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Panel Social Policy Diffusion.

## **Regional diffusion of Brazilian public policies for the strengthening of family farming in Latin America and the Caribbean**

### **A difusão regional de políticas públicas brasileiras para o fortalecimento da agricultura familiar na América Latina e no Caribe**

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**Abstract:** The paper presents results of Transbrasil project “Dissemination of Brazilian public policies for family farming in Latin America and the Caribbean”. The main hypothesis of the research is that the South - South cooperation reveals an "hybridization" of several forms of policy internationalization: the policy-transfers; the transnational circulation of norms and standards through international organizations; the regionalization and regional integration, especially through civil society and social movements. The research focused in two processes: the characterization of the policy models in Brazil and of the transferred policies in the recipient countries; the identification and profile characterization of the main vectors and brokers of the policy diffusion. The diffusion of the public food purchase model was studied in Colombia, Haiti and Paraguay, the diffusion of territorial policies in Argentina, El Salvador and Uruguay. The results of the study confirm the imbrication and hybridization of these three modalities of dissemination of Brazilian public policies for family farming. Official diplomacy and intergovernmental integration mechanisms are complemented by the dissemination of "bottom-up" policy models through social participation, as in the case of REAF, Via Campesina or agroecology and SAN instruments.

## Introduction

Since the beginning of the 2000s, a number of public policies and initiatives aimed at promoting Family Farming (FF) and Food and Nutritional Security (FNS) have been developed in Brazil, under the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), the National Council for Food and Nutritional Security (CONSEA), the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS), among others. Particularly worth mentioning are the Zero Hunger strategy, the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy, the “family farming law” and two flagship instruments: public procurement of food from FF and territorial policies. Such initiatives and their outcomes made Brazil an international reference in terms of public policies aimed at FF and FNS. Several international organizations have observed, analyzed, systematized and disseminated the Brazilian experiences around the world (WFP, 2016; FAO, 2015, 2014, 2013). At the same time, various countries have sought to establish cooperation agreements and exchanges aimed to learn from and share experiences with Brazil for subsequently transferring or adapting such initiatives to their contexts. The country has also brought its policies, practices and learning to several international forums, often in interaction with social movements and civil society organizations.

Given this context, Transbrasil project<sup>1</sup> studied the mechanisms for diffusion of Brazilian “models” of public policies aimed at FF and FNS among Latin American and Caribbean countries. The research here presented was aimed at understanding, characterizing and analyzing the modes of dissemination and local adaptation of two of these public policies within an emblematic context of international diffusion of Brazilian social policies (Faria, 2012; Oliveira, 2016).

Two Brazilian policies were analyzed: the public procurement of food from family farmers (represented by the Food Acquisition Program-PAA and the National School Feeding Program – PNAE) through their diffusion in Colombia, Haiti and Paraguay ; the programs for rural territorial development (represented by the National Program for Sustainable Development of Rural Territories - PRONAT and the Territory of Citizenship Program - PTC) with diffusion in Argentina, El Salvador and Uruguay.

The communication is structured into three sections: the theoretical and methodological framework mobilized; the ways of dissemination of the two Brazilian policies; and finally, a discussion and comparison of results.

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<sup>1</sup> The Transbrasil project, coordinated by the CDS (Center for Sustainable Development) - University of Brasília (UnB), was funded by CNPq (Universal Announcement 2014), and conducted by researchers from CEPPAC, CDS, FAV and FUP-MADER of UnB, PGDR - UFRGS, CIRAD and EACH - USP. The results of all countries studies are presented in Sabourin & Grisa (org.) 2018.

## **1. Theoretical and methodological elements for the analysis of public policies diffusion in Latin America and the Caribbean**

Public policies diffusion refers to “a process, either mediated or not, from which a policy related element, or set of elements ... situated somewhere in time or space, is adopted elsewhere” (Oliveira, 2016: 224). Our research sought to understand the specificity of the regional internationalization of Brazilian pro-family farming policies in Latin America, within the emblematic context of the international diffusion of Brazilian models of social policies (Faria, 2012, Oliveira, 2016). The theoretical approach combined views on internationalization of public policies (Berry & Berry, 1999; Stone, 2004; Hassenteufel, 2005; Peck and Theodore, 2012) and political sociology applied to rural development public action, extending the proposals by Hassenteufel (2008).

