



# Diffusion of Brazil's food policies in international organisations: assessing the processes of knowledge framing

Carolina Milhorce

To cite this article: Carolina Milhorce (2020): Diffusion of Brazil's food policies in international organisations: assessing the processes of knowledge framing, Policy and Society, DOI: [10.1080/14494035.2020.1724362](https://doi.org/10.1080/14494035.2020.1724362)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14494035.2020.1724362>



© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.



Published online: 03 Feb 2020.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

# Diffusion of Brazil's food policies in international organisations: assessing the processes of knowledge framing

Carolina Milhorce 

Centre for Sustainable Development, University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil

## ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the political dynamics shaping policy agendas and prescriptions in international organisations (IOs). It elucidates the interactions of Brazil's state and non-state actors with international bureaucrats, and their role in framing the strategy and recommendations promoted by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization and Portuguese-speaking Community of Countries regarding the challenge of tackling food insecurity. The research builds on semi-structured interviews and a significant number of institutional documents, and combines constructivist international relations theory and sociological approaches to policy transfer/diffusion to explore the circulatory processes of policymaking. Aside from enhancing understanding of the micro-dynamics of framing and diffusion of policy ideas and prescriptions in IOs, the article provides information on the dissemination of policy solutions from the global south towards IOs and subsequently, to other developing countries.

## KEYWORDS

Brazil; food policy; international organisations; policy diffusion

## 1. Introduction

There is growing recognition that policy delivery and policy-making processes and practices are no longer a monopoly of nation states. Non-state actors, international organisations (IOs), private institutions, and communities are increasingly behind the design and diffusion of policy ideas and prescriptions, which often include national administrations but are sometimes independent from them. Here, the loci of policy-making are mobile and elusive. Furthermore, the circulation of policy knowledge through many contexts by many intermediaries and mechanisms makes it difficult to grasp policy processes (Legrand, 2016; Stone & Ladi, 2015; Stone, Porto de Oliveira, & Pal, 2019). IOs are places for the collective structuring of expertise and authority, thereby creating spaces to design and circulate 'best practices' and recommendations for reforming national policies (Devin & Smouts, 2011). Some are also considered global policy networks, structured by the exchange of information, disagreement, persuasion, and search for solutions and policy responses to shared problems (Pal, 2012; Stone & Ladi, 2015).

Therefore, here, IOs are considered arenas in which policy ideas and prescriptions are framed and as intermediaries for their diffusion to member states and beyond. These

**CONTACT** Carolina Milhorce  [cmilhorce@gmail.com](mailto:cmilhorce@gmail.com)  Centre for Sustainable Development, University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil

© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.  
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

policy prescriptions take the forms of guidelines, benchmarks, reports, seminars, pilot-initiatives, and lists of best practices consisting of soft and flexible norms broadcast to persuade members to change their policy practices (Delcour & Tulmets, 2019; Devin & Smouts, 2011). This article focuses on one aspect of this picture: the political dynamics shaping policy agendas and prescriptions in IOs. It elucidates the interactions of Brazil's state and non-state actors with international bureaucrats, and their role in framing the strategy and recommendations promoted by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and Portuguese-speaking Community of Countries (CPLP) regarding the challenge of tackling food insecurity.

The research is based on semi-structured interviews conducted between 2012 and 2015 and analysis of institutional documents. The analytical framework combines constructivist international relations theory (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004; Devin & Smouts, 2011) and sociological approaches to policy transfer/diffusion (Hadjiiski, Pal, & Walker, 2017; Hassenteufel, Benamouzig, Minonzio, & Robelet, 2017; Milhorance, 2018; Tulmets, 2005) to explore the circulatory processes of policy-making. It provides insights into the mechanisms of the early steps of these processes at the crossroads of two distinct but consistent movements: policy diffusion underpinned by trans-governmental networks (Tim Legrand, 2016) and the emergence of global policies (Moloney & Stone, 2019; Stone & Ladi, 2015).

Translation and socialisation are political mechanisms – the transformative forces – orienting actors' interactions in the framing and diffusion of policy agendas and practices. Translation derives from sociological studies analysing knowledge transfer from one scientific sphere to another (Callon, 1986). Several authors apply the concept to transfer/diffusion studies because it highlights the reformulation of a policy problem and the conflicts and negotiation between actors in the process (Hassenteufel et al., 2017; Stone, 2012). Socialisation in transfer/diffusion studies refers to the process of sharing and assimilating ideas and practices among actors and institutions (Tulmets, 2005). This article argues that the outcomes of translation and socialisation depend on the political resources actors mobilise (material, formal, or legitimacy) and on the attributes of the spaces of interaction in which they debate their political views to produce and validate policy knowledge (such as bureaucratisation, fragmentation, and ideational convergence). An additional element in the analysis is the opportunity structure created by the 2007/08 global financial crisis, followed by a food crisis, for the involvement of Brazilian actors in the design of new food policy solutions.

Therefore, aside from enhancing understanding of the micro-dynamics of framing and diffusion of policy ideas and prescriptions in IOs, the article describes an innovative case study, namely the dissemination of policy solutions from the global south towards IOs and subsequently other developing countries.

## 2. Analytical and contextual background

As stated in the introductory article of this special issue, individuals, organisations, and networks leverage their intellectual authority or professional expertise to promote policy ideas or legitimate normative standards as 'best practices'. The politics of knowledge fuels policy transfer and diffusion (Stone et al., 2019). In this study, two loci of power and their interplay are analysed.

The first is a policy network composed of Brazil's state and non-state actors involved in the design and implementation of food policies in the country. After the 2007/08 global food crisis, this network broadcast the positive results of the country's food security policies under its Zero Hunger strategy (Milhorance, Bursztyn, & Sabourin, 2019). Along with a consistent diplomatic effort to publicise the strategy internationally, numerous IOs (e.g. the FAO, CPLP, and World Food Programme [WFP]) and international NGOs (e.g. ActionAid and Oxfam) praised Brazil's approach to fighting hunger and poverty (Fraundorfer, 2013). The non-governmental status of some actors in this policy network may be considered a structural constraint to their role in policy transfer/diffusion (Stone et al., 2019). Thus, their alignment with state actors from the coalition in power in Brazil during the 2000s provided them with diplomatic resources and formal access to IOs.

The second is the bureaucrats in the FAO and CPLP. Their main source of influence is related to the 'legitimation role' of IOs, which relies on the technical nature of their recommendations (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004; Devin & Smouts, 2011). These organisations consist of spaces of interaction in which external and internal actors debate their views and define causal links between policy problems and solutions. The role of IOs as arenas where experts and policymakers interact to design and edit policy standards is also acknowledged in other articles of this special issue (Francesco & Guaschino, 2019). Furthermore, IOs act as agents in the diffusion of policy ideas and solutions through the formulation of recommendations, guidelines, best practices, and technical cooperation initiatives. Hence, as legitimacy is a key source of power for IOs, contesting it denotes a major threat to their position in international politics.

