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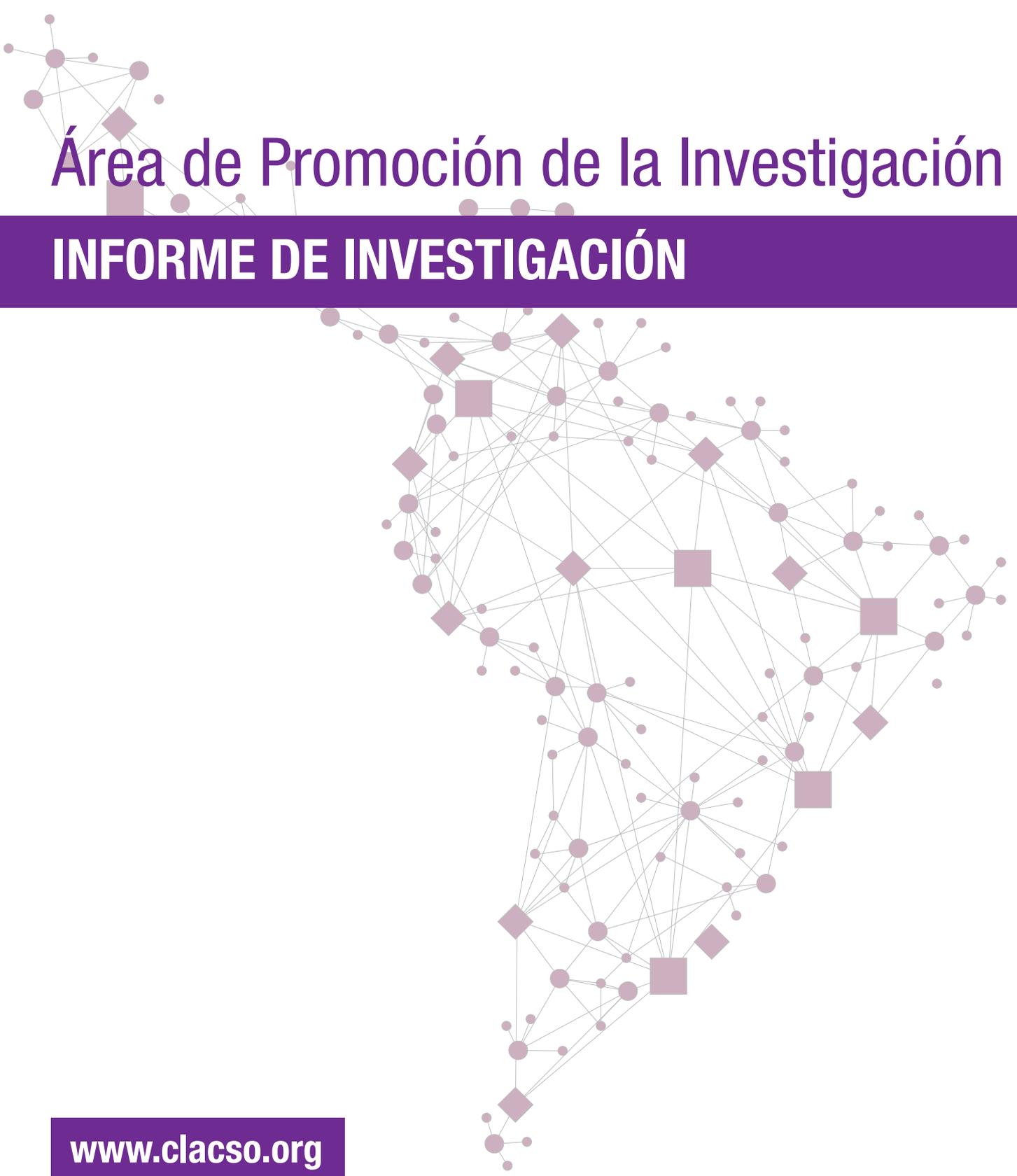
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INFORME DE INVESTIGACIÓN

Barriers and Enablers to the Sharing of Human Rights Policies through South-South Cooperation[1]

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Summary

The practice of South-South Cooperation for the purpose of policy transfer has achieved great political interest and priority in recent years. However, some public policies have had greater success than others in getting transferred across countries of the geopolitical South. In this framework, this research project has looked into why participatory and rights-based policies in Brazil, especially the policy on education for human rights, have not diffused internationally despite governmental efforts. Five cases were compared where Brazil cooperated with Haiti, Cuba, El Salvador and Guinea Bissau.

List of acronyms

ABC	*Agência Brasileira de Cooperação* (Brazilian Cooperation Agency)
AECID	*Agencia Espanola de Cooperacion Internacional para el Desarrollo* (Spanish Agency of International Cooperation for Development).
AusAid	Australian Agency for International Development
BSEIPH	Bureau du Secretaire D'Etat pour l'Intégration des Personnes Handicapées – Haiti (Office of the State Secretary for People with Disabilities).
CAPES	*Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior* (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel)
CEDEAO	Economic Community of West African States
Cenesex	*Centro Nacional de Educación Sexual* – Cuba (National Center for Sex Education)
CGFOME	*Coodenação-Geral de Ações Internacionais de Combate à Fome* (General Coordination for International Actions against Hunger)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CNCD/LGBT	*Conselho Nacional de Combate à Discriminação e Promoção dos Direitos de LGBT* (National Council against Discrimination and for the Promotion of LGBT Rights)
CONADE	*Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Pessoa com Deficiência* (National Council of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities)
CONNA	*Consejo Nacional de la Niñez y de la Adolescencia* - El Salvador (National Council of Children and Adolescents)
CPLP	*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries).
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	*Department for International Development*
FMLN	*Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional* - El Salvador.
GIZ	*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit*
HRE	Human Rights Education
HDI	Human Development Index

ILGALAC	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association for Latin America and the Caribbean
ILO	*International Labor Organization*
INDE	*Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação* - Guiné Bissau (National Institute for the Development of Education).
IO	International Organization
IPEA	*Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada* (Institute of Economic Applied Research)
ISNA	*Instituto Salvadoreño para el Desarollo Integral de la Niñez y la Adolescencia* - El Salvador (Salvadoran Institute for the Comprehensive Development of Children and Adolescents)
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LEPINA	*Ley de Protección Integral de la Niñez y Adolescéncia* - El Salvador (Law for the Comprehensive Development of Children and Adolescents)
Mercosur	Southern Common Market
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
NHRI	National Human Rights Institution
OAS	Organization of American States
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAIR	*Plano de Ações Integradas e Referenciais de Enfrentamento à Violência Sexual Infanto-Juvenil* (Plan of Integrated and Reference Actions to Combat Sexual Violence against Children and Adolescents)
PALOPs	Portuguese Speaking Countries in Africa
PNDH	*Programa Nacional de Direitos Humanos* (National Human Rights Program)
PNPS	*Política Nacional de Participação Social* (National Policy for Social Participation)
RCN	*Registro Civil de Nascimento* (Birth Registration)
SDH	*Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República* (Secretariat of Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic)
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SSC	South-South Cooperation
TCDC	Technical Cooperation between Developing Countries
Unasur	Union of South-American Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
Unicef	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOSSC	United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

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I. Introduction

Development, sustainability and the protection of human rights are possibly among the few shared goals upon which States have come to an agreement throughout the 20th century. However, even though most of them have been written into international law, human rights are still not protected in various corners of the world, like in the police-occupied *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, in the African-American neighborhoods in Ferguson, US. Despite the obvious statement that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, as declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, transvestites are still being murdered around the world. The promotion and protection of human rights is still a pending task to be worked out by public policies of virtually every country.

In the so-called "developing world" or in countries of the geopolitical South[3], the importance of promoting human rights often blends into the permanent fight against poverty and social inequality. But in spite of the structural limitations faced by those countries, both domestic and international, success stories are not uncommon, like in the case of conditional cash transfer programs, microcredit initiatives and the organization of spaces for open debate and mobilization like the World Social Forum.

Collaboration links have emerged from those experiences, strengthening the ties among countries of the South through "South-South cooperation". This kind of cooperation has allowed, for instance, that Argentine and Peruvian specialists in forensic archeology help in the promotion of the right to memory and truth in Brazil, specially during the works of the National Truth Commission. It has also allowed Cuban teachers to collaborate with adult literacy efforts in countries of Latin America and Africa through the program *Yo, Sí Puedo*.

Despite these and other relatively successful experiences – both in terms of public policies and of South-South cooperation – there is still little understanding about how those models diffuse from country to country and, moreover, why some worthwhile experiences from the South actually do not get to diffuse. Latin America, for instance, has been the cradle of numerous constitutional guarantees inspired by a perspective of citizens' rights and obligations of the State. Even though the human rights regime has been mostly attributed to countries of the geopolitical North, the South has historically had an important vanguard role, be it in the discussion and proposition of international norms, or in the design of public policies that allow for the internalization of those norms. Sikkink (2014), for instance, indicates the pioneer role played by the countries of the Americas in the creation of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, which was approved and adopted months before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Nogueira (2014) also points out the protagonism of Brazilian diplomacy

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[3] The use of the concept of "South" to make reference to medium and low income countries has been credited to the document ""North-South: a programme for survival. Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues", which was chaired by former West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt, in 1980. Even though the idea of a "South" dates back to the 1960s and 70s, as described in Morais de Sa e Silva (2008), the political organization of developing countries around the idea of a common South was first formalized with the creation of the "South Center", an intergovernmental organization created in 1995 under the leadership of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

in the proposition and negotiation of new international norms to protect the rights of the LGBT population.

This *avant-garde* position, however, has not contaminated other regions with progressive and rights-based policies. The right to free education, for instance, which has been assured by several Latin American countries for the past 30 years, only recently has been observed by some countries in Asia and Africa, which just recently started to abolish school fees (i.e. India).

Recent studies on South-South cooperation, which fortunately have started to flourish in academia in past years, have been especially focused on doing foreign policy analysis of those practices, looking at their meaning and impact on power relations in the international system. However, not much research has been dedicated to analyzing, in detail, the practice of South-South cooperation as the sharing of experiences among countries of the South.

Hence, this paper aims in general to expand knowledge on South-South cooperation in the field of human rights, identifying internal and external variables that may enable or hamper the sharing of experiences in that field. In particular, the research will look into whether policy content matters for the policy diffusion process that may result from a South-South cooperation initiative. One possible hypothesis on that regard is that simple policies – in terms of implementation – may diffuse more easily than complex policies. As for external factors, particular attention will be given to the role played by international partners (i.e. international organizations, traditional donors, etc.) and human rights norms in such potential diffusion processes.

In order to accomplish that, the study will contrast and compare five case studies, among which one seems particularly interesting: the case of non-transfer in the failed attempt of cooperation between Brazil and Guinea Bissau in the field of human rights education. This case of failed cooperation and non-transfer will be contrasted with other four cases of governmental cooperation between Brazil and other developing countries in the field of human rights:

- Cooperation Brazil – Haiti for the promotion of the rights of persons with disabilities;
- Cooperation Brazil – Guinea Bissau for the promotion of the right to birth registration;
- Cooperation Brazil – El Salvador in combating sexual violence against children;
- Cooperation Brazil – Cuba – The Netherlands for the promotion of LGBT rights.

It is hoped that the comparative analysis of South-South cooperation initiatives on human rights may bring new elements to inform both the policy practice and discussion in this field.

Even though most recent studies of South-South cooperation have been developed within a framework of International Relations (IR), looking at power relations between countries and at the power gains possibly derived from those cooperation links, this research will be actually based on a selection of literature that does not come from mainstream IR theory. The theoretical framework used here will be comprised of a combination of concepts coming from comparative politics, comparative education and human rights. Those bodies of literature have been chosen for their dedication to researching processes of international diffusion/transfer of norms and policies, with a special regard to individual interests and motivations.

Even though at the international level South-South cooperation impacts international relations, at the policy level decisions are taken and implemented by individuals that carry their own interests and motivations. Hence, bearing in mind that those processes are politically motivated, this research will analyze whether the features of a policy may impact their diffusion process. For instance, are policies of simple implementation more easily transferrable to other contexts? The paper will also present the role played by external agents and by international human rights norms, which, despite being structural factors, may play a role in increasing the chance for the diffusion of a particular policy.

Therefore, this study is at the crossroads between South-South cooperation and policy transfer. The main interest here is on the cooperation initiatives that have sought to transfer public policies, some of which are considered "best practices", between countries of the South. After presenting the main theoretical concepts and discussions that have informed this research, this article will bring summary information on the five selected case studies. Those cases comprise virtually half the portfolio of South-South cooperation projects developed by Brazil's Secretariat of Human Rights (*Secretaria de Direitos Humanos* - SDH) in past years. The non-selected projects were either in a very early stage of implementation or were suspended because of budget restrictions recently faced by Brazil.

The five cases seemed to combine an interesting set of characteristics *vis-à-vis* the variables of interest for this study. The following table was prepared before data collection on the basis of the author's perception about each case's profile:

Table 1. Selected cases

Cooperation Project between Brazil and...	Has the policy been transfered?	Is the policy simple?	Does the project count on intl support?	Is there an intl norm that supports the adoption of the policy?
Haiti: rights of persons with disabilities	+	-	OAS	UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
Guinea Bissau: right to birth registration	+	+	Unicef	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
Guinea Bissau: human rights education	-	-	-	World Program for Human Rights Education (UNESCO)

El Salvador: combating sexual violence against children	+	+	-	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
Cuba: promotion of LGBT rights	-	-	The Netherlands	-

Data collection involved 20 interviews conducted with individuals that had had a direct involvement with one or more than one of the cases. The set of interviewees comprised government authorities from both Brazil and partner countries, representatives of international organizations and scholars. Project documents and reports related to the countries where they were implemented were also used as data sources. Interview data is clearly indicated in the text, but names and positions are not revealed for anonymity reasons. Instead, number codes are used in the order that interviews were conducted.