The 1990-2000's literature insists, on the one hand, on the globalized circulation of norms as an explanation to the internationalization of public policies (Delpeuch, 2009) and, on the other hand, on the impact, “pressures” or “penetration” of the global scale on the national scale (Davila-Aldas, 2011). However, analyzes of formulation of rural territorial development policies in Latin America (Massardier & Sabourin, 2013; Sabourin *et al.*, 2016) have already indicated that these policies are not directly subject to the logic of globalization of production and finances. Explanations shall, therefore, be sought amid socio-political logics other than solely that restricted to economic and financial globalization (Bhagwati, 2007). The world politics approach (Rosenau, 1997) has improved and expanded the tools for analyzing the transition from a state-centered state to a multi-centric world. This literature emphasizes the fragmentation of international arenas and the complex architecture of their connections (Biermann *et al.*, 2009).

On the other hand, the analysis of the public policy process provides a privileged position to observe the rearrangement of these policies and of public action for development at local, territorial or regional scale. In addition to verifying the transition “from national public policies to transnational public policies” (Hassenteufel, 2008: 16), diverse sociological factors were determined in the configurations of development at microregional or national scale. As noted by Camau and Massardier, (2009), there is a rapid multiplication of public action agents and a fragmentation of the various powers: international, national, private, and public (Rosenau, 1997).

These observations demand a re-reading of the process of public policy formulation, which Hassenteufel (2008: 23) describes as “a collective construction of public action”. This author points out a “contextualized analysis of interactions, between multiple and intertwined actors, at various levels, from the local to the international” passing through the macro-regional, to allow, “thinking the transformations of contemporary states” (Hassenteufel, 2008: 23). It is precisely the complexity of the entanglement or entwinement of these processes that can be observed in the case of diffusion, circulation and implementation of rural territorial

development (RTD) and public procurement policies among several Latin American countries.

Thus, following the analysis of Risse-Kappen (1995) who takes globalization as only one of the elements of policies transnationalization we sought to articulate three theoretical approaches that complement each other : a) the approach of public policy transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2004; b) that of transnational circulation of norms (Hassenteufel, 2005, 2008; Dumoulin, 2010); and c) the regionalization theories approach (Dabène, 2009; Pasquier and Weisbein, 2004), emphasizing the mechanism of bottom-up regionalization (Pasquier 2002). Some conceptual elements of these three approaches are explained in the following subsections.

### ***1.1 Policy transfer***

According to Dolowitz and March (2000), public policy transfer is “the process by which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political system (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political system” (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000: 5). This type of diffusion was central to our research, insofar as Brazil became at once a reference in social policies and pro-FF policies (Pommeroy and Suyana, 2016; Oliveira, 2016) and a promoter of international cooperation through South-South cooperation (Leite *et al*, 2014). Since 2003, the Brazilian South-South cooperation has been particularly active, with increased resources allocated to Latin America and the Caribbean, mostly to Portuguese speaking African countries (PALOP) (CAISAN, 2013). This corresponded to an unprecedented moment of openness and development of Brazilian diplomacy, when the guidelines of the Zero Hunger Program became a recurring theme in presidential speeches and in various international forums, constituting bilateral and multilateral agendas and influencing the cooperation agreements of Brazil with the developing countries (Cunha, 2010). Brazil had become an international protagonist in the fight against hunger.

The country sought to gain a position as a regional leader (Fiori, 2011; Malamud, 2011), competing with other regional powers even to claim a seat on the United Nations Security Council (Cason and Power, 2009). South-South cooperation has thus become instrumental, favored simultaneously by the period of socioeconomic growth and by the intense experimentation of innovative public policies in the country. Moreover, Brazil intended to play a regional leadership alternative to the United States hegemony in Latin America and the Caribbean, allying with Argentina and Venezuela in opening Mercosur (Vieira Martins, 2014).

In this context, the Brazilian government together with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the World Food Programme (WFP) has developed South-South cooperation programs that sometimes would rather resemble to a modality of policy transfer. It was especially the case of disseminating policies for strengthening FF focused on public procurement of food from family farmers both in Africa

(Mozambique, Ethiopia, Senegal, Malawi and Niger) and in Latin America and the Caribbean (Haiti, Ecuador, Colombia and Paraguay) (Siliprandi, 2013).

### ***1.2. Internationalization through circulation of norms***

Some authors argue that the adoption of new policies is less dependent on direct transfer of policies between countries than on the production and diffusion of norms under the influence of international arenas (Meyer et al, 1997), academic networks and experts networks that produce “transnational configurations” (Hassenteufel, 2008; Dumoulin, 2010. Ropp & Sikkink (1999) propose to interpret policies internationalization by means of the “socialization of international norms into domestic practices”.

