

***Identity and Agency in South-South Relations:  
Brazilian Development Workers and Mozambique***

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
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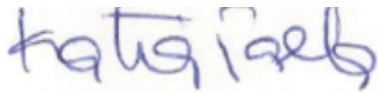
Institute of Development Studies  
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## STATEMENT

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Katherine', is written on a light blue horizontal line.

Brighton, June 2017

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

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DPHIL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

IDENTITY AND AGENCY IN SOUTH-SOUTH INTERACTIONS:  
BRAZILIAN DEVELOPMENT WORKERS AND MOZAMBIQUESUMMARY

This thesis seeks to contribute to knowledge on how sameness and difference play out in personal and professional South-South relations, through an ethnography of interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers, in the HIV&AIDS and gender fields, in Mozambique. The thesis is structured around nine chapters. The introduction outlines the research context, the conceptual frameworks, the key terminology used in the thesis, as well as how my personal and professional life-story inspired this research. In Chapter Two, I discuss the research methodology, sites and spaces, describe the process of multi-sited ethnography in Brazil and Mozambique and reflect about my positionality. The main body of the thesis moves from the macro to the micro level. Chapters 3 and 4 map the reproduction of development and knowledge hierarchies within South-South cooperation institutional discourses and practices and the production of a political economy of opportunities and international mobility for Brazilian development workers. The following chapters discuss how difference and sameness, proximity and distance, and horizontality and verticality are experienced in interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. Chapter 5 explores principal ways in which the notion of kinship structure relations and imaginaries. Chapter 6 examines affinities, hierarchy and power in an International Non-Governmental Organisation office in Maputo, while Chapter 7 discusses political affinities in feminist knowledge practices. I then analyse the interconnections between the personal, professional and political (Chapter 8) through examining the potential for professional relationships to evolve into something more personal. Chapter 9 concludes the thesis with a review of my findings in the light of the main research question and outlines this thesis' contribution to academic debates on feminist organising, aid ethnographies and South-South relations.

To my daughter  
Lara Kristina de Macedo

**‘Mozambique? I was not invited.’**

I feel towards Mozambique as much as I do for Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tome. It just happens that I did not go to Mozambique. And I did not go to Mozambique because I don't think that I should get on the plane, land in Maputo, and say: "I have arrived!". I was not invited. Now, saying "I was not invited" does not mean that I feel discriminated against by Mozambique, not at all. But since I cannot go to Mozambique as a tourist – my arrival is a political act – I should not *forçar a barra* [to be pushy or excessively forceful], as we say in Brazil, and introduce myself.

*Paulo Freire, when asked by a student at a seminar at the University of Lyon II in February 1978 why he had not spoken about working in Mozambique (Freire and Guimarães 2003:34).*

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My Lord, my faith in you as sustained me. Thank you for such wonderful gift!

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## List of Acronyms

AAA	Agenda for Action
ABC	<i>Agência Brasileira de Cooperação</i> , Brazilian Cooperation Agency
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BAPA	Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CIVETS	Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa
<i>CMI</i>	<i>Capitalismo Mundial Integrado</i> , Integrated World Capitalism
CPLP	<i>Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa</i> , Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries
CUT	<i>Central Única dos Trabalhadores</i> , Unified Workers' Central
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DCT	<i>Divisão de Cooperação Técnica</i> , Technical Cooperation Division
DFID	Department for International Development
ECDC	Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> , Mozambican Liberation Front
G77	Group of the Seventy-Seven Developing Countries
GTZ	<i>Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit</i> , German Technical Cooperation Agency
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IBASE	<i>Instituto Brasileiro de Análises Sociais e Económicas</i> , Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analysis
IBSA	India, Brazil, South Africa
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
LIFEMO	<i>Liga Feminina Moçambicana</i> , League of Mozambican Women
MCP	<i>Movimento Camponês Popular</i> , Popular Peasant Movement,
MMC	<i>Movimento de Mulheres Camponesas</i> , Women's Peasant Movement
MRE	<i>Ministério das Relações Exteriores</i> , Ministry of External Relations
MULEIDE	<i>Mulher, Lei e Desenvolvimento</i> , Women, Law and Development
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NEIO	New International Economic Order
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NSC	North-South Cooperation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OMM	<i>Organização da Mulher Moçambicana</i> , Organization of Mozambican Women
PACS	<i>Instituto Políticas Alternativas para o Cone Sul</i> , Institute for Alternative Policies for the Southern Cone
ProSAVANA	<i>Programa de Cooperação Tripartida para o Desenvolvimento Agrícola da Savana Tropical em Moçambique</i> , Triangular Co-operation Programme for Agricultural Development of the Tropical Savannah in Mozambique
PUC-RIO	<i>Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro</i> , Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro
RENAMO	<i>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana</i> , Mozambican National Resistance
SEPLAN	<i>Secretaria de Planeamento da Presidência da República</i> , Secretariat of Planning
SSA C-REC	University of Sussex's Social Sciences and Arts Cross-school Research Ethics Committee
SSC	South-South Cooperation
SUBIN	<i>Sub-Secretaria de Cooperação Econômica e Técnica Internacional</i> , Sub-secretariat for International Technical and Economic Cooperation
SU-SSC	Special Unit for South-South Cooperation of the UNDP
TCDC	Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries
TCOE	Trust for Community Outreach and Education
U.S	United States
UFMG	<i>Universidade Federal de Campina Grande</i> , Federal University of Campina Grande
UGC	<i>União Geral das Cooperativas</i> , General Union of Cooperatives
UNAC	<i>União Nacional dos Camponeses</i> , Mozambique National Farmers' Union
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNILAB	<i>Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira</i> , University of Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony
UNOSSC	United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation

## Chapter 1. Introduction

In the past few years, the concept of South-South Cooperation (SSC) has become increasingly important in international development policy and practice. It is often claimed to involve mutually beneficial and horizontal exchange of resources between developing countries, **masking how power inequalities shape relationships between Southern actors and individuals.** In this context, my thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of the complexities and contradictions of South-South relations and to stimulate critical reflection on the part of the actors involved in the promotion of SSC and in actual SS interactions. It centres on an in-depth ethnographic investigation of relations between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. In this introduction, I first outline the research context and the conceptual frameworks; this is followed by a discussion of the terminology chosen here; I then describe my personal motivation for conducting this research and the structure of the thesis.

### 1.1 Research Context

The vast majority of scholarship on South-South relations is located within political science, international relations and development studies. Political science and international relations scholars have largely focused on the study of foreign policies of countries of the global South, the bilateral and multilateral cooperation between them and why South-South relations have failed to mature (Fig 1992). Research in the field of development studies is narrowly concerned with assessing ‘the extent to which solidarity or the principles and models of South-South cooperation are actually achieved’ (Lorenzana 2015:2) and whether it is any different from North-South cooperation (Chin and Quadir 2012, Chaturvedi et al. 2012, Cui 2016), what Lorenzana calls the ‘normative turn’ (2015:1). What these disciplines have in common is their focus on how countries from the global South can individually and collectively address a set of problems such as poverty and underdevelopment and the fact that they invest in the production of theories and policies to ‘solve’ these problems (Williams, Meth, and Willis 2014). They also tend to talk about countries as their units of analysis (hence the need for an anthropological perspective). Dominant theoretical frameworks used to study South-South relations, such as world systems theory (Wallerstein 1974), regionalism and globalisation (Nye 1968,

Huntington 1996), new international economic order (Cox and Sinclair 1996), comparative policy (Ikenberry 1990), realism (Mundy 2007), liberalism (Keohane 1982), dependency theory (Frank 1971, Haq 1980) and functionalism (Braudel 1997) are inadequate to explore the multidimensionality of South-South relations and their configuration in particular contexts, as it demands interdisciplinary multiscale approaches that take into account interpersonal interactions and link the everyday with broader institutional, national and geopolitical dynamics.

Scholarly research on how different places of the global south are (dis) connected and the flows of people, ideas and things between them is scant. Existing work on how particular places and peoples within the global South are represented is Western centric, i.e. it focuses on how these are represented by the global North (Mohanty 1984, Mohanty 2003, Dirlik 2007, Levandar and Mignolo 2011, Comaroff and Comaroff 2012, Eyben and Savage 2013). The potential of postcolonial studies to expand the scholarship on South-South relations remains largely unexplored. Postcolonialism's focus on criticizing 'the material and discursive legacies of colonialism that are still apparent in the world today, and still shape geopolitical and economic relations between the global north and south' (Radcliffe 1999:94), has blinded it to south-south relations; when discussed there seems to be an assumption that South-South relations can foster decolonising practices (Crossley 2000, Hickling-Hudson 2004) and a tendency to neglect the different political, cultural and economic realities of those countries and the fact that postcolonialism has 'unevenly developed globally' (MacClintock 2008:21). Thus, the 'postcolonial condition' will inevitably vary from country to country (McEwan 2009) and these variations matter for South-South relations.

This thesis is situated at the interfaces of development studies, anthropology and postcolonial studies in an attempt to bridge what Sylvester called 'giant islands of analysis and enterprise' (1999:703-704), referring to the lack of dialogue between postcolonial and development studies. This thesis seeks to contribute to an emerging body of scholarship in social sciences including anthropology, history and geography that incorporates a micro-level analysis and pays attention to everyday interactions to explain what goes on in actual South-South relationships. Examples of multidisciplinary approaches to South-South relations include DeHart's (2012) analysis of interethnic interactions in a Chinese-Costa Rican cooperation project; Cesarino's (2013) research on how Brazilian 'cooperation frontliners' in agriculture reached their African counterparts

and made sense of their relations during capacity building training and technology transfer efforts; and Ress's analysis of how Brazilian SSC official rhetoric is put into practice through the everyday making of the University of Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (UNILAB) and 'actors' day-to-day (positioned) negotiations (struggles) over power' (2015:8). Although this work focuses on official South-South Cooperation, **it goes beyond an exclusive focus on institutional practices and sheds light on how the global south is represented by peoples within the global South and the ways in which power is implicated in their social relations** (Williams et al. 2014). These scholars' attention to everyday experiences allows us to 'locate the mechanism through which social actors deal with tensions' (Lorenzana 2015:3). Below I discuss this scholarship in more detail focusing on the aspects that are relevant to this thesis.

