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Governance of intersectoral policies with the population:
Illusions and Reality

Interpreting cross-cutting policy dynamics in contemporary Brazil –
dialogic paths and new dilemmas

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Summary

Producing public policies is a matter not only of technical knowledge and public interest, but also of possibilities of governance agreements among political, societal, bureaucratic, scientific and economic actors – especially in complex themes. In contemporary Brazil, the uncertainty of political and economic crisis add even more value to policy implementation concertation. This paper recognizes the challenges of multidimensional policies to achieve effectiveness in solving wicked problems. To present cross-cutting public action processes in a country in the global south, we reviewed Brazilian graduate researches regarding cross-cutting and intersectoral policies. Afterwards, we collated their results and main theoretical arguments to approaches from the political sociology of public action and sociology of science. The derived conceptual framework allowed us to investigate some emblematic initiatives such as the instrumentation that sets the already known Bolsa Família conditional cash-transfer programme, observing its organizational strategies and devices; and also the complex structure and dynamics of a classic participatory hybrid forum in Brazil, the National Health Council. The field research was based on interpreting observations, interviews and documents. The articulation between literature and field research leaded to the necessity of pointing out the following elements:
- multidimensional/interseccional problems, considering experiences, senses, material, sciences, political and cultural aspects;
- paths/interaction dynamics, observing aspects on operation/management, interaction, coordination, decentralization, control;
- & results, taking into account change and innovation, stabilization, normative instruments and effects.
The research, considering these elements, leaded to the recognition that analysis of the transversal public actions, must observe four axes (practices, instruments, meanings and contexts) and four associated dimensions (operative, normative, experiential and power).

This is a first proposal of an analytical framework for cross-cutting public action, to be further improved.

Keywords: cross-cutting policies, public action, instrumentation of public action, interaction dynamics

Introduction

Public policies aim to transform structures and dynamics of society, in aspects considered economically, environmentally, politically, historically, socially or culturally problematic. Although commonly associated with State action, due to the economic system and to democratic deepening, the State became one actor in a heterogenous diversity competing for policy formulation and implementation. Public policy can be better understood from their

dynamics, observing problems, processes and results, subjected to the actions of different actors.

Democratizing processes are installed in state structure and social dynamics through socio-state interfaces with different degrees of institutionality and legitimacy. Public action, understood as the interaction dynamics among heterogeneous actors for the achievement of public policies, gains importance by allowing new or extended understandings about social problems, their solvency and their results. In this sense, it is specially relevant to look at the complex problems faced by contemporary societies whose characterization transcends disciplinary and sectoral boundaries. Migrations are examples of multidimensional problems that, in addition to presenting an inherent complexity, still have relations between them enhancing both their harmful social effects and the difficulty of promoting solutions. In this context, actors end up converging to the state, seeking to influence the debate and to generate reified solutions through public policies.

 In Brazil, the autocratic inheritance from military dictatorship (1964-1985) endowed the state with a rigid and centralized structure with low social participation. The necessary permeability to a democratic state was sought by social movements and was found with the Federal Constitution of 1988, which represents a central landmark to the processes of redemocratization and the entry of previously neglected and subordinated actors into the public (and political!) arena. The change of the state structure, for example, through the creation of advisory and deliberative councils and conferences on public policies, platforms for popular participation and programs such as participatory budgeting have broadened the possibilities of participation of a very heterogeneous set of actors that end up by changing the relational dynamics and making the borders between state, society and market more fluid and permeable.

In this context, Brazilian population and their public servants sought to tackle structural problems through new interactive dynamics that would make public policies more effective. However, the complexity and multidimensionality of the problems faced do not find an echo in the sectoralized state structure that selectively apprehends problems, with strongly partial visions of reality.

In this paper, we present initially the characterization of cross-cutting policies mobilized in the literature in the country, followed by the empirical cases discussion and the new theoretical-empirical contributions proposed for the understanding of cross-cutting (or transversal) public action. The empirical cases observe how Brazilian public actions and

structures have tried to face complex interseccional problems regarding *(a)* the inequality expressed through the large contingent of poor and extremely poor in the country and *(b)* the processes of health production and promotion.

To carry out this debate, we have investigated the implementation dynamics of the Bolsa Família Program, a federal conditional income transfer program, and the National Health Council, a formal participatory hybrid forum for debate and deliberation on health policies. The realization of the study during 2015-2017, an uncertain period for the country due to the federal government representative crisis, allowed us to perceive sociopolitical aspects that, otherwise, would not be explicit. Finally, we present an analytical framework for transversal public action, considering four axis (*practices, meaning, context and instruments*) and dimensions in motion (*power, experiential, operational, normative*), emergent from the collation between field research and less conventional approaches for policy multisectoral linkages.

Methods

This proposal derives from an ongoing research agenda from the Public Action for Democratic Development Research Lab (*Laboratório de Ação Pública para o Desenvolvimento Democrático - LAP2D*)[1], an initiative coordinated by the authors at the University of Brasília. In this specific endeavor, our proposal is to recover our applied and authoral researches, highlighting our main discoveries and reinscribing conceptual insights to present an analytical framework for cross-cutting public action.