In the case of Brazilian FNS policies, it is particularly noteworthy the predominant role of FAO in expanding both the arenas for debating FNS globally, and international exchanges (governmental and non-governmental), technical cooperation and humanitarian aid (Maluf, Speranza, 2013), especially following the food crisis that began in 2007. In this respect, Brazilian diplomacy played an outstanding role in the reform of UN’s Committee on World Food Security (CFS), so that to establish, within the UN system, an unprecedented mechanism for allowing social participation in the Committee – the so-called civil society mechanism – and for enabling the work of an advisory body, the High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE) in charge of promoting studies and proposing strategies on topics chosen by the CFS. These two innovations added strength to the CFS as a valuable tool for producing and disseminating international regulations related to FNS and to FF, favoring the diffusion of Brazilian public policies and programs in these areas.

As to the support for RTD policies in Latin America, it is worth noting the direct and indirect interventions by the European Union to transfer the model program LEADER (acronym in French for Links between actions for the development of rural economy) (De Janvry et al., 2004; Misialkowska, 2006). This transfer was mediated by international organizations (FAO and the International Fund for Agricultural Development -IFAD) and by inter-American agencies such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (Champetier, 2003; Serrano and Fernandez, 2005) and the World Bank (Valderrama, 2004). Subsequently, in a Latin American and Caribbean context of South-South relations, the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA) ensured Brazil a privileged role, via supporting both national policies and regional or inter-American programs, such as the MERCOSUR’s agricultural research cooperation (PROCISUR), and the Central American Rural Territorial Development Strategy (ECADERT).

### ***1.3. The dissemination of policies through intergovernmental regionalization***

This mechanism involves mainly MERCOSUR and then CELAC, both which opened an agenda for pro-family farming policies (Vigevani and Romanzini, 2011). It is mainly referred to the activities and articulations of civil society representatives in exchanging experiences and learning in terms of public policies (Pasquier, 2002). The emphasis lays on aspirations for political-institutional changes claimed by social movements, particularly by the

representatives of those who were “forgotten” by economic and agricultural growth in the last decades. They are organized at regional and international level, such as *Via Campesina*, the Alliance for the Food Sovereignty of the Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Special Meeting on Family Farming of MERCOSUR (REAF).

Since its foundation in 2013, CELAC embraces cooperation and implementation of policies to eradicate hunger and poverty as its top priorities. To this end, key specialized meetings were established within the framework of the Community, such as the Ministerial Meeting on Social Development, Eradication of Hunger and Poverty, and the CELAC Minister’s Meeting on Family Farming.

As noted by Rondo and Lopes Filho (2016), the agreements stemming from these meetings and the adoption of CELAC’s “Plan for Food and Nutrition Security and Eradication of Hunger 2025” (CELAC PLAN SAN) point to a concerted effort towards supranationalizing a set of public policies, focusing on those related to family farming and food and nutritional security.

#### *1.4. Method*

A common analysis framework was applied to the six relevant countries, seeking to characterize institutions, actors and arenas involved in the process of diffusion of public procurement and RTD policies; as well as the factors and modes of diffusion, appropriation, adaptation or reinterpretation of policy models. The role of South-South cooperation between Brazil and the studied countries, the work of international and regional organizations (FAO, WFP, IICA, Mercosur and CELAC) and national and regional social movements were particularly examined.

Data collection involved documentary research (analysis of archives and governmental documents), interviews with Brazilian public managers responsible for territorial development and FNS, and field research and interviews with the main actors in the “importing” countries (public managers at various government levels, farmers, social mediators, representatives of international organizations, scholars, etc.). Sixty-eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of international organizations, public managers, family farming organizations, family farmers and social mediators.

## **2. Imbricated modes of public policy diffusion**

### ***2.1 Policies for public procurement from family farmers***

The three studied countries (Colombia, Haiti, Paraguay) have recently made normative changes to introduce or facilitate the participation of FF in public procurement, which resemble to a greater or lesser extent to the Brazilian “model”. A certain “convergence” of

public policies and instruments is therefore observed (Hassenteufel, 2008; Evans, 2009) between Colombia, Haiti, Paraguay and Brazil. This observation prompted some questions: a) would Brazil, in fact, have influenced these new programs for purchasing from FF? b) if so, what were the vectors through which such ideas, experiences and learning were disseminated? c) what causal elements explain the convergence? d) what is the degree of convergence, i.e., would the experiences of Colombia, Haiti and Paraguay be copies of the Brazilian “models”?

### *The influence of Brazil on public procurement in Latin American and Caribbean countries*

Documentary research and interviews confirmed that Brazilian ideas and learning regarding the PAA (Food Acquisition Program) and the PNAE (School Feeding Program) have influenced and backed both the debate and institutional changes in the three cases: Colombia, Haiti and Paraguay.<sup>2</sup> Several statements and documents illustrate this influence. For example, the former Minister of Agriculture of Haiti stated that *“We have been in Brazil still in the beginning of the Lula’s Government. We were very interested in knowing the institutional arrangements that were being made to fulfill the promise of eradicating hunger and poverty. I remember having been received at the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Small Farmers (sic) and the public procurement agency, and I was very impressed with how it was being done there”*.

