

La metodología del Análisis de la Política Exterior para comprender la difusión de la política agroalimentaria de Brasil en el gobierno de Lula Da Silva

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Resumen:

El propósito de este artículo es promover explicaciones teóricas sobre el proceso de difusión internacional de la política agroalimentaria brasileña bajo los dos mandatos del expresidente Lula da Silva (2003-2010), a partir del análisis de la Política Exterior, ampliamente utilizado en Relaciones Internacionales para comprender el curso de acción de los gobiernos en función de su política exterior. Metodológicamente, la intención es esclarecer aspectos de este proceso de difusión, a partir de la identificación de los actores involucrados, sus reclamos y el rumbo de sus acciones, ofreciendo, en este sentido, explicaciones alternativas y complementarias a los estudios más consagrados sobre los procesos de difusión de políticas públicas. Los principales hallazgos son dos conjuntos de actores, que han incidido en dos líneas de acción: la primera vinculada a la cooperación con los países latinoamericanos en torno, principalmente, a la agricultura familiar y las políticas públicas sociales (transferencias monetarias, alimentación escolar); y el segundo vinculado a la cooperación brasileña con algunos países africanos en temas relacionados con la agroindustria y la investigación científica y mejora de las técnicas agrícolas.

Palabras clave:

Análisis de política exterior, Brasil, política agroalimentaria, difusión de política, Hambre Cero.

Foreign Policy Analysis methodology to understand the diffusion of Brazil's agri-food policy under Lula's government

Abstract:

The purpose of this article is to promote theoretical explanations about the international diffusion process of Brazilian agri-food policy under the two mandates of former President Lula da Silva (2003-2010), based on the analysis of Foreign Policy, widely used in International Relations to understand the course of action of governments based on their foreign policy. Methodologically, the intention is to clarify aspects of this dissemination process, based on the identification of the actors involved, their claims and the course of their actions, offering, in this sense, alternative and complementary explanations to the most established studies on the processes of public policy diffusion. The main findings are two set of actors, who have influenced two courses of action: the first one linked with the cooperation with Latin American countries about, mainly, family farmer and social public policies (cash transfer, school feed); and the second linked with the Brazilian cooperation with some African countries on topics related to agribusiness and scientific research and improvement of agricultural techniques.

Key words:

Foreign policy analysis, Brazil, agri-food policy, policy diffusion, Zero Hunger.

1. INTRODUCTION

The approaches of the processes of diffusion, transfer, and export of public policies are relatively new and have multiple origins, from political science and international relations. The main studies on the public policies

diffusion have been initially those of learning, competition, and emulation.

In summary, the process of public policy diffusion through learning refers to the existence of knowledge about a certain policy and, as a result, the decision is made to

adopt it; on the other hand, emulation occurs when policies are adopted for their social value, not for their own value, seeking legitimacy and status; and competition exists when countries that compete for the same resources adopt the policy of their competitors for fear of economic loss, as Simmons, Dobbins and Garred indicate¹.

However, in terms of analysis of the diffusion of social policies and specifically the Brazilian agri-food policy, mainly for Latin American countries, several studies have already been carried out that used the above-mentioned theoretical tool². Thus, in order to propose an alternative explanation, but complementary to the phenomenon of public policy diffusion, this article aims to discuss the theoretical notes of the foreign policy analysis applied to explain aspects of Brazilian agri-food policy and its international diffusion.

The methodology used is mainly the theoretical-bibliographic review and the use of concepts corresponding to the case of Brazilian foreign policy in the described area. The choice for Foreign Policy Analysis approach was due to its descriptive and explanatory capacity through the identification of actors and their roles in the construction of foreign policy. Through the descriptive technique, we used the conceptual and analytical apparatus of Foreign Policy Analysis to demonstrate the decision-making process of foreign policy in Brazil in the period mentioned, from the point of view of the interaction between the actors of the political bureaucracy and their perceptions about the diffusion of the Brazilian agri-food policy abroad.

In the first section, we discuss the general idea of the Foreign Policy Analysis methodology, as well as the central notions of the analysis. And in the second section, the concepts, notions, and notes are used to elucidate explanations about the process of international diffusion of Brazilian agri-food policy during Lula da Silva's two terms as president, such as the actors involved, the intentions and the conditions (national and international) that have driven this process.

2. GENERAL APPROACH TO THE FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY: A THEORETICAL TOOL TO UNDERSTAND LULA'S BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy analysis is a methodological instrument of the International Relations area that seeks explanations of the countries actions and behavior in the international system, taking into account the administration, the actors involved, domestic factors and external factors so that they make certain choices.

However, before discussing the analysis itself, it is important to have an idea of what a country's foreign policy means, as this is exactly the object that will be discussed later in the case of Brazil's foreign policy. For Hill³, foreign policy is defined as: «the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations».

Two parts of this concept of Hill are important: one regarding the place where foreign policy is exercised, that is, outside the territory of a country - although it can be argued that it is formed within the country and by demands of domestic actors, and who exercises it, that is, who carries out foreign policy. For Hill and many authors, this actor is predominantly the State, but based on more current phenomena, it may also be another type of independent actor such as the European Union.

For Breuning⁴, foreign policy is defined more simply as «the totality of a country's policies toward and interactions with the environment beyond its borders». In a broader concept that does not focus only on one actor and that it is established that foreign policy is on the verge of internal politics and international relations.

In addition, we can find other concepts of foreign policy. For example, the one which Beach has elaborated⁵, literally: «(...) both the boards trends of behavior and the particular actions taken by a state or other collective actor

¹ OSORIO, C., «Mecanismos de difusión de los programas de transferencia condicionada en América Latina: el caso chileno», *Iconos, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 53 (2015), p. 34.