Cases will be compared on a qualitative basis and the analysis will attempt to trace back the stories behind each cooperation initiative, with the aim to identify both objective and underlying aspects. Therefore, objective information contained in official documents will be used alongside personal accounts of those who participated in the projects.

Besides presenting detailed information on each case, the following section will introduce the set of concepts and theoretical frameworks that, coming from different disciplines, have inspired and guided this research.

II. International Cooperation for Development

The concept of international cooperation initially emerged to define the possibility that States could establish relations that were not laden with conflict. Even though States, seen as monolithic actors, would strive to gain power in international relations in order to survive, they could also rationally opt for establishing collaborative relations with other States in a context of complex interdependence (Keohane and Nye, 1977). Hence, the international system would not be only about the alternation between peace and war, but also about cooperation in various fields of international relations, including commerce, finance, communications, and, more recently, the environment.

But besides being a kind of relationship between States, international cooperation has been also practiced as "international aid" since the end of the Second World War. Particularly, post-colonial studies have emphasized that, in that moment, new independence movements in Africa and Asia had former metropoles reinvent their relationship with their former colonies, thereafter adopting the discourse that they would contribute to the development of the "Third World" by means of foreign aid or international cooperation. Critics like Escobar (1995) and Edwards (1999) point out the "invention of the Third World" and how the colonialist view was present in the very first practices of development cooperation.

The idea of "underdevelopment" as referring to a group of countries was in itself formally introduced in 1949, at the second inauguration speech by Harry Truman, then

President of the United States. Truman stated that "we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas" (Truman, 1949).

The practice of development cooperation, based on the idea that "underdeveloped" nations should be helped out, gained strategic importance in the context of the Cold War and the dispute for allies between the superpowers. Consequently, the promotion of international development was combined with the fight against communism. International aid was partially given in economic terms, although considerably in smaller amounts if compared to the Marshall Plan to Western Europe. Part of it also came in the form of political and military support to anti-socialist (and frequently authoritarian) regimes.

Meanwhile, the scholarly world saw the emergence of functionalist modernization theories, which attempted to explain development as a sequence of stages that countries would undergo in their industrialization process. Hence, bringing development to "Third World" countries would mean helping them take all the same steps and go through the same stages that were seen as part of the history of "First world" countries (Peet, 1999). As a result of the functionalist proposal that development could be produced, the practice of international cooperation should come from the right combination of resources and actions in the pursuit of pre-determined goals, as framed in various projects and programs.

Despite criticisms to the limited impact of international aid on low-income countries, the practice of development cooperation is still, to this date, framed by functionalist assumptions about society and development. International cooperation for development is still organized in the form of projects, programs and their corresponding logical frameworks, inspired by a view that equalizes development to progress, which is assumed to be a linear, objective and easily produced process.

Even though the functionalist culture in which development cooperation plays out has not changed much, since the years 2000 internal and external criticisms to it have been increasingly strong. There has been greater awareness that, since the Truman speech in 1949, countries like Haiti, which have been the field of international development cooperation for years, have not been minimally able to overcome poverty (Schwartz, 2008).

Criticisms have been especially directed to traditional donors, represented by bilateral development agencies from the North, like USAID[4], DFID[5], GIZ[6], CIDA[7], SIDA[8], AECID[9], JICA[10] and AUSAID[11]. Moreover, the "failure" of development

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[4] United States Agency for International Development, criada pelo Presidente John. F. Kennedy em 1961.
[5] Department for International Development, Reino Unido.
[6] Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, Alemanha.
[7] Canadian International Development Agency, Canadá.
[8] Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Suécia.
[9] Agencia Espanola de Cooperacion Internacional para el Desarrollo, Espanha.
[10] Japan International Cooperation Agency, Japão.
[11] Australian Agency for International Development, Austrália.

cooperation led also to questions being raised about the impact of the work done by international organizations, especially the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

In this framework, two new processes simultaneously took place. The first has to do with debates and new commitments made by traditional donors themselves. The second process came about in the form of a re-birth of the South-South cooperation agenda, which arose as an alternative to traditional development cooperation.

In the years 2000, the Organization for Cooperation and Economic Development (OECD) and the United Nations started organizing a series of increasingly high-level discussions on aid effectiveness and financing for development. The First High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness was held in Rome in 2003. Since then, three other Fora have been organized by the OECD in the framework of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC): in Paris (2005), Accra (2008) and Busan (2011). These meetings have resulted in declarations and frameworks for action, which led to the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (OECD, 2015). The main idea behind those new commitments was that several issues and limitations have been identified in the practice of development cooperation and, on the basis of a new multilateral consensus, donor and beneficiary countries should collectively pledge to the agreed principles to orient their action, so as to achieve greater effectiveness towards development.

On the other hand, since 2002 the UN has organized the International Conferences on Financing for Development: in Monterrey (2002), Doha (2008), and Addis Ababa (2015). Being equally devoted to the discussion of development cooperation, these conferences have adopted a broader approach, including issues like trade, debt relief and institutional strengthening, beyond discussions on aid (ONU, 2015).

These international fora clearly reflect a dispute between two distinct views: on the one hand, the view by OECD countries that the central problem of development cooperation is the low effectiveness of its initiatives. This would be the result of, for instance, project overlap, lack of consistent impact evaluations, lack of project ownership by beneficiary countries, and the level of corruption present in their governments. On the other hand, the majoritarian view among countries of the UN General Assembly, which define the agenda of the International Conferences on Financing for Development, is that underdevelopment is not only the result of the low (or negative) impact of international cooperation, but also (or mainly) of disparities in the terms of trade, of the impact of foreign debt and the lack of technology transfer from North to South.

The latter view, which proposes deep and structural reforms in the international order, has been mainly supported by developing countries. As a matter of fact, some of these countries – due to their emerging economies and new status in the international system – came to develop their own development cooperation efforts in the form of South-South cooperation.

III. South-South Cooperation as Emancipation and as Technical Cooperation

Against this backdrop, the idea that countries of the South may cooperate amongst them, freeing themselves of aid dependency ties with the North and establishing partnerships that may empower them, is close to the idea of emancipation. Recalling what has been written in Morais de Sá e Silva (2008), South-South cooperation has historically had three distinct moments, having emerged in the Cold War period as an expression of a

desire by the South to establish a New World Economic Order, as defended by the Non-Aligned Movement. In that first moment, South-South cooperation – which did not carry that name yet – was mostly a political agenda towards the strengthening and emancipation of developing countries.

Especially after the various independence movements that took place in the 60s and 70s, newly independent countries added to the majority represented by developing countries in the UN General Assembly. Jointly, they could win important political battles in order to improve their condition in the international system. In this context, in 1964 the G-77 was created with the aim of being a group that, initially counting on as many as 77 countries – could debate and vote in bloc high profile issues like those related to the international economy. Currently, the G-77 defines itself as "the largest intergovernmental organization of developing countries in the United Nations, which provides the means for the countries of the South to articulate and promote their collective economic interests and enhance their joint negotiating capacity on all major international economic issues within the United Nations system, and promote South-South cooperation for development" (Group of 77, 2015). The group now counts on 135 member countries, besides China, which is why it has been increasingly referred to as "G-77 and China".

In a second phase, which lasted from the 1980s to the 1990s, there was what one could call 'political demobilization' around South-South cooperation. Countries had to concentrate their attention and efforts towards their own domestic problems, which were heightened by the debt crisis and the resulting structural adjustment programs that were imposed to them by the Washington Consensus (Morais de Sá e Silva, 2008). In that moment, the relations of the South were to be primarily with the North, where credit providers were located, as well as the neoliberal policy models to be emulated.

In a third phase, which began in 2000, South-South cooperation started to be seen internationally as a promising alternative to the failed and highly criticized North-South cooperation. Given the challenge to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), solidarity among developing countries gained increased support from traditional donors and international organizations, in the hope that this modality of development cooperation would lead to better results. This meant, however, a change in the understanding of the meaning of South-South cooperation. Whereas initially seen as a platform for political action and collaboration among countries of the South, in the years 2000 South-South cooperation acquired a new sense of technical cooperation for development.

At the multilateral level, this meant the replacement of the expression "technical cooperation among developing countries" (TCDC) by the expression South-South cooperation (SSC). The idea of technical cooperation among developing countries had been worked upon by the United Nations since the 1970s, especially since the adoption of the Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, adopted in 1978 and also know as the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (Special Unit for TCDC, 1994).

In the years 2000, the unit responsible for TCDC in the UN had its name changed, incorporating the term South-South cooperation. On the one hand, this was the result of the idea of a "Global South", comprised by low-income countries geographically located both in the northern and southern hemispheres. The idea of a Global South also came to

replace the Cold War category of a "Third World". On the other hand, this also meant the increased expectation that South-South cooperation would be practiced like its predecessor, corresponding to technical cooperation aimed towards the promotion of development.

Currently, the now UN Office for South-South (UNOSSC) defines this modality of cooperation as "a broad framework for collaboration among countries of the South in the political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and technical domains. Involving two or more developing countries, it can take place on a bilateral, regional, subregional or interregional basis. Developing countries share knowledge, skills, expertise and resources to meet their development goals through concerted efforts. Recent developments in South-South cooperation have taken the form of increased volume of South-South trade, South-South flows of foreign direct investment, movements towards regional integration, technology transfers, sharing of solutions and experts, and other forms of exchanges"[12] (UNOSSC, 2015). Hence, the idea of technical cooperation has taken center stage in the vision of what is expected of the practice of South-South cooperation.

Parallel to the frustrations brought by the limitations of traditional North-South cooperation, SSC has been also strengthened by the economic emergence of some "giants" of the South, like China, Brazil, India, and South Africa. These countries, which had been formerly excluded from the main high-level economic discussions developed by the G8, were less affected by the world economic crisis initiated in 2008 in the United States. They then increasingly gained a stake in international debates and were soon incorporated in the enlarged G20. Those countries, along with other emerging powers, such as Turkey, Mexico, South Korea and Colombia, started to create their own development cooperation institutions and initiatives, marking their presence in countries of relatively lower income.

Naturally, there are several questions that can be raised in terms of whether South-South cooperation is more "horizontal" than its North-South sibling. In most cases[13], it takes place between a medium-income and a low-income country, hence reproducing the imbalances originally observed in traditional cooperation. Chinese cooperation, for instance, which is self-denominated "China Aid", reproduces the idea of aid that traditional donors had already overcome.

In the framework of expectations that SSC initiatives will have a predominantly "technical nature", several projects gained support and funding from traditional donors, creating what has been called "triangular cooperation". Whereas some have criticized this new modality as some kind of fake SSC, others have argued that funds from traditional donors will achieve greater impact if invested in allowing for developing countries to cooperate amongst themselves.

Also, developing countries with emerging economies have significantly become important promoters of South-South cooperation. As leaders in their own regions, they have developed – in their own way – cooperation initiatives with their peers, often in the form of projects funded by their own development cooperation agencies. Even though the

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[12] UNOSSC. (2005). *What is South-South cooperation?* Acessado em 08 de dezembro de 2015. Disponível em http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/about/what_is_ssc.html

[13] Most exceptions applying to the cooperation provided by Cuba, which is likely to be the country with the longest existing South-South cooperation strategy.

idea of "horizontality" can be questioned, it is a fact that those efforts became real alternatives to the traditional assistance that has been historically offered by the North to countries that have been long excluded from world development.

The following section will be dedicated to presenting the particular trajectory of one of those emerging actors: Brazil. It will briefly discuss the political and strategic importance of South-South cooperation for Brazil in recent years and will also explain how the country has developed it in practice.

IV. Brazil and South-South Cooperation

"For every African problem, there is a Brazilian solution".
Professor Calestous Juma

In Brazil, such renewed international interest on South-South cooperation started producing effects in the early 2000s. Some initiatives of South-South technical cooperation started during the second term of President Cardoso (1995 – 2002), in the form of projects with African and Latin American countries around Brazilian experiences like, for instance, the adult literacy program "Solidarity in Literacy" (Morais, 2015) and *Bolsa Escola[14]*, both developed by non-governmental organizations. At the government level, one can recall Brazil's efforts to internationally diffuse federal programs like the National Program against HIV/AIDS. However, at that moment, Brazil's political discourse around South-South cooperation was not present yet and the existing efforts were based on the idea of internationally promoting Brazilian experiences as best-practices.

It is only since President Lula's first term and under the guidance of his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Celso Amorim, that an official political stance emerges around South-South cooperation. Brazil's case for South-South cooperation was linked to the principles of solidarity and non-indifference, both of them being important features of Lula and Amorim's "Active and Bold Foreign Policy". According to Amorim (2010: 231), "South-South cooperation is a diplomatic strategy that originates from an authentic desire to exercise solidarity toward poorer countries. At the same time, it helps expand Brazil's participation in world affairs. Cooperation among equals in matters of trade, investment, science and technology and other fields reinforces our stature and strengthens our position in trade, finance and climate negotiations. Last but not least, building coalitions with developing countries is also a way of engaging in the reform of global governance in order to make international institutions fairer and more democratic".

The political discourse around South-South cooperation was translated into important new initiatives, such as: (i) the establishment of the IBSA (Brazil – India – South Africa) Forum[15]; (ii) the strengthening of regional cooperation in the framework of Mercosur[16] and Unasur[17]; (iii) the opening of 23 new embassies of Brazil in Africa; (iv)

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[14] Bolsa Escola was the predecessor to Bolsa Familia, Brazil's current conditional cash transfer program.
[15] The creation of the IBSA Forum took place on the very second day of Lula's first term, as revealed by interviewee no. 3 (personnal communication, 17 August 2015).
[16] Southern Common Market.
[17] Union of South American Nations.

the creation of the Summit of South American - Arab Countries (Amorim, 2010). These initiatives were the materialization of a new foreign policy view according to which Brazil should intensify its relations with other developing countries, be it in the economic, political, commercial or humanitarian levels.