In the case of Colombia, in turn, in addition to statements, a report entitled “El ICBF y la economía local” of October 14, 2011 from the newspaper *El Tiempo*, also stated: *“Since 2010, on the initiative of the director of the ICBF, [...] a plan called ‘Local Purchases’ has been promoted, which was inspired by the Zero Hunger Program of Brazil.”*

Finally, in the Paraguayan case, an official from the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, who participates in the Producers' Groups Committee, stated that the Brazilian model was inspiring. This government official, besides being a civil servant, also participated in the REAF as a representative of civil society (organizer of producers and activist of the FF and FNS causes) being, therefore, a multi-position actor.

The Brazilian experience of public procurement for school feeding is therefore clearly recognized as a source of inspiration and action for the formulation of other policies in Latin America, which are obviously contingent on the political reality, the local institutions and organizations.

### *The vectors of dissemination of ideas, experiences and learning*

The research sought to understand and characterize the process of diffusion of the Brazilian model, that is, it sought to identify and analyze the vectors that mediated the circulation and dissemination of ideas and learning on public procurement from FF.

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<sup>2</sup> A further aspect observed, despite not being the focus of the research, was that experiences of other countries also played a role in this process, although the influence of Brazilian models has remained central. Lessons and learning from experiences of Canada, Ecuador, Bolivia, Panama, and Nicaragua were mentioned by respondents as somehow contributing to the process of institutional change.



Getting back to the analytical frameworks mobilized, we can claim that the Brazilian models were disseminated because of a confluence or hybridization of several mechanisms somewhat coordinated between the cases and internally to them. In all countries, several confluent elements prompted the debate on public procurement from FF. It is noteworthy that, to a great extent, Brazil's influence did not occur directly, but through the intermediation and work of international organizations and through technical instruments (reports, documents, declarations, regional regulations, and the internet).

In this process, the both direct and indirect work by FAO stands out. On the one hand, several FAO publications have contributed to putting the issue on the agenda of governments and to promote the Brazilian public procurement experience (FAO, 2015, 2014, 2013). On the other hand, in a rather direct way, in all three cases, the incidence and work of FAO technicians in negotiations with national governments has been fundamental. In the cases of Colombia and Haiti, such influence permeates the South-South cooperation agreements between these countries and Brazil, with FAO and the World Food Program (WFP) as key mediators. As remarked by Lopes Filho (2017) in the case of Haiti, "The scheme adopted by Brazil to disseminate the models is noteworthy because, although it is clear that the purpose of the agreement is to transfer policies through South-South Cooperation, FAO and WFP were chosen as mediators of this process". This choice "is due, in part, to the dual role played by international organizations as an arena for validating Brazilian instruments and as a vector for the dissemination of these instruments" (Lopes Filho, 2017).

It should also be noted that, in the case of Haiti, FAO technicians interacted directly with Brazilian public managers seeking to learn about public procurement from FF, and, although the Brazil-FAO-WFP agreement was carried out by the two agencies, most activities centered on bilateral exchanges between technicians of the two governments. This arrangement illustrates one of the forms that marked the initial studies on public policy transfer, characterized by the predominance of relations between nation states (McCann and Ward, 2013; Stone, 2004) and certain "methodological nationalism", as Stone (2004) puts it.

Conversely, in the case of Colombia, FAO technicians involved in the public procurement pilot projects had no direct relations nor participated in exchanges with Brazilian public managers (PAA and PNAE). The idea of public procurement from FF was encouraged by the Brazilian Ambassador and by the FAO Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean (Santiago-Chile). But this was soon reformulated by local FAO technicians based on readings about the experiences of Brazil, Panama, and Nicaragua (in terms of price setting) and on learning acquired over time, considering the specificities of the contexts where they worked. It is also noteworthy that, unlike Haiti, in this case, the social relations between FAO technicians and the Colombian public managers prevailed, rather than direct relations between them both and Brazilian public managers.

Proceeding the dialogue with the literature, we could also point as a key vector in the dissemination of Brazilian ideas on public procurement from FF, the work and articulations by representatives of civil society organizations for exchanging experiences and learning on public policies. Following Pasquier (2002) and Pasquier and Weisbein (2004), we refer here to the process of bottom-up dissemination, mediated by subnational actors. As analyzed by

Lopes Filho (2017) and Niederle (2015), social and union movements linked to family and peasant agriculture, inspired by the results of Brazilian experiences with institutional markets, sought to influence decision-making processes of the regional integration mechanisms, such as the Ministerial meeting on Family Agriculture of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), urging the adoption of regional regulations and similar measures in their countries. On the other hand, in Haiti, since 2007, organizations connected to *Via Campesina* have exchanged experiences with Brazilian social movements.

