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A relational analysis of a public policy implementation tool: the Brazilian Single Registry for Social Programs

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Abstract

This article proposes a relational approach for the analysis of public policy implementation. This investigation examine the transactional dynamics of the main tool of social policy implementation in Brazil, the Singly Registry for Social Programs (Cadastro Único). The main investigation question of this research is to understand the level of policy integration that an implementation tool of this dimension and complexity can provoke within Brazilian social protection system. By means of social network analysis techniques and semi-structured interviews with key public managers, this investigation analyzed Cadastro Único in its interaction with several social programs that take part of this system.

Keywords: Single Registry, Brazil, public policy instrument, social network analysis, policy analysis

The recent Brazilian democratic period is characterized, among other aspects, by the expansion of the demand for services and public policies that can respond more effectively and efficiently to the increasingly diverse and complex needs of citizens. The democratic deficit generated by the dictatorship period, between the 60s, 70s and early 80s decades of the last century, in which individual freedoms and expression were shortened, led to the reorganization of society since the "reopening" of the economy. There is a resurgence of an intense social participation in the negotiating arenas, deliberative forums, the influences of specific groups, and the social pressures of the democratic game, which have paved the way for the growing demand for quality public services, specially, for a social assistance capable of dealing with the various vulnerabilities of the society. The expansion of services and public policies to meet these demands in social protection was

accompanied by the creation of a series of instruments for the implementation of public policies, such as benefits and exemptions from tariffs, regulations, and informational instruments.

It is in this context that we propose to analyse the Single Registry for Social Programs as an instrument that provides socioeconomic information of the Brazilian low-income families for various public policies, and its capacity to promote the integration of these policies that act to reduce the multiple causes of economic and social exclusion.

Based on the understanding that the choice of a certain implementation instrument of a public policy is not neutral, but instead produces specific effects and can structure the public policy considering its own logic (LASCOUMES and LE GALES, 2007;), this research sought to analyse the effects and dynamics of the practices of the Single Registry by the user programs of this instrument, especially regarding the spread and influence of its purpose to integrate social programs.

From the sociological point of view, as an instrument constructed from several factors of its own - historicity and reasons for its constitution, technological definitions, operational restrictions - as well as the objectives and reasons that led each program to adopt the Single Registry as a gateway, it is necessary to understand this complex system in operation. For this purpose, a social network analysis was used as a methodology to assess the transactional aspects of this "gateway" to the various programs and their effects both in the program's performance and in the way of access to these various initiatives by the citizen.

This article aims to contribute to the understanding of the following questions: 1) how do the social programs use the Single Registry? 2) what is the position occupied by

the Single Registry in the network of social programs that use it? and 3) does the Single Registry promote a systemic integration of its user programs?

The first session of this paper is a brief historical rescue of the Single Registry trajectory considering the literature that deals with the instruments of implementation of the public policies. The second session discusses the relational approach and the method used to address the research questions raised. The third session presents the main results of this research. In the last session, some considerations about the contributions of the presented approach.

Why the option for the Single Registry as an instrument for the integration instrument for programs?

In 2001, the Single Registry, through Decree nº 3.877, was created as an instrument to identify beneficiaries to be used by the federal government's targeted income transfer programs. Throughout its more than 15 years of existence, the Register has undergone a series of processes to expand its coverage and usages, as well as to qualify its data and processes. It can be said that the consolidation of the Single Registry as an instrument of public policies occurs with the implementation of the *Bolsa Família* Program (PBF), which unified the existing income transfer programs until 2003 (BARTHOLO et al., 2010).

In June 2007, Decree nº 6.135 becomes effective, expanding the role of the Single Registry as "an instrument for the identification and socioeconomic characterization of low-income Brazilian families, to be obligatorily used for the selection of beneficiaries and integration of social programs of the Federal Government focused on serving this public "(BRASIL, 2007).

Therefore, according to the current normative forecast, the Single Registry would become an instrument that would serve two main purposes: to provide information for identification and selection of beneficiaries by the social programs of the Federal Government and the integration of these programs.

Although a good part of the Single Registry's trajectory has been strongly oriented to support, make viable and scale to the PBF itself (VIEIRA, 2011 apud DIREITO et al, 2016), leading it to be widely recognized as the gateway to this program, the Single Registry has assumed in recent years, especially with the advent of the *Plano Brasil sem Miséria* (BSM) in 2011, a central role in the implementation of other dozens of federal programs aimed at the low-income population (LICIO et al, 2015, DIREITO et al, 2015).

The Single Registry is currently composed of a structure for the administrative registration of socioeconomic data of about 27 million low-income families and a decentralized registration and service structure with representation in all Brazilian municipalities. The operation of the Single Registry mobilizes more than 40,000 workers who "feed" their system with data that are used by the three federative entities[1] to define and implement their public policies (DIREITO et al, 2015; RIGHT et al, 2016).

According to Barros et al. (2009), given the almost census coverage of its target audience and the diversity of data in its base[2], the Single Registry also became a relevant instrument for analysis and diagnosis of living conditions and adequacy of social programs for the most vulnerable population.

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[1] Federal, state and municipal level.
2 Single registry concept of low-income families conceives families with 3 minimum salaries for the whole Family or ½ minimum salaries per capita. Its survey has dozens of items on different subjects such as family composition, income, housing, etc.

Currently, about three dozen federal social programs and a still unknown number of programs at the state and municipal level use both the data provided by the Single Registry as well as its implementation structure (DIREITO et al., 2016).

Analyzing the Single Registry from the point of view of the public action instrument is to understand the choices that were made to materialize the governmental action, not only the reasons that led to the adoption of this instrument, but the effects arising from it. Governmental instruments are not defined and are not only used by their effectiveness, other influences such as ideology, trajectory and even preferences of implementers have significance (OLLAIK & MEDEIROS, 2011). Likewise, as Lascoumes & Le Gales point out, the instruments "because they are not axiologically neutral or indifferent if they have cause, they also have consequences" (2007, pp. 2).

