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**The *Bolsa Família* and Brazilian Strategic Narrative in the Age of  
Lula and Dilma**

São Paulo  
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## Resumo

Este artigo usa a teoria da narrativa estratégica para analisar o modo como o Brasil utilizou no exterior a ideia do Bolsa Família, o programa do país de transferência de renda condicional. Mais especificamente, estuda-se onde e como a mensagem do programa foi recebida, tanto na era Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva como na era Dilma Rousseff (2003-2014). Trabalhos acadêmicos anteriores não avaliam como o *Bolsa Família* se encaixa no amplo quadro estratégico da Política Externa Brasileira no século XXI para aumentar a autonomia do Brasil nas relações internacionais, especialmente com países em desenvolvimento do Sul Global. Assim sendo, este artigo tem por objetivo preencher essa lacuna fazendo uma análise de texto da cobertura midiática sobre o programa em vinte e sete países com pelo menos um jornal que publica em inglês. Enquanto a política externa de Lula trabalhou para reacender antigas ambições brasileiras de relevância internacional, a administração de Dilma teve que lidar com o fim do período de ascensão, com um declínio no investimento estrangeiro, corrupção na administração pública, declínio econômico e um abandono das estratégias de inserção prévias, como um amplo e ativo escopo de ação internacional e um comprometimento em investir capital político no exterior. Apesar da continuidade do Bolsa Família em todo período dos mandatos de Lula e Dilma, os achados deste artigo sugerem uma mudança na percepção internacional entre os governos dos dois líderes, deixando robusta a ideia de que, para o Brasil, a figura que conduz a narrativa é importante. Para o Norte Global, a mídia americana, australiana, canadense e inglesa tenderam de um sentimento positivo para um negativo entre os mandatos de Lula e Dilma, enquanto que países em desenvolvimento como Nigéria, Zimbábue, Paquistão, Índia, e Gana reagiram de forma mais aberta no mesmo período. Os achados sugerem que a narrativa estratégica brasileira foi melhor recebida por parceiros no Sul Global, sugerindo também uma correlação entre a mudança para uma política externa de maior escopo de Lula para atrair aliados do Sul.

Palavras-chave: *Bolsa Família*, narrativa estratégica, Sul Global, Política Externa Brasileira

## Abstract

This article uses the theory of strategic narrative to study the way Brazil presented its conditional cash-transfer program *Bolsa Família* abroad. More specifically, it studies where and how that message was received under both Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff from 2003-2014. Previous academic work on the *Bolsa Família* has not addressed how it fits within the larger Brazilian foreign policy strategy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century to increase autonomy in its international relations, especially with developing countries in the “Global South.” As such, this article attempts to address this deficit by using text analysis of twenty-seven countries’ English-speaking media coverage of the program to hypothesize that Brazil used the program as an extension of its activist foreign policy to create a larger international role for itself. The timeframe for the article begins with Lula’s expansion of the program during his first term in 2003, at a time when Brazilian foreign policy shifted towards greater insertion of national autonomy into a Western-dominated international system. Whereas Lula’s foreign policy worked to reignite Brazil’s long-held ambitions for international relevance, Dilma’s administration oversaw the end of Brazil’s “ascension” moment, based on a decline in foreign investment, administrative malfeasance, a declining economy, and an abandonment of previous insertion strategies such as “activist” foreign outreach and a commitment to exerting political capital abroad. Even though the *Bolsa Família* remained a constant throughout both Lula and Dilma’s administrations, the findings from this article suggest a change in international perception between the two leaders’ administrations, giving credence to the idea that for Brazil, the figure who drives the narrative is important. From the “Global North,” the American, Australian, Canadian, and English media generally trended from positive to negative sentiment between Lula and Dilma’s term, while developing countries such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Pakistan, India, and Ghana reacted gave a warmer reception to it. These findings suggest that Brazil’s strategic narrative was best received by partners in the Global South, suggesting a correlation with Lula’s ambitious foreign policy approach that expanded a foundation present in the Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration to attract Southern allies.

Key words: *Bolsa Família*, strategic narrative, Global South, Brazilian foreign policy

## Introduction

This article uses Laura Roselle, Alister Miskimmon, and Ben O’Loughlin’s theory of strategic narrative to interpret the *Bolsa Família* conditional cash-transfer program as a tool used for Brazil to assert a leadership profile as a human rights champion and pragmatic poverty reductionist. Within the context of Brazil’s “activist” foreign policy during the two terms of the Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010) administration and (to a lesser extent) Dilma Rousseff (2010-2014), this article hypothesizes that Brazil used the successes of the *Bolsa Família* to expand on its desire to strengthen alliances and act as a leader of developing nations in an effort to assert greater autonomy against the traditional power structure of the Western-backed global order, most evident by the United States.<sup>1</sup> Its primary contribution is to propose to scholars the value in examining the way the Brazilian executive employed a strategic narrative when discussing the *Bolsa Família*, as opposed to analyzing the facets of the program itself.

Brazilian efforts to expand its international presence in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are visible. The increase in transnational links with African Portuguese-speaking nations (known as PALOP),<sup>2</sup> the decision to lead the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Haiti,<sup>3</sup> and the extensive outreach to BRICS countries and other representatives of the developing world<sup>4</sup> are just a few examples in which the Lula administration sought to increase Brazilian autonomy on the international stage, a recurring theme present since the implementation of the *Bolsa Família*. This article stresses the usefulness in interpreting the Lula and Dilma administrations’ foreign policies via a well-defined strategic narrative, known colloquially as, “soft power in the 21st century.”<sup>5</sup>

The article will examine two aspects of strategic narrative studies, using the case of the *Bolsa Família* as a driver: projection and reception. I first use rhetorical analysis of both Lula and Dilma’s speeches on the *Bolsa Família* program to international audiences and analyze where the two leaders travelled on their presidential trips. Then, I combine these results with a

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<sup>1</sup> Tullo Vigevani and Gabriel Cepaluni, “Lula’s Foreign Policy and the Quest for Autonomy through Diversification,” *Third World Quarterly* 28, No. 7 (2007): 1314.

<sup>2</sup> Carlos Milani, “Brazil’s South-South Co-operation Strategies: From Foreign Policy to Public Policy,” Occasional Paper No. 179, South African Institute of International Affairs, (March 2014): 9.

<sup>3</sup> Djuan Bracey, “O Brasil e as Operações de Manutenção da Paz da ONU: Os Casos do Timor Leste e Haiti,” *Contexto Internacional* 33, No. 2 (July/Dec. 2011): 323.

<sup>4</sup> Vigevani and Cepaluni, 1314.

<sup>5</sup> Laura Roselle, Alister Miskimmon, and Ben O’Loughlin, “Strategic narrative: A new means to understand soft power,” *Media, War, & Conflict* 7 (2014): 71.

quantitative analysis of international media reception of the program. These efforts constitute how I arrive at my analysis. This text argues that the two leaders crafted a Brazilian strategic narrative as a poverty reductionist, with varying degrees of success. Using the international English-speaking media's reception of the program across twenty-seven countries, I find ample evidence to suggest that while the strategy was generally successful amongst largely developed and developing nations under Lula, generally positive sentiment was limited mostly to just the developing countries under Dilma.

The article's structure begins with context of the *Bolsa Família*, followed by a literature review into the theory of strategic narrative, which includes a brief nod to how the concept differs from its ideological colleague, Joseph Nye's "soft power." Once established, the conceptual explanation ends with a discussion of Brazilian foreign policy and the motivations behind Lula's "autonomy through diversification" strategy that sought to strengthen multilateral ties with Southern alliances. This section also describes how such a strategy made for good politics in the Brazilian arena. Then, the article moves to its methodology, explaining the two-pronged approach to capturing strategic narrative at both the projection and reception phases.

From there it presents an analysis of the findings: namely, that while the *Bolsa Família* enjoyed consistently neutral international reception in the international media, the variations in support differ by how well the country in question related to Brazil's larger foreign policy aims, as well as which Brazilian president was in office. One conclusion is that while the *Bolsa Família* enjoyed generally positive support at the beginning, support generally waned during Dilma's administration except amongst Brazil's Global South partners. Based on the analysis at the projection stage, Dilma's rhetorical fitness to articulate the program and tether it to a Brazilian vision was limited. Moreover, her administration reduced its frequency in visiting certain global regions compared to Lula, which is one possible factor for the decline. This conclusion reinforces the centrality of a strong strategic narrative to effective Brazilian foreign policy leadership. Finally, the article ends with a discussion on how Brazilian leadership styles between the "goal-driven" approach of Lula and the "contextually responsive" style of Dilma could have affected *Bolsa Família* sentiment abroad between the Global South and the West.

## **Bolsa Família and Looking Abroad**

After more than a decade in the Brazilian public sphere, the *Bolsa Família* has become entrenched as a staple in the Brazilian political system. Amongst the 279 articles on the *Bolsa Família* that make up the database for this article, many emphasize the pioneering nature of the cash-conditional transfer (CCT) program within Latin America. Stories often emphasized Lula's own poverty-stricken roots and the transformation in how his Partido Trabalhador (PT) planned to funnel greater state resources to the country's most marginalized citizens.<sup>6</sup> While the program's framework owes itself to Lula's predecessor, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Lula consolidated the program, thus leading to unprecedented reductions in the amount of poverty in the Brazilian social hierarchy and expanding the amount of families entering the middle class.<sup>7</sup> Lula's program is cited as helping lift some 13 million Brazilians out of poverty during his administration, creating an emerging Brazilian middle class that enjoyed expanded buying power within the country's economy.<sup>8</sup> By 2014, the *Bolsa Família* acted as a conditional cash transfer "safety net" for over 14 million families who received meager monthly cash payments in return for meeting incentives such as ensuring children attended school and passed medical checkups.<sup>9</sup>

In 2010, the program allowed families to spend on average an extra R\$23 (roughly \$40 USD) for food, R\$2.65 (\$4.50 USD) for education, and R\$1.34 (\$2.29 USD) on children's clothing, leading to other consequences such as increased school attendance, greater attrition rates, and at least some anecdotal evidence in safer health practices in rural areas.<sup>10</sup> Statistics from the World Bank show that forty-six million Brazilians lived in poverty during Lula's first year in office. Yet over 20 million had left by the time of his departure in 2010, which some experts attributed to a combination of the flagship program and a booming economy that had avoided the 2008 global economic crisis.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See Jen Ross, "Brazil makes headway in bid for 'Zero Hunger,'" *Christian Science Monitor*, September 11, 2006, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0911/p04s01-woam.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Timothy J. Power, "Brazilian Democracy as a Late Bloomer: Reevaluating the Regime in the Cardoso-Lula Era," *Latin American Research Review* 45 (2010): 229.

