

# INTERNATIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC POLICIES: THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE ZERO HUNGER PROGRAM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE LULA ADMINISTRATIONS (2003-2010)

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## Abstract

This article investigates the internationalization of public policies as an instrument of Brazilian foreign policy, focusing on the specialized literature about the internationalization of the Zero Hunger Program, with the aim of understanding how it was strategically mobilized in Brazil's international integration during the Lula da Silva administrations (2003-2010). To this end, we used an integrative review, a method that synthesizes empirical and theoretical productions, seeking to offer a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon. The results indicate that the Program was one of the pillars of Brazilian foreign policy, articulating technical, symbolic, and normative aspects of a domestic policy with high social impact and providing a concrete example of Brazil's ambition to change its international identity. This experience shows how domestic policies can be vectors for international projection and transformation of a country's position in the global system.

**Keywords:** Public Policy. Internationalization of Public Policy. Brazilian Foreign Policy. Zero Hunger Program. Lula Administrations.

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# INTERNACIONALIZAÇÃO DE POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS: A INTERNACIONALIZAÇÃO DO PROGRAMA FOME ZERO COMO INSTRUMENTO DA POLÍTICA EXTERNA DOS GOVERNOS LULA (2003-2010)

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## Resumo

Este artigo investiga a internacionalização de políticas públicas como instrumento da política externa brasileira, tendo como objeto de estudo a literatura especializada sobre a internacionalização do Programa Fome Zero, com o objetivo de compreender como ele foi mobilizado estrategicamente na inserção internacional do Brasil durante os governos de Lula da Silva (2003-2010). Para isso, utilizou-se a revisão integrativa, método que sintetiza produções empíricas e teóricas, visando oferecer uma compreensão mais aprofundada sobre um fenômeno particular. Os resultados apontam que o Programa foi um dos pilares da política externa brasileira, articulando aspectos técnicos, simbólicos e normativos de uma política doméstica de alto impacto social e configurando um exemplo concreto da ambição do Brasil de alterar sua identidade internacional. Essa experiência evidencia como políticas internas podem ser vetores de projeção internacional e de transformação da posição de um país no sistema global.

**Palavras-chave:** Políticas Públicas. Internacionalização de Políticas Públicas. Política Externa Brasileira. Programa Fome Zero. Governos Lula.

# INTERNACIONALIZACIÓN DE LAS POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS: LA INTERNACIONALIZACIÓN DEL PROGRAMA HAMBRE CERO COMO INSTRUMENTO DE LA POLÍTICA EXTERIOR DE LOS GOBIERNOS LULA (2003-2010)

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## Resumen

Este artículo investiga la internacionalización de las políticas públicas como instrumento de la política exterior brasileña, tomando como objeto de estudio la literatura especializada sobre la internacionalización del Programa Hambre Cero, con el objetivo de comprender cómo se movilizó estratégicamente en la inserción internacional de Brasil durante los gobiernos de Lula da Silva (2003-2010). Para ello, se utilizó la revisión integradora, un método que sintetiza producciones empíricas y teóricas, con el fin de ofrecer una comprensión más profunda sobre un fenómeno particular. Los resultados indican que el Programa fue uno de los pilares de la política exterior brasileña, articulando aspectos técnicos, simbólicos y normativos de una política interna de alto impacto social y configurando un ejemplo concreto de la ambición de Brasil de cambiar su identidad internacional. Esta experiencia pone de manifiesto cómo las políticas internas pueden ser vectores de proyección internacional y de transformación de la posición de un país en el sistema global.

**Palabras clave:** Políticas públicas. Internacionalización de las políticas públicas. Política exterior brasileña. Programa Fome Zero. Gobiernos de Lula.

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## 1. Introduction

The Zero Hunger Program (*Pograma Fome Zero* – PFZ) was an initiative launched in 2003 by the Brazilian federal government during the first term of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010). Aimed at guaranteeing the human right to adequate nutrition, the PFZ was directed at populations in situations of greater social vulnerability, emerging in a context of profound social transformations in Brazil, marked by changes in forms of social protection and the search for new institutional arrangements focused on the inclusion of the most vulnerable groups (Yazbek 2003).

However, this impact was not restricted to the domestic sphere. The PFZ also had a constitutive effect at international level by influencing the redesign of public policies (PPs) in several countries in the global South and by driving changes in international organizations, which began to incorporate concepts and practices inspired by this Brazilian model. In this sense, the PFZ took on a structuring role in the PP agenda at different levels, becoming a reference for the formulation and implementation of strategies aimed at food security and overcoming poverty. This international projection highlights how the internationalization of PPs was mobilized as a diplomatic instrument, contributing to the repositioning of Brazil as an influential actor in global food security governance.

The PFZ case exemplifies the growing internationalization of PPs, a widespread phenomenon that spans multiple countries and thematic areas, and has garnered increasing academic interest in recent years (Graham, Shipan and Volden 2013, Oliveira and Pal 2018, Oliveira *et al.* 2019). Despite this, Faria (2022) states that there are very few analyses that explore this process as an effective component of foreign policy or as part of national strategies for international integration. Approaches that address international development cooperation, South-South cooperation, and soft power are some exceptions, as they often address the sharing, export, and import of PPs (Milhorance 2013, Milani and Lopes 2014, Milani and Duarte 2015, Chatin 2016, Lima 2016, Morais 2017, Milhorance, 2018, Pomeroy, Suyama, and Waisbich 2019). However, they rarely articulate directly with the field of internationalization, and it is common for them to fail to explore in depth both internationalization as an intentional foreign policy tool and the active role of foreign policy itself in the internationalization of PPs (Faria 2022).

In light of this, the article investigates the internationalization of PPs as an instrument of Brazilian foreign policy (*política externa brasileira* – PEB)

through analyses of specialized literature on the internationalization of the Zero Hunger Program (*Pograma Fome Zero* – PFZ). Thus, the goal was to understand the different approaches of this analytical set on the reasons and impacts of the strategic mobilization of the PFZ for the PEB during the first two terms of Lula da Silva (2003-2010). To this end, the following guiding question is adopted: “How, according to the specialized literature, was the internationalization of the Zero Hunger Program used as an instrument of Brazilian foreign policy during the Lula administrations (2003-2010)?”

The article begins from the premise that the progress made within Brazil through the implementation and later global expansion of the PFZ has contributed significantly to Brazil’s recognition as a legitimate partner, committed to solidarity and to tackling hunger and poverty on the international stage. It is understood that the internationalization of policies associated with the PFZ goes beyond the technical field of international cooperation to enter the strategic field of foreign policy (Stone, Oliveira, and Pal 2019).

On this basis, the article investigates, through specialized literature, how this process played a relevant role in the construction of Brazil’s international identity, strengthening the country’s position as a strategic ally of nations in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. This movement consolidated political and economic partnerships, expanded Brazil’s participation in multilateral forums, and fostered the perception of the country as a system-affecting state, that is, a state capable of actively impacting the dynamics of the international system.

To conduct the proposed discussion, an integrative review was initially conducted to synthesize the empirical and theoretical production gathered on the topic (Broome 1993). This approach allows us to map and critically analyze the knowledge already produced on a given topic, integrating the findings of different studies, identifying gaps, and allowing for the development of new interpretations (Polit and Beck 2001, Benefield 2003, Mendes, Silveira, and Galvão 2008, Botelho, Cunha, and Macedo 2011).

