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International connections within the national government: Brazilian public legal careers and international circulation (2008–2018)

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Abstract
Taking into account the relation between the international circulation of legal elites and the legitimization of institutional models in Brazil, this study comparatively analyzes international leaves of three categories of legal careers between 2008 and 2018: Federal prosecutors, attorneys for Brazil and federal agencies, and federal commissioners. Analysis of the international destinations of these categories allowed us to identify associations established with foreign agencies that disseminate different models of law and contribute to the reinforcement of autonomous corporations in the national space. Our data is built from the mapping of cooperation networks that connect Brazilian prosecutors, attorneys for Brazil and federal agencies, and commissioners with their counterparts in the United States and in international organizations. These connections have contributed to the strengthening of apolitical protagonism of these categories in the Brazilian legal space in recent decades.

Keywords International circulation · Legal elites · Political protagonism · Brazil

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Introduction

The multiplicity of international connections involving careers at the top of the State hierarchy is still a hazy topic in terms of social sciences. Recent research on international circulation of Brazilian elites has highlighted the centrality of this dimension in defining the models adopted by various institutions (see Almeida et al., 2004; Garcia & Munhoz, 2009; Canedo et al., 2013). In the case of legal elites, who occupy different positions of power, studies on academic circulation have identified the importance of a growing import-export dynamics of models of law. The profiles of imported legal doctrines have been in tune with different corporate recompositions of professionals, including their growing political protagonism since the end of the Brazilian Military Regime (Engelmann, 2008; Wonrath, 2018).

The conclusions of these studies pointed to the consolidation of a legal education predominantly focused on European centers and to the reproduction of legal models linked to the Civil Law justice system. Part of these models was also responsible for the spread of social constitutionalism and for different protections of collective rights that significantly boosted the political protagonism of the Judiciary system in Brazil, from the 1990s onwards. In the opposite direction, international circulation of corporate lawyers, working at the largest firms, turned to the Anglo-American world. Thus, greater affinity was established with the market of large international corporations. The movements representing these doctrinal inflections were an increase in the translation of legal works, the proliferation of events and publications related to the Law & Economics movement, and a greater incorporation of institutional economics within the legal space. Assimilation of American legal practices in Brazil can be mentioned among the institutional results obtained. Amid these, we highlight a growing use of the arbitration justice model in the 2000s and the dissemination, albeit on a small scale, of the pro Bono practice (Engelmann, 2011; Cunha et al., 2017; Sá e Silva, 2021).

The international connections of such careers may be divided in two big groups. One of them could be defined as a more "informal" connection between members of a legal career and organizations that internationally promote ideas and models of "good governance," such as NGOs and Think Tanks, through invitations to events managed by these organizations and signing of agreements. We could specifically mention events promoted by organizations such as Wilson Center in the "US-Brazil Judicial Dialogue" Program, as well as those promoted by NGO Transparência Internacional (International Transparency) and George Washington University (see Engelmann, 2020). Lawyers and attorneys that stood out when conducting the Operation Car Wash participated in the events.

A second group of connections can be defined as "formal connections," enhanced by the presence of public legal career agents in working groups at UN and OECD related to "fight against corruption." These groups and networks were articulated in the past decades (see Engelmann & Menuzzi, 2020). An intensification of these connections resulted in the creation of specific departments and in a general increase in the "international cooperation" within the scope of Brazil's Federal Prosecution Service, Attorney General, and Federal Police. These factors also contributed to the corporative growth of these careers through the strengthening of the institutions'

autonomy from political and economic power. In the latter case, there was even a rearticulation of these sectors with the corporate world, in many cases through an imposition for the companies that had agreements with the government to use models of compliance as some compensation to obtain reduction of penalties in anti-corruption operations.

Within the scope of public legal careers, movements towards economic theories of law signal mechanisms for the reconfiguration of relations with the business world. The effects of this dynamic remains a nebulous object that deserves further study. However, there are already elements to affirm that the compliance mechanisms fostered by public control bodies, in anti-corruption operations, have opened up an avenue for the migration of staff from the Federal Prosecution Service (*MPF – Ministério Público Federal*) and the Attorney General's Office (*AGU – Advocacia Geral da União*) to compliance departments of large law firms(see Engelmann, 2020).

In the case of legal elites, outside the space of academic training, there are few studies on international circulation and its resulting connections, with the implementation of institutional models in the national space. This article seeks to fill this gap and focuses specifically on the comparison of data on the international circulation of Brazilian legal elites, public prosecutors, federal lawyers, and Federal Police commissioners by using a database of international circulation of these categories in the period from 2008 to 2018.

