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International NGOs in Latin America

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25. International NGOs in Latin America

Susan Appe and Jairo Rivera Vásquez

Latin America is considered by many to be one of the most unequal regions in the world (Gasparini & Cruces, 2021), with histories of authoritarian rule and varying levels of democratic consolidation (Pousadela, 2019). This context is the result of the structural and conjunctural factors that have stunted sustained economic, social and political progress in the region. Alongside these challenges, however, civil society has had a rich history in Latin America (Appe & Layton, 2016; Mendonça & Grandé, 2023), including international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), the focus of this chapter.

INGOs are international actors that are "legally recognized, formal and structured, often generously funded, comprising technical experts and professionals and carrying out programs and projects, usually aimed at promoting democratic governance and/or the social and economic development of least favored groups" (Pousadela, 2019, p. 484). Throughout the region, INGOs serve marginalized communities including "women, youth and indigenous peoples, rural populations and Afro-descendants" (Pousadela, 2019, pp. 483–4), working in various international development and relief capacities (Yanacopulos, 2019). INGOs' presence in Latin America has a mix of elements associated with a colonial past, varied levels of development across the region's countries, and connections to regional and local companies and businesses (Avellaneda, Johansen & Suzuki, 2016). Most INGOs have grassroots origin stories, are rooted in religion or faith communities or have emerged to serve a specific crisis or advocate for a specific change or cause.

Here, we consider INGOs through a public policy lens, focusing on the shifts in international cooperation and the presence of INGOs in alleviating the public problem of childhood malnutrition. We outline the public problem of childhood malnutrition, including child chronic malnutrition and overweight children in Latin America. We present some of the major actors in addressing the public problem, highlighting the role of INGOs. The chapter provides examples from Ecuador and profiles several INGOs as illustrations.[1]

INGOS AND SHIFTING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN LATIN AMERICA

The typical chain of development aid includes (institutional and private) donors in the global North providing funding and other resources, often to INGOs that then use Southern ("local") organizations as partners to implement development projects and programs (Smith, 1998). INGOs play a prominent role in these official development aid (ODA) chains. Scholars have noted their substantial impact on social, political and economic spheres in both the global North and the global South. Their numbers have increased, starting in the 1980s; and by the 1990s, Salamon (1994) famously called the growth of civil society organizations—including INGOs—a "global associational revolution." In this growth, INGOs have tended to be based in

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the global North, often working in multiple low- and middle-income countries (Yanacopulos, 2019, p. 154), but this assumption is changing. Appe (2022) attributes the changes to three phenomena: (1) changing global economy and the rising economic power of the South, (2) an emerging post-aid world, and (3) the post-2015 agenda comprising of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

ODA from high-income countries has increased over the years since its formalization in the 1960s. However, Latin America's global share of aid has decreased, as Pousadela (2019) describes, "from roughly 20% in 1960 to around 12% in 2011 (after reaching its lowest point in the 1980s and somewhat increasing in the 1990s)" (p. 494; see also OECD, 2020; Appe, 2018). In the 1980s and 1990s, ODA was characteristically provided to INGOs that were based in the global North (i.e., in countries which are part of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]). INGOs are at times not only in partnership with Southern INGOs, but in some cases are "manag[ing] their own programs in recipient countries, consequently reducing access to funding by domestic NGOs" (Pousadela, 2019, p. 494). Some INGOs have opened offices in the global South to tap into new funding sources, even moving their headquarters to the global South, thus claiming a more Southern perspective and approach to international development and humanitarian relief.

Yanacopulos (2019) writes, "to think that these [INGOs] are exclusively based in the global north is deceptive," and she continues to explain that "many such organisations such as Action Aid, CIVICUS and Oxfam have moved elements of their head office functions to countries in the global south" (p. 154). A growth in Southern-based INGOs, as explained by Mendonça and Grandé (2023) is in part due to Northern-based INGOs' loss of legitimacy. Indeed, these tendencies have shifted our understandings of international cooperation. Yanacopulos (2019) pushes us to consider these shifts while also recognizing the influence still exercised by the North in international cooperation. INGOs:

> have long-standing partnerships with organisations in the global south, frequently with their own offices in the countries that they work in. And there are global south staff working in INGO offices in the global north, and global north staff working and living in the global south. Therefore, these distinctions, while somewhat helpful, are not clear cut, and while broad terms such as "south" and "north" may be somewhat misleading, when referring to INGOs, almost all have their heritage and loci of power in the north, which is also where their funders are based, be they governments, international institutions or individuals. (Yanacopulos, 2019, p. 154; see also Appe, 2018; Banks, Schulpen & Brockington, 2020).

