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The articulation of ideas and experiences in the formulation of the Brazilian territorial policy for rural development

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Abstract

The article examines the strategic action of activists who shape the *policy community* of territorial discussion in Brazil highlighting the role of ideas and the experience contributed by these actors in the federal government that began in 2003, culminating in with the formulation of the development policy of rural territories. Among the different theoretical perspectives, we chose to use the interface of US and French. Among the different theoretical perspectives, we chose to use the interface of North American and French contributions, the public *policy community* and the cognitive approach, respectively. The article brings together the trajectories, experiences and ideas of the actors who participated in the management of the Secretariat for Territorial Development (SDT) in PT governments, researchers on the theme of rural development and representatives of social movements. This information was collected through in-depth interviews, research on newspaper sites and reading of the minutes of the National Council for Sustainable Rural Development. The main conclusions indicate that these militants, when integrating the *policy community* responsible for the adoption of a new global framework, decisively influenced the foundations and outlines of public policies for rural development in Brazil.

Keywords: Policy community. Cognitive approach. Territorial policies. Rural development.

A articulação de ideias e experiências na formulação da política territorial de desenvolvimento rural brasileira

Resumo

O artigo examina a ação estratégica de ativistas que conformaram a comunidade política da discussão territorial rural no Brasil, evidenciando o papel das ideias e das experiências aportadas por esses atores na gestão federal iniciada em 2003, culminando com a formulação da política de desenvolvimento dos territórios rurais. Dentre as distintas perspectivas teóricas, optamos por utilizar a interface de contribuições norte-americanas e francesas, de comunidade de políticas públicas e da abordagem cognitiva, respectivamente. O artigo reúne trajetórias, experiências e as ideias dos atores que participaram da gestão da Secretaria de

Desenvolvimento Territorial (SDT) nos governos petistas, pesquisadores da temática do desenvolvimento rural e de representantes de movimentos sociais. Essas informações foram coletadas através de entrevistas em profundidade, pesquisas em sites de jornais e leitura das atas do Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Rural Sustentável. As principais conclusões indicam que esses militantes, ao integrarem a comunidade de políticas públicas responsável pela adoção de um novo referencial global, influenciaram de forma decisiva os fundamentos e os contornos das políticas públicas de desenvolvimento rural no Brasil.

Palavras-chave: Comunidade de políticas públicas. Abordagem cognitiva. Políticas territoriais. Desenvolvimento rural.

La articulación de ideas y experiencias en la formulación de la política territorial de desarrollo rural brasileño

Resumen

El artículo examina la acción estratégica de los activistas que formaron la comunidad política de la discusión territorial rural en Brasil, destacando el papel de las ideas y experiencias aportadas por estos actores en la gestión federal iniciada en 2003, que culminó en la formulación de la política de desarrollo de los territorios rurales. Entre las diferentes perspectivas teóricas, elegimos utilizar la interfaz de las contribuciones de América del Norte y Francia, la comunidad de políticas públicas y el enfoque cognitivo, respectivamente. El artículo reúne las trayectorias, experiencias e ideas de los actores que participaron en la gestión de la Secretaría de Desarrollo Territorial (SDT) en los gobiernos del PT, investigadores sobre el tema del desarrollo rural y representantes de los movimientos sociales. En términos de procedimientos metodológicos, adoptamos una combinación que comprende investigación bibliográfica, investigación documental e investigación de campo (entrevistas semiestructuradas). Las principales conclusiones indican que estos militantes, al integrar la comunidad de políticas públicas, fueron responsables de la adopción de un nuevo marco global, influyeron decisivamente en los fundamentos y los contornos de las políticas públicas para el desarrollo rural en Brasil.

Palabras clave: Comunidad de políticas públicas. Enfoque cognitivo. Políticas territoriales. Desarrollo Rural.

1 Introdução

The analysis of the political process involving decisions on public policy making and the main players involved in this process has currently been present on the agenda of Political Science discussions. As shown by Sabatier (1991), several scholars in the field of public policy analysis have sought to understand the political process beyond the decisions made by legislators, moving toward a more systematic understanding of the other players that influence political dynamics.

In this sense, a growing number of authors have advocated the replacement of the term "public policy" by "public action," believing that the latter more faithfully expresses the contemporary phenomenon. According to our perspective, the process of formulation and implementation of public policies, previously centralized and conducted exclusively by the State, becomes the product of multiple initiatives, both public and private, international, national, and local, undertaken by multiple players (GAUDIN, 2004).

Thus, studies on the genesis, development, and implementation of public policies have shown that the articulation between different variables is essential to capture the plurality and diversity of the multiple dimensions involved in the analysis

of a public action. From this perspective, the players take on a central role, either by embodying the ideas from which their interests derive, or by establishing and/or being influenced by the rules (institutions) that will shape the interactions between them. Understanding this process requires understanding the public policy community, here understood as The set of players, public and private, that gather around an area of interest and share a common interest (SKOSTAD; COLEMAN, 2005).

Likewise, understanding that different players participate in the process of public policy making presupposes dealing with the production of ideas, the interaction between collective players and their common values in systems governed by institutions. It is in this analytical context that one takes the cognitive and normative approach to public policy. Emerging in the 1980s/90s, it seeks to associate a series of researches that had in common the weight they attributed to knowledge, ideas, beliefs, or social representations in public policy making (SUREL, 2014). However, the same author reveals that there are profound differences among the theorists who conducted these studies, which prevents us from considering them as part of a homogeneous and unified 'school' or theoretical and methodological current. For the purposes of this research, we will use the notion of reference because we believe that its adoption is fundamental to identify the values and worldview of the activist players who sought to change the Brazilian rural reality by proposing new instruments of public action.

