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Educational Cooperation as Soft Power: the Case of Brazil's Foreign Policy

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Abstract:

Studies on North-South and South-South development cooperation have demonstrated that there are distinct types of historical experiences, with multiple domestic actors being involved and thematic agendas being reinforced based on different political motivations, as well as various institutional designs conceived by national governments in order to implement their international development cooperation (IDC) strategies. This paper focuses on Brazil's strategies as a provider of IDC in the field of education (IDC/ED), analysing its general trends, institutional design, agendas and actors, but also presenting an overview of Brazilian IDC/ED in Portuguese-Speaking African Countries (PALOPS), with a case-study on Mozambique.

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Introduction

Studies on North-South and South-South development cooperation have demonstrated that there are distinct types of historical experiences, with multiple domestic actors being involved and thematic agendas being reinforced based on different motivations, as well as various institutional designs conceived by governments in order to implement their strategies (BRAUTIGAM, 2011; CHATUVERDI et al. 2012; CHISHOLM et al., 2009; COMELIAU, 1991; DEGNBOL-M. & ENGBERG-P., 2003; LANCASTER, 2007; PETITEVILLE, 2001; VEEN, 2011). Even within OECD countries, where institutionalization has gone further in terms of the definition of common criteria and peer-review monitoring, there are a variety of governmental practices amongst DAC member-states. This diversity of national trajectories as well as the lack of an institutionalized international development cooperation regime bring about obstacles, but also create opportunities in terms of political creativity and flexible management procedures for SSC (VAZQUEZ, 2013). In the absence of a proper regime, countries can innovate in the field of rules, procedures, and practices; nevertheless, the lack of a consensus or a lowest common denominator may render statistical comparisons and collective building of norms very difficult in the international realm. That is the reality of North-South aid and South-South cooperation nowadays, as the impasse around the Paris-Accra-Buzan process has so far demonstrated. In the case of Brazil, engagement with IDC as a provider is not new; its first experiences date back to the 1960's. However, Brazil's governmental funding and interest in IDC have grown since the 1988 Constitution. Particularly since 2003, there has been a stronger political emphasis on South-South cooperation, from both government and civil society organisations. What is the current state of affairs as far as Brazil's IDC is concerned? Who are the agencies involved in providing education development cooperation? Through which channels is IDC delivered, bilateral or multilateral? What are the norms and criteria driving Brazil's decisions on IDC/ED? These are some of the issues that we tackle in this paper, with a particular focus on Brazil's actions in the five PALOPS.

Overview of Brazilian International Development Cooperation

According to official data published by IPEA & ABC (2010, 2013), IDC increased from 158 million USD in 2005 to approximately 923 million USD in 2010. In this same span of time, technical cooperation expenditure was multiplied by five times: from 11.4 million USD in 2005 to 57.7 million USD. Humanitarian cooperation has also gained ground: from 488 thousand USD in 2005 to 161 million USD in 2010[2]. Table 1 compares official public expenditures with Brazilian IDC according to modalities for both years 2009 and 2010. Only in 2010, 68.1% of all Brazilian IDC went to Latin America, 22.6% to Africa, 4.4% to Asia and the Middle East, 4% to Europe and 1.1% to North America. In the case of Latin America, the top-five partner countries constitute 80.4% of all Brazilian IDC to the region, including Haiti (47.4%), Chile (16.3%), Argentina (8.6%), Peru (4.5%) and Paraguay (3.6%). In the case of Africa, PALOP countries account for 76.5% of all Brazilian IDC to the region: Cape Verde is number one with 24.4%, followed by Guinea Bissau with 21.2%, Mozambique with 13.3%, Sao Tome and Principe with 10.4% and Angola with 7.2% (IPEA & ABC, 2013, p. 19-24).

Table 1: Brazilian IDC in 2009 and 2010

IDC Modalities	**2009**		**2010**		**Variation between 2009 and 2010 (%)**
	Total USD	% of total	Total USD	% of total	
Technical cooperation	55,536,795	11.5	57,770,554	6.3	4
Educational cooperation	25,269,265	5.2	35,544,099	3.8	40.7
Scientific and technological cooperation	N. A.	N. A.	24,099,084	2.6	N. A.
Humanitarian cooperation	49,455,870	10.2	162,060,218	17.6	227.7
Peacekeeping operations	71,255,114	14.8	332,422,426	36	366.5
Contributions to international organisations	281,340,414	58.3	311,569,290	33.7	10.7
Grand total	482,857,458	100	923,375,671	100	91.2

Source: IPEA & ABC (2013, p. 18)

Another source of the Brazilian growing interest in IDC is the data published by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC). ABC's online database[3] reveals that amongst 1,464 concluded projects between 1999 and 2012 in other developing countries, 577 projects had been developed in South America, 552 projects were in Africa, 164 in the Caribbean, 90 in Central

[2] All amounts in this report are expressed in US dollars (current value).

[3] Available at << http://www.abc.gov.br/projetos/pesquisa >>. According to PUENTE (2010), the percentage of ABC's budget within MRE increased from 0.05% (2001), 0.48% (2002), 0.43% (2003), 0.62% (2004) to 2.4% (2005). One must remember that ABC is responsible for around one-fifth of technical cooperation implemented under Brazil's IDC, according to data published by IPEA's COBRADI research programme. ABC quantitative data only refers to technical cooperation under its own coordination.

America, 65 in Asia, 15 in North America (Mexico) and 1 in Oceania (Papua New Guinea). Amongst these 1,464 concluded projects, 573 were in social policies (health, culture, sports, social development, environment, education), and 539 in governance (public management and planning, urban development, justice, legislative capacity-building, defence and security).

These figures show that Brazil has accelerated its engagement with South-South cooperation activities, even if the size and scale of Brazilian IDC are not large by OECD's Development Assistance Committee standards. However, Brazilian IDC activities do not involve a direct financial transfer to partner countries. It is important to recall that Brazilian IDC is statistically conceived of as public expenditure under the Annual Budget Law's current spending[4]. Therefore it does not include either subsidised investment loans or external debt write-offs. Grants are only exceptionally taken into consideration. There are two main types of public expenditures made by federal administration in international development cooperation: (1) payment of civil servants and eventual collaborators of the federal public administration (airline tickets, *per diem*, salaries; technical working hours, scholarships, grants); (2) financial commitments with multilateral organizations (IPEA & ABC, 2013, p. 14). Figures presented in Table 1 reflect IPEA's effort to quantify all these expenses in terms of international development cooperation.

As the IPEA/ABC report on 2005-2009 IDC asserts, "a common definition of international cooperation was reached that served as an operational base for data collection, namely: the total funds invested by the Brazilian federal government, entirely as non-repayable grants, in governments of other countries, in nationals of other countries in Brazilian territory or in international organizations with the purpose of contributing to international development, understood as the strengthening of the capacities of international organizations and groups or populations of other countries to improve their socioeconomic conditions" (IPEA/ABC, 2013, p. 17). As the report itself acknowledges, "the concept of cooperation was formulated to guide the survey, bearing in mind the need to allow the comparison with traditional concepts used for nearly 60 years to quantify public international cooperation for the development of other countries. However, it is noteworthy that this concept is not aligned with the traditional definition of Official Development Assistance (ODA) of the OECD" (p. 17). All this means is that Brazil has definitely entered the world of IDC but in its own way, and with its own twist.

[4] Brazilian IDC is known as COBRADI and its main source of data is IPEA, an important governmental think tank under the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs.

The Brazilian IDC's accounting system, COBRADI, reveals a series of pros and cons. On the one hand, it is statistically defined as funds that are 100% concessional. This can be interpreted as the Brazilian government demonstrating a political will to go much further beyond the OECD Development Assistance Committee's own definition of ODA, which requires a minimum of 25% of concessional funds. One could also see through this statistical definition a political effort to revise a symbolic and conceptual dimension of what has been set up by DAC. Just like in global governance debates, wherein the Brazilian government has defended a thorough institutional reform of political and economic organisations such as the International Monetary Fund or the UN Security Council, Brazilian diplomacy could also be playing the revisionist role in aid/cooperation norms and institutions. Indeed, as we will discuss later in this report, Brazil has joined India, South Africa and China in challenging OECD's institutional role in the aid system (MAWDSLEY, 2012). Together these countries, despite the diversity within the group, also lay stress on the need for building another political sense of international development cooperation, for instance, when it comes to the "aid effectiveness" declarations or the post-2015 development agenda. Based on critical reviews on international cooperation (EASTERLEY & PFUTZE, 2008; ESCOBAR, 1995; HAYTER, 1971; NAYLOR, 2011; PANKAJ, 2005; RIST,1996), we value this emerging trend as extremely positive, since it tends to break a political and cultural monopoly produced within a selected club of countries which pretends to be universal, but lacks legitimacy and full participation of developing nations in norms-definition.

On the other hand, IPEA's statistics on COBRADI do not take into account public funds that are not 100% concessional in nature. Loans given by the Brazilian National Development Bank (BNDES), foreign debt write-offs, or activities implemented by sub-national entities within the Brazilian federation are not taken into consideration. As a result, this means that figures might underestimate the real Brazilian contribution in the field of IDC. However, we still fall short of empirical data and more in-depth analysis to assess such discrepancies. One must acknowledge that the effort made so far by the Brazilian government in order to promote transparency is an important step. Nonetheless, IPEA & ABC reports need to be published more timely (the last report refers to 2010 data), and the quality of statistical databases must improve so as to generate a more effective accountability of this policy within the Brazilian society.

As a result, comparisons between what the Brazilian government has been doing and what OECD's DAC donors have done tend to be very difficult, since the basic statistical definitions are not the same, as we mentioned earlier. In spite of this, and taking into account all the statistical singularities of Brazil's IDC system, Table 2 is an attempt to contrast selected

donors with Brazil in terms of 2010 IDC expenditure in developing countries in general, and in PALOP countries in particular[5]. What does Table 2 reveal? In general, it is striking to note that in 2010 Brazil spent more than France in three of the five PALOP countries (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe); Brazil's total IDC contribution is somewhere in between Portugal and South Korea, still extremely low when compared to countries with similar GDPs, such as France or the United Kingdom; in Angola and Mozambique the financial impact of Brazilian IDC is very limited when compared to almost all selected countries. It is interesting to note that it is in Angola and Mozambique where Brazilian corporate investment (Vale do Rio Doce, Norberto Oderbrecht, and other engineering companies) is very present, with the support of the Brazilian National Development Bank. Also, Brazil is part of a triangular cooperation scheme (Japan-Brazil-Mozambique) on the development of agriculture in the Mozambican savannah, but these funds do not appear in Table 2, even though their socioeconomic and environmental impact should not be neglected (FUNADA, 2013; GARCIA, KATO & FONTES, 2013).

Table 2: International Cooperation in PALOPs (USD million, current prices, year 2010)

Selected countries	**All sectors / to all developing countries**	**All sectors / ODA to Angola**	**All sectors / ODA to Cape Verde**	**All sectors / ODA to Guinea-Bissau**	**All sectors / ODA to Mozambique**	**All sectors / ODA to Sao Tome P.**
France	9,148,323,588	6,233,268	4,057,970	1,837,232	20,757,697	2,379,727
Portugal	431,828,020	15,112,615	146,560,618	15,716,624	116,002,957	25,719,823
South Korea	900,610,000	18,830,000	-	12,000	95,000	-
Spain	4.389,805,311	13,378,128	21,234,126	8,290,563	60,926,999	1,273,429
United Kingdom	8,016,800,000	16,680,000	900,000	70,000	104,420,00	-
USA	26,586,410,00	54,820,000	37,120,000	6,520,000	277,910,000	20,000
Brazil*	597,010,617	2,643,276	8,953,437	7,804,779	4,901,040	3,812,296

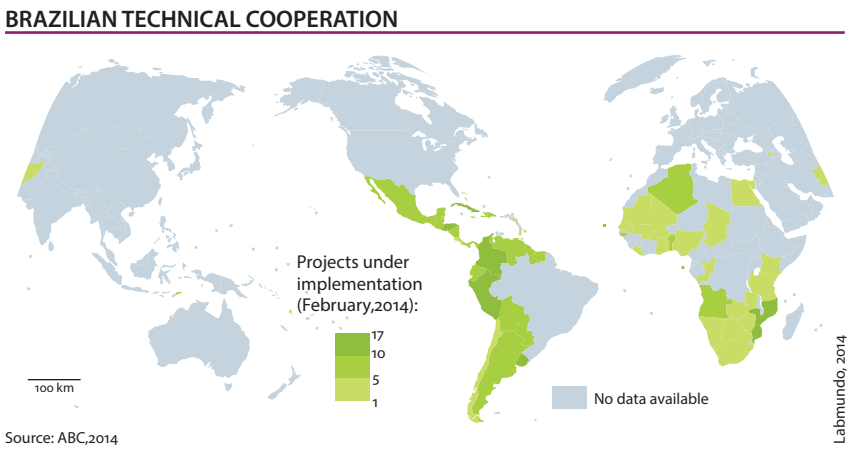
* Brazil: the total figure for Brazil's IDC in 2010 is USD 923,375,671, which includes bilateral and multilateral funds. We have withdrawn amounts spent with developed countries, and contributions to multilateral organisations. We only included data for 2010, since this is the last year of available data in Brazil. Sources: OECD/DAC online database on ODA statistics (www.oecd.org/dac); IPEA & ABC (2013, p. 18-24).