According to a high level authority in the former Lula government, who was interviewed for this research, Brazil's closer ties to other developing countries was formalized in the Brazilian proposition of the so-called "Commercial G20" in the framework of negotiations in Geneva for the 2003 organization of the Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The Commercial G20 gathered developing countries with different – and, at times, conflicting – interests when it came to trade negotiations regarding agricultural issues. Its creation deconstructed the myth that the interests of developing countries in this field were in such opposition that they would not be able to come to a common platform of negotiation. According to the interviewed authority, Brazil's leadership in forming the commercial G20 represented a diplomatic turn towards increasing integration with other countries of the South (personal communication, interviewee number 03, 17 August 2015).

Closer ties with its peers in the South brought Brazil various results: i) increased commercial relations with those countries, with trade with Africa, for instance, having multiplied fivefold throughout Lula's eight years in government (Amorim, 2011); ii) higher international status and increased soft power in international negotiations, as reflected in the country's role as an important intermediary in the nuclear negotiations between the US and Iran; iii) some sort of "reorganization" in the international balance of power, with middle-income countries having achieved greater protagonism.

Brazil's strong willingness to promote South-South cooperation at the political level was accompanied by new and increasing initiatives of technical cooperation for development in the South. Brazil's "offer" of technical cooperation was met with great interest by other developing countries. For instance, Lula's Foreign Minister stated that "Africa is 'thirsty' for Brazil. Why? Because despite all those problems that I mentioned in the beginning of this talk and that still exist in Brazilian society, Africa sees in Brazil part of its contribution. Brazil is seen, maybe for being a developing country that faces similar challenges and that has somehow managed to overcome them, as a paradigm that African countries would like to follow, or whose experience they would like to emulate"[18] (Amorim, 2001: 481). Along the same lines, interviewee number 3 cited the phrase used by Harvard Professor Calestous Juma: "for every African problem there is a Brazilian solution" (personal communication, interviewee no. 03, 17 August 2015).

Following this idea of emulation, Brazil started organizing South-South cooperation initiatives that took the form of technical cooperation projects that were based on Brazilian public policies. Most SSC projects that have been funded by Brazil are about the sharing of a Brazilian policy experience in a certain field, which could be education, health, human rights, food security, etc.

In general, projects emerge out of an official expression of interest by another developing country, where the country demands Brazilian cooperation in the policy area of interest or need. In many cases, such expression follows presidential visits[19], international conferences, or the active work by Brazilian embassies – instances in which

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[18] Tradução livre da autora.
[19] Various SSC projects developed by Brazil followed Lula's official visits to Africa and Latin America.

developing countries get to know about Brazilian policy experiences. Through this process, Brazil has shared and attempted to transfer to other countries of the South many of its federal policies, like those dedicated to reducing poverty and hunger, preventing HIV/AIDS and creating human milk banks.

In Brazil, all international cooperation initiatives – both "received" and "offered" – are under the auspices of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (*Agência Brasileira de Cooperação*, ABC), which is part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. ABC is responsible for approving and monitoring every cooperation project established between Brazilian government institutions and international partners, which could be bilateral, regional or multilateral. All projects under the coordination of ABC are of a technical cooperation nature. Humanitarian projects are instead under the responsibility of the General Coordination for International Actions against Hunger (CGFOME). Academic and educational cooperation are, in turn, assigned to the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), which is part of the Ministry of Education.

Up to the Lula governments, ABC was mostly dedicated to cooperation projects established between Brazil and traditional donors, where the country was more of a "beneficiary" of international cooperation". There were only a handful of innitiatives dedicated to "technical cooperation between developing countries" (TCDC). According to interviewee no. 02, since Lula's first term, the term "South-South cooperation" was thereafter adopted and projects of that kind multiplied (personal communication, 12 August 2015).

ABC funds most South-South cooperation projects led by Brazil, which are directly implemented by Brazilian federal institutions and their technical counterparts in partner countries. Besides its annual budget, ABC makes use of a SSC fund that is maintained with the interest accrued from resources deposited by the Brazilian government with UNDP in order to fund projects implemented inside Brazil[20]. In recent years, due to the budgetary limitations faced by ABC, it has become increasingly common to have projects directly funded by Ministries or other federal institutions. However, ABC is still in charge of approving and monitoring every project.

Different from development cooperation agencies in the North, ABC is not guided by a development cooperation policy or strategy that sets geographical priorities and thematic priorities for each country of the South. The idea is that new projects are to be demand-driven and will therefore arise out of new expressions of interest by partner countries. According to ABC (2013:13), "technical South-South cooperation is understood as the horizontal exchange of knowledge and experience originated in

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[20] Most cooperation projects between Brazil and international organizations, especially the UN specialized agencies, are of "national execution". That means projects are not financed by international organizations themselves, but rather by the Brazilian Treasury. The international organization is responsible for the project's administration, like procurement, payments, hiring of consultants, etc. Since the implementation of those projects takes years, the funds that Brazil deposits with those organizations accrue interest with time. In general, interest is incorporated back into the project's budget. However, in the case of UNDP, which has the largest portfolio, it was decided that all earned interest would be invested in a fund dedicated to South-South cooperation. However, interviewee no. 02 emphasized that, since the portfolio of national execution projects between Brazil and UNDP has been reduced year after year, the fund – which at some point in time was as big as ABC's entire budget – has become increasingly irrelevant (personal communication, 12 August 2015).

developing countries. The idea is to share learned lessons and best practices available in Brazil, which have been generated and tested to face similar challenges in terms of socio-economic development".

The principle of horizontality is somehow a consequence of the principles of non-interference and self-determination, which have traditionally guided Brazilian diplomacy. Hence, Brazil does not evaluate, criticize or intervene in other countries' domestic affairs. Interest and demand should come from the partner country, which would be the one to define priorities and topics of interest for its cooperation with Brazil. Moreover, Brazilian cooperation does not establish conditionalities, which means that project funding is not tied to the acceptance of any policy prescription that could be possibly made by Brazil.

Even though those principles are at the core of Brazil's foreign policy, their application is at times distorted in practice. For instance, interest in Brazil's SSC has been triggered by Brazilian authorities when promoting the country's policies abroad, especially in the framework of Lula's "presidential diplomacy". According to interviewee no. 06, "demand-driven South-South cooperation is a foreign policy discourse. It is not demand-driven in fact. We create demand. We offer cooperation" (personal communication, 22 September 2015).

To some extent, the fact that ABC used to provide full funding[21] for SSC projects turned the expression of interest by partner countries a low-cost move. According to a study by the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), between 2005 and 2009 the Brazilian federal government invested R$ 2.898.526.873,49[22] in development cooperation, part of which was dedicated to technical South-South cooperation.

Anyhow, Brazil does not count on any form of strategic planning for South-South cooperation. On the one hand, this can bring undesirable consequences in terms of institutional organization and budgeting. On the other hand, this marks a great difference when Brazil is compared to traditional donors. Brazil does not prepare its own official assessment regarding the situation of other developing countries and does not identify areas and topics where it should primarily act upon. Just the opposite, it is up to the partner country to identify Brazilian policy experiences that might be useful. Consequently, Brazil does not classify its partner countries according to their GDP, political regime, or situation of peace or conflict. Work with any country of the South is developed on the basis of the same principles. Unstable or peacebuilding countries are not treated differently, except for Haiti, which became a foreign policy priority due to Brazil's leadership of the UN Stabilization Mission (MINUSTAH).

Brazil's policy and attitude turns out to be some sort of counter-proposal or alternative model of how to do development cooperation. When asked about what Brazil could teach to traditional donors, a high-level authority who served the Lula government replied: "How to be humble" (personal communication, interviewee no. 03, 17 August 2015).

In this framework, here is how a South-South cooperation project would start out: when there is a formal expression of interest or demand by another country of the South, ABC forwards the official communication to the federal institution that is responsible for

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[21] Since 2012 ABC has faced dire budget constraints and has, therefore, limited the number of new projects that receive full funding.
[22] At that time, the exchange rate between the Brazilian Real and the US Dollar fluctuated around US$ 1 = R$ 2.

the policy of interest. Even though ABC recommends that partner countries should specify their cooperation demand as much as possible, those official communications often involve very general requests, with little indication of the policy aspect that the country would like to learn from. Consequently, in most cases "prospection" missions are subsequently carried out in order to better specify the demand being presented and to jointly design the future cooperation project. This means that specialists working for the Brazilian government in the line Ministry (or other federal institution) dedicated to the topic of interest is deployed to the partner country in order to get to know the local reality, present the Brazilian experience and help write the project. Hence, different from most traditional development agencies in the North, which work separately from government institutions that do domestic policy and mostly employ consultants, ABC mobilizes Brazilian civil servants and government officials who work directly with the public policies that are to be shared with other countries of the South.

On the one hand, this generates a high opportunity cost for the domestic policy, since part of the often-small federal teams is "borrowed" to do cooperation work in other countries. On the other hand, this characteristic has been frequently pinpointed as a distinctive feature of Brazilian South-South cooperation. Specialists who work on Brazil's SSC projects know what it means to work against bureaucracy and in a context of political instability. Therefore, they are sensitive to the political and material challenges that are faced by partner governments and understand that they might work under different timing.

At the same time, the fact that those government officers have to dedicate themselves both to the domestic policy and to SSC means that projects – whose budgets are often under 200 thousand dollars – seldom take less than two years of implementation. Considering the busy agendas of federal officers, communication difficulties and the challenges that are characteristic of the local context, it is more than common that projects will not meet their schedule of activities. Naturally, this affects evaluation and monitoring processes, as well as the effectiveness of the project in itself.

Additionally, one should clarify that even though SSC is said to be demand-driven, it is so in terms of the definition of the topic for cooperation. Project format is rather defined by ABC and is standard for all SSC projects. Projects are also to be aimed at capacity building, so that, ideally, countries can keep implementing the policy learned from Brazil even after the project funding has ended. According to ABC (2013), capacity can be build at the individual, the institutional, and the inter-institutional levels. Consequently, the great majority of projects involve activities like trainings and workshops. It is assumed that, through this trainings, members of partner governments will be able to develop policies that follow the Brazilian experience.

Hence, the partner country can define the area in which it wants cooperation from Brazil, but it cannot determine the nature of this cooperation, which is, by default, technical cooperation organized mostly in the form of trainings. There are only a handful of cases in which Brazil provides resources for infrastructure or the purchase of goods and services, even though those may be essential for the country or even the policy in question. Among those exceptions are, for instance, the construction of the antiretroviral factory in Mozambique and of the Haitian Institute for Rehabilitation and its Prosthetics and Orthotics Laboratory.

Among the reasons for this *modus operandi* are ABC's limited budget and the legal restrictions faced by the federal government when spending funds outside of the Brazilian territory. On the latter, Brazilian legislation establishes that public expenditures abroad are to be previously and individually approved by the National Congress. Since the legislative process is a long one in Brazil, that would make the implementation of short-term projects impracticable. As a solution for such dilemma, ABC established a partnership with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Brazil, whereby ABC transfers funds to a SSC program with UNDP and that program pays for smaller SSC projects signed with countries of the South. Therefore, every expenditure included in a SSC project developed by Brazil is actually paid for through UNDP. Due to those administrative and budget limitations, projects end up being of small scope and duration, being mainly focused on learning from the Brazilian policy experience. According to IPEA (2010), 69% of technical, scientific and technological cooperation projects developed between 2005 and 2009 mainly involved training activities.

Hence, most of ABC's projects are based on a "policy transfer" rationale, which is going to be further presented in the following theoretical section of this paper. Their expectation is that, by learning about the Brazilian experience, government officials from other countries will want to develop similar policies in their own contexts. Such rationale is applied to cooperation in all sectors, be it education or agriculture, health or human rights, food security or financial policy.

According to interviewee no. 2, Brazil's SSC is different from North-South cooperation or from other countries' SSC due to the following features: i) Brazil's SSC is demand-driven; ii) Brazilian experts involved in the projects are dedicated to getting to know the local reality; iii) they work on the basis of inter-institutional relations and collaborations, without aiming at directly impacting the population; iv) they try to bring the best knowledge and techniques for the country's reality, so that there are sustainable quality gains; v) the work is mostly developed by Brazilian civil servants and government officials, without much reliance on private consultants; vi) projects are not developed on the basis of Brazil's unilateral perceptions and evaluations about the other country's priorities and needs. Brazil strives to collectively develop cooperation projects with partner countries (personal communication, interviewee no. 2, 12 August 2015).

However, just like North-South cooperation, Brazil's SSC has not been free from criticisms. Morais (2005), for instance, calls attention to how Brazil's first SSC initiatives during the Cardoso administration used policy transfer as "copy and paste". In the case under analysis in that study, Brazilian cooperation with Mozambique in the field of adult literacy involved not only the transfer of the adult literacy methodology used in Brazil, but also included the export of text books and course materials, which had been obviously designed for the Brazilian reality and using Brazilian Portuguese language. In that project, the Mozambican past and rich post-independence experiences of literacy campaigns were ignored and discarded.

More recently, criticisms to Brazilian SSC have been mostly concentrated around projects' side effects, especially in the fields of agriculture and infrastructure. Mozambique is also the case analyzed by Rossi (2015), reporting on how local Mozambican producers and workers feel harmed by the effects of Brazilian projects like Pro-Savana and by the work of Brazilian private mining company Vale.

It should be noted, though, that Mozambique had the fourth position in the raking of countries with most Brazilian SSC resources, following Haiti[23], Peru, and Sao Tome and Principe (IPEA, 2010). Hence, what is observed in terms of Brazilian cooperation in Mozambique is not necessarily true for other countries, where there are fewer and much smaller projects. Actually, a reverse kind of criticism could be made to Brazilian SSC: it is very limited and small-scale, with questionable impact and reach.