Although the majority of the studies produced on the Single Registry treat it only as a support to the most well-known policy of income transfer – the *Bolsa Família* Program – (LICIO, 2012; BICHIR, 2011; PEREIRA, 2016; FERNANDES, 2016), some recent studies have begun a more detailed analysis of the dimensions of this instrument for the identification and socioeconomic evaluation of poor families. The Single Registry was analyzed from different approaches, creating important contributions to this discussion such as the studies of a gradual construction of its institutionalism and the expansion of the use of the Single Registry over the years (BARROS et al., 2009; PAULA, 2013; DIREITO et al, 2016), the challenges of intersectoral and federative coordination of the user programs of the Single Registry (CASTRO et al., 2010; LICE et al., 2015, DIREITO et al., 2015), the data integration and management model adopted by Single Registry in comparison to other international models (BARCA & CHICHIR, 2014), among others.

We indorse that these works opened an important possibility of research that recognizes the Single Registry as an object of analysis by itself, allowing the understanding of its role and its uses by the set of social programs that use it. Following this path, we propose to advance the analysis of the implications of these uses for the specific purpose of integrating social programs. I.e., we propose to analyse the dynamics and levels of intersectoral interaction between this public policy instrument and the set of user programs.

The issue of the intersectoral capability as a driving force for the adoption of the Single Registry by social policies is relevant both because it is one of the normative principles of the Single Registry's own existence, as well as the type of policy that uses it. The user programs in their entirety are aimed at the most vulnerable population and seek to address some of these aspects of vulnerability (DIREITO et al, 2016a).

Considering the arguments of Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007) regarding the main types of effects of a public instrument[3], it can be assumed that the joint adoption of the Single Registry would allow all the user programs to start with, in principle, from the same understanding of the characterization of this population, as well as of a minimum delimitation of the field of its action. It would be relevant to analyze whether the use of the Single Registry by these dozens of social programs did in fact generate such effects.

Additionally, the need to integrate policies would be an essential condition for achieving the desired results: to fight and reduce poverty. For Bronzo (2007), it is quite evident that poverty reduction policies are part of the social problems that require intersectoral action, since the poverty vision is not restricted to the lack of resources / income, but is associated with the lack of education and adequate health care, as well as

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[3] Lascoumes e Le Gales (2007) point out three main effects of the implemetation tool: inercia effect, ab own representation of the specific subject and a specific problematization of the subject.

the difficulty of access to more effective conditions of inclusion in the productive cycles. Hence, it is a process that involves other aspects, political, cultural and social, that go well beyond the economic ones. Similarly, for Moreno (2007), social problems are 'cross-cutting issues', which know no territorial, functional or administrative boundaries, so that their causes and effects are interrelated or mutually determined.

The intersectoral capability expresses the need for a complete and integrated solution of complex problems. It is quite evident that, for this type of solution to occur, it is necessary to work together among government agencies. This is a prerequisite for intersectoral capability to exist. Cunill-Grau (2014) notes that to achieve policies with a high degree of integration, the formulation and execution of decisions must be made in conjunction with the government sectors involved. This integration must go beyond the existence of spaces and established bodies so that the various actors involved can negotiate and build common perspectives on the problems to be faced and / or reduce possible conflicts. It is necessary to go beyond and make changes in the organizational structures, constituting what the author calls "*mancomunidade*", with networking and sharing responsibilities, of human and budgetary resources, and finally actions.

With the purpose of understanding what has been the outcome of the use of the Single Registry by this network of user programs, especially which level of integration has been achieved, a methodological option was adopted that allows the mapping of the interactive context of the Single Registry and its user programs, pointing out both the particularities of the individual interactions and the simultaneous observation of the set of interactions.

Relational approach and methodology used

As Emirbayer (1997) proposes, the relational perspective recognizes the pre-eminence of context and processes in relation to stability and substance in understanding the nature and the formation of social reality. This approach contrasts the substantiality conception - adopted by players such as theories of rational choice and normative conformity - that understands social entities to be stable, pre-formed and constituted by inherent and immutable attributes. The relational approach, on the other hand, maintains that social entities are indeed the product of the relations in which they are immersed and therefore cannot be analyzed separately from their transactional contexts (Emirbayer, 1997). Thus, the relational approach redefines the unit of analysis that ceases to be the individual, its strategies or norms to return to the social relations. Namely, the starting point of the analysis of social action in the relational approach is the transactional context in which social entities are immersed.

The bases of the relational argument can be synthesized in three great assumptions, as described by Knoke and Yang (2008). The first of these is the understanding that, in general, social structural relations are more powerful resources for explaining social action than individual attributes, since it catches nuances and changes in diverse relational contexts that are not perceptible in the observation of specific attributes. The second assumption consists in the understanding that social networks affect perceptions, beliefs and actions through a variety of structural mechanisms constituted by social relations. Direct contacts and more intensive interactions, for example, place people in better informational and influential positions, while indirect contacts through intermediaries can expose themselves to new ideas and resources. And finally, the third assumption is that social relations must be dynamic processes, i.e., the action of social entities also transforms the relational structures that are thus in constant transformation.

The relational approach recognizes that exchanges between social entities affect the flow of material goods, ideas, information and power and thus determine the constitution of social situations (Marques, 2006). The universe of the relational field and the position of individuals, therefore, are not determined randomly. They are defined, by the limits and possibilities provided by previous trajectories (SILVA, 2007). In this way, "relationships and positions in networks constitute relational structures that constrain choices, give different access to goods and instruments of power, make certain alliances or conflicts more or less probable and influence the results of politics" (Marques, 2006, p. 19).