The state action in dialogue with social movements, and the interaction and exchanges between producer organizations contribute to legitimate and to locally “embed” the ideas of public procurement from FF, enabling, at the same time, these ideas to become institutionalized within national regulations, and to be gradually appropriated, reformulated and translated “from the bottom”, by the social grassroots.

In all these indicated mechanisms, as Oliveira (2013, p. 51) puts it, there is a prominent “body of individuals who move around various institutions during the process and who work in and outside these. [...] The action of individuals and their circulation among the various institutions are crucial in this process”. The “individual agencies” (Oliveira, 2013), the networks of relationships and trust, “individual circulation” (Oliveira, 2013) and the “institutional transit”<sup>3</sup> (Silva and Oliveira, 2011) influence the convergence of actions and public policies in Latin America and the Caribbean. Regarding this, Perafán, Grisa and Calderón (2018) point out that José Graziano da Silva – former Minister of the Lula Government, responsible for launching the Zero Hunger Program and the Food Acquisition Program – served as FAO's Regional Representative for Latin America and the Caribbean since 2006 and since 2011 he is the Director-General of the organization. Besides him, a group of ex-officials from the MDA (Ministry of Agrarian Development) and the MDS (Ministry of Social Development) works at FAO, both at the Regional Office, in Santiago, and at the headquarters in Rome, bringing with them a learning background on Brazilian public procurement and expectations for spreading its implementation to other contexts. In the case of Paraguay, the project manager at FAO is a former technician of the MDA, what facilitates the circulation of ideas between the countries. Similarly, Lopes Filho (2017, p.74) elucidates how the political and institutional trajectories of Brazilians have contributed to disseminate public procurement ideas in Latin America and the Caribbean.

However, the adoption of lessons from the Brazilian experience worked differently in each of the three cases. Likewise, the formulation and implementation of the food procurement policy in Brazil, the federal government of Paraguay established in 2013 a law dealing explicitly with food procurement from FF. The political commitment between the presidents of the two countries was fundamental for valuing the Brazilian experience. In the Colombian case, the nationwide change through a directive by the Ministry of Education was based on local experiences. In Haiti, despite the initiative by the national government with strong support from international organizations, the proposal still remains at the phase of pilot projects.

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<sup>3</sup>Institutional transit characterizes the “continuous displacement of social-partisan militants around different spaces of action (social organizations, political parties, institutional forums and governmental positions), which is, to a large extent, made possible by party-movement interpenetration” (SILVA, OLIVEIRA, 2011 , 98).

### *Convergences, causal explanatory elements and translations*

In addition to this reflection on the vectors of diffusion we can say that the convergence (Hassenteufel, 2014) of initiatives of public procurement from FF between Brazil, Colombia, Haiti and Paraguay is due to a set of causal dynamics, namely : a) the “transnational harmonization” (Hassenteufel, 2014), i.e. the adoption of rules and regulations by a number of countries, in this case manifested in declarations, recommendations and resolutions of CELAC and REAF; b) the similar social problems, requiring to reduce hunger, poverty and food insecurity and promoting FF; (c) diffusion, through international organizations (notably FAO and WFP), of “public policy guidelines, content and tools, legitimized and objectified by the promotion of ‘models’, production of reports, comparative data ...” (Hassenteufel, 2014: 183); and, certain political convergence between governments at certain times.

However, there is no simple adoption, at the level of national public policies, of guidelines, norms, institutions or instruments imposed, diffused or transferred from Brazil. Proposals are nationally “translated” in many ways: literally (reformulation in another language), sociologically (re-problematization in another context of action) and politically (adaptation to a new institutional context). Therefore, a process is set of “hybrid constructions that mix external (new) and internal (pre-existing) elements” (Hassenteufel, 2014: 185).

Thus, although Brazilian ideas, tools and learning have been diffused and transferred to the Latin American and Caribbean countries, the institutional formats of the mechanisms for public procurement from FF have been translated into national and local contexts. More than a “copy” (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000), we can observe that the Brazilian experiences were emulated or served as “inspiration” for the creation of specific mechanisms in each country. There are differences and similarities between the policies of Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay and Haiti regarding the exclusive participation of FF (or simply the requirement of “local purchases”), the definition of a minimum percentage of participation by this social category, and the maintenance or not of intermediaries.

The motivations for the convergence of policies on public procurement from FF are rather “voluntary attitudes” than “coercive elements” (Dolowitz, 2003). In fact, the rules and declarations established in the regional public spaces, the South-South cooperation rules and agreements, and the bilateral agreements were built upon solidarity and dialogue-based relations. Furthermore, each country enjoyed autonomy to “translate” (Hassenteufel, 2008) Brazilian ideas of public procurement into their sociopolitical and institutional contexts. However, given the disparities between countries in economic power and positioning in the global geopolitics, such dissemination and translation processes do not imply symmetrical relations. Thus, although inclined to voluntary actions, these processes reproduced unequal power relations.