In relation to the three categories mentioned, there is a great volume and diversity of international networks that involve from technical cooperation in legal actions and police operations to the emergence of political-institutional articulations that connect Brazilian prosecutors, public lawyers, and commissioners with their American counterparts. Because of this breadth, we sought to analyze, from an overview of this circulation in the 2000s, the most representative cases that indicate the profile of such connections and their potential to influence the protagonism of these professionals within the national space.

The progressively internationalization of legal State careers projects its professionals as mediators in the national space of norms, practices, and models of law that are also increasingly internationalized. This dynamic has multiple dimensions. It contributes to corporate conformations influenced by constant "international meetings" and the "sharing of experiences" among counterparts. It also favors the consolidation of common sense about the professional condition in different national spaces. In another sense, it consolidates the role of mediation and "direct" connections (without going through regular spheres of diplomacy) with international institutions such as the UN and the OECD.

In the case of multilateral organizations, recurrent international events in working groups related to the "fight against corruption" are truly representative. This framework includes increased technical cooperation and implementation of rules on money laundering, asset recovery, and public transparency. The anti-corruption doctrine has internationally promoted a set of prescriptions that increase the political position of legal careers in the national space (Engelmann & Pilau, 2021). In addition, it has opened up ways, as already mentioned, for these agents to move to private law firms specialized in the implementation of programs that foster "conformity to rules", or

simply compliance, in large companies (Engelmann & Menuzzi, 2020; Coeurdray, 2004).

Within the framework of these international organizations, the doctrine of institutional independence, such as the Federal Prosecution Service and legal oversight bodies (e.g., the Attorney General's Office), and the police specialization in financial crimes appear as central factors to national economic development. However, the projection of these segments as institutions with greater independence needs to be analyzed together with the effects of the historical trajectory of their evolution in national legal spaces. Thus, it is possible to have a clearer understanding of the insertion of legal careers in this international agenda (Engelmann, 2020).

The Judiciary of Brazil is divided into state and federal jurisdictions. The federal system of criminal justice has grown in importance and political protagonism in the past two decades. In this scenario, the *Attorney General's Office* and the *Federal Police* began to attract more attention, together with the *Federal Prosecution Service*, which has gained autonomy and power. The latter has been significantly independent to inspect and sue political agents since the Constitution of 1988, which ended a cycle of military power. In the context of the federal justice system, these categories of agents have carried out anticorruption operations against several State ministers and a President. In the 2000s, the *Federal attorneys* also gained great autonomy, having the power to inspect the acts of governing authorities in the exercise of their functions. Finally, the Federal Police have also gained significant investigative autonomy since 2010, due to the approval, by the House of Representatives, of several legal incentives and to an increase in budget resources.

In the Federal Police, priorities have changed from "fight against drugs" to "fight against corruption." A progressive institutional densification among the *Attorney General's Office*, the *Federal Prosecution Service*, and the *Federal Police*, throughout the 2000s, resulted in an accumulation of technical knowledge when conducting anticorruption operations. The concurrence of these institutions was crucial to pursue "efficiency" of the federal system of criminal justice in the "fight against corruption." The most complete action in this incremental process was the shared and autonomous conduction of the "Operation Car Wash" by these institutions. (Marona & Kersche, 2021)

Mapping "official" international destinations: the challenge of building data

The growing international importance in the dynamics of political legitimation of the frameworks of legal State bureaucracies is related to the references provided by studies on symbolic legitimation processes of ruling groups in different spaces of power. Based on the notions of the field of power and "palace wars" developed in Noblesse d'État, by Bourdieu (1989), Dezalay (2002) demonstrates, in a set of studies, that the scenarios of "globalization" also show that "palace wars" transcend the space of the national State. In this sense, they present themselves as multiple import-export movements of technical and scientific knowledge linked to power and competition strategies among different fractions of the ruling groups. These multipositional cir-

cuits involve the circulation of moral ideas and prescriptions anchored in the "science of reforms", as well as techniques mobilized in the daily practices of public bureaucracies.

A mapping of the international destinations of the categories analyzed in this article, belonging to legal careers of State, involves the complexity of a multifaceted universe permeated by connections that are related to variations in the agents' operating spaces. The data presented to the Federal Prosecutors, attorneys for Brazil and federal agencies, and federal commissioners were constructed based on the reading of the Official Gazettes of the Federal Government (Diário Oficial da União - DOU) published between 2008 and 2018 (Appendix 1).