Such shifts have provided an opening for Southern-based INGOs (sometimes, yes, still with reliance on Northern funding). For example, the largest NGO in the world is BRAC from Bangladesh with over 100,000 employees (Yanacopulos, 2019).

Relatedly, Keck and Sikkink's (1998) model of the "boomerang pattern" among INGOs and domestic NGOs informed several decades of international cooperation and INGO scholarship. The "boomerang pattern" explained the transnational advocacy networks built among local actors and international partners in order to generate power and pressure governments (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). However, more recent literature on INGOs has noted the boomerang pattern's empirical limitations in today's global governance system. It is not only Northern INGOs that have power; now Southern NGOs (domestic and international), too, have "political power in international spaces" (Pallas & Bloodgood, 2022), and in fact are themselves inter- and trans-national in character.

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As Pallas and Bloodgood (2022) further explain, transnational activity "is no longer defined primarily by transnational networking, but by the transnational nature of the issues or policies involved" (p. 4). These authors adapt the transnational advocacy construct to what they call transcalar advocacy, explaining that a "focus on the transcalar rather than the transnational opens investigation into the processes by which advocacy at even very local levels can have global effects so long as the goals are transnational, i.e., seeking to make, change, or implement policy or practices concerning issues or phenomena that cross national borders" (Pallas & Bloodgood, 2022, p. 6).

The use of transcalarity suggests that NGO activity at the global scale should have a holistic view of political and civic spaces across local, regional, national, and international levels. Political scientist Jan Aart Scholte (2014) came up with the concept of transcalarity to criticize the two major understandings of global democracy: statism and modern cosmopolitanism. He argues that the two approaches fail to understand the importance of geography for global democracy. That is, statism neglects democracy at the international level by focusing on the level of democracy within each state. Modern cosmopolitanism lacks interest in democracy at the low levels as it is preoccupied with shifting liberal democracy into the global sphere. Therefore, Scholte (2014) insists that given that human interactions happen in and across the different spatial arenas, democratic activism and civil society movements should target all of the political arenas from the local community to the global institution.

To apply this principle to INGOs, in the context of Brazil, Rodrigues (2016) examined transnational advocacy networks among NGOs and their opportunities and challenges garnered from new situations, namely the economic cooperation bloc IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa). She posits that new venues have changed what used to be the "North-South axis" to a "pattern of activism that unfolds horizontally, along a South-South axis" (Rodrigues, 2016, p. 706). Now INGOs are setting up offices in Brazil and trying to access local resources and funding in what Rodrigues calls the "nationalization" of INGOs. International relations literature for some time argued that INGOs were home-based in the global North because of liberal regimes, allowing for "rights, freedoms, and resources" (Bloodgood & Tremblay-Boire, 2011, p. 144), however, these assumptions are increasingly being challenged. For example, Conectas, headquartered in Brazil, was founded in 2001 to address human rights issues in the Southern Hemisphere. The organization was a "collective effort of professionals, academics and activists [...] to monitor and mobilize international human rights agendas" via a so-called Southern perspective and approach (Conectas, n.d.).

POLICY FIELD OF CHILDHOOD NUTRITION IN LATIN AMERICA

To illustrate some of the shifts described above and the role(s) of INGOs in Latin America, we consider the policy field of childhood nutrition. The progress in this topic is one of the most promising policy solutions to generate equality in the region and related to achieving the SDG 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture (UN, 2015).

As a public problem, there are two main types of child malnutrition: child chronic malnutrition[2] and overweight children (FAO et al., 2023). These public problems represent scarcity and excess in food intake, respectively, and one can suffer from the so-called double nutritional

