
A Pathway to the Rapprochement between the IR and Political Science: Dialog between Foreign Policy Analysis and Public Policy Analysis

*Um Caminho para a Aproximação entre as RI e a Ciência Política:
Diálogo entre a Análise de Política Externa e a Análise de Políticas Públicas*

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Abstract: Starting from the synergies between Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) and Public Policy Analysis (PPA), it is intended in this research to present pathways of rapprochement between the Political Science (PS) and the International Relations (IR), focusing on Multiple Streams Model for studying the ProSAVANA insertion into the Brazilian delivered Cooperation agenda. The first section is dedicated to the presentation of the FPA and PPA and the second to the rapprochement between the two, applied the ProSAVANA program insertion into the Brazilian Foreign Policy agenda. The case study was based on bibliographic and document review and, besides Multiple Streams, for analyzing the domestic context, were used Lancaster (2007) factors: ideas, interests, institutions and foreign aid organization. As results, it was possible to identify the streams that contributed to ProSAVANAS's "opportunity window", being the period differential the 2007/2008 food crisis, categorized in the problem stream.

Keywords: Foreign Policy; Public Policy; Cooperation; Prosavana.

Resumo: A partir das sinergias entre a Análise de Política Externa (APE) e a Análise de Políticas Públicas (APP), pretende-se neste trabalho apresentar caminhos de reaproximação entre a Ciência Política e as Relações Internacionais, com foco na utilização do Modelo dos Fluxos Múltiplos para o estudo da inserção do ProSAVANA na agenda da Cooperação prestada pelo Brasil. A primeira seção é dedicada à apresentação da APE e da APP e a segunda à aproximação entre as duas, aplicada a adoção do programa ProSAVANA na agenda da Política Externa Brasileira. O estudo de caso é baseado em revisão bibliográfica e documental e, além dos Fluxos Múltiplos, para

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a análise do contexto doméstico, utiliza-se os fatores de Lancaster (2007): ideias, interesses, instituições e organização da ajuda. Como resultado, foi possível identificar os fluxos que contribuíram com a “janela de oportunidades” do ProSAVANA, sendo o diferencial do período a crise alimentar de 2007/2008, categorizada no fluxo dos problemas.

Palavras-chave: Política Externa; Políticas Públicas; Cooperação; Prosavana.

1. Introduction

According to Lima (2000), International Relations (IR) asserted itself as a discipline through the separation between domestic and international politics, thus differentiating itself from Political Science (PS). In this context, foreign policy was affirmed as State policy, removed from the process of building domestic public policies, with the idea that it would respond to national interests and systemic factors.

In a different way, the Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) rescues foreign policy as a public policy, in permanent construction, from domestic and external influences (systemic and from other States and actors). In this way, it seeks to perform a multilevel and multi-causal analysis of its object. In turn, the Public Policy Analysis (PPA) emerges after World War II, as an instrument for studying State decisions and their relationship with society. From that period, several tools that have been developed in the field are applied to the analysis of public policies, among them the Multiple Streams Model, by John Kingdon (2014).

The two fields have similarities and differences that can contribute to advances and reinforce the multidisciplinary character of IR. However, there is a gap in the exposure of these similarities and the use of common tools, especially in IR.

One of the consequences of the distance between the PS and the IRs is the neglect of domestic factors in the analysis of International Development Cooperation (IDC). For example, for realists, aid is a pragmatic tool of diplomacy. In the Marxist perspective, it is an instrument of countries' control and exploitation (of markets and resources) of the center on the periphery. In the liberal view, the IDC is a consequence of the trend towards cooperation generated by globalization and interdependence. Finally, for constructivists, aid is an expression of the norm that the richest countries should help the poorest. In other words, the IDC appears as the result of factors external to countries (Lancaster, 2007).

The IDC is part of the foreign policy strategies of the States and gained prominence in Brazilian foreign policy during the beginning of the 21st century. The

agenda of this type of cooperation of a State is formed from the formulation and modification of its foreign policy, a public policy (Milani, 2015). Therefore, it is believed that the tools of FPA and PPA can be useful to examine the construction of this agenda, being the very concept of "agenda", originating from the PPA.

Given the above, the objective of the present work is to present paths of rapprochement between the PS and the IR, through the approximation between the FPA and the PPA, with a focus on the use of the Multiple Streams Models for the study of agenda formation in the IDC provided by Brazil. Two assumptions are made: foreign policy as a public policy and IDC as part of foreign policy.