This work is part of a growing field in Brazil that seeks to reflect on public policies, especially those designed to promote rural development with a territorial focus. The notion of rural development with a territorial approach adopted here was that used by the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), which sought to change the way these rural development public policies were managed and the perspective that guided them, previously done in a centralized, verticalized, and sectorialized way, to a more democratic, participative, bottom-up perspective, and more articulated with other governmental actions and sectors (intersectoriality).

The assumption that guides it is that the players, with common paths, whether in political militancy or in professional performance, recruited as of 2003 to make up the central core of the Secretariat for Territorial Development (SDT) of the MDA, in direct connection with researchers and social activists, were the guarantors of the ideas, interests, and values that formed a new community of public policy already underway in the country, decisive for the institutionalization of what we call the Territorial Policy for the Development of Rural Territories (PTDR).

Having said that, the main objective of this article is to identify the ideas that shaped the public policy framework that guided the formulation of the PTDR in Brazil, to identify the interactions between the players who conceived it, which we will do based on their trajectories, which associated with many other players contributed to establish the contours of the discussion on rural territorial development in Brazil. For this purpose, we will adopt a mixed theoretical-analytical framework structured from the public policy community approaches and the notion of reference, associated with the cognitive approach, both of which are centered on the players and which conceive ideas, interests, and institutions as fully integrated facets of individual and social reality.

For the purposes of this study, the trajectory of these players has its starting point in the 1980s, when the players studied graduated and started working professionally, and reaches its peak with the rise of the Workers' Party (PT) to the central government in 2003, when they, bearing new ideals, many of them experienced at different times in their trajectories, established, so to speak, a new global reference that influenced sectoral policies in the country, in this case, rural development policies aimed at the family farming segment.

In terms of methodological procedures, five in-depth interviews were conducted with players who have held positions in the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) and, more specifically, in the Secretariat for Territorial Development (SDT) since its creation. For these interviews, we used the snow ball technique in which each interviewee indicates others who participated in the process of building rural development policies with a territorial bias. In addition to these managers, we also interviewed two representatives of social movements (one from the Landless Rural Workers Movement - MST and the other from the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers - CONTAG), who participated in the process of discussing the ideas that culminated in the conception of the policy without, however, holding positions in the federal government, but who actively participated in the National Council for Sustainable Rural Development (CONDRAF). We also conducted an interview with Tânia Bacelar (Eo8), a researcher on the subject of rural development in the country, based on the idea of regionalization and territorialization, and who had a great influence on the conceptions of rural social movements on this issue. We also adopted as a source of data, academic texts on the theme (theses, dissertations, and articles), official government publications (laws, ordinances, and materials for divulging the policy), and minutes of the institutions that structured the policy, particularly Condraf.

All interviews were guided by a previously established script that sought to identify among the interviewees their professional and political trajectories, their relations with the federal government (whether through taking up positions in SDT, or in Condraf discussions), their ideas about the territorial perspective of development, the policy-making process, and their considerations about public policy for rural territories. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and the analyses were conducted based on the main research axis: a) profile of the players; b) trajectories; c) ideas and conceptions about rural development from the territory; d) materialization of the institutional text.

The analysis proposed here is structured in four sections, in addition to this introduction. In the first one, we will present the policy community approach and the referential analytical model, associated with the cognitive public policy approach, which in a combined way instrumentalize this study; in the following section, and based on the analytical model presented in the previous chapter, we identify the public policy framework that guided the formulation of the PTDR, obtained from the adjustment of sectoral policies, in the case of rural development, to a new global framework. incorporated by the new federal management; In the third section, we briefly review the PTDR, with emphasis on the changes in its operational format over more than a decade of operation (it starts with the National Program for Sustainable Development of Rural Territories - PRONAT, undergoes adjustments with the emergence of the Territories of Citizenship Program – PTC and, later, with the phase

in which the partnership with universities predominated); the fourth section is dedicated to the ideas, values and trajectories of the actors that influenced the institutionalization of the PTDR and the shaping of the territorial development policy community. Finally, in the last section, we present the general considerations in which we resume the central aspects of the analysis developed in the study.

2 An analysis produced from combined approaches

As already mentioned in the introduction, the analysis proposed in this work seeks support in a mixed model that combines an American perspective (policy community) and another that is part of the French tradition of public policy analysis, the notion of reference, an analytical framework that has as its founding landmark the work *The State in Action* (JOBERT; MULLER, 1987).

The notion of a policy community

The latest study of public policy analysis has prioritized broadening the scope of literature beyond looking at governmental players or those who are part of public organizations, trying to add new analytical lenses to this process. Some concepts, such as that of subsystems, community, and policy networks, have contributed to understanding "the processes of change in public policy, especially in perspectives that consider the role of players through their ideas, knowledge, and interests" (BAUMGARTNER; JONES, 1993; SABATIER; JENKINS-SMITH, 1993; HOWLETT; RAMESH, 1998; 2003 apud CAPELLA; BRASIL, 2015, p.59). Such concepts, adopted since the 1970s, seek to understand the processes of public policy making in the North American context.

Regarding the discussion about subsystems, the authors highlight the relationship between a limited number of players and institutions and the specific thematic field (education, health, among others). These thematic fields "are made up of institutional arrangements and players that tend to gather around specific programs or interests, in what is called by the international literature a policy domain" (CAPELLA; BRAZIL, 2015, p. 58).

Another perspective addressed by the authors is the concept of policy networks, refined by Rhodes from the idea of Heclo's issues network (1978 apud CAPELLA; BRAZIL, 2015). According to Rhodes (2008), the perspective of policy networks allows us to understand the various relationships between the State and the social groups that try to influence the making of public policy. Many ideas from these groups or players end up being institutionalized at some point when of interest to the State, and these "routine and standardized patterns of interaction between government and internal interests become policy networks" (RHODES, 2008, p. 427).

