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## **Regional diffusion of Brazilian social and rural public policies in Latin America and the Caribbean**

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**Abstract:** The chapter 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 a "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 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 refers to the cases of Colombia, Haiti and Paraguay and the diffusion of territorial policies refers to 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**

Our research well illustrates the perspective of this book, namely the emergence of Latin American countries as exporters of public policies after being importers of models from the North (Europe or the United States, or transmitted by international organisations (Delpeuch, 2009; Musiałkowska, 2006; Valderrama, 2004)

What conditions and factors explain this transition?

First, Latin American countries such as Brazil, Costa Rica, and Mexico became potential policy exporters when they began experimenting with and developing their national models, sometimes becoming real laboratories of public policies—social, environmental, or rural (Zurbriggen, 2014).

We mention Mexico and Costa Rica as examples of the diffusion of environmental policies and promotion of payment instruments for environmental services (Dumoulin, 2010; Ezzine et al., 2017), and Brazil regarding social policies and instruments of participation (Montero, 2005; Sugiyama, 2013, Pomeroy & Suyama, 2016; Oliveira, 2016).

Second, similar to Venezuela, Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, these countries began developing cooperation policies as donors and not only recruiters. They developed South-South cooperation programs and initiatives within Latin America or with Africa and Asia (Faria, 2012; Inoue & Vaz, 2013), or trilateral cooperation systems associated with international organisations, especially the United Nations system (Cabral et al., 2013).

Finally, these countries played a leading role in regional integration processes: Mercosur, Unasul, and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC (Vieira Martins, 2014). In addition, in this movement, they became promoters of the regional circulation of their public policy models associated with the action of inter-American agencies as the IDB or IICA.

The abovementioned three factors constitute the basis of the research hypothesis of the Transbrasil project. The hypothesis seeks to explain the diffusion of social policies and rural development in Latin America and the Caribbean through the combination and hybridisation of different categories of the internationalisation of public policies. The categories include policy diffusion through international organisations; transfer of policy through bilateral South-South cooperation programs; and the effects of regional, intergovernmental, and bottom-up integration through social movements.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, several public policies and initiatives promoting Family Farming (FF) and Food and Nutritional Security (FNS) have been developed in Brazil under the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), National Council for Food and Nutritional Security (CONSEA), and Ministry of Social Development (MDS), among others. Noteworthy is the Zero Hunger strategy, National Food and Nutritional Security Policy, ‘family farming law’, and two flagship instruments: the public procurement of food from FF and territorial policies. Such initiatives and their outcomes positioned Brazil as an international reference regarding public policies on FF and FNS. International organisations analysed, systematised, and disseminated the Brazilian experience worldwide (WFP, 2016; FAO, 2015, 2014, 2013). Furthermore, various countries have sought to establish cooperation agreements and exchanges to learn from and share experiences with Brazil to transfer or adapt such initiatives to their contexts. Brazil has also brought its policies, practices, and learning to several international forums, often in interaction with social movements and civil society organisations.

The Transbrasil research project investigated the diffusion mechanisms of Brazilian ‘models’ of public policies for FF and FNS among Latin American and Caribbean countries. The purpose of the research was to describe and analyse the modes of dissemination and local adaptation of two of these public policies in a context representative of the international diffusion of Brazilian social policies (Faria, 2012; Oliveira, 2016).

Two central policies were analysed. They were the public procurement of food from family farmers (Food Acquisition Program (PAA) and the National School Feeding Program (PNAE)), which was diffused in Colombia, Haiti, and Paraguay; and programs for rural territorial development (National Program for Sustainable Development of Rural Territories (PRONAT) and the Citizenship Territory Program (CTP)) in Argentina, El Salvador, and Uruguay.

This chapter comprises three sections: The theoretical and methodological framework; ways in which the two Brazilian policies were disseminated; and finally, a discussion and comparison of results.

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

The diffusion of public policies 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 internationalisation of Brazilian pro-family farming policies in Latin America in a context representative of the international diffusion of Brazilian social policy models (Faria, 2012; Oliveira, 2016). The theoretical approach combined views on the internationalisation of public policies (Berry & Berry, 1999; Stone, 2004; Hassenteufel, 2005) and political sociology applied to public action for rural development, extending the proposals by Hassenteufel (2008).