In the 2000s, the ability of several UN agencies to accomplish their mandates was seriously distrusted by international community. Inefficiency, bureaucratic dysfunctions, and the lack of transparency were some criticisms against them (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004; Devin & Smouts, 2011). Additional criticisms referred to their lack of capacity to deal with global challenges, as attested by the world food crisis (Fouilleux, 2009). This crisis was caused by the rising prices of wheat, rice, soybeans, and maize in international markets, followed by an increase in the number of insecure investments in the agricultural sector. It placed the fight against hunger at the heart of the international agenda (IFPRI, 2008), leading to high-level convergence and subjecting food aid, long-term food security, and the right to food to international debate (Peck & Theodore, 2015). Legrand (2016) relates the emergence of diffusion networks to transnational policy challenges. The financial (and food) crisis has also led to an 'epistemic crisis' in which knowledge of the social world became unsettled and experts' authority was contested (Hernando, Pautz, & Stone, 2018).

In this context, new policy solutions including those advocated by Brazil's policy network on food security were appealing to the international community. Thanks to the diplomatic resources employed in the dissemination of several of their instruments and ideas, and access this network granted to IOs, the credentials of the network for policy dialogue and cooperation on food security became increasingly recognised (Milhorance et al., 2019). In parallel, diplomatic representatives of the so-called rising powers (e.g. Brazil, India, China) strengthened their criticisms of the UN system, aiming to increase participation in multilateral decision-making processes. The diplomatic chancelleries of these countries sought to confront the procedures and

performance of UN bodies, but not the UN system as a whole (Milhorance & Soulé-Kohndou, 2017). This environment led to the establishment of triangular cooperation with UN agencies, described as a means of promoting strategic partnerships (FAO, 2013), and reinforcement of relations in (trans)regional spaces like the CPLP and Mercosur (Milhorance, 2018; Nierdele, 2016).

The two arenas considered in this study have distinct features. The FAO comprises a large technical and political body with highly bureaucratic and fragmented processes of decision-making and knowledge validation. Its capacity to influence agricultural and food debates has progressively declined (Fouilleux, 2009). The CPLP promotes politico-diplomatic collaboration, technical cooperation, and the promotion of the Portuguese language. According to Soulé-Kohndou (2012), this organisation provides more flexibility, is less restrictive, and has less institutionalised configurations than other IOs like UN agencies. Alongside having a less bureaucratic and complex structure than the FAO, the CPLP lacked financial resources to implement initiatives. Moreover, Legrand (2016) notes that cultural and 'psychological' proximity prevails over geographical closeness in the establishment of a favourable architecture for policy diffusion. In the Anglosphere case, this proximity implies a common language and history as well as comparable political and economic systems. For the CPLP, proximity does not surpass common language and related colonial history; thus, despite lower cultural integration, the CPLP has become the preferred channel for Brazil's communication with African countries (Call & Abdenur, 2017).

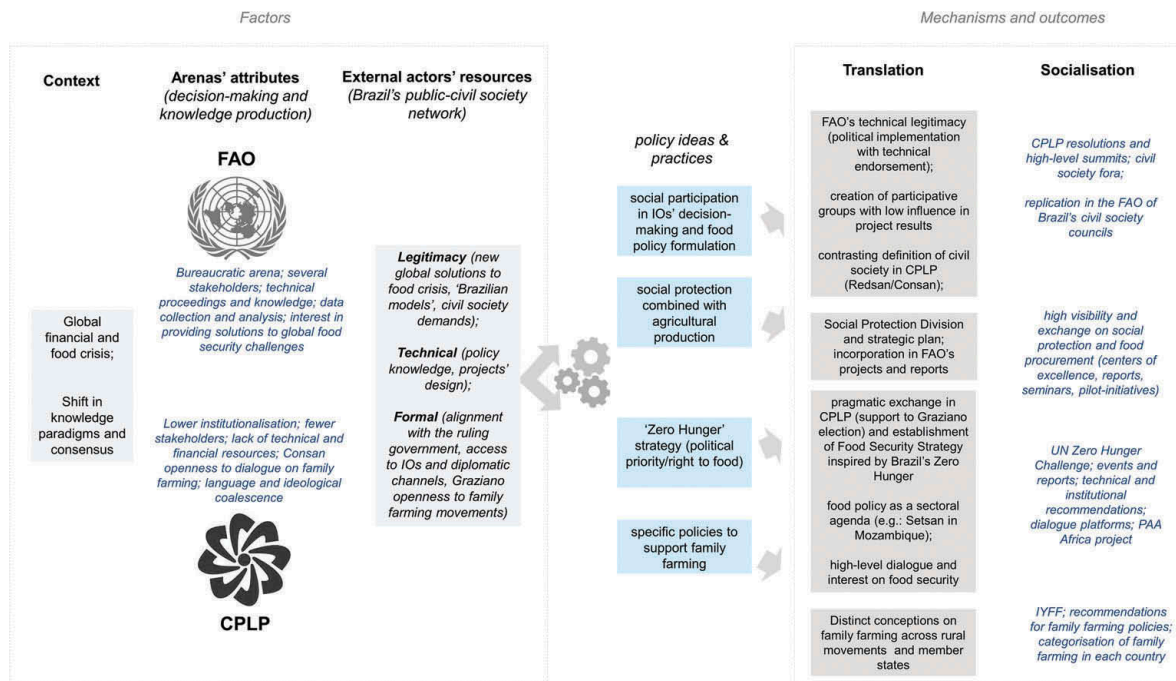
Emphasised here is that the international circulation of policy ideas and practical solutions across IOs and their members occurs through *socialisation* and *translation* mechanisms whose outcomes depend on i) the political resources of actors involved and ii) attributes of the arenas of negotiation and debate (decision-making and knowledge production procedures). These processes may also be favoured in the broader context of shifts in policy knowledge and consensus (Peck & Theodore, 2015), namely the 2007/08 world financial and food crises. These analytical lenses clarify the micro-processes and interactions that span borders and drive the circulation of policy knowledge (Hadjiiski et al., 2017; Legrand & Stone, 2018). The next section discusses the influence of Brazil's policy network on institutional changes in the FAO and CPLP, and the third section describes the design and diffusion of food security and family farming policy ideas and practices aligned with Brazil's experiences. [Figure 1](#) summarises these processes and the framework, which are analysed throughout the article.