In this sense, as recalled by Stone (2012), the translation of public policy is a kind of “collage” that involves the mixing of local practices, as well as borrowed policy practices, so as to build a new and hybrid policy formulation. Seeing the translation of public policy as a combination of epistemes and value judgments raises distinct reflections on the process of

policy diffusion and transfer (Stone, 2017).

## **2.2 The diffusion of Brazilian territorial policies in Latin America**

Unlike in the case of public procurement, Brazil did not become an exporting country of territorial policies. The public policy transfer of the Brazilian Territory of Citizenship program has only worked out in the case of El Salvador. The cases of Argentina and Uruguay comprise rather a translation, with a “collage” of various influences and greater dependence on the context and on preexisting organizations.

The dissemination of Brazilian RTD policies in the three analyzed cases is quite diverse, with each of the importing countries having a distinct vector of influence.

The case of *El Salvador* illustrates a transfer of the Territorial Citizenship Program that follows the “copy” type. Its diffusion was motivated by circumstantial elements that do not reflect the interest in the appropriation of the distinctive ideas of this approach, but rather the need to instrumentalize spaces of participation necessary to identify the local demands that the President of El Salvador had promised to establish during his mandate.

In this country, we find an almost straight-forward policy transfer, insofar as the copying of the Brazilian model of territorial policy is associated with a political convergence between the political parties in power (PT in Brazil, FLMN in El Salvador) and even to a mediation that involves personal relations between the PT, President Lula and the first lady of El Salvador, Vanda Pignato. At first, this refers to a vector that involves rather political and personal relations at the presidential level than circulation of ideas, international organizations and the bureaucracies of the respective countries.

Technical mediation was ensured by several missions and trainings by a staff member of the division of territorial development of the MDA. This rural territorial policy, however, has scarcely been internalized, political and personal relations being not sufficient for the incorporation by the various agents and government bodies of El Salvador. This led the *Territories of Progress* – the local version of the Territory of Citizenship Program – to completely cease following the presidential change.

The case of Argentina is interesting in that the national RTD program under the INTA (National Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Technology) starts virtually at the same time as the Brazilian national program under MDA, in the years 2003/2004. Indeed, since the 1990s there has been cooperation and even mutual influence between institutions of the two countries on the subject of FF, through EMBRAPA-INTA cooperation, discussions within MERCOSUR, and the creation of REAF precisely by decision and support of Brazil and Argentina.

However, if the INTA staff recognizes the Brazilian influence in other FF supporting mechanisms, this is not the case for the RTD program, which is considered endogenous to the institution. The main case for this endogenous character is the fact that INTA handles simultaneously agricultural research and rural extension and has a broad capillarity

throughout the national territory. At the theoretical-conceptual level, the main reference mentioned is the work of RIMISP (Latin American Center for Rural Development - Chile), whose experts conducted an IDB mission aimed at performing a national diagnosis on this subject.

Alongside this institutional attempt to estrange their policy from the Brazilian model, among Argentinian scholars in the area of territorial development the theoretical-conceptual influence of Brazilian scholars (Milton Santos, Manoel Correia de Andrade, Tânia Bacelar) is acknowledged, although without direct association with policy formulation. The sole recognition of Brazilian influence comes from the social movements connected to MERCOSUR bodies, particularly to REAF. Therefore, just a “bottom-up” diffusion based on the regional integration could be validated.

In Uruguay, in spite of diffuse and multiple influences, the managers of the Rural Development Directorate of MGAP (Ministry of Livestock, Agriculture and Fishing) assert that they learned about the Brazilian experience of RTD by the MDA/STD from various exchanges, mainly through the REAF, academia and IICA. Nevertheless, the conditions in the country are so different from those of Brazil that the PRONAT program was not taken as a model. The MDRs (Rural Development Boards) correspond to a double process of decentralization and of participatory approach within the MGAP.

### *Influences of Brazil*

Among the three studied countries, the case of El Salvador is the only one where the Brazilian RTD policy is a model, the object of a process of public policy transfer. In Argentina and Uruguay, despite some efforts by IICA or by academia towards disseminating a Brazilian model – or, in the case of IICA, a Latin American model inspired by Brazilian policy –, there was no transfer of public policy from Brazil to them. In the three studied countries, as in the case of public procurement, the RTD policy involves several agents of diffusion: bilateral and non-governmental international cooperation (Rimisp), the European Union, the United Nations (UNDP, IDB) and an Organization of American States body, the IICA. At times, most of these mediators have proposed either a partial or a local reinterpretation of, at first, the LEADER program, the European model, and then of the Brazilian RTD model. Such influence, however, cannot be directly attributed to the Brazilian policy, but rather to a convergence of goals in the search for alternatives that could reverse the critical poverty conditions of rural populations in the Region, and particularly in Argentina and Uruguay.