As a rule, federal civil servants' international leaves are published in the Official Gazette in the form of ordinances or orders from their respective higher bodies. Such elements provide the possibility of building a representative database on the international destinations of these categories when exercising their functions. These numbers include requests to travel related to institutional activities, therefore excluding data associated with individual participation, such as leaves for participation in academic congresses or in graduate courses, which appeared in the official authorizations residually. In the case of police commissioners, the absences related to routine activities of monitoring expatriates were also excluded from the analysis. Through a content analysis of the ordinances and orders, we cataloged the destinations, seeking, in a second moment, to identify the profile of the most frequent ones and their variation along the 2008–2018 period. This first phase of the analysis served the purpose of identifying recurrent destinations to leverage a qualitative and comparative analysis of this information. In other words, we sought to verify the relation between the civil servants' presence in these "international spaces" and certain courses of action of internal institutional policies of the Federal Prosecutor Service, the Federal Police, and the Attorney General's Office. Destinations in the United States were highlighted, due to the representativeness of stays at events promoted by embassies, the Department of Justice, government agencies, and American universities.

Three independent databases were set up, one for each professional category, considering the same period. The databases were defined based on the same criteria, including the consultation of all editions of the Official Gazette of the Federal Government in that period. From this quantitative study, authorization ordinances related to institutional participation connected to criminal cooperation, associations, and institutional representation were selected. The cases of international travels whose justifications were not related to the function occupied or had an ancillary function were excluded. The ordinances researched were grouped in three databases based on the following criteria:1) date of publication, 2) n. of the official gazette; 3) n. of the ordinance; 4) date of the ordinance; 5) country of destination; 6) city of destination; 7) period of leave; 8) name of prosecutors, attorneys, or commissioners; 9) career position; 10) unit (location/region/state of occupancy); 11) description (destination events were described based on information available in the ordinance). As a result, a data base was reached with 2,500 leave orders for federal prosecutors, 1,180 orders for federal attorneys, and 3,242 for federal commissioners.

Data analysis on international leaves of the categories chosen shows three central axes of worldwide insertion. The first involves participation in specific events

in anti-corruption programs of international organizations and multilateral forums. Among these, we can highlight the United Nations (UN), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Organization of American States (OAS), the Group of Twenty (G20), and the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). In the same framework, formal and informal credit recovery networks are included, such as the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and the Financial Action Task Force of Latin America (GAFILAT/GAFISUD). The second axis covers a diverse universe of events promoted by US government agencies, such as the Department of State, Department of Justice, US Embassy in Brazil, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA).In these two axes, an international cooperation model predominates, which articulates investigative techniques and instructions for institutional growth in national spaces, indicating convergences in the insertion of the *MPF* (Federal Prosecutor Service), the *AGU* (Attorney General's Office), and the *PF* (Federal Police).

The third axis comprises their participation in events of associative networks and police networks, showing a difference in the form of insertion of the *MPF* and the *AGU* when compared with the *PF*. The associative networks of the *MPF* and *AGU* promote their approximation with similar national entities, mainly in Latin America, serving as a mechanism for the circulation of prestige, that is, for the acquisition of political capital in the professional category. In contrast, the police networks (Interpol and Ameripol) denote a highly operational nature of the Brazilian Federal Police's integration mechanism with similar entities.

International destinations of Federal prosecutors, attorneys for Brazil and federal agencies, and Federal Commissioners (2008–2018)

Among prosecutors, events with greater frequency, throughout the period, show cooperation with the United States and Latin American associative networks, from which the *Asociacion Ibero americana de Ministérios Públicos* (AIAMP) (Ibero-American Association of Prosecutor Services) and the *Reunión Especializada de Ministerios Públicos del MERCOSUR Y Asociados* (REMPM) (Meeting of Prosecutors and Associates of MERCOSUR) maintain a constant frequency between 2008 and 2018. Throughout 2015, 2016, and 2017, the most frequent events indicate their participation in the OECD Anti-Corruption Working Group and in the Financial Action Group on Money Laundering (GAFI/FATF), including the Latin American section –GAFILAT/GAFISUD. The presence of prosecutors at successive conferences of the United Nations on the theme of "fighting corruption" is also noteworthy. These conferences have been intensified in the past decade, fostering the adoption of measures in the national space. In the Brazilian case, one of the most evident results is the formal adoption of the UN anti-corruption convention through the Brazilian criminal law in 2013. Similarly, prosecutors participated in the International Association of Anti-Corruption Authorities (IAACA) network From 2015 onwards, still within the same framework, the participation in the "Fighting Organized Crime"