### **3. Politicising decision-making procedures in the CPLP and FAO**

#### **3.1. Socialisation and translation of 'social participation' principles**

Recently, the CPLP and FAO became key spaces for the international action of Brazil's subnational food policy network, which pursued the institutionalisation of participative principles of decision-making in policy formulation and IOs. Several of Brazil's food policies implemented in the 2000s strongly promoted a participative perspective (da Silva, Del Grossi, & de França, 2010).

In the CPLP, this is related to the Council of Ministers' approval of the Food and Nutrition Security Strategy in 2011 (the Maputo Declaration). This strategy established a governance



**Figure 1.** Summary scheme of the analytical framework applied to the case study.

Source: Author

model, considered innovative, which created the Food and Nutrition Security Council (Consan) as a consultative body that included representatives of NGOs, universities, and rural movements (CPLP, 2012). A member of the Brazilian Council for Food and Nutrition Security (Consea) explained that this reform was inspired by the Brazilian example: 'We participated in the creation of other international councils similar to Consea, such as the CPLP and reform of the Committee on World Food Security'. Another member noted: 'We wanted to cooperate with other experiences of social participation in the world. This was when we decided to intervene in the CPLP. Our goal was to advance the idea of multilateralism with social participation'. In addition, a civil society network for food and nutrition security (Redsan-CPLP) was created in 2007, connecting more than 400 organisations including family farmers' groups and the CPLP's peasants' platform. The interviews in Redsan revealed that Brazilian actors supported its establishment (Maputo, April 2014).

These developments led to the reconfiguration of CPLP decision-making procedures, which favoured the participation of civil society organisations like NGOs and grassroots movements (CPLP & FAO, 2014). Therefore, the CPLP emerged as an arena for the negotiation and production of soft norms and policy ideas arising from the interaction of actors in these new bodies. An intense socialisation process took place, underpinned by diplomatic resources and formal access to IOs a group of Brazil's state and non-state actors acquired in the 2000s thanks to the progressive coalition in power. Actors interested in promoting civil society participation in policy design and IOs decision-making succeeded in their move. However, a debate deepened around the meaning of 'social participation', requiring Brazil's policy network to mobilise their resources to act as the major translators of this term.

Dialogue between CPLP members and civil society actors had taken place since the organisation's foundation, but according to official documents, this was circumstantial

and did not reach the decision-making level (CPLP, 1997, 1998). Likewise, the concept of ‘civil society’ has changed over the years in the CPLP. Initially, it referred to individual personalities, private stakeholders, and labour associations (CPLP, 1998). Thereafter, private foundations were invited as ‘consultant observers’ (CPLP, 2006). However, there was little or no involvement of NGOs or social movements in these first steps. The goal of establishing a durable space for engagement with civil society was developed in 2008 (CPLP, 2008a), but only accomplished at the First Civil Society Forum in 2013.

Brazilian diplomats emphasised that the CPLP’s definition of civil society was a complex matter. For the Brazilian actors involved in the process, this concept comprised social movements; however, other actors (e.g. Angolan public servants) contended that private foundations and charitable institutions should be privileged. According to the diplomats involved, the Brazilian perspective won, allowing for the participation of NGOs, universities, and social movements: *‘There was a shock in the definition of civil society, but our definition somehow prevailed. However, the document from the first Forum was controversial. Not all organisations accepted it. What remained substantively was the issue of the institutionalisation of social participation’* (Brasilia, July 2013). Interviews with civil society actors in Brazil and Mozambique confirmed this (Brasilia, July 2013; Maputo, March 2014). The Council’s reports also illustrated the objective of establishing and institutionalising a participatory decision-making mechanism (Consan-CPLP, 2012). Therefore, advocacy from Brazil’s public-civil society network in the CPLP was particularly strong and achieved institutional outcomes in a short period.

As in the CPLP, Brazilian organisations active in the FAO demonstrated renewed interest in strengthening social participation mechanisms in the Committee of World Food Security (CFS) and cooperation projects. The CFS institutional reform in the late 2000s was inspired by Brazil’s Consea in terms of multi-stakeholder governance and participation. The Executive Secretary confirmed during an interview: *‘The CFS has known the Consea model from the beginning, but the Brazilian government also helped to promote it (...) Brazil sent large delegations including civil society to present Zero Hunger and Consea’* (Rome, October 2013). According to Consea members, the CFS was a key space to increase participation in the global governance of food security (Montpellier, October 2013). They engaged in a process of socialisation of the Consea framework and Brazil’s food policies. However, the CFS was a very large, competitive, bureaucratic, and fragmented space, which prevented a major influence in its institutional procedures. Thus, the concrete outcomes of this mobilisation weakened and were questioned shortly after the advocacy process (Zanella & Duncan, 2015).

In addition, the technical cooperation project Purchase from Africans for Africa (PAA Africa) – inspired by Brazil’s policies of public food procurement from family farmers – was consolidated through dialogue between FAO staff and Brazil’s public servants, NGOs, and social movements. Although the project was part of an intergovernmental agreement, it gradually opened participation to civil society consequent to the advocacy of Brazilian and Mozambican organisations (e.g. Brazil’s Consea and Mozambique’s Union of Peasants). Mozambique was chosen as a priority country for the launch of a pilot initiative for social participation in PAA Africa. Project officers made suggestions for engagement with civil society at subnational levels. However, this participation was limited in terms of implementation owing to the lack of financial resources to pursue objectives, low involvement of FAO and WFP staff in Mozambique more concerned with

technical outcomes, and low responsiveness of the civil society organisations elected as members of the project's advisory group.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in bureaucratic and institutionalised arenas such as the FAO, this effort was subject to deeper translation and hybridisation as a result of further negotiation with the organisation's staff and rules.

### **3.2. IOs' institutional changes and Brazil's multilateral diplomacy**

In addition to the advocacy for reinforcing soft norms and policy paradigms aligned with the interests of particular groups of actors in IOs, as indicated in the introductory article, policy transfer/diffusion has been increasingly used as an instrument of 'foreign policy' (Stone et al., 2019). In this context, CPLP members supported Brazil's diplomacy in its ambition to increase the country's profile in the multilateral system. CPLP members officially endorsed the candidacy of José Graziano for the FAO General Directorate (Luanda Declaration, July 2010). This support was reaffirmed during his re-election campaign in 2015 (CPLP, 2014a). A former member of the Ministry of Social Development in Brazil and regional representative of the FAO, and a leader of the Zero Hunger strategy, Graziano displayed wide political and intellectual authority in food policies (Porto de Oliveira, 2019).

