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***** Pesquisadora de Iniciação Científica das Relações Internacionais na Universidade da Paraíba Extensionista do IDeF/UFPB. E-mail: dantasgraquel@gmail.com. **Internationalization of public policies in the Northeast:** subnational leadership and the role of international relations*

Internacionalização de políticas públicas no Nordeste: protagonismo subnacional e o papel das relações internacionais

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Abstract

Since the 1990s, the international diffusion of public policies (PP) has garnered increasing attention in the global academic literature, particularly for its ability to concretely reveal the extent of international relations (IR) influence on the development of local policies. However, this field of study remains underexplored in Brazil, especially when focusing on subnational governments in peripheral regions. This article aims to contribute to this discussion by investigating two key questions: Are state governments in Brazil's Northeast taking a leading role in the internationalization of public policies? And what is the current state of PP diffusion research in Brazil, particularly concerning the contribution of IR? The research was conducted in synergy with teaching and extension activities, employing a methodological approach that combined snowball sampling, interviews, and a systematic literature review. The findings indicate modest growth in the field, with limited IR involvement, while state governments emerge as key actors in the adoption and transfer of public policies. Additionally, the study identifies the active participation of research institutions in the Northeast in the analysis of PP internationalization.

Keywords: international diffusion of public policies; Brazilian Northeastern states; state of the art of scientific production; mapping of internationalized public policies.

Resumo

Desde a década de 1990, a difusão internacional de políticas públicas (PP) tem atraído crescente atenção na literatura internacional, especialmente por sua capacidade de revelar a concretamente a extensão da influência das relações internacionais (RI) no desenvolvimento de políticas locais. No entanto, esse campo de estudo ainda é pouco explorado no Brasil, particularmente quando se trata de governos subnacionais em áreas periféricas. Este artigo

busca contribuir para essa discussão, investigando duas questões centrais: os governos estaduais do Nordeste brasileiro estão assumindo um papel de destaque na internacionalização de políticas públicas? E como se encontra o campo de difusão de PP na pesquisa brasileira, especialmente no que diz respeito à contribuicão das RI? A pesquisa foi desenvolvida em sinergia com atividades de ensino e extensão, utilizando uma abordagem metodológica que combinou a técnica da bola de neve, entrevistas e uma revisão sistemática da literatura. Os resultados indicam um crescimento modesto do campo, com uma presença limitada de RI, enquanto os governos estaduais emergem como protagonistas na adoção e transferência de políticas públicas. Além disso, o estudo identifica a participação ativa de instituições de pesquisa do Nordeste na análise da internacionalização de PP.

Palavras-chave: difusão internacional de políticas públicas; Estados do Nordeste Brasileiro; estado da arte da produção científica; mapeamento de políticas públicas internacionalizadas.

1 Introduction

The influence of external actors and context in the scope of domestic public policies (PP) has been increasingly recognized by analysts.1 However, the concrete hint of how this influence is established is a debate under construction. The processes of globalization, with their political advances and retreats, interdependence, and international cooperation for development, form the background in which national and subnational governments, international organizations (IO), and other agents encourage and execute the movement of exchange of experiences, institutional models, and knowledge, causing PP to overflow the borders of states² and become internationalized. The study of this movement, known generically as policy diffusion, is a relevant field to explain patterns and motivations that lead governments to emulate, to accept conditionalities to implement policies and to seek learning from successful cases.3 As well as to understand why governments strive to diffuse their own policies.4

Despite the relevance, the discussion on the processes of internationalization of public policies in their various modalities — transference, diffusion, and circulation being the most common⁵ — is recent in Brazil. According to Porto de Oliveira and Faria⁶, it gained breath from 2011 and is still incipient. The authors reach these conclusions based on the systematic survey they conducted up to 2016 on national databases for indexing articles, theses and dissertations (T&D). The little presence of International Relations (IR), too, draws attention in this survey. Both for being a debate in which the international level has great relevance and for the necessary reflection on the influences of agents and transnational contexts throughout the PP cycle. The initial stage of the discussion became even more evident when, when detailing the results found,

FARIA, C. A. P. de. Políticas públicas e relações internacionais. Brasília: Enap, 2018.

CAMPBELL, J. L. Institutional change and globalization. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004. GRAHAM, E. R.; SHIPAN, C. R.; VOLDEN, C. The diffusion of policy diffusion research in political science. British Journal of Political Science, v. 43, n. 3, p. 673-701, 2013.

GILARDI, F. Four ways we can improve policy diffusion research. State Politics & Policy Quarterly, v. 16, n. 1, p. 8-21, 2016. DOLOWITZ, D.; MARSH, D. Learning from abroad: the role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making. Governance, v. 13, n. 1, p. 5-24, 2000. CONSTANTINE, I.; SHANKLAND, A. From policy transfer to mutual learning: political recognition, power and process in the emerging landscape of international development cooperation. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 99-122, 2017.

TOWNS, A. Norms and social hierarchies: understanding international policy diffusion "from below". International Organization, v. 66, n. 2, p. 179-209, 2012. MENEZES, H.; VIEIRA, M. Explaining Brazil as a rising state, 2003-2014: the role of policy diffusion as an international regulatory instrument. Journal of International Relations and Development, v. 25, p. 107-128, 2021. DOI: https://doi. org/10.1057/s41268-021-00217-z.

COELHO, D. Mecanismos políticos e institucionais da difusão de políticas públicas. In: FARIA, C. A. P. de; COELHO, D.; SILVA, S. J. da. Difusão de políticas públicas. São Bernardo do Campo: Editora da UFABC, 2016.

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

we identified that the analysis of the performance of subnational entities in regions outside the large centers is practically absent, as will be demonstrated in the second section of this study.

These findings added to the interest in promoting the deepening of the dialogue between the field of PP and IR in the analysis of state policies in the northeast region inspired us to organize research and extension actions, articulated with teaching strategy, to explore the theme. The guiding questions were: Have the state governments of the northeastern region of Brazil been playing a leading role and have they been the stage of experiences of internationalization of public policies? What is the state of the art of the field of diffusion of PP in Brazilian research and how has IR participated in this field? This study shows consolidated results in three main efforts to answer these questions: First, the extension/training course in Public Policies and International Diffusion organized through the Observatory of Decentralized Internationalization in Focus⁷. Second, the update until 2021 and expansion of the scope of the survey on the state of the art of the diffusion field carried out by Porto de Oliveira and Faria⁸. Finally, the mapping of implemented or running public policies led by states in northeastern Brazil that have undergone internationalization processes.

The study is thus organized into three parts in addition to this introduction and the final considerations. In the first section we present the teaching strategy for the collective construction of research and extension in the theme. In the second section, we detail the diagnosis, as well as its updating and expansion, of the field of internationalization of public policies in Brazilian research. The third part was intended to explain the snowball sampling, the results achieved with its application and the exposure of the mapped internationalized PP.

2 The collective construction in the integration between extension and research: the course of public policies and international diffusion

Being extension students of the IDeF, whose focus is the performance and international cooperation of states and municipalities and their local developments, the questioning of how the influence of international actors and arenas in the construction and implementation of public policies constantly permeated the debates, but was not at the center of the discussion. To centralize the theme, without abandoning the understanding of the means, strategies, and motivations that led subnational entities to paradiplomatic actions, we decided to approach and adjust our conceptual lenses and search engines to give greater relevance to the "trips of public policies" implementing a new section in the IDeF.

The initial intention was to identify the actions of internationalization of public policies with the protagonism of the Northeast, the region of emphasis of the observatory. Thus, it was necessary to train extension students for work, establish dialogue with public and private managers, discuss with experts about the phenomenon, and establish a methodology of qualified search for data and information. To meet these needs, the strategy adopted was to develop and offer the extension/training course — Public Policies and International Diffusion — in online format. And, concomitantly and integrated into the course, develop the process of preparation and execution of the research. That is, we encompass extension and research in

IDeF is an observatory maintained as an extension project of the International Relations Department by the Federal University of Paraiba.

⁸ OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

⁹ OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; SARAIVA, C.; SAKAI, R. *Difusão de políticas e cooperação para o desenvolvimento*: elementos norteadores para a implementação de projetos de transferência de políticas públicas por meio da cooperação internacional. São José do Rio Preto, SP: Balão Editorial, 2020.

a teaching strategy. The inseparable promotion of teaching, research, and extension is not exactly a novelty for university teaching, although its practice is still a challenge.