The field research supporting this paper was held between 2015 and 2017, considering meetings observations, interviews, literature and documental review. For *Bolsa Família,* we have systematized institutional foundational documents and reviewed the dense literature available on the policy, regarding complex problems and cross-cutting public action. For the National Health Council, we have systematized institutional foundational documents, minutes, regulations (Brasil, CNS, 2008, 2010, 2013) and resolutions to investigate multisectoral articulation and public action instruments production. We have also observed meetings,

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[1] The Lab focuses, as one of its research lines, on cross-cutting and participatory public action. The group engages public policy researchers with interdisciplinary trajectoire, as well as students of public policy management, administration and development, society and international cooperation. First milestones of this agenda were developed in a PhD thesis, ten final graduation works, five scientific initiation projects, three articles and two book chapters, in which we have figured as supervisors or authors.

reviewed literature on the forum and conducted thirty-four structured interviews[2] with councillors, also regarding complex problems and cross-cutting public action.

With Lascoumes and Le Galès (2004), we treat the regulatory documents analyzed as public action instruments, which are: "simultaneously social and technical devices, which organize specific social relations between the state and those to whom it turns, according to the representations and senses that it carries". The data collected allowed interpreting the instrumentation: the choice and arrangement of instruments and interactional dynamics that guide public action (Halpern, Lascoumes, Le Galès, 2014).

The research is qualitative and uses multiple sources of specific contexts in which the chosen interactional processes were verified. We express dense descriptions that we hope will be fruitful enough to understand values and beliefs of the researched universes, as well as patterns of relationships - producing a knowledge that questions precepts because of the articulated construction with the research interlocutors, connecting theories to descriptive interpretations (as would suggest Geertz, 1989). The presence observation was an element among a set of sources and techniques worthy of attention, considering the language articulated in written texts and interviews.

In particular, the consideration of documents as central artifacts is inspired by the work of Riles (2006), who takes the documents as core research elements, because they materialize practical knowledge and convey convergences between cultural, technical, creative, scientific and power aspects. And here too, the written documents are very relevant for communicating (in the minutes, reports and transcripts of council plenary meetings, and policy institutional documents), both the data of the interactional practices as well as the instruments of public action of the instances. We add that, because of this focus on instruments, referentials and interactions, this study investigates a language shared by the researched field, a logic of action.

Transversal (or cross-cutting) public policy management: conceptual remarks

The cross-cutting policies has been studied through different perspectives: coordination of specific policies (Graf, 2005), concept and organizational instrument (Serra, 2005), professionals role (Costa, 2010), interministerial articulations with common objectives (Reinach, 2013, Papa, 2012), articulation between federative entities (Quinhões, Fava, 2010), management instruments (Lúcio, Daroit, Freitas, 2017), dynamic of articulation

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[2] Considering 34 national health councillors interviewed (18 civil society representatives, 12 workers from the Unified Health System, 03 governmental representatives, 01 market representative).

of knowledge and experiences for the production of administrative intelligence (Brugué, Canal, Paya, 2015), and coordinated action between state and society sectors (Andrade, 2006; Junqueira, Inojosa, Komatsu, 1997) and referentials and tactics to make feasible a state project carried out by the actors (Cruz, Daroit, 2017b). Such studies encompass the definition of complex problems and organizational processes to solve them.

In general, the Brazilian studies on intersectorality and transversality are very similar and argue about a necessary rupture with the Cartesian logic of disciplinary organization of knowledge that would be transposed to public management practice (Graf, 2005; Rezende, 2013, Costa, 2010; Junqueira, Inojosa, Komatsu, 1997). In general, these academic discourses have a strong normative component, that adds the transversal to the the complexity of the population's problem recognition, aiming at generating state resolutions to these questions. The intentions of these authors are combined with other projects such as democratizing, unbureaucratizing and dehierarchising meanings, as if they were inseparable from the project of articulation between public administration sectors. In these texts, the state and its sectoral institutions present themselves as if they were naturally existent and structurally capable of assuming porosities at new lines of work- preferably horizontal. The texts mix discourses of international institutions, norms, left-hand discourses, articles and theses, forging a tone of univocity for recipes of paths (currently, communicational and decentralized) for "good management".

The distinct approaches to transversality (or cross-cutting) public policy management and the attributes that characterize the understanding about transversality found in the literature (articles, dissertations and theses) are systematized below.

Table 1. *Conventional attributes for cross-cutting public policy in management and public policy studies*

Expression	Most common definition
Intersectoral articulation	Purpose and / or strategy that recognizes the state-based sectoral conformation and suggests interactional vectors between the different thematic areas.
Interdepartamental articulation	Purpose and / or strategy that recognizes internal departmental conformation to the state thematic sectors and suggests interactional vectors between the different instances.

Federative coordination	Purpose and / or strategy that recognizes the state federative conformation and suggests interactional vectors between the state, district, municipal and national spheres.
Overcoming fragmentation	Comprehensive sense of organizational restructuring of the state, which supposes that the sectoral conformation, recognizes the complexity of public issues and intents to constitute a plurality of interactional links.
Policy coordination	Action strategy of that articulates, around specific objectives, a plurality of resources and actors.
Mainstreaming	Discourse strengthening strategy concerning a specific theme, through the insistent diffusion to a plurality of institutions, spheres of power and society.
Issue focus	Convergence of actions strategy in favor of a specific thematic guideline.
Common goal	Shared purpose attracting actors and resources. Aggregating sense, which generally requires the commitment of high management positions..
Political will	Inclination for the effectiveness of the public action, generally required of the holders of senior management positions in the state to make feasible purposes and action strategies .
Network	Organizational model generally conformed by actors of institutional origins and diverse hierarchical positions, acting together in diffused and/or cooperative processes.
Cooperation	Organizational strategy / model guided by horizontal processes, in logics of solidarity (rather than competitive or self-interested).