In order to achieve the objective, a bibliographic review of the central authors is used to understand the subfield of the FPA in its history and central premises and the literature that addresses the central premises and objectives of the PP field. In addition, it uses authors who sought to bring these two areas together.

To illustrate this approach, a case study is presented, the analysis of ProSAVANA's entry in the cooperation agenda provided by Brazil. Here, it is believed that the single case study allows a detailed analysis of a complex phenomenon, which mixes with its own context. It uses several sources of evidence, with bibliographic review and analysis of open documents about the program. In order to analyze the strength of Brazilian domestic context in the formation of this agenda, four factors were analyzed, listed by Lancaster (2007), as relevant for the allocation of international aid: interests, ideas, institutions and aid organization.

Among the sources, memoranda of understanding, official websites, disclosed project parts, data (quantitative and qualitative) and government documents about ProSAVANA and cooperation between Brazil, Japan and Mozambique were used, focusing on the cooperation policy provided by Brazil in this regard period. For the bibliographic review, Google's academic search tool was used with keywords, such as "Prosavana", "triangular cooperation", "Brazil-Mozambique Relations", "Brazil-Japan Relations", "Relations Japan-Mozambique" and review of references. Both data collection and analysis were based on the Multiple Streams Model, by John Kingdon (2014) and Lancaster (2007). For the analysis of the domestic context, a mixed method was also used, based on studies already carried out on interests, ideas, institutions and aid organization in BFP, in BFP for Africa and in Brazilian international cooperation, in addition to data on these factors, collected in official channels. It is important to note that

this study has an exploratory character, with the objective of exploring ways of approximation between FPA and PPA tools.

From the study it was possible to identify the problem, alternative and policy streams, as described in Kingdon (2014). In the stream of problems is the increase in food insecurity with the food crisis of 2007/2008, ProSAVANA appears as an alternative within the agro-industrial model, along the lines of PRODECER and, finally, in the stream of policy, the Corporate Food Regime and the rise of Triangular Cooperation (TC), within the Brazilian domestic context. Japan is perceived as the policy entrepreneur.

In the first section, the FPA subfield, its main premises and foreign policy as public policy will be presented. Subsequently, the PPA field, its trajectory and, in particular, the Multiple Streams model, used in the case study to analyze the formation of the IDC agenda, will be presented. In the second section, connection points between the two areas will be pointed out, as well as the case study of the insertion of ProSAVANA in the agenda.

2. Foreign Policy Analysis and Public Policy Analysis as analysis tools

2.1. Foreign Policy Analysis: connection between domestic and international and foreign policy as public policy.

The main theories of IR that were consolidated throughout the 20th century prioritized the systemic analysis and the impact of external or systemic factors in the relations between countries and their foreign policy, from the view of the State as a unitary actor. The challenge to this perspective emerged in the 1970s, but gained strength in the post-Cold War, with the rise of new actors and themes on the IR² agenda (Cortinhas, 2006; Hudson & Vore, 1995). From this context, some authors go on to state that “the behavior of the State does not respond to the international system, it constitutes the system” (Moravcsik, 1993 as quoted in Cortinhas, 2006, p.75).

In this scenario, FPA emerged as an alternative that can fill one of the gaps left by mainstream theories. By proposing an analysis that sheds light on the role of domestic policy while recognizing the influence of factors in international policy and the system in the formulation of foreign policy.

² In Milner (1997), one can find a rescue of some of the authors and approaches that turned their attention to domestic politics even during the Cold War.

FPA is considered a subfield of IR. It appeared after the end of the Second World War and its studies went through a cooling period in the 1970s due to the emergence of International Political Economy, Constructivism, Postmodernism and theories that renewed traditional ones, such as Neorealism and Neoclassical Realism. With the end of the Cold War, as a consequence of the lack of capacity of IR theories to predict this phenomenon, the FPA has taken a breath (Hudson & Vore, 1995; Hill, 2003). In this period, FPA assumptions such as the centrality of the individual and the focus on the processes instead of the results, came to occupy a central place in the IR (Freire & Da Vinha, 2011).

For Hudson and Vore (1995), the core of FPA's premises is composed of: 1) Focus on the individuals and units that make up the State; 2) View of the national interest as the interest of several actors; 3) Premise that the actors do not necessarily act rationally because the action also depends on interpretation, “hidden agendas” (such as the search for consensus) and emotional and ideological motivations.