The use of the concept of policy community also became part of the research agenda in Brazilian Political Science in the early 1990s, and has been present in current discussions about how the State has been negotiating with society in the construction of arrangements for policy making. This concept can be used for the purpose of understanding The process of public policy making, especially when the way of making policy is "more complex, specialized, and fragmented because States

have expanded their involvement with society and the market" (SKOGSTAD, 2005, p. 2-3).

Based on the works of Rhodes (1986), Jordan and Richardson (1979), and Cortês (2015), we sought to systematize this reflection so as to understand the process of constitution of a policy community around social welfare in Brazil. The idea of a policy community, according to Cortês (2015, p. 132), can be understood as a group of experts, members of a community, when becoming a policy maker, acts to choose the alternative solutions to the problems on the government agenda that are best suited to its values and vision about the desirable outcomes of the policy.

According to the author, the policy community is characterized by highly professionalized public decision-makers who hold and share the same vision about the desirable outcomes of the policy, that is, they are players who organize themselves into networks (bureaucrats, legislators, interest groups, researchers and experts, etc.) for different areas of public policy (HECLO, 1978 apud CORTÊS, 2015). Despite this organization in networks, the notion of community is guided by more closed principles in which processes are defined without the relationship with other communities (RHODES, 1986 apud CORTÊS, 2015). Or as Marshall (1995) points out, the community can range from government ministers and agencies to interest groups with dependent relationships with each other and insider information. The importance of community is in articulating bureaucratic knowledge to knowledge of reality for each specific policy theme. In this sense, the public policy-making process starts from the institutionalized sharing of experiences among players belonging to the policy community. Over time, "the community also develops its own belief systems, codes of conduct, and standards of behavior," according to Pross (1986, apud MARSHAL, 1995, p. 275).

From this point of view, it is inferred that the members of the policy community that is the object of this study, who have been part of several organizations and associations, have built conceptions about the idea of rural development with a spatial perspective, arising from their beliefs, the image of society, and the model of agriculture they defend, as well as certain principles consolidated throughout their trajectories and learning.

The cognitive dimension and the notion of reference in the understanding of public policies

According to Muller (2018), drafting a public policy presupposes building a representation, an image of the reality on which one wants to intervene. It is, therefore, in reference to this cognitive image that the players organize their perception of the problem, confront their solutions, and define their prepositions for action. It is to these processes of modeling social reality that Jobert and Muller (1987, p. 47), in the abovementioned work, attribute the notion of "reference models" or "references" of public policies, which comprise three dimensions that, combined, resemble and differentiate them from other types of representation: a cognitive dimension (the references provide the elements of causal interpretation of the problems to be solved); a normative dimension (the references define the values that should be respected in dealing with these problems); and an instrumental dimension

(they define the principles of action that should guide action in accordance with this knowledge and these values) (JOBERT; MULLER, 1992, p. 220-221).

From this perspective, public policies would be much more than decision processes in which a certain number of players participate. They constitute the place where a given society builds its relationship with the world, that is, public policies must be analyzed as processes through which the representations that a society makes of itself are elaborated in order to understand and act upon what is real as perceived. In this sense, the notion of public policy reference is directly linked to the worldview of its players, which is the result of a complex relationship between the place of the social group to which these players belong in society and the identity built from this place.

As a representation of the place and role of the State in a given society at a given time, the reference of a public policy can be broken down into two elements: the global reference and the sectoral reference. The relationship between these two elements forms what is called the global-sector relationship. The global reference consists of a set of fundamental values that constitute the basic beliefs of a society, as well as the norms that define the role of the State and public policies. This reference is attributed to the representation that a society makes of its relationship with the world and its capacity to act upon itself through public action. It is around this general representation that the different sectoral representations come to be ordered and hierarchized (MULLER, 2018).

Therefore, to evoke a global reference is, in the words of Jobert (2004), to designate representations that structure and hierarchize the public policy space, which would correspond to what Vivien Schmidt called the master discourse or “coordinative discourse”, which should provide a framework that guides the action of the protagonists of public action. Thus, a global reference could never be confused with political discourses, ideologies, much less financial economic policy references (JOBERT, 2004, p.48-49).

The sectoral reference, as the name itself defines, is a representation of the sector or profession whose boundaries are the object of permanent conflicts and controversies regarding control of the political agenda. Like the global reference, the sectoral reference is a social construct whose coherence can never be considered perfect, given that in a given sector several conceptions coexist on the nature and extent of sectoral boundaries among which, generally, one of them becomes dominant because it better conforms to the existing norms in the global reference, thus becoming imposed as a reference image for the corresponding public policy (MULLER, 2018).

The global-sector concept, in the conception of Jobert and Muller (1987), would be at the heart of state intervention. In this case, the purpose of the intervention is to adjust, as much as possible, the reproduction of the sector involved to the more global objectives concerning the reproduction of the whole society (e.g., the dominant reference in the fifties and sixties in France was related to a project of modernization of society). These sectors, the authors continue, are defined as sets of social roles structured around a vertical and autonomous logic of reproduction (industrial sectors, agricultural sectors, social sectors). That said, the production of the reference is the result of a complex set of discussions, debates and negotiations.

In the Global-Sector Relationship (GSR), a central role is assigned to the agents that Jobert and Muller (1987) call mediators. These agents have a double role, since it is up to them to decode the GSR, that is, to make it intelligible to the other players through the elaboration of a philosophy of action. It is also their task to recode this GSR in terms of practical action, that is, in norms and criteria for political intervention. The authors even compare the function of mediators to an operation of ideological alchemy, since they act to transform a relatively opaque socioeconomic reality into a coherent political action program.

