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Sustainability Of Food And Nutrition Security Policies During Presidential Transitions: Integrating Socio-Political And Nutritional Sciences

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SUSTAINABILITY OF FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY POLICIES DURING PRESIDENTIAL
TRANSITIONS: INTEGRATING SOCIO-POLITICAL AND NUTRITIONAL SCIENCES

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to God, to my family especially my parents Fela and Emilio, and to all vulnerable people experiencing food and nutrition insecurity, mainly women and children.

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I acknowledge the contributions of the 52 interviewees in Guatemala that informed this study voluntarily, of my professors at the University of South Carolina (USC), of colleagues, and friends that provided feedback, and of my dissertation committee members Dr. Christine E. Blake, Dr. Lee D. Walker, and Dr. Gerald A. McDermott for their valuable advice. I mainly acknowledge the contributions, advice, and support from my major advisor Dr. Edward A. Frongillo who encouraged me to develop my research ideas, guided my academic work at USC, and accompanied me during the whole process for doing this study. I acknowledge the unceasing and unconditional support, love, and strength from my family. I acknowledge the many gifts received from God, and that without his help completing this work would not have been possible.

ABSTRACT

Presidential transitions are uncertain periods in which relationships among power, accountability, and electoral support of a democratic process do not hold. Transitions challenge collaboration towards implementing policies contributing to food and nutrition security (FNSP). Sustaining these policies during transitions is critical for reaching long-term goals. Knowledge gaps remain on how to perform strategic multisectoral work during transitions to maximize FNSP sustainability.

This study aimed to examine what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions and responded to the questions: How do policy actors define sustainability? What are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability? What are the implications of terminal logic behavior (TLB) and strategic defection (SD) for sustainability?

A constructivist grounded-theory approach with a retrospective design was used for a case study in Guatemala. Purposeful criteria were used to recruit 52 policy actors from all sectors and levels, elected and appointed that had contributed to implementing the FNSP adopted since 2006. Data from semi-structured interviews were analyzed using open, axial, and selective coding. Content analysis of news, speeches, and documents revealed emerging themes for verifying results from interviews.

Study participants defined sustainability by describing drivers like attitudes, social norms, transferred capacities, shared commitment, resilience, ownership, empowerment,

livelihood, self-functioning, and coherence. They also defined sustainability by describing long-term processes like accumulating, adding up, maintaining, and reaching. Data revealed 24 forces determining sustainability during transitions: The forces for sustaining FNSP are Backed up, Beneficial, Championed, Importance, Institutionally sound, Owned, Sensitive, Shared, Steady resources, Strategic, Transition effect, and Trusted; the forces for not sustaining FNSP are Antagonistic underlying structure, Campaigning, Dysfunctional transition, Fractioned, Haphazard, Insensitive, Irrelevant, Misrepresentation, Neglected, Rivalry, Unsound institutions, and Unsteady resources.

Governmental TLB and SD that were relevant to sustainability occurred through individual, institutional, and political mechanisms with consequences of slowdown of implementation, dysfunctional collaboration, inefficient use of resources, benefits not reaching targeted groups, and loss of momentum.

These results complement existing knowledge on how to perform multisectorally for implementing FNSP. Informed strategies that maximize sustainability during transitions will potentiate the reach of long-term goals to reduce food and nutrition insecurity, and to advance equal human development.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem statement

Developing countries with democratic governments periodically choose and replace the president. Presidential transitions represent uncertainty gaps for political and institutional decision-making and limit the continuity of national projects, including policies aimed to contribute to food and nutrition security. Food and nutrition security “exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to food, which is safe and consumed in sufficient quantity and quality to meet their dietary needs and food preferences, and is supported by an environment of adequate sanitation, health services and care, allowing for a healthy and active life” (Committee on World Food Security [CFS], 2012, p. 8).

During transitions, detrimental events to the sustainability of food and nutrition security policies (FNSP) result from implementation teams being fragmented at all levels. Additionally, it is common that presidential-terms delimit positions’ appointment, assignment of resources, commitments, and the timing for actions’ reach, and for the quantification of achievements. During transitions, multisectoral integration is challenged, and there is tension between politicians and technical teams. Policy actors fail to foresee that in the midst of a transition their agreements, resources, and collaborative processes are never guaranteed to continue. More importantly, governmental officials’

performance during presidential transitions is influenced by the circumstances of uncertainty around them negatively affecting policy sustainability. In this context, governmental officials are tacitly located in one of three categories: governmental officials that know they will be replaced once the new government takes office, those that do not know, and those that know they are keeping their jobs in non-political positions but expect new guidelines. Unforeseen uncertainties during transitions are not faced strategically; strategic plans do not include roles, responsibilities, and resources for navigating the institutional and sociopolitical context during presidential transitions leading to serious problems of policy actions' discontinuance. Countries are coming to a standstill every 4-6 years after which continuity could take similar or different directions impeding the reach of long-term policy goals.

It is possible to better understand this context by looking closely at the events that characterize the phases of a presidential transition (Figure 1.1). During the campaign, there is polarization at all levels and among all sectors; before elections, the interactions among multisectoral policy actors are dysfunctional; and after the elections, there are transition-commissions performing at all levels and it is not until after one year into the new administration that governmental plans are set, and working interactions are reestablished. Figure 1.1 shows the events that characterized a presidential transition in Central America as experienced by the principal investigator (PI). An early start of the presidential campaign and the release of new governmental plans after one year in office, made that specific transition last 27 months. This experience is consistent with the literature on presidential transitions periods that start with the presidential campaign and last until the end of the first year of the new government (Beermann & Marshall, 2005).

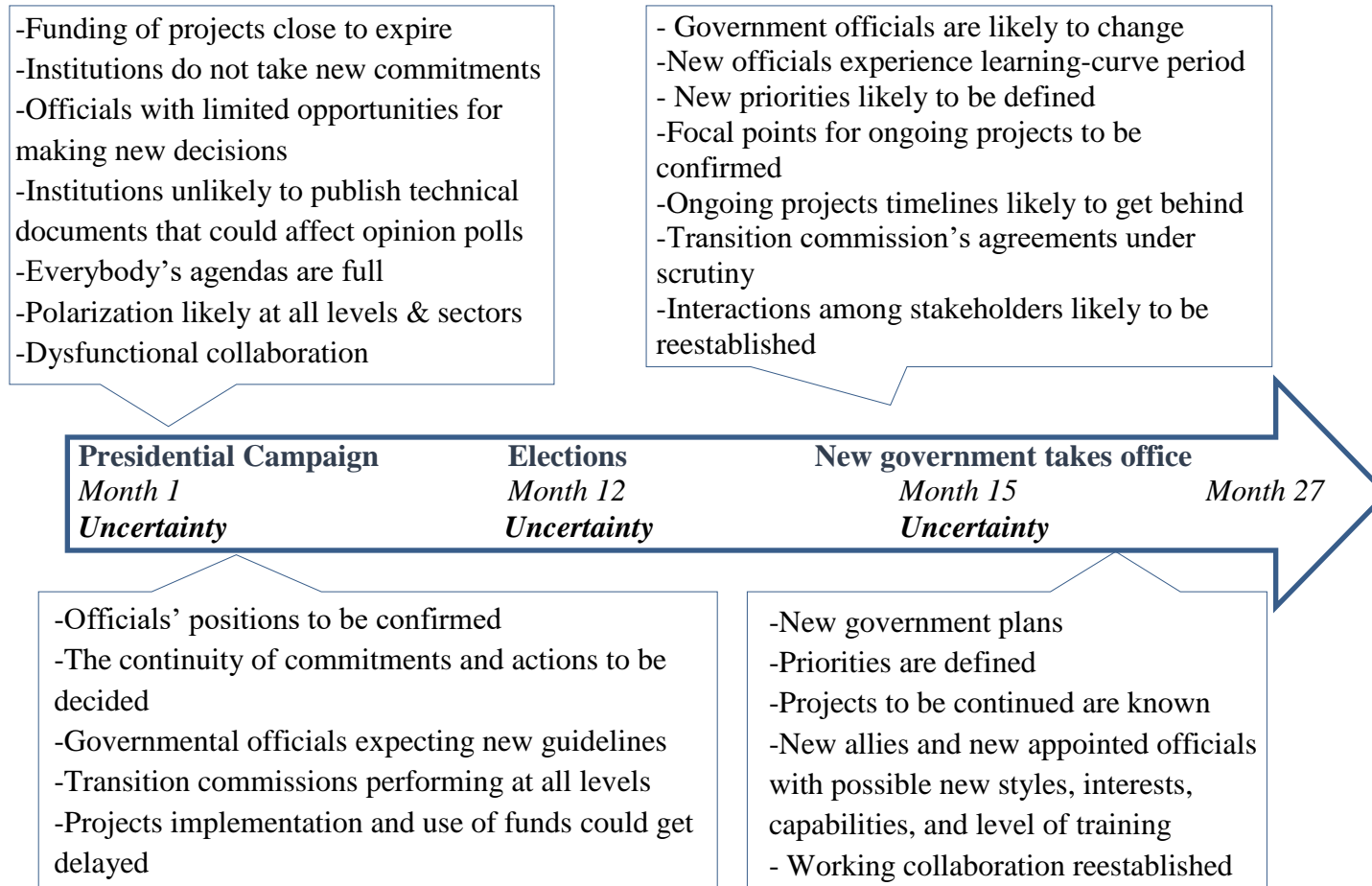


Figure 1.1 Institutional and socio-political context during presidential transitions as experienced by the PI

After this experience, it was possible for the PI to describe sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions as the ability of implementation teams to maintain support for policy-related actions over time in terms of uninterrupted implementation, commitment, resources allocation, collaboration, and capacity development. Each of these sustainability-components has been further explained for this context with a continuance aspect and with a statement on what was not sustainability (Table 1.1).

The problem of interrupting continuity of long-term actions responding to these policies every time a president changes is restricting the ability of governments to reach the policies' impact of increasing food and nutrition security (FNS). Unless these actions are effectively continued along transitions from one presidency to the next one, the consequences of food and nutrition insecurity will remain to affect mainly the wellbeing of vulnerable populations in developing countries contributing to unequal human development (UNDP & Malik, 2014).

The rationale for conducting this study is to examine what determines sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions from the multisectoral policy actors' perspectives, and to inform integrated and strategic work among them.

B. Social and economic costs

Food and nutrition insecurity is a problem associated with hunger in Latin America, and it is a contributing factor of stunting in Guatemala affecting 49.8% of children from 3 to 59 months (Martínez et al., 2009; Ministerio de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social [MSPAS], 2011; Martorell, 2012). Stunting affects almost 12% of Latin

Table 1.1 Sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions as experienced by the PI

| Sustainability components | Continuance aspect | What is not sustainability |
|---|--|--|
| Implementation | | |
| Policy related actions implemented and brought up to scale | Ongoing implementation with timely achievement of the outcomes | The actions supported changed and the timelines were not kept |
| Commitment | | |
| Political and institutional roles and responsibilities | Appointment of officials for the follow up of policy related actions | Officials are not appointed to continue ongoing actions |
| Resources | | |
| Funding and installed capacities for policy-related actions allocated | Mechanisms for keeping the existing resources | Funding or installed capacities were lost, no other resources have been assigned to make up for them and to maintain the ongoing actions |
| Collaboration | | |
| Multisectoral partnerships for joint work | Safeguard against losing partners of ongoing actions | Partners were lost, no others have been identified for maintaining ongoing actions |
| Capacity development | | |
| Development of actors' capabilities | Gradually builds on existing capabilities | Duplication of efforts due to overlooking existing capabilities in terms of actors trained, and actors' skills and abilities |

American children under 5 years, this prevalence reaches 16 % in Central America, and the 2005-2015 improvement was modest as it was predicted (De Onis et al., 2012, Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO], 2015, p.18). Vulnerability is greater among those poor, born to uneducated mothers, and living in rural areas, and it needs to be addressed together with the increasing problem of overweight and obesity (Martinez & Fernández, 2008; FAO, 2015, p. 17).

It was estimated in 2004, using incidental retrospective analysis, that the undernutrition suffered by various generations in Central America and the Dominican Republic had a cost of US\$ 6.7 billion. Productivity losses, as a consequence of the higher death rate and the lower level of education, accounts for 90% of this cost. It represents for Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua 185%, 137%, 91%, and 64% of the total social spending, respectively. Food and nutrition insecurity, hunger, and specifically child stunting are the most significant impediments to human development (Martinez & Fernández, 2008; Onis et al., 2013; World Health Organization [WHO], 2014).

C. Gaps in the literature

FNS laws, policies, and programs are being widely implemented in Latin America (FAO, 2012, p. 120). The region has endorsed the objective of complete eradication of hunger by 2025 through its Plan for Food Security, Nutrition and Hunger Eradication (FAO, 2015, p 27; Community of Latin American and Caribbean States [CELAC], 2015). Scientists have been successful at documenting evidence and at informing these efforts on effective interventions, engaging officials to invest for scaling up nutrition, and

understanding political agenda setting and commitment to nutrition under normal circumstances of a working governmental administration (Bhutta et al., 2008; United Nations System Standing Committee on Nutrition [UNSCN], 2011; Pelletier et al., 2011; Lapping et al., 2012). Though the region is considered a success story at making progress in the reduction of poverty and hunger; in countries like Guatemala and Haiti, the prevalence of hunger and the number of people affected are expected to increase by 2016 (FAO, 2015, p. 4, 27). Hunger still affects over 34 million people in Latin America. Climate change and inequality affecting mainly women, rural, indigenous, and poor groups represent important challenges for reaching the long-term goal of FNS in the region.

FNSP actions are being implemented in the context of countries' institutional and political cycles determined by fixed-term duration presidencies and periodic presidential transitions. Proactive approaches using the important documented knowledge are insufficient to guarantee the continuity of ongoing actions during sudden changes in political agendas and socio-economic contexts. There is still an important gap for understanding the interacting factors that play roles for the continuance of efforts under the circumstances characterizing the context of presidential transitions (Figure 1.1) such as polarization, end-of-term institutional insecurity, replacement of high and midlevel governmental officials, dysfunctional multisectoral teams, sudden changes of political-institutional priorities, and reallocation of resources. An especially challenging obstacle in this context is to come up with a compelling argument for continuity that is constrained by a widespread struggle to avoid acknowledging any credit for predecessors, even more so if they belong to a different party or to technical teams that have a history

of contention, not unusual within FNS communities (Pelletier et al., 2011). The factors shaping the conditions for FNSP sustainability during transitions have not been studied. Important questions still exist in terms of how policy actors, that include technical teams and policy makers with potential differing professional views, define sustainability; what mechanisms determine sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions; and what are the implications of documented behavior logics to understand the behavior of governmental officials during transitions. This is important to inform the improvement of current approaches for collaborating and maximizing continuity of policy implementation during transitions. The importance of filling in these gaps is of relevance not only for countries like Guatemala, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Vietnam, and Peru where the complexities of multisectoral collaboration within the FNS community has been documented (Pelletier et al., 2012); but also for other countries with similar collaborative expectations from policy actors.

D. Study aims

The aim of this study was to examine what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions, from socio-political and nutritional perspectives, in a Central American country that experiences a change of president every four years. This work will provide evidence for responding to three research questions:

1. How do policy actors define sustainability?
2. What are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability?
3. What are the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability?

E. Justification

This work documents evidence for explaining what determined the sustainability of the FNSP in a Central American country where the policy had become a presidential priority after two transitions. These results advance the knowledge on how policy actors can collaborate more effectively on inter-disciplinary efforts so policy implementation and long-term impact are not hindered repeatedly by periodic transitions.

This research is the result of an extensive document review of relevant publications on sustainability, food and nutrition security, presidential transitions, politics and government in Latin America, policy agenda setting for prioritizing nutrition, evidence based nutrition interventions, scaling up nutrition, and on qualitative methods as applied by nutrition and political science researchers.

The PI experienced a recent presidential transition in a similar setting to the one studied here, which provided understanding of the institutional and sociopolitical contexts around transitions that needed to be addressed, specifically during a presidential campaign, elections and the taking of office of a new administration (Figure 1.1). Additionally, during the early stages of the study preparation, the PI interviewed officials collaborating with governmental authorities on FNS efforts in Central America. These complemented the PI experiences for finalizing the study rationale, context assessment, and the methodological approach, and for identifying FNSP-related sources of information to determine what sectors, institutions, and policy actors would accurately provide the data for responding to the research questions.

The PI and the collaborating research team jointly provided the technical and methodological knowledge for completing this study and for reflecting the socio-

political, health, and food and nutritional-sciences perspectives for producing results that are informative for collaborative work among these fields.

This document has been organized starting with this introductory Chapter 1, Chapter 2 presents the background knowledge for this study, Chapter 3 shows the research design and methods, Chapter 4 describes the results informing the three research questions as manuscripts-format, and Chapter 5 shows the conclusions and implications.

CHAPTER 2

SIGNIFICANCE AND BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE

A. Significance

Developing countries with democratic systems periodically experience the process of choosing and replacing the president; hence there are frequent transition periods that are times of uncertainty and contradiction (Beermann & Marshall, 2005) bringing about decision-making gaps at the political and institutional levels. These periods limit the continuity of the implementation of policies and programs aimed to contributing to FNS. Lack of continuance is particularly important considering that these policies have long-term outcomes that require continuous political commitment, uninterrupted financing mechanisms, solid multisectoral collaboration, constant capacity development of actors, continuous implementation processes, and adaptation to needs and priorities for responding effectively to the changeable determinants of the problem (Garrett & Natalicchio, 2011; Natalicchio et al., 2009).

Food and nutrition insecurity and its relation to underdevelopment, and poverty in Latin America are being addressed through national laws regulating the mechanisms to respond to regional agreements. Global commitments and successful country strategies; specifically successful cases like Zero Hunger in Brasil, contributed to a regional trend of adoption of FNSP (Da Silva, 2008; Silva, 2010; Paim et al., 2011; Victora et al., 2011a; Victora et al., 2011b; Fleury, 2011; Kleinert & Horton, 2011; Uauy, 2011). FNS laws and

policies are currently being implemented in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and El Salvador (Gobierno de El Salvador [GOES], 2011; FAO, 2012, p.120). In this context, the sole adoption of legal frameworks can be claimed as evidence of institutional development (Da Silva et al., 2008).

Institutionalization is considered a kind of sustainability, a necessary organizational element, and a contributing factor for reaching long-term outcomes (Polsby, 1968; Yin, 1981; Scheirer, 2005). The regional agenda and priorities such as food and nutrition systems, sovereignty, governance, environmental sustainability, and institutional development (FAO, 2012, p. 117) posit the importance of actions in the long-term that are expected to result from FNSP currently being implemented. The literature is still limited on how to define policy sustainability during transitions and what determines sustainability of actions responding to these policies.

B. Categories of relevant knowledge

It is possible to inform this study by using conceptual elements documented by experts in the fields of Public Health, Health Promotion, Nutrition Policy, Poverty Reduction, and Political Sciences. Specifically, this work is guided by reviewing reports on sustainability of specific actions put in place or strengthened as a response to policies; and by summarizing characteristics of actions, actors and contexts influencing sustainability-related outcomes (Appendix A). The literature informing how to perform strategically for sustaining FNSP, that policy actors could use, has been reviewed here according to five categories: (1) health, food, and nutrition policy and politics; (2) agriculture policy, and food policy with nutrition outcomes; (3) political economy, and

FNS; (4) global health and population research; and (5) case studies in Latin America. Among these categories of sources, there is literature on the importance of presidential transitions and frameworks on how to think about and approach sustainability during transitions. Regarding the aims of this study, sustainability has been conceptualized and factors determining sustainability-related outcomes can be identified. There is no documented knowledge on FNSP policy actors' reports related to their performance either during presidential transitions or to implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability. This literature review has been informed by using the guide for reviewing scientific sources suggested by Randolph (2009). Sources are cited using the American Psychological Association style (APA, 1966).

1. Relevant cases reporting on transitions and FNSP actions

Successful country-experiences in Latin America upon which FNSP are currently being implemented are characterized by effectively sustaining actions during presidential transitions. A series of articles and comments on the case of Brazil make evident the need of sustaining across several governments for impact. The Brazil series aimed at examining the development of the Brazilian health system, focusing on the reform process during the past 40 years, and on how these changes have impacted maternal and child health and child nutrition, (Paim et al., 2011; Victora et al., 2011a; Victora et al., 2011b; Kleinert & Horton, 2011; Uauy 2011). The authors reviewed published studies and original data from official sources including data from vital statistics, population censuses, demographic and health surveys, and published reports. They concluded that health improvements were ascribed to favorable changes in social determinants of health

and a health reform process that started in the 1970s. The successful actions for progress in Brazil include health, nutrition, and social-assistance actions that stayed in place aiming targets and goals toward the same direction during several governments. Brazil has had eleven presidents since the 1970s, from Emílio Garrastazu Médici (1969-1974) until Michel Temer (May 2016-present), including the end of a military dictatorship in 1985. The civil society had a protagonist role in this case.

The cases of Chile and Bolivia show the critical impact of nutrition-sensitive interventions for success (Weisstaub et al., 2014). It has been documented how the Chilean success is a result of progressively and continuously implementing health, nutrition, sanitation, education, and reproductive health strategies that initiated in the 1940s showing results 30 to 40 years later. The author assures that the key element in the success of the Chilean experience has been the uninterrupted application of programs that resulted from the technical consensus, independently of the radical political, social, and economic changes the country has suffered.

The cases of Brazil and Chile show not only that sustainability during transition is necessary for impact but that it is indeed possible even under challenging circumstances of radical socio-political changes

A report aimed at identifying the challenges in the policy process and ways to overcome them in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru, and Vietnam, documents the relevance of political transitions in three of the countries studied (Pelletier et al., 2012). Data were collected through participant observation, documents review, and interviews. The methods were guided by published conceptual frameworks for understanding malnutrition, commitment, agenda setting, policy formulation, and implementation

capacities. The authors listed political transitions among the crucial factors for agenda-setting conditions that created political attention to chronic undernutrition. In Bolivia the initiation of President Morales' term meant commitment to addressing poverty and social exclusion, launching the first national program addressing stunting (Pelletier et al., 2012; Weisstaub et al., 2014). In Peru, a coalition advocating for nutrition that began during President Garcia's campaign influenced his concern for social policy. In Guatemala FNS, undernutrition, and the right to food resonated and escalated among the political climate across two administrations. These reports on the studies in Bolivia, Peru, and Guatemala show the potential of well-used political windows during transitions for agenda-setting that created political attention to nutrition (Pelletier et al., 2012).

A study aimed at understanding the factors, strategies, and processes conducive to the establishment of an effective Global Health Partnership in El Salvador and Guatemala in the context of a Regional Health Initiative (RHI) for reducing undernutrition revealed important obstacles related to the uncertainties of political transitions (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013). Participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and RHI documents' data revealed partners' divergent perspectives and the establishment of unrealistic aims that affected implementation. An upcoming political transition additionally to weak governmental leadership, and lack of national health plans and aims, prevented from reaching the RHI objectives of feasibility, alignment, and ownership. The events that affected this process were turnover of high-level personnel, staff fluctuations following national elections, and short-term contracts with low wages that lead to high rotation and instability of the health workforce.

2. Frameworks and approaches informing policy sustainability

Useful frameworks for guiding policy actors on how to think and approach sustainability during transitions are the political economy analyses frameworks (Reich & Balarajan, 2012; Resnick et al., 2015). These provide a roadmap for identifying where the specific policy processes of interest stand, factors to consider and for defining an approach for performing strategically. More specific frameworks are useful for sustainability during transitions by influencing political priority (Shiffman & Smith, 2007), making a thorough assessment of strategies and actions (Menon et al., 2011), working multisectorally (Garrett & Natalicchio, 2011), and monitoring and evaluating (M&E) policy influence (Jones, 2011).

A political economy analysis for FNS proposed a methodology grounded in the academic literature for informing the policy process by practitioners (Reich & Balarajan, 2012). The authors reviewed the existing political economy literature with focus on applications in development, and in health and nutrition policy. They identified four political economy themes: fragmented nutrition system, institutionally homeless nutrition, multiplicity of owners creating a multiplicity of nutrition narratives, and limited capacity of nutritionists to manage political dynamics. It suggests a methodology for conducting an in-depth political economy analysis in four steps: (1) describe objectives and policy context, (2) select a stage of policy cycle, (3) analyze political dynamics to assess feasibility, and (3) assess and design strategies. This framework is especially useful because of its simplicity and its adaptability when seeking to sustain a specific policy action.

A more recent framework for political economy analyses, the Kaleidoscope model (Resnick et al., 2015), shows a thorough identification of policy change determinants and of contextual conditions for each phase of the policy cycle accounting for the electoral and legislative calendars. The authors aimed at understanding national policymaking processes to recognize opportunities for, and limits to, generating policy change. They introduced an applied framework to analyze drivers of change in the FNS arena, with a specific emphasis on agriculture and nutrition policies. It identifies key variables that define the necessary and sufficient conditions for policy change to occur. These variables were inductively derived through an extensive review of the secondary literature on episodes of policy change in developing countries across a broad range of policy domains related to FNS, including agriculture, education, healthcare, nutrition, and social protection. The advantages of using this framework are that it incorporates issues of power and conflict, it recognizes the importance of external actors and the simultaneous influence of interests, ideas, and institutions, and it helps trace why a policy fails to be implemented.

A framework specifically informing on how to influence political priority (Shiffman & Smith, 2007) is useful as presidential support is a key component for sustainability. The authors aimed to inform the question “why do some global health initiatives receive priority from international and national political leaders whereas others receive little attention?” They undertook archival research, interviewed people connected with a global initiative to reduce maternal mortality, and used process-tracing. The framework documented four influencing factors for political priority: (1) the strength of the actors involved in the initiative, (2) the power of the ideas they use to portray the

issue, (3) the nature of the political contexts in which they operate, and (4) characteristics of the issue itself. This framework has been used to guide useful analyses of the case of Vietnam cited later in this review (Lapping et al., 2012; Lapping et al., 2014).

A more specific framework for the assessment of strategies and well-grounded effective and appropriate actions accounting for epidemiologic, operational, and sociopolitical domains is relevant for this study (Menon et al., 2011). The importance of this framework is given by the premise that during transitions, the assessment of strategies and actions to be sustained should result in favoring the continuity of actions that will truly impact FNS; these are strategies and actions policy actors confidently can and should sustain. The authors aimed to develop an approach for strategic development of nutrition agendas that embraces the contexts influencing policy, program planning, and implementation while addressing salient causes of undernutrition. They provided a detailed description of how to conduct the three-domain assessment in the case of Vietnam. They suggest thinking of these domains as interlinked and of the sociopolitical domain often underlying the other two domains as it enhances or inhibits efforts to create positive changes in policies and programs.

A conceptual framework for working multisectorally, proposed by Garret and Natalicchio (2011), is useful for this study. The authors aimed at informing in-depth research necessary to develop evidence and answer questions about whether it is possible to work multisectorally in nutrition, specifically how to facilitate vertical and horizontal collaboration across interrelated sectors, ministries, and actors inside and outside government. They completed a literature review, a comparative analysis, and reported two case studies on Senegal and Colombia. The framework helps to understand how

collaboration initiatives interrelate with broader environments, and addresses issues surrounding the sustainability of collaborations. The framework presents the internal and external factors that affect the success of collaboration, and the nature of the mechanisms that link organizations. The authors conclude by suggesting operational elements of successful approaches for working multisectorally.

A framework guiding approaches to monitoring and evaluating policy influence is suggested by Jones (2011). The author used exploratory literature review and interviews with expert informants, discussions, and advisory projects for policy-makers and practitioners. The framework describes policy influencing approaches, typologies of influencing activities, and the tools for monitoring and evaluating policy influence.

A participatory restructuring approach that empowered public agencies and socioeconomic groups, and introduced rules for collective problem solving and mutual monitoring was an effective tactic for a sustainable and replicable institutional renovation process in the industrial field in Argentina (McDermott, 2007). A longitudinal comparative analysis of two wine producer provinces looked at institutional reforms for economic upgrading. A province adopting the participatory restructuring approach, aiming to innovate the policy making process through participatory governance among public-private institutions, did better at creating and maintaining new institutions for upgrading rules in comparison to a province adopting a depoliticization approach. The depoliticization approach characterized by powerful and insulated government-imposed incentives resulted in exacerbated social fragmentation.

3. Conceptualization of Sustainability

Sustainability of FNSP actions during presidential transitions is necessary for contributing to move beyond implementation to obtain the intended long-term policy outcomes. Sustainability and its components have been conceptualized within the context of FNSP actions that are relevant for this study.

A conceptualization of sustainability has been cited to study country experiences in Bolivia, Peru, and Guatemala. A specific analysis of the Bolivia case aimed at exploring whether the Bolivia's Zero Malnutrition Program (ZM), was destined to experience the failed multisectoral nutrition planning that occurred after the 1974 world food crisis (Hoey & Pelletier, 2011). The authors addressed this question by focusing on the sustainability of the ZM policy. They completed retrospective and prospective data collection through action research and grounded methodologies. They informed this study citing Patashnik's definition of policy sustainability whose work focuses on reform sustainability in the context of the United States government (Patashnik, 2008). Patashnik documented an examination of prior reform moves; the sample includes two reforms that have been repealed (e.g., cost sharing for Medicare coverage) and reforms that have persisted (e.g., airline deregulation). Patashnik's conceptualization of sustainability states "by sustainability, I mean the capacity of a reform not only to maintain its structural integrity over time, but to use its core principles to guide its course amid inevitable pressures for change" (Patashnik, 2008, p.2).

An important framework has been documented as a way to organize thinking about sustainability to improve and maintain health outcomes at a population level (Sarriot et al., 2009). This sustainability framework accounts for enabling environments

and local systems in which health services provision occur and organizations and communities' capacities and roles are embedded and interact for health outcomes. Sustainability here is defined as “a process that advances conditions that enable individuals, communities, and local organizations to improve their functionality, develop mutual relationships of support and accountability, and decrease dependency on insecure resources”.

In the context of cash transfers programs in Latin America, the sustainability of Mexico's poverty reduction program initially called PROGRESA, later OPORTUNIDADES, and at the time of this study PROSPERA; has been discussed and conceptualized as similar to continuity, adaptability, and consistency (Levy, 2006 p. 122, 136, 145-149). The term “sustainability of impact” has been used to describe when school enrollment in Nicaragua still showed to be higher than baseline rates, two years after households stopped receiving cash transfer programs benefits (Adato & Hoddinott, 2007).

4. Conceptualization of sustainability-related outcomes: strategic capacity, consensus, and priority

In response to the need to strengthen capacities for enhancing the nutrition sensitivity of agricultural policy and practice, Gillespie and Margetts described the challenges, strategies, and activities for individual, organization, and systematic capacity (2013). They defined capacity development beyond workforce training, it is creating systems and structures that work to achieve stated objectives; community capacity is a key prerequisite for sustainable nutrition-sensitive agriculture. They also cited important

clarifying statements on capacity being the ability to take action to achieve desired results (Matta et al., 2000); the ability of individuals, organizations or societies to set, and implement objectives (Schacter, 2000); the ability to analyze problems (malnutrition), design, implement, monitor, and evaluate appropriate actions (Gillespie, 2001); and the power – of a system, organization, individual – to perform or produce (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 1998).

Strategic capacity has been recently conceptualized by nutrition policy experts for the purpose of studying its role in advancing national nutrition agendas (Pelletier et al., 2011). They aimed at identifying the range of factors that have influenced the nutrition agenda in developing countries, in order to inform the implementation of three major global initiatives related to undernutrition. They completed interviews with nutrition practitioners at national and international levels, reviewed written accounts from six African countries, and observed policy processes in five countries. Data were thematically coded to identify recurrent factors that facilitated or inhibited progress in addressing undernutrition. They conceptualized strategic capacity as “the ability to mobilize a wide variety of strategies and tactics playing a crucial role in strengthening commitment, coherence, consensus, and/or coordination in relation to the nutrition agenda. *Strategic capacity* includes the human and institutional capacity to build commitment and consensus toward a long-term strategy, broker agreements and resolve conflicts, respond to recurring challenges and opportunities, build relationships among nutrition actors, undertake strategic communications with varied audiences, and other tasks.”

A study aimed at exploring FNSP stakeholders' perspectives on the characteristics of a good process in Guatemala suggests useful conceptualization of consensus (Hill et al., 2011). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 participants in earlier policy deliberations who were sampled using snowball techniques. Data were analyzed using constant comparative method. The conceptualization of consensus suggested here is “the agreement on what constitutes a good decision-making process and whether they would, in principle, accept whatever decisions emerged from such a process if it involves the right people, involves people the right way, follows clear and organized procedures and objectives, focuses on finding and serving the common interest, and it shows transparency and accountability”.

Shiffman and Smith (2007) introduced a framework defining global political priority as “the degree to which international and national political leaders actively give attention to an issue, and back up that attention with the provision of financial, technical, and human resources that are commensurate with the severity of the issue. Global political priority is present when: (1) international and national political leaders publicly and privately express sustained concern for the issue, (2) the organizations and political systems they lead enact policies to address the problem, and (3) these organizations and political systems provide levels of resources to the problem that are commensurate with its severity.”

5. Factors influencing sustainability in organizations and institutions

Routinization and institutionalization are common terms used for referring to sustainability. The level of routinization and institutionalization of the structures creating

the conditions through which the FNSP operates could play a role for sustainability during transitions.

The study of necessary organizational events and strategies for routinization showed the importance of internal-specific agency factors such as: (1) the role of an innovator, (2) frequent training of practitioners, (3) the innovation is incorporated into the core agency practices, and (4) the capabilities to carry out old practices are removed (Yin, 1981).