Source: Cruz, Daroit, 2017a based on Graf, 2005; Rezende, 2013, Costa, 2010; Junqueira, Inojosa, Komatsu, 1997; Brugué, Canal, Paya, 2015; Reinach, 2013, Papa, 2012; Serra, 2005.

The literature review shows us pathways to possibilities of interpreting (and the academic incentive to) the articulation between different knowledge and sectors for solving complex public problems. However, the situational character, the tactics of government, the distinct meanings and the practices operated for the production of cross-cutting public policies dynamics are not highlighted.

Considering also the contributions of the sociology of science that are useful for reflection but do not refer directly to intersectoriality, transversality or organizational studies(Callon, Lascoumes, Barthe, 2009;), we observe qualitative processes in progress in *Bolsa Família* and the National Health Council (CNS) and share descriptions and insights that have led to a analysis proposal framework for the transversal dynamics of public action.

Case studies

Bolsa Família Programme

In 2004, the Bolsa Família Program (PBF) was created under the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger - MDS (current Ministry of Citizenship), under the government of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva. The PBF was maintained by Dilma Rousseff and Jair Bolsonaro and corresponds to a great coverage social program in Brazil. The Bolsa Família Program, in its creation, was oriented towards two objectives: the reduction of poverty and the interruption of its intergenerational cycle (Kerstenetzky, 2009). The PBF has unified several federal income transfer programs, with a multisectoral approach, since it involves numerous ministries and different federative entities.

PBF prioritizes the family as a unit of intervention. In the PBF law of creation, the family is defined as a nuclear unit, possibly expanded by other individuals who have ties of kinship or affinity with it, forming a domestic group, living under the same roof maintained by their contribution (Law No. 10.836/2004). The focus of the PBF involves families living in poverty or extreme poverty. Poverty is understood not only as income, but as a multifaceted phenomenon that encompasses other dimensions of social vulnerability, such as health, life expectancy, education, sanitation and access to public goods and services that go beyond deprivation of material goods . The transformation of the poverty concept was fundamental to the design of the policy. By perceiving the multidimensionality of the issue, it was possible to think of substantive actions to combat hunger and misery.

Bolsa Família presents a series of instruments, two of them understood as fundamental: conditionalities in health and education and the Cadastro Único (CadÚnico). Conditionalities in education and health seek to establish links of action with other important dimensions of poverty, in addition to income. Conditionalities in the area of education determine that those responsible should enroll children and adolescents between the ages of 6 and 17 at school;

school attendance should be at least 85% of classes for children and adolescents aged 6 to 15 and 75% for 16 and 17 year olds, every month. In the health area, children under 7 years of age should take the vaccines recommended by the health teams and be weighed, measured and monitored in their growth and development, pregnant women should prenatal and go to consultations in the health services unit (MDS, 2016).

Conditionality in education mobilizes an indispensable actor at the local level: the school. However, according to Oliveira (2014), the school has its own logic of action focused on the educational development of children and young people, which makes it difficult to perform certain administrative routines linked to the PBF. Educational conditionality, by means of enrollment and school attendance, makes the PBF strongly linked to education and its role in the training of subjects, on the school, on the formulation of public policies and on the potential effects of mobility social and economic conditions associated with higher schooling. The definition of conditionalities mobilized social organizations, technical bodies from different ministries, academic community, religious organizations and media (Trevisani, Burlandy, Jaime, 2012), as well as politicians linked to the Workers' Party (Barbosa, 2013). Participation, even if not institutionalized in arenas such as councils or chambers, constituted an important element in the process of discussion of the PBF, being the bearer and constructor of diverse meanings and interests on poverty. Today, institutionalized participation occurs mainly through the Social Assistance Councils. Within the federal government, there is the National Council of Social Assistance and the Social Assistance National Conferences as important structures of participation and social control (MDS, 2016).

PBF mobilizes a network of actors and instruments that emphasizes the need for horizontal coordination between federal government bodies and between different branches of government (Executive, Legislative and Judiciary) to define the legal-administrative framework. Horizontal coordination also occurs at state and municipal levels, operationalizing conditionalities (Santos, Magalhães, 2012).

In addition, there is vertical coordination between the federal, state and municipal levels for the definition of responsibilities and also the coordination among the non-state actors of the network, in order to make the state more permeable to social demands. Hence, it is possible to define which poverty-related dimensions would be addressed by the PBF as a priority, and what would be the initial design of the normative framework, the management structure and responsibilities, ie, the conceptual and operational definitions are not dissociated, since the

model of the program arises both in terms of definition of poverty and the operationalization of its confrontation.

The Federal Government's Single Register for Social Programs (CadÚnico) is a database that allows identifying and characterizing low-income families. It was developed so that the federal government gathered in a single place socioeconomic information of the registered families, such as characteristics of residence, schooling, health conditions, work situation and income. The CadÚnico is the gateway to 19 federal programs, users of different ministries, agencies and public companies (MDS, 2016).

