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Resumo
The study of the Giddens’ Third-Way in Brazil has historical value and is necessary because its literature is incipient in Brazil and has shown importance in the Brazilian political study. Third-Way was a center-left world movement, flexible on the political spectrum although, with the proposal of Social-Democracy renewal. Cardoso had good political relationship with Clinton and Blair, classical Third-Way supporters. Through the qualitative approach and documentary analysis, Cardoso’s 1994 and 1998 government plans were studied. The purpose is to verify links between both government plans and Giddens’ Third-Way. Eleven key principles of the Giddens Third-Way were listed to check on government plans. It was found that both government plans are related to the Third-Way proposals, however, the 1998 government plan has a greater epistemological and conceptual relationship with the Third-Way than the 1994 government plan. The 1994 government plan had six principles and a half related to the 11 principles of the Third-Way, while the 1998 plan had 10 principles related. Also, the 1998 plan was closer to the foundations of social democracy (center-left) and the 1994 plan was very close to social liberalism (center).

Keywords
Third-Way; Brazil; Cardoso.

Resumo

Palavras-chave
Terceira-Via; Brasil; Cardoso.
Introduction:

in the 1990s, Giddens’ Third-Way was in vogue in the world politics. Nowadays, the previous proposal of the Third-Way does not find space, because it lost ground in the academic and political discussion over the years. However, it is fundamental to analyze the Third-Way Movement in order to understand how the political process occurred and how the Third-Way influenced this process in Brazil and around the World.

Analyzing the Third-Way in Brazil is important, not only to understand the political process, but also to the scientific production on this subject, since in Brazil the Giddens’ Third-Way was not deeply approached and is an incipient discussion, it has social, political and historical relevance although.

Thus, the research question is “How do the 1994 and 1998 government plans of Fernando Henrique Cardoso candidate are related with the Giddens’ Third-Way Movement?” To answer this question, under a qualitative approach and documentary analysis (BOWEN, 2009; SÁ-SILVA, ALMEIDA & GUINDANI, 2009; DENZIN & LINCOLN, 2018; KACHUYEVSKI & SAMUEL, 2018; EDMONDS & KENNEDY, 2017), we compared the theoretical assumptions of Giddens’ Third-Way with the content of the government plans of 1994 and 1998 of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) candidate for President. This paper choose Cardoso’s candidate due to his proximity to Bill Clinton and Tony Blair at that time of world history that Third-Way was at the center of the political theory debate.

Also, this work has found definitions about the concept of Third-Way; it contextualized the theme in the Brazilian political discussion and explained how the Third-Way was applied in this context. Thus, it explored the characteristics of the Third-Way and its contextualization in the national and global context were explained concisely in the scope of International Relations.

Third-way:

The use of the terminology “Third-Way” is not recent, however, this research deals with the Third-Way originated in the late 1980s by Labor Bob Hawke, who had a social-democratic government in Australia at that time. In addition, over time this idea was emphasized by former United States President Bill Clinton, the “United States Democratic Leadership Council” and also by the New Labor movement of Tony Blair (belonging to the British Labor Party), as well as several other tributaries (PIERSON & CASTLES, 2002).

Giddens (2007) stated that this Third-Way is intended to restructure leftist doctrines, i.e. the way that leftist parties would respond to changes such as globalization, specialization of labor, and general changes in the were quite in vogue in the 1990s. Since other well-known political ideologies considered as alternatives, such as socialism (management and economic planning) and neoliberalism (free market fundamentalism), historically, according to the Giddens (2007) the third-way argued that socialism and neoliberalism proved to be quite ineffective for economic development of traditional socialism and for the reduction of social inequalities of neoliberalism.

There is no single variant of the Third-Way, however, there are some key issues for structural reform advocated by the Third-Way in common. Giddens (2007) pointed out 11 keys issues (see Figure 1):
First, the Third-Way support the reform of government and state in order to reduce the overload and excessive bureaucracy that does not allow the good provision of public services for citizens, i.e. administrative reform of government. Then, to restore and renew public institutions so that they can be trusted by citizens and civil society in general. It also includes ensuring that the principles of transparency, publicity and access to information be a reality with long-term state policies for civil society (GIDDENS, 2007).