An analysis on the institutionalization of the United States House of Representatives provides important insights widely cited in the field of political scientists on influencing factors like (1) well-bounded structures like defined membership entry criteria, infrequent turnover, professionalized leadership, recruitment to leadership from within, and the apprenticeship period lengthens; (2) structures with internal complexity like growth in the autonomy and importance of committees, growth of specialized agencies of party leadership, and increase in the provision of various emoluments and auxiliary aids to members in the form of office space, salaries, allowances, staff aid, and committee; (3) structures with universalistic (rules and procedures) and automatic decision-making like growth of seniority as a criterion determining committee rank, growth of the practice of deciding contested elections, and contested elections are settled through process and the merit of the case. If institutionalized, these structures are likely to obtain resources, solve problems and resolve conflicts so these structures are capable of servicing the demands or protecting the interests of the group they seek to benefit (Polsby, 1968).

Institutionalization defined as the degree to which a program becomes embedded into organizations' subsystems was measured using a 15-item scale showing the usefulness of assessing the following factors: (1) goals, procedures, implementing schedule, and job descriptions in writing; (2) adapted to fit local circumstances; (3) evaluation of the program conducted; (4) a supervisor and permanent staff formally assigned to oversee the program; (5) evaluation reports of this program done similar to evaluation reports in the organization; (6) administrative-level individuals involved in advocating for this program's continuation; (7) staff within the organization, other than implementers, working for program's operations; (8) program made a transition from trial to permanent status; (9) program assigned with a permanent physical space within the organization; (10) program's source of funding similar to other established programs in organization; and (11) program staff hired from a stable funding source (Goodman et al., 1993).

A cross-study analysis examining the extent of sustainability achieved in 19 empirical studies showed that the most important contributing factors were: (1) a program can be modified over time, (2) a champion is present, (3) a program fits with its organization's mission and procedures, (4) benefits to staff members and/or clients are readily perceived, and (5) stakeholders in other organizations provide support (Scheirer, 2005).

An exploratory examination of projected sustainability (as projected likelihood of project continuation, expected form of continued project, and diversity of continued activity) showed evidence on predictors for sustainability: (1) perceived project

effectiveness, (2) auspice organization as source of project idea, and (3) expected auspice organization involvement in the future (Savaya et al., 2009).

Sustainability is determined by factors related to actions, actors, organizations, and contexts (Polsby, 1968; Yin, 1981; Katzenstein, 1985; Goodman et al., 1993; Scheirer, 2005; Schell et al., 2013). Sustainability also depends on specific characteristics of FNSP actions such as being institutionally sound, and being reflective and reactive for adapting to changes. This is supported by a framework for assessing sustainability capacity accounting for domains within programs, and domains external to programs (Schell et al., 2013). Interactions between the policy and the context may also be playing a role in the case of FNS. Systematic problems such as fragmentation, the lack of a base of evidence for the prioritized actions, institutional inertia, and failure to join up with promising development in parallel sectors were found to be important weaknesses that affect organizations working against undernutrition. (Morris et al., 2008).

6. Factors influencing sustainability-related outcomes in the context of FNSP actions

Factors influencing outcomes that contribute to sustainability have been studied and widely documented in the context of FNSP actions, including case studies in Latin America. These results have shed light for understanding processes across all phases of the policy cycle (commitment, agenda setting, design, adoption, implementation, evaluation, and reform); including planning, designing strategic actions, advocacy, working multisectorally, and accounting for food-agriculture policy (Appendix A).

a. Policy cycle

Studies on policy processes have informed on the challenges and factors influencing commitment, agenda setting and implementation capacities in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru and Vietnam (Pelletier et al., 2012); clustered factors affecting agenda setting in six African countries (Pelletier et al., 2011); conditions for policy development (Hoey & Pelletier, 2011); and feasibility challenges for a good consensus process among FNSP actors in Guatemala (Hill et al., 2011).

Elements contributing to attention to policy have been studied in Vietnam (Lapping, K., et al., 2012). The authors aimed to understand the strategies used, and the factors shaping how national nutrition policy advanced between 2006 and 2008. They used participant-observer, and change-agent model to guide the study. They collected data using questionnaires, informant interviews, program visits, document reviews and documentation of key events. Data were analyzed using chronology of events, examined strategies and actions used and their results by event, coded interviews and summarized findings using the Shiffman and Smith framework for policy analysis (2007).

Domains and ways for sustaining political momentum and enabling environments are documented (Gillespie et al., 2013). Enabling environments show “basic social, economic, and political conditions broadly favorable to nutrition”. The authors responded to the questions: How can enabling environments be sustained, and translated into results? How has high-level political momentum been generated? How to turn momentum into results? How to ensure that interventions are available to those who need them, and that agriculture, social protection, and water and sanitation systems are reoriented to support nutrition goals? They used a six-cell framework to discuss the ways

in which the domains of knowledge and evidence, politics and governance, and capacity and resources are pivotal to create and sustain political momentum, and to translate momentum into results in high-burden countries.

A study aimed at informing on how to read the political nature of undernutrition, its causes, and consequences; was completed using a review of the existing literature on nutrition politics and policy. The authors documented themes surrounding knowledge, politics, and capacities (Nisbett et al., 2014) of great relevance to FNSP sustainability.

b. Planning, strategic actions, advocacy, working multisectorally, and integrating international and national actors

Factors influencing decentralized planning have been studied in Vietnam (Lapping et al., 2014). This study aimed to understand the provincial planning processes for nutrition during 2009-2010, the variability in processes across provinces, and the factors that influenced the planning processes in decentralizing contexts. The authors completed a qualitative case-study using data from open-ended interview with government officials in eight provinces, and used a network analysis applying the Shiffman and Smith framework for policy analysis (2007) to organize data by the categories of actor power, ideas, political context, and issue characteristics.

A study informing on the process of defining strategic actions for nutrition reported constraints in Guatemala, India, Bolivia, and Vietnam (Menon et al., 2011). This work aimed at informing an approach for strategic development of nutrition agendas that embraces the contexts that are influencing policy and program planning, implementation, and that at the same time addresses the causes of undernutrition. The authors described an

assessment approach to enable development of sound nutrition strategies, and well-grounded effective and appropriate actions for nutrition in a given context.

Barriers and opportunities for developing evidence-based advocacy strategies have been studied in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, and Vietnam (Hajeebhoy et al., 2013). This study aimed to develop evidence-based advocacy strategies to enable policy change, increase investments, and ensure scale-up and sustainability of infant and young child feeding programs. The authors completed a situational analysis, formative and opinion leader research, and stakeholder consultations to develop three contextualized advocacy strategies.

Factors contributing and constraining the process of working multisectorally in nutrition have been documented in Senegal and Colombia. Critical to successful multisectoral work are political and technical leaders' support, effective management, and flexible operational strategies bringing together a set of stakeholders with a shared vision, and to whom the benefits of participating in a process outweighs the cost (Garrett & Natalicchio, 2011).

Factors, strategies, and processes influencing global-health partnerships have been documented in El Salvador and Guatemala (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013). An upcoming transition, weak governmental leadership, and lack of planning prevented from reaching feasibility, alignment, and ownership in the context of a Regional Health Initiative. The methods used are reported in a previous section of this review (Relevant cases reporting on transitions and FNSP actions, p.15).

Efforts contributing to organizational alignment in a middle-income country have been documented as core characteristics for the development and implementation of a

coherent policy agenda for nutrition, including the strengthening of operational and strategic capacities, and a supportive research agenda (Pelletier & Pelto, 2013). This work used the concept of organizational culture to understand some of the reasons for difficulties. This concept is applied to the group of organizations that make up a national nutrition network in a given country, and some of the individual organizations within that network; including academic institutions that conduct research on undernutrition.

A comparative analysis of case studies has addressed issues affecting the integration of international and national actors in developing countries in the context of transnational regulations and development (Bruszt & McDermott, 2014). Experts in the field of global business documented the components of goals and means of integration strategies. Integration-goals of national and international actors varied from narrowly changing rules to broadly reaching institutional changes. Integration-means also varied from limited participation with simplistic involvement to participation of international and national public-private actors for joint problem-solving. Broad integration goals potentiating institutional changes, and applying means of joint problem solving are of great relevance for integrating international and national actors towards sustainability of FNSP in the context of transitions.

c. Accounting for food-agriculture policy

Strategies, policy processes, and environment characteristics relevant for understanding the nutrition sensitivity of agriculture and food policies have been documented using eight in-depth country case studies commissioned by the United Nations System Standing Committee on Nutrition (Fanzo et.al., 2013). The studies

described food and agriculture strategies, policies, and investments that incorporate nutrition-sensitive actions and recommendations. Additionally, the studies document policy processes and the political environment around nutrition-sensitive food and agriculture policy-making, and identify factors contributing or impeding collaboration and cooperation among ministries.

An analysis arguing that an influential publication at putting nutrition on top of the FNS agenda shows solutions that are too nutrition-specific and that largely emanate from the health sector is relevant for informing FNSP sustainability during transitions (Lele, 2013). The author described the limitations of overlooking complex solutions needed at addressing nutrition outcomes highly influenced by food production systems, food and agriculture policies, and the food and beverage industry. The article provides a set of contextual factors that need to be considered for accounting for food and agriculture systems, policies, and industry for impacting nutrition outcomes.

Challenges at creating capacity for cross-disciplinary integration of agriculture-food systems with nutrition outcomes have recently been addressed (Gillespie & Margetts, 2013). The authors aimed at informing on how to maximize the nutrition sensitivity of agriculture; a comprehensive and transdisciplinary approach to capacity development that encompasses training, research, policy formulation, program design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. The authors clarified the meaning of “capacity” in this context, and elucidated the contribution expected from agricultural and nutritional professionals; including the role of incentives, rules, power, and relationships. They concluded by summarizing important contextual challenges.

d. Case studies in Latin America

An analysis on the Chilean and Bolivian experiences describes how nutrition-sensitive interventions such as promoting FNS, women's empowerment, social safety nets, clean water, and sanitation are critical for success at improving health and nutrition of women and young children (Weisstaub et al., 2014). A feature that makes this source relevant to this study is the evidence on how important it was for Chile the continuous application of programs in response to strategies initiated in the 1940s in the midst drastic political, social, and economic changes. Successful results came 30 to 40 years later.

A series of articles recently reported important improvements in health status and life expectancy in Brazil (Paim et al., 2011; Victora et al., 2011a; Victora et al., 2011b; Fleury, 2011; Kleinert & Horton, 2011; Uauy, 2011). The methods used are reported in a previous section of this review (Relevant cases reporting on transitions and FNSP actions, p.13). This successful experience is credited to the progress in social determinants of health, and to the implementation of a comprehensive national health system with strong social participation. Paim et al. (2011) examined the historical development and components of the Brazilian health system, focusing on the reform process during the past 40 years, including the creation of the Unified Health System. Victora et al. (2011a) examined how these changes have affected indicators of maternal health, child health, and child nutrition. The series concluded with a call for action for policy innovations that requires continuous engagement by Brazilian society as a whole in securing the right to health for all Brazilian people (Victora et al., 2011b). Later comments on the Brazil series were published (Fleury, 2011; Kleinert & Horton, 2011; Uauy, 2011). These comments emphasized critical features for the sustainability of

actions in Brazil relevant to this study. The authors pointed out the importance of civil-society participation for sustainability, the needed continued political will, and historical commitment to public health characterizing the Brazilian success, and more importantly the impressive account of joint efforts, supported by successive governments even around the Brazilian transition out of a military dictatorship in 1985, and the political conditions for a strong civil-society movement.

A study aimed at understanding the Peruvian case provides an alternative explanation to success by looking at the shift in the government's nutrition strategy after 2006 with the formation of the Child Malnutrition Initiative, a civil society-working platform, and the adoption of a national poverty reduction strategy (Acosta & Haddad, 2014). The authors specifically looked at the success of implementing the nutrition strategy in three dimensions: horizontally, vertically, and financially and how the financial dimension contributed to the other two dimensions. They completed a case study building on veto players' theory to help explain the existence of conditions leading to favorable policy changes. This case informs on factors contributing to implementation success.

7. Policy sustainability and sustainable FNS

The case study that focused on the policy sustainability of Bolivia's Zero Malnutrition Program described in a previous section of this review (Conceptualization of Sustainability, p.20) concluded that experiences from Bolivia hold important lessons for several global initiatives to scale up nutrition actions, specifically on the challenges when actions require broader partnerships with other sectors or local-level actors beyond

health and education sectors (Hoey & Pelletier, 2011). A later analysis on the Bolivian experience reflects on the achievements of the first national program designed to address nutritional problems such as wasting, stunting, and childhood anemia (Weisstaub et al., 2014). The authors emphasized the factors that contributed to reduce the levels of malnutrition, particularly stunting in municipalities with high vulnerability to food and nutrition insecurity. These reports on the Bolivia case allow identifying factors contributing and constraining policy sustainability and impact.

A global strategic framework for FNS suggests five principles for sustainability (CFS, 2013). The Committee on World FNS enhanced its role as a platform to improve cooperation, catalyze coordinated action, and provide guidance towards effective and synergized partnerships in support of multilevel plans to prevent future food crises, eliminate hunger, and ensure FNS and nutrition for all. The framework emphasizes the nutritional dimension as integral to the concept of FNS. The principles for sustainability are described and build on previous global agreements of ownership, alignment, harmonization, results, and mutual accountability. It concludes by suggesting areas of improvement. The framework is proposed as a tool for the international community to inform decisions on prioritizing and on mobilizing the collective action of all stakeholders to overcome hunger and poverty.

8. Other important results: poverty reduction, development, and global health

The long-term sustainability of the poverty reduction program in Mexico, initially called PROGRESA, later OPORTUNIDADES, and at the time of this study PROSPERA,

was discussed pointing out relevant issues related to the individuals behind titles of ministries and agencies, and how during presidential changes these worsen due to, what the author called, “the fade away of champions” (Levy, 2006, p. 95). A report on an operations evaluation of Mexico PROGRESA points out that among long-term sustainability determinants could be whether the objectives and incentives of the various stakeholders reinforce or compete with each other, and on changes in attitudes and empowerment of the population through education. It also concludes that sustained increase in enrolments would need the continuation of grants (Adato et al., 2000).

Development experts have emphasized that nutrition programs are sustained only if key politicians, officials, and local communities are committed to them (The World Bank, 2006). They have referred to sustained government commitment, and to the reasons for weak commitment to nutrition programs like malnutrition being usually invisible, those affected have little voice, human and economic costs of malnutrition are unrecognized, short-time interventions for combating malnutrition are unknown by governments, nutrition topic falling between cracks of multiple stakeholders, lack of consensus, adequate nutrition not seen as human right, neglected implementation of nutrition programs, governments’ claims of investment in nutrition by implementing programs that do not have an effect on nutrition, and falling into a vicious circle of lack of commitment, underinvestment, and weak impact reinforcing lack of commitment. Other important factors for the sustainability of nutrition actions depend on financing approaches, mobilization of civil society for public pressure, country ownership, and coordination among development partners (The World Bank, 2006).

Global health experts have brought up attention to the sustained delivery of health interventions guaranteed by functioning national health systems, and to the importance of reconciling ongoing global-level transformation with the need to further strengthen and support national-level health systems; mainly on leadership, institutions, systems design, and technologies (Szlezák et al., 2010; Frenk, 2010).

9. Terminal logic behavior and strategic defection

Presidential transition periods have been described by political scientists as times of uncertainty and contradiction in which do not hold the normal relationships among power, accountability, and electoral support that characterizes a normal democratic process (Beermann & Marshall, 2005). The transitional agendas of the two presidents are unlikely to be aligned simply because the outgoing president is concerned with preserving a legacy, and the incoming president with setting the stage for success throughout the next administration term. If they belong to opposite parties, there are added conflicts to the transition period for one will try to protect policies and prevent the undermining of accomplishments, and the other may desire to reverse those policies and discredit a record that could encourage public support for the outgoing party (Beermann & Marshall, 2005). Governmental officials are unlikely to keep up with roles as defined in strategic plans, and may behave by reacting to the circumstances of uncertainty around them. There are important cases documented in the political sciences literature that could explain governmental officials' behavior.

Presidential decision-making during transitions and under specific circumstances has been documented to be acutely influenced with a phenomenon called terminal logic

behavior (TLB). Kehoe (2014) showed that presidents in the United States, Argentina, and Brazil with no possibility of reelection overvalued far-future rewards and succumbed to TLB, e.g., they showed end-of-tenure presidential behavior that responded mainly to concerns about legacy despite of political context. The author addressed the questions whether term-limit structures have consequences on presidential behavior affecting policy continuity, and if changes in policy behavior are attributed to changes in presidents' organizational motivation structure caused by term-limits. She conducted comparative case studies applying hypotheses across presidents from the three countries. TLB were linked to presidents increased use of their ability to issue decrees on national emergencies during the second term when reelection was not possible. Decrees are written statements of instruction that become law without considerations by congress. The author concluded that presidents, if given the opportunity, are likely to issue emergency power decrees at increased rates in their final months in office. It is a time when presidents' motivation structure has been reformulated, and sights have been set on legacy (Kehoe, 2012).

Judges in Argentina that perceived insecurity at the end of the term tended to behave under the logic of strategic defection (SD). Helmke (2002) showed that judges experiencing institutional insecurity during transitions faced motives to dissociate themselves from the outgoing government once it had lost power. The author hypothesized that judges will increase their rulings against the current government once the prospect emerges making them lose power, and making felt the end of a weak government. In this context judges would concentrate their defection in cases that are considered most important to the incoming government. New individual-level data on the

Argentine Supreme Court justices' decisions were used to compare the behavior of justices in periods of relative institutional security to their behavior in periods of relative insecurity. Inferences about strategic defection are based on general antigovernment decisions, and on whether the willingness of judges to rule against the government changes relative to changes in their political environment. Results strongly supported the strategic defection account. Argentine judges tended to support governments when they were strong, and to desert them when governments grew weak.

In Guatemala and in other countries where presidential reelection is impossible, and where underlying institutional structures tend to exacerbate end-of-term institutional insecurity (e.g., inconstant political) governmental officials at all levels could show behaviors resulting from overvalued far-future rewards (TLB), and from motives to dissociate themselves from the outgoing government once it had lost power (SD) contributing to high turnover. It is unknown the extent to which TLB and SD may be influencing the behavior of governmental officials working on FNS actions and negatively affecting policy sustainability.

C. Importance of documented knowledge: Characteristics of actions, context, and policy actors relevant to FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions

The existent knowledge suggests that what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions is related to characteristics of FNSP actions, of the context around presidential transitions during campaign, elections, and new government take office, and of the actors as individuals, and organizations (Figure 1.1, Figure 2.1, Appendix A)

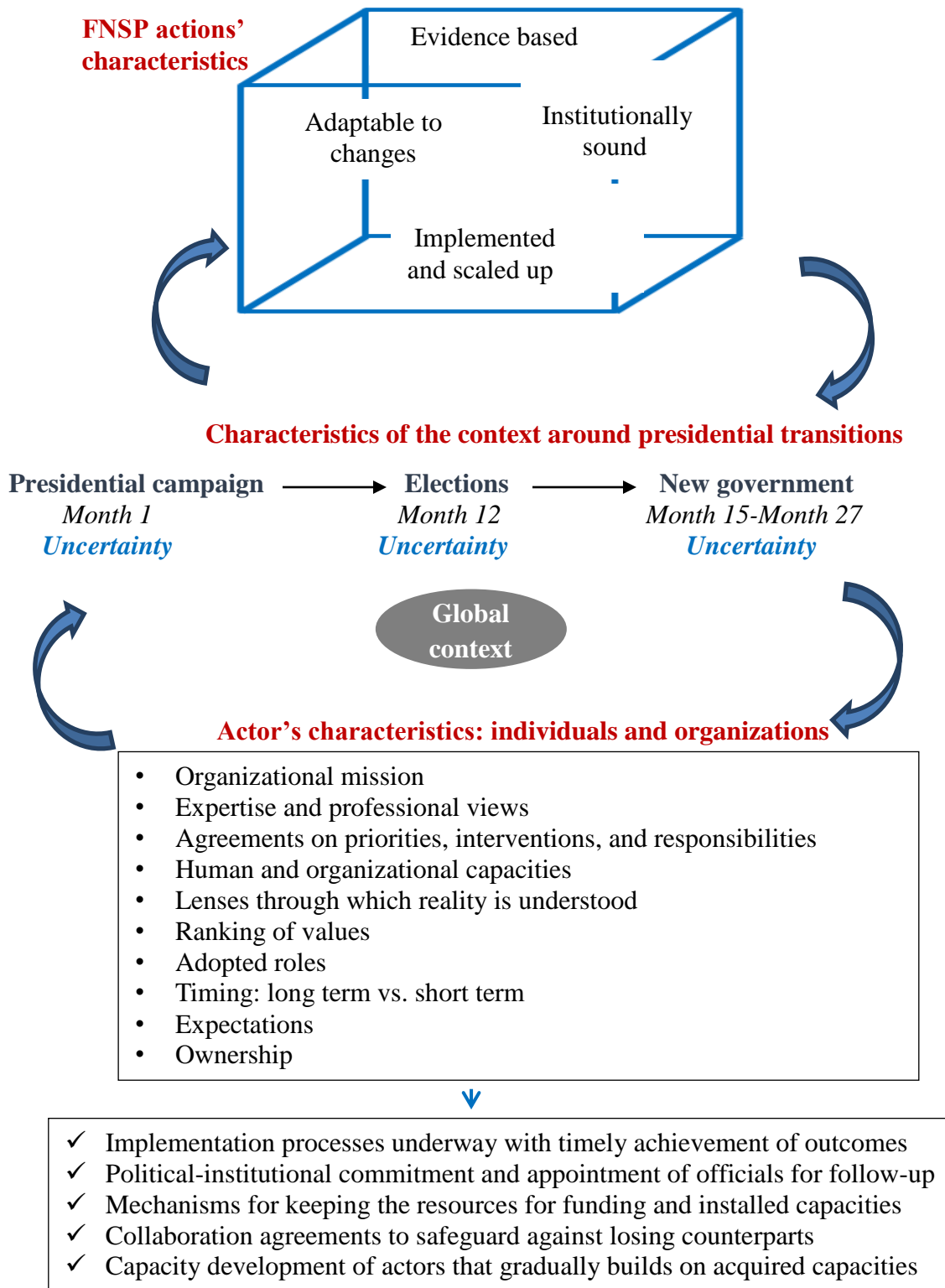


Figure. 2.1 Characteristics of actions, context, and policy actors that are relevant to FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions

The characteristics of FNSP actions in which that a new presidential administration can confidently invest to sustain are (1) evidence-based, (2) implemented and scaled up, (3) institutionally sound, and (4) adaptable to changes. The actions policy actors can responsibly advocate for sustaining are those that if implemented with enough geographic and population reach will have an impact on FNS. (Bhutta et al., 2008; UNSCN, 2011; Fanzo et al., 2013; Gillespie & Margetts, 2013; Lele, 2013; Ruel & Alderman, 2013). Policy actions should also be institutionally sound, meaning that policy operational activities are feasible by the institutions that are expected to implement them. Policy actions should show the greatest potential for successful implementation with the installed capacities, assigned funding, routines, hierarchies, protocols, systems, and personnel in place, simply because in very rare cases an institution adjusts resources and routines for implementing a specific policy action. Lastly, policy actions should be designed by providing managers with the minimum essential elements for having an impact so these can be adapted to keep them in place under most circumstances the institutions may face during a presidential transition (Polsby, 1968; Yin, 1981; Katzenstein, 1985; Goodman et al., 1993; Scheirer, 2005; CFS, 2013; Fanzo et al., 2013; Schell et al., 2013).

The characteristics of the context around presidential transitions during campaign, elections, and new government take office (Figure 1.1, Figure 2.1) influence sustainability according to how policy actors react and interact while performing roles within multisectoral teams for the implementation of policy actions; (1) political campaign: funding of projects close to expire, institutions unlikely to take new commitments, officials with limited opportunities for making new decisions,

everybody's agendas are full, polarization at all levels and sectors, and dysfunctional collaboration; (2) elections: officials' positions to be confirmed, the continuity of actions to be decided, governmental officials expecting new guidelines, and transition commissions performing at all levels; and (3) new government take office: strategic plans are not immediately released, change of government officials are likely, new officials experience learning-curve period, new priorities likely to be defined, appointed officials for ongoing projects to be confirmed, projects' ongoing timelines likely to get behind, transition commission's agreements under scrutiny, and interactions among stakeholders likely to be reestablished. Strategic plans are released close to a year into the new administration, until then the new government plans are presented to all levels of the government and counterparts, priorities are defined, ongoing projects could have been modified, there are new allies and new appointed officials, and working collaborations are reestablished. The time these three phases take varies. A transition experienced by the PI took 27 months. Beermann and Marshall's (2005) definition of transition includes the complete first year on the new administration suggesting that this experience is consistent with the literature. The importance of contextual characteristics relevant to sustaining FNSP are widely documented (Hoey & Pelletier, 2011; Fleury, 2011; Kleinert & Horton, 2011; Paim et al., 2011; Pelletier et al., 2011; Uauy, 2011; Victora et al., 2011a; Victora et al., 2011b; Pelletier et al., 2012; CFS, 2013; Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013; Acosta & Haddad, 2014; Weisstaub et al., 2014). Characteristics of the global context are relevant for the sustainability of FNSP. The global context in terms of events and trends, international publications, and movements, e.g., Scaling up Nutrition movement

(UNSCN, 2011) are relevant during transitions, and influence decisions and reactions among policy actors and organizations.

Actor's characteristics as individuals and organizations influence FNSP sustainability during presidential transition. Policy actors interact among each other, and with the context. Actor's characteristics include organizational mission, expertise and professional views, agreements on priorities, interventions, and responsibilities, human and organizational capacities and resources, lenses through which reality is understood, accepted values, perceived roles, expectations, ownership, and the timing set for specific interests; long term vs. short term (Hoey & Pelletier, 2011; CFS, 2013; Garrett & Natalicchio, 2011; Menon et al., 2011; Lapping et al., 2012; Fanzo et.al., 2013; Gillespie & Margetts, 2013; Hajeebhoy et al., 2013; Lapping et al., 2014).

It is still unclear what are the mechanisms by which actions, context, and actors interrelate for a country to reach policy sustainability during transitions.

D. Guatemala

Food and nutrition insecurity in Guatemala is a causal factor of the high prevalence of stunting (49.8%) or low height-for-age in children from 3 to 59 months. This prevalence is higher than the estimated 2015 prevalence of stunted pre-school children in Latin America (11.6%), Asia (22.9%), and Africa (37.6%) (MSPAS, 2011; De Onis et al., 2012; Martorell, 2012; FAO, 2015, p.18). The Guatemalan president for the 2012-2015 term established as a national priority the pact Zero Hunger and the FNSP. The presidential efforts were aimed to addressing food and nutrition insecurity, and child undernutrition; specifically stunting and wasting or low weight-for-height in children

from 3 to 59 months. (Secretaria de Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutricional [SESAN], 2012).

The FNSP in Guatemala was adopted during the 2004-2007 presidential term; it was continued in 2008-2011, and at the time of this study FNS had reached its highest place in the president's agenda. This country showed to be a case in which the sustainability of the FNSP after two presidential transitions had become a national priority and sustainability could be studied in depth. Studies in Guatemala in the past 45 years have allowed the documentation of vast knowledge on the importance of nutrition and its relation to health and human development (Habicht & Martorell, 2010; Ramirez-Zea et al., 2010). Recent studies have provided evidence of the collaboration processes within the FNS community and of the issue addressed in this study being of great concern for country policy actors (Hill et al., 2011).

Guatemala counts on FNSP actors performing mainly at governmental institutions, civil society, private sector, international organizations, and other non-governmental organizations. These groups have successfully carried out strategies contributing to the political and technical support and prioritization of the FNSP mandates. Policy actors in Guatemala have jointly worked on policy implementation and among them, there are champions and opinion leaders in the topic of FNS with increasing support from civil society, and private sector. Collaboration with outgoing and incoming presidential teams has resulted on programs being implemented, and targets being set for periods that exceed the presidential administration terms (Experts collaborating with the Guatemalan government, personal communication, 2012-2013). The continuance of the FNSP implementation along the 2008, and the 2012 transitions show that the FNS

community in this case had successfully engaged incoming administrations to make the policy a priority.

Guatemala represents an opportunity to identify the conditions grounded in the socio-political and nutritional perspectives that during transitions have allowed the continuity of implementation processes underway, and how decisions are being made aligned with previous efforts to maximize the sustainability of the policy and its related strategies, programs, and actions. These processes have overcome important challenges, as this case is documented to have been negatively affected by previous presidential transitions, and those working on FNS actions reported the following concerns: *“When the next government comes along, what is part of the past government is not supported and new activities are considered without taking into account what things from the past government can be used. This has to be a national initiative, so we do not go backwards every time we change governments every four years”* (Hill et al., 2009).

1. National Food and Nutrition Security System, and Policy

The National Food and Nutrition Security System in Guatemala (SINASAN) is the coordination body appointed by law to direct, and harmonize the institutional response on FNS (Figure 2.2, Hill et al. 2008, p. 34)

The SINASAN is integrated by a national council (CONASAN), as the governing entity leading the institutional coordination headed by the Vice-president; a secretariat (SESAN), as the entity with central, regional, departmental, and municipal reach through which the coordinating, and monitoring activities are operationalized; a multi-institutional support group; and a consulting instance for social participation (INCOPAS).