Another feature that calls our attention is that technical cooperation accounts for 6.3% of total 2010 IDC budget, i.e. 57,770,554 million USD (IPEA & ABC, 2013, p. 18), whereas

[5] Countries have been chosen based on the following criteria: (i) France and the United Kingdom have been chosen for they have GDPs of similar magnitude when compared to Brazil's; (ii) for historical reasons Portugal is obviously a key country in all PALOP countries, which are taken as a case-study in this report; (iii) the US is a major international donor, with decentralised USAID offices all over Africa, including in Luanda and Maputo; (iv) Spain and South Korea have similar GDPs, and both have been very active in recent OECD's aid effectiveness debates; (v) South Korea is an emerging donor (like Brazil), and also a newcomer to DAC membership.

humanitarian assistance accounted for 17.5%, educational cooperation 3,8%, scientific and technological cooperation 2.6%, peace-keeping operations 36%, and contributions to multilateral organizations 33.7% of the total budget (Table 1). Technical cooperation is not a priority in terms of public expenditure, although it may be celebrated worldwide thanks to its adaptability to local contexts in other developing countries, and also to the fact that it mobilises public policy expertise that is valued as international good practices. Agriculture, health, and education were the three main sectors of Brazil's IDC. According to IPEA & ABC (2010, 2013), African, Latin American and Caribbean countries correspond to the main disbursements in the field of technical cooperation, and this confirms historical trends since 1995 (PUENTE, 2010). Ambassador Fernando Abreu, Director of ABC, presented in 2013 a three-year budget framework for ABC, announcing *inter alia* 40 million USD for Latin America and the Caribbean, and 36 million USD for Africa, with a focus on PALOP countries (ABREU, 2013). This may be explained, on one side, by the fact that Latin American countries tend to have political institutions with greater capacities to implement technical cooperation projects; on the other side, Portuguese-speaking countries are a priority for Brazilian foreign policy (since the launching of the CPLP in 1996), and have been the main partner-countries of Brazilian technical cooperation (CABRAL; WEINSTOCK, 2010; PUENTE, 2010).

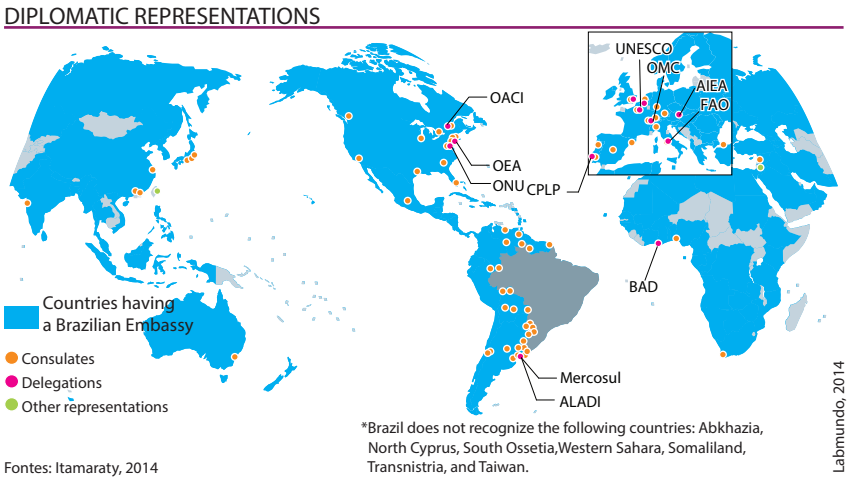
Map 1:



That is why geographically speaking Brazilian technical cooperation is concentrated in two main regions: Latin America and Africa (see map 1). ABC database informs us that between 1999 and 2012, there were 84 developing countries with which ABC had cooperated: 40 of them were African countries, 13 were from the Caribbean, 11 from South America, another 11 from Asia, 7 from Central America, 1 from North America (Mexico), and 1 from Oceania (Papua New Guinea). Between 2005 and 2010, Latin America was the region that received

the largest number of ABC's technical cooperation projects, whereas Africa had the largest share of the agency's budget. This concentration in Latin America and Africa stems from the historical formation of Brazil's own society, its culture, and more recently some identity changes in foreign policy: in the aftermath of re-democratisation, and particularly since 2003, the focus on South-South relations has gained ground in Brazilian foreign policy agendas. This possibility of developing IDC projects with Latin American and African countries also results from an impressive distribution of Brazilian diplomatic representations worldwide, which guarantees direct bilateral dialogs with many developing countries in the field (see map 2). Within the African continent, Brazil has 38 embassies, whereas France has 50 embassies, the USA has 55, Mexico has 8, Turkey has 35, China 41, and India 29, according to data available on the websites of their respective Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

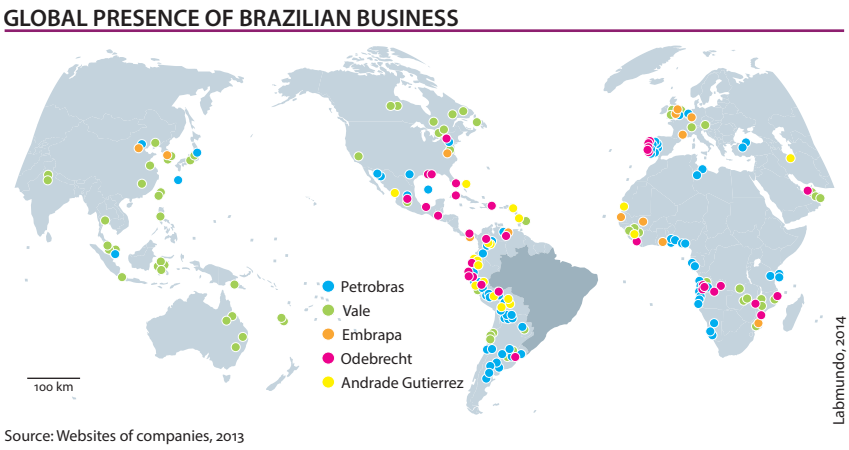
Map 2:



Paradoxically, Brazilian IDC may also reveal public-private tensions, since countries where technical cooperation projects are more numerous may also be those where Brazilian transnational companies and business are present (map 3). Brazilian foreign direct investment in mining (Vale), infrastructure and civil engineering projects such as roads, airports, harbours, metros, energy powers, etc. (Oderbrecht, Andrade Gutierrez, Camargo Correa, among others), oil prospection (Petrobras), and agribusiness, among other economic sectors, have been key historical development actors in African and Latin American countries. New sectors like biofuels (ethanol and biodiesel) have emerged in more recent years, increasing these tensions and bringing about some contradictions for Brazil's SSC discourse and practice (ALBUQUERQUE, 2014). FDI is of course different from IDC, but *sur le terrain* existing borders between practices and agents involved by one and another are often blurred, just like in NSC practices. Brazilian businesses´ strategies in Africa and Latin America may raise political and ethical questions about how different Brazil's pro-corporate

economic growth is from other economic models promoted by Western countries and rising powers. If Brazilian SSC strategies are to be a development alternative, empirical research needs to reveal how distinctive they really are from traditional economic practices.

Map 3:



At the national level, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) has the main responsibility for IDC coordination, but there are also special international cooperation units within "domestic" ministries (health, education, culture, rural development, among others); even within the Ministry of Foreign Relations, where ABC is located, there is a special unit dealing with food security cooperation programmes (CGFome)[6]. One could also recall IDC initiatives coming from the General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic, participatory national councils (for instance, the very active Council on Food Security, CONSEA, as well as the Permanent Committee for International Affairs, CPAI, linked to the National Council of Rural Sustainable Development, CONDRAF), federate-states, and municipalities (MILANI; RIBEIRO, 2011). Brazil's IDC also follows the country's foreign policy focus on South-South groupings and summit diplomacy, such as Portuguese-speaking countries (CPLP), IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa)[7], BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), Arab-South American countries, and African-South American dialogues. In the absence of a

[6] CGFome deals with humanitarian assistance, food security, rural development and small-scale family agriculture. For more information on CGFome, see: http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/o-ministerio/o-ministerio/cgfome-coordenacao-geral-de-acoes-internacionais-de-combate-a-fome/

[7] The IBSA Facility for Poverty and Hunger Alleviation (IBSA Fund) was institutionalized in March 2004, and is managed by the South-South Cooperation unit under the UNDP. Each country contributed USD 1 million annually to the fund, which seeks to support projects that are based on the national capabilities available in the three countries that make up the Forum. Among the criteria used to evaluate proposals submitted to the Fund we can recall (i) potential for reducing hunger and poverty; (ii) alignment with the priorities of the recipient country; (iii) use of available capacities in the IBSA countries and their successful experiences; (iv) sustainability and identifiable impact; (v) innovation and possibility that the initiative can be replicated; (vi) achievement in 12-14 months. Among others, the following countries have benefited from the IBSA Fund: Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Cape Verde, Cambodia, Laos, and Burundi. Funded projects have so far tended to be focused on agriculture and food security. More information is available at http://www.ibsa-trilateral.org/about-ibsa/ibsa-fund.

coordinated effort for reporting and policy-making, we believe that the current institutional setting as well as spreading the political agenda too thin may result in Brazil's IDC fragmentation, and also yield much less coherence amidst different national and sub-national IDC strategies. These issues may be concrete shortcomings in the way of building a solid IDC public policy in Brazil.

Delivering technical cooperation, through civil servants from ministries and public agencies, is one of Brazil's IDC main characteristics. Indeed, particularly since the 1988 Constitution and through the re-democratization years, civil servants and technical consultants have developed expertise in education, health, agriculture, culture, and public management, and have also gained suitable knowledge and first-hand experience on the actual functioning of the domestic politics and the complex interplay among interest groups. Civil servants are the main agents of implementation of Brazilian IDC; they tend to be less expensive than national and international market professionals, and come from several institutions, ministries, and public agencies such as FIOCRUZ (public health) or EMBRAPA (agriculture). Their participation in Brazilian IDC has so far contributed to hindering the increase of an "aid industry" in Brazil. As a result, many civil society organizations end up being excluded from IDC projects and programmes. There are exceptions such as Viva Rio, *Associação Alfabetização Solidária* (ALFASOL), *Missão Criança*, which are examples of NGOs currently being involved in ABC's educational and humanitarian cooperation projects. Several Brazilian NGOs dealing with rights (human rights, women's rights, right to development, right to a safe environment, etc.) criticize the Brazilian government for what they label as a "participation deficit", a subject that still needs more attention from academic social science research and advocacy policy networks (LEITE, 2013; MENDONÇA et al. 2013; SANTOS, 2014).

It is important to highlight that the Brazilian government avoids terminology, criteria and norms related to OECD's DAC and North-South Cooperation. Words such as aid, political conditionality (human rights, democracy, etc.), donor/recipient relationship, among others, are absent from the official diplomatic discourse and the Brazilian IDC narratives. A critical approach toward traditional aid, as well as the country's own capacities to promote its development without much dependency on North-South cooperation, have fostered the emergence of Brazil's IDC based on horizontality, non-conditionality and the demand-driven principle. In official documents produced by ABC and IPEA, for instance, horizontality implies a lack of hierarchical relationships between Brazil and its partner country, in terms of decision-making and project implementation; non-conditionality means that the Brazilian government respect other sovereign developing nations, and does not impose any political

conditionality related to democracy or human rights attached to its IDC programmes; the demand-driven approach is rooted in the idea that developing countries are those who formulate and organize their demands in view of cooperating with Brazil, without any interference coming from Brasilia. Of course all this diplomatic rhetoric needs to be contrasted with empirical research, which is just emerging within Brazilian and international academic and independent work. Moreover, particularly since 2003, Brazil's foreign policy has been investing in the construction of a symbolic regime that is also strongly rooted in South-South solidarity (MAWDSLEY, 2012a; MILANI & CARVALHO, 2013). Brazil is not a member of OECD, and favours debates and proposals on IDC under the umbrella of United Nations ECOSOC's Development Cooperation Forum, which is acknowledged by Brazilian foreign policy as a legitimate and universal multilateral institution or exchange and negotiation (BURGES, 2014).

Main Features of Brazilian IDC in the Field of Education

According to ABC's online database, education is among the three most relevant sectors within Brazil's technical cooperation programmes, together with health and agriculture. Most of the technical cooperation activities developed in the sector of education (TC/ED) are related to training, capacity building, public management and technology transfer in the following fields: vocational education, adult and youth literacy projects, non-formal education and special-needs education.