According to Hudson (2005), the FPA emphasizes the processes and results of human decisions and its objective is to move towards a more satisfactory explanation of state behavior. In the same sense, in Pinheiro (2009), the FPA is characterized as a subarea focused on the investigation of who formulates foreign policy, how it does it and how this process impacts its content.

Due to the investigated themes and their premises, the FPA is seen by Hudson and Vore (1995, p.228) as “bridging field” between the theories of IR, Comparative Politics (of Political Science) and the community decision makers. Hudson (2005) reinforces this idea when talking about FPA again as a field that observes multiple factors and levels of analysis and provides a multidisciplinary and theoretical interaction. FPA's view as a “bridge field” seems to be related, above all, to its multilevel analysis. In this perspective, domestic and foreign policy have boundaries that are fluid, which also has analytical consequences (Lentner, 2006; Hudson & Vore, 1995).

Mesquita (2002) states that a country's international relations are an aspect of domestic politics, as it is from politics and domestic institutions that leaders (and not states) make decisions about foreign policy. In this sense, Rosenau, one of the precursors of the FPA, was one of the first to relate the internal and external dimensions of States in their work (Putnam, 1988). According to Rosenau (1997, p. xiii,) “if domestic and foreign affairs are increasingly part and parcel of each other, the analyst has little choice but to

probe both the internal and external dynamics of societal life and the intricate connections between them”.

In turn, Christopher Hill (2003) sought to bring the external and domestic worlds closer together, stating that domestic and external sources overlap in the construction of external actions, with foreign policy being an articulator between domestic policy and international relations. Thus, foreign policy is a place of political action and choice based on interpretation, the product of a society.

In the “two-level game”, by Robert Putnam (1988), linked to the theory of rational choice, domestic politics and international relations are intertwined, through the combination of pressures from the two spheres in simultaneous interactions. In the same sense, for Helen Milner (1997), international cooperation is the continuation of domestic politics by other means. In her work, she points out that the relationship between the domestic and the external is underdeveloped theoretically, which needs more attention, since they are inextricably interrelated.

Finally, Lancaster (2007), in her work, analyzes the domestic context and the purposes of international aid, emphasizing the role of mutual influence of domestic policy and external events in the purposes of foreign assistance from these countries. For her, the allocation of a country's aid depends on political conditions and the budget at the domestic level and external events. In his view, domestic factors have been neglected in the analysis, but they are important, as aid generates significant public spending; it is the target of debate and criticism from internal groups; and due to the capacity / need of governments to create support coalitions for their own political agenda in this area. In this sense, domestic policy serves as a mediator of the external context and is, at the same time, independent of it.

It is important to note that the FPA seeks to integrate the levels, not leaving aside the structural pressures of the international system. In this way, aspects already pointed out by the literature as influential in the foreign policy of States are not discarded, such as their position on the international scene and the international regimes that are built, as in Milner (1997), for example.

Understanding the relevance of domestic policy as well as international policy to understand foreign policy, it is recognized by several authors as a public policy, similar to other domestic public policies. In peripheral countries, this was inserted in contexts of political liberalization and economic opening, in which institutional reforms were seen,

which leads to a greater interest by society in foreign policy. This politicization is a consequence of two factors: greater exposure to the external and greater distributional impacts of foreign policy on the domestic environment (Lima, 2000; Milani, 2015). In Brazil, the relevant role of the FPA literature is perceived in terms of the perspective of foreign policy as public policy.

According to Maria Regina S. de Lima (2000) treating state and government as synonyms made it difficult to dialogue between international politics and the PS. This is because, being one, the State would not depend on the government to build its national interest, which would be given by its position in the system or empirically (through what the government says). However, FPA recognizes that foreign policy belongs to the field of politics, since its formulation and implementation are part of the “dynamics of government choices”, the result of coalitions, bargains, disputes and agreements between different interests (Milani & Pinheiro, 2013, p.24). Therefore, for Milani (2015) foreign policy is also in the realm of policy, of action, since “[the] government has options, although some of them are strongly limited by the very nature of the state (capitalist and democratic) and the system international (anarchic and asymmetric)” (Milani, 2015, p.70). These premises allow us to pave the way for a dialogue with the PS.

In this sense, thinking about foreign policy as public policy implies thinking about government as an institution of the State (and not as a synonym for the State). Still for Milani and Pinheiro (2013, p. 22), “studying foreign policy as public policy implies theoretically and methodologically, therefore, trying to understand how and why governments choose certain actions”. This objective is similar to the PPA's objective of analyzing how and why governments make their decisions, but incorporating external / international factors and analyzing a specific type of policy: external.