The discussion proposed in this article is structured in three sections, in addition to this Introduction and the Conclusion. The first section describes the methodology adopted, detailing the literature selection criteria and the analysis procedures employed. The second establishes a theoretical framework that seeks to demonstrate the relationship between the internationalization of PPs and foreign policy, highlighting the conceptual and practical links between these two areas. Finally, the third section will be dedicated to presenting the results collected through the integrative review, aiming to identify how

the internationalization of the PFZ was instrumentalized as part of Brazil's international insertion strategy during Lula's first two terms.

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## 2. Methodology

The methodological model proposed by Botelho, Cunha, and Macedo (2011) organizes the integrative review into six fundamental stages. The first consists of defining the theme and formulating the research question (Mendes, Silveira, and Galvão 2008), which must be clear and specific (Silveira and Galvão 2005; Ursi and Galvão 2006). In this article, both the theme and the research question follow the same guiding delimitation: the use of the internationalization of the PFZ as an instrument of the Lula governments' PEB (2003-2010). The next step is to define the keywords, the search strategy, and the databases to be used (Broome 1993). For this research, the following keywords were selected: "Foreign Policy," "Zero Hunger," "Hunger," "Food Security," "Poverty," and "Brazil," as well as their respective Portuguese versions. They were combined categorically using the Boolean operator "AND" in order to obtain results that integrate these terms together. The databases defined for the search were Scopus and the CAPES Journal Portal.

Scopus opted to use only English terms due to its international range and the predominance of the English language in the scientific publications indexed there. Considering that Scopus brings together journals from different parts of the world, the use of English descriptors significantly broadens the scope of the search, enabling the identification of relevant studies in different contexts. At CAPES, on the other hand, it was decided to combine keywords in Portuguese and English, given that the platform brings together a wide variety of studies in its database, both national and international. Additionally, the term "Brasil" or "Brazil" appears in the search strategies to narrow down the search, since its absence generates an excessive volume of results and could compromise the accuracy and relevance of the findings. The inclusion of the term does not compromise the quality or scope of the review; on the contrary, it contributes to its relevance and adherence to the object under investigation.

The second stage consists of establishing inclusion and exclusion criteria, which must be identified in the study and be clear and objective (Ganong, 1987). In the proposed case, three inclusion/exclusion criteria were defined, which all selected articles fully met. These were: 1) addressing Brazilian foreign policy, more specifically that of the Lula administrations (2003-2010); 2) addressing the phenomenon of the internationalization of public policies;

3) addressing the Zero Hunger Program and/or policies that approach the struggle against hunger and poverty.

The third step consists of identifying the pre-selected and selected studies. To this end, a search was initiated in the selected databases, for the purpose of pre-selecting the studies to be included in the review, using the aforementioned keywords. Then, the titles, abstracts, and keywords of all publications located by the search strategy were read. After an initial screening and exclusion of duplicate documents, 22 studies were preselected to compose the integrative review. In light of this, twenty of the texts were read in full to verify whether they actually met all the established inclusion and exclusion criteria, resulting in the exclusion of eight of them. It is worth noting that two of the texts initially preselected could not be analyzed in full because they were not available for public access, which also led to their exclusion. The exclusion criteria and excluded texts are shown in Table 1 below.

**Table 1. Exclusion table**

TEXTS	EXCLUSION CRITERIA
Brazil as an intermediate state and regional power: Action, choice and responsibilities	2 and 3
Brazilian International Development Cooperation and Public Opinion: Domestic Costs Faced by a Troubled Emerging Donor	2 and 3
Globalising solidarity or legitimating accumulation? Brazilian strategies and interests in Africa	2 and 3
International Development Cooperation as a Foreign Policy Instrument: The Political Economy of Brazilian Technical Cooperation from 2003 to 2016	2 and 3
New donors, same old practices? South-South Cooperation of Latin American emerging donors	2 and 3
Nigeria-Brazil Relations: Ties that Bind and Binds that Tie	Not available
Papel da Cooperação Técnica Brasileira com os países africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (PALOP) o campo da segurança alimentar	2 e 3
The Dismantling of Brazilian Democracy: International Capital and Rentier Elites	2
The Role of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency in Promoting South-South Cooperation	2 and 3
The sources of moral authority: Policy networks and structuring south-south cooperation	Not available

Source: Created by the authors.

In addition, two studies were included through a complementary, non-systematic search conducted while reading other publications and bibliographic

references. At the end of this process, 14 studies were selected to compose the body of the integrative review.

The fourth stage seeks to succinctly summarize and document the information obtained from the studies identified in the preceding phases (Broome 1993). Ursi and Galvão (2006) state that, in order to extract information from articles, an instrument that allows each selected document to be analyzed separately should be used. Based on this guideline, the tool used was the Summary Table, designed to organize and summarize the relevant information from the selected studies in order to support the answer to the research question. The Summary Table corresponds to Appendix A at the end of this article.

The fifth stage refers to the discussion of the studies selected for the integrative review, at which point the Summary Table proved particularly useful for systematizing and visualizing the information. This stage consisted of gathering and comparing the information extracted from the documents, allowing for inferences and analytical reflections. The contributions of this stage will be explored in greater depth and qualitatively in the Results and Conclusion sections.

Finally, the sixth stage consists of writing the article, which includes a description of all the stages covered and presents the main results obtained. For Mendes, Silveira, and Galvão (2008), this stage is extremely important, as it has an impact due to the accumulation of existing knowledge on the researched topic.

Thus, by adopting integrative review as a methodology, we sought not only to systematize the knowledge already produced on the internationalization of the PFZ, but also to highlight how, from the perspective of the authors, this process was linked to the objectives and guidelines of the PEB during the Lula administrations. This study aims to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the strategic role played by Brazilian social policies in building the country's international image. Ultimately, it is hoped that the findings presented here will shed light on the links between foreign policy and the internationalization of PPs, as well as inspire new investigations that further explore this field of study, which is still in the process of consolidation.

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### 3. Internationalization of Public Policies and Foreign Policy

The study of the internationalization of PPs reveals an emerging phenomenon, especially in countries in the global South, such as Brazil. It also

shows that producing successful policies is no longer enough; it is necessary to “sell” these policies to the world, establishing a strategic movement of internal legitimization and internationalization of policies. Such a movement is often directly linked to broader foreign policy strategies (Oliveira and Faria 2017). Given this, as the internationalization of PPs consolidates itself as a widespread phenomenon, it becomes possible to identify it as an important instrument of foreign policy for states (Stone, Oliveira, and Pal 2019, Faria 2022). Concrete examples of this process can be seen in “foreign aid” and “international development cooperation,” which are not limited to the provision of material goods and technical assistance, but often involve the sharing of policy instruments, institutional models, and expertise between countries, promoting exchanges that are both technical and political (Hoebink 2010, Besada, and Kindornay 2013). This article is based on this proposition, seeking to demonstrate how the internationalization of PPs can serve as a strategic means of expanding the influence of states such as Brazil in the global scenario.