We believe that to understand the Single Registry as an articulating tool for various policies, it is crucial to understand its transactional context, which, in this analysis, means tracing the information flows and dynamics of data access and the way in which this data reaches the citizen so that he can be a beneficiary of the policies.

In this sense, the relational approach has the advantage of this study being placed in an intermediate analysis plan that allows the simultaneous observation of both actions and social structures (MARQUES, 2006). It allows the possibility to consider in the chain of transactions of the Single Registry, not only its immediate uses by the various social programs, but also the influence of the structures of this set of programs and that of the Single Registry itself, as well as the joint action of all these entities in the interaction product

Like other studies that adopt the relational perspective, this analysis used the social network analysis methodology, which searches for patterns of interaction between social entities. Based on the data collected through interviews with managers of each program, and with the UCINET software, socio-diagrams were elaborated to identify the data and

information exchange flows established between the managing organs of the federal programs that use the Single Registry and the data sources used for the management of the programs, whether they are the Single Registry or another administrative registry or, also, some specific information system.

From the mapping of these processes of information exchange, it was possible to visualize the connections between actors and, especially, between organizations that shaped and influenced the way of implementing these policies that were constituted from a constant flow of exchange of resources, ideas, Information and power (SCOTT, 1992; FREEMAN, 2002 apud MARQUES, 2006). The initial selection of the interviewees was based on the analysis of articles already elaborated on the operation of the Single Registry, particularly, the research conducted by Direito et al (2015; 2016), which raised the existence of almost 30 user programs of the Single Registry.

This survey obtained data from 17 of these 30 user programs. Altogether, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted between March 2016 and June of the same year, with 35 professionals, in two stages. The first round interviewed 29[4] managers of these 17 user programs, which are shown in bold in Annex 1.

Three additional interviews were conducted with the purpose of better identifying and understanding the articulations mentioned in the first round of interviews on *Brasil sem Miséria* Plan and on the monitoring of the conditions of the *Bolsa Família* Program[5].

The definition of the managers to be interviewed was made from the indication of which professionals usually had contact with the General Coordination of Support to the

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[4] Each manager could invite someone of his or her team. Some decided to give the interview alone and others decided to involve more people from the team.

[5] The Plano Brasil sem Miséria, launched by Decree 7.492, 2011, was mentioned in several interviews as a relevant actor for the articulation and integration of policies, including making mandatory the adoption of the Single Registry for monitoring these policies.

Integration of Actions. This unit, linked to the Directorate of the Single Registry of the National Secretariat of Citizenship Income of the Ministry of Social and Agrarian Development (MDSA), is to be the interface between the Registry and user programs, which means getting the demands of these related bodies for the Single Registry.

The Single Registry network: uses and interactional dynamics

This research identified, through the information collected in the interviews - three main purposes of the use of the information exchanged in the Single Registry network, namely: a) for planning; B) to grant the benefit; C) for control and audit.

The first type of use refers to the mapping of the demand or the potential public of the policy, in which bases such as those of the IBGE - General Census, Agricultural Census, PNAD - and, eventually, the Single Registry, appear recurrently. The second type deals with the information and data consulted, confronted and analyzed to identify the beneficiaries of the policy, as determined by the regulations related to each program. The third type refers to the forwarding of information made to the control bodies, such as TCU and CGU, as well as other administrative instances.

Considering the interest of this research in analyzing the flow of information necessary for the implementation of the Single Registry's user programs, it was decided to map only the flow of the second set of information, i.e., the information used for the selection of the beneficiaries. The first type of use is part of the planning, but there is no way to identify the extent to which it influenced the practice; the latter, if mapped in the socio-diagram, would present a centrality that would not correspond to its importance for the policy implementation process, since it occurs almost exclusively for auditing and checking compliance with established rules.

Hence, each of the actors (nodes) mentioned in the interviews was assigned different colors and shapes, to identify the different types of actors inserted in the network, as detailed in Table 1 below:

Table 1 – Type of actors (nods) characterised in the socio-diagrams

Type of Actor	Definition
Single Registry	Structure of the Single Registry, including federal systems, databases, and federal management (DECAU)
Managing body	User programs of the Single Registry, including federal executive bodies, which may be ministries, specific secretariats, or municipalities
System	Computerized systems and administrative records of the federal government that are part of the flow of information for implementation
Paying/financing agent	Agents responsible for the "tip" of the processes when there are monetary or financing benefits
Private decentralized executor	Civil society organizations, private agents, concessionaires and licensees of public services or private companies that provide services or grant benefits of the user programs. End of the process, responsible for the "delivery" to the citizen

Public decentralized executor	Decentralized public agencies that are part of the flow of information for the implementation of user programs, especially municipal management of social assistance and housing
Partner bodies	Partner bodies in the monitoring, articulation, and monitoring, or even execution, of user programs

Source: our own information

Likewise, attributes were given to the links of the socio-diagram. In this case, it was decided to highlight the different forms of access that the user programs interact with the data of the Single Registry, as Table 2 below. These attributes were established only for the first sequence of information, i.e., links of the actors that maintain direct contact with the Single Registry (one degree of distance).

Table 2 - Access to the Single Registry

| Name	Description
Integrated	Information systems with relative integration with the Single Registry, either through view, Webservice or direct and automated access to the database of the Single Registry
Full base extraction	Programs that receive the extraction of the national base of the Single Registry
Merging	User programs, instead of accessing the complete base, request the merging with previous information that holds

	beneficiaries, e.g. people residing in an environmental protection area
CECAD/V7	Access to the Single Registry database through the functionalities of the Single Registry System or the Query, Selection, and Extraction System of the *CadÚnico* (CECAD)

Source: our own information

From the data collected in the interviews, two socio-diagrams were developed, which present two measures of centrality. While Socio-diagram A represents the out-degree, i.e., the set of links that leave the actors, Socio-diagram B represents the in-degree, links that reach the actors. Annex 1 shows the signification of each of the entities represented in the socio-diagrams. This was relevant since it allowed us to understand the dynamics of the various actors, revealing the points of articulation of several policies, or being the ones that receive and / or pass on information beyond the data of the Single Registry.