Therefore, the FPA has as its object the formulation and modification of foreign policy, giving relevance to multi-causal and multilevel studies and the public policy character of its object of analysis, since it is the result of political decisions and not of a pure “State interest”. It is these characteristics of the subfield that make it, par excellence, an important link with the PS, as will be discussed in the second section, after the presentation of the PPA field.

2.2. Public Policy Analysis and Kingdon's multiple-stream model

In PS, decision-making processes have privileged status as an object of study. In 1950 public policies were defined as a unit of analysis and the process of building policies became the subject of discipline, giving rise to PPA. This field is characterized by Heidenheimer (1990 as quoted in Asensio, 2010) for the study of how, why and for which governments act or fail to act. It emerged in the post-World War II context, with the aim of making public policies more successful and efficient and, having public action as its object of study, it was affirmed “as the discipline that allows to open the 'black box' of the political system” (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2017, p. 12).

According to Nascimento, Moreira, Hardt and Schusel (2015), there is no single or better definition of public policy. One of them is that of Dallari Bucci (as quoted in Nascimento et al., 2015, p.849), which are “government action programs aimed at coordinating the means at the disposal of the State and private activities for the achievement of social goals relevant and politically determined”.

For Araújo and Rodrigues (2017, p. 12), public policies are “complex and multidimensional processes that develop at multiple levels of action and decision - local, regional, national and transnational”. In addition, they involve different actors, whose purposes are the resolution of public problems, the distribution of power and resources. Thus, in the perspective of the PPA authors, the government is a place of conflicts of interest, ideas and preferences that give rise to its actions. For this reason, individuals, institutions and the interaction of government entities with other actors are fundamental elements of analysis (Nascimento et al., 2015).

From this, Araújo and Rodrigues (2017) point out three characteristics of the PPA: 1) orientation for solving public problems, considering their contexts; 2) multidisciplinary in theoretical and practical approaches, with a view to a comprehensive analysis of political problems and 3) orientation towards values, with emphasis on democracy and human dignity. Therefore, like the FPA, the PPA is a multi / multidisciplinary area, for which individuals, institutions, interactions, ideology and interests influence policies (Souza, 2006).

Models are a feature of the PPA. They are constituted as representations of explanatory concatenations that guide empirical research, an abstraction, made in order to understand what is relevant in the formulation or change of a public policy (Nascimento et al, 2015). The Multiple Streams Model, by John Kingdon (2014) is one of these.

Kingdon is the authority on setting the agenda and political streams within the PPA. His work was launched in 1984 and is the result of empirical research in the United States on the health and transportation agendas over a period of thirty years. According to the author, the agenda is a list of problems or issues that government officials and those outside the government associated with these officials are paying more attention to at any given time.

The Multiple Streams Model is so called because, in Kingdon's perspective (2014), for a topic to rise to the agenda, the confluence of three streams is necessary: problems (problems), policies (policy) and politics (politics). These three processes are independent, but they are related to each other and, when they converge, form a “window of opportunity” for certain themes, with a high probability of being included in the agenda. For this to happen, it is necessary that available alternatives serve a certain problem (need for change) and that there is a favorable political context, in which a policy entrepreneur invests in a certain problem or alternative and decision makers are inclined to accept inclusion of this problem or alternative on the agenda. It is usually a combination of factors that makes a given topic gain prominence on the agenda; that is, when an idea arises, it needs fertile soil to bear fruit (Kingdon, 2014).

Streams can serve as an impulse or as a constraint on certain topics. In the stream of problems is the pressure of the problems or themes that must be dealt with. It includes crises, knowledge or changes in indicators, among other factors, that make a topic recognized as something that needs government action.

In the stream of policies, the alternatives revolve. Here, ideas, values, knowledge generated by specialists circulate and the way in which alternatives to problems gain prominence. The dissemination of ideas, ideology, national culture and causal beliefs and the way that problems and alternatives are interpreted by the participants gain relevance.

Finally, the stream of politics includes aspects of national politics: electoral rules, organized political forces, national humor, changes in government and parliament. Those in government, political elites and other organized political forces are highlighted. In politics, the role of ideas gives space to the role of diffusion and persuasion through bargaining and concessions.

The Multiple Streams Model is considered to be of a non-linear character. It considers the process of formulating and modifying public policies as less structured and deterministic. In this model, the formulation and choice of public policies is not a rational

and orderly process, but "organized anarchy". This is characterized by the absence of direct cause-and-effect relationships, but a congruence of factors. This represents a criticism of the Public Policy Cycle.