Cesarino (2013) asserted that the fact that Brazilian frontliners' knowledge practices were based on experiences and techniques that were developed and implemented in the Brazilian context, which were then combined with the experiences and knowledges of African partners, distinguished Brazilian SSC from North-South Cooperation (NSC). Cesarino (2013) emphasised the role of mutuality and knowledge co-construction which, according to her, was reflected in African partners' role as 'necessary mediators' for initiation and reproduction of cooperation; Cesarino (2013) seems to take this role at face value and does not discuss how this process is shaped by South-South knowledge hierarchies and politics.

This issue is discussed by Ress (2015) in relation to Unilab-in-practice. Ress shows that while Unilab's aim was to bring together students and lecturers from Portuguese-speaking countries to 'exchange, produce and disseminate knowledge(s) and to foster academic/scientific and cultural integration (...)' (2015:2), this did not happen because implementation 'privileged Brazil centred interpretations, political goals, and values' (2015:24) and failed to recognise the capacities and knowledges of African partners. This, in turn, affected knowledge production in the classroom, in that most Brazilian teachers had difficulties valuing and discussing students' knowledge and experience and fostering knowledge co-construction. I return to these points in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 as the politics of and expectations around knowledge transfer are an essential element of the interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican actors analysed in this thesis.

Cesarino (2013) also found that while ‘official’ SSC discourses draw heavily on socio-historical and cultural relations, these were marginal among her research participants, as the practices of Brazilian government staff on the ground, focused instead on the technical details of individual projects. Contrarily, Ress (2015) found that Unilab’s founders relied on discourses of solidarity, history and integration to justify its creation, framing relationships between Brazil and African countries as dialogical and mutually beneficial across a historically and developmentally homogenous community of Portuguese speaking countries and peoples. According to Ress (2015), this narrative was flawed. First Africa was imagined as ‘underdeveloped’ and ‘historical’ Other, i.e. is represented as the dark continent not only in terms of people’s skin colour, but also as a space of war, disease and chaos. Secondly, it ‘glosses over how the socioeconomic and socio-political inequalities of the powerfully racialized class hierarchies prevalent in Brazilian society shaped the practice of Unilab and Brazilian South-South cooperation more broadly’ (2015:252). Ress asserts that the high levels of segregation within Unilab, the divisions along national, racial and economic lines as well as African students’ difficulties in adapting to Brazilian society, lead to Unilab being perceived by African students as a ‘site of sociocultural and racial othering and economic marginalisation’ (2015:210). **This theme of proximity and presumed affinities between Brazilians and Mozambicans cuts across all chapters of this thesis.**

While Cesarino (2013) and Ress (2015) looked at contemporary Brazilian SSC, Hatzky (2015) researched Cuban SSC with Angola, between 1976 and 1991. Looking at the field of education, Hatzky defined their cooperation as ‘internationalism with reciprocal benefits’ (2015:14), into which both countries entered as willing and equal partners. Like Cesarino (2013), Hatzky (2015) asserted that Cuban-Angolan exchanges should be read as ‘cooperation’ rather than a Cuban ‘intervention’, stressing the mutuality of the exchange. One of Hatzky’s main contributions however is that she demystifies views of Cuban-Angolan relationships that overemphasise Cubans’ beliefs in internationalist solidarity, by describing the various motivations of the Cuban state and Cubans mobilised by the former to work in Angola and providing details about the payments the Angolan state made to Cuba for every *cooperante*,<sup>1</sup> highlighting the service provision character of

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<sup>1</sup> Literally ‘co-operators’. In Angola the term was applied to Cuban civilians (Hatzky 2015). In Mozambique *cooperantes* was the term used, in the post-independence period, to refer to international professionals linked to the solidarity movement and employed by the Mozambican government. For more on cooperantes in Mozambique see: Cliff et al. (1986), Hanlon (1991), Azevedo (2011) and Soares 2006. According to

this cooperation. Like Ress (2015), Hatzky (2015) also discusses the distance between Angolans and Cubans who lived in separate enclaves and were not authorised to have interactions with the former outside the workplace, as well as the conflicts between them derived from skill differentials and Angolans' views that Cubans acted without consulting them. A major gap in Hatzky's (2015) work is that while the title of her book is entitled 'South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge, 1976-1991' and she discusses conflicts derived from skills differentials and Angolans' accusations that Cuba sent poorly trained teachers to the country, she does not really conceptualise transfer of knowledge; this is necessary because as I discuss in chapters 3 and 4, knowledge transfer through technical cooperation is an essential element of the conceptualisation of SSC.

Besides the works mentioned above, we can also learn about South-South relations from work that is not necessarily framed in those terms such as Bayly's research on Vietnamese intellectuals who worked as development workers in former French and Portuguese colonies in Africa, including Mozambique, from the 1960s. Particularly insightful is Bayly's discussion of how these professionals negotiated overseas employment, the recruitment system, individuals' personal motivation and investments to secure a posting abroad, the emotional and moral ambivalence as a result of their earnings, even if these were only a fraction of the sum officially paid to their government for their posting.

Other insights are offered by work that goes beyond the development sector or what Mohan and Kale (2007) call 'the invisible hand of South-South globalisation', namely South-South migration. Examples include: research by Mohan and Kale (2007) on Chinese Diasporas in African countries, Feijó's (2012) study of Mozambican perspectives on Chinese presence in Mozambique through a comparative analysis of discourses of government institutions, a blog and Mozambican workers in Maputo, DeHart's (2012) analysis of Chinese and Costa Rican cooperation, and Lorenzana's (2015) research on ethnic moralities, boundary work and reciprocity in workplace interactions between Filipinos and Indians in various sectors, including development, in India. DeHart (2012) and Lorenzana (2015) underline the centrality of ethnic moralities in South-South interactions and the various criteria individuals use in making boundaries. Drawing on Bart (2000) and Fechter's (2007) work, Lorenzana asserts that ethnic

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Cliff et al. 'originally, they originated from three distinct groupings: personnel from official aid programmes of Socialist and African countries; refugees, principally from Latin America; and those from solidarity organisations in the west' (1986:18).

moralties act as ‘a source of both tension and connection in South-South relations at the micro-level’ (2015:3). Lorezana’s (2015) discussion on reciprocity, expectations and negotiation constitutes an important contribution to the debate on South-South relations at the micro-level. Following Hollnsteiner (1973) he describes reciprocity as

a principle of behaviour wherein every service received, solicited or not, demands a return, the nature and proportion of the return determined by the relative statuses of the parties involved and the kind of exchange at issue (Lorezana 2015:9).

Lorezana also underlines the culturally specific nature of the form that reciprocity takes and the agency of actors in negotiating ‘acceptable terms of reciprocal engagements’ (ibid.). However, Lorezana’s assertion that there an ethic of reciprocity animating the Filipino-Indian relations, in which cooperation and solidarity played a central role, seems to equate cooperation with solidarity; this is problematic as individuals may have various motivations to cooperate that have nothing to do with solidarity.

A theme that cuts across the work of the various authors identified above is what Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel (2012) call ‘mutual imaging’ and how positive and negative images and relationships are analysed in reference to the idea of cultural proximity – also an important element of some SSC discourses. It is however, in Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel (2012) and Palmer’s (2012) work that I found more elements that shed light on the discussion on the issue of difference. Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel analysed the mutual imaging between Bhutanese refugees of Nepali descent and Nepali aid workers in a refugee camp. They found positive images and relationships between the two groups, arguing that these may result from ‘the fact that they share the same culture’ (2012:1148). Yet, their study also found that despite sharing the ‘same culture’ and being physically close (in the same compound) there was significant social and institutional distance between them and their lifestyles were different (ibid.). Their findings also indicate that education and class mattered in these relationships as some refugees felt that upper class staff did not care about them and were there to earn money; therefore they ‘did not believe that staff and refugees could be friends’ (Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel 2012:1148).

Palmer (2012) analyses cultural proximity focusing on religion - and the idea of Muslim solidarity - drawing on fieldwork carried out on Islamic Relief Worldwide’s relief programme for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. Contributing to the debate on whether Muslim aid agencies bring added value when working with Muslim beneficiaries in Muslim areas, Palmer (2012) shows that a common religion does not necessarily override



political, social and cultural divisions. Her research showed that ‘although Bangladesh is a predominantly Muslim country, Muslim NGOs do not enjoy a privileged status. In fact, secular and non-Muslim faith-based NGOs operate relatively easily in Bangladesh, and the government and people are often more suspicious of Muslim aid agencies’ (2012:102). According to Palmer, this has to do with Bangladesh’s political history and the fact that Islam is far from being a source of national cultural cohesion, as ‘tensions between political Islamists and secularists are still rife in contemporary politics and everyday life’ (2012:102). Palmer also shows that

while faith can sometimes be a unifying phenomenon among local staff, expatriate staff, and beneficiaries, especially when individuals come together to pray and fast (Benthall 2008), sociological, ideological, and cultural differences frequently cause disparities between aid workers and beneficiaries (Benthall and Bellion-Jordan 2003; De Collier 2009a) (2012:105).