Table 1 Frequency of events attended by Public Prosecutors per year (2008–2018)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
US government cooperation	2	2	2	3	1		6	23	16	21	3	79
Universitádegli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata								8	16	10	10	44
OECD events				2	1	2	4	4	7	6	6	32
AIAMP (Ibero-American Association of Prosecutor Services)		1			7	5	2	3	3	6	3	30
REMPM (Meeting of Prosecutors and Associates of Mercosur)	3	2	3	5		4	3	2	4	1	2	29
(GAFI/FATF) and GAFI LAT/GAFISUD			1			1	1	8	7	3	2	23
International Meeting of Prosecutors									2	18		20
UN/UNCAC						1	3	6	2			12
MESICIC/OEA							1	1	1	1	1	4
IAACA	1			1				2				4
Totals	6	5	6	11	9	13	20	57	58	66	27	

Source: *Banco de Dados do Projeto Elite Jurídica e Luta Anticorrupção* (Legal Elites and Anti-Corruption Project Database): international requirements, corporate investments, and institutional frameworks in Brazil in the 2000s.

Course, promoted by the *Universitá degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata*, which regularly offers courses on the subject, certainly stands out (Table 1).

As far as attorneys are concerned, their international leaves demonstrate an investment strategy in the three axes of worldwide cooperation. Thus, they are closer to *MPF* agents' international destinations. Attorneys' attendance are concentrated in events promoted by international organizations and forums (UN/UNCAC, OAS/MESICIC, OECD, G20/GTAC, BRICS) and by the formal and informal transnational cooperation networks of the global anti-corruption regime (GAFI/FATF and GAFILAT/GAFISUD). In addition, they participate in events promoted by US government agencies (Department of State, Department of Justice and US Embassy in Brazil, and the USA Securities and Exchange Commission).There is also a significant presence in associative networks of public law with counterparts from other countries in South America and the Mercosur. Table 2 shows the chronological evolution of the involvement of attorneys for Brazil and federal agencies in multilateral forums.

Differently from the *MPF* and the *PF*[1], international leaves of the Attorney General´s Office (*AGU*) involved, more frequently, their participation in events related to the United Nations' (UN) programs to combat corruption. Aiming to match

[1] The greater frequency of leaves of federal prosecutors and commissioners was associated with cooperation events with government agencies in the United States (*MPF – Ministério Público Federal*) and within regional integral scope in MERCOSUR (PF – *Polícia Federal*).

Table 2 Most frequent events attended by Attorneys for Brazil and federal agencies per year (2008–2018)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
UN/UNCAC	2	4	5	7	6	2	2	2	3	8	1	42
GAFI/FATF and GAFILAT/GAFISUD	2	1	5	5	4	1	2	2	2	3		27
Cooperation with US Government Agencies			10	6	2	1	1		1	1	3	25
Associative Public Advocacy Network (Similar National Institutions in South America)		2	8	3		3		3			4	23
G20's ACWG (Anti-corruption Working Group)							2	3	3	2	1	11
Mercosur/MECIMAE		3	4									7
OAS/MESISIC					1		2	1	2	1		7
OECD			2								2	4
BRICS								3				3
World Bank										2	1	3
Others	1	2	1			1		1		2	1	9
Totals	5	7	35	21	13	8	9	15	11	19	13	

Source: *Banco de Dados do Projeto Elite Jurídica e Luta Anticorrupção* (Legal Elites and Anti-Corruption Project Database): international requirements, corporate investments, and institutional frameworks in Brazil in the 2000s.

the protagonism of federal prosecutors and commissioners to the fight against corruption in the criminal sphere, the federal lawyers promoted a strategy articulated with the Federal Comptroller General (*CGU*).In this context, they emphasized the centrality of measures to prevent and repress corruption in the civil and administrative spheres and prioritized the strengthening of international connections through a global monitoring mechanism based on the UN/UNCAC anti-corruption principle (Menuzzi, 2019).

This investment priority in the UN/UNCAC anti-corruption system ensured prominent positions for the *AGU*, in particular for a small group of attorneys for Brazil with a professional background dedicated to fighting corruption (Menuzzi, 2019). In this context, it is possible to observe a privileged position to disseminate *AGU*'s Permanent Group of Proactive Action, a unit specialized in fighting corruption created in 2009. It presented action guidelines and the results of the panel work of the Intergovernmental Group for the Recovery of Assets of the UNCAC/UN in Vienna, in 2012. In the same year, the person responsible for the presentation on the panel participated as an evaluator in the process of monitoring the implementation of UNCAC in Cuba, evidencing the international projection obtained by the Brazilian *AGU* and its professional in this area.