In the following topics, after recovering the role of the Brazilian State in national economic development, especially concerning sectoral policies for rural areas, always in agreement with the global reference that guided them, we will proceed to a characterization of what we call Territorial Policy for Rural Development (PTDR) and, we will then seek to highlight the ideas and conceptions of important players, analyzed in combination with their militant and professional trajectories, who contributed to shaping a community on territorial development, which led to the conception and implementation of the PTDR, starting in 2003.

3 The State and public policies for rural development in Brazil: from the authoritarian and modernizing framework to the participatory

From a quick retrospective, we can identify at least three distinct moments that characterized the action of the Brazilian State regarding the creation of public policies for the Brazilian rural sector. At first (from the 1950s to the 1970s/80s) the Brazilian State led, guided by an authoritarian-modernizing global framework, in an exclusive and centralized way the formulation of public policies for this sector with the objective of adjusting it to this sector. Such policies were directed almost exclusively to commercial agriculture with the intention of integrating them into the industrialization process being implemented in the country. In a second moment (1990/2000), the country was already in the process of redemocratization, which allowed the return of important collective social actors that worked in the countryside, the State, under the guidance of a neoliberal global reference, which among other aspects the led to reduce its participation as an inducing agent of national development, it also begins to contemplate, on a very small scale, with public policies the so-called small family production, seeking to adjust this segment to the productivist-modernizing sectorial reference in advancing stage in the commercial agriculture segment. In a third moment, from the beginning of the 2000s, the State once again had an inducing action in the development of the country, now guided by a global reference based on development with inclusion and social participation. In the field of public policies, the State continues to direct policies towards the commercial agricultural segment, always based on a productivist-modernizing reference. However, it advances, at the same time that it starts to consider the participation of the various collective actors that worked in the field as co-participants in the process of formulating public policies, in the recognition in a more accentuated way of the socioeconomic importance of the segment of small production, now called of family farming, whose reflection is a greater flow of public policies for this segment having sustainable rural development as a public policy reference.

This new global reference, in the sense used by Jobert and Muller (1987), based on the participation and democratization of the relationship between the State and civil society, seeks to modify the form of planning and management of these public policies and the perspective that guided them, previously made in a centralized, vertical and sectorial way, for a more democratic, ascending perspective, based on the social protagonism of local actors and on the articulation and integration of governmental actions and entities (intra and intergovernmental). This perspective was embodied in a strategy centered on three key concepts, “sustainable rural development”, “territory” and “territorial approach”, the latter including the notions of democracy and participation, and materialized in two public actions (PRONAT and PTC), which will be characterized in the following topic.

For Sabourin et al. (2016, p. 80), the Brazilian government, by making use of this new public policy framework, provoked a reformulation of its own role in the opposite direction to what it had been playing in previous decades, concerning the processes of articulation, ordering and support to the national development. This change in the government's posture, therefore, simultaneously responds to the pressures to adjust to the current international order (globalization), “in the sense of a growing overlap between the levels of problem management: inter/trans/national; regional; national; territorial”, but also of the organized segments of society, particularly the rural social movements, which demanded new approaches that would ensure legitimacy, transparency and participation in the processes of formulating and managing public policies. The combined action of these factors ends up giving rise to hybrid forms of territorial development policies.

Schneider and Tartaruga (2004) complement the reasons that led to this decision. They consider that the State's crisis and the consequent loss of its regulatory power also explain the growing interest in the territorial approach. The state crisis refers, as mentioned above, to the new context caused by the globalization process that contributed to the growing inability of the state to regulate and interfere in the private economy, changing its centralizing character and forging it to a more flexible and malleable way of conducting public action, more susceptible to the participation of civil society representations in decision-making processes, previously under their exclusive responsibility.

Although the ideas that founded this new public policy framework inspired public actions, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, with clear outlines of the existence of a community of actors on the topic of territorial rural development with national scope, it was easily identified in the composition and debates that took place within the National Council for Sustainable Rural Development (CNDRS), it actually started to be constituted as such from 2003, with the beginning of the government of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva. It is the result of the adjustment to the global framework established by the new actors who took over the central government. This adjustment resulted in new public rural development actions, such as the PTDR, conceived and implemented by SDT/MDA.

4 Territorial Policy for the Development of Rural Territories: fundamentals, instruments and trajectory

The territorial approach appears in the scope of public management strategies in Brazil in counterpoint to the traditional instruments of public intervention (sectoral, fragmented, etc.). It is a strategy that aims to architect new regulation mechanisms between the State and society, seeking the recognition and valuing of social players. In this sense, Schneider (2004, p. 102) points out, "territory emerges as a new reference unit for State action and the regulation of public policies.

According to Ortega (2008), this conception of rural territorial development in Brazil gains prominence in the 1990s (municipal character) and undergoes modifications in strategy as of 2003, when it assumes an intermunicipal character. It was in this year that the MDA started to establish as a priority the territorial planning as a way to articulate and cohere public policies aimed at the family farming segment. As of 2004, the year of its creation, SDT/MDA announced the adoption of this strategy as necessary to achieve a new paradigm for the country's development, and proposed to change the current logic that until then characterized the decentralization of public action (creation of councils as a criterion for the transfer of resources) to another perspective based on the formation of new, more authentic institutions, with greater capacity to participate in the formulation and social control of public policies, which are now focused on the territory (BRASIL, 2005a).

In this sense, the development of a rural space development program was sought, called the National Program for the Sustainable Development of Rural Territories (PRONAT). Through this, it sought to encourage and promote the leading role of players in the construction of governance for the development of their territories. Said program, in line with the federal government's strategic guidelines, directed efforts at reducing poverty, combating social exclusion, and reducing social and regional inequalities.