<sup>8</sup> Julia E. Sweig, "Brazil's Far-Flung Agenda," *Foreign Affairs* 89, No. 6 (November/December 2010): 174.

<sup>9</sup> "Prestação de Contas Ordinárias Annual Relatório de Gestão – 2014," Ministry of Social Development and Hunger Eradication, National Secretary of Citizen Income. Brasília, Brazil. April 2015, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Fábio Veras Soares, Rafael Perez Ribas, and Rafael Guerreiro Osório, "Evaluating the Impact of Brazil's Bolsa Família: Cash Transfer Programs in Comparative Perspective," *Latin American Research Review* 45, No. 2 (2010): 183.

<sup>11</sup> The World Bank, Brazil Country Dashboard (2016). Retrieved April 1, 2016 from <http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/BRA>; Sweig, 174.

Given the importance Brazil placed on both the *Bolsa Família* and its diplomacy at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this article's findings give strong support to the notion that African nations forming part of the Southern collective as well as other countries in development provided the most fertile places for positive reception to Brazil's narrative of itself. With Africa specifically, Lula maintained a strong Brazilian tradition of fostering development by promoting economic cooperation, business opportunities, and technical support to areas such as Mozambique's health sector, Cabo Verde's education sector, and the Northern Saharan agriculture sector, respectively.<sup>12</sup> In addition to these initiatives, Lula increased the amount of presidential trips to the region, opened embassies across the continent, and made international aid such a priority that even after his presidency, virtually every instrument of the Brazilian government included a budget for international affairs.<sup>13</sup>

Lula's activity in Africa is just one example of how he redirected Brazil's diplomatic energy to its global Southern partners, netting Brasília unprecedented political, economic, and commercial support that buoyed the Brazilian president in his revival of a long-running national demand for a more democratic global political economy.<sup>14</sup> Other initiatives championed by Lula included calls for Brazilian permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council and the creation of the G20 WTO trade negotiation coalition.<sup>15</sup> Together as poverty reduction figures grew with the *Bolsa Família*, the "idea" of Brazil for previously wary or indifferent developing partners was that the country not only found a way to increase the quality of life for many of its marginalized citizens, but strengthened its foothold as an interlocutor between the empowered South and the perceived outdated vestiges of Northern rule.

When Rousseff took office in 2011, her administration's official motto, *Páís Rico e Páís Sem Pobreza* gave credence that the *Bolsa Família* and poverty reduction would be the vehicle in which to continue spreading the Brazilian image. Dilma's first term did not express the same desire to pursue the aggressive diplomatic relationship building that marked Lula's two terms. Important diplomatic tools such as presidential visits (in which Lula conducted 267) did not rank

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<sup>12</sup> Milani, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>14</sup> Sean Burges, "Brazil as a bridge between old and new powers?" *International Affairs* 89, No. 3 (2013): 581.

<sup>15</sup> Burges, 581.

highly with the same priorities in her administration.<sup>16</sup> In addition to a sharp decline in the number of presidential visits abroad, the president replaced Foreign Minister Celso Amorim (a vocal defender of Brazil's desire to join the UN Security Council), which irked some in the diplomatic community as a perceived rupture in strategy.<sup>17</sup>

At the beginning of her term, Dilma enjoyed popularity based on the acknowledgement that Lula, who enjoyed high approval ratings at the end of his presidency, handpicked her to carry the party's future. From a regional aspect, Dilma's continuity with Lula in strengthening MERCOSUL, Unasul, and Celac showed a continuation of one side of Brazil's insertion strategy that had been accelerated since 2003.<sup>18</sup> However, her main failures included an inability to cultivate important relationships with the Brazilian business community — long an important constituency to promote the historical idea of national development — and the failure to reign in a bloated state bureaucracy that stifled innovative thinking.<sup>19</sup>

It is prudent to note that the *Bolsa Família* is a polemic topic within Brazil.<sup>20</sup> Many protesters in a March 2015 *panelaço*<sup>21</sup> protested against the *Bolsa Família* on grounds of unchecked government spending, a claim that is a lightning rod amidst the country's right wing.<sup>22</sup> The complaint, as the Brazilian scholars Walquiria Leão Rego and Alessandro Pinzani highlight, is one that doubts the feasibility of the tightly bound checks for operation that beneficiaries must make. The program's minimal monthly stipend allows coverage for families with a maximum of three children, all of whom must meet medical and scholarly thresholds in order to receive money from the state.<sup>23</sup>

In 2013, the Brazilian public grappled with a debate on state spending priorities for the next year's World Cup. Unprecedented nationwide protests loosely organized against increased

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<sup>16</sup> Thomaz Mayer Alexandre Napoleão and Hermano Telles Ribeiro, "Relatório de visitas internacionais do Presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva e de visitas ao Brasil de Chefes de Estado e de Chefes de Governo entre janeiro de 2003 e dezembro de 2010," Ministério de Relações Exteriores 2011, 8.

<sup>17</sup> Milani, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Amado Luiz Cervo and Antônio Carlos Lessa, "O declínio: inserção internacional do Brasil (2011-2014)" *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 57, No. 2 (July/Dec. 2014): 139.

<sup>19</sup> Cervo and Lessa, 134.

<sup>20</sup> An interesting look at the discrepancy between *Bolsa Família* support across the Brazilian regions comes in Henrique Carlos de Oliveira de Castro, et al, "Percepções sobre o Programa Bolsa Família na sociedade brasileira," *Opinião Pública* 15, no. 2 (November 2009): 333-355.

<sup>21</sup> A type of protest made by drowning out one's speech by banging pots and pans together.

<sup>22</sup> Taylor Barnes, "Greasing the Path to Dilma's Downfall," *Foreign Policy*, March 16, 2015, accessed July 27, 2015, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/03/16/greasing-the-path-to-dilma-rousseff-downfall-brazil-protests-petrobras/>.

<sup>23</sup> Walquiria Leão Rego and Alessandro Pinzani, *Vozes do Bolsa Família: Autonomia, dinheiro, e cidadania* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2014), 233-234.

public transportation fares and faulty public infrastructure grounded Rousseff's political capital in her first term.<sup>24</sup> A historical drop in the Brazilian economy led to a deep economic recession that fostered the nation's worst political crisis in the redemocratized era.<sup>25</sup> In 2016, amidst massive protests across the country calling for her ouster, the country's legislative body passed impeachment measures in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and removed her from office before her term was set to expire at the end of 2018. The political instability as a result of this move is poised to continue for years to come.<sup>26</sup>

Irrespective of the emergence of the Brazilian political and economic crisis, the poverty reductions as well as the success of the *Bolsa Família* are one of the most visible foreign policy "sells" Brazil has been able to make in the years since it implemented the program, judging by the reaction of the world's most influential multilateral organizations. José Graziano da Silva, Lula's architect in designing the president's policy initiatives to combat hunger, has been elected twice to be the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) since 2011, most recently in 2015.<sup>27</sup> Given that he was reelected by over 97% of votes (a historic high), Silva's post represents the international community's recognition of Brazilian leadership involving hunger reduction.<sup>28</sup> In another example, five years after Lula left office, the World Bank continued to tout Brazil as an example of poverty reduction in the world, with one analyst even suggesting that poverty reduction could take a more prominent role amongst the country's international reputation between soccer and novellas.<sup>29</sup>

## **Literature Review**

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<sup>24</sup> Barnes, "Greasing the Path to Dilma's Downfall."

<sup>25</sup> The Brazilian government has incorporated austerity measures (leaving many pre-Cup projects unfinished or abandoned), and a slow-dripping corruption scandal nicknamed "Operação Lava Jato" (In English, "Operation Car Wash") continues to indict dozens of prominent businessmen and politicians for their involvement with kickbacks at Petrobras, the state-owned oil company. See David Segal, "Petrobras Oil Scandal Leaves Brazilians Lamenting a Lost Dream," *New York Times*, August 7, 2015, [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/09/business/international/effects-of-petrobras-scandal-leave-brazilians-lamenting-a-lost-dream.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/09/business/international/effects-of-petrobras-scandal-leave-brazilians-lamenting-a-lost-dream.html?_r=0).

<sup>26</sup> Andrew Jacobs and Simon Romero, "Brazil's Senate Votes to Begin Impeachment Trial of Dilma Rousseff," *The New York Times*, May 12, 2016, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/13/world/americas/dilma-rousseff-brazil-impeachment.html>.

<sup>27</sup> "José Graziano da Silva re-elected FAO Director-General," Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, June 6, 2015, accessed May 14, 2016, <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/292523/icode/>.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Projeto Second Bolsa Família, The World Bank, accessed July 27, 2015, <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P101504/second-bolsa-fam%C3%ADlia?lang=pt>.

As mentioned, strategic narrative is a way to study a state's vision of itself by way of its measurable actions, such as the projection, formation, or reception of an idea. This project looks at the *Bolsa Família* as a tool of the Brazilian autonomy foreign policy strategy to win support from partners in the Global South. Strategic narrative differs from its ideological counterpart, Joseph Nye's theory of "soft power." Today's international system has berthed the idea of "whose story wins" as a way for a nation to achieve its goals.<sup>30</sup> This mantra in itself is the central tenet of soft power in the age of instantaneous information and rampant globalization. A country's conditioned, crafted narrative is often more powerful than traditional instruments of power, such as military and economic might.<sup>31</sup> "Soft power" is a term that increases with relevance as hegemonic military policy falls out of favor with many advanced nations.<sup>32</sup>

Ample literature exists on identifying potential soft power capabilities, yet little on a state's fostering of similar, country-specific behavior with other actors. For example, a group of British scholars have worked to identify and quantify soft power in nations, but have not given much incentive to trace its effects beyond their borders.<sup>33</sup> The limitations of the original incarnation of soft power studies is apparent, especially when one takes into account fluctuating metrics such as Olympic gold medals to determine a country's soft power. There is an inherent problem with metrics such as this given the innumerable variables outside state control that determine Olympic winners, for example. For soft power, attempts at measuring "[these capabilities] must be cajoled into working towards national objectives."<sup>34</sup> The Brazilian case deserves a more analytical look with strategic narrative.

Brazil is largely bereft of the hard power outlets available to Western powers. As such, this article attempts to more cogently identify Brazil's use of strategic narrative to explain the *Bolsa Família* as an extension of its activist international relations strategy by bringing issues of poverty reduction to the forefront of the international agenda. As its name implies, strategic narrative is the tracing of an idea in the international system through the various stages of its lifecycle, most commonly with its formation, projection, diffusion, and reception across the international arena. Roselle, et al., have fashioned strategic narrative studies amongst three

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<sup>30</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (Mar., 2008): 100.