²GRISA, C. and SAOLOURIN, E. (org.), *A difusão de políticas brasileiras para agricultura familiar na América Latina e Caribe*, Santa Maria, 2018; MILHORANCE, C., «Política de cooperação do Brasil com a África Subsaariana no setor rural: transferência e inovação na difusão de políticas públicas», *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 56 (2013), pp. 5-22; OLIVEIRA, O. P. de. and PAL LESLIE A., «Novas fronteiras e direções na pesquisa sobre transferência, difusão e circulação de políticas públicas: agentes, espaços, resistência e traduções», *Revista de Administração Pública*, 52 (2018), pp. 199-220; OLIVEIRA, O. P. de., «Brazil Exporting Social Policies: From Local Innovation to a Global Model», *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 20 (2020).

³ HILL, C., *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*, New York, 2003, p. 3.

⁴ BREUNING, M., *Foreign policy analysis: a comparative introduction*, New York, 2007, p. 5.

⁵ BEACH, D., *Analyzing Foreign Policy*, London, 2012, p. 3.

as directed toward other collective actors within the international system.» Hudson⁶ conceptualized foreign policy as any State action that has direct or indirect consequences for foreign entities and, for Tayfur⁷, is the official activity formulated and implemented by authorized agents of a sovereign State directed to the external environment.

Those definitions show that the concept is broader and adds perspectives and characteristics of action to the objective of foreign policy, as well as not starting from the principle that the State is the unique actor, but a collective actor.

Thus, in order to analyze foreign policy, it is important to comprehend the meaning of this term, the levels of analysis (domestic factors and international constraints), the leaders, the bureaucracy, and the actors (agencies, departments, entities, etc.) involved in or influencing the foreign policy process in some way.

Illustration 1 shows the formation of foreign policy from the inputs within the States and the outcomes that would be the actions of the foreign policy itself. It is important to note that, for Beach, the international system

also influences national decisions that generate foreign policy, which is the opposite of the realist⁸ claims in international relations theory, that consider the division between international and national is rigid, and that the decisions of each sphere would not interfere with the other.

Also, according to Beach, «the international system creates a set of constraints in which state foreign policy preferences are formed»⁹. That is, when all systemic conditions are similar, behavior and interests in foreign policy cannot be explained by systemic theories (as is the case of Waltz's Neorealism) and domestic factors would become important in the equation of foreign policy formation. The main domestic factors are public opinion, interest groups, government actors, political parties, and ethnic groups, mainly.

Some factors considered domestic such as public opinion and interest groups, according to Beach¹⁰, «can be understood as societal inputs into the political system: pressures which are then mediated by the jostling of political and bureaucratic actors within government to produce national foreign policy preferences.» Interest groups, especially those that are well organized, such as business lobbies, as well as public opinion¹¹ can rank preferences in

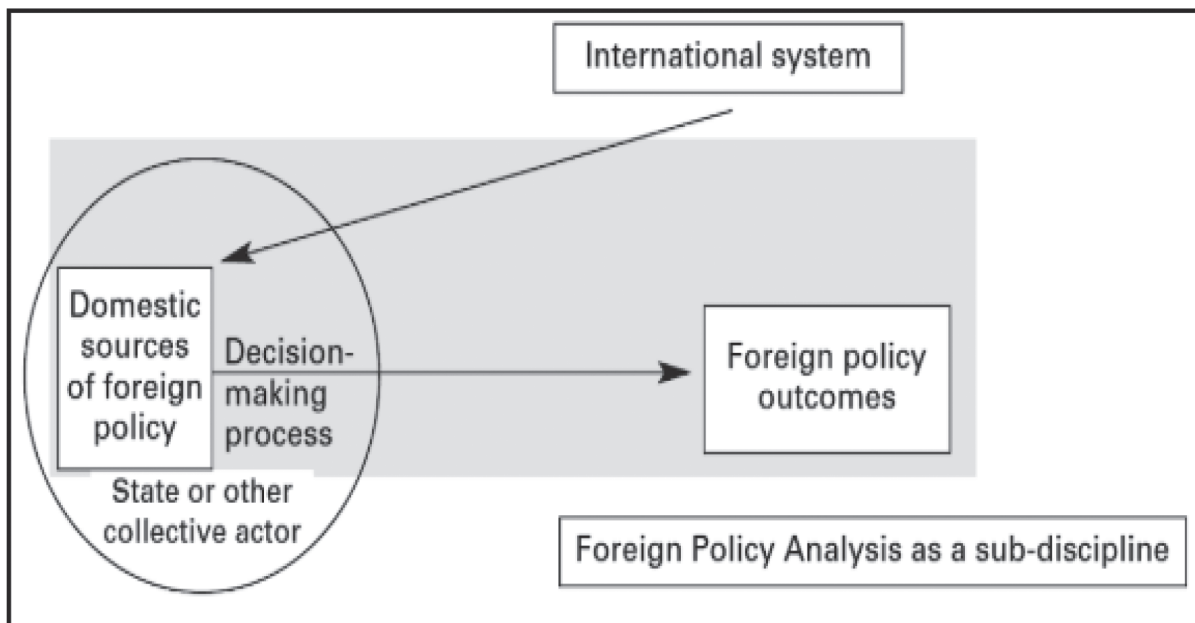


Figure 1: Foreign Policy Analysis as a subdiscipline of International Relations. Source: BEACH, D., *Analyzing...*, p. 4.

⁶ HUDSON, V. M., «Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations», *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1 (2005), pp. 1-30.

⁷ TAYFUR, M. F., «Main approaches to the study of foreign policy: A review», *METU Studies in Development*, 21 (1994), pp. 113-141.