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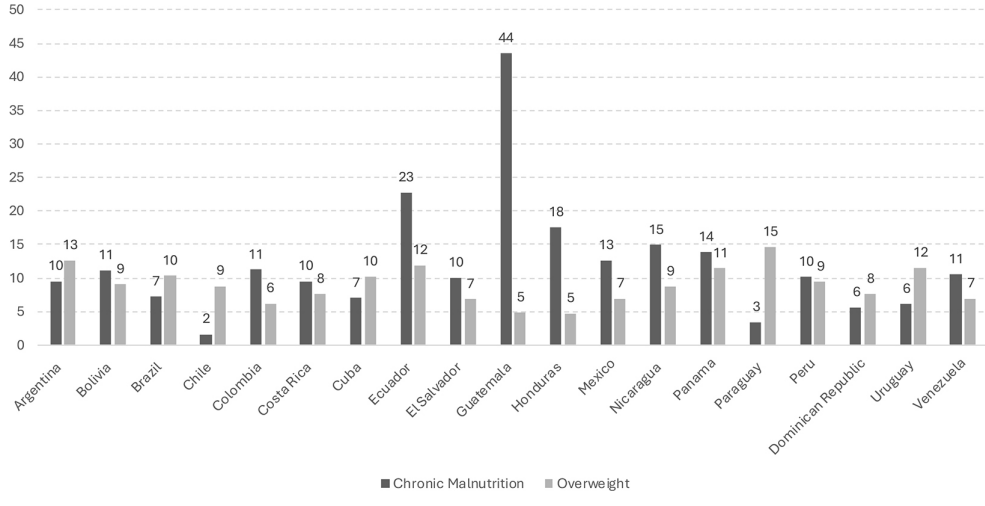
burden (Rivera et al., 2014), when chronic child malnutrition and overweight children coexist (Popkin, 1999). Both types of child malnutrition are critical, and they have both short- and long-term consequences on a child's development. Trends show a reduction in the global prevalence of child chronic malnutrition and an increase in the prevalence of overweight children, associated with changes in nutrition, diet, physical activity, and lifestyle (Dunford & Popkin, 2023).

Child chronic malnutrition affects 22% of children under five years of age worldwide, which represents around 148 million children, and 6% of children under five years are overweight, affecting an approximate 37 million children (FAO et al, 2023). In Latin America, the prevalence of child chronic malnutrition is 12%, around 6 million children, and that of overweight children is 9%, which is an estimated 4 million children (FAO et al., 2023). A striking fact is that the rate of decline in child chronic malnutrition has slowed globally and stagnated in Latin America. In turn, the number of overweight children has increased around the world, and this growth rate has been higher in Latin America and the Caribbean. We focus here on the case of Ecuador, which has 23% prevalence of child chronic malnutrition and 12% prevalence of overweight children, making it one of the countries with a high prevalence of both phenomena (Figure 25.1).

In Latin America, childhood nutrition is a multi-sector policy field involving a variety of government ministries (e.g., Ministries of Public Health, Ministries of Economic and Social Inclusion, Ministries of Economy and Ministries of Education, among many others). The field also includes the presence of international organizations with interventions in the Latin American region such as the United Nations (UN), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), among others. These multinational organizations work alongside several international cooperation institutions such as the US Agency



Source: The authors, based on data from FAO et al., 2023.

Figure 25.1 Child chronic malnutrition and overweight children in the region

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for International Development (USAID), the European Union, and the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID).

Of interest to this chapter, there are several examples of South-South cooperation within Latin American international cooperation in the policy field, including the Chilean Agency for International Development Cooperation (AGCID), the Mexican Agency for International Development Cooperation (AMEXCID), the Uruguayan Agency for International Cooperation (AUCI), the Argentine Agency of International Cooperation and Humanitarian Assistance (ACIAH), the Presidential Agency for International Cooperation of Colombia (APC), the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC/MRE), and the Peruvian Agency for International Cooperation (APCI).

Several INGOs support child nutrition and food security, and advocate for the protection of related rights for children in Latin America. At a global scale, there are several INGOs engaged in solving childhood malnutrition that also illuminate the international cooperation shifts involving INGOs. For example, Oxfam has been involved globally with issues and rights regarding children and nutrition. Oxfam was created in England as the Oxford Committee for Hunger Relief in 1942, with the aim of supporting children in Europe during the Second World War. Oxfam International was founded in 1995 and is made up of independent NGOs around the world that work to reduce poverty. Notably, the global headquarters of Oxfam is in Nairobi, Kenya, with public relations offices in South Korea, Sweden, and Argentina. Oxfam is thus an example of an INGO that has moved its headquarters from a country in the North (UK) to a country in the global South (Kenya), with now multiple offices across low-, middle- and high-income countries. Table 25.1 shows Oxfam and other INGOs that support child nutrition and the Latin American countries in which they work. The vast majority of those listed are present in Ecuador.