Faria (2012) observes that, since the 2000s, countries historically positioned as “importers” of PPs have taken on the role of “exporters.” Brazil was an example of this scenario, in which the internationalization of PPs came to be conceived as an instrument of international integration. The internationalization of PPs can be part of what is known as soft power, a term used in international relations to describe the way in which a state attempts to indirectly influence the behavior or interests of other states (Nye 2004, Wang and Lu 2008). An example of this occurs when a country, aiming to expand its influence in an international organization or regime, increases its capacity or interest in promoting the dissemination of policies (Faria 2022).

The role of international regimes in disseminating norms and ideas is widely recognized, a process often shaped by the influence of dominant powers in the international system (Krasner 2012). However, more recently, authors such as Oliveira (2019), Milhorance (2013, 2020), and Faria (2018) have drawn attention to the role of international organizations (IOs) as facilitators of internationalization. Particularly noteworthy is the strengthening of South-South cooperation in the early 21st century, given that IOs are spaces for the collective construction of expertise and authority. This process would contribute to the creation of environments for the development and circulation of best practices and recommendations for national policy reform (Devin, and Smouts 2011). Such studies show that, although international regimes tend to reflect the interests of the most powerful countries, there is room for states at other stages of development to exert influence, allowing them to insert their agendas and experiences into the international debate and challenging, albeit partially, traditional power asymmetries (Krasner 2012).

In this sense, internationalization is related to a process in which certain actors seek to alter or shape the status quo of a field or area of government interest. Therefore, it would be closely linked to paradigm shifts in the approaches and actions of governments, which use the power of external actors to sustain and implement such transformations (Howlett, and Ramesh 2002). Menezes and Vieira (2021) argue that the internationalization of PPs allows emerging states to position themselves as normative actors, that is, as references in the establishment of new international norms. In other words, the formulation of political solutions to the problems of developing societies, reflected in specific policies and particular forms of sociability and identity, can be socialized and amplified on the international stage (Xiaoyu 2012). States that act as “policy leaders” tend to influence policy adoption elsewhere more quickly, especially when they have strategic connections with other jurisdictions (Mintrom, and Vergari 1998). In this context, the internationalization of PPs is seen as a strategy to strengthen the image of a country or region, presenting it as a model of innovation and good governance, contributing to the expansion of its influence in global arenas (Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006).

A clear example of this phenomenon occurred during Lula da Silva’s first two terms in office. As the review of the specialized literature will show, the internationalization of PPs played a fundamental and complementary role in Lula’s PEB. According to Faria (2002), it was considered the backbone of foreign policy at the time, being central to at least five of the most important objectives and/or strategies of a self-proclaimed “active” and “proud” foreign policy: a) the promotion of post-liberal regionalism in Latin America; b) the defense of new or expanded roles for international organizations; c) the revitalization of South-South cooperation; d) presidential diplomacy; and e) the promotion of systematic bilateral cooperation with countries in Latin America and Africa (Lima 2010, Ricupero 2010, Silva 2015, Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2007).

To deepen our understanding of the ways in which the internationalization of PPs has been mobilized as an instrument of PEB, we turn to Faria’s (2022) typology. He classifies the different foreign policy instruments used by countries to achieve their foreign policy objectives into the following categories: 1) political instruments, which encompass various forms of diplomacy, the establishment of international coalitions or alliances, the creation of new organizations or the use of existing organizations, as well as the promotion of international regimes; 2) economic instruments, which include foreign aid, economic and trade policies, and economic sanctions; 3) cultural instruments, such as the establishment and promotion of national identity, the pursuit of improving the country’s reputation abroad through nation branding, the application of

corporate marketing concepts and techniques to countries, with the aim of enhancing their image in international relations (Kerr and Wiseman 2013), and soft power; and 4) military instruments, which involve persuasion through threats or military pressure, as well as the direct use of force, i.e., war. Table 2 below shows hypothetical examples of how the internationalization of policies can be associated with these foreign policy instruments.

**Table 2. Hypothetical examples of the internationalization of PPs as foreign policy instruments**

<b>Foreign Policy Instruments</b>	<b>Hypothetical Examples</b>
<b>Political Instruments</b>	
Diplomacy	Presidential diplomacy, for example, may include a promise to share expertise in social policies.
International Alliances	The expansion of an alliance can be achieved through development cooperation, encompassing the internationalization of policies.
International Organizations	To secure support for the creation of an IO, the country may be willing to internationalize some of its successful national institutions or policies to future members.
International Regimes	The sharing of expertise in a particular policy area may be the reason why regimes are created or expanded.
<b>Economic Instruments</b>	
Foreign Aid	The internationalization of expertise in various policy areas is a frequent component of foreign aid.
Economic and Trade Policies	The establishment of trade agreements generally implies the national adoption of certain policies and/or institutions.
Economic Sanctions	Economic sanctions may be eased or suspended provided that a certain policy is adopted by the target country.
<b>Cultural Instruments</b>	
National Identity	A country's self-understanding as a promoter of world peace may involve the internationalization of national institutions and policies.
Nation Branding	Promoting a country's international image as a leading representative of third world nations may include the internationalization of national development or social policies.
Soft Power	South-South cooperation, which is generally understood as a form of soft power and often involves the internationalization of policies, may be promoted to ensure broader support for a country's claim in an international organization.
<b>Military Instruments</b>	
Military Persuasion/ Pressure	Military persuasion/pressure can be used to promote political change in the target country.
War	War proves to be an effective way to promote both regime change and policy change on the part of the enemy.

Source: Faria (2022), our translation.

The Lula administrations are examples of how these instruments were used strategically, given that the policies Brazil had and was developing domestically in various areas, such as agriculture, health, education, social protection, and public administration, among others, were central to achieving the country's international goals during that period (Faria 2022). Determined to position Brazil as a global leader in the fight against hunger and poverty, Lula used his active diplomacy to strengthen this agenda internationally (Lima 2023). His image as a charismatic leader and symbol of a renewed left, capable of combining solid economic policy with broad social measures, consolidated his position as a representative voice of the global South and as a bridge between developed and developing countries in the search for a more balanced, fair, and equitable economic order (Nina 2006).

The PFZ was implemented in this context as a social priority of the Lula administrations (Monteiro, 2003), marking a period in which policies related to food and nutrition security (FNS) were placed at the center of the country's development policy, seeking to ensure quality, quantity, and regularity in access to food for the entire Brazilian population (Arruda and Arruda 2007). The PFZ gained international prominence when Lula took it to the most important international forums and meetings, receiving support from the international community and becoming part of the global agenda (Cunha 2010). Its success was so significant that it was internationalized to countries in Africa and Latin America with the support of multilateral organizations (Bursztyn, Milhorange and Sabourin 2019; Leite and Leite 2022).

Thus, it can be observed that all the positive results achieved by the PFZ have led it to be considered a best practice (Faria 2012). It is now recognized as a model to be followed by a number of international organizations, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the World Food Programme (WFP), and by international NGOs, such as ActionAid and Oxfam, which have praised the Brazilian approach to combating hunger and poverty (Fraundorfer 2013). In view of this, Brazil's example served as inspiration for other countries, especially in Latin America and Portuguese-speaking Africa, which were also committed to eradicating hunger (MacMillan 2010).