Second, Strong Government and State, not large, that guarantee development and social justice, e.g. to ensure that there is free competition in the markets for antitrust regulation. Third, the civil society as a base of state support, meanwhile, efficiently regulated by the state (GIDDENS, 2007).

Fourth, supporting the notion of social responsibility and reliability related to rights in social contracts and social dealings. Fifth, the “pursuit of equality” and social justice, e.g. “progressive taxes on wealth and income” are considered fair and desirable (GIDDENS, 2007).

Sixth, to develop a “dynamic economy” and “full employment” environment. Thus, Government must direct macroeconomics, be fiscally responsible and encourage technological innovation and the economic field for investment, e.g. investing in education and professionalization (GIDDENS, 2007).

Seventh, the defense of the necessary and complementary state in which there is a connection between economic and social policies, e.g., the tax credit for the neediest as a way of promoting social justice or the smart reduction of taxes to improve generation of jobs (GIDDENS, 2007).

Eighth, to reform the Welfare State under the sustainability principle and with a safety net. Ninth, to manage new approaches to tackling crime, e.g. an ostensible policing of areas where public spaces have become dangerous, tracing offenders and reparations to victims (GIDDENS, 2007).

Tenth, policies concerning a new environmental agenda focused on the analysis of ecological risks that may even pose health risks, e.g. scientific tests and to promote dialogue with the civil
society regarding the problematization of these risks (GIDDENS, 2007).

Eleventh, arguing a responsible capitalism that makes regulatory policies about the socio-environmental costs of companies to society, so that, private companies do not forget their social obligations, e.g. tax havens are socioeconomic problems that it must be eliminated or regulated (GIDDENS, 2007).

Mark Latham (2007) stated that the Third-Way Movement adopts the longstanding principles of the left - concerning the justice and decency of our society in the face of the challenges of globalization. For then, it is believed that there can be a competitive market economy with a good and solidary society and that this approach is receptive and productive in an electorate that does not see its interests in a single dimension - whether left or right. For this reason, the Third-Way takes policies into account as a proof of persuasion and transmission of its values, as seen on Figure 2.

As for the Welfare State: the Third-Way seeks to revise it so that it won’t to be undone, but to be reconstituted. Thus, the civil society is strengthened through “delegating” policies. The State is seen as a facilitator or enabler involving in the costing and regulation of these services, however, the State is not seen providing certain services (GIDDENS, 2007).

It should be made clear that in Brazil, there was not a deep welfare state policies consolidation as in the first world countries until the end of the 1990s, when a better project was begun to consolidate it through programs of transfer of income by Cardoso’s Administration, e.g. bolsa-escola, bolsa-alimentação and auxílio-gás. And later, all theses programs became bolsa-família by Lula’s Administration (MEDEIROS, 2001; ROCHA, 2005).

The bolsa-escola subsidized low income families and provided better quality of life and relief of the poverty for those who were its beneficiaries (RESENDE & OLIVEIRA, 2008). Bolsa-escola had two main prerequisites for its families: the children between 6 to 15 years old must be on the school and a family income of half of a minimum wage. (ROCHA, 2005). In addition, the bolsa-alimentação was an...
extra subsides of *bolsa-escola* for families with children less than seven years old (ROCHA, 2005).

Low income families were subsidized by *auxílio-gás*, a program of transfer of income for Liquified Petroleum Gas (LPG) that can be found in houses kitchen, the criterion was the family income be less than a minimum wage (ROCHA, 2005).

As illustrated in Figure 3, the Third-Way is not a closed concept, since different forms can be identified. There may be differences between the Liberal Third-Way and Communitarian Third-Way, among others approaches can be distinguished. Besides that, different types of communitarianism may be progressive or conservative, voluntarist or statist (Driver & Martell, 2007).

![Figure 3. Third-Ways flexibility.](image)

Wolfgang Merkel (2007) analyzed at that time that some of these Third-Way models and reported them, and studied the general resources and restrictions of the Third-Way and the cases of England, Sweden and France. Other authors have studied other cases: Paul Dalziel (2007) analyzed the case of New Zealand, and Galston & Kamarck (2007) studied issues that would affect Americans in the 21st century.