Chart 1:

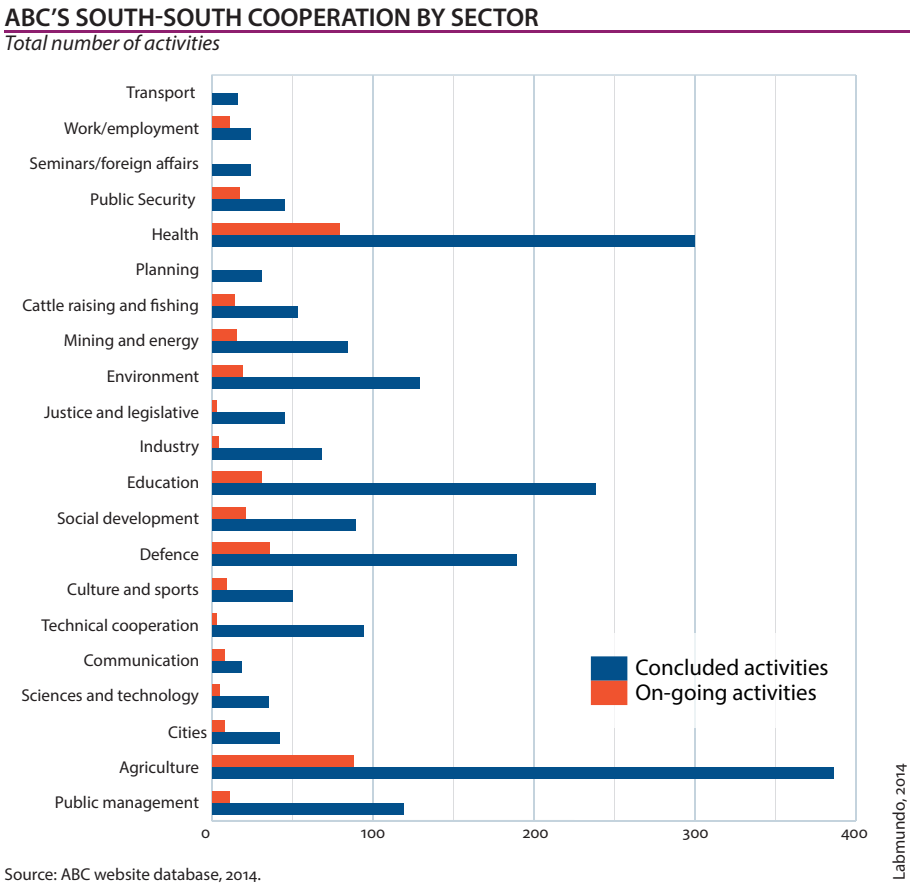
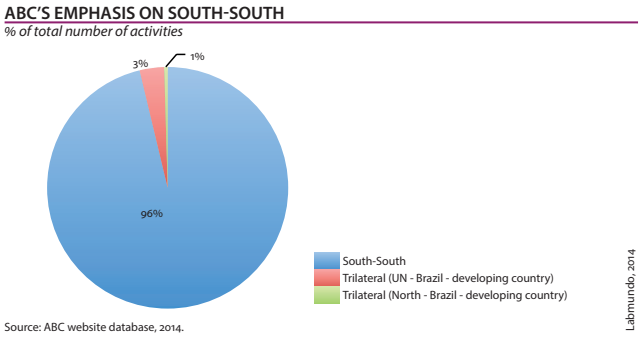
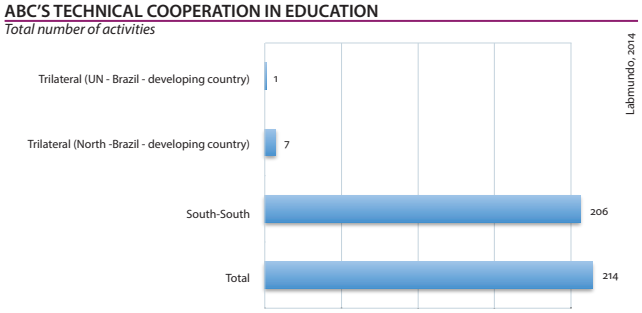


Chart 1 shows that the Brazilian TC/ED includes an extensive list of sectors, but only some of them can be considered as priority areas. Indeed, when considering the completed and on-going activities reported by ABC between 2005 and 2013, education is ranked third amongst all activities: agriculture (19.26%), health (15.4%), education (10.93%), defence and military cooperation (9,14%), environment (6.01%), social development (4.47%), and energy (4.02%). Geographically ABC's TC/ED is also focused on Latin American, Caribbean, and Africa developing nations, as well as East Timor, as Figures 1, 2 and 3 show hereafter.

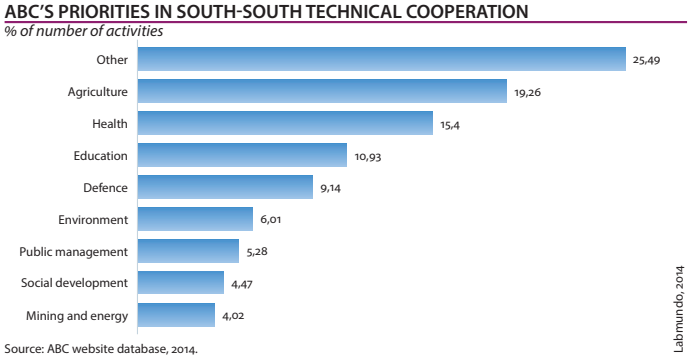
Figures 1, 2 and 3:



Source: ABC website database, 2014.



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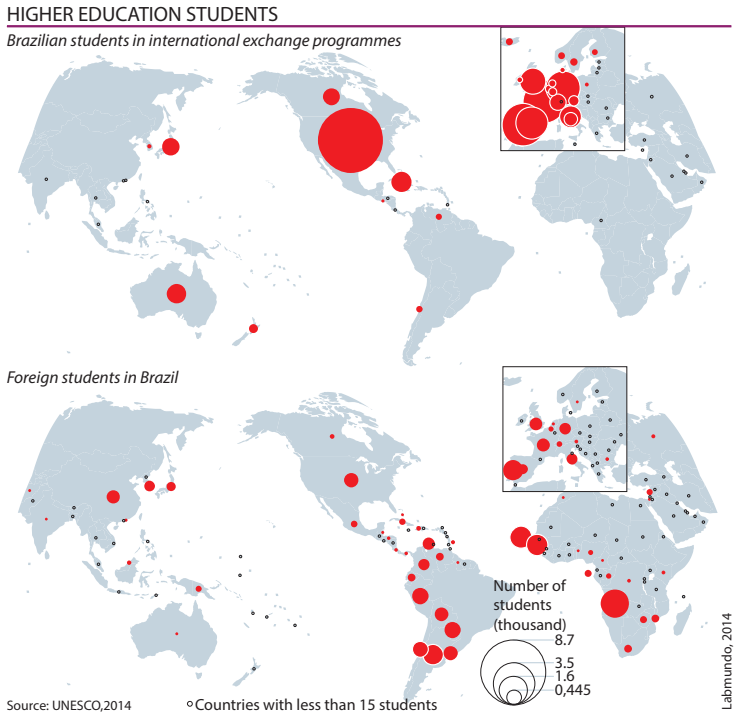
"Other" refers to a series of different types of activities, such as transport, communication, culture, public security, etc.

Apart from data on technical cooperation published by ABC, the first IPEA/ABC report on Brazil's IDC (known as COBRADI) published in 2010 has presented education cooperation under the rubric "Scholarships for foreigners", whereas the second official report (covering data from 2010, and published in 2013) has established a separate and specific chapter on "Educational cooperation". This chapter included scholarships for foreigners and international exchange programmes within Brazil's IDC/ED. The concession of scholarships for foreign students to come to study in Brazil is a historical policy practice, which had been launched in 1950. According to the Division of Educational Themes, the main objectives of the Brazilian educational cooperation are: (i) to promote higher education standards of citizens coming from other developing regions; (ii) to foster dialogues in the field of education between Brazilian and foreign youth; and (iii) to disseminate Brazilian culture and language[8].

[8] Responsible for issues related to Education in the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Division of Educational Themes (DCE) has the following main responsibilities: (i) deal with issues related to educational cooperation offered by Brazil; (ii) coordinate, together with the Ministry of Education, the operation of the Program of Undergraduate Students (PEC-G) and, together with the MEC and the Ministry of Science and Technology, the Graduate Student Program (PEC-PG); (iii) deal with issues related to educational cooperation received by Brazil from other countries, international organizations and foreign agencies; (iv) participate in the negotiation of agreements, executive programs and other international acts related to educational cooperation at international level, as well as monitor their implementation; (v) disseminate employment and scholarships opportunities offered to Brazilian citizens.

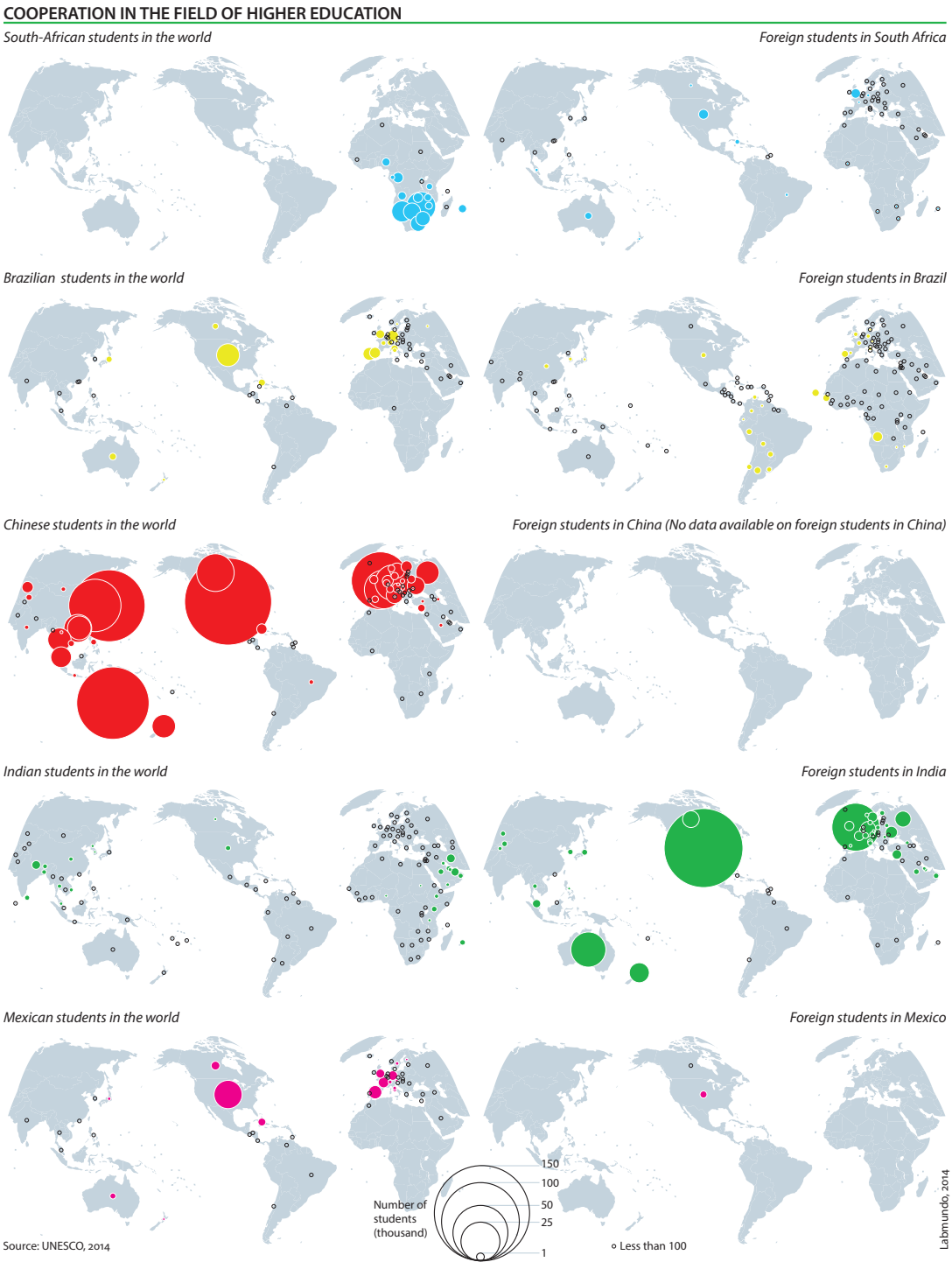
Indeed, culture and education are both considered important sources of Brazil's soft power in the international realm. They may also contribute to strengthening political and economic ties between Brazil and its partner countries (PINHEIRO & BESHARA, 2012). Map 4 shows the main countries of origin of those students who come to study in Brazil, and also countries where Brazilian citizens go when they decide to study abroad. It is obvious that other rising powers, such as China, India, Mexico and South Africa, also implement programmes of this sort (WOODS, 2008; ZIMMERMANN & SMITH, 2011). As one can see though Map 5, comparison amongst emerging powers is of great relevance: quantity matters (China and India), but the capacity to focus on particular regions (South Africa) or to amplify the geographical diversity (Brazil) can also be seen as a tool to broaden the scope of the country's influence in other developing countries.