The literature from 1990 to the 2000s on the one hand explains the internationalisation of public policies through the globalised circulation of norms (Delpeuch, 2009), and on the other, contends the impact of global ‘pressures’ or ‘penetration’ on the national scale (Davila-Aldas, 2011). However, previous analyses of rural territorial development policymaking in Latin America (Massardier & Sabourin, 2013; Sabourin et al., 2016) indicated that these policies are not directly subject to the logic of the globalisation of production and finances. In contrast, explanations must account for socio-political logics other than those restricted to economic and financial globalisation (Bhagwati, 2007). The world politics approach (Rosenau, 1997) has improved and expanded the tools for analysing the transition from a state-centred state to a multi-centric world. This literature emphasises the fragmentation of international arenas and complex architecture of their connections (Biermann et al., 2009).

On the other hand, the analysis of the policymaking process provides a privileged position from which to observe the rearrangement of these policies and public action for development at the local, territorial, or regional scales. In addition to verifying the transition ‘from national public policies to transnational public policies’ (Hassenteufel, 2008: 16), various sociological factors are present in the configurations of development at the micro-regional or national scales. Camau and Massardier (2009) note a rapid multiplication of public action agents and fragmentation of various powers at the international, national, private, and public levels (Rosenau, 1997).

These observations demand a re-reading of the process of policymaking, which Hassenteufel (2008: 23) describes as ‘a collective construction of public action’. This author highlights a ‘contextualized analysis of interactions between multiple and intertwined actors, at various levels, from the local to the international’ passing through the macro-regional level, enabling considering ‘the transformations of contemporary states’ (Hassenteufel, 2008: 23). The complexity of the entanglement or intertwining of these processes feature the 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 considers globalisation only one element of the transnationalisation of policies, we sought to articulate three complementary theoretical approaches. These are a) the approach of public policy transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2009); b) that of the transnational circulation of norms (Hassenteufel, 2005, 2008; Dumoulin, 2010); and c) the regionalisation theories approach (Dabène, 2009), which emphasises the mechanism of bottom-up regionalisation (Pasquier, 2002). Conceptual elements of these three approaches are described in the following subsections.

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

According to Dolowitz and March (2000), 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 & Marsh, 2000: 5). This type of diffusion was central to our research, as Brazil became at once a reference for social policies and pro-FF policies (Pommeroy & 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). The recent period 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 various international forums. This constituted bilateral and multilateral agendas and influenced the cooperation agreements of Brazil with developing countries (Cunha, 2010). Thus, 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 to claim a seat on the United Nations Security Council (Cason & Power, 2009). Thus, South-South cooperation has become instrumental, favoured simultaneously by the period of socioeconomic growth and 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 with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and World Food Programme (WFP) developed South-South cooperation programs that sometimes resemble a modality of policy transfer. This was

primarily the case of disseminating policies to strengthen FF focused on the public procurement of food from family farmers in Africa (Mozambique, Ethiopia, Senegal, Malawi, and Niger) as well as Latin America and the Caribbean (Haiti, Ecuador, Colombia, and Paraguay).

### ***1.2. Internationalisation through the circulation of norms***

Some authors argue that the adoption of new policies is less dependent on the 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 expert networks that produce ‘transnational configurations’ (Hassenteufel, 2008; Dumoulin, 2010). Ropp and Sikkink (1999) propose employing the ‘socialization of international norms into domestic practices’ to interpret the internationalisation of policies.

In the case of Brazilian FNS policies, noteworthy is the predominant role of the FAO in expanding the arenas for debating FNS globally and international exchanges (governmental and non-governmental), technical cooperation, and humanitarian aid, especially following the food crisis that began in 2007. In this sense, Brazilian diplomacy played an outstanding role in the reform of the United Nation’s Committee on World Food Security (CFS). This role implied establishing in the United Nations system a mechanism allowing social participation in the Committee—the so-called civil society mechanism—and enabling the work of an advisory body, namely the High-Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE). The HLPE was in charge of promoting studies on and proposing strategies for topics chosen by the CFS. These two innovations strengthened the CFS as a valuable tool for producing and disseminating international regulations related to FNS and FF, favouring the diffusion of Brazilian public policies and programs in these areas.

Regarding the support for RTD policies in Latin America, important is 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 organisations (FAO and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)) and inter-American agencies such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (Champetier, 2003) and World Bank (Valderrama, 2004). Subsequently, in the Latin American and Caribbean context of South-South relations, the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA) ensured Brazil’s privileged role by supporting national policies and regional or inter-American programs such as MERCOSUR’s agricultural research cooperation (PROCISUR) and Central American Rural Territorial Development Strategy (ECADERT).