Legrand (2016) associates the internationalization of PPs with the emergence of transnational challenges, arguing that this process tends to occur when such challenges gain prominence on the global agenda and require coordinated responses between countries. In this scenario, successful experiences gain visibility and are adopted in other contexts. The internationalization of the PFZ occurred during a global food crisis, which

intensified the debate on food security and nutrition (FSN) and the role of effective social policies (Fouilleux 2009). According to Milhorange (2020), this crisis was triggered by rising prices for wheat, rice, soybeans, and corn in international markets, followed by growth in unsafe investments in the agricultural sector. As a result, combating hunger became a central theme on the international agenda (IFPRI, 2008), promoting high-level convergence and bringing food assistance, long-term food security, and the right to food into the global debate (Peck and Theodore 2015).

In addition, the financial and food crisis triggered an “epistemic crisis,” destabilizing knowledge about the social world and challenging the authority of experts (Hernando Pautz and Stone 2018). In this scenario, the ability of United Nations (UN) agencies to fulfill their mandates and address global challenges has been widely questioned by the international community due to factors such as inefficiency, bureaucratic dysfunction, and lack of transparency, which have become even more evident in the context of the global food crisis (Barnett and Finnemore 2004, Fouilleux 2009, Devin and Smouts 2011). At the same time, diplomatic representatives from so-called emerging powers, such as Brazil, India, and China, intensified their criticism of the UN system, demanding greater participation in multilateral decision-making processes (Milhorange 2020). The foreign ministries of these countries began to question the procedures and performance of UN bodies, without, however, questioning the system as a whole (Milhorange and Soulé-Kohndou 2017).

In this scenario, new political solutions, including those promoted by the PFZ, gained prominence and became increasingly attractive to the international community (Milhorange 2020). Thanks to the diplomatic resources used to disseminate its instruments and ideas, as well as the access provided by the PFZ to international organizations, its legitimacy in political dialogue and cooperation on food security has been widely recognized (Burstyn, Milhorange and Sabourin 2019). This environment has fostered the emergence of triangular cooperation initiatives with UN agencies such as the FAO and the WFP, which are seen as instruments for strengthening strategic partnerships (FAO, 2013).

We therefore see that Brazil not only shared knowledge and successful practices, but also strengthened political and economic ties with countries in the South, consolidating its position as a relevant and influential global player. We understand that this strategic move was aimed at promoting effective Brazilian solutions to global problems, as well as building a new international identity for Brazil.

According to Lima (2005), there are two distinct international profiles for developing countries, associated with two specific international identities.

The first is that of a system-affecting state, a concept developed by Keohane (1969), corresponding to those countries that, although they have relatively limited resources and capabilities compared to the powers, adopt an assertive international stance, valuing multilateral arenas and collective action among similar countries in order to influence international outcomes. The second identity, referring to the global economy, is that of a “large emerging market,” a category coined by the US Trade Representative, which refers to large peripheral countries that have implemented the economic reforms of the well-known Washington Consensus prescription: privatization, trade liberalization, economic deregulation, and state reform. Lima (2005) states that in this identity, credibility and macroeconomic stability are two currencies of great value in the globalized world, and international initiatives are conceived as mechanisms to “encapsulate” domestic reforms; collective action with similar countries is generally underestimated, with cooperation with developed countries prevailing.

The construction of a new international identity for Brazil under Lula’s administrations is closely linked to the transition from an identity as a “large emerging market” to that of a “system-affecting state.” This change reflects a shift in the PEB paradigm, marking a significant difference from the paradigm of previous presidencies and reflecting not only a change in strategic positioning, but also a new perception of Brazil’s role in the international scenario. According to Lima and Hirst (2006), the inclusion of the social agenda as a central pillar of Brazilian diplomacy was one of the first and most important innovations of the Lula administration. Lula, through his identification with major social causes, such as the eradication of hunger and the reduction of inequalities, played a fundamental role in projecting Brazil as an emerging power on the global stage (Ricupero, 2010). In this context, he revived and gave prominence to the issue of food and nutrition security, reinforcing his commitment to social justice.

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#### 4. Results

The results of this study show how the internationalization of the PFZ was incorporated into PEB, especially during the Lula administrations, by linking the promotion of SAN (Food and Nutrition Security) with the country’s strategic and diplomatic interests. They were obtained from the selected texts, which are identified in Table 3 below. Their results are summarized in the Summary Table at the end of this article.

Table 3. Selected Texts

Title	Author(s)	Year of Publication	Database
A difusão de políticas sociais como estratégia de inserção internacional: Brasil e Venezuela comparadas	Carlos Aurélio Pimenta de Faria	2012	Busca Complementar
A política externa brasileira durante os governos Lula (2003-2010) e a cooperação para o desenvolvimento: o caso do Fome Zero e a sua instrumentalização	Felipe Zorzi and Mariana Finger	2014	CAPES
A Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional no governo Lula (2003-2010): a agenda de combate à fome como instrumento de projeção internacional	Elis Virginia Santana	2020	CAPES
Agenda Social na Política Externa do Governo Lula: os casos da cooperação internacional prestada pelo MDS e pela ABC	Luciana Papi and Klei Medeiros	2015	CAPES
Brazil's foreign policy and health (1995-2010): A policy analysis of the Brazilian health diplomacy – from AIDS to 'Zero Hunger'	Célia Almeida, Thaisa Lima and Rodrigo de Campos	2023	CAPES
Brazilian foreign policy for the Global South: the creation of the Centre of Excellence against Hunger	Clarissa Dri and Andressa Caroline da Silva	2020	SCOPUS
Cooperação internacional, assistência alimentar e política externa brasileira	Thiago Lima, Flávia Belmont and Atos Dias	2013	CAPES
Cooperation on Food Security with Africa as an Instrument of Brazil's Foreign Policy (2003-2010)	Felipe de Albuquerque	2015	CAPES
Explaining Brazil as a rising State, 2003-2014: the role of policy diffusion as an international regulatory instrument	Henrique Menezes and Marcos Viera	2021	SCOPUS
Foreign Policy Analysis methodology to understand the diffusion of Brazil's agri-food policy under Lula's government	Lourene Maffra	2021	SCOPUS
"Hunger Cannot Wait": The Poverty Issue in Brazilian Foreign Policy	Andrés Puntigliano	2006	CAPES
Política externa brasileira e transferência internacional de políticas públicas: a Minustah como janela de oportunidade para a cooperação brasileira no Haiti (2004-2017)	Rodrigo Fernando Gallo	2022	CAPES

Title	Author(s)	Year of Publication	Database
The Diffusion of Brazilian Public Policies Within International Venues: The Cases of Health and Rural Development	Juliana Luiz and Maria Berta Ecija	2022	SCOPUS
When Hunger meets Diplomacy: Food Security in Brazilian Foreign Policy	Cristina Ionue and Natália Coelho	2018	CAPEL

Source: Created by the authors.

First, Puntigliano (2006) analyzes how the concept of “poverty,” launched as a national banner of the Lula administration through the PFZ, was strategically mobilized as a legitimizing element of the PEB, presenting itself as an attempt to reposition Brazil in the international system by advocating for a new world order that was less asymmetrical between countries that are at the center and those on the periphery. One of the central points of his analysis is how the PFZ drove institutional restructuring at Itamaraty, with the creation of the Coordination of International Actions to Combat Hunger (CGFOME), whose function was to promote and coordinate Brazilian initiatives with national and international organizations, especially within the UN, through the FAO and the WFP.

