Project # 1: South-South Foreign Cooperation Policies in Comparative Perspective: Brazil, China, India, Mexico, South Africa and Turkey

Abstract

The aim of this project is to analyze how South-South Cooperation for Development (SSC-D) strategies are integrated into the foreign policy agenda of six countries that are considered to be emerging powers at the moment: Brazil, China, India, Mexico, South Africa and Turkey. Also known as "new powers" (Narlikar, 2010), "large peripheral countries" (Dupas, 2005) or "rising states" (Alexandroff and Cooper, 2010), the middle income countries that were selected for this study have increased their participation in the international cooperation for development system - not only as beneficiaries but also as donors. They finance projects and provide technical cooperation in a wide range of areas, including public health, basic education, university exchange, non-formal education, the environment, technical assistance projects, agricultural development, technological cooperation and scientific development, public management, as well as development of infrastructures. They work in partnership with developing countries from different regions of the world (e. g. Africa, Latin America and Asia). The inclusion of SSC-D strategies in their foreign policies comes in tandem with the important role they have been playing in the international political and economic agenda, particularly in the overhaul of global governance bodies (such as the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO and the financial G20) and in the reconfiguration of regional alliances and interregional coalitions (the Southern African Development Community (SADC); the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR); the IBAS Forum; the BRICS group; the commercial G-20). Clearly, the six countries of this project differ in terms of their SSC-D policies' institutional design, their multilateral behavior, the size of their respective economies, their regional integration, productive and development models, as well as their domestic policies. This enriches the comparative method of our analysis, based on the principle of existing similarities and differences and on the challenges posed by authors such as Badie and Hermet (2001), Bara and Pennington (2009), Beasley et al. (2002), Breuning (2007) or Caporaso (1997). In view of the ample and well-established academic literature on the historical experience of North-South cooperation (Comeliau, 1991; Correa, 2010; Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen, 2003; IDA, 2007; Iglesia-G., 2005; Lancaster, 2007; Moraes, 2006; Mavrotas and Nunnenkamp, 2007;

Marcovitch, 1994; Pereira, 2010; Varela, 1991), and the scarce literature on SSC (Antonini and Hirst, 2009; Ayala and Perez, 2009; Ayllón, 2011; Chin, 2010; Chisholm and Steiner-Khamsi, 2009; Hirst, 2009; Hurrell, 2010; IPEA, 2010; Lima, 2005), this research project is necessary and timely, in order to find out more – both theoretically and empirically, and from a comparative standpoint - about the foreign policy realities of these emerging powers. Essentially, this is due to: a) their dual insertion in cooperation agendas, i.e. as beneficiaries and donors; b) the emergence of a South-South cooperation diplomacy (or the greater relevance that has been accorded to this agenda lately), through speeches, institutions, projects and funding, beginning around 1990 and 2000; c) the strategic relevance of these countries in regional and global geopolitics; d) their historical legacy in terms of participation, between the 1950s and 1970s, in the debates about center-periphery relations, non-alignment, the Third World and the new international economic order; and e) the similarities and differences they show for the purposes of a comparative approach.

Goals and objectives

MAIN GOAL: To analyze, in comparative perspective, the Brazilian government's South-South cooperation strategies and those of some selected countries (China, India, Mexico, South Africa and Turkey) in order to understand the interfaces between them and their respective foreign policy agendas.

OBJECTIVES:

- Objective 1: To analyze the official Brazilian discourse on SSC-D, as well as its practices, projects and political and strategic orientations.

- Objective 2: To analyze, in comparative perspective, the official SSC-D discourse of the other selected countries, as well as their practices, projects and political and strategic orientations.

- Objective 3: To identify and analyze Brazil's main areas of activity in the field of SSC-D, as well as those of the other countries being studied: the types of cooperation they use, the actors involved and some of the results obtained.

- Objective 4: To identify practices of SSC-D in similar contexts that may be useful to Brazil from the perspective of comparison and learning, as well as any coordination strategies (and possible difficulties) among the six selected countries.

- Objective 5: To contribute to the field of comparative foreign policy through the development of a theoretical-methodological framework, defining parameters, variables and causality relations among the factors studied, in order to test the framework in other case studies of SSC-D (Bolivia and Mozambique).