The boldness of the course lay in the fact that its educational objectives were not limited to promoting the reflection of literature and exchange of experiences to build a common framework for understanding PP. But using the experience of managers, the creativity of students and the scientific maturation of researchers to collectively develop, throughout the course, the methodology for mapping PP and applying it, bringing their findings as material for analysis and debate of the course itself.

The course¹⁰ was free, held from June to October 2021 and featured a coordination team, which also conducted the research, and a small support team. Initially there were 50 vacancies. However, the great demand and the expectation of evasion considering the virtual modality, led us to expand to 70 vacancies that were distributed between public and private managers (30) — it is worth mentioning the interest of managers of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the participation of managers outside the northeast region — undergraduate and graduate students (30) — from five universities in different regions of the country — and observatory extension students (10).

The execution schedule and the topics dealt with in the course considered the research execution needs. In addition to the online meetings, the course-takers were invited to participate through written answers to specific questions proposed by the coordination team. In this intense dynamic, it was possible to elaborate the theoretical outline of the research. The debates were valuable in the collective construction of the fundamental elements of investigation (theme, problem, and objectives).

Based on the theme — Protagonism of the Northeastern States in the Internationalization of Public Policies— we delimited that the mapping would be about the PP of the state entities of the region, without addressing the municipalities, considering the limits of time and personnel. The clipping of PP was, succinctly, defined as intentional guidelines for coping with a public problem that involves political action. In its final format, the guiding question of the investigation action was: What public policies led by the states of northeastern Brazil were internationalized? In addition, did the processes involve international organizations? Which is the direction (import/export) of the processes? The general objective was to map the public policies led by the northeastern states that went through an internationalization process and we delimited three specific ones: identify the participation of international organizations; understand, according to the specialized literature, the mechanisms used in the mapped processes; and diagnose the field of internationalization of public policies in Brazilian research, regarding the northeast and the insertion of IR in this field. The latter objective was included when the progress of discussions in the course and in the mapping made significant absences and limitations in the national literature on the phenomenon explicit.

The first research hypothesis, which started from the preconceived idea that the northeast would be an importing region of public policies, with the mediation of OI, with a well-defined and sectorized time frame, did not resist the debate with experts in the area and experienced managers. We then set out to define assumptions by listening to managers and graduate students that research the subject. We assumed that the northeastern states would have PP as a result of importing international experiences, but also of exporting policies to other countries. Time constraints, international agents and the sector were purposely not established, so that empirical reality showed which clippings should be made, not the other way around.

The discussion and abandonment of the initial hypothesis led us to adopt the methodological technique of the snowball for exploratory research — which will be explained in the second part of this study. The mapping, using this technique, pointed out a set of actions that from the debates held in the course were filtered and delimited according to the theoretical cutouts chosen, resulting in five internationalized PP under the leadership of five different northeastern states.

Detailed information about the course is available on the website: https://idefufpb.com/.

SECCHI, L. Políticas públicas: conceitos, esquemas de análise, casos práticos. 2. ed. São Paulo: Cengage learning, 2014.

As the mapping progressed in line with the deepening of the course discussions, it was clear the necessity to complement the research. We needed to situate how the field of investigation of the PP diffusion was configured in the northeast, both as a stage of investigations and also as a producer of reflections. Expanding and detailing the scenario already initially outlined by Porto de Oliveira and Faria¹² we challenged ourselves to produce the diagnosis of the state of the art of the field by 2021, using the same systematization used by the authors, but adding search terms.

The teaching strategy for the collective construction of the research through extension proved to be very abundant, despite the intensity of the work that required great dedication of the team, methodological setbacks, such as typical trends in the production of the research, and theoretical divergences. The course ended with 50 students from the 70 enrolled, of these 17 were managers and 33 were university students, among the last, 5 were extension students of IDeF. As expected, the evasion was large, but the balance was still considered positive. The course has fulfilled its objectives and the products resulting from its activities are in the following two sections.

3 The state of the art of public policy internationalization in Brazilian research

To address the quantitative production of articles, theses and dissertations (T&D) resulting from Brazilian research on the field of internationalization of public policies, we started from a survey already carried out until 2016 by Porto de Oliveira and Faria¹³ and published in the article "Policy Transfer, Diffusion, and Circulation: Research Traditions and the State of the Discipline in Brazil'. The systematization of the survey followed the same parameters used by the authors, with the search for the terms listed in the tables below (2 and 3) in the "Basic Search" tabs of the platform data from the Scientific Electronic Library Online (SCiELO) and Theses and Dissertation Bank of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior- CAPES). It is noteworthy the use of quotation marks in the terms to facilitate the exact search for the term. That is, the use of quotation marks enables the restricted search of the descriptor, since, without quotation marks, the term "policy transfer", for example, would become two descriptors ("policy" and "transfer"), presenting results unrelated to the phenomenon researched.14

Our contribution was to add the terms "internationalization of (public) policies" and extend the period until 2021. The added terms reinforce the involvement of the international plane and international phenomena in the diffusion.¹⁵ In addition to updating and expanding the survey, we observed the areas in which growth was noted, as well as the insertion of the Northeast, as an object and place of production. We also intended to indicate the potential of IR for the field, through methodological tools¹⁶, to overcome "metho-

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

¹³ OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

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FARIA, C. A. P. de. Políticas públicas e relações internacionais. Brasília: Enap, 2018.

¹⁶ GILARDI, F.; FÜGLISTER, K. Empirical modeling of policy diffusion in federal states: the dyadic approach. Swiss Political Science Review, v. 14, n. 3, p. 413-450, 2008. GILARDI, F. Four ways we can improve policy diffusion research. State Politics & Policy Quarterly, v. 16, n. 1, p. 8-21, 2016.

dological nationalism"¹⁷ and in the role of understanding South-South Cooperation¹⁸, in which Brazil, and the Northeast are inserted in a relevant way.

As in IR, in which theories such as realism admit the state as a central agent in the International System¹⁹, parts of the PP field maintain a state-centric view, justified by the sovereignty and capabilities of the state²⁰, making the field hostage to the word State.²¹ According to Faria²², PP analyzes in Brazil mainly focus on the interaction between actors, institutions, variables, and domestic phenomena. Although reference is made to the international plane, the concrete outlines of its influence are tangential. This self-limit, which underestimates the growing link between the domestic and international levels, is called methodological nationalism. It causes absences in the interpretation of the very domestic policies²³, as well as imposes difficulties in dealing with global phenomena²⁴, such as diffusion.²⁵ The globalization movement emphasizes the importance of recognizing the influence of international actors for PP at both levels, as well as inter and supranational elements and variables²⁶. The insertion of IR in the analysis of PP presents itself as one of the ways for the Brazilian field to exceed another of its limits.²⁷ However, as the survey shows, this process is still in baby steps in Brazilian scientific production.

In the first research produced by Porto de Oliveira and Faria²⁸, the authors identified 13 studies in SCIE-LO and 48 T&D cataloged by CAPES. They show that the intensification of production happens from 2011. In international literature, the intensification has occurred since the 1990s.²⁹ The authors found that the field is marked by terminological divisions, in which a diversity of terms such as diffusion, transfer, circulation, and dissemination are often used as synonyms or hyperonyms. This reinforces the lack of integration between authors and between the various areas of knowledge that focus on the diffusion process.³⁰ The result showed the initial state of the productions, the lack of connectivity between the various areas³¹ and the limited participation of IR, although this area is present when considering international productions.³²

The update allowed us to understand the growth of the field, which although small, brings relevant inclusions. Table 1 shows the results found in the first survey and the update.

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OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

GRAHAM, E. R.; SHIPAN, C. R.; VOLDEN, C. The diffusion of policy diffusion research in political science. British Journal of Political Science, v. 43, n. 3, p. 673-701, 2013.

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

³¹ COELHO, D. Mecanismos políticos e institucionais da difusão de políticas públicas. *In*: FARIA, C. A. P. de; COELHO, D.; SILVA, S. J. da. Difusão de políticas públicas. São Bernardo do Campo: Editora da UFABC, 2016.

³² GRAHAM, E. R.; SHIPAN, C. R.; VOLDEN, C. The diffusion of policy diffusion research in political science. British Journal of Political Science, v. 43, n. 3, p. 673-701, 2013.