How does the Third-Way see the question of equality and inequality? The American philosopher Ronald Dworkin associated equality with responsibility and political legitimacy, so he wrote assertively:

“We cannot forget the equality. We cannot abandon the abstract ideal because the most fundamental commitment of a legitimate political community - a commitment that its legitimacy depends - is in itself an abstract egalitarian compromise. No government will be legitimate when it does not show equal care concerning for the fate of all the people over whom it affirms its dominion and for whom it requires fidelity, and it is imperative to consider together, as theoreticians and citizens, the practical implications of this undeniable political responsibility. We must explore and debate, for example, what distribution of resources and opportunities in a community is consistent with or inconsistent with their equal concern with all citizens. “ (DWORKIN, 2007, p. 247, own translation).

Thus, Dworkin (2007) argued that the legal order guarantees equal opportunities for all citizens, isonomy in terms of opportunities and resources. As for equality of resources, the Welfare State programs stand out because, whenever the government limits social welfare programs their decision will make the desolate life of the poor even more desolate.

Highlighting the importance of equality, Dworkin (2007) reported on two extremely important humanist principles that must walk *pari passu* with equality, which are the principles of equal importance and that of special responsibility (see Figure 4). The principle of special responsibility refers to the idea that there is anyone who carries special and final responsibility for the success of one’s human life.
In addition, the principle of equal importance considers the question of the existence or not of multiple options of choices linked to the resources and cultural limits. While the principle of equal importance implies the idea that the success of the human being does not depend on its history, sex, race, among others (DWORKINS, 2007).

Reviewing the approach of equality’s concept is an important issue for the Third-Way movement. The modernizing social democrats, as Giddens also calls the adepts of the Third-Way political ideology, should not adopt egalitarianism at all costs because Giddens believes that this is not possible due the economic competition is desirable. Thus, the State and the Government must ensure conditions within which its citizens can conquer with their own efforts all that is necessary for full civic efficiency (GIDDENS, 2007).

The focus should be to reinforce the fight for equal opportunity and with incentives for people to develop their skills. Therefore, in a free environment with equal opportunity, there is the promise of a diversified and plural social life, since citizens can develop their skills according to their free will. However, it does not summarize the Third-Way preferred to emphasize equal opportunity:

“The emphasis on equal opportunity, it should be clarified, still presumes the redistribution of wealth and income. (…), as equality of opportunity produces inequality of results, redistribution is necessary because the opportunities in life need to be reallocated over the generations. Without this redistribution, “the inequality of outcomes of one generation is the inequality of opportunity of the next generation” (Tobin, 1999, p. 58-61). A second reason is that there will always be people to whom opportunities will necessarily be limited, or who are left behind while others do well. One should not deny them the chance to lead gratifying lives. “ (GIDDENS, 2007, p. 256, own translation).

The book “Beyond Left and Right: the future of radical politics” written by Anthony Giddens, originally published in 1994, begins to sow the seeds of what was known in the 1990s as the Third-Way Movement. There is neither a rejection nor a total accep-
tance of socialism, on the contrary, it is believed that it is still valid that Social Democrats consider some criticism that traditional socialism has made to capitalism (GIDDENS, 1996).

Giddens (1996) stated that the Third-Way believed that some of the basic ideals associated with socialism remain as convincing as ever, in addition, with an approach that seeks to be far from extreme extremes (seen on Figure 5). Then, The Third-Way is a revision of leftist doctrines, that is, it tends to center-left. Third-Wat in “Beyond the left and the right”, advocated the existence of pluralism; tolerance; dialogue; healthy, smart and sustainable coexistence with others; and the acceptance of differences in this globalized world.

In addition, the Third-Way argued that it is necessary to find consensus and an alternative to the various facilities and difficulties to avoid new radicalisms and maybe paradoxical in certain features:

“The universal values that are emerging today - and which are the driving mechanisms of forms of radical politics ... We are now in a world in which there are many others, but also in which there are no others. The risks of great consequence, the potential “evils” of modernity, among which must be included the violent conflict of fundamentalisms, (...) Unpredictability, artificial uncertainty, fragmentation: these form only one side of the globalizing currency. On the other side are the shared values that come from a situation of global interdependence, organized by the cosmopolitan acceptance of difference. (…) Empirically, many disastrous scenarios are possible - the rise of new totalitarianisms, the disintegration of the world’s ecosystems, a society of affluent tributaries, in permanent struggle with the impoverished majority. But there are currents opposed to these scenarios in reality (...)” (GIDDENS, 1996, p. 286, own translation)

Bresser-Pereira, a Brazilian researcher of economics, political science and law, who was also former Minister of Administration and State Reform for the Cardoso’s management, and he named the Third-Way with the nickname Nova Esquerda, i.e., “New Left”, almost “New Labour” (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2007).