<sup>31</sup> Nye, Jr., "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," 99-101.

<sup>32</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy* 80 (Autumn 1990): 166; Roselle, et al., 72.

<sup>33</sup> *Rapid-growth markets soft power index*. London: Ernst and Young: 2012. [http://emergingmarkets.ey.com/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/05/TBF-606-Emerging-markets-soft-power-index-2012\\_LR.pdf](http://emergingmarkets.ey.com/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/05/TBF-606-Emerging-markets-soft-power-index-2012_LR.pdf)

<sup>34</sup> Roselle, et. al, 73.

categories: international system narratives, national narratives, and issue narratives.<sup>35</sup> This article studies the Brazilian case as a national narrative.

Arguably the most common in foreign policy, states use national narratives to lay out the visions of themselves in the world arena. National narratives “explain” a state by means of its historical experience as well as its future ambitions, such as the United States’s vision of itself as a democratic peacekeeper (or the converse of “world bully,” as Roselle, et al. mention). Perhaps one of the strongest contemporary powers using a national narrative as a means to amplify its soft power is Russia, long caught between embracing modern Western values and fashioning a more protectionist vision of itself. The Russian scholar Tatiana Shakleina writes with references to “legacy,” “tradition,” and “history” in explaining Russia’s foreign policy; her writing gives great importance to, “the historical experience and the tradition and culture of exerting a decisive or visible influence on world politics...,” closing with a recognition of a “great power tradition” as one of the strongest Russian capabilities.<sup>36</sup> Just as the United States has justified military excursions under the auspices of spreading democratic values, others like Russia cast their versions of themselves based on their perceived strengths (in Russia’s case, its past).

Separating the different narratives from each other is not necessarily a facile exercise. However, for any type of narrative to be effective it must be promulgated with clear and strategic placement. In an age of multiple actors that expand beyond the range of traditional states and governments, narratives are subject to a litany of factors. These factors include the differences in perception between different media outlets in delivering messages, the participants involved with shaping the message (and the exclusion of those who are not included), and the consequences that are at play in realizing a successful narrative.

#### **a. *Brazilian Foreign Policy: A Primer***

The extent to which ideas espoused by one actor affect behavior of others is a debate that has driven international relations theory since the times of Robert Keohane.<sup>37</sup> For Brazil, “ideas”

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<sup>35</sup> International system narratives portray the global system through a specific lens. The authors give the Cold War as an example, which encompassed the perceived threat of communism. Issue narratives involve proposing a specific policy and then arguing for its implementation and consequences. For more, see Roselle, et al., 76.

<sup>36</sup> Tatiana Shakleina, “Russia in the New Distribution of Power,” in *Emerging Powers in a Comparative Perspective: The Political and Economic Rise of BRIC Countries*, Vidya Nadkarni and Norma C. Noonan, eds. (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 178.

<sup>37</sup> Vigevani and Cepaluni, 1318.

have historically held greater importance than hard power assets such as military force and economic coercion. Especially since Lula's expansion on the Cardoso foreign policy foundation in 2003, the country's international identity rests on emphasizing what has been described as "diplomatic GNP." Andrew Hurrell describes objectives such as constructing transnational coalitions, working within the system of international organizations to achieve an "activist" status, and the ability to espouse national policies as a function of international importance as the country's primary tools. Among these, he mentions the 2004 Action against Hunger and Poverty as another important example of Brazil using world hunger at a forum to cast the plight as an international area of concern.<sup>38</sup>

It is advantageous for Brazil to cast the *Bolsa Família* as a tool to combat world hunger if a) Brazil can articulate world hunger as an international issue and b) if the country is able to produce a legitimate response to such a problem. As such, for this issue, Brazil has been able to appeal for great power status based on "recognition games" that it earns from other countries interested in the attractiveness of the Brazilian narrative.<sup>39</sup> As the next section explains, the extent to which these goals are pursued depend on the Brazilian executive branch, based on that position's "presidentialization" of Brazilian foreign policy.

Given the executive's power, a large debate in Brazilian foreign policy revolves around the extent of the power that the country's diplomatic apparatus, the Ministry of External Relations (MRE), is able to maintain in dictating the country's foreign policy goals. Brazilian foreign policy has faced a new, modern challenge in "legitimizing" itself to the Brazilian public<sup>40</sup>, based on the perception that that it is not innovative and with tepid social legitimacy.<sup>41</sup> Timothy Power has argued that the MRE has acted less as a monopoly in recent times and has become naturally more responsive to an emerging body of NGOs and social actors seeking to provide input in the country's international posture, based in part on Lula's autonomy through diversification strategy.<sup>42</sup> Lula's choice to pursue such a strategy is one example of what Power and Timothy Carson have dubbed, "the presidentialization of Brazilian foreign policy."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Andrew Hurrell, "Brazil: What Kind of Rising State in What Kind of Institutional Order?" in *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*, Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper, eds. (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2010), 137.

<sup>39</sup> Hurrell, "Brazil: What Kind of Rising State", 139.

<sup>40</sup> Dawisson Belém Lopes, *Política Externa e Democracia no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2013), 291.

<sup>41</sup> Lopes, *Política Externa*, 27.

<sup>42</sup> Lopes, *Política Externa*, 28.

<sup>43</sup> Lopes, *Política Externa*, 196.

It is noteworthy to mention the Brazilian Constitution, a seminal document that has outlined a general framework for the country's foreign policy objectives in the period of redemocratization after the second military dictatorship. While some initiatives are straightforward such as boosting regional cooperation within Latin America<sup>44</sup>, the document allows for a liberal interpretation of poverty reduction as a part of the Brazilian national character of itself. Article 3 is especially noteworthy for its language on poverty reduction.<sup>45</sup>

The *Bolsa Familia* is not immune to abuses and imperfections in its operations, but it serves as a tangible policy that has directly addressed Article 3 of the Constitution. It exists as a function, to extend Nye's idea, as a way for a country to "live up" to its political ideas and values.<sup>46</sup> When combined with the existence of these values in the country's own constitution, Nye's assertion rings true that, "[such values] may attract others because they address individual and collective desires and needs."<sup>47</sup>

Brazil has stuck to a positive vision of its international power prospects for over five decades, with varying degrees of prioritization.<sup>48</sup> Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the country's leaders passed through phases of economic cooperation with Washington (post-World War II), isolation (mid-1960s), and to its present activist stage. But the emergence of what can be considered Brazil's modern-day foreign policy comes from the Collor administration's recognition in the changing international order and opportunity for greater Brazil insertion into it.<sup>49</sup> The Collor and Cardoso decisions to "reestablish" Brazil's status internationally explains the conditions necessary for Lula's rise. Especially since 1990, Brazil's foreign policy always operated within these precedents to expand itself into an activist role, increasingly wading into debates on multilateral governance, Brazilian influence, and ultimately the omnipresent South-South cooperation, including targeting emerging economies such as India, China, and South Africa (part of the BRICS coalition that became a priority for Dilma's administration).<sup>50</sup>

### **b. *The Construction of the Brazilian National Narrative***

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<sup>44</sup> Bracey, 319.

<sup>45</sup> Constitution of the Federal Republic of Brazil, accessed June 26, 2015, [http://www.imprensaoficial.com.br/PortalIO/download/pdf/Constituicoes\\_declaracao.pdf](http://www.imprensaoficial.com.br/PortalIO/download/pdf/Constituicoes_declaracao.pdf).

<sup>46</sup> Nye, Jr., "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," 98.

<sup>47</sup> Roselle, et. al, 72.

<sup>48</sup> Hurrell, "Brazil: What Kind of Rising State?," 129.

<sup>49</sup> Hurrell, "Brazil: What Kind of Rising State?," 132-133.

<sup>50</sup> Cervo and Lessa, 139-141.

To resume the antecedents to modern-day Brazilian foreign policy, a successful *Bolsa Família* embodies a commitment to the country's democratic constitution and allows Brazilian executives a powerful tool in the arsenal of the country's vision of itself abroad. The successes of this approach were evident with the larger-than-life political presence like the one employed by Lula. With a "presidentialization" of Brazilian foreign policy, the use of *Bolsa Família* to guide the Brazilian national narrative was a natural transition, given that the program, "[begins] as the most basic of Brazilian prerogatives, because it directly addresses the most basic right, the right to life," in the words of two experts on the program.<sup>51</sup>

As authors such as Andrew Hurrell, Carlos Roberto Sanchez Milani, and Sean Burges have shown, Brazil has long defined its foreign policy in terms of its desire to join the Westphalian "victor's club" of Western nations who currently possess the greatest shares of responsibility in multilateral bodies and international recognition. Brazilian diplomats advocate for greater inclusion and democratic participation in the United Nations Security Council and for greater responsibility within the World Trade Organization. The Brazilian foreign policy export is one of coalition building (especially with the Global South) given Lula's belief that the Westphalian global order threatened Brazilian interests more than it helped.<sup>52</sup>

Brazil works to reform multilateral bodies by generating greater authority within its demands. It does this based on the inclusion of more actors it represents, using targeted outreach to BRICS nations, Africa, and select nations in the Middle East that constitute a swath of the Global South.<sup>53</sup> As such, it works as a "bridge builder" from its status as the conduit and lead representative of developing nations (many of which are represented by the G-77) and the powerful Western overseers of the liberal order, such as its hemispheric counterweight, the United States. The more transnational links and international recognition it can obtain within other nations, the greater credibility Brazilian power has on the world stage.<sup>54</sup> Brazil's current incarnation of power, based in part on its lack of "hard power" military resources relies on recognition, status, and credibility.<sup>55</sup> Within this context, linking the country's poverty reduction

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<sup>51</sup> Rego and Pinzani, *Vozes*, 176.

<sup>52</sup> Hurrell, "Brazil: What Kind of Rising State?", 136.

<sup>53</sup> Hurrell, "Brazil: What Kind of Rising State?", 136.

<sup>54</sup> Hurrell, "Brazil: What Kind of Rising State?", 135-137.

<sup>55</sup> Flávia de Campos Mello, *O Brasil e o Multilateralismo Contemporâneo* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, June 2011), 26.

program with the English-language media's reception of it is an appropriate strategy for measurement.

The study of strategic narratives only grows in relevance as unipolar power declines. Every country has a story, yet it is in determining how that story fits that can, “demand the development of a concept to explain power and influence that is fit for purpose.”<sup>56</sup> In this vein, I am interested in the program's “projection” and “reception,” to better understand the successes and difficulties of the strategy throughout the Lula and Dilma administrations.