THE CASE OF ECUADOR: INGOS AND CHILDHOOD MALNUTRITION

In Ecuador, the prevalence of child chronic malnutrition is around double the average for the Latin American region, with stagnation in the last decade (Rivera, 2019, 2023). The prevalence of overweight children is higher than the average for the region, with a sustained increase over the last decade. Figure 25.2 illustrates this slowdown in the reduction of child chronic malnutrition and the increase in the number of overweight children.

Many of the actions taken by the Ecuadorian government to tackle this public problem have been with the support of other Latin American countries, in a logic of South-South cooperation (Ministerio Coordinador de Desarrollo Social, 2017). Within Ecuador, an Intersectoral Committee was created to coordinate with public institutions, and a Technical Secretariat, like a ministry, called "Ecuador Grows Without Child Malnutrition" was implemented to oversee actions to combat malnutrition. In 2021, the government created the Intersectoral Strategic Plan for the Prevention and Reduction of Chronic Childhood Malnutrition. This Plan seeks to both reduce chronic child malnutrition in children under two years of age by six percentage points by 2025 and reduce the number of overweight children under two years by 10% by the year 2030. The Plan includes six main strategies: i) generation of a legal enabling environment, ii) mobilization of financial resources, iii) articulation of local needs, iv) improved

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Table 25.1 INGOs in Latin America and the Caribbean that support nutrition

International Nongovernmental Organization	Latin American Countries present
Action against hunger (Paris, France)	Colombia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Venezuela
Adventist and Development Relief Agency (ADRA) (Maryland, USA)	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela
SOS Children's Villages (Innsbruck, Austria)	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela
AVSI Foundation (Cesena, Italy)	Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, **Ecuador**, Haiti, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela
Ayuda en Acción (Madrid, Spain)	Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela
CARE International (Geneva, Switzerland)	Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Venezuela
Caritas Internationalis (Rome, Italy)	Antilles, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela
ChildFund International (Viriginia, USA)	Bolivia, Brazil, **Ecuador**, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico
Children International (Missouri, USA)	Colombia, **Ecuador**, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico
Counterpart International (Washington, D.C., USA)	Brazil, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico
COSPE (Florence, Italy)	Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, **Ecuador**, Peru
Fundación de Waal (Quito, Ecuador)	Bolivia, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Honduras
Groundswell International (Washington, D.C., USA)	**Ecuador**, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico
Heifer (Arkansas, USA)	**Ecuador**, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua
Infancia Sin Fronteras (Madrid, Spain)	Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua
Oxfam International (Nairobi, Kenya)	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, **Ecuador,** El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela
Plan International (Woking, UK)	Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru

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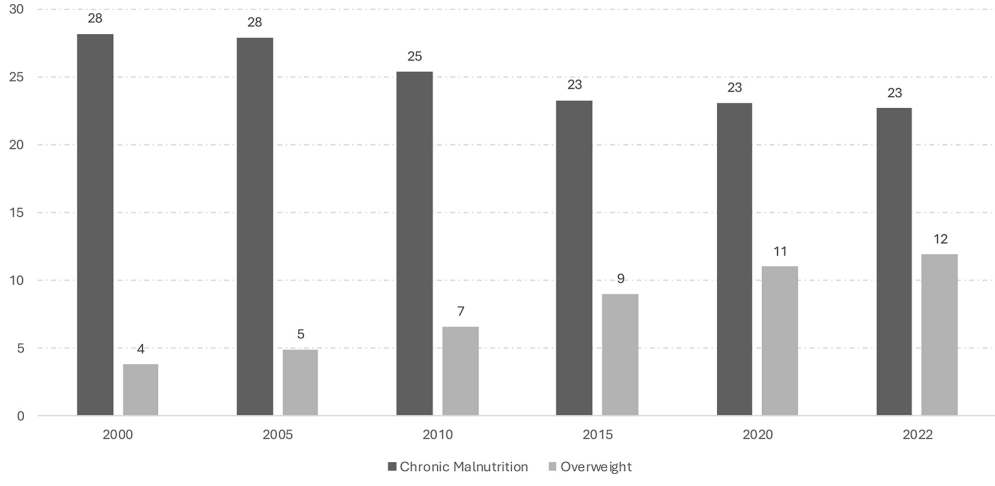
International Nongovernmental Organization	Latin American Countries present
Pan American Development Foundation (Washington, D.C., USA)	Argentina, Bahamas, Brazil, Belize, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, St. Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay
Rikolto (Leuven, Belgium)	**Ecuador**, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru
Save the Children (London, UK)	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela
Scaling Up Nutrition (Geneva, Switzerland)	Costa Rica, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Peru
World Vision (Uxbridge, UK)	Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, **Ecuador**, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Venezuela



Source: The authors based on data from FAO et al., 2023.