And, Bresser-Pereira (2007) argued that in the 1990s the center shifted to the left committed to the
ideas of equality and democracy and believed that Third-Way in power should govern capitalism in a more competent way than own capitalism, such as a new mechanism of markets and governmental interventions (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2007). In addition, Bresser-Pereira (2007) differentiated general aspects between the distinction of the Third-Way in the south and north of the world, such as to the questions of globalization, public debt, macroeconomics, and state intervention. He explained that:

“The New Left in the South is more critical of the inevitability of globalization than New Left of the North, and denounces the ideological character of this position. Moreover, since developing countries are basically debtor countries, while advanced countries are lenders, their views often diverge. The New Left in developing countries has not made the mistake of imputing the problems of their countries to external factors - a stubborn mistake of the old left - but understands that debt requires developing countries to obtain substantial trade balances to reduce relative to Gross Domestic Product the external debt, rather than becoming even more indebted, as both the right and the old left still believe to be possible. And it attributes to the state a more positive role than the new left in developed countries is ready to take on in public discourse. “(BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2007, p. 502)

As for the globalized world, the old left rejects competition, while the new left rejuvenates the ability of free trade and national industries to compete, that is, the government is a enabling entity. Thus, Globalization limits only countries with a high degree of indebtedness and the governments must avoid to reduce their external debt through commercial balances gradually (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2007).

Bresser-Pereira (2007) also defended the predictability of investments so that capitalists can invest, in this way, there is no viable government if the capitalists cannot invest, the Third-Way defends this postulate.

In short, the criteria of the New Left or Third-Way are (seen in Figure 6): new middle class and capitalists in social democratic party control; role of the complementary state; management state reform, as new public management agenda; implementation of basic social services by public non-governmental organizations; financing basic social services by the state; social security (basic and complementary) guaranteed by the State; Keynesian macroeconomic policy; and to consider globalization as a challenge or opportunity (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2007).

![Figure 6. The New Left’s perspective, a southern approach.](image-url)
If the Third-Way, for Bresser-Pereira, represented a New Left. The French sociologist Alain Touraine (1999) stated that Cardoso is in the center, or in the center-left and the opposition affirmation (i.e. Workers Party, Partido dos Trabalhadores in Portuguese) that FHC sold his soul by allying himself with the Partido da Frente Liberal (PFL, a former Brazilian right wing political party of 1990s, currently PFL became Democatas, a right wing political party), therefore on the right, is a misunderstanding. For Touraine, FHC’s centrist characteristic was to defend the strengthening of the state, improve it and carry out administrative reform. That, for Bresser-Pereira, would be the New Left (TOURAINE, 1999; BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2007).

On the other hand, Touraine (1999) raised the Cardoso’s characteristics that denominates as center-left when comparing him with Tony Blair. In Britain, Blair wanted to end Thatcher’s liberal policy and proclaimed a great need to give priority to the problems of education and health. Then, Cardoso could simply practice a liberalizing economic policy, however, it maintained its commitments with the permission to the social actors to support in the State. In the comparison with Blair, in the question of education, the Touraine mentioned the policies of Paulo Renato (he was Cardoso’s Minister of Education), which allowed an open, that is, a democratic system of political and social decisions.

The national context is very complex. In the 1990’s, the Brazil had just come out of a dictatorial regime less than a decade ago. There was political and economic instability. So much so that Former President Fernando Collor was submitted to the process of impeachment that was approved, then Itamar Franco (vice) took over the presidency. Thus, in that time, Cardoso was Minister of Foreign Relations and, later, he became Minister of the Treasury. The Cardoso’s team in the Ministry of Treasury drafted the Real Plan (a new currency and economic plan), which was very successful with concrete results in the fight against inflation and enjoyed national popularity.