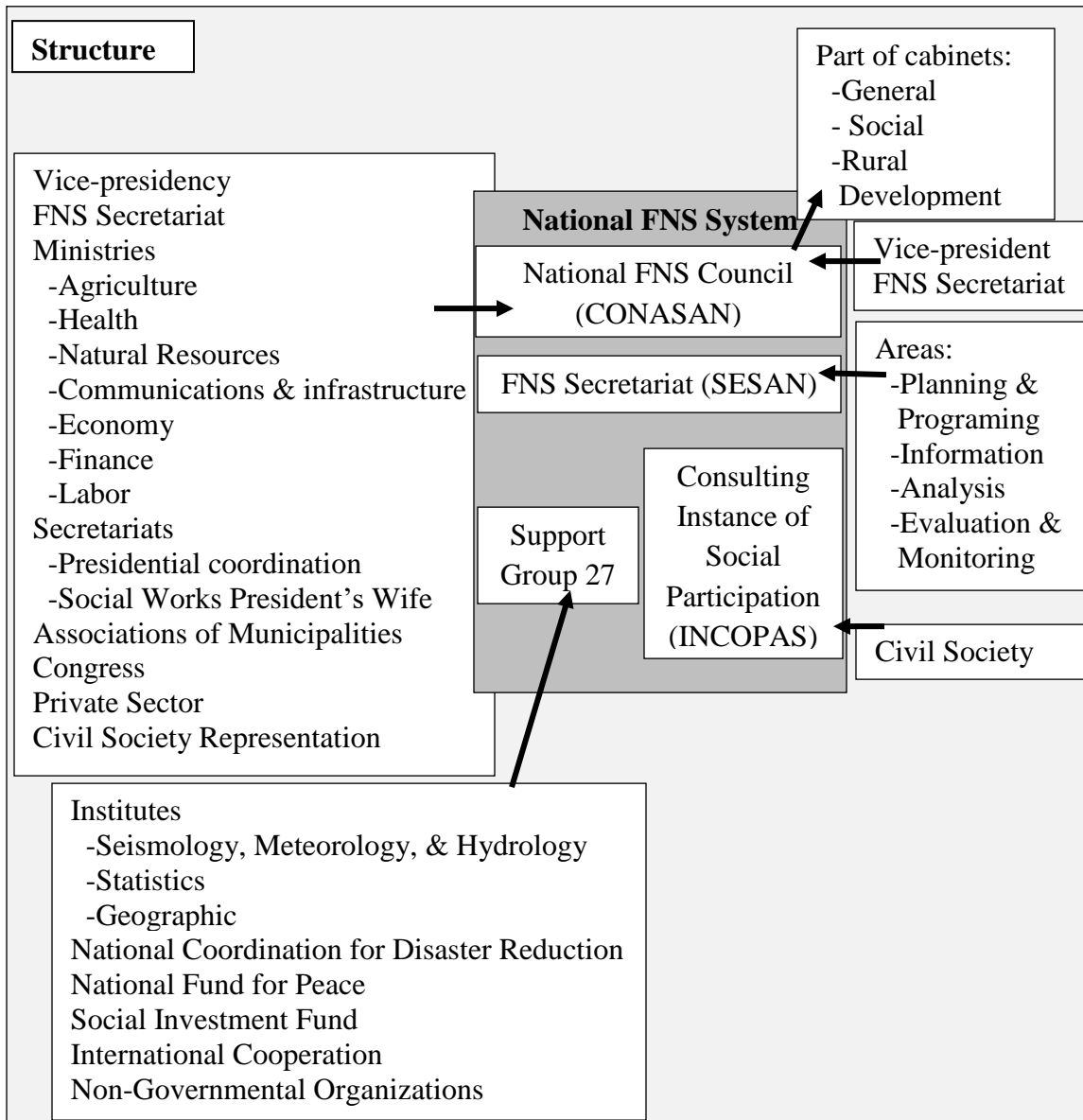


Figure 2.2. Structure of the National Food and Nutrition Security System in Guatemala

The SINASAN structure outlines what institutions are appointed with official roles and responsibilities, and how these are organized for a coordinated multisectoral response on FNS (SESAN, 2005). The Food and Nutrition Security policy (FNSP) defines the core programmatic areas for the national response on FNS: food availability, access, consumption, and utilization; undernutrition prevention, information, monitoring and alert system; institutional strengthening, allocation of resources, and international cooperation (SESAN, 2005, p. 27). The FNS actions are implemented through the national ministries in collaboration with all other institutions part of SINASAN. The FNS council and secretariat are leading, coordinating, and monitoring the implementation of the national FNS strategic plan operationalized through four major categories of actions (1) chronic undernutrition and food nutrition assistance; (2) basic social services: education, health, water, and sanitation; (3) food production, productive transformation, and competitiveness; and (4) institutional strengthening related to FNS (Figure 2.3) (CONASAN 2011a, CONASAN 2011b, p. 49-50). This categorization of actions is documented to be an updated governmental strategic response resulting from consensus and multisectoral participation (CONASAN, 2011a), it was relevant at the time of the study and it did not contradict the later governmental approach under the presidential Zero Hunger pact (SESAN, 2012). The multisectoral coordination and implementation of the strategic plan is of the concern of both the institutional, and the political bodies following a defined hierarchical organizational that includes institutional commissions at the national, departmental, municipal, and community levels (Figure 2.3). The governmental response to the FNSP, and to the presidential Zero Hunger pact plan includes the participation of authorities designated through democratic elections at the

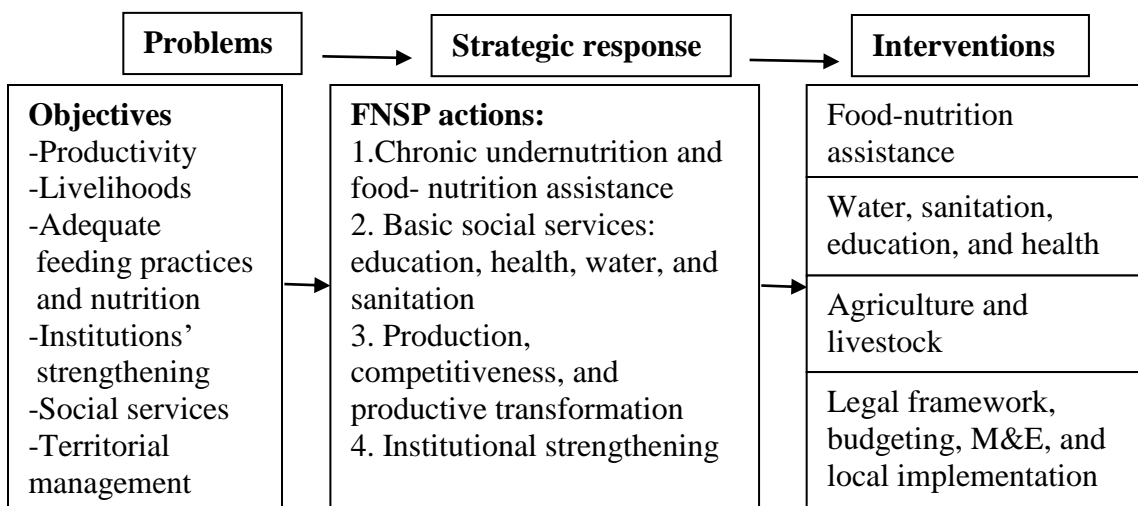
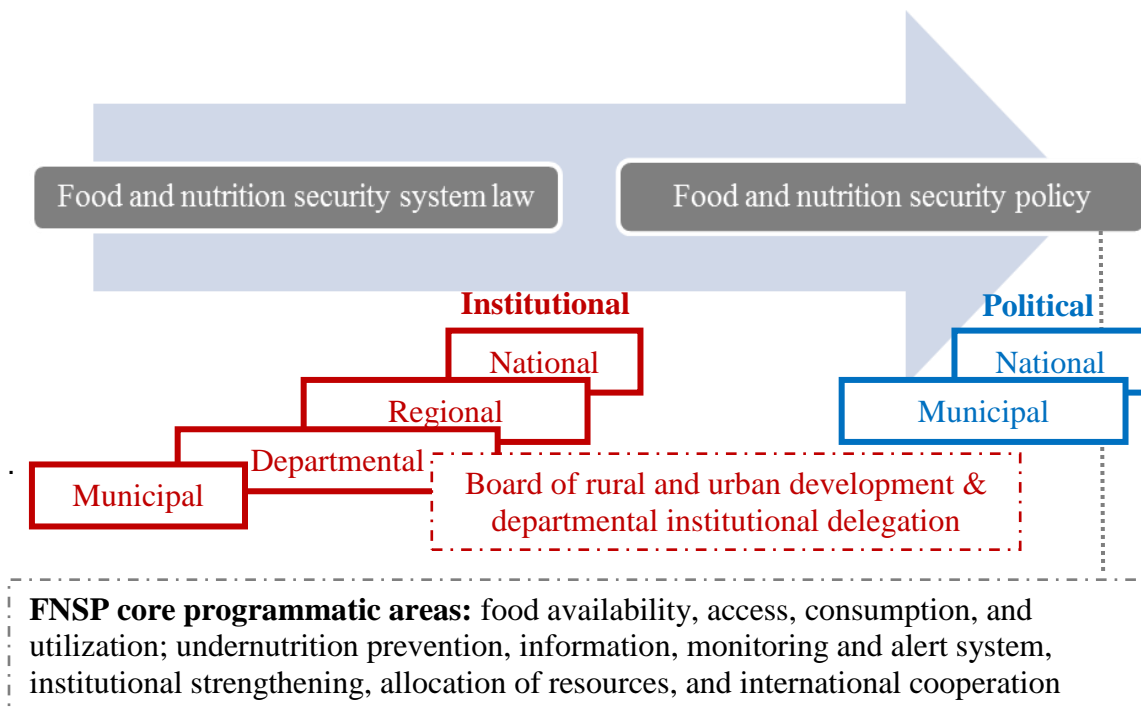


Figure 2.3. Food and nutrition security policy and governmental response

national and municipal levels that have adopted a new vision of development in which FNS is one of the three core development axis (ANAM & AGAAI, 2011, p. 72-96, 118, 125). The four major categories of actions established in the strategic plans for operationalizing the FNSP were used to guide this work, by identifying the specific actions for learning of policy sustainability, to address the study aim of examining what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions, and to respond to the research questions:

1. How do policy actors define sustainability?
2. What are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability?
3. What are the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability?

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

A. Study design

A constructivist grounded-theory approach with a retrospective design was used for a qualitative case study in Guatemala. Inductive qualitative methods were used for obtaining the emerging theory grounded in the field work to explain the data and its meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, Patton, 2002, Charmaz, 2006). It focused on the theory developed from what the PI learned of the case. It emphasized how policy actors reported experiences and observations, and gave meaning describing perceptions and opinions. It established what had occurred with certainty within the boundaries of the case studied. The sequence of steps followed to complete this study consisted of (1) review of policy documents for informing the overall research methods, for defining recruitment criteria, and for creating data collection instruments; (2) open, axial, and selective coding of qualitative primary data from semi-structured interviews for responding to the three research questions; and (3) content analysis of qualitative primary data from news, speeches, and documents for emerging themes verifying results from interviews that informed research questions (Figure 3.1).

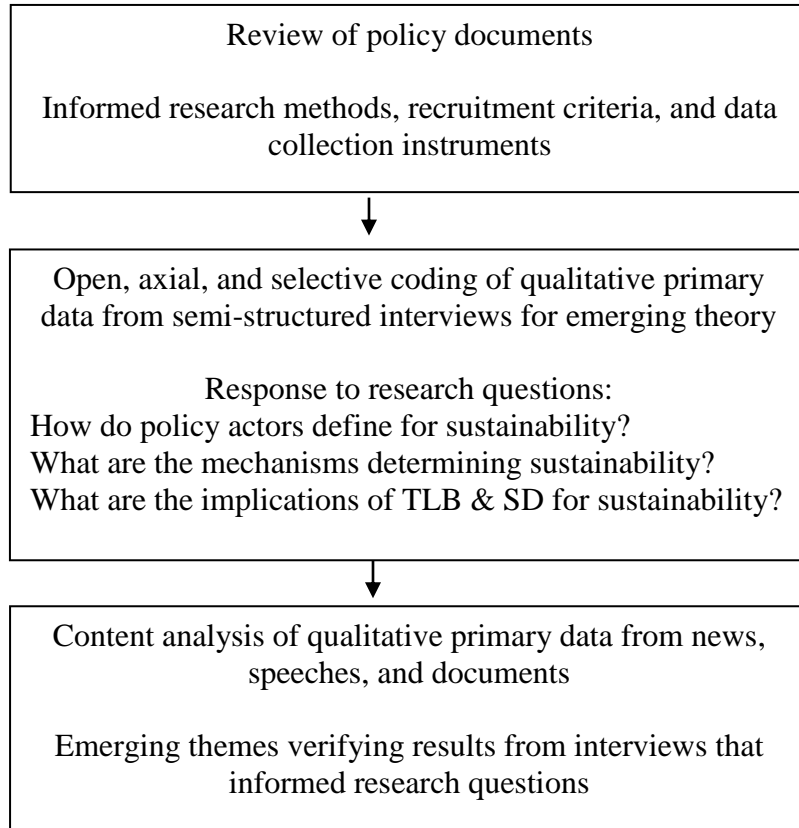


Figure 3.1 Constructivist grounded-theory approach: Steps to complete this study

B. Criteria for case selection

The rationale for selecting Guatemala as the case to study was to identify a country where policy actors' experiences during presidential transitions could inform the research questions with certainty. The case was intentionally selected according to the following criteria: (1) Guatemala represented an opportunity to contribute to a larger body of knowledge on FNS, and to document the successful case of Guatemala at sustaining the policy during transitions from which other low-middle-income countries could learn; (2) food and nutrition insecurity is the cause of a public nutrition problem, and relevant to human development (MSPAS, 2011; Martorell, 2012); (3) the FNSP had

become a presidential priority, and had reached the highest position in the political agenda at the time of the study after two transitions; and (4) country policy actors are experienced at working as part of multisectoral teams on the implementation of policy related actions, and at transitioning to a new president.

FNSP actions in Guatemala are the activities responding to the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27) through the four categories of actions in the national strategic plans: (1) chronic under nutrition, and food nutrition assistance; (2) basic social services: education, health, water, and sanitation; (3) food production, productive transformation, and competitiveness; and (4) institutional strengthening (Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutricional [CONASAN], 2011a; CONASAN, 2011b, p. 49-50). This categorization of actions was relevant at the time of the study, and it is documented to be an updated governmental strategic response resulting from consensus and multisectoral participation.

1. Recruitment, purposeful sampling, and data collection

Purposeful sampling criteria were used to recruit 52 policy actors for semi-structured interviews and to obtain 252 news articles, 27 public technical and political speeches, and 75 documents. Data were collected during 2013-2014. The PI completed field work in Guatemala during July to December of 2013.

a. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews with a sample of 52 policy actors, that from now on will be called study participants, were completed in the fall of 2013. The criteria for recruiting study participants were to:

- 1) Represent a sector of the Food and Nutrition Security System (Figure 2.2).
- 2) Be experienced on fields of food and nutrition security and/or socio-political sciences.
- 3) Be experienced at working on policy related actions under one or more of the FNSP core programmatic areas (Figure 2.3) during one or more of the presidencies and transitions under study, from 2004-2013.

An initial group of potential study participants the PI knew or to whom the PI was introduced by common colleagues were contacted via email. They were informed of the study topic, objective, and of the interview subjects (Appendix B). The email stated the terms of confidentiality, and concluded with a request for an appointment to carry out a semi-structured interview. Emails were followed up by phone calls or a second email until a person-to-person meeting was possible. Recruitment continued by using snowball techniques through which interviewees were asked to suggest other potential study participants. Simultaneously, the PI participated in two national technical and political events (described in section Speeches, page 58), met potential study participants, and repeated the process of email, follow up, and snowball. Potential study participants from sectors of the FNS system (Figure 2.2) that did not respond to interview requests via email or with whom the PI did not have any link, were purposefully recruited through a formal letter inviting institutions to participate. The letters were addressed to the highest institutional authority and kindly requested to assign an official to inform the study. The

letter included the same information in the interview requests via email. The PI delivered the letters in person, and upon acceptance requested information on who to contact for follow up. The interview requests via email were used for contacting 60 potential study participants, of those 37 (62%) agreed to be interviewed. The interview requests via formal institutional letters were used for contacting 17 institutions, of those 15 (88%) agreed to assign an official to be interviewed. Most of the institutions' highest authority assigned an official that interviewees had previously suggested to invite to participate in the study.

The interviews were completed in Spanish using an interview guide (Appendix B). The PI restated the study topic, and the conversation focus on their experiences, observations, perceptions, and opinions related to FNSP sustainability in the context of presidential transitions, from the presidency that adopted the policy until the time of the interview. The interview started by asking about the study participant's specific role within the FNS community at contributing to policy actions. The PI probed until an action in at least one of the four categories of policy actions was mentioned (1) chronic undernutrition, and food nutrition assistance; (2) basic social services: education, health, water, and sanitation; (3) food production, productive transformation, and competitiveness; and (4) institutional strengthening related to FNS (Figure 2.3). The interview continued by asking about the importance of that specific action, its overall long-term goal, how the study participant defined sustainability, and what approach had been used to sustain that policy action during transitions. The PI continued by asking to provide one more example of an action sustained during transitions, and the reasons for sustaining, and continued by asking to mention an action not sustained, and the reasons

for not sustaining. The PI continued by sharing the information on how TLB occurred in other countries, and asked opinions on how it could have affected governmental officials in Guatemala. Specifically, the PI mentioned how presidents in the United States, Argentina, and Brazil with no possibility of reelection overvalued far-future rewards and succumbed to TLB, meaning that they showed end-of-tenure presidential behavior that responded mainly to concerns about legacy despite of political context (Kehoe, 2014). SD characterized by governmental officials experiencing institutional insecurity during transitions that face motives to dissociate themselves from the outgoing government once it loses power (Helmke, 2002) was not asked during interviews, but it emerged from study participants' reports. The interview ended by requesting to mention what policy actors they would suggest as potential study participants, and to provide contact information if possible. The PI wrote immediately post-interview field notes (Appendix C) on the interview environment, overall description of the study participants, and methodological and analytical observations.

Study participants were asked to be audio-recorded during the interview, 64% agreed (n=33). During the interviews that were not audio-recorded the PI completed a careful note taking and the notes were reviewed and edited immediately after completing the field notes. The interview was not disrupted as the interviewees agreed to allow the time for note taking during the conversation.

Interviews occurred in places suggested by study participants where there were no interruptions and they were free to talk: private or shared offices, cafes, office cafeterias, office meeting rooms, lobbies, and living rooms. Two interviews were completed during a car ride to a municipal locality. That was the only opportunity two municipal-level

study participants gave the PI for an interview; the setting was not a problem for obtaining study participants' responses. One interview was completed on the phone with a study participant who agreed to be interviewed while being in the country side on annual vacation. One participant filled out the interview guide electronically and the PI received it by email. Interviews lasted an average of 65 minutes. The only 35-minute interview was with a study participant who, after a long follow up, told the PI that was the only time available. The PI considered that the advantages of including these study participants in the sample outweighed the lack of ideal interview settings, and the time constraints.

The PI prepared for each interview by reviewing the study participants' institutional website, publications, and by making an online search on the participants' name. Any information that could distract the study participants away from the topic of interest was not mentioned during the interview. An experienced transcriber whose first language is Spanish completed verbatim transcription of the audio-recorded interviews under a confidentiality agreement.

The Institutional Review Board judged the protocol of this study as exempt. The identity of study participants and of the institutions they represented would not be disclosed at any time or in any way. The sample is described in general terms by their policy sector (government, international organization, private sector, civil society, research/academia, or consultant), if experienced on transitions, the kind of position assignment (appointed or elected), and the level of performance (national, regional, departmental, or municipal).

b. Study participants interviewed

The total sample was 52 study participants: 43 (83%) had worked in more than one presidential term and were experienced in transitions, 25 (48%) had belonged to more than one policy sector of the FNS system, and 6 (12%) reported to perform a dual position at the time of the interview.

The sample distribution (Table 3.1) comprises 4 study participants working as independent consultants, 4 from research/academia, 5 from civil society, 5 from private sector, 15 from international cooperation, and 19 from government. Of those study participants from government, there were appointed or elected officials performing at national, regional, departmental, and municipal levels. Figure 3.2 shows the complete sample distribution using a modified figure of sectors and institutions expected to create partnerships (The World Bank, 2006) contributing to FNS. The study participants interviewed are represented by black dots located on the partner institution they represented at the time of the interview. Large dots were used to identify central level positions, and small dots municipal, departmental, or regional level positions. Large dots showing a centered-small white circle represent participants with a national-level position that required performing duties at the municipal, departmental, or regional levels.

Table 3.1 Sample distribution

| Sample categories | n | % |
|---------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Independent consultants | 4 | 7.7 |
| Research/academia | 4 | 7.7 |
| Civil society | 5 | 9.6 |
| Private sector | 5 | 9.6 |
| International cooperation | 15 | 28.9 |
| Government | 19 | 36.5 |
| Total | 52 | 100.0 |
| | | |

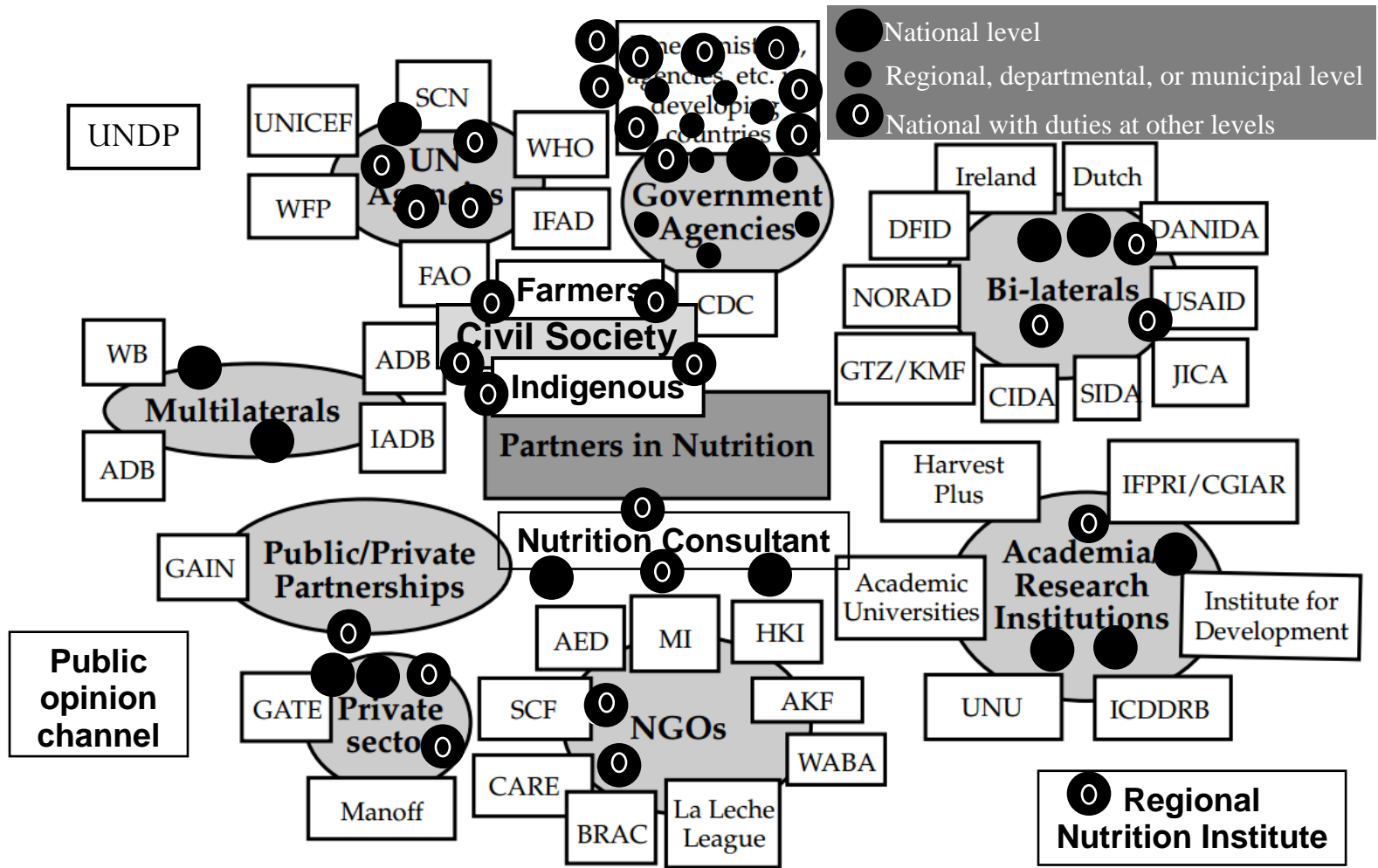


Figure 3.2 Sample of 52 study participants by the institution they represented at the time of the study

c. News

News articles were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on a topic related to at least one of the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27; Figure 2.3). Daily news were monitored during 2013 using the online version of the newspaper with higher circulation Prensa Libre. The printed versions of the newspapers Prensa Libre, La Hora, and El Periódico were reviewed daily during the time of data collection. Online news were searched on the terms transitions, the presidencies, and the FNS Secretariat restricting the dates for the period starting the first year of the presidency that adopted the policy (2004) until the time of the study (2013). Additional online news were searched by using the proper names of all study participants, and of the institutions they represented, including their online press releases. A total sample of 252 news articles was obtained, and organized under nine categories that emerged upon data collection: interviewees, continuity, the President, private sector, municipalities, eradicating stunting, basic services, food production, and institutional strengthening.

d. Speeches

Speeches were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on technical and political framing of a topic related to at least one of the FNS Policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27; Figure 2.3), and to be given by a policy actor publicly speaking. The PI recorded the audios during participation of two events:

1. Political encounter and Forum for a National Agreements for Human Development, Education, and Stunting Reduction, with the participation of all political

parties and FNSP actors at all levels. This event was co-hosted by the president and the private sector, and supported by an important bilateral donor.

2. Technical National Nutrition Congress and Symposium against Undernutrition, with participation of FNSP actors. It included a forum on the presidential strategy for stunting reduction in the context of the FNSP.

Political and technical speeches given at these two major events of interest that occurred during 2013 were used for completing a sample of 27 speeches. The PI participated in these events and recorded the speeches using a digital audio-recorder. An experienced transcriber, whose first language is Spanish completed verbatim transcription of the audio-recorded speeches.

e. Documents

Documents were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on the FNSP, and its implementation, e.g., strategic plans, reports, and documents by sectors and institutions that are part of the FNS system (Figure 2.2). Additionally, the sample included documents provided by study participants during interviews, and public documents authored by the institutions they represented. A sample of 75 documents were arranged as documents-sets and used for the analysis as these showed relevant contents for verifying results from interviews that informed the research questions. A document-set was created if a sequence of documents were published by the same sector, institution, or on the same topic during the presidencies and transitions of interest.

C. Data analysis

The overall aim of this study was to examine what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions, as from socio-political and nutritional perspectives, in Guatemala where presidential transitions occur every four years. A constructivist grounded theory approach was used for an inductive qualitative analysis using methods of theory construction and verification (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Patton, 2002; Charmaz, 2006). The theory construction methods consisted of open, axial, and selective coding using interviews for informing the three research questions. Initially the PI reviewed the data and figured out what information fit together for obtaining emerging categories on how study participants define sustainability, what mechanisms determine sustainability, and what are the implications of TLB and SD for sustainability. The data were revisited for creating sets of subcategories that could be grouped under larger categories around the core phenomenon responding to each research question. The verification process consisted of content analysis obtaining the emerging themes using news, speeches, and documents to verify the results from interviews. QSR Nvivo 10 was used for storing and organizing the data for analysis (Qualitative Research Software [QSR] International Pty Ltd., 2012). Data were translated to English after completing the data analysis. The complete codebook is presented in Appendix D.

1. Research question 1

For responding to the first research question, how do policy actors define FNSP sustainability during transitions?, methods of open, axial, and selective coding of the 52 interviews were used (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The analysis started with an overall

review of interviews for emerging definitions which consisted of a clear statement providing a meaning to FNSP sustainability during transitions, e.g., “sustainability is, sustainability means, I understand sustainability as, how I see sustainability is”. The data were revisited to identify what emerging definitions fit together under a category under which the PI could group them and provide a category-label. The data were revisited once more to organize the categories of definitions under a core phenomenon the PI labeled so that it is possible to describe how the categories fit together for constructing the emerging theoretical framework of how study participants define FNSP sustainability during transitions.

2. Research question 2

For responding to the second research question, what are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability?, methods of open, axial, and selective coding of the 52 interviews were used (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and content analysis of news, speeches, and documents was used for obtaining emerging themes to verify the results from interviews (Patton, 2002). The analysis started with an overall review of interviews for identifying the emerging reasons for sustaining and reasons for not sustaining FNSP during transitions which consisted of statements explaining the basis for which they believe an action was sustained or not sustained, e.g., “it was sustained because, what contributed to its sustainability was, the factors that made it sustainable were, what made it sustainable was, what explained its sustainability is, it was lost because, what made it not sustainable was, it was discontinued because”. The data were revisited to identify what emerging reasons fit together under a category under which the PI could group them

and provide a category-label. The data were revisited once more to organize the categories of reasons under a core phenomenon the PI labeled for constructing the emerging theoretical framework of what mechanisms are determining FNSP sustainability during transitions. For example, if a study participant explained the reason for sustaining a policy action by saying: *“Counting on a historic memory and documenting the evidence, are important factors for sustainability”*. That emerging reason was coded under a category of reasons for sustaining the PI labeled “Documenting”, which fit into a larger core-phenomenon called “Strategic force”. After completing the analysis, each force was defined according to the overall description of all study participants’ reports under it. The Strategic force is defined as: The performance of entities in charge of solving an issue or of implementing an action is informed by thoughtful and intentional definition of methodologies, logistics, roles, collaborations, and tactics by using documented knowledge and experience.

A process for capturing variability among reports on reasons was used so that the creation of new categories was justified. Reports on different opinions on the same reason for sustaining policy actions did not justify creating a new category, but reports that provided more than one reason, justified the creation of a new category. Additionally, during data analysis the PI created records on to which policy action and presidential term study participants referred when speaking of sustainability. Specificity at reporting actions under a particular presidency did not always occur, many study participants had performed an action during more than one presidential term or kept the action’s name general without giving credit to a specific presidency.

3. Research question 3

For responding to the third research question, What are the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for the sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions?, methods of open, axial, and selective coding of the 52 interviews were used (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and content analysis of news, speeches, and documents was used for obtaining emerging themes to verify the results from interviews (Patton, 2002). The analysis started with an overall review of interviews for emerging statements declaring that governmental officials' behaviors during transitions resulting from terminal logic (e.g., valuing far future rewards over immediate policy responsibilities), and from logics of strategic defection (e.g., disassociating from the outgoing government once it had lost power) had repercussions on sustaining or on not sustaining the policy. The data were revisited to identify what emerging implications fit together under a category under which the PI could group them and provide a category-label. The data were revisited once more to organize categories under a core phenomenon for constructing the emerging theoretical narrative of the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability. Data analysis concluded by identifying the emerging tactics reported by non-governmental study participants for sustaining policy actions during transitions, and the successful experiences of governmental study participants that contributed to FNSP sustainability.

D. Trustworthiness

1. Triangulation

The results obtained using open, axial, and selective coding of interviews were verified using content analysis for emerging themes in news, speeches, and documents. For example, the category of reasons for sustaining, “Documenting”, which emerged in interviews, was verified in technical speeches like the following: *“How is it that we can assure continuity? It is key to show results in order to assure its continuity”*; and in documents’ contents like the following: *“Monitoring and evaluation have been important [factors] for improving the program. Sustainability is credited in part to the existing evidence on impact”*. Triangulation was used to verify results responding to research questions 2, and 3.

2. Data double coding

A second analyst, who is a qualitative research expert, experienced in analyzing food and nutrition security data, native Spanish speaker, and proficient in English; conducted coding of 20 % of interview data to verify the results on the mechanisms determining sustainability (research question 2). This process allowed confirming that the results were reproducible, and that the creation of sub-categories and categories under a core-phenomenon fit the data so that results convey the information data are telling. The second analyst received ten un-coded interview transcripts, and the definitions of the core-phenomenon grouping categories and subcategories of emerging reasons for sustaining and for not sustaining FNSP during transitions. Data were double coded for presence or absence of evidence on the core-phenomenon. Evidence of presence means

that the core-phenomenon emerged from transcripts, and evidence of absence means that the core-phenomenon did not emerged from transcripts. Results were reported on a matrix of evidence on the ten interviews by the second analyst, which was later compared to the matrix produced by the PI for calculations of concordance, and intercoder agreement.

a. Concordance

Concordance between the PI and the second analyst on the presence and absence of evidence using the data subset of ten interviews was calculated by obtaining a rate on the number of times they coincided. Out of 240 possibilities, the PI and the second analyst coincided 192 times, showing a concordance of 80 %, indicating that reliability is satisfactory (Nunnally, 1978, p. 245). The formula used was:

$$\text{Concordance} = \text{Number of times the PI and second analysis coincided} / 240 \times 100$$

b. Intercoder agreement

Intercoder agreement between the PI and the second analysis was obtained with Kappa calculation, which takes into account agreement occurring by chance using the observed proportion of agreement (OP), and the expected proportion of agreement (EP) based on the Kappa matrix shown in Table 3.2. The agreement between the PI and the second analyst reached 0.573 showing moderate to substantial agreement (Viera & Garrett, 2005).

Table 3.2 Kappa calculation matrix

| | Evidence | PI | | Total |
|---------------------|----------|---------|--------|------------|
| | | Present | Absent | |
| Second data analyst | Present | a | b | a+b |
| | Absent | c | d | c+d |
| Total | | a+c | b+d | n= a+b+c+d |

$$\text{Kappa} = \frac{\text{OP} - \text{EP}}{1 - \text{EP}}$$

Where: a = 131 b = 25 c = 22 d = 62

$$\text{Observed proportion of agreement} = \frac{a+d}{n}$$

$$\text{Expected proportion of agreement} = \left[\frac{(a+b)}{n} \times \frac{(a+c)}{n} \right] + \left[\frac{(c+d)}{n} \times \frac{(b+d)}{n} \right]$$

3. Sampling procedures

Sampling procedures allowed confirming that policy actors that should have been invited to speak to the research topic are included in the sample. Study participants were recruited, and purposely sampled using snowball techniques across all policy sectors and levels, expertise, and experience working in policy related actions during the presidencies and transitions under study.

4. Experts review

Trustworthiness was also addressed by completing experts review of the results by the research team for quality control, which includes experts on FNS, political sciences, international business, and qualitative research.

CHAPTER 4

MANUSCRIPT 1

Policy actors' definitions of sustainability of food and nutrition security policy during presidential transitions

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ABSTRACT

Countries with democratic governments periodically replace presidents. Sustainability during transitions is important for food and nutrition security policies (FNSP) that require long-term processes for impact. Accounting for policy actors' definitions of sustainability is essential for effective collaboration that contributes to policies' impact. This study examined how policy actors define sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions.

A qualitative grounded-theory approach was used for a case study in Guatemala; 52 policy actors were recruited using purposeful sampling and participated in a semi-structured interview. Data were analyzed using for open, axial, and selective coding for

obtaining the emerging definitions of sustainability, and creating subcategories and categories that captured variability across study participants' to inform the theoretical framework of how they defined sustainability.

Study participants defined sustainability by describing drivers like attitudes, social norms, transferred capacities, shared commitment, resilience, ownership, empowerment, livelihood, self-functioning, and coherence. They also defined sustainability by describing long-term processes like (1) accumulating, a processes of gradually building, e.g., accumulating collaboration or accumulating technical foundation; (2) adding up, a process through which several factors stay in place together, e.g., adding up functioning institutional structures, and available resources; (3) maintaining, a process of preserving, e.g., maintaining unchanged strategies; and (4) reaching, a process of obtaining what they sought, e.g., reaching evidence-based continuity. The emergent theoretical framework of how study participants define FNSP sustainability during transitions shows how the kinds of drivers and of long term processes fit together.

This knowledge on how policy actors define FNSP sustainability during transitions informs collaborative efforts for policy design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation to assist countries to more effectively reach long-term policy goals. This evidence suggests that advocates and practitioners need to consider investing time and resources to assess what country allies and collaborators seek when working towards sustainability of FNSP.

INTRODUCTION

Developing countries with democratic governments periodically experience the process of replacing the president. There are frequent transitions, which start with the presidential campaign and finish until the end of the first year of the new government, characterized by uncertainty and contradiction in which do not hold the normal relationships among power, accountability, and electoral support (Beermann & Marshall, 2005). Transitions represent uncertainty gaps for decision-making at the political and institutional levels, and could be more drastic in countries where reelection is not possible, particularly challenging the continuity of policy implementation, including those aimed to contribute to food and nutrition security (FNS). Food and nutrition security “exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to food, which is safe and consumed in sufficient quantity and quality to meet their dietary needs and food preferences, and is supported by an environment of adequate sanitation, health services and care, allowing for a healthy and active life.”(CFS, 2012, p. 8). Food and nutrition insecurity is a problem associated with hunger in Latin America and it is a causal factor of stunting, low height-for age, in countries like Guatemala. One in two Guatemalan children 3-59 months old are stunted (49.8%) representing a serious public health problem contributing to disease, and mortality, and limiting human development (Martinez et al., 2009; MSPAS, 2011; De Onis et al., 2012; Martorell, 2012).

Food and nutrition security policies (FNSP) are being widely implemented in Latin America to solve these issues (FAO, 2012, p. 120). Though promising, these policies require long term processes to reach an impact, e.g., continuous implementation, political commitment, resources, collaboration among actors, and capacity development

(Garrett & Natalicchio, 2011; Natalicchio et al., 2009) which makes sustainability during transitions crucial. Scientists have been successful at documenting evidence on effective interventions, at engaging officials to invest for scaling up nutrition, and at understanding political agenda-setting for prioritizing nutrition (Bhutta et al., 2008; UNSCN, 2011; Pelletier et al., 2011; Lapping et al., 2012; Fanzo et al., 2013; Hajeebhoy et al., 2013; Ruel et al., 2013). The question of how sustainability is defined in the context of transitions from the country actor's perspectives remains unanswered. Responding to this question is essential for informing effective collaboration and for maximizing policies' long-term impact.

BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

FNSP sustainability has been defined in the context of developing countries. A study focusing on the sustainability of the Bolivia Zero Malnutrition Policy (Hoey & Pelletier, 2011) was informed by using a definition by Patashnik "to maintain structural integrity over time, and to use core principles to guide its course amid inevitable pressures for change" (Patashnik, 2008, p.2).