Table 1 - Number of Articles in Diffusion/Internationalization of Policies available at SCiELO Brasil

Terms used in Basic Search	No. of Articles in the Original Survey (until 2016) (PORTO DE OLIVEIRA, FARIA, 2017)	No. of Articles in Current Survey (up to 2021)	
"Diffusion of Policies"	3	12	
"Diffusion of Public Policies"	1	5	
"Transfer of Policies"	6	16	
"Transfer of Public Policies"	4	6	
"Circulation of Policies"	0	0	
"Circulation of Public Policies"	0	0	
"Dissemination of Policies"	2	5	
"Dissemination of Public Policies"	1	0	
"Internationalization of Policies"	Not Assessed	4	
"Internationalization of Public Policies"	Not Assessed	0	
"Policy Diffusion"	6	13	
"Policy Transfer"	9	21	
Total	32	82	
Total after removal of duplicate results	13	37	

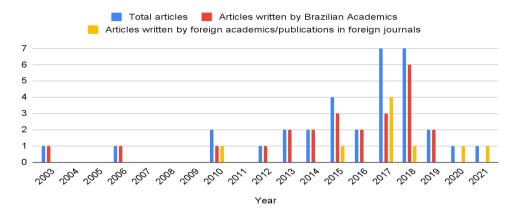
Source: Own elaboration based on Porto de Oliveira and Faria³³

Of the 13 articles (excluding duplicates) found by Porto de Oliveira and Faria, two were published by foreigners in Brazilian journals and 11 were published by Brazilian researchers between 2011 and 2016. In the new result of 37 publications (excluding duplicates), 28 are by Brazilian authors, almost triple the previous results. The production focused on the areas of Social Sciences (expanding from four to ten publications), Administration (from three to seven publications), Health Sciences (from two to eight publications, surpassing Administration). What surprised was the growth of only one publication in the period in the field of International Relations and published in a foreign journal cataloged in SCiELO (from two to three publications). This reinforces the lack of insertion of IR in the field. The addition of the term "internationalization of policies" and "internationalization of public policies" contributed to the results of the areas of Education (one publication in a national journal and one in a foreign journal) and Linguistics (three publications in national journals), revealing again the terminological separation between areas of knowledge.³⁴ The field of Information Science continued with one publication, while Psychology added one publication, being the only one with an object in the Northeast, specifically in Salvador, Bahia.

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. *Novos Estados CEBRAP*, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021. FARIA, C. A. P. de. *Políticas públicas e relações internacionais*. Brasília: Enap, 2018.

Graph 1 - Total number of articles, written by Brazilian academics and articles written by foreign academics/publications

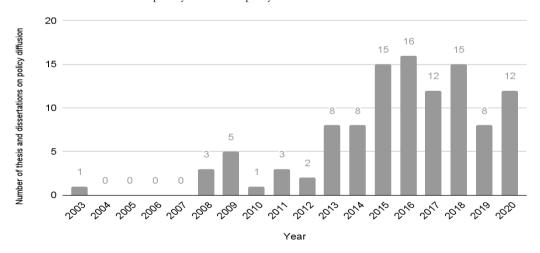


Source: Own elaboration from the Scientific Electronic Library Online (SCiELO) Database https://www.scielo.br

Finally, it is important to note that the growth of productions in the area occurred mainly between 2017 and 2018, in which seven articles were counted each year, as opposed to three in 2019, signaling a slowdown in the production. The years 2020 and 2021 totaled four articles in the database, with both years having an article in a national journal and another written by non-Brazilian authors in an international journal. It should be noted that the increase between 2017 and 2018 focused on specific dossiers in the areas of Social Sciences, among them the CEBRAP dossier in which Porto de Oliveira and Faria³⁵ published the initial study referenced here. In the last five years, the Health area has grown more widely, with publications in four different journals.

In the survey with the CAPES theses and dissertations (T&D) repository, the results showed 109 dissertations, distributed from 2003 to 2020, as shown in graph 01 below. No results were found for 2021.

Graph 2 - Number of T&D on policy diffusion per year



Source: Database of the Bank of Theses and Dissertations http://bancodeteses.capes.gov.br/banco-teses/#/

Despite the small number of studies on the subject, it is possible to notice that the intensification also happens from 2013, as in the articles of the SCIELO base. The update also indicated discrepant elements

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

regarding the results found in the first survey. Table 2 below shows the data until 2016 of the Porto de Oliveira and Faria survey³⁶ and those found until 2021.

Table 2 - Number of Theses and Dissertations in Diffusion/Internationalization of Policies available at the CAPES Thesis and Dissertation Board

Terms used in Basic Search	No. of Articles in the Original Survey (until 2016) (PORTO DE OLIVEIRA, FARIA, 2017)	No. of Articles in current survey (until 2021)
"Diffusion of Policies"	23	46
"Diffusion of Public Policies"	14	28
"Transfer of Policies"	11	29
"Transfer of Public Policies"	4	13
"Circulation of Policies"	0	0
"Circulation of Public Policies"	0	0
"Dissemination of Policies"	11	15
"Dissemination of Public Policies"	6	8
"Internationalization of Policies"	Not Assessed	4
"Internationalization of Public Policies"	Not Assessed	2
"Policy Diffusion"	6	21
"Policy Transfer"	13	53
Total	88	219
Total after removal of duplicate results	48	109

Source: Own elaboration from Porto de Oliveira and Faria³⁷

The theses and dissertations identified by Porto de Oliveira and Faria³⁸ totaled 48 papers, when the duplicate results were excluded. Of these, 38 were published between 2011 and 2016. The update of the survey revealed more than twice as many results, with 109 T&D, excluding duplicates. However, of this update result, 62 studies were prior to 2017 and only 47 were published between 2017 and 2020. Therefore, a discrepancy between the survey of the first study and the results found in the update is evident. This discrepancy is explained by two reasons: first, the main one, is the eventual delay of universities in updating their catalog with CAPES. Second, the inclusion of the new terms "internationalization of policies" and "internationalization of public policies" revealed four studies, three of which were prior to 2017.

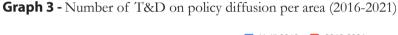
OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Noros Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

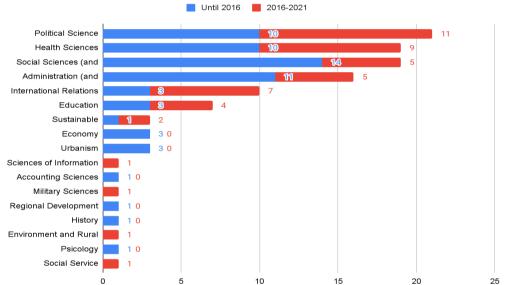
OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Noros Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021. CAPES. Data base of the Bank of Theses and Dissertations. Available at: http://bancodeteses.capes.gov.br/banco-teses/#/. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

The update showed, as well as the search on the SCiELO platform, the absence of results for the term "circulation", as well as poor results for the terms "dissemination" and "internationalization", when compared to "diffusion" and "transfer", indicating greater Anglo-Saxon influence than the French tradition (circulation) in terms of the field in T&D. This result is similar to that found by Porto de Oliveira and Faria.³⁹

When comparing the results by area, Political Science adds up to 21 T&D, compared to 10 works until 2016, this being the largest area. It is followed by Health Sciences that jumped from 10 to 19 results. The Social Sciences - including Public Policy programs — went from 14 to 19. Administration — including urban management — went from 11 to 16. In International Relations, growth was also important, from 3 to 10. Just like in Education which went from 3 to 7. Other areas that were included in the first survey and had no growth or this was very small in absolute terms, are: Economy (03), Urbanism (03), History (01), Regional Development (01). It is also worth mentioning that new areas were found, although with poor results. They are: Sustainable Development (grew from 01 in 2016 to 03) - which makes sense, since the 2030 Agenda begins in 2015 - Information Science (01), Accounting Sciences (01), Military Sciences (01), Social Service (01), Environment and Rural Development (01) and Psychology (01).