In 1988 a new constitution was granted. This constitution conferred a wide range of rights and duties on the Brazilian people. It known as a Citizen Constitution due it guarantees fundamental rights and guarantees (never before social rights were in a Brazilian constitution), the organization of the state, the organization of powers, the question of the defense of the state and of the democratic institutions, provides for taxation, budget, economic and financial order, social order and other generalities (BRASIL, 1988).

This new constitutional order broke with the previous one and also established the presidential system with direct voting. Thus, it is a challenge for the next governments to ensure the new rights that were granted in the Magna Charta, as well as to organize a whole democratic system.

Comparative and documentary analysis:

In the first Cardoso’s plan of government, four approaches are related to the reform of the government and of the state proposed by the Giddens’ Third-Way, which are: administrative reform; tax reform; social security reform; and a reform that includes privatizations (CARDOSO, 1994; GIDDENS, 2007).

Concerning the state reform, the 1994 government plan justified it as indispensable for economic stability, sustainable development, correction of social and regional inequalities, social innovation and for
the interest of the common good to be effective and not for small groups and clientelism. The privatizations defended by Cardoso’s 1994 government plan, in relation to the Third-Way should contribute to the reduction of bureaucracy and to a leaner state (CARDOSO, 1994; GIDDENS, 2007).

In the fourth objective of the 1998 government plan for “consolidating the democracy and promoting human rights”, there is the item “modernization of the state” in the first position among the items of this objective. To modernize the state, it was assumed that one must first work on the concept of necessary and complementary state; Second, the government has to propose, to induce, to facilitate and to regulate public policies with the engagement of civil society in decision making; third, to create state funding for the state and make it transparent by accountability (CARDOSO, 1998).

Thus, the 1998 government plan guidelines are related to the common assumptions of Third-Way: debureaucratization, decentralization, transparency, accountability, ethics, professionalism and healthy competition. (CARDOSO, 1998; GIDDENS, 2007).

The Third-Way proposed that the state must guarantee social justice with a strong and lean government that guarantees the exercise of free market competition (GIDDENS, 2007). The government plan of 1994, when dealing with industrial policy and foreign trade recognizing the challenge of globalization. Also, it considered the competitiveness and economic dynamism in the generation of employment, in the potential increase of the domestic market. In addition, to antitrust legislation and defense of free trade. As well, the economic development and private investment are treated as a presupposition for social development (CARDOSO, 1994).

The 1994 government plan differs of the 1998 government plan: the last Cardoso’s government plan had a greater appeal to the social than to economic development. While the 1994 government plan focused on job creation and the promotion of the national market, the 1998 government plan went beyond a focus on economic development, its greater emphasis on social justice was due to the approach in public policies against inequality (CARDOSO, 1994, 1998). That is, a more comprehensive State Interference, a Strong State and it shows to civil society that Cardoso would like to implement income transfer policies:

“It is undeniable that, in order to be effective in the rhythm and comprehensiveness that national indignation demands, the fight against poverty, inequality, disease, in short, the delay in all its manifestations requires - besides the presence of an agile and strong State, because it may be capable for designing. Furthermore, implementing and financing rational and competent public policies - the engagement of citizenship are needed. “ (CARDOSO, 1998, p. 270, own translation).

This justifies the theme of “another four years of development for all” of the 1998 Government Plan, i.e. one step further to make a “state with another profile, more agile, more effective and stronger in its new roles.” (CARDOSO, 1998, p. 13, own translation). Concerning fair competition, it is proposed to strengthen public administration and trade defense instruments (CARDOSO, 1998).

The Civil society is matter for the Third-Way, due it is the basis of state support and the state is regulated (GIDDENS, 2007). Thus, the 1994 government plan proposes a more active state to revitalize trade unions, federations, confederations, social movements, local community organizations, artists, intellectuals and workers in the creative economy (CARDOSO, 1994).
Therefore, there is strong reciprocity between the State and Civil Society, creating a partnership for sustainable development. For example, by allowing corporations, unions and universities to take responsibility for actions and institutions of public interest, after all, measures must be taken to ensure the engagement of an organized community presupposes their autonomy, establishing their own priorities, autonomously administer resources in an honest, transparent, rational way, efficient and sustainable governance (CARDOSO, 1994).

In both government plans (of 1994 and 1998), no mention was made of advocating the notion of responsibility in social contracts explicitly, however, in many of the other ten common characteristics of Third-Way, there is an implicit approach to responsibility in relationships and social contracts and dealings (GIDDENS, 2007, CARDOSO, 1994, 1998).