3. Connecting Political Science and International Relations

Traditionally, there is a separation between the study of public policy, foreign policy and international politics, derived, as already mentioned, from the attempt at independence of the IRs as a discipline. Contrary to this, authors such as Sousa (2014) and Lentner (2006), point to the potential for greater integration and cross-fertilization between these studies.

For Lentner (2006) FPA presents itself as an approximation arena with PPA because both tend to resort to methods and insights from other Social Sciences, that is, they are multidisciplinary. Thus, it seems relevant to remember that IR and CP share the same theoretical bases, although they have followed different institutional trajectories (Lima, 2000).

A portrait of this are the various PPA terms / concepts appropriate and used in the IRs (especially in the FPA), such as the idea of "setting the agenda". It is interesting to note, for example, that Salomón and Pinheiro (2013) claim that the FPA encompasses aspects (influences, contexts and social practices) that affect all phases of foreign policy: agenda formation, design and implementation, phases traditionally attributed to the study of public policies. It can even be speculated that this use contributes to the fact that the postgraduate courses in IR in Brazil are quite new and few in number, generating a search for alternatives by internationalists in postgraduate courses in PS, generating researchers familiar with both conceptual and theoretical frameworks.

In addition to the study of elements of domestic politics, multidisciplinary and concepts, the object of both is closely related. Both FPA and PPA pay attention to the processes of building public policies, although the focus of the FPA is on foreign policy, which has its specificities. This focus on processes contributes to the similarity of objects and, consequently, some of the factors analyzed are also the same. Both are political, involve several actors and are influenced by several factors, requiring a multi-causal explanation.

Recognizing the role of domestic policy dynamics in the construction of foreign policy contributes to cooperation between the fields. It allows us to observe several

similarities between foreign policy and other public policies, as in the perspective of Lima (2000), for whom, if there is no ontological distinction between them, the decision-making process should not be considered as distinct. Thus, the processes and actors of political formulation are similar (Lentner, 2006), some of the factors affect choices in both spheres (Hudson & Vore, 1995) and many categories, concepts and theories applied to domestic policy can also be applied to politics exterior (Tomassini, 1989 as quoted in Cortinhas, 2006; Hudson & Vore, 1995). Furthermore, at the highest levels many of the same agents participate in domestic and foreign policies, some of the same constituencies are affected by both policies and there is social pressure to participate in both (Lentner, 2006).

As for the factors, it is interesting to note that there is a combination of factors in common, regarding the formulation of the agenda. They are the interests (of the actors), the institutions and the ideas that permeate the analyzed processes. The so-called “three I’s”, from PS, are also used in IR, as clearly observed in Milner (1997) and Lancaster (2007), however, they have more explored and well developed tools in the mother discipline of IR.

When comparing traditional IR theories with PPA's premises, Sousa (2014, page) notes that the second proposes “more concrete, specific and empirically testable perspectives”. In this way, using methods, techniques and data from public policies are, for the author, tools for approximating the two fields. Following the approach, for Sousa there will be good results, with more comprehensive analyzes, which consider domestic and external factors, giving them greater strength.

Here, the Multiple Streams Model is perceived as an example of an PPA analysis tool that can be used for agenda studies in foreign policy. This is not only due to the similarities between the object of the PPA and the FPA, but also due to the lack of studies on agenda definition in the IR (Rosati, 2001 as mentioned in Freire & Da Vinha, 2011; Wood & Peake, 1998).

In addition to the defense made by Lentner (2006) and Livingston (1992) of the use of the Multiple Streams Model as an approximation channel between PPA and FPA, connection points with the Model can be found in the literature. Livingston himself emphasizes the relevance of access points, which would function in a similar way to Kingdon's “windows of opportunity”, where the problem definition, alternatives and global salience of the theme converge. Milani (2015), for example, considers factors

influencing issues that enter the foreign policy agenda: problems, solutions and politics, the same Streams as Kingdon. Rosendorff and Milner (1997), on the other hand, pay attention to the role of “endorsers”, similar to the “policy entrepreneurs” of multiple Streams. Finally, the definition of the agenda they use is also similar.

Therefore, Kingdon's model is important for the definition of what constitutes the agenda and resembles the perspective of authors who work with the agenda of international or foreign policy.

