Workshop
GLOFOODS Metaprogramme “Transitions to global food security”
Enhancing access to food through agro-ecology: exploring existing and desirable visions for public policies

Agenda-setting analysis

Stéphane Guéneau, Cirad/UFMA/UnB
Catia Grisa, UFRGS
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Agoecology: analyzing how social demands become public policy

- Modern agriculture social/environmental crisis (Conway and Pretty 1991, Audirac 1997, Altieri and Nicholls) => social concerns

- Narratives focus on the transition from dominant agrifood systems to agroecological systems

- Demands for change are obvious... however, it hasn’t yet resulted in strong public policies (that trigger deep modifications of agri-food systems).

⇒ Agenda-setting analysis focus on how and why social problems become government priorities
Agenda-setting analysis: from social problem to policy issue

- Concept of "agenda": “a general set of political controversies that will be viewed as falling within the range of legitimate concerns meriting the attention of the polity” (Cobb & Elder, 1971)

- Difficulty to attract the attention of the media, political parties, or government to the problem, as they all make a selection between problems and focus on limited issues. The agenda is not extensible!

- => Comprehension of the selection process is relevant:
  - which actor or group of actors is likely to have an influence? The *claimsmakers* play a central role in the construction of public problems by giving them legitimacy in relation to some values (solidarity, equity, social justice, general interest, development, etc.);
  - by what mechanism do certain actors gain the attention of political decision-makers? Creating *advocacy coalitions* may help problems to gain audience.
“Framing” the issues

Which definition of the problem most attracts the attention of policymakers? and what is the dimension (aspect) of the problem that will enter the political agenda?

The actors who convince the audience about their own definition of the problem become the legitimate owner of the problem (Knopfel et al. 2000)

What is at stake is the control of the problem construction process and the problem resolution options.

Analyzing the “Framing” process is relevant:

How actors describe, explain and try to convince the decision makers that a specific representation of the problem is important?
Agenda-setting analysis: various models are used

Baumgartner and Jones (1993): Punctuated equilibrium model;
Garaud (1990): Modèle de la mobilisation externe/interne, modèle de l’anticipation; etc.
The 3 streams model (John Kingdon, 1984, 2014 “Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies”)

- **Problems stream:** reports, indicators, crisis, trigger events... that build the problem
- **Policy stream:** ideas and solutions (technical feasibility, social acceptance, low costs)
- **Politics stream:** “national mood”, public opinion, administrative or legislative turnover.

**Policy Windows (Convergence of streams)**

**Agenda-setting**
Policy narratives analysis

- Policy Narrative Analysis one of the framework that is used to analyze the construction of a problem
- Which narratives were used: to build a problem, or “choosing” solutions? to “feed” the three streams?
- Objective of the narratives
  - Building a “true story” that becomes an evidence, indisputable, irrefutable...
  - Focusing on the sensitive issues in order to create emotion (so that it is necessary and even urgent to act);
  - Simplifying the comprehension of complex social problems to make them easily understandable for decision makers;
  - Suggesting an action (what should be done to solve the problem)
- Narratives are very powerful tools: they are able to control and influence the ideological orientation of a society.
- Emery Roe, 1994; Radaelli, 2000: Analysing:
  - discourses, statements and catchwords
  - new communication strategies (you tube, twitter, Facebook, 24/24h channels...)
Cerrado: framing the issue
Cerrado: framing the issue

Developmentalist narrative (agribusiness coalition):

- Ugly area suitable for mechanized agriculture (plane, with abundant water resources, unexpansive lands...)
- Before the agribusiness development, the Cerrado was unproductive, empty, deserted...
- Modern agriculture (soy industry): the most dynamic sector of Brazilian economy, macroeconomic balance
- Modern agriculture contribution to food security: Cerrado as «cellar of the world»
- Modern agriculture reduce poverty (HDI)

### Exportateurs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Huile</th>
<th>Graines</th>
<th>Tourteaux</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Argentine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Etats-Unis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brésil</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
2. Conservationist narrative:
   - Threats (as important as Amazon biome)
   - “Hotspot” of biodiversity
   - “Water fountain” (“caixa d’Agua”, “berço das aguas”)
   - « Inverted forest » (carbon stock in the ground)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Species</th>
<th>% Endemism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plants</td>
<td>12,070</td>
<td>34,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishes</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphibians</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>35,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reptiles</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>37,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birds</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>3,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mammals</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>12,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deforestation
3. Opposition... then compromise = new coalition, a new narrative: focus on *Sustainability* =

- “Zero deforestation”, “responsible agriculture”
- Intensification + intelligent landscape approach
  - Increasing pastures’ productivity;
  - Limiting soy expansion on degraded areas
  - Extending Protected Areas

**AGRICULTURAL SUITABILITY IN PASTURE AREAS**

- High no restriction
- Medium no restriction
- High + altitude restriction
- Medium + altitude restriction
- High + slope restriction
- Medium + slope restriction
- High + double restriction
- Medium + double restriction
- Low
- Unsuitable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Protected areas</th>
<th>Amazonie</th>
<th>Cerrado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>8,8</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Consequences of this issue construction

Cerrado is represented as a technical area, that can be managed with “intelligent maps” (sharing the conservation and production areas) = creation of a new sustainability agenda

⇒ Cerrado is considered as a desert (no history before agribusiness)
⇒ a representation that hide the reality (and complexity) of production systems in the Cerrado
⇒ a representation that blames agroecological and agroextractivism systems that already exist in the Cerrado (outdated and unproductive)

Yet, agroecological and agroextractivism systems in the Cerrado could be an alternative (coexisting with other systems), as they:
• combine small-scale farming systems, ranching and extractivism of natural resources
• are largely implemented by peasants and traditional communities (not marginally)
• do not harm the environment and generate incomes for farmers who protect the biome
Agroecology agenda-setting process in the Maranhão

3 groups in the policy arena:

- **Alternative agriculture movements** (Acesa, Tijupa, Assema...): Agroecology as a project for the society (that include technical, cultural, political dimensions, etc. => gender, field-level education, fair relationships, short circuits...

- **Family farming movements** (MST, Unions...): Agroecology as a project that struggle against conventional agriculture systems => competitive ecological small-scale agriculture

- **Academics** (UEMA agronomists): Agroecology as a science adapted to local conditions => technical solutions for specific situations (climate and soils) in the Maranhão.
Agroecology agenda-setting process in the Maranhão

Création d’une coalition ample

Agronomists UEMA

Alternative agriculture movements

Family farming movements

RAMA Rede agroecologica do Maranhão (Network on Agroecology)
Agroecology agenda-setting process in the Maranhão

Implementation of the 3 streams model

Problems stream

2009-2017: doubling of the soybean area in the Maranhão
Environmental issues, social conflicts

Since 2000’s
Agroecological projects
RAMA: action plan, draft law redaction

Policy stream

Policy Windows

Politics stream

2015: government reelected with the support of social movements
Creation of the Family Farming department (SAF)

Agenda-setting
2018: Policy on agroecology