Map 4: Brazil's soft power in the field of higher education exchange programmes



According to the two COBRADI reports (IPEA & ABC, 2010 and 2013), during the period 2005-2010 disbursements of higher education scholarships totalled the approximate amount of 174 million USD (see Table 3). On average, between 2005 and 2010 around 7.4% of all IDC went to education cooperation. Between 2009 and 2010, public expenditure in IDC/ED increased 40.7% (IPEA & ABC, 2013, p. 18). In 2010, funding scholarships increased, and has reached 34 million USD. This corresponds to more than 97% of total expenses in 2010 within Brazil's IDC/ED, according to IPEA & ABC (2013).

Map 5: Rising powers and higher education exchange programmes



In 2010, the geographical distribution of scholarships reflected similar foreign policy priorities. Around 73% of undergraduate scholarships went to PALOP students, whereas 70% of graduate scholarships went to South American students. Brazil's Ministry of Education tends to give priority to exchange programmes with countries portraying deficiencies in their higher

education systems, and also to countries considered as key development partners within Brazilian foreign policy agendas. Since 2004, CAPES international cooperation strategies have emphasized Latin America and Africa, particularly PALOP countries.

Table 3: Evolution of public expenditure with scholarships for foreigners (2005-2010)

2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		Total	
USD*	% **	USD	%	USD	%	USD	%	USD	%	USD	%	USD	%
23,088,150	14.6	25,896,723	9.3	28,911,102	9.9	38,615,610	11.4	22,236,953	6.1	35,544,099	3.8	174,292,638	7.4

* USD current value. Includes all foreign citizens, from developing and developed countries, but the majority of undergraduate scholarships go to PALOP countries, and graduate scholarships to South America.

** Percentage of disbursement addressed to scholarships within Brazil's global IDC on that year. Between 2005 and 2009, the amount presented per year corresponds only to scholarships to foreign students, whereas in 2010 it also includes other educational exchange programmes as well as technical cooperation in the field of education (but scholarships represented 97%).

Historically, CAPES, CNPq and MRE's Division of Educational Issues (formerly known as Division of Educational Cooperation) have been the main conceivers and executors of exchange and scholarship programmes. Brazilian federal agencies also promote IDC/ED in the field of vocational and professional training, addressed to foreign professional staff and civil servants, as we will discuss later in this report. However, in 2010 this kind of professional training only reached the very low amount of 1 million USD (IPEA & ABC, 2013, p. 42). Disaggregated data are not available for previous years. Academic graduate and undergraduate scholarship programmes are the main thrust of Brazil's IDC/ED.

The PEC-G programme offers scholarships to foreign undergraduate students who are selected in their own countries, according to procedures designed by the respective national ministry of education and the local Brazilian embassy. The PEC-PG programme offers scholarships to graduate foreign students willing to take their master and/or PhD courses in Brazil. Table 4 summarises the main features of Brazil's academic scholarship programme. In 2010 the majority of 1,643 PEC-G students came from Cape Verde (532), Guinea Bissau (436), Angola (147), Paraguay (123), Sao Tome and Principe (63), and Mozambique (33), whereas in the case of PEC-PG, they came from Colombia (143), Peru (59), Argentina (36), East Timor (26), Cape Verde (21), Mozambique (17), Angola (13), Guinea Bissau (11), but none from Sao Tome and Principe.

Table 4:

MAIN FEATURES OF 2010 ACADEMIC SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME

Modalities	Amounts (USD)	Total n. students	Geographical origin of students	Responsible agencies	Main welcoming universities
Under-graduate (PEC-G)	17,624,483	1,643	PALOP (73.7%) South America (15.9%) Other African (7.2%) Central America and Caribbean (3.2%)	SESU/MEC (94.6% of funds) MRE (5.4%)	Federal Universities (Ceara, Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia, Santa Catarina, Pernambuco, Minas Gerais, and Rio Grande do Sul)
Graduate (PEC-PG)	8,313,438	440	South America (70.4%) PALOP (20%) Central America and Caribbean (8.4%) Other African (1.1%)	CAPES (80.63%) CNPq (18.31%) MRE (1.04%)	

Source: IPEA & ABC (2013, p. 44-50).

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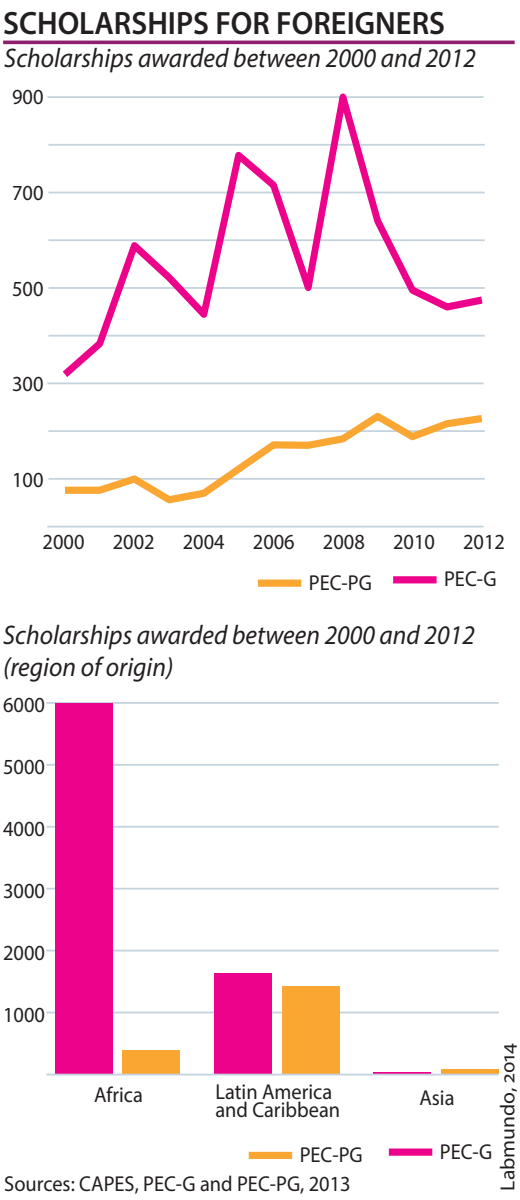
Selection procedures for scholarships are different for undergraduate and graduate studies (master and PhD courses). In the case of undergraduate courses, selection in general lasts around 9 months, involving Brazilian universities (which have to communicate their vacancies to the MEC), Brazilian embassies (which receive preliminary enrolments from citizens in developing countries), a commission of experts (responsible for evaluating the applications), and finally the Itamaraty as well as SESU/MEC (which both are in charge of disseminating the final results nationally and internationally). Foreign students do not pay any fee under this programme. For the year 2014, this process started in February, and is expected to end in November[9].

In the case of graduate courses, two main agencies are responsible for evaluating applications: CAPES (in general for the PhD programmes), and CNPq (Master's programmes). The selection procedure is much faster, starting in general in October and closing in end of January, since students are supposed to begin their coursework in March. Master and PhD students generally have access to financial support (approximately 600 USD for Master students, and 1,100 USD for PhD students), apart from the fact that they do not pay any fees. Brazilian embassies disseminate the call for applications and manage the process at the local level, while Itamaraty in Brasilia pays the return ticket of selected

[9] Apart from official documents to prove their citizenship and their level of studies, applicants are also obliged to go through the CELPE-BRAS (exam of proficiency in Portuguese). Candidates must be above 18 years old, and preferably less than 23; s/he must hand in a declaration of financial self-sufficiency in order to live in Brazil (USD 400.00 per month), since for undergraduate studies exchange programme include only the right to have access to a vacancy to a higher education institution (public or private). Financial support exists to a limited number of students.

candidates to their home country. It is important to remember that once they finish their programme each selected candidate should return to his/her country.

Figure 4:



As Figure 4 clearly demonstrates, there is a trend for the PEC-G programme to recruit graduate students mostly from PALOP countries, while around 70% of PEC-PG applicants come from South America. This is due to better institutional development in the field of higher education in South American countries, and to the improved quality of higher education programmes in the region. One should recall that Spanish-speaking Latin American countries also have the oldest universities in the Americas, such as Santo Domingo (founded in 1538), Lima (1551), Córdoba (1613), and La Habana (1721). That is why their main focus tends to

be research and PhD programmes. In the case of PEC-G students, the Milton Santos Project for Access to Higher Education (known as PROMISAES), since 2003, has provided 300 USD per month (an amount that corresponds to the standard minimum salary in Brazil) to support monthly maintenance of some African students in Brazil. Nonetheless, not all students have access to this financial support: in 2010 they were only 749 foreign students, 82% of them coming from PALOP countries.

Apart from scholarship programmes, the Brazilian government funds other IDC/ED academic activities: in 2010, Ministry of Education's CAPES funded educational bilateral programmes that reached 5,3 million USD. They covered countries such as East Timor, Cuba, Argentina, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, and included, *inter alia*, the Programme for Teacher Training and Portuguese Teaching in East Timor (1,457,911 USD), the CAPES/Cuban Ministry of Higher Education Programme (1,169,293 USD), the CNPq/Mozambican Ministry of Science and Technology Programme (941,277 USD), the two Language of Letters and Numbers programmes in Cape Verde (885,340 USD), and the Teachers Training Programme in Guinea-Bissau (192,045 USD) (IPEA & ABC, 2013). In June 2013, the Brazilian Ministry of Education announced a 3 million USD funding package for the development of 45 partnerships between Brazilian (mainly the Federal University of Minas Gerais, University of S. Paulo, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Federal University of Sergipe, and Federal University of Goais) and African universities (mainly PALOP countries).

Multilaterally and within MERCOSUR, the Regional Academic Mobility Programme, which has been in place since 2006, aims to strengthen educational cooperation within member-states. The programme includes graduate courses in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. Students belonging to courses and institutions having received credentials from this programme can apply for a student foreign exchange. In Brazil, the Secretariat of Higher Education (SESU) and CAPES, both departments under the Ministry of Education, have been responsible for managing these programmes since 2008. In 2010, they contributed a total of 1 million USD, and around 75% of these resources were allocated to students from Argentina (IPEA & ABC, 2013).

Still within MERCOSUR, the FOCEM was created in 2004 in order to promote development and reduce asymmetries among member-states[10]. It has four main budget lines:

[10] In 2010, Brazil had 79.45% of MERCOSUR's population, 83.33% of its GDP and 71.68% of its territory, proportional to the totals of the four member-states on that year. Together, Paraguay and Uruguay account for 3.99%, 2.27% and 4.90%. On the other hand, per capita income in Brazil was inferior to Uruguay's in almost USD 1,000. Comparing the countries with biggest and lowest per capita income, Uruguay has 4.21 times the value of

infrastructure, competitiveness, social cohesion, and institutions for regional integration. Education is the second major priority within social cohesion programmes, and includes projects very much aligned with Education for All goals, such as the development of primary school; youth and adult education; vocational education; reduction of illiteracy and school dropout rates; increase in formal education rates; special needs education and reduction of asymmetric access to education rights. Between 2007 and 2013, only 5.49% of FOCEM funds were allocated to social cohesion, the budget line where education falls within; this corresponds to 54,223,405 USD. If we only take into consideration the executed budget, this amount comes to 20,025,782 USD, of which 11,844,783 USD had been executed by Paraguay (59% of all executed programme on this budget line), 4,307,772 USD by Argentina, and 3,873,227 USD by Uruguay. Table 5 summarises main FOCEM projects being executed in Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay in the field of education. FOCEM funds are multilateral, but Brazil funds 70% of FOCEM's total budget.

Table 5:

MAIN FOCEM PROJECTS ON EDUCATION

Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay

Country	Title	Focus	Executing agency	Year of signature	Budget (USD)		
					FOCEM	National	Total
Argentina	Local and regional development	Vocational education	*Universidad Nacional Arturo Jauretche* (UNAJ)	June 2013 (under execution)	13,951,400	12,577,881	26,529,281
	Export-led small and medium companies (PYMES)	Vocational education	*Dirección de Información Comercial* (DINCO) and *Programa de Apoyo al Comercio Exterior* (PDCEX)	Between December 2010 and June 2011	552,5	119,5	672
	Integrated development and teaching (*Intervenciones Integrales en los Edificios de Enseñanza Obligatoria* in the following departments: General Obligado, Vera, 9 de Julio, Garay and San Javier)	Basic education, youth education, vocational education	Sante Fé province	December 2010	5,212,585	2,721,314	7,933,899
Paraguay	Support programme to Small companies	Vocational education	Ministry of Industry and Trade (MIC)	Under execution	4,250,000	1,250,000	5,500,000
Uruguay	Internationalisation of professional capacities in software development, biotechnology, electronics and their respective value chains	Vocational education (entrepreneurship)	Ministry of Industry, Energy and Mining (MIEM)	June 2010 (being finalized)	1,275,000	225	1,500,000
	Strengthening of local capacities in the field of cross-border social economy	Vocational education	Ministry of Social Development (MIDES)	Under execution	1.399.799,00	247.021,00	1.646.820,00

Souce: FOCEM website, 2014.