### **Methodology**

This article relies on descriptive statistics to highlight *Bolsa Familia* reception between Lula's and Dilma's administrations, especially amongst the Global South. I designed an approach to measure international reception of the *Bolsa Familia*. Using the LexisNexis database of English-language newspapers worldwide, I drew from over 11,000 sources available in the database for articles that discussed the *Bolsa Familia* from 2003 (the year of the program's creation and first year of the Lula presidency) until 2014, reflecting the end of Dilma's first term. I did not anticipate problems with source credibility given that academic and professional institutions purchase subscriptions to access the LexisNexis database, which in turn chooses the sources that are included in its holdings. For a source to be included, it must have met the organization's own standards of rigor.

I chose English articles given the ubiquity of the language internationally and the robustness of data on LexisNexis that was not available for other languages. Simply put, the database did not allow for a survey of this nature to be conducted in other languages, as it did not have data from such a swath of nations as it did in English. English is a language that offered the most countries from the Global North and South. Some articles reappeared in other media sources after already being coded. Others were irrelevant, such as those that reported on logistics and technical information, or did not provide a direct association to the program. I excluded any article that fell into these categories.

My final database contains 279 articles across 100 different publications from 27 countries. The mean word count of the articles was 966 words. The list captures countries with an English-language organ on LexisNexis from a variety of positions in the international system

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<sup>56</sup> Roselle, et. al, 80-81.

(full list available in Appendix 1).<sup>57</sup> These include representatives of the Western order such as Australia, Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, Korea, New Zealand, and the United States. Representatives of the developing world with various leadership stakes are also included: Bangladesh, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Malta, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and Zimbabwe. Notable inclusions on this list include the African countries, given the continent's focus as one of Lula's foreign policy outreach at the onset of 2003.<sup>58</sup>

Canada, England, and the United States accounted for the majority of the developed world input. Canadian papers include the *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail*, and the *Toronto Star*; England's sources are diverse and include: *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *Yorkshire Post*, and the BBC. From the United States, this article presents findings from the *New York Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and *Washington Post*, among others. Of the developing world, two countries from the BRICS account for the largest contributors to the database: South Africa and India. Sources from South Africa include *The Herald*, *The Mercury*, and the *Sunday Independent*; from India, *The Times of India*, *The Financial Express*, and *Indian Express*. Other more frequent contributors include publications from Pakistan, the Philippines, and Nigeria.<sup>59</sup>

Taken together, the final article shows how Lula and Dilma projected their rhetoric on the program using word clouds on their comments to international audiences as well as qualitative analysis of select speeches from the two leaders. In the projection phase, the article uses information about presidential trips to distinguish the two leaders' actions from each other. Justification for this tactic can be found in the section that compares these results with the English-media reception phase. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the data:<sup>60</sup>

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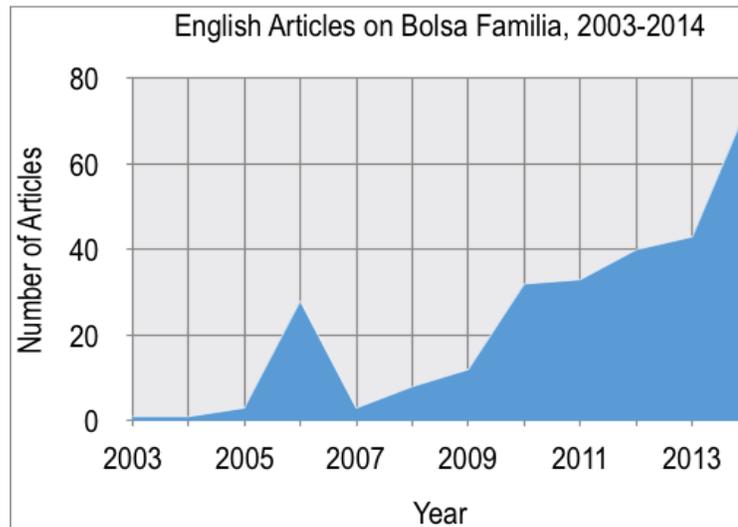
<sup>57</sup> One exception in the article country list is Latin America. The region's exclusion is due in part to the lack of data that appears in the LexisNexis database. However, a larger reason is due to the unique relationship Brazil holds with the region's power ambitions, such as its leadership of Mercosul, its multilateral ambitions' roadblocks with Argentina, and the ambiguity of Brazilians' own interpretation of their role within the region. Including Latin America for the modest study in this article transports the study into a realm beyond the scope of this article.

<sup>58</sup> Vigevani and Cepaluni, 1314.

<sup>59</sup> Using "tm" (text mining), "wordcloud" (for visual analysis), and "ggplot2" packages.

<sup>60</sup> While Lula's term (2003-2010) contains only 31.5% of the data, this can be explained in part to the limited functionality of the Internet at the onset of his administration and the unknown nature of the program at its conception. However, upticks in article frequency occurred around his reelection campaign in 2006 and as his second term ended in 2010, before rising continuously throughout Dilma's term.

**Figure 1. Article Distribution by Year**



**Source:** Elaborated by the author

Once I gathered the relevant articles from the LexisNexis database, I decided to use quantitative text analysis to assign a sentiment score to each one. For this, I used Bing Liu, Minqing Hu, and Junsheng Cheng’s dictionary of positive and negative words to corroborate with each article.<sup>61</sup> Each article received a sentiment score ranging from the most negative, -53,<sup>62</sup> to the most positive, 47.<sup>63</sup> My database also includes information on each article’s country of origin, date, and word count.

#### **a. Projection**

The article’s methodology so far is designed to measure the reception of the *Bolsa Familia*, but it also has a “projection” aspect that attempts to better explain which regions of the world were important for Brazil as it sought to assert itself internationally. It goes beyond studying where Brazil went to also examine how the presidents spoke of the *Bolsa Familia* when they addressed international bodies. In other words, per strategic narrative studies, this phase is

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<sup>61</sup> Bing Liu, Minqing Hu and Junsheng Cheng. "Opinion Observer: Analyzing and Comparing Opinions on the Web." Proceedings of the 14th International World Wide Web conference (WWW-2005), May 10-14, 2005, Chiba, Japan.

<sup>62</sup> Radhicka Kapoor, “Inequality Matters,” *The Financial Express*, March 5, 2013, <http://archive.financialexpress.com/news/inequality-matters/1083012>.

<sup>63</sup> Munir Abubakar, “Nigeria’s pioneering social protection in Africa,” *The Sun*, August 21, 2014, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/lncui2api/api/version1/getDocCui?oc=00240&hnsd=f&hgn=t&lmi=5CPW-WSY1-JDJN-60GF&hns=t&perma=true&hv=t&hl=t&csi=8411&secondRedirectIndicator=true>.

designed to, “trac[e] the flow of narratives through the media ecology.”<sup>64</sup> In its most conservative sense, it allows the reader a dual-pronged approach to see where Brazil sought to bring its message, while also seeing how it chose to speak of its flagship program. I argue that the language it uses to describe the *Bolsa Familia* acts as an extension of how the country wants the world, especially the South, to see itself. Given the locus of Brazilian presidential control over the operations of the country’s foreign policy, it is essential to use the presidents themselves as a useful tool of study. This approach allows one a tangible look at where and how the “presidentialization” of Brazilian foreign policy played out under their control.

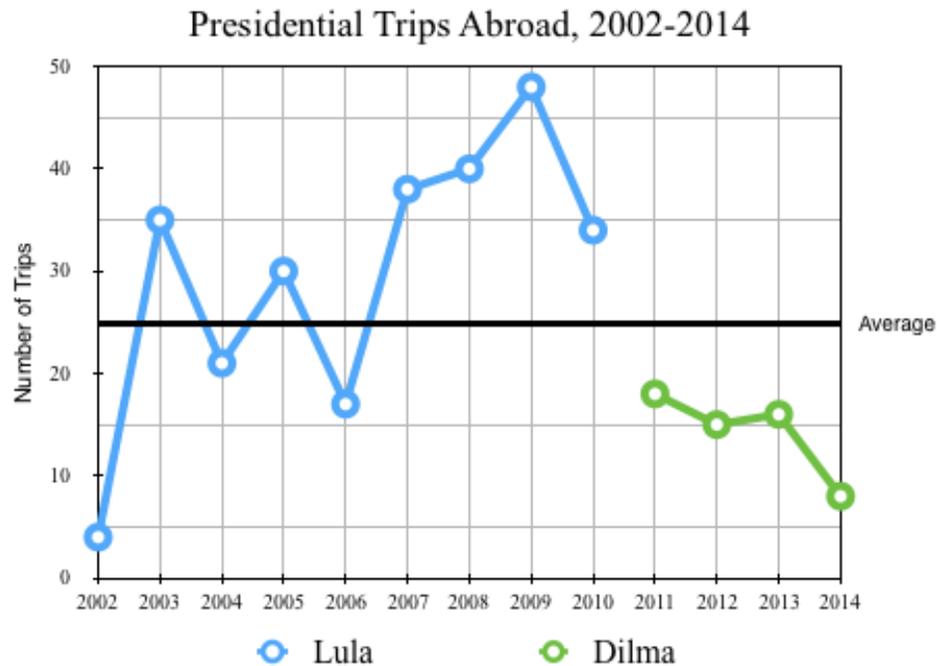
To analyze projection, I first used presidential visit information from Brazil’s Ministry of Foreign Relations for both Lula and Dilma to see which regions Brazil considered a priority with executive international travel. I ignored other instruments of statecraft such as foreign investment because of the commonality across the international community in using the same tool. Foreign investment, as with bilateral meetings, are tools that, in theory, are available for any nation. They are not unique to Brazil. However, analyzing where a Brazilian leader chose to travel on an official state visit is an act that is purely Brazilian. After deciding on presidential visits for one aspect of projection, I created a separate dataset of presidential speeches mentioning the *Bolsa Familia* from the two leaders’ addresses to international bodies which I use as a parallel to my projection analysis.

Official heads of state use international travel as a way of increasing their country’s presence in areas considered a priority for the state. From the time he was president-elect in 2002 until the end of his term, Lula engaged in an unprecedented flurry of international travel, conducting a high of 48 trips in the penultimate year of his presidency. The difference between how Lula and Dilma assigned priority to this arsenal of statecraft is striking, as evidenced by the graph below (note: 2002 is included as the year Lula was president-elect):

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<sup>64</sup> Roselle, et. al, 78.

**Figure 2. Rate of Travel Amongst Brazilian Presidents**



**Source:** Elaborated by the author using data from the MRE<sup>65</sup>

Excluding 2002, the year Lula was president-elect, and 2006, the year of his reelection, Lula conducted more international visits than Dilma, often by wide margins. Throughout her first term, Dilma increasingly diminished the amount of trips taken abroad, creating a noticeable break with the previous eight years of Brazilian international statecraft.