⁸ See more arguments of the Realist School of International Relations in the works of Raymond Aron «Paix et guerre entre les nations» (1966), Hans Morgenthau «Politics among nations» (1948) and in the Neorealist work of Kenneth Waltz «Theory of international politics» (1979).

⁹ BEACH, D., *Analyzing...*, p. 62.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 63.

¹¹ The pressure of public opinion is evident in the policymaking of United States foreign policy, where it is clearly seen when the media, for example, organize and demand political actions that are convenient for them.

a government's foreign policy, managing to put their interests at the forefront.

This argument is very clear when we analyze the cases of subsidies brought to the World Trade Organization (WTO), for example. The companies, which feel harmed by some commercial practice in another country, put pressure on their government and the latter takes the case to the WTO, which judges the case based on investigations and evidence presented by experts in the matter.

Also, for the analysis of the foreign policy of a State, the relationship with the international system must also be taken into account. In this sense, Hill considers that there were three contemporary events that have become a challenge for the analysis of the foreign policy of the countries by bringing changes to the international context and which are: globalization, the end of the Cold War and the «doctrine of humanitarian intervention»¹². For the purpose of this work, the phenomenon of globalization is what most interferes in the development of Brazilian foreign policy, as well as other developing countries that have not been key to the end of the Cold War, nor an objective of intervention, be it humanitarian or otherwise.

Following Hill's argument, he understands globalization as: «the creation of an integrated world capitalist market, and the putting in place of some of the sinews of a global civil society, through developments in information technology, travel and education»¹³. With globalization, the interconnection among countries and individuals increased, which has enabled, for example, that a successful practice in a certain place gains international echoes and can be replicated in another part of the world, using the advances of communication technology, transportation, and others.

Pinheiro and Milani¹⁴ also point to the phenomenon of globalization as a catalytic factor for the accelerated development of the media and in the circulation of goods and people, which has fostered collaboration between diplomatic bodies and other actors, exposing the connection between international problems and domestic issues.

Another very important area for the study of foreign policy is the role of international institutions. International institutions are explicit agreements, negotiated among

international actors, that prescribe, proscribe, and authorize behaviors¹⁵. In other words, these institutions can mitigate the effects of the anarchy of international society, in the sense of the absence of an international order that subdues all states and standardizes behavior in certain areas.

For Alden and Aran¹⁶, international institutions also lead to regulatory changes in countries' foreign policies, «change in the conduct of foreign policy based on the structural impediments imposed by international institutions is one obvious effect (...) but it can also induce normative change in a particular state's foreign policy through the pressure to subscribe to collective values».

It is also in international organizations that countries considered weakest in the international system can gather their forces and try to create and disseminate rules that favor them, which alone, or in bilateral agreements with stronger countries, they would not achieve. So, through the forums of these institutions, the foreign policy of a country can also influence international politics. International institutions, in this sense, provide forums for communication between actors, allowing them to find common interests to cooperate.

In relation to the actors involved in the process of formulation and formation of foreign policy and execution of that, they are predominantly the States or linked to them. However, when we analyze the State actor under a government, we are not talking about a unitary rational actor. As Hudson states:

«Given the prominence of organizations in the government's ability to conduct foreign policy, it might be more useful at times to view the government as a matrix of organizations, or, in other words, as a national bureaucracy. There are multiple actors in a national bureaucracy, not one unitary actor.»¹⁷

So even though the main driver of a country's foreign policy is the state/ government itself, there is a group of organizations in its environment that compose and help them to form preferences in terms of foreign policy. Hill¹⁸ also points out that states are the main actors in the conduct of foreign policy, but they are not the only ones: «The main actors' are conceived not as abstract entities but as the decision-makers who are formally responsible for making

¹² HILL, C., *The Changing...*

¹³ *Ib.*, p. 13.

¹⁴ PINHEIRO, L. and MILANI, C. R. S. (org.), *Política externa brasileira: as práticas da política e a política das práticas. [Introdução]*, Rio de Janeiro, 2012, p. 15-16.

¹⁵ BEACH, D., *Analyzing...*

¹⁶ ALDEN, C. and ARAN, A., *Foreign Policy Analysis: New approaches*, New York, 2017, p. 133.

¹⁷ HUDSON, V. M., *Foreign policy analysis: classic and contemporary theory*, New York, 2014, pp. 84-85.

¹⁸ HILL, C., *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, New York, 2016, p. 20.

decisions for the units which interact internationally - that is, mainly but not exclusively states».

If we consider this multiplicity within the «State» is relevant to understand how the decision making occurs in foreign policy: individually or collectively. In general, the authors of this line of research present us with two possibilities: individually through the person who is in charge of the country on the issue of foreign policy (presidents, prime ministers), who have autonomy for that purpose, however, often consult other individuals, that represent other organs of government within the national bureaucracy. Consequently, the final decision is collectively constructed, but taken individually to the national and international society.

For Hudson¹⁹, for instance, individual control over foreign policy decision-making is more common in dictatorial government regimes, the style of leadership (whether the leader delegates or makes decisions alone) in governments administered by leaders interested in politics and when there are international crisis situations. In which they will invariably be managed at the highest levels of government power and top leaders will be involved, regardless of their general level of interest in foreign affairs.

On group or collective decision-making, Hudson notes that:

«No matter how influential or mercenary, a single leader cannot make and implement foreign policy by himself or herself. In fact, in most countries, foreign policy decisions are always made in a group setting. And these policies are virtually always carried out by particular organizations or arrays of organizations (bureaucracies).»²⁰

In foreign policy decision-making, this type of arrangement has been the most common. The leader of a State uses a committee, which advises him and contributes information on a certain situation and this information is gathered from the work of other organizations / departments / government agencies. Hill²¹ has named this foreign policy decision-making body of The Foreign Policy Executive, that is, it would be a group of actors responsible for thinking and formulating the best decision on this issue.

