (p. 340).

Interestingly, while the literature has diversified from the grey literature, the narrative of Mexico and Brazil having been the first countries to develop these innovative and domestically created social assistance programmes has generally continued to be the starting point of the story told on CCTs (e.g. IADB, 2017; Parker & Todd, 2017; von Gliszczynski & Leisering, 2016; Stampini & Tornarolli, 2012; Sugiyama, 2011; WB, 2014). Furthermore, temporally, the examination of the roles played by the WB and the IADB generally starts after the programmes in Mexico and Brazil had been established. The predominant perception is that these institutions became interested in CCTs because of the positive programme

evaluations from Mexico and then proceeded to aid in their further diffusion within and outside of Latin America (e.g. von Gliszczynski, 2015; von Gliszczynski & Leisering, 2016). However, during the background research conducted for this dissertation, policy documents and separate literature documenting CCT development in different contexts clearly suggest that other comparable programmes existed before the CCTs of Mexico and Brazil; furthermore, the roles of development banks (i.e. WB and IADB) extend beyond technical assistance, financing and facilitating workshops and benchmarking opportunities.

In summary, the literature has aimed to explain the proliferation of CCTs by examining the *qualities of the countries* that have adopted the policy (policy diffusion), as well as the individuals and collective *actors* involved in local and transnational policy processes (policy transfer). It has commendably explored the domestic and international determinants that have led to and facilitated the adoption of CCTs in different countries and has provided valuable insights into the phenomenon. However, there were prominent elements in the CCT model itself that required more research.

4 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The three articles were motivated by the realisation that a social assistance model, generally known as CCT, has become remarkably widespread since the late 1990s. The model has been adopted by a socioeconomically and ideologically diverse group of governments worldwide, despite receiving a considerable amount of controversy and criticism. My interest lies in the question, 'What made this possible?' This mystery served as a starting point for this research, which aimed to contribute to the scholarship on the global proliferation of CCTs.

The broader question I asked in this dissertation was as follows: *Which qualities have enabled the global proliferation of the CCT model?*

I approach the proliferation of the CCT model by examining it from a constructionist perspective. As noted in Section 1, from this perspective, understanding how public policies become socially accepted is key to understanding their proliferation (Dobbin et al., p. 452). This entails approaching the CCT model through the ideas and discourse entwined with it and the meanings attached to it. In doing so, the dissertation has two research objectives:

1. To explore IOs' role in constructing the CCT model and crafting the CCT narrative

2. To examine the CCT model's extensive appeal to policymakers

The first objective is emphasised because two of the three articles provide different perspectives on the actions of the WB and the IADB in relation to CCTs. The aims of the dissertation can be further divided into *empirical* and *theoretical*.

Empirically, the aim was to explore CCT as a global policy model and to provide insights into its global proliferation. Building on earlier scholarship, the objective was to address two research gaps. The *first* objective was to scrutinise the CCT policy narrative and examine the roles of IOs—the WB and the IADB in particular—in the

construction and proliferation of CCTs. The *second* objective was to examine how the CCT model appeals to politicians from a broad range of ideological backgrounds. The aim was to explore how political decision makers from competing coalitions construct meaning and make sense of the policy. The general questions pursued here are as follows: *Which qualities have enabled the global proliferation of the CCT model? How did the CCT policy model emerge, and what was the role of IOs in it? How do CCTs appeal to such a wide range of policymakers?*

Theoretically, the objective was to contribute to the development of the analytical framework of epistemic governance (and domestication) by examining CCTs from a constructionist perspective. By exploring the global proliferation of CCTs through the lens of knowledge production, dissemination and usage, I aimed to shed light on IOs' roles in the global governance of social policy and the qualities of global policy models. The questions pursued here are as follows: *What enables the global proliferation of some policy models? How do global policy models emerge? Which qualities do global models exhibit?*

5 THEORETICAL APPROACH

In broad terms, the theoretical approach in this dissertation is informed by *social constructionism* and *methodological transnationalism*. In more concrete terms, this means tapping into different interpretive analytical lenses through which I examine global policy processes. I draw upon theories and concepts developed and employed in social policy, transnational sociology, political science, political geography and international relations.

The constructionist approach underpins different ways of grasping social phenomena and serves as a particular lens through which such phenomena are interpreted. The premises of this approach are that 'meaning and understanding have their beginnings in social interaction, in shared agreements as to what these symbolic forms are to be taken to be' (Lock & Strong, 2010, p. 7). As the phenomenon under investigation in this dissertation is the global proliferation of a policy model, the ideas, discourse and meaning connected with the model are discussed in terms of global policy processes. This entails tapping into theories and concepts premised on methodological transnationalism (as opposed to methodological nationalism), which, in relation to social policy, emphasises '[T]he institutions, links, activities and processes cutting across countries and focuses on the ways in which national welfare states, welfare systems and social policies are influenced by global politics, policy actors, policies and institutions' (Yeates, 2014, pp. 2–3).

5.1 Ideas, Discourse and Meaning in Policymaking

> Ideas are a medium of exchange and a mode of influence even more powerful than money and votes and guns. Shared meanings motivate people to action and meld individual striving into collective action. (Deborah Stone, 2012, p. 13)

In examining the CCT policy model from a constructionist perspective, I concentrate on the meanings attached to the policy model and draw on scholarship focused on ideas in politics and policymaking. This approach has also been labelled *discursive institutionalism* by Schmidt (2010), who used the term as an 'umbrella concept for the vast range of works in political science that take account of the substantive

content of ideas and the interactive processes by which ideas are conveyed and exchanged through discourse' (p. 3). Encompassing a wide variety of *interpretive* approaches, discursive institutionalism emphasises the importance of studying the roles of ideas and discourses in institutional change. The common thread in these interpretive approaches is the realisation that *meaning* is central to understanding human action, and communicative interaction through ideas and discourse is central to conveying meaning in policy processes (Schmidt, 2008).

In broad terms, ideas could be perceived simply as the 'beliefs held by individuals or adopted by institutions that influence their actions and attitudes' (Béland & Cox, 2011, p. 6). However, in relation to public policy, ideas have been conceptualised and used in a variety of ways. The uses include, for example, broader philosophies, paradigms and public sentiments; wider institutional frameworks and heuristics; explicitly articulated concepts; theories; concrete policy programmes and frames that are used to legitimise these programmes to the public (Campbell, 1998; Swinkels, 2020).

My concern here is how ideas relate to the global and transnational policy processes by which the proliferation of a global model occurs. I highlight the production and dissemination of these models and the political contest over the content of global social policy. What follows from this view is that global social policy is perceived as a field of competition or a *war of positions* between competing ideas, ideologies and institutions (Deacon, 2005; Deacon, 2007). In this contested terrain of global governance, global policy actors seek to establish a global consensus around their policy ideas and to legitimise the policy models they are advocating for.

Hence, I conceive of ideas as *strategic tools*. This conceptualisation 'emphasises an active role for actors to consciously work with ideas. Actors engage with ideas, adjust them, and challenge existing ideas through the use of political discourse' (Swinkels, 2020, p. 285). From this perspective, ideas are used to convey certain meanings in order to obtain certain ends. Therefore, the essence of policymaking, such as constructing a global policy model, is the discursive struggle over ideas (Carstensen & Schmidt, 2016; Deborah Stone, 2012). Global policy models are contested and political formations that can carry a plethora of meanings in any given context.

As such, a central element in the discursive struggle over ideas in policymaking is *what is done to and with such ideas*. Ideas are influential because action is premised on ideas, and ideas could thus be considered primary sources of political behaviour (Béland & Cox, 2011, p. 3). A materialist counterargument to ideas serving as primary sources of political behaviour would be that interests hold primacy as explanatory factors in human behaviour. However, scholars working with ideas

emphasise the analytical differences between ideas and interests. Opposed to the materialist tradition, interests are not seen as objective facts but as historical, social and political constructions. However, the ideas and interests that are expressed through them can be difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle (Fisher & Gottweis, 2012, pp. 16–17).

Discourse is then perceived as a more generic term—or a more versatile and overarching concept than ideas—that encompasses not only the substantive content of ideas but also the interactive processes by which ideas are conveyed (Schmidt, 2008, p. 305). Schmidt's use of discourse sets the limits of analysis to interactive processes, i.e. to language use in different contexts. Perceiving discourse in more concrete terms sets it apart from a Foucauldian take on discourse that emphasises the way in which the forms of language available to us set limits upon, or at least strongly channel, not only what we can think and say but also what we can do or what can be done to us. In sum, to Foucault, the use of the term 'discourse' incorporates both language and social practice[14] (Burr, 2015). Although the analytical perspective embraced here owes much to Foucault, in this dissertation, the concept of discourse is used in a more Schmidtian than Foucauldian manner to refer to *language* use in interactive processes.[15]

In sum, approaching phenomena from a constructionist or interpretive perspective ultimately comes down to language—how it is used and what is done with it. Language is fundamental because it shapes how policy ideas are perceived, how they are communicated and what meanings are attached to these policy ideas. The research objectives of this dissertation relate to the use of language in two senses: *first*, how language is used by the IOs looking to advance the model and its proliferation (Articles I and II) and, *second*, how language is used by different legislators looking to either advance or discard the model (Article III). Language is an integral component of ways of doing things; it shapes what is taken to be problem areas of social and political life and how they might be addressed (Dean, 2010, p. 79).

I make the claim that if understanding how public policies become socially accepted is the key to understanding their proliferation, then understanding the meanings these policies carry is key to understanding how public policies become socially accepted. If meanings are considered to shape actions, then the meanings a policy carries are important in considering the actions that policymakers and

[14] I do not consider language and social practice to be mutually exclusive. Language is understood here as social practice, a way of doing things.

[15] Schmidt (2008) underlined the use of discourse as 'stripped of postmodernist baggage' (p. 305).

legislators take regarding policy adoption and implementation of a particular policy model.

In examining meaning in the adoption and proliferation of CCTs, this dissertation focuses on the ideas and discourse entwined with the CCT model. Examining meaning in the case of CCTs comes down to where the policy model is *considered* to have originated, who are *considered* the creators of the policy model, who are advocating for the policy, which qualities have been attached to the CCT model, where the policy model has been adopted and from which perspective the policy model is advocated for or argued against.

5.2 Theoretical Approaches to the Global Proliferation of Policies

> Among the most striking phenomena in the area of public policy are the waves of diffusion that sometimes sweep across important regions of the world (or across the states of a federal country, such as the United States). A bold reform adopted in one nation soon attracts attention from other countries following the trendsetter. Diffusion also tends to have a distinctive geographic pattern. The innovator's neighbours and other countries in the region are usually the first to emulate the new model; only after a while do nations in other regions begin to enact the change as well. (Weyland, 2005, p. 262)

The starting point for this dissertation was the realisation that a *wave of diffusion* had swept across the world, in which a social assistance programme generally known as CCT was implemented in roughly one-third of all countries. The body of scholarship exploring the proliferation of policies, ideas and organisational forms is extensive and has been studied in international relations, political science, comparative public policy, global and transnational sociology, management studies and related fields using different terminology and methods. The terms applied have varied from 'diffusion', 'policy transfer', 'policy circulation', 'mutation' and 'mobilities' to 'policy convergence', 'isomorphism' and others. The central questions in relation to the global proliferation of policies have been *how* and *why* policies travel and are transferred to other countries, cities or regions, *who* are the central actors involved and *under which conditions* the travel takes place.[16] Despite the manifold terminology, the phenomenon of successive or sequential adoption of a practice, policy or programme (Diane Stone, 2012, p. 484) has predominantly been operationalised as

[16] However, some of the more prescriptive studies highlighting learning and lesson drawing have been inspired by and produced for evidence-based policymaking (e.g. Rose, 2005) and have served more as guides to when and how policies can be successfully transferred.

(policy) *diffusion* and *policy transfer*. As demonstrated in Section 3, these have been the central approaches to the global proliferation of CCTs.

While the concepts of policy diffusion and policy transfer are often used synonymously, they generally differ in their methodological, if not theoretical, orientations and the emphases they put on intentional processes and the roles of actors. In terms of the successive adoption of policies, diffusion generally refers to a series of countries that have implemented the same or similar policies, whereas transfer has been used to study a particular process of one jurisdiction or organisation transferring a policy from another jurisdiction. Hence, the term 'diffusion' could be used in reference to a collective adoption of a public policy and 'transfer' in reference to the movement of a specific policy from one jurisdiction to another (Porto de Oliveira & Pimenta de Faria, 2017, p. 30).

In terms of research design, the diffusion literature is mostly quantitative; it privileges structure and concentrates on identifying patterns. This is usually done through large-N studies, with the aim of producing generalisable results about the causes and consequences of the diffusion process (Marsh & Sharman, 2009), i.e. the aim is to understand why the policy has spread to some countries but not to others or the order in which different countries adopt a certain policy. The structural explanations start from the notion that policy diffusion has already taken place, and they aim to determine the diffusion pattern and prerequisites for the jurisdictions that did or did not adopt the policy. This leads to identifying distinctive geographic patterns and to determining states as *leaders* or *laggards* in adopting the policy (Dobbin et al., 2007; Simmons et al., 2008). In summary, policy diffusion research has generally been interested in the patterns of diffusion and the qualities of the countries or jurisdictions that adopt the policy.

Quantitative diffusion analysis conducted on CCTs has provided valuable insights into the phenomenon and has established (among other things) that CCTs have been designed and implemented in equal measure by the political left, centre and right. However, in its focus on diffusion patterns and prerequisites, the diffusion approach leaves unanswered many questions related to the proliferation of a particular policy model. To quote Obinger et al. (2013), 'Quantitative research, mainly based on spatial regression, allows one to address whether social policy diffuses or not. Why social policy is diffused, which actors are involved and why they are involved, are questions that cannot be answered in a fully satisfactory manner with these methods' (p. 122). In the case of CCTs, the quantitative diffusion analysis has often been complemented by more policy transfer-oriented qualitative case

studies of how the diffusion or policy adoption happens at the local level of implementation.

In the frequently cited definition by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), policy transfer is defined as a process in which 'knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting' (p. 5). Originally, policy transfer built upon scholarship on lesson drawing in policymaking[17], which had contributed to opening diffusion analyses to 'issues of political contestation and strategic selectivity in policymaking' (Baker & Walker, 2019, p. 5). In contrast to policy diffusion, policy transfer scholarship has been oriented towards qualitative case studies that highlight agency, often using process tracing to study fewer cases for a more detailed analysis. These cases tend to focus on local and global policy actors or *policy entrepreneurs* and their roles in policy processes (Berry & Berry, 2018). However, policy transfer stresses that policy learning by rational actors does not really cover the broad range of actors and mechanisms involved in the movement of policies. Policy transfer researchers have emphasised the roles of actors and explored *how* the transfer of policies occurs. It shifts the analytical focus from a pattern of diffusion to an *intentional process* in which policies or ideas are diffused.

By highlighting the broad range of actors[18] and mechanisms in the global movement of policies, transfer scholarship has made a valuable contribution to the case at hand. The prevailing research design in the CCT diffusion literature has aimed to explain the proliferation of CCTs by examining the conditions for diffusion and by illuminating the qualities of the countries that have adopted the policy. On the other hand, policy transfer literature has approached the phenomenon more from an actor-oriented perspective, providing insights into the roles of different policy actors when studying the particular processes of one jurisdiction or organisation transferring a policy from another jurisdiction. This provides insights into the processes and transformation of policies and the actions of individuals and collective actors involved in local and transnational policy processes.

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[17] As noted by Baker and Walker (2019), in the 1990s, political scientists tried to 'move beyond the conceptual and theoretical baggage associated with policy diffusion' (p. 4). This meant de-emphasising quantitatively discovered diffusion patterns and concentrating more on the process of learning or lesson drawing from abroad (see Rose, 1993; 1991).

[18] A wide range of actors involved in the processes of policy movement could be divided into *individual actors* (policy entrepreneurs and policy ambassadors), *knowledge organizations* (international organizations, think tanks, research institutions, governmental bodies and philanthropic funds) and *knowledge networks* (transnational advocacy coalitions, epistemic communities, instrument constituencies and KNETS).

Policy diffusion and transfer approaches have provided valuable insights into the motivations of administrations in adopting policies, larger patterns of policy adoption and how knowledge about policies is used in political settings of policy adoption. The results from policy diffusion and policy transfer scholarships have yielded a number of ways to understand the mechanisms leading to the collective adoption of policies. Four distinct mechanisms of interdependent policy adoption are generally listed: learning, competition, coercion and emulation/imitation (Dobbin et al., 2007; Marsh & Sharman, 2009; Shipan & Volden, 2008; Simmons et al., 2008). In this typology[19], *learning* refers to nation-states following policy reforms in other countries, drawing lessons from them and adopting policies based on learning about best practices. *Coercion* is related to national policy reforms being determined by external actors imposing their will on the nation-state or the nation-state feeling pressure to adopt a policy in order to obtain funding, sustain relationships or avoid sanctions, for example. *Competition* is about adopting policies to gain an edge in relation to other nation-states. In simple terms, the mechanism of *emulation* or *imitation* is the process of copying policies from other countries.

I propose that the mechanisms of learning, competition and coercion are best perceived as *drivers* of policy diffusion. They provide insights into the motivations of administrations in adopting similar policies as other administrations in specific policy processes, which they have done so mainly by perceiving policy adoption as a rational action taken by policymakers. However, I argue that evoking these mechanisms (or drivers) of diffusion does little to provide insight into why some policy models end up being adopted at a global scale, whereas some are not. They are suited for the analysis of isolated cases of policy adoption in which learning, competition and coercion could be (to an extent) pointed to.

The scholarship on CCT diffusion has also evoked these mechanisms when examining processes of CCT policy adoption (see Coêlho, 2012; Osorio Gonnet, 2018, 2020; Sugiyama, 2012). Scholars who have studied the diffusion of CCTs have tested several variables (see Section 3.2.) to explore the likelihood of a country adopting a CCT. These variables have mainly been related to *the qualities of such countries.*[20] The results have provided interesting insights into which types of governments are more likely to adopt CCTs. Brooks (2015) found that politically

[19] Other typologies have been introduced as well (see, for example, Blatter et al., 2022). However, I refer to these four as the literature generally lists them, and they have been prominently evoked in CCT-related diffusion literature.

[20] Some have been more permanent qualities (e.g. geographic proximity), while some are more temporary (e.g. the ideology of the governing coalition).

divided countries are more likely to adopt them, while Sugiyama (2011), Osorio Gonnet (2014) and Pena (2014) found that ideological orientation does not matter. Simpson (2018), on the other hand, pointed to the influence of donors in CCT adoption. The scholarship has also emphasised the efforts of different types of actors or collectives that have advanced the diffusion, such as policy ambassadors (Porto de Oliveira, 2020), instrument constituencies (Béland et al., 2018; Howlett et al., 2018) and IOs (Osorio Gonnet, 2019). A common explanation for the diffusion of CCTs in Latin America has been that an epistemic community consisting of top-ranking officials and policy experts formed a consensus around CCTs as suitable policy instruments and exerted their influence in policymaking (Franzoni & Voorend, 2011; Osorio Gonnet, 2014; Sugiyama, 2011). Generally, these accounts have pointed to policy learning as a diffusion mechanism. I argue that there is a need to complement and build on this scholarship to illuminate the qualities of the CCT model, that have enabled its global proliferation.

I found that the mechanism of emulation, which has also been referred to as imitation and mimicry, could serve as a starting point to unpack how the CCT model became such a global phenomenon. I share the position of Gilardi and Wasserfallen (2017), who noted that the mechanism of emulation 'is particularly important for understanding widespread global diffusion, where, by definition, policies are adopted by a very heterogenous [sic] group of countries' (p. 7), as has been the case with CCTs.

Viewing the global diffusion of policies and ideas as emulation, imitation or mimicry has its origins in sociological institutionalism (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Scholars operating through this theoretical approach—also known as world society theory—have studied the proliferation of policies through the lens of social constructionism. Sociological institutionalists began to challenge the then-prevalent notion of *rationality* associated with modern forms of organisation. They began to argue that many of the institutional forms and procedures exhibited by modern organisations were not adopted because they were the most efficient and functional; instead, the adoption of these practices would need to be explained in cultural terms. Examining institutions through culture leads to defining them not just as formal rules, procedures and norms but also as symbolic systems, cognitive scripts and moral templates that provide the frames of meaning guiding human action (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 946–47). Hence, in general terms, emulation explains the process of copying policies in terms of 'symbolic or normative factors, rather than a technical or rational concern with functional efficiency' (Marsh & Sharman, 2009, p. 272).

Key to the cultural explanation is the idea of a shared global culture that constitutes the institutional forms and procedures exhibited by nation-states. The broader point is that states are constrained by prevalent global rules and norms to operate rationally in pursuit of globally defined progress. Sociological institutionalists point to worldwide models that 'define and legitimate agendas for local action, shaping the structures and policies of nation-states and other national and local actors in virtually all of the domains of rationalized social life' (Meyer et al., 1997, p. 145). The rational means and ends for a state (defined as economic progress and justice) are socially constructed, as are the appropriate policies for obtaining these ends (e.g. Meyer et al., 1997; Strang & Meyer, 1993). Driven by their desires for legitimacy and acceptance in world society, nation-states emulate and adopt policies that they perceive to be legitimate.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Dobbin et al. (p. 452) concluded that 'for constructivists, understanding how public policies become socially accepted is the key to understanding their proliferation'. They listed three different ways in which policy approaches gain social acceptance: (1) leading countries serve as exemplars, and others follow the leader; (2) experts, such as epistemic communities of policy actors theorise the effects of a new policy and thereby give policymakers rationales for adopting it; and (3) specialists make contingent arguments about a policy's appropriateness, resting on the theorisation of similarities among countries. This has to do with perceived similarities, network connections or socio-cultural ties among countries or administrations.

They crystallised the following:

> The driving idea here is that changes in ideas drive policy diffusion. Policy makers derive ideas about how to bring about political justice and economic growth from the world around them. Given changing norms and uncertainty about which policies are most effective, policy makers copy the policies that they see experts promoting and leading countries embracing or policies that they see their peers embracing. (Dobbin et al., p. 454)

If understanding how public policies become socially accepted is the key to understanding their proliferation, then interpreting the meaning that public policies carry becomes central. Administrations do not copy or emulate just anyone's policies. Emulation is driven by the desire to appear credible and legitimate among other nations. The policies that are embraced carry a level of *viability* from the perspectives of the adopters, and the meanings attached to and derived from the policy are a key quality of this process.

However, the literature concerned with the diffusion of policies, both in sociological institutionalism and in CCT diffusion, tends to treat them as set models that are created in a certain context and later adopted elsewhere, being mostly concerned with the process and the conditions for diffusion rather than the content of new policies or how policies or practices are formulated and altered during policy adoption (Diane Stone, 2012, p. 485). In other words, much attention has been paid to how knowledge about policies is used in political settings of policy adoption; by contrast, the *production of this knowledge,* as well as the political battles over the adoption of new policies, has traditionally not been a focus of the diffusion literature (Howlett et al., 2018). To shed light on why some policy models end up being adopted on a global scale, we need to examine how global policy models emerge, how they are communicated across the globe and how they are embraced by political decision makers.

5.3 Epistemic Governance and the Construction and Domestication of Global Models

> The ability to create, mobilise, or disseminate policy ideas … provides critical resources for administrations, through which they build up their capacity to influence other institutions' choices and policies. Creating categories and norms, fixing meanings, constructing classifications, enforcing global values, or simply collecting and disseminating information on public policies are core activities of many administrations, including those that are considered as technical or operational organizations. (Nay, 2012, pp. 53–4)

The central roles played by the WB and the IADB in facilitating the proliferation of CCTs through their financing and technical assistance have been well documented. This dissertation introduces a different perspective regarding their involvement with CCTs. In addition to the material resources provided by these IOs, I argue that their actions related to CCTs extend to the construction of the CCT policy model and the crafting of the CCT narrative. I have examined the roles of IOs in the global proliferation of CCTs through the lens of epistemic governance (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014a, 2014b, 2019), through which I have understood IOs as key actors in global governance through *knowledge production, dissemination and usage*. I have studied the construction of the CCT policy model and how the features of discursive interaction (how IOs communicate about the model) have shaped the processes by which CCT programmes have proliferated.