Components of sustainability, e.g., capacity development or strategic capacity, have also been defined in the context of nutrition-sensitive agricultural policies as beyond training or transferred skills but as "creating systems and structures favoring the achievement of objectives" (Gillespie & Margetts, 2013). Capacity is defined by others as individual, organizational, systematic, and societal abilities or powers to analyze problems, set objectives, and take action to perform or produce (Matta et al., 2000; Schacter, 2000; UNDP, 1998; Gillespie, 2001). Strategic capacity has been defined by

nutrition policy experts as the “abilities to put in place strategies for strengthening commitment, coherence, consensus, and coordination, and for resolving conflicts, responding to recurring challenges and opportunities, building relationships, and communicating” (Pelletier et al., 2011).

Institutionalization is a common definition for studying sustainability. The institutionalization of the structures through which FNSP operate could play a role for sustainability during transitions. If institutionalized, a program becomes embedded into organizations’ subsystems (Goodman et al., 1993). These structures are likely to obtain resources, solve problems, and resolve conflicts; hence capable of servicing the demands or protecting the interests of the groups structures are expected to benefit (Polsby, 1968). Similar terms have referred to routinization “innovations incorporated into the core agencies practices” (Yin, 1981) or to projected sustainability “the likelihood of project continuation and diversity of continued activities” (Savaya et al., 2009).

An influential framework guides strategic thinking about sustainability to improve and maintain health outcomes at the population level (Sarriot et al., 2009). It accounts for enabling environments in which services provision occur, and sustainability is defined as “a process that advances conditions that enable individuals, communities, and local organizations to improve their functionality, develop mutual relationships of support and accountability, and decrease dependency on insecure resources”.

In the context of cash transfers programs in Latin America, specifically the Mexico poverty reduction program, initially called PROGRESA, later OPORTUNIDADES, and at the time of this study PROSPERA; sustainability was defined as continuity, adaptability, and consistency (Levy, 2006, p. 95, 122, 136, 145-

149). The term “sustainability of impact” has been used to describe school enrollments in Nicaragua still showing to be higher than baseline rates, two years after households stopped receiving cash transfer program benefits (Adato & Hoddinott, 2007).

A gap still exists in describing how policy actors, that include technical teams and policy makers with potential differing professional views, define sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions. The question remains on how sustainability is defined from the country policy actors’ perspectives that are appointed to create multilevel and intersectoral functioning teams. This is important for successful collaboration during policy implementation, and to minimize the negative effect of presidential transitions on the pace and quality of implementation to continue actions and to keep the timely reach of outcomes. The importance of filling in this gap is of relevance not only for countries like Guatemala, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Vietnam, and Peru where the complexities of multisectoral collaboration within the FNS community has been documented (Pelletier et al., 2012); but also for other countries with similar collaborative expectations from policy actors.

METHODS

Research question and design

As part of a larger study aimed to examine what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions, this work sought to answer the question: How do policy actors define sustainability?.

A constructivist grounded-theory approach with a retrospective design was used for a qualitative case study in Guatemala. Inductive qualitative methods were used for

obtaining the emerging theory grounded in the field work to explain the data and its meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Patton, 2002; Charmaz, 2006). This case study involved understanding policy actors' experiences during presidential transitions.

Case selection

The rationale for selecting Guatemala as the case to study was to identify a country where policy actors' experiences during presidential transitions could inform the research question with certainty. The case was intentionally selected according to the following criteria: (1) Guatemala represented an opportunity to contribute to a larger body of knowledge on FNS, and to document the successful case of Guatemala at sustaining the policy during transitions from which other low-middle-income countries could learn; (2) food and nutrition insecurity is the cause of a public nutrition problem and relevant to human development (MSPAS, 2011; Martorell, 2012); (3) the FNSP had become a presidential priority, and had reached the highest position in the political agenda at the time of the study after two transitions; and (4) country policy actors are experienced at working as part of multisectoral teams on the implementation of policy related actions and at transitioning to a new president.

FNSP actions in Guatemala are the activities responding to the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27) through the four categories of actions in the national strategic plans: (1) chronic under nutrition, and food nutrition assistance; (2) basic social services: education, health, water, and sanitation; (3) food production, productive transformation, and competitiveness; and (4) institutional strengthening (CONASAN, 2011a; CONASAN, 2011b, p. 49-50). This categorization of actions was

relevant at the time of the study and it is documented to be an updated governmental strategic response resulting from consensus and multisectoral participation. The national FNS strategic plans in Guatemala are implemented through the national ministries in collaboration with all other institutions part of the National Food and Nutrition Security System (SINASAN). The SINASAN structure outlines what institutions are appointed with official roles and responsibilities and how these are organized for a coordinated multisectoral response on FNS (SESAN, 2005). The Food and Nutrition Security council and secretariat are the leading entities coordinating and monitoring the national implementation with oversight from the Vice-President.

Purposeful recruitment and sampling

The purposeful sampling criteria used to recruit policy actors to participate in the study were:

1. Represent a sector of the Food and Nutrition Security System (SINASAN).
2. Be experienced on fields of food and nutrition security and/or socio-political sciences.
3. Be experienced at working on policy related actions under one or more of the FNSP core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27) during one or more of the presidencies and transitions under study, from 2004-2013.

An initial group of potential study participants the PI knew or to whom the PI was introduced by common colleagues were contacted via email. They were informed of the study topic, objective, and of the interview subjects. The email stated the terms of confidentiality, and concluded with a request for an appointment to carry out a semi-structured interview. Emails were followed up by phone calls or a second email until a

person-to-person meeting was possible. Recruitment continued by using snowball techniques through which interviewees were asked to suggest other potential study participants. Simultaneously, the PI participated in two national technical and political events, met potential study participants, and repeated the process of email, follow up, and snowball. Potential study participants from sectors of the FNS system that did not respond to interview requests via email or with whom the PI did not have any link, were purposefully recruited through a formal letter inviting their institution to participate. The letters were addressed to the highest institutional authority and kindly requested to assign an official to inform the study. The letter included the same information in the interview requests via email. The PI delivered the letters in person, and upon acceptance requested information on who to contact for follow up. The interview requests via email were used for contacting 60 potential study participants, of those 37 (62%) agreed to be interviewed. The interview requests via formal institutional letters were used for contacting 17 institutions, of those 15 (88%) agreed to assign an official to be interviewed. Most of the institutions' highest authority assigned an official that interviewees had previously suggested to invite to participate in the study.

Data collection

Interviews were completed in Spanish and occurred in places suggested by study participants. The PI restated the study topic, and the conversation focus on policy sustainability during presidential transitions. The interview started by asking about the study participant's specific role within the FNS community at contributing to policy actions, it continued by asking its overall long-term goal, and how the study participant

defined sustainability. Study participants were asked to be audio-recorded during the interview, 64% agreed (n=33). During the interviews that were not audio-recorded the PI completed a careful note taking. The interview was not disrupted as the interviewees agreed to allow the time for note taking during the conversation. The PI wrote post-interview field notes on all study participants. Interviews lasted an average of 65 minutes. An experienced transcriber whose first language is Spanish completed verbatim transcription of interview-audios under a confidentiality agreement. The Institutional Review Board concluded that the protocol of this study was exempt. The identity of study participants and of the institutions they represented would not be disclosed at any time or in any way. The sample is described in general terms by their policy sector (government, international organization, private sector, civil society, research/academia, or consultant), if experienced on transitions, the kind of position assignment (appointed or elected), and the level of performance (national, regional, departmental, or municipal).

Data analysis

The research question, how do policy actors define FNSP sustainability during transitions?, was addressed by using methods of open, axial, and selective coding of interviews (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The analysis started with an overall review of interviews for emerging definitions which consisted of a clear statement providing a meaning to FNSP sustainability during transitions, e.g., “sustainability is, sustainability means, I understand sustainability as, how I see sustainability is”. The data were revisited to identify what emerging definitions fit together under a category under which the PI could group them and provide a category-label. The data were revisited once more to

organize the categories of definitions under a core phenomenon the PI labeled so that it is possible to describe how the categories fit together for constructing the theoretical framework of how study participants define FNSP sustainability during transitions. QSR Nvivo 10 was used for storing and organizing the data for analysis (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2012). Data were translated to English after completing the data analysis.

Trustworthiness by sampling procedures, and experts review

Sampling procedures allowed confirming that policy actors that should have been invited to speak to the research topic are included in the sample. Study participants were recruited and purposely sampled using snowball techniques across all policy sectors and levels, expertise, and experience working in policy related actions during the presidencies and transitions under study. Trustworthiness was also addressed by completing experts review of the results by the research team for quality control, which includes experts on FNS, political sciences, international business, and qualitative research.

RESULTS

Sample

A total sample of 52 study participants was obtained. The sample distribution comprises 4 study participants working as independent consultants, 4 from research/academia, 5 from civil society, 5 from private sector, 15 from international cooperation, and 19 from government. Of those study participants from government, there were appointed or elected officials performing at national, regional, departmental, and municipal levels. Among study participants there were 43 policy actors (83%) that

had worked in more than one presidential term and were experienced in transitions, 25 (48%) had belonged to more than one policy sector of the FNS system, and 6 (12%) reported to perform a dual position at the time of the interview.

Definition of FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions

Study participants defined sustainability of FNSP by referring to specific actions sustained, and not sustained (Table 4.1, and 4.2, respectively). They defined sustainability by describing drivers like attitudes, social norms, transferred capacities, shared commitment, resilience, ownership, empowerment, livelihood, self-functioning, and coherence (Table 4.3). Other study participants defined sustainability by describing long-term processes (Table 4.4): (1) accumulating, a processes of gradually building, e.g., accumulating collaboration or accumulating technical foundation; (2) adding up, a process through which several factors stay in place together, e.g., adding up functioning institutional structures, and available resources; (3) maintaining, a process of preserving, e.g, maintaining unchanged strategies; (4) reaching, a process of obtaining what they sought, e.g., reaching evidence-based continuity.

Study participants defined sustainability differently, some of them explained it as the drivers being enough for them to consider an action to be sustained, and others explained it as a specific long-term process that needed to be concluded. The emergent theoretical framework on how study participants defined FNSP sustainability during transitions shows a relevant within-case variability (Figure 4.1).

Table 4.1. Study participants' reports on actions sustained

| Chronic undernutrition | Basic social services | Food production | Institutional strengthening |
|--|--|--|--|
| Fortified complementary food distribution | School feeding program | Fertilizers program | SESAN leadership and technical capacities |
| Food fortification | Sewage system | Seeds program | Prioritization of FNSP |
| Micronutrient supplements | Primary health services | School garden program | FNS priority for public |
| Breastfeeding promotion | Piped water system | Family garden program | Integration of FNS actors |
| Program for reducing chronic undernutrition 1,000 days window and Zero Hunger pact | Information, education and communication | Income generating activities for women | INCOPAS as the institutionalized participation of civil society on FNS actions |
| Cash transfers and food aid | | Agricultural cooperatives | Community participation commissions |
| | | Livestock production | |

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Table 4.2. Study participants' reports on actions not sustained

| Chronic undernutrition | Basic social services | Food production | Institutional strengthening |
|-------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Plan for western departments | Maternal-child education in the native language | Rural agriculture workers (extensionistas) | Food & nutrition security information center |
| Public dining facilities | Education program PRONADE | Income generating activities for women | Nutrition surveillance system (sala situacional) |
| Program PRDC | Primary health services | Livestock production | Ministry of health funding |
| Cash transfers and food aid | Piped water system | | Health personnel training |
| | | | Community participation commissions |
| | | | Career development center |

Table 4.3 Study participants' definition of FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions: Conceptualization of drivers

Attitudes

"Sustainability for us is a change on populations' attitudes, and it is a function of educating by making accessible the knowledge on FNS."(36)

Social norms

"[It is sustained if] it reached social norms changes through education and behavior changes."(36)

Transferred capacities

"Process through which there is a transfer of technique, technology, method, and system; to be incorporated permanently to improve the situation [related to] production, water, and complementary fortified food to impact children and pregnant women."(8)

Shared commitment

"Citizen's commitment around a common issue, manifested as an integral continuity; not only from the government's part. The policy is taken as a commitment that is shared by all sectors involved."(17)

Resilience (ability to recover)

"It is 'resilience'; because the [agriculture] cooperatives are resilient, there is crisis but the people are there, because what they have is their labor, their options." (14)

Ownership

"Sustainability is to guaranty that the policy works because the institutions and the people have made it their own and they promote it through any effort possible; it works despite the public officials in office or [lack of] funding."(45)

Empowerment

"Sustainability is when there is participation of the citizens suffering the issue. They have the right and responsibility to speak their word and to make decisions to act differently to solve the issue with their own means; despite of political changes or unavailability of external funding."(11)

Livelihood

"Sustainability is to provide a livelihood to support themselves, not only to provide for their own intake but also to generate income by selling what they produce."(24)

Self-functioning

"A 'sustainable school' means that a school is managing a pedagogic school garden, that will be used and that will be maintained by teachers and students. It provides enough [crops] for the school feeding [program]. The [school] infrastructure like floor, walls, roof, dining room, and kitchen; is adequate for the learning experience as a

whole: production, preparation, distribution, and consumption.”(37)

Coherence between policy and the historical dynamics of country’s functioning

“It is possible to understand sustainability in this context by understanding this country’s social structure that works from bottom to top. [This country] resulted from multiple integrated native groups, which makes it work from the local level. What works, and what operates, is the local, and the community-based.”(13)

Table 4.4 Study participants’ definition of FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions: Processes of progress overtime

Accumulating (gradually built)

Technical foundation

“[Sustainability is] the technical foundation of what the policy is all about, we worked on it a great deal starting with [many kinds of] data collection and processing, to start developing hypotheses, corrections, etc.; the technical-statistical documentation, and the strategic plans.”(17)

Collaboration

“[speaking of what sustainability is perceived like] one has come along building a work sequence with one person [appointed as the governmental counterpart]: evaluating each action, and each activity carried out at a specific moment; it is systematized, and it all collects the set of experiences on each project [worked jointly] with our governmental counterpart.”(28)

Adding up (in place together)

Priority, support, funding, monitoring and evaluation, systematization, and local level participation

“[It speaks of sustainability] that the 1000 days window has been declared a presidential priority through an official governmental agreement, there is support from international organizations, funding behind the speech, monitoring and evaluating system, and its systematization currently being implemented at the municipal level.”(47)

Problem solving, profitable, and environment friendly

“[The sustainability of agriculture actions] is that the agricultural production solves the crop needs of the population and that also serves to commercialize and to make a profit; that does not depend on donations, external institutions or the government. It also has to do with the process of not using pesticides that are harmful to soils, so that soils are not exhausted.”(49)

Bi-dimensional sustainability: state and citizens

“Sustainability should be understood in two dimensions. The State’s capacity to deal with the issue, ideally to solve it, or at least to keep it under control. The citizen’s

capacity to solve specific situations, and to be able to deal with the issue regardless of the state not being capable to help them.”(15)

Bi-dimensional: functioning institutional structure and resources

“There are two ways of visualizing sustainability. The political-institutional part, which is to have a policy that assures that it will not be taken away; and to have the institutional structure like a mechanism of programing and intervention that allows effectively getting where ones need to get [reach targeted groups]. The other is the financial part, which is the budget fraction assigned to the ministries.”(9)

Policy actors assuming roles: governmental institutions doing their job, all sectors and non-traditional sectors adopting public policies

“We conceive sustainability in three ways: first that the governmental entities do what it is expected for them to do; second it is to place together all non-governmental actors complying with the policy and coordinating [with each other]; and third is the participation of new actors, like the private sector.”(13)

Reaching (what they pursue)

Evidence-based continuity

“Sustainability is evidence-based continuity. Continuity informed by monitoring, and evaluation. To continue what works and to stop doing what does not work or what is only ideology-based.”(19)

Political sustainability

“Sustainability in this country has a last name, and it is politics. What we wish for, and believe is most important is that a specific topic could transit from one government to the next one by the politicians’ recognition of its political relevance so that it can be perpetuated over time. FNS sustainability is of political nature, the political agents understand its relevance and they give it continuity along time.”(13)

Geographic maximization of voters in exchange of investment of public goods

“[sustainability is] that public policy just like public investment, could reach a massive impact. Geographic maximization of voters in exchange of investment with public funds. It is not only about reaching many people but that people [voters] actually see it.” (17)

Action continued after initiating project exits

“Sustainability is when actions continue over time despite of the starting project ending, and the financing entity exiting.”(33)

Long-lasting benefits as opposed to immediate-consumed goods

[Sustainability] means that it is not for immediate consumption but that it has a durable benefit. The women’s project is sustainable [because] the ministries have supported the training of craftswomen. It benefits the situation of production. On the other hand, food aid is not sustainability, it does not last longer than the day.”(21)

Consensus

“A [sustainable] public policy has to do with consensus among all sectors involved so it is really possible to have its continuity. It is to involve the municipal level so the population is part of it. As much as the national government says ‘it is my plan, my flag’ the ones that will make it operate are the municipal people.”(34)

Results

The policy is sustainable to the level by which there are results. That society, institutions, and the political level see changes; so that there is empowerment and that there is social pressure for the policy going into effect.”(7)

Institutionalization- systematization-routinization

“Sustainability is that the ministry of health makes actions its own. It is that actions carried out are completely taken over, recognized, owned, brought up to scale, and continued. It means that the products become a routine and part of the institutional daily tasks.”(30)

Social audit (society examination)

“To strengthen the space for civil society opportunities to make social audit, to avoid corruption, and to demand continuity.”(3)

Maintaining (preserved)**Priority Topic**

“[At explaining sustainability] is the institutional foundation related to the topic that has escalated within the ranking of priorities, political relevance, and level of importance; that with the current government the topic reaches its maximum expression of political priority since the FNSP was adopted.”(19)

Strategic objectives

“Sustainability is that priorities and strategic objectives remain being valid. Actions may change, actions are not static, e.g., technology changes.”(1)

Strategic planning

“The national strategy for stunting reduction designed in 2005 has been retaken for the [current] presidential program, updated, and put to work. This speaks of an important sustainability process.”(47)

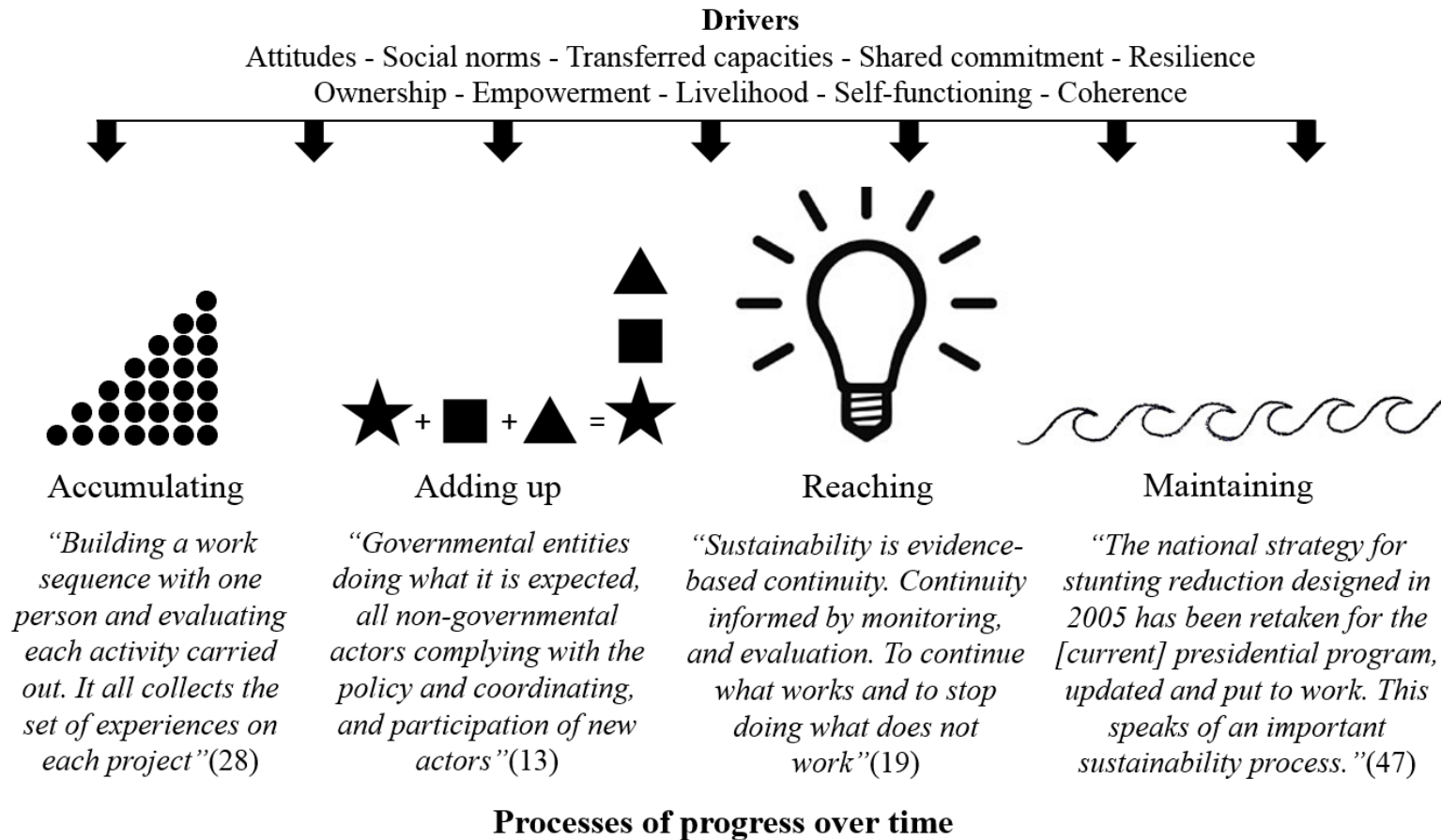


Figure 4.1. Participants' definition of FNSP sustainability during transitions: Drivers and processes of progress over time

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study provides evidence on the necessary consideration to assess how country actors, the local experts, define sustainability. Assumptions are generally made about what sustainability means locally, and about the countries' expectations when aiming to sustain FNSP actions. External experts tend to guide their work using a well-documented definition of sustainability, act upon it, and usually assume that one definition applies entirely to the country policy actors intended to support. Overlooking what country experts pursue, and more importantly, disregarding what it is that the local teams seek given the systems in place, misguides efforts to help countries reaching long-term policy goals.

Study participants' definitions of sustainability in this case show a wide within-case spectrum of variability across policy sectors and levels where the members of the FNS community perform and are expected to collaborate, definitions varied from conceptualization of drivers to description of long-term processes. The case of Guatemala suggests that one definition would not capture the perspectives of all policy actors when studying policy sustainability in the context of presidential transitions. Though sampling procedures here do not allow a disaggregated analysis on what determines policy actors' definition of sustainability, these results suggest that background, work experience, mandate, and perception of what is important shaped study participants' definition of sustainability.

In Guatemala, definitions of sustainability as drivers included transferred capacities, and definitions as long-term processes included reaching institutionalization. These results suggest that using definitions widely documented across the fields of nutrition, politics, and economics

like strategic capacity (Matta et al., 2000; Schacter, 2000; UNDP, 1998; Gillespie, 2001; Pelletier et al., 2011; Gillespie & Margetts, 2013), and like institutionalization, systematization, and routinization (Polsby, 1968; Yin, 1981; Goodman et al., 1993; Savaya et al., 2009) are useful for studying sustainability during transitions as long as the guiding conceptual framework allows variability and it is not fixed with applying one definition for an entire country or to all country policy actors. The emerging definition of sustainability as the driver attitudes is consistent with previous results on the operations evaluation of Mexico PROGRESA reporting that sustainability has to do with changes in attitudes of the population through education (Adato et al., 2000).

A system with constant governmental officials is a contextual factor study participants seemed to count on when defining sustainability, e.g., the driver of transferred capacities, the process of accumulating collaboration, and the process of reaching systematization. These findings are consistent with previous work looking at outcomes that could enhance or inhibit sustainability related to political momentum and enabling environments (Gillespie et al., 2013), reading the political nature of undernutrition (Nisbett et al., 2014), and at understanding decentralized planning processes around the nutrition policy agenda in Vietnam (Lapping et al., 2014). Consistent with the results in Guatemala, these authors had previously documented the advantages of constant resources, and of technical and strategic capacity at individual, organizational and systematic levels, and the disadvantages of lack of human resources and of rapid turnover. Constant governmental personal is a crucial underlying contextual factor for defining sustainability of FNSP during transitions.

This evidence on how policy actors define sustainability will inform policy design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation to assist countries to more effectively

reach long-term goals. Successful long-term policy efforts must address the complexities for collaboration during presidential transitions that are carried out by actors with differing views.

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MANUSCRIPT 2

Sustainability of Food and Nutrition Security Policy during Presidential Transitions

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ABSTRACT

Developing countries with democratic governments periodically experience presidential transitions that affect political and institutional performance. Unforeseen uncertainties during transitions are not faced strategically and interrupt collaboration among multisectoral teams expected to jointly implement policies, including those aimed to contribute to food and nutrition security. In some low-middle-income countries, these obstacles result in persistent hunger, malnutrition, and death mainly affecting the most vulnerable populations and contributing to unequal human development. Sustainability of food and nutrition security policies (FNSP) during transitions is particularly important, as these require long-term processes for impact.

We aimed to examine what mechanisms are determining FNSP sustainability in a country that experiences presidential transitions every four years. A constructivist grounded-theory approach with a retrospective design was used for a case study in Guatemala. Purposeful criterion and snowball sampling were used to recruit 52 policy actors from all relevant sectors and levels, elected or appointed that had contributed to implementing the FNSP adopted since 2006. Data from semi-structured interviews were

analyzed using open, axial, and selective coding. Results were verified using methods of content analysis for obtaining emerging themes in news, speeches, and documents.

Results revealed 24 forces that simultaneously shape a dynamic process determining sustainability during transitions. The forces for sustaining FNSP are Backed up, Beneficial, Championed, Importance, Institutionally sound, Owned, Sensitive, Shared, Steady resources, Strategic, Transition effect, and Trusted. The forces for not sustaining FNSP are Antagonistic underlying structure, Campaigning, Dysfunctional transition, Fractioned, Haphazard, Insensitive, Irrelevant, Misrepresentation, Neglected, Rivalry, Unsound institutions, and Unsteady resources. These forces are molded by reasons for sustaining and for not sustaining actions as reported by study participants. The forces favor or impede the sustainability of an action or part of it, and operate at all levels and sectors but affect actions differently in these. The forces do not compete, but combinations of them bring about outcomes that those policy actors in charge and their collaborators could intentionally influence. The potential of forces to shape sustainability of FSNP depends on interacting actors responding to emerging events within specific contexts. Roles performed by civil society, governmental officials, and international organizations were critical for policy sustainability during transitions in this case.

These results complement existing knowledge for improving informed multisectoral collaboration for policy implementation. Strategies for performing multisectorally can be more effective for sustainability by accounting for the political cycles at national and local levels, and by taking into consideration the forces determining sustainability. Identifying policy actors and sectors with critical roles at influencing forces can inform innovative and influential strategies. These findings

bringing together perspectives from socio-political and public health nutrition fields are useful for advancing knowledge and informing practice on how to more effectively reach long term policy goals and to impact food and nutrition security.

INTRODUCTION

Developing countries with democratic governments periodically experience presidential transitions that affect political and institutional performance. Transitions last from the presidential campaign until the end of the first year of the new government, and are characterized by uncertainty and contradiction due to abnormal relationships among power, accountability, and electoral support (Beermann & Marshall, 2005). Unforeseen uncertainties during transitions are not faced strategically and interrupt collaboration among multisectoral teams expected to jointly implement policies, including those aimed to contribute to food and nutrition security. Food and nutrition security “exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to food, which is safe and consumed in sufficient quantity and quality to meet their dietary needs and food preferences, and is supported by an environment of adequate sanitation, health services and care, allowing for a healthy and active life.”(CFS, 2012, p.8).

Food and nutrition insecurity is a problem associated with hunger in Latin America, in Guatemala is a causing factor of stunting, low height-for-age, affecting one in two Guatemalan children (49.8%) 3-59 months of age, it is a public health problem contributing to morbidity, and mortality impeding equal human development (Martinez et al., 2009; MSPAS, 2011; De Onis et al., 2012; Martorell, 2012). Policies tackling these issues are being widely implemented in Latin America (FAO, 2012, p. 120). Food and

nutrition security policies (FNSP) though promising, require long term processes to reach an impact, e.g., continuous implementation, political commitment, resources, collaboration among actors, and capacity development (Garrett & Natalicchio, 2011; Natalicchio et al., 2009) which makes sustainability during presidential transitions crucial. Countries are coming to a standstill every 4-6 years after which policy continuity could take similar or different directions impeding the reach of long-term goals. Knowledge gaps on what determines policy sustainability during transitions are limiting countries' abilities for an informed assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and resources during transitions to maximize continuity along electoral cycles for an uninterrupted implementation of policy actions.

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND STUDY AIM

Successful long-term policy implementation that started in the 1940s has occurred in Chile, where the implementation of nutrition-sensitive interventions resulted in the improvement of health and nutrition of women and young children (Weisstaub et al., 2014). Key elements in this case include the uninterrupted application of programs that resulted from the technical consensus, independently of the radical political, social, and economic changes the country has suffered. The importance of transitions has been documented in Guatemala. A study aimed to identify ways to overcome challenges in the policy process revealed that transitions were among the crucial factors for agenda-setting conditions that created political attention to chronic undernutrition (Pelletier et al., 2012).

A more specific analysis on the sustainability of Bolivia's Zero Malnutrition Program aimed at exploring whether past failures at planning multisectorally for nutrition

would not occur again (Hoey & Pelletier, 2011). The authors completed retrospective and prospective data collection through an action research and grounded methodology. They concluded that experiences from Bolivia hold important lessons for several global initiatives to scale up nutrition actions, specifically on the challenges when actions require broader partnerships with other sectors or local-level actors beyond health and education sectors.

There are useful frameworks for guiding policy actors and their collaborators on how to think and approach sustainability during transitions. The political economy analyses frameworks provide a roadmap for identifying where the specific policy processes of interest stand, what factors to consider, and how to define approaches for performing strategically (Reich & Balarajan, 2012; Resnick et al., 2015). Other relevant frameworks inform on how to influence political priority accounting for the strength of the actors, the power of the ideas, the nature of the political contexts, and the characteristics of the issue itself (Shiffman & Smith, 2007); on making a thorough assessment of strategies and actions (Menon et al., 2011) on working multisectorally (Garrett & Natalicchio, 2011), participatory restructuring approaches for sustainable economic upgrading processes (McDermott, 2007), and on monitoring and evaluating policy influence (Jones, 2011). A framework informing on global food and nutrition security suggests ownership, alignment, harmonization, results, and mutual accountability as the key principles for sustainability (CFS, 2013).

Factors contributing to sustainability have also been documented. Studies on policy processes have recently informed on the elements contributing to attention to policy and factors influencing decentralized planning in Vietnam (Lapping et al., 2012;

Lapping et al., 2014), clustered factors affecting agenda setting in six African countries (Pelletier et al., 2011), conditions for policy development (Hoey & Pelletier, 2011), feasibility challenges for a good consensus process among FNSP actors in Guatemala (Hill et al., 2011), domains and ways for sustaining political momentum and enabling environments (Gillespie et al., 2013), themes on how to read the political nature of undernutrition (Nisbett et al., 2014), and accounting for goals and means for effective integration among national and international actors (Bruszt & McDermott, 2014).

Development experts have informed on crucial factors for the sustainability of nutrition actions related to financing approaches, mobilization of civil society for public pressure, country ownership, and coordination among development partners (The World Bank, 2006). Systematic problems such as fragmentation, lack of an evidence base for prioritized actions, institutional inertia, and failure to join up with promising developments in parallel sectors were found to be important weaknesses that affect organizations working against undernutrition. (Morris et al., 2008). Global Health experts have brought up attention to the sustained delivery of health interventions guaranteed by functioning national health systems, and to the importance of reconciling ongoing global-level transformation with the need to further strengthen and support national-level health systems mainly on leadership, institutions, systems design, and technologies (Szlezák et al., 2010; Frenk, 2010)

Facing presidential transitions present important challenges for sustainability. A gap exists on understanding, from policy actors' perspectives, what works for sustaining policy actions and what does not work; how actors that have experienced transitions made decisions and reacted to events in a specific contexts; what actors from all sectors,

levels, appointed or elected have to say on how they performed and collaborated; and what they observed while implementing FNSP actions and experiencing transitions themselves. The complexities of understanding the mechanisms through which sustainability occurs during a transition have not yet been studied. Gaining this understanding is important for informing a set of strategic practices for maximizing sustainability of FNSP through actions that transition together with the government, and that do not result in FNSP being left behind, outdated, and irrelevant. Gaining and putting this understanding into use is critical because to reach long-term goals depends on implementing effective up-scaled actions as much as it does on sustaining this implementation long enough so that impact is reached. High quality strategic planning during transitions has not been reached so that it includes responding to specific contextual challenges, defining roles, allocating resources, and maximizing effectiveness at facing dysfunctional collaborations. This study aimed to examine what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions, from socio-political and nutritional perspectives, in a Central American country that experiences a change of president every four years. This work will provide evidence for responding to the question: What are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability?

DESIGN AND METHODS

A constructivist grounded-theory approach with a retrospective design was used for a qualitative case study in Guatemala. Inductive qualitative methods were used for obtaining the emerging theory grounded in the field work to explain the data and its

meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Patton, 2002; Charmaz, 2006). It focused on the theory developed from what the PI learned of the case.

Case selection

The rationale for selecting Guatemala as the case to study was to identify a country where policy actors' experiences during presidential transitions could inform the research question with certainty. The case was intentionally selected according to the following criteria: (1) Guatemala represented an opportunity to contribute to a larger body of knowledge on FNS, and to document the successful case of Guatemala at sustaining the policy during transitions from which other low-middle-income countries could learn; (2) food and nutrition insecurity is the cause of a public nutrition problem, and relevant to human development (MSPAS, 2011; Martorell, 2012), (3) the FNSP had become a presidential priority, and had reached the highest position in the political agenda at the time of the study after two transitions; and (4) country policy actors are experienced at working as part of multisectoral teams on the implementation of policy related actions and at transitioning to a new president.