States also play an important role in coordinating and training managers. However, the responsibility for carrying out the registration municipal. At the local level, registration is usually done at the Social Assistance Reference Centers (CRAS), which is responsible for the social monitoring of families and targeting other public services, such as health. CRAS and schools are linked by policy decisions, but also in administrative routines. One example is compliance with education conditionality: school attendance is recorded by the school in a system of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Citizenship, when identifying beneficiaries in an irregular situation in the system, issues a statement to the beneficiaries who can make a justification for lack of attendance in order to avoid the suspension of benefit. The justification is assessed by CRAS and not by the school. According to interviews conducted by Oliveira (2014), in the logic of action of the CRAS, once they know the situation of beneficiary families, the benefit is rarely suspended. These different action logics, between school and CRAS, generate tensions that both put the Program at risk and cause a series of policy decisions to be made at the local level rather than at the federal level. In other words, the standards that define the PBF are evaluated and transformed according to the different local implementation contexts .

Although there are tensions at the local level, it is possible to perceive that the CadÚnico is a source of *horizontal* integration - because of the use of the program by several federal bodies, and *vertical* - because of the municipal governments role on the program realization and maintenance. The responsibility for monitoring the CadÚnico is not exclusive to the Ministry of Citizenship: it is shared by states and municipalities, taking into account the purpose of promoting the management improvement of PBF and the use of resources provided by the federal government. This monitoring logic obeys the cross-cutting construction and action of the CadÚnico. Although there are innumerous problems identified for the management of

benefits both with the registration and the monitoring of families, decentralization is a fundamental dimension for transversality in this case, since the confrontation with reality, that is, the direct contact with the beneficiaries of the policy and the evaluation of their situation and demands end up generating changes in the initial plan and in the policy itself (operational and decision-making decentralization).

In order to decentralization to take place, social control mechanisms are essential, a mandatory component for states and municipalities. These bodies are responsible among other functions for overseeing the processes and results of the PBF and its instruments (Cavalcante, 2009). The important thing about social control is that it also involves the identification and follow-up of beneficiary families. This characteristic can be a carrier of diverse voices in action planning, while at the same time introducing greater proximity between government and civil society. This contributes to the transversality of actions, both for the involvement and sharing of meanings and responsibilities among the actors involved, and for the greater public action effectiveness.

National Health Council

The stabilization of collective action through procedures that give meaning and organize the interactional practices might strengthen dialogic dynamics, giving opportunity to diffuse voices that are conventionally silenced in decision-making processes. A public policy council is a "permanent collegiate thematic forum established by a normative act of dialogue between civil society and the government to promote participation in decision-making and policy management public" (Brazil, 2014). Focused by this research, the National Health Council (CNS) was inaugurated in 1937 and has had profound changes in its composition, purposes and ways of acting in recent years.

The health council opened up to political participation responding to the aspirations of the 8th National Health Conference in 1986. This Conference was already open to the participation of society and had effects both in the construction of the SUS as well as in the Constitution of 1988: health councils left from being mere technical advisors to the government to be instituted in its democratic character, planning and fiscalizing specific public policies at municipal, state and federal levels.

In Brazil, public policy councils operate as expressions of hybrid forums (Callon, Lascoumes, Barthe, 2009) because they were established precisely by different procedures

and actors, aimed at guiding and monitoring public actions and capable of producing sociotechnical norms. Examples of a sociotechnical standard are in the resolutions, normative acts produced by the councils.

Regarding actors participating in the council as spokespeople, we can ask...*spokesmen for what*? We understand that these are representatives of networks of organizations and even networks of networks. Counselors are generally tied to organizations, whether governmental, non-governmental, scientific associations, professional or business federations. In the analysis of the regiments of this and other five councils (Cruz, 2017; Cruz et al, 2019), elements such as the frequency of plenary meetings, monthly and the actoral composition were verified. The composition is a hallmark of the regiment, pilots the management philosophy and affects the other dimensions of the public action instrument. In the referred council, the instruments that establish the nominations and elections of components have distinct criteria for the selection of members, related to identity, theme, institutional scope and territorial origin of the bodies that can count on a seat. The internal regiments are simultaneously produced by actors, and producers of instruments. This is established by perceiving, precisely from the regiment:

> The purpose of the CNS is to formulate and control the implementation of National Health Policy, including economic and financial aspects, strategies and promotion of social control process in all its scope, within public and private sectors (Brazil, CNS, Resolution 407/2008, Art 2, own translation).

Societal pressures over governmental actors with dialogical disposal might be a trigger to guarantee something that Callon, Lascoumes and Barthe (2009), would call technical democratization. The technique now emphasized, rather than referring to actor scientific expertise, is that of creating devices that regulate interactions. The example of the National Health Council is emblematic to think about this possibility of institutionalization (or, if we want, proceduralization or instrumentalization) of dialogism. According to a former counselor interviewed,

