

Development Studies Association – DSA
Rising Powers Study Group Workshop

Rising Powers and the Recasting of the South

29 April 2019

Venue: Room 221, IDS, University of Sussex.

Organiser: DSA Rising Powers Study Group – convened by Lídia Cabral (Institute of Development Studies, Sussex) & Rory Horner (Global Development Institute, Manchester).

Workshop Context: How is the South being recast as result of the interplay between its own Southern powers and other established powers, institutions and ideas in international development?

At last year's DSA Rising Powers Study Group meeting we asked whether it still made sense to talk about the 'rising powers'. The research we shared across a range of topics confirmed the growing economic, political and normative influence of countries and actors from the Global South in international development. This influence is not just felt in interactions within the South – such as in South-South cooperation, South-South trade and Southern diplomatic alliances – but also in how the South is increasingly shaping global governance across geographical boundaries. The Chinese government has overtly announced its decision to take on a leadership role in world affairs. Trade flows have become irreversibly polycentric. South-South cooperation is consolidating as a site for development innovation that more established development players, such as the UN and Northern aid organisations, are now eager to tap into. On this latter point, this year's Second High-level United Nation Conference on South-South Cooperation (BAPA+40) will seek to consolidate the role of the UN as the legitimate global broker on development cooperation. Whilst the term Global South has become normalised, there is no denying that it encompasses a highly heterogeneous reality.

Key questions: This one-day workshop addresses topics and questions including, but not limited to:

- How are the rising powers shaping the role of the South in global governance?
- What is the footprint of the South (and its rising powers) in polycentric flows of trade and investment?
- What are Southern framings of development, modernity and prosperity, and how are these contested within the South?
- How is the South reshaping the norms and practices on aid and development cooperation, and how are these contested within the South?
- How is the South responding to a changing North (e.g. Brexit, Trump and Bolsonaro's anti-South populism)?

Agenda

- 10:30** **Arrival & tea/coffee**
- 10:45 – 11:00** **Welcome and Introduction**
- 11:00 – 12:15** **Paper Session 1: Perspectives on Southern spaces: between real and imagined**
Chair: Udisha Saklani, University of Cambridge
- A Third-space approach to the ‘Global South’: insights into perceived, conceived and lived development realities**
Sebastian Haug, University of Cambridge
- India’s pharmaceuticals in Africa: a crucial South-South value chain**
Rory Horner, University of Manchester
- Unpacking BAPA+40: South-South Cooperation in the age of global metrics**
Laura Trajber Waisbich, University of Cambridge
- 12:30 – 1:00** **Lunch**
- 1:00 – 2:30** **Open Seminar/Book Launch: South-South Relations and Development**
(venue: IDS Convening Space)
- Panel: Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (University College of London), Emma Mawdsley (University of Cambridge) and Peter Kragelund (Roskilde University, Denmark)
 Chair: Melissa Leach, IDS Director
- 2:45 – 4:00** **Paper Session 2: South-South cooperation and donor transitions**
Chair: Rory Horner
- South-South cooperation for achieving the SDGs in a context of contested global governance**
Heiner Janus, German Development Institute (DIE) and University of Manchester
- Chain reaction: Indian government responses to DAC donor ‘transitions’ in India**
Simon Billett, University of Cambridge
- Northern transition and Southern agency: future patterns of development cooperation**
Alex Martins, Independent Researcher and Consultant
- 4:00 – 4:15** **Tea/coffee**
- 4:15 – 5:30** **Paper Session 3: New insights on Trilateral Cooperation**
Chair: Lídia Cabral
- Trilateral cooperation: No man's land?**
Geovana Zoccal Gomes, BMZ and BRICS Policy Centre

Trilateral development cooperation and sustainable development in Zambia
Cynthia Kamwengo, University of Durham

**Mapping British and Brazilian development cooperation with African countries:
navigating the political and technical challenges**
Shanna Nogueira Lima, Colin Anderson and Alex Shankland, Institute of Development
Studies

5:30 – 5:45 Wrapping up

Abstracts in order of presentation

A Thirdspace approach to the 'Global South': Insights into perceived, conceived and lived development realities

Sebastian Haug, University of Cambridge

As the call for this year's Study Group Meeting highlights, the 'Global South' "has become normalized" and, at the same time, "encompasses a highly heterogeneous reality". In this paper I suggest employing Edward Soja's theory of spatiality as a conceptual inspiration to systematise and expand the study of the 'Global South'. With Soja's trialectics of perceived, conceived and lived spatialities, I analyse three interrelated but analytically distinct dimensions of the 'Global South' as a set of social constructs in the field of international development. With a Firstspace perspective I focus on the mappings of development indices and discuss the limits of aggregated figures to delineate the material boundaries of the 'Global South'. With a Secondspace perspective I analyse the imagined geographies of alliances in formal negotiations and the arena of South-South cooperation in multilateral development politics. With a Thirdspace perspective I engage with the lifeworlds of public officials and unpack the ways in which the 'Global South' appears through individual strategies and practices. The analysis draws on empirical material from research on Mexico and Turkey – two so-called rising powers that, in many ways, sit at the margins of Southern realities – and shows how the 'Global South' unfolds in material, imagined and 'real-and-imagined' spaces.