Labmundo, 2014

According to IPEA & ABC (2013), several other ministries also offer professional training and technical cooperation programmes. As we mentioned earlier in this section, they are not very relevant from a financial viewpoint, but they do reveal Brazil's foreign policy priorities, such as: (i) professional training courses for military officers from Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Paraguay, offered by the Ministry of Defence, with total expenditure of 447 thousand USD;

Paraguay's. Contributions to FOCEM are calculated according to GDP size: Brazil is responsible for 70% of FOCEM, whereas Argentina responds for 27%, Uruguay 2%, and Paraguay 1%. FOCEM resources are allocated as follows: 48% goes to Paraguay, 32% to Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil receive each one 10% (BOTELHO, 2013).

(ii) scholarships provided by IPEA to researchers from several countries, including Angola, Argentina, Burundi, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, East Timor and Venezuela (total of 233 thousand USD); (iii) scholarships and airfares provided by the Brazilian Diplomatic Academy (known as Rio Branco Institute) for training courses addressed to nationals coming from Angola, Argentina, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, East Timor and the Palestinian Territory (301 thousand USD); (iv) distance education courses on drugs prevention, promoted by the National Secretariat for Policies on Drugs (SENAD), in partnership with the University of São Paulo (USP) for citizens from Angola, Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua and Venezuela (147 thousand USD).

Moreover, the Brazilian government also engages in triangular cooperation with international organisations and NGOs. For example, the "Youth Leaders for the Multiplication of Good Socio-Educational Practices" in Guinea-Bissau, in cooperation with UNESCO, and fully funded by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency. In the area of youth and adult education, the Brazilian Ministry of Education is working with the NGO *Associação Alfabetização Solidária* (ALFASOL) in Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe in order to develop non-formal literacy programmes. Created in 1996, as part of a national strategy to fight against illiteracy, ALFASOL started its international activities in 2000. Its history is very connected with the governmental programme of Solidarity Community implemented by Ruth Cardoso during Fernando Henrique Cardoso's presidential mandates; however, ALFASOL has since its inception been a non governmental organisation. When the Solidarity Community governmental programme was closed in 2003, ALFASOL kept on developing projects in partnership with the private sector, international agencies (such as UNESCO and Organisation of American States), and ABC. Its youth and adult educational modules were then adapted to PALOP countries and also applied in East Timor and Guatemala. However, generally speaking, Brazilian NGOs still have a very low profile in IDC/ED activities implemented and funded by the Brazilian government (GONÇALVES, 2011). International NGOs and local associations from partner developing countries do not participate in Brazil's IDC/ED, which have so far been conceived to be very state-to-state oriented programmes.

The field of vocational education is somehow an exception. In 2007, 22.4% of ABC's total disbursements had been dedicated to vocational education, and SENAI was a key partner in this process. In terms of number of activities implemented and funded by ABC between 1995 and 2005, vocational education represented 6.11% of all of them (PUENTE, 2010). Created in 1942 by an official decree, SENAI is organized and run by industrial entrepreneurs; it can be considered as a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation (QUANGO).

Organized and run by industrial entrepreneurs (through the National Confederation of Industry and state-level federations), SENAI was created to meet a concrete demand: the training of qualified workers for Brazilian industry. Since its creation, 41,700,619 students have enrolled in SENAI schools in Brazil and abroad. These would include the young apprentice to the specialized professional, as well as the unemployed person who needs to update their knowledge to return to the job, and to the worker who need to master new and more sophisticated technologies. International cooperation also brings SENAI's technology to developing countries in themes such as food quality control and packaging, cuisine and gastronomy, automotive systems and production, pulp and paper, civil construction, energy, oil and renewable energy sources, mining, among others. SENAI first started receiving foreign assistance from industrialized countries in the 1950s. In the 1960s, SENAI's model was disseminated to Third World countries by means of ILO's Inter-American Research and Documentation Centre on Vocational, set up in 1963[11]. Since the 1970s, it has also been active in providing development cooperation in other developing countries, particularly in Latin America (Colombia, Guatemala, Jamaica, Haiti, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname). In the 1980s, when the Japanese International Cooperation Agency launched its Third Country Training Programme, SENAI was the first Brazilian agency invited to contribute to capacity building in Latin America, PALOPS and, more recently, in East Timor. Today, it implements official agreements coordinated by ABC and cooperates autonomously with partner organizations in developing countries, particularly in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, East Timor, Colombia and Paraguay.

In sum, Brazil's IDC/ED is very diversified in terms of implementation agencies that are concerned. It involves agents such as the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (technical cooperation), the Ministry of Education (scholarship programme, international exchange programmes, and technical cooperation), but also SENAI (vocational education) and, to a much lesser extent, some selected NGOs (non-formal education). It counts mainly on public funds and partnerships with private companies and industries (as in the case of SENAI). However, Brazil's IDC/ED is particularly concentrated in higher education. The two consolidated reports on Brazil's IDC/ED published by IPEA & ABC (2010, 2013) focus on public expenditure, and represent together the approximate amount of 174 million USD for the period between 2005 and 2010. As IPEA & ABC (2013, p. 42) acknowledges, since in 2010 eminently academic cooperation achieved 97% of all official expenditure with IDC/ED (equivalent to around 35 million USD) and technical cooperation amounted to 3% (1 million USD), it is "a priority for the Brazilian government to grant resources for additional academic

[11] The International Labour Organisation renamed this centre in 2007. It is now the Inter-American Centre for Knowledge Development in Vocational Training (CINTERFOR).

training (undergraduate and graduate) of foreigners in Brazil". We could also formulate the hypothesis that if Brazil really intends to play a major role in the field of IDC/ED, the government should not only involve more NGOs in the process of project conception and formulation, but also increase its funding in non-academic education programmes. If we contrast these figures with official development assistance (ODA) provided by France, Portugal, South Korea, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America (Table 5), it is obvious that Brazil still lags behind in terms of what is spent. However, since Brazil's educational cooperation is very concentrated in higher education, its total financial contribution is not of little relevance, as Table 6 can statistically demonstrate.

Table 6: Brazil versus DAC donors (2010, USD current prices)

Countries offering cooperation or aid	***All education sectors (to developing countries only)***	***Only higher education***
France	1,784,330,537	107,487,154
Portugal	72,780,487	43,694,871
South Korea	150,122,040	40,499,979
Spain	363,788,964	37,232,677
United Kingdom	751,119,399	80,808,790
USA	889,120,487	173,390,935
Brazil*	35,382,438	35,229,966

Sources: Brazilian data on IDC/ED was accessible through IPEA's COBRADI project, directed by Dr. Joao Brigido. OECD/DAC online database on ODA statistics (www.oecd.org/dac).

Brazilian IDC/ED with PALOP countries: a focus on the case of Mozambique

As Figures 5 and 6 indicate hereafter, African countries are key cooperation partners for the Brazilian Cooperation Agency in terms of number of activities that are reported. The five PALOP countries and East Timor are ABC's six main partners in the field of education. There are diverse modalities of educational cooperation: in Figure 7 they are also presented in terms of number of activities that have been concluded according to ABC's standards. Distance and vocational education appears as the main activity in ABC's databases. As we will see later in this section, the number of activities reported by ABC must be contrasted with actual expenditures under COBRADI (Table 8), where higher education appears the top priority of all educational cooperation developed by the Brazilian government in 2010.[12]

Figure 5:

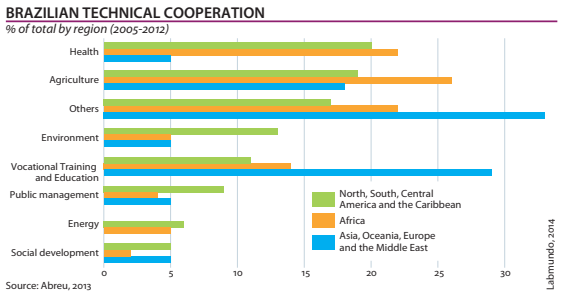


Figure 6:

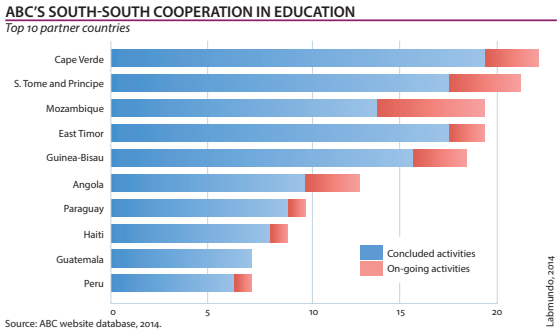
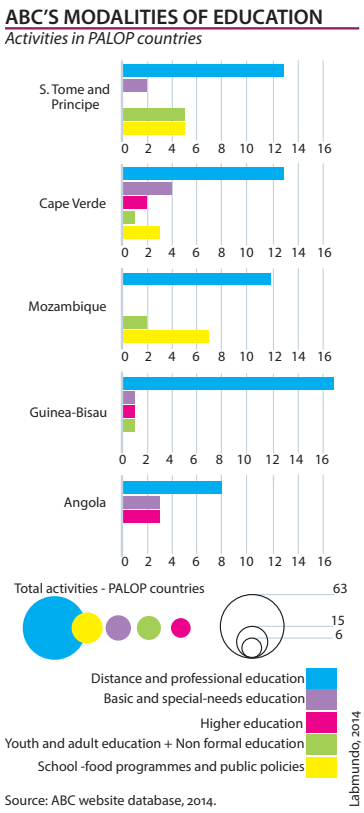


Figure 7:



[12] Many of ABC's activities may have low financial implications, since they may mobilise public civil servants, SENAI, other public agencies, and some civil society organisations. This does not mean that they are not policy-relevant. Getting into the detail of these activities is a challenge for future research. It would imply qualitative research, case studies and field trips in order to assess actual results and policy impact. This cannot be seen through the statistics currently made available by ABC.

As mentioned in the previous section, Brazil's IDC in the education sector is not limited to ABC's activities. Other governmental and some non-governmental actors take part in this process: the Brazilian Ministry of Education (scholarship and exchange programmes) is a key player in this endeavour. MRE's Rio Branco Institute (as the Brazilian diplomatic academy is known) also receives young diplomats from the five PALOPS for professional training. Civil society organisations are less numerous, and may include AAPAS, ALFASOL, *Missão Criança*, and the Elos Institute. It is true however that they tend to be concentrated in youth and adult education programmes, as well as non-formal education activities. Since 2003 *Ação Educativa*, a Brazilian NGO based in São Paulo, has also been involved in youth and adult education in CPLP countries, through the organisation of seminars and the creation of a Reference Centre on Youth and Adult Education and South-South Cooperation. This project, entitled ECOSS, is actually part of UNESCO's Education for All programmes, and is currently implemented in partnership with UNILAB and the Brazilian Ministry of Education.

Table 7: Number of PALOP students under PEC-G between 2000 and 2013

Countries	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	11	12	13	Total
Angola	3	21	29	23	31	11	31	28	91	68	48	83	61	53	583
Cape Verde	117	65	227	263	192	230	314	265	381	206	133	76	100	88	2,657
G. Bissau*	36	88	111	97	58	186	159	19	133	181	95	55	118	-	1,336
Mozambique	12	13	27	21	26	27	13	9	4	4	9	7	6	13	191
S.T. Principe	-	-	24	-	47	147	35	13	12	4	6	19	5	3	315
5 PALOP	168	187	418	404	356	601	552	335	621	463	291	240	290	157	5,083
All Africa	187	214	451	442	395	650	589	378	784	517	383	378	378	255	6,001
LAC	135	172	140	82	52	130	127	125	118	125	115	84	99	132	1,636
Asia*	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	37	39
All countries	322	386	591	524	447	780	717	503	902	642	498	463	477	424	7,676

* Because of a *coup d'état* Guinea Bissau was suspended from the programme in 2013. Asian countries (East Timor, Pakistan and Thailand) started sending students in 2006. All countries = All Africa + LAC + Asia.
Source: MEC (http://www.dce.mre.gov.br/PEC/G/historico.html).

Table 8: Number of PALOP students under PEC-PG between 2000 and 2012

Countries	2000	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	Total
Angola	1	1	6	3	1	2	3	7	5	2	8	10	8	57
Cape Verde	4	4	5	5	6	12	22	6	8	7	15	4	14	112
G. Bissau	1	1	3	1	1	6	5	2	3	2	6	2	5	38
Mozambique	5	5	9	5	8	12	16	12	9	3	8	21	24	137
S.T. Principe	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	10
5 PALOP	11	12	23	14	16	36	46	27	25	15	38	38	53	354
All Africa	14	15	25	17	17	40	48	32	28	16	39	39	59	389
LAC	61	60	74	39	52	73	122	127	141	196	143	168	161	1,417
Asia*	1	1	-	-	1	7	1	11	14	18	6	8	6	74
All countries	76	76	99	56	70	120	171	170	183	230	188	215	226	1880

* East Timor, China and India are the three main Asian countries. All countries = All Africa + LAC + Asia.
Source: MEC (http://www.dce.mre.gov.br/PEC/PG/historico.html).