CGFOME (*Coordenação Geral de Ações Internacionais de Combate à Fome – General Coordination of International Actions to Combat Hunger*) was part of a broader effort to integrate different public administration bodies, civil society organizations, and international actors. In this context, Brazilian experiences related to the PFZ began to be internationalized. According to the author, by adopting the fight against poverty as the structural axis of the PEB, Lula managed to find a shared purpose capable of sustaining the international actions of Brazil and its allies, articulating national interests and global demands around a politically mobilizing agenda.

Puntigliano did this analysis that is corroborated by Dri and Silva (2021). The authors state that the internationalization of the PFZ contributed to the creation of a specific sector within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deal with the issue, also pointing to the creation of CGFOME, responsible for coordinating the Brazilian government’s international humanitarian cooperation actions, both emergency and structural, and for addressing issues of nutrition, food security and sovereignty, sustainable rural development, integrated risk and socio-environmental disaster management, and dialogue with civil society at the international level. CGFOME was therefore perceived

as an external mirror of the PFZ, with a three-pronged strategy covering the areas of emergency, structure, and rights, adopted by the UN.

However, the article focuses on the use of the Center of Excellence against Hunger as the main object for analyzing the Lula administrations' PEB. According to the authors, this decentralized foreign policy initiative, resulting from the internationalization of the PFZ, contributed positively to the projection of Brazil's international image, expanding the country's participation in global efforts to overcome underdevelopment, in line with the principles of South-South cooperation aimed at promoting social justice. For them, the internationalization of the PFZ is aligned with the country's search for soft power, corresponding to the Lula administration's attempt to diversify international partnerships in order to achieve greater balance with the countries of the North and expand Brazil's international leadership.

Other more specific objects of study are also used by different authors to explain this relationship between policy internationalization and foreign policy. Gallo (2022), for example, analyzes the relationship between the PEB and the internationalization of the PFZ through the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). According to him, the participation of Brazil in the Mission was not restricted to fulfilling its international security mandate, but represented an important window of opportunity for the projection of Brazilian foreign policy in other areas. In this context, Haiti became a privileged space for Brazil's international action, especially through the internationalization of initiatives in the areas of agriculture and health, supposedly aimed at mitigating hunger and poverty. Given this, Gallo argues that MINUSTAH was used as a platform for the internationalization of various policies inspired by the PFZ, suggesting that this internationalization was intentionally articulated in the context of the Mission as a soft power strategy, highlighting a convergence between diplomatic action and development cooperation.

Papi and Medeiros (2015) use the work of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) in partnership with various state agencies, such as the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS), to explain how the foreign policy of the Lula administration was characterized by the use of new forms of cooperation with the South axis in the economic, technological, and educational spheres. According to the authors, the MDS provided more technical cooperation, focused on the exchange of experiences and knowledge in the social area, while the ABC acted as an agency directly linked to Itamaraty, centralizing cooperation resources for development and being responsible for large structural projects.

In this context, both bodies played a fundamental role in the internationalization of social techniques and technologies developed within Brazil, such as those derived from the PFZ. This internationalization then became an instrument of PEB, occurring in parallel with the international recognition of these experiences. According to the authors, this dynamic reflects a renewed conception of PEB, based on an appreciation of domestic social policy and international integration guided by solidarity, the expansion of partnerships with developing countries, and the consolidation of a regional bloc that is not only economic and political, but also social, through international cooperation.

However, other studies adopt a broader perspective, discussing how structural issues on Brazil's social agenda, such as food and nutrition security, have been strategically incorporated into foreign policy. This is the case of Santana (2020), who analyzes the inclusion of SAN in the Lula administrations' PEB, arguing that the advances made domestically, especially through the PFZ, contributed significantly to Brazil's international recognition. According to the author, these results consolidated the country as a strategic ally for nations in the global South in the development of food security policies, while projecting Brazil as an internationally recognized model for combating hunger and poverty. These countries began to position themselves as political and economic partners of Brazil, strengthening its role in multilateral forums.

By standing out in an agenda historically marginalized by developed countries, the author states that the Brazilian government saw in SAN, and consequently in the internationalization of the PFZ, a strategic opportunity to expand its international presence, especially by strengthening ties with countries in the South, with special emphasis on the role played by the Brazil/FAO International Cooperation Program. Although Brazil already held a prominent position in the international system, Lula's PEB was more proactive and strategically oriented toward establishing an image of leadership based on solidarity. The PEB promoted development and reconfigured global power dynamics.

In addition, Almeida, Lima, and Campos (2023) also analyze how health-related issues, such as SAN, became part of the PEB, highlighting the Lula administrations as a milestone in the consolidation of this process. According to the authors, health has become a strategic element for Brazil's international projection, with health diplomacy gaining strength and autonomy as a sectoral area of activity, an advance that was driven by the activism of social movements and the engagement of different sectors of the Brazilian state. In this context, the authors state that domestic policies, such as the

PFZ, were internationalized based on internal progress. These policies then became part of Brazil's strategies for entering the global arena. Thus, the internationalization of the PFZ reflected a model of cooperation based on horizontality and the value of shared experiences in facing common challenges.

International cooperation, particularly South-South cooperation, is thus a central theme in the analyses of the authors reviewed, highlighting its strategic role in Brazilian foreign policy during the Lula administrations. Faria (2012), for example, deepens this discussion by stressing the objective of Lula's PEB to prioritize the South-South axis as a way of promoting Brazil's rapprochement with other countries on the periphery of the capitalist system. According to the author, this guideline was operationalized both by expanding and redirecting the international aid offered by Brazil and by internationalizing successful domestic social policies, such as the PFZ. Faria argues that by presenting the PFZ as a good practice to be replicated internationally, Lula reinforced the solidarity and cooperative nature of his foreign policy, acting as a true policy entrepreneur. Thus, the strategy of international integration guided by solidarity and centered on South-South cooperation was not only promoted but also legitimized and consolidated through the internationalization of these social policies, an aspect that, according to the author, was most explicitly and repeatedly associated with the PEB during his administration.

Albuquerque (2015) also argues that cooperation was one of the strategic foundations of Brazil's foreign policy during Lula's administration. By addressing issues such as food security and public health, these initiatives not only strengthened international regimes, but also expanded Brazil's influence among both peripheral and developed countries. In this context, the internationalization of PPs, such as the PFZ, served as a means of legitimizing Brazil's role as a proponent of peaceful change in the international order. For him, the internationalization of policies was seen as an opportunity to align domestic interests with global agendas, consolidating the country's image as a relevant actor committed to central issues of international governance. Domestic achievements thus ceased to have a strictly national scope and began to be considered strategic pillars of international integration, having a systemic impact given the scope and number of international cooperation projects that incorporate them, which contributed to the use of these experiences as legitimate foreign policy instruments.