Those limitations have grown even greater with the budget cuts that have been endured by ABC since 2011. Many projects were cancelled, especially those that had not been officially signed by all parties and those to be developed with middle income developing countries. Various undergoing projects were downsized and there was a drastic reduction in the number of new project negotiations (despite the principle of being demand-driven).

Besides the budgetary question, Brazilian SSC faces structural limitations that help explain the limited scope and reach of most projects. According to interviewee no. 02, those limitations are the result of: i) the absence of national legislation to regulate Brazil's international cooperation; ii) the lack of personnel specialized in technical cooperation permanently working at ABC and at the federal institutions that engage in SSC; iii) the lack of a well-structured cooperation policy, with adequate implementation pools, not only for technical cooperation, but also for humanitarian, educational and scientific cooperation; and iv) the lack of contact and synergy between those different modalities of cooperation (personal communication, interviewee no. 02, 12 August 2015).

To some extent, those limitations have been protecting Brazil from having to deal with a paradox in its own foreign policy: the contradiction between the principles of non-intervention and non-indifference. When defending non-interference, Brazil used to refrain from getting involved with local dynamics and from taking sides in local disputes or conflicts. Whereas non-intervention is a traditional principle of Brazilian foreign policy, non-indifference mostly emerged from Brazil's involvement in the stabilization of Haiti, where it was clear that bolder and bigger actions were necessary to help the country overcome instability and poverty. That was when ABC started working with the idea of structural projects, whose aim was beyond capacity building and involved helping change structural constraints that might be faced by countries. However, even if jointly designed with representatives of the partner country, structural projects are naturally likely to interfere with domestic issues and politics. In any case, structural projects are currently on hold, as they demand greater recourses and ABC's budget has been at a significant low.

The next section will be dedicated to presenting Brazil's cooperation in a specific policy area: human rights. The section will explain how Brazil has developed domestic policies for the promotion of human rights for various populations and how the country has engaged with the development of SSC projects in that field.

V. South-South cooperation on human rights

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[23] Due to Brazil's leadership in the UN Mission for the Stabilization of Haiti (MINUSTAH).

"Brazil′s experiences illustrate the value of best practices as portals to the inherent interface between the policy and practice of international solidarity and the realization of human rights"[24]
Virginia Dandan, UN Independent Expert on Human Rights and International Solidarity

Even though the human rights platform has been mostly identified with the discourse of developed countries, located in the geographic North, countries of South have also played an important leadership role in this area, either in the discussion and proposition of new international instruments, either in the design of policies to internalize international human rights norms. Sikkink (2014), for example, shows the pioneering role of countries of the American continent when they drafted the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, which preceded in months the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Nogueira (2014) talks about the protagonist role of Brazilian diplomacy in the proposition of new international instruments for the protection of LGBT rights.

For those dedicated to studying international regimes (Krasner, 1983; Young, 1989), the creation and maintenance of an international human rights regime has been mostly identified with the developed world. Little attention has been given by scholars to the efforts made by diplomats and government officials from the South in the creation of human rights norms, rules, principles and procedures. However, with the evolution and intensification of South-South cooperation, the possibilities of exchange of human rights policies and practices between countries of the South have greatly increased.

Like the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the human rights approach has been established as a global discourse, a moral imperative to be adopted by all countries (Boyle and Crol, 2010). Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (1999; 2013) explain, by means of a theoretical spiral model, how international human rights norms are adopted and internalized by States, especially those whose regimes carried out human rights violations.

Naturally, within this global discourse, there is variation in terms of how human rights are understood and promoted, domestically and internationally, by different societies. The European Union, for instance, within its giant executive and legislative structure, uses the term human rights only to refer to situations of violation observed outside of the EU. Internally, human rights are addressed only by its "judicial" body, the European Court of Human Rights[25]. Hence, the European Union cooperates with third countries to promote human rights in their territories, but does not have an internal common policy for the protection and promotion of human rights in member countries.

In the United States, the defense of civil and political rights has been historically at the front of the human rights agenda, whereas economic, social and cultural rights are still the object of political dispute, as made clear in the great controversy created around President Obama's program to expand access to health services. Likewise, state guarantees of labor and social security rights are way behind what has been already achieved in Latin America and in some parts of Europe.

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[24] Dandan, 2013: p. 1.
[25] Field notes by the author following a visit to European Union institutions and meetings with EU representatives in December 2014.

In many Latin American countries, provisions guaranteeing social, economic and cultural rights became most present in their constitutions after the end of authoritarian regimes. In Brazil, most labor rights date far back to the 1940s, but most other social rights arose with the 1988 democratic Constitution.

The progressive realization of various constitutional rights in Brazil, especially in the social area, grew with the adoption and expansion of major social policies since the first term of President Lula. The approach adopted by the Workers Party, which has been the governing party in Brazil since 2003, is that economic development shall occur simultaneously with social inclusion. Hence, poverty reduction and the fight against hunger were chosen as government priorities.

Human rights policies have been included in this broader framework of inclusion and the reduction of inequalities. In the words of Celso Amorim, Lula's Foreign Minister: "We do not believe that human rights problems shall be dealt with only with condemnations – sometimes condemnations are necessary, but it should not be only or mainly with them. Concrete actions are needed in order to effectively improve the lives of people"[26] (Amorim, 2011: 489).

President Dilma Rousseff, Lula's successor since 2011, made explicit the continuation of that view in her first speech at the opening of the UN General Assembly: "Brazil has found that the best development policy is combating poverty and that a true human rights policy must be based on reducing inequalities between people, regions, and genders. Brazil has progressed politically, economically, and socially without putting in jeopardy a single one of its democratic liberties" (Rousseff, 2011).

In consonance with that view, Brazil increasingly engaged with South-South cooperation initiatives in the field of human rights, just like the country had already been doing with other public policies. Different from many country's international cooperation policy in this area, Brazil developed cooperation initiatives aimed at sharing its own policy experiences and making no previous judgement about the human rights priorities (or problems) in the partner country. This marks a stark difference between Brazil's cooperation and the usual politicization and instrumentalization of the international human rights agenda. Internationally, there is a predominance of finger-pointing the human rights violations occurred in developing countries, whereas those violations occurred in rich countries are not mentioned or discussed. Sikkink (2013), for instance, tells how interrogation practices adopted by US intelligence agencies during the Bush years were a clear violation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

According to interviewee no. 03, the traditional method of "blaming and shaming" does not always work. "It is necessary to give a hand"[27] (personal communication, interviewee no. 03, 17 August 2015). Following this approach, Brazil opted for not distancing itself or breaking relations with countries that had questionable credentials in terms of democracy and human rights. Instead, Brazil decided to engage and dialogue with them, such as in the case of Iran and Gadafi's Lybia.

Brazil was also one of the main supporters of the creation, in 2006, of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) in the UN Human Rights Council. The aim of the UPR

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[26] Author's translation.
[27] Author's translation.

process was to reduce selectivity in international condemnations of human rights violations by establishing a peer-review process to monitor the implementation of UN Human Rights Treaties by member states. More recently, Brazil has been one of the proponents of "responsibility while protecting", which sought to hold accountable every state, especially rich ones, that engage in military operations in developing countries, even if for humanitarian reasons.

Brazil's foreign policy approach to human rights meant the framing of human rights SSC as technical cooperation for development. Hence, under the auspices of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency, human rights SSC projects should follow the same protocol and standard format as projects in other fields. Also, that means that human rights projects should always emerge from an explicit demand by partner countries informed about some specific Brazilian policy in that field.

Such framing was only possible because Brazil counts, within the Executive branch, with a ministerial structure that is dedicated to coordinating and designing public policies for the promotion of human rights: the Ministry of Women, Racial Equality and Human Rights. During the period covered by this research (2008 to 2014), the ministry was called Secretariat of Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic (*Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República – SDH)*. The institutionalization of the human rights policy agenda in the federal government began in the 1990s. The non-governmental organization DHNet tells this story as follows:

> The National Secretariat for Human Rights (SNDH) was first created as part of the regimental structure of the Ministry of Justice in 1997, replacing the then Secretariat for Citizens Rights (SDC), which was responsible for nationally designing, regulating and coordinating policies to defend the rights of children and adolescents and of persons with disabilities. SNDH was created and took on a larger set of responsibilities, being also responsible for: coordinating, managing and monitoring the implementation of the National Human Rights Program; cooperating with international organizations; and coordinating the National Human Rights Award.
>
> On January 1st, 1999, the SNDH was turned into State Secretariat of Human Rights (SEDH), whose leadership would have the status of a Minister, with the possibility of seating in ministerial meetings. […] On January 1st, 2003, President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva created the Special Secretariat of Human Rights (DHNet, 2015).[28]

In 2010, the term "special" was removed and SDH was created, breaking its long institutional dependence to the Ministry of Justice and becoming part of the broader structure of the Presidency of the Republic. The link to the Presidency was created in the hopes that the issues and policies dealt with by SDH would reach greater importance and priority in the national agenda. Finally, in October 2015, President Dilma Rousseff opted

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[28] Author's translation.

for merging three of the secretariats that belonged to the Presidency and created the new Ministry of Women, Racial Equality and Human Rights[29].

Throughout this institutionalization process, international cooperation has always been present. The first international cooperation initiatives were established with countries of the North – mostly the US and the European Union – and with international organizations. But with the increasing portfolio of South-South cooperation projects led by Brazil and with the implementation of some experiences that could be considered successful in the field of human rights, SDH started to also engage in the cooperation with developing countries, particularly after 2008.

Numerically, human rights projects do not make up a significant part of the Brazilian SSC portfolio. But even if in small numbers, it seems interesting that in such a disputed and controversial field, many developing countries have actually looked for Brazil and demanded cooperation.

These initiatives will be later addressed in this report, comprising the set of cases that have been analyzed in this study. They were projects that involved the sharing or transfer of Brazilian policy experience in a human rights topic or issue. However, before one moves forward with the actual SSC projects, it is important to go over the features of Brazilian human rights policies per se.

First, the idea of public policies for the promotion of human rights is not common or present in every country. National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs), for instance, were conceived in the framework of former UN Human Rights Commission with the aim of being domestic institutions that will hold the state accountable for any human rights violation. So even though more than one hundred countries currently have a NHRI[30], they are not mandated to design and coordinate the implementation of human rights policies.

In Brazil, the idea of organizing public policies for human rights grew in scope and topics as the institutional framework for a human rights ministry got consolidated. Also, human rights social movements got increasingly well organized and succeeded in opening institutional channels for dialogue with the state. The first National Human Rights Program (PNDH) was drafted and proposed at the first National Human Rights Conference, held in 1996. In specific topics, the National Council on the Rights of Children and Adolescents (CONANDA) was created in 1990 when of the approval of the Statute of the Child and Adolescent. The Council's composition is made up of half civil society and half government representatives. Since then, several other participatory bodies have been created in other human rights fields, so as to allow civil society representatives to discuss and influence policy decisions. The table below presents the list of participatory bodies that were directly linked to the Secretariat of Human Rights:

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[29] Since this change took place just before this study was finalized and information on case studies goes only up to 2014, SDH will be used as designation for Brazil's human rights government institution.

[30] Information available at nhri.ohchr.org/EN/AboutUs/Pages/HistoryNHRIs.aspx. Accessed on 22 September 2015.

Table 2. Participatory human rights bodies at the national level

Acronym	Name	Year of creation
CONANDA	*Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente* (National Council on the Rights of Children and Adolescents)	1990
CEMDP	*Comissão Especial sobre Mortos e Desaparecidos Políticos* (Special Commission on Political Disappearances and Deaths)	1995
CONADE	*Conselho Nacional dos Direitos das Pessoas com Deficiência* (National Council on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities)	1999
CNCD/LGBT	*Conselho Nacional de Combate à Discriminação e Promoção dos Direitos de Lésbicas, Gays, Bissexuais, Travestis e Transexuais* (National Council against Discrimination and for the Promotion of the Rights of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites and Transgender)	2001
CNI	*Conselho Nacional dos Direitos do Idoso* (National Council on the Rights of the Elderly)	2002
CNEDH	*Comitê Nacional de Educação em Direitos Humanos* (National Committee for Human Rights Education)	2003
Conatrae	*Comissão Nacional para a Erradicação do Trabalho Escravo* (National Commission for the Eradication of Slavery)	2003
Ciamp-Rua	*Comitê Intersetorial de Acompanhamento e Monitoramento da Política Nacional para População em Situação de Rua (*Inter-Sectoral Committee to Monitor the National Policy for Street Populations*)*	2009
CNPCT	*Comitê Nacional de Prevenção e Combate à Tortura (*National Committee against Torture*)*	2013
CNRDR	*Comitê Nacional de Respeito à Diversidade Religiosa* (National Committee for the Respect of Religious Diversity)	2014
CNDH	*Conselho Nacional de Direitos Humanos* (National Human Rights Council)	2014

The creation of participatory bodies in those various topics means that SDH policies are constantly being the object of discussion and deliberation between civil society and government representatives from various institutions (which also allows for some inter-sector coordination). Besides, social participation is expanded when some of those Councils (CONANDA. CONADE, CNDI and CNCD/LGBT) call for the organization of national conferences. Participation in those conferences extends to civil society representatives from the whole country. They start by organizing municipal conferences, then take their propositions to state conferences, and finally bring their demands to the national conference, whose final document should orient federal policies in the coming years.