Particularly relevant for this thesis is the centrality of social, institutional and hierarchical distance discussed by Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel (2012) and Palmer (2012), the historical roots of mistrust in contemporary interactions, and the presumption of cultural proximity that creates positive relationships. As Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel (2012), Hatzky (2015) and Lorenzana (2015), I investigate the perceptions of both parties involved in South-South interactions, in this case, Brazilians and Mozambicans. Together with Ress’s (2015) work they suggest a need for unpacking what ‘sharing the same culture’ means in South-South relations; they also underline the relevance of intersectional and multiscale approaches that explore how multiple markers of difference affect mutual imagining and interactions and the ways in which the past, the present and the future are linked in these relations. This thesis picks up on the ground-breaking work of these scholars. **It** however departs from Cesarino (2013) and Ress’s (2015) **focus on micro-level policy and programme implementation, and centres instead on everyday personal and professional interactions not necessarily linked to a programme. This focus seems the most appropriate to explore issues of difference and likeness as well as intimacy and power in development work.**

Also relevant to this thesis is Peters’s (2016) analysis of professional distinctions between national and international development workers in Angola. Peters (2016) contends that where international development workers are from has little significance, as the national-international distinction is based on whether the professional is from Angola or not. According to Peters,

To be non-Angolan in Angola is similarly taken to be roughly the same position whether one is Mozambican, Ukrainian, or Bangladeshi. In this thinking, the central social distinction within professional development work is not West versus non-West, Northern versus Southern, or developed versus developing. The central distinction is whether a staff member is classified as being ‘from here’ (or of here) or ‘not from here’ (not of here) in relation to the work (...) the expatriate staff, from developing or developed country alike, are treated as a homogenous professional class, the sociality of which may in fact homogenise its members (...) (2016:499).

This research explores this assertion further, by looking at how professional distinctions play out in South-South relations. However, it goes beyond the workplace and explores the effects of the interconnections of various forms of distinction. The principal research question guiding this thesis is: **to what extent do South-South relations challenge, resist or reinforce unequal power relations within the development industry?** This research question was broken down into five working sub-questions, which provide the analytical framework used in the process of gathering and systematising the different sources of data and answering the main question. These are:

- What historical, sociocultural and institutional processes and structures provide the context for interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers?
- What are the social and political imaginaries shaping the construction of ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ in these relationships? What identities do Mozambicans ascribe to Brazilians, as distinct from other development workers?
- In what ways do Brazilian development workers’ multiple belongings affect their motivation and capacity to act across multiple divides and axes of difference?
- How do Mozambican development workers exert their own power and agency in shaping relationships with Brazilian development workers?

Answers to these research questions will be central to understanding what goes on in South-South interactions; this is critical because dominant South-South cooperation discourses seem to assume that there is a special, distinct and privileged relationship between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. In the next section, I set out my conceptual framework and the link to the specific issues I discuss and how it serves as the basis for the organisation of this thesis.

## 1.2 Conceptual Frameworks

This research is inspired by critical development theory with a feminist and post-colonial approach. Whereas none of these bodies of thought has engaged systematically with the position and identities of southern development workers, their discussions on imaginaries, identities, and feminist politics provide an important conceptual starting point for this research. Postcolonial theories' attention to the 'interconnections and hybridities created by the world-historical experience of colonialism' (McEwan 2009:3), their focus on the question of identity, modes of representation and the relationships between power and knowledge as well as its critiques to international development are relevant for this thesis.

While postcolonial theories have mainly been applied to relations between colonisers and former colonies (Crewe and Harrison 1998, Kapoor 2008, McEwan 2009, Kothari and Wilkinson 2010), this research uses them to look at how colonial discourses and imaginations about Africa, the Third World and the West historically intervened in the encounters between people from former colonies and how they continue to be activated. These continuities are explored through Edward Said's notion of 'imaginative geography' (1977), Charles Taylor's (2002) 'social imaginaries' and Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel's (2012) notion of 'mutual imaging'. The articulation of these three concepts allows the exploration of different dimensions of imaginaries – social, geographic and interpersonal – the processes through which they are constructed, and their material implications.

Said (1977) used 'imaginative geography' as part of his critique of Western representations of the Orient and the 'orientalising of the Orient' throughout history. Imaginative geography refers to the making of boundaries through geographical distinctions between familiar places ('ours') and unfamiliar places ('theirs'), in which 'both their territory and their mentality is designated as different from 'ours' (Said 1977:167); this applies regardless of whether the 'Other' acknowledges the distinction or not; as Said points out 'it is enough for 'us' to set up these boundaries in our minds' (ibid.). In *Orientalism*, geographical distinctions dramatize distance and difference between close and distant places (Said 1977:186). I find Teng's (2004) formulation of 'imagined geography' drawing on Edward Said's notion of 'imaginative geographies' and Benedict Anderson's (1983) 'imagined communities' particularly helpful to explore imaginaries in South-South relations. In contrast with Said's imaginative geographies

which dramatizes distance and difference between unfamiliar places and peoples, Teng (2004) asserts that ‘rather than simply dramatizing distance and difference, imagined geography at once exoticizes the other and attempts to convert otherness into familiarity and we-ness’ (2004:17).

Further conceptualizations of imaginaries, such as Taylor’s (2002) work, highlight the fact that imaginaries have a social dimension as they are shared by large groups of ordinary people, shape their expectations and affect social interactions (Taylor 2002). According to Taylor, social imaginaries refer to ‘the ways in which people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations’ (2012:106). Although social imaginaries do not correspond to a concrete reality, they have institutional force and shape the way people understand their identities (Gaonkar 2002:4). While Said (1977) and Teng (2004) elaborate on how certain places and peoples are imagined, Taylor (2002) emphasises effects on social institutions and practices as well as on individuals’ identities and behaviour. These authors underline the fact that despite their imaginary character they have a normative role in the sense that they elicit and legitimise certain common practices; they mediate collective life and have an effect on the construction of geographic and cultural boundaries (Taylor 2002, Gaonkar 2002, Kothari and Wilkinson 2010).

The notion of mutual imaging (Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel 2012) underlines the contextual and evolving nature of imaging, the interaction between social/geographic imaginaries and individual imaginings, and the personal processes of internalisation. According to Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel ‘imaging processes combine elements of internalisation, where images are a product of past experiences, culture or aid discourse, with elements of strategizing, where actors create representations by playing with their self – and othering images, partly in response to how they imagine they are being imaged by others’ (2012:1443). The individual and personal dimension is important, given that as Salazar notes ‘(...) in the end the agents who imagine are individuals, not societies (2012:865)’; this is important because it accounts for the role of human agency and allows us to explore the tensions, negotiations and (re) formulations that arise when places that have been imagined at a distance become lived spaces (Ferguson 1992).

The notion of mutual imaging further emphasises how actors in interactions view each other, i.e. it goes beyond a focus on how the West perceives the rest of the world, pays attention to the reverse relationship, acknowledging that the ‘Other’ also imagines, enabling a ‘symmetrical analysis’ (Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel 2012). In this thesis, I explore mutual imaging between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers, the question of who is ‘us’ and ‘them’ in South-South cooperation as well as the ways in which colonial discourses and imaginations about Africa and development intervene in these relations. Through a reading of identities and imaginaries as interwoven, I analyse the imaginaries of ‘Southern’ and ‘developing country’ identity embedded in the discourses of research participants.

### *Intersectionality*

Identities are here understood as contextually constituted, situationally enacted and discursively articulated through interactive dialectic processes (Collins 2000, Baaz 2005, Yuval-Davis 2006, Bilge 2010). The literature on identity has evolved from an emphasis on individual social categories and related systems of oppression, to attention to the ways in which social categories intersect as well as the influence of meso and macro-level structures. Relatedly, the concept of intersectionality has gained currency; this notion emerged out of black feminists’ work, in the United States, to explain the triple oppressions of race, gender and class black women suffered and their invisibility in both the women’s movement, dominated by white middle-class women, and in anti-racist organisations, dominated by black men (Crenshaw 1989, Crenshaw 1991, Bilge 2010; Christensen and Jensen 2012). The focus soon expanded to include other identities such as ethnicity, nationality, sexuality and (dis)ability. Contemporary intersectional approaches combine an attention to macro-level structures with micro-level analysis. Microsocial analysis explores the distinctive configurations of the intersection of social identities and the influence of multiple sources of power and privilege at the individual level. Macrosocial analysis is concerned with the role of multiple systems of power in the production, configuration and reproduction of social inequalities (Bilge 2010).

Collins (2000) and Yuval-Davis (2006) have expanded the macro-micro levels of analysis by identifying specific domains or sites of power and marginalization. Collins (2000) calls attention to four forms of oppression: structural (through laws and institutions), disciplinary (through administrative and bureaucratic management), hegemonic (through

cultural and ideological naturalization of relationships of domination, and interpersonal (through everyday interactions influenced by various hierarchies). Yuval-Davis (2006) also identifies four levels of analysis: organisational, intersubjective, experimental and representational. According to Yuval-Davis (2006:198), social divisions are expressed in specific institutions and organisations and involve specific power and affective relationships between actual people, acting (in) formally. They manifest in peoples' subjective experiences of exclusion and discrimination in their daily lives as well as in specific aspirations and identities and are expressed in representations. According to Yuval-Davis, social divisions encompass both what people think about themselves as well as their attitudes and prejudices towards others.

Drawing on Collins' (2000), Yuval-Davis' (2006) and Bilge's (2010) theorization of intersectionality, this thesis adopts a multi-layered intersectional approach that takes into account the ways in which Brazilian and Mozambican development workers are simultaneously positioned – and position themselves – in multiple social categories each with specific relationships with structures of power that affect individual experiences of discrimination and privilege, as well as the pressures, tensions and dilemmas individuals face when negotiating their identities. The interconnections between race, class, gender, nationality, sexuality, and origin are perceived as part of a broad framework of macro, meso and micro relations, institutions and processes (Collins 2000, Yuval-Davis 2006, Bilge 2010).