The discrepancy between the two leaders' travel is further highlighted by the below graphs mapping presidential visits. On the left is Lula's graph. The darker the shade of blue, the greater frequency which he visited the country in question. His graph reveals high-frequency travel to Latin America, Asia, and especially Africa. While he enjoyed two terms to Dilma's one in this study, it is obvious that Dilma's term did not bear the same importance in maintaining Lula's presence abroad, especially to Africa. These findings pose the theory that with the

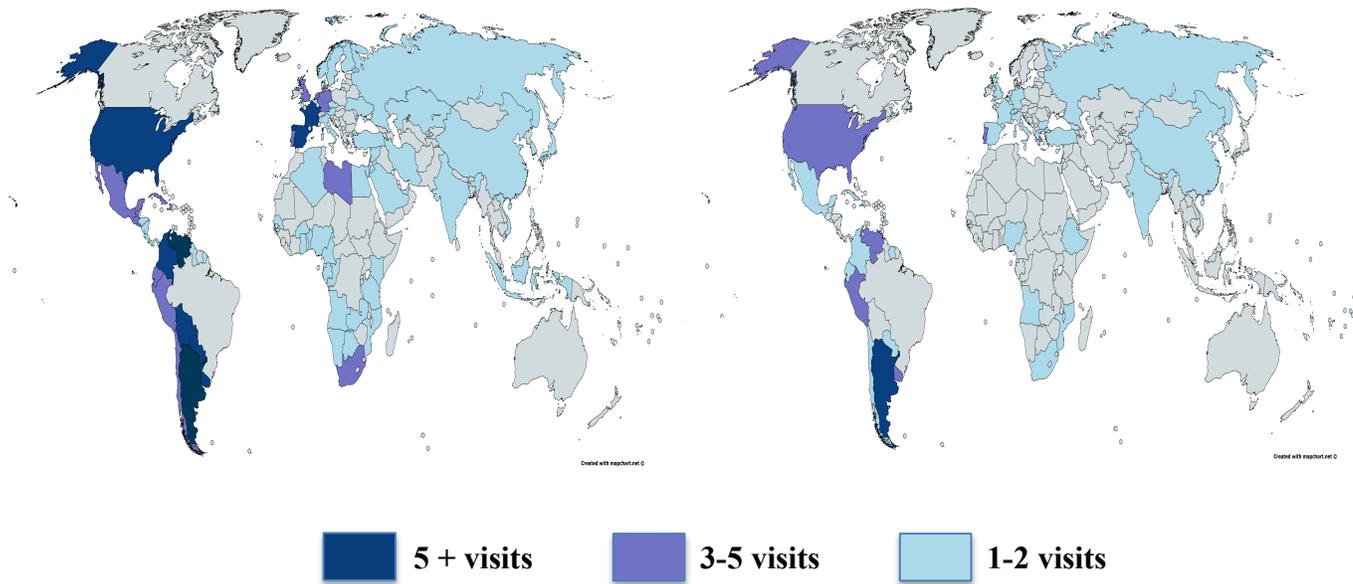
<sup>65</sup> For Lula visits, see Thomas Mayer Alexandre Napoleão and Hermano Telles Ribeiro, *Visitas internacionais do Presidente Lula e visitas ao Brasil de Chefes de Estado e de Chefes de Governo*. Brasília: Ministério das Relações Exteriores: 2011: 8-39; For Dilma, see, *Viagens Internacionais da Presidenta da República/2011*. Presidência da República: Brasília: 2011. <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/area-de-imprensa/relatorios-da-secretaria-de-imprensa/viagens-internacionais-2011>. Years 2012-2014 available at <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/area-de-imprensa/relatorios-da-secretaria-de-imprensa>.

decreased attention given to the African, and ultimately the Southern coalition, the Brazilian narrative struggled to be heard, which could have accounted for at least part of the reason why a *Bolsa Familia* could have been more unpopular as well, in which the reception phase alludes.

**Figure 3. World Travel Distribution Between Lula and Dilma**

**Lula Presidential Trips, 2002-2010**

**Dilma Presidential Trips, 2011-2014**



**Source:** Elaborated by the author using data from the MRE<sup>66</sup>

Given the importance of Lula in selling the *Bolsa Familia*, it is prudent to mention how Roselle et al. highlight Nye’s idea that the communication expertise of the actor is essential in transforming capabilities into desired outcomes.<sup>67</sup> Scholars such as Wendy Hunter and Timothy Power have written about how Lula channeled his own poverty-stricken roots into a personal narrative that resonated well with the underdeveloped Brazilian Northeast. He did not always tether his own political actions to those of his party, and was able to convince even the opposition parties of the value of the *Bolsa Familia*. He was able to deflect corruption charges in the period leading up to the 2006 presidential elections and won reelection with 61 percent of the

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. Maps elaborated using mapchart.net.

<sup>67</sup> Roselle, et. al, 73.

vote. If there was to be an organ to voice the Brazilian narrative, Lula proved to be a competent actor.<sup>68</sup> Most importantly, lacking the charisma of her predecessor, Dilma was not able to invest the same energy and ease in shaping societal visions, such as the strategic narrative of Brazil as a poverty reductionist. Lula, having a world view that interpreted the international arena as hostile to Brazil at the onset of his term, sought to insert new agendas in which Brazil would distinguish itself amongst its peers. One such agenda was the fight against world hunger.<sup>69</sup>

Rhetorically, Lula successfully championed and articulated ideas using the black-and-white vernacular of the country's poor so that their significance was easily attainable. Staving off hunger, and Brazil's championing of this initiative, was cast as the "right to three meals a day." Complex international mediation, so told Lula, was based on the mantra that "conflicts have owners, but solutions do not."<sup>70</sup> This rhetoric proved powerful and easy to understand both for Brazilians and the international community. Until Dilma faced her own domestic problems in 2013, her ability to ride Lula's popularity was able to mask her deficits in these areas.

Complementing each president's international travel in this study is a sample of the rhetoric that constitutes the differences and similarities in which the two administrations spoke on the *Bolsa Família*. I read through every speech Lula and Dilma gave to international audiences on the program, either in Brazil or abroad. This dataset yielded 32 speeches from Lula and 16 from Dilma.<sup>71</sup> The language evoked from the leaders reveals a preponderance of rhetoric designed to cast the *Bolsa Família* as a vehicle with international implications, with a greater specificity during Lula's administration.

One speech that sheds light on these ambitions comes from Lula and his address to the High Level General Assembly of the United Nations about millennial goals in 2005:

I have always said, and I'll make it a point to repeat, that each one of our countries should do their part... Today, the Hunger Zero program, that has the *Bolsa Família* as its chief instrument, already benefits 7,500,000 families, close to 30 million Brazilians. Until the end of my administration, all of the families that live below the poverty line will be incorporated into the program. Finally, Brazil will guarantee for its children the right to eat every day.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Wendy Hunter and Timothy J. Power, "Rewarding Lula: Executive Power, Social Policy, and the Brazilian Elections of 2006," *Latin American Politics & Society* 49, No. 1 (Spring 2007): 20-23.

<sup>69</sup> Vigevani and Cepaluni, 1322.

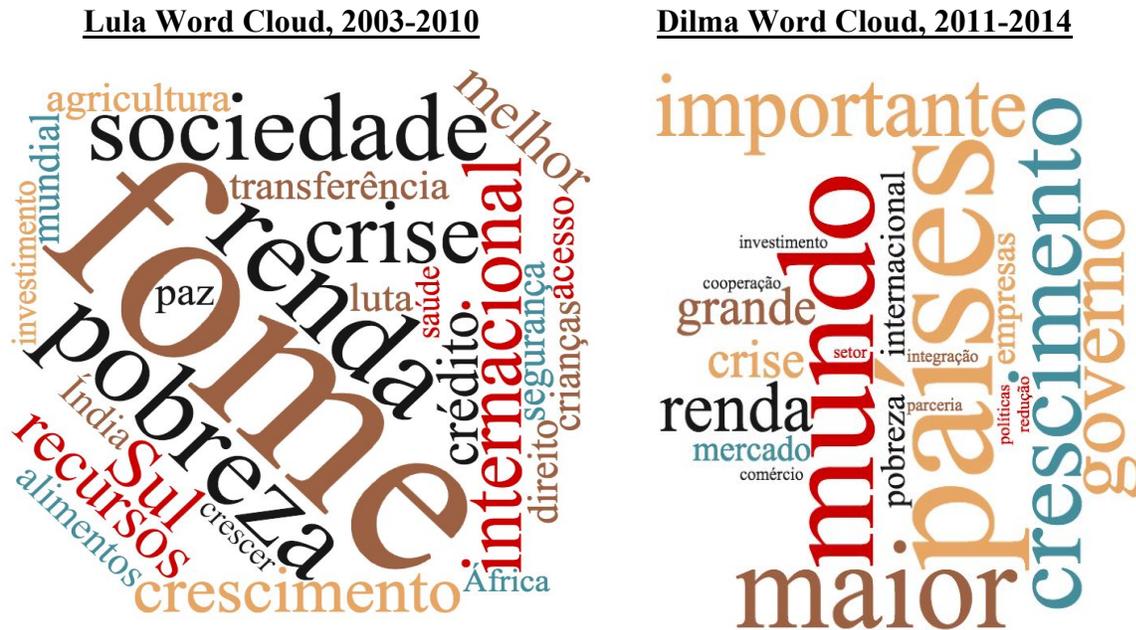
<sup>70</sup> Cervo and Lessa, 134.

<sup>71</sup> The speeches used in this study are listed in Appendix 2. They can also be accessed in full at [http://www2.planalto.gov.br/acompanhe-o-planalto/discursos#b\\_start=0](http://www2.planalto.gov.br/acompanhe-o-planalto/discursos#b_start=0).

<sup>72</sup> Inácio Luiz, Lula da Silva. "Discurso do Presidente da República, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, na reunião de Alto Nível da Assembléia Geral das Nações Unidas (Metas do Milênio)." 60<sup>th</sup> Session of the United Nations General Assembly. United Nations, New York, NY, 15 September, 2005, 3.

Lula clearly casts the plight of poverty reduction as a national narrative of the Brazilian foreign policy agenda. His appeal to the international community is seen as not only a validation of Brazil’s own success, which he cites, but as an appeal to include other nations into the fight against poverty. The following two WordClouds show the difference in which the two Brazilian presidents spoke on the *Bolsa Família* to international audiences. Words in bigger sizes are more frequent in the texts, and I removed stop words and others irrelevant to the content of the speeches.