Figure 25.2 Child chronic malnutrition and overweight children in Ecuador

information management, v) increased human talent and improvement of institutional management at the point of care, and vi) shared co-responsibility and transparency (Technical Secretariat Ecuador Grows Without Child Malnutrition, 2021). Several policy innovations are proposed in the Plan, including a prioritization of the period of the first 1000 days of the child. The Plan thus guarantees the rights to a citizenship card, to a timely and complete vaccination scheme, and to prenatal and healthy child controls and preventive education, among other services and rights.

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Regarding the involvement of INGOs in the fight against child malnutrition, there are several organizations with many years of experience serving and advocating for the protection of children in Ecuador. This situation is highlighted in the creation of the Advisory Council for the Prevention and Reduction of Chronic Childhood Malnutrition. The Council is "a space for dialogue, agreement, oversight and articulation between the national and decentralized governments, civil society, the private sector, cooperation and academia" (Technical Secretariat Ecuador Grows Without Child Malnutrition, 2021, p. 50). Currently, the Advisory Council for the Prevention and Reduction of Chronic Childhood Malnutrition has 19 members, with its composition presented in Table 25.2.

More broadly, the main INGOs found in Ecuador contribute to the fight against child malnutrition from multiple angles, such as advocating for the protection of rights, promoting food security, and providing early childhood care for vulnerable groups. Active INGOs in alleviating childhood malnutrition include: Adventist Development Agency and Assistance Resources (ADRA), AVSI, Ayuda en Acción, CARE International, Cáritas, ChildFund International, Children International, Children's Villages, Counterpart International, COSPE, Fundación de Waal, Groundswell International, Heifer, Pan American Development Foundation, Plan International, Scaling Up Nutrition, and World Vision.

Plan International is an example of an INGO active in Ecuador. Plan International was originally created under the name of the Foster Family Plan for Children of Spain in 1937, with the aim of supporting children after the Spanish Civil War. Its roots expanded from serving children in Europe to then Asia (namely, Korea), and then to Latin America and Africa (Arts, 2023). Plan International has been present in Latin America since the 1960s and specifically in Ecuador since 1962. It is one of the largest development and humanitarian aid organizations in the world, with a mission to work for a just world and to promote children's rights and equality for girls. It is one of the first INGOs to transition from service-based work into an advocacy, rights-based approach for children (Arts, 2023). The INGO maintains its

Table 25.2 Composition of the Advisory Council for the Prevention and Reduction of Chronic Childhood Malnutrition in Ecuador

Sector/Type of Organization	Examples of organizations and institutions
NGOs	Asociación Nacional de Fabricantes de Alimentos y Bebidas; REDNI Foundation; El Ordeño
International organizations (e.g., United Nations)	World Food Program; Inter-American Development Bank; European Union
Academia (universities, technological institutes)	Universidad San Francisco de Quito; Escuela Superior Politécnica del Litoral; Kichwa/Kisth Institute; ARGOS Institute
NGO networks and consortiums	Pacto por la Niñez y Adolescencia; Esquel Foundation; Asociación Nutricionistas ANNE; Asociación Vivir; Mesa de Incidencia San Lorenzo; Asociación de Montubios
INGOs	Plan International
Media (alternative media, community media)	Youtopía; Justicia y Paz

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headquarters in a Northern country (now the UK), but has offices around the world in low-, middle- and high-income countries.

INGOs like Plan International are critical to the Advisory Council for the Prevention and Reduction of Chronic Childhood Malnutrition; though the space presents both advantages and challenges. On the one hand, NGOs and INGOs have a voice to advise on and monitor child malnutrition, as the Council promotes the active participation of different civil society actors in the fight against child malnutrition. The Council has a diverse composition of NGOs, international organizations, academia, NGO networks, INGOs, and the media. There is permanent monitoring and debate of the public sector actions regarding child malnutrition and development of proposals to combate child malnutrition (Mejía Acosta & Garzón Villalba, 2024; Rivera & Mesías, 2024). On the other hand, there are challenges associated with possible conflicts of interest (Torres et al., 2024), the lack of (and need for) permanent financing, and a desire for even more representation of Ecuador's society on the Council.