Theoretical-methodological choices and research agenda

The international cooperation for development (ICD) system described above, especially North to South cooperation (NSC), has been the subject of several interpretations and critical analyses regarding its origins, assumptions and the possible ways of dispensing with it. A <u>first</u> interpretation of the role of ICD organizations focuses on how they are associated with the capitalist mode of production, its logic of accumulation, and the legitimation of liberal multilateralism. Therefore, in order to put an end to this role, first it would be necessarily to overcome this mode of producing, distributing and appropriating both the results of production and the social space itself. A <u>second</u> approach, the anthropological critique, reveals the ethnocentric bias inherent in the definition of the values and norms of development as a Western promise, highlighting the historical origins and the universalizing aims of modernization. For this current of thought, the principles of progress and civilization have imposed universal rationalities and measures on very distinct social, cultural, and historical contexts. They point, for example, to the need for dialogue with and among indigenous peoples and respect for different rationalities.

A <u>third</u> view, of the postmodern critique lineage, warns about the impossibility of development's universal character, as it is the fruit of an Enlightenment utopia that ended up favoring the interests of the ruling classes to the detriment of the subaltern classes (ESCOBAR 1994 and 2005). The post-developmental movement believes that, like progress, development can have effects on the lives and liberty of men, whilst disguising the interests of various power groups that benefit from the same process. They support post-development and encourage research about those 'quality of life' concepts (modes of *épanouissement*) that do not seek just material well-being, as it can cause environmental degradation and the disruption of social relations. They point to the essentially plural character of development, which should be designed in significantly different ways in the North and the South. For the countries of the North two alternatives are suggested: "happy degrowth" and "localism". Degrowth is here advocated as a planned strategy, aimed at restoring social and

environmental justice, given that the survival of humans and the safeguarding of biodiversity are intertwined. In addition to happy or harmonious degrowth, they advocate that local strategies (emphasis on the local context) be fostered as alternatives to globalization rather than simply as a complement or reinforcement to it. In the countries of South America, there is a heterogeneous and complex reality in terms of development agendas, ranging from restoring the relevance of indigenous knowledge and ancestral relations with the Earth (for example, the call to *buen vivir* in Ecuador) to neo-developmentalist models that reinstate the state's role in defining patterns of economic and social regulation (in the Brazilian case).

A <u>fourth</u> approach is the critical and counter-hegemonic modernity outlook, which takes on the challenge of trying to build universal values on fresh foundations (ARRIGHI, 1998, MORAES, 2006, MOSLEY et al., 1995). The lack of answers to social inequalities, and the persistent treatment of development issues mainly from an economic perspective fuel the complaints by various alternative social movements, as expressed in the World Social Forum. The works arising from this debate point to the polysemic and multidimensional nature of development and the importance of focusing on its social, political and cultural dimensions too. This viewpoint reframes the debate about globalization in terms of which type of globalization one wants to build and how one intends to go about it (BRINGEL et al., 2008, MILANI, 2008, PANKAJ, 2005). Naturally, these four critical approaches to development and the ICD system have some overlaps. Here we consider them as elements that provide a starting point for our analysis about the role of North-South cooperation (NSC) and, more particularly, for the understanding of the singularities and institutions of South-South cooperation (SSC). To what extent can SSC be considered distinct from traditional NSC? What lessons could be learned or taught regarding the future path of SSC in the six countries selected for our analysis?

A second important analytical dimension of this project concerns Foreign Policy Analysis. Following on from the researchers' previous study of foreign policy actors and agendas[1], the aim is to "identify niche areas not traditionally associated with foreign policy agendas, as well as government agencies (whether linked to the executive branch or not) and non-state actors

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[1] Leticia Pinheiro, Carlos R. S. Milani, Miriam G. Saraiva and Mónica Salomón are members of the Foreign Policy Actors and Agendas Network (http://agendasdepoliticaexterna.com.br). In addition, Carlos R. S. Milani and Leticia Pinheiro have edited and published a book on the subject in 2012.

whose field of activity is not directly related to international politics" (PINHEIRO, MILANI, 2012, p.20). By adopting this methodological approach, an agenda already initiated by some of the researchers involved in this study is taken up. At the same time, the project intends to advance the evaluation of how these new SSC themes enter the foreign policy agenda, which particular conflicts and tensions they create, and how this process affects the agency commonly responsible for the formulation of foreign policy in Brazil, namely the Itamaraty. It is based on the assumption that the differentiation of practices and the pluralization of actors involved in the SSC agendas imply a new policy in qualitative terms, which in turn demands fresh institutional arrangements and changes in the interpretative milestones of South-South cooperation foreign policy. The project is meant to start from this assumption in the analysis of national and subnational cases, also in comparative perspective.