**Figure 4. Frequent Words for International Speeches Discussing Bolsa Família, 2003-2014**



Source: Elaborated by the author<sup>73</sup>

Lula’s word cloud shows rhetoric that is designed to attract international audiences, cast hunger as a world issue, and appeal to the collective rather than the individual. “Hunger,” “society,” “income,” “children,” “growth,” “international,” “resources,” “foodstuffs,” “poverty,” appear alongside a nod to his foreign policy goals – “Africa” “India,” and the global “South.” The findings show words designed to appeal to a greater social vision, often by referring to the collective and accounting for an inflated sense of scope. In Lula’s case, “hunger” is the most

<sup>73</sup> Word clouds designed using [www.wordclouds.com](http://www.wordclouds.com). Appendix 3 contains notable word counts.

popular word used, which is not surprising given his desire to cast Brazilian mechanisms as the policy-oriented antidote to combatting the issue. Dilma's rhetoric departs from his approach; it does not cast the program with the same targeted lens as Lula. Her map reveals words further from the personal, individual narrative of Lula and closer to the broad strokes of a conditioned message operating within the throes of a diplomatic bureaucracy. Indeed, her words are vague and devoid of attempts to differentiate Brazil: "world," "countries," "growth," "government," "crisis," and "important," are the largest words in her map, but they lack the focus on a world region or collective bloc of countries. It is true that while themes such as "international" occasionally appear in her rhetoric, she does not achieve the same level of specificity and poignancy that Lula's targeting reveals in his word cloud.<sup>74</sup>

The word clouds hint at a difference between the two leaders' projection that reflects not only different leadership styles, but how they were able to control the Brazilian foreign policy apparatus. This is a finding that will be explored in greater detail in the reception phase of the text via a discussion of leadership traits. For Lula, the fact that "hunger" overwhelmingly dominates his rhetoric reflects his unique oratorical style that pushed to insert that issue into the Brazilian foreign policy agenda, reinforcing the national narrative of Brazil as a leader against world hunger. The foreign policy rhetoric during these years differentiates the country's role in combatting hunger. Using his poverty-stricken background, Lula found unique success in overseeing the "presidentialization" of an ambitious Itamaraty message in a way that Dilma could not replicate.

Dilma's word cloud hints at a message that originated deeper within the recesses of the Itamaraty bureaucracy. Her language – "growth," "income," "government," among others – is a requisite, but not unique, projection of common Brazilian foreign policy goals that do not necessarily capture the ambitiousness of the Lula years. For the *Bolsa Família*, however, the appeal to the collective to cast hunger as an international top-level issue is central. The Brazilian government, thus, is the organ that can provide the solution to combat poverty, the thinking

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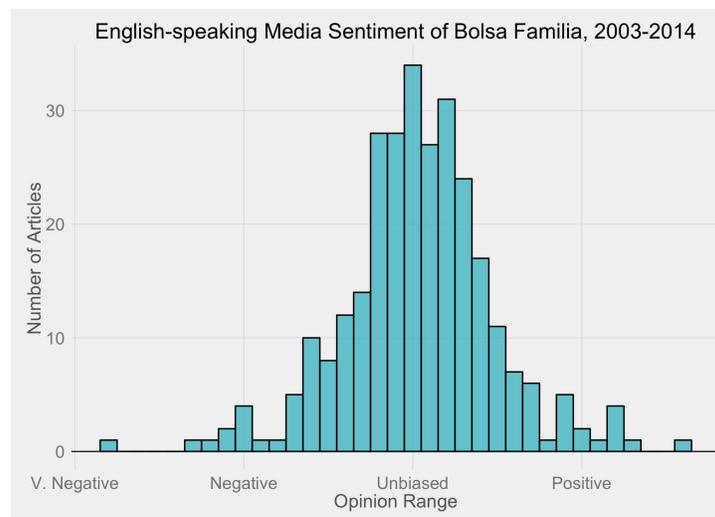
<sup>74</sup> Dilma occasionally used her platform as Brazil's first female president to make a gender-based argument for the program's success. In a speech given on investment opportunities in 2013, she said, "We have put women in charge as being the biggest recipients of Bolsa Família, which has its meaning because women in Brazil—and I believe in every country of the world—fulfill a strategic role in the family." See, Rousseff, Dilma. "Discurso da Presidenta da República, Dilma Rousseff, durante mesa de abertura do Foro Político de Alto Nível sobre Desenvolvimento Sustentável - Nova York ." Infrastructure Development Opportunities. United Nations, New York. 24 September, 2013.

goes.<sup>75</sup> When one examines how actors seek to articulate their narratives—interpreting worldviews, shaping opinions, and attempting to define ideas and concepts according to those worldviews— these words provide a preliminary look at how Brazilian *Bolsa Família* projection could act as a direct manifestation of this attempt to influence.<sup>76</sup>

***b. Reception***

If the analysis has so far shown *Bolsa Família* projection in terms of international collectivity and poverty as a worldwide responsibility, it is now helpful to examine the reception of this narrative, using the repository of English-speaking media built from the LexisNexis database. The following graph shows the ranges of sentiment across all of the articles throughout the duration of the study:

**Figure 5. Bolsa Família Sentiment Range, 2003-2014**



**Source:** Elaborated by the author.

The dataset reveals a generally centrist view taken by the international media regarding Brazil’s program. Outside of outliers at both the “Very Negative” and the “Positive” ends of the x-axis, the data clusters around an “Unbiased” R-sentiment score of 0. This is a somewhat surprising finding given the international acclaim the *Bolsa Família* receives in multilateral institutions.

<sup>75</sup> Milani, 5.

<sup>76</sup> Roselle, et al, 76.

For example, Lula's national narrative of Brazil as a poverty reductionist generated credible support in 2005. Then-World Bank president Paul Wolfowitz heaped praise upon the Brazilian program for the attention it was generating internationally: "Countries around the world are drawing lessons from Brazil's experience and are trying to produce the same results for their own people," the president said in a World Bank press release. Pamela Cox, World Bank Vice President for Latin America and the Caribbean, was even more effusive in her praise, calling the Brazilian program an example of, "clear leadership in the global fight against poverty and hunger."<sup>77</sup>

In 2007, Brazilian diplomats met with the Dominican Republic to install a registration system for a *Bolsa Família* imitator called *Solidaridad*. Then-Dominican Republic president Leonel Fernandez Reyna visited Brazil and cited the country's own system as an inspiration for the Dominican program.<sup>78</sup> The Brazilian model of social programs became increasingly attractive. Some three years later, then-New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg initiated Opportunity NYC, the first conditional-cash-transfer program of its kind in the United States, in part because of the Brazilian experience. While the program folded in 2013, it still is a remarkable example of Brazilian policy reaching arguably the gatekeeper of the Western-dominated order.<sup>79</sup> In 2015, France conducted a visit with the Brazilian government to determine how best to incorporate "the Brazilian experience" into the French model of poverty reduction.<sup>80</sup>

When Lula left office in 2010, expectations for Brazilian foreign policy were stratospheric, described in robust language such as, "breathless excitement," "the Mac to the United States' PC," and "the envy of the developing world, turning Brazil into a laboratory and model for globalization with a social conscience."<sup>81</sup> Given this acclaim, this project looks deeper at where pockets of sentiment were warmest and coolest, respectively. First is a table showing sentiment variation between developed and developing nations:

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<sup>77</sup> "Brazil's Bolsa Familia Program Celebrates Progress in Lifting Families out of Poverty," The World Bank, December 19, 2005, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:20702063~pagePK:64257043~piPK:437376~theSitePK:4607,00.html>

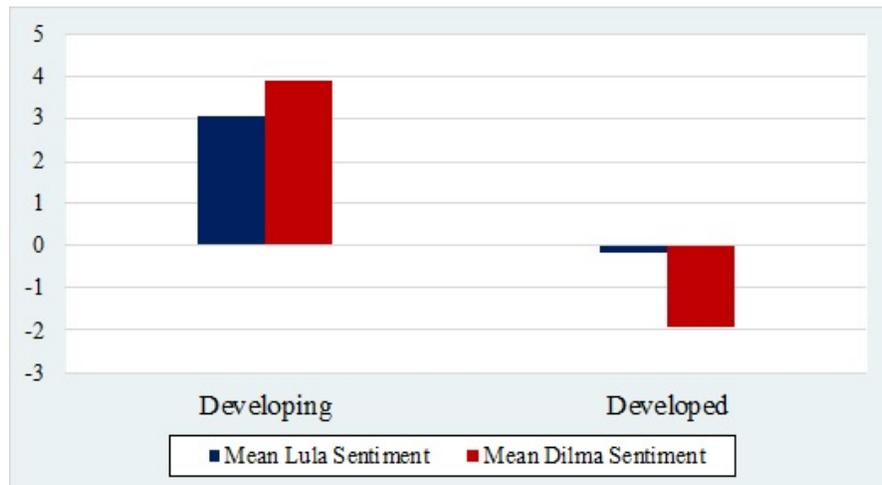
<sup>78</sup> Sarah Fernandes, "Bolsa-Família inspira República Dominicana," *Terra Magazine*, August 27, 2007, <http://terramagazine.terra.com.br/interna/0,,OI1839172-EI6580,00.html>.

<sup>79</sup> "How to get children out of jobs and into school," *The Economist*, July 29, 2010, <http://www.economist.com/node/16690887>.

<sup>80</sup> Portal Brasil, "Combate às desigualdades no Brasil é exemplo para França," July 23, 2015, <http://www.brasil.gov.br/cidadania-e-justica/2015/07/combate-as-desigualdades-no-brasil-e-exemplo-para-franca>

<sup>81</sup> Sweig, 173-174.