India's pharmaceuticals in Africa: a crucial South-South value chain

Rory Horner, University of Manchester

This paper introduces some ongoing work which takes a value-chain based approach to build on and move beyond the more macro geopolitical approaches regarding India (and especially China) in Africa. It does so through the case of India's pharmaceutical industry in sub-Saharan Africa (specifically Ghana, Kenya, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda), a case which has only been briefly noted in the wider literature on India-Africa and South-South relations. Yet it is a case which, in some instances at least, is empirically arguably one of the most important value chains in the world – in terms of its significance for development outcomes especially through provision of medicines. The highly heterogeneous nature of these relations are demonstrated across multiple domains, and which are largely shaped more by trade rather than official state-led cooperation. The competing ends of the South-South spectrum of development discourse – from "win-win" to "new dependencies" – are both manifest simultaneously. While various policy initiatives have sought to promote local production vis-à-vis Indian pharmaceuticals, it is argued that a more effective approach is promoting more effective collaboration with Indian pharmaceutical interests. It is concluded that the pharmaceuticals case provides important insights into the heterogeneous nature of South-South trade, which are so crucial to development outcomes under 21st century globalisation.

Unpacking BAPA+40: South-South Cooperation in the age of global metrics

Laura Trajber Waisbich, University of Cambridge

In 2019 the United Nations celebrates the 40th anniversary of the Buenos Aires Plan of Action, hosting a second intergovernmental conference on South-South Cooperation (SSC). Today's world looks very different from the one of 1978, when the first conference was held. SSC – its actors, instruments and practices - has changed significantly.

BAPA1 was about advancing the technical (or horizontal) development cooperation among developing countries as part of a bigger 'Third World-led' New International Economic Order enterprise. The outcomes of the first Buenos Aires Conference actually narrowed down the broader political spirit of SSC to the technical cooperation realm, although not completely and free from tensions, shaping what South-South Cooperation would be and become in the following decades. BAPA2 seems to take the opposite direction. It starts from the recognition of multiple and diverse ideas and practices behind SSC, not only technical but also more hybrid modalities of development cooperation, while still aiming to contain it, domesticate it as to fit and contribute to the broader Agenda 2030.

The paper analyses the geopolitical and historical circumstances of BAPA+40, the main actors taking part on this process and their diverse motivations, and the main contentious issues on the table. It gives particular attention to tensions emerging from the two competing goals of the conference, namely reaffirming the political importance of SSC while updating its narratives and practices, in light of the contemporary global developmental challenges. This paper looks at the knowledge controversies around measuring, quantifying and evaluating SSC as sites of contention and arenas of political, geopolitical and epistemic conflict between and within traditional development partners and Southern providers and between and within non-state actors (both Southern and Northern-based groups) and Southern providers. This paper draws on a set of qualitative methods, including documental analysis, interviews with SSC practitioners and experts, and participant observation in pre-BAPA+40 events and in the actual BAPA+40 Conference in Buenos Aires.

South-South cooperation for achieving the SDGs in a context of contested global governance

Sachin Chaturvedi, Research and Information System for Developing Countries (India); Heiner Janus, German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE); Stephan Klingebiel, (DIE); André de Mello e Souza, Institute for Applied Economic Research (Brazil); Elizabeth Sidiropoulos (South African Institute of International Affairs); Dorothea Wehrmann (DIE) and Li Xiaoyun (China Agricultural University)

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted in 2015, has successfully set a normative framework that defines development as a universal aspiration for inclusiveness and sustainability. Yet, the negotiation process among United Nations member states was politicised and the agenda has been characterised by power struggles and unresolved contestations, in particular regarding questions of coordination and responsibility. The policy field of development cooperation is central for addressing these larger SDG challenges. Development cooperation itself is a contested term with different potential definitions and overlaps to other terms, such as foreign aid, official development assistance, or South-South cooperation. South-South cooperation in particular has expanded from mostly technical cooperation towards including numerous modalities, such as technology transfers, knowledge exchanges, financial assistance and concessional loans. This paper analyses the plurality of actors and modalities in development cooperation through the lens of "contested cooperation" drawing on global governance literature on contested multilateralism and the community development literature to explore the quality of different types of cooperation, including collaboration. Applying this framework, South-South cooperation is described as an ongoing process of institution shifting and institution creation within established forms of cooperation and new types of collaboration.