From a methodological point of view, the research project is of a qualitative nature (content analysis) and will be focused on the analysis of institutional documents of some selected cases (i.e. case studies, comparative research), as well as interviews with policy makers and researchers in different countries and at different levels (international, national and subnational), official representatives of international advisors for cities and states, as well as members of NGOs, social networks and movements. The interviews will take place during the timeframe scheduled for the execution of the project.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AN DIMENSIONS
Main question: how do the six selected countries conceive and execute their SSC foreign policies? **Secondary questions:** do these countries, by means of their SSC policies, assume the leadership, coordinate their activities or share their decision-making processes? Do they challenge the traditional NSC system through their SSC policies? What have they learned from the more traditional practices of NSC?	Profile of the SSC foreign policy of selected countries in the post-1989 order: Brazil, China, India, Mexico, South Africa and Turkey. **Type of cooperation:** donation, loan, technical cooperation; amounts invested; choice of sectors and public policies; emphasis on multilateral or bilateral cooperation. **Cooperation norms and guidelines**: the standards, values and concepts put forward by the SSC policy; case study of some exemplary projects.	**Historical dimension** (contextual and formative variable): how were the strategies of each country integrated into their foreign policy agendas? What has been each country's experience in terms of NSC? (Diplomatic history and foreign policy history; political autonomy and coalition building; multilateral experience). **Geopolitical dimension** (contextual and constitutive variable): what are the economic motivations and the geopolitical foundations of SSC policies? (e. g. how are they related to regional and global collective security, to processes of regional integration, trade and access to markets and to public investments? Are they related to the internationalization of the selected countries' corporations?) **Institutional dimension** (independent variable): is there an agency in charge of SSC? (institutional apparatus, decision-making process, burocratic policy, ministries and agencies, subnational bodies, leadership-related aspects). **Domestic policy dimension** (independent variable): who are the main actors of the SSC policies? And what are their main agendas? (social legitimation, non-institutional actors, public opinion).

In addition, comparative policy methods will be used, based on the works of Seiler (2004), Meny and Surel (2009), Badie and Hermet (2001), Beasley et alii (2002), and Breuning (2007). A methodological and comparative framework that serves as the starting point for our research is displayed on the previous page. Among the secondary sources, the research will give priority to: (i) political and normative texts that define the types of SSC which Brazil and the countries selected for comparison engage in; (ii) reports published by the Brazilian Agency for Cooperation, the Institute of Applied Economic Research, among other official Brazilian and international agencies (e.g. AMEXID, TIKA, SAADA); (iii) actual SSC project documents by Brazil and the selected countries; (iv) academic material (papers and books in Portuguese, English, Spanish, French and Italian). Field surveys will take place in the capitals of the six selected countries in order to interview government officials, academics, political leaderships, and spokespersons for social movements and NGOs. In addition, two case studies have been planned, when in-depth field research will be carried out in at least two African countries (Angola and Mozambique) and one in Latin America (Bolivia). Field research is conditional on obtaining financial resources to make it viable.

Expected results, risks and difficulties (36 months):

- ➢ Review of academic literature on the subject (in English, French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish), according to the project's initial list of references (months 1 to 12);
- ➢ Collection and analysis of Brazilian and foreign secondary data on the subject, based on the project's keyword system; semi-structured interviews with key informants (months 6 to 24);
- ➢ Elaboration of a research report and at least four articles (to be published in QUALIS-CAPES journals), analyzing the data that has been collected and the main concepts discussed in the literature (months 24 to 36);
- ➢ Presentation of results in at least two seminars, one national and one international (months 24 to 36).
- ➢ Publication of a book with the research results (months 24 to 36);

➢ Dissemination of research on the research group's website (www.labmundo.org), which is being hosted by the IESP / UERJ website (www.iesp.uerj.br).