This position intensified Brazil's development cooperation with CPLP's African members and a gradual rapprochement between the CPLP and FAO, particularly regarding the goal of the former to become a food security cooperation platform. A Brazilian diplomat reported, '*The CPLP had a significant role in the Graziano campaign. In this context, the representation of the FAO was established in the community*' (Brasilia, June 2013). In 2012, the FAO opened an office attached to the CPLP Secretariat in Lisbon and inaugurated a cooperation project (CPLP, 2014b). Graziano participated in the community's 9<sup>th</sup> Conference of Heads of State the same year, and the FAO collaborated in establishing a fundraising campaign for the implementation of the CPLP Food Security Strategy (Muragy, 2014). Porto Oliveira (2019) also recognises the role of Graziano as a 'policy ambassador' of Brazil's Zero Hunger strategy, participating in the promotion, legitimation, mediation, and adoption of Brazil's policy instruments in the FAO and worldwide.

Furthermore, Brazil's activism in the FAO influenced the organisation's procedures for implementing development cooperation projects. There was a partial shift from technical-oriented management to political-diplomatic management of triangular cooperation. Contrasting with the traditional practice of donors providing funds to regular and *ad hoc* projects in IOs, diplomatic actors from Brazil (and other rising powers) progressively sought greater involvement in the execution of funds invested in triangular cooperation, increasing politicisation of these initiatives (Milhorance & Soulé-Kohndou, 2017; Soulé-Kohndou, 2014). However, IOs justify their rational-legal authority and assert to participate impersonally in the formulation of international norms. According to constructivist literature, their rules shape the behaviour of their staff and help to rationalise, depoliticise, and systematise their response to external challenges (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004). As mentioned by a FAO servant referring to the PAA Africa project: '*The technical corpus of the FAO is very strong. All initiatives require a technical basis to evaluate their operations. Political speech has a limit. It needs a concrete foundation*' (Rome, October 2013).

---

<sup>1</sup>Results of fieldwork and observant participation in the FAO office in Mozambique (2014 and 2015).



Nonetheless, contrasting with this high concern for IOs' technical approach, government representatives have largely driven the implementation of triangular cooperation. Originally, the FAO office in Brazil suggested managing the resources transferred by the Brazilian government, as was the case of traditional cooperation with multilateral institutions. However, representatives of Brazil's Ministry of External Relations stressed the value of being directly integrated into implementation and monitoring processes. This created institutional discomfort, as reported by an FAO representative (Brasilia, June 2013).

For example, PAA Africa was managed by former Brazilian public servants in the FAO and WFP. The project was closely followed by the diplomatic division responsible for consolidating Brazil's international action for fighting hunger (CGFome). Another example is the project 'Exchange of experiences and public policy dialogue for family farming in Africa', managed by a steering committee involving the FAO and representatives of the Brazilian Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA). The Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa), the main institution of Brazil's south-south cooperation in the rural sector, also established a liaison office in the FAO Rome office in 2013. Thus, these governmental bodies had direct influence in formulating project activities, recruiting staff, and accompanying monitoring missions. The FAO criticised these strategies for the lack of technical monitoring and evaluation systems in the first phase of PAA Africa (2012–2013) (Milhorance & Soulé-Kohndou, 2017). FAO staff considered this a significant weakness; however, monitoring activities were incorporated in the second phase of the project to ensure 'technical' recognition based on UN criteria. Food policy instruments designed in Brazil underwent the translation process in the FAO, characterised by the organisation's institutional culture to produce and diffuse policy ideas and practices. The FAO incorporated policy knowledge promoted by Brazilian actors, while including principles consistent with their bureaucratic attributes such as technical evaluation mechanisms.

To summarise, processes of the socialisation of policy instruments developed in Brazil were driven by a network of Brazilian diplomatic, public administration, and civil society actors increasingly active in the CPLP and FAO. On one hand, this network employed legitimacy resources related to recognising their experience in reducing food insecurity; material and technical resources, which allowed them to participate in international meetings and elaborate technical cooperation; and political/formal resources related to their alignment with the ideas of the ruling government. On the other, the CPLP and FAO acted as arenas of debate and negotiation for framing and adapting policy ideas, and despite the resources mobilised by Brazilian actors, the members and staff of these organisations could resist and influence the outcomes of translation. Less institutionalised than the FAO and lacking the material and technical resources to implement development projects, the CPLP was more porous to Brazil's influence in its governance procedures and official positions.

## **4. Redefining policy prescriptions for food security and family farming by the CPLP and FAO**

### **4.1. Socialisation of Brazil's zero hunger 'Toolkit'**

Brazilian experiences served as a 'model' for building the CPLP's food and nutrition security strategy. Although the fight against hunger was present in CPLP's agenda since

2003 (CPLP, 2003), these issues were not addressed by member states. The concept of food security only appeared in official texts from 2008, after the approval of the Resolution on Food Security by the 7<sup>th</sup> Conference of Heads of State (CPLP, 2008b). The Food Security Strategy reports attest to the position of Brazilian models in this framing process: *Brazil is currently a benchmark in terms of anti-hunger policies, with significant experience from legal, institutional, and public policy viewpoints. The experience of this country has influenced the development of national strategies in other member states and even those of international organisations providing technical support* (CPLP, 2011, pp. 10–11). Several reports stressed that Brazil, unlike other members, had ‘accomplished’ its objectives (FAO & CPLP, 2013). Some documents confirmed the influence of Brazil’s Zero Hunger strategy in the community’s goal of formulating national strategies (Actuar & Redsan-Palop, 2012). Moreover, the CPLP Food Security Strategy often mentioned the promotion of family farmers’ public procurement and school feeding initiatives (CPLP, 2015). As a result, Brazil became an example according to which the community’s priorities were formulated.

A Brazilian diplomat noted the major political role of this sharing of experience: *‘This is about teaching to do but in our own way. It is not just technology; there is a philosophy behind it, a way of thinking about public policy. Doing this in the Brazilian way creates great political capital’* (Brasilia, June 2013). This movement also impacted member states, as noted by a CPLP representative in Mozambique: *The CPLP summit helped diffuse the food security agenda. Mozambique’s president was present. (...) For us, it became clear that our institution [the technical secretariat of food and nutritional security – Setsan] was wrongly placed, because it is linked to the Ministry of Agriculture, while in Brazil [their food security council] it is linked to the Presidency of the Republic* (Maputo, April 2014).

Therefore, although policy diffusion plays a crucial role in reinforcing Brazil’s diplomacy in a multilateral system, important is that the ‘models’ diffused in this process referred to the political ideas of a particular group of actors that acquired political resources during the Workers’ Party administration (2003–2016). The agency of civil society actors and group of public servants in the socialisation of these policy ideas is highlighted. Stone (2002) contended that the contest of ideas and battles to control the terms of policy debate using specific knowledge and experiences is a political process.