### *Kinship metaphors*

The research also draws upon feminist debates on the notion of sisterhood (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1983, Radcliffe 1994, Mohanty 2003, Beins 2010, Davis 2014). Yet, differently from other scholars who have focused on the un-packing and de-construction of the assumption that there is a shared identity and commonality of interests and/or goals among all women, centred around a supposedly common womanhood (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1983, Radcliffe 1994), this thesis is concerned with the metaphorical use of the term sisterhood. By shifting the focus from whether all women are sisters or not, to an investigation of whether and in what ways sisterhood language is used, we can begin to understand the work this language does, i.e. its functional character; this entails considering the evocativeness, political force and emotional power of the term. While the critique of sisterhood has underlined its 'imaginative' character, in this thesis I read it also

as a discursive tool used to express identification and create relatedness, i.e. making and maintaining relationships (Carsten 2000:20).

This perspective is informed by the growing literature on the metaphorical use of kinship terms, which highlights their functional character (Carsten 2004, Schweiter 2000, Liow 2003, Patil 2008, Akanle and Olutayo 2012). This literature is situated within what is considered 'new kinship studies' (Carsten 2000, Carsten 2004), international relations (Liow 2003, Patil 2008, Mole 2009), and social movement literature (De Jorio 2000, Weller and Hsiao 2013). Scholars have investigated how the nation (Eriksen 2004, Wade 2007) and the church have been described in kinship terms (Taney 2010; Harders 2012). The use of kinship terms by refugee supporters and volunteers has also been researched by Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar (2007) and Tilbury (2007). De Jorio (2000) analysed the role of kinship as a metaphor in struggles for political power based on her research on women's associations in postcolonial Mali, while Davis (2014) investigated the strategic deployment of sisterhood and solidarity in a women's development project in Janakpur, Nepal.

Conceptualisations of the functional character of kinship metaphors have highlighted its role in world-making and in creating relatedness, as well as the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion they draw upon and how they articulate power. Tilbury's (2007) analysis of the use of family tropes in refugee and advocate talk in Western Australia points out that the use of terms such as 'child', 'the boys', 'mother' was linked to identity ascriptions and expectations about certain behaviours and emotions. She argues that,

the use of such terms simultaneously constructs and reproduces ideas about what 'family' should be, while making sense of an otherwise dominant/subordinate relationship between advocates and refugees. As a corollary, the use of this language has a political function, signifying the possibilities for very close relationships between mainstream Australians and newcomers, which contrasts with widespread negative constructions of refugees as alien 'Others' (Tilbury 2007:627).

Conversely, Lange, Kamalkhani and Baldassar's (2007) analysis of interactions and power relations between volunteer English language tutors and Afghan Hazara refugees, also in Western Australia, indicates that the use of such kinship terminology, by Albany female and male tutors and supporters who referred to Hazara men as 'boys' reflected a propensity to infantilise and a desire to maintain a position of superiority.

The scholarship on the metaphorical use of kinship also highlights the importance of taking into account the social contexts and practices within which sisterhood and other kinship language is used and the meanings attributed by its users. Macklin (2003) warns against attributing fixed and invariant meanings to particular tropes (such as sisterhood), arguing instead for an evaluation that takes into account the specific context within which discourses are deployed, including the position and agency of the speaker in relation to the listener' (2003:256). While Davis (2014) calls attention to the multivalent, strategically deployed and divergently interpreted term 'sister. Davis (2004) found that the use of 'sister' combined the 'closeness, affection and solicitation implied by the use of kinship terminology', the 'pursuit of status, linguistic play and the establishment of solidarity among women' as well as boundary-making; according to Davis (2004) the use of 'sister' was also 'a distancing move, a statement of difference among women as much as an indicator of sameness and closeness' (2003:64).

The literature on the 'kinship factor in international relations' (Liow 2003, Patil 2008, Mole 2009) is of particular significance for this thesis. Mole (2009) looks at discourses of 'world kinship' and 'family of nations' within the UN and asserts that kinship terminology contains 'principles of distinction' and is used to make distinctions between 'us' and 'them' in world politics. Similarly, Patil (2008) uses the notion of kinship politics to theorise hierarchical constructions of space, identity and international community within the UN before decolonisation. Kinship politics is defined as 'a politics that brings together the notion of national association across peoples and territories, with the notion of natural hierarchy within this association' (Patil 2008:17). The term kinship politics draws on the role of metaphors of the body and the family, which Patil calls 'nature metaphors' (2008:20) in naturalising association and hierarchy-within-association. According to Patil, these metaphors are usually 'invoked as emergent from nature' and 'contain deeply rooted, naturalised notions of hierarchy (ibid.)'. Drawing on this idea, Patil shows how anti-colonialists demanded a shift from paternal kinship relations between grown men to fraternal kinship relations between men and how they used the notion of brotherhood.

Liow's (2003) focus on the 'kinship factor' in inter-state relationships between 'kin states' (in this case, Indonesia-Malaysia) is especially useful for this thesis, because Brazil-Mozambique relations are often framed in those terms. According to Liow (2003), 'kin states' define their ties as 'special relationships' i.e.



relations between states whose populations share historical and sentimental bonds, and whose leaders impute meaning into their relations on the back of these bonds. Such relationships warrant an almost immutable belief (on the part of their leaders and populations) that they, at least in theory, are meant to share a relationship driven by more than purely material factors (Liow 2003:11).

The distinctiveness of their relationships lies in common ethnicity, language, culture and ancestry between the populations of the countries involved and in the organisation of relations based on the expectations and obligations that kinship entails. However, Liow (2003) asserts that while kinship has provided a basis for co-identification in relation to particular issues, such as the concern about Chinese influence in both countries, kinship language has not been able to provide a sound basis for Indonesia-Malaysia relations, as its use in diplomatic discourse coexists with the rivalry and tension between the two countries. According to Liow (2003), this is because ‘of the perceived failure of these kin states to fulfil the expectations and obligations of kinship’, associated with different historical experiences of state building and national identity construction in the two countries.

These are the building blocks of the conceptual frameworks I use to investigate personal and professional relationships between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. The thesis explores the ways in which Brazil-Mozambique relations are imagined and framed along identity and kinship lines and how these manifest in their interactions. It pays particular attention to the use of kinship language in a context of development and knowledge hierarchies and related inequalities. In the last section of this chapter, I set out how the research questions outlined in the previous section and the conceptual framework link to the specific issues I discuss and how they serve as the basis for the organisation of this thesis. First, however, I clarify the terminology of ‘North’ and ‘South’ used in this thesis and situate the research in relation to my own personal and professional trajectory.

### 1.3 Terminology

I have used the terms ‘global South’, ‘global North’, ‘South-South relations’, ‘South-South cooperation’, ‘North-South cooperation’ to describe the phenomena I investigate in this thesis. Here, I explain how I understand them drawing on the existing academic and policy literature and on research participants’ views. **I must underline however that it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss what the ‘Global South’ is. My focus is rather**



on how ‘Global South’ and other associated terms have been used in South-South cooperation’s institutional discourses and on the meanings attributed to them by research participants. Thus the chapters of this thesis chart the emergence of the discourse of ‘underdevelopment’ and how it relates to ‘Third World solidarity’ and South-South cooperation as well as the ways in which the incorporation of the ‘South within the North’ in conceptualisations of ‘Global South’ is contested by research participants, as illustrated in their understandings of ‘Southern identity’.

The United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC), defines South-South cooperation as a ‘broad framework for collaboration among countries of the South in the political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and technical domains. Involving two or more developing countries, it can take place on a bilateral, regional, subregional or interregional basis. Developing countries share knowledge, skills, expertise and resources to meet their development goals through concerted efforts.’<sup>2</sup> A central assumption of this definition is that ‘countries of the South’ are ‘developing countries’, as illustrated by the interchangeable use of the two terms. Caison and Vorman (2014) underline the space-based and temporal dimension of the North-South divide, evidenced in the linking of the ‘Global South with theories of underdevelopment in economic and/or social terms and the time-lag of modernity in humanistic inquiry’ (2014:68). This divide also reflects a homogenising understanding of reality that obscures differences between ‘developing countries’ as well as similarities between ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ countries, as has been pointed out by various scholars and activists (Mohanty 2003, Levander and Mignolo 2011, Trefzer, Jackson, Mackee and Dellinger 2014, Caison and Vorman 2014). By doing so, it both dramatizes distance between developing and developed countries and proximity between developing countries.

The literature tends to highlight negative aspects of the terms ‘Third World’ and ‘Global South’. In this thesis we see how they have been accepted, appropriated and instrumentalised by ‘developing countries’ and social movements to articulate challenges to uneven power relations and forge solidarity (Grovoğu 2011, Caison and Vorman 2014, Levander and Mignolo 2011). As Prashad notes, ‘the Third World was not a place; it was a project’ (2007:1) associated with a political position against colonialism and imperialism. The term ‘global south’ has also been appropriated and resignified.