### ***1.3. Dissemination of policies through intergovernmental regionalisation***

This mechanism involved MERCOSUR and CELAC, which opened an agenda for pro-FF policies (Vigevani & Romanzini, 2011). It refers to the activities and articulations of civil society representatives in exchanging experiences and learning regarding public policies (Pasquier, 2002). Aspirations for political-institutional changes claimed by social movements

is emphasised, especially by the representatives of those ‘forgotten’ by economic and agricultural growth in the last decades. They organise themselves at the regional and international levels; for example, Via Campesina, the Alliance for the Food Sovereignty of the Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, and Special Meeting on Family Farming of MERCOSUR (REAF).

Since its foundation in 2013, CELAC has prioritised cooperation and the implementation of policies to eradicate hunger and poverty. To this end, critical specialised meetings were held within the framework of the Community, such as the Ministerial Meeting on Social Development, Eradication of Hunger and Poverty, and CELAC Minister’s Meeting on Family Farming.

Rondo and Lopes Filho (2016) note that the agreements stemming from these meetings and adoption of CELAC’s ‘Plan for Food and Nutrition Security and Eradication of Hunger 2025’ (CELAC PLANSAN) indicate a concerted effort to regionalise a set of public policies, focusing on those related to FF and FNS.

#### *1.4. Method*

An analysis framework was applied to the six relevant countries to characterise the institutions, actors, and arenas involved in the process of the 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, work of international and regional organisations (FAO, WFP, IICA, Mercosur, and CELAC), and national and regional social movements were highlighted in the analysis.

Data were collected through 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 brokers, representatives of international organisations, scholars, etc.). In total, 68 semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of international organisations, public officials, family farming organisations, family farmers, and social brokers.

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

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

The three studied countries (Colombia, Haiti, and Paraguay) recently made normative changes to introduce or facilitate the participation of FF in public procurement, which to a greater or lesser extent resemble the Brazilian ‘model’. Therefore, the ‘convergence’ of public policies and instruments is observed (Hassenteufel, 2008; Evans, 2009) between Colombia, Haiti, Paraguay, and Brazil. This observation prompted the following questions: a) Did Brazil influence these new programs to promote purchasing from family farmers? b) If so, what were the drivers 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’?

#### *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 PNAE (School Feeding Program) influenced and supported the debate and institutional changes in Colombia, Haiti, and Paraguay. Several statements and documents illustrate this influence. For example, the former Minister of Agriculture of Haiti stated, ‘We were in Brazil at the beginning of the Lula’s Government. We were very interested in knowing the institutional arrangements being made to fulfil the promise of eradicating hunger and poverty. I remember visiting the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Small Farmers (sic), and public procurement agency, and I was very impressed with how the programs worked there’.

In the case of Colombia, in addition to statements, a report entitled ‘El ICBF y la economía local’ (14 October 2011) in 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, noted the Brazilian model as inspiring. This government official, besides being a civil servant, also participated in REAF as a representative of civil society (organiser of producers and activists of FF and FNS causes). As such, the official is a multi-position actor.

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

#### *Drivers of the dissemination of ideas, experiences, and learning*

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

Regarding the analytical framework, the Brazilian models were better disseminated because the combination or hybridisation of several mechanisms somewhat coordinated the cases and were inherent in them. In all countries, several confluent elements prompted the debate on public procurement from FF. Importantly, Brazil’s influence mostly did not occur directly, but through the intermediation and work of international organisations and technical instruments (reports, documents, declarations, regional regulations, and the Internet).

In this process, the FAO’s direct and indirect work stands out. On the one hand, several FAO publications contributed to setting the government agenda and promoting the Brazilian public procurement experience (FAO, 2015, 2014, 2013). On the other, in all three cases, the incidence and work of FAO technicians in negotiations with national governments was



fundamental. In the cases of Colombia and Haiti, this influence permeates the South-South cooperation agreements between these countries and Brazil, with the FAO and WFP acting as key brokers. In the case of Haiti, Lopes Filho (2017) noted, '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, the FAO and WFP are brokers of this process'. This choice 'is due, in part, to the dual role played by international organisations as an arena for validating Brazilian instruments and as a vector for the dissemination of these instruments' (Lopes Filho, 2017).