A similar process took place in the FAO. The objective of combining agricultural production with social protection instruments was aligned with the initiatives put in place when Graziano was Brazil’s Minister. A social protection-based approach to fight hunger was endorsed and prioritised by the FAO Council in December 2013, positioning this concept at the heart of the organisation’s new strategic framework. These objectives included integrating social protection into national actions and strategies, optimising synergies between social protection and agricultural policies, integrating social protection into investment strategies and plans, and encouraging governments and stakeholders to develop their social protection systems (FAO, 2016b). To support this normative change institutionally, the FAO Medium Term Plan 2014–2017 and Work and Budget Plan 2014–2015 recommended allocating additional resources for social protection initiatives in the countries concerned, creating a Social Protection Division, and establishing a cross-sectorial working group in the FAO to strengthen the coordination of public policy analysis and initiatives in this area. A team was established to

implement these institutional changes, and several former Brazilian public officials hired as consultants or FAO staff to consolidate this new vision.

This perspective was identical to that applied by Brazil's Zero Hunger strategy, which was endorsed by UN agencies as seen in the creation of the wider 'Zero Hunger Challenge' campaign. Launched at the 2012 Rio+20 Conference on Sustainable Development by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, the campaign was inspired by the 'success' of countries such as Brazil. Here, 23 United Nations agencies, funds, and programmes in the field of food security aligned their collective work plans with the elements and vision of this campaign. WFP is one of these organisations, as the director of the agency in Mozambique testified (Maputo, March 2013):

*Zero Hunger and the Family Allowance (Bolsa Família) are models. There was a big change after the election of Graziano. We were able to attest to it after the last CPLP Summit. We are creating a positive political connection [between the FAO and WFP] because Graziano works very closely with the WFP's Executive Director. This contributed to the sharing of Brazil's policies with the WFP and IFAD. It is not just a process of animation of the member countries. It is a change inside the United Nations. We see a future.*

The main message of this 'model' was that hunger and poverty are a political issue, not an agronomical or technical one, and should be politically prioritised in policy agenda. This idea was repeated in interviews with the interlocutors in Brazil and abroad (MDS, Brasilia, July 2013; Instituto Lula, São Paulo, June 2013), and appeared in talks with Mozambican bureaucrats: '*President Lula insisted on Zero Hunger, which has become the epicentre of public policies in Brazil. In Mozambique, we have just started, so our first battle is to gain more weight for these policies*' (Mozambique's Agricultural Ministry, Maputo, April 2014). The international diffusion of this message relied on the legitimacy resources and diplomatic efforts from the Brazilian side. The objective of the Brazilian government and para-government institutions – especially the former diplomatic division CGFome, Lula Institute, and other ministries – was to diffuse this experience internationally. Several representatives affirmed this: '*We benefited from the identity of Graziano in connection with Brazil and the Zero Hunger programme to create mechanisms of diffusion. The goal is to target Africa*' (Instituto Lula, São Paulo, June 2013).

The objective of promoting this agenda internationally benefited from an international context more open to this type of debate and need for policy solutions to tackle the world food crisis, as confirmed by a Brazilian diplomat in CGFome (Brasilia, March 2013). The FAO benefited from the narrative and concrete experiences of Zero Hunger in renewing its agenda as a response to the global food crisis, and deployed institutional and technical resources that also contributed to diffusing these practices. This includes the creation of centres of excellence that diffused technical information about the Brazilian strategies in the late 2000s. For instance, the International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth published numerous reports on social protection initiatives and conditional cash transfers. The WFP Centre of Excellence against Hunger had a key role in disseminating information on Brazilian school feeding and public food purchases, which have been diffused through technical cooperation projects such as PAA Africa.

Moreover, many FAO reports and meetings have helped disseminate the notion of social protection combined with agricultural production, underlining the Brazilian experience. Between 2010 and 2015, 64 interventions related to social protection and

agriculture were organised worldwide (FAO, 2016a) and a series of events organised under the motto ‘from protection to production’. In the ‘State of World Food Insecurity 2015’ report, the most common recommendation is to combine social protection and pro-poor investments, and the Brazilian PAA Africa was mentioned as a flagship strategy in this process (FAO, FIDA, & PAM, 2015). The “Achieving Zero Hunger” report also highlighted the critical role of investment in social protection and agriculture, building on the “successful” experiences of different countries (FAO, 2015a). Furthermore, the subject was chosen to frame World Food Day 2015, where the term “Zero Hunger” appeared in many UN Directors’ speeches (FAO, 2015c, 2015b). In this context, Brazil’s policy instruments, food security council (Consea), and legislating examples were acknowledged in most reports (FAO, 2007, 2008, 2009b, 2009a, 2010). Finally, the ‘Right to Food Guidelines’ highlighted concrete measures needed to ensure access to food (and not just availability as in previous recommendations). The FAO published a report recommending ‘generalising the Brazilian model of school feeding’ in Latin America and the Caribbean (Pye-Smith, 2014). It was recalled that Brazil’s legal framework underpinned technical cooperation with developing countries, thus contributing to achieving the human right to adequate food at the international level (FAO, 2010).

This process increased the visibility of Brazil’s Zero Hunger strategy and diffusion of its operating tools across CPLP and FAO members. The visibility and awareness of local experience are partly based on providing knowledge about this experience, its organisational arrangements, and conditions under which it can be transferred and adapted to various contexts (Blatrix, 2012). This is key in driving a socialisation process, and to advance, depends on material, technical, and legitimacy resources.

#### **4.2. Agenda-setting and translation of family farming into international ‘best practices’**

In addition to the food security and social protection policy instruments, the international promotion of family farming policies in the CPLP and FAO became an important goal for Brazil’s food policy network. Thanks to this activism, the CPLP’s Consan created a working group on family farming, positioning the issue at the core of the council’s agenda. An organisation representing family farming in Brazil reported (Brasilia, June 2013): *‘We got involved in a debate around the role of family farming for world food sovereignty. This move has opened other spaces for dialogue, for example, regarding public policies. (...) When Consan was created, this question was the subject of debate, but we managed to prioritise the creation of a working group to draw attention to family farming in developing countries’*.