In May 2013, the Brazilian government hosted in Bahia a high-level meeting on "Education as a Strategic Bridge Brazil-Africa". All Ministers of Education and Higher Education of the four PALOPs (except Guinea-Bissau) and Brazil participated, as well as representatives from UNESCO, CPLP, the World Food Programme, and the Organization of Ibero-American States (MEC, 2013). This initiative has shown that, in the field of higher education, most exchange and cooperation programmes are conceived and implemented by MEC (both CAPES and SESU) and the CNPQ, with the support of the Itamaraty, and always in association with federal, state and some private universities. According to official data presented in Tables 7 and 8, between 2000 and 2013 there were 5,083 undergraduate students (PEC-G) coming from PALOP countries, representing 66.2% of a total number of 7,676 foreign students, whereas between 2000 and 2012 there were 354 graduate students (PEC-PG) of a total number of 1,880 (18.8% of total number of graduate students). This confirms what Figure 4 (in the previous section) had indicated: students from PALOP countries are in the majority under PEC-G scholarship programmes, and represent the third major group (after Latin America and all African countries put together) under the PEC-PG.

Moreover, still under the rubric of higher education, two new federal universities were recently established in order to promote cooperation with Latin America and PALOP countries: UNILA (Federal University for the Latin American Integration) in 2008, and UNILAB (Federal University for the International Integration of the Afro-Brazilian Lusophony) in 2010. Among other traditional academic activities, these two universities also bear the responsibility for receiving students coming from Latin America and PALOP countries. This governmental decision reaffirms the fact that there is a remarkable decentralization of activities and initiatives: Itamaraty and its ABC have no monopoly over joint education initiatives and projects (ULLRICH & CARRION, 2013). Indeed, since 2010 UNILAB has been a key university to welcome students from the five PALOP countries. In November 2013, UNILAB's President, Dr. Nilma Lino Gomes, inaugurated an office of the RIPES network in Lisbon, under the auspices of CPLP[13]. Designed by UNILAB and supported by CPLP Secretariat and ABC, the RIPES network had been presented and approved at the 25th CPLP Annual Meeting of Focal Points for Cooperation, held on 13th and 14th July 2012 in Maputo. RIPES aims to strengthen universities in Portuguese-Speaking countries through human resources mobility and joint research-teaching endeavours. One of its first projects was launched in 2013: this project aims to analyse the current situation in the field of higher education in CPLP countries. In December 2013, UNILAB strengthened its relationships with Cape Verde, and its President went on a mission to Praia and signed exchange agreements that should better facilitate sharing of experiences among students and professors. Today

[13] Information on RIPES available at http://www.cplp.org/Files/Billeder/cplp/Gestor-RIPES-Lisboa.pdf

UNILAB has 2,698 students: 1,171 from Brazil, 32 from Angola, 50 from Cape Verde, 181 from Guinea-Bissau, 12 from Mozambique, 29 from Sao Tome e Principe, 72 from East Timor, as well as another 1,058 distance education students from various countries[14].

In global terms, when one compares the amounts of Brazil's IDC/ED with selected DAC donors' AOD in the field of higher education, data may open new avenues for the analysis of Brazil's potential impact in the PALOP countries. Based on the similar criteria of selection of Table 6, Table 9 presents disaggregated data for AOD-ED and COBRADI's IDC/ED to all developing countries and to PALOP countries in particular. Firstly, the degree of concentration in higher education programmes is enormous in the case of Brazil: higher education represents more than 99% of its IDC/ED with developing countries, whereas Portugal has 60%, South Korea around 27%, the USA 19.5%, the UK 10.7%, Spain 10.2% and France 6%. Secondly, as far as only PALOP countries are concerned, it is impressive to observe the almost total absence of the USA and the UK (which grants meaningful funding for Mozambican education, but not higher education). Thirdly, though not less relevant is the competition that numbers may reveal between Portugal and Brazil: Portuguese AOD-ED is higher than Brazil's IDC/ED in all PALOP countries, apart from Guinea Bissau. It is true that this statistics exercise should be expanded in order to confirm the hypothesis based on this soft power rivalry between a former metropolis and a rising state in their respective relationships with the five African countries.[15]

Table 9: Educational cooperation to PALOP countries

	All developing countries		**Angola**		**Cape Verde**	
	Education*	HE**	Education	HE	Education	HE
France	1,784,330,537	107,487,154	3,569,402	1,556,034	872,603	813,735
Portugal	72,780,487	43,694,871	5,444,387	2,041,913	19,148,970	19,006,649
South Korea	150,122,040	40,499,979	1,392,366	71,309	1,438	-
Spain	363,788,964	37,232,677	933,877	19,754	1,771,943	7,192
United Kingdom	751,119,399	80,808,790	-	-	-	-
USA	889,120,487	173,390,935	-	-	-	-
Brazil	35,382,438	35,229,966	1,923,960	1,866,241	6,869,344	6,663,263
	Guinea-Bissau		**Mozambique**		**Sao Tome and Principe**	
	Education	HE	Education	HE	Education	HE
France	375,372	343,381	962,689	796,282	564,311	564,311
Portugal	4,844,373	1,859,202	10,358,125	2,501,224	6,035,132	3,763,127
South Korea	43,084	43,084	60,585	-	-	-
Spain	1,361,739	3,974	7,532,291	22,562	-	-
United Kingdom	-	-	7,074,447	-	-	-
USA	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brazil	5,570,248	5,403,140	1,904,622	1,847,483	821,909	797,252

* Education = all education sectors. ** HE: only higher education. Figures in USD million, current prices, 2010.
Sources: OECD/DAC online database on ODA statistics (www.oecd.org/dac). Brazilian data on IDC/ED was accessible through IPEA's COBRADI project, directed by Dr. Joao Brigido.

[14] UNILAB's website (www.unilab.edu.br) presents many cooperation missions and visits involving the eight CPLP countries.
[15] This would be an interesting argument to develop, but again it would require more in-depth qualitative analysis and field research.

In the area of vocational education, Brazil deploys other important cooperation agents and practices. SENAI, and to a lesser extent SEBRAE, are the main players in vocational education. ABC plays the role of a clearing-house, coordinating demands coming from PALOP countries and facilitating the dialogue between them and SENAI. In 2013, SENAI was engaged in 15 international training centres, 4 of which had already been completed. Professional training centres have been built in Angola (Cazenga, inaugurated in 1999), Cape Verde (Praia in 2008), East Timor (Becora in 2000), Paraguay (Hernanda Rias in 2002), Guinea-Bissau (2009), and Guatemala (2012), while others are currently being implemented in Mozambique, Haiti, and Sao Tome and Principe (LEITE, 2013). Box 1 summarises some basic information on one of these centres: the Cazenga Professional Training Centre in Angola. These centres offer courses in motor mechanics, civil construction, electricity, textile and fashion, as well as computer science. Besides these initiatives, ABC/MRE and SENAI are negotiating the creation of two centres to train people with disabilities in the civil construction industry in Morocco; another one in the textile sector in Mali, and one more in the area of furniture manufacturing in Cameroon. In South Africa, the first structural project of ABC/MRE involves the establishment of the Centre for Professional Training and Entrepreneurship, which is in the final stages of negotiation.

Box 1: Brief history of the Cazenga Professional Training Centre in Angola

The Brazil-Angola Vocational Training Centre ushered in a new stage of SENAI's action in international technical cooperation and its relationship with the Brazilian government. Through this project, SENAI expanded its participation in official Brazilian technical cooperation, and started numerous activities at the invitation of ABC. The project involved the design of an entire system of vocational training, including management methodologies, training of trainers and equipment of training centres according to local needs and realities. This training centre in Angola was the first installed by SENAI abroad. The project had been designed during the Angolan civil war, and was signed in 1996 between the governments of Brazil and Angola. On the Angolan side, the Ministry of Public Administration, Employment and Social Security of Angola (MAPESS) and the National Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (INEFOP) were responsible for the implementation of agreed activities. From SENAI, the regional unit responsible for executing the project was SENAI-São Paulo (within the Federation of Industries of the State of Sao Paulo, FIESP), one of the most experienced in the area of professional training in Brazil. The project was funded by the governments of Brazil and Angola, and reached approximately 2.14 million USD. The courses began in 2000, and the first class graduated 144 trained professionals. According to data from SENAI, more than 4,100 students have so far completed several courses in this training centre, which now has the capacity to offer up to 1,500 training modules per year. In terms of impact, the project became a reference within the Angolan system of vocational training, triggering an intense search on the African continent for technical cooperation with the Brazilian Government and SENAI.

Source: Summed up and adapted from GONÇALVES (2011).

Having made this general and brief presentation on Brazil's IDC/ED with PALOP countries, we shall now analyse some activities in each of the five countries more in detail, with a particular attention to the case of Mozambique. This analysis was based on data collected from official documents, website reports, but also on interviews conducted in Maputo in February 2014 and previously in October 2012.

Figure 8:



Cape Verde is number one in the top-ten list of countries that are cooperating with Brazil though ABC, followed by Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique. The Brazilian cooperation scheme with Cape Verde involves three sorts of modalities. The first one is in the field of higher education exchange programmes, through PEC-G and PEC-PG. Cape Verde is the first country in the list of foreign students from all countries having received a scholarship to take undergraduate courses in Brazil, and the second among the PALOP countries as far as graduate scholarship programmes are regarded: they were 2,657 undergraduate students of a total number of 7,676 foreign students (34.6%), and 112 graduate students (5.9% of total), as Tables 6 and 7 show[16].

[16] It is very difficult to precisely estimate in USD what all these scholarships actually represent in terms of official expenditure. IPEA & ABC (2010, 2013) calculated all scholarships for foreigners (which includes but goes beyond PEC-G and PEC-PG) to have represented approximately USD 134 million for the period 2005-2009, and USD 33

Technical cooperation is a second relevant sort of cooperative partnership between Brazil and PALOP countries, including Cape Verde. Figure 8 shows the number of concluded and on-going activities developed within ABC between 2000 and 2014, with an amazing increase in years 2008, 2009 and 2010 under Lula's government. In the case of Cape Verde, we can recall the technical cooperation programme for the development of a master's degree in Management at the Cape Verde University (UNI-CV). This programme began in 2004 and involved the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), and universities from Ceara and Brasilia, all with the financial support of the Ministry of Education. Between 2007 and 2009, through another bilateral cooperation partnership, Brazilian and Cape Verdean experts trained together professional agents and trainers in tourism and hospitality; this partnership of 794,000 USD included ABC, the Federal Office of Vocational Education and Technology and the Federal Institute of Goias. In the 2013 high-level meeting of ministers of education in Bahia, the representative of Cape Verde, Ms. Fernanda Maria Marques, highlighted the relevance of the following programmes: higher and basic education assessment (with MEC), school management (particularly the Monitoring, Execution and Control Integrated System, known as SIMEC, developed by MEC), and inclusive education, through teacher's e-training and adaptation of pedagogical tools (MEC, 2013, p. 9).

A third type of cooperation partnership between Brazil, Cape Verde and international organisations must be acknowledged. In the context of triangular cooperation in the specific area of literacy and education of youth and adults, the project entitled "Cooperation in international networks and innovative partnerships on education and adult learning", from 2006 to 2011, involved Brazil, Cape Verde and UNESCO. The first workshops of the network, in 2006 and 2008, were organized under auspices of the Brazilian government. Another example is the project in the field of vocational training: in September 2013 the vocational training centre was inaugurated in the city of Praia, resulting from a triangular cooperation between Cape Verde, Brazil and UNDP. On the Brazilian side, SENAI was responsible for running the project entitled "Strengthening and Capacity Building of Human Resources for the System of Professional Training in Cape Verde". The Brazilian government (ABC, MEC) and SENAI contributed the total amount of 1,331,000 USD, whereas the government of Cape Verde invested another envelope of 222,000 USD.

million in 2010. Calculating the average value of investment that each scholarship for a foreign citizen represents also depends on the course he/she is actually studying. For instance, in 2004 in a Bachelor's degree in Mathematics cost was estimated at around USD 1,500 per year, whereas in Agriculture Engineering it was of USD 8,000 per year, reaching a very general average of B.A. courses in Brazil of approximately USD 4,200 per year. In general expenditures with graduate courses (Master and PhD) are double the cost of graduate studies (MAGALHAES et al., 2009; DO AMARAL, 2003).