> The National Health Council has more than seventy years old. It became more representative and a more popular field with the entry of many social movements and workers, since SUS construction. So, it will really be more expressive, representative and hold a public control function of social control, in the 1990s and especially in 2003, when we began to make a series of changes in an instrument, Resolution 333. Resolution 333 is a landmark that gives a broader, more participatory, popular, and mainly movement character that began to see in health a very large space of affirmation of its political and collective identity. So the indigenous peoples, the peasants, the feminist movements, the LGBT movements... And the transversal innovation is right there. Beyond the formality of controlling the public budget, guaranteeing formality, or guaranteeing quality services, the innovation is what is not formalized: the discourse, the narrative about what is the universal right to health, what is health for these movements. When indigenous people go to the council, they

go to say that they are people, that they are nations, that they want respect for their self-determination, that they want support from society in the struggle for the demarcation of their territories, and so on. When the women's movement goes there, it goes to discuss a quality SUS and its services yes, but it also brings the agenda of sexual and reproductive rights, it highlights the feminist agenda and the autonomy of women. This calls for great attention: to see the narrative space, the space of identity being reaffirmed and wanting legitimacy by other actors of society. On the other hand, you have the workers, with a class struggle and common category, and at the same time they think health has other flags, such as social security (former National Health Councillor, in interview on March 22, 2017).

Such a consideration adds another "who" to the questioning of "who can act in these socio-state interfaces?" In order to consider the dimensions of equity, identity and difference in the production of the complex participatory health process, these actors carrying specific projects and senses about their own identity purposes and health boundaries, add to the arena a potential for dissent and the promotion of change, due to its multiple purposes of re-inscription on what should be considered relevant to public health by the Brazilian state. According to local specificities, applying the principle of parity the following representations are, since 2003,

> a) associations of people with pathologies;
> b) associations of people with disabilities;
> c) indigenous entities;
> d) organized social and popular movements;
> e) organized movements of women in health;
> f) retired and pensioner entities;
> g) entities congregated of unions, union centrals, confederations and federations of urban and rural workers;
> h) consumer protection entities;
> i) resident organizations.
> j) environmental organizations;
> k) religious organizations;
> l) health workers: associations, unions, federations, confederations and class councils;
> m) scientific community;
> n) public entities, university hospitals and hospitals field of training, research and development;
> o) employers;
> p) entities of health service providers;
> q) Government.
> (CNS, Resolução 333/2003, 2003).

The scope of the aforementioned regulations are also effects of the struggles found in the advent of the citizens' constitution, later in Laws 8,080 and 8,142, both of 1990, which provide the right to health and consider the dimension of participation. The outstanding Resolution 333/2003 of the CNS follows the democratization compelling for broadening the orientation concerning the diversity of civil society groups and allowing the pluralization of societal actors.

It is interesting to look at regimental instruments of cross-cutting participatory institutions to consider diversity, negotiation and orientation of the debate by the citizen, as criterias of *management philosophy*; horizontality, diversity, group interdependence, transparency, traceability, repetitions of interactions and clarity of rules as criterias of an *organizational model*;, and the knowledge of the scientific, legal, practical and political poles as criterias of the *technical substrate* (merging Callon and Rip (1990), Callon, Lascoumes and Barthe (2009) and Labatut, Aggeri and Girard, 2012).

In CNS (Resolutions 333, 407, 435) the composition is paritary between governmental and non-governmental actors. The composition established in the internal regiment is an influential element of the three dimensions. The CNS does not have governmental representation external to the health sector, presenting low capacity of governmental articulation between sectors in its plenary meetings, and delegating the articulation to specific practices or to its advisory Committees. The internal regiment institutes procedures of the council's organizational model, and is instituted by (as well as co-produces) philosophy and technical substrates. If these regiments (or meta-instruments) are pilots of action, it remains to be understood how this action is established in the complex arrangement.

It is possible to perceive that multiactoriality allows the processes of negotiation and deliberative enrollment to sometimes reach what the councillors themselves perceive as cross-cutting or transversal: according to the expressions they gauge in interviews, it is what "is beyond the box and is not sectorial" , "Need to talk", "go through another topic".

According to another document, this CNS workflow (s / year, access in 2017), the resolutions are, like the recommendations and motions, how the Council expresses its deliberations. In particular, resolutions are acts of a normative nature, which require time for deepening and debate among board members. Resolutions are instruments for the organization of one's own action, relevant to the dynamics of the composition of these forums, to design and constrain interaction strategies, and also to enable the proliferation of Council determinations beyond the arena itself.

Let us consider two distinct situations that contextualized the dynamics of cross-cutting public actions: a virus and a scenario of institutional political crisis.

In 2016, there was an increase in the incidence of zika virus transmitted by the mosquito aedes aegypti - the same vector of dengue fever and yellow fever. The correlation between the presence of pregnant women infected with the virus and the higher incidence of infants with

microcephaly was observed, and in March 2016, it was verified that more than 10% of cases of microcephaly occurred among the children of women who had confirmed the presence of the virus and national emergency declaration by the Federal Government and the international public health emergency alert by the World Health Organization.

On March 2016, the CNS offered at its 278th ordinary meeting a round table on "Gender perspective on zika virus, women's rights, health and popular participation". Representatives of the Secretariat for Women's Policies and representatives of feminist NGOs participated in the composition of the panel, at the invitation of the CNS. These invitations to members external to the Council represent practices that occur routinely at regular meetings of the CNS, in consideration of issues that go beyond the more conventional boundaries of the health sector. Looking at the specificity of the gender issue to the zika virus, was initiated the proposal to convene the II National Conference on Women's Health, which was formalized in resolution and occurred in 2017, .