FNSP actions in Guatemala are the activities responding to the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27) through the four categories of actions in the national strategic plans: (1) chronic under nutrition, and food nutrition assistance; (2) basic social services: education, health, water, and sanitation; (3) food production, productive transformation, and competitiveness; and (4) institutional strengthening (CONASAN, 2011a; CONASAN, 2011b, p. 49-50). This categorization of actions was relevant at the time of the study and it is documented to be an updated governmental

strategic response resulting from consensus and multisectoral participation. The national FNS strategic plans in Guatemala are implemented through the national ministries in collaboration with all other institutions part of the National Food and Nutrition Security System (SINASAN). The SINASAN structure outlines what institutions are appointed with official roles and responsibilities and how these are organized for a coordinated multisectoral response on FNS (SESAN, 2005). The Food and Nutrition Security council and secretariat are the leading entities coordinating and monitoring the national implementation with oversight from the Vice-President.

Purposeful recruitment, sampling, and data collection

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews with policy actors, that from now on will be called study participants, were completed in the fall of 2013. The criteria for recruiting study participants were to:

1. Represent a sector of the Food and Nutrition Security System.
2. Be experienced on fields of food and nutrition security and/or socio-political sciences.
3. Be experienced at working on policy related actions under one or more of the FNSP core programmatic areas during one or more of the presidencies and transitions under study, from 2004-2013.

An initial group of potential study participants the PI knew or to whom the PI was introduced by common colleagues were contacted via email. They were informed of the study topic, objective, and of the interview subjects. The email stated the terms of confidentiality, and concluded with a request for an appointment to carry out a semi-

structured interview. Emails were followed up by phone calls or a second email until a person-to-person meeting was possible. Recruitment continued by using snowball techniques through which interviewees were asked to suggest other potential study participants. Simultaneously, the PI participated in two national technical and political events, met potential study participants, and repeated the process of email, follow up, and snowball. Potential study participants from sectors of the FNS system that did not respond to interview requests via email or with whom the PI did not have any link, were purposefully recruited through a formal letter inviting their institution to participate. The letters were addressed to the highest institutional authority and kindly requested to assign an official to inform the study. The letter included the same information in the interview requests via email. The PI delivered the letters in person, and upon acceptance requested information on who to contact for follow up. The interview requests via email were used for contacting 60 potential study participants, of those 37 (62%) agreed to be interviewed. The interview requests via formal institutional letters were used for contacting 17 institutions, of those 15 (88%) agreed to assign an official to be interviewed. Most of the institutions' highest authority assigned an official that interviewees had previously suggested to invite to participate in the study.

Interviews were completed in Spanish and occurred in places suggested by study participants. The PI restated the study topic and the conversation focus on policy sustainability during presidential transitions. The interview started by asking about the study participant's specific role within the FNS community at contributing to policy actions, it continued by asking its overall long-term goal, and how the study participant defined sustainability. The PI continued by asking what approach had been used to

sustain that policy action during transitions. The participants were asked to provide one more example of an action sustained during transitions (Table 4.1) and the reasons for sustaining, and continued by asking to mention an action not sustained (Table 4.2) and the reasons for not sustaining. Study participants were asked to be audio-recorded during the interview, 64% agreed (n=33). During the interviews that were not audio-recorded the PI completed a careful note taking. The interview was not disrupted as the interviewees agreed to allow the time for note taking during the conversation. The PI wrote post-interview field notes on all study participants. Interviews lasted an average of 65 minutes. An experienced transcriber whose first language is Spanish completed verbatim transcription of interview-audios under a confidentiality agreement. The Institutional Review Board judged the protocol of this study as exempt. The identity of study participants and of the institutions they represented would not be disclosed at any time or in any way. The sample is described in general terms by their policy sector (government, international organization, private sector, civil society, research/academia, or consultant), if experienced on transitions, the kind of position assignment (appointed or elected), and the level of performance (national, regional, departmental, or municipal).

News

News articles were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on a topic related to at least one of the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27). Daily news were monitored during 2013 using the online version of the newspaper with higher circulation Prensa Libre. The printed versions of the newspapers Prensa Libre, La Hora, and El Periódico were reviewed daily during the time of data collection.

Online news were searched on the terms transitions, the presidencies, and the FNS Secretariat restricting the dates for the period starting the first year of the presidency that adopted the policy (2004) until the time of the study (2013). Additional online news were searched by using the proper names of all study participants, and of the institutions they represented, including their online press releases.

Speeches

Speeches were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on technical and political framing of a topic related to at least one of the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27), and to be given by a policy actor publicly speaking. The PI recorded the audios during participation of two events:

1. Political encounter and Forum for a National Agreements for Human Development, Education, and Stunting Reduction, with the participation of all political parties and FNSP actors at all levels. This event was co-hosted by the president and the private sector, and supported by an important bilateral donor.

2. Technical National Nutrition Congress and Symposium against Undernutrition, with participation of FNSP actors. It included a forum on the presidential strategy for stunting reduction in the context of the FNSP.

The PI participated in these events and recorded the speeches using a digital audio-recorder. An experienced transcriber, whose first language is Spanish completed verbatim transcription of the audios.

Documents

Documents were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on the FNSP, and its implementation, e.g., strategic plans, reports, and documents by sectors and institutions that are part of the FNS system. Additionally, the sample included documents provided by study participants during interviews, and public documents authored by the institutions they represented. Among the documents obtained, those that showed relevant contents for verifying results from interviews that informed the research questions were arranged as documents-sets as. A document-set was created if a sequence of documents were published by the same sector, institution, or on the same topic during the presidencies and transitions of interest.

Data analysis

The overall aim of this study was to examine what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions, as from socio-political and nutritional perspectives, in Guatemala where presidential transitions occur every four years. For responding to the research question, what are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability?, methods of open, axial, and selective coding of interviews were used (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), and content analysis of news, speeches, and documents was completed for obtaining emerging themes to verify the results from interviews (Patton, 2002).

The analysis started with an overall review of interviews for identifying the emerging reasons for sustaining and reasons for not sustaining FNSP during transitions which consisted of statements explaining the basis for which they believe an action was

sustained or not sustained, e.g., “it was sustained because, what contributed to its sustainability was, the factors that made it sustainable were, what made it sustainable was, what explained its sustainability is, it was lost because, what made it not sustainable was, it was discontinued because”. Data were revisited to identify what emerging reasons fit together under a category under which the PI could group them and provide a category-label. The data were revisited once more to organize the categories of reasons under a core phenomenon the PI labeled for constructing the emerging theoretical framework of what mechanisms are determining FNSP sustainability during transitions. For example, if a study participant explained the reason for sustaining a policy action by saying: “*Counting on a historic memory and documenting the evidence, are important factors for sustainability*”. That emerging reason was coded under a category of reasons for sustaining the PI labeled “Documenting”, which fit into a larger core-phenomenon called “Strategic force”. After completing the analysis, each force was defined according to the overall description of all study participants’ reports under it. The Strategic force is defined as: The performance of entities in charge of solving an issue or of implementing an action is informed by thoughtful and intentional definition of methodologies, logistics, roles, collaborations, and tactics by using documented knowledge and experience.

A process for capturing variability among reports on reasons was used so that the creation of new categories was justified. Reports on different opinions on the same reason for sustaining policy actions did not justify creating a new category, but reports that provided more than one reason, justified the creation of a new category. Additionally, during data analysis the PI created records on to which policy action and presidential term study participants referred when speaking of sustainability. Specificity at reporting

actions under a particular presidency did not always occur, many study participants had performed an action during more than one presidential term or kept the action's name general without giving credit to a specific presidency.

QSR Nvivo 10 was used for storing and organizing the data for analysis (QSR International Pty Ltd. (2012). Data were translated to English after completing the data analysis.

Trustworthiness

Triangulation

Triangulation was used to verify results responding to the research question. The results obtained using open, axial, and selective coding of interviews were verified using content analysis for emerging themes in news, speeches, and documents. For example, the category of reasons for sustaining, "Documenting", which emerged in interviews, was verified in technical speeches like the following: "*How is it that we can assure continuity? It is key to show results in order to assure its continuity*"; and in documents' contents like the following: "*Monitoring and evaluation have been important [factors] for improving the program. Sustainability is credited in part to the existing evidence on impact*".

Data double-coding

A second analyst, who is a qualitative research expert, experienced in analyzing food and nutrition security data, a native Spanish speaker, and proficient in English, conducted coding of 20 % of interview data to verify the results on the mechanisms determining sustainability. This process allowed confirming that the results were

reproducible, and that the creation of sub-categories and categories under a core-phenomenon fit the data so that results convey the information data are telling. The second analyst received ten un-coded interview transcripts and the definitions of the core-phenomenon grouping categories and subcategories of emerging reasons for sustaining and for not sustaining FNSP during transitions. Data were double coded for presence or absence of evidence on the core-phenomenon grouping the categories and subcategories of reason for sustaining or not. Evidence of presence means that the core-phenomenon emerged from transcripts and evidence of absence means that the core-phenomenon did not emerged from transcripts. Results were reported on a matrix of evidence on the ten interviews by the second analyst, which was later compared to the matrix produced by the PI for calculations of concordance, and intercoder agreement. Concordance between the PI and the second analyst on the presence and absence of evidence using the data subset of ten interviews was calculated by obtaining a rate on the number of times they coincided. Out of 240 possibilities, the PI and the second analyst coincided 192 times, showing a concordance of 80 %, indicating that reliability is satisfactory (Nunnally, 1978, p. 245). Intercoder agreement between the PI and the second analysis was obtained with Kappa calculation, which takes into account agreement occurring by chance using the observed proportion of agreement, and the expected proportion of agreement. The agreement between the PI and the second analyst reached 0.573 showing moderate to substantial agreement (Viera & Garrett, 2005).

Sampling procedures

Sampling procedures allowed confirming that policy actors that should have been invited to speak to the research topic are included in the sample. Study participants were recruited and purposely sampled using snowball techniques across all policy sectors and levels, expertise, and experience working in policy related actions during the presidencies and transitions under study.

Experts review

Trustworthiness was also addressed by completing experts review of the results by the research team for quality control, which includes experts on FNS, political sciences, international business, and qualitative research.

RESULTS

Sample

A total sample of 52 study participants include 43 (83%) that had worked in more than one presidential term and were experienced in transitions, 25 (48%) had belonged to more than one policy sector of the FNS system, and 6 (12%) reported to perform a dual position at the time of the interview. The sample distribution comprises 4 study participants working as independent consultants, 4 from research/academia, 5 from civil society, 5 from private sector, 15 from international cooperation, and 19 from government. Of those study participants from government, there were appointed or elected officials performing at national, regional, departmental, and municipal levels. A total sample of 252 news articles was obtained, and organized under nine categories that

emerged upon data collection: interviewees, continuity, the president, private sector, municipalities, eradicating stunting, basic services, food production, and institutional strengthening. The sample of political and technical speeches was 27. A total of 75 documents were used for the analysis.

Mechanisms determining FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions

There are 24 forces simultaneously shaping a dynamic process determining FNSP sustainability during transitions. The forces for sustaining FNSP are Backed up, Beneficial, Championed, Importance, Institutionally sound, Owned, Sensitive, Shared, Steady resources, Strategic, Transition effect, and Trusted (Table 4.5). The forces for not sustaining FNSP are Antagonistic underlying structure, Campaigning, Dysfunctional transition, Fractioned, Haphazard, Insensitive, Irrelevant, Misrepresentation, Neglected, Rivalry, Unsound institutions, and Unsteady resources (Table 4.6).

The 24 forces determining FNSP sustainability during transitions are molded by the emerging reasons for sustaining and for not sustaining policy actions as reported by the study participants. For example the Strategic force was obtained by grouping together seven categories of reasons for sustaining that emerged from the interviews: action adapted to each presidential term; documenting lessons learnt and action's impact; allies foreseeing and working around the transition break; long term goals defined; leading government office with technical-political role; ordered planning at national and municipal levels; extended planning includes current and next term; and addressing needed long- term changes in social norms. These categories were verified with emerging themes in documents, news, and speeches. Taking as an example the Strategic force, the

Table 4.5. Forces shaping the process for sustaining FNSP during presidential transitions

| Forces for sustaining FNSP | Study participants' reports |
|---|---|
| <p>Backed up: The underlying certainty that an action is technically justifiable, supported by evidence, successful in other countries or at a small scale in Guatemala, cost-effective, officially normed, supported by a national law, is mandatory by the local and national governments, and is supported by guidelines from international organizations, and global initiatives.</p> | <p><i>“Actions were sustained because of process and impact evaluation results, and the support of international organizations, e.g., United Nations. Additionally, it is not specific to Guatemala [cash transfers programs] have been implemented in Brasil, Chile, Ecuador, Indonesia. There are probed experiences that it impacts education and health.”(51)</i></p> |
| <p>Beneficial: The issue or action at stake is perceived to be advantageous, convenient, favorable or profitable for oneself or one's institution. It goes beyond considering it important, it is to perceive it as desirable, wanted for one's good, it can be a mechanism to become better off, attributed with possibilities of satisfying a concrete interest such as goods, services, positions, recognition, credit, good reputation, and electoral victory.</p> | <p><i>“The conditioned cash transfers continued after the transition because they saw its electoral and political potential, and because at that time [during the campaign] the possible threat of these programs being discontinued meant a disadvantage for the political parties in electoral competition.”(18)</i></p> |
| <p>Championed: The general recognition that an individual, an organization, a sector, and a resilient local group is influential; either for making decisions or for advising decision makers by using forms of visibility, and advocacy to sensitize, and persuade.</p> | <p><i>“The National Force against Hunger was created and led by a commissioner that later was appointed as the first food and nutrition security Secretariat, who had advised congress members working on the policy drafts, and worked for the United Nations focusing on the Right to Food. The Secretariat sensitized other actors, was able to pass the policy, and to potentiate complementary strategic coordination among actors.”(52)</i></p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Importance: The issue or action at stake is perceived to have a great effect, to be of significance, to bring about consequences that matter, and to be good for public wellbeing. The issue or action at stake is prioritized for being highly positioned among influential people’s agenda, and valued for potentiating a result that matters. Not necessarily beneficial or owned.</p> | <p><i>“The President, the Vice-President, and the Secretariat presiding the launch of the Zero Hunger pact certainly put us in a position in which we are motivated to form a series of initiatives to accompany citizens to solve the problem. The private sector is remarkably moving forward, never before we had joined a table with a shared vision to solve a problem affecting all of us in this country. We have defined objectives, steps, and processes. We want this to be a model of an integral approach of cost-effective interventions for obtaining results, in which the minimum is to implement all actions under the 1000-days window as a national flag, without intending to support [specifically] one government or a political party.”(26)</i></p> |
| <p>Institutionally sound: The underlying certainty that solving an issue or performing an action is feasible, and that its completion is possible by using existing infrastructure and resources and by adopting existing norms and sequences operating within the functioning systems together with other simultaneous efforts.</p> | <p><i>“Actions stay during a governmental change ‘when one is not alone’, when there are more people working on them, they know the experience, show results, and it is brought up to scale with sustainability elements. For example, being integrated within the existing systems and implemented through governmental institutions for it to have continuity; it becomes a regular program within a structure that already exists. The challenge is how to make the actions of small-scale projects part of existing structures.”(33)</i></p> |

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Owned: It is to perceive oneself or institution or group to have a say on the issue or action at stake, to have the means to participate of the processes around it, and to effectively execute activities to impact it. It goes beyond considering it important or beneficial, it is to proactively get involved and to effectively influence the course of that issue or action. An individual, institution or group perceives that as a result of their participation and of their potential for solving specific problems they are entitled to make decisions, to take credit, to receive recognition, and to be granted rights, and assigned with responsibilities. It is characterized by the empowerment, and self-efficacy of actors involved.</p> | <p><i>As part of Zero Hunger, we focus in 30 municipalities. As indigenous women, we demand accessible services of quality, cordial assistance, and cultural pertinence. We have analyzed the gaps. We go to the health facilities, and we monitor how people are treated. We have audio-recordings, we know when they run out of medicines, and how clean health facilities are; all this is systematized. We disseminate findings and raise awareness among authorities at the municipal level, the major, and decision makers at the departmental and national levels, and even among members of congress. We have successfully achieved improvements on health care services, infrastructure, and on other basic services: drainage systems, potable water, power, and improvement of schools. Governments go by, their term ends, and they change priorities but much depends on the population.”(46)</i></p> |
| <p>Sensitive: The general recognition that entities in charge of solving an issue or of implementing an action are genuinely showing concern and being responsive to the disadvantaged situation of others, and acting upon concern about matters affecting the public good. These entities formally take into account geographic particularities, tradition, and the historical and structural origins of problems, and provide local groups with the opportunity to participate.</p> | <p><i>“What makes the difference is that we get directly to the families in prioritized areas where food and nutrition insecurity and stunting are more prevalent. When working towards food production, we work for the poorest at two levels, the family and the community. We firmly believe that only if we work through their own governance and in a decentralized manner, through their communities, we will tackle long-term issues and we will make it sustainable.”(29)</i></p> |

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Shared: The underlying certainty that solving an issue or performing an action is the result of collaboration, coordination, joint efforts, resources, and capabilities coming from integrated actors of multiple sectors. It requires a recognized leading entity, consensus, aligned interests, co-responsibility, and collective credit.</p> | <p><i>“The fact that they retook the program for reducing stunting, the contributing factors are that, contrary to initial focus mainly on the health sector, little by little the Ministry of Agriculture, and other institutions jumped in. They showed how other actors mattered to FNS, and everyone’s joint responsibility in the problem. To finally understand that this is not only a health issue but also that it includes food availability and access. Sustainability has to do with a shared commitment that includes not only the government but other sectors and the citizens.”(17)</i></p> |
| <p>Steady resources: The entities in charge of solving an issue or of implementing an action count on the resources needed, are able to self-generate the resources and the capabilities required, and have the formal means for maximizing a solid performance of coordinated actors for complementing resources. It includes assigned funding, infrastructure, personnel, and transferred and installed capacities.</p> | <p><i>“One would ask ‘how can they survive with such institutional chaos?’ because the policies’ continuity and the long-term objectives are set at the municipal level. The municipalities have autonomy since 1956 with a direct transfer of resources, capacity of execution, of concretizing objectives, and of finalizing works.”(13)</i></p> |
| <p>Strategic: The performance of entities in charge of solving an issue or of implementing an action is informed by thoughtful and intentional definition of methodologies, logistics, roles, collaborations, and tactics by using documented knowledge and experience.</p> | <p><i>“Previous projects on maternal and child assistance addressing stunting and focusing on pregnancy until the child is two years old [have been adapted]; these programs focused initially on strengthening primary health services and on extending coverage. The president changed the name [during the term the</i></p> |

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|---|--|
| | <p>FNSP was adopted], <i>they created their own groups and governmental teams, different from primary health services, and added a complementary fortified food. This is what now is called the 1000-days and the Zero Hunger pact</i>’, and again they are talking about strengthening primary health services. These projects have to work with the incumbent government. We have to go back, resale it to the new government, and to adapt our strategies. They are resurrecting materials dated 2002.”(32)</p> |
| <p>Transition effect: The continuity of policy actions results from transition-related opportunities and events to retake an ongoing action that can be popular, effective, well evaluated or not.</p> | <p>“<i>During the last transition, the star-program of the previous government on conditioned cash transfers had not been initially included in the new government’s program. During the transition an officer of the Planning Secretariat that handed the program over, informed the incoming officials of the baseline [study] in progress. It coincided with a presidential visit to Chile where they addressed this topic [cash transfers had worked], the outgoing president invited the elected president to join the official visit, then they got the idea and they saw the topic’s potential for seeking votes. It positively resonated to the incoming officials. It occurred by coincidence. It was not well thought but it was casuistic.</i>”(19)</p> |

Trusted: The issue addressed or the action implemented counts on approval as a result of the leading entity's reputation, the approach, and its responsiveness to shared needs. It includes making available mechanisms to performing civic audit.

“To address their need of potable water, we proposed to drill a well. They rejected and said ‘we do not want a well, we want a natural water spring’. They voted, and drilling a well was unanimously rejected. I told them I would provide them technical assistance and would give them one year to find a source a natural water spring. We left written records of the agreement. In the meantime, I worked on gaining their trust. This was a very poor and isolated indigenous village where undernutrition was highly prevalent. My team and I were perceived as external to them and they did not trust us. I wanted them to see we were capable and well intentioned. I rebuilt their school, provided training targeting women, and obtained governmental assistance for food aid. After one year, I came back with the agreement and they reported that it was impossible to find a natural water spring. They created a new water committee mainly integrated by women this time. A year later, their attitude had changed completely, they accepted to drill the well. We inaugurated the project with the Mayan ceremony asking nature permission at dawn. Once completed the project, it was an impressive well providing 270 gallons per minute. They got emotional. They took charge of the administration of potable water and they take care of it to this day.”(34)

Table 4.6. Forces shaping the process for not sustaining FNSP during presidential transitions

| Forces for not sustaining FNSP | Study participants' reports |
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| <p>Antagonistic underlying structure: The system in place, within which a specific policy action is being implemented, is unlikely to allow continuity due to the established vision, approach, institutional structure, governmental hierarchy, and economic-developmental model. It includes rooted institutional practices, tacit policies, created counterproductive expectations, and concrete shared obstacles (like exclusion and crime) that are unlikely to change in the short term. A strategic approach to deal with these obstacles seems more useful than an intention to change them in the near future when aiming for sustainability of FNSP actions from one administration to the next one.</p> | <p><i>“Public policy continuity through political transitions is very difficult. We are constantly changing priorities with each government every four years. This is because the political institutions in this country do not have consistency across time, and do not have clear ideologies for the political system to be constant. The political parties are weak, and our system was built assuming to have strong political parties. During 50 years we had military governments characterized by being authoritarian, centralized, and without the presence of political forces or any social expression. When we changed from military governments to democracy and created the current constitution, the constituents asked that never again big decisions were made by one person and gave authority to congress to make decisions. We have not been able to build institutions and political parties that this system requires. No political party has been reelected, every time a party leaves the presidency dies off, and disappears.”(13)</i></p> |
| <p>Campaigning: The implementation of actions and the decisions around them are perceived to be grounded on processes for participation and decision-making mainly determined by party affiliation interests. Engagement, leadership, and distribution of goods and services are highly influenced by intentions for upcoming elections.</p> | <p><i>“Decisions about the distribution [of positions] within the development councils, are up to the Governors' interests. 'Because they belong to my color, I will help them'; 14 Governors are denounced due to influence peddling.”(41)</i></p> <p><i>“During the campaign there are no human or financial resources available for executing specific</i></p> |

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| | <p>programs; everything is reoriented towards the campaign.”(29)</p> |
| <p>Dysfunctional transition: The implementation of policy actions is affected by the lack of procedures for maximizing continuity from one administration to the next one. These procedures include: the appointment of new officials with no induction that allow an indefinite learning curve, incoming officials predisposed to substitute ongoing actions with those endorsed when campaigning, inconclusive actions left behind by previous officials, and the members of transition commissions with no decision-making roles and only performing a role of trust.</p> | <p>“The FNSP is the strategic framework for the annual plans focusing on the food and nutrition security pillars. Even the plans created for 6-10 years, when the government changes, it is very difficult to continue implementing the ongoing plans without a break in the actions. If a program was being implemented by trained technical personnel that changes, new personnel is hired, and it is necessary to start the training all over again. They create a new plan, do not give continuity to the plan that already exists, and they restructure the programs. They change office chiefs and they bring in new technical teams with a new vision, and then we start all over again. It is the great obstacle for reaching policy sustainability.”(18)</p> |
| <p>Fractioned: The underlying certainty that solving an issue or performing an action is being affected by lack of consensus, technical disagreements on concepts and approaches, and lack of collaboration causing duplicity and failure at reaching results. It includes particular vertical efforts characterized by inefficient use of resources.</p> | <p>“The social programs for reducing stunting lack coordination among the ministries implementing it, there is failure on the entry of data on population being benefited by these programs, there is no way that ministries appointed for complementing each other can identify what beneficiaries are being assisted by one ministry or the other, it fails for providing health assistance to people benefited with conditioned cash transfer.”(44)</p> |

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| <p>Haphazard: The general recognition that entities in charge of solving an issue or of implementing an action perform at their own discretion without planning or prioritizing. It is characterized by inexistence of norms or sequences to operate within the systems in place, and includes wrong timing, uncertain logistics, improvisation, unfounded assumptions, and uncompleted efforts.</p> | <p><i>“Plans are usually documents designed by a small group of top leaders within a political party for them to use only for the [presidential] campaign. Political parties are not the kind [of institutions] that provide society the means for moving forward, with a defined work plan, an ideology; or a well thought governmental plan for candidates to have ready before they make it to the presidency. Once they win elections, they usually improvise. The problem in this country is serious because they are like electoral machines. No political party has ever been reelected.”(26)</i></p> |
| <p>Insensitive: The general recognition that entities in charge of solving an issue or of implementing an action are requiring a collective practice that opposes the cultural-social norms, is out of touch by design, imposed, unpopular, and surreal regarding the goals set and demands made. It is characterized by loss of credibility.</p> | <p><i>“It does not work, it is not sustainable. It has to do with the ideology. If ideologically, those involved do not identify with the actions, it is never going to work. I am telling you because it was already attempted, a strategy of providing them a ‘cookie’ or something like that. Ideologically, they do not see it as the solution of the problem. There are two ‘clicks’ for it to work, the financial and the ideological. Even the financial [resources] could be obtained somehow but only if the person’s philosophy and ideology identify with what is being done, sustainability will be guaranteed.”(45)</i></p> |
| <p>Irrelevant: The focus on FNS actions at stake is overshadowed by survival needs among targeted individuals and communities, or by the need to</p> | <p><i>“In this country the presidential term is too short, there is no continuity. The pressures, and the</i></p> |

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| <p>respond to recurrent or unexpected events among institutional officials; such as emergencies, draught, earthquakes, scandals, or other social crisis.</p> | <p><i>emergencies divert out of what is relevant and strategic towards today's urgency. It has been the same thing every year; we are like 'firefighters battling a fire'; that is what we are good at. We have to do it, to distribute food aid, so that wasted children do not die. It does not solve the problem."</i>(11)</p> |
| <p>Misrepresentation: The underlying perception about an action or the processes around is that opportunities for participation are influenced by wealth, position, and political views. The entities in charge are perceived as providing limited delivery of goods and services, and only enough for visibility to keep an image or a promise as opposed to a delivery maximizing the required quality, dose, and coverage for real impact. It includes lack of transparency, corruption, and unethical practices such as monopolizing information so it is not available to new officials.</p> | <p><i>"Regarding the local system of development councils for municipal management of citizen's participation, organization and planning. In many cases the political patronage prevails. These positions are taken by the landowner, the cacique, the 'mafioso', the smuggler, the dealer, the evader. Those local empowered positions are not taken by the people, those that are not empowered, trained, or aware. I myself have asked the people 'tell me what kind of organization for community participation are you part of; how are you organized in your community?'. Most of them tell me they do not have a culture of participation for planning and development; it has not been promoted. This is the consequence of the strong repression that occurred during the conflict. The social net, participation, committees, cooperatives; it all was considered communism."</i>(43)</p> |
| <p>Neglected: The entities in charge of actions' implementation are believed to have made an intentional, informed, and premeditated decision</p> | <p><i>"The integrated management of childhood illness was not sustained. A strategy validated, probed, and</i></p> |

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| <p>to discontinue specific actions. It includes abandonment with the intended or unintended result of letting an action die off. It is characterized by having the possibility of making an impact, and of moving forward an action but deciding not to do so. It includes shift of priorities, lack of commitment, and performing at a lower standard than what is expected.</p> | <p><i>with defined methodologies was not sustained because the integrity of providing health assistance to an individual as a whole got lost. The programmatic view prevailed. For example, now every child must receive micronutrient supplementation but vaccines and deworming are left out. There are fashionable strategies. There are mistakes at implementing. In one municipality, very few members of the health personnel know the strategy. The Ministry created its own version on the strategy for the management of childhood illness. The same thing for the Baby Friendly Initiative. These are strategies with defined international standards. The authorities proposed to lower the standard to accommodate what they are doing. They do not seek to reach the international standard.”(12)</i></p> |
| <p>Rivalry: It is the underlying certainty that the processes for solving an issue and for implementing an action are being held up due to contentions among previous and new governmental officials, disagreements among technical and political teams, different views among national and local officials, and power-tensions within the government.</p> | <p><i>“Political continuity depends of the political party to which the major represents. For example our monitoring officer at the municipal level described the problems due to the major representing a party different from the national government’s party. The ministries’ personnel [appointed by the national government] do not coordinate with the major. The candidate for major that lost [national government party] has been appointed as the municipal officer for the Ministries, and has assumed the role of approving every municipal program that is being implemented by the ministries. Our monitoring officer, who is required</i></p> |

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| | <p><i>to strengthen the municipality led by the major and to coordinate with them, is facing the dilemma that all other ministerial institutions are operating differently. How do we do this? Only if we get lucky and the municipal and national governments are from the same party.”(13)</i></p> |
| <p>Unsound Institutions: The general believe that the implementing institutions lack readiness. It is characterized by the appointment of institutional roles with no formal means for supporting the performance of those roles such as ministries, secretariats , and local government lacking the means for effective coordination, multisectoral planning, allocation of resources, quality control, monitoring, and joint implementation.</p> | <p><i>“About the recently created Ministry of Development. It all started with conditioned the cash transfers implemented during the previous government through the first lady’s office. They developed quick mechanisms for executing it and for utilizing financial resources. It was working well and people demanded it, so the new government decided to continue it by institutionalizing and implementing it though the new Ministry. The source of financial resources they had proposed to use was not viable, and they were not able to access them. They did not predict this obstacle; they lacked knowledge on how public matters work. They created ‘a ministry with no teeth’. The existent social protection network created in the previous government was lost, it is all wobbling, and the indicators dropped. The legal mechanisms they had initially proposed for utilizing financial resources faced obstacles that have not been solved.”(43)</i></p> |
| <p>Unsteady resources: The entities in charge of solving an issue or of implementing an action lack the resources required, and miss to translate political speech and institutional roles to an</p> | <p><i>“We cannot guarantee human resources assigned for health actions. The joint plan between two Ministries has generated additional</i></p> |

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| <p>official allocation of resources, thereby limiting planning, implementation, and institutional stability. It includes a reported massive replacement of personnel during transitions hindering transferred capacities, collaboration, institutionalization, and historic memory.</p> | <p><i>demand. Conditioned cash transfers beneficiaries are required to come to health care facilities: The convergence centers. If lacking the installed health capacities, actions will continue without its particularities, regarding specialized assistance by health personnel, specifically about the frequency originally set for health assistance. For example the health personnel will not go to the convergence centers every 15 days to cover pregnant women and young children as originally planned.”</i> (44)</p> |
|---|---|

verification processes by which data analysis informed if the evidence on reasons for sustaining emerged in all data sources is presented in Table 4.7. The process was repeated for all 24 forces, which allowed completing the overall verification processes shown in Table 4.8. It presents the total frequencies on evidence found across all data sources that emerged at least once. Repetition by the same data source did not add a frequency unit; meaning that if an interviewee repeated the same reason for sustaining several times during the interview it was counted only once for evidence on the force under which that reason was grouped. Likewise, if a news article, speech, and document repeated the same theme several times, it was counted only once for the overall verification process (Table 4.8). The verification process allowed completing data triangulation for maximizing trustworthiness of the study results.

Table 4.7 Categories of reasons for sustaining FNSP that molded the Strategic force

| Categories of emerging reasons for sustaining | Interviews | Documents | Speeches | News |
|---|------------|-----------|----------|------|
| Action adapted to each presidential term | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Documenting lessons learnt and action's impact | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Allies foreseeing and working around the transition break | ✓ | ✓ | X | X |
| Long term goals defined | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Leading government office with technical-political role | ✓ | ✓ | X | ✓ |
| Ordered planning at national and municipal levels | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Extended planning includes current and next term | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Addressing needed long-term changes in social norms | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Table 4.8. Evidence on 24 forces shaping sustainability during transitions by data source

| Forces for sustaining FNSP | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|------|----------|-----------|
| | Interviews | News | Speeches | Documents |
| Backed up | 39 | 9 | 21 | 10 |
| Beneficial | 32 | 7 | 9 | 6 |
| Championed | 33 | 9 | 19 | 10 |
| Importance | 27 | 7 | 14 | 8 |
| Institutionally sound | 33 | 7 | 12 | 8 |
| Owned | 33 | 7 | 18 | 11 |
| Sensitive | 10 | 3 | 9 | 9 |
| Shared | 41 | 8 | 17 | 12 |
| Steady resources | 36 | 6 | 13 | 11 |
| Strategic | 31 | 8 | 14 | 11 |
| Transition effect | 16 | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| Trusted | 16 | 8 | 14 | 9 |

| Forces for not sustaining FNSP | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------|----------|-----------|
| | Interviews | News | Speeches | Documents |
| Antagonistic underlying structure | 24 | 9 | 15 | 8 |
| Campaigning | 25 | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| Dysfunctional transition | 31 | 7 | 3 | 3 |
| Fractioned | 15 | 5 | 1 | 2 |
| Haphazard | 26 | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| Insensitive | 6 | 5 | 1 | 2 |
| Irrelevant | 13 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Misrepresentation | 21 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Neglected | 17 | 8 | 3 | 3 |
| Rivalry | 13 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| Unsound institutions | 26 | 6 | 8 | 4 |
| Unsteady resources | 43 | 7 | 4 | 4 |

A transition scenario around one of the social programs tackling malnutrition in Guatemala, as reported by a study participant in 2013, helps illustrating how these forces worked for sustaining a specific policy action. The previous first lady was perceived as the implementation protagonist of the social program. The opposition party campaigned and won the next presidency without including the program in the original governmental plan. A study participant described: *“During the last transition, an officer of the Planning Secretariat that handed the program over, informed the incoming officials of the baseline [study] in progress. It coincided with a presidential visit to Chile where they addressed this topic [cash transfers had worked], the outgoing president invited the elected president to join the official visit, then they got the idea and they saw the topic’s potential for seeking votes. It positively resonated to the incoming officials. It occurred by coincidence. It was not well thought but it was casuistic.”*(19) The social program continued and it was institutionalized through the creation of a new Ministry in charge of

implementation. The combination of five forces brought about sustainability: Strategic, the program baseline was documented and effectively disseminated; Backed up, the program had worked in Chile and the incoming president understood the program's potential for being successful; Institutionally sound, the institutional infrastructure for implementing the program was at reach; Beneficial, the incoming officials saw an opportunity to increase popularity and acceptance by continuing an ongoing program that was popular, and that had the potential for impact; and Transition effect, continuity resulted from transition-related opportunities and events.