Members of Consan state that this agenda-setting faced conception challenges, especially concerning the meaning of ‘family farming’, leading to a process of negotiations and translation. A Brazilian organisation notes, *‘They [Africans] do not say family farming. For them, it is “small peasant”. This conception debate is important to ensure dialogue and strengthen the [family farming] category’* (Brasilia, June 2013). Historically, family farming in Brazil was conceptualised through a political process of advocacy and struggles that aimed to recognise this group as a social-political category that required specific lines of funding and policies (Milhorance et al., 2019; Sabourin, Samper, & Sotomayor, 2016). The objective of determining a common definition of family farms

in CPLP has been the subject of numerous studies (FAO, & CPLP, 2013; FSN/FAO, 2012). This process also seized the opportunity created by the 2014 UN International Year of Family Farming (IYFF) to promote the debate on the concept and advocate for strengthening public policies for family farming across CPLP members (Consan-CPLP, 2014). According to Brazilian representatives involved in the process, the IYFF was an important step in including family farming in the international agenda (Brasilia, June 2013). Brazilian actors were not alone in promoting the IYFF, which was subject to several years of transnational activism; however, they integrated into the movement very strongly, strengthened regional networks, and provided examples of ‘successful’ experiences in the field. The presence of Graziano also contributed to opening the organisation to this appeal.

The outcomes of these processes included: i) increasing the visibility of family farming policy targets, as the FAO produced several reports and meetings worldwide (involving more than 700 organisations) and the Brazilian government helped launch and fund the Family Farming Knowledge Platform; and ii) supporting family farming through FAO projects and case studies. In collaboration with the WFP, the Rural Infrastructure and Agro-Industry Division conducted a series of case studies on public procurement, positioning WFP’s Purchase for Progress project as an entry point and Brazilian school feeding initiatives as a reference. A further outcome was iii) reinforcing political mobilisation, such as extending the IYFF campaign for ten more years; creating a civil society network in the CPLP (Redsan, mentioned above); and ensuring alignment with the Mercosur Specialized Meeting on Family Farming (REAF), which promoted exchange between civil society from CPLP and Mercosur.

Regarding this alignment between CPLP and Mercosur civil society, an NGO in Mozambique stated: *‘We learned [from exchanges between CPLP and REAF] that in the context of Mercosur, family farming has a political role. Political decisions are discussed with family farming. (...) Here [in Mozambique], we should think about a law of family farming that provides resources and political power’* (Maputo, April 2014). As in REAF, Brazilian actors active in CPLP and FAO were interested in reinforcing a political coalition that cumulated institutional resources and articulated a new platform for dialogue between the State and civil society for the design of public policies (Nierdele, 2016). The REAF has been shaped as an experience in which other actors mirrored their own public spaces (Sabourin et al., 2016).

To conclude, several FAO and CPLP bodies endorsed some of the priorities of Brazil’s public-civil society network, whose objectives were to elevate the food and nutrition security agenda in government hierarchies, strengthen and consolidate spaces for social participation, and recognise the role of family farming. This network has become active, especially after the world food crisis, and benefited from the support of the governmental coalition in Brazil. Incorporating these concepts was also the subject of cross fertilisation, driven by dialogue between FAO staff, CPLP members, Brazilian state and non-state actors, and experts in these arenas. The circulation of international experts contributed to socialising best practices in food security, social protection, and family farming. These interactions were dense and interconnected, and supported by resources of legitimacy (to propose global policy solutions) and formal resources (to gain access to diplomatic and multilateral bodies) (Milhorance, 2018).

However, the outcomes were distinct in the two arenas, because in the FAO, the interactions were more fragmented, bureaucratic routines more influential, and decision-making processes more complex, as they involved numerous actors. Furthermore, the common language and post-colonial contours of inter-state cooperation in the CPLP favoured the establishment of a trans-governmental network enabling the circulation of policy ideas and practices in the food security field. These vertical and horizontal governance networks increasingly engage in standards and agenda-setting, and the production of soft norms (Legrand, 2016). The process is distinct but parallel to the one in the FAO in which ‘global public-policy partnerships’ are shaped (Legrand & Stone, 2018).

## 5. Conclusion

This article analysed the role of a particular policy network, which mobilised international recognition of the category of family farming, and diffusion of policy ideas and practices in the fields of food security and social participation and their framing as best practices. This was based on the theory of change recognized in Brazil of a ‘progressive fight against poverty’, which aimed to correct the excesses and social imbalances created by neoliberal policies through formal authority and social legitimacy resources. The CPLP and FAO became arenas wherein these policy best practices were framed and established and, as other articles in this issue argue, IOs became the vehicles for knowledge diffusion and policy transfer (Stone et al., 2019). This movement benefited from the opportunity arising from the world food crisis and the international community’s need to find new practical solutions to global challenges.

The analysis here has unpacked the diplomacy and power relations obscured by the complexity of links in policy networks, and reciprocal influence of policy diffusion and governance of food security. Devin and Smouts (2011) remind us that in these soft configurations, identifying the role of each actor, especially IOs, is problematic. Therefore, the analysis focused on Brazilian actors and their ability to operate or participate in changes in the production and diffusion of policy knowledge in multilateral arenas relying on their socialisation role. The interactions were characterised by strong density and interconnection around a stable set of ideas. IOs reserved a capacity for continuous adjustment through translation mechanisms. However, this was the subject of negotiations that incorporate the ‘bureaucratic’ principles and ‘technical evaluations’ of IOs and opinions of other actors involved in multilateral decision-making. As such, while on one hand, Brazilian actors have gradually become involved in politicising decision-making procedures in the FAO and CPLP, on the other, the guidelines they advocate have been consistently translated into a process of ensuring their ‘efficiency’ and ‘neutrality’, moving in the direction of de-politicisation. This hybridisation was deeper in the FAO given the level of its bureaucratisation, complexity of its decision-making processes, and numerous actively involved actors.

Nevertheless, the long-term incorporation of these policy ideas and practices requires time and resources. The economic and political crises in Brazil since 2015, which culminated in the impeachment of president Rousseff in 2016, has considerably reduced the mobilisation capacity of Brazilian actors because of revised diplomatic objectives and reduced funds, discouraging the implementation of cooperation projects and

participation in international meetings. Brazil's strategy to fight hunger over the past decade has resulted in the country acquiring solid international and social legitimacy, and the country's efforts to foster the same strategy jointly with IOs have negated the effects of political and economic challenges. This is especially true in the FAO, as some of Brazil's policy tools have been incorporated into its regular initiatives. In the CPLP, the influence of Brazilian actors in shaping best practices has been stronger and more direct than in the FAO in the short term; thus, demobilisation post-2016 has meant a stronger decline in the circulation of Brazilian policy knowledge.

This study sought to provide insights into the mechanisms, resources, and procedures of knowledge validation by which policy ideas are recognised by IOs and reinterpreted and diffused as policy models. Furthermore, the paper clarified how this diffusion process kept a political dimension, as claimed by Stone (2002), by informing the power of certain ideas and coordinating advocates and translators in networks. Further research on how these dynamics relate with broader processes of increasing trans-governmentalism and global policy-making will be fruitful.