The years 2015 and 2016 were also the scenario of a huge political crisis in Brazil, culminating with the prevention of the president Dilma Rousseff from carrying out her elective functions. The new conjuncture of the federal executive power after the impeachment, in deeper articulation with the legislature, has led to the application of unpopular measures, such as Constitutional Amendment 95/2016, which limits the public spending for two decades.

These two situations have high degree of uncertainty and been guidelines for discussions of other National Public Policy Councils. The zika virus, for example, was also in the National Council of Human Rights agenda in October 2016 and the council decided to conduct public hearings with the National Social Assistance Council, the CNS and the Federal Superior Court, to give visibility to the discussion and treatment of the issue.

The dissatisfaction with the courses of representative democracy through the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff was evidenced as a guideline of many councils actions. The CNS promoted meetings with deputies, but bet more strongly on a return to less institutionalized collective actions. The Council issued symbolic actions with the Front Democracy and Health (Frente Democracia e Saúde), such as the "Vaccination against the Coup" carried out by militants dressed as health professionals, carrying messages about the political crisis and needleless syringes in the National Congress, as well as other public acts such as marches with social policy networks in defense of the Unified Health System, social

security, against the constitutional amendment of the spending limitation, among other manifestos (CNS, 283rd-287th RO, 2016).

Considering these and other events, we verified the following interactional dynamics strategies raising effects beyond the health specific sector:

- attendance to the invitation of entities or public bodies for participation in events external to the councils;
- invitation to specialist from outside the Council for participation in plenary meetings;
- meetings with government authorities;
- public act/protest;
- public hearing articulation;
- document delivery to authorities;
- participation in working groups of other councils;
- participation in working groups of committees in other ministries.

If councilors serve democratic participation, they do so by allowing dialogue between those outside the government and those within, in a process of dispute and collaboration in the construction of state and citizenship. This is how the participatory processes establish their flows of deliberation, regulation and orientation of more diffused meanings: they are placed as access points or hybrid spaces, which allow actors from different networks and institutional linkages to give vent to what they consider relevant to the construction societal in the exercise of politics, circumvented by instruments that provide them with more or less capacities, and more or less pairs in alliances formation.

Analytical framework proposal for cross-cutting policy dynamics

Accompanying cross-cutting interactional dynamics in a context of political crisis allowed us to observe a plurality of dimensions generally invisibilized by the relative staticity of less tense moments. To consider, in the field research, technical, political and organizational processes central to a political project at risk has made the complexity of cross-cutting relationships emerge more explicitly. Hence, the academic language common to public management, political sociology of public action, sociology of organizations or organizational studies will express a comparison between these academic meanings (which, therefore, are not restricted to conventional literature on cross-cutting/transversal/intersectoral public policies) and emblematic cases. In fact, the following discussion emerges primarily from the cases studied.

In order to observe dynamics crossing the contemporary management of public policies, we propose the investigation of public action based on three interconnected flows: complex problems, plural paths and results. These flows are understood in a looped movement (by their overlaps, returns and influences), and can incorporate propositions, discussions and instruments of forums that interact in a way to stimulate centripetal and centripetal vectors. While recognizing the transversal action as derived from collective strategies essential to the promotion of development, this framework establishes in particular the normative, operational, experiential and power dimensions as frameworks for the analysis and understanding of the cross-cutting dynamics in public policies.

Considering these and other events, we verified the following interactional practices to operate transversal dynamics: the attendance at the invitation of entities or public bodies for participation in events external to the councils; invitation to a specialist from outside the Council for participation in plenary meetings; meetings with government authorities; public act / protest; public hearing; delivery of document to authorities; participation in working groups of other councils; participation in working groups of committees of ministries other than those who receive the councils.

We have added to this concise picture some characteristics of these participatory institutions. If councilors serve democratic participation, they do so by allowing dialogue between those outside the government and those within, in a process of dispute and collaboration in the construction of state and citizenship. This is how the participatory processes establish their flows of deliberation, regulation and orientation of more diffused meanings: they are placed as access points or hybrid spaces, which allow actors from different networks and institutional linkages to give vent to what they consider relevant to the construction societal in the exercise of politics, circumvented by instruments that provide them with more or less capacities, and more or less pairs for the formation of alliances.

Axis and dimensions of cross-cutting policies

In addition to the transversality approaches presented in Table 1, we sought to describe how the interactional dynamics that constitute it and generate the movements responsible for defining the complex problems, plural paths and results related to the accomplishment of public policies are processed. We consider the dimensions seized from the case studies discussed, organized in axes that express different interactional aspects, to elaborate a

conceptual framework centered on the action and transformations that it generates in the structural aspects of the public policy processes.

We understand complex problems, plural paths and results as flows, because they are not exhausted in static definitions and actions, closed in their own processes. They depend on the interactions between the actors (human and non-human) that occur in specific and mutant times and spaces, that is, they have a changeable and negotiated location from the moment complex problems are debated. The interactional dynamics of transversal public action generate plural paths that construct (and are constructed by) the operative, normative, meaning and power dimensions and their constituents, generating dialogic and innovative processes that both orient the action towards the focus of results centripetal), as they expand these results, giving rise to new possibilities of action (centrifugal orientation). In this sense, the interactional dynamics are the vectors of action that shape the achievement of public policies.