Source: Database of the Bank of Theses and Dissertations http://bancodeteses.capes.gov.br/banco-teses/#/

The inclusion of new areas represents a positive aspect for the field and would be even more important if they revealed the communication between the areas, their knowledge, concepts and methods⁴⁰, which was not possible to verify within the limits of the update. Adding the terms "internationalization of policies" and "internationalization of public policies" allowed us to add results for Education and International Relations. The growth of the latter area, although small, may represent a response, albeit timid, to methodological nationalism, in considering international influences as variables on domestic processes.⁴¹ This gains

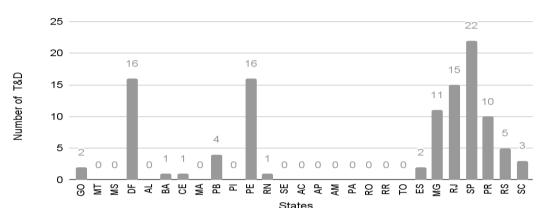
OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

⁴⁰ GRAHAM, E. R.; SHIPAN, C. R.; VOLDEN, C. The diffusion of policy diffusion research in political science. *British Journal of Political Science*, v. 43, n. 3, p. 673-701, 2013.

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

even more strength when it is noticed that 11 L&D have explored international cooperation, with 03 of International Relations programs and the other 08 divided into areas such as Social Sciences, Politics, Administration and Development. In addition, the growth of the health area also brought an interesting aspect, with 13 of the 19 results being linked to the study of the tuberculosis field.

Regarding the Northeast as the studied reality, only 08 productions, of the 109 results of the update, mention the states (Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio Grande do Norte) or municipalities (Recife, João Pessoa, Salvador). All 08 L&D were from graduate programs at universities in the region. Four are from Health Sciences, one from Psychology (from which the only article in SCiELO derived), one from Social Work, one from Administration and one from Urbanism.



Graph 4 - Distribution of T&D on policy diffusion per Brazilian state (including Federal District)

Source: Own elaboration from Porto de Oliveira and Faria⁴² and Database of the Bank of Theses and Dissertations http://bancodeteses.capes.gov.br/banco-teses/#/

When observing the production of T&D from graduate programs (GPP) located in the northeast, the number rises to 23, with a predominance of GPP from Pernambuco (16, or almost 70% of the results), and, far behind, from Paraíba (4 results). Alagoas, Maranhão, Piauí and Sergipe are not included. The GPP of the state of São Paulo totaled 22 results (15 only from the University of São Paulo), almost the same number as the nine states in the northeast. Considering the southeast region, 50 T&D on policy diffusion were counted. Still, northeastern production surpasses that of the South Region and the Midwest, both with 18 T&D each — highlighting the concentration of productions of the University of Brasília that adds 16 works. No results were found for the North Region. Thus, São Paulo (22) concentrates the highest production, Pernambuco (16) and Distrito Federal (16) tie and are followed by Rio de Janeiro (15), Minas Gerais (11), and Paraná (10).

The updating of T&D production in the field allowed us to show that; first, the last five years have witnessed a growth, albeit timid, of the field of internationalization of PP, in which IR has been inserted with some speed, but not yet enough to signal its effective inclusion in the field. Second, the international focus on other areas, which have addressed topics such as South-South cooperation (with 05 results), Latin America (08) and Africa (06) in T&D, may present a positive direction for the expansion of international discussion in the field. The dedication of analysis on these phenomena matter for the construction of concepts, methodologies, and approaches that comprehend them, mainly within a field in which "the vast majority of

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

studies were produced by authors from northern institutions that investigate the diffusion of policies within these countries or from them to the southern states".43

Finally, we found a concentration of field production in the South-Southeast (62% of T&D). Although the Northeast region represents the second largest producer (21%) of graduate studies, it is concentrated in Pernambuco. Of the eight T&D that bring Northeast as a reality for diffusion processes, one was published before 2011, three between 2011 and 2016 and four between 2017 and 2020, revealing the predominance of the last decade, as well as the lack of substantive growth between the periods. Both parameters, production in the Northeast and production in the Northeast GPPs, reinforce the importance of researching the process of internationalization of policies in the region. Which is also valid for the North region that had no studies on the subject. Thus, amplifying the study of the subnational reality of the Northeast in the field of diffusion of public policies is important not only because of their physical and social geographical differences, but as a necessity for the deepening of the Brazilian field of internationalization of PP.

4 Applying the Snowball technique to map the internationalization of public policies in the Northeast

To contribute to the deepening of the field and with reference to the reality of the Northeast, we produced a mapping of the experiences of the nine states of the region. We initially chose to adapt the technique known as Snowball. This methodological strategy differs from other methods of data collection in the formation of the sample, which is built throughout the process and not previously.⁴⁴ This way of constructing the sample met the discussions within the course that showed the need to recognize the empirical reality without previously defining specific delimiters of the object.

Thus, the choice of this method was because it is used, more often, in non-probabilistic samples in qualitative studies⁴⁵ and to achieve, normally, three objectives: "desire for better understanding about a topic, test the feasibility of conducting a broader study, develop the methods to be used in all studies or subsequent phases".46 The exploratory research phase sought to achieve the first two objectives, thus, the logic of the snowball method proved to be adequate. With this technique we seek to identify the phenomena through news, interviews and reports from state public entities.

To cut more clearly the objects/phenomena that should be mapped, a summary table was created with the conceptual definitions built from the specialized literature and the extension course, in dialogue with the participating researchers and managers. This framework resulted in the elaboration of a table with the minimum characteristics that needed to be identified in the initial search, they were: public policies (intentional guideline, public problem, political action), led (decision making and implementation) by the northeastern states, being in execution or already implemented, express declaration by managers that PP went through or were the result of internationalization processes (import, export, or circulation) and the involvement of

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; FARIA, C. A. P. de. Transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: tradições analíticas e o estado da disciplina no Brasil. Novos Estudos CEBRAP, v. 36, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/LHp9CcB-WTR5VHXVmHyCFGYg/abstract/?lang=pt. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

⁴⁴ COSTA, B. R. L. Bola de neve virtual: o uso das redes sociais virtuais no processo de coleta de dados de uma pesquisa científica. Revista Interdisciplinar de Gestão Social, v. 7, n. 1, p. 15-37, 2018. Available at: https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/rigs/article/ view/24649. Access on: 6 Oct. 2021.

COSTA, B. R. L. Bola de neve virtual: o uso das redes sociais virtuais no processo de coleta de dados de uma pesquisa científica. Revista Interdisciplinar de Gestão Social, v. 7, n. 1, p. 15-37, 2018. Available at: https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/rigs/article/ view/24649. Access on: 6 Oct. 2021.

⁴⁶ VINUTO, J. A amostragem em bola de neve na pesquisa qualitativa: um debate em aberto. *Temáticas*, Campinas, v. 22, n. 44, p. 203-220, 2014. Available at: https://econtents.bc.unicamp.br/inpec/index.php/tematicas/article/view/10977. Access on: 6 Oct. 2021.

international actors (international organizations, national or subnational governments of other countries, cooperation agencies, among others).

At first, the first searches were carried out by the *Google search* platform, an accessible but quite inaccurate search engine. The extension researchers divided among themselves the nine northeastern states and each was responsible for three. All used keywords previously delimited and related to public policies as search terms, namely: Dissemination, Cooperation, Development Cooperation, Internationalization, Transfer, Diffusion, International Circulation, Partnerships, Transnationalization, International Relations, Embassy, UN and International Affairs, plus the names of the northeastern states.

As the results appeared, it was possible to observe a cumulative sequence — also through *hyperlinks* and new search terms — in which news linked to other news, forming a growing chain of links or "snowball" and leading to other sites with information, documents, and news. The keywords did not form an exhaustive initial list. That is, to the extent that results were found, new terms used were incorporated into the table, just as other sites were explored as search platforms. For example, state and national institutions and international agents sites — such as the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (Agência Brasileira de Cooperação - ABC) — or the websites of state governments, their secretariats or blogs. Similarly, to the extent that an internationalized public policy was evident, terms related to this policy became keywords, as well as the actors involved in it (for example, in addition to the UN, the research began to involve FAO, UNICEF, ILO). This survey was conducted between August and October 2021 and concluded when the searches stopped leading to new results, that is, even with the incorporation of new terms, it reached the same phenomena already identified before, allowing us to conclude that we had reached the saturation point of the search technique.

The results found by using the snowball with the cutout indicated were: five internationalized state public policies from different states, namely Pernambuco, Paraíba, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, and Bahia. In the states of Maranhão, Piauí, Sergipe and Alagoas, the methodology used did not identify internationalized PP. In these same states, no production of T&D in GPP or on its realities was identified in the survey presented in the first section.

Of the five policies mapped, the internationalization process of four of them was marked by the participation of one or more international organizations (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and World Bank (WB)). The themes are diverse and involve sectors such as sanitation, public safety, culture and creative economy, agricultural production chain, and public management. As for the direction of internationalization: two are exports, another two are imports and another can be seen as an import with local and regional learning.