Besides social participation, another feature of Brazilian human rights policies is inter-sector coordination or articulation. It is often said that SDH is not the implementation body for human rights policies, but the one that coordinates various actors whose work is crucial for the protection and promotion of human rights. To some extent, participatory bodies, which have half of their members coming from state institutions, also allow for such inter-sector coordination. In human rights fields where there are no participatory bodies, there are other mechanisms that provide for the coordination of different sectors and institutions that work to promote rights or to prevent violations. Some examples include: i) the national policy to promote the right to birth registration, which is based on the coordination of various sectors through a National Management Committee; ii) the National Forum of Police Ombudsmen; iii) the Plan of Integrated and Reference Actions to Combat Sexual Violence against Children and Adolescents (PAIR).

One could say that Brazilian human rights policies are embedded in the principle of social participation and in the method of coordinated inter-sector work. These are distinctive features of human rights policies at the federal government level. Consequently, it is natural that this "Brazilian way" of promoting and protecting human rights might influence the content of cooperation initiatives established with other countries of the South in this field.

Before going into the context and details of every case of SSC to be analyzed in this study, the section below will present the three bodies of theory that have guided the present research: Policy Transfer, Policy Borrowing and Lending, and Theory of the Norm Lifecycle. Together, they provide useful concepts when it comes to analyzing the international diffusion of public policies.

VI. International Diffusion of Public Policies: theoretical framework

Following a growing political and academic interest in the issues posed by globalization, scholars across several disciplines have addressed examples of policy transfer or of the international diffusion of norms and policies (Jules and Morais de Sa e Silva, 2008). The identification that local experiences have been used as models – or at least as inspiration – for the design of similar policies in other geopolitical contexts has sparked the interest of sociologists, political scientists and education scholars.

6.1. Policy Transfer

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 3) define policy transfer as "a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting". Since that seminal article, numerous other publications have tried to describe, characterize, classify and explain the policy transfer phenomenon.

Stone (2012) makes an extensive review of over 800 journal articles dedicated to the topic, revealing that several terms are used to name processes of these kind, with slight conceptual differences: "diffusion", "transfer", "convergence", "translation".

According to Stone, the policy transfer literature is especially interested in the motivations and the decision-making rationale of agents involved in policy transfer. The convergence literature, in turn, rather gives emphasis to the role of structures, institutions and other globalization processes as drivers of global policy isomorphism. Finally, scholars who have worked with the idea of translation are focused on studying the modifications, mutations and adaptations that these policies undergo when being exported/imported.

Despite these various existing terms and their slightly different connotations, this research will use them interchangeably, focusing mostly on the idea of policy transfer as defined by Dolowitz and Marsh. The reason behind this choice lies in the fact that the policy transfer literature gives greater importance to political variables and to the agency behind transfer processes.

Part of the policy transfer literature was dedicated to explaining the underlying reasons for diffusion/transfer. According to Weyland (2006), a policy model diffuses because decision-makers operate under conditions of limited rationality. Since they do not have access to information about every existing policy, it is more immediate and "rational" to adopt "cognitive shortcuts" and emulate foreign models that have been successful in their places of origin, even if they are not the most appropriate for their contexts.

Reaching out to theoretical frameworks and concepts of cognitive psychology, Weyland explains that the adoption of foreign models takes place due to the "heuristics of availability", the "heuristics of representativeness" and the "heuristics of anchoring". In the first case, decision-makers adopt bold and accessible models, like those that are world renowned and promoted by international organizations. Besides, decision-makers projects themselves in the foreign experience and envision that it is possible and desirable to reach the same results that have been achieved elsewhere. Finally, the heuristics of anchoring limits some later adaptation of foreign models, since those who adopted them tend to get attached to the original version.

Relevant for the present study are Weyland's observations that "Specially where bold, integrated, coherent and simple reform models emerge [...], policymakers count on those shortcuts to make inferences, which had been already documented by cognitive psychologists" (2006: 6). He contrasts the cases of reform in the health and social security sectors in Latin America and concludes that clear models diffuse more significantly, being easily absorbed by decision-makers in the countries that adopt them.

Evans (2004) identifies a set of variables that are likely to be barriers to policy transfer: cognitive barriers, environmental barriers and the domestic and international public opinion. However, amongst those factors are not any variables related to the characteristics of the public policy being transferred. In fact, most of the policy transfer literature does not address the content of the policy models that are subject to transfer. Howlett and Rayner (2008: 386, cited by Stone, 2012: 487) present their critique to that, stating that "what is being transferred sometimes gets lost in the midst of the concern about how transfer happens".

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) point out that one of the exceptions is the work by Richard Rose (1993) on lesson learning. According to Rose, the more complex is a program, the smaller is its chance to get transferred to another jurisdiction. He presents

seven hypotheses, one of which is as follows: "the simpler is the structure of cause and effect of a program, the more fungible it will be" (1993: 132).

The present research will adopt Rose's hypothesis. However, for this work, simplicity would not be only about the causal structure of the program, but specially about its mode of implementation and operation. Such reinterpretation of Rose's hypothesis comes from a previous observation, in a former research project (Morais de Sa e Silva, 2010), of the international diffusion process of conditional cash transfers (CCTs). Even though they were meant to tackle a problem as complex as poverty, CCTs introduced a simple and straightforward proposal: to reduce income poverty and break the intergenerational cycle of poverty by transferring money directly to poor families, instead of giving food subsidies, coupons or all kinds of social services.

6.2. Policy Borrowing and Lending

In education, the concept of "educational transfer" (Beech, 2012) or "policy borrowing and lending" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006) has been a common object of study. The concept encompasses processes of transposition of educational models created in one country to another country, where it is hoped it will lead to similar results. According to Beech (2012), the practice of educational transfer has been almost as old as the research efforts of the first comparativists in education, who have dedicated themselves not only to analyzing the similarities and differences between national educational systems, but who have been fundamentally involved in identifying positive experiences that could be used to generate successful reform in other national contexts.

In the framework of the debate between different theories of globalization in education, the borrowing and lending literature has given its contribution by telling the stories underlying the idea of lessons learned from abroad for the purpose of improving educational policies at home. Its arguments are different and in dialogue with the World Culture Theory in education and with the anthropological perspective on globalization in education (Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006).

Some of the works within the borrowing and lending literature are based on the idea of externalization (Schriewer and Martinez, 2004), according to which policymakers reach out to foreign models in order to justify reform processes that have been domestically developed. Hence, foreign reform models are a certification strategy for reform proposals that meet great opposition at home and are therefore in need of greater legitimacy. Such certification "label" is achieved when reference is made to an international best-practice.

Besides what those authors call the "politics of borrowing and lending" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004), there is also the economics of borrowing and lending. In this case, the import of foreign policy models is also related to the possibility of accessing aid and loans by traditional donors and international development banks.

By pointing out the political and economic factors that may motivate policy transfer, borrowing and lending scholars deconstruct some of the arguments presented by neo-institutionalists in education, according to whom globalization has been naturally turning all education policies alike. Borrowing and lending scholars rather stress out the agency and motives behind such processes of apparent 'policy isomorphism'.

In a more recent work, Steiner-Khamsi (2014) differentiates between normative and analytical studies of education policy diffusion, indicating that one of the questions raised by analytical studies is "in what conditions the dissemination of a practice is more likely to happen" (p. 154). Accordingly, this study will also look into the factors that may make policy transfer more likely to happen in the framework of South-South cooperation initiatives. However, different from the borrowing and lending literature, where political and economic factors are what matters the most, this research raises questions about policy content and whether the features of a policy may also affect its prospect of getting transferred to other policy contexts.

6.3. Theories on the norm lifecycle

And what if a policy is not transferred? Is that the end of the story? Will that policy be forever limited to its place of origin, even if it is an interesting and promising policy[31]? Some of these issues will be addressed with the support of theories on human rights norms, as international norms, just like foreign policy models, would only diffuse to various national contexts if embraced by local agents.

In the field of International Relations, an important group of scholars has analyzed the emergence and implementation of international human rights norms (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink, 1999, 2013; Simons, 2009). The literature on the norm lifecycle particularly presents a theoretical framework that attempts to explain the impact of human rights norms in influencing the behavior of states. Such literature connects, for instance, with political science studies interested in the international diffusion process of principled ideas.

That is where the intersection lies between policy transfer studies and theories on the norm lifecycle. Human rights norms and foreign policy models can influence the decisions and policies adopted by domestic agents. They are both external factors, of voluntary adoption and are not self-applicable. Hence, they depend on the interest and decision of local mandataries to be internalized. Moreover, human rights policies, just like human rights norms, carry moral principles and meaning.

Even though such literature may be focused on norms, their arguments in relation to the persuasion processes that may be developed with decision-makers seem to be relevant for this research. The norm lifecycle literature belongs to the field of constructivist theories in international relations, according to which the interests of actors are not given and can be altered throughout time. If there is persuasion, those decision-makers may be convinced of the importance of adhering to and complying with human rights treaties.

Naturally, case studies herein analyzed are not about the signature and ratification of treaties. Nonetheless, one could argue that, when involved in policy transfer processes, decision-makers adhere to foreign models. As in the case of human rights norms, this kind of adoption is not mandatory and there is no way to make sure that, by means of a South-South cooperation project, the foreign model will be incorporated and maintained by a country. One could think of persuasion processes though, where the agents involved

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[31] Interesting and promising does not only get defined in terms of results or impact, but also in terms of principles. To use an image that corresponds to Amartya Sen's definition of development (Sen, 2000), we could think of a policy that one has reasons to value.

in South South cooperation convince local authorities and managers that there are advantages and there is value in the external model, to the point that they consider to be in their interest to engage in policy transfer.

Finally, just like it is expected that international development cooperation will produce positive change in developing countries, it is also expected that human rights norms will produce domestic change, leading States to cease violations and to assure citizens the protection of their rights.

Theories of international relations are more than often attempts to explain the decisions made by States in the international arena and, like in other theories, the idea of rationality is used to explain decision patterns. In this framework, the idea of interests is a central construct, based upon which one could explain options and choices. However, depending on the adopted theoretical stance, once could understand interests as something fixed and given or as a flexible variable that could be redefined on the basis of social interaction processes. "Social constructivists emphasize that ideas and communicative processes define in the first place which material factors are perceived as relevant and how they influence understandings of interest, preference, and political decisions" (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink, 1999, p. 7). Along those lines, Finnemore (1996, p. 2) argues that "interests are not just 'out there' waiting to be discovered; they are constructed through social interaction". This debate is central for those dedicated to researching development cooperation, where material factors tend to receive greater attention, whereas the role of ideas and values remains understudied. The constructivist perspective, beyond recognizing the role of interests, does so in a sophisticated way, recognizing the dynamism that undercuts interests through socialization processes.

The spiral model proposed by Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (1999, 2013) involves the idea that the impact of international human rights norms on the behavior of states is linked to the socialization processes in which those states participate. These processes are: "processes of instrumental adaptation and strategic bargaining; processes of moral consciousness-raising, argumentation, dialogue, and persuasion; processes of institutionalization and habitualization" (Risse and Sikkink, 1999, p. 5).

In an attempt to extend that model to policy transfer processes, one could similarly think of the adoption of foreign models as part of socialization processes in which states what to participate in the club of nations that have adopted a certain kind of policy model, especially if it has been cheered as a 'best-practice". Decision-makers, besides their material and instrumental motives, can be convinced that such model is the one that best responds to their interests.

In this framework, the role of persuasion is of great importance. Risse and Sikkink (1999, p. 14) "claim that the logic of persuasion and of discourse is conceptually different from a logic of information exchange based on fixed preferences, definitions of the situations, and collective identities. Discursive processes are precisely the types of human interaction in which at least one of these properties of actors is being challenged". Hence, even though numerous South-South initiatives are geared towards the exchange of information about policy experiences, one could argue that those experiences will only be truly incorporated by countries if decision-makers are persuaded that those experiences fulfill their interests.

Last but not least, Simons (2009) theorizes about the internalization of human rights treaties and, in so doing, also identifies that the most important variables are not so

much related to external factors, like the pressure by other states, but they are rather linked to local agents themselves. In her words, "treaties are causally meaningful to the extent that they empower individuals, groups, or parts of the state with different rights preferences that were not empowered to the same extent in the absence of the treaties (p. 125). Likewise, one could argue that external policy models, even when originated in the South, will only be internalized if they are thought to be in the interest of local actors.

Using the above theoretical frameworks and concepts, this paper will analyze and contrast five initiatives where, in the framework of South-South cooperation, there were attempts to share and transfer Brazilian human rights policies to other countries of the South.

VII. Five projects, five attempts to promote human rights in the South

As part of its South-South cooperation agenda, Brazil started sharing its policy experiences in the promotion and protection of human rights. With projects financed by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (*Agencia Brasileira de Cooperação* – ABC) and technically implemented by the Secretariat for Human Rights, various South-South cooperation initiatives have been developed with countries in Africa, Latina America and the Caribbean.

Some of these projects have been finalized and concluded, like the cooperation between Brazil and Haiti for the rights of persons with disabilities, the cooperation between Brazil and Guinea Bissau for the right to birth registration, and the cooperation between Brazil and El Salvador in combating sexual violence against children. Others, like the proposed cooperation with Cuba for the promotion of LGBT rights, has been for a long time in the process of stalled negotiations. Finally, some initiatives were completely frustrated, like the attempt to cooperate with Guinea Bissau in the field of human rights education.

Each of these cases will be presented and analyzed, with special attention being paid to their particular contexts and to their trajectories as south-south cooperation experiences. Cases will be presented in the order they were researched.

7.1. Cooperation Brazil – Haiti for the promotion of the rights of persons with disabilities

Haiti had never been a crucial commercial partner to Brazil. They are geographically far apart, do not share the same official language and have gone through different colonial occupations. The Basic Agreement for Technical and Scientific Cooperation between Brazil and Haiti, which is the formal basis for any bilateral cooperation initiative between the two countries, was signed in 1982, but promulgated by the Brazilian president only in 2004.