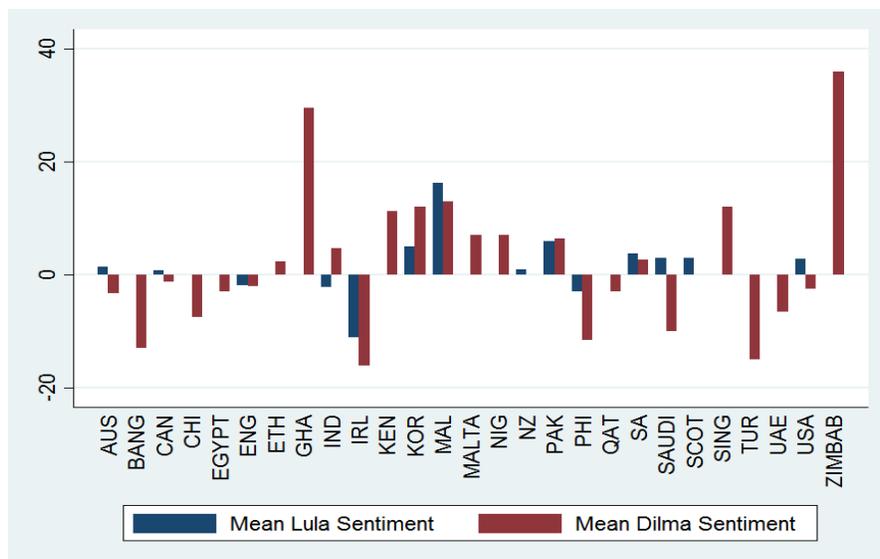
**Figure 6. Sentiment Variation in Nation Categories Between Lula and Dilma**



**Source:** Elaborated by the author.

The findings from Figure 6 reveal a stark difference between the support of developing and developed nations to the Brazilian program. For Lula, support remained close to neutral amongst the global powers in the study, while experiencing higher levels from developing nations. However, at the onset of Dilma’s term, in the midst of the growing Brazilian economic crisis and domestic political unraveling, the powers’ support waned despite rising amongst the developing world, which can be looked at as an extension of Brazilian allies. We can break down country sentiment variation further based on which Brazilian leader was in charge of promoting the program, using information from the R-sentiment scores generated for each country article:

**Figure 7. Sentiment Variation by Country Between Lula and Dilma**



**Source:** Elaborated by the author.

The blue bar represents a country's mean sentiment score during the Lula administration, while the red represents the same information for Dilma's term. Some countries only have one bar listed, which simply means that the LexisNexis database did not capture articles published from that country for the other leader's term. The findings from this graph give credence to the hypothesis that countries directly affected by Brazil's South-South leadership strategy are more likely to be receptive to the *Bolsa Família*. Outside of Egypt, all African countries reported a net positive sentiment of the program, including the two highest sentiments recorded by the algorithm—Zimbabwe and Ghana. These findings are not surprising when one considers Brazil's greater economic involvement on the continent. From 2002-2008, Brazil imported nearly 10% of its goods from Africa, while increasing export production to the continent five-fold.<sup>82</sup>

More interesting is the work done by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) in Africa under the umbrella of the MRE. The agency works to change structural deficits in target countries through seminars, college courses, equipment, and professional resources to strengthen institutions present in the countries.<sup>83</sup> This initiative is “horizontal,” and donation-based, encouraging solidarity between Brazil and the countries in question. It is a classic example of the modern Brazilian foreign policy approach of building its relations with the Global South while offering an alternative, if not a challenge, to the Western model—in this case OECD development, for example.<sup>84</sup> Save for Kenya and Ethiopia, the positive-sentiment African nations in Figure 3 are also recipients of Brazilian ABC efforts — Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The intensity in which these African nations' media outlets spoke favorably of the *Bolsa Família* shows that Brazil's image in the continent was favorable in the midst of its greater insertion.

Also notable is the change in sentiment between Lula and Dilma's administrations. Twelve countries have data for both presidents' administrations; of these, *Bolsa Família* sentiment dropped in eight of them during Dilma's term. Many of the countries that experienced a drop in sentiment are from the very Western-backed world order that Brazil actively worked to challenge throughout the Lula and Dilma administrations: Australia, Canada, England, Ireland,

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<sup>82</sup> Milani, 8.

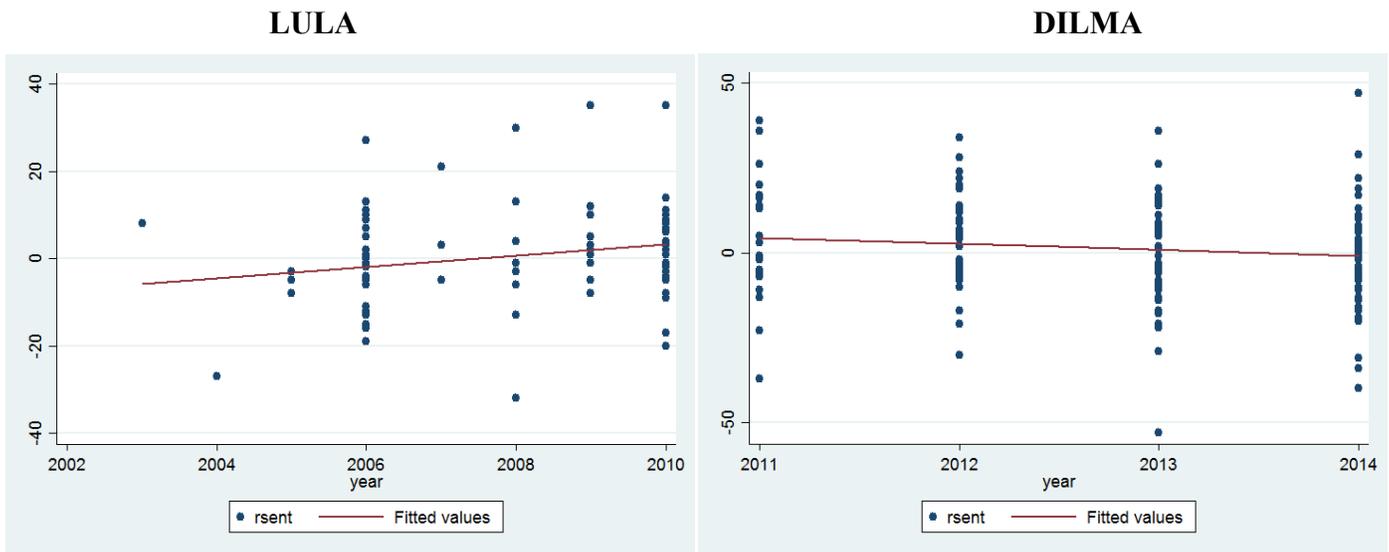
<sup>83</sup> Milani, 8-9.

<sup>84</sup> Milani, 9.

and the United States. Here, it is prudent to note how Dilma’s inability to continue the energy of Lula’s foreign policy has led to a weakening of Brazilian influence, especially within the BRICS, as China and Russia now fill the leadership roles that Brazil hinted at achieving during the Lula years.<sup>85</sup>

Lula opened African embassies and expanded initiatives like the ABC’s involvement with the continent, casting a South-South strategy that Fahimul Quadir has identified as an, “agenda [that is] based largely on national self-interest and national priorities.”<sup>86</sup> Roselle, et. al’s theory of strategic narrative describes how sound communication, articulation, and targeting are essential components for developing (or maintaining) a country’s narrative of itself. The data suggests that Dilma’s inability to maintain the intensity of Lula’s foreign policy outreach may account for one reason for the sentiment decline during her administration. The following graph breaks down sentiment trend between the two leaders:

**Figure 8. Lula Sentiment vs. Dilma Sentiment**



**Source:** Elaborated by the author.

<sup>85</sup> Cervo and Lessa, 141.

<sup>86</sup> Fahimul Quadir, “Rising Donors and the New Narrative of ‘South–South’ Cooperation: what prospects for changing the landscape of development assistance programmes?” *Third World Quarterly* 34, No. 2 (2013): 335.

One notices how the program's sentiment scores during Lula's administration trended positively, while they stagnate, if not decline during Dilma's. These findings offer support to the idea that for a country's willingness to enact the "Brazilian model" or even push for other Brazil-inspired reforms, it matters who the leader is on the Brazilian side.<sup>87</sup>

A final explanation for the importance of Brazilian leadership revolves around a brief discussion on the role of the "predominant leader" in international relations. Given the "presidentialization" of Brazilian foreign policy under Lula, there is value in also understanding the differences in the two leaders' leadership styles and understanding the implications evident in them. According to Margaret G. Hermann, et al, the "predominant leader" can take various forms, but for the purpose of this article, one can interpret a difference between the two leaders in style: Lula as a "goal-driven" iteration and Dilma as a "contextually responsive" leader.

Lula's presidency aligns closely with what Hermann, et. al. describe as a "goal-driven" approach, where "goals and principles defin[e] what is important in foreign policy. Specific issues...shape these leaders' views concerning their external priorities and their postures toward other actors."<sup>88</sup> A worldview that empowers the South, inserts hunger as an international issue, and asserts Brazilian influence abroad is an approach that coalesces with this vision. Findings from the Lula word cloud in this text support this claim. Moreover, Figure 6's graph showing the relationship between developed and developing world encompasses this phenomenon. Lula's leadership style empowered the Global South, whose nations responded favorably to the leader. Indeed, leaders in this vein hold an optimistic approach over long-running problems and are able to galvanize supporters against a perceived threat — the establishment Western powers that oversaw global governance.<sup>89</sup>

One can argue that Dilma, on the other hand, operated as a "contextually responsive" leader. The pitfalls of her domestic agenda, including the nationwide protests in 2013, limited her response to a more reserved foreign policy than her successor. These findings appear in Figure 6's revelation that developed nations responded unfavorably to the *Bolsa Familia* as her term progressed.

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<sup>87</sup> See the following article written during Lula's administration, for example: K.P. Nyar, "Brazil's poverty pill draws Indians," *The Telegraph*, April 16, 2010.  
[http://www.telegraphindia.com/1100416/jsp/nation/story\\_12345119.jsp](http://www.telegraphindia.com/1100416/jsp/nation/story_12345119.jsp)

<sup>88</sup> Margaret G. Hermann, Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany, Timothy M. Shaw, "Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals," *International Studies Review* 3, Vol. 2 (2001): 88.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, 88-89.

Although sharing the desire to continue the importance of transnational links and multilateral bodies, Dilma did not possess a propensity to engage in foreign policy “assertiveness,” that is, expanding trips to Africa or Southeast Asia at the rate of Lula. Additionally, she was hindered by domestic restrictions, including waning public support throughout her term. Her approach internationally can best be described as less ambitious, in decline, and ultimately less confrontational.<sup>90</sup> Dilma’s presidency also differed from Lula in that it presided over a dwindling Brazilian economy, but the differences between the two presidents’ foreign policy leadership styles is stark.

It is not the purpose of this study to engage in a comparative analysis between Lula and Dilma’s governance. However, it is important to identify these traits as examples of causes for the change in reception that the data suggests. The true purpose of analyzing leadership is to augment and contextualize the realities in which the two leaders served.

## **Conclusion**

The findings from this article are limited in scope but provide a better look at how Brazilian strategic narrative between Lula and Dilma influenced *Bolsa Família* reception abroad. Before the empiric results can be analyzed, it is important to explain the changes underway in Brazilian foreign policy in the last two decades. Since the 1990s, Brazil has diagnosed the international order as an imperfect system that has become increasingly complex and globalized. At the end of the Cardoso administration, for example, perceived weaknesses in Brazil’s own economic development model and the lack of tangible foreign policy benefits that the country had yet been able to achieve worried Brazilian diplomats and dissipated optimism at the onset of this uncertain future. What had once been a guaranteed assumption in the belief in strong international institutions was giving way to emboldened developing countries directly challenging the order after becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their lack of participation in global governance. Cardoso himself offered up a pessimistic take on the state of the global order: “Globalization is not a value...it exists. And it is necessary to have controls because it is going in a dangerous direction.”<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Cervo and Lessa, 133-135; Hermann, et al, 87-88.