3.1. Contribution of the Multiple Streams Model to the study of the CID: the case of ProSAVANA

Assuming that IDC actions are part of the foreign policy of States, the FPA and PPA can be used to understand the process of building and modifying the IDC. Within this process is the investigation of how the cooperation agenda of certain States is formed.

The IDC, part of the so-called International Aid, arises after the Second World War, in order to contribute to the development of developing countries. Over the decades, it has changed and so has its agenda, that is, priorities and what is defended as “good” for development.

The IDC's global agenda includes several other agendas, among which we can consider those that belong to the bi-or trilateral cooperation agendas between specific countries and the agendas of each state. These respond to the foreign policy objectives and preferences of these States. Therefore, here, the case study of the insertion of ProSAVANA in the cooperation agenda provided by Brazil is exposed, using the Kingdon Model (2014). In addition to this, Lancaster (2007) was used to observe how the Brazilian domestic environment contributed to the adoption of ProSAVANA on the agenda, considering ideas, institutions, interests and aid organization as relevant factors.

The Triangular Cooperation Program for Agricultural Development in the tropical Savannah in Mozambique (ProSAVANA) is a program developed between Brazil, Japan and Mozambique, originating in 2009, with the aim of increasing agricultural production and productivity in the northern region of Mozambique (Japanese International Cooperation Agency [JICA] & Brazilian Cooperation Agency [BCA], 2009). It occupied a prominent place on the TC agenda of its promoters, due to its magnitude, the revolution it intended to put into practice in Mozambique and the debates that arose around it.

Through ProSAVANA, the complete agricultural chain in the region would be developed in order to make Mozambican production competitive, sustainable and market oriented (ProSAVANA, 2015, sn). Many debates have arisen around the idea. NGOs and local producers in Mozambique point out the lack of consultation with the population and transparency as problems that mirrored the failure to consider social issues. Furthermore, the intended model was based on another undertaking, the Japanese-Brazilian Cooperation Program for the development of the Cerrados (PRODECER), adopted by Japan and Brazil in the 1970s, to transform the Brazilian Cerrado into productive land. PRODECER received several criticisms in its time, as it caused social and environmental damage to the region, permanently modifying the territorial dynamics of that space (Inocencio, 2010).

From an economic point of view, PRODECER is considered a success in Japanese-Brazilian cooperation, since, after it, the Cerrado became a major producer of commodities and allowed Brazil to rise as a major world producer. It is due to this success that the model was sought by ProSAVANA partners, to solve contemporary problems, now applied in Mozambique. Thus, the Program appears as Kingdon's alternative (2014).

And what are these problems, which would correspond to the second stream of the Model? Japan is very concerned about food security, considering that it imports a large part of its food. Similarly, Mozambique also suffers from food insecurity. It is generated by the country's low agricultural productivity, combined with climate issues, which leads the country to seek alternatives to reduce food imports (Toenniessen, Adesina & Devries, 2008)

Between 2007 and 2008 a global food crisis reinforced the difficulties of Japan and Mozambique and highlighted the need to increase agricultural productivity (in Mozambique) and guarantee new food suppliers (in the Japanese case) (Clements, 2015). The global concern with food security was expressed in multilateral forums and generated a “political moment” for initiatives in agriculture (ICTSD, 2009).

In this scenario, ProSAVANA, based on the Mozambican insertion in the global food chains and expansion of the development of agro-industrial agriculture, was aligned with the production model defended globally, the so-called “Corporate Food Regime”, which was reinforced with the increasing financialization of food. In this process, there is a global integration of agri-food production, which is now dominated by large global

corporations (McMichael, 2014). Thus, the food crisis can be seen as a driver of the stream of problems.

Another process that contributed to ProSAVANA's "political moment" was the changes in the international aid paradigm, with the prominence of South-South Cooperation and Triangular Cooperation. This had the contribution of Japan and Brazil, as entrepreneurs, especially in the face of the multilateral forums of IDC.

In the context of changes in the aid paradigm, there is a search for greater effectiveness, driven by criticisms of traditional aid, its failure to achieve the MDGs and the scarcity of resources in the context of the 2008 financial crisis (Pino, 2013). Based on these factors, traditional donors and several international organizations started to defend a greater dialogue between traditional and emerging donors. This was also allowed by the economic rise of part of the emerging countries, with emphasis on the BRICS.