There is a general understanding that IOs play crucial roles in global (social) governance (Martens et al, 2021; Kaasch & Martens, 2015; Deacon, 2007). Scholars working from a constructionist perspective in international relations, sociology and political science have drawn attention to *global governance through knowledge production, dissemination and usage*. In this scholarship, increasing attention has been paid to IOs' roles in the production of internationally adhered norms and more specific scripts or models for national policymaking. International relations scholarship has produced extensive literature on global norms, generally defined as practices that guide the appropriate behaviour of individuals or groups or standards of appropriate behaviour for actors with given identities (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 891). Global norms are elaborated and supported by, for example, international declarations, treaties, conventions, charters, protocols, accords, model laws, standards, guidelines, best practices, resolutions and certification systems.

The concept of norm could be juxtaposed with the concept of institutions, which has been used in sociology to denote a relatively stable collection of practices and rules defining the appropriate behaviour for specific groups of actors in specific situations (March & Olsen, 1998, p. 948). In this sense, norms refer to more macro determinants of appropriate behaviour for actors or groups. Similarly, sociological institutionalists point to IOs as carriers of *global models* or *cultural scripts* (Boli & Thomas, 1999). Although IOs hold little sanctioning power over nation-states, they 'act as if they were authorized in the strongest possible terms' by creating images of themselves as official representatives of international stakeholder groups that play key roles in global governance (Ibid., p. 37).

In social policy, the roles of IOs in knowledge production, dissemination and usage have been addressed particularly in the research field of global social policy, which has sought to draw attention to the transnational and supranational elements guiding social policy formulation. Scholars of global social policy have pointed to a political contest over the content of global social policy or a struggle over positions[21] between competing ideas, ideologies and institutions (e.g. Kaasch & Martens, 2015; Deacon, 2005; Deacon, 2007). For constructionist scholars, the central elements in this contest are ideas and what is done to and with them. Nay (2012, p. 53-4) captured this well in the quotation that started this section.

Instead of working on a more macro level of norms, scholars in political science and organisational sociology have paid increasing attention to how IOs take up ideas and package knowledge into policy norms (Park & Vetterlein, 2010), scripts (e.g. Kentikelenis & Seabrooke, 2017; Halliday et al., 2010) and models (Leisering, 2018;

[21] Deacon (2005; 2007) uses a more intense term 'war of positions'.

Leisering & von Gliszczynski, 2016; von Gliszczynski, 2015) to refer to more concrete expressions of the underlying norms and principles promoted by IOs. The point is that these organisations synthesise knowledge into models and best practices, while they 'seek to establish global consensus around certain ideas that they see as important for their policy purposes and international image' (Bøås & McNeill, 2004, p. 2).

Scholars have studied this packaging or synthesising by looking at the intra-organisational processes within IOs, in which norms are codified into concrete policies and then promoted through research, financing and policy recommendations producing policy norms, defined as 'shared expectations for all relevant actors within a community about what constitutes appropriate behaviour, which is encapsulated policy' (Park & Vetterlein, 2014, p. 4). Hence, the concept of policy norms could be used to refer to certain ideas and ways of understanding and operationalising poverty reduction strategies, notions on development and economic strategies, for example. These ideas become institutionalised as policy norms in flagship reports and policy recommendations of IOs, which shape how policies are devised in certain ways and not in others (Park & Vetterlein, 2014).

As referenced in Section 2.2. (and above), this type of codification of norms into prescriptive behavioural templates has been referred to as script writing (Kentikelenis & Seabrooke, 2017; Halliday et al., 2010) by scholars drawing from neo-institutionalism. This entails that multiple and possibly competing scripts circulate at the transnational level; they are championed by different actors and are recursively adapted, institutionalised or discarded. Halliday et al. (2010) argued that an IO's legitimacy in script writing rests on its prior record. International organisations may be handicapped by legitimation deficits; their organisational histories, current practices or attributes may detract from their authority among one or more audiences. Consequently, one element in the construction of regional or global influence is minimising, redressing and compensating for these types of legitimation deficits. This has been central in the case of the WB and the construction of CCTs, as will be shown in Section 7.1.

In their work on social cash transfers, which is very much in line with the research interests of this dissertation, von Gliszczynski and Leisering (e.g. Leisering, 2018; Leisering & von Gliszczynski, 2016; von Gliszczynski, 2015) examined the active roles of different IOs in the construction of different cash transfer models. They made valuable contributions to the study of different social cash transfers by proposing a well-justified list of factors underlying the successful rise of models to global agendas:

1. Organisational mandate: An IO defines the model as part of its mandate.
2. National examples: The construction of the model takes up earlier models by other IOs or models already adopted in some states.
3. Expert knowledge: The model is underpinned by reference to theories and/or empirical evidence provided by experts from selected expert communities and other organisations considered as peers.
4. Contextualisation: The model is framed by more general ideas from higher layers of knowledge (policy paradigms, discourses and/or world culture), and the model is linked to strong ideas from policy fields other than social policy.
5. Presentation: The model is given a name that appeals to a global public (political semantics), and discursive practices are used to underpin the model, such as narratives and quantitative evidence.

While agreeing with most of their findings and sharing a similar approach, empirical evidence from different policy documents suggest that there are good grounds to challenge the predominant CCT narrative, thus a key part of the interpretation provided by von Gliszczynski and Leisering. They pointed out the WB's central role in conceptualising the abstract CCT model but paid little attention to its involvement with the CCT model prior to the implementation of Mexico's and Brazil's national programmes. Accordingly, the authors concluded that the CCT case works as an example of how IOs tend to pick up models from innovative Southern countries. I have built on the work by von Gliszczynski and Leisering to further explore the CCT model and examine how domestic policy dynamics interact with global policy processes.

I have grasped these themes through scholarship on *epistemic governance* and *domestication* (Alasuutari, 2008; Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014b, 2019), which have been advanced by the Tampere Research Group for Cultural and Political Sociology (TCuPS). Epistemic governance provided the dissertation with a broader analytical frame that informed the general approach. The concept of domestication was helpful in exploring how the model was embraced by political decision makers and in bridging the conceptual gap between global models and local policy processes.

I have used epistemic governance as a frame to approach global governance through knowledge production, dissemination and usage. Examining the CCT model from this perspective has helped in digging through the meanings with which the CCT model has been charged in the process of its construction and communication across the globe.

In essence, epistemic governance can be perceived as a discursive struggle over ideas and meanings and the power to define the situation. Epistemic governance guides the researcher to analyse a particular phenomenon by considering the political battle over the definition of the given situation: 'Those who seek to influence others' behaviour and steer it in the desired direction work on, utilize, and manipulate common conceptions of the world and the situation at hand' (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2019, p. 6). However, the point is not that epistemic governance would imply distorting facts or lying; the point is that to influence policy change, local policymakers and politicians work on their peers' and publics' conceptions of what the world is and who we are in that world, as well as what is rational and necessary.

Epistemic governance has served as a lens to examine the different ways in which IOs legitimise and make global models seem appealing to policymakers (e.g. Rautalin et al., 2021; Rautalin et al., 2023; Syväterä, 2016; Syväterä & Qadir, 2015; Vähä-Savo et al., 2019). Conceiving of power in a Foucauldian fashion as situated and not necessarily self-consciously exercised, scholars operating through the frame of epistemic governance have pointed to strategies of epistemic work, used as a reference to the techniques used by policy actors 'engaged in affecting views and hegemonic definitions of the situation at hand' (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2019, p. 22). The actors involved in policymaking invoke imageries that they deem acceptable by the audience they are trying to convince of their preferred problem definitions or policy proposals. To justify and contest policy reforms, these actors appeal to their audience's conceptions of the world and of what is rational, necessary and morally right to do (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2019 2014a).

Domestication as an analytical tool provided me with a fruitful way to merge the more macro approach concerned with global norms and models with the level of more concrete policymaking in which global models are adopted in local contexts. This allowed me to consider the multidirectionality of influences, knowledge and ideas in global policymaking in general and in the case of CCTs in particular (see Article III). Analytically, the concept of domestication directs attention to the process through which policy actors carry out global ideas and policy models in national contexts. The domestication approach has been used to study the ways in which global policy models are tamed and nationalised, thus distinguishing them from global models (e.g. Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014b; Barjasteh, 2023; Pi Ferrer, 2020; Qadir, 2014; Rautalin, 2013; Syväterä, 2016).

The concept is linked to approaches that highlight the transformation of ideas and policies by conceptualising the phenomenon as translation (Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996), vernacularisation (Levitt & Merry, 2009) and mutation (McCann &

Ward, 2012; Peck & Theodore, 2010). These approaches have emphasised different elements in the transformation yet maintained that the adaptation of a global model is not a linear course of events in which global ideas or policies are adopted through rational policy learning and brought to the local context. Although the concepts of epistemic governance and domestication are not explicitly used in all of the articles, they have served as theoretical premises for the approaches taken.[22]

[22] In one case, the concept of epistemic governance was dropped during the peer review process.

6 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The methodological choices of the three articles were grounded in social constructionism. The constructionist approach serves as a particular lens through which phenomena are interpreted. In the three articles, this essentially meant examining how language is used in the processes of establishing a global model and adapting it to a local political setting. The methodological tools used in the three articles all serve as different ways to qualitatively study language. I used policy documents and parliamentary debates as data. Two lines of qualitative enquiry were adopted in the three articles:

First, Articles I and II are focused on IOs and grounded in a qualitative analysis of textual data in the form of policy documents. To study the construction of the CCT policy model and the related crafting and use of the narrative in legitimising the model, I examined documents published by IOs centrally involved in researching, designing and financing CCTs. The documents analysed include organisational reports, evaluation reports, research papers, funding agreements, background papers and programme descriptions. I have been interested in policy discourse on CCTs and have thus examined the interactive process through which the model has been generated and communicated.

In terms of data, the policy documents are approached as having a distinctive ontological status. They form a separate documentary reality and should not be taken as neutral, transparent representations of the social reality of the given organisation or institution, nor should they be treated as firm official evidence of what they report. They are written with an audience in mind and need to be approached for what they are used to accomplish (Atkinson & Coffey, 2010). Therefore, the documents were not considered merely as sources of information (Prior, 2003), but in this dissertation, they were regarded as having important consequences for the process by which CCTs have evolved into a global policy model (Article II) and for the process by which the Mexican programme PROGRESA became known as the innovative pioneer CCT (Article I).

The data were collected cumulatively by following up cross-references between documents, starting with a WB policy research report authored by Fiszbein and Schady (2009); this report provided a comprehensive review of the phenomenon and

a list of all programmes considered CCTs by the WB. Once a potentially relevant document was identified, it was retraced through search engines at organisational websites, Google searches or requests for access to the document from organisational data archives. The final database included 66 documents published between 1983 and 2015, of which 47 came from the WB, 9 from the IADB and 10 from the IFPRI.

The document analysis was conducted in two phases. First, in a close reading of the main data, the following questions were posed: Where do the documents place the origin of CCTs? What qualities are attached to CCTs? Which programmes are included in or excluded from the CCT category? What are CCTs compared to? Second, in addition to what has been reported and how it has been framed, my interest lies in what has not been reported in these documents. Thus, methodologically, an important element in drawing interpretations from the data was scrutinising the omitted information in the documents. Drawing on the main data, I inductively listed the central features of CCTs. I then produced an index of programmes established prior to 1995 that exhibited these features (a targeted cash transfer and conditionalities tied to school attendance and/or healthcare). Finally, a systematic comparison between the main data and the index was conducted to examine which programmes were and were not featured in the main data.

In the case of Article I, an interpretive analysis was used to indicate that strong thematic convergence exists between the WB's policy recommendations and the policy rationale and design of the Mexican programme PROGRESA and to describe how a codified form of these policy norms was constructed as a national policy model. In the case of Article II, four key shifts in the discursive construction of the CCT policy model were identified. These shifts were identified to follow a chronological order with a degree of temporal overlap, and each shift was understood to add new elements to the model from a discursive perspective. Both articles indicate how meaning was attached to the CCT model in the process of discursive construction by the IOs looking to advance the model and its proliferation.

Second, in Article III, I examine how the CCT model was embraced by two ideologically opposing coalitions in Chile by studying how politicians from these competing coalitions construct meaning and make sense of the policy. The broad question addressed in the article is as follows: *How do CCTs appeal to such a wide range of policymakers?* These Chilean CCT programmes present a unique case to study the political appeal of CCTs through rhetoric for four reasons: (1) The two CCT programmes were written into law instead of enacting them by executive decree as

many other countries have done, meaning it is possible to study the parliamentary debates over their adoption, policy design and rationale. (2) The programmes were established first by a left-wing government in 2004 and then re-established by a right-wing coalition in 2014, thus allowing for an analysis of the argumentation of a wide range of policymakers. (3) Despite some revisions and adjustments, Ingreso Ético Familiar (established in 2014) maintained the core characteristics of Chile Solidario (established in 2004). (4) Chile has been both an inspiration for and an adopter of the global CCT model. In its reciprocal connection with the global CCT model, Chile presents an intriguing case of how domestic policy dynamics interact with global policy processes.

The data consisted of parliamentary debates in which members of the Chilean Senate and House of Representatives took the floor to express their views on draft bills which would be used to create the Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar programmes. These legislative processes present unique cases for the investigation of how members of parliament (MPs) from opposing coalitions interpret CCTs. The data were downloaded from the Chilean Congress website. The legislative processes related to laws passed in Congress were packaged as PDF[23] files. Two such documents comprise the data.[24] The documents consist of the original bill, introductions from the corresponding ministers and various committees, amendments and modifications to the original bill, voting results on the bill and different articles and transcriptions of MPs taking the floor and giving statements regarding the proposed bill. Together, these documents comprise around 1,000 pages, of which roughly 30% of the text consists of debates.

The question guiding the analysis was as follows: How do politicians from competing and ideologically dissimilar perspectives interpret the policy with the effect of reaching a consensus? The analysis was conducted in four phases to ensure that the data is coded and analysed in a systematic and representative manner. *First*, the data were coded according to who speaks, their party and their coalition affiliation. *Second*, passages of justification and contestation of the bill (or certain aspects of it) were identified. In the *third* stage, the data were coded inductively using Atlas.ti based on the contents of the statement. *Fourth*, the passages of justification and contestation were analysed in depth using a methodology drawing from political (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) and argumentative discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995, 2005). Both approaches to discourse analysis serve as ways to analyse the premises, justifications and legitimations found in practical political argumentation.

[23] These are labelled *Historia de la Ley* ('History of the Law').

[24] *Historia de la Ley No. 19.949* and *Historia de la Ley No. 20.595*.

Discourse analysis engages with meaning and is dependent on the researcher's understanding of the socio-cultural, historical, and institutional context, as well as the language that is analysed. I have a good command of Spanish and have studied Latin American (and Chilean) societies in my academic work as well as through living and travelling in the region. To discuss my research and preliminary results of the Chilean CCTs, I gave two public lectures at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile during my research visit in 2017. The lectures and the ensuing discussions with academics, policy professionals, ministry officials and students were held in Spanish. I also requested and received comments for my article concerning the Chilean CCTs from academics working on CCT programmes and social protection in Chile.

In sum, the main data sources consist of policy documents and parliamentary debates. Thus, the data for the dissertation consist of naturally occurring data, which exist without a researcher's intervention. The advantage of working with data that exist *out there* and are essentially found in their natural settings is that the data are nonreactive to the researcher and can thus be treated without considering the actions or presence of the researcher in producing the data. The different sets of data used in the articles allow for an analysis of meaning in two important senses: *first*, how meaning is attached to the CCT model in the process of discursive construction by the IOs looking to advance the model and its proliferation, and *second*, how meaning is derived from the CCT model in policy processes by different policy actors looking to either advance or discard the model.

7 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As one-third of the world's countries have implemented a CCT programme, there are undoubtedly many different drivers for their policy choices. However, I propose that for such extensive proliferation, the model needs to meet certain criteria for it to be adopted in different contexts by different policy actors. Thus, in this dissertation, I have examined the qualities of the CCT model to contribute to the scholarship on the global proliferation of CCTs. The three articles have all contributed to this aim from different perspectives. These articles are as follows:

Article I. Domestication of Global Policy Norms: Problematisation of the Conditional Cash Transfer Narrative

Article II. The Ghostwriting of a Global Policy Script: International Organisations and the Discursive Construction of Conditional Cash Transfers

Article III. Discursive Malleability of a Global Policy Model: How Conditional Cash Transfers Transcend Political Boundaries in Chile

In Articles I and II, I explored the production and dissemination of the CCT policy model, highlighting IOs' involvement in moulding the features and characteristics of the model. In Article III, I examined the model's appeal to policymakers. The research questions, data, methods and results of these articles are summarised in Table 1 below. This section elaborates on the three arguments made in the introduction to this chapter. These arguments are as follows: 1. International organisations, such as the WB, the IADB and the IFPRI, played central roles in constructing the CCT policy model and crafting the CCT narrative. 2. The construction also resulted in a discursively malleable policy template, which could be charged with many kinds of meanings and understood and justified from different political perspectives. 3. As a synthesis of the three articles, I argue that for a global policy model to proliferate globally, it needs to be symbolically viable.

Table 1. Table 1. Summary of the three articles

	Article I	Article II	Article III
Research objective	Problematise the prevailing narrative of the first conditional cash transfer (CCT) and examine the consequences this had for the general perception of CCTs	Scrutinise international organisations (IOs)' role in the discursive construction of the global CCT policy model and in crafting and upholding the CCT narrative	Explore how the policy model resonates with politicians across the ideological spectrum
Data	Policy documents published by the IOs centrally involved in researching, designing and financing CCTs	Policy documents published by the IOs centrally involved in researching, designing and financing CCTs	Parliamentary debates from two legislative processes in Chile
Analysis and methods	Analysis of the thematic convergences between the policy rationale and design of PROGRESA and the policy recommendations put forth by the World Bank (WB). An interpretive and comparative document analysis.	Tracing of the interactive process through which the CCT model has been generated and communicated. An interpretive and comparative document analysis.	Discourse analysis of how members of parliament representing ideologically different political coalitions interpret CCTs and the meanings that are conveyed in parliamentary debates concerning the establishment of CCTs
Results	The results illustrate strong thematic convergence between the WB's policy recommendations and the policy rationale and design of PROGRESA. The article shows how a codified form of these recommendations was constructed as a unique and innovative national policy model.	1. The CCT narrative disregards similar policies that existed *before* the first CCT programmes and that some of these programmes were designed and financed by the WB and the IADB). 2. International organisations played important roles in crafting the narrative.	Identification of three *points of confluence* in the argumentation of MPs: 1) extreme poverty as a moral imperative of the state; 2) social assistance must be based on targeting; and 3) social assistance must go beyond *asistencialismo*.
Main arguments	It is argued that in a process of domestication, global policy norms were encapsulated and codified in the PROGRESA programme, which was then presented as a national innovation by omitting exogenous influences and actors from the official story of the programme. This codification was then marketed to other countries by the WB and the IADB as a model to follow.	(1) It is argued that the WB resorted to ghostwriting the CCT script, thereby expurgating its own central role in bringing forth the CCT policy model because of its legitimation deficit after the highly unpopular structural adjustment era. (2) It is argued that crafting narratives can be understood as a specific technique through which IOs contribute to the construction of global policy models while striving to steer the conduct of nation-states	It is argued that discursive malleability—the CCT model's capacity to convey different meanings to different people—has been a key quality in CCTs' broad appeal to policymakers.

7.1 Policy Narratives as Tools of Global Governance

The objective of Article I was to problematise the prevailing narrative of CCTs and critically assess the origin and uniqueness of what has been widely considered the first national CCT: the Mexican programme PROGRESA. This was done in two steps. *First*, I connected the policy rationale and design of the programme with global development policy norms by indicating that strong thematic convergence exists between the WB's policy recommendations and the policy rationale and design of PROGRESA. *Second*, I described how a codified form of the policy norms was constructed as a unique and innovative national policy model.

In the first article, I argued that in a process of *domestication*, global policy norms were encapsulated and codified in the PROGRESA programme, which was then presented as a national innovation by omitting exogenous influences and actors from the official story of the programme. This codification was then marketed to other countries by the WB and the IADB as a model to follow. This had two important consequences:

First, having the WB and the IADB promote PROGRESA as a *best practice* and a model programme for other countries to emulate legitimised the programme nationally. Through impact evaluations and international acclaim, the policy was able to survive through the first regime change in Mexico in 71 years.

Second, from the perspective of the WB and the IADB, the story of a policy model created at a local level, deemed to be working through impact evaluations and then marketed by the WB as best practice, was a far more attractive story than stating that they had yet again tampered with national policymaking. However, with successful impact evaluations, the WB was able to *discover* a programme based on ways of understanding and operationalising poverty, development and social policies in a conspicuously similar fashion to the policy norms constructed at the WB. A programme based on these norms was scientifically proven to work through impact evaluations and then promoted to other countries as a model to follow, thus legitimising the WB's approach to poverty reduction.

The starting point for Article II were the findings related to the WB's involvement in the creation of the Mexican CCT PROGRESA and the promotion of this programme as an innovative and unique Mexican creation, although evidence showed that other equivalent, if not as grand in scale and technically sound, programmes had existed before.

The role of the WB and the IADB in diffusing the CCT model *beyond* the countries where the model is considered to have originated—Brazil and Mexico—

are widely recognised. However, their important roles in the processes leading to the model's *invention* have been largely ignored. The general objective for Article II then became to investigate how IOs package policy models and seek to establish a global consensus around them. The article points to IOs' use of narratives to claim and generate legitimacy for these models. It does so by investigating how the WB, the IADB and the IFPRI have discursively constructed the CCT policy model in their policy documents and thus crafted the CCT narrative. The article provides a background for the emergence of the CCT model and then examines the key shifts in the process by which it has become the globally recognisable and widespread policy it is today.

Background. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the WB began to publish reports that emphasised poverty reduction through a strengthened focus on *human capital investments* through *health*, *education* and *nutrition*. The reports also outlined a change to cash-based social assistance. In addition to promoting these ideas, the WB and the IADB began to design and finance corresponding programmes, for example, in Honduras and in Bangladesh, while similar programmes were also designed in Chile and Venezuela in the 1980s. In retrospect, according to the subsequent classification of the characteristics of the CCT policy model, all the programmes from Honduras, Bangladesh, Venezuela and Chile noted above could be categorised as CCTs. However, these programmes gained little international recognition as pioneers of this now widely acknowledged approach to social assistance, and the lineage of CCTs is not traced to them.

The first shift: Attribution. The existence of the phenomenon was distinguished by referring to a model and assigning it a place of origin in Mexico or Brazil. As different units within the WB were giving credit for CCTs to either Mexico or Brazil in their documentation of the phenomenon, they were simultaneously disregarding earlier CCT programmes and downplaying their own role in the creation of such programmes. The WB and the IADB crafted a policy narrative in which an innovative and domestically created initiative was discovered by these development banks, thus downplaying or even omitting their own roles in recommending, financing and designing these types of programmes. Placing the origin of the model in Mexico and/or Brazil also distinguished the programme from earlier ones; the accepted lineage of the model is not traced to such programmes, and the documents do not allude to their ideational influence.

The second shift: Classification. The classification of the phenomenon was driven by finding common features in different programmes that were treated as part of the same phenomenon and then contrasting this phenomenon against traditional forms

of social assistance. Notably, instead of contrasting the performance of CCTs with *un*conditional cash transfers, effectiveness was constructed around the notion of these programmes outperforming inefficiently allocated in-kind transfers and other subsidies and serving as *productive* tools rather than generating dependency. Although they still lacked a single label, the emerging model now had qualities depicting it as a novel and efficient policy approach to providing social assistance without inducing dependency among recipients.