The territorial strategy adopted by Pronat was based on guidelines that defended the notion of territory and the territorial approach as a conceptual reference for the promotion of sustainable rural development; the encouragement of participation and interaction among the diversity of social players in the decision-making processes involving rural development policies; the adoption of participative methodologies and bottom-up planning mechanisms, with a view to achieving self-management of the territories; the articulated and integrated action between actions and governments, in the different spheres, with civil society entities and social movement organizations. In terms of strategic axes and expected results, Pronat structured its actions in four areas: a) social management of territories; b) strengthening capital stock; c) economic dynamism of rural territories; and d) integration of public policies (BRASIL, 2005b).

This government strategy for development with a territorial focus that started with Pronat was reaffirmed in 2008, with the launching of the Citizenship Territories Program (PTC), whose definition expressed by the MDA defines it as a strategy for sustainable regional development and guarantee of social rights aimed at the regions of the country that need it most, with the aim of bringing economic development and universalizing basic citizenship programs, by integrating the actions of the federal government and of the state and municipal governments.

The PTC was conceived as a kind of equivalent program in the social area to the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC), proposed by the federal government for the resumption of the country's growth. The intention was to institute a social agenda consisting of a set of measures aimed at consolidating rights and reducing social inequalities. In addition to the guidelines followed by SDT/MDA with Pronat, the PTC was formulated with the central purpose of promoting the integration of public policies, notably those of assistance, social security and income transfer, with the policies of support to production, generation of employment and income, and regional development executed by 22 ministries. The PTC was based on four guidelines (planning and integration of public policies, expansion of social participation, pursuit of universal basic citizenship programs, productive inclusion of the poor populations of the territories) and its actions are structured in three axes: i) support for production activities; ii) citizenship and rights; iii) infrastructure. Thus, the goal was to broaden the horizons of the policies to fight poverty and promote rural development (FRANÇA; SORIANO, 2010).

According to SDT's planning, in order to fulfill the implementation cycle in the 450 rural territories presumed to exist in Brazil, Pronat should be in force for 32 uninterrupted years. The strategic actions prioritized by the territorial collegiate bodies were supported by the Infrastructure and Services in Rural Territories Program (PROINF), through the elaboration of territorial plans in each territory, divided into projects generally aimed at structuring production chains that structure the economic activity in the territories. In the period from 2004, when Pronat actually began its operationalization in the country, until 2016, when the dismantling of territorial policy instruments began, 243 rural territories were supported by the territorial policy, covering more than 3,568 municipalities, (64.3% of the country's total) and a universe of more than 76 million inhabitants, and 120 of these were recognized as citizenship territories.

Much more recently, in the period from 2013 to 2016, SDT/MDA implemented, in a pilot format, a project in partnership with universities that aimed to support the creation of Territorial Development Extension Centers (NEDETs), which would be responsible for stimulating a process of "Productive Inclusion and Social Management" in rural territories. With regard to social management, the action of these centers would contemplate the advising of the territorial collegiate bodies in planning methodology, seeking to strengthen them through the offer of agricultural policy instruments that qualify the organization and operation of their agencies. As far as productive inclusion is concerned, the advice of the Nedets would basically focus on five agricultural policy instruments to be developed in the territories: Proinf (Infrastructure), Safra Plan and Microcredit (Credit), Ater (Technical Assistance), PAA/PNAE (institutional markets). With this strategic operational conception of social and productive inclusion, the aim was to strengthen, through advisory services to the beneficiaries of the Territorial Policy, the process of building their autonomy through social organization, the viability of the production and value-adding infrastructure, and the access to markets.

The PTDR sought to innovate fundamentally with the constitution of new institutionalities: National Council for Sustainable Rural Development (CONDRAF), at national level; State Councils for Sustainable Rural Development (CEDRS), at state level; Municipal Councils for Sustainable Rural Development (CMDRS), at municipal

level; and Territorial Collegiate Bodies (CODETER), at territorial level. These collective instances have become spaces for debate, negotiation, and decision-making on rural development policies, representing an important institutional innovation in the planning and management of rural development policies in Brazil (DELGADO; LEITE, 2015; DELGADO; ROCHA, 2017).

In terms of communities of players, the following union and rural social movements were active in rural territorial policy: National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG) and its affiliated federations and unions, National Confederation of Workers in Family Farming (CONTRAF), its federations and unions, The Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST), the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), among others, the NGOs that advise the territories and their networks, such as the Articulation of the Semi-arid (ASA), government agencies in the three spheres, universities and scholars, financial agents, and, in some cases, Sebrae and Senar.

We can see that there is a diversity of organizations, agencies, and players that make up what we call the field of "rural territorial development in Brazil," which at certain times have guided the dynamics of rural development from a territorial perspective. In the case of this research, the trajectories and ideas of the interviewees proved to be fundamental to understand these approximations. We will look at these elements in the next section.

5 The trajectories and ideas of the players who influenced the institutionalization of PTDR

A group of players that acted as advisors on rural development policies in the eighties and nineties became part of the State after the 2002 elections, occupying strategic positions within the bureaucratic apparatus, consolidating, together with other players (intellectuals, scientists, etc.), a public policy community that defends rural territorial development. These players reflect a pattern of Brazilian militants who have multiple engagements (religious groups, social entities and movements, parties, governments, institutional forums, etc.), referred to by Mische (1997) as "multiple militancy".

The trajectories of the interviewees for the purposes of this research reflect well the context characterized above. These are players with militancy in social movements (student movements, MST, CONTAG, FETRAF, among others), in pastoral work in the Catholic Church, in NGOs, international cooperation bodies, and, more recently, participation in the public administration of governments hegemonized by the Worker's Party (PT). These various forms of activism, but also of insertion in public administration, have contributed to bringing these players closer together in the field of rural development. The sharing of experiences and learning that these players brought with them in their trajectories contributed significantly to influence the processes that gave rise to the PTDR. Thus, when the Secretariat for Territorial Development (SDT/MDA) was created, these players, considered to be qualified professionals, with technical recognition and many with a direct relationship with social movements, were recruited. In short, the multiple trajectories of the interviewees and other players intersect at various moments and contribute to the meeting and strengthening of a public policy community that takes advantage of the window of opportunity (KINGDON, 2003) that arose in 2003, with the beginning of

the Lula administration, to propose public policies that they believe are necessary for effective transformation of the rural environment.