The process studied in Guatemala is presented in Figure 4.2. It shows three presidencies and two transitions, starting with the term that adopted the policy, and continuing with the next two terms. A set of actions being implemented during a specific term is sustained to the next term. There are actions being implemented during the three terms intact or in parts. Other actions were implemented in term 1, paused in term 2 and retaken in term 3. There are actions only implemented in one term and that were lost during transitions. The policy was at its highest place in the political agenda at the time of the study in 2013. Roles performed by civil society, governmental officials, and international organizations were critical for policy sustainability during transitions in this case. Forces during transitions favored or impeded sustainability by operating at all levels and sectors but affecting actions differently in these. Forces do not compete, but combinations of them brought about outcomes policy actors influenced. Data suggest that the potential of forces to shape sustainability depends on interacting actors responding to emerging events within specific contexts. FNSP actors and networks contributing to the

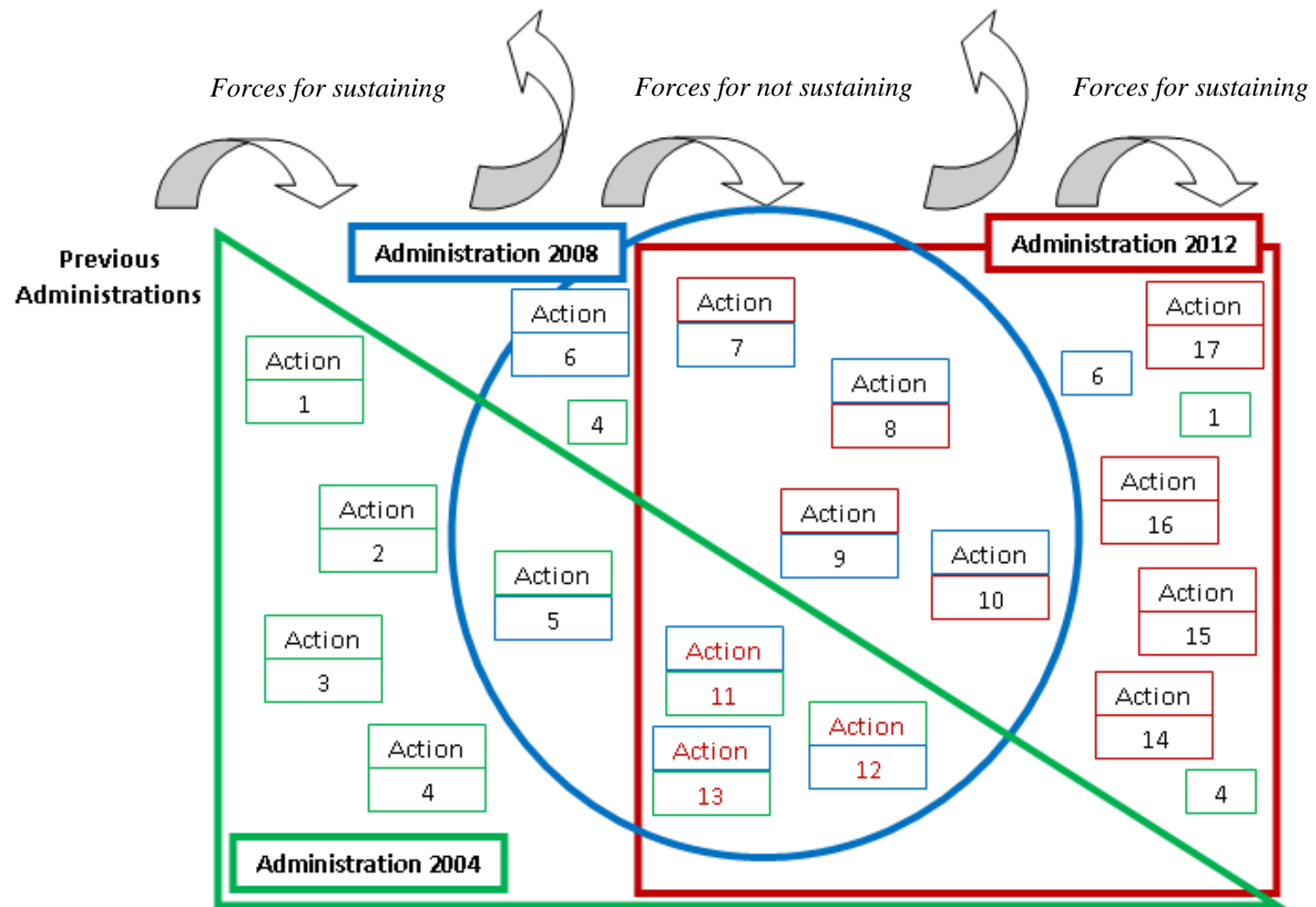


Figure 4.2 Framework for the sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions

implementations of policy actions are embedded in a context not different from a living system, which is constantly moving and ever-changing as a result of forces (Figure 4.2).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The mechanisms determining sustainability of FNSP during transitions consist of 24 forces that simultaneously shape a dynamic process steered by policy actors, and their organizations within a specific context. These forces are molded by the reasons for sustaining and for not sustaining actions as reported by study participants who had performed roles for policy implementation during transitions, and who had collaborated as part of multisectoral teams during one or more presidential terms. These results were verified with emerging themes in news, speeches, and documents.

Civil society groups and organized regular citizens in this case played a crucial role influencing forces during transitions as it is reported by study participants from all sectors and levels. These results provide evidence that citizens' pressure made a difference for sustainability during transitions at the community level, for making potable water available and locally administered; and at the central level at influencing the presidential elected candidate to continue a popular conditioned cash transfer program for maximizing the chances of increasing acceptance. The forces through which civil society groups and organized regular citizens were influential are Owned, Championed, Shared, Trusted, and Sensitive. These findings are consistent with previous results in Brazil that have informed FNSP actions in Latin America, including the Zero Hunger pact in the Guatemala (SESAN, 2012). The authors documented the importance of civil society participation for success that resulted from the political conditions of a military

dictatorship during which a strong civil-society movement emerged (Paim et al., 2011; Victora et al., 2011a; Victora et al., 2011b; Kleinert & Horton, 2011; Uauy, 2011).

International organizations with a long-term trajectory of collaborating with the government, strengthening technical teams, advocating, and providing resources contributed to sustainability during transitions by influencing the forces Backed up, Championed, Importance, Owned, Shared, Steady resources, Strategic, and Transition-effect. These results are consistent with previous evidence on the long-term contribution and on the important roles performed by international organizations in Guatemala as part of organized cooperation efforts for development around food and nutrition security (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013), for documenting evidence that set the stage for understanding the problem, and for gradually building the country strategic response (Habicht & Martorell, 2010), and for actively engaging in formal coordinating structures that represented ground-breaking forms of multisectoral commitment (Pelletier et al., 2012).

This study in Guatemala had previously provided evidence that constant governmental officials are accounted for when defining sustainability as a driver of transferred capacities “*taken over by the government*”; and as processes of accumulating collaboration “*with our governmental counterpart*”; and of reaching systematization “*implementation of a system that informs the government*”. The results here show that the roles of governmental officials during transitions are influencing forces and are of great relevance for moving forward at being more strategic to safeguard multisectoral policy implementation. Turnover of governmental officials during transition influenced forces for not sustaining: Dysfunctional transition, Fractioned, Haphazard, Unsound institutions,

and Unsteady resources. Counting on trained governmental officials from one presidency to the next one influenced forces for sustaining: Championed, Institutionally sound, Shared, Steady resources, Strategic, and Owned. These results are consistent with previous results in Guatemala (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013). An upcoming political transition, in addition to weak governmental leadership and lack of national health plans, prevented the country from reaching a Regional Health Initiative objectives of feasibility, alignment, and ownership. The events that affected the process were turnover of high-level personnel, staff fluctuations following national elections, and short-term contracts with low wages that lead to high rotation and instability of the health workforce.

This work in Guatemala complements the work of others and informs strategic performance of multisectoral teams for sustaining actions during transitions. The framework for the assessment of actions accounting for epidemiologic, operational, and sociopolitical domains is relevant for this study (Menon et al., 2011). This framework suggests that these domains are interlinked: epidemiologic, pertaining to the nutritional situation, and the evidence about the efficacy and effectiveness of nutrition interventions; operational, pertaining to coverage, quality, and utilization of nutrition-related interventions and programs as well as capacities, opportunities, and constraints to improving these; and sociopolitical, pertaining to social, political, cultural, and organizational factors at various levels. The authors concluded that the sociopolitical domain often underlies the other two domains as it enhances or inhibits efforts to create positive changes in policies and programs. The forces in this study were molded by study participants' reports on the reasons for sustaining and reasons for not sustaining policy actions. Among reasons within each force it is possible to visualize components of these

three domains (epidemiologic, operational, and sociopolitical). The Strategic force included reasons such as addressing changes in social norms for improved behavior within institutions and targeted groups (epidemiological), leading government office with dual technical-political roles (operational), and allies foreseeing and working around the transition break (sociopolitical). At the same time, the sustainability of a social program tackling undernutrition in Guatemala was credited not only to the Strategic force, but it had to occur together with other forces like Backed up, Institutionally sound, Beneficial, and Transition effect. This evidence on several forces simultaneously shaping sustainability during transitions is consistent with factors that played key roles for sustaining Mexico's PROGRESA-OPORTUNIDADES during the Zedillo-Fox transition. The positive opinion about the program held by international financial institutions (force Backed up), assured the elected president Fox on the credibility of the impact evaluation results he had received from the outgoing officials (forces Strategic and Trusted); this in addition to his genuine commitment (force Championed) to poverty alleviation (Levy, 2006, p. 112-113).

These results on forces for sustaining FNSP actions not only support the framework by Shiffman and Smith (2007) on the influencing factors for political priority but inform the premise that political priority is necessary for sustaining policies during transitions but it is not sufficient. Policy actors should constantly seek to move from prioritized policies towards sustained policies. The force Championed, under which strong actors included resilient communities, and unconventional sectors, captures the characteristic on "strength of actors". The characteristic "power of ideas" resembles actors' reports under the forces Shared, and Backed up. The force Shared related to issues

and policy actions being of interest of multiple sectors beyond the government, and bringing together integrated teams, including beneficiary-communities. The force Backed up related to policy actions being technically justifiable, supported by global efforts, and successful in other countries or at a small scale in Guatemala. The “characteristics of the issue”, can be considered as part of two forces, Beneficial, it is about an issue or an action that is advantageous, favorable, convenient, and satisfies concrete interests of those in charge; and the force Importance, it is about addressing issues policy actors consider of great relevance, significant for bringing about a greater good, and that is highly positioned among influential actors’ agenda. Shiffman and Smith’s “nature of the political contexts” captured here by the forces Backed up, and Transition effect, making evident that a political context favoring FNSP sustainability includes counting on mandates from local and national governmental authorities, guidelines by international organizations, and global initiatives. It also includes a favorable institutional context, actor’s intention to continue an ongoing effort by creating bridging opportunities among unchangeable collaborators and by taking advantage of effortless motions favoring sustainability. The case in Guatemala suggests that policy actors must actively react to contextual factors during transitions by seeking collaborative interactions for responding to emerging events effectively.

The obstacles for collaboration that exist among socio-political and nutrition scientists addressed in this study and the negative consequences for sustainability during transitions of the force Fractioned is consistent with the political economy analysis literature (Reich & Balarajan, 2012). There are four political economy themes that need to be addressed: fragmented nutrition system, institutionally homeless nutrition,

multiplicity of owners creating a multiplicity of nutrition narratives, and limited capacity of nutritionists to manage political dynamics. The reasons for not sustaining under the force Fractioned are consistent with these themes. This is supported by results of a comparative analysis between two approaches for economic upgrading in Argentina, in which an insulated government-imposed approach resulted in social fragmentation, and a participatory approach among public and private institutions favored innovation and sustainability (McDermott, 2007).

In agreement with results from an operations evaluation of Mexico PROGRESA, and in relation to how FNSP actors collaborate and interact, these results in Guatemala have shown what difference it makes for sustainability to influence the forces Shared and Backed up, as opposed to allowing the forces Fractioned and Rivalry. The report on Mexico PROGRESA points out that among long-term sustainability determinants there were objectives and incentives of the various stakeholders that either reinforced or competed with each other (Adato et al., 2000). This is consistent with important results by experts in the field of global business on how goals and means of national and international actors determine how effectively they integrate. Actors have the potential to reach integration-goals for changing institutions, and integration-means for effectively involve international and national public-private actors for joint problem-solving (Bruszt & McDermott, 2014).

In agreement with these results in Guatemala, development experts have informed on crucial factors for the sustainability of nutrition actions related to financing approaches, mobilization of civil society for public pressure, country ownership, and coordination among development partners (The World Bank, 2006). Systematic problems

such as fragmentation, lack of an evidence base for prioritized actions, institutional inertia, and failure to join up with promising developments in parallel sectors were found to be important weaknesses that affect organizations working for solving undernutrition (Morris et al., 2008). Global Health experts have brought up attention to the sustained delivery of health interventions guaranteed by functioning national health systems, and to the importance of reconciling ongoing global-level transformation with the need to further strengthen and support national-level health systems mainly on leadership, institutions, systems design, and technologies (Szlezák et al., 2010; Frenk, 2010).

The potential of transitions as windows of opportunity, which worked in this case through the force Transition effect, has been previously documented. The study on the experiences in Bolivia, Peru, and Guatemala showed that political transitions were crucial for agenda-setting conditions that created political attention to chronic undernutrition (Pelletier et al., 2012). In Bolivia the initiation of President Morales' term meant commitment to addressing poverty and social exclusion. In Peru, a coalition advocating for nutrition that began during President Garcia's campaign influenced his concern for social policy. In Guatemala, FNS undernutrition and the Right to Food resonated and escalated among the political climate across two administrations. Analyses on the challenges in the policy process and ways to overcome them have informed on the relevance of presidential transitions but are specific to favorable outcomes (Pelletier et al., 2012). This study in Guatemala has shown that during transitions, FNSP actions that had somehow successfully survived once through the stages of the policy process (commitment, agenda setting, policy formulation, and implementation) are exposed to

scrutiny and the process is opened up once again with the possibility of losing continuity once the new government takes office.

Evidence on forces determining sustainability of FNSP during transitions complements the existing knowledge for improving informed multisectoral collaboration for policy implementation. Identifying policy actors and sectors with critical roles at influencing forces for sustainability can inform innovative and influential long-term strategies. These findings bringing together perspectives from socio-political and public health nutrition fields, are useful for advancing knowledge, and informing practice on how to more effectively reach long-term policy goals and to impact food and nutrition security.

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MANUSCRIPT 3

Implications of Terminal Logic Behavior and the Logic of Strategic Defection during Presidential Transitions for Sustainability of Food and Nutrition Security Policy

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ABSTRACT

Presidential transitions have been described as times of uncertainty and contradiction in which relationships among power, accountability, and electoral support that characterize a democratic process do not hold. When presidents have no possibility of reelection, they typically overvalue far-future rewards and succumb to terminal logic behavior (TLB), e.g., end-of-tenure presidential behavior that responds mainly to concerns about legacy despite of political context. Government appointed authorities that perceive insecurity at the end of the term tend to behave under the logic of strategic defection (SD), e.g., governmental officials experiencing institutional insecurity during transitions face motives to dissociate themselves from the outgoing government once it losses power. In countries where reelection is impossible, parties are inconstant, and institutional insecurity during transitions is a problem, governmental officials at all levels may show TLB and SD. These behaviors can affect decision-making and implementation of long-term policies, including those contributing to food and nutrition security. This

study examined the implications of TLB and SD for the sustainability of food and nutrition security policies (FNSP) during presidential transitions in a Central American country.

A constructivist grounded-theory approach with a retrospective design was used for a qualitative case study in Guatemala. Purposeful criterion and snowball sampling were used to recruit 52 policy actors from all relevant sectors and levels, elected or appointed that had contributed to implementing the FNSP adopted since 2006. Interviews were analyzed using open, axial, and selective coding. Results were verified using methods of content analysis for obtaining emerging themes in news, speeches, and documents.

Study participants reported governmental TLB and SD that were relevant to sustainability of FNSP at the national and municipal levels. Consequences of TLB and SD included slow down or cessation of implementation, dysfunctional collaboration, inefficient use of resources, benefits not reaching targeted groups, and loss of momentum affecting policy continuity by upcoming officials. These consequences occurred through individual, institutional, and political mechanisms. There are tactics adopted by government and non-government study participants for maximizing sustainability during transitions. These results advance knowledge for understanding governmental officials' experiences during transitions that complement existing knowledge on multisectoral work at implementing public policy.

Understanding the extent to which TLB and SD occur at all governmental levels and affect sustainability is advantageous to develop compensatory approaches during early stages of a presidential term. Foreseeing and positively influencing and responding

to TLB and SD during presidential transitions are unexplored opportunities for reaching the long-term goals of FNSP.

INTRODUCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE

Presidential transitions, periods that start with the campaign and end after the first year into the next presidential term, have been described as times of uncertainty and contradiction that do not hold the normal relationships among power, accountability, and electoral support that characterizes a normal democratic process (Beermann & Marshall, 2005). Sustainability during transitions is particularly important for policies that require long-term processes for impact including those aimed to contribute to food and nutrition security. Food and nutrition security “exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to food, which is safe and consumed in sufficient quantity and quality to meet their dietary needs and food preferences, and is supported by an environment of adequate sanitation, health services and care, allowing for a healthy and active life.” (CFS, 2012, p.8). Food and nutrition insecurity is a problem associated with hunger in Latin America, in Guatemala is a causing factor of stunting, low height-for-age, affecting one in two Guatemalan children (49.8%) 3-59 months of age, it is a public health problem contributing to morbidity, and mortality impeding equal human development (MSPAS, 2011; Martinez et al., 2009; Martorell, 2012; De Onis, 2012).

Food and nutrition security policies (FNSP) are being implemented in the context of countries’ institutional and political cycles determined by fixed-term duration presidencies and periodic presidential transitions. Latin American democracies, with typical term-duration from four to six years, have governments with an average time in

office of three years due to rules establishing that presidents and other governmental officials can serve only one term, coups, or forced resignations (Blondel, 1987). It has been suggested that term-limits is one of the many institutional characteristics of executive structures that can make a difference in policy continuity (Kehoe, 2014). Under these circumstances, it is important that collaborative teams implementing FNSP actions prepare and actively seek to sustain policy actions during transitions.

Implementation of FNSP during transitions has not been studied, but there are reports of events affecting undernutrition reduction initiatives in Central America related to turnover of governmental officials, staff fluctuations following elections, and high rotation and instability of governmental workforce (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013). There is a knowledge gap on how to understand constructively governmental officials' behaviors when they face uncertainty during transitions, specifically how they deal with transitions and what rationale is justifying their performance.

BACKGROUND AND STUDY AIM

The changes of governmental officials during presidential transitions and how it negatively impacts sustainability of long-term policies has received little attention. Personnel turnover and its consequences being detrimental for actions contributing to food and nutrition security have been documented in Central America. A study aimed at understanding the factors, strategies, and processes conducive to the establishment of an effective Global Health Partnership in the context of a Regional Health Initiative (RHI) for reducing undernutrition looked at the cases of El Salvador and Guatemala (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013). Analysis of data from participant observation, semi-structured

interviews, and RHI documents review revealed that partners' divergent perspectives and the establishment of unrealistic aims affected implementation. An upcoming political transition in addition to weak governmental leadership, and lack of national health plans and aims, prevented these countries from reaching the RHI objectives of feasibility, alignment, and ownership. Events that affected the process were turnover of high-level personnel, staff fluctuations following national elections, and short-term contracts with low wages that lead to high rotation and instability of the health workforce.

Results from a previous analysis (manuscript 1 in this chapter) showed that study participants perceive the role of governmental officials as highly important for defining sustainability during transitions. Their definitions of sustainability included drivers like transferred capacities, and processes like accumulating collaboration and reaching institutionalization for which trained governmental officials were essential.

Trained governmental officials as key human resources for FNSP implementation, become inconstant during transitions, and these irregularities showed to influence forces for not sustaining FNSP: Dysfunctional transition, Fractioned, Haphazard, Unsound institutions, and Unsteady resources (manuscript 2 in this chapter).

What is not clear is how governmental officials deal with transitions, mainly as it relates to institutional insecurity; what explains their behavior; and how those intending to support governments should be more strategic at understanding those behaviors and at collaborating with governments during transitions.

There are important cases documented in the political-sciences literature that could explain governmental officials' behavior. Kehoe (2014) showed that presidents in the United States, Argentina, and Brazil with no possibility of reelection highly valued

far-future rewards and succumbed to terminal logic behavior (TLB), e.g., they showed end-of-tenure presidential behavior that responded mainly to concerns about legacy despite the political context. The author addressed the questions whether term-limit structures have consequences on presidential behavior affecting policy continuity, and if changes in policy behavior are attributed to changes in presidents' organizational motivation structure caused by term-limits. She conducted comparative case studies applying hypotheses across presidents from the three countries. TLB were linked to presidents increased use of their ability to issue decrees on national emergencies during the second term when reelection was not possible. Decrees are written statements of instruction that effectively become law without previous deliberations by congress. The author concluded that presidents, if given the opportunity, are likely to issue emergency power decrees at increased rates in their final month in office. It is a time when presidents' motivation structure has been reformulated, and sights have been set on legacy (Kehoe, 2012).

Judges in Argentina that perceived insecurity at the end of the term tended to behave under the logic of strategic defection (SD). Helmke (2002) showed that judges experiencing institutional insecurity during transitions faced motives to dissociate themselves from the outgoing government once it had lost power. The author hypothesized that judges will increase their rulings against the current government once the prospect emerges of them losing power, and making felt the end on a weak government. In this context judges would concentrate their attention on cases that are considered most important to the incoming government. New individual-level data on the Argentine Supreme Court justices' decisions were used to compare the behavior of

justices in periods of relative institutional security to their behavior in periods of relative insecurity. Inferences about strategic defection are based on general antigovernment decisions, and on whether the willingness of judges to rule against the government changes relative to changes in their political environment. Results strongly supported the strategic defection account. Argentine judges tended to support governments when they are strong, and to desert them when governments grew weak (Helmke, 2002).

TLB and SD may be affecting some countries more than others under specific circumstances, such as no possibility of presidential reelection and the common knowledge that political parties are inconstant, aggravating end of term insecurity for governmental officers. The extent to which TLB and SD may be influencing the behavior of governmental officials other than the president and judges is unknown.

In countries where presidential reelection is impossible and political parties are perceived as inconstant governmental officials may show TLB and SD. TLB and SD likely influence political and institutional behavior-patterns and decision-making during transitions, e.g., definition of priorities, appointment of personnel, reallocation of resources, and action's continuity. TLB and SD may further affect the implementation of long-term policies mainly by preventing policies from being operationalized according to strategic plans, including those policies aimed to contributing to food and nutrition security.

For the purpose of this study, TLB is defined as valuing future rewards over current job assignments directly related to the implementation of FNSP actions. Future rewards include employment stability, and a kind of beneficial stand related to upcoming new authority's orders, possibility of coming back to the presidency, next presidential

candidate's image, and political aspirations. SD is defined as a kind of behavior expressing dissociation from the outgoing government such as openly expressing disagreement, wearing the opposition party colors, and showing interest in getting to know what the competing parties have to offer.

As part of a larger study aimed to examine what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions, from socio-political and nutritional perspectives, in a Central American country that experiences a change of president every four years; this work will provide evidence for responding to the question: What are the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability of FNSP during transitions?

Design and methods

A constructivist grounded-theory approach with a retrospective design was used for a qualitative case study in Guatemala. Inductive qualitative methods were used for obtaining the emerging theory grounded in the field work to explain the data and its meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Patton, 2002; Charmaz, 2006). It focused on the theory developed from what the PI learned of the case.

Case selection

The rationale for selecting Guatemala as the case to study was to identify a country where policy actors' experiences during presidential transitions could inform the research question with certainty. The case was intentionally selected according to the following criteria: (1) Guatemala represented an opportunity to contribute to a larger

body of knowledge on FNS, and to document the successful case of Guatemala at sustaining the policy during transitions from which other low-middle-income countries could learn; (2) food and nutrition insecurity is the cause of a public nutrition problem, and relevant to human development (MSPAS 2011, Martorell 2012); (3) the FNSP had become a presidential priority, and had reached the highest position in the political agenda at the time of the study after two transitions; and (4) country policy actors are experienced at working as part of multisectoral teams on the implementation of policy related actions and at transitioning to a new president.

FNSP actions in Guatemala are the activities responding to the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27) through the four categories of actions in the national strategic plans: (1) chronic under nutrition, and food nutrition assistance; (2) basic social services: education, health, water, and sanitation; (3) food production, productive transformation, and competitiveness; and (4) institutional strengthening (CONASAN, 2011a; CONASAN, 2011b, p. 49-50). This categorization of actions was relevant at the time of the study and it is documented to be an updated governmental strategic response resulting from consensus and multisectoral participation. The national FNS strategic plans in Guatemala are implemented through the national ministries in collaboration with all other institutions part of the National Food and Nutrition Security System (SINASAN). The SINASAN structure outlines what institutions are appointed with official roles and responsibilities and how these are organized for a coordinated multisectoral response on FNS (SESAN, 2005). The Food and Nutrition Security council and secretariat are the leading entities coordinating and monitoring the national implementation with oversight from the Vice-President.

Recruitment, purposeful sampling, and data collection

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews with policy actors, that from now on will be called study participants, were completed in the fall of 2013. The criteria for recruiting study participants were to:

1. Represent a sector of the Food and Nutrition Security System.
2. Be experienced on fields of food and nutrition security and/or socio-political sciences.
3. Be experienced at working on policy related actions under one or more of the FNSP core programmatic areas during one or more of the presidencies and transitions under study, from 2004-2013.

An initial group of potential study participants the PI knew or to whom the PI was introduced by common colleagues were contacted via email. They were informed of the study topic, objective, and of the interview subjects. The email stated the terms of confidentiality, and concluded with a request for an appointment to carry out a semi-structured interview. Emails were followed up by phone calls or a second email until a person-to-person meeting was possible. Recruitment continued by using snowball techniques through which interviewees were asked to suggest other potential study participants. Simultaneously, the PI participated in two national technical and political events, met potential study participants, and repeated the process of email, follow up, and snowball. Potential study participants from sectors of the FNS system that did not respond to interview requests via email or with whom the PI did not have any link, were purposefully recruited through a formal letter inviting their institution to participate. The letters were addressed to the highest institutional authority and kindly requested to assign

an official to inform the study. The letter included the same information in the interview requests via email. The PI delivered the letters in person, and upon acceptance requested information on who to contact for follow up. The interview requests via email were used for contacting 60 potential study participants, of those 37 (62%) agreed to be interviewed. The interview requests via formal institutional letters were used for contacting 17 institutions, of those 15 (88%) agreed to assign an official to be interviewed. Most of the institutions' highest authority assigned an official that interviewees had previously suggested to invite to participate in the study.

Interviews were completed in Spanish and occurred in places suggested by study participants. The PI restated the study topic and the conversation focus on policy sustainability during presidential transitions. The interview started by asking about the study participant's specific role within the FNS community at contributing to policy actions, it continued by asking its overall long-term goal, and how the study participant defined sustainability. The PI continued by asking what approach had been used to sustain that policy action during transitions. The participants were asked to provide one more example of an action sustained during transitions and the reasons for sustaining, and continued by asking to mention an action not sustained and the reasons for not sustaining. The PI continued by sharing the information on how TLB occurred in other countries, and asked opinions on how it could have affected governmental officials in Guatemala. Specifically, the PI mentioned how presidents in the United States, Argentina, and Brazil with no possibility of reelection overvalued far-future rewards and succumbed to TLB, meaning that they showed end-of-tenure presidential behavior that responded mainly to concerns about legacy despite of political context (Kehoe, 2014). SD characterized by

governmental officials experiencing institutional insecurity during transitions that face motives to dissociate themselves from the outgoing government once it loses power (Helmke, 2002) was not asked during interviews, but it emerged from study participants' reports. The interview ended by requesting to mention what policy actors they would suggest as potential study participants, and to provide contact information if possible.

Study participants were asked to be audio-recorded during the interview, 64% agreed (n=33). During the interviews that were not audio-recorded the PI completed a careful note taking. The interview was not disrupted as the interviewees agreed to allow the time for note taking during the conversation. The PI wrote post-interview field notes on all study participants. Interviews lasted an average of 65 minutes. An experienced transcriber whose first language is Spanish completed verbatim transcription of interview-audios under a confidentiality agreement.

The Institutional Review Board judged the protocol of this study as exempt. The identity of study participants and of the institutions they represented would not be disclosed at any time or in any way. The sample is described in general terms by their policy sector (government, international organization, private sector, civil society, research/academia, or consultant), if experienced on transitions, the kind of position assignment (appointed or elected), and the level of performance (national, regional, departmental, or municipal).

News

News articles were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on a topic related to at least one of the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p.

27). Daily news were monitored during 2013 using the online version of the newspaper with higher circulation Prensa Libre. The printed versions of the newspapers Prensa Libre, La Hora, and El Periódico were reviewed daily during the time of data collection. Online news were searched on the terms transitions, the presidencies, and the FNS Secretariat restricting the dates for the period starting the first year of the presidency that adopted the policy (2004) until the time of the study (2013). Additional online news were searched by using the proper names of all study participants and of the institutions they represented, including their online press releases.

Speeches

Speeches were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on technical and political framing of a topic related to at least one of the policy core programmatic areas (SESAN, 2005, p. 27), and to be given by a policy actor publicly speaking. The PI recorded the audios during participation of two events:

1. Political encounter and Forum for a National Agreements for Human Development, Education, and Stunting Reduction, with the participation of all political parties and FNSP actors at all levels. This event was co-hosted by the president and the private sector, and supported by an important bilateral donor.

2. Technical National Nutrition Congress and Symposium against Undernutrition, with participation of FNSP actors. It included a forum on the presidential strategy for stunting reduction in the context of the FNSP.

The PI participated in these events and recorded the speeches using a digital audio-recorder. An experienced transcriber, whose first language is Spanish completed verbatim transcription of the audios.

Documents

Documents were purposefully sampled according to the criteria of informing on the FNSP, and its implementation, e.g., strategic plans, reports, and documents by sectors and institutions that are part of the FNS system. Additionally, the sample included documents provided by study participants during interviews, and public documents authored by the institutions they represented. Among the documents obtained, those that showed relevant contents for verifying results from interviews that informed the research questions were arranged as documents-sets as. A document-set was created if a sequence of documents were published by the same sector, institution, or on the same topic during the presidencies and transitions of interest.

Data analysis

The overall aim of this study was to examine what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions, as from socio-political and nutritional perspectives, in Guatemala where presidential transitions occur every four years. For responding to the research question, What are the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for the sustainability of FNSP during presidential transitions?, methods of open, axial, and selective coding of the 52 interviews were used (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), and content analysis of news, speeches, and documents was used for

obtaining emerging themes to verify the results from interviews (Patton, 2002). Only news articles provided evidence to verify results from interviews; speeches and documents did not provide evidence to verify results on TLB and SD from interviews and were not used further for this analysis.

The analysis started with an overall review of interviews for emerging statements declaring that governmental officials' behaviors during transitions resulting from terminal logic (e.g., valuing far future rewards over immediate policy responsibilities), and from logics of strategic defection (e.g., disassociating from the outgoing government once it had lost power) had repercussions on sustaining or on not sustaining the policy. The data were revisited to identify what emerging implications fit together under a category under which the PI could group them and provide a category-label. The data were revisited once more to organize categories under a core phenomenon for constructing the emerging theoretical narrative of the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability. Data analysis concluded by identifying the emerging tactics reported by non-governmental study participants for sustaining policy actions during transitions, and the successful experiences of governmental study participants that contributed to FNSP sustainability. QSR Nvivo 10 was used for storing and organizing the data for analysis (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2012). Data were translated to English after completing the data analysis.

Trustworthiness

Triangulation

Triangulation was used to verify results responding to the research question. The results obtained using open, axial, and selective coding of interviews were verified using content analysis for emerging themes in news.

Sampling procedures

Sampling procedures allowed confirming that policy actors that should have been invited to speak to the research topic are included in the sample. Study participants were recruited and purposely sampled using snowball techniques across all policy sectors and levels, expertise, and experience working in policy related actions during the presidencies and transitions under study.

Experts review

Trustworthiness was also addressed by completing experts review of the results by the research team for quality control, which includes experts on FNS, political sciences, international business, and qualitative research.

RESULTS

Sample

The total sample of 52 study participants include 43 (83%) that had worked in more than one presidential term and were experienced in transitions, 25 (48%) had belonged to more than one policy sector of the FNS system, and 6 (12%) reported to

perform a dual position at the time of the interview. The sample distribution comprises 4 study participants working as independent consultants, 4 from research/academia, 5 from civil society, 5 from private sector, 15 from international cooperation, and 19 from government. Of those study participants from government, there were appointed or elected officials performing at national, regional, departmental, and municipal levels. A total sample of 252 news articles was obtained, and organized under nine categories that emerged upon data collection: interviewees, continuity, the president, private sector, municipalities, eradicating stunting, basic services, food production, and institutional strengthening.