The third shift: Discursive consolidation. Neither the Mexican nor the Brazilian programme explicitly used the term 'conditional cash transfers' or its Spanish or Portuguese equivalents. In fact, none of the programmes implemented before 2006 (and listed as CCTs by the WB) included that term in its nomenclature. The term and the CCT acronym were only consolidated after the WB financed the Workshop on Conditional Cash Transfer Programs (CCTs): Operational Experiences in Puebla, Mexico, in 2002. Following this event, a number of reports reviewing these programmes were published by the WB and the IADB, and each document referred to them as 'conditional cash transfers'. This served as a step towards the institutionalisation of the phenomenon and finalised the process by which a bundle of programmes from Latin America that had comparable features were grouped under a single umbrella term.

The fourth shift: Institutionalisation. Once the features of different programmes were formalised under the 'conditional cash transfer' label, there was now a concrete policy model with an origin story, policy rationale and components, and projected effects of adoption. The WB began to provide further benchmarking and networking opportunities for policymakers currently or potentially working on CCT programmes by financing and organising workshops and conferences. The institutionalisation of the CCT policy model was crystallised in the publication of the WB book 'Conditional Cash Transfers: Reducing Present and Future Poverty'. In this often-cited work, the authors, Fiszbein and Schady (2009), defined, classified and listed all CCT programmes in a way that has since become authoritative in the field. With the institutionalisation of the CCT policy model, the phenomenon became a tangible entity of the social world, involving a prevailing narrative of the model's genesis and of what the model involves.

We argue that the WB has regularly sought to distance itself from its role as a creator of the CCT model, which is why it portrays the first programmes as endogenous inventions. This was due to the WB having largely exhausted its good standing in Latin America during the highly unpopular structural adjustment era, and in the words of the main creator of the Mexican PROGRESA, its involvement in

the design and creation of CCTs could have been controversial. It was necessary to avoid the 'impression that the program was the result of a mandate, or an adjustment program agreed upon with international financial institutions' (Levy, 2007, p. 114). International organisations' actions in constructing the model can be understood as moves that such organisations made to advance their claims to legitimacy when they seek to propagate the model to national policymakers.

We argue that to minimise its legitimation deficit—because of the highly unpopular structural adjustment era—and advance the legitimacy of CCTs, the WB resorted to *ghostwriting the script* by expurgating its own central role in bringing forth the CCT policy model. Constructing a policy model and crafting a policy narrative served as ways of reframing CCTs as something that leading countries in Latin America were doing on their own rather than something that the WB was proposing or, worse, mandating. The programmes *discovered* by the WB were based on ways of understanding and operationalising poverty and social protection that did not conflict with its own policy recommendations. These programmes were then *proven* to work and became promoted as models to follow, which legitimised the WB's approach to poverty reduction. In a political contest over the content of global social policy, the WB was successful in legitimising and disseminating its definition of a reform issue based on strictly targeted social assistance tied to human capital accumulation.

The article contributes to the understanding of IOs' roles in the global governance of social policy and sheds new light on it by arguing that crafting narratives can be understood as a specific technique through which IOs contribute to the construction of global policy models while striving to steer the conduct of nation-states. It also adds a new perspective to the scholarship on script writing by arguing that crafting narratives is a crucial part of it through which IOs may influence the construction of global policy models and advance their claims for legitimacy when striving to influence the conduct of nation-states.

Constructing a policy model and crafting a policy narrative for CCTs served as ways of reframing them as something that leading countries in Latin America were doing rather than something that the WB was proposing or even mandating. The programmes discovered by the WB were based on ways of understanding and operationalising poverty and social protection that corresponded with its own policy recommendations. These programmes were then proven to work and became promoted as models to follow, which legitimised the WB's approach to poverty reduction. The WB constructed a policy model with a compelling story that has significance for policymakers around the world and in the transnational discourse on

social policy principles. The case of CCTs has informed debates over targeting versus universalism and over conditional versus unconditional social assistance, and, as shown above, it continues to be used as an example of locally rooted policies assembled without the input of IOs.

This highlights that the qualities of a policy model are not entirely inherent characteristics or features of the model; rather, they are largely produced. Thus, the dissertation contributes to recent research elaborating on not only the roles of IOs in spreading already existing policy models but also the very process by which global models are theorised and codified by IOs. In summary, the political contests over the content of global social policy cannot be reduced to rational policy choices over the functionality of policy options; of central importance to such contests are the discursive struggles in which actors – including IOs – maintain and edit narratives in their attempts to set conditions for the successful spreading of their favoured ideas.

7.2 Discursive Malleability of Conditional Cash Transfers

The starting point for Article III was the realisation that CCTs have been designed and implemented by an ideologically diverse group of governments in a socioeconomically diverse group of countries; thus, the policy model obviously appeals to political decision makers on a wide scale or at least makes it acceptable for them. The article uses Chile as an empirical case study. The research objective of the article was to examine how the CCT model was embraced by the ideologically opposing coalitions in Chile. More broadly, how do CCTs appeal to such a wide range of policymakers?

If global policy models are understood as constructed policy templates, then their qualities are predicated on how the policy models are formulated and perceived. I draw on scholarship focused on ideas in politics and policymaking and examine policymakers' rhetoric around two local adaptations of the CCT model. I study the adoption of these programmes through the ideas and discourse entwined with the policies and focus on the meanings attached to them.

The empirical analysis of parliamentary debates revealed *points of confluence* in the argumentation of MPs. I use the concept of point of confluence to refer to the convergence in streams of argumentation through which politicians from competing and ideologically dissimilar coalitions construct meaning and make sense of the policy proposal. Confluence is a term used in geography to refer to a situation in

which two rivers run separately but come together to form one river, either briefly or permanently. Thus, the point of confluence is used here to refer to the point at which the stream of argumentation from the left converges with the stream of argumentation from the right and vice versa. The concept of the point of confluence brings about an idea of a discursive stream that is in flux but which, at some point, joins another stream, only to be separated again. The concept serves as an analytical tool to illuminate argumentation in which, despite fundamental differences found in the premises of the justifications, different MPs support the same policy or advocate for particular elements in it; this elucidates how CCTs can be acceptable to such a wide range of political decision makers.

In the analysed parliamentary debates, the different variants of arguments in favour of and against a proposed policy have clearly substantial differences. However, in terms of defining the problem and practical arguments in favour of a particular solution to the problem, the streams come together in a salient fashion, only to run separately again.

Analytically, the point of confluence is related to the concepts of *storyline* and *common place*. Hajer (1995) referred to storylines as 'narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding' (p. 62), whereas common place[25] has been used in rhetorical analysis (Billig, 1987) to convey an idea of speakers using references to facts or moral values that will be shared by their audiences, a trait often found in political rhetoric. While conveying similar meanings, the concepts of storyline and common place imply a level of abstraction different from that of the point of confluence used in the analysis here. The aforementioned concepts point to particular themes or universals shared in a particular culture that are then used to ground other types of argumentation. Thus, I suggest that storyline and common place can be conceived of as macro-level analytical tools, whereas the point of confluence can be employed as a more context-bound micro-level concept.

In addition, the point of confluence as used in Article III is akin to the concept of *perverse confluence*[26] advanced by Dagnino (e.g. 2003, 2007). The author used the term to refer to common references to certain concepts (e.g. citizenship) by opposing political actors, with the use of the same concept projecting homogeneity in their political projects and obscuring differences and conflicts between them. My use of the point of confluence differs from the use of perverse confluence in two

[25] Referred to as 'topoi' in Aristotelian rhetoric.

[26] This concept was brought to my attention during the peer review process in *Global Social Policy*.

ways. First, perverse confluence suggests that opposing political camps use the same vocabulary and concepts but execute entirely different political projects in their names. The point of confluence used here suggests the opposite. Actors from opposing political camps use arguments and justifications from entirely different premises, but they argue for or support the same policy measures. Second, perverse confluence carries normative implications through which the author insinuates that the other political camp (neoliberal) is distorting or hijacking the concepts used by the other political camp (participatory). The point of confluence has no such implications.

Three points of confluence came to define the debates and set the scene in terms of which the proposed bill was discussed:

1. *Tackling extreme poverty is a moral imperative of the state.* Acknowledging extreme poverty as a severe societal problem, which needs to be mended, was the premise for all argumentation in the debates and the central focus in terms of which the debate was had. Although little consensus can be found in defining the root cause of poverty, state-led action in this sphere was seen not just as legitimate but as a moral imperative. In the argumentation from both coalitions, the modern state was supposed to enact policies that aimed to eradicate extreme poverty.

2. *Social assistance must be based on targeting.* In their argumentation, both coalitions held an underlying premise of resource scarcity and limited financial flexibility, based on which there was a need to target the few resources available.

3. *Social assistance must go beyond asistencialismo*, i.e. government handouts. Perhaps surprisingly, when discussing the conditionalities, politicians did not emphasise social investments and the accumulation of human capital. To right-wing politicians, the importance of conditions in the debates came from these demands to promote effort and to emphasise individual behaviour and choices as the key determinants of falling into or rising from poverty. In their argumentation, distributing unconditional cash to the poor perpetuates welfare dependency. To left-wing politicians, the conditions were geared to enable the government to assist the recipients of the transfer with overcoming the obstacles to escape the situation of poverty.

The points of confluence illustrate the CCT model's capacity to convey different meanings to different people, allowing it to be interpreted to fit a variety of different perspectives. I define this quality as *discursive malleability* and argue that it is a key quality in explaining CCTs' broad appeal to policymakers. The discursive malleability of the model allows policy actors—in this case, politicians from competing and ideologically dissimilar coalitions—to construct and derive meaning from fundamentally different premises.

The article makes a twofold contribution to the scholarship on global social policy. By examining the ideational dimensions of the CCT model, the article makes a broader theoretical contribution by shedding light on the qualities that make certain global policy models or policy ideas attractive to policymakers. Through the Chilean case, the article also illustrates the multidirectional way in which domestic policy dynamics interact with global policy processes, as Chile has been both an inspiration *for* and an adopter *of* the global CCT model. I argue that discursive malleability is an important quality in explaining not only how a policy model can resonate among or appeal to such a wide range of policymakers but also how a global model is adopted in a country and becomes part of the domestic political debate.

I suggest that the case of Chile can illustrate a broader point about how CCTs appeal to such a wide range of policymakers. As a policy template, the CCT model can be perceived as a hybrid that combines elements from *rights-based* social protection, *cost-effective* targeted social protection and economically *productive* social protection based on promoting human capital accumulation among households living in the condition of poverty. However, as the case of Chile shows, the appeal of conditions cannot necessarily be pinned down to human capital objectives or to perceptions of social protection as a social investment. The appeal also has much to do with attaching demands, promoting effort and avoiding perpetuating welfare dependency. All this suggests that the CCT model carries the potential for adjusting it to fit diverse problem definitions, varying policy objectives and different views on social protection and the poor, thus making it acceptable to different audiences.

7.3 The Symbolic Viability of Conditional Cash Transfers

The common denominator in the two arguments above can be found in *meaning*. These two contributions shed light on how the CCT policy model became socially accepted. The three articles show that meaning has been central to the CCT model's social acceptance in two senses:

1. Through the meanings it has been charged with in the process of the discursive construction by the IOs looking to advance the model and its proliferation

2. Through the meanings it has the potential to be charged with in concrete policy processes by the different policy actors looking to either advance or discard the model

As a synthesis, I make a third argument: for a global policy model to proliferate globally, it needs to be *symbolically viable*. This is directly related to meaning. To illustrate how meaning is connected with the qualities of a policy model, I sketch an outline based on Hall's (1989)[27] analysis of the conditions that led to Keynesian economic ideas being adopted as policies in different countries. Hall (1989) demonstrated that 'a new set of [economic] ideas must be seen to have a minimum level of viability on all three of these dimensions – economic, administrative, and political – in order to be incorporated into policy' (p. 375). Economic viability is related to how the idea fits with contemporary economic problems and the prevalent economic theory. Administrative viability refers to the state's perceived capacity to implement the new policy and the way in which the policy resonates among state agencies with different biases vis-a-vis their powers over policymaking. By political viability, Hall meant how the idea fits with the goals and interests of the dominant political parties and its appeal in the broader political arena.

I suggest that these conditions could be modified to serve as heuristic tools in assessing the qualities of a global policy model, which, in this case, is a global model for social policy. In using Halls' terminology of viability, we could refer to policy viability, i.e. how the qualities of the new (social policy) idea relate to prevalent approaches to poverty reduction and social protection. Administrative viability refers to the presumable capacity of different states to implement the new policy. Central here are the relative costs of implementing and running the programme and the technical complexity of the programme. Political viability is used to point to the fit between the policy idea and its presumed resonance with the governing political parties.

Although making comprehensive assessments about the viability of CCTs on all these dimensions was beyond the scope of the three articles, it is important for the argument made in this section to briefly touch on the policy, administrative and political viability of CCTs. As shown throughout this chapter, the proliferation of a policy model is a complex phenomenon. In the case of CCTs, numerous different factors have contributed to their diffusion, from different policy actors and collectives promoting the model to donor countries and IFIs providing funds to cover the expenses of establishing such programmes. If we look at the proliferation

[27] Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across Nations

from the perspective of the qualities of the model itself, then the concept of viability can provide a useful frame for analysis.

In terms of policy viability, it could be argued that the normative foundations of CCTs were in line with the prevailing intellectual consensus of the economists of leading IOs regarding poverty reduction and social assistance. The (re)discovery of state-led social protection as a policy approach was important in putting poverty reduction and social assistance on the policy agenda. This coincided with an increased focus on social investment in the form of human capital development. In sum, interest in human agency and human development reoriented the focus of social policy from structural factors to individual behaviour and responsibility. In addition, CCTs promoted women as agents of change, delivered cash transfers instead of in-kind transfers and incorporated randomized control trials into the programme design. All three were emerging trends in development in the 1990s.

If we examine the political viability of CCTs, an apolitical policy architecture designed to prevent clientelism could be seen as one element that enhances the political viability of CCTs. Originally a feature of the Mexican programme (see Section 2.2), this de-politisation may have contributed to the perceptions of CCTs in other contexts as well.

Based on the results of Article III, we can conclude that the CCT model serves as a flexible platform that allows politicians from different ideological leanings to support it from different premises. As shown above (Section 7.2.), the CCT model can be perceived as a hybrid policy template that combines elements from rights-based social protection, cost-effective targeted social protection and economically productive social protection while also attaching demands, promoting effort and avoiding perpetuating welfare dependency. This malleability can be seen as one of the key elements in the political viability of CCTs.

As there are no means to assess the potential of advancing policy ideas within the different administrative systems of all administrations that have implemented CCTs, examining the administrative viability of CCTs essentially comes down to considering the cost and difficulty of CCT implementation. In terms of the cost of implementation, there are two important things to note. First, the programmes are relatively inexpensive. The significance of CCTs varies noticeably in terms of their sizes and roles in the social policy architectures of the different countries, cities and regions that adopt them. However, common to all Latin American CCTs is the relatively low cost of the programmes (Cecchini & Madariaga, 2011; Fiszbein & Schady, 2009). Second, funds and technical assistance in programme design have been readily available from the WB, the IADB and other financial institutions and

donors.[28] In terms of difficulty, the design and implementation of CCTs require rather complex mechanisms of targeting, registration, delivery and monitoring. This depends on technical and administrative capacity and resources. This could explain why CCTs are rather rare in low-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa, where most governments have opted for variants of targeted and unconditional cash transfers (see Davis et al., 2016). Overall, if the policy goal is poverty reduction and eradication of extreme forms of poverty, then implementing a social assistance programme (such as CCT) is an easier solution in comparison with structural changes dealing with the distribution of resources. Conditional cash transfers are technocratic[29] policy solutions that do not require profound structural reforms, making them administratively (as well as politically) simpler to execute. In comparison with more universal benefits, CCTs may be more technically complex but require less resources.

Finally, based on the case of CCTs and considering the results of the three articles, I argue that we can identify a fourth condition: symbolic viability. Adding symbolic viability to Halls' framework is done to draw attention to meaning as *one* of the central qualities in the adoption or proliferation of a policy model. I do not claim that symbolic viability is the central quality at play in policy adoption. However, if understanding how public policies become socially accepted is the key to understanding their proliferation, then interpreting the meaning that public policies carry becomes central. I argue that for a policy model to be adopted, it should carry a level of symbolic viability from the perspective of the adopters, and the meanings attached to and derived from the policy are key qualities in this process.

Administrations do not follow country examples or emulate just anyone's policies, and they do not take policy advice from just anyone. As noted above, it has been established that country examples, theorisation and perceived cultural and political ties are important in explaining policy adoption. This has important implications for the construction of policy models. If a model is *perceived* to originate from countries (or cities, regions and administrations) worth emulating (be they

[28] Some observers have also referred to the commodity boom in Latin America during the early diffusion of CCTs, which afforded governments more financial resources for poverty reduction programmes.

[29] This could be elucidated by considering other types social policy measures. Besley (1997) categorised approaches to poverty reduction into two alternatives: technocratic or institutional. The former emphasises targeting and explores programme designs that try to direct limited resources to people with the greatest need. The latter approach notes that the poor lack political power and that administrative incompetence and corruption hinder service delivery of the government. Poverty reduction therefore requires developing institutions and changed political structures, improved governance and changed attitudes towards the poor. In these terms, CCTs are technocratic policy solutions that do not require profound structural reforms, making them administratively (and politically) simpler to execute.

leaders or ones considered peers), then if one wishes to produce and disseminate a policy model, there is an incentive to construct a policy model considered to originate from such locations.

In addition to this, the policy has been adopted in many contexts through the efforts of the *originator* countries. Brazil, for one, has established policy exports as part of its foreign policy and has been very active in South–South cooperation; Brazilian policy ambassadors have actively worked to facilitate Brazilian policy ideas and solutions (Porto de Oliveira, 2020). Mexican and Brazilian experiments with the policy model also received a considerable amount of publicity from internationally renowned news sources and high-level opinion makers, prompting *The Economist* (2010) to refer to CCTs as 'the world's favourite new anti-poverty device'. It could also be argued that being promoted (as opposed to being created and pushed) by IOs contributed to the CCTs being perceived as scientifically valid, and it added to the international prestige of the model in terms of being perceived as evidence based and as a best practice.

I make the claim that in the case of CCTs, the policy narrative was central in charging the model with symbolic viability. The CCT model was strategically constructed as a novel and innovative policy created in the leading countries of Latin America instead of the WB, which had largely exhausted its good standing in the region during the highly unpopular structural adjustment era. The construction also resulted in a malleable policy template, which could be charged with many kinds of meanings and could be understood and justified from different political perspectives, thus adding to its political viability.

I argue that exploring the symbolic viability of public policies is central to understanding how they become socially accepted. If comprehending how public policies become socially accepted is the key to deciphering their proliferation, then understanding public policy from the perspective of symbolic viability is central to forming a picture of how a particular policy has been adopted in a wide range of different contexts. It should be noted that quite like the other three dimensions of viability, symbolic viability is also context-dependent. As argued in section 5.1, global policy models are contested political formations that can carry a plethora of meanings in any given context. While the narrative about the origins of the model may have contributed to the early proliferation of the programmes in Latin America, Mexican and Brazilian social policies may carry entirely different meanings in different contexts. For example, while CCTs are rare in sub-Saharan Africa, they are non-existent in the Northern European region. This is likely due to universal welfare systems, low levels of informal employment and high levels of school enrolment

rates. It could also be argued that the CCT model would not carry much symbolic viability in the Nordics.

Assessing the viability of global policy models through the four dimensions introduced here opens fruitful avenues for further research on other successful policy models (and non-successful ones). To assess the generalizability of the arguments made here, one could review existing literature and evaluate whether they too are discursively malleable and symbolically viable (and whether non-successful ones lack these qualities).

8 CONCLUSION

The central motivation and main research problem addressed in this dissertation was to explore the qualities that have enabled the global proliferation of the CCT policy model. The objective was to contribute to the scholarship on the proliferation of CCTs. Through the case of CCTs, the dissertation also aimed to make a broader theoretical contribution to the study of global policy models and to participate in the development of epistemic governance and domestication frameworks. The contribution that this dissertation makes has concrete implications for our understanding of the emergence, adoption and proliferation of global policy models.

The most important empirical contributions of this dissertation are problematising the CCT narrative, shedding light on the central roles that the WB and its affiliates had in the construction of the model, and examining politicians (legislators) and their perceptions of CCTs. In terms of methodology, I make a conceptual contribution to the study of political discourse by introducing the concept of point of confluence (Article III). The concept could be used and further advanced as an analytical tool for studying different types of discourses, argumentation and rhetoric. In terms of the methods for studying CCTs, I advance an interpretive approach to examining policy documents by producing an index of CCT programmes and conducting what could be called a historically comparative document analysis (Articles I and II). Theoretically, the three articles and this introductory chapter of my dissertation make three noteworthy conceptual contributions to the scholarship on global policy models. First, the concept of *ghostwriting policy scripts* could be used and further developed in the analysis of political and social phenomena in which the main actor(s) wish to remain in the background or unidentified. Second, *discursive malleability* could be used and further developed in the analysis of global policy models and the diffusion and proliferation of policies. Third, adding *symbolic viability* to Hall's framework provides fruitful avenues for policy analysis, and the concept works to illuminate the constructionist argument that the key to exploring the global proliferation of policies is to understand how policies become socially accepted.

The problem addressed here is broad and complex, and the intention is not to comprehensively *explain* the phenomenon of global proliferation of CCTs but to

make sense of it by examining CCTs from a constructionist perspective and highlighting the qualities of the model itself. The constructionist and qualitative approaches were chosen because the quantitative analyses have focused on structural determinants of policy adoption, whereas the qualitative studies focusing on agency have highlighted more contextual factors in particular cases. The objective here was to contribute to and build on the existing scholarship that had examined *the qualities of the countries* that have adopted the policy (quantitative policy diffusion), as well as the individuals and collective *actors* involved in local and transnational policy processes (qualitative policy transfer). Neither strand of literature had focused on the qualities of the model itself.

In addition to the existing scholarship, other paths for exploring the global travel of CCTs could have been taken. An alternative way to examine the global proliferation of CCTs would have been to examine the global political economy and power relations by following the financial transactions in the form of development assistance, lending and technical assistance. This would have provided fruitful avenues for a more focused analysis of the economics involved. Although much explored, a detailed focus on agency in local policymaking processes would have been one possible way to approach the dynamics of CCT proliferation. For example, the proliferation of CCTs in Latin America has been explained by a closed and influential epistemic community (Franzoni & Voorend, 2011; Osorio Gonnet, 2014; Sugiyama, 2011). An interesting case for further research would be to examine how the CCT model has appealed to these influential policy actors and how they have operated in the policy adoption and formulation processes. In fact, I conducted interviews with actors involved with and knowledgeable about the Chilean programmes examined in Article III. The aim was to conduct similar interviews in another country and explore the appeal of the CCT model in a cross-national comparative setting. However, the global pandemic put an end to these plans. This research will nonetheless continue in the future.

There are obvious limitations to the theoretical and methodological approach taken in this dissertation. It could be argued that the central argument put forward in this research—that symbolic viability and discursive malleability have contributed to the proliferation of CCTs—cannot be verified through the data used in the articles. The policy documents serve as indicators of the WB and its affiliates constructing a certain kind of narrative for CCTs. The extent to which this narrative of a homegrown policy idea from Mexico and Brazil, and not from the WB, has been reassuring to policymakers in specific contexts cannot be studied through the data available here, and would require further research. However, the approach allows for

a reasoned interpretation. The constructionist scholarship has established that connecting a model with leading countries as exemplars is one of the key elements in the legitimacy and prestigiousness of a policy (Leisering, 2018; Leisering & von Gliszczynski, 2016). It could be argued that to promote and advance the model, the WB found it useful to construct the model and craft the narrative in such a way that the meanings attached to it dissociated the bank from its inception and linked it to Mexico and Brazil instead.