According to the author, this logic is mainly achieved through South-South cooperation, with emphasis on projects developed with countries in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia, which are carried out in partnership

with international organizations such as the FAO, giving even more visibility and credibility to Brazilian initiatives. Brazil, therefore, stands as a proactive, responsible, and innovative player on the international stage. Albuquerque states that, from this perspective, Brazil seeks a more representative position in a changing international order, one that opens space for emerging countries to act and offers scope for redefining power structures. Given this, by taking on responsibilities in areas historically considered “low politics,” such as development and human security, the country strives to occupy a unique and influential position, promoting adjustments in the international order that reflect internal and external changes.

This strategy of international integration through South-South cooperation, anchored in values such as solidarity, shared responsibility, and joint development, proves even more complex when viewed in light of the actors and interests that shape its implementation. This is the context in which Maffra (2021) proposes an analysis of the theoretical foundations of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) applied to an understanding of Brazilian agri-food policy, with an emphasis on its internationalization as a strategic instrument for Brazil’s international integration. The author examines, among other elements, the various actors involved in this process and identifies two main fronts of action: the first, targeting Latin America, mainly driven by sectors linked to social participation and civil society, as well as international organizations with a convergent orientation; and the second focused on cooperation with African countries, led mainly by actors linked to the commodities sector, scientific research in genetic improvement, and international financial institutions.

The author also states that the success of social policies implemented during Lula’s administrations, especially the PFZ, contributed significantly to building Brazil’s international image as a reference in the fight against hunger and poverty. This recognition was further enhanced by the rise of ideologically aligned governments in South America, which created a political environment favorable to social policies and increased the visibility of models such as Brazil’s, even without formal coordination. In this sense, the author argues that the internationalization of the PFZ should not be interpreted solely as the spontaneous internationalization of a successful public policy, but as part of a deliberate foreign policy strategy that articulates domestic, diplomatic, and economic interests.

For Maffra, the Lula administration used the PFZ as a tool to strengthen Brazil’s international prestige among developing countries, consolidating its leadership position in South-South cooperation. This perspective is reinforced by Lima, Belmont, and Dias (2013), who highlight how the domestic policies of

the Brazilian government, especially the PFZ, whose international repercussions were widely seen as positive, combined with concrete advances in economic and social welfare, elevated Brazil's prestige among developing countries. The authors state that food aid and assistance, promoted by South-South cooperation and the internationalization of the PFZ, have gained increasing visibility as part of the Brazilian government's efforts to place the country as a global leader in combating hunger and promoting SAN, arguing that the internationalization of practices, knowledge, and solutions derived from the PFZ among countries in the South tends to constitute a cyclical process: strengthening cooperation contributes to the development of institutional and political capacities in partner countries, which in turn expands the possibilities for interaction and collaboration between developing nations, ensuring the continuity and expansion of these partnerships. In this sense, this type of international action also represents a global integration strategy for Brazil, capable of articulating economic, social, and political interests in an integrated manner.

In the multilateral context, the authors also highlight the coordinated action with international organizations such as the FAO and the WFP, which have developed relevant initiatives in partnership with Brazil since the internationalization of the PFZ, reinforcing Brazil's strategy to expand its presence and influence in the international system, especially in the field of food and nutrition security. In the same vein, Zorzi and Finger (2014) state that Brazil's experience with the PFZ has been widely internationalized, especially in African and Latin American countries, which has given Brazil a prominent position in discussions about food security both within the FAO and in other multilateral forums. For the authors, recognition of the program's success was highly relevant for the country, as its growing demand for greater space on the international scenario was based precisely on the success of its development model and its defense of social justice. Thus, for them, cooperation through the internationalization of food and nutrition security policies, such as the PFZ, was instrumentalized as a strategy to ensure Brazil's greater presence and leadership in forums and discussions of interest to it, which made it possible to garner support from emerging and developing countries.

Inoue and Coelho (2018) also share this view, and argue that the social gains achieved by reducing hunger through the implementation of the PFZ in the domestic context were strategically used as a tool to strengthen Brazilian soft power. For the authors, these advances contributed to enhancing Brazil's status as a global actor and reinforced its legitimacy, while significantly

boosting the expansion of cooperation projects conducted by the government. In this context, according to the authors, development assistance promoted through the internationalization of the PFZ began to fulfill the political objectives of Brazilian foreign policy by allowing the country to project itself as an agent willing to share knowledge and successful public policies with other developing nations and the global South. This action highlighted Brazil's ability to operate on a global scale and seek greater prominence in major international institutions.

In this regard, Menezes and Vieira (2021) examine Brazil's international activism and its rise to the status of an emerging power during Lula's terms in office. For the authors, this period was marked by Brazil's efforts to play an active role in reformulating international norms and institutions, especially in the field of international development, but also in promoting new international arrangements aimed at global social development while proposing concrete solutions to shared challenges. In this context, the internationalization of the PFZ and other social programs began to play a central role in the country's foreign policy, offering an alternative model of development and a new governance structure for international cooperation. According to them, Brazil's actions expressed its conception of the challenges of global development. This is reflected in the emphasis on internationalizing public policies and successful models, such as the PFZ, through technical cooperation with countries in the Global South. This demonstrates Brazil's self-identification as a country that is both a recipient and a provider of solutions and knowledge for the global order.

For authors Menezes and Vieira (2021), the internationalization of the PFZ symbolized Brazil's ambition to exert influence over international norms from a Southern perspective, and was underpinned by a series of successful social experiments on the domestic front, bolstered by economic growth and legitimized by international organizations, representing not only an export of practices, but also the promotion of a worldview aligned with a project of inclusive social development. It is important to note that the authors also include in Brazil's international activities during this period the creation of institutions focused specifically on disseminating these policies and consolidating its own development agenda, such as the IPC-IG and the Center of Excellence against Hunger, which as previously mentioned in this paper, are the result of the internationalization of the PFZ and contributed to institutionalizing the ideological dimension of Brazilian foreign policy, in addition to reinforcing the country's role as a norm maker in the field of international development.

Finally, Luiz and Ecija (2022) argue that Brazil has engaged in the internationalization of policies as a means of achieving the country's ambition to change its international status. The PFZ, in particular, has been used as a diplomatic tool to promote Brazil's image as a benchmark in food security and poverty reduction. For the authors, the internationalization of the PFZ should therefore be understood as an integral part of the broader strategy of "active and assertive" foreign policy adopted during the Lula administrations, marked by greater engagement and leadership by Brazil in multilateral, minilateral, and (inter)regional forums.

This attitude was a reflection of the idea that the transformation of Brazil's global status required changes in the architecture of international governance and that the internationalization of successful social policies offered a legitimate way to strengthen Brazil's presence in these spaces. In addition to growing engagement with multilateral organizations, such as UN agencies, the authors also highlight the country's strategic role in regionalism and interregionalism, with the aim of promoting not only its policies, but also its values, paradigms, and development alternatives. Thus, they argue that the expansion of Brazilian participation in global and regional arenas was part of a broader project of internationalizing social policies, consolidating the internationalization of national norms and models as an essential component of the diplomatic strategy of an "active and proud" foreign policy.