### *Vectors of diffusion*

In the case of RTD policies – excluding the case of El Salvador where the government-to-government transfer is more explicit – the vectors are more distributed and divided between international organizations, academia, and social movements.

The international organizations have financed diagnoses and studies, as for example IDB in Argentina and Uruguay. IICA has proposed a series of training programs in Uruguay and El Salvador. The EU, through Spanish cooperation, has advised the Territorial Planning policy in Uruguay. The consultancies for these interventions were also entrusted to scholars (from national universities and from RIMISP, in Argentina) or to Brazilian scholars in Uruguay, through IICA.

In Argentina and Uruguay, the role of the academy (at international, regional and national levels) consists in consultancies performed by scholars (IDB diagnosis in Argentina) or positions of trust in government (National Director of Territorial Planning and Directors of the National Institute of Colonization, in Uruguay).

The mechanism for bottom-up regional integration in the two countries worked through the REAF, albeit without this being central or decisive for RTD policies.

### *Transfer, convergence and reinterpretation*

The Territories of Progress Program of El Salvador represents, as already mentioned, an emblematic example of the transfer of public policy mediated by a South-South cooperation agreement. Two key actors account for starting the transfer process: Presidents Funes and Lula and, along with them, an actor responsible for transferring the objectives and instruments of the Citizenship Program to that country. As pointed out by Perafán (2018), this can be referred to as a “hard” transfer, different from the other two studied cases, in which the dissemination involves rather ideas, ideologies, concepts and notions of the territorial approach to rural development.

Both in Argentina and in Uruguay, public managers, scholars and local actors appropriate the territorial rhetoric, but, as in Brazil, when it comes to implementation, discourse and practice are apart. In the case of El Salvador, the discourse strength falls on the need to establish and maintain the arenas of participation, regardless of other ideas that feed this approach.

The convergence of public policies is evident in the cases of Argentina and Uruguay, especially with regard to cognitive and functional orders. As to reinterpretation, common aspects emerge between the Brazilian and the European references. Four features can be highlighted:

- actors participation, although in Argentina it is rather discursive than factual;
- execution by sectorial ministries dedicated to the FF segment in Argentina and Uruguay. In the case of El Salvador, since it is a transfer of the Citizenship Program implemented through an institutional arrangement directed by the Office of the Chief of Staff, the implementation of the program was entrusted to the Presidency of the Republic and its focus included actions beyond the agricultural sector, such as health and education programs.
- the lack of participation of the private sector in territorial policies due to their focus on FF, to lack of interest or to availability of other more effective and fast channels of negotiation.

- low enforcement capacity, ascribing a character of soft law to the actions and projects, essentially promoted through subsidies.

### **3. Comparison between the two disseminated policies and final considerations**

The first evidence is the influence of Brazilian models over public procurement experiences and RTD policies in the studied countries, characterized by different forms and intensities. In most cases, interviewees claimed to know or to have been “inspired by” (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000) or to have “copied” (case of El Salvador) the Brazilian model.

There are, however, also cases in which this influence is minimized. In the speech of public managers of some importing countries, there is little recognition of the contribution of the Brazilian model. The interlocutors emphasize the precedence of endogenous or national instruments, or relativize the decisive character of the Brazilian model, ascribing greater emphasis to international organizations or to initiatives of cooperation with civil society organizations. Such discourse appears in Haiti, where Brazil holds a delicate role related to the United Nations peacekeeping military contingent (MinustaH). The interviewed Haitians claim the precedence of local experiences, thus minimizing “the weight” of and the dependence on Brazilian and international aid.

In Argentina, the RTD policy is claimed by INTA staff to be completely endogenous. For these public managers, the process of decentralization and capillarity of INTA, naturally and historically endowed their work with a territorial intervention that favors rural development. In Uruguay, public managers recognize external influences, but they claim a totally national and local reinterpretation, which could in fact be verified.

The second evidence is that Brazilian public policies were disseminated through a hybridization of diffusion modes or vectors: bilateral relations between countries, South-South cooperation initiatives, work of social movements, interaction between scholars, influence of several international organizations, regionalized debates and, therefore, certain “convergence” of bottom-up public policies. Furthermore, no Brazilian policy was disseminated through only one mode or vector. Although all analyzed cases present an imbrication of several diffusion forms, it is worth emphasizing that there is always a dominant one or two.