We also found that federal agencies participated in at least three mapped policies, and Non-Governmental Organizations or *think tanks* didn't. Finally, it is important to highlight that the period in which the internationalizations occurred runs from 2007 to 2018. Only one of the mapped public policies (Rio Grande do Norte's) was addressed by a master's thesis identified in the survey on scientific production.

5 Identified public policies

Once the experiences of internationalized public policies in the northeastern states have been identified, we focused on a better understanding of each case. First we filter and organize the material found, through the "Notion" software, which allows a more personalized systematization of the material and the information collected. In the first organization, the following criteria were considered: sector, date of implementation, responsible government agents, PP characteristics, internationalization process, international agents, results, current stage. And then, with the reading of material - which involved news from public

websites, official videos, management reports, folders, slide presentations prepared and made available by state government agencies and participant testimonies — this systematization was expanded according to the specificities of each case.

With the systematization, we were able to describe each policy and phases of the internationalization process, as well as identify managers who participated in several moments of the cycle of mapped public policies and, thus, start the next phase of the investigation: the interviews. The interviews performed and the information gathered allowed us to show the cases and initially indicate aspects of the process and internationalization relating them to specialized literature.

Pernambuco

In 2018, the state of Pernambuco implemented a public policy already consolidated in Japan, the Koban model of Japanese policing. This model aims to act in the prevention of violent crimes against property through the decentralization of policing units and increasing the proximity of the community to police officers. The process was made possible through the technical cooperation agreement between the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the Brazilian Secretariat of Public Security and, initially, the Military Police of São Paulo. In 2008, São Paulo was chosen to be the first state to implement this policing model in Brazil.

Due to the results obtained with the experience in São Paulo, other Brazilian states sought to learn about this model. Pernambuco was one of them and, in 2018, went through a process of adopting the Koban system in the neighborhood of Boa Viagem, through the project "Our Presence, Your Safety". For the Japanese standard to be adopted in Pernambuco, JICA sent representatives to Recife, who collaborated with the training of police officers, and also received police officers from the Military Police of Pernambuco in Japan to get to know the Japanese system closely.

After the implementation, between August 13 and September 12, 2018, 25 occurrences of crimes against property were recorded, which represents a 66% drop compared to the numbers reported in the same period of 2017 (74 occurrences), according to data from the Social Defense Secretariat of Pernambuco⁴⁷. After the experience in Boa Viagem, the state government decided to implement the system in other cities, starting a process of internalization of Public Policy in the municipality of Paulista and in Caruaru. The Secretary of Social Defense, Antônio de Pádua, commented on October 10, 2018: "It is important to emphasize that the entire State of Pernambuco, especially the capital, consolidated a trend of reduction in cases of crimes against property and also in homicides", part of this reduction is attributed to the adoption of this public policy.

Seeking the elements in the literature of the field of internationalization of public policies to understand the type of learning Pernambuco's government acquired with the public policy in question, we understood that it was a case of import (Japan - Brazil) with local learning (São Paulo) and national diffusion (São Paulo - Pernambuco) according to the work of Richard Rose. 48 For Porto de Oliveira 49, diffusion happens when "a set of adoptions, more or less simultaneous, of a public policy" occurs, that is, when the adoption of PP is not localized but distributed by different adopters. Already, the instrument used for implementation was the emulation, "adoption, with adaptations in different circumstances, of a program already in operation in

PERNAMBUCO. Secretaria de Defesa Social. Sistema de policiamento japonês reduz número de roubos em Boa Viagem. Secretaria de Defesa Social, 10 Oct. 2018. Available at: https://www.sds.pe.gov.br/noticias/10571-sistema-de-policiamento-japonesreduz-numero-de-roubos-em-boa-viagem. Access on: 19 Aug. 2021.

ROSE, R. What is lesson-drawing? Journal of Public Policy, v. 11, n. 1, p. 3-30, 1991. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1017/ S0143814X00004918. Access on: 27 Sept. 2021.

⁴⁹ OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; SARAIVA, C.; SAKAI, R. Difusão de políticas e cooperação para o desenvolvimento: elementos norteadores para a implementação de projetos de transferência de políticas públicas por meio da cooperação internacional. São José do Rio Preto, SP: Balão Editorial, 2020. p. 20.

another jurisdiction"50, as adaptations were made both in SP and in Pernambuco so that the Japanese policing system was effective at the national level.

Paraíba

In 2015, the extinct Technical Assistance and Rural Extension Company (Empresa de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural - Emater-PB), currently the Paraibana Research, Rural Extension and Land Regulation Company (Empresa Paraibana de Pesquisa, Extensão Rural e Regulamentação Fundiária - Empaer-PB), linked to the State Secretariat for Agricultural and Fisheries Development (Secretaria de Estado do Desenvolvimento da Agropecuária e da Pesca - Sedap), created the Paraíba Cotton Project (Projeto Algodão Paraíba). In an interview, the Director of Technical Assistance, Jefferson Morais stressed that the project arose from "a need and a business demand" for cotton.⁵¹ The policy consists of encouraging the production of ecological cotton, in consortium with food crops, by family farmers. The project guarantees donation of ecological cotton seed, specialized and continuous technical assistance, and market for sale by partner companies of the project, such as Embrapa Algodão, Norfil S/A Indústria Têxtil and the Cooperativa de Produção Têxtil Afins do Algodão (Coopnatural).

The policy links the protagonism of the family farmer in the cotton production chain, dominated by capital-intensive agribusiness. It produces cost reduction and increase in production in a sustainable way through the supply of organic seeds, rural assistance, and market guarantee with "fair price" 52. At the same time, it seeks to reduce the vulnerability of family farming in Paraíba to market price fluctuations.⁵³

The Paraíba PP was internationalized through two South-South trilateral cooperation projects. The first, +Cotton (+Algodão), started in 2013, involving the Brazilian Government, represented by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC); the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and seven other partner countries - Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Haiti, Paraguay and Peru. The second is the Cotton with Decent Work Project (Projeto Algodão com Trabalho Decente) involving the Brazilian Government, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and cotton-producing countries in Latin America and Africa. We can observe, therefore, the presence of formal cooperation, in trilateral agreements, as a policy diffusion mechanism.⁵⁴ The +Cotton began in 2013, before Paraíba PP, which began in 2015, and cooperation was first established with Emater-MG. The cooperation of Empaer-PB occurs with the departure of the mining company, as Jefferson Morais clarifies:

> [...] As the model of the state of Minas Gerais was closer to agribusiness, and this was not quite what the [Latin American] countries were desiring, as it was a reality totally far from theirs, and as we already had a project started here in the state of Paraîba [...] working with family farmers with a more social bond, then Asbraer (Associação Brasileira das Entidades Estaduais de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural - Brazilian Association of State Entities for Technical Assistance and Rural Extension) indicated Emater-PB, and we continued the project.⁵⁵

The internationalization of Paraíba politics was thus favored by the similarity of family farming with the common smallholdings apart from the Latin American reality. In April 2019, policy results were presented

FARIA, C. A. P. de. Políticas públicas e relações internacionais. Brasília: Enap, 2018. p. 37.

MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

EMPRESA PARAIBANA DE PESQUISA, EXTENSÃO RURAL E REGULARIZAÇÃO FUNDIÁRIA. Projeto Algodão Paraíba dá novo impulso à cultura e se projeta internacionalmente. 2019. Available at: http://empaer.pb.gov.br/noticias/projeto-algodaoparaiba-da-novo-impulso-a-cultura-e-se-projeta-internacionalmente>. Access on: 23 Aug. 2021.

MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; SARAIVA, C.; SAKAI, R. Difusão de políticas e cooperação para o desenvolvimento: elementos norteadores para a implementação de projetos de transferência de políticas públicas por meio da cooperação internacional. São José do Rio Preto, SP: Balão Editorial, 2020.

MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

by EMPAER in the Paraguayan capital of Asunción. ⁵⁶ The ATER methodologies were shown to representatives of producer cooperatives, traders, members of civil society organizations, representatives of governments, public companies, and international agencies.⁵⁷ Another trip, in June of the same year, Empaer-PB shared cotton production technologies with Colombia and Bolivia.⁵⁸ In September, Paraíba received delegations with technicians and representatives from FAO, ILO, Colombia, Mali, and Mozambique to learn about the association of the policy, the production model with small producers and technological innovations.⁵⁹

In this September 2019 visit, Paraíba practices were also evidenced as compatible by representatives of Mali and Mozambique. As cultivation was made possible despite the hostilities in the semi-arid region, the experience was understood as having the potential to reduce rural exodus in these countries. 60 ILO61 indicated that the cultivation of cotton in the Paraíba model as the best suited to the socioeconomic situation of South-Global countries, even those that already have a traditional production chain, as is the case of African countries.62

As for the results of internationalization, the initial survey was insufficient, and the interview with the Technical Assistance Director was more enlightening. The director focused on the Colombian and Bolivian cases, countries that received ATER technologies in 2019. In Colombia, the implementation of the Paraíba model, aimed at the agroecological transition, changed the reality of monoculture, and reduced the economic and social vulnerability of producers, with the methodologies "decreasing the number of applications [of agricultural protectives], reduced from 35 applications to only 8 or 9 applications, reducing their cost of production by almost 60%".63 In Bolivia, the project collaborated with the reduction of the problem of lack of inputs such as seeds, in addition to the implementation of technologies. The exchanges established via cooperation led the Bolivian government to articulate the organic certification of production, which was done from the knowledge of the Brazilian equivalent.⁶⁴

However, these results did not occur from the exact replication of the Paraiba practices, much less without challenges. Jefferson stressed that, despite the similarity in the production model between Paraíba and production in smallholdings in Latin American countries, social and physical factors can alter the effects of methodologies and techniques. The implementation of the policy happen "in these countries, of course,

EMPRESA PARAIBANA DE PESQUISA, EXTENSÃO RURAL E REGULARIZAÇÃO FUNDIÁRIA. Projeto Algodão Paraíba dá novo impulso à cultura e se projeta internacionalmente. 2019. Available at: http://empaer.pb.gov.br/noticias/projeto-algodaoparaiba-da-novo-impulso-a-cultura-e-se-projeta-internacionalmente>. Access on: 23 Aug. 2021.

EMPRESA PARAIBANA DE PESQUISA, EXTENSÃO RURAL E REGULARIZAÇÃO FUNDIÁRIA. Projeto Algodão Paraíba dá novo impulso à cultura e se projeta internacionalmente. 2019. Available at: http://empaer.pb.gov.br/noticias/projeto-algodaoparaiba-da-novo-impulso-a-cultura-e-se-projeta-internacionalmente>. Access on: 23 Aug. 2021.

PARAÍBA. Colômbia e Bolívia replicam tecnologia desenvolvida pelo Projeto Algodão Paraíba. Governo da Paraíba, 7 June 2019. Disponível em: https://paraiba.pb.gov.br/noticias/colombia-e-bolivia-replicam-tecnologia-desenvolvida-pelo-projeto-algodaoparaiba>. Access on: 23 Aug. 2021.

ORGANIZAÇÃO INTERNACIONAL DO TRABALHO. Cooperação Sul-Sul: Colômbia, Mali e Moçambique conhecem o algodão sustentável da Paraíba. OIT, 2 Sept. 2019. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/pt-pt/resource/news/cooperacao-sul-sulcolombia-mali-e-mocambique-conhecem-o-algodao. Access on: 25 Aug. 2021.

EMPRESA PARAIBANA DE PESQUISA, EXTENSÃO RURAL E REGULARIZAÇÃO FUNDIÁRIA. Missão da Colômbia, Mali e Moçambique conhece Algodão Paraíba e outras ações. 2019. Disponível em: https://empaer.pb.gov.br/noticias/missao-da-colombiamali-e-mocambique-conhece-algodao-paraiba-e-outras-acoes. Access on: 30 Aug. 2021.

ORGANIZAÇÃO INTERNACIONAL DO TRABALHO. Cooperação Sul-Sul: Colômbia, Mali e Moçambique conhecem o algodão sustentável da Paraíba. OIT, 2 Sept. 2019. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/pt-pt/resource/news/cooperacao-sul-sulcolombia-mali-e-mocambique-conhecem-o-algodao. Access on: 25 Aug. 2021.

EMPRESA PARAIBANA DE PESQUISA, EXTENSÃO RURAL E REGULARIZAÇÃO FUNDIÁRIA. Missão da Colômbia, Mali e Moçambique conhece Algodão Paraíba e outras ações. 2019. Disponível em: https://empaer.pb.gov.br/noticias/missao-da-colombiamali-e-mocambique-conhece-algodao-paraiba-e-outras-acoes. Access on: 30 Aug. 2021.

MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

adapting within their reality"⁶⁵. Pointing out the presence of the mechanism for translating the policy instruments into the local context⁶⁶.

As challenges throughout internationalization, Empaer-PB's lack of experience with the process, the language barrier, the setting with the political-agrarian reality of other countries were accentuated.⁶⁷ In addition, from 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic led to a stage in which Empaer-PB's participation in the +Cotton meetings occurred virtually, representing another challenge⁶⁸, and highlighting the importance of technical observation for the coherent implementation of PP.

For the internationalization of the Paraíba Cotton model, the role of OI in the context of policy diffusion was also important. According to Jefferson Morais, the contact with FAO and ABC was fundamental for the export of the policy, with the "establishment of a close dialogue" with other countries⁶⁹, pointing out the role of the OI as a forum for the PP diffusion.⁷⁰ In addition, FAO's involvement has brought an "international responsibility, because these international organizations want to know how the project is going," stressed the Director of Technical Assistance, implying demands on the direction of the policy not only from those who import them, but from those who export them as a way to monitor results and news.

Therefore, we understand that the internationalization of the Paraíba Cotton model is presented as a diffusion process. Because, it is a policy initially in force in Paraíba and suitable for adoption in different contexts⁷¹ through emulation, including the direct sharing of technology and direct involvement of innovative technicians from Paraíba.⁷²

Ceará

Another case of PP export we identified occurred between Ceará and the government of Ethiopia. Also in 2013, an Ethiopian delegation, on an official visit, met the Integrated Rural Sanitation System (Sistema Integrado de Saneamento Rural - Sisar) and the urban condominium sewage system of the state of Ceará. Mechanisms for the regulation and supervision of these services were also presented by the Regulatory Agency of the State of Ceará (ARCE). From 2014, Ethiopian trips to Brazil and Brazilian trips to Ethiopia sought joint solutions from evaluations and field visits.⁷³

Cooperation between the countries was formalized in 2016 through a trilateral cooperation project signed between the Brazilian government, the Ethiopian government and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The objective was to strengthen basic — urban and rural — sanitation and access to water in

⁶⁵ MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. *Universidade Federal da Paraíba*, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

⁶⁶ OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; SARAIVA, C.; SAKAI, R. *Difusão de políticas e cooperação para o desenvolvimento:* elementos norteadores para a implementação de projetos de transferência de políticas públicas por meio da cooperação internacional. São José do Rio Preto, SP: Balão Editorial, 2020.

MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. *Universidade Federal da Paraíba*, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

⁶⁸ MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. *Universidade Federal da Paraíba*, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

⁶⁹ MORAIS, Jefferson Ferreira de. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. *Universidade Federal da Paraíba*, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (35 min.).

FARIA, C. A. P. de. Políticas públicas e relações internacionais. Brasília: Enap, 2018.

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; SARÁIVA, C.; SAKAI, R. *Difusão de políticas e cooperação para o desenvolvimento:* elementos norteadores para a implementação de projetos de transferência de políticas públicas por meio da cooperação internacional. São José do Rio Preto, SP: Balão Editorial, 2020.

⁷² EMPRESA PARAIBANA DE PESQUISA, EXTENSÃO RURAL E REGULARIZAÇÃO FUNDIÁRIA. *Projeto Algodão Paraíba dá novo impulso à cultura e se projeta internacionalmente.* 2019. Available at: http://empaer.pb.gov.br/noticias/projeto-algodao-paraiba-da-novo-impulso-a-cultura-e-se-projeta-internacionalmente>. Access on: 23 Aug. 2021.

⁷³ AGÊNCIA BRASILEIRA DE COOPERAÇÃO. *UNICEF - projeto fortalecimento dos serviços de abastecimento de água e esgoto da Etiópia*. Brasília: ABC: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2018. Available at: http://www.abc.gov.br/imprensa/mostrarconteudo/880http://www.abc.gov.br/imprensa/mostrarconteudo/880>. Access on: 15 July 2021.