As for data from Federal Police commissioners, leaves to go abroad have a greater emphasis on cooperation related to training and sharing of police expertise. This point contrasts with a lesser insertion in associative networks. Table 3 provides an annual overview of the number of commissioner leaves for the most frequent events.

Table 3 Events with the highest attendance by Federal Police Commissioners (2008–2018)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Mercosur	28	35	21	21	9	26	12	10	10	13	21	206
Interpol	22	12	12	11	9	6	9	23	23	18	31	176
Ameripol	8	5	22	12	3	5	3	6	3	2	7	76
FBI (LEEDS/ LALEEDS)	2	10	7	31	5	0	0	3	3	4	6	71
UN/United Nations	8	4	7	6	5	0	2	7	6	2	7	54
GAFI/GAFILAT	7	12	4	1	0	0	1	4	5	2	9	45
Total	75	78	73	82	31	37	27	53	50	41	81	

Source: *Banco de Dados do Projeto Elite Jurídica e Luta Anticorrupção* (Legal Elites and Anti-Corruption Project Database): international requirements, corporate investments, and institutional frameworks in Brazil in the 2000s.

Excluding repatriated escort activities, the most frequent international destinations among federal commissioners include activities in Mercosur countries. In these cases, attendance at meetings of Ministers of Internal Affairs, Ministers of Justice, and Chiefs of Police is predominant. In a closer analysis of these destinations, we observed that the meetings aim to strengthen international cooperation among Mercosur countries through the adoption of common mechanisms to increase the police and public control bodies in the national space. At the same time, the production of studies and statistics that result from the institutionalization of networks among commissioners enables the feasibility of joint operations in the fight against transnational crime.

The axis of increasing "police operations" concentrates a significant volume of travel by commissioners to participate in Interpol and Ameripol events. Interpol is a well-known intergovernmental network that brings together 194 member countries around international cooperation among police forces. The connection between Interpol and the Brazilian Federal Police is old and includes the presence of a "National Office" installed at the *PF* headquarters in Brasília. In addition, this exchange resulted in the rise, in 2017, of a federal commissioner with an international background to the position of general director of Interpol. The activities carried out by Brazilian commissioners at Interpol events are diversified and include training aimed at police qualification, participation in expert groups, and attendance at general meetings.

Ameripol, on the other hand, is a network that brings together police institutions from various countries in the Americas and external observers. Among its objectives are the promotion of police cooperation in "technical-scientific" matters, training in police intelligence activities, and the strengthening of criminal investigation actions articulated among Latin American commissioners. Created in 2007 in Bogota, it was made official in 2019 when the "Ameripol Constitution Agreement" was signed (Justice and Public Security, 2019). The trips of Brazilian commissioners to this network include courses and exchange of experiences among Latin American police forces. Also, a significant part of the trips includes more protocol activities, such as visits to liaison officers, ceremonies, and regular meetings of Ameripol.

Besides Interpol and Ameripol, trips related to more traditional cooperation within the Federal Police, such as exchanges with the FBI, stand out (Huggins, 1998). In this case, with regular frequency, leaves are granted for commissioners to participate in

the International Law Enforcement Executive Development Seminar (LEEDS). It is a two-week seminar offered at the FBI Academy and designed to provide instruction in the areas of leadership, strategic planning, legal affairs, media relations, and law enforcement programs. Most of these trips are destined for the city of Quantico (Virginia/USA). Similarly, the FBI organizes and counts on the participation of federal commissioners in the Latin American version of LEEDS, called the Latin American Law Enforcement Executive Development Seminar (LALEEDS).

As in the case of prosecutors and attorneys, participation in UN and GAFI/FATF activities is also frequent among federal commissioners. For the first body, commissioners travel to participate in committees that discuss various themes, originating from international conventions, such as the criminal justice system, drugs, corruption, refugees, cybercrimes, and arms trafficking. The leaves for events at GAFI/FATF demand the presence of commissioners in the plenary sessions that take place during the organization's mandates and in working groups on policy and development, terrorist financing, international cooperation, global networks, and financial inclusion. Similarly, there is a large amount of travel for commissioners to participate in events of the Latin American version of FATF, the South American Financial Action Group against Asset Laundering (GAFILAT/GAFISUD).