In the case of **Angola**, PEC-G, PEC-PG and UNILAB are also important pillars of cooperation in the field of education. In addition, the Brazilian Ministry of Environment started in 2007 a cooperation program on environmental education, with a view to train Angolan technicians and to support the Angolan Ministry of Urbanism and Environment in the construction of the national program of environmental education. In 2011, Angola and the Government of the federate-state of Bahia signed a cooperation agreement in the field of education management: there are currently 150 consultants and Brazilian teachers offering consulting services and teaching classes in Angolan technical schools. Since 2009, Brazil and Angola are also cooperating in the area of rural vocational training: this program, which is conducted by SENAR and ABC (Brazil) and the Agrarian Development Institute (IDA, in Angola), transfers methodology to Angolan technicians, and organises study tours and missions in farms located in the federate-state of Parana.

In the 2013 high-level meeting of ministers of education in Bahia, there were two Angolan representatives: the Minister of Education (Mr. Pinda Simao) and the Minister of Higher Education (Mr. Adao do Nascimento). They emphasised their interest in using the Brazilian experience in e-learning (Open University Brazil), in the expansion of the quantity of teachers being trained within the Letters and Numbers Programme (developed by CAPES), and the transfer of methodologies for the assessment of basic and higher education, as well as curriculum development (MEC, 2013, p. 8).

In the case of **Sao Tome and Principe**, apart from PEC-G, PEC-PG and UNILAB cooperation programmes, mentioned above, in 2007 the two governments signed an agreement to develop a school food programme, inspired by the Brazilian good practice of the National School Feeding Programme (PNAE). This programme transfers a successful public policy from Brazil to Sao Tome, and provides advice in the areas of school nutrition, public policy management and social control. It is understood that the school community (teachers, managers, students, families) should be part and parcel of the local governance structures. The agreement was not exclusively limited to the provision of technical advisory services and training for school canteens, but the Brazilian government has also decided to provide food to thousands of elementary school students in Sao Tome and Principe. Over 42,000 children attending primary school currently benefit from better diet within this programme.

Another initiative in Sao Tome and Principe is the Literacy Partnership Programme. The Brazilian federal government has set up a partnership with ALFASOL, which is responsible for its implementation, and also counts upon the participation of Brazilian federal universities.

Up to 2012 at least 18,491 young people and adults from Sao Tome and Principe had attended literacy courses, and another 2,529 had participated in post-literacy courses. In addition, 110 teachers were trained from 2001 to 2012. Sao Tome and Principe was not the first PALOP country to benefit from this cooperation programme, since it has also operated in Mozambique since 2001 and in Cape Verde since 2002. With regard to vocational education, SENAI is responsible for building a training centre in Sao Tome, guaranteeing teacher training and the donation of educational materials. Within this same context, a group of seven teachers and three public managers from Sao Tome went in 2014 to Pernambuco in order to attend training courses.

In the 2013 high-level meeting of ministers of education in Bahia, the Sao Tomean Minister of Education, culture and training (Mr. Jorge Lopes Bom Jesus) welcomed Brazil's cooperation in the development of the Public University of STP, in partnership with MEC, the Federal University of Minas Gerais, and UNILAB; he also announced that the Sao Tomean counterpart, the Higher Polytechnic Institute, is the focal point for this initiative. At the same occasion, the government of STP expressed interest in Brazil's cooperation in the fields of teachers' training, school transportation system, conception and publication of pedagogical tools, as well as in the strengthening of the School Meal Programme (MEC, 2013, p. 11).

Guinea-Bissau also benefits from PEC-G, PEC-PG and UNILAB exchange programmes. Brazil has also built a SENAI centre for vocational education in the capital city of Bissau, where since 2009 twelve hundred people were trained. Another training centre was developed to promote training of security personnel, under the auspices of the UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime), which was responsible for technical advice and monitoring. It is the first centre of its kind outside Brazil, and this triangular cooperation initiative has received 3 million USD from the Brazilian government between 2010 and 2013.

A focus on Mozambique

Brazil and Mozambique have had diplomatic relations since November 1975, the year of the Mozambican independence. The Brazilian embassy was opened in Maputo on March 1st 1976, but it was only in January 1998 that Mozambique opened its embassy in Brasilia, after long years of civil war. Between 1961 and 1964 Brazilian foreign policy had already highlighted the importance of Brazil-Africa relationships, but it was still overshadowed by the broader framework of friendship between Brazil and Portugal. This was very problematic in view of the political movements for autonomy and independence against the Portuguese regime. It was only in the seventies that the Brazilian diplomacy started changing its profile

vis-à-vis PALOP countries. With the end of Brazil's military dictatorship in the eighties, the democratic regime was able to further develop its bilateral diplomacy with PALOP countries. This progressive *rapprochement* between PALOP countries and Brazil covers a wide range of programmes, and this focus on Mozambique tries to map it out in the particular field of educational cooperation.

There are three major phases in the evolution of contemporary IDC between the two states: (a) from Mozambique's independence to the 1992 peace agreements; (b) the nineties, which correspond both to the Brazilian re-democratisation process and the building of the Mozambican institutional capacities; (c) the twenty-first century, particularly since 2003[17]. The first phase is characterised by the establishment of diplomatic relations, and the signature of the main cooperation agreement in September 1981, ratified by both countries in June 1984 and since then *en vigueur*. In June 1989 they celebrated the Scientific, Technical and Technological Cooperation Agreement, under which articles I, V, VI and XIII explicitly mentioned educational cooperation, higher education and universities, exchange programmes and scholarships. During this first phase, as Ana Cambaza cites, the main cooperation activities concerned radio literacy and education. Mozambican civil servants were trained and visited several poorer states of Brazil in order to know how community radios worked and developed their programmes in rural communities[18]. Frank Antonio confirms the relevance of such radio community programmes that were present in several provinces, and asserts that between 1981 and 1984 the then Mozambican National Institute for Educational Development worked in partnership with Bahia's Institute of Educational Broadcasting (known as IRDEB).

In November 1989, the Brazil-Mozambique Cultural Centre (then Centre for Brazilian Studies) was inaugurated, bringing about a concrete dimension to African-Brazilian intercultural integration, and a cultural space for disseminating and promoting cultural events related to Brazil, Mozambique, and other African countries. José Aparecido de Oliveira, then Brazilian Minister of Culture, was a key actor in this process; however, in spite of all Aparecido's endeavour to promote the idea of Portuguese as a common cultural heritage, Mozambique was struggling with civil war, whereas Brazil was going through major economic reforms and facing the domestic challenges of its re-democratisation process.

[17] The definition of such phases is ours, but it is based on our analysis of the history of bilateral relations, interviews conducted in Maputo, and official documents that we consulted (such as agreements, adjustments, mission reports, project documents, assessment reports) for the purpose of this paper. Interviewees are mentioned only in case they have explicitly agreed to. A complete list of interviews can be found at the end of this paper.

[18] It is interesting to note that today Mozambique has a program called Alfa-Radio, but with support of the Cuban government.

In the second phase, Mozambique had signed its peace agreements, and Brazil had advanced in its economic and political reforms. The CPLP was established in 1996[19]. In 2000, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso made an official visit to Maputo, where he also attended the Third CPLP Summit. In 2001, President Joaquim Chissano paid an official visit to Brazil, and both presidents signed six instruments of cooperation in the areas of health, education, social policy and public security. In the particular field of educational cooperation, these instruments covered literacy, youth and adult education (in partnership with ALFASOL), the transfer of the *bolsa-escola* policy (in partnership with the Brazilian NGO *Missão Criança*), and technical cooperation. In August of the following year, the Mozambican President attended the IV CPLP Summit in Brasilia.

Although Cardoso's foreign policy did not give emphatic relevance to Africa and PALOP countries, in his two mandates, Cardoso increased the Brazilian presence in CPLP countries, even though the legacy of Brazil's independent foreign policy from the sixties and the responsible pragmatism of the seventies had remained at the backstage (VIGEVANI *et alii*, 2003). During Cardoso's era, educational cooperation was one of the main entry doors for Brazil in Mozambique. Frank Antonio affirms that between 1995 and 1996 Mozambique developed its first training courses for teachers in partnership with Brazil: citizens having at least seven years of formal schooling were offered a training course to become public teachers. This programme was closed in 2013. In the field of higher education, between 1993 and 1999, there were 156 Mozambican citizens who benefited from PEC-G. As Tables 6 and 7 indicate, there were 52 PEC-G students, and other 19 PEC-PG students between 2000 and 2002.

Ana Cambaza affirms that between 2001 and 2004, literacy programmes were an important thrust of the Brazil-Mozambique cooperation. With the support of Brazilian universities and the general coordination of ABC, ALFASOL (and its operational branch AAPAS) brought literacy methodologies and pedagogical tools, criteria for the selection of trainers that were based on gender and participation, and also gave support to the development of Mozambique's National Literacy Pilot Project. According to an evaluation conducted in 2003, two of the five objectives of the ALFASOL programme (capacity-building of managers from

[19] The first step in the creation of the CPLP was taken in Sao Luis (Maranhao, Brazil) in November 1989, on the occasion of the first meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the Portuguese-speaking countries, at the invitation of Brazilian President José Sarney. At that meeting, state representatives decided to create the International Portuguese Language Institute (IILP). The idea of a community gathering the Portuguese-speaking countries (twinned with a historical heritage, by common language and a shared vision of development and democracy nations) was already on the agenda. However, it was only implemented in 1996, among other personalities thanks to the then Brazilian Ambassador in Lisbon, José Aparecido de Oliveira.

the department of literacy from the Ministry of Education; 25% of execution of the pilot project) had not been achieved. The major execution problems referred to the necessary adaptation of pedagogical material to the local reality, the need to find a local editor, and the lack of payment of literacy trainers. Three objectives had been reached: (i) development of 240 literacy groups in five provinces (Cabo Delgado, Gaza, Manica, Maputo, and Sofala) involving 1547 students (first phase) and 6160 students (second phase); (ii) capacity-building of 250 trainers; (iii) and transfer of evaluation methods for literacy programmes. In the first phase, 80.6% of the students were women; in the second they were 73.8%[20]. However, the ALFASOL programme faced more shortcomings when the Mozambican government decided to develop a new literacy curriculum: in view of this, the pedagogical materials produced in Brazil were considered not to measure up to the new curriculum needs[21]. Since it took the Mozambican government several years to conclude this revision, the ALFASOL programme was discontinued[22]. In spite of all this, Ana Cambaza heavily emphasized during the interview that the learning process with Brazilian colleagues was of great relevance.

The third phase in Brazil-Mozambique's brief history of cooperation began in 2003, when Brazilian foreign policy focused more explicitly on South-South relations (VIGEVANI & CEPALUNI, 2007; MILANI, 2013). In November 2003, during the visit of President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva to Mozambique, eleven instruments of technical cooperation were signed. President Joaquim Chissano responded with an official visit to Brazil in August 2004, when they both signed an agreement for 95% of Mozambique's public debt write off, an amount of approximately 315 million USD that was converted to commercial credits granted under Brazil's export incentive programme. In September 2007, President Armando Guebuza paid an official visit to Brazil as guest of honour at the parade on the Brazilian national day. In the field of education policy, Brazil continued the *school-grants* programme (known in Mozambique as the "Future of Children"), and increased the number of grants to 400 (100 in 2005, 150 in 2006, and 150 in 2007).

With the support of MEC and ABC, AAPAS continued to participate in the design of Mozambique's national literacy programme, mainly through technical cooperation and capacity building. PEC-G and PEC-PG programmes followed suit, and higher education

[20] This evaluation report was kindly made available by Ana Cambaza.
[21] It is not clear where this need for a new literacy curriculum came from, whether it had been identified as a genuine local need, or as a conditionality stemming from the structural adjustment programme that Mozambique was going through.
[22] The ALFASOL and AAPAS are both non-governmental organisations created by the Solidarity Community, a political programme that functioned directly under the Presidency of the Republic and that was coordinated by then First Lady Ruth Cardoso. The work of both NGOs was implemented with the support of the Brazilian Ministry of Education, but also rooted in public-private partnerships (PERONI, 2006). In 2003 Lula's government brought about a change in the way these non-governmental structures relate to public funding, although ALFASOL is still an implementation partner for national and international projects developed by the Brazilian government.

cooperation represented approximately 1.85 million USD in 2010 (as Table 8 shows). However, in this third phase, and particularly under Dilma Rousseff's government, educational cooperation started to focus more on distance education, technical education applied to agriculture, as well as school-food and nutrition quality (with the support of the MEC's FNDE). This change in the cooperation agenda has obviously reflected a policy shift in Brazil's domestic arena. An example of vocational training project currently under implementation is the "Cotton Course - Training and Technology Transfer, conducted by the Federal University of Lavras in partnership with the Itamaraty and the Brazilian Cotton Institute[23]. In March 2014 this new course was opened to thirty PALOP professionals with under-graduate studies in the field of Agricultural Sciences. Each selected student receives a monthly scholarship of around 1,000 USD. Brazilian partners pay all expenses, including round trip airline tickets, life and health insurance, lodging and meals. This edition of the course is foreseen to last four months.