The Third-Way aim equality and social justice in society, as in the case of applying progressive income taxes (GIDDENS, 2007). In the 1994 government plan, it was recognized that taxes are necessary to sustain social policies and that it is a State duty to collect them (CARDOSO, 1994). Another important point is the assertion that the poor are the ones who suffer the most from unfair and disproportionate income collection:

“The tax burden that integrates the price of goods and services is the same for the rich and the poor, but it affects the poor people more heavily, because they consume all the income they earn. Therefore, the impact of this taxation is strongly regressive. “(CARDOSO, 1994, p. 191-192, 195, own translation)

Criticizing the taxation in vogue at that time and calling it “regressive”, a tax reform was also proposed to avoid investment surpluses, excessive import taxes, and high taxes on market basket products. However, it proposed to increase the tax on products considered non-essential, superfluous and luxurious to reduce the inequality of taxation, which it affects proportionately more the poor than the richest (CARDOSO, 1994).

The inequalities correction of leftists or center-leftists governments, programs and ideological defense is a fundamental issue. Giddens (1999) recalled the distinction between the Bobbio’s definitions of right and left, in addition, he stresses the importance of how not only inequality is analyzed to define political and ideological position of anyone, moreover in the power to improve people’s life in several points:

“Bobbio is correctly saying that the left and right distinction will not disappear and see inequality at its core. Although it can be interpreted in quite different ways, the idea of equality or social justice is basic to the left perspective. The equality was persistently attacked by the right wing. Bobbio’s definition, however, needs some refinement. Those on the left not only seek social justice, but also believe that government should play a key role in promoting this goal. Instead of speaking of social justice as such, it is more accurate to say that being on the left is to believe in a policy of emancipation. Equality is important above all because it is relevant to people’s opportunities for life, people’s well-being and people’s self-esteem.” (GIDDENS, 1999, p. 51, own translation).

The social inequalities became the focus of discussion, in the 1998 government plan, due to the preponderance of social policies and the explicit intention of implementing income transfer policies and this government plan associates income transfer policies with government plan theme “Avança Brasil” (i.e. Go ahead, Brazil!), the 1998 government plan ipsis litteris wrote that its desire was “to advance, above all, in the permanent struggle against social
exclusion, hunger, poverty and inequality, carrying out a new revolution in social and income transfer policies” (CARDOSO, 1998, p. 15).

In addition, the 1998 government plan ensured against social prejudice and discrimination. It proposes to strengthen the equality between men and women and racial equality in the labor market. Also, using culture as a tool of social integration and social justice to generate greater tolerance and social equality. For education, it was defended to correct educational inequality in every national region, since more than half of the enrollments are concentrated in the South and Southeast (CARDOSO, 1998).

Giddens (2007) argued that the Third-Way advocated a dynamic economy with full employment. Thus, the government would manage the macroeconomy, be fiscally responsible and to encourage technological and market innovation, e.g. investing in vocational education.

In 1994, Cardoso’s government plan defended the macroeconomic balance because it would be a pathway for the nation’s economic and social development (CARDOSO, 1994). In 1998, the government plan maintained its commitment to the policy of macroeconomic equilibrium, to maintain the economic stability achieved and its social gains. In addition, to stimulate the economy, Cardoso suggested encouraging technical and scientific research, especially in agriculture, to double exports by the end of the mandate in 2002 (CARDOSO, 1998).

A necessary and complementary state is defended by the Third-Way movement (GIDDENS, 2007). The 1994 government plan was committed to fiscal responsibility, as well, with economic stability advocated making necessary fiscal adjustments and making a tax system more stable and reliable for investors (CARDOSO, 1994). In 1998, the necessary and complementary state was explicitly justifying it, that is “necessary state to take care of everything that cannot and should not be delegated” (CARDOSO, 1998, 272).

The economic stability and price plans are indispensable for Cardoso (1994, 1998) in his government plans. According Resico (2012), the economic stability provides useful and relevant information for economic decision-making to the population and to investors in general.