In the case of Haiti, FAO technicians interacted directly with Brazilian public managers to learn about public procurement from FF, and although the Brazil-FAO-WFP agreement was carried out by the two agencies, most activities centred on bilateral exchanges between the two governments' technicians. This arrangement illustrates one of the forms marking initial studies on public policy transfer, which are characterised by the predominance of relations between nation-states (McCann & Ward, 2013; Stone, 2004) and 'methodological nationalism', as Stone (2004) puts it.

Conversely, in the case of Colombia, FAO technicians involved in public procurement pilot projects had no direct relations and did not participate in exchanges with Brazilian public managers (PAA and PNAE). The idea of public procurement from FF was encouraged by the Brazilian Ambassador and FAO Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean (Santiago-Chile). However, local FAO technicians reformulated this based on readings on the experiences of Brazil, Panama, and Nicaragua (regarding price setting), and learning acquired over time considering the specificities of the contexts in which they worked. Also important is that unlike Haiti, in this case, the social relations between FAO technicians and Colombian public managers prevailed, rather than direct relations between them and Brazilian public managers.

Furthermore, in the literature, we highlight as a key vector in the dissemination of Brazilian ideas on public procurement from FF the work and articulations of representatives of civil society organisations for exchanging experiences and learning on public policies. Following Pasquier (2002), we refer here to the process of bottom-up dissemination mediated by subnational actors. Lopes Filho (2017) and Niederle (2015) note that inspired by the results of the Brazilian experience with institutional markets, social and union movements linked to family and peasant agriculture sought to influence the decision-making processes of regional integration mechanisms. The Ministerial meeting on the family agriculture of CELAC urged the adoption of regional regulations and similar measures in their countries. Furthermore, since 2007, Haiti's organisations connected to Via Campesina have exchanged experiences with Brazilian social movements.

State action in dialogue with social movements, and interaction and exchanges between producer organisations contribute to legitimating and locally 'embedding' the ideas of public procurement from FF. This institutionalises these ideas in national regulations, and ensures they are gradually appropriated, reformulated, and translated 'from the bottom' by social grassroots movements.

In these mechanisms, Oliveira (2013: 51) contends 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), networks of relationships and trust, 'individual circulation' (Oliveira, 2013), and 'institutional transit' (Silva & Oliveira, 2011) influence the convergence of actions and public policies in Latin America and the Caribbean. Regarding this, Perafán, Grisa, and Calderón (2018) mention that José Graziano da Silva—former Minister of the Lula Government and responsible for launching the Zero Hunger Program and Food Acquisition Program—served as the FAO's Regional Representative for Latin America and the Caribbean since 2006. Since 2011, he is the Director-General of the organisation. Besides him, a group of ex-officials from the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) and Ministry of Social Development (MDS) works at the FAO's 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 the FAO is a former technician of the MDA, which facilitates the circulation of ideas between countries. Similarly, Lopes Filho (2017: 74) elucidates how the political and institutional trajectories of Brazilians have contributed to disseminating 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, based on the formulation and implementation of the food procurement policy in Brazil, in 2013, the federal government of Paraguay established a law dealing explicitly with food procurement from FF. The political commitment between the presidents of the two countries was fundamental in valuing the Brazilian experience. In the Colombian case, the national change through a directive by the Ministry of Education stemmed from local experiences. In Haiti, despite the initiative by the national government and strong support from international organisations, the proposal remains at the pilot project phase.

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

Besides the drivers of diffusion, the convergence of initiatives of public procurement from FF between Brazil, Colombia, Haiti, and Paraguay can be attributed to various causes. One is 'transnational harmonization' (Hassenteufel, 2014) through some countries' adoption of rules and regulations regarding declarations, recommendations, and resolutions from CELAC and REAF. The second is rooted in similar social problems, namely the need to reduce hunger, poverty, and food insecurity, and to promote FF. Also needed is the diffusion through international organisations (notably the FAO and WFP) of 'public policy guidelines, content, and tools legitimized by the promotion of "models", production of reports, comparative data...' (Hassenteufel, 2014: 183). The third cause is the degree of political convergence between governments.

However, at the level of national public policies, there is no simple adoption, or 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-problematisation in another context of action), and politically

(adaptation to a new institutional context). Therefore, there is a process 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 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 & Marsh, 2000), the Brazilian experiences were emulated or provided ‘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 family farmers (or requirement of ‘local purchases’), definition of a minimum percentage of participation by this social category, and maintenance or not of intermediaries.