But Brazil and Haiti started a historical connection, probably with no turning back, from the moment the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), which was created in 2004, was put under the leadership of a Brazilian commander. From then on, Brazil took an interest in Haiti and vice-versa.

According to interviewee no. 6, "Haiti gave Brazil the opportunity to share the decision-making table with the big countries and feel like becoming one of them. Increasing its presence in Haiti was important to that. Therefore, cooperation efforts needed to follow suit that increased presence. Cooperation was meant to counterbalance Brazil's military presence in Haiti" (personal communication, 22 September 2015). According to IPEA (2013: 20), in 2010, 47.4% of all Brazilian cooperation for development in Latin America and the Caribbean was concentrated in Haiti (including expenditures with the peacekeeping operation).

In 2010, due to the devastating consequences of the earthquake, Brazil tried to strengthen its cooperation efforts by means of the "Post-Earthquake Cooperation Program between Brazil and Haiti". As part of the program, a multidisciplinary Brazil mission flew to Port-au-Prince in April 2010, in order to identify areas of need and possibilities of technical cooperation. Representatives of Brazil's Secretariat for Human Rights were part of the mission and met the authorities working for the rights of persons with disabilities in the country. After that, in August 2010, the Haitian Secretary of State for the Integration of Persons with Disabilities, Archange Michel Pean, visited Brazil and worked with the Brazilian team on the design of a South-South cooperation project.

According to interviewee no. 1, Haiti's interest in the Brazilian experience came from the Secretary's identification that his country faced difficulties in advancing a crosscutting, inter-sector policy for persons with disabilities, such as done in Brazil. Hence, by cooperating with SDH, he intended his institution's capacity to articulate and coordinate different sectors and different organizations for the promotion and protection of the rights of persons with disabilities (personal communication, 11 August 2015).

The project was entitled "Strengthening of the political and institutional capacity of governmental and non-governmental actors in Haiti for the promotion and protection of the rights of persons with disabilities". The project was signed in December 2010, the last month of Lula's second term in the Brazilian Presidency. The project was structured around four training sessions, which would be offered to government officials, civil society representatives, media professionals, and members of networks of organizations.

The invisibility faced by persons with disabilities in Haiti has always been a significant issue in the country, especially when once considers the myths and prejudices that have been culturally built around those persons, who are commonly called *cocobai* ("worthless") in Haitian creole. To make it worse, the 2010 earthquake led to a significant increase in the number of persons with disabilities in the country, given the countless victims to whom the quake brought one or more than one kind of disability.

Besides invisibility, accessibility is another big problem. Sidewalks in Port-au-Prince are extremely narrow or almost inexistent, there is lack of paved roads, and then enormous amount of debris produced by the earthquake took years to be removed, further blocking many passageways.

Despite all those challenges, Haiti counts on a considerably good legal and institutional basis in this field. The Bureau of the Secretary of State for the Integration of Persons with Disabilities (BSEIPH) was created back in 2007 within the executive branch. In 2009, the country ratified the UN Convention for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which has been internalized as a national law. In that same year, the National Policy for Persons with Disabilities was approved and, in 2012, the Law on the Integration of Persons with Disabilities was approved and sanctioned. Hence, when the

Brazil – Haiti cooperation project was implemented in this field, Haiti already had some good institutional framework to work with.

Project trainings, which were developed by Brazilian specialists, taught participants about the UN Convention, accessibility, and the importance of including persons with disabilities in the labor marked, in schools and health services. In every part of the training, participants also learned about the importance of dialogue between government and civil society, using as a background the Brazilian experience with the National Council for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CONADE).

In Brazil, progresses made in securing the protection of rights for persons with disabilities are directly related to the long existing civil society movement formed by that population and supporters. CONADE, whose composition is made of half government officials and half elected civil society members, has become the main communication channel for the presentation and discussion of demands to the State. Besides the Council, the National Conference on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which has been organized periodically since 2006, extends the participatory process to civil society organizations and individuals throughout the country.

Besides being based on the idea of government – civil society dialogue, trainings prepared by SDH for Haitian participants were also based on the other pillar of Brazilian public policy in this field: inter-sector coordination. Since 2011, the federal government in Brazil has implemented the National Program for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, also known as "Living without Limits" (*Viver sem Limite*). The plan is rooted on the idea of articulation between different policy sectors, like education, labor, health and housing, with the aim of making sure that persons with disabilities are included in all policies across those sectors.

The Brazil – Haiti cooperation project also counted on the support of the local office of the Organization of American States (OAS). An OAS representative participated in all project trainings and even supported them financially, complementing the resources provided by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC). Besides, OAS had a long and close relationship with BSEIPH, which gave its staff members deep knowledge about the Haitian reality and peculiarities. To some extent, OAS was an important enthusiast of the cooperation with Brazil, making sure that neither the Brazilian side nor the Haitian side would demobilize or paralyze when faced by some of the administrative problems that the project went through.

Besides the confirmation that the project delivered all the activities that had been planned, it is difficult to affirm whether it had an important and lasting impact. Training participants seemed to have become aware of the importance of the rights of persons with disabilities and discussions about social participation and inter-sector work may have planted a seed for future action. But as the project ended, there is not indication of real changes that may have resulted from those discussions: not on the government side and not on the civil society side. The "Living without Limits" model did not seem to have sparked an interest on the Haitian side.

When asked about whether he observed some kind of policy transfer as a result of the project, interviewee no. 01 replied that "this was not a case of copying and pasting. It was a case where the Brazilian experience of articulation between various government sectors and civil society formed a model for public policy work" (personal communication, 11 August 2015). However, he recognized that, despite de project, Haiti

has not been able to achieve some greater level of policy coordination, since the different sectors simply did not have any policies for persons with disabilities.

Interviewee no. 6 considers that this was a positive cooperation experience and that it was warmly welcomed by Haitians. Nonetheless, she believes that the project's impact might have been limited to raising awareness among training participants, more than influencing Haitian public policies. When asked about Haiti's interest in a second phase for the project, she said it would depend on what Brazil has to offer. For the current Secretary at BSEIPH, Gerald Oriol, the main policy priority is accessibility, which naturally demands greater financial resources and investment in infrastructure. However, Brazil cannot offer that, since Brazilian South-South cooperation is limited to technical cooperation only (personal communication, 22 September 2015).

Hence, even though this case was originally identified as a case of cooperation and transfer, in fact, this turned out to be a case of cooperation without transfer. This does not mean that the project did not achieve any results, but it means that its impact will be mostly limited to possible changes in attitudes by training participants. Policy change did not occur, especially change that might have been inspired by the Brazilian policy experience.

7.2. Cooperation Brazil – Guinea Bissau for the promotion of the right to birth registration

Brazil has always had a special relationship with Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa (PALOPs), having promptly recognized their independence from Portugal and having taken the leadership in the creation of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP). In 2010, cooperation with the PALOPs corresponded to 76.5% of Brazilian development cooperation in Africa. Guinea Bissau was the second country that received most funds in the continent, which corresponded to 21.2% (IPEA, 2013: 21-22).

Guinea Bissau is also among the poorest countries in the world. It is currently 177th in the Human Development Index (HDI) rank, whose last position is 187th. The country has a recent history of civil war and went through a *coup d'Etat* in 2012. The coup actually left the country without a stable government for several years and only early this year was a Prime Minister appointed.

In the UN, Brazil has led the Configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission since it was created in 2007. When of the coup on 11 April 2012, Brazil promptly made a statement defending the return to democracy in the country. Internally, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff issued Decree 7.785/2012, which internalized the regime of sanctions established by resolution 2048/2012 of the UN Human Rights Council. In practice, the decree resulted in the suspension of every cooperation project involving state institutions.

According to Unicef, only 24.1% of children between 0 and 5 years old have been registered by the State in Guinea Bissau[32]. In 2008, this situation of under-registration made Unicef recommend to the country's Ministry of Justice, which is responsible for all birth registrations, that it should look for Brazil's support in the development of a National Plan for the Universalization of Birth Registrations. Unicef's recommendation

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[32] Available at http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/guineabissau_statistics.html, accessed on 25 September 2015.

came from staff members' perception that Brazil had reached very positive results with its policies to eradicate under-registration (personal communication, interview no. 05, 21 September 2015). According to a Unicef representative, what called their attention in the Brazilian experience was the way the policy was based on partnerships and the decentralization of services. Traditionally, Guinea Bissau used to cooperate with Portugal in this field, but results had not been successful. Whereas "Brazil showed an innovative side" (personal communication, interview no. 14, 08 October 2015).

In Brazil, 93.4% of children are registered at birth[33]. Considerable improvement in those figures was reached due to a federal policy aimed at eradicating under-registration, under the National Commitment for the Eradication of Under-registration and Greater Access to Documentation, which was created by President Lula in 2007. Different from other countries, in Brazil the policy of basic identification is worked from a rights-based perspective, which considers the birth certificate a basic right that is often the condition to access other rights, such as the right to education and health. Consequently, it is under the responsibility of the General Coordination for the Promotion of Civil Registration, which was part of the structure of the Secretariat of Human Rights (SDH).

Like in the case of the promotion of the rights of persons with disabilities, in this case the role of SDH was to coordinate and mobilize the different institutions and organizations that somehow can influence the promotion of greater access to birth registration. According to this rationale, the federal government created the Social Plan for Birth Registration and Civil Documentation and a National Management Committee for the Plan. The Plan was built on three pillars: national mobilization, expansion of services, and creation of structuring conditions[34]. The Committee, which is comprised only by government representatives, meets periodically to follow-up on the Plan implementation. Besides the national plan and committee, the federal government encourages the creation of corresponding state and municipal plans.

When the Ministry of Justice of Guinea Bissau formally requested the Brazilian cooperation in 2008, the idea was that Brazilian specialists would help formulate Guinea Bissau's national plan. Initial communications were supported and followed-up by Unicef, which wanted to make sure that negotiations were progressing well. Once the cooperation project was drafted and signed, SDH representatives visited the country – both the capital, the regions and the islands – in order to make an appraisal of the situation and to identify the most important stakeholders to be mobilized.

Following two Brazilian visits and one mission of Bissau-Guinean authorities to Brazil, a Plan was finally drafted and presented at a National Seminar in 2010. The Plan followed the same rationale of the Brazilian policy, with the creation of a National Management Committee and decentralized committees. When asked about the similarities between the two plans, interviewee no. 08 replied: "The Plan of Guinea Bissau was built along very similar lines of the Brazilian plan" (personal communication, 01 October 2015). According to her, cross-sector coordination and action was a premise of the Lula government and the same was tried out in Guinea Bissau.

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[33] Available at http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/brazil_statistics.html, accessed on 25 September 2015.

[34] Idem.

An evaluation commissioned by SDH in 2010 identified that this South-South cooperation project produced, directly or indirectly, the following results:

- "Participative formulation, organization of seminar for the presentation and approval of the national plan for the universalization of birth registration in Guinea Bissau
- Public selection process to hire new registrars
- Creation of new registries
- Creation of the Plan Management Committee
- Expansion of the network of registries from two to ten, eight of them being decentralized throughout the regions
- Beginning of registration campaigns in the islands, which had never been reached by campaigns in the country
- Workshops of human rights education to raise awareness about the importance of birth registration. Workshops took place in schools, involving students, teachers and managers.
- National Plan was finalized and approved by several sectors in the country
- Changes in behavior – willingness to register at birth
- Involvement of local authorities in the project (governors, administrators, *regulos*[35] and *Tabanca*[36] leaders)
- Increased number of registrations in Caravela
- Publication of Decree with the National Birth Registration Plan
- Creation of new regional registries
- Workshops and publication of the book following the methodology of 'Olhares Cruzados' (Crossed Looks) (SDH, 2010, p. 21).

Besides those results, interviewee no. 05 emphasized that the Brazilian experience inspired an important change in the policy regarding birth registration fees: they were waved for all children from birth to 5 years old (personal communication, 21 September 2015).

In 2011, when the SDH team last visited Bissau, Unicef representatives asked for the continuation of the Brazil – Guinea Bissau cooperation, even though all project activities had already been completed. For Unicef, continuous Brazilian support would be needed to make sure that the transferred "technology" would be really implemented towards the universalization of birth registration in the country. For interviewee no. 08, the topic was a priority for Unicef, which saw in the collaboration with Brazil a great opportunity to see progress happening in Guinea Bissau.

This South-South cooperation project is an interesting case for analysis and discussion. Even though the policy in question is considerably complex, as it involves various sectors and depends on the creation of new institutional mechanisms (i.e. plan, committee, registries), Bissau-Guinean authorities were willing to make all the necessary efforts and changes. The case goes clearly against the hypothesis first adopted in this study, which argued that complex policies might not easily diffuse.

But it is also important to notice that, even though inter-sector coordination was very present in the Brazilian policy for the right to birth registration, it does not contain

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[35] Traditional leaders.
[36] Villages.

participation mechanisms like other human rights policies in Brazil. The policy foresees the importance of working with various actors, including civil society, but they are not invited to the decision-making table. The government keeps the primacy over policy formulation and implementation. Other stakeholders are invited to participate in the implementation of the plan, according to what had been already pre-defined. Hence, there in no sharing power of empowerment of non-state actors.

Naturally, it is possible that impact brought by this policy transfer between Brazil and Guinea Bissau might be still limited vis-à-vis the considerable rates of under-registration in the country. Nonetheless, the materialization of the National Plan, the creation of the Management Committee, and the waiving of birth registration fees for children are important evidence that the policy transfer process did take place.

7.3. Cooperation Brazil – Guinea Bissau for Human Rights Education

Besides very low rates of birth registration, which is certainly a barrier to the fulfillment of other basic rights, Guinea Bissau faces numerous other human rights challenges, like persisting practices of female genital mutilation and forced marriages (personal communication, interviewee no. 07, 25 September 2015). Besides, significant political instability has contributed to creating an environment of insecurity and lack of state guarantees.