There was no well-structured and consolidated Welfare State in Brazil, it is known that a sustainable Welfare State is matter for the Third-Way (GIDDENS, 2007; MEDEIROS, 2001). However, in Brazil there was a social security system that has an worker safety net feature. Thus, in 1994, the decentralization was proposed in the form in which social programs should be applied and administered, for example, through Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or private companies (CARDOSO, 1994).

Also, Cardoso suggests a pension reform to correct the distortion of that 26% of privileged retirees who consume 57% of spending, such as high income and early retirements. So that the poorest and those who start working early can have a decent retirement (CARDOSO, 1994).

Persson (2010) wrote an paper that analyzes social democracy, democratic socialism, the third way and the construction of the welfare state in Brazil. He stated that the Candidate Cardoso found the following national situation about retirements:

“He Found a real different world around here. Initially, instead of government start thinking about a welfare state, this proposed new model - still under development - had primarily to worry about the problems of hyperinflation.
(...) One of the greatest problems faced was precisely one of the classic pillars of the welfare state: social security. In Brazil, it had become a system of creating and reproducing inequalities on a scale unthinkable by European standards “(PERSSON, 2010, pp. 98-99, own translation).

It was proposed in 1998, as noted in previous paragraphs, that income transfer programs and other social policies would be formulated to correct social inequalities. In the security system, a universal basic coverage was proposed by the Instituto Nacional de Segurança Social (INSS, i.e. Brazilian Social Security Institute) and the end of social security exclusivity for public servants (CARDOSO, 1998).

In the Brazilian history, welfare state policies resulted from: a concentrative development model; by the lack of coalition among the most diverse workers, whether industrial or not; and very low autonomy related to state bureaucracy. The welfare state policies had a self-financing character, distributed to the individual criterion, which limited the universal character of beneficiaries. And, the welfare state policies were extremely regressive social spending (MEDEIROS, 2001).

Concerning security, the Third-Way has openness to innovations and flexible measures to combat crime (GIDDENS, 2007). In 1994 government plan, not only the strict application of the law, Cardoso (1994) stated that the distribution of income and the resumption of growth were steps considered fundamental to fight against crime:

“And it is not a question of choosing between the police state and the welfare state. First, because there is no democracy without obedience to the law, which ultimately depends on the coercive power of the state. Secondly, because the welfare state depends on its coercive power to a large extent: power to collect taxes and support social policies; power to safeguard public spaces and preserve these places, i.e. public infrastructure; to promote and ensure individual and collective rights in labor, economic, environmental, and so on. “ (CARDOSO, 1994, pp. 161-162, own translation).

In 1998, public policies designed for security were broader: continuing to modernize Brazilian legislation focusing on prevention and repression against crime; granting more autonomy for States belonging to Union to organize their public security; formulating a Política Nacional de Segurança Pública (PNSP, i.e. National Policy on Public Security) that strengthens security organizations and be aligned to the Plano Nacional de Direitos Humanos (PNDH, i.e. National Human Rights Plan), e.g. on the security of people (CARDOSO, 1998).

Also, in 1998 government plan, it was proposed for public safety: to focus on preventive policing; to encourage the investigation of crimes through which it has been mainly denounced by its victims; to qualify the police officers; to create programs to prevent juvenile delinquency; to promote programs to protect families of policemen threatened due their work, among others (CARDOSO, 1998).

The environmental agenda also includes the risks to human health developed with popular participation is another common concern between the Third-Way treated by Giddens (2007).

In 1994, Cardoso’s government plan assumed: to create a National Environmental Education Program to awaken the conscience of citizens to respect the environment; to support environmental projects from civil society; to protect ecosystems and biomes to consider who occupies them, e.g. indigenous peoples; to protect the environment with balance to human needs; and to integrate and improve management models of conservation departments (CARDOSO, 1994).
The 1998 government plan was concerned with sustainable development at the national and international levels by: instituting the Política Nacional de Meio Ambiente (i.e. National Environmental Policy); to consider Agenda 21 in public policies; strengthen state and local institutions responsible for environmental issues, through the Programa Nacional do Meio Ambiente (i.e. National Environment Program); inserting the environmental agenda in the decisions of official development agencies by the Green Protocol; and to advance international cooperation, such as the Pilot Program for the Protection of Tropical Forests (CARDOSO, 1998).

In short, Cardoso stated that government management would implement natural resource policies, to decentralize environmental management, strengthen planning and integration with civil society, and integrate environmental actions against the poverty and social exclusion (CARDOSO, 1998).