These players, throughout their trajectories, have contributed, in each organization they have worked for, with their ideas, learning, and representations about the desirable functioning of society and rural development, at the same time that they may, in the course of this journey, have taken on the role of vector and spokesperson of ideas (mixed with others in the debate forums in which they participated), values, and representations about how public policies should be operated. This is what was evidenced by the players interviewed in the field survey. It is possible to affirm that these are very similar trajectories, as can be seen in Table 1, and that, for this very reason, they started to compose, without neglecting the bias of political indication, the management cell (SDT) that conceived and formulated the strategy of rural development with a territorial focus.

Table 1 – Academic background, trajectories and the space occupied by the actors interviewed in SDT/MDA team

Academic background/ involvement with PTDR	Trajectories
E01 - Graduated in Agronomy (ESAM/UFERSA). He was responsible for coordinating the productive inclusion of the SDT/MDA.	Since graduation, he has worked in the student movement and joined the PT, through which he disputed elective positions. His professional experience began in NGOs, working with rural development, advising on agrarian reform settlements. He served as state manager and director of Incra, in addition to SDT, from 2003 to 2013.
E02 – Graduated in Agronomy from UFSC. He worked on the SDT team, from 2003 onwards, as a consultant (IICA) in support of the construction of the PTDR.	He was a seminarian for two years and then joined the Youth Ministry, when he began to become politically involved. Militant in the Student Movement, Worked in NGOs and in the government of the state of SC. He revealed that he has always been close to the PT.
E03 - Graduated in Agronomy and Cooperativism. He was part of the SDT/MDA team since the beginning of the management, occupying the management of associativism and cooperativismo.	Since graduation, he has worked in movements called “alternative agriculture”. He maintained a close relationship with the PT, Church groups, MST and the trade union movement. Worked in NGOs, in technical cooperation projects with international organizations, working in advisory programs for agrarian reform settlements in RN.
E04 - Graduated in cooperativism from the Federal University of Paraíba (UFPB). He held the position of manager of SDT/MDA.	He was director of the Association of Orientation of Cooperatives of the Northeast (ASSOCENE), maintained strong ties with CONTAG and MST. He participated in the transitional government (2002) and was executive secretary of Condraf.
E05 – Graduated in Agroecology. He participated in spaces for dialogue at the national level with the government and in Condraf, representing the MST.	He fought in the progressive Church (Liberation Theology), then he was union leader. He participated in the founding of the PT from Santa Catarina and the national MST. He is currently a representative of this movement at the national level.
E06 – Graduated in Agronomy. He acted as articulator of PTDR in the state of Ceará and national consultant for SDT.	He worked as an extension officer at EMATERCE, advised NGOs and consulted on technical cooperation projects with international organizations. He is currently a social policy advisor at Contag.
E07 – Graduated in forestry engineering from UFRRJ, where he is currently a professor. He joined the SDT, initially through the IICA/NEAD technical cooperation project, and later as one of its staff.	He worked as a rural extension worker at ACAR-MG, at the Brazilian Rural Extension Company (EMBRATER). He was involved in international cooperation, worked at the Ministry of Agriculture – MAPA and, during this period, maintained a closer relationship with Contag. In 2003, he joined the SDT/MDA team, where he remained until 2009.
E08 – He worked as a rural extension worker at ACAR-MG, at the Brazilian Rural Extension Company (EMBRATER). He was involved in international cooperation, worked at the Ministry of Agriculture – MAPA and, during this period, maintained a closer relationship with Contag. In 2003, he joined the SDT/MDA team, where he remained until 2009.	Economist at the Northeast Development Superintendence (SUDENE). She was a Consultant to IICA; National Project Director at the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and Consultant at UNDP-IPEA (Institute of Applied Economic Research). She has held several public positions in the three spheres and is currently a professor at the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE).

Fonte: Research carried out between 2017-2019 by the authors.

Based on these trajectories, it can be inferred that the members of this policy community present trajectories that intersect, with common insertions in student and social movements, political party (PT), and several organizations, including international cooperation organizations, which contributed to establish and strengthen the community of players responsible for establishing a kind of counterpoint to the model of rural development disseminated in agronomy schools, based on the model of modern agriculture and governed by the principles of the green revolution.

Regarding the ideas and conceptions that influenced the PTDR, the players interviewed who work directly in the SDT management are unanimous in recognizing that it was strongly influenced by the experience that preceded it, the Infrastructure and Services line of Pronaf and, in conceptual terms, by the European experiences of agricultural development with the territorial approach, especially those developed by Leader. Table 2 is an attempt to categorize these ideas and conceptions, grouped, when possible, by conceptual convergences.

Among the international influences in the construction of the conceptual basis of this proposal, the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA) stood out, due to the formal partnerships established with SDT/MDA, which even made possible, on different occasions, visits by delegations from the ministerial team, with the presence of one of the ministers of the portfolio to Condraf advisors (public administrators and social players), to get to know up close the experiences developed in Spanish territories and supported by the Leader Program. These partnerships provided exchange experiences also in the academic field between Brazilian and European researchers, resulting in a vast academic production focusing on the similarities and particularities of both experiences. Such contributions were also important in defining the scope of the PTDR.