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

As such, Stone (2012) reiterates that the translation of public policy is a ‘bricolage’ involving the blending of local practices and borrowed policy practices to build a new and hybrid policy formulation process. Viewing the translation of public policy as a combination of epistemes and value judgments reflects on the process of policy diffusion and transfer (Stone, 2017).

## **2.2 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 been successful in El Salvador. The cases of Argentina and Uruguay reflect a translation with a bricolage of various influences and greater dependence on the context and pre-existing organisations.

The dissemination of Brazilian RTD policies in the three analysed cases is diverse, as each of the importing countries have a distinct vector of influence.

The case of El Salvador illustrates a ‘copy’ type of transfer of the Territorial Citizenship Program. Its diffusion was motivated by coincidental elements that do not reflect an interest in appropriating the distinctive ideas of this approach, but rather the need to instrumentalise the

spaces of participation necessary to identify the local demands the President of El Salvador promised to address during his mandate.

In this country, an almost direct policy transfer is evident, insofar as the copying of the Brazilian model of territorial policy is associated with political convergence between the political parties in government (PT in Brazil, FLMN in El Salvador), and the interpersonal relations between the PT, President Lula, and first lady of El Salvador, Vanda Pignato. This refers to a driver that involves political and personal relations at the presidential level, not the circulation of ideas, international organisations, and bureaucracies of the respective countries.

Several missions and training ensured expertise mediation by staff members of the division of the territorial development of the MDA. However, this rural territorial policy has rarely been internalised. Political and personal relations were not enough for policy assimilation by the various agents and government bodies of El Salvador. Consequently, the Territories of Progress—the local version of the Territory of Citizenship Program—ceased following the changes of Presidents.

The case of Argentina is unusual in that the national RTD program under the National Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Technology (INTA) began almost at the same time as the Brazilian national program under the MDA in 2003/2004. Indeed, since the 1990s, there has been cooperation and 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 through the decision and support of Brazil and Argentina.

However, while INTA staff recognise the Brazilian influence in other FF supporting mechanisms, this is not so for the RTD program, which is considered endogenous to the institution. The leading case for this endogenous character is that INTA simultaneously handles agricultural research and rural expansion, and has a large capillarity throughout the national territory. At the theoretical-conceptual level, the primary reference is the work of the Latin American Center for Rural Development–Chile (RIMISP), whose experts implemented an IDB mission to conduct a national diagnosis on this subject.

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

In Uruguay, despite multiple influences, the managers of the Rural Development Directorate of the Ministry of Livestock, Agriculture, and Fishing (MGAP) assert learning about the Brazilian experience of RTD by the MDA/STD from various exchanges, primarily via the REAF, academia, and IICA. Nevertheless, the conditions in the country are so different from those of Brazil that the PRONAT program could not work as a model, but as a reference. The MDRs (Rural Development Boards) correspond to a double process of decentralisation and a participatory approach within the MGAP.

### *Influences of Brazil*

Among the three countries studied, the case of El Salvador is the only one wherein the Brazilian RTD policy is a model, the object of a process of public policy transfer. In Argentina and Uruguay, despite efforts by IICA or academia to diffuse a Brazilian model—or in the case of IICA, a Latin American model inspired by Brazilian policy—no public policy transfer occurred from Brazil to these countries. In the three countries studied, as for 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 IICA, an Organization of American States body. In certain situations, most of these brokers have proposed either a partial or local reinterpretation of the LEADER program, European model, and Brazilian RTD model. However, this influence cannot be directly attributed to the Brazilian policy, but to a convergence of goals in the search for alternatives that could reverse the critical poverty conditions of rural populations in the region, especially in Argentina and Uruguay.

### *Drivers of diffusion*

In the case of RTD policies—excluding the case of El Salvador where the government-to-government transfer is explicit—the drivers are distributed between international organisations, academia, and social movements.

International organisations have financed diagnoses and studies, for example, IDB in Argentina and Uruguay. IICA proposed a series of training programs in Uruguay and El Salvador. Through Spanish cooperation, the EU has advised the Territorial Planning policy in Uruguay. Scholars (from national universities and RIMISP in Argentina, and Brazilian scholars in Uruguay through IICA) consulted on these policy interventions.

In Argentina and Uruguay, the role of the academy (at the international, regional, and national levels) manifests through consultations with scholars (IDB diagnosis in Argentina) or those in positions of trust in the 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 being central or decisive in RTD policies.