On this subject, Hill expressly points out that:

«In most political systems any given area of policy will be conducted at the highest level by a combination of the head of government, free of any particular portfolio, and the departmental minister, the

specialist. This is particularly the case with foreign policy, where the expectations of head of government involvement, from inside and outside, are high and where it is difficult for others to develop an equivalent level of expertise. (...) the 'foreign policy executive', consisting in the first instance of the head of government and the foreign minister, but often widened according to circumstances to include defence [sic], finance, economics and trade ministers. There may often also be other ministers without particular portfolios, close to the head of government.»²²

Generally, what there is in the countries in terms of formulation and decision-making in foreign policy depends on the specific content of which is being negotiated internationally. For example, in the Brazilian case outlined forward, it was common in all cooperative arrangements were present representatives (not necessarily Ministers) of the ministries of agriculture, agricultural development and social development as well as the actors traditional ministry of foreign affairs. Other cases, such as on an international trade issue, are also attended by representatives of the ministry of foreign trade.

Regarding the participation of other actors in foreign policy, Hill²³ adds that the ministries of foreign affairs have no choice but to accept the direct participation of many more ministries, at the same time that they try to relocate as coordinators in some way and experts in «the international» as a whole.

For Pinheiro and Milani²⁴, there is, in this sense, evidence of the «plurality of actors and agendas of Brazilian foreign policy», and derives from the fact that both the international and domestic orders, despite the inequalities and differences that make up their structures leave open - and not always foreseeable - several spaces for political action. This plurality ends up challenging our analytical capacity to locate with absolute precision the institutional locus and the legitimate or traditional agent of foreign policy decision making, which increases the complexity of the decision-making process itself.

Therefore, international relations today would not only encompass a broader set of issues that demand particular knowledge and experiences (such as the environment, human rights, the internationalization of education, health and culture, etc.), as they would also involve in an increasingly dense and institutionalized way, a diversity of actors now involved in innumerable international affairs.

¹⁹ HUDSON, V. M., *Foreign policy...*, p. 40-41.

²⁰ *Ib.*, p. 74.

²¹ HILL, C., *Foreign...*

²² *Ib.*, p. 56.

²³ *Ib.*, p. 14.

²⁴ PINHEIRO, L. and MILANI, C. R. S. (org.), *Política externa...*, p. 331.

In relation to the multiplicity of actors, we have, in addition to the national bureaucratic management group, companies, non-governmental organizations, the media, social movements and public organizations in the local level. These actors began to act internationally in a more organic and articulated way, acting on many occasions contrary to the State itself, in the name of private interests or in defense of more diverse political causes²⁵.

Finally, Hill considers that:

«The examination begins with the general issue of how domestic society relates to foreign policy, and which elements represent the most significant 'sources' of foreign policy, in the sense that actions 'begin at home' even if they must be conducted abroad. Foreign policy is about mediating the two-way flow between internal and external dynamics.»²⁶

In other words, investigating foreign policy issues today means understanding their domestic and international sources, as well as understanding that this public policy occurs from a two-way flow, that is, it receives inputs both from national and international events.

3. THE FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY TO UNDERSTAND THE COURSE OF ACTION OF LULA DA SILVA'S BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE AGRI-FOOD ISSUE

3.1. Brief of Brazilian Zero Hunger Strategy

The Brazilian international performance in the agri-food area was based on the successful model of fighting hunger nationally. Since the victorious campaign for the presidency of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, the main promise has been to eradicate chronic hunger in the country. Thus, the Zero Hunger program was created in the first presidential act on January 1st, 2003.

The Zero Hunger program aimed to eradicate hunger in Brazil through three action strategies: structural policies, specific policies, and local policies. Structural policies involved medium to long-term actions as a way of creating a permanent and sustainable environment to combat the causes of hunger in Brazil. These were policies that would have important effects to reduce household food vulnerability by increasing family income, universalizing social rights, and accessing quality food and reducing income inequality. As an example of this axis were the policies of job creation, increase of minimum income and promotion of family farming.

In addition, the specific policies have been developed to promote food security and directly combat hunger and malnutrition among the most vulnerable population groups in an emergency. Actions of this type were: food stamps program, donations of basic emergency food baskets, creation of food security reserves or actions, expansion of school meals, among others. And finally, the local policy strategies of the Zero Hunger Program were a set of policies that could be implemented by the federal states and municipalities, with alliances with civil society. The actions included in this type were: municipal food security programs and public policies for rural areas.

Zero Hunger also had a broad legal-legal structure, which ranged from the target audience to the conceptualization and operationalization of the program in Brazilian municipalities. We highlight the laws n. ° 10.683 of 05/28/2003 that recreated the National Food Security Council (CONSEA), n. ° 10.696 of 07/2/2003 that created the Food Acquisition Program (PAA), n. ° 10.836 of 2004 which incorporated in a single benefit all previous income transfer programs in the country, creating Bolsa Família, the Organic Law of Food and Nutritional Security (LOSAN) n. ° 11.346 of 2006, Law n. ° 11.947 of 2009 that created the National School Feeding Program (PNAE) and constitutional amendment number 64, of February 4, 2010, whose objective was to incorporate the human right to adequate food into the list of Brazilian social rights.