Japan was the first traditional donor to engage in the TC, still in the 1970s and one of the defenders of its use, in forums such as UNDP. In turn, Brazil has shown a great growth in the participation of TC in its IDC provided during the ProSAVANA negotiation period. One of the factors for this may be the recognition of their "good practices" and their role as leaders of developing countries, which would facilitate the approximation of developed countries and the search of developing countries for these solutions. Therefore, the prominence of TC in the aid system, especially in the Brazil-Japan relationship, can be seen as a contribution to the adoption of ProSAVANA on the agenda (Mochizuki, 2009; Iglesias Puente, 2010; Pino, 2013). In this sense, Pino (2013), also points out that, since 2008, the TC's efforts were focused on resolving the global food, energy, climate and financial crises, uniting the TC to the ProSAVANA food cooperation proposal.

In terms of bilateral relations between the countries involved in ProSAVANA, there is also a context that facilitated trilateral cooperation: Japan and Brazil are historic partners. The Japanese immigration to Brazil, from the beginning of the 20th century, created the largest Japanese community outside Japan and provided several opportunities for bilateral cooperation (like PRODECER) (Uehara, 2013). Over the decades, relations were consolidated, until the establishment of the Japan-Brazil Partnership Program (JBPP), in 2000, which recognizes Brazil's role as an international aid provider and aims at strengthening the TC between Brazil and Japan. milestone that ProSAVANA is inserted (Jica & ABC, 2009; Sakaguchi, 2012).

On the other hand, both Brazil and Japan were looking for closer ties with African countries in the early 2000s. For Brazil, during the Workers' Party, Africa was seen as a key continent for Brazilian leadership in developing countries, especially with the PALOP, with whom it shares its history as a former colony of Portugal (Vigevani & Cepaluni, 2007; Saraiva, 2012). For Japan, on the other hand, the continent represents a locus of competition with China. In addition, both Brazil and Japan showed interest in a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, an organ in which the votes of African countries represent a large share (Seabra, 2011; Stolte, 2014).

Putting these interests in perspective, Mozambique appears as an opportunity, due to its good growth results in the “New African Renaissance” phenomenon, in addition to the historical and linguistic approach to Brazil (Saraiva, 2012). In turn, Mozambique was hit by the food crisis, in a context of low agricultural productivity and high dependence on foreign aid³, which leads it to take advantage of all opportunities for external resources. In this way, the growing relevance of the TC and the strengthening of relations between partner countries, provide fertile ground for ProSAVANA, contributing to the stream of policy.

Finally, in the Brazilian domestic context, aspects listed by Lancaster (2007) were analyzed as relevant to understand the allocation of international aid. These are aspects: ideas (worldviews, norms and causal beliefs), institutions (rules, procedures, participation mechanisms, which regulate who decides, who has access to the decision-making process and who vetoes), organization of aid (what voice to help) within the government and how it is structured) and interests.

Among the ideas relevant to ProSAVANA, we highlight those related to Brazil's African policy, especially during the Lula governments, and to the IDC provided by Brazil. Here, ideas such as: Brazil's aspiration for power (Saraiva, 2010), the relevance of leadership in Africa (Saraiva & Valença, 2011) and that cooperation with countries with common interests was important for the country's projection in the world (Saraiva, 2010). Furthermore, during the Lula governments, the paradigms of the Logistic State (Cervo, 2003) and Autonomy for Diversification (Vigevani & Cepaluni, 2007), shed light on the South-South partnerships and the role of the State as a promoter of Brazilian business abroad. Thus, Brazil adopted the so-called Pragmatic Atlantism (Saraiva, 2012), when

³ According to a document published by the Ministry of Planning and Development of Mozambique (MPD) (2013), in 2008 the share of the state budget financed by external resources reached 56%.

approaching African countries, placing itself as a model, especially in Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP).

Still as part of the ideas, we can mention the causal beliefs related to the IDC itself. According to Pinto and Mesquita (2012), the IDC of the period was the result of Brazil's identity as a developing country and its aspiration for a prominent place on the international stage. To this end, it was used mainly of structuring projects, based on the belief that they would generate a more sustainable development in the partners, differently from one-off projects (Pino, 2013).

Regarding the institutions and the organization of aid, the MRE is appointed as an actor who coordinates the entire decision-making process, in particular the definition of the agenda, the formulation and the decision in foreign policy (Silva, Spécie & Vitale, 2010). In addition to it, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) created in 1987, coordinates all international cooperation in Brazil and acted as a central player in the ProSAVANA negotiation. During the period of insertion of the Program on the agenda, ABC was subordinate to the MRE, having increased its budget, number of projects and countries benefited during the first decade of the 2000s (ABC, 2017), acquiring greater relevance in the core of BFP. Finally, EMBRAPA is also an actor worth mentioning. Created from PRODECER, the institution was at the center of the implementation of ProSAVANA, being involved since the first conversations between the Brazilian and Japanese government. Furthermore, it was central to the agricultural cooperation provided by Brazil during the Lula governments (Albuquerque, 2013).