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<sup>2</sup> [http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/about/what\\_is\\_ssc.html](http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/about/what_is_ssc.html) accessed on 22.11.2016



According to Levander and Mignolo (2011), ‘the global south is taking the place of the Third World and the implied global north the place of the first world’ (2011:10). This is visible in the work of scholars such as Mohanty (2003), Escobar (2004), Levander and Mignolo (2011), Santos (2014), and Trefzer, Jackson, Mackee and Dellinger 2014 (2014). These scholars talk about pockets of the Global South in the Global North and vice-versa as well as of transnational solidarity networks against neoliberal globalisation. Mohanty (2003) underlines the presence of the South in the North as a result of the slave trade, colonisation and migration. For Trefzer, Jackson, Mackee and Dellinger, the

Global South’ emerges, then as a conceptual framework used to observe the contingent and interconnected pockets of poverty, gender inequality, and racism throughout the world – including the so called “wealthy nations” – (...) the “Global North” in turn, allows us to see contingent and interconnected spaces of wealth, gendered privilege and racial privilege throughout the world, including within so-called “poor nations”. North and South are mutually reinforcing and can coexist in the same geographic space (2014:4).

Like the idea of ‘Third World’ the term ‘Global South’ is interpreted by some as a political project. Levander and Mignolo (2011) distinguish between the idea of Global South, ‘as a metaphor for poverty, oppression, and suffering’ (2011:10) created by the North, where the Global South comes to be seen as a ‘location of underdevelopment and emerging nations that need the “support” of the global North’ and the “Global South” as perceived by its inhabitants, i.e. as ‘the location where new visions of the future are emerging and where the global political and decolonial society is at work’ (2011:3) through ‘epistemic political disobedience’ and delinking from the rules of the game imposed by the global north (2011:10).

In contrast with the notion of South-South cooperation rooted in the idea of underdevelopment, Lavender and Mignolo (2011) focus on global decolonial ‘networks that extend South-South’, from which they derive their definition of South-South relations as ‘a network that intentionally leaves out the global north’ (2011:09). In this thesis, I also attempt to go beyond the term South-South cooperation and integrate other relations that do not necessarily take place under a specific framework of collaboration and or are not necessarily defined by its participants as South-South cooperation, such as those between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists, discussed in chapter 7. Furthermore, my focus on relationships between Brazilians and Mozambicans working for U.S INGOs discussed in

chapter 6, inevitably forces us to expand our understanding of what South-South relations are.

I find Levander and Mignolo's (2011) understanding of the position of the global north in South-South relations problematic because it does not take into account the multiple sites and conditions under which South-South relations take place or unequal power relations within South-South relations, it is almost as if power, privilege and inequality related exclusively to the North. The empirical data collected as part of this thesis suggests the participation of the global north in South-South relations and the need for taking into account how differently positioned individuals understand these terms. In chapters 5 and 7, I discuss how Mozambican women active in a transnational feminist movement perceived differences between them, Brazilian women and those from Southern Europe.

**In this thesis, I adopt the terms 'South' and 'North' as used in South-South Cooperation institutional discourses and by research participants,** yet I also seek to follow Caisson and Vorman's note of caution and **'resist apply totalizing mechanisms of analysis to vastly different groups of people that each experience the effects of globalisation in unique ways and face different emancipatory conditions of possibility'** (2014:68); **this is done by looking at the terms 'North' and 'South as social constructions that serve particular purposes and by critically analysing the claims embedded in their use.**



#### **1.4 My life-story as a source of inspiration for this research**

During the course of this research many people asked me why I was interested in relations between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. Why Brazilians? They would ask. Some were sceptical about the practical relevance of research on relationships between national and foreign development workers and argued that Mozambique has many pressing development needs and that I should focus on some of them instead. The relevance of a Mozambican producing research on Brazilian development workers' perceptions of and interactions with Mozambicans was not obvious, despite the highly visible Brazilian presence in Mozambique.

Brazilian cartoons and magazines, *telenovelas* [soap operas], popular music and my mother's stories<sup>3</sup> about Brazil and its peoples are a part of my memoirs of childhood and adolescence in Maputo, Mozambique. These co-exist with memories of food, music and books from Portugal and France as well as music from South Africa, Argentina, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The reading lists of the undergraduate courses I undertook (in social sciences & anthropology) at Eduardo Mondlane University, a public university located in Maputo, included the work of Brazilian academics. While the majority of the senior lecturers had studied in Europe and the US, all the junior lecturers had recently finished their Masters and Doctorate studies in Brazil.

By the time I finished my bachelor's degree, Brazil had become my dream destination. I had the privilege to travel abroad during my childhood and adolescence, but the trips were mostly to Europe. My mother's work as a flight attendant for *Linhas Áreas de Moçambique*, Mozambican Airline and the fact that we had relatives in Portugal and the Netherlands made it cheaper for us to have holidays in Europe. On the 31th December 2000, I journeyed alone on my first trip to Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), using one of the free tickets to which I was entitled as the daughter of a flight attendant. I was eager to experience the glamour and playfulness of New Year's Eve on Copacabana Beach in Rio de Janeiro, portrayed in Brazilian *telenovelas* and magazines as well as in international tourism guides.

I only have snapshots – real and imagined – of this trip. I remember staying in Rio de Janeiro for a week with an afro-Brazilian family. As I landed in Rio, the place I had imagined at a distance, became a lived space (Fergusson 1992). The airport, the taxi journey from António Carlos Jobim International Airport to Laranjeiras - a residential neighbourhood in the south of the city - and the arrival at the small flat where I stayed immediately struck at the foundations of the imaginary Brazil constructed in my mind and heart over the years. I recollect disliking the greyness of the buildings I saw on the way from the airport - they felt unsafe – and wondering whether I was in the right place. Where were the beautiful beaches, streets, and people I had seen in *telenovelas*, music videos and tourism guides?

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<sup>3</sup> At the time my mother worked as a flight attendant for the Mozambican airline and all her trips to Brazil were work related.

I was hosted by a friend of one of my Mozambican university teachers and her mother, in their mid-thirties and late-fifties respectively. They were both friendly, hospitable and kind. They hosted me even though their tiny one bedroom flat barely had space for the two of them. It was the first time I had stayed in such a small place. It was also my first close encounter with Afro-Brazilians. I remember feeling sad and outraged by the fact that they were living in such a small place. The glamour and wealth portrayed in *telenovelas* were not there. The flat was colourful, the walls adorned with African sculptures and paintings, and they had many books – both my university teacher's friend and her father were academics.

People generally assumed I was Brazilian until my Portuguese grammar and accent announced my foreignness. Yet, the sense of being different was constant, from the moment I landed. This first short one-week trip to Brazil challenged the ways in which I had imagined Brazil and added new images to the repertoire built over the years; it increased my awareness of Brazil's social inequalities as well as of the historical, cultural and socio-economic differences between myself and the people I interacted with – particularly the afro-Brazilians to whom my identity as black and African seemed paramount. This trip made me experience myself as a middle-class, shallow, African woman whose interest in Brazil was merely touristic. It was also my first live encounter with the dominant Brazilian imaginaries of Africa and Africans that I discuss in this thesis, and I could not relate to them.

My academic interest in Brazil emerged a couple of years later while I was undertaking an MSc in Disaster Management and Sustainable Development at the University of Northumbria, in the UK. At the time, the university had an exchange programme with the *Universidade Federal de Campina Grande*, (UFCG, Federal University of Campina Grande) located in the city of Campina Grande, in the state of Paraíba, in Brazil's Northeast. However, Northumbria had difficulties finding students with working knowledge of Portuguese to participate in the exchange programme. One of my British lecturers who had extensive work experience in Mozambique asked me if I was interested in conducting research there, as part of my MSc dissertation. The idea of learning from Brazilian experiences in disaster management appealed to me, as I assumed they would be relevant for Mozambique, given the two countries' agro-ecological and climatic similarities – assumptions which have more recently been problematized by research on development cooperation between the two countries in the field of agriculture (Cabral,

Shankland, Favareto and Costa Vaz 2013; Shankland and Gonçalves 2016). Besides, I presumed that Brazilian experiences would be easier to translate to a Mozambican context than those from other countries, because of the shared language - Portuguese. Writing a thesis on development strategies in a disaster-prone area of the Northeast of Brazil did not challenge these assumptions, as the research focused exclusively on Brazil. At the time, I was not even aware of the influence of Brazilian experiences in Mozambique.

It was through my personal and professional interactions as a development worker in the fields of HIV&AIDS and gender equality in Mozambique (between 2004 and 2010), that I came to perceive the influence of Brazilian experiences in Mozambique. The work of Brazilian institutions on sexuality and reproductive health, HIV&AIDS, gender equality and women's rights<sup>4</sup> widely circulates in government, non-governmental and international development organisations based in Maputo, through printed and audio-visual materials as well as highly mobile development workers - Brazilian, Mozambican and from other countries. Formal technical cooperation as well other more fluid forms, such as collaboration between HIV NGOs, networks of associations of women living with HIV&AIDS, and feminists working in the area of gender based violence constituted important vehicles for circulation of people and ideas between the two countries. Several people I worked with had travelled to Brazil as part of 'exchange visits' or their organizations had hired Brazilian 'experts' on short-term and long-term assignments. I had been directly involved in some of these interactions.

Between May 2008 and December 2009, I worked as gender coordinator of a multilateral agency in Maputo whose work focused on HIV&AIDS. I was responsible for coordinating a joint programme on the feminization of the HIV&AIDS epidemic involving eight organisations<sup>5</sup>. The country coordinator of the multilateral agency was a Brazilian man; his predecessor had been a Brazilian woman and the person before her was also Brazilian. When I started, I was the only national professional staff member. About six months later two Mozambican men joined the technical team. The other Mozambicans were administrative, cleaning and security staff. The other staff members were from the UK, Italy, Norway, Finland and Denmark. When I started working there, two women - one from Tanzania and the other from Zambia – were finishing their

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<sup>4</sup> These are the areas I am more familiar with but I have also come across Brazilian influence in other areas, such as agriculture, environment, disaster management, municipal governance, and urban planning.