The institutionalization of the Zero Hunger program has included the reestablishment of the Food and Nutritional Security Council (CONSEA), which was responsible for articulating the demands of civil society and experts in the area with political decision-makers. CONSEA also actively participated in the negotiations for the implementation of several programs that were developed during and after the end of Zero Hunger, but which maintained its objectives, such as the Food Acquisition Program (PAA - Brazilian public procurement program for the family farmers) in 2003, the Bolsa Família program (a program of the Brazilian federal government to transfer cash to families with school-age children) in 2006 and the National School Feeding Program (PNAE), which was reestablished in its current form in 2009.

The institutionalization process was also observed in the structuring in ministries and special secretariats of the Brazilian federal government. After about a year and a half of existence, the Extraordinary Ministry of Food Security and Fight against Hunger was extinguished and its activities and legal attributions were transferred to the newly

²⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 15-16.

²⁶ HILL, C., *Foreign...*, p. 21.

created Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger and a small part to the Ministry of Agrarian Development, which went through a phase of consolidation and political affirmation during the Lula government²⁷. Other Ministries, such as Education, and special secretariats, such as Human Rights and Policies for Women, also acted indirectly in the implementation of Zero Hunger in the country's municipalities.

Effectively, the Zero Hunger Program as originally planned, only worked for one year. However, other programs replaced it later, fulfilling the same objectives, by specifying the strategies adopted in the Zero Hunger. This was the case of the Food Acquisition Program, which fulfilled one of the structuring axes in promoting family farming, the Bolsa Família program (a type of cash transfer program), which could be included in the structuring (minimum income increase) and specific (direct income transfer for purchase) axes basic items), and the National School Feeding Program, which fits into all axes of Zero Hunger, as it promotes family farming (30% of food purchases for schools in the country must come from family farming), promotion of school meals (specific axis) and is carried out by the municipalities (axis of local policies).

This set of public policies led the country to improve the rates of malnourished people who were in extreme poverty, which enabled Brazil's exit from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Hunger Map in 2014 and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals with 3 years in advance, regarding the eradication of chronic hunger²⁸.

From these Brazilian achievements, the country started to serve as a model of public policies in this area for developing and poor countries. Thus, the agri-food sector has been integrated in the Brazilian foreign policy agenda as an opportunity for more international influence and insertion of the country.

3.2. The Agri-Food Brazilian Foreign Policy during Lula's administration

In Brazil, from 2003 to 2010, under the two terms of Lula da Silva, there were two main interest groups that have participated in foreign policy actions on the country's food issue.

The first group influenced the cooperation processes with Latin American and Caribbean countries and was more closely related, at the time, with the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA, in Portuguese) and the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS), even participating in the structure of these two ministries. In this group, were included the National Council for Food Security (Consea, in Portuguese), associations and cooperatives of family farmers and artisanal fisheries and the Landless Rural Workers Movement. Consea was an organ that represented civil society within the government when it came to guidelines and debates on the food issues. Therefore, this group has directly projected its preferences in the Lula's foreign policy.

Then, the second interest group influenced the cooperation processes with African countries and had closer connections with the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply (MAPA, from the Portuguese) and was made up of the so-called «ruralist bench»²⁹ of the Brazilian National Congress, by representatives of some companies in the Brazilian and international agri-food sector and by the Brazilian Company for Agricultural Research (Embrapa, from the acronym in Portuguese for Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária).

This second group has managed to shape the research agenda in genetic sectors for seed production and improvement, as well as in the commercial transactions of large Brazilian companies in the agri-food sector.

An example that we consider important to point out of the influence of this second group in some African countries is the ProSavana program. ProSavana, Portuguese acronym for Agricultural Development Project of the Tropical Savanna of Mozambique, aimed to adopt the agricultural production model developed in the Brazilian cerrado in the Mozambican savannas, specifically in the so-called Nacala Corridor, in the north of the country. The project involved Brazilian, Mozambican, and Japanese resources, in which the objectives were to build an infrastructure to transport agricultural production from this cerrado region, which would receive the support of Brazilian expertise to transform the Mozambican north into a region with great productive capacity in its rural sector through technologies transferred to the country³⁰.

²⁷ MEDEIROS, J. and GRISA, C., «O Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário (MDA) e suas capacidades estatais na promoção do desenvolvimento rural», *Campo - Território: Revista de Geografia Agrária*, 14-34 Dez. (2020), p. 14.

²⁸ FAO Hunger Map 2014. Available in: <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i4033e.pdf>, access on 01-02-2019.

²⁹ The «ruralist bench» is made up of parliamentarians who represent the interests of agribusiness in Brazil, with agendas, often against small-scale agriculture, family farming, land distribution and recognition of the rights of traditional peoples.

³⁰ ALVES, G. J. F., *Segurança alimentar e a FAO: análise teórica e política externa brasileira (1994-2014)*, Macapá, 2016, Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso, p. 100.

And for Beghin³¹, ProSavana brings together the main problems of Brazilian cooperation for development: lack of social participation, little transparency, and promotion of agribusiness at the expense of family and peasant agriculture. As a result, it became an emblematic case of a bad example of cooperation that has contributed to deteriorating Brazil's image as a «good cooperador».

We have here, then, a question that seemed key to us about the course of actions of Brazilian foreign policy: What would be the explanation of these two sets of possible actions in Brazilian Foreign Policy towards Latin America and Africa? (Taking into account that they would be actions on the same subject and with the same objective by the Brazilian government).

The answer is not simple, nor is it unique. However, we believe that the answer is related to two complementary paths. The first is that the origin of the preferences of each course of action is different for each case due to the types of actors involved in the two interest groups. The second is related to the countries with which it was cooperating with: on one hand, Latin American countries are geographically closer to Brazil, as well as presenting economic, social, and political characteristics more similar to those of Brazil at the time³². On the other hand, with the African countries, despite sharing a colonial past and important aspects related to the composition of the Brazilian people, the relationship has been different, although deepened since the Lula da Silva government has begun. The formation of the speeches for the two continents is from different origin, which has generated also diversified foreign policy actions.