The boundaries of the two socio-diagrams are the actors who provided the service and had direct contact with the public; the interlocution between the State and the citizen was not mapped.

Socio-diagram A – Single Registry Network – Out-Degree
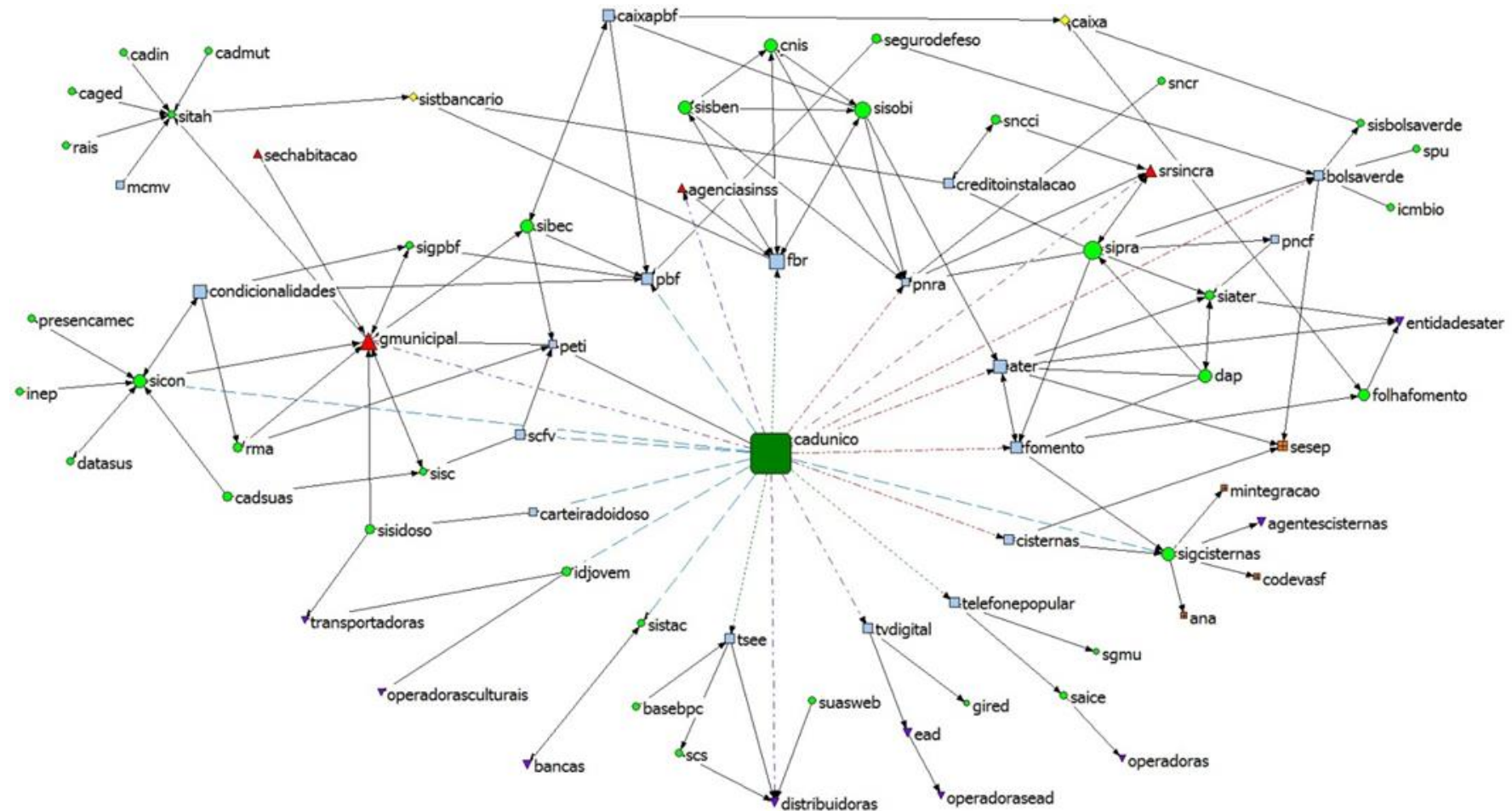
TYPE OF NOD

- 🟩 Single Registry
- 🟦 User Program
- 🟢 System or base
- 🔶 Financing agend
- 🔻 Private desc. executor
- 🔺 Public desc. executor
- 🟧 Partner body

ACCESS FORM

- ——— General
- —··—··— Merging
- —·—·— CECAD/V7
- ······ Base extraction
- — — — Integrated

Socio-diagram out-degree

The socio-diagram A - out-degree - shows the sum of the number of connections that start from one node of the network to other nodes. As expected, in the analysed information network, the Single Registry is the node with the highest out-degree (21), being the most influential node in the network.

It is quite evident that the Single Registry is primarily related with direct or indirect administration organ. Of the 21 nodes that are directly related to the Single Registry – i.e. with one distance degree (only one link) - only two **are not** directly linked to the federal public management, one (municipal) represents the municipal public administration and the other (distributors) represents the electricity distributors that have authorization to directly access the Single Registry database to grant the Social Electricity Tariff (TSEE) benefit. The other 13 nodes are directly related to the central management of the programs, four computerized systems that access the data of the Registry for benefit concession (sigcisternas, sistac, idjovem, sicon) and are maintained and managed by the managing bodies. And two other nodes (srsincra and agencies) that represent decentralized management units of federal agencies, in this case the INCRA Regional Offices and the Social Security Agencies.