Figure 1 shows data on the international circulation of the *MPF*, the *AGU*, and the *PF*in anti-corruption actions, consolidating a comparative approach to the most frequent multilateral forums, which include the United Nations (UN/UNCAC), the asset recovery networks (GAFI/FATF and GAFILAT/GAFISUD), International cooperation with US government agencies (Department of State, Department of Justice, FBI, DEA, etc.),and regional integration within the framework of Mercosur and related corporate or police associative networks.

In general terms, the departure of federal commissioners for cooperation with foreign countries has the United States as the main destination. This highlights the North American importance as an exporter of expertise and doctrines, especially in the criminal area. Despite the participation in events, in the United States, related to the expertise of anti-corruption operations, federal commissioners with greater international circulation do not figure as leaders of the most important anti-corruption operations that have occurred in Brazil over the past decade. However, in the case of prosecutors, and even attorneys, things work differently. These two categories have had a greater role in the management of operations in Brazil over the past decade. What the three categories have in common, when compared, is the close relationship between their international circulation and the position of coordinating and articulating cooperation-oriented departments. These departments have been articulated in the past two decades, keeping pace with the expansion of anti-corruption operations involving control bodies. In the case of the Federal Police, the General Coordination for International Cooperation (*CGCI*) of the Federal Police was founded and consolidated as an internal body in 2011.

Table 4 presents data that corroborate the hypothesis of institutional increase in the international cooperation of the Federal Police, especially between 2011 and 2017. The data suggest a flow of national reconversions of commissioners with greater international circulation. Between 2002 and 2009, the *PF*'s internal regulations show that the agency had a sector called "Coordination-General of the International Crim-

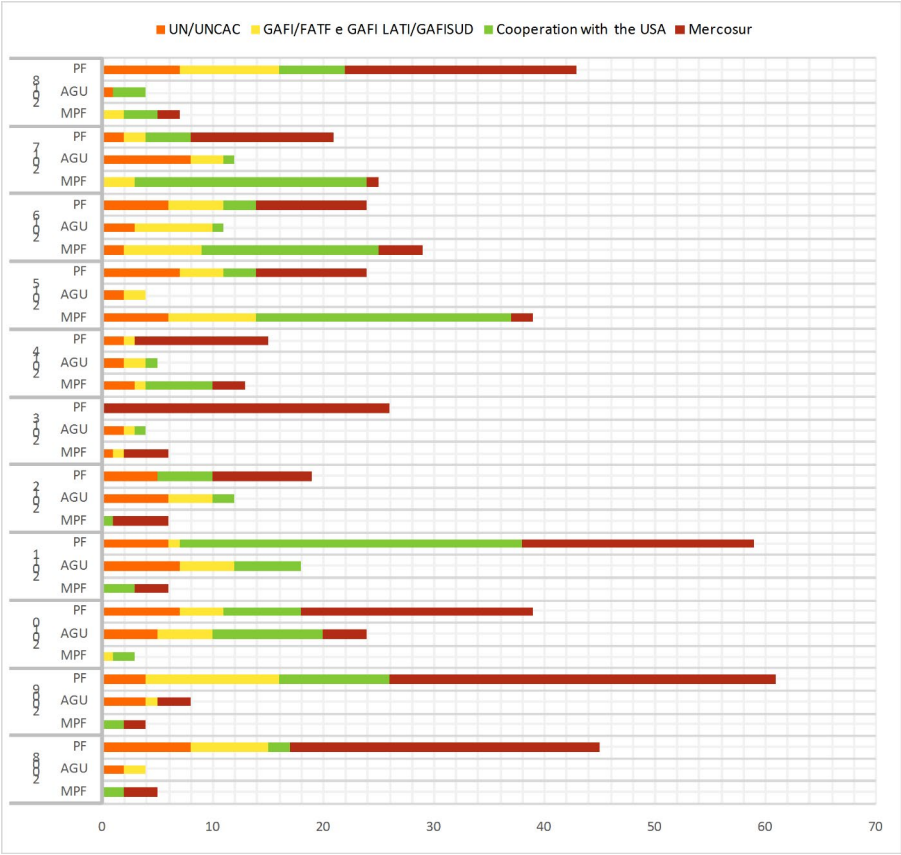


Fig. 1 Comparison of international circulation (*MPF*, *AGU* and *PF*) between the main destinations (UN/UNCAC, GAFI/FAT and GAFILAT/GAFISUD; Cooperation with the USA; and Mercosur)

inal Police Force – INTERPOL". Later, in 2011, the department was renamed as "General Coordination for International Cooperation", with Interpol being moved to a specific sector within this Coordination Department. Normative instructions published in 2012 and 2017 were also found that address, respectively, the agency's missions abroad and the procedures to be adopted in the assignment cooperation requests of the *CGCI*'s Division of International Legal Cooperation (*DCJ*).