The case of Brazilian cooperation with African countries on the agri-food³³ issue has been analyzed by various experts and is pointed out as more controversial with respect to other development cooperation processes. For this reason, the question of preference formation is important to understand this course of action. However, there have been important advances in the Brazil-Africa relationship since Lula took the chair, which has aimed the diversification in international relations and has prioritized South-South cooperation.

In relation to the actors involved in the foreign policy process in Brazil, we have three types: legislators, those

who execute and those who influence the formation of this policy.

The legislators, the parliamentarians of the federal chamber, are responsible for creating laws that can impact foreign actions (such as the budget) and sanction agreements that have been signed by authorities representing the country, and thus, also expand to the population what is being carried out abroad. Within the Brazilian National Congress there is a specific commission that deals with this type of matter and through which any international action that requires the endorsement of the chamber has to go through that commission, is the so-called Foreign Relations Commission.

In addition, on food issues, in the Brazilian Congress, it was also officially created in April 2009, the Parliamentary Front for Food and Nutrition Security. This Parliamentary Front aimed, among other things, to improve federal legislation to ensure all Brazilians the fundamental right to food, support the implementation and consolidation of the Food and Nutrition Security System, and encourage the creation of entities assimilated in other legislatures of federal and municipal states, promoting the exchange between them³⁴. The Parliamentary³⁵ has also managed to articulate the approval of the School Feeding Law of 2009 in Brazil. Furthermore, the Brazilian Parliamentary Front for Food and Nutrition Security. is one of the parliamentary fronts that make up the Parliamentary Front Against Hunger³⁶ in Latin America.

The actors who execute foreign policy are those who are directly or indirectly linked to the office of the President of the Republic. This group includes ministries, Brazilian agencies, universities, and federal research institutes, as well as international organizations. All of these actors have the power to design, negotiate, sign, and execute cooperation agreements, because they act as authentic representatives of the Brazilian government and must also follow the guidelines of the responsible government.

Specifically, in the framework of such cooperation projects in the food area, the main actors are: Itamaraty (Brazilian diplomatic body), the Brazilian Cooperation Agency, Brazilian Agricultural Research Company, Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger, Ministry

³¹ BEGHIN, N., *A cooperação brasileira para o desenvolvimento internacional na área de segurança alimentar e nutricional: avanços e desafios. Onde estamos e para onde vamos?*, Brasília, 2014, p. 53.

³² It is worth to remember, for example, that in that period there were many governments considered to be left wing in Latin America, especially in South America, who identified themselves as «brother countries».

³³ In this work, it has been chosen to keep the term agri-food because in Brazilian international practices the two segments were always together, be it for family farming, or for the agribusiness sector.

³⁴ The other objectives can be seen at http://parlamentarioscontraelhambre.org/file/frentes/bra/br_01.pdf, access on 12-02-2019.

³⁵ It is important to comment that currently, in the 56th legislature in Brazil, the FPSAN is decoupled, as well as other programs related to food security in Brazil due to the election of a president who has expressed neither proposals nor concern with the food issue in the country. On the contrary, it has tried to implement an agenda for the reduction of acquired rights in recent years, see the closing of the activities of the Consea, published through provisional measure 870/19 published on January 1, 2019, one of the first acts of the current Brazilian president. The entire procedure for this measure is found at <https://www.congressonacional.leg.br/materias/medidas-provisorias/-/mpv/135064>, access on 10-03-2019.

³⁶ For more information see <http://parlamentarioscontraelhambre.org/>, access on 15-03-2019.

of Agrarian Development, Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply, National Rural Learning Service, international multilateral agencies such as FAO and the World Food Program. But we can also mention the National Bank for Economic and Social Development and the Agency for the Promotion of Exports and Investments.

Itamaraty³⁷ is the main Brazilian diplomatic body, where diplomats are trained and where the country's diplomacy activities are concentrated. It belongs to the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Brazil. And given a greater diversification of current international policy issues in general, and of foreign policy specifically, and as we mentioned, the appearance of agri-food issues on the international agenda has led this Brazilian agency to embrace these issues. Its spokespersons express the need for this agency to seek specialized knowledge in other instances, taking into account the increasing complexity and evident multidisciplinary of foreign relations³⁸.

For Pinheiro and Milani, this diversification of issues and actors can also provoke renewal and «oxygenation» in the field of foreign policy, causing issues, areas, niches not previously identified as resources or instruments of foreign policy to begin to become issues of the public agenda of debates and international influence³⁹. In this sense, there is an increase in Brazilian international action on social issues, especially in the fight against hunger and extreme poverty.

Due to this need to seek specialized knowledge to form better decisions in foreign policy, specifically in the food issue, the General Coordination of Humanitarian Cooperation and Fight against Hunger (CGFome, from the acronym in Portuguese) was created in 2004. This unit was in charge of coordinating the actions of the Brazilian government to fight hunger in the international arena. CGFome's activities were based on international humanitarian cooperation actions, taking into account Article 4 of the Brazilian Federal Constitution on the conduct of Brazilian international relations, which states:

«Art.4º The Federative Republic of Brazil is governed in its international relations by the following principles: I - national independence; II - prevalence of

human rights; III - self-determination of the peoples; IV - no intervention; V - equality between States; VI - defense of peace; VII - peaceful settlement of conflicts; VIII - repudiation of terrorism and racism; IX - cooperation between peoples for the progress of humanity; X - granting of political asylum. [...] (Federal Constitution of Brazil, 1988, translated from Portuguese).»