From the second sphere of the socio-diagram - i.e., the links established with the Registry through an intermediary actor - it is possible to identify a greater presence of computerized systems for data processing. These systems are present after the managing body, since most of the Registry information goes through these instances for then later being inserted in other proprietary system that will often connect with other systems or databases. This may demonstrate some difficulty of the federal government in working with technological resources, such as Webservice, or other technical solutions that allow

direct connection between systems. It is observed that only six links (dashed line in blue), of the 21 links that leave the Single Registry, illustrate this type of integrated connection between the system and the Single Registry (sigcisterna, sistac, idjovem, scfv, sic and PBF). It is worth noting that of these six systems, only one (idjovem) is not configured as a program operated by the Ministry of Social and Agrarian Development itself.

As mentioned before, the interviews sought to identify the information flows to the actor who directly served the citizen. As discussed, there are a multiplicity of organizations, mostly far from direct federal administration, that directly serve the citizen. There are private companies, e.g., electricity distributors, telephony companies, rural technical assistance companies, as well as federal banks, in the case of *Caixa* (caixapbf, cashier) and *Banco do Brasil* or other banking institutions (systbank). It is quite clear that there is a lack of structures whose objective is to serve the citizens in relation to the complexities of each of these policies; hence, the provision to the population can become precarious. As an example, if we take the banking system that performs payment processes, it does not have the capability to provide information about the programs; sometimes they are even unaware to which entity the citizen should refer to when the benefit has not been authorized.

As previously mentioned, the choice and use of a tool with the characteristics of the Single Registry cannot be considered as meaningless. Beyond of the cost reduction factor – a single registration effort for several programs – the socio-diagram A demonstrate the "distance / impersonality" that the central management of the programs have in relation to the beneficiary public. Equally, there is a relative loss of power of program "owners", which could possibly be offset by a more effective, less burdensome management that would allow greater integration.

Socio-diagram B – Single Registry Network – *In-degree*
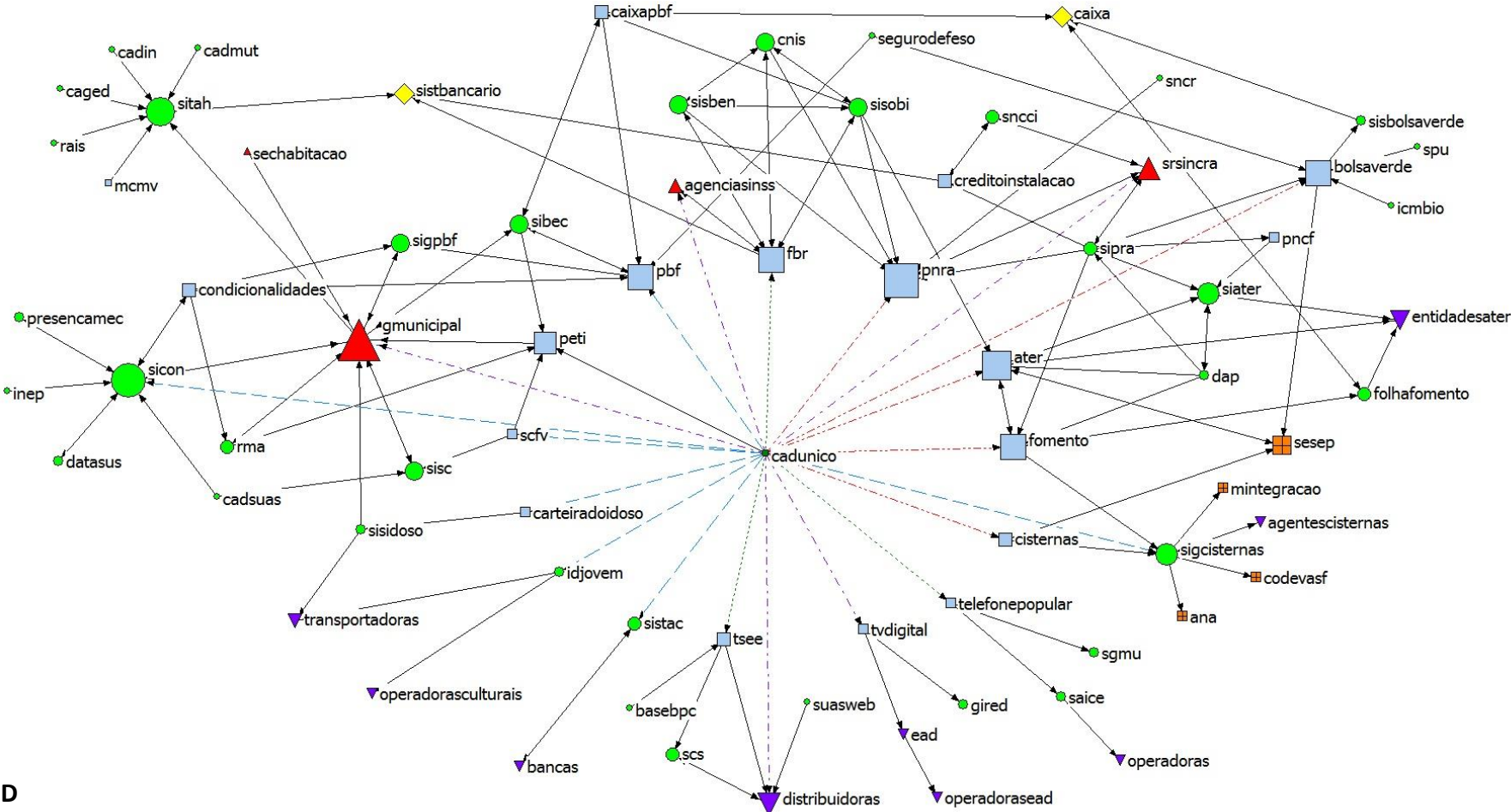
TYPE OF NOD