As for the interests, there was a prominence of those expressed by the BFP, such as the diplomatic ones (of leadership of developing countries and rise in the international system) and of development through foreign policy. Here, the ideas that permeated the BFP during the Lula administration can be taken up, which put in perspective Brazil's identity with Africa and its role as a model, especially of the PALOP. In the private interests, the paradigm of the Logistic State is highlighted, in which Brazil would act as a broker of opportunities for its companies and investors abroad (Cervo, 2003). Thus, there is evidence that the government sought to open opportunities in Mozambique and to take its companies and investors. However, there is no clue that the interests of these actors have driven the adoption of ProSAVANA on the agenda, despite the opportunities it could generate in terms of opening up the market for agricultural land and inputs and for the agricultural machinery trade.

The fact that the research does not present such evidence contributes to the ProSAVANA literature, contradicting the idea that Brazilian agribusiness has expressed interests for the country to put the program into practice. This does not mean, however, that national investors have not expressed contentment or support for the initiative or that the government has not considered opportunities for the private sector.

Given the previous ideas, it is concluded that several domestic and external factors contributed as a backdrop to the opening of a “window of opportunity” that allowed the inclusion of ProSAVANA in the triangular cooperation agenda provided by Brazil. Using the Multiple Streams model it was possible to identify elements that contributed to this rise and that can be categorized among the streams. Food insecurity (in Mozambique and also in Japan) would be the problem and be solved, as it was aggravated by the food crisis between 2007 and 2008. The agro-industrial model, with Mozambique's insertion in global chains, characterized as an “update” of the PRODECER would be the alternative chosen, amid the ideas of agricultural development model disseminated in the Corporate Food Regime. Finally, the policy stream would include the Corporate Food Regime itself, the rise of Triangular Cooperation in the aid system and the Brazilian domestic context as a whole, as these aspects concern the domestic and international political game of aid. Finally, Japan is characterized as the “policy entrepreneur” of ProSAVANA, since, through the analysis of the documents and facts that surrounded its agreement, the country appears as the protagonist of the initiative and the one who undertakes for it to materialize, including in terms of financial contribution.

4. Conclusion

Due to its characteristics, such as the multilevel analysis and the recognition that foreign policy is a public policy, built from diverse interests and the domestic political game, the FPA allows the opening for a greater dialogue between the IR and the PS. In this sense, PPA is one of the fertile fields for this greater integration, as foreign policy and other public policies have some of the same actors and processes in their construction, both of which are under social pressure, there are common factors that affect them and theories and concepts common to both approaches. Despite this, the objects of study of the PPA and the FPA remain different, since the FPA focuses specifically on foreign policy, including, in addition to domestic policy, external factors and context.

The similarities between the fields and the common theoretical basis between the IR and the PS enabled the FPA to appropriate PPA concepts and tools. In relation to the formation studies of the agenda, the tools and methods of the PPA are better developed and can be used for the analysis of the foreign policy agendas of the countries and of the international policy, scarce studies in the FPA.

In order to exemplify this use, we sought in this work to present the results of the case study of the rise of ProSAVANA in the BFP agenda in 2009. Using Kingdon, existing streams were identified, which enabled the rise of the theme. The increase in food insecurity with the 2007/2008 food crisis represents the problem, PRODECER as a model of ProSAVANA, of an agro-industrial character, was the alternative found for it and, finally, the Corporate Food Regime and the highlight of Triangular Cooperation, together the Brazilian domestic context, in which institutions, interests, ideas and aid organization (factors relevant to the cooperation agenda, according to Lancaster) were analyzed as a context for the stream of policy. Japan is perceived as a relevant actor for the proposal, being seen as the policy entrepreneur described by Kingdon. Based on this framework, it is believed that it is possible to think of a fertile rapprochement between Political Science and International Relations through PPA and FPA tools. As it was possible to identify elements that opened a “window of opportunity” for ProSAVANA. In this sense, it is observed that the food crisis and the rise of the TC were new elements, which emerged during the program's rise period and, thus, one can think that, without them, your opportunity might not have opened.

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