Changes of governmental officials during presidential transitions

According to study participants, the changes of governmental officials during presidential transitions negatively impacted sustainability of FNSP in Guatemala. Study participants spoke of the social programs aimed at reducing poverty, food and nutrition insecurity, and stunting which are considered to be the key issues the president at the time of this study had committed to solve: *“The heart of every social program that is being implemented is the people [governmental officials], but if you have a system incapable of motivating and keeping the people, and every time you change government, the ministers and specific public officials give those sweeps of personnel and bring others, continuity is thrown away. There is a constant rotation of personnel. Since the 1960’s until now we function under a scheme that does not reward work performance, it does not reward merit, and it does not give the chance for a public position career.”*(19).

Study participants also reported challenges experienced by governmental officials when facing uncertainty during transitions that shed light on the rationale justifying their performance: *“This is just like a soccer game, when one is told that there is not a chance to qualify for advancing to the next round, for sure one would play only to get through the end until the ninety minutes of the game are up. It is the same in a governmental process. It is a natural human and psychological response when one perceives that there is no more to do than to finish the game, that your work will not transcend, and it will not have an impact. If you are told that you are not a member of the team, the leading team now, it is a kind of a psychological attack suggesting, hey!, you are out of here.”*(36)

Inconstant political parties

The reported insights on inconstant political parties, likely to contribute to the perceived institutional uncertainty, made evident that this institutional characteristic has affected governmental processes both at the municipal and national levels, and how it has negatively impacted sustainability: *“[Sustainability] has to do with the lack of institutionalized political parties; I wear this hat until this party exists. Even the well-known [X] party disappeared after they governed. They go strong only to win an election and then disappear. From there, how come we even talk about political parties when they do not really exist?. These are people that go back and forth from one side to the opposite side. They do not even have a technical team.”*(19)

“Municipal matters have to do with the electoral side. It has to do with the institutional systems and the political parties included e.g., ideological views. For example, in El Salvador there are two political parties from which people know what to

expect. Here in Guatemala we are not there yet, here you have twenty-six political parties. You can be sure that those that governed are on their way to disappear. There are no well-established political institutions that allow strengthening formal processes of citizens' participation.”(34)

“These are political parties without a program, parties that make up things for the campaign only. They offer, offer, and offer; but there is nothing, there is no a serious programing process behind that. This is the constant dynamic every four years; they lack a vision of state, they perform under a narrow governmental vision. This is the obstacle, a governmental-shrunked vision.”(45)

Terminal logic behavior and strategic defection

Study participants reported governmental TLB, valuing future rewards over current job assignments; and SD, dissociating from the outgoing government once it had lost power. These behaviors had negative consequences for the implementation of actions at the national and municipal levels, and for sustainability of FNSP. Consequences of TLB and SD included slow down or cessation of implementation, dysfunctional collaboration, inefficient use of resources, benefits not reaching targeted groups, and loss of momentum affecting policy continuity by upcoming officials. Consequences of TLB and SD occurred through individual, institutional, and political mechanisms: individual, psychological response when one perceives that efforts will not transcend beyond the governmental change; institutional, guidelines to reorient implementation of FNSP actions towards areas to better suit overall government image (areas where violence is high) and away from the targeted areas (areas where food and nutrition insecurity is

high); and political, strategies of campaigning and prioritizing beneficiaries from geographic areas that will maximize possibilities for winning the next election.

Terminal logic behavior

There are reports of overvalued employment stability with consequences of slow down or cessation of implementation through individual mechanisms at the municipal level: *“During the transition there was a lot of tension, stress, and discontent among governmental people working at the local level. They made comments like ‘oh well, they will fire me, I am leaving this position soon; who knows who will come to office and will bring his/her own people. Who am I working for at this point then? What for?’. There was a period of inactivity, like a latency period. Each person was thinking of her/his own job; after all it is about their employment stability, isn’t it?.”*(28)

Others overvalued securing job stability within the next government with consequences of dysfunctional collaboration, and inefficient use of resources through individual, institutional, and political mechanisms at the municipal and national levels: *“During the governmental change there are people that keep track of the time they have left. The last year of the presidency, they work on the political campaign, and not on the [technical] actions anymore. This affects actions negatively as the governmental institutions at all levels are focused on the political camping. People working in rural communities work on the campaign and not on the actions for which they were responsible; institutions even put together different terms of reference for these positions. During the last year in office, governmental people are not receptive to new strategies, they start wondering, is this convenient?.”*(33)

High-level governmental officials highly valued political aspirations with consequences of inefficient use of resources, and benefits not reaching targeted groups through political mechanisms at the municipal and national levels: *“The First Lady [back then] even filed for divorce to be able to run for President. She addressed the issues of food and nutrition insecurity... or was she really trying to reach 1.5 million people, because that will guarantee three votes per family so that she can win elections?. So those social interventions were not implemented thinking of the issues in this country but to build an elections’ platform. This was not even corruption, let us imagine it was all being managed adequately, but what was the strategic objective for using these resources?. It was to build the elections’ platform.”*(26)

Strategic defection

There are reported behaviors of dissociation from the outgoing government for obtaining a position in the next presidential-term with consequences of inefficient use of resources, benefits not reaching targeted groups through political mechanisms at the national level: *“It is a regular political practice that gets aggravated during the transitions. It is the exit door at the moments of chaos. For example, on actions related to provision of resources to the national hospitals system or during food aid distribution actions after a natural disaster last year: It is politicized and used for the electoral competition. The mid-level officers with political mandate reorient their work towards the campaign; they work for finding a position within the party likely to win the elections. There are key governmental positions, political positions that start getting ready this way.”*(30)

There were also reported behaviors related to seeking benefits and promises by candidates likely to win elections with consequences of dysfunctional collaboration, inefficient use of resources, and loss of momentum affecting policy continuity through political mechanisms at the municipal level: *“The processes around elections have affected our planned activities [at the municipal level]. There is a practice ‘let us take the limelight now that we can’. Local leaders advice people to stop participating in planned activities. Many community workers are deceived this way. When we try to continue activities as planned they say ‘well, the party made me an offer, I have to attend training with them, I can’t help with your activity anymore’. There is no worth for what we, technical people, have to offer. It is always the same. It impacts our work, processes are delayed, we have to reschedule, and the use of funds gets delayed. It takes a lot of juggling ‘all right team, we have to work double here, and make an extra effort’. It is always the same, it has affected us many times.”*(49)

Terminal logic behavior and strategic defection emerging in news

News revealed consequences of slow down or cessation of implementation and loss of momentum affecting policy continuity by upcoming officials, and how it specifically affected the social programs that are key strategies within the FNSP: *“Organizing the transition to avoid paralyzes: It is adequate to deal with this now given the recent experiences, at the beginning of the previous presidency [that adopted the policy]. It was common to see newspaper headline-pictures of governmental officials that supported the outgoing presidency, wearing the colors of the new president. The environment of high political polarization we are experiencing right now creates an*

imaginary view, through the elections propaganda, that all actions by the outgoing presidential administration are negative and that all outgoing governmental officers are incompetent. Therefore, casting aside everything put up by the previous government is considered almost the duty of the new government. In the meantime, the state apparatus gets into a kind of paralysis during the last year of the presidency characterized by rejection of actions that do not have a guaranteed continuity by the incoming governmental officials. A particular case is the one of the social programs for which all presidential candidates have expressed interest to continue. If these are understood as positive pieces of a larger effort to reduce poverty, the presidential transition must be efficient and quick to avoid any temporal suspension [of these social programs] that will negatively affect the poorest beneficiaries.” (Andrade M., 2011).

News also revealed that transitions of local governments affected policy continuity, specifically when non-reelected majors, the municipal government chiefs, defected by rejecting to contribute to emergency recovery operations led by the national government: *“Majors that were not reelected are reluctant to collaborate with the national government on storm-disaster relief assistance. There are issues with outgoing majors rejecting to be involved while the new-elected majors can’t help because they are not in office yet, and they do not have access to any economic resources or personnel. It is obvious that the ones in position to respond are the majors still in office, ‘they are the ones mandated by law, and they have the resources to do it’, assures the Minister of Economy. Those affected have reached up to 150,000; the [cost of] crops lost have reached Q73million. We have asked the governmental cabinet to make an extra effort and to persuade the local authorities to get involved. ‘We make a public call to all majors to*

get involved in the emergency relief efforts of their respective municipalities’, insisted the Minister.” (Siglo 21, 2011)

Tactics adopted by non-governmental study participants for sustaining policy actions during transitions

Study participants from civil society groups and international organizations adopted tactics for maximizing sustainability during transitions. It is possible to identify institutional characteristics that facilitated adopting these tactics. Civil society groups and organized citizens contributed to governmental efforts by allocating their own resources for supporting FNSP actions through local organizations that coordinate with municipal governments, and that are not subjected to changes during transitions: *As part of health, we have influenced by [forming] an alliance with other organizations called ‘Permanent Health Forum’ [advocating] for a redistribution of local funds prioritizing the strengthening of the ministries of Agriculture, Education, and Health. We keep track on what the national government is doing to prevent from doing anything different. A concrete example is the ‘the health commission of the fifteen’ which is supported by the majors and the Church. We are used to transitions, it happens every four years. We know that there will be changes, it will take them [national government] time, and they will come here with their own ways of doing things. In the meantime, the work continues: training, education on sustainable agriculture, and health promotion; all these do not stop and continue without waiting to see what will happen with the national government.”(45)*

International organizations collaborating with the government and strengthening technical teams, not necessarily through national government agreements, and not always transferring money directly to the government; visualized leaders and politicians on the rise as potential champions through whom they may move actions forward, advocate for commitment, facilitate participative processes, and perform strategic planning by intentionally including the transition period in the middle of the programs' timelines:

“By lobbying and creating ‘bridging spaces’ we identify key actors that are potential future leaders that could make good use of the information. The factors orientating us towards who has leadership potential are public opinion, media, trajectory, informal forums, and dialogue spaces open for discussion. For example the FNS Secretariat currently in office, started as adviser for congress in 2005, has a trajectory on leading, learning, being inquisitive, being surrounded by people that can contribute by creating social networks, keeping good relations with all sectors, and showing an impressive learning curve. Another example is the first FNS Secretariat, who was a key actor for adopting the FNS system law, by taking advantage of all those social networks, and the participation of all sectors; the FNS system law and the policy took relevance and passed. The law had been stocked during two or three presidencies.”(3)

“Our organization has prioritized municipalities for focalization. At the national level, we support institutional strengthening, sustainability, and socialization of the president’s pact for stunting reduction. We supported a recent event that brought together all political parties secretariats for commitment to assure that during the next 1½ year political parties do not change our pact for stunting reduction. An advantage is to count on the commitment of the private sector, and the participation of indigenous

representatives. We have framed it in a way that all sectors understand what it truly means to have such high stunting prevalence in this country; there is so much to do. The factors that have contributed to keeping it alive are: the law, donors keeping the topic relevant, the 'peak' of those ten actions [included in the president's Zero Hunger pact for stunting reduction] that are globally acknowledged as important, and the strong technical support; [a lesson learnt is] to intentionally avoid governmental logos in the technical documents.” (12)

“We have an Interagency Development Action Framework for a 5-year programing; our next term is 2014-2019. The starting programing point is a participative country assessment for which all state sectors are represented, and it includes the participation of the organized civil society, private sector, and academia. It is validated by all sectors of the state making it relevant during governmental changes, even when the incoming officials support different political ideologies. There are topics of common interest that cannot be abandoned, e.g., poverty, exclusion, and undernutrition. Precisely, we are a kind of a pivot development program to advocate and to position the relevant topics in the new governments' agendas.”(43)

International organizations collaborating with the government, for which an official agreement with the national government is mandatory, are subjected to approval from congress to grant loans for management of funds by the Guatemalan authorities. These organizations plan in a way that the project implementation coincides with the first year of the new government, expecting that the project will be taken by the candidates likely to win the next elections: *“A project should be put together in a way that it is ready to be executed during the first year of the new government. During the first year, the projects’*

execution reaches only 2-3%. During the second year is usually when the government is ready to implement the highest amount. We have to think of loan-projects now [half way through the current presidential term] so it is possible to execute them with the next government. We have to identify [projects] 'betting to win' so that the candidates of all political parties like the project. We have to expect the break, and [expect] that during the electoral campaign everything stops, everything is frozen.”(31)

Tactics adopted by government study participants that contributed to FNSP sustainability

There are important experiences on institutionalization of structures and on continuity of actions within the government at the local and central level that have contributed to FNSP sustainability despite TLB and SD.

The chief of the association of majors (elected municipal authorities) whose position does not change during transitions reported practices by which organized majors reach consensus through a participative process with involvement of the civil society leaders. This process is completed before official requests of commitment are made to members of congress, political parties, and the presidential candidates: *“We built an agenda including FNS, an agreement among majors on what we were going to do in the coming years, e.g., institutional strengthening. Then we called to a civil society forum [as a result] we added the components of citizens’ participation and gender participation. When we had reached a consensus on our municipal agenda we presented it to the political parties, and to the candidates running for congress. We called to a national encounter of elected major, presidential candidates, and the international community.*

We obtained their commitment for the annual implementation plans of priority actions.”(41)

A local official that had worked on the coordination of FNSP actions during all three presidencies at the municipal level reported successful experiences in collaboration with the municipal commissions for the participation of citizens and local leaders at engaging newly elected major to commit to FNSP actions: *“We have a [FNS] policy. Our job is to strengthen the FNS system [for participation of all sectors] at all levels with involvement of the local governments [major’s office]. As a result of these municipal commissions of FNS, we have reached continuity and sustainability at the final moments when the term is coming to an end [with involvement of] the municipal trustees, institutions, recognized leaders of civil society groups, and community authorities. When elected majors take office with no knowledge on the [FNS] topic, we immediately convince them and motivate them to get on the boat.”(52)*

A state official at the central level reported viable mechanisms for policy sustainability due to local level autonomy and decentralization of funding for direct use by municipalities: *“We have reached continuity of public policies at the municipal level. The municipality is the basic state structure where there is continuity and political strength. We receive close to 25% of the state resources to be managed mainly through the major’s office.”(13)*

A successful experience is reported by an elected state official when he faced a cessation of implementation of actions at the municipal level after the national government transitioned to a president from the opposition party; he led a transparent decentralization process by using leadership, organizational and engaging skills for

maximizing the support of community leaders, and to restart joint work with the national government: *“During my second term as mayor, the opposition party won the national government, and relations with the municipality stopped. We prepared solid plans, results, administrative capacity, and community participation. I called members of congress and the finance commission to visit, and reported how the budget was being distributed. The president of the commission started supporting us. We were introduced as a municipal model for decentralization.”*(34)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Turnover of governmental officials during presidential transitions and how it affects sustainability of long-term policies has not been studied. The problem has been observed in Central America (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013). This study in Guatemala has previously shown that the roles of governmental officials are perceived as highly important for sustainability (manuscript 1 in this chapter). Definitions of sustainability by study participants in Guatemala included drivers like transferred capacities, and processes like reaching institutionalization for which governmental officials are indispensable. Inconstant governmental officials are also shown to influence forces for not sustaining FNSP during transitions (manuscript 2 in this chapter).

Cases studied by political scientists’ shed light for understanding how governmental officials deal with the problem, what explains their behavior during transitions, and how those intending to support governments should adapt collaborative teams’ performance accordingly. Presidents with no possibility of reelection highly value far-future rewards despite of political contexts (Kehoe, 2014). Judges facing institutional

insecurity disassociate from the outgoing government once it loses power (Helmke, 2002).

Being terminal means that presidents are ending a second term in office with no possibility to be reelected (Kehoe, 2014). In countries where presidents can serve only one term, they likely perform under a perpetual terminal logic. Governmental officials in this context are likely to be tacitly located in one of three categories naturally explaining their behavior: Those that for sure know they will be replaced once they government changes, those for whom losing or keeping the job is uncertain, and governmental officials that know they will keep the job but passively wait for changes and new guidelines. The common result is that governmental officials' performance during presidential transitions does not respond to strategic plans for FNSP implementation but to the circumstances of uncertainty around them, negatively affecting policy sustainability.

In the context of no possibility of reelection and of inconstant political parties, this case showed that governmental officials implementing FNSP actions during transitions exhibited TLB that valued far-future rewards over the performance of their roles, e.g., employment stability. They also showed SD behavior that dissociated them from outgoing governments, e.g., taking time from planned activities to attend political candidates' calls for making them an offer. Consequences of TLB and SD included slow down or cessation of implementation, dysfunctional collaboration, inefficient use of resources, benefits not reaching targeted groups, and loss of momentum affecting policy continuity by upcoming officials. These consequences occurred through individual, institutional, and political mechanisms. Important case-differences are that the

Guatemalan governmental officials to whom study participants referred when speaking of sustainability during transitions were less powerful than presidents and judges. Also, FNSP actions are not considered situations that warrant emergency decree issuance. Our results on FNSP sustainability provide evidence that the consequences of TLB and SD documented by political scientists could be affecting public policy at all levels and sectors where governmental officials' role is key for success.

This case study supports previous conclusions on the implications of term limits as a key institutional feature of democratic governments affecting policy continuity, and that this is especially problematic in countries that cannot seek reelection. (Blondel, 1987; Kehoe, 2014). In these circumstances, the performance of governmental officials at all levels, and of their collaborating teams during transitions is dysfunctional, disrupting policy sustainability.

These results provide evidence on the behaviors governmental officials adopt to deal with uncertain working conditions during transitions. TLB and SD are useful to explain this behavior and allow those intending to support governments to adapt collaborative teams' performance accordingly. We have documented the relevance of exploring new possibilities for intersectoral teams supporting governments for reaching long-term goals of FNSP.

Findings in Guatemala coincide with previous analysis on institutionalization in political sciences highlighting the importance of governmental structures like party leadership; infrequent turnover, growth of seniority, and the merit of the case (Polsby, 1968).

These results have important implications for advocates and practitioners and for those designing strategic and operational plans for FNSP actions' implementation. Efforts for strengthening governmental capacities may be more effective if assuring functioning without depending on individuals, and by making implementation procedures known and doable by a team. Implementation processes as routines embedded in system and part of technical units' tasks, may also be more effective than leaving processes open and up to personnel's own initiatives. Creating detailed protocols for implementation activities need to include assignment of roles, allocation of resources, and internal procedures for facilitation, and monitoring.

Other important implications are to be aware of governmental officials' needs and concerns during transitions, and to address these timely by maximizing the conditions to motivate the workforce to stay. Also important, it is to persuade new officials and midlevel personnel, not likely to change, to keep the trained workforce. It might be necessary to address politics and trust issues, e.g., new officials might not trust personnel that contributed to a previous government, possibly perceived to be part of the opposition party.

Despite TLB and SD, tactics adopted by governmental officials and by civil society groups and international organizations could be improved, disseminated, and generalized for improving strategies for maximizing sustainability during transitions.

Understanding the extent to which TLB and SD occur at all governmental levels and affect sustainability is advantageous to being able to develop compensatory approaches during early stages of a presidential term. Foreseeing and positively

influencing and responding to TLB and SD during presidential transitions are unexplored opportunities for reaching the long-term goals of FNSP.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

A. Overall results

This study addressed knowledge gaps related to what determines FNSP sustainability during presidential transitions that limit informed strategic responses by multisectoral teams implementing the policy while facing uncertain transition circumstances such as polarization, changes of priorities, replacement of governmental officials, and redistribution of resources. This study responded to the research questions: How do policy actors define sustainability? What are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability? What are the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability?

The total sample of 52 study participants include 43 (83%) that had worked in more than one presidential term and were experienced in transitions, 25 (48%) that had belonged to more than one policy sector of the FNS system, and 6 (12%) that reported to perform a dual position at the time of the interview. The sample distribution comprises 4 study participants working as independent consultants, 4 from research/academia, 5 from civil society, 5 from private sector, 15 from international cooperation, and 19 from government. Of those study participants from government, there were appointed or elected officials performing at national, regional, departmental, and municipal levels. A total sample of 252 news articles was obtained, and organized under nine categories that

emerged upon data collection: interviewees, continuity, the president, private sector, municipalities, eradicating stunting, basic services, food production, and institutional strengthening. The sample of political and technical speeches was 27. A total of 75 documents were used for the analysis.

1. How do policy actors define sustainability?

Study participants defined sustainability of FNSP by referring to specific policy actions. They defined sustainability by describing drivers like attitudes, social norms, transferred capacities, shared commitment, resilience, ownership, empowerment, livelihood, self-functioning, and coherence. Other study participants defined sustainability by describing long-term processes: (1) accumulating, a processes of gradually building ,e.g., accumulating collaboration or accumulating technical foundation; (2) adding up, a process through which several factors stay in place together, e.g., adding up functioning institutional structures and available resources; (3) maintaining, a process of preserving, e.g., maintaining unchanged strategies; (4) reaching, a process of obtaining what they sought, e.g., reaching evidence-based continuity. Study participants defined sustainability differently, some of them explained it as the drivers being enough for them to consider an action to be sustained and others explained it as a specific long-term process that needed to be concluded. The emergent theoretical framework on how study participants defined FNSP sustainability during transitions shows a relevant within-case variability.

2. What are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability?

There are 24 forces simultaneously shaping a dynamic process determining FNSP sustainability during transitions. The forces for sustaining FNSP are Backed up, Beneficial, Championed, Importance, Institutionally sound, Owned, Sensitive, Shared, Steady resources, Strategic, Transition effect, and Trusted. The forces for not sustaining FNSP are Antagonistic underlying structure, Campaigning, Dysfunctional transition, Fractioned, Haphazard, Insensitive, Irrelevant, Misrepresentation, Neglected, Rivalry, Unsound institutions, and Unsteady resources. Roles performed by civil society, governmental officials, and international organizations were critical for policy sustainability during transitions in this case. The 24 forces determining FNSP sustainability during transitions are molded by the emerging reasons for sustaining and for not sustaining policy actions as reported by the study participants. Forces resulted from the categories of reasons that emerged from the interviews, and were verified with emerging themes in documents, news, and speeches. This verification process allowed completing data triangulation for maximizing trustworthiness of the study results. Forces during transitions favored or impeded sustainability by operating at all levels and sectors but affecting actions differently in these. Forces do not compete, but combinations of them brought about outcomes policy actors influenced. Data suggest that the potential of forces to shape sustainability depends on interacting actors responding to emerging events within specific contexts. FNSP actors and networks contributing to the implementations of policy actions are embedded in a context not different from a living system, which is constantly moving and ever-changing as a result of forces.

3. What are the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability?

Study participants reported governmental TLB and SD that were relevant to sustainability of FNSP at the national and municipal levels. Consequences of TLB and SD included slow down or cessation of implementation, dysfunctional collaboration, inefficient use of resources, benefits not reaching targeted groups, and loss of momentum affecting policy continuity by upcoming officials. These consequences occurred through individual, institutional, and political mechanisms. There were tactics adopted by government and non-government study participants for maximizing sustainability during transitions.

B. Contributions to the existent literature

1. Definition of sustainability

In Guatemala, definitions of sustainability as drivers included transferred capacities, and definitions as long-term processes included reaching institutionalization. These results suggest that using definitions widely documented across the fields of nutrition, politics, and economics like strategic capacity (Matta et al., 2000; Schacter, 2000; UNDP, 1998; Gillespie, 2001; Pelletier et al., 2011; Gillespie & Margetts, 2013), and like institutionalization, systematization, and routinization (Polsby, 1968; Yin, 1981; Goodman et al., 1993; Savaya et al., 2009) are useful for studying sustainability during transitions as long as the guiding conceptual framework allows variability and it is not fixed with applying one definition for an entire country or to all country policy actors. The emerging definition of sustainability as the driver attitudes is consistent with previous results on the operations evaluation of Mexico PROGRESA reporting that

sustainability has to do with changes in attitudes of the population through education (Adato et al., 2000).

A system with constant governmental officials is a contextual factor study participants seemed to count on when defining sustainability, e.g., the driver of transferred capacities, the process of accumulating collaboration, and the process of reaching systematization. These findings are consistent with previous work looking at outcomes that could enhance or inhibit sustainability related to political momentum and enabling environments (Gillespie et al., 2013), reading the political nature of undernutrition (Nisbett et al., 2014), and at understanding decentralized planning processes around the nutrition policy agenda in Vietnam (Lapping et al., 2014). Consistent with the results in Guatemala, these authors had previously documented the advantages of constant resources, and of technical and strategic capacity at individual, organizational and systematic levels, and the disadvantages of lack of human resources and of rapid turnover. Constant governmental personal is a crucial underlying contextual factor for defining sustainability of FNSP during transitions.

2. Mechanisms determining for sustainability

Civil society groups and organized regular citizens in this case played a crucial role influencing forces during transitions as it is reported by study participants from all sectors and levels. These results provide evidence that citizens' pressure made a difference for sustainability during transitions at the community level, for making potable

water available and locally administered; and at the central level at influencing the presidential elected candidate to continue a popular conditioned cash transfer program for maximizing the chances of increasing acceptance. The forces through which civil society groups and organized regular citizens were influential are Owned, Championed, Shared, Trusted, and Sensitive. These findings are consistent with previous results in Brazil that have informed FNSP actions in Latin America, including the Zero Hunger pact in the Guatemala (SESAN, 2012). The authors documented the importance of civil society participation for success that resulted from the political conditions of a military dictatorship during which a strong civil-society movement emerged (Paim et al., 2011; Victora et al., 2011a; Victora et al., 2011b; Kleinert & Horton, 2011; Uauy, 2011).

International organizations with a long-term trajectory of collaborating with the government, strengthening technical teams, advocating, and providing resources contributed to sustainability during transitions by influencing the forces Backed up, Championed, Importance, Owned, Shared, Steady resources, Strategic, and Transition-effect. These results are consistent with previous evidence on the long-term contribution and on the important roles performed by international organizations in Guatemala as part of organized cooperation efforts for development around food and nutrition security (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013), for documenting evidence that set the stage for understanding the problem, and for gradually building the country strategic response (Habicht & Martorell, 2010), and for actively engaging in formal coordinating structures that represented ground-breaking forms of mutisectoral commitment (Pelletier et al., 2012).

This study in Guatemala had previously provided evidence that constant governmental officials are accounted for when defining sustainability as a driver of transferred capacities “*taken over by the government*”; and as processes of accumulating collaboration “*with our governmental counterpart*”; and of reaching systematization “*implementation of a system that informs the government*”. The results here show that the roles of governmental officials during transitions are influencing forces and are of great relevance for moving forward at being more strategic to safeguard multisectoral policy implementation. Turnover of governmental officials during transition influenced forces for not sustaining: Dysfunctional transition, Fractioned, Haphazard, Unsound institutions, and Unsteady resources. Counting on trained governmental officials from one presidency to the next one influenced forces for sustaining: Championed, Institutionally sound, Shared, Steady resources, Strategic, and Owned. These results are consistent with previous results in Guatemala (Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013). An upcoming political transition, in addition to weak governmental leadership and lack of national health plans, prevented the country from reaching a Regional Health Initiative objectives of feasibility, alignment, and ownership. The events that affected the process were turnover of high-level personnel, staff fluctuations following national elections, and short-term contracts with low wages that lead to high rotation and instability of the health workforce.

This work in Guatemala complements the work of others and informs strategic performance of multisectoral teams for sustaining actions during transitions. The framework for the assessment of actions accounting for epidemiologic, operational, and sociopolitical domains is relevant for this study (Menon et al., 2011). This framework suggests that these domains as interlinked: epidemiologic, pertaining to the nutritional

situation, and the evidence about the efficacy and effectiveness of nutrition interventions; operational, pertaining to coverage, quality, and utilization of nutrition-related interventions and programs as well as capacities, opportunities, and constraints to improving these; and sociopolitical, pertaining to social, political, cultural, and organizational factors at various levels. The authors concluded that the sociopolitical domain often underlies the other two domains as it enhances or inhibits efforts to create positive changes in policies and programs. The forces in this study were molded by study participants' reports on the reasons for sustaining and reasons for not sustaining policy actions. Among reasons within each force it is possible to visualize components of these three domains (epidemiologic, operational, and sociopolitical). The Strategic force included reasons such as addressing changes in social norms for improved behavior within institutions and targeted groups (epidemiological), leading government office with dual technical-political roles (operational), and allies foreseeing and working around the transition break (sociopolitical). At the same time, the sustainability of a social program tackling undernutrition in Guatemala was credited not only to the Strategic force, but it had to occur together with other forces like Backed up, Institutionally sound, Beneficial, and Transition effect. This evidence on several forces simultaneously shaping sustainability during transitions is consistent with factors that played key roles for sustaining Mexico's PROGRESA-OPORTUNIDADES during the Zedillo-Fox transition. The positive opinion about the program held by international financial institutions (force Backed up), assured the elected president Fox on the credibility of the impact evaluation results he had received from the outgoing officials (forces Strategic and Trusted); this in

addition to his genuine commitment (force Championed) to poverty alleviation (Levy, 2006, p. 112-113).

These results on forces for sustaining FNSP actions not only support the framework by Shiffman and Smith (2007) on the influencing factors for political priority but inform the premise that political priority is necessary for sustaining policies during transitions but it is not sufficient. Policy actors should constantly seek to move from prioritized policies towards sustained policies. The force Championed, under which strong actors included resilient communities, and unconventional sectors, captures the characteristic on “strength of actors”. The characteristic “power of ideas” resembles actors’ reports under the forces Shared, and Backed up. The force Shared related to issues and policy actions being of interest of multiple sectors beyond the government, and bringing together integrated teams, including beneficiary-communities. The force Backed up related to policy actions being technically justifiable, supported by global efforts, and successful in other countries or at a small scale in Guatemala. The “characteristics of the issue”, can be considered as part of two forces, Beneficial, it is about an issue or an action that is advantageous, favorable, convenient, and satisfies concrete interests of those in charge; and the force Importance, it is about addressing issues policy actors consider of great relevance, significant for bringing about a greater good, and that is highly positioned among influential actors’ agenda. Shiffman and Smith’s “nature of the political contexts” captured here by the forces Backed up, and Transition effect, making evident that a political context favoring FNSP sustainability includes counting on mandates from local and national governmental authorities, guidelines by international organizations, and global initiatives. It also includes a favorable institutional context,

actor's intention to continue an ongoing effort by creating bridging opportunities among unchangeable collaborators and by taking advantage of effortless motions favoring sustainability. The case in Guatemala suggests that policy actors must actively react to contextual factors during transitions by seeking collaborative interactions for responding to emerging events effectively.

The obstacles for collaboration that exist among socio-political and nutrition scientists addressed in this study and the negative consequences for sustainability during transitions of the force Fractioned is consistent with the political economy analysis literature (Reich & Balarajan, 2012). There are four political economy themes that need to be addressed: fragmented nutrition system, institutionally homeless nutrition, multiplicity of owners creating a multiplicity of nutrition narratives, and limited capacity of nutritionists to manage political dynamics. The reasons for not sustaining under the force Fractioned are consistent with these themes. This is supported by results of a comparative analysis between two approaches for economic upgrading in Argentina, in which an insulated government-imposed approach resulted in social fragmentation, and a participatory approach among public and private institutions favored innovation and sustainability (McDermott, 2007).

In agreement with results from an operations evaluation of Mexico PROGRESA, and in relation to how FNSP actors collaborate and interact, these results in Guatemala have shown what difference it makes for sustainability to influence the forces Shared and Backed up, as opposed to allowing the forces Fractioned and Rivalry. The report on Mexico PROGRESA points out that among long-term sustainability determinants there were objectives and incentives of the various stakeholders that either reinforced or

competed with each other (Adato et al., 2000). This is consistent with important results by experts in the field of global business on how goals and means of national and international actors determine how effectively they integrate. Actors have the potential to reach integration-goals for changing institutions, and integration-means for effectively involve international and national public-private actors for joint problem-solving (Bruszt & McDermott, 2014).

In agreement with these results in Guatemala, development experts have informed on crucial factors for the sustainability of nutrition actions related to financing approaches, mobilization of civil society for public pressure, country ownership, and coordination among development partners (The World Bank, 2006). Systematic problems such as fragmentation, lack of an evidence base for prioritized actions, institutional inertia, and failure to join up with promising developments in parallel sectors were found to be important weaknesses that affect organizations working for solving undernutrition (Morris et al., 2008). Global Health experts have brought up attention to the sustained delivery of health interventions guaranteed by functioning national health systems, and to the importance of reconciling ongoing global-level transformation with the need to further strengthen and support national-level health systems mainly on leadership, institutions, systems design, and technologies (Szlezák et al., 2010; Frenk, 2010).

The potential of transitions as windows of opportunity, which worked in this case through the force Transition effect, has been previously documented. The study on the experiences in Bolivia, Peru, and Guatemala showed that political transitions were crucial for agenda-setting conditions that created political attention to chronic undernutrition (Pelletier et al., 2012). In Bolivia the initiation of President Morales' term meant

commitment to addressing poverty and social exclusion. In Peru, a coalition advocating for nutrition that began during President Garcia's campaign influenced his concern for social policy. In Guatemala, FNS undernutrition and the Right to Food resonated and escalated among the political climate across two administrations. Analyses on the challenges in the policy process and ways to overcome them have informed on the relevance of presidential transitions but are specific to favorable outcomes (Pelletier et al., 2012). This study in Guatemala has shown that during transitions, FNSP actions that had somehow successfully survived once through the stages of the policy process (commitment, agenda setting, policy formulation, and implementation) are exposed to scrutiny and the process is opened up once again with the possibility of losing continuity once the new government takes office.

Evidence on forces determining sustainability of FNSP during transitions complements the existing knowledge for improving informed multisectoral collaboration for policy implementation.