- 🟩 Single Registry
- 🟦 User Program
- 🟢 System or base
- 🔶 Financing agend
- 🔻 Private desc. executor
- 🔺 Public desc. executor
- 🟧 Partner body

ACCESS FORM

——— General
—··—··— Merging
—·—·— CECAD/V7
········ Base extraction
— — — Integrated

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Socio-diagram in-degree

Socio-diagram B, in turn, brings the measure of in-degree centrality, which portrays the actors who receive more connections. This perspective reveals that the Single Registry loses its influence. There is virtually no flow of information to it, meaning that other programs do not feed it. From the management point of view, it is then shielded from the influence or alteration of its information by the other actors in the network – since only the municipal management makes changes in the database to guarantee the integrity of the data –; on the other hand, it means that the beneficiary of programs is further away from their own information. For example, if a candidate for the Electricity Tariff (TSEE), when looking for the electric company of his state, identify some incorrect information in the Registry, will need to go to the municipal administration of the Register for the correction, implying in displacement costs, time, etc. Additionally, municipal administrations may not be ready to serve certain audiences. For example, in one of the interviews it was reported that the population perceived "fear and prejudice" by the local management to attend people from the settlements or camps in struggle for land. There was only a service improvement when INCRA – the agrarian reform policy management body – began to intermediate the contact.

Another relevant information that this socio-diagram brings is the prominence of the "gmunicipal" actor. This node represents the Municipal Management of social assistance, which are managed by municipalities and provide information and services, especially social assistance. The analysis of the socio-diagram corroborates the evidence of the expected role of municipalities in the Brazilian federal pact, as a point of direct contact with the citizen, reinforcing the idea that "municipalities have thus become the fundamental managers of social policies in Brazil" (LINHARES et al, 2012, p.20). Thus,

they are the "deliverers" of the services and are involved, as an example, from the emission of the Elderly Portfolio to the monitoring of families in breach of the Bolsa Familia requirements, or the suggestion of beneficiary families for other policies, such as the "*Minha Casa Minha Vida*" Program – Track I, among several other actions.

Interactive dynamics in the Single Registry Network

Observing the two socio-diagrams, it is possible to identify three main relational forms established among the actors of the Single Registry network, which are described in Table 3 below:

Table 3 - Types of interaction in the implementation:

Group A (Simple interactions)	Group B (Intermediate)	Group C (Complex interactions)
Electricity Social Tariff (TSEE)	SICON – Requirement System of PBF	Fomento
Digital TV	SITAH – Manager System of the *Minha Casa Minha Vida* Program	Rural Technical Assistance (ATER)
Popular Telephony		Programa Nacional de Reforma Agrária (PNRA)
Exemption on Public Fee for Public Examinations		Installation Credit
Youth ID		Bolsa Verde
Elderly Portfolio		*Bolsa Família* Program
		Peti – Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil

Source: our own information

Group A: set of public policies that have in the Single Registry its main source of information and that practically does not maintain any other interface with other

systems / programs. Therefore, they are lines starting from the Registry to the edge of the socio-diagram. In this group, there are programs to exempt or reduce fares, including Youth ID and the Elderly Portfolio - identification of young and old from poor families, respectively - that can have exemption or reduction of tickets for cultural events or interstate transportation. It is not, however, an integrated relationship, since the interaction between these programs occurs only with the Single Registry and in one way, i.e. the Registry providing information to the programs, but without the capability for integration of data or actions.

Group B: the information that leaves the Registry is "loaded" in other merging information systems, aiming to validate the information of the Registry with the data from other bases for the selection of beneficiaries. However, they have almost no interface with other policies. One important fact of this category is the centrality of computerized systems such as SITAH – "*Minha Casa Minha Vida*" Program (PMCMV) – and SICON, responsible for monitoring the health and education requirements of the *Bolsa Família* Program (PBF) and receiving information from all the agencies responsible for these policies. It´s worth noticing that in socio-diagram A, SITAH receives several data from several sources, but presents only one output. SICON, also receives data from several nodes, but is also expressive in providing information, since it is the articulator of these bases with the social care network that accompanies the situations of vulnerability of the families of the *Bolsa Família* Program (PBF).

Group C: the third set of links, which can be observed on the right side of both socio-diagrams A and B, presents policies with more articulation between the managing bodies. Attention must be made to the "entanglement" formed by the nodes: pnra, ater, fomento, creditoinstalacao, cisternas and bolsaverde. These are policies that target especially to the rural area. Other "tangles" can also be observed as those around the PETI

and PBF, which are policies directly related to social assistance policy and therefore included in the systems that integrate this whole, such as sisc, rma and sibec.

The research demonstrated that a decisive factor for the increase in the interaction of the programs of Group C was the growing influence of the "*Plano sem Miséria"* (No Misery Plan). According to the interview with one of the main articulators of BSM, for the three axes that were defined for BSM – income guarantee, access to services and productive inclusion (urban and rural) – intersectoral and integration of action was clearly an intention, mainly for the axes of rural productive inclusion and access to services. Through methodologies of situation rooms, the Extraordinary Secretariat for Overcoming Extreme Poverty (SESEP), an agency of the then MDS responsible for BSM, worked on the process of integrating policies geared to these axes, with the objective of "integrating the teams to work together. " Likewise, the idea of using the Single Registry came "from always". As stated in the interview by a member of SESEP, "*I think there was a great lack of knowledge about the Registry. I think BSM helped the other programs to understand what the Registry was for (sic) and how it could help*."