Ethiopia.74 The cooperation then presented itself as a mechanism for internationalization, predicting and delimiting functions and objectives between the actors. In addition to the national governments and UNI-CEF, the Brazilian Health Foundation (Fundação Nacional de Saúde - FUNASA) and the government of Ceará, represented by Ceará Water and Sewage Company (Companhia de Água e Esgoto do Ceará - Cagece) and ARCE, were part of the agreement.

Similar to the case of Paraíba, the choice of Ceará was due to the physical similarity with the Ethiopian environment, in addition to the quality of services and innovations provided by Cagece, and the quality of ARCE's regulation.⁷⁵ The exported policies involved the condominium sewage models and the Sisar model. The latter constitutes a model of planning and management of rural sanitation and access to water, in which the rural community itself, with technical support, manages its own system in a self-sustaining and waste--free manner. This policy currently affects more than 800,000 people.⁷⁶

Hélder Cortez, current Director of Interior Business at CAGECE, in an interview, defined the logic of the Sisar model as follows:

> You have to have the community since the thought of the project. There is no engineering separate from the social in Sisar's management model. SISAR is self-managed by associations. It is self-sustaining, the community pays, it is [...] the rescue of citizenship: the empowerment of the community, social participation is there.⁷⁷

Therefore, social participation in the planning and rural management of basic sanitation and access to water is substantial. It was from 1996, with Sisar, that "the structure of our company was created to give attention to the rural".78 The condominium sewage model is a low-cost sewage system, with a focus on community management in planning, management, and maintenance⁷⁹, implying lower costs for the affected population.

In 2016, the municipality of Wukro, in the Ethiopian region of Tigray, was chosen as an area for the pilot project of the condominium sewage system.⁸⁰ The model, typically used for houses, was adapted for a vertical condominium.⁸¹ In the interview, Cortez indicates that, despite Ethiopian local and governmental leaders recognizing the importance of the model, the results were not positive. 82

BRASIL. Ministério da Saúde; FUNDAÇÃO NACIONAL DE SAÚDE. Prestação de contas ordinárias anual relatório de gestão do exercício de 2017. Brasília: Ministério da Saúde: Fundação Nacional de Saúde, 2018. Available at: http://www.funasa.gov.br/documents/20182/25005/Relatório+de+Gestão+2017+-+Presidência.pdf/ed1f5339-4ab2-489f-9696-3e024df1c335?version=1.0>. Access on: 30 Aug. 2021.

BRASIL. Ministério da Saúde; FUNDAÇÃO NACIONAL DE SAÚDE. Prestação de contas ordinárias anual relatório de gestão do exercício de 2017. Brasília: Ministério da Saúde: Fundação Nacional de Saúde, 2018. Available at: http://www.funasa.gov.br/documents/20182/25005/Relatório+de+Gestão+2017+-+Presidência.pdf/ed1f5339-4ab2-489f-9696-3e024df1c335?version=1.0>. Access on: 30 Aug. 2021.

SISTEMA INTEGRADO DE SANEAMENTO RURAL. A gente faz o Ceará melhor. Sisar, 2021. Available at: http://www. sisar.org.br/institucional/#como-funciona. Access on: 25 July 2021.

CORTEZ, H. Hélder Cortez. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (88 min.).

CORTEZ, H. Hélder Cortez. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (88 min.).

UNICEF. Advancing the SDG agenda through South-South Cooperation. Addis Ababa: Unicef, 2018.

BRASIL. Ministério da Saúde; FUNDAÇÃO NACIONAL DE SAÚDE. Prestação de contas ordinárias anual relatório de gestão do exercício de 2017. Brasília: Ministério da Saúde: Fundação Nacional de Saúde, 2018. Available at: http://www.funasa.gov.br/documents/20182/25005/Relatório+de+Gestão+2017+-+Presidência.pdf/ed1f5339-4ab2-489f-9696-3e024df1c335?version=1.0>. Access on: 30 Aug. 2021.

AGÊNCIA BRASILEIRA DE COOPERAÇÃO. UNICEF - projeto fortalecimento dos serviços de abastecimento de água e esgoto da Etiópia. Brasília: ABC: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2018. Available at: http://www.abc.gov.br/imprensa/mostrarconteudo/880http:// www.abc.gov.br/imprensa/mostrarconteudo/880>. Access on: 15 July. 2021.

⁸² CORTEZ, H. Hélder Cortez. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (88 min.).

In addition to the strategies of the Sisar model and the adaptation of the condominium sewage model, the cooperation also involved the transfer of knowledge on sanitary regulation and access to water. Thus, the process happened in the form of a transfer from Brazil to Ethiopia.

According to Porto de Oliveira⁸³ this form of internationalization occurs when "[...] a punctual displacement of a public policy from one place to another, from A to B. The policy originates from a government, non-governmental organization or international body and moves to another actor of a similar or distinct nature". The transfer took place through emulation, in view of the adaptation conducted and the transmission of knowledge that were converted into national PP.

Even with the failure, positive points were highlighted by UNICEF⁸⁴; the learning of sanitation techniques that contributed to the sewage and water supply systems in refugee camps; and the overflow of the process to Angola. According to Helder, "Angola got advice from Ethiopia, from UNICEF, and in the same way, they wanted condominium sewage. They saw the possibility of employment and income with condominium sewage. This Angola process is starting now"⁸⁵.

Bahia

The Neojibá (Núcleos Estaduais de Orquestras Juvenis e Infantis na Bahia - State Centers of Youth and Child Orchestras in Bahia) Project is a public policy of creative economy of the state of Bahia. It was implemented by SECULT (Secretariat of Culture) in 2007 with funding from the state government. The Project was inspired by a similar existing policy in Venezuela, the Fesnojiv, El sistema nacional de las orchestras juveniles de Venezuela, one of Venezuela's leading PP. The Venezuelan project was pointed out by UNDP⁸⁶ as a reference, being a junction of social assistance and culture.

Both projects, from Bahia and Venezuela, aim to offer creative means for the reduction of poverty and inclusion of children and young people through art. According to Freitas⁸⁷, the formulation of public policies based on the creative industry has increased over the years and in the state of Bahia has been a widely used tool to develop and reduce poverty rates from it.

Initially created by SECULT, the project was incorporated into the State Secretariat for Social Development and Combating Poverty (Secretaria do Estado de Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Pobreza - SE-DES) and supported by several agencies and secretariats of the State of Bahia. Fundraising and financing of the project is made by the Poverty Prevention Fund of the Government of the State of Bahia and by the Development Agency of the State of Bahia (Desenbahia). The program also counts on the international technical cooperation of UNDP, which offers technical expertise and bidding processes for the acquisition of musical instrument equipment. UNDP had knowledge about the experience in Venezuela, which allowed the contribution to the development of NEOJIBA.⁸⁸

Considering that the project is the result of technical cooperation between the State of Bahia and Fesnojiv, in Venezuela, we can refer to two important issues in Public Policies. First, despite the different definitions, the international diffusion of public policies, for Dobbin, Simmons and Garrett⁸⁹ "occurs when

⁸³ OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; SARAIVA, C.; SAKAI, R. *Difusão de políticas e cooperação para o desenvolvimento:* elementos norteadores para a implementação de projetos de transferência de políticas públicas por meio da cooperação internacional. São José do Rio Preto, SP: Balão Editorial, 2020. p. 20.

⁸⁴ UNICEF. Advancing the SDG agenda through South-South Cooperation. Addis Ababa: Unicef, 2018.

⁸⁵ CORTEZ, H. Hélder Cortez. Entrevista concedida ao Observatório Internacionalização Descentralizada em Foco. *Universidade Federal da Paraíba*, João Pessoa, set. 2021. 1 arquivo, extensão MP4 (88 min.).

^{86 (}UNDP, 2015).

FREITAS, M. C. Um metamodelo da economia criativa e seu uso para prospecção de políticas públicas. *Bahia*: Análise & Dados, Salvador, v. 22, n. 4, p. 665-675, Oct./Dec. 2012.

^{88 (}UNDP, 2014).

DOBBIN, F.; SIMMONS, B.; GARRETT, G. The global diffusion of public policies: Social construction, coercion, competition, or learning?. *Annual Review of Sociology*, v. 33, p. 449-472, 2007.

political decisions of a government in a given country are systematically conditioned by choices previously made in other countries" (sometimes mediated by the behavior of international organizations or private actors and organizations). In the case of the Neojibá project, a transfer process occurred, with adaptations of the public policy from Venezuela to Bahia, through cooperation not only with the participation of the State Government, but also of OI. Emulation was used as the instrument to adapt a project already existing in another country to the Bahia context.