<sup>5</sup> Four multilateral, two governmental institutions, one U.S international non-governmental organisation, and one Mozambican civil society network.

contracts. The Tanzanian woman went to work at the organisation's headquarters and the Zambian woman was hired by another multilateral agency in Mozambique. During the nineteen months I worked for the agency I grappled with issues related to identity, positionality and agency, and reflected intensively about the presence and influence of these actors in Mozambique. I could not understand why there were so many foreigners working for that agency and others I interacted with.

I have been able to seek answers to these questions through a PhD thesis because my decision to return to university coincided with a boom in academic interest in what Cabral (2016) has called 'Brazil's Golden South-South cooperation moment', particularly within the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) where I took my Degree in Gender and Development before starting this PhD. I am raising this point to situate the intellectual and academic environment in which this thesis was produced and acknowledge my own situatedness as a Mozambican development worker and academic, researching Brazilians in Mozambique, from a British university, with English and German supervisors. This social location marks me simultaneously as both 'insider' and 'outsider' to the 'hierarchies of Global Northern academies and socio-economic spaces' (Trefzer, Jackson, Mackee and Dellinger 2014:2). Additionally, as Levander and Mignolo's suggest, it is important to reflect about 'who is talking about the global South – when, why and where?' (2011:2); the answer to that question requires an intersectional lens that takes into account multiple positionalities, beyond the North-South binary.

### **1.5 Structure of the thesis**

In the next chapter, I build on this discussion of my social location to reflect about how my positionality has influenced the research design as well as how different aspects of my positionality manifested during fieldwork. I describe the research methodology, sites and spaces, providing information about the research participants, the rationale for undertaking multi-sited ethnography, the secondary sources reviewed, further reflections on my positionality, the process of data analysis, as well as how I have dealt with issues of anonymity and confidentiality.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on South-South Cooperation institutional discourses and practices. In chapter 3 I locate South-South Cooperation discourses historically and institutionally, charting the diffusion of ideas about 'Third World solidarity', and its appropriation by



international development agencies as well as the involvement of non-state actors. I also discuss Brazil and Mozambique's participation in these processes and their relations. The following chapter (chapter 4) moves from the macro to the micro level by addressing the interconnections between South-South knowledge hierarchies and professional pathways of Brazilian development workers, in the fields of HIV&AIDS and gender. Taken together the two chapters seek to map the reproduction of development and knowledge hierarchies within South-South cooperation and the production of a political economy of opportunities and mobility for Brazilian development workers.

Chapter 5 continues the discussion on difference and sameness, proximity and distance, and horizontally and verticality, by exploring the ways in which kinship metaphors structure relations and imaginaries between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers, namely ancestry and history, 'brotherhood of the South' or 'shared Southernness' and its related identity of sisterhood (discussed more fully in chapter 7), as well as linguistic kinship.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus on what goes on in actual interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. Chapter 6 deals with what happens when Brazilian professionals arrive in Mozambique, by exploring affinities, hierarchy and power in an International Non-Governmental Organisation's (INGO) office in Maputo. Chapter 7 discusses political affinities in feminist knowledge practices, by analysing interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists in the context of a transnational feminist movement. I then analyse the interconnections between the personal, the professional and the political (chapter 8), specifically examining how relatedness was enacted and the potential for the professional relationships discussed in chapters 6 and 7 to evolve into something more personal.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis. In the first part of the chapter, I review my findings in the light of the main research question and reflect on the assumption that there is a special and distinctive relationship between Brazilians and Mozambicans. In the second part, I outline this thesis' contribution to academic debates on South-South relations, aid ethnographies, transnational feminisms, and to the scholarship on feminism and feminists in Mozambique.

## Chapter 2. Research methodology, sites and spaces

The research that underpins this thesis was conducted in Mozambique (Maputo) and Brazil (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Fortaleza), over a period of 10 months, between September 2013 and July 2014. The main methods adopted were: multi-sited ethnography inspired by feminist methodology, in-depth semi-structured interviews with a life-work history approach, and participant observation within and outside organisational sites. These methods were combined to follow and explore trajectories, interactions and practices that take place in multiple sites and spaces.

I chose an ethnographic approach because I wanted to be placed where interactions happened while at the same capturing the views and perspectives that research participants held about them. Ethnographic research offers a number of tools and insights that are useful in research on interpersonal professional relations and these have been used by development studies scholars (Crewe & Harrison 1998, Mosse 2005, Mosse 2006, Hilhorst, Weijers and Wessel 2012). Ethnography pays attention to the patterns of everyday life and to the logic-in-use deployed by people as they define themselves and the situations that confront them and enables the inclusion of first-hand experience in research (Atkinson et al. 2001). In this thesis, ethnography is regarded as a practice and as a product (MacDonald 2001:60), it has informed the research design, shaped fieldwork, and guided data analysis and writing up of the thesis chapters. Feminist methodology has influenced the research questions (presented in the introduction), the choice of taking the personal as an object of study, as well as the attention given to issues of power and difference, researcher positionality and reflexivity, and how individuals' life trajectories interact with the whole (Alan 1997, Atkinson 1998, Brotman & Kranjou 1999, Nadin & Cassell 2006, Smart 2009). Consistent with feminist methodology this research not only pays attention to the elements shaping researcher-participant relationships, but also considers them as a form of South-South interaction.

The focus on organisational sites in Mozambique and Brazil was appropriate and necessary because they are important nodes of networks through which it was possible to map forms of arrival of Brazilian development workers in Mozambique and observe their interactions with Mozambican development workers. While the focus of the research was on individuals, the thesis situates organisations as nodes of expanding national and transnational, personal and professional networks, which are formed prior to, through and

after interactions with Mozambique/Mozambicans. The following sections provide information about the research participants, the rationale for undertaking multi-sited ethnography, the secondary sources reviewed, reflection on my positionality, the process of data analysis as well as how I have dealt with issues of anonymity and confidentiality. Appendix 2 summarizes my research design. It describes through whom (research participants), how (research methods) and where (research sites) the main research themes were investigated.

## 2. 1 Research participants

The research participants were mainly Brazilian and Mozambican professionals who worked for multilateral, governmental and non-governmental organisations, and in academia, in Mozambique and Brazil. I chose them because of the central role they played in the design and implementation of development cooperation interventions and in shaping the interactions that Mozambican professionals have with Brazilian professionals. I purposefully sought diversity in terms of their institutional affiliation because academic, multilateral, government and non-governmental organisations are differently situated in the development industry. Those differences mattered in terms of Brazilian professionals' trajectories and more importantly their professional and personal engagements with Mozambicans. Further details on the research participants are provided in Appendices 1 and 3. Research participants were identified through a combination of purposive and snowball methods. In Mozambique, I mainly applied a purposive approach. Through my work in the fields of HIV&AIDS and gender equality in Mozambique, I have gained considerable knowledge about the sector and key actors, which facilitated easy identification of research participants. However, I also drew on suggestions made by my research participants. In Brazil, a snowball approach was applied given that I possessed limited knowledge and access to relevant development professionals.

Although the main focus of this thesis is on Brazilian development workers' imaginaries and interactions, it considers Mozambicans, their relations with, and their views on Brazilian development workers in particular and foreigners in general as an important complementary part of the research. The main research question, the analytical focus on mutual imaging as well as the theoretical understanding of identities that underpins this research - identity construction and negotiation as an interactive and dialectic process in

which identities are constructed in relation to people and situations demanded that they are taken into account. Thus, the research investigated the identities ascribed to Brazilian development workers by Mozambican development workers and the extent to which Mozambicans exerted their own power and agency in encounters with Brazilian development workers. In order to capture these dynamics, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with Mozambicans working for government, civil society and multilateral and bilateral agencies in the field of gender and of HIV&AIDS, in the two countries. The research included Mozambicans who worked for organisations with a track record of collaboration with Brazilian organisations as well as individuals with personal and or professional connections with Brazil, including those who have travelled to Brazil under a fellowship programme managed by a Brazilian international non-governmental organisation (described further below). Reflections on Mozambicans' personal and professional connections with Brazil, their presence and role in the networks identified as well as how their imaginaries of Brazil and Brazilians have shaped past and contemporary interactions are discussed throughout the thesis.

The research design aimed for a balance of gender, race, age, occupation, and professional experience. However, most of my Brazilian and Mozambican research participants were women which reflects the gender balance in the fields I was researching (had I focused on agriculture, men would have predominated). The majority of Brazilian research participants were white, while the majority of Mozambican research participants were black; their ages ranged from 28 to 80 years old; they were middle class (although some of them came from a working class family background). Concerning occupation they were full-time employees or independent consultants in multilateral, government, and national and international non-governmental organisations, university lecturers and PhD students, former political exiles some of whom had retired while others worked for university and government agencies as well a few activists who held jobs in other unrelated sectors. The professional trajectories of my research participants reveal their circulation between government and non-government organisations as well as links with academia and social movements.

## 2.2 Multi-sited ethnography

Multi-sited ethnography moves out from single sites and local situations “(...) to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-space” (Marcus 1995:96) and was appropriate for research designed to investigate associations, connections and relationships within and between Brazil and Mozambique. While I focused primarily on interactions in Mozambique, these were influenced by imaginaries and assumptions deeply rooted in Brazilian realities and experiences. I spent a total of five months in Mozambique and four months in Brazil (two in São Paulo, two in Rio, plus three days attending an international event in Fortaleza) carrying out in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observation in formal and informal work-spaces and non-work spaces.