Finally, the defense of a conscious capitalism, which it regulates and considers the socio-environmental costs of private initiative to society and the fight against haven tax are the main characteristics of Third-Way (GIDDENS, 2007).

There is no mention of responsible capitalism in the 1994 government plan nor in the 1998 government plan. However, in 1998 government plan, it was considered that the State should not omit its regulatory role about corporate responsibility (CARDOSO, 1994; 1998).

The Figure 7 presents the synthesis of the interrelation between Giddens’s Third-Way theory and the Cardoso Government’s 1994 and 1998 plans. In both government plans, there was no explicit mention of terms linked to social responsibility and reliability in social dealings and contracts, only there were some implicit questions, but there was no direct intention that this was a major issue. Also, it is noteworthy that from the eleven characteristics of the Giddens’ Third-Way, it is seen in Figure 7, the dynamic economy and full employment was separated, since both plans of government defend dynamic economy. Furthermore, only the 1998 government plan advocated full employment.

Figure 7. Synthesis of the interrelation between Giddens’s Third-Way theory and the Cardoso Government’s 1994 and 1998 plans.
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The 1994 government plan considered economic and price stability essential to gain confidence in the economy and pave the way for future investments in social policies and social welfare. However, there was no simultaneous and direct discourse on social policies of income transfer policies and responsible capitalism. The Necessary and Complementary State was not contemplated. Also, full employment was not in 1994 government plan due to the urgency of other agendas in society, such as the recovery of investor confidence and in policies to stabilize the Brazilian currency.

Thus, the first plan of government prioritized the economic issues; it did not focus on social policies, however, it did not neglect the social side because it understood that before formulating more solid social policies, it had to consolidate a solid economy, e.g. policies aimed at administrative reform, pension reform and tax reform.

The 1998 Government Plan suggested the creation of social policies and income transfer policies, thus, there is a more focused discourse on social issues in the fight against inequalities. Also, the Necessary and Complementary State was more clearly applied by the notion that the state has roles that are not delegable in the regulation of the market, and also that it has a duty to combat misery.

It should be noted that from the 11 principles of the Giddens’ Third-Way, we divide a principle into half, that is, the part of the – dynamic economy with full employment – became full employment on the one hand, and the part of the dynamic economy on the other side.

Thus, the 1994 government plan is related to 6.5 principles of the 11 principles of the Giddens’ Third-Way: (administrative reform; sustainable welfare state; strong and not large state; focus on and sustained by civil society; flexible new approaches against the crime; environmental agenda with citizen engagement; and dynamic economy). On the other hand, the 1998 government plan is related to 10 principles of the Third Way, containing all the principles present in the previous government plan and includes: (full employment; necessary and complementary state; and responsible capitalism).

The principles that were in the 1998 government plan and absent from the 1994 government plan, such as necessary and complementary state and responsible capitalism, made the 1994 government plan closer to an agenda of social liberalism, i.e. a Third-Way more liberal. On the other hand, in 1998, Cardoso has a government plan that is closer to the principles of the Giddens’ Third-Way, center-left and social democratic.

Conclusions:

The Third-Way is an open concept that aims to renew the leftist principles of justice and decency to overcome the challenges of globalization through the intersection of a solidary society with a competitive market economy. Thus, it attracts an electorate with multiple dimensions interests. It is a consensual movement, the renewal of social democracy, which dialogues with the center-left and center-right to defend points of view as egalitarianism, diversity, tolerance, civic efficiency, economic competition and free environment and which it rejects authoritarianism and extremism.

The Cardoso’s Government plan of 1998 had a greater relationship with Terceira-Via than Car-

In 1994, Cardoso’s government plan sought to improve the economy so that in the future it could improve investment in social policies, and so on. The 1998 government plan foresees the consolidation of Welfare State, income transfer policies and other social policies. The biggest difference between them is that the 1998 government plan defended the idea of the role of the Necessary and Complementary State to which the State cannot fail to make certain obligations, it has becomes a step to the center-left.

For the next surveys, we recommend to analyze the followings government plans of the previous candidates of the Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB, i.e. Brazilian Social Democracy Party) to find their possible changes of political position and if there are still remnants of the Third-Way in their plans of government.

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