The demanding problems of the transversal action are those complex and multidimensional, transcendent to the disciplinary borders and marked by the uncertainty. In the looped interactional movement of flows, the results obtained can generate new understandings for preexisting problems or even new problems. The paths of transverse dynamics are expressed by the interactional processes involving the multiple actors in interaction repertoires, with frequent and reticular relations.

The results are understood in terms of changes or innovations in the most varied fields (legal, institutional, technological, economic, cultural, environmental, political, administrative, sectoral) that promote transformations in people's way of life based on public policies. Given the components of the uncertainty of the problem and the complexity of the paths, many of the resulting changes and innovations escape attempts at predictability that mark the instrumental rationality of evaluating efficiency, effectiveness or effectiveness characteristic of the new public administration's focus on tangible results . In this conceptual framework we propose, the results are the vertex of the interactions produced and can also be understood as intangible, or even acting on the interactional processes themselves.

Axis: Practices
- Practices are the minimum aspects of interactions embedded in the routines and events in which actors engage while producing artifacts, mobilizing relations and knowledge in collective action (Hatchuel, 2005). In cross-cutting public action, practices give path to the articulation of

strategies, values and projects through complex multiactoral processes of dialogues, including the possibility of policy effective viabilization.

Dimension: Operative

● This dimension refers to aspects related to the management of interactional dynamics. It is strongly based on the practices of the actors, situated in a specific spatial and temporal context, but also in the existing instruments. It is a dimension with great transformative potential, as it is based on the action performed by the actors in interaction, involving the coordination and integration of actions, as well as the decision and control processes.

Axis: Instruments

● This axis expresses the materialization of the action in artifacts and methods that seek to order practices, senses and relations of power. The instruments both present a technical aspect, related to their purposes, and present an intrinsically political aspect, since they are derived from the interactional dynamics (Lascoumes, Le Galès, 2012). They represent unique and localized approaches to complex problems, desired paths, and expected outcomes.

Dimension: Normative

● This dimension presents a strongly prescriptive character related to normatization of the action and its budgetary limits that aim to define the behavior of human and non-human actors in interaction (present and future behavior). However, laws and regulations, such as sociotechnical products, are open to interpretations and changes, as well as to different uses, which end up compromising the predictability of results.

Axis: Meaning

● To address public action, this axis line regards to cognitive referentials (Muller, 2013). Referentials are hereby translated as meaning once that both mobilizes values, images, logical algorithms and normes. Sectoral referentials are representations of a sector, discipline or profession and are embedded in the complex relationship among work, beliefs, world views and resources. They more or less obey to a broader 'global referential', that encompasses the socioeconomic regime and the citizenry regime in a determined historic period. In cross-cutting policy arenas, sectoral referentials might be hybridized. The hybridization of sectoral referentials happens when specific symbols merge with others as a result of deliberation processes, diffusing new hybrid meanings expressed in formal and informal discourses and actions (Cruz, 2017).

Dimension: Experiential

● This dimension corresponds to the engenderment of paths taken by the diversity of actors, bringing up socio-economic-political-cultural-identity traits by each of them. Experience engages memoires (common and specific) and trajectoires (professional, academic, affective)

to produce public action, it is temporally and locally based and it is organized by (as well as it organizes) instruments and meanings.

Axis: Contexts

● The context corresponds to the specific space and time in which the interactions occur. It is related to the situated perspective of the actors involved in the disputes inherent in the transversality of action and the construction of public policies. It consists of approximations and deviations that shape "spaces between", only possible in a field of differences where the syntheses are carried out by the transport and interaction of meanings (Serres, 1999), practices and instruments. Space and time are multiple and changeable and are coextensive to interactions between actors.

Dimension: Power

● Power translates a strength connected to the capacities of viabilization of cross-cutting policy deliberation. Power varies accordingly to context opportunities, meanings and practices in motion, being also expressed in public action instruments. Power capacities regard the possibility of producing results on the mobilization of actors, resource availability for decision implementation and knowledge availability concerning the theme envisioned. Power irradiates from relations established in forums and other collective initiatives. It can relate with the classic weberian idea of command and realizing the someones will despite others or, in dialogic foruns, with the possibility of strength emergence due to collective collaboration.

Table 2: Cross-cutting public action dimensions

Dimension	Action orientation	
	Centripetal	Centiífugal
Operative	Conceptual definition Vertical coordination Vertical integration Social control	Horizontal coordination Transversal/intersectoral integration Decentralization
Normative	Laws and normes Budget	*What should be*
Experiential	Expert trajectories Systematized knowledge Institutional relations logics	Lay trajectories Tacit knowledge Values Soft relations logics
Power	Hierarchy Authority	Heterarchy Dialogic participation

Source: the authors.

To express the interactional dynamics that occur in the flows of problem definition, plural paths and results for the accomplishment of public policies, we present analytical framework of cross-cutting public action. The definition of the problem is not a stage prior to the construction of the policy, it happens along the paths that involve the four axes and its dimensions that generate results (centripetal orientation), which, in turn, are also not static, and reorients interactional dynamics (centrifugal orientation).