Fortaleza was not part of my initial fieldwork plan; I decided to include it because in July 2014, civil society organisations organised a counter-summit in parallel to the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) heads of state summit and some of the research participants were going to be there. The meeting was an opportunity to observe interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican research participants and was related to a series of international civil society meetings pre and parallel to the BRICS Heads of State Summit which I had the opportunity to attend in Johannesburg and Durban, in March 2013, whilst designing the research, during which I met and interacted with a few Brazilian professionals and NGOs that I had already identified as potential research participants. The BRICS are relevant to Brazil-Mozambique connections because it has provided an informal platform for civil society mobilisation against BRICS interventions that are perceived as neo-colonial bringing together actors from BRICS countries as well as from recipient countries, such as Mozambique.

The fieldwork formally began in Maputo, in September 2013, where I spent four months interviewing Brazilian development workers who live or had lived in Mozambique, and Mozambican development workers who work or had worked with Brazilians in Mozambique or Brazil. While most of the research participants lived in Maputo, I also interviewed one woman who initially lived in Maputo but had relocated to the North of Mozambique. I also conducted participant observation, for a month and a half, in the office of a U.S INGO (below I provide more details) with strong Brazilian connections. During this period in Maputo, I travelled to São Paulo to attend an international

colloquium organised by one of the international Brazilian NGOs that I had selected as one of the organisational sites for participant observation. In early February 2014, I returned to São Paulo to initiate the second part of my fieldwork, staying until late March; during that period, I travelled to Rio de Janeiro once to participate in a series of meetings of civil society from the BRICS and make arrangements for the second part of my fieldwork in Brazil. Between late March and mid-April I was in Maputo. I returned to São Paulo in late April where I stayed for a week, before proceeding to Rio de Janeiro where I stayed for two months. In mid-July, I attended the civil society meeting in Fortaleza. I concluded my fieldwork in Maputo, in late July.

The choice of multi-sited ethnography was driven by the multi-sited and episodic nature of many of the personal and professional encounters of Brazilian development workers in/with Mozambique. Investigating Brazilian development workers in Mozambique and Brazil enhanced understanding of the mobility process and resulted from an appreciation of the importance of taking into account the place of origin, through first-hand ethnographic exploration, to understand the lives and experiences of research participants and contextualise their narratives.

Brazil and Mozambique are intertwined in the shaping of Brazilian development workers' imaginaries, relationships and interactions. Thus, it was critical to understand the connections and connectors between the places and spaces where Brazilian development workers originate and the place and spaces to which they go. The underlying assumption is that both contexts populate social and geographic imaginaries as well as personal, professional, and organisational identity discourses. This approach is consistent with the conceptualisation of identity and agency as constituted, negotiated and manifested within social worlds that span more than one place (Vertovec 2001). It is however, important to clarify that this research does not assume a unidirectional professional trajectory from Brazil to Mozambique. On the contrary, it takes into account and explores the relevance of other imagined and or experienced places and countries in shaping the life-work trajectory of Brazilian development workers.

Multi-sited fieldwork helped to capture how personal and professional identities are constituted, negotiated, contested and manifested across place and time, including the process of becoming an expatriate and-or mobile professional, as well as the ideas, experiences, imaginaries and self-imaginings in relation to working in a African

developing country. This was achieved through tracking the professional trajectory, the institutional settings, organisational cultures and professional values and practices to which the research participants had been exposed in Brazil. The multi-sited ethnography focused on Brazilian development workers' life-work history and on how ways of understanding and doing development are shaped and circulate between the two countries and are experienced by Brazilian and Mozambican development workers.

Through conducting fieldwork in Brazil I was able to adopt a more critical stance about the stories I heard. I could experience some of the things the research participants talked about, such as relations between public institutions and civil society organisations. I became familiar with social imaginaries and the mechanisms through which they were created. Imaginaries of Self and Other contained in research participants' discourses were more openly and spontaneously manifested in everyday life and interactions, while in Mozambique they were censored, camouflaged or refashioned. In addition, I became aware that as my own positioning changed across space and place that of my research participants also changed as well as the nature of researcher-participant interactions. This was especially the case with the research participants I had the chance to meet in the two countries.

Nonetheless, the adoption of a multi-sited approach has limitations. Although it enables breadth, it limits depth to circumscribed places. By conducting research in Brazil and Mozambique, I was able to follow the people, identify networks and map connections between various places and spaces, but not to explore structural relationships or the various networks' internal dynamics. This is however consistent with the research questions and the conceptual and methodological frameworks adopted in this research – it was a deliberate decision not to use network analysis. The rationale for adopting multi-sited ethnography was to map individuals' journeys discourses and practices through networks and not to investigate the networks per se.

### **2.3 Participant observation**

I employed participant observation because I wanted to immerse myself in the sites where the interactions happened and grasp the meanings attributed by the research participants. Thus, the research involved participant observation in formal and informal work spaces, such as seminars, training events, street protests, university lectures; it extended beyond

the realm of the professional and included non-work spaces and situations, for example house gatherings, lunches and dinners, and bars; the situations ranged from encounters with individuals to group meetings. I participated in spaces and interactions involving a Mozambican feminist NGO and in order to be able to conduct participant observation in formal work spaces, I sought institutional affiliation with three INGOs - one in Maputo, one in São Paulo and one in Rio de Janeiro in exchange for unpaid consultancy services.<sup>6</sup> However, in the end I only carried out participant observation in two organisational sites – one in Maputo and one in São Paulo – the reasons for this are provided below.

The rationale for choosing the three INGOs was the fact that they are part of a network of individuals and institutions that has fostered South-South interactions and have played a key role in the circulation of people, ideas and practices between Brazil and Mozambique. The organisations were selected based on their direct involvement in professional collaboration between Brazil and Mozambique. In the case of Mozambique, I purposefully selected an INGO that had Brazilian professionals in it. Organisational ethnographic sites form one layer of analysis and not the main component of this thesis. Organisations are considered not as units of analysis, but as research sites given that organisational discourses, cultures and practices are important for professional interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. In addition, the formal roles and status attributed to individuals within these organisations are considered crucial in shaping interactions, the emergence and negotiation of identities, as well as agency. Through participant observation in organisational sites I explored professional interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers (in Maputo). I also mapped when and how South-South cooperation started to feature in the discourses and interventions of the organisational sites in which the research participants were embedded, as well as the discourses deployed in everyday talk and text as Brazilian development workers (in Maputo and São Paulo) established and maintained relationships with Mozambican actors. It was also possible to identify the discursive strategies adopted by Brazilian professionals when positioning themselves and their organisations vis-à-vis their Mozambican colleagues and counterparts.

The initial plan was to spend three months with the INGO in Maputo and two months with the INGOs in Brazil, on a part-time basis to allow time for conducting data collection

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<sup>6</sup> In São Paulo, I received a living allowance of 2200 Brazilian Reals per month from the organisation. All the other costs were covered by my scholarship and my own resources.



outside the organisational sites, including interviewing other development workers and key informants. In the end, I spent one month and a half with each organisation on a full time basis to accommodate the deadlines of the tasks they had given me. **At the time of designing the research, seeking institutional affiliation in exchange for consultancy services seemed coherent with my own values about conducting research as I could give something back to the organisation. I also thought that the research was an opportunity for the organisations to reflect about the work they had been doing and their attempts to foster South-South collaboration. I assumed it was in the interest of the organisations to undertake such exercise and that they would want to use my offer of unpaid consultancy services for that purpose.** However, they had their own interests and agendas and these were very different from mine. The INGO in Maputo was interested in a comparative baseline and endline analysis of a gender project they had been implementing. Whereas the INGO in São Paulo wanted to map Brazilian embassies in Africa and find out whether they had any interventions in the area of human rights.

My collaboration with the two INGOs meant that I became involved in three different research activities – and only one was my own research. Moreover, while these collaborations have given me access to other sites, spaces, and individuals outside these organisations - particularly in Brazil - overall the opportunities to take part in the life of the organisations were limited and the type of work I had been given kept me stuck to the desks they had offered me. Nonetheless, overall the proximity to the institutional arenas and organisational cultures within which Brazilian development workers operate was important as it allowed a deeper understanding of the ways in which Brazilian development workers' identities intersect with institutional, geopolitical and material aspects of their positionality and enabled exploration of some of the institutional processes and structures, at micro level, that provide the context for southern encounters. Below I provide details about each organisational site, all names given for organisations and individuals in this thesis are pseudonyms, used to protect the anonymity of participants.

#### *Organisational sites in Maputo: Health for All and Mulher & Feminista*

Health for All has been working in Mozambique since 1997. It has a long history of recruiting Brazilian professionals to work as technical advisors to government institutions



as part of a large health programme, funded by multilateral and bilateral organisations. The INGO has also been directly involved in fostering Brazil-Mozambique collaboration. Seeking institutional affiliation with Health for All produced some anxiety in me. How would the request of a Mozambican to observe interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers and interview staff about these would be perceived? The approach I adopted was to first interview four people (two Brazilians – a man and a woman - and two Mozambicans – also a man and a woman), I already knew within the organisation, and wait to request institutional affiliation when I had the opportunity to interview the organisation’s director (a Brazilian woman). When that happened, the organisation’s director readily accepted my offer to collaborate with them.

In Health for All’s three storey office in Maputo, I was able to observe interactions between colleagues that sat on the same floor as me and in the kitchen, at lunch time. One Portuguese woman and one Brazilian man had their desks in the same floor as me, but the latter left the country a couple of weeks later. My work was overseen by a European woman, with whom I had worked in the past on several occasions. I only had the opportunity to participate in one office meeting involving more than two staff members and attended by national and expatriate staff members. Health for All clearly took advantage of my professional experience. They treated me as a consultant from whom they expected technical input, but restricted my access to formal work spaces (access to informal work spaces is discussed below).