Still, the participants in the Advisory Council for the Prevention and Reduction of Chronic Childhood Malnutrition in Ecuador carry out important work within the different regions, provinces, cantons and parishes that make up Ecuador, through the mobilization of resources, advocacy, training, and facilitating spaces for dialogue. Indeed, Council participants bring expertise and play articulation roles. One notable example is Fundación de Waal. Fundación de Waal[3] was created in the Netherlands and has had an active presence in Latin America since 1985. Like Oxfam, operationally it is headquartered in the global South, with its main offices located in Ecuador. It also has offices for some fundraising functions in the global North, namely, in the Netherlands and the US. The INGO has worked in 11 Latin American countries since its inception and currently works in Ecuador, Bolivia, El Salvador, and Honduras. It has a focus on childcare and pregnancy and seeks to "contribute to the construction of a culture of prenatal and postnatal prevention of diseases and deficiencies that can cause disabilities and impede development" (personal communication, 2010). Its interventions have focused on the first 1000 days of the child (the period from conception to the child's second birthday).

While the INGO is a leader in prenatal and postnatal care and childcare, its position is that it experiments with approaches and looks to government to scale up programs, with its advocacy and the help of its proven "know-how" (personal communication, 2010). Its headquarters in Ecuador has a Board made up of experts from around Latin America (personal communication, 2024) and the INGO prizes models such as "co-responsibility," "walking together" (sometimes called accompaniment in Latin America), and popular education based on Paulo Freire's work (personal communication, 2024). It places its work squarely in the area of fighting childhood malnutrition, given its focus on prenatal and postnatal care.

The active policy role of INGOs like Waal has provided a renewed interest in the reduction of childhood malnutrition in Ecuador. As Popkin and Ng (2022, p. 1) point out, underlining the importance of INGOs like Waal, only "great political and civil society commitment" will make it possible to stop and even reverse the trend of malnutrition, given the double nutritional burden in countries like Ecuador.

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CONCLUSION

In sum, INGOs play an active role in Latin America's development, promoting wellbeing among its populations and advocating for rights. Using a public policy lens, we have briefly outlined the public problem of child malnutrition in the region and specific to Ecuador as an illustrative example of a policy field where INGOs are active. The work of INGOs in this policy field is unfolding alongside the documented changes in international cooperation, where we see relations among the North and South changing, new transcalar mechanisms forged, and where Southern INGOs are assuming activities in important domestic and international spaces. A "post-aid world" (Appe, 2018, 2022; Mawdsley, Savage & Kim, 2014) infers that the funding chains of international cooperation have been disrupted, because of reductions in aid (Appe & Pallas, 2018), in Latin America specifically (Appe, 2018), as well as changes to the aid formula (i.e., the direction of and flow from the global North to the global South). Most importantly, we have new empirical realities on the ground that have reconsidered transcalar relationships among INGOs and other policy actors—engaging and relying on Southern INGOs like Waal in Ecuador in particularly.

In the policy field of childhood malnutrition, our own research over the years has found a need for a stronger and common narrative to combat this public problem. INGOs can help drive this conversation through their advocacy and articulation roles, and by way of their interventions that in the ideal are scalable and can be transformed into effective public policies and programs. This important work has the potential to improve development and wellbeing in one of the most unequal regions in the world, Latin America.

NOTES

1. We draw on the authors' combined 30 years (Susan Appe: 20 years; Jairo Rivera: 10 years) of engagement in and research about INGOs in Latin America. Illustrative examples are based on desk research and interview data since 2010.
2. Child chronic malnutrition is also called "stunting", and it is the worst face of malnutrition. The consequences of stunting persist with children throughout their lives, where they "may never attain their full possible height and their brains may never develop to their full cognitive potential" (UNICEF 2023, p. 2).
3. The authors have had long-term interaction with the work of Fundación de Waal. The first author interviewed organizational representatives for the first time on December 22, 2010 and then again on July 7, 2016. The second author interviewed them for another project on May 21, 2024. The information for the illustrative case of INGOs in Ecuador, particularly in engaging in South-South collaboration, is informed by these interactions and conversations.

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