## Acknowledgments

This paper is a summarised and updated version of content presented in the book “New Geographies of Global-Policy Making: South-South Networks and Rural Development Strategies”, Routledge (2018). The author would like to thank Diane Stone, Timothy Legrand, Osmany Porto, and Leslie Pal for their thoughtful review and comments that greatly assisted the reformulation of the first draft of the article. The author also thanks Felicidade Panguene, Israel Klug, and Lorena Braz for providing useful information and valuable insights during the research work at the FAO office in Mozambique.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Funding

This work was supported by the Regional Council of Ile de France (Conseil Régional Ile de France), the Brazilian Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - CAPES), and the French Agricultural Research Centre for International Development (Centre de Coopération Internationale en Recherche Agronomique pour le Développement - CIRAD).

## Notes on contributor

*Carolina Milhorange* is a Post-doctoral researcher at the Center for Sustainable Development – University of Brasilia. Carolina was a research fellow at the French Agricultural Center for International Development (CIRAD) and received her PhD in Political Science and Sustainable Development from the University of Paris Saclay and the University of Brasilia in 2016. Her experience includes technical advice, research development, project management and institutional assistance in Brazilian and international organisations. Her research currently focuses on topics such as policy integration and the strategies of adaptation to climate change, policy networks in the policy process, south-south cooperation and policy transfer.

**ORCID**

Carolina Milhorance  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3290-8596>

**References**

- Actuar, & Redsan-Palop. (2012). *Mobilização social para a segurança alimentar e nutricional: A experience de trabalho em redes multi-temáticas da REDSAN-PALOP*. Coimbra: Author.
- Barnett, M. N., & Finnemore, M. (2004). *Rules for the world: International organizations in global politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Blatrix, C. (2012). Des sciences de la participation : Paysage participatif et marché des biens savants en France. *Quaderni. Communication, Technologies, Pouvoir*, (79), 59–80. doi:10.4000/quaderni.612
- Call, C., & Abdenur, A. (2017). *A Brazilian way”? Brazil’s approach to peacebuilding*. Brasilia: Brookings Institute. [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/lai\\_20170228\\_brazilian\\_way\\_peacebuilding1.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/lai_20170228_brazilian_way_peacebuilding1.pdf)
- Callon, M. (1986). Eléments pour une sociologie de la traduction: La domestication des coquilles Saintjacques et des marins-pêcheurs dans la baie de Saint-Brieuc. *L’année Sociologique*, 36, 169–208.
- Consan-CPLP. (2012). *Diretrizes para o mecanismo de facilitação da participação da sociedade civil* [Resolução sobre a Constituição do Conselho de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional da CPLP (CONSAN-CPLP)/XVII Reunião ordinária do Conselho de Ministros da Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa]. Lisboa: Institutional document of the Consan-CPLP.
- Consan-CPLP. (2014). *Declaração do grupo de trabalho de agricultura familiar do Consan-CPLP*. Lisboa: Institutional document of the Consan-CPLP.
- CPLP. (1997). *Relatório do Presidente do I Conselho de Ministros preparatório da Ia Conferência dos Chefes de Estado e de Governo*. Salvador: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (1998). *Declaração da Praia: Ila Conferência dos chefes de Estado e de governo da CPLP*. Praia: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (2003). *Resolução sobre o combate à fome em países da CPLP*. Lisboa: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (2006). *Declaração de Bissau: Resolução sobre a concessão do estatuto de observador consultivo da CPLP*. Bissau: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (2008a). *Declaração de Lisboa: VII Conferência de chefes de Estado e de governo da Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (2008b). *Resolução sobre a Segurança Alimentar*. Lisboa: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (2011). *Estratégia de segurança alimentar e nutricional da CPLP: Parte I: Enquadramento*. Lisboa: Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa.
- CPLP. (2012). *Declaração de Maputo: IX Conferência de chefes de Estado e de governo da comunidade dos países de língua portuguesa*. Maputo: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (2014a). *Declaração de Dili: X Conferência de chefes de Estado e de governo da Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa*. Dili: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (2014b). *Resolução sobre a Declaração do Conselho de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional da CPLP*. Lisboa: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- CPLP. (2015). *Estratégia de segurança alimentar e nutricional da CPLP: Enquadramento e órgãos para governação: Guia rápido* (pp. 40). Lisboa: Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa.
- CPLP, & FAO. (2014). *Convite à apresentação de propostas de iniciativas ou projetos a integrar na Plataforma eletrónica da Campanha “Juntos contra a Fome!”*. Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa: Institutional document of the CPLP.
- da Silva, J. F. G., Del Grossi, M. E., & de França, C. G. (Eds.). (2010). *Fome Zero: A experiência brasileira*. Brasília: Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário.