A related challenge in the approach has to do with investigating parliamentary debates in a specific context and drawing generalisable conclusions based on these context-specific debates. However, my interpretation from the Chilean case is that it illustrates a broader point about the CCT model and its malleability. Neo-institutionalist scholars have argued that the abstractness of ideas or *scripts* facilitates their global proliferation (Strang & Meyer, 1993). I have shown that more concrete policies with established features have the potential to proliferate on a wide scale if such policies are discursively malleable. In future research I will explore other successful and non-successful global policies from the perspective of discursive malleability and symbolic viability.

At the time of writing, conditional cash transfers are no longer a contemporary 'trend' or a 'fad' in development policy but could be considered as established tools for social assistance on a global scale. Originally created as developmental social policy programmes in the Global South, the use of the term 'conditional cash transfer' has recently been broadened to cover different types of programmes with work incentive conditionalities in OECD countries as well (Rinaldi & Leone, 2023). The case of CCTs has informed debates over targeting versus universalism and over conditional versus unconditional social assistance and, as shown above, continues to be used as an example of locally rooted policies assembled without IO input. In terms of global policy models, the CCT model serves as both an illuminating and a unique case. Whether we consider the origin of the model to be in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Honduras, Bangladesh or in the WB, it has nevertheless been considered emblematic of developmental social assistance from the Global South, and its perceived proliferation trajectory from the South to the North could be seen as quite distinct among global social policies. As has been shown throughout this introduction and the three articles, more than anything, the case of CCTs exemplifies the dynamics of global (social) governance and the multidirectionality of influences, knowledge and ideas in global (social) policymaking.

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PUBLICATION I

Domestication of global policy norms: Problematisation of the conditional cash transfer narrative

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G. Cruz-Martinez (Ed.), Social protection for development in contemporary Latin America (pp. 134–54). Routledge.

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Domestication of Global Policy Norms: Problematisation of the Conditional Cash Transfer Narrative

Introduction

During a televised debate of the Brazilian presidential elections in 2014, Dilma Roussef (PT[i]) and her opponent Aécio Neves (PSDB)[ii] got into an argument over the "real creator" of the Brazilian conditional cash transfer (CCT) program Bolsa Familía. In the debate Ms. Roussef held the position that her predecessor, president Luis Inazio "Lula" Da Silva (PT) should be considered the innovator behind Bolsa Familía and that the previous PSDB government does not hold any paternity to the program, while Mr. Neves claimed that the origin of Bolsa Familía is in fact in the social assistance programs of Lula's predecessor Fernando Henrique Cardoso of the PSDB and that Roussef is reinventing history. However, when Cardoso himself was asked[iii] about the origin and similarities of Bolsa Familía and his own governments social assistance policies, he responded by stating that the idea and recommendation for these types of cash transfers originally came from within the World Bank (WB) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).

While outside of national political debates neither Lula nor Cardoso are generally considered to have created the Brazilian conditional cash transfer program/s[iv], this exchange nevertheless brings forth three essential characteristics of policymaking: *First*, being considered an innovator and policy entrepreneur and claiming paternity of a popular policy can be politically rewarding and bring prestige to the individual and their political party (as well as ultimately the country at issue). *Second*, a policymaking process is not a coherent and linear process in which the ideational origins and the creator of a "policy model" can be easily traced and identified. *Third*, even if strongly influenced by exogenous influences, policies are very likely to be marketed and presented as local solutions to local problems.

The question of "who invented Bolsa Familia?" is in fact connected to a wider phenomenon of construction and branding of policies in general, and conditional cash transfers in particular. By now the CCT policy model, grounded on targeted social safety nets linked to promotion of human capital of the poor, have been established as one of the most well-known policy brands worldwide. Since 1997, when the Mexican program Programa de Educación, Salud, y Alimentación (PROGRESA)[v] was launched, a CCT has been implemented in more than 60 countries (Honorati et al., 2015), with all but the socialist Cuba and Venezuela having made CCTs a central social protection instrument in Latin America. Furthermore, while widely considered to have originated as a developmental social policy from the global south, CCT's have been increasingly taken up in European and North American contexts.

In the story of the origin of CCTs initially put forward by the WB, the IDB and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), the Mexican program PROGRESA and its main architect and former visiting researcher at the World Bank[vi] Santiago Levy are presented as the central protagonists of the story[vii]. Brazil has since entered the narrative and is now mentioned as the "co-creator" of the CCT phenomenon (Fiszbein & Schady 2009), with both Mexico and Brazil claiming paternity of conditional cash transfers. Yet as late as 2014 WB ran a feature story on their website with the title "A Model From Mexico for the World" including an interview with a WB social protection specialist who states:

> "The program design included an impact assessment, which demonstrated program results in the short term. This quickly transformed the program into a model for the rest of the world. Since its establishment in 1997, this model has been replicated in 52 countries around the world in very different contexts: in Latin America, Asia and Africa." (World Bank, 2014)

Central to the policy narrative from a Mexican perspective has been the notion of Mexico pioneering an innovative, unique and novel approach to poverty reduction through a domestically created policy that has been scientifically proven to "work". In a foreword to a book authored by Levy and commissioned by the Wolfensohn centre of the Brookings Institute, the former World Bank president James D. Wolfensohn crystallised this in the following way:

> "I was [therefore] very excited when I first encountered an innovative program in Mexico that was then known as Progresa. This program met many of the expectations that I had nurtured regarding successful poverty reduction initiatives: it was homegrown, based on solid economic and social analysis, comprehensive in approach, and sensitive to the institutional and polit-

> ical realities of the country (…) Over the years, other international organisations as well as the World Bank have made use of this very impressive and successful Mexican initiative to assist other countries. At the same time, Progresa's rigorous emphasis on evaluation has set a standard for poverty reduction programs in the developing world (…) A key factor in the success of Progresa's start-up was the visionary leadership of Mexico's President Ernesto Zedillo, supported by an outstanding young Mexican economist, Santiago Levy, who was instrumental in designing Progresa's basic approach and who also was entrusted with the task of implementing the program." (Wolfensohn 2006, p.vii)

The notion of a unique and homegrown way to tackle poverty in Mexico was further highlighted by Levy himself in his documentation of the policy design process (Levy 2006; Levy & Rodríguez 2004). However, a wealth of evidence points to targeted social safety nets linked to promotion of human capital of the poor having been established as a "policy norm" (Park & Vetterlein 2014) within the World Bank[viii] prior to the launching of PROGRESA. In addition, the prevailing narrative of a domestically created and innovative program excludes relevant details of exogenous influences and actors in the policymaking process. Most notable omissions being the involvement of the World Bank and the IDB, and any mention of the municipal Brazilian programs that were launched before the creation of PROGRESA, and which were benchmarked by the Mexican policymakers during the process of designing the program.

Nation states follow policy reforms in other countries, draw lessons from them and adopt policies based on learning from or emulating policies considered successful (Dobbin et al. 2007; Dolowitz & Marsh 2000). Or as Weyland (2005, p.262) put it: "A bold reform adopted in one nation soon attracts attention from other countries which come to adopt the novel policy approach. As such a wave gets under way, innovations often spread quickly to other countries following the trendsetter". In this chapter I argue that an integral part of being a "policy trendsetter" has to do with a strong policy brand, and an integral part of a strong brand is a story about the brand (Vincent 2002).
Thus, global proliferation of a policy is fundamentally linked with its story of origin. The objective of this chapter is to problematise the prevailing narrative of the first conditional cash transfer "policy model", and critically assesses the origin and uniqueness of the Mexican program PROGRESA, that was originally constructed as the innovative "pioneer" CCT. This is done in two steps:

First by connecting the policy rationale and design of the national program to global development policy norms. Policy norm is here defined as *"*shared expectations for all relevant actors within a community about what constitutes appropriate behaviour, which is encapsulated policy" (Park & Vetterlein 2014,

p.4). I use the concept of policy norms to refer to certain modes of thought and ways of understanding and operationalising poverty, development and social policies. These ideas become institutionalised as policy norms in flagship reports and policy recommendations of International Financial Institutions (IFIs), which shape how policies are devised in certain ways and not others (Ibid.). The aim is not to study where the norms come from and how international organisations such as the World Bank come to construct the norms. The point is to indicate that strong thematic convergence exists between the WB's policy recommendations from the years preceding the designing and launching of PROGRESA and the policy rationale and design of this program.

Second, by describing how the codified form of the policy norms was constructed as a unique and innovative national "policy model". I address this construction through production and dissemination of information by the national and international actors involved, particularly from the perspective of scrutinising critical gaps in the prevailing policy narrative of PROGRESA. Through this analysis I suggest that omitting information of exogenous influences and actors in the policymaking process was central to constructing PROGRESA as a unique national creation.

However, the point is not to demonstrate that the creation of PROGRESA in Mexico was yet another case of "the North" imposing its will on "the South" in the form of IFIs forcing their structural reforms and preferred economic and social policies on governments in low-and middle income countries. Additionally I am not undermining the technical innovativeness of designing a program of the magnitude of PROGRESA, or claiming that deliberately constructing a policy narrative emphasising the national origin of the program is a unique feature of the case of PROGRESA. Rather, the chapter proposes that the policymaking process in which PROGRESA was created is best understood through the concept of *domestication (*Alasuutari & Qadir 2014a; 2014b*)*. Analytically the domestication framework directs attention to the process through which policy actors carry out global ideas and policy models in national contexts, and is linked to approaches highlighting the transformation of ideas and policies by conceptualising the phenomenon as *translation* (Czarniawska & Sevón 1996), *vernacularization* (Levitt & Merry 2009) and *mutation* (Peck & Theodore 2010; McCann & Ward 2012). These approaches have emphasised different elements in the transformation, yet maintained that adaptation of a global "model" is not a linear course of events where global ideas or policies are adopted through rational policy learning and brought to the local context.

The domestication approach has been used to study the ways in which global policy models are tamed and nationalised thus distinguishing them from the global models (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014; Syväterä & Alasuutari 2015; Qadir

2014). It stresses nationalisation as naturalisation: the processes by which a worldwide model is made to appear local is understood as a key step in seeing national policymaking as the domestication of global models (Qadir 2014). To be clear, in the case of PROGRESA, the chapter refers to domestication of global policy norms, PROGRESA itself is considered to have spearheaded the diffusion of a conditional cash transfer model. Thus, it is argued that in a process of domestication, global policy norms were encapsulated and codified in the PROGRESA program, which was then presented as a national innovation through omitting exogenous influences and actors from the official story of the program. This codification was then marketed to other countries by the World Bank and IDB as a "model" to follow[ix].

To build this argument the chapter will first connect the policy rationale and design of the program to global development policy norms by mapping the thematic convergences in the policy rationale and design of PROGRESA and the policy recommendations put forth in World Bank flagship reports and other policy documents from the years preceding the launching of PROGRESA. In the second section the chapter will then proceed to discussing the construction of the prevailing narrative by scrutinising the information that was *not* included in the prevailing national policy narrative. The chapter closes with some reflections and a discussion.

The Policy Rationale of PROGRESA and the World Bank Policy Norms

As indicated through the quotation from the former World Bank president James D. Wolfensohn, the prevailing narrative of the "pioneer conditional cash transfer" PROGRESA is constructed around the perception that an innovative, thoroughly original and homegrown program was created by a visionary team of policy entrepreneurs led by the economist and undersecretary of Mexico's finance ministry Santiago Levy. The storyline goes that Levy's team created a program unlike any poverty program before in that it delivered a targeted cash transfer instead of in-kind transfers[x] and was designed to address the building of human capital through three key elements: education, health and nutrition. The transfer was directed to the female head of household, made conditional on children's school attendance and regular medical check ups[xi]. This design was complemented by impact evaluations. (Fiszbein & Schady 2009; Levy 2006; Levy & Rodríguez. 2004)

According to the narrative the "rigorous" non-partisan impact evaluations from the initial phase of PROGRESA yielded positive results, which then led to interest from the World Bank and IDB who praised the innovative and revolutionary policy experiment and distinguished PROGRESA as a model CCT for other countries to follow (IDB 2003; WB 2004). These financial institutions then started to provide loans to create CCTs in other countries, offer technical assistance for program design and evaluations, organise workshops and funding to promote benchmarking and networking, disseminate information and provide financial resources to sustain the programs which Nancy Birdsall, the former director of the policy research department at the WB, described to be "as close as you can come to a magic bullet in development".[xii]

The policy rationale and the design of PROGRESA

A rudimentary frame for a poverty policy resembling PROGRESA was outlined by Santiago Levy in a 1991 WB working paper entitled "Poverty Alleviation in Mexico". The objective of the proposal was to reduce infant mortality; improve the nutritional and health status of extremely poor households; and reduce fertility by creating help centres in charge of all directly targeted benefits (food and medicine) for the extremely poor. While reflecting on the importance of strictly targeted benefits and emphasising health, education and nutrition related to human capital, the paper also argues *against* direct income transfers both on incentive and inter-temporal efficiency grounds. (Levy 1991.) Based on the proposal, a program titled Pilot Project on Nutrition, Food and Health (PNAS) was designed and was in effect from September 1991 through June 1992 in four rural Mexican states. The program emphasised targeting as well as data collection and analysis, and provided conditional in-kind food benefits to extremely poor households. Receiving the benefit was conditioned on health clinic visits and nutrition seminars (Garcia-Verdú 2003, p. 20).

While PNAS incorporated many of the policy recommendations of the World Bank's World Development Report 1990, also found in the future design of PROGRESA, the program lacked the "cash for education (human capital)" approach central to the CCT policy model. Below Levy explains the policy rationale of PROGRESA and conditional cash transfers in an interview with an IDB director. The shift in the policy rationale is evident from PNAS to PROGRESA as the focus of PROGRESA is markedly in human capital accumulation and cash transfers:

> "The central idea is very simple, it is basically to try to help poor families today with investments in their human capital, in nutrition,

> education and health, with the idea that we won't have to help them tomorrow, because these investments in their nutrition and education will enable them to gain better salaries and more productive jobs in the future enabling them to leave poverty. The idea is that a cash transfer improves the wellbeing today, but that it is conditioned on these investments to avoid becoming permanent and the beneficiaries can leave poverty tomorrow." (Levy 2013, 0:45)

The pioneer nature of the policy rationale centred on human capital accumulation was further highlighted by Levy in a UNU-WIDER interview:

> "(...) I think it was the first attempt to make a conceptual shift in poverty programs between programs that just transfer income to households by subsidising electricity or distributing food or having tax exceptions on certain goods into an approach focused on investing in the human capital of the households." (Levy 2015, 0:18)

This rationale took the shape of a program built to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty. Three features were central to the design of PROGRESA: *a noncontributory safety net in the form of a cash transfer,* generally favouring women as the recipients, *conditions* on education health and nutrition to promote human capital development, and a *targeting* mechanism to identify the extremely poor. (Fiszbein & Schady 2009; Cecchini & Madariaga 2011)

World Bank and development policy norms

Human capital theory (Becker 1964; Schultz 1961) entered the World Bank agenda in the 1960s through promotion of education and health investments as part of the economic modernisation theory. While economic growth remained the central focus of the WB during Robert MacNamaras' presidency (1968-81) (Hall 2007), he nonetheless declared that the WB's central mission was improving the lives of the poor. Although a third of the WB's lending went to antipoverty initiatives and social investment in rural development, health, education and population projects (Hall 2007, p.3), Birdsall & Londino (1997) state that the poverty-reduction objective was more visible in rhetoric than in loans, as throughout the 1970's lending continued to be motivated primarily by efforts to fill the infrastructure and external financial "gaps" that were viewed as the primary constraints to growth.

The (at least rhetorical) emphasis on poverty reduction was diminished under McNamara's follower Tom Clausen (1981-1986), as economic growth strategies based on supply-side "trickle down" economics as well as trade liberalisation and structural adjustment loans became the focus (Hall 2007; Kanpur et.al 1997). To access these loans it was required that governments open their countries to free trade, reduce public expenditures and introduce non-inflationary monetary policies, a combination that many have argued to have caused impoverishment and further indebtedness of many of the "adjusted" countries (Deacon 1997, p. 61). From the WB's perspective the structural adjustment loans were "critical to restoring external and internal equilibrium and thus returning countries to a sustainable growth path" (Birdsall & Londino 1997, p. 6).

The WB's agenda was again reassessed during Barber Conables' (1986-91) term, which saw rededication to anti-poverty measures in WB policy (Kanpur et al. 1997). A new Core Poverty Program (CPP) was introduced, Task Forces on Poverty and Food Security was established and the growing social costs of structural adjustment policies began to be recognised, particularly after UNICEF brought out the negative social consequences of the structural adjustment by promoting "adjustment with a human face" in their 1987 flagship report (Cornia et al.1987). This led to an increased focus on "social safety nets" through social emergency programs and social action funds (Hall 2007). Safety net policies in developing countries focused largely on *targeted* social assistance for the income poor and vulnerable, alleviating the adverse impacts of economic shocks and crises or catastrophic events (UNRISD 2010, p.137). In the Bank's agenda, safety nets were introduced to alleviate the worst effects of structural adjustment policies (Jenson 2009, p.17), and maintain support for adjustment that was considered elemental for putting the economies back on a growth track. In the WB's flagship publication World Development Report (WDR) 1987 this is expressed as follows:

> "By providing a safety net, governments can fulfil their humanitarian duties and at the same time reinforce a social consensus in favour of economic growth" (WB 1987, p. 58).

While the safety net approach represented residual and short-term interventions, it concurrently "brought the state back in" and re-legitimised government action in the sphere of social assistance policies to support "economic growth" (i.e. the development strategy based on trade liberalisation and supply-side economics). The changed thinking on the role of the state was echoed in the introduction to a joint volume by the WB and International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), who had co-sponsored monthly workshops on poverty research in 1988-89, culminating in a two-day conference in October 1989. The papers from the conference served as background materials for WDR 1990, and were later put together in 1993 in a joint volume, entitled Including the Poor, where the editors

Lipton and van der Gaag (1993, p.1) noted that the 1980s saw a reassessment of the role of governments in economic development. Further, they argued that by the end of the decade time was ripe to reassess the failures and successes of both developing countries and donors in attacking poverty, and the WDR 1990 was an attempt at these reassessments. The report concluded that governments in developing countries could best make sustainable progress against poverty by following a two-part strategy:

> "A review of development experience shows that the most effective way of achieving rapid and politically sustainable improvements in the quality of life for the poor has been through a two-part strategy. The first element of the strategy is the pursuit of a pattern of growth that ensures productive use of the poor's most abundant asset labor. The second element is widespread provision to the poor of basic social services, especially primary education, primary health care, and family planning. The first component provides opportunities; the second increases the capacity of the poor to take advantage of these opportunities. The strategy must be complemented by well-targeted transfers, to help those not able to benefit from these policies, and by safety nets, to protect those who are exposed to shocks." (WB 1990, p. iii)

The 1990 WDR outlines the emerged approach grounded on *state action* in enhancing the productivity of the poor by continuing the pursuit of "a pattern of growth that ensures productive use of the poor's most abundant asset labor". The (re-)emerged focus on state action concerning interventions on the poor's accumulation of human capital through health, education and nutrition are further highlighted throughout the report:

> "There is overwhelming evidence that human capital is one of the keys to reducing poverty. Moreover, improvements in health, education, and nutrition reinforce each other. But the poor generally lack access to basic social services. There is too little investment in their human capital, and this increases the probability that they and their children will remain poor. To break this vicious circle, governments must make reaching the poor a priority in its own right." (WB 1990, p.79)

The policy recommendations of the Bank, particularly in the form of promoting the two-part strategy, underpin targeted income transfers connected to investments in the human capital of the poor. This is more or less a word for word description of the policy rationale of PROGRESA and CCTs. In addition to the strengthened focus on human capital investments the report outlines a change from the safety net policies of the 1980's, which were centred on in-kind transfers in the form of "subsidising electricity or distributing food or having tax exceptions on certain goods" (Levy 2015, 0:18), to delivering the benefit in cash:

> "Cash transfers are often more effective than food rations: cash is faster to move and easier to administer, and it does little or no harm to producers and hence to future food security" (WB 1990, p. 97).

The WB followed up the WDR 1990 with a policy paper entitled Assistance Strategies to Reduce Poverty (WB 1991), which had the objective of demonstrating how the WB's assistance strategies can be designed to contribute more effectively to the reduction of poverty. The report explicitly states that if a country wishes to access the WB's assistance and loans, it should adopt an approach consistent with the two-part strategy outlined in WDR 1990:

> "If a country's policies, programs, and institutions are broadly consistent with the two-part strategy, the prima facie case for substantial Bank support is strong. The evidence in WDR 1990 shows that external assistance is most effective in such countries. If a country is not committed to such policies, external assistance is unlikely to be effective in either promoting efficient growth or reducing poverty, and significant flows of Bank assistance cannot be justified. Intermediate cases would warrant intermediate levels of assistance." (WB 1991, p. 20)

As the emphasis on efficient targeting measures grew, the WB renamed the Core Poverty Program to Program of Targeted Interventions, to reflect the emerged focus on projects that included a specific mechanism for identifying and reaching the poor (WB 1991, p. 22). The WDR 1990 and Assistance Strategies to Reduce Poverty (WB 1991) were followed up by the report Implementing the World Bank's Strategy to Reduce Poverty (WB 1993), completed during Lewis T. Preston's short-lived tenure (1991-95). The report summarised trends in poverty and country policies for reducing poverty, and reviewed actions taken by the WB to support countries in implementing the two-part strategy. The report suggests that countries that have shown little progress in reducing poverty are simply ignoring the Bank's message:

> "Countries that have shown little progress in reducing poverty will need to to adopt policies to promote rapid growth that make efficient use of labour as well as policies that increase access to social services" (WB 1993, p. ix).

It continues with noting the importance of efficient and strict measures to identify the poor, pointing to the merits of narrowly targeted cash transfer programs in reaching the poorest, while highlighting the necessity of impact evaluations:

> "As is recognised in WDR 1990, however, these mechanisms must be carefully evaluated since the gains must be balanced with an assessment of the

> administrative costs, leakages to the non-poor, and behavioural responses in determining their effectiveness" (WB 1993, p.33).

When Nancy Birdsall, then the director of the policy research department at World Bank, gave a speech to the Delegates of Social Committee, United Nations General Assembly in October 1992, the connection between economic growth strategies and social investments was further strengthened as she highlighted that social development was not solely an outcome of economic growth, but a prerequisite for it, particularly emphasising the link between growth and school enrolment rates.

> "Social development, in addition to improving human welfare directly, is an excellent investment - in terms of its contribution to economic growth. This is the hard-nosed economic fact. Even a narrow interest in growth for growth's sake dictates putting your money into social development programs." (Birdsall 1993, p. 1)

Birdsall continued by arguing that investments in people, in human and social development, have among the highest economic returns of all possible spending directed to long-term economic development. More educated workers earn higher incomes, education raises the output of farmers. The arguments for education as a key component in growth included a gender dimension; educated women have fewer and healthier children and mothers channel more of their own income to expenditures on children than do fathers. Birdsall continues that investing in the health of children raises the economic benefits of investing in schooling as children who are poorly nourished or chronically sick do less well in school (Ibid.).

> "The rapidly increasing involvement of the World Bank in lending for social or human development provides an indication of the growing awareness of social programs as good investments" (Ibid., p.19).

When James D. Wolfensohn, who had become the president of the Bank in 1995, first encountered the innovative program in Mexico that met many of his expectations regarding successful poverty reduction initiatives (Wolfensohn 2006, p.vii), he was most likely not the only one at the Bank to feel that way.

Construction of a unique and national policy model

Central to the prevailing narrative of the Mexican program PROGRESA has been the notion of Mexico pioneering an innovative, unique and novel approach to poverty reduction through a domestically created policy that has been scientifically proven to "work". In addition to the Mexican architects of the program,

this story has been particularly upheld by the WB, IDB and IFPRI. Apart from providing loans and technical advice for program design and implementation of CCTs in various countries, WB and IDB have played a significant role in organising meetings and conferences facilitating a platform to connect their own representatives, policy-makers and program officials from various countries, with conferences held in Mexico (2002), Brazil (2004) and Turkey (2006). In addition, along with a voluminous amount of policy papers, WB particularly has produced a significant amount of overviews on CCTs[xiii].