Chain Reaction: Indian government responses to DAC donor 'transitions' in India

Simon Billett, University of Cambridge

DAC donors have not always received a positive reception in India. Whether in 2003 when sub-£100m donors were asked to leave, or in recent years when India has explicitly rejected the DAC norms and structures, northern donors have altered their programmes and approaches to spending aid in India. These 'transitions' from large-scale bilateral support towards partnership-based structures have been the subject of recent analyses (XX). However, what has been the Indian government reaction to these donor changes? Has India welcomed 'transition' as a response to its own messaging and policies; or have donor transitions prompted a new cycle of reactions from Indian policy-makers, perpetuating a policy chain of reaction?

Northern transition and Southern agency: future patterns of development cooperation

Alex Martins, Independent Researcher and Consultant

As the influence of the South increases in a myriad of ways, so does its ability to challenge and shape the way in which Northern, 'traditional' donors transition away from bilateral financial aid to form new development relationships. However, despite the growing influence of rising powers in particular, Northern donors still (with a few exceptions) resort to largely unilateral imposition of their transition policies rather than forming jointly-agreed partnerships on new forms of development cooperation. This trend has been further reinforced by the rise of aid scepticism among Northern donor governments and populations, which has manifested in the resurgence of tied aid-like flows (where ODA is increasingly staying in donor countries) and in changing aid policies and strategies. Another trend is the increase in ODA flows to middle income countries, likely a response to changes in northern contexts rather than to recommendations that have been made in high-level fora, including the Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation. This presentation will bring examples from the ways in which South Africa, China, India and Brazil have interacted with northern donors to explore the degree to which Southern agency has and has not been manifested when responding to transition policies.

Trilateral co-operation: No man's land?

Geovana Zoccal Gomes, German Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ – Bonn/Germany)

At the turn of the 21st century, new modalities, new actors and new relationship dynamics among them have changed the framework of international development co-operation arena. Triangular co-operation (TrC) is one among new arrangements. The first implicit references to this modality appeared in the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) in 1978 and most recently it has grown with potential to deepen the relations between North-South and South-South Co-operation. It has advanced in various arrangements involving not only developing and developed countries, but also a wide range of actors, as multilateral organizations, private sector and civil society.

Nevertheless, despite many academics and practitioners of international co-operation have in many ways advanced on studies, publications and even voluntary guidelines for Triangular co-operation, these efforts are far from resulting on a common understanding among the different stakeholders.

40 years after BAPA the statement of the G77+China in preparation for the 2nd UN High-Level Conference on SSC "reiterates the important contribution of Triangular Cooperation, aimed at facilitating, supporting and enhancing South-South initiatives". On the other hand, endeavours such as the Global Partnership Initiative (GPI) on Effective Triangular Cooperation defend the understanding of this modality from a multi-stakeholder perspective, not narrowed as a facilitator of Southern initiatives.

Hence, this piece aims at debating those different perspectives in light of the discussions taking place at BAPA+40.

Trilateral development cooperation and sustainable development in Zambia

Cynthia Kamwengo, Durham University

Trilateral development cooperation (TDC) is a relatively new aid modality that is increasingly being researched for its ability to optimise the strengths of Northern and Southern cooperation providers towards the delivery of the 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development. It has also garnered interest for being a strategic instrument that development cooperation providers can use to access commercial markets and build their soft power influence. The current debates are focussed mainly on the views and motivations of development cooperation providers while very little is known or understood about the experiences of beneficiary countries. Drawing on a comparative case study of Zambia's experience as a beneficiary in two South-South/trilateral development projects, this paper will argue that beneficiary countries are not passive participants in TDC but also have diverse motives and unexpected strategies for engaging in these partnerships. The paper will also demonstrate how domestic political changes and a desire to maintain its diplomatic relations has shaped Zambia's response to opportunities for greater ownership in TDC initiatives, and its ability to ensure that project outcomes are sustainable.

Mapping British and Brazilian development cooperation with African countries: navigating the political and technical challenges

Shanna Nogueira Lima, Colin Anderson and Alex Shankland, Institute of Development Studies

Classifying and measuring the financial and other flows associated with South-South Cooperation (SSC) alongside aid from OECD-DAC countries has long been fraught with political contestation as well as technical difficulty. Drawing on an ongoing study for the UK Department for International Development and the Brazilian Cooperation Agency, this paper examines how these issues have shaped an effort to map Brazilian and UK cooperation activity in African countries and identify key areas of complementarity between UK aid and Brazilian SSC. The differences between UK and Brazilian perspectives on development were apparent in the types of data made available, but the study also found room for improvement in data transparency and accuracy even on each country's own terms. For example, despite the UK's emphasis on the primacy of detailed financial information, British financial reporting has significant gaps, while despite Brazil's emphasis on SSC as a partnership relationship in which the quality of the process is the most important element, the Brazilian documentation includes relatively few assessments of process quality. The paper sets out how the study sought to achieve comparability between the different datasets by mapping Brazilian sector classifications onto those used by the OECD-DAC, and by creating an 'engagement score' to measure the relative priority level of different sectors and countries. It concludes with reflections on the initial political response to this analysis from the UK and Brazilian sides.