Table 2 – Ideas and conceptions of the players (grouped into categories) that influenced the PDTR

E01, E06 and E07: Family agriculture as the core element of the Policy, led by social players (endogenous character) with a multiscale bias (territorial, state, national).
E02, E03 and E04: attribute intersectoral and inter-municipal focus to the conception of territorial/rural development (beyond the agricultural dimension and the municipal logic).
E05: Emphasis on the importance of the environmental dimension in rural development from the perspective of counterposing the hegemonic project of modernizing agriculture.
E08: Recognizing the European influence in the formulation of territorial policy, it defended that its materialization should be based on the country's diverse reality.

Source: Research conducted between 2017-2019 by the authors.

Besides the ideas and conceptions focused on above, the rescue of some other ideas from the players interviewed helps to build the cognitive framework that framed the Policy. One of the main administrators (E04) from SDT/MDA, when asked to point out the main ideas and intentions that fed the conception, still during the transition phase to the new federal administration (2003-2006), of the territorial strategy in the institutionalized rural development actions through Pronaf, pointed out two main ones: "the need for intersectorality to promote broader public policies and the fragility of the municipalities to carry out a local municipal policy" (E04). He added the positive aspects that would derive from these purposes, such as the need

to strengthen social organization in terms of scale, which could, under the political dimension, enable unions from different municipalities in the same territory to dialog more around a territorial agenda rather than a local one; in the economic dimension, different cooperatives could acquire scale of production as a way of insertion and/or expansion in the markets, or even in the management of public policies, with a view to strengthening local organizations.

However, the administrator interviewed (Eo4) recognizes that, although the social movements shared the same diagnosis about the insufficiency of the sectorialized municipal action, they did not have the same clarity about the proposed solutions, the proof is that the territorial approach took a long time to enter the agenda of these movements, and this proposal was also the target of reaction from state governments and city halls, which feared the loss of resources and power after the implementation of Pronat, replacing Pronaf Infrastructure and Services.

According to the report of one of the members of the transition government (Eo8), which preceded the new federal administration (2003-2006), the discussions within the team were about the need to insert the spatial (territorial) dimension in federal policies, since the Planning Ministry did not value this dimension in budget definitions. She adds that this dimension was much more present in the regional development (MIN) and agrarian (MDA) portfolios, although, in the latter, in a very incipient way. In this sense, the dialog with social movements, especially Contag and MST, proved to be necessary at the time, since they were the ones that "had real territorial bases" (Eo8). The interviewee thus concludes that impregnating, for example, the credit (Pronaf) with the dimension of the real territorialities existing in the country was crucial for a better balance in the distribution of resources, which are heavily concentrated in the South Region.

In the view of another SDT administrator (Eo7), there were some common ideas crystallized as beliefs among the team members, according to which civil society organizations should not only participate fully in all territorial action planning processes, as a way of creating a real commitment to them, but also to take the lead in these processes, since their "political durability" has always proved to be longer than that of those holding elective mandates. They also argued that the planning of territorial actions, in conceptual terms, should be conducted from a bottom-up perspective, which implied, on the part of the government team, full acceptance of the plans coming from the territories and conceived in a spatial and non-sectoral way, with the community of family farmers having a prominent position.

This community, certainly not the only one to generate rural development processes, would however play, in the team's view, the role of artisans of this development, whether for ideological or practical reasons, after all they "are numerically superior, they are the ones who contribute most to rural poverty", thus having, much more, the need to participate in public actions that seek to modify the social, economic, and environmental structure of these spaces. Such ideas implied, therefore, in a conception of rural development conceived in social organization, fed by public policies and centered on the valuation and strengthening of family farming, whose territory was essentially conceived as

spaces of power, and this dispute would have to be carried out in an arena where there was a minimum of equity among players so that they would not be dominated, as they have always been, by certain forms of power

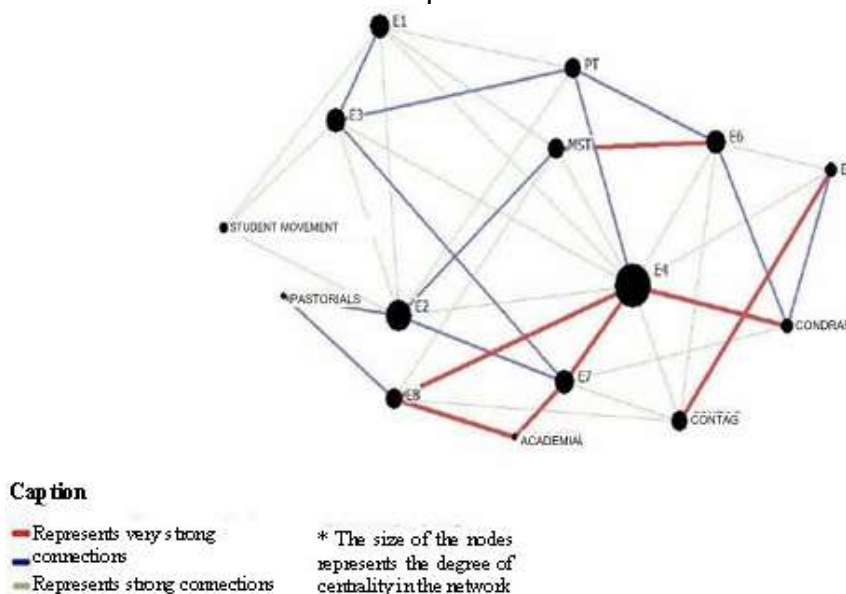
that, in a certain way, disqualified and secundarized social participation [...] (E07).

This conception of development advocated by the players who led SDT was, so to speak, reinforced by the policy definitions of the new government (2003-2006) and by the context in which it started, with priorities announced for the fight against hunger and social exclusion, the efforts towards a sustainable development model with social inclusion, the emphasis on policies that address social and regional inequalities, which would involve identifying the sub-regions with the lowest economic dynamics and income. Added to these priorities are the budget difficulties, materialized in contingencies and other budget restriction measures adopted by the government, which created enormous difficulties in meeting the numerous demands of Brazilian municipalities.