Bearing this in mind and considering the experience with the birth registration project, the SDH team considered that it would be also important to share the Brazilian experience with human rights education (HRE). Initially, some HRE activities were informally developed, in connection with the collaboration on birth registration. Then, a new cooperation project was envisioned, which would demand the participation of the Ministry of National Education, Culture, Science, Youth and Sports.

In Brazil, the national policy for human rights education has been designed through a process of permanent dialogue between government and civil society, which has been specially developed within the National Committee for Human Rights Education. Founded in July 2003 (SDH, 2015a), the Committee worked in the discussion and approval of the National Plan on Human Rights Education and the National Guidelines for Human Rights Education, which were conceived to orient pedagogical practice from a perspective of rights, inclusion and diversity. The Committee is comprised by scholars, civil society representatives, government officials and representatives of international organizations.

Internationally, Human Rights Education is not written into an international treaty or other document of the sort. Its most solid international framework is the Action Plan for the World Program for Human Rights Education, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005 and is monitored by Unesco[37] and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Brazil started policies on this field even before the Action Plan had been approved, working through the mobilization of national specialists and on the basis of the existing "Guidelines for National Plans of Action for Human Rights Education", which had been approved by the UN General Assembly back in 1997.

In Guinea Bissau, as part of the missions for the project on birth registration, the SDH team tried to make contact with education authorities in the country. A future

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[37] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

cooperation initiative on human rights education would have to be developed in partnership with the Ministry of Education and the National Institute for the Development of Education (INDE). In order to establish closer ties with those institutions and to discuss the details of a cooperation project in this field, SDH officials from the General Coordination on Human Rights Education went to Bissau in March 2011. The main idea of the visit was to suggest the joint development of a project that, according to the Brazilian proposal would be entitled "Support to the promotion of human rights education in the national education policy of Guinea Bissau".

In a meeting with an INDE representative, the Brazilian delegation explained the possibilities for cooperation and how their experience with human rights education could be shared with Guinea Bissau. For their surprise, however, the proposal was not met with interest by the Bissau-Guinean officials. In fact, they informed that they had already adopted national curricular guidelines for human rights education as a result of collaborations with Unesco (personal communication, interviewee no. 9, 02 October 2015).

As a matter of fact, since 2009 Guinea Bissau had a Policy Chart for the Education Sector, which established that human rights education was a government priority (personal communication, interviewee no. 15, 09 October 2015). From that they developed the so-called "Reference Framework of Competencies for the Promotion and Development of Education for a Culture of Peace, Citizenship, Human Rights and Democracy". The document had been drafted with the support of Unesco and Unicef.

Hence, Guinea Bissau did not seem to need Brazilian support or the country's experience with a national plan and national curricular guidelines. There was also no interest in the participatory dimension of the human rights education policymaking in Brazil, as represented by the National Committee.

The education official rather expressed the need for financial support from Brazil, namely for the purchase of equipment and printing of materials, instead of technical cooperation. According to interviewee no. 9, the perception on the Bissau-Guinean side was that Brazil was a prosperous country and should certainly have available resources for that kind of cooperation (personal communication, 02 October 2015).

In that same meeting, the Brazilian team then explained that the Brazilian South-South cooperation is exclusively technical and based on the sharing of Brazilian policy experiences. There would be resources for expenses related to technical cooperation, but not for the purchase of equipment or other goods and services. This statement was not well taken by the local authorities, one of whom said it was ridiculous that a big country like Brazil, with such a big economy, would not be able to provide the funds that were being requested (personal communication, interviewee no. 11, 06 October 2015).

Since the Brazilian proposal was not well received and considering those irreconcilable interests, negotiations around the new project were ended. Authorities at the Ministry of Education and at INDE no longer communicated with the Brazilian officials, who also did not insist on their proposal.

Hence, this was not only a case of non-transfer, but also of non-cooperation. From a very early stage, stakeholders in Guinea Bissau considered that it was not in their interest to cooperate with Brazil for the purpose of policy transfer. Their main interest lied in getting equipment and printing materials, which is definitely a legitimate need in such a low-income country, and the Brazilian policy model did not seem to offer them

any additional advantages. One could argue that they felt empowered enough with the technical cooperation provided by Unesco and Unicef for the development of the Reference Framework of Competencies.

This was also a case where international organizations (OI), unlike in the above-mentioned projects, were competing actors for South-South cooperation (although obviously not on purpose). Since local stakeholders considered that the work with IOs was empowering enough, adding a new international partner, even if one from the South, to work on a different policy model did not seem to be in their interest. Just the opposite, it could turn out costly and time consuming.

Despite the confirmation that cooperation and transfer did not take place in this case, this seemed to have occurred from reasons that are slightly different from what had been expected at the outset of this research. First, non-transfer does not seem to have been related to issues of simplicity or complexity in the policy to be transferred, since the model that had been already adopted by Guinea Bissau was just as complex. Reference frameworks and curricular guidelines to be used by schools are always hard to implement. Their adoption in classrooms depends on whether principals and teachers will be willing to modify their pedagogical practices and teaching plans.

Using the same rationale, one cannot state that the Brazilian human rights education policy is not transferrable or that any human rights education policy would be hardly transferred. The issue does not seem to relate to education, to human rights, to the country of policy origin, or to the country where the policy would be adopted. The fact is, in that specific context, where the country had already been working with other international partners with a different policy model (a non-participatory one, by the way), transferring a policy from the South did not seem to be an interesting idea.

The main difference between the Brazilian experience and the model that had been adopted by Guinea Bissau is that, in the Brazilian case, both the national plan and the curricular guidelines had been discussed, written, approved and monitored by a participatory committee on human rights education. One could then ask why this particular aspect of the Brazilian experience, which seems innovative and positive, was not very catching for the Bissau-Guinean partners. Just like in the Haiti case, there is here an open question regarding the transfer of participation-based policy models, which, instead of empowering local authorities, imply that they will have to share the decision-making table with other stakeholders, including civil society.

7.4. Cooperation Brazil – El Salvador in combating sexual violence against children

El Salvador is the smallest country in Central America, with whom Brazil did not traditionally have tight relations. Yet, the two countries became much closer when of the election of Mauricio Funes, from the left-wing party "*Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional*" (FMLN), in 2009. FMLN had been recognized as a political party after the peace accords of 1992, which put an end to the Salvadoran civil war (1980 – 1992). Funes is married to Brazilian Vanda Pignato, who for years was the representative to Central America of Lula's Workers Party. As Ms Pignato became El Salvador's First Lady, cooperation between the two countries significantly intensified, especially with regards to new projects in the social sector.

In 2010, SDH representatives were invited to visit San Salvador. There they identified the need for cooperation actions in the field of children's rights, especially when it comes to fighting sexual violence against children and adolescents. The cooperation could work on the basis of the transfer of two Brazilian policies: the Plan of Integrated and Reference Actions to Combat Sexual Violence Against Children and Adolescentes (PAIR) and the National Complaint Helpline (*Disque Denúncia Nacional*)[38].

Institutionally, El Salvador had approved, in 2009, a national law for children's rights – the *Ley de Protección Integral de la Niñez y Adolescéncia* (LEPINA). Besides, as part of the executive branch was the *Instituto Salvadoreño para el Desarollo Integral de la Niñez y la Adolescencia* (ISNA), which was the counterpart to SDH in this project[39]. Thus, the country already had a sound organizational and legislative framework for the development of child-related policies. What they lacked, as identified by local authorities, was a policy that would allow them to address the grave cases of sexual exploitation and violence against children and adolescents in the country.

In Brazil, the Human Rights Helpline started as the National Complaint Helpline, with a specific focus on receiving citizens' complaints and accusations of sexual violations against children. The service was combined with the PAIR methodology, which provides a set of techniques and protocols for the joint action of different institutions that can collaborate in the fight against those violations.

The South-South cooperation project hence encompassed the transfer of the PAIR methodology and the Helpline service model to El Salvador. Throughout four years of project implementation, Salvadorans visited twice the Brazilian experience and Brazilians went six times to implement project activities in San Salvador.

PAIR-related activities involved the creation of an inter-sector network of actors and institutions, which was comprised by several government institutions and civil society organizations. Their representatives and staff members were trained by the Brazilian SDH officials during three workshops organized in San Salvador in 2013 and 2014.

According to the PAIR methodology, the formation of a network is crucial for the coordination of actions to prevent and prosecute crimes of sexual violence against children. In order to test the methodology in El Salvador, a pilot experience was developed in the department of Santa Ana, along the border with Guatemala. According to interviewee no. 10, that department concentrates the highest number of cases of human trafficking, especially involving children, as well as a high number of children who had been deported back to El Salvador after trying to make the journey to the US through El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico. As a result of the PAIR pilot in Santa Ana, a local network of organizations was created, being comprised by the local *Junta de Protección,* ISNA representatives, the national police, the Office of the Prosecutor, women's organizations and other civil society groups. According to the same interviewee, it was also possible to form a similar network at the national level – the *Red de Atención*

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[38] Currently named Human Rights Helpline – Dial 100 (*Disque Direitos Humanos – Disque 100*).
[39] In 2013 the National Council for Children and Adolescents (*Consejo Nacional de la Niñez y de la Adolescencia* - CONNA) was created, with the mandate to identify and investigate violations against children and adolescents.

Compartida, which deals not only with issues related to sexual violence but with any kind of violation against children and adolescents (personal communication, 03 October 2015).

He considers that the PAIR methodology, especially the rapid appraisal method, has been very useful in the fight against sexual violence in the country. However, he concedes that "working together is very difficult. Adopting a human rights approach and not a charity approach is not easy either" (personal communication, interviewee no. 10, 03 October 2015).

Besides the transfer of the PAIR methodology, this South-South cooperation project also involved the transfer of the service model of operation of the Human Rights Helpline. Initially, the idea was to create in El Salvador a call center that, like in Brazil, could receive complaints about violations to children's rights and could channel them to the responsible authorities. It turned out, however, that according to legislation ISNA did not have the mandate to take note of those complaints. Because of that, Salvadoran officials decided to adjust the project, changing the aim of the service, which would instead give out information about children's rights and useful resources. Even with those adjustments, some further challenges appeared, like the creation of a toll free number and the setting up of a software that would allow for the recording of information from all received calls.

For the technological challenge, SDH officials suggested that, besides the funds that were foreseen in the project, SDH could also hire a Brazilian specialist to work on customizing the Brazilian software for Salvadoran needs. The consultant made three trips to El Savador and was able to design, test and adjust the adapted software, as well as to train the team at ISNA, from where the Helpline would operate. The idea was to train the ISNA team not only to operate the platform but also to troubleshoot any issues without depending on the Brazilian technical support.

The ISNA team also worked on negotiating with telephone companies the creation of a toll free number that, like in Brazil, could be dialed from any phone in any part of the country. However, due to the existing regulatory system for communication services in El Salvador, telephone companies, which are all private, were not mandated to create toll free numbers in the public interest. In fact, they argue that they already provided the 911 service free of charge to the caller and to the receiver. The solution found by ISNA was to establish a system of shared costs, where ISNA would pay for part of the costs and service users would pay for the other part (personal communication, interviewee no. 10, 03 October 2015). ISNA also invested in the purchase of equipment and hiring of new personnel, which was also not initially foreseen in the project.

After all challenges had been addressed, the Helpline service, called *Línea 134 – Línea Amiga de la Niñez* (Dial 134 – Child-Friendly Line) was launched in September 2014. According to interviewee no. 10, "the service has been fulfilling an important informative and educational role. It informs citizens about programs for children and about children's rights". Calls related to complaints and possible violations are forwarded to CONNA, which legally has the power to intervene. Actually, there have been recent discussions about transferring the Helpline to CONNA in the future, so that the service could be more comprehensive and working just like the one in Brazil (personal communication, interviewee no. 10, 03 October 2015).

The cooperation Brazil – El Salvador is, amongst the cases analyzed in this study, the one where policy transfer was the most clear. The PAIR methodology was implemented in the department of Santa Ana, with the adoption of an approach of coordinated inter-sector work. Moreover, a telephone service was created to inform children, their families and caregivers about their rights, even though it is not possible yet to take note and follow-up on complaints. One could argue that this was the case where change was most evident and the project did have a policy impact.

In this case, inter-sector coordination was a clear component in the policy being transferred, but participation was not. For instance, the project did not make any reference to the works of the National Council for Children's Rights (CONANDA) in Brazil. Even though civil society organizations were invited to the workshops and are now part of the created networks, their participation is limited to having their actions coordinated with those of other stakeholders. There are no policy deliberations to which they are invited to participate.

Other project features are also worth of attention. For instance, the bilateral relation between Brazil and El Salvador was not intermediated or accompanied by any other international partner. Even though ISNA does cooperate with a number of international organizations and donors, none of them were part of this particular endeavor.

As a matter of fact, one of the interviewees presented several compliments to the way Brazilian cooperation operates *vis-à-vis* development cooperation partners:

> Brazilian cooperation is horizontal and respectful of the timing and decisions of our government. There was respect to our sovereignty. Besides, Brazilian cooperation is not based on money but in the technical aspects, in follow-up, support in the field, the sharing of methodologies. This is most valuable. Following-up is crucial. They had the "historic patience" [40][41] (personal communication, interviewee no. 10, 03 October 2015).

7.5. Cooperation Brazil – Cuba – The Netherlands for the promotion of LGBT rights

Brazil has a very unique institutional setup related to LGBT rights. Within SDH, which had ministerial status, there is a governmental structure that is mandated to promote and protect the rights of the LGBT population: the General Coordination for the Promotion of LGBT Rights. In this case, there is also a participatory body that, with the participation of civil society and government representatives from other sectors, discusses and presents demands to the State – the National Council against Discrimination and for the Promotion of LGBT Rights (CNCD/LGBT). The Council also has the responsibility to follow-up on the recommendations made at the National Conference for Public Policies on LGBT Human Rights, which happens every three years and counts on the participation of civil society representatives from every state in Brazil. An important part

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[40] Free translation by the author.