Among these mechanisms, it is important to underline that Brazil has managed to promote the diffusion of its agenda and its policies not so much directly to importing countries, but to the United Nations agencies (with FAO and WFP in the field of FNS) or inter-American organizations (RTD for IICA), as Milhorance de Castro (2013, 2016) has also pointed out in the case of Africa. In fact, this diffusion mechanism is the most frequent in the case of the diffusion of policies for public procurement from family farmers, and it should be noted that, in general, public managers of the importing countries have contacts with FAO consultants and technicians, direct contacts with Brazilian policies or public managers (in the case of Haiti) being unusual. In Colombia, for example, beneficiaries recognize the public procurement pilot projects as the “FAO-Brazil project”.

The specific case of the REAF<sup>4</sup> is rather related to a “grassroots” diffusion mechanism (Pasquier, 2002). The REAF emerged from the demands of social movements organized at the regional and international levels, particularly those representing the people “forgotten” by the economic and agricultural development. Although government agencies have played a significant role in its constitution, especially in the Brazilian case, REAF's network organization ensures social participation in the formulation of public policy recommendations for family farming in the region. This is indeed an example of how social participation can contribute to deepening the process of regional integration within a dynamics that comprises a strong engagement of farmers’ organizations and the purpose of influencing public policies in the countries that are part of the regional bloc.

The work of academics and researchers of rural environment has also contributed to the diffusion of Brazilian models, either through cooperation agreements and projects between Latin American universities, or through the dissemination of concepts and / or interpretations and analyzes of Brazilian public policies. Scholars had already been responsible for introducing and disseminating in Latin America the European model of RTD policies, as the LEADER program, for example (Champetier, 2003; Massardier and Sabourin, 2013). Moreover, United Nations agencies offer a privileged space for the influence of Brazilian scholars, who move from universities to government spaces, or vice versa, and from these also to international agencies. In Haiti, for example, the two WFP and FAO projects were coordinated by Brazilians. At FAO regional office for LA&C in Santiago, Chile, several Brazilian scholars, from universities or from the Brazilian Government, have alternated as FNS policies coordinators or as advisors, since José Graziano da Silva took over as FAO’s Director-General, leaving his legacy to the regional representation.

The third evidence emerging from this research is that, due to the imbrication and hybridization of different mechanisms and endogenous factors of the importing countries, the Brazilian models were adapted to each country. Such endogenous factors refer to organizations, institutions and public policies already existing in the country, which generate institutional complementarity or path dependency. Argentina, for example, had already an extensive regionalization of rural research and extension conducted by INTA. Based on INTA’s organizational and symbolic resources, the work on rural territorial development could privilege family farming. In Colombia, political and institutional difficulties in breaking with the “operators” of public procurement, led to a change in the Programs without changing the central stance of the involved actors. Such processes are consistent with the relationship, observed by Dolowitz and Marsh's (2012), between the transfer and the cycle of the public policy. For these authors, when new actors and institutions get involved in the formulation of policies, they bring different background knowledge, interests and motivations.

Thus, even in cases that kept reference to the Brazilian model, there was great capacity for reinterpretation or adaptation to the national context. According to the typology of

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<sup>4</sup> Created in June 2004 by the Common Market Group (GMC), the REAF was an initiative by the Brazilian government, upon the recognition of the lack of a coordination arrangement among the member countries able to build a positive agenda for integration on rural issues, as well as to encourage public policies pro-family farming production and trade.



Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), we can consider that the emerging experiences in importing countries were inspired by the Brazilian models (and in the case of El Salvador, were copied). Following Hassenteufel (2008), we can also affirm that there was a translation process, involving the re-creation of public policy orientations, contents and tools (Hassenteufel, 2008; Lascoumes, 2006).

The comparison between cases allowed to more clearly identify the attributes of the regional diffusion vectors for two Brazilian public policies aimed at family farming. In some cases, as in Haiti, individual relationships were decisive, with the role played by multi-positioned individuals as mediators or transmitters. In other cases, institutional and organizational relationships are preponderant. The scale of the adopted policies differed, some encompassing the national level (Argentina, Uruguay & Paraguay) and others, the local level (Haiti).

In terms of research prospects, the very evolution of these policies suggests the relevance of longitudinal studies. The decline, the change of target public or the dismantling of these policies have been observed in the importing countries, due to changes of government or of coalitions in power (Argentina, El Salvador, Paraguay). Even Brazil, the country of the model, undergoes a radical breakdown in the implementation of pro-family farming public policies since the parliamentary coup of 2016. Future and complementary research could seek to better understand the processes of adaptation, reinterpretation and implementation of public policy models, especially the evolution of their implementation at local or territorial scale.

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