The General Coordination of Humanitarian Cooperation and Fight against Hunger was a governmental department, also linked to the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and which acted following the FAO strategy of twin track approach, that is, of seeking structural change and attention to the emergency.

In emergency contexts, it was responsible for supporting the responses of the international community, such as cases of economic crisis, war, civil conflict, and environmental disasters, which lead to situations of food insecurity and / or chronic hunger⁴⁰. Regarding structural change, the General Coordination of Humanitarian Cooperation and Fight against Hunger⁴¹ was responsible for the administration and coordination in the medium and long term of articulated programs to improve the quality of life of the local population, seeking to be sustainable, such as in the case of Purchase from Africans for Africa (PAA - Africa) – similar to the Brazilian food acquisition program, which served as a model.

A third type of actor are those who indirectly influence the creation and execution of the foreign policy. In this group of actors are public opinion, such as the media, lobbies (mainly companies), think tanks, religious organizations, among others. Religious organizations, such as the «evangelicals»⁴², in Brazil, are today an important force for political pressure, even forming a parliamentary front. Even though organizing in lobbies is illegal in Brazil, it manages, in fact, to have repercussions both within parliament (pressing, providing information), and influencing the election of key people for positions in the executive power.

Consequently, foreign policy follows the decision-making processes typical of public policies and which are

³⁷ For more information on structure, specific activities, and other aspects, see the institution's website: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/>, access on 15-03-2019.

³⁸ PINHEIRO, L. and MILANI, C. R. S. (org.), *Política externa...*, p. 19.

³⁹ *Ib.*, p. 21

⁴⁰ As has been regulated in the following part of Law 11,451: «Assist countries or populations that are in situations of emergency, public calamity, social convulsions, natural or man-made catastrophes, armed conflicts, acute food insecurity, imminent risk or serious threat to life, health, the guarantee of human or humanitarian rights, combining preventive, emerging and structuring actions.» Law 11,451, 7/7/2007, translated from Portuguese. Data from the MRE in 2014, the emergency action of Brazil under the coordination of CGFome, indicated that 310 thousand tons of food have been donated (from 2004 to 2014), with an investment of 149 million US dollars, helping 2 million people in 37 countries.

⁴¹ After the *coup d'état* that removed President-elect Dilma Rousseff from office in May 2016, the CGFome was extinguished and officially closed for its activities in 2017. Currently, there is no specific body to administer this type of activity in Brazil. The discourse is that the powers were transferred to the General Coordination of Humanitarian Cooperation, linked to the Brazilian Cooperation Agency, to deal with various topics. For more information see: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-BR/politica-externa/cooperacao/11937-cooperacao-humanitaria-brasileira>, access on 30-03-2019.

⁴² The so-called «Evangelical Bench» (composed of deputies who identify with the Brazilian evangelical religion), which was articulated and managed to gather votes to elect its candidate for the federal government of Brazil in 2018, Jair Messias Bolsonaro.

characteristic of modern democratic regimes. Mainly, these are: the relationship between the Executive and Legislative Branches, the possibility of intervention by the Judiciary, the existence of bureaucratic procedures (and a bureaucratic policy) and the participation of civil society, business, and union operators⁴³. In the case of the Brazilian foreign food policy, civil society has been represented by the participation of National Council for Food Security, as we mentioned previously, in decision-making on the progress of the Brazilian food policy for other countries, and has even served as a model to broaden the collaboration of society civil in other countries.

Milani⁴⁴ also presents a summary of the configuration of the domestic actors involved in the formulation and

implementation of Brazilian foreign policy. The actors are classified into two levels: governmental level and non-governmental level. The governmental actors are the federal executive power, the agencies with national action, the agencies with regional and local action (with the possibility of international action), the subnational entities (states and federal municipalities), and the judicial and federal legislative powers (Senate and Chamber of Deputies). Non-governmental actors include political parties, NGOs, business organizations, unions, the press and public opinion, think tanks, research groups, religious organizations, and ethnic groups.

In Table 1 it is possible to see the description of the types of actors involved in Brazilian foreign policy, their

Table 1: Type of actors and how they act in Brazilian Foreign Policy

Type of actors	Modes of Action (How do they act?)	Measurements (How can they have their activities measured?)	Limitations (What limit your activities?)
Legislators: Parliamentarians of the Brazilian National Congress	Preparation, approval, or rejection of laws, ranking of issues on the voting agenda, pressure on the central government	Number of laws passed, number of parliamentarians allied to the central government, issues of laws passed	They do not implement the laws, access to external negotiations, type of leadership of the president
Execute the Brazilian Foreign Policy: MRE, Itamaraty, specialized ministries, government agencies	Negotiation, planning, case studies, bilateral, multilateral, and triangular cooperation projects.	Budget size, classification of the importance of the subject matter, economic impacts, public opinion, re-election of the government	International and target country regulations, budget, low impact in powerful countries
Influence in the configuration of the Brazilian Foreign Policy: Companies, public opinion, think tanks, religious organizations.	Pressure in the central government, lobbying, give or withdraw support to the central government, image of the government internationally	Impact on the media, issues negotiated, increase, or decrease in income, size, financial resources	They do not implement policies, budget, type of leadership of the president

Source: elaborated by the author, based on the writings of Milani⁴⁵.

⁴³ MILANI, C. R. S., «Atores e agendas no campo da política externa brasileira de direitos humanos», in PINHEIRO, L. y MILANI, C. R. S. (org.), *Política externa brasileira...*, p. 40-41.

⁴⁴ *Ib.*, p. 39.