[41] According to the interviewee, the expression *paciencia histórica* corresponds to being understanding that different countries and different institutions may work according to different paces.

of this work is related to the fight against homophobia, to advocacy actions and to the organization of the recently-created National System for the Promotion of Rights and Violence Prevention.

In recent years, the LGBT Coordination at SDH has established various international partnerships, such as with the European Union and the UN system through organizations like the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Unesco. In this field, international partners are very relevant in the domestic context, given the great opposition that has been increasingly organized by conservative groups, especially fundamentalist religious leaders that have a seat in the National Congress.

In the framework of the cooperation with the European Union, in April 2013 SDH organized the "Brazil-EU Seminar against Homophobic Violence" and the "Regional Seminar on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity". The seminar, which took place in Brasilia, had the participation of government and civil society representatives from Latin American and Caribbean countries.

On the European side, a representative of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs was present in the seminar and approached the SDH team to offer financial support to a potential future cooperation project between Brazil and another developing country in the field of LGBT rights. SDH officials then demonstrated interest in cooperating with Cuba, considering that the country had an interesting domestic experience and could play an important leadership role in the Caribbean. At that time, various Caribbean countries were opposing the approval of the Interamerican Convention against All Forms of Discrimination and Intolerance, which was eventually adopted in June 2013 (personal communication, interviewee no. 16, 16 October 2015). Some Caribbean countries were also opposed to the adoption of new human rights instruments at the UN, which could specifically protect the LGBT population.

The Brazil – EU Seminar was a great opportunity to explore the possibility of cooperating with Cuba in this field, as the Seminar counted on the participation of Cuba's Firs Lady, the daughter of Raul Castro, Mariela Castro Espín. Mariela is the Director of Cuba's National Center for Sex Education (Cenesex), which has done important advocacy work for the promotion of LGBT rights and the ending of discrimination and intolerance. Even though Cenesex is not officially a public institution, Mariela's role establishes a strong connection between the Center and the Castro regime. Cuba does not have organized civil society organizations and movements in this field, meaning that Cenesex ends up filling that gap.

Despite the political and ideological ties between Brazil and Cuba since after Lula's first term in 2004, South-South cooperation between the two countries has been greatly limited by domestic opposition in Brazil. Any action of collaboration between the two governments is met with great exposure in Brazilian media and heightened opposition by conservative groups. Examples include the controversies created around the "More Physicians Program", which hired Cuban doctors to work in remote and underserved areas of Brazil, and around the official loans given to Brazilian companies that were contracted to work on the expansion of the Cuban Mariel Port. As a consequence of so much fuzz, the cooperation with Cuba represented only 2.4% of the total Brazilian cooperation for development in Latin America (IPEA, 2013).

In this context, the Dutch offer to finance a Brazil – Cuba project could provide, from a Brazilian perspective, the political and material conditions for this cooperation to happen. During the Seminar in Brasilia a meeting was promptly organized in order for the representatives of the three countries to discuss how this cooperation would be shaped. It was decided that a first step would involve a visit to Havana by the SDH LGBT team, hopefully during the Day against Homophobia.

In 2013 several informal communications were exchanged between representatives of the three countries. Then in May 2014, an SDH official and two members of the National LGBT Council visited Cuba during the VI Regional Conference of the International Association for Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Trans and Intersex for Latin America and the Caribbean (ILGALAC).

The Brazilian mission to Havana first involved a meeting at the Brazilian embassy with diplomats from the Dutch embassy, who confirmed their country's interest in financing the Brazil – Cuba partnership. Curiously, they suggested that project funding could be provided without too much emphasis on the name of The Netherlands as a sponsor. The Brazilians guessed that this might have been a Dutch strategy to combat homophobia in the Caribbean without upsetting the Netherlands Antilles, where discriminatory practices are still very common (personal communication, interviewee no. 16, 16 October 2015).

During that same mission, the Brazilian delegation met with Mariela Castro and her team at Cenesex. The meeting's purpose was to allow for the discussion of the details of the future cooperation project, for which funding had been secured by the Dutch. Conceptually, it was decided that the Brazilian team would help structure a training course to be given at the University of Havana to civil society representatives from Latin America and the Caribbean. The Cuban's perception was that Brazil had achieved some good theoretical development in the LGBT field and was in a better position to define the contents for the course (personal communication, interviewee 16, 16 October 2015).

When back to Brazil, the SDH team started to plan the next activity for the development of this cooperation project, which would involve a new visit by Cenesex staff to Brazil, funded by the Dutch. The visit would take place in September 2014 and preparation efforts would involve the invitation of Brazilian professors working in specialized research centers on gender and sexuality.

The last communication sent by the Cubans to Brazil contained a proposed curriculum structure for the course, which was considered too long by the Brazilian side. SDH officials then met with specialists at the Ministry of Education in order to identify Brazilian universities that could help develop the course.

However, due to leadership changes that took place at SDH in June 2014 and to difficulties in communicating with Cenesex[42], no further negotiations were carried out on this project. There was an attempt to re-establish communications through the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but that was not successful either. Some of the involved stakeholders suspect that one of the reasons behind the end of communications from the Cuban side might have to do with the fact that funding would come from the Netherlands and not from Brazil.

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[42] One of the reasons possibly being due to the 30-minute limit for intenet connection in the country (personal communication, interviewee no. 16, 16 October 2015).

Similarly to the human rights education project, this was a case of non-cooperation and non-transfer. Also in this case, the presence of another international partner may have actually worked against the South-South cooperation project. Even though the Dutch intention was to foster cooperation between Brazil and Cuba, their participation may actually have hampered it.

It is hard to say whether this non-cooperation may be related to negative Cuban perceptions about the Brazilian policy model. It is a fact that the relationship between the Brazilian government and civil society occurs in way that is very foreign to Cuba. It may be that not even Cenesex is ready to handle relations with an organized and empowered civil society. Also, empowering civil society on LGBT topics means that it might get empowered enough to be willing to discuss and demand several other issues to the government. It is not clear whether this was part of the reason for Cubans to loose interest in the cooperation with Brazil. Anyhow, it is a fact that the Brazilian technical cooperation proposal was not interesting and catchy enough to make the Cuban partners willing to maintain communication efforts.

8. Analysis and conclusions

It should be noted that international development cooperation is not only about policy transfer. This practice is also not present in every initiative of South-South cooperation. In Brazil, the exercise of policy transfer as a method of South-South cooperation ended up being the result of the choice of technical cooperation over other kinds of cooperation, such financial or in infrastructure. It was also the result of a Brazilian preference for the involvement of civil servants and government officials in the cooperation projects, instead of working exclusively with independent consultants or hiring private organizations, like in the case of the development cooperation policies of many countries of the North. Considering the Brazilian "way" of doing South-South cooperation, this research tried to analyze, in detail, the practice of Brazilian South-South cooperation on human rights as attempts to carry out policy transfer.

This Brazilian "way" was welcomed by the recent international euphoria around South-South cooperation, specially as a result of a combination of factors: i) the fierce criticisms to traditional North-South cooperation; ii) the new international role played by emerging economies; iii) the world enthusiasm around Brazil, especially when the country was under the leadership of Lula, combining economic growth with the reduction of poverty and inequality. The Brazilian approach to South-South cooperation, which is centered on the practice of policy transfer, was also supported by the international celebration of so-called "best practices".

When comparing different South-South cooperation initiatives on human rights, this study was able to shed light on the wealth and on the limitations that can be identified in this Brazilian – and also international – way of doing South-South cooperation by means of the transfer of best practices.

Even though the official discourse is that Brazil does not "copy and paste" its policies elsewhere, this research noted that all projects were directly linked to the Brazilian policy experience. The mobilization of civil servants and government officials consequently means that the Brazilian trajectory and policy model will be brought along in the cooperation project.

When looking for enablers and barriers to South-South cooperation, this research identified that, when it involves the transfer of policies, some variables seem relevant in the process of making sure that projects will have an impact. Different from what one would expect, the existence of an international human rights treaty for the topic of cooperation and the participation of other international actors is not decisive for the success of a cooperation project. In some cases, international organizations played an important role in animating and motivating countries, making sure that they would not demobilize when faced with implementation difficulties. However, depending on how those international partners intervene, they may end up being a barrier to South-South cooperation (i.e. Cuba) or a source of competition to South-South cooperation (i.e Guinea Bissau, Human Rights Education).

Moreover, contrary to the initial hypothesis, empirical evidence indicated that the secret to policy transfer does not lie in policies of easy implementation and operation. Examples like the cooperation with Guinea Bissau for the right to birth registration and the cooperation with El Salvador represent cases where complex policies that demand the mobilization and coordination of various actors can also be transferred in the framework of South-South cooperation.

But this conclusion does not mean that one should abandon the idea that policy content might influence the occurrence or not of policy transfer. Case studies revealed two important features of Brazilian human rights policies: inter-sector coordination and social participation. Below is a revised table of each case's features:

Table 3. Matrix for the analysis of case studies

Cooperation project between Brazil and...	Cooperation took place	Diffusion took place	Policy is simple	Policy promotes coordination between sectors	Policy is open to social participation	International support	International human rights norm
Haiti: rights of persons with disabilities	+	-	-	+	+	OAS	UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
Guinea Bissau: right to a birth certificate	+	+	-	+	-	Unicef	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
Guinea Bissau: human rights education	-	-	-	+	+	-	World Program for Human Rights Education
El Salvador: combating sexual violence against children	+	+	-	+	-	-	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
Cuba: promotion of LGBT rights	-	-	-	+	+	The Netherlands	-

Interestingly, it was observed that in cases where the policy included inter-sector coordination but there were no mechanisms of social participation – Guinea Bissau for birth registration and El Salvador – there was greater success in the policy transfer process. However, in cases where both features were present, transfer did not occur (Haiti) or the cooperation project did not even start (Cuba and Guinea Bissau on human rights education). These findings correspond to what the "borrowing and lending theory" in comparative education (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004) and the literature on the norm lifecycle (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink, 1999) would predict when considering the interests of domestic actors. Bearing in mind that these theories somehow bring the idea that policymakers will adopt foreign models and norms to meet their interests, participatory policies may, at first sight, be seen as mechanisms that instead of leading to power gains actually mean power sharing, opening government structures to more dialogue with civil society and greater accountability. Inter-sector coordination, in turn, gives policymakers the possibility of gathering several government institutions and civil society organizations in order to coordinate their work towards meeting the policymaker's policy goals.

However, that does not mean that it would be impossible to have participatory policies shared and transferred among countries of the South. Such as in the process of the adoption and implementation of international human rights norms, there is room for the persuasion of domestic actors, who may be convinced of the value of social participation and who may eventually find interest in those practices. An example of a participatory policy that has reached great international diffusion is the participatory budget, which was developed in Porto Alegre (Brazil) and has been adopted by various municipal, state and central governments in the past 15 years.

Brazil may make the conscious political choice of continuing to insist in the sharing of its participatory policies and mechanisms, which are not only present in the field of human rights. This can be even incorporated into the official discourse about Brazil's policy for South-South cooperation (which would demand a public recognition that social participation mechanisms have been crucial to the success of many of the country's public policies). If that road is taken, however, it is important that those working on future projects start out from this awareness that participatory policies are not easily welcomed policy models and that strong persuasion efforts will be necessary. Otherwise, there is a great chance that cooperation initiatives involving the sharing of participatory experiences may not take off.

This study offers a call to debate not only to Brazil but also to other countries of the South that have been involved in promoting South-South cooperation. It seems important that, when sharing their policies internationally, countries be aware of how policy features may act in empowering or disempowering domestic agents in the country to which the policy will be transferred. While one is traditionally trained to look for the results a policy has achieved in country A, this study suggest that the success of a policy transfer process also depends on whether this policy fulfils the political interests of domestic actors in country B so that they will take full ownership of the policy model being transferred.

If South-South cooperation aims at bringing change and social justice to countries of the South, it will only do so if embraced by the local actors that will be responsible for making domestic change possible. "Best practices" do not diffuse internationally because they are best, but because they are empowering to those that will adopt them elsewhere.

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Annex

Interview Protocol[43]

1. Can you please describe your experience and involvement with Brazilian South-South cooperation?

2. What is your opinion about the way Brazil carries out its South-South cooperation initiatives?

3. Is Brazilian cooperation for development any different from the one developed by traditional donors? If so, how?

4. The experiences that Brazil has shared with partner countries have influenced public policies in the South? Has it influenced policies in your country? How?

5. What are the distinctive aspects of Brazilian human rights policies in comparison to policies in the same field in other countries?

6. What factors facilitate the sharing of Brazilian human rights policies with other countries?

7. What are the obstacles in this process?

8. What would be needed for Brazilian human rights policies to be adopted by other countries of the South?

9. Among all Brazilian human rights policies that you know of, which ones are the most interesting to you? Which ones would be the most successful if adopted by other countries of the South? Why?

Project-specific questions:

10. How did interest emerge for cooperation in this area?

11. Why did the Brazilian experience seem interesting and worth learning from?

12. What features of the Brazilian policy model would you point out?

13. Was the sharing of the Brazilian policy experience successful? What would be evidence of that?

14. What would other countries need, if they decided to adopt this same kind of policy?

15. Is the Brazilian policy experience supported by international human rights norms? How relevant is this for the South-South cooperation project?

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[43] Protocolo básico, a ser modificado de acordo com o papel desempenhado pelo/a entrevistado/a.

16. Did other international partners support this cooperation initiative with Brazil? What partners? What role did they play?