In addition to the what were considered innovative design features, PROGRESA was hailed as groundbreaking due to the impact evaluations incorporated in the program design. The evaluations were "one of the first large-scale Randomised-Control Trial (RCT) research projects ever implemented in social program evaluation in a 'developing-country' context" (Faulkner 2014, p.4). In the principal WB publication of CCTs Fiszbein and Schady elaborate:

> "What really makes Mexico's program iconic are the successive waves of data collected to evaluate its impact, the placement of those data in the public domain, and the resulting hundreds of papers and thousands of references that such dissemination has generated" (Fiszbein & Schady 2009, p.6).

The evaluations were financed by the IDB (Peck & Theodore 2015) and conducted by the Washington DC based IFPRI, a World Bank associate which had been involved with producing background materials for the World Development Report 1990, thus participating in constructing the "policy norms" championed in the report. The results from the evaluations were overwhelmingly positive (IFPRI 2002; Skoufias 2000; Skoufias & McClafferty 2001), although they have since been criticised for "a hazy sampling process, nonrandom attrition and probable contamination of the treatment communities" (Faulkner 2014, p. 8), in order to support the view of a well functioning, cost-efficient and politically impartial program (Ibid.). In addition to the positive results on efficiency, the IFPRI evaluation reports and overviews emphasised the "newness and innovativeness" of PROGRESA and presented it as a model that other countries have followed:

> Because of Mexico's new and innovative Education, Health, and Nutrition Program (PROGRESA), poor Mexicans are beginning to see improvements in the health, education, and nutrition of their children… Mexico is implementing an effective program that is serving as a model and beginning to take hold across Latin America in countries such as Honduras, Nicaragua, and Argentina." (Skoufias & McClafferty 2001, p. 1-3)

As well as highlighted its domestic origins. For example, in 2003 an IFPRI research fellow David Coady wrote:

> "In August 1997, the Government of Mexico introduced a new and innovative program, called PROGRESA … The program is very much designed and implemented by the Federal government" (Coady 2003, p.2-3). One of the most innovative aspects of the program was the emphasis placed from the beginning on ensuring that it had an in-built and credible evaluation process. As with the design and operational details of the program, this aspect was home-grown and not imposed externally by, for example, international donors – in fact the program was fully financed domestically rather than by international development institutions." (Ibid., p.8)

The construction of the programs' origin as an innovative national creation was crystallised in a cover story of IDB's magazine IDBAmérica (IDB 2004). The story ran with the title *The Story Behind Oportunidades: How Two Visionary Social Scientists Forged a Program that has Changed the Lives of Millions of Mexicans*, and attributed the unique design to Santiago Levy and Jose Gómez de León who came to design the "poverty maps" on which the targeting was based on:

> "These two renowned Mexican social scientists were the chief architects of what many observers consider one of the most successful poverty-alleviation programs in Latin American history." (Ibid.)

Omitting information.

The official story is correct in presenting PROGRESA as the first national CCT that combined the central components at such a large scale. However, it was not the first program[xiv] globally or regionally to combine targeted cash assistance with conditions on human capital interventions, which is the central rationale of the program. None of these programs are mentioned in Santiago Levy's own accounts of the development and origins of the Mexican program. While programs that shared certain elements of PROGRESA had already been established in Honduras and Bangladesh for example, PROGRESA's predecessors in Brazil and Chile established the central design and policy rationale of the Mexican program prior to its launching. Furthermore, evidence points to the architects of the Mexican program having been aware of these developments.

The central elements of the design of PROGRESA could be traced as far back as 1981, when the Pinochet regime designed a noncontributory family allowance extending the coverage of the contributory programs to families formerly excluded from social security coverage due to their labor market status (Raczynski & Romaguera 1995). This program was titled Subsidio Único Familiar (SUF) and it established the core elements of the model that was later institutionalised as conditional cash transfers. It was targeted to extremely poor households with school-age children, pregnant mothers or disabled persons. It was conditional on school attendance of children above age six, with the households having to verify school attendance every two years, as well as health care visits for children under eight years of age (Ley 18020[xv]). While discursively lacking the emphasis on human capital accumulation and not necessarily monitoring the conditions, SUF nevertheless established the central design of a targeted cash transfer conditional on children's school attendance and health care.

The targeting methods developed to identify the extremely poor in Chile laid the foundation to the targeting mechanisms of future safety nets, as well as CCTs. These measures date back to the 1970's Chile, where a first "extreme poverty map" (Mapa extrema pobreza in Spanish) was published in 1975 by two economists Miguel Kast and Sergio Molina. The map was the first step in a plan to eradicate extreme poverty in Chile, and was based on the census of 1970. The aim was to identify geographic concentrations of poverty and the characteristics of the extremely poor (Kast & Molina 1975). To establish a poverty line the two economists took into account factors such as housing, sanitation and household goods (Cohen & Franco 1990). A PROGRESA official has stated that the designer team in Mexico's Ministry of Finance met with representatives of the Chilean government along with WB and IDB officials (quoted in Yashine 1999, p.56). This would suggest that the Chilean experiences with developing targeting mechanisms based on geographic mapping and proxy means tests, as well as the design of SUF were not entirely unknown by the design team of PROGRESA, yet the story of PROGRESA makes no mention of preceding Chilean programs or contact with Chilean policy consultants.

The Brazilian experience with conditional cash transfers is similarly missing, or intentionally ignored, from the official policy narrative of PROGRESA. The first conditional cash transfer program implemented by the Brazilian federal government was *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* (Program to Eradicate Child Labour (*PETI)* in English). PETI was created in 1996 and, as its name suggests, it focused on the eradication of child labour through cash transfers conditional on school attendance. However, the Brazilian experiment with CCTs started at the municipal level in 1995 when three different programs were established independently in the cities of Campinas, Brasília and Riberão

Preto. All three programs were targeted to households with children under the age of 15 and the reception of cash transfers was conditioned on school attendance (Soares 2012), thus establishing the policy rationale of cash transfers tied to long-term human capital accumulation. Of these programs, Bolsa Escola of Brasília was the most visible after winning a United Nations Prize for innovative development initiatives in 1996. Bolsa Escola then became a model for the rest of the country and was later upscaled to the national level in 2001, before being incorporated into the Bolsa Familía program, created in 2003 (Cardoso and Portela Souza 2004, p. 133). While Levy laid out a plan to develop a Mexican anti-poverty program as early as 1991, the debate about the "paternity" of the Brazilian CCTs in the Brazilian press has linked the idea to a series of articles by economist José Márcio Camargo published in 1991 and to a policy document produced by Cristovam Buarque and colleagues in the early 1990's (Lindert et al. 2007, p. 11), indicating that Mexico was not alone in developing conditional and targeted forms of social assistance.

In addition to omitting the Brazilian development of CCTs from the official story of PROGRESA, the official Mexican policy narrative also failed to include that in 1996 the Mexican Government sent a delegation to Brazil to visit several municipal Bolsa Escola programs before the launching of PROGRESA (Lindert et al. 2006, 12). In the documentation of the program development by the Levy, the Brazilian programs and the benchmarking mission to study them are excluded from the story of PROGRESA completely. The only reference made to Brazil in the books where Santiago Levy recounts the origin story of PROGRESA (Levy & Rodriguez 2004; Levy 2006) occurs with Levy expressing gratitude to James D. Wolfensohn for providing an opportunity to share the experience of PROGRESA with the governments of Brazil and Egypt (Levy 2006, p.xi), which took place when the WB facilitated a consultancy mission to advice Lula before merging the existing Brazilian CCT programs and the launching of Bolsa Familía on a national scale (Peck & Theodore 2015, p. 105).

However, although the history of the Mexican program is written without any mention of Brazil, Bolsa Escola and subsequently Bolsa Familía has since been included in the canon of CCTs. For example, the central WB publication on CCTs from 2009 points to Mexico and Brazil as co-creators and as having set the "CCT wave" in motion (Fiszbein & Schady 2009; p.6). What is not mentioned though, is the involvement of the World Bank and the IDB in creating and designing the Mexican program. It has been claimed that the banks were closely entangled in the development of CCTs through closed transnational policy networks (Teichman 2007). And as stated in

the introduction of this chapter, in a televised interview with Veja, the Brazilian ex-President Cardoso argued that the idea and recommendation for these types of cash transfers originally came from within the WB and the IDB. While the involvement of IFIs was initially excluded from the story of PROGRESA, their role has since been brought to daylight by the then IFPRI research fellow Coady (2003):

> "However, the Inter-American Development Bank also played a key role in facilitating and encouraging discussions on design, implementation and evaluation issues. At the request of the Mexican government, workshops were held both in Mexico and Washington, which brought together domestic and international development and program evaluation experts to identify and discuss the relevant issues." (Coady 2003, p.8)

As well as Levy himself:

> "During 1995 and 1996 both the IDB and the World Bank generously provided technical advice on different aspects of the program. Nevertheless, at that time and during the initial years of program operation, it was not deemed convenient to obtain international financing for the program. In 1996– 97 such financing would have added yet one more controversial aspect to what was already a fairly significant change in poverty policy, perhaps giving the impression that the program was the result of a mandate of or an adjustment program agreed upon with international financial institutions." (Levy 2006, p. 114)

Conclusions

Policymaking is a transnationally interdependent endeavour that is nevertheless entirely dependent on the actions of local policymakers and politicians. Nation-states have a tendency to adopt similar policies, reforms and structures, yet the rationale is very seldom to introduce policies already in place in other countries or propose a particular model to be implemented nationally because it has been recommended and propagated by International Financial Institutions. Policy models and frameworks, no matter how borrowed or emulated, are often introduced as unique domestic creations.

This chapter argues that in a process of domestication global policy norms were encapsulated and codified in the PROGRESA program, which was then presented as a national innovation through the omission of exogenous influences

and actors from the official story of the program. Domestication of global models has thus far been studied through local actors and how they adapt global ideals and trends to the national context (Syväterä 2016; Qadir 2014; Alasuutari & Alasuutari 2012). The case of PROGRESA suggests that the policy norms were domesticated through the construction of a policy narrative emphasising uniqueness and national character. Selective memory in constructing PROGRESA as a nationally created one-of-a-kind program was beneficial to both the Mexican architects of the program and to the World Bank.

While presenting policies as national solutions to nationally defined problems is common practice, the Mexican architects of PROGESA had an added incentive to exclude the WB (and IDB) from the official story of the program. After the highly unpopular structural adjustment policies particularly the World Banks involvement would have been controversial and it was necessary to "avoid giving the impression that the program was the result of a mandate of or an adjustment program" (Levy 2006 p. 114). However, having the WB and the IDB take up PROGRESA as "best practice" and a model program for other countries to emulate, legitimised the program nationally. Although designing policies is a thoroughly political endeavour, through impact evaluations and international acclaim the policy was able to survive through the first change of rule in 71 years, after the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) lost the elections was taken out of office in 2000.

> "First, the results of the first set of impact evaluations, made public after the presidential elections (in July 2000) but before the change of administration (in December), were presented by officials of the outgoing administration directly to President-elect Fox and members of his transition team. Second, the positive opinions about the program held by international financial institutions, particularly the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the World Bank, gave Fox independent and credible confirmation of the information received from the officials of the outgoing administration." (Levy 2006, p.112)

From the Banks' perspective a story of a policy model created at a local level, deemed to be working through impact evaluations and then marketed by the World Bank as "best practice" was a far more attractive story than stating that they, yet again, had tempered with national policymaking. However, with successful impact evaluations, the WB was able to "discover" a program based on ways of understanding and operationalising poverty, development and social policies in a conspicuously similar fashion to the policy norms constructed at the WB that were scientifically proven to "work", and were promoted to other countries as a model to follow, thus legitimising the WB's approach to poverty reduction.

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Notes

[i] O Partido dos Trabalhadores

[ii] Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira

[iii] A televised interview with Veja

[iv] The first Brazilian programs considered CCTs were implemented at a municipal level, and later upscaled to the federal level during the presidencies of Cardoso and Lula (Lindert et al. 2007; Aguiar & Araujo 2002; Sugyama 2012)

[v] The program is referred to as PROGRESA in this document as the focus is on the origin of the policy. The name of the program has since been changed first to Oportunidades and then to Prospera.

[vi] During two stints from 1990-1992

[vii] There are exceptions to this, see for example Sedlacek et al. (2000)

[viii] Focus on safety nets and human capital was not uniquely a World Bank approach as other international development organisations had similar views with somewhat different emphasis.

[ix] Santiago Levy (2006, p.44) argued that in July 2003 "an important event took place in Mexico City. In the presence of President Fox, the media, and policymakers from Latin America, the president of the Inter-American Development Bank, the vice president for Latin America of the World Bank, and the Secretary General of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America recognized the importance of Progresa-Oportunidades in alleviating poverty in Mexico and called the program a valuable model for other countries".

[x] In-kind transfers were one of the main forms of social assistance in Latin America until the 1970s, and are still in use in many countries. These programs usually take the form different types of distribution of food or nutritional supplements, food for work programs, food stamps and subsidies (Ferreira & Robalino 2010, 14).

[xi] Also for pregnant women, lactating mothers and infants

[xii] New York Times, January 3, 2004.

[xiii] See for example: Sedlacek et al. 2000; Rawlings & Rubio 2003; Rawlings 2004; Lindert et al. 2007; Fiszbein & Schady 2009.

[xiv] Also several nutritional programs with conditions have existed since the 1950's (Cecchini & Martínez 2011, p. 97)

[xv] See particularly Article 2 (ARTICULO 2°) of the law 18020. Available at: :https://www.leychile.cl/N?i=29448&f=2016-07-01&p=

PUBLICATION II

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Critical Policy Studies, 16(1), 79–96.
DOI: 10.1080/19460171.2021.1967178

Critical Policy Studies

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcps20

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To cite this article: Lauri Heimo & Jukka Syväterä (2022) The ghostwriting of a global policy script: international organizations and the discursive construction of conditional cash transfers, Critical Policy Studies, 16:1, 79-96, DOI: 10.1080/19460171.2021.1967178

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2021.1967178

CRITICAL POLICY STUDIES
2022, VOL. 16, NO. 1, 79–96
https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2021.1967178

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The ghostwriting of a global policy script: international organizations and the discursive construction of conditional cash transfers

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ABSTRACT
More than 60 countries have implemented a conditional cash transfer (CCT) program. The predominant CCT narrative begins from programs created in Mexico and Brazil in the mid-1990s. The literature concerned with CCTs tends to take this narrative as a given. In this article, we examine the role of international organizations (IOs) in the global governance of social policy by exploring the use of narratives as a strategy IOs employ to claim and generate legitimacy for global policy models. We investigate how the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the International Food Policy Research Institute have discursively constructed the CCT model in their policy documents and thus crafted the CCT narrative. Our analysis sheds light on 'ghost-writing' i.e., the IOs practice of concealing their central role in writing scripts for policy models. Thus, our case adds a novel aspect to the existing scholarship on the global proliferation of policies.

KEYWORDS
Conditional cash transfer; global governance; global social policy; international organizations; narrative; policy model; world bank

Introduction

There is a general understanding that international organizations (IOs) play a crucial role in global governance (Deacon 2007; Kaasch and Martens 2015). IOs such as the World Bank (WB) wield significant power in defining the content of global social policy discourse and steering the formulation of social policy in low- and middle-income countries through development funding and the production of internationally followed norms and more specific scripts or models for national policymaking (Kentikelenis and Seabrooke 2017; Park and Vetterlein 2010). A central element in the work of IOs is synthesizing and tailoring knowledge into products and 'best practices', while they 'seek to establish global consensus around certain ideas that they see as important for their policy purposes and international image' (Bøås and McNeill 2004, 2).

Since the 1990s, many low- and middle-income countries have been building their social protection systems from the ground up or expanding systems that were retrenched during the structural adjustment era (Barrientos 2013). Hence, contemporary discussion about social policy principles and the course of welfare reform is also increasingly

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informed by policy adoption in the Global South. Importantly, the decisions regarding the type of social policies implemented structure the direction of future reforms, as policy arrangements tend to get locked in and become fundamental institutional frameworks, creating constraints on and incentives for future political action (Myles and Pierson 2001, 312).

This raises important questions about how IOs seek to establish a global consensus around their policy ideas and how these organizations 'theorize' (Strang and Meyer 1993, 492) or engage in 'script-writing' (Kentikelenis and Seabrooke 2017, 1068) so as to create behavioral templates for national policymakers. In this article, we examine the role of IOs in the global governance of social policy from an interpretive perspective by exploring the use of narratives as a strategy IOs employ to claim and generate legitimacy for these templates. We do so by investigating how the WB, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) have discursively constructed the conditional cash transfer (CCT) model in their policy documents and thus crafted the CCT narrative.

According to the WB's definition, CCTs 'are periodic monetary benefits to poor households that require beneficiaries to comply with specific behavioral requirements to encourage investments in human capital (such as school attendance, immunizations, and health checkups)' (Honorati, Gentilini, and Yemtsov 2015, 8). During the past two decades, CCT programs have been implemented in more than 60 countries (ibid.), with both governmental and non-governmental actors having played prominent roles in financing and implementing them. The CCT has now been established as a globally recognizable policy model. In conceptual terms, the CCT is thus 'translocal' (Simons and Voß 2018, 16–19), meaning that it leads a 'double life' as *an abstract functional model* constructed and codified by IOs and concrete locally implemented programs.

The story repeated in both previous research and reporting by IOs begins from the notion that the CCT model – an innovative approach to poverty reduction – was created more or less concurrently in Mexico and Brazil and then spread from those two countries (Ibarrarán et al. 2017; Lamanna 2014; e.g. Sugiyama 2011). The first wave of literature concerning CCTs was produced mainly by IOs, program officials, and development organizations. It consists of evaluations and overviews that largely highlight the positive aspects of these programs (e.g. Morley and Coady 2003; Skoufias and McClafferty 2001). A second wave of research emerged around ten years after the first evaluations and sought answers to the rapid proliferation of CCT programs either through the lens of diffusion or by analyzing political processes at the local level of implementation. This literature has commendably studied the domestic and international determinants that have led to and facilitated the adoption of CCTs in different countries. While scholarly research has diversified from the early overviews, the vast majority of studies continue to reproduce the narrative that Mexico and Brazil created the CCT model.

In recent and groundbreaking work on social cash transfers Leisering (2019) systematically and comprehensively covers all countries in the global South, all identifiable programs administered by national governments, as well as all major IOs involved (p.4). The book extensively covers ideational and discursive changes in the global social policy field formed around tackling poverty. The book, together with earlier works by Von Gliszczynski (2015) and Von Gliszczynski and Leisering (2016), examine the active role of different IOs in the construction of social cash transfer models and make an excellent

contribution by proposing a well-justified list of factors underlying their successful global proliferation. These scholars discuss CCTs as part of an overarching 'metamodel' of social cash transfers and pay attention to the WB's central role in conceptualizing the abstract CCT model and in constructing it as a strategic uptake of innovative national models in the Global South. However, also this important body of research pays little attention to IOs' involvement with the CCT model *prior* to the implementation of Mexico's and Brazil's national programs. Quoting Sugiyama (2011, 253–255) they emphasize that these programs:

> [W]ere the starting point for CCT: Mexico' s PROGRESA, established in 1997, and Brazil' s Bolsa Família, which started in 2003, with predecessors going back to 1995. Both examples attracted the attention of global organizations around 2000, particularly of the World Bank, due to positive programme evaluations (Leisering 2019, 121).

Accordingly, the authors conclude that the CCT case works as an example of how IOs pick up models from innovative Southern countries. While agreeing with most of their findings, our analysis nonetheless challenges the predominant CCT narrative, which too readily emphasizes the domestic and independent nature of the Mexican policy in particular by portraying it as a homegrown, pioneering program. We show that the discursive construction and codification of the CCT policy model by IOs likewise entailed crafting a policy narrative that excluded their involvement with the model preceding the launch of the 'first pioneer programs' and assigned it a place of origin in the largest economies of Latin America and regional leaders in Mexico and Brazil.

In a similar fashion to Leisering and von Gliszczynski we examine the key shifts in the process by which CCTs have become the globally recognizable and widespread policy tools they are today. However, we show, first, that the predominant narrative on the genesis of the CCT disregards certain essentially similar policies that existed *before* the Mexican and Brazilian CCT programs, that some of these programs were designed and financed by the WB and the IDB, and that they were involved with the creation of PROGRESA. Our results then show that the early studies conducted by IOs played an important role in the crafting of the narrative that influenced the discursive construction of the CCT as a global policy model. We argue that the WB resorted to ghost-writing the CCT script, thereby expurgating its own central role in bringing forth the CCT policy model, as a result of its legitimation deficit after the highly unpopular structural adjustment era.

The present article contributes to the understanding of IOs' role in the global governance of social policy. We shed new light on that role by arguing that crafting narratives can be understood as a specific technique through which IOs contribute to the construction of global policy models. We approach global proliferation of CCT programs by highlighting the significance of ideas and discourse in interactive processes (Schmidt 2008) in the political contest over the content of global social policy (Deacon 2007). We add a new perspective to the scholarship on policy narratives by examining IOs as narrators in the discursive construction of a global policy model, thus pointing to the strategic use of policy narratives in the IOs' attempts to advance their preferred policy ideas.

Formation of global policy models

Most approaches concerning global policy models have focused either on their diffusion or on policy transfer; how global models are created has received much less attention. Studies on diffusion and policy transfer provide considerable evidence for the interdependency of decision making (Baker and Walker 2019; de Oliveira et al. 2019). Both approaches share the view that policy choices in a certain country are shaped by choices made in others. Diffusion studies typically aim to explain why a policy has spread to some countries but not others or why some countries adopt a certain model early while others are laggards (Dobbin, Simmons, and Garrett 2007; Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2008). Thus, they are concerned with the conditions for diffusion, rather than how policies are formulated and altered during processes of adoption. The policy transfer literature, on the other hand, typically aims to trace the process through which a given model that emerged in one context has been implemented in another (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996; Marsh and Sharman 2009). Both approaches tend to assume that a model is first created in one context and then enacted in others. However, because these studies have mainly been interested in the spread of models, they have not paid much attention to the actual processes through which these models have evolved while spreading.

In this article we emphasize the bi-directional nature of the construction and spreading of global policy models, making clear that such models evolve in a process of ongoing construction even as they are already proliferating (Syväterä and Qadir 2015). This means that models are not first invented and only then diffused; instead, the theorization of the model continuously draws from previously enacted versions of the model. Seen from this perspective, the actual origin of a policy model is very much a result of the process by which that model is constructed. We argue that crafting and using legitimating narratives (Syväterä and Alasuutari 2013) is an important part of theorizing global models. Such narratives typically 'explain' the origin and effects of a model and give both instrumental and moral rationales for their adoption.

Narratives are influential in politics and policymaking because they are used to organize reality in specific ways – several scholars have found that stories have a fundamental (even epistemically privileged) role in making sense of social reality (e.g. Czarniawska 2010; Stone 1989). This tendency is apparent in policy studies, as evinced by the diverse scholarship on *policy narratives*, which has directed attention to policy-relevant narratives in specific policy processes (Miller 2012; Rhodes 2018); that is, the narratives of public problems and concrete locally implemented programs. In the case of social cash transfers, Leisering (2019, 267) refers to the IO's use of 'short narratives' which illustrate the lives of the poor as part of creating forms of presentation that make new policy models appealing. Our analysis, by contrast, points to a narrative of a global policy model constructed and codified by IOs; that is, *an abstract functional model*. Our study is not an effort to reveal the *true* narrative of the CCT model but to direct attention to how narratives function in the construction of global policy models. Our specific interest in the predominant narrative around the CCT model focuses on the ways that IOs have crafted and used it to provide support for their goal of facilitating the proliferation of CCTs throughout the developing world. Because their success in this endeavor ultimately depends on national governments' decisions, it is of utmost importance for the IOs to make their promoted model appear as beneficial, rational, and legitimate as

possible. In national policymaking, any reform must be justified by defining a policy problem; any such definition involves causal stories explaining how the reform will solve an issue or what will happen if the reform is rejected. The fact that a model has been adopted by several countries is itself a story that can be used in national policymaking as proof of the advantageousness of adopting that model (Syväterä and Alasuutari 2013). As the analysis in this paper shows, stories about the genesis of a model are also important.