Finally, in comparative terms, regarding the destinations to events in the United States, the attorneys for Brazil and federal agencies and the federal prosecutors have greater similarity. This proximity can be explained by factors related to the competition between these two categories and by their leading role in the framework of anti-corruption operations. First, there are institutional visits to the Department of Justice that attract more federal prosecutors, in particular in the "intense" period of anti-corruption operations, between 2015 and 2018. Other profiles of meetings and technical visit programs that tend to focus on the period between 2015 and 2018 coincide with the peak of anti-corruption operations in Brazil. Table 5 groups the

Table 4 Institutional increments on international cooperation in the Federal Police between 2002 and 2018

YEAR	SOURCE	DESCRIPTION
2002, 2003, 2006, and 2009	Internal Regulations of the Federal Police	It regulates the functioning and structure of the General Coordination of the International Criminal Police Department – INTERPOL/BRAZIL.
2011	Normative Instruction N. 01/2011	Its purpose is to regulate the activities carried out under the General Coordination of the International Criminal Police Department.
2011, 2016, 2017, and 2018	Internal Regulations of the Federal Police	It aims to regulate the functioning and structure of the General Coordination of International Cooperation – *CGCI*.
2012	Normative Instruction N. 056/2012	It rules the appointment, designation, and preparation for missions and activities of the Federal Police employees assignedBrazilian diplomatic missions abroad or transitory missions of another nature.
2017	Normative Instruction N. 116/2017	It regulatesthe procedures to be adopted within the scope of the Federal Police in requests for international legal cooperation for instructions on investigative proceedings.

Source: *Banco de Dados do Projeto Elite Jurídica e Luta Anticorrupção* (Legal Elites and Anti-Corruption Project Database): international requirements, corporate investments, and institutional frameworks in Brazil in the 2000s.

Table 5 Comparison of the participation of Prosecutors (P) and Federal Attorneys (A) at an event in the USA (2008–2018)

DESTINATION	Total (Federal attorneys)	Total (Prosecutors)	Overall Total
Institutional visit to the Department of Justice	3	8	11
Volunteer Visitor Program invited by the Embassy	9	1	10
"Anti-Corruption Program for Brazilian Government Officials," event promoted by the *CGU* and the "Institute of Brazilian Issues" "The George Washington University"	4	5	9
Transnational Crime and Anti-Corruption Leadership Program, technical visits to the US Legal System	0	8	8
Technical Meetings with representatives of financial market regulatory agencies	6	1	7
Launch of the Global Forum on Asset Recovery (World Bank/UN)	2	4	6
Judicial Exchange Program between Brazilian and US authorities	0	5	5
Technical visit to the US Attorney General's Office Modernization Project (Mogab) of the *MPF*	0	4	4
International Visitors Program – IVLP org. to the Department of State	1	1	2
Foreign Bribery and Corruption Conference, United States Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC and FBI)	0	2	2
Total	25	39	64

Source: *Banco de Dados do Projeto Elite Jurídica e Luta Anticorrupção* (Legal Elites and Anti-Corruption Project Database): international requirements, corporate investments, and institutional frameworks in Brazil in the 2000s.

destinations of members of the *MPF* and *AGU* that are most similar in relation to the specificities of international destinations.

Conclusion

More specifically in the area of Brazilian public legal careers, new models of management and law, as well as procedures from the American judicial system have been adopted in the past two decades. Among these, we emphasize the plea bargain and leniency agreements executed in the greatest "anti-corruption" operations conducted in Brazil in the past decades, the Operation Car Wash. Such "anti-corruption" operations have been a central aspect of "political crisis" in Brazil lately. This mechanisms such as plea bargain and leniency agreement were not part of the Brazilian Criminal Procedural Law until january 2020. Table 5 They were in many perspectives creations of the legal actors, based on their experience in the US system. The use of these mechanisms created a number of criticisms of the Car Wash Operation, including the revision of its outcomes in the last decade.

A sequence of "political scandals" brought down ministers, influenced President Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in 2016, and mobilized social groups towards new versions of a political conservatism. This dynamic presents a new scenario for the relations between justice and political power. In the Brazilian case, this phenomenon reveals the political importance of public legal careers and their connections with international agencies present both in Brazil and in other countries.