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## 6. Conclusion

The results obtained support analyses indicating that the internationalization of PPs, especially in countries in the global South, does not occur randomly or strictly on a technical basis, but is part of broader foreign policy strategies. States internationalize their policies in search of recognition, influence, and international projection. To this end, they seek to use successful domestic models as instruments of legitimation and to build authority on the global scene. In contexts historically marked by asymmetries, this practice enables developing countries to increase their ability to act, challenging the dominance of traditional powers and allowing them to contribute their own perspectives to the international dialogue.

The way in which certain governments shape their international strategies based on specific values becomes relevant in this scenario. In the case of Brazil, during President Lula da Silva's first two terms (2003-2010), the internationalization of social policies reflected a humanitarian and solidarity-based

approach that sought to combine national interests with an ethical commitment to global development. In this sense, the internationalization of policies became not only a way to “sell” political solutions, but also to shape norms, spread values, and strengthen cooperation networks based on principles of social justice and equity.

The results of the integrative review made it possible to demonstrate that the internationalization of the Zero Hunger Program was mobilized as one of the main pillars of Brazilian foreign policy during this period. Furthermore, the internationalization of the ZHP enabled Brazil to align its domestic and foreign agendas, strengthen its performance in multilateral forums, and project an international identity based on solidarity, social justice, and normative leadership. In this context, there has been intense diplomatic mobilization to consolidate Brazil’s image as a supportive actor committed to global development. This intention was materialized in the creation of specific institutional structures (CGFOME), proactive action in multilateral organizations (FAO and WFP), and the promotion of South-South cooperation, especially with countries in Latin America and Africa. These initiatives increased the country’s visibility in the international system and contributed to its legitimacy as a standard-setter in the field of SAN.

In addition, technical cooperation led by ABC, in partnership with the MDS, has also proved to play a key role in enabling the internationalization of institutional models and social technologies designed to combat hunger and poverty. Anchored in the principles of horizontal solidarity and joint solution-building, this approach has become a distinctive feature of Brazilian foreign aid. The internationalization of Zero Hunger was also used as a symbolic asset in building the country’s international image, while strengthening Brazilian soft power by projecting an identity associated with combating hunger, social justice, and inclusive development. Brazilian nation branding during this period was based on the enhancement of domestic social achievements as a means of projecting prestige and international influence, especially among developing countries.

In view of this, it is clear that the strategy adopted reflected a multifaceted approach that mobilized political, economic, and cultural instruments with the purpose of transforming Brazil’s international position. More than just expanding its external involvement, Brazil began to influence the normative and institutional dynamics that regulate international cooperation in areas such as food security, social development, and poverty reduction. By articulating domestic interests with global objectives under a logic of solidarity, the country did not limit itself to occupying existing spaces, but sought to shape

structures and agendas, repositioning itself as a formulator of norms and promoter of alternative models of cooperation.

In this sense, this study contributed to the discussion by understanding this strategy as an expression of a foreign policy directed toward Brazil's transition from a "large emerging market" to a "system-affecting state," as defined by Keohane (1969). The internationalization of the Zero Hunger program constituted a concrete example of this ambition to transform Brazil's ability to influence in qualitative terms by articulating technical, symbolic, and normative elements around a domestic public policy with high social impact. Therefore, it is concluded that this experience highlights a strategic shift in foreign policy during the Lula administrations and contributes to the construction of an international identity based on solidarity, social justice, and cooperation among developing countries. This is an emblematic experience that reveals how domestic public policies can be used as vectors for international projection and, more than that, as tools for transforming a country's position in the global system.

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APPENDIX A – SUMMARY TABLE

TEXT	IDENTIFICATION	RESULTS
<p>A difusão de políticas sociais como estratégia de inserção internacional: o Brasil e Venezuela comparados [The Dissemination of Social Policies as a Strategy for International Integration: a Comparison Between Brazil and Venezuela]</p>	<p>Faria (2012)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was used to project Brazil as a leader in the fight against hunger on a global scale, promoting the country's image as a model for other developing nations. The rhetoric of solidarity adopted by the Brazilian government, focused on reducing inequalities and promoting social justice, was used as a diplomatic tool to strengthen alliances and expand Brazil's presence in multilateral discussions on development and social inclusion. The initiative was [designed] in international forums and established itself as a benchmark for good social policy practices.</p>
<p>A política externa brasileira durante os governos Lula (2003-2010) e a cooperação para o desenvolvimento: o caso do Fome Zero e sua instrumentalização [Brazilian Foreign Policy During The Lula Administrations (2003–2010) and Development Cooperation: the Case of the Zero Hunger Program and its Instrumentalization]</p>	<p>Zorzi e Finger (2014)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was used as a strategic tool for Brazil's international integration, in line with the logic of South-South cooperation, which prioritized partnerships with countries in South America and Africa—regions considered strategic for Brazilian diplomatic interests—strengthening Brazil's image as an emerging leader. This expanded its international influence, especially in forums such as the FAO, and contributed to the country's recognition as a defender of social justice and autonomous development. In addition, international cooperation in the area of food security through the internationalization of Zero Hunger helped strengthen support for Brazilian proposals for reform of the international system, including the restructuring of the UN Security Council, contributing to Brazil's leadership role among developing countries.</p>
<p>A Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional ns governo Lula (2003-2010): a agenda de combate à fome como instrumento de projeção internacional [Food and Nutritional Security in the Lula Administration (2003-2010): the Agenda to Combat Hunger as a Tool for International Projection]</p>	<p>Santana (2020)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program and the international recognition it garnered were used to project Brazil as a leader in food and nutritional security in the Southern Hemisphere. The program's domestic success strengthened Brazil's international prestige, enabling it to influence multilateral forums and consolidate political and economic partnerships with developing countries through its internationalization. In view of this, the promotion of food security was seen as a path to a more autonomous foreign policy and an international showcase for Brazil's capabilities in areas outside the agenda of central countries. Foreign policy then began to incorporate the food security agenda as a strategic tool, especially through South-South cooperation with countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa.</p>

<p>Agenda Social na Política Externa do Governo Lula: os casos da cooperação internacional prestada pelo MDS e pela ABC [Social Agenda in the Lula Administration's Foreign Policy: Cases of International Cooperation Provided by the MDS and ABC]</p>	<p>Papi e Medeiros (2015)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was used to expand South-South cooperation, especially through the sharing of social techniques and technologies developed in Brazil, consolidating a foreign policy based both on solidarity and on the ambition for regional and global leadership in the social field. Brazilian foreign policy then began to integrate social actions into diplomacy, breaking with the neoliberal logic of the Washington Consensus and valuing social spending as a strategic part of Brazil's international integration, through the joint action of the Ministry of Development (MDS), with a focus on technical cooperation, and the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), linked to Itamaraty and responsible for major structural projects, [central] in this process.</p>
<p>Brazil's Foreign Policy and Health (1993-2010): A Policy Analysis of the Brazilian Health Diplomacy – from AIDS to “Zero Hunger”</p>	<p>Almeida, Lima e Campos (2021)</p>	<p>Zero Hunger was used as an instrument of Brazilian foreign policy by articulating, at the international level, the agendas of combating poverty and promoting development. Between 2003 and 2010, Brazil promoted the internationalization of domestic public policies, such as Zero Hunger itself, strengthening health diplomacy as a field with relative autonomy. This strategy was part of South-South Cooperation, which became a central axis of the country's international projection. Brazil's actions were marked by a demand-driven approach, focused on meeting the specific demands of countries in Africa and Latin America, avoiding the imposition of models and prioritizing dialogue and the joint construction of solutions.</p>
<p>Brazilian Foreign Policy for the Global South: the Creation of the Centre of Excellence against Hunger</p>	<p>Dri e Silva (2011)</p>	<p>Zero Hunger was used as an instrument of soft power and South-South cooperation during Lula's administrations, especially through the creation of the Center of Excellence against Hunger (2001), in partnership with the WFP/UN. Although conceived by non-diplomatic experts, the Center was incorporated into foreign policy and articulated in international forums as a strategy for diversifying partnerships and seeking greater autonomy from Northern countries. The initiative promoted the international dissemination of the Brazilian [...] in school feeding and food security, contributing to Brazil's image as a leader among developing countries.</p>