### *Transfer, convergence, and reinterpretation*

As mentioned, the Territories of Progress Program in El Salvador is an example of the transfer of public policy mediated by a South-South cooperation agreement. Two key actors played a role in initiating the transfer process—Presidents Funes and Lula—as well as an actor responsible for transferring the objectives and instruments of the Citizenship Program to the country. Perafán (2018) considered this a ‘hard’ transfer that differed from the other two cases, in which dissemination involved the ideas, ideologies, concepts, and notions of the territorial approach to rural development.

In Argentina and Uruguay, public managers, scholars, and local actors appropriate territorial rhetoric; however, regarding implementation in Brazil, discourse and practice are separate. In the case of El Salvador, the strength of the discourse depends on the need to establish and maintain arenas of participation, regardless of the other ideas fuelling this approach.

The convergence of public policies is evident in the cases of Argentina and Uruguay, especially concerning cognitive and functional orders. Regarding reinterpretation, common aspects emerge between the Brazilian and European references. Four features are highlighted here:

- Actors' participation, although in Argentina, this is discursive rather than factual.
- Implementation 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, program implementation was entrusted to the Presidency of the Republic. 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 because of their focus on FF, and lack of interest or availability of other more effective and faster channels of negotiation.
- Low enforcement capacity, which ascribes a character of soft law to the actions and projects, is promoted through subsidies.

### **3. Comparison between the two diffused policies**

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

However, in some cases, this influence was minimised. For the public managers of some importing countries, there is little recognition of the contribution of the Brazilian model. The interviewees emphasised the precedence of endogenous or national instruments, or relativised the decisive character of the Brazilian model, emphasising international organisations or cooperation initiatives with civil society organisations. This discourse was evident in Haiti, where Brazil has a delicate role related to the United Nations peacekeeping military contingent (MinustaH). The interviewed Haitians highlighted the precedence of local experiences, minimising 'the weight' of and dependence on Brazilian and international aid.

In Argentina, INTA staff claimed that the RTD policy was entirely endogenous. For these public managers, the process of decentralisation and capillarity of INTA naturally and historically endowed their work with a territorial intervention favouring rural development. In Uruguay, public managers recognised external influences, but reported a stronger national and local reinterpretation.

The second evidence is Brazilian public policies diffused through the hybridisation of diffusion modes or vectors. These include bilateral relations between countries, South-South cooperation initiatives, the work of social movements, interaction between scholars, influence of several international organisations, and regionalised debates. These indicate the ‘convergence’ of bottom-up public policies. Furthermore, no Brazilian policy was diffused through only one mode or driver. Although all analysed cases provide examples of several diffusion forms, one or two always dominate.

Among these mechanisms, Brazil has managed to promote the diffusion of its agenda and policies not so much directly to importing countries, but to United Nations agencies (with FAO and WFP in the field of FNS) or inter-American organisations (RTD for IICA). This was highlighted by Milhorange de Castro (2013, 2016) for the case of Africa. This mechanism is the most frequent for diffusing policies for public procurement from FF. Furthermore, public managers of the importing countries generally have contact with FAO consultants and technicians, and direct contact with Brazilian policies or public managers (in the case of Haiti) is unusual. For example, in Colombia, beneficiaries recognise public procurement pilot projects as the ‘FAO-Brazil project’.

The REAF case is more related to a ‘grassroots’ diffusion mechanism (Pasquier, 2002). The REAF emerged from the demands of social movements organised at the regional and international levels, particularly those representing the people ‘forgotten’ by economic and agricultural development. Although government agencies have played a significant role in its constitution, especially in the Brazilian case, the REAF’s network ensures social participation in policy recommendations for FF in the region. The REAF unveils how social participation can contribute to deepening the process of regional integration amid dynamics that comprise the active engagement of farmers’ organisations to influence public policies in countries part of the regional bloc.

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

The third evidence emerging from this research is that because of the combination and hybridisation of various mechanisms and endogenous factors of the importing countries, the Brazilian models were adapted to each. Endogenous factors include already existing organisations, institutions, and public policies in the country that generate institutional complementarity or path dependency. For example, Argentina already demonstrated extensive

regionalisation of rural research and extension by INTA. Based on INTA's organisational and symbolic resources, the work on rural territorial development could privilege FF. In Colombia, political and institutional difficulties in breaking from the 'operators' of public procurement led to a change in the Programs without changing the central stance of the involved actors. These processes are consistent with the relationship observed by Dolowitz and Marsh (2012) between public policy transfer and the cycle thereof. For these authors, when new actors and institutions become involved in policy formulation, they bring different background knowledge, interests, and motivations.