Increasing attention has been paid to IOs' role in the production of internationally agreed norms, scripts, and models for national policymaking (Deacon 2013; Kentikelenis and Seabrooke 2017; Leisering 2019). Such norms are elaborated and supported by international declarations, treaties, conventions, guidelines, and best practices. There is now a widely shared consensus according to which IOs are not solely in control of constructing such norms and models; instead, the process involves multiple interactions between IOs, nation-states, and networks of experts and advocacy groups (Keck and Sikkink 1999; Stone 2002). Scholars have also paid attention to intra-organizational processes within IOs, where norms are codified into concrete policies and then promoted through research, financing, and policy recommendations (Park and Vetterlein 2010). Kentikelenis and Seabrooke (2017, 1066) refer to such codification of norms into prescriptive behavioral templates as 'script-writing'. Following Halliday, Block-Lieb, and Carruthers (2010, 84), they define a script as 'a medium by which [an organization] frames its own definition of a reform issue: a diagnosis of problems followed by a set of prescriptions' (ibid., 1067).

Legitimacy is central to how a given script is embraced. Leisering (2019, 133) builds a theoretical model of ideational change in global arenas and names five mechanisms or strategies by IOs that help to legitimize a new model in global arenas: the assumption of a mandate by an IO; drawing on country examples; referring to expert knowledge; contextualizing and framing the new model by broader bodies of knowledge; and creating forms of presentation like giving a name and providing narratives. Our analysis adds an element to this by pointing out that the legitimacy of a model also depends on the legitimacy of the IO in question. Like Tallberg and Zürn (2019, 582–583), we understand legitimacy as 'beliefs of audiences that an IO's authority is appropriately exercised' and legitimation as 'a process of justification and contestation intended to shape such beliefs'. Legitimacy then influences whether IOs remain relevant to nation-states' efforts to solve problems, which hinges largely on the ability of IOs to develop and secure compliance with new rules, standards, and norms. Accordingly, Halliday, Block-Lieb, and Carruthers (2010) argue that an IO's legitimacy in script-writing rests on its prior record. IOs may be handicapped by legitimation deficits; their organizational histories, current practices, or attributes may detract from their authority among one or more audiences. Consequently, one element in the construction of regional or global influence is minimizing, redressing, and compensating for any such legitimation deficits.

We add a new perspective to the literature discussed above by arguing that crafting narratives is a crucial part of script-writing through which IOs may influence the construction of global policy models and advance their claims for legitimacy. Our approach can be likened to discursive institutionalism (Schmidt 2008, 2010), a term encompassing a wide variety of interpretive approaches that emphasize the importance of studying the role of ideas and discourses in institutional change. While the substantive characteristics of individual CCT programs have been extensively examined in a number

of studies (see Fiszbein and Schady 2009, for an overview), the ideational content of the CCT as a global model and especially the interactive process through which the model has been generated and communicated between IOs, other policy actors, and nation-states has only recently started to gather scholarly attention (Leisering 2019; Shriwise, Kentikelenis, and Stuckler 2020). Therefore, we pay specific attention not only to how IOs have discursively constructed the CCT as a distinct policy model but also to how the features of discursive interaction itself (like repeating a particular narrative about the genesis and adopters of the model) have shaped the processes by which CCT programs have proliferated. Importantly, our analysis sheds light on 'ghost-writing' i.e. the IOs practice of concealing their central role in the writing scripts for policy models. Thus, our case adds a novel aspect to the existing understanding of the discursive construction of policy models as an important element in the emergence of global policy trends. To substantiate our argument, we trace the evolution of the CCT into a global model. Throughout the process, we identify instances where the CCT narrative has been crafted and used by IOs.

Data and methodology

In order to study the construction of the CCT policy model and the related crafting and use of the narrative in legitimizing the model, we examine documents published by the IOs centrally involved in researching, designing, and financing CCTs. The documents analyzed include organizational reports, evaluation reports, research papers, funding agreements, background papers, and program descriptions. Hence, we are interested in policy discourse on CCTs. We examine the interactive process through which the model has been generated and communicated. Schmidt (2008, 2010) divides discursive interaction into two separate spheres. The 'policy sphere of coordinative discourse' is made up of the actors involved with the creation, elaboration, and justification of policy and programmatic ideas. In contrast, the 'political sphere of communicative discourse' consists of the actors involved in the presentation, deliberation, and legitimation of political ideas to the general public. From our perspective, the documents are not merely sources of information (Prior 2003); we consider them to have important consequences for the process by which the CCT has evolved into a global policy model. Therefore, it could be argued that the organizational documents function in both the coordinative and communicative sphere.

As the term 'conditional cash transfer' does not appear in documents until the early 2000s, we have selected the central documents for tracing the discursive construction of the CCT model from organizational documents of the WB, IDB and IFPRI. These organizations have each had a central role in the construction of the CCT policy model. IFPRI published the first impact evaluations of the Mexican program PROGRESA and, subsequently, many other CCT evaluations, reviews, and reports. The WB and IDB have facilitated and financed these evaluations, conducted research, and provided financing and technical assistance in designing and implementing CCTs; they have also served as key sources in conveying information about the policy model. The data was collected cumulatively by following up cross-references between documents starting with an oft-cited WB policy research report authored by Fiszbein and Schady (2009), which provides a comprehensive review of

the phenomenon and a list of all programs considered CCTs by the WB. Once a potentially relevant document was identified, it was retraced through search engines at organizational websites, using Google searches, or by requesting access to the document from organizational data archives. The final data base includes 66 documents published between 1983 and 2015, of which 47 came from the WB, 9 from the IDB, and 10 from the IFPRI. It should be noted that it is not the number of documents per actor that is significant, but rather their content and role in constructing and perpetuating the CCT model and narrative.

Our analysis was conducted in two phases. First, in a close reading of the main data, the following questions were posed: Where do the documents place the origin of CCTs? What qualities are attached to CCTs? Which programs are included in or excluded from the CCT category? What are CCTs compared to? Second, in addition to what has been reported and how it was framed, our interest lay in what has *not* been reported in these documents. Drawing on the main data we inductively listed the central features of CCTs. We then produced an index of programs established prior to 1995 that exhibited these features (a targeted cash transfer, conditionalities tied to school attendance and/or healthcare). The index was based on literature comprising academic scholarship, program evaluations, organizational documents, and legal texts. Finally, a systematic comparison between the main data and the index was conducted to examine which programs were and were not featured in the main data. Based on the results of the two phases of interpretive analysis, we identified four key shifts in the discursive construction of the CCT policy model. These shifts were identified to follow a chronological order – with a degree of temporal overlap – and each shift was understood to add new elements to the model from a discursive perspective.

Key shifts in the construction of the CCT policy model

After having spent the first half of the 1980s focused on trade liberalization, supply-side economics, and structural adjustment loans (Kapur, Lewis, and Webb 2011), the WB reassessed the role of governments and social assistance in economic development. This led to promoting social safety nets with the purpose of allowing governments to 'fulfill their humanitarian duties and at the same time reinforce a social consensus in favor of economic growth' (WB 1987, 58). The rededication to state-led anti-poverty measures was echoed in a volume issued by the WB and IFPRI after joint workshops and a conference in 1989 (Lipton and Van Der Gaag 1993). The papers from that conference served as background materials for the *World Development Report* of 1990 published by the WB (1990, iii), which outlines a *two-part strategy* for governments in developing countries to achieve sustainable progress against poverty:

> The first element of the strategy is the pursuit of a pattern of growth that ensures productive use of the poor's most abundant asset labor. The second element is widespread provision to the poor of basic social services, especially primary education, primary health care, and family planning. [. . .] The strategy must be complemented by well-targeted transfers, to help those not able to benefit from these policies, and by safety nets, to protect those who are exposed to shocks.

The report goes on to emphasize a strengthened focus on *human capital investments* through *health, education*, and *nutrition* and outlines a change to *cash-based* social assistance (WB 1990, iii, 79, 97). In a follow-up paper, the WB (1991, 20) states that a country wishing to access assistance and loans should adopt an approach consistent with the two-part strategy. In related poverty reduction reports, the WB (e.g. 1993) calls for efficient and strict targeting measures to identify the poor, highlights the importance of human capital accumulation, promotes the role of girls and women in development, and emphasizes the need for impact evaluations of social assistance programs. All these subsequent reports promote the two-part strategy, underpinning the importance of targeted cash transfers connected to investments in human capital among the poor.

In addition to promoting these ideas, the WB and the IDB began to design and finance corresponding programs. In Honduras they funded and established the *Programa de Asignación Familiar* (PRAF) in 1990, which featured a targeted cash transfer conditioned on children's school attendance, along with cash transfers to pregnant and nursing women and mothers of small children, all of which were conditioned on regular visits to health centers (IDB 1995, 9). It has since been expanded and continued through IDB loans, with the IFPRI and IDB responsible for the design (Moore 2008). Another example is the Female Secondary School Assistance Project (FSSAP) in Bangladesh; it was piloted in 1982 and gradually scaled up in 1994 by the WB in partnership with the national government (Schurmann 2009). The FSSAP is a cash transfer targeted at girls in rural areas and conditional on school attendance, test scores, and remaining unmarried until passing the secondary school certificate examination (Fiszbein and Schady 2009). The central rationale for WB involvement with the FSSAP project is reported to have been its value as 'a testing ground for innovations' (WB 2001a, 2). In most of the documents analyzed, the PRAF is listed as having been initiated in 1998 and the FSSAP in 1994, obscuring the reality that these programs were already established in 1990 and 1982, respectively.

In addition to programs directly financed and designed by the WB and IDB, comparable initiatives had been implemented in Latin America in the 1980s. The targeted and conditional family allowance program *Subsidio Único Familiar* (SUF) was launched by Chile's Pinochet regime in 1981 (Ley 18020 1981). In 1989, Venezuela implemented *Beca Alimentaria*, a cash transfer targeted at families of schoolchildren living in low-income areas on the condition that their children attend school regularly (Lima 1995).[1]

Then, at the turn of the millennium, the WB, IDB, and IFPRI began to publish documents spotlighting an emerging phenomenon in Latin America: Mexico had created a new and innovative program called PROGRESA to tackle intergenerational poverty. This successful initiative sparked a chain of events in which other countries in the region began to emulate it through programs that were eventually placed in the CCT category.

The first shift: Attribution

In retrospect, according to the subsequent classification of the characteristics of the CCT policy model, all the programs from Honduras, Bangladesh, Venezuela, and Chile noted above could be categorized as CCTs. However, these programs gained little international recognition as pioneers of this now widely acknowledged approach to social assistance. Interestingly, in some of the more prominent CCT publications, the Honduran PRAF and the Chilean SUF are listed as having been initiated in 1990 and

1981, respectively (Fiszbein and Schady 2009; Morley and Coady 2003; WB 2003), but the lineage of CCTs is not traced to these programs. Instead, the CCT model is distinguished by focusing particularly on the Mexican program PROGRESA.

Mexico

A rudimentary frame for a program resembling PROGRESA was outlined by Santiago Levy in a 1991 WB working paper. Based on the proposal, a pilot program ran in 1991 and 1992, and incorporated many of the policy recommendations of *World Development Report* of 1990, although the program lacked the fundamental components of cash transfers conditioned on children's education – in other words, human capital accumulation – central to the CCT policy model. According to the former national director of PROGRESA, the Mexican country assessments conducted by the WB and IDB between 1993 and 1994 were central to the human capital approach emerging in Mexico and Brazil; they highlighted the ineffectiveness of the then current policies to fight poverty and the need to invest in human capital (Tomazini 2019, 32). Mexico implemented a targeted cash transfer program conditioned on school attendance, health care, and nutrition interventions in 1997. It was based on a pilot effort that started in 1995 and had impact evaluations incorporated into its design. The evaluations were conducted by the IFPRI and financed by the IDB (Behrman 2007); they reported positive results of the program's core functions (Skoufias and McClafferty 2001). Following these initial reports, the IFPRI produced overviews of PROGRESA, in which they distinguished the phenomenon from similar policies being adopted across Latin America. Mexico was designated as the innovator of the model:

> Because of Mexico's new and innovative Education, Health and Nutrition Program (PROGRESA), poor Mexicans are beginning to see improvements in the health, education and nutrition of their children. [. . .] Mexico is implementing an effective program that is serving as a model and beginning to take hold across Latin America in countries such as Honduras, Nicaragua, and Argentina. (Skoufias and McClafferty 2001, 3.)

Shortly after the IFPRI published the first evaluation results, the WB and the IDB began to feature PROGRESA in their key publications. It was introduced in a flagship report (WB 2001e) and in other notable publications (Blomquist et al. 2002; Klugman 2002). It was described at length and referred to as 'the pioneering targeted human development program in Latin America' by the IDB (Lustig 2000, 164). The WB and IDB presented the program as an innovative and domestically created initiative that was discovered by these development banks after early evaluations had demonstrated its success. The 'Mexicanness' and pioneering nature of the program were highlighted:

> In August 1997, the Government of Mexico introduced a new and innovative program, called PROGRESA. [. . .] The program is very much designed and implemented by the Federal government. [. . .] One of the most innovative aspects of the program was the emphasis placed from the beginning on ensuring that it had a built-in and credible evaluation process. As with the design and operational details of the program, this aspect was homegrown and not imposed externally by, for example, international donors – in fact, the program was fully financed domestically rather than by international development institutions. (Coady 2003, 2–3, 8)

The construction of the program's origin as an innovative national creation was underlined in a cover story in IDB's magazine *IDBAmérica* (Bate 2004). The story ran with the title 'The story behind *Oportunidades*: How two visionary social scientists forged a program that has changed the lives of millions of Mexicans' and attributed its unique design to Santiago Levy and Jose Gómez de León.

In addition, the process of creating PROGRESA was documented in two books (co-) authored by Levy, the latter prepared for the IDB (Levy 2007; Levy and Rodríguez 2005). The notion of Mexico's pioneering an innovative approach to poverty reduction without external influences and input from IOs is reinforced in these volumes. None of the preceding initiatives are mentioned, not even the benchmarking mission to study Brazil's programs in 1996 (Lindert et al. 2007, 12) or the meeting between representatives of the Chilean government and WB and IDB officials (Yaschine 1999, 56). However, Levy did clarify why PROGRESA was originally financed without the involvement of IOs:

> [B]oth the IDB and the World Bank provided technical advice on different aspects of the program. Nevertheless, at that time it was not deemed convenient to obtain international financing for the program [...] perhaps giving the impression that the program was the result of a mandate of or an adjustment program agreed upon with international financial institutions. (Levy 2007, 114.)

Brazil

While IFPRI, IDB, and most WB publications promoted PROGRESA as the pioneer CCT program, the Brazil Country Management Unit of the WB began publishing reports on the Brazilian programs *Bolsa Escola* and *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* (PETI). In these reports (e.g. WB 2001b; WB 2001c), the Brazilian efforts are presented as the programs that set the proliferation of CCTs in motion. For example, one report (WB 2001b, 7) states that Bolsa Escola and PETI have become models for the rest of Latin America. Mexico's PROGRESA is described as a 'variant of the Bolsa Escola Program' that 'closely resembles its predecessor in Brazil'. The documents indicate that Brazil's programs were established at the federal level before Mexico initiated PROGRESA and without any IO involvement. However, Brazil's former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso has stated that the idea of and recommendation for these types of cash transfers originally came from the WB and IDB (Nunes 2009).

Even as different units within the WB were giving credit for CCTs to either Mexico or Brazil, they were simultaneously disregarding earlier CCT programs and downplaying their own role in their creation. The existence of a phenomenon was distinguished by referring to a 'model' and assigning it a place of origin in the largest economies of Latin America and regional leaders in Mexico or Brazil. The WB and IDB crafted a policy narrative where an innovative and domestically created initiative was discovered by these development banks, thus downplaying or even omitting their own role in recommending, financing, and designing these types of programs. Placing the origin of the model in Mexico and/or Brazil also distinguished it from earlier programs; the accepted lineage of the model is not traced to those programs, and the documents do not allude to their ideational influence.

The second shift: classification

Between 2001 and 2004, several documents were published that began to classify and synthesize the qualities of programs deemed to exhibit similar characteristics. Initiatives that were regarded as modeled after or inspired by PROGRESA were put into comparative perspective and their nature defined (e.g. IDB 2003b; WB 2003, 2004). The documents mapped the components of programs deemed part of the same phenomenon and discussed them under unified labels such as 'targeted human development programmes' (Sedlacek, Ilahi, and Gustafsson-Wright 2000). The core components included a *cash transfer, conditions on education and health*, and *a targeting mechanism* to identify the extremely poor. Some documents instruct policymakers by classifying the elements needed to qualify as part of the phenomenon:

> Program objectives should be clearly stated and include measurable outcomes. In addition, the targeting and selection of beneficiaries are vital components of these programs. Targeted Human Development Programs should include education as well as health and nutrition components. (IDB 2001, 6.)

In addition to defining the necessary features, a core element in the definitions was the notion that programs represent a *new and innovative* way to tackle poverty, which was compared with older, inefficient forms of social assistance like in-kind transfers and different subsidies: 'These programs' reliance on market principals [*sic*], using demand-side interventions to directly support beneficiaries, is a marked departure from traditional supply-side mechanisms' (Rawlings 2004, 1). Hence, a category began to emerge before the umbrella term 'conditional cash transfers' was consolidated.

Although *unconditional* cash transfers (UCTs) would be the most comparable program against which to measure the performance of CCTs, such a comparative approach is largely absent from the early documents. The rare occasions when it does appear take up the comparison in theoretical terms contrasting the 'implicit or explicit assumption that poverty is the responsibility of the government and that the poor have no role to play' that underpins UCTs to the 'conviction that poverty reduction is the joint responsibility of the child, the family, and the society', which is characteristic of CCTs (2003, 90–91). This accords with the frequent description of CCTs as not 'government handouts' or 'money for nothing'; CCTs are dissociated from the type of benefits that 'can lead to dependency rather than productivity' (IDB 2003a, 1).

Thus, the classification of the phenomenon was driven by finding common features in different programs that were treated as part of the same phenomenon and then contrasting this phenomenon against traditional forms of social assistance. Notably, instead of contrasting the performance of CCTs with UCTs, effectiveness was constructed around the notion of these programs outperforming inefficiently allocated in-kind transfers and other subsidies and serving as 'productive' rather than generating dependency. Although it still lacked a single label, the emerging model now had qualities depicting it as a novel and efficient policy approach to providing social assistance without inducing dependency among recipients.

The third shift: discursive consolidation

Despite the clear differences between the Mexican and Brazilian programs – Mexico had stricter conditions and emphasized human capital, while Brazil highlighted a rights-based approach – they nevertheless shared comparable core design features. However, neither the Mexican nor the Brazilian program explicitly used the term 'conditional cash transfer' or its Spanish or Portuguese equivalents. In fact, none of the programs implemented before 2006 and listed as CCTs by the WB (Fiszbein and Schady 2009) included that term in its nomenclature.

The term 'conditional cash transfer' first appears in documents published after the turn of the millennium and after several programs that would become known as 'first-generation CCTs' had been launched. Before this, a variety of terms were used, for example 'targeted human development programmes' (IDB 2001; WB 2000b) and 'targeted conditional transfer' programs (Sedlacek, Ilahi, and Gustafsson-Wright 2000; WB 2000a, 2001d). Although the 'conditional cash transfer' label does appear occasionally in documents published at roughly the same time, that term and the 'CCT' acronym were only consolidated after the WB financed the Workshop on Conditional Cash Transfer Programs (CCTs): Operational Experiences in Puebla, Mexico in 2002 'to provide a forum so that executing agencies or units of different CCT's could share their experiences' (WB 2003, 3). Following this event, a number of reports reviewing these programs were published by the WB (e.g. Das, Do, and Özler 2005; Rawlings and Rubio 2003) and the IDB (2003a); each document refers to them as 'conditional cash transfers', suggesting that the term had become consolidated, which served as a step toward the institutionalization of the phenomenon and finalized the process by which a bundle of programs from Latin America that had comparable features were grouped under a single umbrella term.

The fourth shift: institutionalization

Once the features of different programs were formalized under the 'conditional cash transfer' label, there was now a concrete policy model with an origin story, policy rationale, and components and projected effects of adoption. The WB began to provide further benchmarking and networking opportunities for policymakers currently or potentially working on CCT programs. Following the 2002 event in Puebla, the WB organized international CCT conferences and workshops in Brazil (2004), Turkey (2006), and Mexico (2008). Since 2001, the WB has also organized study tours, provided benchmarking opportunities, and facilitated a CCT Learning Community (Osorio Gonnet 2014, 153). In 2006, (WB 2011, 22), 'client countries with the most developed CCT programs in the region [...] asked the WB to act as a regional facilitator of knowledge, learning, and innovation for CCT programs'.

The institutionalization of the CCT policy model was crystallized in the publication of *Conditional Cash Transfers: Reducing Present and Future Poverty*, a WB report. In this work, Fiszbein and Schady (2009, 1) define, classify, and list all CCT programs in a way that has since become authoritative in the field. As noted above, none of the programs implemented domestically before 2006 used the 'conditional cash transfer' term. Only after this label was consolidated through the WB's efforts did countries begin to implement programs that used it. Around the same time, scholars began to pay increasing attention to the phenomenon, and a second wave of literature emerged to entrench the

narrative even more deeply. With the institutionalization of the CCT policy model, the phenomenon became a tangible entity of the social world, involving a predominant narrative of the model's genesis and content.

Conclusion

The extensive literature on transnational diffusion of policy models and ideas shares the understanding that 'diffusion' refers to a process wherein 'the policy choices of one country are shaped by the choices of others' (Dobbin, Simmons, and Garrett 2007, 450). In such a process, the role of IOs has often been described as serving as mediators or carriers of transnational models and ideas. Our article contributes to recent research elaborating not only the role of IOs in spreading already existing models but also in the very process by which global models are theorized and codified by the IOs (Kentikelenis and Seabrooke 2017; Park and Vetterlein 2010; Syväterä and Qadir 2015). As argued by Béland et al. (2018, 467) and demonstrated by von Gliszczynski and Leisering (2016), it is important to conceive these organizations as agents actively promoting specific types of policies, instead of being only engaged in brokerage. In this article, we have examined the global governance of social policy by tracing the process through which the CCT evolved into a globally recognized policy model. We have focused on the reality-shaping power of ideas (Carstensen and Schmidt 2016), demonstrating especially IOs' active role in producing and using a certain narrative in order to promote a specific model. Our analysis emphasized the bi-directional nature of the construction and spread of global policy models (Syväterä and Qadir 2015), which means that we have paid attention to how the CCT model has evolved in a process of ongoing construction even as it was already spreading to new national contexts, thus capturing the processual nature of the creation of the model.

Our analysis of the shifts in the process by which the CCT has evolved into a global policy model has revealed that the predominant narrative about evolving of the CCT policy model was largely produced by IOs and is now taken very much for granted in academic research concerning CCTs. For example, a recent article used the CCT efforts of Brazil and Mexico as examples of the emergence of novel social policy innovations, which 'can be considered locally rooted [. . .] and financed without the support of international organizations' (Tomazini 2019, 24). Tomazini's excellent discussion on the role of advocacy coalitions in the local policymaking processes actually points out that the ideas promoted by IOs had a significant impact on the formation of 'pro human capital' coalitions, which eventually were successful in advancing the adoption of CCTs in these two countries. However, what is almost entirely unrecognized in the existing literature is that equivalent programs had been operating years before. The unquestionably powerful role of IOs in diffusing the model *beyond* Brazil and Mexico has been widely recognized, but their important role in the processes leading to the model's 'invention' has been largely ignored. Accordingly, Von Gliszczynski (2015) posed the following question concerning CCTs: why have certain programs in Latin America specifically attracted the WB's attention?