Figure 1. Analytical framework for crosscutting public action: axis and dimensions
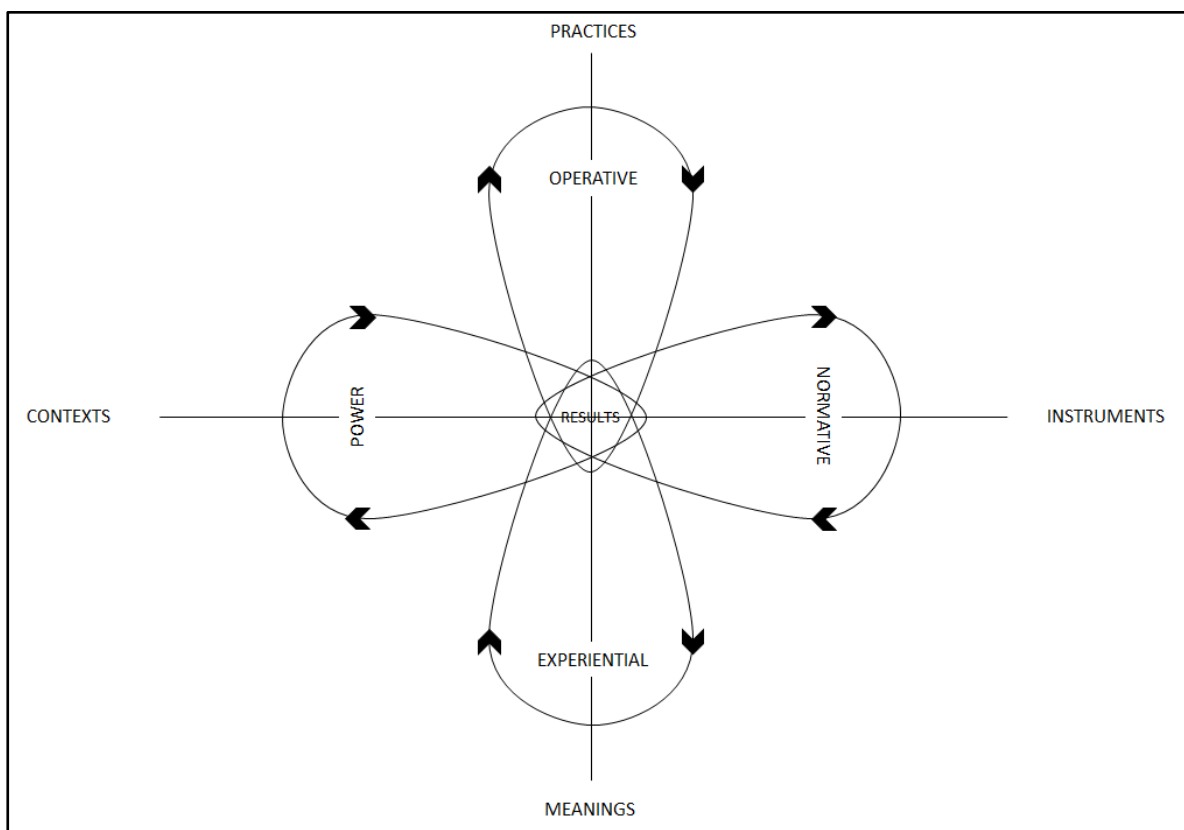
Source: the authors.

Concluding remarks

The study of interactional dynamics that go beyond and across sectorial and hierarchical boundaries is a condition for understanding the role of the State in meeting citizen demands and promoting development. The analysis of the transversal public actions, observing their axes (practices, instruments, meanings and contexts) and associated dimensions (operative, normative, experiential and power) provides an innovative framework to understand plural and heterodox interactions, characteristics of governments and populations that aim to confront

complex and multidimensional problems that do not have representation or response in sectoral structures. The plurality of possible paths in the interaction of these axes and dimensions confers specific characteristics and situates the decisions and actions resulting from the accomplishment of public policies, once that public action, although limited by the existing institutionality, presents an uncertain character, due to the interaction among actors human and non-human heterogeneous. Likewise, uncertainty is also established in the results, because interactive dynamics make it difficult to predict, by bringing new visions and questions to all flows (re)formulating problems and paths. This occurs because the interactional dynamics generate tensions between orientations that seek to focus the results and orientations that seek to expand them, and the results might not refer only to the beneficiaries of the policies, but to all engaged on the interaction processes and their spill-overs.

This first approach to an analytical framework, based on empirical research begun in 2014, encourages the production of research in the field of public policy design and analysis that takes into account the complexity of multiactoral relations and public demands, without isolating them from their contexts. Such intentions may even cooperate, in an applied way, for the formation of mediators with dialogical capacities, capable of transverse public management, so relevant to the effectiveness of the solvency of contemporary problems.

This opening of new investigative perspectives is fundamental in Brazil's current historical moment, in which democratic institutions and democratizing processes are under constant attack and questioning. Although the Bolsa Família Program has been maintained by the two governments that succeeded Dilma Rousseff's impeachment, in 2019 Brazil is once again on the hunger map. The same can not be said with regard to the institutionalized socio-state interfaces, especially councils, which were the subject of a presidential decree in 2019 aimed at extinguishing those that were not included in the Federal Constitution of 1988. Partially overthrown by the Superior Court of Justice, this decree represents a retrogression in the democratizing processes that the country has been going through for 30 years. Investigating democratic participation in this new historical context, with a state that is largely hostile to the interests of populations that sought their way out of historical marginality, can bring new contributions to understanding the role and functioning of the state and its plural dynamics of action, as well as on the organization of non-state actors in relation to the state and solvency of their state-side problems.

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