Although the socio-diagrams did not demonstrate a high degree of "betweenness", interviews with managers of the programs involved in the rural "tangle" allow us to confirm that BSM acted as a broker for this set of programs.

It is important to note the factors that led BSM to achieve this articulator condition.

"BSM's success factors have two basic pillars: the sponsorship of the high-level government and its individual budget. The agenda of overcoming poverty achieved, in 2011, budgetary expansion. We created programs, rubrics, etc. Thus, the other ministries had part of their resources allocated to anti-poverty policies

and were stamped as 'BSM' and these were items that practically did not suffer contingency. "(SESEP interview).

Consequently, the tangle of rural programs - analysed above – did not arise naturally / spontaneously, but, as the literature points out, it was a consequence of the integrated action of several actors with this objective, with the sponsorship of the high management bodies, favourable institutional conditions, such as the creation of an articulating body and its own budgetary resources for the implementation of BSM.

The reports of some interviewees also allowed us to conclude that, both the articulating performance of the BSM leveraged the adoption of the Single Registry by several programs, as well as the existence of an informational instrument such as the Single Registry, which is originated from common concepts, processes and practices previously recognized by the programs, was also an essential resource to guarantee this articulating function. (SESEP Interview, ATER / Fomento Interview, BSM Rural Interview).

Final considerations

This study demonstrates that the Single Registry is in fact a complex instrument, created with the objective of being used by several programs and, therefore will be constantly demanded to adapt itself to the most diverse dynamics of implementation of these programs, and simultaneously imposing changes to the policies that use it within their logic. As to its role in the network analysed, this study concludes that the Single Registry presents a significant centrality as providing data for several public policies. In this sense, it can also be said that its *modo operandis*, as well as its "rules of use", influence the implementation of such policies. As one interviewee noted, "the advantages of using the Single Registry are also the disadvantages. Since the operation of the program

is linked to the dynamics and forms of operation of this instrument "(Interview SISTAC). Likewise, a known example in previous studies (LICIO et al., 2015, DIREITO et al., 2016) and observed in other interviews would be the influence of the use of concepts defined by the Single Registry as "family" and "Income calculation" in the implementation of the programs that use it. These are questions that point to the analysis of Lascaumes and Les Galès (2012), in which the implementation tools as types of institutions, produce effects on the public policies that adopt it, creating opportunities and constraints.

Furthermore, in addition to the political agenda around the fight against poverty, it must be recognized that the operational benefits and structural connections built and offered by the Single Registry, also to its own mandatory use, have made possible in recent years a significant expansion of programs focused on the pillar of the non-contributory and selective policies directed at the families identified by the Registry.

It has also been mentioned in interviews, that some programs begin to identify the Single Registry as an instrument for providing information, not only for the selection of beneficiaries, but also for evaluation and monitoring of its programs, perceiving changes in lives of the families benefited by the programs, for example.

In contrast, the research demonstrated the nearly null or very low "prestige" – as the social network analysis studies (KNOKE and YANG, 2008) – of the Single Registry as the receiver of information formed by user programs. Although it is in an advantageous position to distribute information, user programs do not recognize the Single Registry as a strategic actor for data integration - capable of feeding back the network with integrated information and actions from the various. There is little evidence in the interviews that the use of Single Registry has been able to articulate the teams and initiatives to, for

example, conduct a diagnosis of the whole universe of actions in the social area, redirect courses, optimize resources and maximize results.

In fact, the research demonstrated that, in relation to the data, there is a low integration of the numerous systems acknowledged, representing duplication of effort and wastage of resources for the maintenance of bases and systems that could be unified. And as for the integration of actions, evidences of integration and intersectoral actions were observed in fact in few areas of the network. As mentioned in the analysis of the socio-diagrams, they would basically be the areas of entanglement around the Bolsa Família Program and the *Brasil Sem Miséria* Program.

We can argue that these two cases demonstrate that it is not enough to create an implementation instrument with a normative forecast of program integration, other elements are essential for intersectoral action and integration to take place. The historical context, the strong political support given in the two cases of the *Brasil Sem Miséria* Program and the PBF, as well as the construction of institutional and relational resources, were fundamental conditions for integration and coordination. In general, it is observed that generic articulations were established during the twelve years of existence of the Single Registry. However, only a few of these articulations have in fact become integrated policies or to some extent intersectoral policies.

This work intended to contribute to analyse the usage of the Single Registry instrument and the level of interaction and integration that its use provides in the universe of social programs that exploit it. It also envisioned to add a relational approach to the public policy implementation studies. We recognize that much is still to be explored in these two dimensions and, therefore, we foresee several possibilities of future work in which we mention three lines of analysis in these final considerations. Faced with the typical variations of the network and the recent political-institutional changes, it would

be interesting to examine this same network in a future time. We believe that it will be possible to test some hypotheses about the conditions of the program integration and policy intersectoral items. A second line of analysis would be to broaden the types of interactions to be examined, for example, the relationship between medium-sized bureaucracies in the universe of policy implementation, or the dimension of the relationship between State and citizen, i.e., to go beyond the limit given by this research and seek to understand other interactions such as inter-bureaucratic networks and between beneficiaries and service providers. Finally, the fact that the reduced production based on the relational approach is significant, does not allow the construction of a normative framework of greater density that would enable the identification of causalities within the studied phenomena. To face this challenge, it is suggested to apply the relational approach and methodology of social network analysis to other typically interactional objects beyond the Single Registry.