Thus, even in cases that remained a reference to the Brazilian model, there was a great capacity for reinterpretation of or adaptation to the national context. According to the typology by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), importing countries' emerging experiences was inspired by the Brazilian models (and in the case of El Salvador, copied). Following Hassenteufel (2008), we affirm the translation process, which involves re-creating public policy orientations, contents, and tools (Hassenteufel, 2008; Lascoumes, 2006).

### **Final considerations**

The six study cases in Latin America confirm our hypothesis of combination and hybridisation among three main modalities of policy diffusion and exportation: Policy transfer through south cooperation initiatives, policy models circulated through international agencies and trilateral cooperation, and bottom-up regional integration processes led by social movements.

The comparison between cases enabled the clearer identification of the attributes of regional diffusion vectors for two Brazilian social public policies aimed at FF and rural development. In cases such as Haiti, individual relationships were decisive, and the role was played by multi-positioned individuals as brokers or transmitters. In other cases, institutional and organisational relationships were dominant. The scale of adopted policies differed: Some encompassed the national level (Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay) and others the local level (Haiti).

Regarding research prospects, the evolution of these policies suggests the relevance of longitudinal studies. It is possible to see the decline or dismantling of these policies in the importing countries consequent to changes in government or coalitions in power (Argentina, El Salvador, and Paraguay). Even Brazil, where the model originated, has experienced a breakdown in the implementation of pro-FF public policies since the parliamentary coup in 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 the local or regional scales.



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#### Annex 1: Interviews realized in each country (Transbrasil project)

##### Argentina

N°	Position	Institutional affiliation	Date	Place
1.	National Director	National Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Technology (INTA)	08/08/16	Buenos Aires
2.	Researcher, responsible DTR	National Institute of Agriculture and	09/08/16	Buenos Aires

	program	Livestock Technology (INTA)		
3.	Former Secretary of Family Agriculture in ex Minagri	National congress, Senate of the Nation	08/08/16	Buenos Aires
4.	Former representative at REAF	National Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Technology (INTA)	10/08/16	Buenos Aires
5.	Professor and researcher	University of Buenos Aires	10/08/16	Buenos Aires
6.	Director of Regional & Territorial Planning Program	University of Buenos Aires, Institute of Geography	9/08/16	Buenos Aires
7.	Geographer, Director of laboratory Agriterris	University of Bahia Blanca and INTA	7/08/16	Buenos Aires
8.	Coordinator Family Agriculture Program of INTA	National Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Technology (INTA)	8/08/16	Buenos Aires
9.	Former President of INTA	National Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Technology (INTA)	10/08/16	Buenos Aires
10.	Former Undersecretary for Agriculture and Vice President INTA	National Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Technology (INTA)	9/08/16	Buenos Aires
11.	Former coordinator of family agriculture at Procisur program	National Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Technology (INTA)	9/10/16	Buenos Aires

### Colombia

1.	Responsible for food public procurement in Colombia	FAO	13/06/16	Bogota
2.	Manager of MADR	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development MADR	13/06/16	Bogota
	Former manager	ICBF Colombian Family Welfare Institute	13/06/16	Bogota
	Diplomat of consular sector	Embassy of Brazil	14/06/16	Bogota
	Departmental Agriculture Manager	Secretary of Agriculture of Department of Antioquia	15/06/16	Medellin
	Family Farmers Association of Carmen de Viboral	FAO pilot project public food procurement	15/06/16	Carmen de Viboral
	Family farmers associations of Granada	ASGRAN, ADEPAG	16/06/16	Granada
	Former secretary of government of the municipality of Granada	TEJIPAZ, NGO supporting family farmers	16/06/16	Granada
	Mayor, municipal managers	Municipality of Granada	17/06/16	Granada
	Former mayor of the municipality of Granada	Municipality of Granada	09 /02/17	Medellin
	Manager Solidarity organizations	Ministry of Work	24 /02/17	Bogota

### El Salvador

N°	Position	Institutional affiliation	Date	Place
1	Territorial Advisor	Territorial Council of Bahia de Jiquilisco	07/09/2016	Usulután
2	Representative of women's group	Territorial Council of Bahia de Jiquilisco	07/09/2016	Usulután