The results of our analysis point out that these two programs were not exactly discovered by the WB. The WB (and IDB) was a central actor in constructing that policy approach from the very beginning. We see that the WB was successful in 'framing its own definition of a reform issue: a diagnosis of problems followed by a set of prescriptions'

(Halliday, Block-Lieb, and Carruthers 2010, 84). The IOs' actions in constructing the model can be understood as moves in advancing their claims to legitimacy when they seek to propagate that model to national policymakers. As our analysis makes clear, the WB has regularly sought to distance itself from its role as creator of the CCT, which is why it portrays the 'first' programs as endogenous inventions. This is understandable, because the WB had largely exhausted its good standing in Latin America during the highly unpopular structural adjustment era, and its involvement in the design and creation of CCTs could well have been controversial. As Halliday, Block-Lieb, and Carruthers (2010) have argued, the legitimacy of any IO engaged in script-writing is drawn from that IO's prior record, so IOs with challenging pasts can be handicapped by legitimation deficits. In an effort to minimize its legitimation deficit and increase the social acceptance of CCTs, the WB resorted to ghost-writing the script by expurgating its own role in bringing forth the CCT policy model.

Constructing a policy model and crafting a policy narrative served as a way of reframing CCTs as something that leading countries in Latin America were doing rather than something that the WB was proposing or, worse, mandating. The programs 'discovered' by the WB were based on ways of understanding and operationalizing poverty and social protection that did not conflict with its own policy recommendations. These programs were then 'proven' to work and became promoted as models to follow, which legitimized the WB's approach to poverty reduction (Heimo 2019). In a political contest over the content of global social policy (Deacon 2007), the WB was successful in legitimizing and disseminating its definition of a reform issue based on strictly targeted social assistance tied to human capital accumulation. It constructed a policy model with a compelling story that has significance for policymakers around the world and in the transnational discourse on social policy principles. The case of CCTs has informed debates over targeting vs. universalism and conditional vs. unconditional social assistance and, as shown above, continues to be used as an example of locally rooted policies assembled without IO input.

Going beyond the case analyzed in this article, it is likely that many other cases could be identified where IOs strategically aim to highlight the role of local actors while playing down their own central role in designing policy models. To fully understand such dynamics in evolving of global policy discourses it is important to distinct between what the actors involved in the policymaking say, mean, and do (Shriwise, Kentikelenis, and Stuckler 2020). Given the crucial role IOs have in setting norms and ideational landscape in the global policymaking, further studies could elaborate the extent to which it is even possible that global policy trends could emerge without the involvement of IOs. The political contests over the content of global social policy cannot be reduced to rational policy choices over the functionality of policy options; of central importance to such contests are the discursive struggles in which actors – including IOs – maintain and edit narratives in their attempts to set conditions for the successful spreading of their favored ideas.

Note

1. The program ran from 1989 to 1993 and continued under the name *Subsidio Familiar* (Padrón 1999).

Acknowledgments

We are grateful for the comments and suggestions by Anneli Anttonen, Pertti Alasuutari and the members of Tampere Research Group for Political and Cultural Sosiology (TCuPS).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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PUBLICATION III

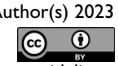
Discursive malleability of a global policy model: How conditional cash transfers transcend political boundaries in Chile.

Heimo, Lauri

Global Social Policy, 24(1), 96-116.
https://doi.org/10.1177/14680181231197218

Article

Global Social Policy
1–21



DOI: 10.1177/14680181231197218
journals.sagepub.com/home/gsp

Discursive malleability of a global policy model: How conditional cash transfers transcend political boundaries in Chile

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Abstract

In Chile, a conditional cash transfer (CCT) programme was established by a left-wing government in 2004 and then re-established by a right-wing coalition in 2014. Despite some revisions and adjustments, Ingreso Ético Familiar maintained the core characteristics of its predecessor Chile Solidario. This reflected a wider trend of CCT adoption by an ideologically diverse group of governments. Against this background, it is obvious that the CCT policy model appeals to political decision-makers on a wide scale, or at least makes it acceptable to them. However, questions remain: how was this model embraced by the ideologically opposing coalitions in Chile? And more broadly: how do CCTs appeal to such a wide range of policymakers? The article explores the argumentation of Chilean Members of Parliament and examines how the ideological and political consensus around these programmes was discursively attained. Through this case, the article also sheds light on how domestic policy dynamics interact with global policy processes. The analysis revealed points of confluence, which serve to illustrate the CCT model's capacity to convey different meanings to different people – allowing it to be interpreted to fit a variety of different perspectives. I define this quality as discursive malleability and argue that it is an important quality not only in explaining how a policy model can resonate among or appeal to such a wide range of policymakers, but also in the process where a global model is adopted in a country and becomes part of the domestic political debate.

Keywords

Chile Solidario, conditional cash transfer, discursive malleability, global policy model, Ingreso Ético Familiar, parliamentary debate, point of confluence

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Introduction

The centre-right Coalición por el Cambio[1] won the 2010 presidential elections in Chile, making Sebastian Piñera the first post-dictatorship right-wing head of state. The new governing coalition vowed to overcome extreme poverty by 2014 and general poverty by 2018. A key part of this strategy was launching a conditional cash transfer (CCT) programme called *Ingreso Ético Familiar*. This programme was to replace the flagship social assistance programme of the centre-left coalition Concertación titled *Chile Solidario*. Concertación had held office since the return to democracy in 1990 and had launched Chile Solidario – a CCT programme – in 2004. Interestingly, despite some revisions and adjustments, Ingreso Ético Familiar was closely similar to Chile Solidario. Thus, although the centre-right discarded the CCT of the previous administration, practically the same anti-poverty programme was then implemented as its replacement.

This reflects a broader trend of CCT programmes designed and implemented on a wide scale by an ideologically diverse group of governments (Osorio Gonnet, 2014; Sugiyama, 2011). In fact, by the time Ingreso Ético Familiar began operating the CCT model had been adopted by nearly one third of the world's countries (Honorati et al., 2015).[2] As a travelling policy model constructed and promoted by international organizations (see: Heimo and Syväterä, 2022; Von Gliszczynski and Leisering, 2016), the case of CCTs reflects what Moloney and Stone (2019) refer to as global policy and transnational administration.

CCTs aim to mitigate poverty through targeted cash transfers and conditions designed to promote investments in human capital among those living in poverty. At the onset of CCT proliferation this model was presented as a new and innovative form of social assistance. Empirical evidence from early impact evaluations and overviews was presented to provide evidence of the model's projected effectiveness (Heimo, 2019). However, CCTs were not universally embraced, rather, they were met with a considerable amount of controversy and criticism (for an overview see: Ladhani and Sitter, 2020).

As CCTs have been designed and implemented by an ideologically diverse group of governments in a socioeconomically diverse group of countries, it is obvious that the policy model appeals to political decision-makers on a wide scale, or at least makes it acceptable for them. However, questions remain: how was this model embraced by the ideologically opposing coalitions in Chile? And more broadly: how do CCTs appeal to such a wide range of policymakers?

It has been suggested that the model is possibly devoid of ideological constraints as the technical nature of the programmes neutralizes the ideological debate (Sugiyama, 2011), and that the behavioural conditions and human capital objectives locate CCTs in the ideal policy position: neither the left, nor the right (Brooks, 2015). Borges (2018) argues that although ideology has not directly affected CCT adoption, it has shaped its adaptation. The left, initially sceptical of the policy model, has drawn inspiration from the Brazilian programme by emphasizing a rights-based social assistance, while the right has opted for a design similar to the Mexican programme, which emphasizes stricter conditions and human capital accumulation.[3] Accordingly, Morais de Sá e Silva (2017: 47) argues that the CCT idea can be adapted to any ideological, political, cultural or social background.

In this article, I am interested in how the ideological and political consensus is discursively attained. I approach this question by exploring the argumentation of political decision-makers in a position to approve or discard the implementation of a CCT programme. I examine how political decision-makers from competing coalitions interpret CCTs by analysing the political argumentation of the Members of Parliament (MPs) in Chile. The analysed dataset consists of the debates in which the draft laws for the two legislative processes, which would become the *Chile Solidario* and the *Ingreso Ético Familiar* programmes, were presented to the Chilean parliament.

These Chilean CCT programmes present a unique case for four reasons: (1) The two CCTs were written into law – instead of enacting them by executive decree as many other countries have done – meaning it is possible to study the parliamentary debates over their adoption, policy design and rationale. (2) The CCTs were established first by a left-wing government in 2004 and then re-established by a right-wing coalition in 2014, thus allowing for an analysis of argumentation from a wide range of policymakers. (3) Despite some revisions and adjustments, *Ingreso Ético Familiar* maintained the core characteristics of *Chile Solidario* (Oliveira and Osorio Gonnet, 2022). (4) Chile has been both an inspiration *for* and an adopter *of* the global CCT model. In its reciprocal connection to the global CCT model Chile presents an intriguing case of how domestic policy dynamics interact with global policy processes.

The analysis revealed *points of confluence*[4] in the argumentation of the MPs. I use this concept to refer to the convergence in lines of argumentation through which politicians from competing and ideologically dissimilar coalitions interpret the policy proposals. The points of confluence serve to illustrate the CCT model's capacity to convey different meanings to different people – allowing it to be interpreted to fit a variety of different perspectives. I define this quality as *discursive malleability* and argue that it is a key quality in explaining CCTs broad appeal to policymakers.

In making this argument I draw on scholarship focused on ideas in politics and policymaking. Several scholars (e.g. Béland and Cox, 2016; Jenson, 2010; McNeill, 2006) have advanced the argument that the more ambiguous, polysemic or malleable an idea is, the better prospects it has for being widely accepted politically, and thus adopted. However, these arguments have been made regarding abstract concepts and broad ideas that can be used to articulate and frame more specific policy instruments. I suggest that employing the concept of discursive malleability is a more fruitful way to examine the qualities of more concrete policy models, which consist of distinct established features and are underpinned by different abstract principles.

The article makes a two-fold contribution to the scholarship on global social policy. By examining the ideational dimensions of the CCT model, the article makes a broader theoretical contribution by shedding light on the qualities that make certain global policy models or policy ideas attractive to policymakers. Through the Chilean case, the article also illustrates the multidirectional way domestic policy dynamics interact with global policy processes. I proceed by introducing the theoretical approach the article takes on the ideational dimensions of policy models and elaborate how the concept of discursive malleability can be useful in examining these models. Next, I present the data and methods. Then, the article discusses Chile's reciprocal interaction with the global CCT model

and introduces the Chilean CCTs and the setting for the debates. This is followed by the results of the empirical analysis and concluding remarks.

Discursive malleability of a policy model

More than 60 countries have implemented their own variant of the CCT model, and CCTs can largely be perceived through two levels of abstraction. That is, the CCT leads a 'double life' both as an abstract functional model and as an implemented arrangement of governance in the form of locally set up social assistance programmes (Simons and Voß, 2018: 19), such as Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar. The World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have played a key role in constructing, codifying and promoting the abstract functional CCT model (Heimo and Syväterä, 2022; Leisering, 2019; Von Gliszczynski and Leisering, 2016). The model was presented as a new and innovative form of social assistance. Features of different programmes were formalized under the term 'conditional cash transfer' and the model was assigned an origin story, policy rationale and established components.

I conceive of these abstract models as constructed policy templates carrying certain core features that are considered universally applicable to different contexts. In practice, a CCT programme is generally a non-contributory social assistance scheme designed to distribute cash to households whose income falls below a predetermined threshold of extreme poverty, on the condition that the beneficiary household's children make use of supply-side services in the form of schooling and health care. The abstract 'CCT policy model' has been codified to consist of three key features: a monetary transfer (which generally favours women as the recipients), conditions on education and health, and a targeting mechanism to identify the extremely poor (Heimo, 2019; Heimo and Syväterä, 2022). A variant of this model has been implemented by an ideologically diverse group of governments around the world.

The broad question involves how this model appeals to such a wide range of policymakers. To shed light on this question I examine how it was embraced by the two ideologically opposing coalitions in Chile. I approach CCTs from an analytical perspective focusing on the qualities of the policy model itself. If global policy models are understood as constructed policy templates, then the qualities are predicated on how the policy model is formulated and perceived. I draw on scholarship focused on ideas in politics and policy-making and examine policymakers' rhetoric around two local adaptations of the CCT model. I examine the adoption of these programmes through the ideas and discourse entwined with the policies and focus on the meanings attached to them. Meaning is central to understanding human action, and communicative interaction through ideas and discourse is central to conveying meaning in policy processes (Schmidt, 2008). In sum, ideas are influential because action is premised on ideas, and ideas could thus be considered a primary source of political behaviour (Béland and Cox, 2011: 3).

However, ideas come in many shapes and forms, ranging from broader philosophies and beliefs to concrete policy proposals. Campbell's (1998) typology provides a useful starting point to grasp the relationship between ideas and policy-making. *First*, ideas could be understood as underlying assumptions – such as paradigms and public sentiments – residing in the background of policy debates. *Second*, ideas could be perceived

as concepts and theories located in the foreground of these debates where they are explicitly articulated by policymakers. Furthermore, ideas can be conceived of as either cognitive or normative. In the foreground of policy debates ideas can be perceived as programmes or more specific policy prescriptions (cognitive level), that facilitate action by specifying how to solve particular policy problems. In the foreground, ideas can also be understood as frames that are used to legitimize these programmes to the public (normative level). It could be added that paradigms and public sentiments intrinsically inform the construction of the programmes and the frames used to legitimize them.

Focusing on the ideational dimension, the essence of policy-making could be seen to be the discursive struggle over ideas:

> Ideas are a medium of exchange and a mode of influence even more powerful than money and votes and guns. Shared meanings motivate people to action and meld individual striving into collective action. All political conflict revolves around ideas. Policy making, in turn, is a constant struggle over the criteria for classification, the boundaries of categories, and the definition of ideals that guide the way people behave (Stone, 2012: 13).

However, if collective political action is premised on *shared meanings*, scholars engaged with ideas and public policy have also noted that the most attractive or successful ideas in policy-making have the capacity to convey *different* meanings to different people. Scholars have pointed to the ambiguous (Palier, 2005), polysemic (Jenson, 2010) and multivocal (Goddard, 2009; Padgett and Ansell, 1993) character of ideas in policy-making and discussed them as coalition magnets (Béland and Cox, 2016) and empty signifiers (Laclau, 1996; Wullweber, 2015). This notion is crystallized by McNeill (2006: 348) who finds that the most successful ideas in the development policy arena are not those that are most analytically rigorous, but rather those that are the most malleable, that is, those that can be interpreted to fit a variety of differing perspectives, achieving consensus by conveying different meanings to different audiences. However, these arguments have been made regarding abstract concepts such as 'sustainability', 'social inclusion' and 'solidarity' (Béland and Cox, 2016), 'social investment' (Jenson, 2010), 'informal sector', 'sustainable development' and 'social capital' (McNeill, 2006), or a broad body of ideas such as 'Keynesian policies' (Strang and Meyer, 1993).

These are broad ideas that can be used to articulate and frame more specific policy instruments, and thus, function in legitimizing and attaching meaning to these policies. Hence, these arguments have been made regarding how ideas influence policy due to the malleability of the ideas themselves. Theoretically the question addressed in this article is whether the same notion of malleability can apply to specific policy programmes. By drawing on Latour (1987), Ganuza and Baiocchi (2012) have argued that the malleability of a more concrete policy idea may be due to its circulation and translation to different contexts, which transforms the idea. They demonstrate this with the wide-scale travel of Participatory Budgeting which was made into an attractive and politically malleable device by reducing and simplifying it from a comprehensive reform to a set of procedures for the democratization of demand-making. In the case of CCTs, Morais de Sá e Silva (2017: 47) puts forward a similar argument about a simplified and reduced core idea that has been put into practice in a multitude of ways. She states that what has been travelling

is not a complete policy model, 'but the idea of the direct transfers of cash from the government to citizens, in a way that their families can be less poor, today and tomorrow'. De Sá e Silva argues that it is this idea that fits different ideologies and may be put into practice in a multitude of ways: 'Like clay, the CCT idea is moldable and foldable to any ideological, political, cultural and social background. Like LEGO pieces, it can be assembled small or tall, thin or fat, cheap or expensive, very simple, or really complex' (Ibid.).

I agree that the idea of direct cash transfers from government to citizens is *part* of the idea of CCTs, and that CCTs have not travelled as a complete locked-in policy model. However, I argue that – true to its name – in addition to cash, the 'abstract model' also includes *conditions* on education and or health, and a *targeting mechanism* to identify the recipients (Heimo, 2019; Heimo and Syväterä, 2022). According to the World Bank, CCTs 'are periodic monetary benefits to poor households that require beneficiaries to comply with specific behavioral requirements to encourage investments in human capital (such as school attendance, immunizations, and health checkups)' (Honorati et al., 2015: 8). What follows from this is that to be included in the category 'conditional cash transfer' a programme should exhibit these basic features.

The CCT model could then be perceived to be malleable in two ways. *First*, the abstract functional model is malleable in the sense that different features can be added to the model and different components can be emphasized in the design of the locally set up programmes, that is, implemented arrangements of governance. Some implemented CCTs emphasize rights-based social assistance while others are more strictly monitored, and some have added features like psychosocial assistance and labour market incentives (like the programmes in Chile).

Second, the CCT model could be perceived as discursively malleable in the sense that it can convey different meanings to different people. I argue that the discursive malleability cannot be reduced to a governmental promise of poverty reduction, but that direct cash transfers from the government to its citizens assembled with conditionalities and a targeting mechanism bring together different ideas and abstract principles that are not necessarily consistent but allow CCTs to be interpreted to fit a variety of different perspectives.

The focus of this article is on the *discursive* malleability. I propose that the term discursive malleability allows us to mark the difference between the model being malleable in the sense that the programmes can be assembled using different features and components, and the model being malleable in that it has the capacity to convey different meanings to different people allowing it to be interpreted to fit a variety of different perspectives (although these can be interconnected). In that sense, it could be said that, for actors representing different political views to adopt the same model, it needs to allow for points of confluence: principles that can be fitted into differing political ideologies.

Data and methods

The data consist of parliamentary debates in which members of the Chilean senate and the house of representatives took the floor to express their views on draft bills, which would be used to create the Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar programmes. These legislative processes present unique cases for the investigation of how MPs from opposing coalitions interpret CCTs. The data were downloaded from the

Chilean congress website. The legislative processes related to laws passed in congress were packaged as PDFs and labelled *Historia de la Ley* ('History of the Law'). Two such documents were used: *Historia de la Ley No. 19.949*.[5] and *Historia de la Ley No. 20.595*.[6] The documents consist of the original bill, introductions from the corresponding ministers and various committees, amendments and modifications to the original bill, voting results on the bill and different articles and transcriptions of MPs taking the floor and giving statements regarding the proposed bill. Together, these documents comprise around 1000 pages, of which roughly 30% of the text consists of the debates.

A conventional view of parliamentary debates sees them as largely symbolic with little impact on actual policy-making (Bächtiger, 2014). The fate of the bill may have been decided before presenting it in the parliament. Bills have generally been prepared in different committees where experts and representatives of different parties have had the opportunity to comment and provide input. Accordingly, parliamentary deliberation rarely has influence on the information and preferences of the MPs to affect their voting (Rasch, 2011: 20). I do not approach parliamentary hearings as venues for policy-making, but as a public forum in which public policies are debated, decided upon and in which politicians justify their views to their constituents and the general public. In parliamentary hearings, the politicians responsible for legislation take a position regarding the proposed bill and locate themselves within the public debate (Billig, 1991: 43). By taking the floor, MPs construct their public image and identity: they show their expertise on the issue and negotiate their personal commitment to, and responsibility for, a bill to be passed or rejected (Alasuutari, 2016: 96–99). Steering clear from essentialist views, political ideologies are not taken at face value and the actors' understanding is not used here to refer to a static set of beliefs, ideologies or moral principles, but to having a grasp of what types of arguments are feasible in a given setting to advance one's own views and objectives.

The question guiding the analysis was: how politicians from competing and ideologically dissimilar perspectives interpreted the policy with the effect of reaching a consensus. The analysis was conducted in four phases: first, the data were coded according to who speaks, their party and coalition affiliation. Second, passages of justification and contestation of the bill (or certain aspects of it) were identified. In the third stage, the data were coded inductively – using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software – based on the contents of the statement. The passages of justification and contestation were then analysed in depth by methodology inspired by political (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012) and argumentative discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995).

The interplay of transnational influences and domestic policy developments

In its reciprocal connection to the global CCT model, Chile presents an intriguing case of circulation of ideas (Stone et al., 2020). In the spaces of global policy and transnational administration, policy actors influence global policies as well as administrative and policy possibilities within sovereign states (Moloney and Stone, 2019: 106). Reciprocally, the construction of global models draws from certain local ideas and policy examples (Heimo and Syväterä, 2022; Leisering, 2019) in a 'complex process of nonlinear reproduction' (Peck and Theodore, 2010: 170).

On one hand, the central elements of the Chilean CCTs could be traced as far back as 1981, when the Pinochet regime designed a targeted non-contributory family allowance programme titled Subsidio Unitario Familiar, which initially was as a cash transfer conditional[7] on children's school attendance as well as visits to a health care facility (Historia de la Ley 18020, 1981). Chile also pioneered an 'extreme poverty map' in 1975 that laid the foundation for the targeting mechanisms of future CCTs both in and outside of Chile[8] (see: Kast and Molina, 1975). Chilean officials have also been directly involved in CCT policy processes abroad. The representatives of the Chilean government advised the designer team in Mexico's Ministry of Finance when Mexico was in the process of establishing one of the first CCTs in the mid-1990s (Yaschine, 1999: 56) and the design of Chile Solidario – particularly the psychosocial support component – has been exported to other countries in the region.[9]

On the other hand, the creations of Chile Solidario and Ingreso Etico Familiar were accompanied by policy dialogue with input from international organizations and CCT consultants from other countries. Teichman (2007: 565) shows that in the case of Chile Solidario, the Finance ministry commissioned a social protection report from the World Bank, which recommended a cash transfer programme that would reach the poorest. The Bank then played a role in supporting the ministry's vision in advancing a CCT programme, while also contributing to opening up (limited) space for civil society consultation. Civil society monitoring and evaluation of the programme were eventually included in the conditions of the Bank's technical assistance loan for establishing the programme (Teichman, 2007: 565). Ingreso Etico Familiar built on the experience of Chile Solidario and the policy dialogue continued. For instance, the design team was advised by Santiago Levy, the main architect of the Mexican programme.[10] In addition, Chile received an 'Additional Financing Social Protection Technical Assistance Loan' from the World Bank to support the design of the psychosocial support and employment counselling components of Ingreso Ético Familiar (The World Bank, 2015: 8).

In sum, Chile has been both an inspiration *for* and an adopter *of* the global CCT model. However, the political debate around the Chilean CCTs takes place on domestic terms almost entirely without transnational or global references.

Background for the parliamentary debates on Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar

The setting of two opposing coalitions in Chilean politics was largely established in the 1989 referendum on returning to democracy, which was won by the centre-left La Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (Concertación).[11] The major parties which later formed the backbone of the coalition called Alianza – Renovación Nacional and Unión Demócrata Independiente – campaigned for the continuation of Pinochet's rule. After remaining in power since 1990 the government of Ricardo Lagos (2002–2006) pledged to take on extreme poverty, and thus launched Chile Solidario in 2004. It was based on the pilot programme *Puente* and consisted of three central components: (1) psychosocial support for extremely poor households (a social worker assigned to every beneficiary household); (2) a 24-month progressively decreasing CCT with several objectives tailored specifically for the beneficiary household and (3) access to existing social assistance and 'social promotion' programmes . Chile Solidario was designed to

Table 1. Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar.