- Delcour, L., & Tulmets, E. (2019). *Policy transfer and norm circulation: Towards an interdisciplinary and comparative approach*. Routledge. <https://www.crcpress.com/Policy-Transfer-and-Norm-Circulation-Towards-an-Interdisciplinary-and-Comparative/Delcour-Tulmets/p/book/9781138299030>
- Devin, G., & Smouts, M.-C. (2011). *Les organisations internationales*. Paris: A. Colin.
- FAO. (2007). *Right to food: Lessons learned in Brazil*, 1 ed. Retrieved from <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/010/a1331e/a1331e.pdf>
- FAO. (2008). *Methods to monitor the human right to adequate food*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- FAO. (2009a). *Budget work to advance the right to food*. Rome: Author.
- FAO. (2009b). *Guide to conducting a right to food assessment*. Rome: Author.
- FAO. (2010). *Guide pour légiférer sur le droit à l'alimentation*. Rome: Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Alimentation et l'Agriculture.
- FAO. (2013, February 23). *FAO's South-South Cooperation to benefit from Brazilian expertise*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/170670/icode/>
- FAO. (2015a). *Achieving Zero Hunger: The critical role of investments in social protection and agriculture* (2 ed.). Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization.
- FAO. (2015b, October 16). *Allocutions du directeur général de la FAO José Graziano da Silva à la Célébration de la Journée mondiale de l'alimentation*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/documents/card/fr/c/4eae91eb-50ef-4cd4-ac68-565ec6549d39>
- FAO. (2015c, October 16). *Remarks to the opening ceremony of world food day at expo milan by secretary-general Ban Ki-moon, World Food Day Ceremony: Friday*. Expo Milano Auditorium, 11.45 – 12.40. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/documents/card/en/c/2475c591-25d4-42df-86f6-f2aa2f700430>
- FAO. (2016a). *Presentations on cash transfers and social protection impacts in sub-Saharan Africa given by PtoP team members*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Retrieved from [http://www.fao.org/economic/ptop/publications/presentations/en/?utm\\_source=socialprotection&utm\\_medium=webpage&utm\\_campaign=faothemes](http://www.fao.org/economic/ptop/publications/presentations/en/?utm_source=socialprotection&utm_medium=webpage&utm_campaign=faothemes)
- FAO. (2016b). *Protection sociale*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/social-protection/fr/>
- FAO, & CPLP. (2013). *Situação da governança da segurança alimentar e nutricional e papel da agricultura familiar nos países da CPLP* (pp. 74). Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization.
- FAO, FIDA, & PAM. (2015). *L'état de l'insécurité alimentaire dans le monde 2015 : Messages clés*. Organisation des Nations unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture. 8. Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i4671f.pdf>.
- Fouilleux, È. (2009). À propos de crises mondiales ... : Quel rôle de la FAO dans les débats internationaux sur les politiques agricoles et alimentaires? *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 59(4), 757.
- Francesco, F. D., & Guaschino, E. (2019). Reframing knowledge: A comparison of OECD and World Bank discourse on public governance reform. *Policy and Society*, 1–16. doi:10.1080/14494035.2019.1609391
- Fraundorfer, M. (2013). Zero hunger for the world: Brazil's global diffusion of its Zero hunger strategy. *Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations*, 2(4), 91–116.
- FSN/FAO. (2012). *Consulta Eletrônica: Agricultura Familiar e Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional na CPLP* (pp. 15). Rome: Fórum Global sobre Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional.
- Hadijski, M., Pal, L. A., & Walker, C. (Eds.). (2017). *Public policy transfer: Micro-dynamics and macro-effects*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Pub.
- Hassenteufel, P., Benamouzig, D., Minonzio, J., & Robelet, M. (2017). Policy diffusion and translation: The case of health agencies. *Novos Estudos - CEBRAP*, 36(01), 77–98.
- Hernando, M. G., Pautz, H., & Stone, D. (2018). Think tanks in 'hard times' – The Global financial crisis and economic advice. *Policy and Society*, 32(2), 125–139.

- IFPRI. (2008). *Hausse des prix alimentaires et actions stratégiques proposées : Que faire, par qui et comment*. Institut international de recherche sur les politiques alimentaires. Retrieved from <http://www.drylands-group.org/noop/file.php?id=1549>
- Legrand, T. (2016). Elite, exclusive and elusive: Transgovernmental policy networks and iterative policy transfer in the Anglosphere. *Policy Studies*, 37(5), 440–455.
- Legrand, T., & Stone, D. (2018). Science diplomacy and transnational governance impact. *British Politics*, 13(3), 392–408.
- Milhorance, C. (2018). *New geographies of global policy-making: South-South networks and rural development strategies* (1st ed.). New York and London: Routledge.
- Milhorance, C., Bursztyn, M., & Sabourin, E. (2019). The politics of the internationalisation of Brazil's 'Zero Hunger' instruments. *Food Security*, 1–14. doi:10.1007/s12571-019-00898-y
- Milhorance, C., & Soulé-Kohndou, F. (2017). South-South co-operation and change in international organisations. *Global Governance*, 23(3), 461–481.
- Moloney, K., & Stone, D. (2019). Beyond the state: Global policy and transnational administration. *International Review of Public Policy*, 1(1:1), 104–118.
- Muragy, M. (2014, February 20). *Intervenção do Secretário Executivo da CPLP, Embaixador Murade Muragy*. Lançamento da Campanha “Juntos Contra a Fome!”. [http://www.cplp.org/Files/Filer/MIC\\_SE/MuradeMuragy/Interv\\_SECPLP\\_Lana-Camp-JcF\\_vai\\_3.pdf](http://www.cplp.org/Files/Filer/MIC_SE/MuradeMuragy/Interv_SECPLP_Lana-Camp-JcF_vai_3.pdf)
- Nierdele, P. A. (2016). A construção da Reunião Especializada sobre Agricultura Familiar (REAF) do Mercosul: Sociogênese de uma plataforma de diálogos entre Governos e Movimentos Sociais. *Estudos Sociedade E Agricultura*, 2(24), 35.
- Pal, L. A. (2012). *Frontiers of governance*. doi:10.1057/9780230369016, <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1057/9780230369016>
- Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2015). *Fast policy: Experimental statecraft at the thresholds of neoliberalism*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
- Porto de Oliveira, O. (2019). Policy ambassadors: Human agency in the transnationalization of Brazilian social policies. *Policy and Society*, 1–17. doi:10.1080/14494035.2019.1643646
- Pye-Smith, C. (2014). *Généraliser le modèle brésilien d'alimentation scolaire: Utiliser la coopération sud-sud pour partager l'expérience brésilienne en matière d'alimentation scolaire en Amérique latine et dans les Caraïbes* (pp. 48). Rome: Organisation des Nations unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture.
- Sabourin, E., Samper, M., & Sotomayor, O. (Eds.). (2016). *Políticas públicas y agriculturas familiares en América Latina y el Caribe*. San José: Instituto Interamericano de Cooperación para la Agricultura.
- Soulé-Kohndou, F. A. (2012). Forums d'émergents et multilatéralisme: Le cas du forum IBAS (Inde-Brésil-Afrique du Sud). *Perspectives Internationales*, (2), 135–145. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/62381/>
- Soulé-Kohndou, F. A. (2014). *Les “clubs” de puissances “émergentes”: Fonctions objectives et usages stratégiques: Le cas du forum de dialogue IBAS (Inde-Brésil-Afrique du Sud)* (Thèse de doctorat). Paris: Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris.
- Stone, D. (2002). Introduction: Global knowledge and advocacy networks. *Global Networks*, 2(1), 1–12.
- Stone, D. (2012). Transfer and translation of policy. *Policy Studies*, 33(6), 483–499.
- Stone, D., & Ladi, S. (2015). Global public policy and transnational administration. *Public Administration*, 93(4), 839–855.
- Stone, D., Porto de Oliveira, O., & Pal, L. A. (2019). Transnational policy transfer: The circulation of ideas, power and development models. *Policy and Society*, 1–18. doi:10.1080/14494035.2019.1619325
- Tulmets, E. (2005). *La conditionnalité dans la politique de l'élargissement de l'Union Européenne à l'Est: Un cadre d'apprentissage et de socialisation mutuelle?* (Thèse de doctorat). Paris: Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris/Freie Universität Berlin.
- Zanella, M., & Duncan, J. (2015, October 22). *The UN's most inclusive body at a crossroads*. Food Governance: reflections on food, governance, sustainability and related topics. Retrieved from <http://foodgovernance.com/2015/10/22/the-uns-most-inclusive-body-at-a-crossroads/>