ANNEX 1

Abbreviation	Name	Type of node
agenciasinss	Gerências Executivas do INSS e Agências da Previdência Social (APS)	Public decentralized executor
agentescisternas	Entidades executoras do Programa Cisternas	Private decentralized executor
ana	Agência Nacional de Águas (ANA)	Partner agency
ater	**Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural - Brasil Sem Miséria**	**User program**
bancas	Instituições executoras de concursos públicos	Private decentralized executor
basebpc	Base de beneficiários do Benefício de Prestação Continuada (BPC)	System or database
bolsaverde	**Programa Bolsa Verde**	**programa usuário**
cadin	Cadastro Informativo de créditos não quitados do setor público federal (Cadin)	System or database
cadmut	Cadastro Nacional de Mutuários (CADMUT)	System or database
cadsuas	Sistema de Cadastro do SUAS (CadSUAS)	System or database
cadunico	Cadastro Único	Single Registry
caged	Cadastro Geral de Empregados e Desempregados (CAGED)	System or database
caixa	Caixa Econômica Federal	Financial instute
caixapbf	Gerência Nacional de Operações do Programa Bolsa Família – Caixa	User program
carteiradoidoso	**Programa Carteira do Idoso**	User program
cisternas	**Programa Cisternas**	User program
cnis	Cadastro Nacional de Informações Sociais (CNIS)	System or database
codevasf	Companhia de Desenvolvimento dos Vales do São Francisco e do Parnaíba (Codevasf)	Partner agency
condicionalidades	**Departamento de Condicionalidades (Senarc, MDS)**	**User program**
creditoinstalacao	**Créditos de Instalação do PNRA**	**User program**
dap	Declaração de Aptidão ao Pronaf	System or database

datasus	Departamento de Informática do Sistema Único de Saúde (DATASUS)	System or database
distribuidoras	Distribuidoras de energia elétrica	Private decentralized executor
ead	Empresa Administradora da Digitalização (EAD)	Private decentralized executor
entidadesater	Entidades de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural	Private decentralized executor
fbr	**Facultativo de Baixa Renda**	**User program**
folhafomento	Folha de pagamento do Programa de Fomento	System or database
fomento	**Programa de Fomento às Atividades Produtivas Rurais**	**User program**
gired	Grupo de Implantação do Processo de Redistribuição e Digitalização de Canais de TV e RTV (Gired)	System or database
gmunicipal	Gestão municipal da assitência social	Public decentralized executor
icmbio	Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade (ICMBio)	System or database
idjovem	Programa Identidade Jovem (IDJovem)	System or database
inep	Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira (INEP)	System or database
mcmv	**Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida**	**User program**
mintegracao	Ministério da Integração Nacional	Partner agency
operadoras	Operadoras de telefonia	Private decentralized executor
operadorasculturais	Operadoras culturais	Private decentralized executor
operadorasead	Operadoras da Empresa Administradora da Digitalização (EAD)	Private decentralized executor
pbf	**Programa Bolsa Família**	**User program**
peti	**Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil (Peti)**	**User program**
pncf	**Programa Nacional do Crédito Fundiário (PNCF)**	**User program**
pnra	**Programa Nacional de Reforma Agrária (PNRA)**	**User program**
presencamec	Sistema de Acompanhamento da Frequência Escolar do Programa Bolsa Família (Sistema Presença)	System or database
rais	Relação Anual de Informações Sociais (RAIS)	System or database

rma	Registro Mensal de Atendimentos (RMA)	System or database
saice	Sistema do Acesso Individual Classe Especial (SAICE)	System or database
scfv	**Serviço de Convivência e Fortalecimento de Vínculos (SCFV)**	**User program**
scs	Sistema de Controle de Subvenções (SCS)	System or database
sechabitacao	Secretarias municipais de habitação	Public decentralized executor
segurodefeso	Seguro-Defeso	System or database
sesep	Secretaria Extraordinária de Superação da Extrema Pobreza (SESEP)	Partner agency
sgmu	Sistema de Gestão de Metas de Universalização (SGMU)	System or database
siater	Sistema Informatizado de ATER (SIATER)	System or database
sibec	Sistema de Benefícios do Cidadão (SIBEC)	System or database
sicon	Sistema de Condicionalidades do Programa Bolsa Família (SICON)	System or database
sigcisternas	Sistema de Informações Gerenciais do Programa Cisternas (SIG Cisternas)	System or database
sigpbf	Sistema de Gestão do Programa Bolsa Família (SIGPBF)	System or database
sipra	Sistema de Informações de Projetos de Reforma Agrária (Sipra)	System or database
sisben	Sistema Único de Informações de Benefícios (SISBEN)	System or database
sisbolsaverde	Sistema do Programa Bolsa Verde	System or database
sisc	Sistema de Informações do Serviço de Convivência e Fortalecimento de Vínculos (SISC)	System or database
sisidoso	Sistema Carteira do Idoso	System or database
sisobi	Sistema de Controle de Óbitos (SISOBI)	System or database
sistac	Sistema de Isenção de Taxa de Concurso (SISTAC)	System or database
sistbancario	Sistema bancário	Financial agency
sitah	Sistema de Tratamento de Arquivos Habitacionais da Caixa Econômica Federal (SITAH)	System or database

sncci	Sistema Nacional de Cobrança de Créditos de Instalação (SNCCI)	System or database
sncr	Sistema Nacional de Cadastro Rural (SNCR)	System or database
spu	Secretaria do Patrimônio da União (SPU)	System or database
srsincra	Superintendências Regionais do INCRA	Public decentralized executor
suasweb	Sistema de Informação do Sistema Único de Assistência Social (SuasWeb)	System or database
telefonepopular	**Telefone Popular - Acesso Individual Classe Especial**	**User program**
transportadoras	Empresas de transporte interestadual	Public decentralized executor
tsee	**Tarifa Social de Energia Elétrica**	**User program**
tvdigital	**Distribuição de TV Digital**	**User program**

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