Our comparative analysis of international circulation and the expansion of internal institutional structures of the legal career categories studied show an increase in international cooperation throughout the 2008–2018 period. International destinations vary according to the specifics of careers and the conditions of greater or lesser legitimacy, as well as political and corporate prestige acquired over the past few decades. Especially in the cases of Federal Prosecutors and Attorneys for Brazil and federal agencies, we observed some articulation with foreign institutions and international organizations aimed at the appropriation and mediation of instruments to "fight corruption". Among these, we emphasize the exchange networks that focus on combating financial crimes, money laundering, and repatriation of resources.

Federal commissioners' leaves also deserve to be highlighted. Unlike prosecutors and lawyers, these agents show less involvement in associative networks aimed at "fighting corruption" and an intense connection with training networks and exchange of expertise on police work. Our data show that the international circulation of these agents is predominantly articulated with police cooperation organizations. In addition, we identified a specific profile of commissioners with a leading role in the articulation of the institution's international cooperation sectors. In other words, the intensification of connections with foreign countries and multilateral organizations directly impacts the relation between the increase in international circulation and the consolidation of the articulation of international cooperation departments within the scope of the institution.

In general, international circulation increases professional qualification, sharing of expertise, and the establishment of cooperation networks that are mobilized within the Brazilian power space. As a result, this has repercussions on the expansion of the scope of action of these categories, opening up new avenues for agents to move to the private sector, especially law firms and consulting agencies that handle compliance programs. The creation of secretariats and cooperation departments and the growing participation of these categories in the international arena are phenomena that deserve to be further studied. Mainly because this signals a trend of connections with foreign institutions independently from regular diplomatic channels, such as those articulated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The "autonomous cooperation" models that link *MPF*, *AGU*, and *PF* to their counterparts in other countries indicate a dynamic of reconfiguration of State power in Brazil. The most visible aspect is the intensification of import-export flows of legal models with strong repercussions on legal practices. The extent of this dynamic and its possibility to reconfigure the traditions that shaped the Brazilian Rule of Law, mirrored in the model of the 1988 Constitution, seem quite evident. The import-export spaces centered on institutions that house legal careers with increasingly strong corporate identities integrate a region of political power that is obscure and increasingly distant from the electoral and democratic circuits of legitimation.

A study on international circulation of attorneys anchored in State careers evidences the strengthening of multiple connections among agents that build a "sense of law", trespassing the borders of the National State. In this context, the legitimation of law models present in procedures adopted by anti-corruption operations and by lawsuits is a field of study that needs to be further explored in social sciences. Additionally, it is important to investigate more comprehensive proposals of legal reform articulated by individuals who belong to these careers. Such studies will allow demonstrating more clearly the political power and capacity of these legal professionals, anchored in State bureaucracy, to influence justice policies.

Correlations between justice and politics, traditionally studied as national phenomena, need to be analyzed also as international relations, especially how connections contribute to combine attorneys' points of view internationally. This leads to the legitimation of law models and reconfigurations of political and economic powers in countries where democratic regime is recent.

Appendix 1 – Details on the database

The database is part of a broader research project funded by National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq)/Brazil, entitled Legal Elites and Anti-Corruption: international requirements, corporate investments, and institutional frameworks in Brazil in the 2000s. In addition to many sources used, the main base was constructed from the Official Gazettes of the Federal Government (Diários Oficiais da União – DOU), available at https://www.gov.br/imprensanacional/pt-br. All travel authorizations for individuals belonging to public legal careers analyzed are published in this platform. Between 2008 and 2018, we analyzed, on-line, all gazettes

by searching for "leave authorization", using keywords related to the careers, which resulted in the visualization of approximately 7,500 gazettes.

Subsequently, we extracted, as PDF files, the gazettes that contained ordinances on leaves, obtaining the quantifications, for each category, mentioned on page 5. After a careful reading of the ordinances, possible information found in them was codified in an Excel spreadsheet, which allowed grouping and crossing. This work was conducted by the co-authors of this manuscript, with the support of two CNPq fellows (undergraduate students) and a librarian, throughout 2019 and 2020.

Based on this quantification, we selected, for analysis, authorization ordinances related to institutional participations connected to criminal cooperation, associativism, and institutional representation, as well as to specific themes covered by "international cooperation."

These themes were codified through an evaluation of key contents described in the agreements and in the laws related to international treaties. They were obtained through other official sources, such as websites of the organizations involved and the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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Declarations

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