3. Terminal logic behavior and strategic defection

Turnover of governmental officials during presidential transitions affects sustainability of long-term policies. Cases studied by political scientists' shed light for understanding how governmental officials deal with the problem, what explains their behavior during transitions, and how those intending to support governments should adapt collaborative teams' performance accordingly. Presidents with no possibility of reelection highly value far-future rewards despite of political contexts (Kehoe, 2014). Judges facing institutional insecurity disassociate from the outgoing government once it

loses power (Helmke, 2002).

Being terminal means that presidents are ending a second term in office with no possibility to be reelected (Kehoe, 2014). In countries where presidents can serve only one term, they likely perform under a perpetual terminal logic. Governmental officials in this context are likely to be tacitly located in one of three categories naturally explaining their behavior: Those that for sure know they will be replaced once they government changes, those for whom losing or keeping the job is uncertain, and governmental officials that know they will keep the job but passively wait for changes and new guidelines. The common result is that governmental officials' performance during presidential transitions does not respond to strategic plans for FNSP implementation but to the circumstances of uncertainty around them, negatively affecting policy sustainability.

In the context of no possibility of reelection and of inconstant political parties, this case showed that governmental officials implementing FNSP actions during transitions exhibited TLB that valued far-future rewards over the performance of their roles, e.g., employment stability. They also showed SD behavior that dissociated them from outgoing governments, e.g., taking time from planned activities to attend political candidates' calls for making them an offer. Consequences of TLB and SD included slow down or cessation of implementation, dysfunctional collaboration, inefficient use of resources, benefits not reaching targeted groups, and loss of momentum affecting policy continuity by upcoming officials. These consequences occurred through individual, institutional, and political mechanisms. Important case-differences are that the Guatemalan governmental officials to whom study participants referred when speaking of

sustainability during transitions were less powerful than presidents and judges. Also, FNSP actions are not considered situations that warrant emergency decree issuance. Our results on FNSP sustainability provide evidence that the consequences of TLB and SD documented by political scientists could be affecting public policy at all levels and sectors where governmental officials' role is key for success.

This case study supports previous conclusions on the implications of term limits as a key institutional feature of democratic governments affecting policy continuity, and that this is especially problematic in countries that cannot seek reelection. (Blondel, 1987; Kehoe, 2014). In these circumstances, the performance of governmental officials at all levels, and of their collaborating teams during transitions is dysfunctional, disrupting policy sustainability.

These results provide evidence on the behaviors governmental officials adopt to deal with uncertain working conditions during transitions. TLB and SD are useful to explain this behavior and allow those intending to support governments to adapt collaborative teams' performance accordingly. We have documented the relevance of exploring new possibilities for intersectoral teams supporting governments for reaching long-term goals of FNSP.

Findings in Guatemala coincide with previous analysis on institutionalization in political sciences highlighting the importance of governmental structures like party leadership; infrequent turnover, growth of seniority, and the merit of the case (Polsby, 1968).

C. Overarching implications for advocates and practitioners

In relation to defining sustainability, advocates and practitioners must consider investing time and resources to assess what allies and collaborators seek when working towards sustainability of long-term policies; acknowledge that sustainability is understood differently, and that reaching consensus and common grounds is of great importance. Assuring that the entity in charge of leading and operationalizing up-scaled implementation of actions has clearly expressed the institutional perspectives and needs, is crucial for maximizing sustainability.

In relation to the mechanisms determining sustainability, the implications for advocates and practitioners are two-fold: (1) To design, implement, monitor, evaluate, and adapt actions by accounting for political cycles at national and local levels, and by taking into consideration the forces determining sustainability; and (2) to develop an informed strategy for performing multisectorally during transitions that is part of the strategic and operational plans, and that includes the assignment of responsibilities and resources.

At all times, it is crucial to read the political and institutional environments. In the short-term it is advisable to complement the FNSP technical teams with political scientists experienced in public policy. In the long-term it is important to consider updating training and practice protocols for the FNS technical force by adding selective contents on politics, negotiation, and the political economy for FNS, mainly focusing on how to reflect and react accordingly to events on political matters and beyond technical contents. Identifying policy actors and sectors with critical roles at influencing forces for

sustainability in a particular context, can inform innovative and influential long-term strategies.

In relation to TLB and SD, efforts for strengthening governmental capacities may be more effective if assuring functioning without depending on individuals and by making implementation procedures known and doable by a team. Implementation processes as routines embedded in system and part of technical units' tasks may be more effective than leaving processes open and up to personnel's own initiatives. Creating detailed protocols for implementation activities need to include assignment of roles, allocation of resources, and internal procedures for facilitation, and monitoring.

Other important implications are to be aware of governmental officials' needs and concerns during transitions, and to address these timely by maximizing the conditions to motivate the workforce to stay. Also important, it is to persuade new officials and midlevel personnel, not likely to change, to keep the trained workforce. It might be necessary to address politics and trust issues, e.g., new officials might not trust personnel that contributed to a previous government, possibly perceived to be part of the opposition party.

Despite TLB and SD, tactics adopted by governmental officials, civil society groups, and international organizations could be improved, disseminated, and generalized for improving strategies for maximizing sustainability during transitions.

Understanding the extent to which TLB and SD occur at all governmental levels and affect sustainability is advantageous to being able to develop compensatory approaches during early stages of a presidential term. Foreseeing and positively

influencing and responding to TLB and SD during presidential transitions are unexplored opportunities for reaching the long-term goals of FNSP.

D. Boundaries and limitations

1. Case selection

The case selection-criteria that made Guatemala a critical case and data-sources informative for studying sustainability during transitions, jointly established unique characteristics that should be considered when applying these results. The country's social structure and its historical origin has contributed to the influence of civil society groups and organized citizens, and it has favored the sustainability of actions that are implemented through decentralized strategies. A study participant reported these case-characteristics as follows: *“Guatemala is a country that resulted from multiple integrated native groups with territorial, cultural, and ethnic diversity. The social structure works from bottom to top.”*(13) Also, the political party system perceived as unstable, and the country's history of not ever reelecting a party has imposed a unique institutional context in which insecurity at the end of every presidential term is highly perceived. The specific mechanisms determining sustainability during transitions in Guatemala can inform other cases with similar characteristics on social structures and political party systems. Results in Guatemala provide generalizable evidence advancing the existing knowledge on the overall challenges multisectoral implementing teams face during transitions, on the variability at defining sustainability from country actors' perspectives, on the existence of forces determining sustainability, and on particular logic-behaviors that are affecting governmental officials at the end of a presidential terms.

2. Interviews not audio-recorded

The total of interviews not audio recorded is 19 (37%). Taking notes was especially challenging for the PI because it was necessary to capture the content and exact words the study participants were using, and at the same time to keep them engaged, and to maintain the logical flow of the conversation. The interview was not disrupted because study participants agreed to allow the time for note taking during the conversation. Audio-recorded interviews allowed capturing a level of detail that note taking did not capture only in terms of comments when changing the conversation topic, side sounds, and side comments; this did not limit the data analysis. The final-edited notes provided the needed quality data for responding to the research questions. Note taking fully captured the responses under all topics in the interview guide, and the PI edited the notes immediately after each interview. The PI was disciplined to plan and to allow the time needed for editing notes right after each interview.

3. Self-reports informing the research questions

There are limitations with using self-reports like study participants' responses being influenced by the process of being interviewed, impression of the PI, recall error, their roles encouraging convenient responses, and what they were willing to say. The PI used the documented techniques for interviewing and probing accordingly to minimize as much as possible these limitations. Additionally, the PI was the only interviewer completing all interviews and using the same guide and approach. The PI prepared before the interview by reviewing background information on all study participants to avoid any distracting comments, and to stay on topic. The sample size and variability was adequate

to avoid making wrong conclusion from interviews deferring quality due to factors out of the control of the PI. Recruitment continued until no new information was being captured and the sample had reached saturation. Other data sources were used to verify the results obtained from study participants reports.

E. Strengths

1. The case and the time of the study

Characteristics of the case, the sample, and of the time during which this study took place, were proved to be right for informing the research questions. This case counted on informed policy actors, well-recognized, and considered to be an influential critical mass for decision-making and for the implementation of FNSP actions. Among study participants there were policy actors that had participated in the processes of designing, adopting, and implementing the policy. Study participants provided the needed reports on experiences of participating of all the presidential terms, and transitions studied. At the time of the study all study participants but one were actively working on policy-related actions. This case was also characterized by the FNSP policy becoming one of the three presidential priorities after two transitions, and this prioritization was reflected in all sectors and at all levels completing actions towards policy implementation. There were specific characteristics of the case that made the topic of sustainability during transitions a topic of interest, e.g., the presidential term being short with only four years, no possibility of presidential reelection, no historic records of a party ever being reelected, and political parties widely perceived as inconstant. Data collection took place during the second year of the presidency that had declared the

policy and stunting reduction national priorities, hence it was a time when study participants were open and willing to share their experiences at working as part of multisectoral teams implementing policy actions.

2. Sampling procedures

Sampling procedures allowed confirming that policy actors that should have been invited to speak to the research topic are included in the sample. Study participants were recruited and purposely sampled using snowball techniques across all policy sectors and levels, expertise, and experience working in policy related actions during the presidencies and transitions under study.

3. Triangulation

Triangulation was used to verify results responding to the research question. The results obtained using open, axial, and selective coding of interviews were verified using content analysis for emerging themes in news, speeches, and documents.

4. Data double-coding

A second data analyst, who is a qualitative research expert, experienced in analyzing food and nutrition security data, a native Spanish speaker, and proficient in English, conducted coding of 20 % of interview data to verify the results on the mechanisms determining sustainability. This process allowed confirming that the results were reproducible, and that the creation of sub-categories and categories under a core-phenomenon fit the data so that results convey the information data are telling. A

concordance of 80 % was reached, indicating that reliability is satisfactory (Nunnally, 1978, p. 245). Intercoder agreement between the PI and the second analysis was obtained with Kappa calculation, which takes into account agreement occurring by chance using the observed proportion of agreement, and the expected proportion of agreement. The agreement between the PI and the second analyst reached 0.573, showing moderate to substantial agreement (Viera & Garrett, 2005). Data double-coding provided evidence on the reliability of results responding to research question 2 (the mechanisms determining sustainability) which speaks to the analytical capacity of the PI for producing reliable results that is applicable for research questions 1 and 3.

5. Experts review

Trustworthiness was addressed by completing experts review of the results by the research team for quality control, which includes experts on FNS, political sciences, international business, and qualitative research.

6. Learning from socio-political and public health nutrition perspectives

These findings, bringing together perspectives from socio-political and public health nutrition fields, are useful for advancing knowledge and for informing practice on how coordinating multisectoral teams can work strategically for sustaining FNSP during transitions, and for reaching long term policy goals.

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APPENDIX A. DETERMINANTS OF OUTCOMES CONTRIBUTING TO SUSTAINABILITY

| Outcome contributing to sustainability (country) | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|---|
| | Agenda setting (Six African countries) | Policy development (undisclosed) | A good process (Guatemala) | Policy process (Bangladesh, Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru & Vietnam) |
| | <i>Clustered factors</i> | <i>Conditions</i> | <i>Feasibility challenges</i> | <i>Challenges, and factors of influence</i> |
| Action /Issue | | (+) Evidence based actions | | |
| Actors | (-) Points of contention (+) Behaviors strategies, and tactics | (+) Agreement on prioritizing nutrition (-) Conflict: Breakdown of communication | (+) Clear objectives and leadership (+) Political backing (+) Awareness | (+) Champions (-) Differing views (-) Disagreements, e.g., interventions, ownership |
| Context | Societal conditions Catalytic events Structural factors Institutional arrangements | | (-) Inequality (-) Time | (+) High-level political attention (+) Commitment (-) Capacity constraints (-) Windows of opportunity do not translate into plans (-) Constrained pace and quality of implementation |
| Source | Pelletier et al., 2011 | Hoey & Pelletier, 2011 | Hill et al., 2011 | Pelletier et al., 2012 |

(-) Negative for sustainability (+) Positive for sustainability

| | Outcome contributing to sustainability (country) | | |
|----------------------|--|--|---|
| | Attention to policy (Vietnam) | Political momentum- enabling environments (NA) | Reading the political nature of undernutrition |
| | <i>Elements</i> | <i>Domains and ways</i> | <i>Themes</i> |
| Action /Issue | (+) Credible indicators (+) Effective interventions (+) Severity (issue) | (+) Knowledge and evidence (+) Evidence of outcomes, benefits, coverage, scale, and quality | Evidence and knowledge |
| Actors | (+) Cohesion and alliances (+) Problem framing (+) Capitalizing on motivations and values (+) Leadership (+) Institutional and resource mobilization (+) Personal relationships (+) Rapid turnover | (+) Leadership and championing (+) Framing and narratives (+) Advocacy to increase priority (civil society) (+) Accountability to citizens (+) Contributions from the private sector | Political economy of stakeholders, ideas, and interests Internal and external frames Levels of consensus (often assumed) Debates tying processes for years (indicators or where the nutrition coordination entity should sit) |
| Context | (+) Creating high-profile policy windows (+) Governance (+) Opportunities to catalyze policy advancement (+) Institutionalization | (+) Politics and governance (+) Resources (+) Systemic and strategic capacity (+) Horizontal coherence (multisectoral coordination) | Technical and strategic capacity at individual, organizational and systemic levels (delivery science and get better at working with other sectors) Resources available throughout the system (financial) |
| Source | Lapping et al., 2012 | Gillespie et al., 2013 | Nisbett et al., 2014 |

(-) Negative for sustainability (+) Positive for sustainability

| | Outcome contributing to sustainability (country) | | |
|----------------------|--|---|--|
| | Decentralized planning processes (Vietnam) | Definition of strategic actions (Guatemala, India, Bolivia and Vietnam) | Evidence-based advocacy strategies (Bangladesh, Ethiopia, and Vietnam) |
| | <i>Influencing factors</i> | <i>Constraints</i> | <i>Barriers and opportunities</i> |
| Action /Issue | (-) Mistrust of centrally produced data | | (-) Malnutrition not priority (-) Poverty reduction prioritized (+) Evidence based messages |
| Actors | (-) Local actors dissatisfied with their role and irrelevant plans (+) Leadership (+) Interpersonal relationships (-) Disagreements on data accuracy (-) Central-local officers' tension | (-) Disagreements over operational strategies | (-) First 1,000 days irrelevant (-) Government conflicts (-) Differing priorities (+) Credible champions (+) Associations and media in (+) Awareness and knowledge (+) Multisectoral collaboration |
| Context | (-) Top-down approach (-) Limited local human capacity (-) Hard multisectoral integration (-) Horizontal and vertical coordination constraints (-) Lack of financial and human resources (rapid turnover) (-) Disorganized and unreliable central level | (-) Gaps in capacities (-) Low levels of coverage (-) No support of non-health sectors (-) Unsuccessful multisectoral plans (-) No coordination among sectors (-) Fragmented nutrition plans (-) Low budgeted local programs (-) Low incentive for local workers (-) Ineffective implementation | (-) Policy gaps (-) Limited awareness and implementation (+) Legislative instruments (+) Resources leverage (+) Harmonizing strategies (+) National organizations' capacity |
| Source | Lapping et al., 2014 | Menon et al., 2011 | Hajeebhoy et al. 2013 |

(-) Negative for sustainability (+) Positive for sustainability

| | Outcome contributing to sustainability (country) | | |
|----------------------|---|---|--|
| | Working multisectorally (Senegal and Colombia) | Global Health partnerships (El Salvador and Guatemala) | Organizational alignment (a middle income country) |
| | <i>Factors</i> | <i>Factors, strategies & Processes</i> | <i>Efforts</i> |
| Action /Issue | (+) Issue politically viable (+) Evidence to support the discussion on program design and implementation | Characteristics of the health problem | |
| Actors | (+) Leadership (+) Shared elements of common approach (+) Consensus on problem and solution (+) Vision, and incentives (+) Flexibility, value contribution of others, and respect to mission and routine (+) Personal interests and passions (+) Understanding and ownership (+) Perceived cost and benefit of participation | (+) Ownership (+) Alignment (+) Leadership (+) Managerial and conflict resolution skills (+) Trust and commitment | |
| Context | (+) Access to information (+) External catalyst to put nutrition on the policy agenda (+) Policy space (-) Institutional strength (+) Operational integration (+) Incentives for cooperation | (-) Lack plans and aims (-) Political transition Sociopolitical context Health systems | (+) Foster common understanding, and shared learning (+) Framing secures interests by joining efforts (+) Organizational accountability for aligning |
| Source | Garrett & Natalicchio, 2011 | Gonzalez Navarrete, 2013 | Pelletier & Pelto, 2013 |

(-) Negative for sustainability (+) Positive for sustainability

| | Outcome contributing to sustainability (country) | | |
|----------------------|---|--|--|
| | Accounting for food and agriculture systems, policies, and industry for impacting nutrition outcomes | Capacity for cross-disciplinary integration of agriculture-food systems with nutrition outcomes | Understanding the nutrition sensitivity of agriculture and food policies (A&FP) (8 countries) |
| | <i>Influencing factors</i> | <i>Challenges</i> | <i>Strategies, policy processes and environment</i> |
| Action /Issue | | | Programs address the means for A&FP to improve nutrition Interventions on processing, storage, marketing and utilization Address obesity-undernutrition |
| Actors | | Agricultural professionals account for nutrition Nutrition professionals acknowledge agricultural issues that affect programs Incentives, rules, and power relationships | Commitment to improving nutritional outcomes; resulting in efficient food systems, capacity, incentives for multisectoral collaboration and dialogue, and M&E systems |
| Context | Pathway of production and distribution Stages of economic development Agricultural and economic growth Distribution of benefits Industrialization of agriculture Agriculture impacts livelihoods | Capacity for lateral leadership: Ability to lead actors across sectors towards a common goal Funding cycles Functioning system and structure | A&FP incorporate nutrition A&FP impact on nutrition Multisectoral approach for FNS Human resources nutrition-capacity Robust and innovative M&E Nutrition and A&FP linked |
| Source | Lele, 2013 | Gillespie & Margetts, 2013 | Fanzo et.al., 2013 |

| Outcome contributing to sustainability (country) | | |
|--|---|---|
| | Implementation success (Chile) | Improvements in health and life expectancy (Brazil) |
| | <i>Factors</i> | <i>Factors</i> |
| Action /Issue | (+) National nutritional programs (+) Nutrition issue frame: social justice equality, basic need, and human right | (+) Maternal-child health and state-wide interventions (+) Vertical BF-ORT-vaccines programs (+) Cash transfers, water, and sanitation |
| Actors | (+) Influential academics and researchers (+) Multisectorality: community and social organizations, parties, Catholic Church, academics, and labor unions | (+) Strong civil society and social moves (+) Joint efforts (+) Historical commitment to health |
| Context | (+) Uninterrupted program with technical consensus independently of the radical political, social, and economic changes (+) Political dimension of nutritional problems highly emphasized (+) Demanded health and nutrition | (+) Health sector reform and tax-funded health (+) Universal coverage and less inequality (+) Economic growth, and less disparities (+) Women education and urbanization (+) Democracy- health gain-democracy (+) Successive Governments support (-) Amazon-rural still not reached (-) Over-medicalization of childbirth (-) SES and regional disparities still high (-) Financing of health still a challenge (-) Quality care and human resources constraints (-) Professional interests (corporatism) (-) Judiciary system and import dependency (-) Inequalities of power and resources |
| Source | Weisstaub et al., 2014 | Lancet Brazil series, 2011 |

(-) Negative for sustainability (+) Positive for sustainability

| | Outcome contributing to sustainability (country) |
|----------------------|---|
| | Implementation success (Peru) |
| | <i>Factors</i> |
| Action /Issue | (+) Interventions to improve household FNS (+) Poverty reduction strategy (+) Nutrition strategy |
| Actors | (+) Civil society participation (+) Conflict over ownership, resources, and recipients benefited |
| Context | (+) Government response to issues: commitment, decentralization and administrative and executive capacity (+) Investment to improve household FNS (+) Enabling factors related to economic performance (+) Horizontal and vertical coordination (+) Government's leadership and ability to implement and monitor (+) Cooperation incentives (+) Political landscape (+) Economic context (+) Financial incentive (+) Allocation of resources (+) Common policy goal |
| Source | Acosta & Haddad, 2014 |

(-) Negative for sustainability (+) Positive for sustainability

| | Outcome contributing to sustainability (country) | |
|----------------------|--|--|
| | Policy sustainability and impact (Bolivia) | Sustainable food and nutrition security |
| | | Principles for prioritization |
| Action /Issue | (+) Well-designed intervention (+) Impact: stunting, overweight, and food and nutrition insecurity declined | (+) Twin-track approach to FNS: direct action to immediately tackle hunger, and long-term sustainable agricultural, FNS, nutrition, and rural development programs |
| Actors | (-) Commitment and priority challenges (-) Internal tensions and jealousy (-) Champions failure at motivating | (+) Commitment by all partners to investment in agriculture and FNS, aimed at multi-year plan |
| Context | (+) Integrated planning (-) Limited funding (-) Lack of awareness (-) Weak Governance capacity (-) Weak municipal capacity (-) Poorly trained staff (-) Bureaucracy (-) Policies not reflecting local reality (-) Lack of demand for social policies (-) Bottlenecks (+) Health support system (+) Community organization (+) Advocacy by health professionals | (+) Country-owned plans (+) Resources to programs and partnerships (+) Strategic coordination to improve Governance (resources, joint efforts, and address gaps) (+) Multilateral system by sustained improvements in efficiency, responsiveness, coordination, and effectiveness of institutions |
| Source | Hoey & Pelletier, 2011, Weisstaub et al., 2014 | CFS, 2013 |

(-) Negative for sustainability (+) Positive for sustainability

APPENDIX B. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Original in Spanish

1. Función específica dentro de la comunidad de seguridad-alimentaria y nutricional en el manejo de una o varias acciones derivadas de la política SAN en Guatemala
2. Importancia y meta a largo plazo de esas acciones derivadas de la política SAN
3. Definición de “sostenibilidad” en el contexto de esas acciones derivadas de la política SAN
4. Estrategia ejecutada u observada durante los períodos de transición de presidentes, para hacer sostenibles esas acciones específicas y aliviar la inseguridad alimentaria y nutricional
 - Puede mencionar un ejemplo de otras acciones que fueron sostenibles
 - Razones por las cuales fueron sostenibles
 - Puede mencionar un ejemplo de otras acciones que no fueron sostenibles
 - Razones por las cuales no fueron sostenibles
5. Percepción, por parte del gabinete saliente, de que su periodo está por finalizar sin posibilidad de reelección
 - Comportamiento lógico terminal entre los oficiales de gobierno y las implicaciones para la sostenibilidad de la de la política SAN durante transiciones
 - Deserción estratégica surge de las respuestas de los participantes del estudio
6. Puede recomendarme a quién entrevistar acerca de este tema
 - En su área de trabajo
 - En otras áreas de relevancia
 - Funcionario de la administración actual
 - Funcionario que participó en la última transición
 - Funcionario de la administración anterior
 - Funcionario que participó en la transición anterior
 - Funcionario de la administración que adoptó la política SAN

English

1. Role within the FNS community at contributing to FNSP related actions
2. Importance of that specific action and its overall long-term goal
3. Definition of sustainability in the context of that specific policy related action
4. Approach performed or observed during transitions to create sustainable efforts to alleviate food and nutrition insecurity through that specific policy related action
 - Provide an example of other actions sustained
 - Reasons for sustainability
 - Provide an example of other actions not sustained
 - Reasons for not sustainability
5. Perception by the outgoing government that the presidential term is coming to an end, and that a new term in office is not possible
 - Terminal logic behavior among governmental officials and its implications for FNSP sustainability during transitions
 - Strategic defection emerged from study participants reports
6. Who would you recommend me to interview next, specifically from
 - Same area of expertise
 - Other areas of relevant expertise
 - Current presidential term
 - Last transition
 - Previous presidential term
 - Previous transition
 - Presidential term in which FNSP was adopted

APPENDIX C. FIELD NOTES FORM

1. Environment
2. Description of the study participant
3. Methodological observations
4. Analytical observations

APPENDIX D. CODEBOOK BY RESEARCH QUESTION

1. How do policy actors define sustainability?

Drivers

- 001 Attitudes
- 002 Social norms
- 003 Transferred capacities
- 004 Shared commitment
- 005 Resilience as ability to recover
- 006 Ownership
- 007 Empowerment
- 008 Livelihood
- 009 Self-functioning
- 010 Coherence between policy and the historical dynamics of country's functioning

Long-term processes

Accumulating (gradually built)

- 011 Technical foundation
- 012 Collaboration

Adding up (in place together)

- 013 Priority, support, funding, monitoring and evaluation, systematization, and local level participation
- 014 Problem solving, profitable, and environment friendly
- 015 Bi-dimensional sustainability: state and citizens
- 016 Bi-dimensional: functioning institutional structure and resources
- 017 Policy actors assuming roles: governmental institutions doing their job, all sectors and non-traditional sectors adopting public policies

Reaching (what they pursue)

- 018 Evidence-based continuity
- 019 Political sustainability
- 020 Geographic maximization of voters in exchange of investment of public goods
- 021 Action continued after initiating project exits
- 022 Long-lasting benefits as opposed to immediate-consumed goods
- 023 Consensus
- 024 Results
- 025 Institutionalization- systematization-routinization
- 026 Social audit (society examination)

Maintaining (preserved)

- 027 Priority topic
- 028 Strategic objectives

2. What are the mechanisms determining policy sustainability?

Forces for sustaining FNSP during presidential transitions

Backed up

- 030 Successful practices by non-governmental entity
- 031 President-Vice-president's involvement and support
- 032 Effort responds to official governmental requests
- 033 Political and institutional will
- 034 Local government supporting efforts and facilitating communities' agency
- 035 Effort successful and cost effective in other countries, in Guatemala at small scale
- 036 Effort supported by the national policy, law, and strategic plans
- 037 Effort promotes interventions that are a norm
- 038 Effort aligned with global strategies
- 039 Effort led by an entity economically independent
- 040 External cooperation conditioned to reaching original goals, and keeping ongoing efforts
- 041 Effort with strong technical background

Beneficial

- 042 Of interest to powerful-key political actor-sector seeking positions, goods, services, recognition, credit, good reputation, and electoral victory
- 043 Effort with high potential for political acknowledgement
- 044 Profitable for actors involved
- 045 Communities perceived the effort as beneficial for them

Championed

- 046 Identifying key governmental mid-level experienced and influential officials
- 047 Foreseeing key actors as leaders of the rise
- 048 Individual and inner qualities of outstanding personnel or positive attitude-good will of continuing the effort
- 049 Influential actor-sector advised-demanded powerful governmental figures to sustain effort
- 050 Local level leadership and capacity to sensitize and engage
- 051 Resilient communities
- 052 Visibility, advocacy, and pressure

Importance

- 053 Addressing an issue that has scaled up in the political agenda
- 054 Added value if effective by bringing about impact of other ongoing programs

- 055 Effort shines a light among personnel or sectors on what to focus their work
- 056 Addressing an issue that is perceived as a large country problem or perceived as important by the government and society

Institutionally sound

- 057 Built upon existing efforts by strengthening ongoing actions implemented through existing institutions
- 058 Clear norms and sequences to operate within the system
- 059 Participation requirements clear to beneficiaries
- 060 Institutionalization
- 061 Effort is part of a group of interventions implemented together

Owned

- 062 Participatory decision-making process
- 063 Organized participation enhancing communities and institutional agency
- 064 Ownership, committed citizens, and empowerment
- 065 Demanded by the population, and by those food-and-nutrition insecure

Sensitive

- 066 Accounting for the institutional, structural, and historical origin of the problem
- 067 Human-rights view
- 068 Respect to local level voice and tradition
- 069 Adapted to specific groups, and geographic regions
- 070 Inclusive of those targeted
- 071 Accessible in quantity and quality to those targeted

Shared

- 072 Effort demands co-responsibility among those benefited, moving away from paternalistic efforts
- 073 External cooperation leading global strategies and government with aligned interests
- 074 Consensus among officials from one administration to the next one
- 075 Broadening counterparts beyond only government and beyond one sector
- 076 Gradually built effort among experts
- 077 Coordinated actors with a leading governmental entity
- 078 Official integration among actors for joined efforts

Steady resources

- 079 Allocation of funding and other resources
- 080 Technical capacities within the institutions in charge
- 081 Transferred and installed capacities

- 082 Local level capacity for generating and managing own technical and economic resources
- 083 Steady performance of public officials
- 084 Legal means and institutional practice for maintaining institutional personnel

Strategic

- 085 Action adapted to each presidential term
- 086 Documenting lessons learnt and action's impact
- 087 Allies foreseeing and working around the transition break
- 088 Long term goals defined
- 089 Leading government office with technical-political role
- 090 Ordered planning at national and municipal levels
- 091 Extended planning includes current and next term
- 092 Addressing needed long-term changes in social norms

Transition effect

- 093 Incoming officials' inertia to retake an ongoing effort that is popular or that has been in place and unquestioned for long time
- 094 Paternalism inspiring efforts' continuity from one administration to the next one
- 095 Bridging period-space from one administration to the next one
- 096 Continuity of policy actions results from transition-related opportunities and events

Trusted

- 097 Gaining communities trust
- 098 Monitoring and civic audit
- 099 Transparency, including the selection of benefited groups
- 100 Credible country leading entity
- 101 Managing capacity of the municipality and its political relevance meaningful to citizens generating trust
- 102 Leading governmental entity trusted for integrating, and coordinating

Forces for not sustaining FNSP during presidential transitions

Antagonistic underlying structure

- 103 Lack of trust on institutions from the citizens' part and among institutions
- 104 Discrimination and exclusion not allowing equality for participation with uneven distribution of benefits
- 105 Paternalism affected communities' agency now expecting to receive with no commitment
- 106 FNSP addressed superficially by overlooking the structural-historical origin of the problem
- 107 Short presidential term and short positions' term for mid-level officials

- 108 Centralized effort lacking locally sound strategies
- 109 Model of Guatemalan state and economic model do not allow equality for benefiting everyone
- 110 Unequal reach between city and rural areas
- 111 Unequal emphases among food and nutrition security pillars by design
- 112 Institutions still fail to function under the structures created when the country moved from authoritative to democratic governments
- 113 Delinquency
- 114 Lack of tradition of documenting and of keeping a historic memory of lessons learnt
- 115 Tacit practices around the policy that are changeable every term

Campaigning

- 116 Political events during the campaign taking the attention of local officials and communities away from FNSP actions
- 117 Politics influencing decision-making processes and undermining communities or institutional agency
- 118 Governmental officials as protagonists of specific FNSP actions for gaining popularity and electoral support

Dysfunctional transition

- 119 Lack of defined processes for new personnel's induction, and for selecting suitable new officials
- 120 Transition commissions include high political figures of trust but continuity does not depend on them
- 121 Incoming officials predisposed with not keeping ongoing efforts
- 122 Outgoing officials leaving efforts inconclusive
- 123 Lack of proper channels during transitions for maximizing continuity

Fractioned

- 124 Lack of integration among individuals and sectors for joined efforts
- 125 Failed multisectoral planning and implementation
- 126 Lack of consensus among officials

Haphazard

- 127 Lack of norms and sequences to operate within the system
- 128 Low execution and implementation
- 129 Lack of planning, not prioritizing
- 130 Performance left up to officials' will
- 131 Mistimed execution
- 132 Effort with weak technical background
- 133 Inconclusive efforts not reaching ending results for sustainability
- 134 Goals are surreal and impossible, lost credibility
- 135 Work overload among governmental personnel

Insensitive

136 Cultural norms opposed the required social practice of specific FNSP action

137 Effort by design perceived as imposed and out of touch by decision makers and by communities affected

Irrelevant

138 Constant response to recurring emergencies overshadows FNSP actions

139 Institutions need to solve survival needs that outweigh commitments to FNSP actions

140 Survival needs at the local level are perceived as a larger problem than food and nutrition insecurity

141 Lack of demand and rejection among those affected

142 Perception that the effort is not solving a problem

Misrepresentation

143 Political patronage

144 Product-benefits to targeted groups registered by an individual for profit (privatization)

145 Unequal possibilities for citizen's participation, benefit, and access to information, but determined by wealth, political views, and influence

146 Monopolized access to institutional information

147 Lack of transparency

148 Corruption

Neglected

149 Individual and inner attitude of not continuing the effort

150 Abandonment

151 Citizens and officials used to the problem

152 Lack of commitment from the institutions and the communities' part

153 Lower standards of services as opposed to committing to the highest and established quality

Rivalry

154 Technical-political conflict

155 National-municipal governments' conflicts

156 Secretariats-ministries conflict

157 Previous term-current term officials' conflicts

158 Ministries-communities discrepancies

159 Previous term agreements and commitments challenged and ignored

Unsound institutions

160 Lack of institutional readiness

161 Rough breaking-start institutionally

- 162 Indefinite learning curve for new policy actors
- 163 Effort is not part of a group of interventions implemented together, but it is implemented through a vertical approach
- 164 Duplication of institutional roles
- 165 Lack of institutionalized political parties
- 166 Outdated and inefficient processes for public planning, use of funds, and control
- 167 Leading governmental entity with no institutional authority and the means to translate coordination to implementation
- 168 Municipal government chief lacking training and skills for public administration, e.g., low schooling or only speaking the native language, and not Spanish

Unsteady resources

- 169 Lack of resources to keep efforts going
- 170 Political speech of goals to be reached is not reflected in resources allocation
- 171 Lack of infrastructure at the local level
- 172 Lack of meritocracy
- 173 Lack of laws incentivizing continuity through a steady performance of public officials
- 174 Replacement of government personnel

3. What are the implications of terminal logic behavior and strategic defection for sustainability?

Occurrence of TLB and SD

Mechanisms

- 175 Individual
- 176 Institutional
- 177 Political

Consequences

- 178 Slow down or cessation of implementation
- 179 Dysfunctional collaboration
- 180 Inefficient use of resources
- 181 Benefits not reaching targeted groups
- 182 Loss of momentum affecting policy continuity by upcoming officials

Tactics for sustaining FNSP actions during transitions

183 Governmental study participants

Non-governmental study participants

- 184 Civil society and organized citizens
- 185 International organizations