The social movements, in turn, although they did not express explicit defense of the territorial approach, defended convergent conceptions. If we take as an example the important foundations that underpinned the conceptual perspective defended and expressed by Contag, in its Alternative Project for Sustainable Rural Development (PADRS), and by the MST, in its political project, we can see a convergence with the central foundations that structure the PTDR, namely: sustainable rural development, democracy, and social participation.

In summary, and as previously emphasized, the associated trajectories of these players (many already knew each other and acted together since the student movement) resulted in the sedimentation of similar worldviews, which, together with many others, contributed to consolidate a public policy community in Brazil on rural development with convergent conceptions regarding the central role of family farming, in the defense of an alternative model of farming to the conventional one, in the adoption of the territorial approach to overcome the sectoral perspective, etc. The association of these trajectories and, why not say, of ideas, can be seen more easily in the sociogram below.

Figure 1: The trajectories of the players forming the public policy community on rural development with a territorial focus



Source: Adapted from Moura and Pontes (2020) and 2017-2019 interviews

The sociogram above shows the relational dynamics of the players interviewed with the other players, their connections with the institutions, and the main relationships among them, showing that they all relate to each other in some way, forming the public policy community on territorial rural development in Brazil. We notice from the sociogram that interviewee E04 appears as the central player in the community. He connects with all the other players and with very strong relationships with Condraf, researchers from academia, and with the interviewees who participated in the management at SDT. This player, besides having taken on the role of executive secretary of Condraf, at the beginning of the 2003-2006 administration, held for more than one administration the position of secretary of SDT, and was responsible for assembling the team and leading the formulation of PDTR. He was also the main interlocutor in the dialog with state governments and social movements in the processes of recognition of rural territories, implementation and execution of the Policy in the country.

The network integrated by the policy community treated here was important for the composition of the government team (SDT/MDA), as well as for the formulation, implementation and execution of its policies. The statement made by one of its members, in his doctoral thesis, about rural territorial policy expresses this well:

All could be considered experienced professionals in their respective fields, which allowed the bonds of the respective professional relationship networks to be maintained, favoring the maintenance of the activities they should follow and the beginning of new ones (E07).

This network was strengthened by SDT's management. One of the first measures it adopted, as soon as it was instituted, was to formalize the constitution of a national network of collaborators spread throughout the different states, which included the participation of technicians who, for various reasons, were not part of the Secretariat's central team, but who continued to interact with it.

Therefore, these players contributed to the central government their worldviews, experiences, and learning based on an image of society they intended to see materialized, whose State, in this transformation process, would play an important role, mainly through public policies. It is, therefore, in reference to these cognitive images that these players, when they arrived in government, organized and articulated their perceptions about the problems experienced by the family farming segment, compared solutions, and proposed actions with the aim of institutionalizing them in public policy instruments.

Final Considerations

From the lens of two theoretical-analytical models from the American and French traditions (policy communities and referential), we analyzed the influence of ideas, beliefs and representations of activists who integrated the policy community for the conformation of the public policy referential that enabled the emergence of rural territorial policy in Brazil. The paper analyzes the influence of the ideas, beliefs, and representations of activists who were part of the political community in shaping the public policy framework that enabled the emergence of rural territorial policy in Brazil. All the interviewees for the purpose of this research have very similar

trajectories: they started their militancy in the student or social movements, worked in civil society organizations or in public organizations advising rural development processes, or have militated or are sympathizers of the Workers' Party, many of them even worked together before going into government. In fact, it is exactly these common trajectories that led them to the center of the national government, in the administration that began in 2003. The ideas, experiences, and values of these players, added to those of several others, contributed to define more clearly the public policy community in Brazil, focusing on rural development with a territorial approach, and made possible the decoding process of the global reference and its recoding into sectoral policies.

The research showed that the ideas, beliefs, and social representations developed by these players throughout their professional and militant trajectories had a strong influence on the theoretical outlines and operationalization instruments adopted by the rural development policies adopted by the federal government, as of 2003, especially those with a territorial approach, which sought conceptual inspiration in national and European experiences.

Evoking the notion of reference developed by Jobert and Muller (1987), we can infer that the arrival of new players, with their ideas, values, beliefs and social representations, to the federal government changed the correlation of forces in the government decision-making arenas (where public policies are institutionalized), promoting a change in the reference (or paradigm) that guides global government action, as well as in sectoral policies, which have sought, in an almost automatic process, to adjust to this new reference. This new global reference (participatory) sought to change the pattern of State and society relations, with strong effects on the planning and management of public policies. In the case of rural development policies, the institutionalization of the rural development policy with a territorial approach (previously characterized by a sectoral focus) became the clearest evidence of this adjustment, which found support in the ideas and projects of agriculture and society advocated by these new players who occupied strategic positions in the government, in this case in the SDT/MDA structure.

In line with other players with similar trajectories and who have also been part of the government in its various areas, the activists interviewed in this study have thus contributed to this dual process. At the same time they sought, as part of a broader community of players that was coming into government, to assert their ideas to change the role of the Brazilian state in national development, fueled by the image of society that they have always believed in, they have also changed the policies directed at the family farming segment, which began to assume the foundations and the shape of the rural development project that they sought to build throughout their professional and militant trajectories.

The evidence expressed in this study only reinforces the importance of adopting a combination of theoretical and analytical approaches in the analysis of public policies, where the synergistic effect of this combination makes it possible to highlight and/or reinforce aspects that are difficult to perceive through the individual use of one of them. In the case of this study, the analysis of the trajectory of some key players and their contributions to the structuring of the policy community on rural territorial development was decisive for a better understanding of the institutionalization of PTDR.

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