Building Knowledge on Policy Transfer through cases of South-South Cooperation[1]

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Abstract

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 have not diffused internationally despite governmental efforts. Five cases were compared where Brazil cooperated with Haiti, Cuba, El Salvador and Guinea Bissau.

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[2], 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

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[2] 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.

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 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).

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.

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.

This paper analyzes 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.

II. 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.

2.1. 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.

2.2. 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.

2.3. 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[3]? 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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[3] 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.

III. 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.

3.1. 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. 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.

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.

3.2. 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.

According to Unicef, only 24.1% of children between 0 and 5 years old have been registered by the State in Guinea Bissau[4]. 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 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[5]. 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

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

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

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[6]. 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 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.

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*[7] and *Tabanca*[8] leaders)
- Increased number of registrations in Caravela
- Publication of Decree with the National Birth Registration Plan

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[6] Idem.

[7] Traditional leaders.
[8] Villages.

- 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).

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 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.

3.3. 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.

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 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.

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.

3.4. 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.

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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*)[9].

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[10]. 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 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 Compartida,* which deals not only with issues related to sexual violence but with any

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[9] Currently named Human Rights Helpline – Dial 100 (*Disque Direitos Humanos – Disque 100*).
[10] 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.

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" [11][12] (personal communication, interviewee no. 10, 03 October 2015).

3.5. 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 of this work is related to the fight against homophobia, to advocacy actions and to the

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[11] Free translation by the author.

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

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 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". During that seminar, a representative of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs 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.

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[13], 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.

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

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[13] 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).

cooperation proposal was not interesting and catchy enough to make the Cuban partners willing to maintain communication efforts.

4. Analysis and conclusions

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 2. 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.

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.

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