3.	Water Board Directive	Territory of Bahia de Jiquilisco	07/09/2016	Usulután
4.	Family farmer	Territorial Council of Bahia de Jiquilisco	07/09/2016	Usulután
5.	Director	Basic System of Integrated Health SIBASI in Usulután	07/09/2016	Usulután
6.	Researcher	Regional Research Program on Development & Environment - PRISMA	08/09/2016	San Salvador
7.	Specialist officer	Ministry of Governance and Territorial Development	08/09/2016	San Salvador
8.	Coordinator of the Social Dialogue Unit	Technical Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic	08/09/2016	San Salvador
9.	Researcher and Project Coordinator	National Foundation for Development - FUNDE	08/09/2016	San Salvador
10.	Former responsible for Technical Brazilian Cooperation in El Salvador	FAO, former official Brazilian Ministry of Agrarian Development	03/08/2016	Interview by Skype

### Haiti

N°	Position	Institutional affiliation	Date	Place
1	Diplomat, former General Coordinator	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Brazil)	10/08/2016	Brasília
2	Former General Coordinator	National School Feeding Program, Ministry of Education (Brazil)	15/08/2016	Brasília
3	Former Minister	Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Rural Development - MARNDR	21/07/2016	Porto Príncipe
4	Former Secretary of State for Animal Production	MARNDR (Haiti)	18/7/2016	Porto Príncipe
5	Director	Local Purchase Facility Unit, MARNDR	19/07/2016	Porto Príncipe
6	Former General Coordinator	National School Canteen Program	20/07/2016	Porto Príncipe
7	Former Minister	Ministry of Peasantry Promotion)	20/07/2016	Porto Príncipe
8	Former Project Coordinator	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)	14/07/2016	Porto Príncipe
9	Former Project Coordinator	World Food Program (WFP)	12/08/2016	Porto Príncipe
10	Director	VETERIMED (Ngo)	19/07/2016	Porto Príncipe
11	Parliamentarians	Parliamentary Committee on Agriculture and Food Safety	28/07/2016	Porto Príncipe
12	Program officer	World Food Program (WFP)	14/07/2016	Porto Príncipe

### Paraguay

N°	Position	Institutional affiliation	Date	Place
1	FAO Consultant, Project Manager	FAO Consultant	13/06/16	Asunción
2	FAO National Consultant	FAO National Consultant	14/06/16	Asunción
3	FAO Consultant	FAO Consultant	14/06/16	Asunción

4	FAO Officer in Paraguay	FAO Officer in Paraguay	14/06/16	Asunción
5	Director of Marketing	Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation	15/06/16	Asunción
6	Engineer of Public Procurement Agrarian Extension Directorate	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock	15/06/16	Asunción
7	Technician of Producer Groups Committee	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock	15/06/16	Asunción
8	Technician	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock.	15/06/16	Asunción
9	Family farmer	Family Farmer in the Arroyo and Estero Region	15/06/16	Asunción
10	National Deputy	National Congress	15/06/16	Asunción

### Uruguay

N°	Position	Institutional affiliation	Date	Place
1.	Director	IPA Plan Institute	11/11/16	Montevideo
2.	Researcher, responsible family farming program	National Institute of Agronomic Research	10/11/16	Montevideo
3	Director of Rural Development	Ministry of Livestock & Agriculture	13/11/16	Montevideo
4.	Head of Decentralization	Ministry of Livestock & Agriculture	13/11/16	Montevideo
5.	IICA Consultant	IICA Uruguay	26/05/15	Montevideo
6	Departmental Director of Agriculture Rio Negro	Ministry of Livestock & Agriculture	26/05/15	Young
7	Local technician	Ministry of Livestock & Agriculture	27/05/15	Salto
8	Cooperative farmers and CNFR family farmers union	Farmers' Organizations	28/05/15	Salto
9	Farmers of CNFR of Rio Negro	Farmers' Organizations	15/11/16	Young
10	President Coprofam and CNFR	Mercosur regional family farming organization	13/11/16	Montevideo
11	Director, Division of Natural Resources, MGAP	Ministry of Livestock & Agriculture	24/05/15	Montevideo
12	Professor, Director Department of Sociology	UDELAR University, Social Science Faculty	13/11/16	Montevideo
13	Director of Territorial Planning Management	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment	24/05/15	Montevideo
14	Director of the of Environment Division	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment	25/05/15	Montevideo

### Notes

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