<p>Cooperação internacional, assistência alimentar e política externa brasileira [International Cooperation, Food Aid, and Brazilian Foreign Policy]</p>	<p>Lima, Belmont e Dias (2013)</p>	<p>Zero Hunger was one of the main domestic policies of the Lula administrations, and combined with positive results in terms of economic and social well-being, it played a key role in consolidating Brazil as a global power. Zero Hunger had a significant impact on the country's international standing, especially on issues such as poverty reduction and social development, while Brazil shared the knowledge, practices, and solutions it had acquired with other nations in the global South through South-South cooperation, not only strengthening its position in the international system but also advancing its economic, social, and political interests. In addition, partnerships with organizations such as the FAO and the WFP have consolidated Brazil's position as a leader in the fight against hunger and the promotion of food security, reinforcing its image as a stable emerging power committed to multilateralism and the reduction of social inequalities.</p>
<p>Cooperation on Food Security with Africa as an Instrument of Brazil's Foreign Policy (2003–2010)</p>	<p>Albuquerque (2015)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was used as a strategic tool by Brazilian foreign policy when it was internationalized, reinforcing the country's image as a global actor committed to peaceful change. Inserted in the context of South-South cooperation, the program was taken to developing countries through partnerships with international organizations such as the FAO. By sharing successful policies, Brazil projects its domestic achievements onto the international stage, addressing issues such as food security, agricultural development, and combating hunger. This strengthens its position in international regimes, brings it closer to developed countries, and reaffirms its commitment to values such as good governance. Thus, the country seeks to consolidate itself as a responsible and proactive leader, contributing to a more stable international order that is sensitive to the demands of emerging countries.</p>

TEXTO	IDENTIFICAÇÃO	RESULTADOS
<p>Explaining Brazil as a Rising State, 2003–2014: the Role of Policy Diffusion as an International Regulatory Instrument</p>	<p>Menezes e Vieira (2021)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was one of the pillars of Brazilian foreign policy during the Lula administrations, serving as an instrument of solidarity with the Global South through its internationalization, which strengthened ties with neighboring and African countries and fostered the formation of coalitions with other developing nations. Brazil promoted Zero Hunger internationally as a way to influence international norms and propose new forms of governance in the field of development, an effort that was favored by the context of economic growth and supported by international organizations, which legitimized and contributed to the dissemination of these policies. To structure and consolidate this action, the country created institutions such as the IPC-IG, the WFP Center of Excellence against Hunger, and the Brazilian Learning Initiative for a World without Poverty. The internationalization of these practices reflected not only Brazil's vision of development challenges, but also its self-image as an actor capable of contributing to the reform of global norms and the defense of the interests of peripheral countries in the international system.</p>
<p>Foreign Policy Analysis Methodology to Understand the Diffusion of Brazil's Agri-Food Policy under Lula's Government</p>	<p>Maffra (2021)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was promoted internationally as a model of successful public policy, thanks to the favorable political context. Domestically, the Lula administration gained recognition for its advances in the social arena, which strengthened Brazil's image as an example to be followed. Internationally, the political environment in South America, with the rise of ideologically aligned governments and the appreciation of social policies, increased receptivity to the Brazilian model, even without formal regional coordination. This contributed to Brazil's legitimacy as a leader in South-South Cooperation and reinforced its role as a promoter of food security on the global stage.</p>
<p>"Hunger Cannot Wait": the Poverty Issue in Brazilian Foreign Policy</p>	<p>Puntigliano (2006)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was used as a symbol of the fight against poverty to legitimize long-standing demands for a new, more equitable international order, acting as a point of convergence between Brazil's domestic and foreign policies. This strategy allowed the country to mobilize both domestic and transnational support and expand its influence in global spheres of authority. Brazilian foreign policy was then restructured to internationalize the national experiences of Zero Hunger, such as agrarian reform and family farming, and to bring together the state, civil society, and multilateral organizations around the agenda of food security and South-South cooperation. This effort was institutionalized with the creation of CGFOME at Itamaraty, which began to coordinate actions with international organizations, in particular the FAO and the WFP.</p>

<p>Política externa brasileira e transferência internacional de políticas públicas: a Minustah como janela de oportunidade para a cooperação Brasileira no Haiti (2004-2017) [Brazilian Foreign Policy And International Public Policy Transfer: MINUSTAH As A Window Of Opportunity For Brazilian Cooperation in Haiti (2004–2017)]</p>	<p>Gallo (2022)</p>	<p>The Brazilian government used the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) not only to fulfill an international security mandate, but also as a strategic opportunity to internationalize social public policies, especially those derived from the Zero Hunger Program. The internationalization of these experiences was articulated internationally as an instrument of soft power in the context of the mission, integrating the domestic agenda of combating hunger with the logic of International Development Cooperation. During the MINUSTAH period, Brazil implemented initiatives in the areas of agriculture and health with the aim of mitigating hunger and poverty in Haiti, positioning the Caribbean country as a strategic partner in Brazilian foreign policy, especially since 2010.</p>
<p>The Diffusion of Brazilian Public Policies Within International Venues: The Cases of Health and Rural Development</p>	<p>Luiz e Ecija (2022)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was used as an instrument of Brazilian foreign policy during Lula's two terms in office, contributing to Brazil's "active and assertive" foreign policy strategy, which aimed to increase the country's participation in multilateral and regional forums, as well as promote its values and public policies on the global stage. The internationalization of Zero Hunger, within the context of South-South cooperation, was a way for Brazil to internationalize its social policies as alternative development models, with a view to building a new global order and repositioning the country in international governance.</p>
<p>When Hunger meets Diplomacy: Food Security in Brazilian Foreign Policy</p>	<p>Inoue e Coelho (2018)</p>	<p>The Zero Hunger program was used as an instrument of Brazilian foreign policy to strengthen the country's soft power, highlighting internal social achievements in reducing hunger, which not only enhanced Brazil's position on the international stage, but also gave it greater legitimacy as a global actor. In this context, Brazilian foreign policy began to integrate domestic variables, reflecting the connection between domestic and international issues, while the Lula administration used domestic advances in the fight against hunger to improve Brazil's image abroad and internationalize its social policies, consolidating its soft power. This has allowed Brazil to present itself as a nation willing to share its knowledge and successful policies, expanding its influence in global institutions and strengthening strategic partnerships, especially to gain support for its diplomatic goals.</p>