The Open University project is Brazil's current main distance education initiative in Mozambique. It offers undergraduate degrees to 690 Mozambican citizens. In 2013 UNILAB integrated the project's steering committee, and there are four other federal universities involved in it: the Federal University of Juiz de Fora, the Federal University of Goias, the Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro and Federal Fluminense University. Brazil's Open University plays the coordinating role. In Mozambique, the two main partners are Eduardo Mondlane University and the Pedagogical Institute. Brazilian and Mozambican teachers jointly prepare the pedagogical tools, correct the tests, follow the students through moodle, etc.

In the already mentioned 2013 high-level meeting in Bahia, the Mozambican Minister of Education (Mr. Augusto Luis) expressed interest to further develop cooperation projects in the fields of digital education and pedagogical use of information technology, particularly within the expansion of the Brazil Open University in Mozambique. Currently, programmes under the Open University build capacities in mathematics (Brazil's Fluminense Federal University and Mozambique's Pedagogical University), public management (Federal University of Juiz de Fora and Eduardo Mondlane University), childhood education (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and Pedagogical University), and biology (Federal University of Goias and Pedagogical University). In Mozambique there are approximately 60,000 primary

[23] In 2010, the governments of Brazil and the United States of America agreed to set up a fund using resources from the Commodity Credit Corporation, a body within the American government, as a partial solution to the cotton dispute within the World Trade Organization between the two governments on subsidies granted by the American government to its cotton growers. This led to the setting-up of the Brazilian Cotton Institute, a not-for-profit civil association created in June 2010 to manage these funds, with a view to developing and strengthening Brazil's cotton industry nationally and through international cooperation.

teachers and 8,000 secondary teachers; around 31% of them do not hold a university degree. These programmes aim to train 4,940 teachers and 1,350 managers from governmental agencies between 2012 and 2015. Brazil supports Mozambique with distance education infrastructure, pays scholarships to teachers and monitors, and transfers all the technology freely (MEC, 2013).

In sum, Mozambique cooperates with many bilateral and multilateral agencies. During the nineties it received approximately 700 million USD of official development assistance per year, and in the twenty-first century this average increased to reach 941 million USD in 2006, 1.71 billion USD in 2011, and 1.48 billion USD in 2012, according to OECD online international development statistics. In financial terms Brazilian cooperation with Mozambique is almost irrelevant, but its thematic focus on technical cooperation, higher education, and distance education may produce a positive impact in the long run, but only under some conditions.

In the case of distance education, there are two clear conditions that came up along the interviews. First, Mozambicans are used to dealing with NSC agencies, and increasingly seek to control the decision making process and the definition of priorities. Frank Antonio recalls that in earlier times Brazil has tried to impose its own distance education model, but Mozambicans demanded new courses and context-oriented content. This means that, irrespective of the good intentions that Brazil's diplomacy of solidarity may deploy and of the similarities that two developing countries have, there is a need for Brazil to professionalise its IDC/ED policy, and to internalise the need to always adjust policies to the local reality. Second, Frank Antonio says that there are many actors within Brazil's Open University programme; each of the five federal universities has a stake. This often fragments decision-making processes, and may hinder coordination. That is why since 2012 two coordinating committees were set up in each of the two countries, which allowed each side to speak as a single voice. This coordination effort is vital because the distance education agreement is foreseen to last until 2019.

Concluding remarks: what role for Brazil in the post-2015 agenda

The influence of emerging countries such as the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) is rapidly increasing, including their role as providers of official and non-official South-South Development Cooperation (SSDC). Brazil's role in development cooperation is marked by a wide recognition of its development experiences as potentially useful for other governments in developing countries, as well as for international organizations and other actors engaged in the post-2015 development agenda. As we could see in this report, Brazil's profile as a cooperation provider is a result of the interplay between numerous ideas, institutions and interests. Nevertheless, still today, informality and dispersion are the main features of Brazilian cooperation's institutional framework. ABC, currently part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE), is just one among a myriad of institutions making decisions and implementing cooperation initiatives. Currently, there are divergent proposals to reform this system: one is to create a new agency in charge of development cooperation, trade and investment, and the other to strengthen ABC by boosting its human and financial resources. The announcement made by President Dilma Rousseff in May 2013 in Addis Ababa mentions the creation of a new agency[24], but so far this announcement has not yet yielded policy results.

Through educational cooperation, the Brazilian government clearly acts in at least three dimensions: (i) Economically, education relates directly to the qualification of labour from one country, and cooperation is a form of relationship that seeks to build capabilities; (ii) Politically, educational cooperation is part of a positive agenda of Brazil's foreign policy, to promote closer relations between States and societies based on principles of solidarity and non-intervention in other developing countries; (iii) Culturally, coexistence, language learning and exchange of experiences contribute to the strengthening of ties between different societies, thus promoting mutual understanding of the realities of other countries. In the case of PALOP countries, higher education cooperation also interests Brazil because it is part of the internationalisation agenda of its own universities. In Mozambique Frank Antonio affirms that having an interest is not a problem in bilateral cooperation schemes, since this has always been the case in many other formats of IDC and ODA. The challenge is to organise the whole process of cooperation.

[24] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=d7tPg39k2XE

Of course Brazil's foreign policy and cooperation principles are rooted in official narratives (see Figure 9) that must be challenged by analytical work by independent researchers. Only through empirical research can one verify to what extent IDC/ED promoted by Brazilian authorities differs from DAC's traditional ODA. Perceptions coming from PALOP countries on their cooperation with Brazil in the education sector are generally of praise and satisfaction. That is what Cape Verde's Minister of Education mentioned during the visit of a delegation from the Brazilian SENAI in 2013: "the fact that Brazil has one of the most innovative and perfect systems of the world in this area makes Cape Verde want to develop a model based on the Brazilian experience and system". According to the Minister, the Government recognizes the importance of vocational and technical education as an active measure for future job creation. In relation to Guinea Bissau, in a statement made in 2010 by the then President of the Republic, Mr. Malam Bacai Sanha, he said that his country is grateful for the support it has received from Brazil in various areas of cooperation, among which stands out the area of education.

Figure 9: Brazilian official guiding principles and narratives



Source: MILANI (2013), IPEA & ABC (2010, 2013).

It is interesting to remember that in the above-mentioned 2013 high-level meeting in Bahia, the Brazilian government asserted that training Brazilian primary school teachers on African History and Culture is of great political relevance. Ten years after Law 10639 was sanctioned, Brazil's MEC presented a proposal to CPLP in order to send Brazilian teachers for short-term internship in the PALOP countries. These internships would allow them to benefit from an educational immersion in the African cultural, social and historical context

(MEC, 2013). Such an example shows that Brazil offers, but also demands cooperation from the PALOP countries. This practice is important for a cooperation relationship between Brazil and African nations that socially and culturally tries to reframe the political mindset and the symbolic regime of aid. Under DAC's framework, there is traditionally one who only offers and another one who always benefits from what is offered (MAWDSLEY, 2012a). Through a demand for cultural and historical training for Brazilian teachers, Brasilia also states that it expects reciprocity in cooperation, and that the one who offers may also receive something in return: partnership, sharing of expertise, co-responsibility, no use of political conditionality, cultural and social commonalities are all features that characterise Brazil's official guiding principles in development cooperation.

However, Brazilian IDC/ED also shows important shortcomings. In the case of Mozambique, Brazil emphasises horizontal cooperation and inter-state cooperation; but differently from traditional donors, it only exceptionally channels its cooperation through civil society organisations. Difficulties may also arise out of excessive bureaucracy and inefficient implementation. The cooperation agenda for a new Brazil now as a provider requires a professional bureaucracy. Improvising is a risk. That implies that the Brazilian government must confront issues related to the lack of capacities, absence of a proper regulatory framework, insufficient funding, little evaluation of the results, constant budget cuts, and operational procedures. For future cooperation programmes, particularly in the field of distance education, Frank Antonio from Mozambique suggests improving the diagnosis stage (Brazil and Mozambique working out together), monitoring and evaluation criteria.

This paper does not aim to propose a new model for the consolidation and institutionalization of Brazilian IDC/ED. In the current political environment in which ABC's reconfiguration is weighted by the Brazilian government, there are questions that we consider of paramount relevance for the future construction of a Brazilian IDC public policy, and for the consolidation of Brazil's profile as a cooperation provider in the field of education. Informality and institutional dispersion are the main features of Brazilian cooperation's institutional framework. ABC does not have the means (human resources, budget, regulatory framework, political power) for coordinating and evaluating all the activities under implementation. The Brazilian government needs to refine its understanding of cooperation and therefore its precise statistical definition, one of the *sine qua non* conditions for increased transparency, accountability, and social participation. These are only some of the issues that the Brazilian government needs to address in order to consolidate its trajectory in the field of IDC in general and educational cooperation in particular.

List of acronyms

AAPAS: *Associação de Apoio ao Programa Alfabetização Solidária* (Association for the Support of the Solidarity Literacy Programme), an operational branch of ALFASOL created in 1998.
ABC: *Agência Brasileira de Cooperação* (Brazilian Cooperation Agency).
ALFASOL: *Alfabetização Solidária* (Solidarity Literacy), a Brazilian NGO created in 1996.
BNDES: *Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social* (Brazilian Economic and Social Development Bank).
BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa grouping.
CAPES: *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior* (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel), a foundation within the Brazilian Ministry of Education, created in 1951.
CNPq: *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico* (National Council for Scientific and Technological Development), a collegiate body of the Ministry of Science and Technology (MCT) also created in 1951.
CGFome: *Coordenação-Geral de Ações Internacionais de Combate à Fome* (General Coordination of International Actions to Fight Hunger), within MRE.
COBRADI: the term COBRADI refers to *Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional*, or Brazilian International Development Cooperation, and it is the title of a research programme that IPEA implements. COBRADI is the unit responsible for data collection and diffusion on Brazilian cooperation.
CONDRAF: *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Rural Sustentável* (National Council for Sustainable Rural Development).
CONSEA: *Conselho Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (National Council for Food and Nutritional Security).
CPAI: *Comitê Permanente de Assuntos internacionais* (Permanent Commission on International Issues), within CONDRAF.
CPLP: Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries.
DAC: Development Assistance Committee.
DCF: Development Cooperation Forum.
ECOSOC: Economic and Social Council (United Nations).
EMBRAPA: *Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária* (Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation).
FDI: Foreign direct investment.
FIOCRUZ: *Fundação Oswaldo Cruz* (Oswaldo Cruz Foundation).

FNDE: *Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação* (National Fund for the Development of Education, under Brazil's Ministry of Education).

FOCEM: *Fundo de Convergência Estrutural do MERCOSUL* (MERCOSUR's Structural Convergence Fund).

IBAS: India, Brazil and South Africa forum.

IDC: International development cooperation.

IDC/ED: International development cooperation in the field of education.

ILO: International Labour Organisation.

IPEA: *Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada* (Applied Economics Research Institute).

IRDEB: *Instituto de Radiodifusão Educativa da Bahia* (Radio Education Institute of Bahia).

MDA: *Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário* (Ministry of Rural Development).

MEC: *Ministério da Educação* (Ministry of Education).

MRE: *Ministério das Relações Exteriores* (Brazilian Ministry of External Relations), also known as Itamaraty.

NSC: North-South cooperation.

ODA: Official Development Assistance.

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

PEC-G: *Programa de Estudantes Convênio de Graduação* (Undergraduate Exchange Programme).

PEC-PG: *Programa de Estudantes Convênio de Pos-Graduação* (Graduate Exchange Programme).

PALOPS: Portuguese-speaking African countries.

PNAE: *Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar* (National School Feeding Programme).

RIPES: *Rede de Instituições Públicas de Educação Superior* (Public Higher Education Institutions Network).

SEBRAE: *Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas* (Brazilian Service for the Support of Micro and Small Enterprises).

SENAI: *Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial* (National Service for Industrial Training and Education).

SENAR: *Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Rural* (National Service for Rural Training and Education).

SESU/MEC: Secretariat of Higher Education (SESU) of the Brazilian Ministry of Education.

SSC: South-South cooperation.

TC/ED: Technical cooperation in the field of education.

UNILA: *Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana* (Federal University for the Latin American Integration).

UNILAB: *Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira* (Federal University for the International Integration of the Afro-Brazilian Lusophony).

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List of visits and interviews conducted in Maputo in February 2014

- Doctor Ana Cambaza: Ministry of Education, Literacy and Adult Education Department, Chief of Department.

- Mr. Bruno Alves, Brazilian Embassy in Mozambique, Education Sector, Brazilian diplomat.

- Dr. Antonio Frank, National Institute for Distance Education (INED, *Instituto Nacional do Ensino a Distância*), Director-General.

- Visit to the IBE (*Instituto de Bolsas de Estudo*), the Institute of Scholarships.

- Ministry of Science and Technology, Department of International Cooperation Projects (Dr. Tonela) and Brazil Desk (Dr. Policarpio).

- Ministry of Education, Department of Cooperation, Desk Brazil (Dr. Zaida Baule).