<sup>91</sup> Fernando Henrique Cardoso, quoted in Hurrell, “What Kind of Rising State?”, 134.

Led in part by the emergence of growing economies and an ascendant political coalition at the onset of the 2000s, Brazil entered the first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century as a member of the BRICS buoyed by a recognition that it was on the precipice of greater world recognition. It was in this context that when Lula took over in 2003, he immediately identified two cornerstones of contemporary Brazilian foreign policy. The first was to increase Brazilian presence in international organizations, relying on the country's diplomatic prowess and ability to gain greater recognition and credibility from the gatekeepers of the traditional Westphalian order, especially with the United States. The second gave greater importance to whom these initiatives targeted: the developing nations of the Global South, including Africa.<sup>92</sup> For Brazil, it became just as important to develop a strategy for how it would increase its presence in these two areas. Lula created new measures in international development throughout the Global South as part of the increase in the foreign policy apparatus from Cardoso, using the ABC to promote agricultural cooperation, food security, education seminars, and other assistance mechanisms, especially in Africa.<sup>93</sup> In addition to focusing on the Global South, Lula also targeted the Western order with the insertion of new international agendas. One sees in this an example of a national narrative.

It is plausible to argue that the primary Brazilian agenda was hunger and poverty alleviation, which Lula referenced in his speeches, citing Brazil's own *Bolsa Família* as a model for implementation abroad.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, based on rhetorical analysis of Lula speeches, defining "hunger" as an international issue was his most important strategy for placing Brazil amongst the winners of the "credibility games" doled out by the developed world. Evidence shows that these issues are now at the forefront of the international agenda, based in part of Brazil's representation in leadership positions at the UN's FAO and in multilateral institutions' recognition of the issue. Indeed, at the 2012 Rio+ 20 conference on sustainable development, the final document included language on poverty reduction, representing a victory for Lula's successor, Dilma, who was in office at the time.<sup>95</sup>

In this context, the empirical findings of the article show *Bolsa Família* reception relatively unbiased, if not neutral, throughout the duration studied. However, this paints an incomplete picture as it contains both members of the Western-backed order as well as countries

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<sup>92</sup> Hurrell, "What Kind of Rising State?", 136-137.

<sup>93</sup> Milani, 10-11.

<sup>94</sup> Vigevani and Cepaluni, 1321.

<sup>95</sup> Cervo and Lessa, 138-139.

aligned with the Global South that make for better bedfellows with the Brazilian foreign policy agenda. Indeed, when analyzing the reception of Brazilian strategic narrative of itself as a poverty reductionist, the dataset revealed a warmer reception amongst South Africa, the Philippines, India, and countries from Africa, many of which received Brazilian aid in Lula's term.<sup>96</sup>

While press coverage was generally positive during Lula's term, the most overt criticism came after Dilma assumed the presidency, especially from English-speaking Western powers such as the United States, Canada, and England. Carlos Milani surmises that Dilma's popularity was tethered to Lula's, and once Brazil's economic problems began to unravel in 2013, the lack of charisma and political affability ultimately doomed Brazil's first female president in directing her attention abroad.<sup>97</sup> As such, these findings suggest that Lula's charisma, rhetoric, and vision of international poverty reduction allowed for the leader to define a strategic narrative of Brazil that was received best in the Global South, while received favorably-to-lukewarm in the Western order. Future iterations of this article could include data from the two years of Dilma's second term to determine whether international sentiment waned further as domestic problems mounted.

The data show that the *Bolsa Família* has enjoyed greater international attention since Lula ended his term in 2010. The changing international order, the transitions undertaken in Brazilian foreign policy, and the "rise of the rest," in the words of Fareed Zakaria<sup>98</sup>, are all factors that shape the reception of the *Bolsa Família* outside of Brazil's borders.

If this article has a singular contribution, it is the suggestion that for Brazil, leadership matters. More specifically, leadership styles are important given the president's unique control over the country's foreign policy agenda—a "presidentialization" of Itamarty most recently seen with Lula. One could interpret a positive international sentiment of the *Bolsa Família* to Lula's successful twin campaign to open Brazil to the Global South while giving greater importance to poverty reduction in international platforms, giving Brazil greater credibility in the institutions it values.

I am not interested in whether the *Bolsa Família* was successful on a policy level, nor do I wish to do a comparative study with other nations' cash transfer programs. The focus of the

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<sup>96</sup> Milani, 10-11.

<sup>97</sup> Milani, 11.

<sup>98</sup> Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World: Release 2.0* (W.W. Norton: New York, 2012), Chapter 7, "American Purpose."

article is singularly Brazilian. More time must pass before one can determine how these legacies changed during Dilma's term, but the data suggest that a decline could in place. Brazil has so far casted its strategic narrative of itself on a mix of its long-defined strength of relationship building alongside its more contemporary approach of an activist foreign policy. Whether this approach continues in the future relies on a myriad of factors. For now, the fact Brazil can even debate these next steps owes to the importance, and creation, of its strategic narrative.

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**Appendix 1. News Articles Per Country**

<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>ARTICLE FREQUENCY</b>
AUSTRALIA	7
BANGLADESH	1
CANADA	16
CHINA	2
EGYPT	1
ENGLAND	66
ETHIOPIA	5
GHANA	2
INDIA	29
IRELAND	6
KENYA	3
KOREA	3
MALAYSIA	4
MALTA	1
NIGERIA	12
NEW ZEALAND	1
PAKISTAN	17
PHILIPPINES	6
QATAR	2
SOUTH AFRICA	34
SAUDI ARABIA	2
SCOTLAND	1
SINGAPORE	2
TURKEY	2
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	2
UNITED STATES	50
ZIMBABWE	1

**Appendix 2. List of Presidential Speeches Discussing Bolsa Família, 2003-2014**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>TITLE OF SPEECH</b>
10/20/03	Speech of the Executive Secretary of the Bolsa Família Program, Ana Fonseca, introducing the Bolsa Família program
10/20/03	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in the introduction ceremony of the Bolsa Família Program, a conditional cash transfer program
11/17/03	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in the seminar, “Promoting a Political Consensus for the Implementation of 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Development Objectives in Latin America and the Caribbean
1/27/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the opening ceremony of the encounter “Brazil-India, Sustainable Development: Perspectives and Possibilities”
1/29/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the Seminar for Foreign Investors in Brazil
2/16/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the closing of the Annual Conference of the Parliamentary Network of World Bank Member States (videoconference)
2/17/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the lunch honoring Lebanese President Emile Lahoud
5/26/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the opening of the Conference of the World Bank on Combatting Poverty
6/23/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during lunch with foreign investors in New York
6/24/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in the opening of the Global Compact Leaders Summit
8/23/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in conjunction with the President of Chile, Ricardo Lagos
9/20/04	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the meeting of world leaders for the action against hunger and poverty, in the United Nations network
9/12/05	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the closing ceremony of the Latin American Conference against Chronic Hunger at the Encounter of Millennium Goals
9/15/05	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the meeting of the High Level of the General Assembly of the United Nations (Millennium Goals)
10/20/05	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, at the opening ceremony of the Bolsa Família International Seminar
12/14/05	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during a visit to the mayor’s office of Bogotá
1/10/06	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during a meeting with the director general of the IMF, Rodrigo de Rato
5/12/06	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, as a presenter in the Second Working Session of the 4 <sup>th</sup> Summit of Latin America and the Caribbean–European Union
9/19/06	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in the opening of the 61 <sup>st</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations
11/9/06	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva to the press during the signature ceremony of measures with Peruvian President Alan Garcia
4/26/07	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in a visit to the representatives of the Food and Agriculture Organization for Latin America and the

	Caribbean
4/16/08	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in the opening of the 30 <sup>th</sup> Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization for Latin America and the Caribbean
6/15/09	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in the 98 <sup>th</sup> International Conference of Labor
8/5/09	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during the International Symposium “Social Policies for Development: Overcome Poverty and Promote Inclusion”
8/7/09	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in the closing of the International Symposium “Social Policies for Development: Overcoming Poverty and Promoting Inclusion”
10/5/09	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during the closing session of the Brazil–Belgium Business Seminar: New Frontiers to Business
12/4/09	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during the Brazil–Germany Business Seminar
2/26/10	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during an encounter with El Salvador businesses
5/3/10	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during the closing ceremony of the business seminar “Brazil-Paraguay: Perspectives for Commerce and Investments at the Border”
5/10/10	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, in the opening ceremony for the Brazil-Africa Dialogue on Food Security, Combatting Hunger, and Rural Development
8/6/10	Speech of the President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio da Silva, during the signature ceremony for measures signed in conjunction with the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez
4/15/11	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, during the opening ceremony of the Forum of Boao
7/28/11	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, in a special session of UNASUR
10/19/11	Speech of the acting President of the Republic, Michel Temer, during the opening ceremony of the Worldwide Conference of Social Determinants of Health
12/15/11	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, during an encounter with the Executive Director of the United Nations Women, Michelle Bachelet
11/28/12	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, in the closing ceremony of the 18 <sup>th</sup> Industrial Conference of Argentina
12/14/12	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, during the closing ceremony of the Brazil-Russia Business Forum
2/22/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, in the opening ceremony of the Third Summit of South Africa and Africa
5/8/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, after the signature ceremony of measures with Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi
5/13/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, during the opening ceremony of the Brazil-German EEBA 2013
9/24/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, in the opening of the General Debate of the 68 <sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, United States
9/24/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, during the opening roundtable of the Political Forum of the High Level of Sustainable Development –

	New York, United States
9/25/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, during the closing of the Business Seminar, “Opportunities in Brazilian Infrastructure” – New York/ United States
9/30/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, after the bilateral encounter with the president of the Republic of Paraguay, Horacio Cartes – Brasília/Federal District
10/8/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, in the opening of the Third Global Conference on Child Labor – Brasília/Federal District
11/11/13	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, after a signature ceremony of measures – Lima/Peru
5/14/14	Speech of the President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, during an introduction ceremony of the Commitment for Employment and Adequate Work at the World Cup FIFA Brazil 2014

### **Appendix 3. Notable Word Counts of Presidential Speeches**

<b>LULA</b>		<b>DILMA</b>	
<b>WORD</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>WORD</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>
fome (hunger)	135	países (countries)	123
renda (income)	87	mun-do (world)	76
pobreza (poverty)	85	maior (greater)	59
sociedade (society)	73	crescimento (growth)	58
crise (crisis)	65	importante (important)	51
internacional (international)	60	renda (income)	50