	Chile Solidario	Ingreso Ético Familiar
Month / Year Bill introduced	10 / 2002	09 / 2011
President	Ricardo Lagos	Sebastian Piñera
Coalition	**La Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia** *Parties:* Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC); el Partido Socialista (PS); el Partido por la Democracia (PPD); el Partido Radical Social Demócrata PRSD)	**Alianza por Chile** *Parties:* Renovación Nacional (RN); la Unión Demócrata Independiente (UDI) Alianza was part of a coalition titled Coalicion Por El Cambio, which included ChilePrimero; los movimientos Norte Grande / Humanista Cristiano (MHC)
Self-defined political affiliation	Centre-left	Centre-right
Opposition	**Alianza por Chile** *Parties:* Renovación Nacional (RN); la Unión Demócrata Independiente (UDI)	**Concertacion Y Juntos Podemos Por Mas Democracia** *Parties:* As in 2002 + Partido Comunista & Juntos Podemos Más
Self-defined Political affiliation	Centre-right	Centre-left

be a new conditional form of social assistance for extremely poor households as well as a way to integrate the indigent into the social services they were entitled to (Historia de la Ley No. 19.949). By combining psychosocial support with the traditional CCT components, Chile Solidario filled an original niche in the field of social policies in Chile.

After two decades in the opposition, the centre-right Alianza won the 2010 presidential elections. The coalition ran under the moniker Coalición por el Cambio, however, I use the title Alianza for the sake of clarity as the coalition changed its name and was called Alianza during both parliamentary debates studied here. Led by president Piñera, the new governing coalition vowed to maintain, but also expand, the existing social security system of Chile, overcome extreme poverty by 2014 and general poverty by 2018. As part of this strategy Ingreso Ético Familiar was to replace Chile Solidario by 2013. According to Piñera's first Minister of Social Development, Felipe Kast,[12] the programme was inspired by three ideas: (1) reforming the policy rationale of Chile Solidario; (2) implementing CCTs and (3) developing a grant for female employment (Kast, 2013). The programme also included components of psychosocial support and labour market assistance for extremely poor households, an unconditional cash transfer and grants for children based on their success in school. As with Chile Solidario (Table 1), the beneficiaries were to receive progressively decreasing monthly cash transfers for 24 months (Historia de la Ley No. 20.595). Both CCTs had a total of 14 different components. The conditions in both programmes differ from the standard CCT mode in the sense that that the demands are customized for each household according to the contract the household signs with the programme.

Points of confluence in the parliamentary discourse

Analysis of political argumentation related to the Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar programmes shows that the CCT models includes several points of confluence wherein politicians representing different ideologies found common ground. Altogether, three central points of confluence could be identified.

Los Pobres no pueden esperar / The poor cannot wait – Pope John Paul II

The first identified point of confluence has to do with the state's role in reducing poverty. Concertación and Alianza mostly subscribed to contradictory ideas regarding the prevailing economic model and how it functions in terms of creating or reducing poverty, yet both argued that the government holds responsibility in taking action to tackle it. Consider the following examples from the 2011 debate which demonstrate how the entire premise of an argument may differ significantly, or in fact be contradictory, yet both the MP of the governing right-wing coalition and the opposition MP from the left-wing coalition begin from these premises to provide an argument in support of the proposed policy:

> Humanity has gone about abandoning statist political approaches installed under the philosophies of communism, Marxism and socialism and has evolved towards a path of growth and development as a way of lifting themselves out of poverty, and more than two billion human beings on the planet have left this condition of poverty because of these policies.
>
> Just as this is indisputable, it is also true that states, especially in the case of Chile, which is a developing country, cannot expect to overcome poverty only through this path, but has to target, subsidize and help the families living in extreme poverty, so that they can leave this condition.[13]

In the same floor debate a member of the opposition expressed the following view:

> For me this is an important debate because in my view it seeks to correct structural inequities resulting from the economic model, through state action.[14]

In these quotations the MPs from Alianza and Concertación start from an entirely contradictory premise regarding the prevailing economic model and how it functions in terms of creating or reducing poverty. The explanation for the problem (poverty) is considered systemic in both quotations. The MP from Alianza explains the globally declining poverty rate as resulting, indisputably, from a change from statist economic policies to the prevailing economic model which he considers to be synonymous with a path of growth and development. In the second quote the MP from Concertación argues that poverty is precisely a result of the features of this prevailing economic model. The point of confluence in the two lines of argumentation is found in the practical arguments connected to the explanations of poverty. The MP from Alianza states that Chile as a developing country *cannot expect to overcome poverty only through this path, but has to target, subsidize and help the families living in extreme poverty*, which is to be done

through the programme under debate. The programme is to play a complementary role to economic growth in poverty reduction. However, for the Concertación MP (referring to the programme under debate) it *seeks to correct structural inequalities resulting from the economic model*. Both support the same programme, yet the premises for the support run on fundamentally different lines of argumentation.

MPs of Alianza considered extreme poverty a problem that state action could help to solve but, nonetheless, explicitly placed economic growth first and foremost, and assigned public policy a complementary role: 'the focus of poverty reduction must be in economic growth and economic development of the country'.[15] While the MPs of Concertación did not dispute the role of economic growth in poverty reduction, many considered the prevailing economic model to be the root cause of poverty. Some of the MPs contested the trickle-down theory and, in some instances, advocated structural changes and more universal welfare provisions. Concern for the equal distribution of wealth was expressed, yet structural changes for the distribution of wealth were proposed as solutions only when Ingreso Ético Familiar was contested by the opposition, and even then, only in a few cases. However, a major concern for the MPs of Concertación was providing state-run social protection as a matter of social rights:

> As was pointed out by deputy Mulet, the growth alone does not do it. Many times the UNDP and the UN has told us very frankly that we are doing good in macroeconomic terms, but not in equal distribution of wealth. With this initiative we want to improve in this aspect, we want to give dignity to our poorest people, we want to lift them from where they are and tell them 'these are your rights, fight for them, make use of them'. In this lies the rational of the program and for this we will support it.[16]

The explicitly expressed rationale of both Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar was tackling the problem of extreme poverty. The presidential message, where the background and rationale of the proposed policy were described, and several statements by the MPs numerically listed the number of poor and extremely poor, followed by a declaration that the situation was unacceptable and needed to be resolved. Extreme poverty was portrayed as a moral issue and its scope was considered shameful for Chile. Extreme poverty was unequivocally defined as a problem and a sphere where state action was considered legitimate by both Concertación and Alianza, as exemplified by the following quotes voiced by the opposition:

> Unfortunately, ultimately, the fact that we have 600,000 Chileans – 170,000 families – living in extreme poverty or indigence is a scandal, a shame. Therefore, that this proposed legislation would tackle the problem seems very important to us.[17]

> Mister president, without a doubt, this is an admirable project, as working for the poorest of the country is our obligation and moral imperative.[18]

To emphasize that the problem of poverty should be addressed as a moral imperative, the MPs repeated a quote from the Pope's visit to Chile in 1987 several times during the course of both debates. During his visit, the Pope gave a speech to the nation in which he, among other things, urged the government to urgently address poverty. The MPs

brought the Pope into the debate as a moral authority in support of the programme's objectives:

> Who would not be enthusiastic and motivated by this project? We can improve it, but no one can stay aside of such a humanely and socially important objective to our community. As the Pope Juan Pablo II once rightly noted 'The poor cannot wait'. Today we have a grand opportunity, beyond speeches and intentions, of fulfilling this moral obligation of supporting this initiative and make the dream, which we should all share, of ending extreme poverty and the shame of knowing there are Chileans living on less than a thousand pesos per day.[19]

Addressing poverty reduction as a moral obligation serves two purposes in the debates. Doing so creates a setting where the audience is invited to approach the situation as a shared concern, as *our* concern, a socially important problem for *our* community, for Chile. Yet, this shared moral imperative can also be linked to the policy proposal. In a widely used rhetorical strategy, other MPs were urged to step beyond what the MP in the above quotation refers to as 'speeches and intentions' and to leave politics and ideological differences aside to support the initiative, as failing to do so would signify not sharing the moral objective of ending extreme poverty. In fact, agreeing with the aim of tackling extreme poverty through state action lends credibility to other arguments an MP makes in the debate, and a critique of the proposed bill is often preceded by praise for the objective of fighting poverty. This line of argumentation was particularly favoured by MPs of Alianza who were contesting Chile Solidario:

> Today no one can oppose an objective as laudable as this proposed legislation; however, the problem is the way MIDEPLAN[20] wants to advance it. We are concerned of the implementation.[21]

> There are no MPs from the right that think that this initiative is not a good one; but would not also think that it is going to be used for political purposes in future campaigns.[22]

As exemplified in the quotations above, a major part of the contestation of Chile Solidario had to do with the technical and administrative elements of the programme, not the objective of the programme. In these arguments, the MPs did not explicitly criticize the policy rationale or the normative underpinnings of the programme but contested the programme due to faults in its implementation, administration and technical design. Alianza MPs repeatedly opposed the perceived centralization of the Chile Solidario administration as well as concerns for the possible clientelistic and politicized use of the programme. However, despite the criticism, a feasible argument would not dispute the goal of reducing poverty through state action.

Social assistance must be based on targeting

> *Eso es parte de lo que tanto hemos pedido: la focalización de los recursos / This is part of what we have called for so much: targeting of resources*

The conviction that resources must be targeted for a pre-specified group of people was the second point of confluence. In social policy, targeting refers to procedures

designed to concentrate provisions for those individuals considered deserving or needy (Burgess and Stern, 1991: 64). In practice, this means limiting the scope of beneficiaries, typically via means tests, income tests, behavioural requirements and status characteristics (see: Gilbert, 2001), as opposed to granting the benefits universally as a matter of social rights to the entire population without predetermined selective measures (Anttonen et al., 2012; Mkandawire, 2005). The target population for Chile Solidario were vulnerable households and individuals. Ingreso Ético Familiar targets households living in extreme poverty. The eligibility of the household is determined by applying a predetermined income threshold at a household level using a proxy means test. Although the two coalitions perceived the cause of the problem differently, the logic of targeting the policy to the extremely poor was taken for granted by both coalitions:

> If we do not target the benefits, there is little hope of eradicating extreme poverty.[23]

> For years, we haven't had adequate targeting of resources and the governments of Concertación have not applied serious social policies. However, this project aims to do so and we cannot reject it.[24]

The starting point for both coalitions was the underlying premise of resource scarcity and limited financial flexibility, thereby requiring the targeting of the few resources available. In essence, the logic of targeting is based on viewing resource allocation as a zero-sum game, with resources directed to other sectors necessarily leaving fewer resources available to be allocated for social protection. Starting from this premise, the Alianza MP argued that extreme poverty cannot be eradicated without targeting the benefits, and that social policies are not serious if not targeted. The underlying assumption is that a group which requires treatment is identified and treatment is provided by the state through a programme, which then leads to the individuals or households in the treatment group to be lifted out – or gain the means to lift themselves out – of poverty. The fact that the policies in question are based on the logic of targeting lends credibility to the policy proposals.

In addition, as Cohen and Franco (1990: 9) have pointed out, targeted social assistance can be politically rewarding. A government which wants to demonstrate that it successfully reduced poverty could adopt this criterion and claim something to the effect of 'When this government started, there were *x* families below the poverty line, whereas today, there are only *y* families below the poverty line'. This logic is evident in the discussions. In response to criticism from Alianza that previous governments had not done enough to reduce poverty, the former president and an MP of Concertación Ricardo Lagos responded:

> I would like to point out that for the present government there remains 3 per cent of extreme poverty and 14 or 15 percent of general poverty to reduce. In other words, the policies of the past 14 years have worked. However, it has been targeted policies and not only economic growth that has enabled us to tackle the problem.[25]

Although Concertación introduced a targeted policy 10 years prior, some MPs criticized Ingreso Ético Familiar's rationale behind targeted policies and called for structural

changes and more universal welfare provision. Yet, the prevailing argumentation from Concertación did not dispute the logic of targeting but took the form of how to target groups better and more efficiently, not whether to target in the first place. In addition to the implicit notion of resource scarcity, a good design of targeting mechanisms was deemed necessary in terms of correcting exclusion errors. If social protection policies could not reach the poor because of substandard designs or improperly allocated resources, the remedy would be to improve the instruments used in targeting so that the appropriate population would be better reached:

> In any case, there is something that concerns all of us: that public resources are used well. In this I do not place responsibility on the line ministry headed by Minister Lavín, or on the Undersecretary. But we have a problem with targeting of social policies, due to the distortions in the social protection data sheet, which are severe particularly in the townships.[26]

> In addition, it is not clear to me whether this is the way to adequately target the social assistance the state provides for the extremely poor. If we already have problems with targeting with a more decentralized approach, I do not see how we can accomplish it with a more centralised logic.[27]

Social assistance must go beyond asistencialismo

> *El estado no solo debe regalarle pescados a la gente – sino que también enseñarle a pescar / The state should not just hand out fish to people – it should also teach them how to fish*

The third identified point of confluence was that the discussed policies were perceived to *not* be *asistencialista*. The fundamental element in this perception was the quality that makes CCTs distinct from other cash based social assistance programmes: *the behavioural conditions.* The key proponents of CCTs, such as the World Bank, have justified the conditions by using the vocabulary of economists, highlighting investments in human capital. Accordingly, CCTs have been frequently described in terms of them not being 'government handouts' or 'money for nothing'. CCTs are dissociated from the type of benefits that 'can lead to dependency rather than productivity' (Heimo and Syväterä, 2022). This is reflected in what Deacon and Mann (1999: 423) have referred to as 'a revival of interest on human agency', which shifted the focus from structure to individual behaviour and choices, manifested in an increased focus on welfare dependency and the aim of changing people's behaviour instead of focusing on responding to poverty and inequality through changing the distribution of resources. In the debates, investment and human capital are mentioned only in passing, rather, the focus is on behaviour, effort and dependency. The concept of *asistencialismo* is used to convey the difference between an acceptable policy which promotes effort and an unacceptable policy which generates dependency:

> What is important is that, and this was discussed in the technical body, we do not gain anything by designing social policy only on the basis of monetary transfers, because in the end, this type of *asistencialismo* rather tends to perpetuate the condition of poverty.[28]

> Social programs need to advance in qualitative and fundamental terms from *asistencialist* and paternalist systems, as were Chile Solidario and Chile Crece Contigo, to integrated and co-participatory programs.[29]

Although the textbook definition of *asistencialismo* could be used to convey a sense of its English equivalent *social assistance* and in reference to citizenship-based statutory rights to minimum social protection, it is nevertheless predominantly used to denote something negative. It is used as a rhetorical tool to mark a difference between social assistance as treatment to lift or promote people out of poverty in contrast to social assistance as handouts which bring about welfare dependency. Those living in poverty need this treatment to support them in overcoming obstacles and escaping their state of deprivation.

Concertación and Alianza use similar terms to refer to these obstacles. Concertación was more focused on collective features, such as the socioeconomic environment and culture, and use the term *culture of poverty*. Alianza focused on the behaviour of individuals and justified their programme designs by employing the term *culture of marginalization* to refer to the people living in extreme poverty and the assumption that the poor mired in this culture do not know how to escape their state:

> Severe poverty, as is well known, has to do with not just immediate economic condition of the family, but also with the socioeconomic environment and most of all cultural elements. There is a culture of poverty: a sum of factors working as an obstacle for a poor head of household in finding employment, educating the children, etc.[30]

> We cannot let people get used to being handed everything on a plate; they need to learn and take care of themselves. Many women, and I say this having travelled my country and worked in the media for twenty years to assist those living in extreme poverty, do not know how to overcome this poverty.[31]

The root causes of poverty and the ways in which people living in extreme poverty are portrayed in the debates differs between the coalitions. Several MPs from the left voiced their concerns about what they referred to as the neoliberal economic model, and the economic inequality and the wealth accumulation it creates. A shared element in the lines of argumentation can be identified in the programme design not focusing simply on handouts that address these cultures of poverty and marginalization. The elements in the design of Chile Solidario and Ingreso Ético Familiar which are considered central for changing the behaviour and promoting of the poor to overcome their state of poverty resonated with MPs of both coalitions:

> Perhaps one of the most relevant concerns shared by the Senators in the united committees had to do with the possibility of establishing this benefit not as asistencialismo from the government, but as a guaranteed right, something that has been done in public policies during recent years through the logic of attaching parameters, requirements and conditions to guarantee people different benefits.[32]

> Social policies (in the past) have been especially asistencialistas. However, the project under debate is not.[33]

Perhaps surprisingly, when discussing the conditionalities, the emphasis is not on human capital accumulation or perceiving the policy as a social investment. Alianza MPs refer to conditions as a way of promoting effort. They put emphasis on individual behaviour and choices as the key determinants of falling to, or rising from, poverty and consider that unconditional cash transfers to the poor would perpetuate welfare dependency. The strong emphasis on asistencialismo suggests that a universal or *un*conditional social assistance programme would not have had support from Alinaza from the opposition, nor would they have designed a programme without any mechanisms to demand effort from the recipients.

To the Concertación MPs these demands are geared to enable the government to assist the recipients of the transfer in overcoming the obstacles on their way of rising from the situation of poverty. However, the weight of asistencialismo is present in the statements of the Concertación MPs as well. As the quote above indicates, while the MP alludes to establishing the benefit as a social right, the speaker continues by adding that the rights would be guaranteed through the logic of attaching parameters, requirements and conditions to their benefit. In sum, when the state designs a programme with psychosocial assistance and conditions, this transforms the programme into something which is *not* asistencialismo and is thus deemed acceptable by the opposition in both debates.

Concluding remarks

This article started by asking how two ideologically opposing coalitions had designed and implemented a closely similar CCT programme to tackle poverty in Chile. The broader aim was to examine how this global CCT policy model has been able to appeal to such a wide range of policymakers. Through this case, the article also sheds light on how domestic policy dynamics interact with global policy processes. In this regard, the Chilean CCT case exemplifies the multi-directionality of influences, knowledge and ideas in global policy-making.

The empirical analysis of parliamentary debates revealed points of confluence in the argumentation of the MPs, suggesting that the CCT model is discursively malleable. I put forward that to be discursively malleable, a model needs to contain points of confluence in which different actors' views intersect. In political debates, arguments for and against a proposed policy may differ substantially, but the existence of points of confluence means that the lines of argumentation come together in a salient fashion. Based on this, the policy model could be seen to have the capacity to convey different meanings to different people allowing it to be interpreted to fit a variety of different perspectives, thus helping in building a consensus between different political camps. I argue that discursive malleability of the CCT model has served as a key quality in its appeal to and acceptance by policymakers in Chile.

I suggest that the case of Chile can illustrate a broader point about how CCTs appeal to such a wide range of policymakers. As a policy template, the CCT model can be perceived as a hybrid that combines elements from *rights based* social protection,

cost-effective targeted social protection and economically *productive* social protection based on promoting human capital accumulation among households living in the condition of poverty. However, as the case of Chile shows, the appeal of conditions cannot necessarily be pinned down to human capital objectives or perceiving social protection as social investments. The appeal also involves attaching demands, promoting effort and avoiding perpetuating welfare dependency. All this suggests that the CCT model carries the potential for adjusting it to fit diverse problem definitions, varying policy objectives and different views on social protection and the poor, thus making it acceptable to different audiences. However, viability among politicians and policymakers cannot solely be explained by a policy model being acceptable to different audiences, nor can it be considered the sole quality that explains its global proliferation. In Chile, a possible interpretation for Alianza opting for the slightly revised version of Chile Solidario could be found in policy feedbacks, namely, that previously implemented policies structure the direction of future reforms (Myles and Pierson, 2001). While the global proliferation of the CCT model could be explained by administrations emulating or mimicking an internationally acclaimed model (Strang and Meyer, 1993) or simply learning from the existing CCTs (including Chile Solidario), the political debate around the Chilean CCTs takes place on domestic terms almost entirely without transnational or global references. I argue that discursive malleability is an important quality not only in explaining how a policy model can resonate among or appeal to such a wide range of policymakers, but also in the process where a global model is adopted in a country and becomes part of the domestic political debate. This quality could be taken into more careful consideration in future studies of CCTs and other global policies.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful for the comments and suggestions through different stages of the draft by Anneli Anttonen, Pertti Alasuutari, Cecilia Osorio Gonnett, Gibran Cruz-Martinez and the members of Tampere Research Group for Political and Cultural Sosiology (TCuPS). He would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers and editors of *Global Social Policy* for the insightful comments.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This article was elaborated in the context of International Network for Comparative Analysis of Social Inequalities (INCASI), a European project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under Marie Skłodowska-Curie GA No 691004 and coordinated by Dr Pedro López-Roldán'. 'This article reflects only the author's view and the Agency is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains'.

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Notes

1. Coalition for Change

2. CCTs have also been established in several cities and states, thus referring to a country having implemented such a programme does not necessarily indicate that the national government would have been the implementing body.
3. See also Cecchini (2021).
4. The use of 'point of confluence' here is akin to the concept 'perverse confluence' advanced by Dagnino (e.g. 2003; 2007). The author uses the term to refer to common references to particular concepts (such as citizenship) by opposing political actors, with the use of the same concept projecting homogeneity in their political projects and obscuring differences and the conflict between them. My use of 'point of confluence' differs from the use of 'perverse confluence' in two ways. First, perverse confluence suggests that the opposing political camps use the same vocabulary and concepts but execute entirely different political projects in their name. Point of confluence used here suggests the opposite. Actors from opposing political camps use arguments and justifications from entirely different premises yet argue for or support the same policy measures. Second, perverse confluence carries normative implications and insinuates that the other political camp (neoliberal) is distorting or hijacking the concepts used by the other political camp (participatory). Point of confluence carries no such implications.
5. Chile Solidario, year 2002. Chile. Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Historia de la Ley 19.949 (2004); available at www.bcn.cl/historiadelaley/nc/historia-de-la-ley/5713/.
6. Ingreso Ético Familiar, year 2011. Chile. Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Historia de la Ley No. 20.595 (2012); available at www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1040157.
7. The programme has not monitored the fulfilment of the conditions.
8. The map was based on the census of 1970 and sought to establish a poverty line and identify geographic concentrations of poverty and the characteristics of the extremely poor.
9. Such as Trinidad and Paraguay. Interview with an official from the Ministry of Social Development.
10. Interview with an IEF official.
11. During the plebiscite the coalition went under the title Concertación de Partidos por el NO.
12. Kast was replaced as minister by Joaquin Lavín, who ultimately introduced the bill in the parliament.
13. Patricio Melero / Alianza (UDI) / 2011: 486–487.
14. Lautaro Carmona Soto /Concertación (PC) / 2011: 475.
15. Patricio Melero / Alianza (UDI) / 2002: 106.
16. Laura Soto Gonzalez / Concertación (PPD) / 2002: 115.
17. Patricio Walker / Concertación (PDC) / 2011: 318.
18. Carlos Hidalgo González / Alianza (Independiente) / 2002: 363.
19. David Sandoval Plaza / Alianza (UDI) / 2011: 191–2.
20. Ministry of development and planning
21. Gastón Von Mühlenbrock / Alianza (UDI) / 2002: 72.
22. Carlos Hidalgo González / Alianza (Independiente) / 2002: 70.
23. Alberto Robles Pantoja / Concertación (PR) / 2002: 115.
24. María Angélica Cristi / Alianza (RN) / 2002: 66.
25. Ricardo Lagos / Concertación (PPD) / 2011: 338.
26. Juan Letelier / Concertación (PS) / 2011: 326–7.
27. Juan Antonio Coloma Correa / Alianza (UDI) / 2002: 208.
28. Fulvio Rossi / Concertación (PS) / 2011: 304.
29. David Sandoval / Alianza (UDI) / 2011: 478.
30. Alejandro Tomás Foxley Rioseco / Concertación (PDC) / 2002: 326.
31. Andrea Molina / Alianza (UDI) / 2011: 206.

32. Ximena Rincón / Concertación (PDC) / 2011: 322.
33. Francisco Bayo Veloso / Alianza (RN) / 2002: 60.

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