⁴⁵ We are not considering in this work the activity known as paradiplomacy, which is when other entities of a federation (such as states and cities) also act as traditional diplomatic agents, negotiating and implementing foreign policy. This is due to the fact that the Brazilian foreign policy in agri-food terms has been led by the central government, linked to the president of the republic.

ways of acting, the measures that we can use to measure their impacts on Brazilian Foreign Policy, as well as what would be the possible limitations to their activities.

In terms of the national and international environment, specifically under the period of the Lula da Silva administration, from 2003 to 2010, nationally the country had rising economic growth rates, or at least stabilized, compared to the rest of the countries of the world. However, it must be taken into account that the starting point of the Lula government was not positive. The Gini index⁴⁶, which measures inequality, sampled in December 2002 (the last month of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government) a level of 0.545, the poverty rate was also 42.5%, which gave 18.5 million inhabitants in March 2002⁴⁷. So internally, Brazil was going to grow economically, but was burdened with wide inequality.

Internationally, Brazil was able to count on an optimistic environment and economic growth, especially from large countries such as China and the United States, which demanded many Brazilian products, mainly commodities. In addition, Brazil, due to its abundant natural resources, has also become key in the energy, mineral and biofuel sectors, which has given the country more autonomy and more possibilities to participate in large markets.

Regionally, we also find a positive field for Lula's international action. Almost at the same time as the election of Lula da Silva as president of Brazil, other «left wing»⁴⁸ governments were being elected in Latin America. This favored the common concern for social inclusion, the fight against poverty, food security and development. On these questions there was a climate of political understanding. Now, we do not believe that there was a full convergence between the ideological, political, and economic domains, as occurred, according to Cervo⁴⁹ in the period of neoliberalism in Latin America in the 1990s.

We already know that the neoliberal wave in the Latin American continent also resulted in various economic crises: Brazil (1999); Argentina (2001, 2002), Mexico (1994), for

example⁵⁰. This crisis was the cause of the increase in inequality and poverty in Brazil mentioned above.

Following Cervo's argument again, it is clear that such negative effects of neoliberalism on the social in Latin American countries have been the fuel for the return and reinforcement of the role of the State and for a greater concern with the social. These are characteristics that define the complex left turning in this period. These leaders will start to govern with the proposal to implement a national social project, a set of public policies aimed at remedying the destiny of the less favored⁵¹, and Lula wanted to give these policies an international profile.

When Lula da Silva became president of Brazil, therefore, he had a national scenario of economic growth, but with an initial high level of poverty and social inequalities. Abroad, there was a positive scenario with similar interests in neighboring countries, as well as a growing demand for Brazilian primary products, mainly from China, the United States, and the European Union.

In other words, the internal and international environment were favorable to a foreign policy by Lula da Silva that included concern with the social, such as the fight against hunger, food security and development.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the concepts and notions of the Foreign Policy Analysis methodology presented in the first section, we conducted a brief analysis on the construction of Brazilian foreign policy in the agri-food issue during the Lula da Silva government, through the actors involved, their positions and the factors national and international environments.

Among the aspects analyzed have been the actors involved and, thus, we have identified that there were two types: those that will influence the dissemination for Latin American countries (more linked to the social and civil participation sectors, as well as international organizations with the same bias) and those that have promoted agri-

⁴⁶ The Gini index is a measure of inequality developed by the Italian statistician Corrado Gini and published in 1912. It is commonly used to calculate the inequality of income distribution, but it can be used for any distribution. It is a number between 0 and 1, where 0 corresponds to complete income equality (where everyone has the same income) and 1 corresponds to complete inequality (where one person has all the income, and the others have nothing).

⁴⁷ Data from: <https://economia.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,desigualdade-social-e-a-menor-desde-2002-aponta-ipea,413529>, access on 03-04-2019.

⁴⁸ It is important to comment on what Cervo has considered as «the left» in the continent: Brazil: Lula, Argentina: Kischner (Néstor and Cristina), Chile: Ricardo Lago and Michelle Bachelet, Venezuela: Hugo Chávez, Bolivia: Evo Morales, Ecuador: Rafael Correa, Uruguay: Tabaré Vázquez, Paraguay: Fernando Lugo. In addition to pointing out Alan García in Peru and Álvaro Uribe in Colombia for their social concerns, and Vicente Fox Quesada in Mexico for a desire for political change. In: CERVO, A. L., *Relações Internacionais da América Latina: de 1930 aos nossos dias*, São Paulo, 2013, p. 233.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ According to Cervo, the crises presented some common characteristics, such as: «weakness of the central nucleus of national economies, alienation of national assets to foreign companies through privatization mechanisms, foreign trade deficit, high external debt, economic stagnation, mass unemployment, increasing poverty» (CERVO, A. L., *Relações...*, p. 235).

⁵¹ *Ib.*, pp. 236-237.

food policy for African countries (more linked to the commodities sectors of Brazil and scientific research with the objective of genetic improvement, as well as international financial organizations).

The importance of the environment, both national and international, has also been reported for the promotion of the Brazilian agri-food policy as a model for other countries. Nationally, former President Lula da Silva and his committee have achieved the success of policy initiatives in social areas, which allowed the construction of an international imaginary that these policies could be models for other countries. Internationally, there was a convergence of factors: in the South American region, the emergence of governments with ideological affinities and, although, without a planned coordination among them, they have prioritized investment in social policies, which contributed to the visibility of public policy models that were practiced in neighboring countries.

Thus, the internal aspects, as well as the performance of national actors (both bureaucracy and politicians, as well as representative bodies of civil society) and the factors that converged internationally provided a favorable environment for the diffusion of Brazilian agri-food policy.

The agri-food sector, therefore, represented an important aspect of the Brazilian international insertion on that time, through which the Lula da Silva government increased the country's prestige and served as a model for several countries.

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