As Porto de Oliveira⁹⁰ states, internationalization can be mediated or not and, in this case, there are strong indications that UNDP mediation was an important element. The UN agency was responsible for much of the financial and operational support. It also committed to contribute to the acquisition of musical instruments with a value reduced by 50%, in addition to helping the project to increase its actions, especially in neighborhoods, in order to prevent violence and guide the youth.⁹¹

Rio Grande do Norte

Finally, the last case of the mapping was in Rio Grande do Norte (RN). This case was the only one addressed in a dissertation among all mapped. It differs from the others by the characteristic of contracting an international body loan and by the clipping of the PP, whose intentional guideline is structuring (strategic level), and unfolds in sub guidelines of intermediate and operational level while in other cases the guidelines were contained in projects and plans linked more directly to operationalization. The public problem in the case of RN is also composed and multisectoral. We should note that researchers during the course mentioned that loan cases with conditionalities are common and their characterization as PP internationalization must be observed carefully. Even with this observation, we decided to maintain it, at least initially, since we understand that it fits the cutout defined in the research.

This is the former "Sustainable RN" project that, as of 2017, has been called "Citizen Government".92 This public policy emerged as a response to the finalization of the Rural Poverty Project (Projeto Combate à Pobreza Rural - PCPR) of Rio Grande do Norte and was articulated by the state government together with the Legislative Assembly and guided and financed by the World Bank (WB). In 2013, WB approved the Operating Manual of the project, which enabled the financing.⁹³ The involvement of the state legislature was necessary given the legal requirements to make the loan viable. The PP proposed sustainable regional development, using strategies to promote food security, access to productive infrastructure, guarantee of markets for family farming, and the improvement of public services through results-based approach.⁹⁴ The projects that unfolded from the macro-directorate dealt with strategic investments, measures to strengthen local governance and actions in productive, social, and environmental inclusion. 95 In addition to the multisectoral action, the PP covered all 10 territories of the state and, in the managerial and personnel issue, involved several secretariats and state departments.

WB had great influence on the implementation and design of the PP. This organization is of great complexity and has been operating since 1946 in the financing of projects, programs, and technical assistance

OLIVEIRA, O. P. de; SARAIVA, C.; SAKAI, R. Difusão de políticas e cooperação para o desenvolvimento: elementos norteadores para a implementação de projetos de transferência de políticas públicas por meio da cooperação internacional. São José do Rio Preto, SP: Balão Editorial, 2020.

⁽ONU, 2015).

⁽AGORA RN, 2017).

RIO GRANDE DO NORTE. Projeto integrado de desenvolvimento sustentável: RN sustentável: manual operativo. 2017. Available at: https://www.governocidadao.rn.gov.br/smiv3/site/documentos/arquivo/f74ad6d9ec178735594b01eb8a50191f.pdf. Access on:

RIO GRANDE DO NORTE. Projeto integrado de desenvolvimento sustentável: RN sustentável: manual operativo. 2017. Available at: https://www.governocidadao.rn.gov.br/smiv3/site/documentos/arquivo/f74ad6d9ec178735594b01eb8a50191f.pdf. Access on: 24 Sept. 2021.

⁹⁵ PONTES, B. M. L. M. Políticas que se difundem, ideias que se propagam: um estudo sobre os mecanismos de difusão de políticas públicas para o caso do RN Sustentável/Governo Cidadão. 2018. Dissertação (Mestrado em Estudos Urbanos e Regionais) - Centro de Ciências Humanas, Letras e Artes, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, Natal, 2018.

to the public sector. WB acts "in a prescriptive manner regarding what governments should do in terms of public policies for development" through conditionalities to guarantee access to resources. This suggests a process of coercive adaptation to World Bank standards. Mainly in the fiscal adjustment measures undertaken to obtain the loan, and adequacy of the processes and the team for the execution of the project. 97

In addition to adaptation, Bárbara Pontes⁹⁸ also identified the learning process. The latter occurs when agents adapt to political changes, have their beliefs modified about causes and effects. ⁹⁹According to Pontes¹⁰⁰, in this case, it was observed that the project teams themselves realized the need to modernize administrative processes, sought to appropriate new knowledge and experiences from other states (Bahia, Ceará, and Pernambuco in the rural issue) and from previous governments of the RN itself¹⁰¹, which fits as learning, in the researcher's view.

Also according to the dissertation by Pontes¹⁰², although his work did not intend to produce an evaluative analysis of the project, it was possible to identify through the interviews with those involved that the project had a design that was difficult to execute, especially due to its multisectoral character and the requirements placed on the work teams regarding compliance with the Bank's own standards (such as bidding processes, for example). And also by the spraying of resources in small sectoral investments. The documents available on the state government website on the implementation of PP do not present evaluations or results already achieved.

In table 3 we organize a synthesis with the characteristics of the mapped PP and the interpretations regarding the direction, mechanism, and instruments of the internationalization process.

⁹⁶ PEREIRA, J. M. M. As ideias do poder e o poder das ideias: o Banco Mundial como ator político-intelectual. Revista Brasileira de Educação, v. 19, n. 56, p. 77-100, 2014. p. 78.

⁹⁷ PONTES, B. M. L. M. *Políticas que se difundem, ideias que se propagam*: um estudo sobre os mecanismos de difusão de políticas públicas para o caso do RN Sustentável/Governo Cidadão. 2018. Dissertação (Mestrado em Estudos Urbanos e Regionais) - Centro de Ciências Humanas, Letras e Artes, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, Natal, 2018.

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Table 3 - Information Table of Mapped Public Policies in the Northeast

State	Policy Name	Sector/Date/Agree- ment	IO Presence	Direction/Mecha- nism/Instrument
Pernambuco	Japanese Policing Mo- del - Koban	Patrimonial Security/2018/Technical Cooperation JICA – National Secretariat of Public Security.		Import/Diffusion/ Local Learning and Emulation
Paraíba	Paraíba Cotton Project	Agricultural Production/2015/South-South Cooperation.	-FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) -ILO (International Labor Organization)	Export/Diffusion/ Emulation
Ceará	Integrated Rural Sanitation System (Sisar) and condominium sewage model	Sanitation /2013 (officialized in 2016)/ Trilateral Cooperation Brazil, Ethiopia, UNI- CEF.	-United Nations Children's Fund (UNI- CEF)	Export/Transfer/ Emulation
Bahia	Neojibá Project	Culture, Education and Social Develop- ment/2007/Technical Cooperation State of Bahia - Fesnojiv.	-PNUD (Programa de Desenvolvimento das Nações Unidas)	Import/Transfer/ Emulation
Rio Grande do Norte	Citizen Government	Sustainable Development/2013 (Approval of the Operating Manual by WB)/WB-RN Loan.	-World Bank	Import/ Transfer/ Adaptation and Local Learning

Source: Own elaboration

The policies showed demonstrate the effort of the northeastern states to increase their international insertion and seek alternatives to their challenges in other contexts. The conceptual lenses of paradiplomacy and the debate on international development cooperation, present in the field of IR, have great potential to contribute to the interpretation of the intersections between the international and the domestic in the production of PP and the impacts and potentialities of this movement.

6 Conclusion

Integration of research and extension through the strategy of offering the course of Public Policies and International Diffusion proved to be a rich experiment for collective production. However, the intensity of the work of the coordination team, very concentrated in the course execution period, was a challenge and needs to be better resized. In addition, new tools to systematize and maximize participants' contributions should be elaborated in a new experience.

The research resulting from the work in the course, allowed us some conclusions. The survey showed that, despite the growth, the field in Brazilian research remains incipient, with the existence of gaps in the dialogue between the various areas of knowledge and in the deepening of the analyzes. We also highlight the necessary interdisciplinary articulation to understand the intersection between cooperation, development, public policy, and the international scenario.

The insertion, even if timid, of the IR area seems to indicate the confrontation of methodological nationalism. Even more so when we realized that the attention of other areas has also turned on international influences as important variables of domestic processes.

The mapping organized with the snowball technique proved to be adequate and allowed the identification of relevant experiences from the northeastern states. The cases presented show us the potential of the region in the internationalization of public policies. However, it is worth reflecting on how these policies impact the region and build links between the domestic and the global through the international performance of subnational entities.

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