I found it challenging to develop relationships with Brazilian and Mozambican professionals working for the same organisation – a methodological choice adopted in the research design. I feared that my relationship with Brazilian participants would negatively influence the relationships with Mozambican participants and vice-versa, especially because I was inquiring about interactions between them; my anxiety was aggravated by the fact that I had been granted access to the INGO by its director who was Brazilian and by the fact that I was spending considerable time during lunches<sup>7</sup> and outside of work with one Brazilian woman (who was perceived by some as the “eyes of the director”). I could have been perceived as a “spy” hired by the organisation’s director which would in my view prevent the Mozambican professionals from speaking their mind. I believe this was the case with a few of participants with whom I was unable to build trust, given the

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<sup>7</sup> Although I also had lunch with other people, mainly those with a desk on the same floor as me.

ambiguity of my position in the organisation as a researcher and consultant. For instance, one male Mozambican professional thought that the work I was doing for the organisation was paid (as would normally be the case if I were there in a consultant role) and for that reason the comparative baseline and endline analysis I was conducted would not be impartial; this is associated with the belief held by some that consultants are not independent and only want to make money, thus their reports tend to camouflage reality to please their clients. I had to explain that I had volunteered to gain access to the organisation because of my PhD research. I am not sure this man believed me. Ironically, the organisation's director was also guarded (despite the fact that I had shared with her detailed information about my research) and did not speak frankly about professional interactions within the organisation. The empirical data collected within Health for All is discussed in chapter 6.

#### *Feminist training course*

During fieldwork in Maputo, I was able to participate in a two-week feminist political training organised by a Mulher & Feminista, a Mozambican feminist network and Sororidade a transnational feminist movement and facilitated by two female Brazilian feminists from the movement. I decided to research their interactions because, over the years Mulher & Feminista strengthened its participation and visibility within Sororidade. At the time of fieldwork, Mozambique had been nominated to host the movement's international secretariat and Mulher & Feminista's executive director was appointed as its new international coordinator. The feminist training was the only opportunity I had in Maputo to observe a training situation facilitated by Brazilian professionals during the official fieldwork period and this was critical given the thesis' attention to knowledge practices. During the training I was able to discern how Brazilians and Mozambicans imagine themselves and the other, particularly how certain imaginaries of Mozambican women and of Mozambican society were transmitted to and appropriated or challenged by the Brazilian facilitators. This event and participants' reflections are discussed in chapter 7.

**During the training, I experienced conflicting identities and roles, in my attempts to balance immersion and participation versus distance and observation.** The training was for feminist activists members of the Mozambican NGO. **Although, the organisers were informed about my research** - I had interviewed one of them and had had informal

conversations with the two Brazilian facilitators a week prior to the event who thought that it was important the Mozambican the movement's international secretariat strengthened its collaboration with Mozambican feminist researchers - I was invited in my role as a fellow feminist and not as a researcher. Taking part in the training involved active participation; whilst I feared "interfering" with the training process I intended to observe, it was ethically and politically impossible to refuse not to fully participate. While in group conversations and during questions and answers time I could chose to remain silent and simply observe, during sessions that focused on each participant expressing their personal views and experiences, it would have been unethical and incoherent with my feminist politics not to fully participate.

My main motivation to participate in this training was the research, however I would have liked to take part in it even if I was not doing research, because it was a feminist and activist space. Whilst I felt that I belonged to that space, I was perceived by some as an outsider. I was an academic and agency feminist, because I had worked for a multilateral aid agency and was doing PhD research; this is relevant not only for methodological reasons, but also because the distinctions between activists and professionals are embedded in discourses of my research participants.

#### *Organisational sites in São Paulo: Agora and Sororidade*

Agora is a Brazilian INGO based in São Paulo. The INGO was funded in the early 2000s and seeks to foster South-South cooperation in the area of human rights. Besides sitting in Agora's office and participating in internal events, such as lunchtime seminars, presentations and daily interactions including conversations and meals, I had the chance to participate in a number of organisational events related to South-South cooperation and feminist activism, outside the INGO. I conducted participant observation in Agora in São Paulo from 17<sup>th</sup> February to 28<sup>th</sup> March 2014. Agora was selected because it had a fellowship programme for Lusophone African countries that included academic training (in partnership with Brazilian universities) and an internship with a Brazilian NGO, in which several young Mozambican activists had participated over the years. The fellowship had been designed and funded by a large U.S foundation.

Gaining institutional affiliation with Agora was easier than I had anticipated, because fortuitously, in early 2013, I met and interacted with two women from Agora, during the

BRICS' civil society meetings (mentioned earlier). These interactions made me known to the organisation and facilitated my participation in an international human rights conference organised by Agora where I learnt more about the organisation, spoke informally to people directly involved in its South-South interventions and secured institutional affiliation.

At the time of fieldwork, Agora was re-thinking its South-South programme and according to its programme director my collaboration with them was an experiment and part of the process of designing a new model of South-South fellowship they intended to adopt. I thought it was perfect timing. However, instead of working with the South-South team I was placed within the foreign policy team and was denied access to two key meetings where staff involved with the South-South programme reflected about its results and the challenges they faced, including those related to the fellowship programme that I was interested in. After being denied access to the meetings, and realising that I would not be granted access to the spaces and interactions I wanted to observe,<sup>8</sup> I decided to re-negotiate my position and the duration of my stay. This was necessary because the task they had given me was time consuming and did not give me much time to conduct interviews outside the organisation. Besides, I was only granted access to their South-South documentation three days before my departure. Agora was actively involved in monitoring the South-South interventions of the Brazilian government and corporations but was not willing to have their work scrutinised. This made me re-think and adopt a different approach with Global in Rio de Janeiro, which I describe below.

In São Paulo, besides spending time in Agora I also carried participant observation in Sororidade's spaces. I attended events held in Todas Feministas' office, such as a weekly reading group, the launching of a video on prostitution, and a work meeting with members of the movement's international committee. This was possible because many of the events I attended took place after work and at weekends. By participating in these events, I could spend more time with three Brazilians I had met in Mozambique and learn about how Mozambique, gender relations in Mozambique and relations between Brazilians and Mozambicans are imagined by them and by other Brazilian women I encountered in those circles.

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<sup>8</sup> Soon after arriving at Agora, I was asked to present my research project to all staff at a lunch seminar inside the organisation. On the occasion, I provided an overview of the aim and scope of the research as well as a justification for my interest in Agora.

In São Paulo, I engaged with two organisational worlds. The world of elite and wealthy NGOs (through Agora) and the world of social movements (through Todas Feministas and Sororidade). Sororidade had strong connections with grassroots organisations, privileges street activism and was extremely critical about feminist politics in United Nations (UN) global governance spaces. By contrast, Agora's creation is rooted in the institutionalisation and professionalization of the human rights movement. The INGO had a long history of engagement with regional and international human rights bodies, but little contact with grassroots groups and institutionally did not participate in social protests, although some of its staff did take part individually.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, despite these differences, Agora and Sororidade had connections with the same organisations and individuals in Maputo.

#### *Rio de Janeiro: events*

The research design envisaged seeking institutional affiliation with Global, an international Brazilian non-governmental organisation that works on masculinities and gender equality in Brazil and internationally, including in Mozambique. After the challenges faced related to conducting participant observation in Health for All in Maputo and Agora in São Paulo, I dropped the idea of securing institutional affiliation and privileged interviewing. The fact that fieldwork coincided with the 2014 Football World Cup, which disrupted activities in Rio de Janeiro, also limited the opportunities for participant observation. Consequently, fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro was completely different from the experiences and interactions I had in Maputo and in São Paulo, specifically regarding the people interviewed and the events attended. I had more interactions with academia than with NGOs and social movements.

In terms of events, two events were particularly relevant for this research because of the information they provided (through the presentations and discussions that followed) about how Africa and Mozambique are imagined and depicted by Brazilians (the focus of chapter 5). The first was a presentation to second year international relations' students, at a Brazilian university, about a research project on Brazilian investments in Mozambique and Angola conducted by two Brazilian researchers from a Brazilian NGO based in Rio de Janeiro. The second event was a four-day international seminar on the history of

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<sup>9</sup> In fact, I followed two women that work for Agora to a protest against the World Cup.

Africa, organised by the Department of History, of the *Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro* [PUC-Rio, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro], as part of the celebrations of Africa Day.<sup>10</sup> This event was especially relevant because of the presence of and opportunity to interview well-known Mozambican researchers who are part of a broader network of Mozambican professionals with long-standing personal and professional links with Brazil, as well as because it illustrated the implication of Mozambicans in reproducing and/or challenging imaginaries of Mozambique (an issue explored throughout this thesis).

### *Informal work and non-work spaces*

In all fieldwork sites I had more access to informal work spaces, such as farewell parties, lunches and dinners inside and outside than to work spaces. I embarked on them because I wanted to explore whether informal spaces created bridges for deeper interactions between people who were distant from each other in organisational hierarchies and or separated by offices' designs. Through participation in those spaces I was able to capture the ways in which sociability and food practices related to power inequalities and internal politics between Brazilians and Mozambicans within Health for All. By attending Health for All farewell parties I observed and compared what people said about their relationships in interviews with their actual interactions. Whilst farewell parties represent liminal situations, people's speeches provided valuable material about their perceptions of "Self" and "Others" and revealed the complexities of national and expatriate relationships.

I also participated in informal non-work spaces because I wanted to identify where, how and with whom Brazilian development workers socialised. I had hoped to see research participants in spaces such as bars, nightclubs and parties in Maputo. However, they were generally absent from most of these spaces, at least on the occasions I was there. The only time I met a Brazilian research participant was at a party organised by a European embassy in Maputo. Thus, participant observation in informal non-work spaces was restricted to house gatherings (three) – these are discussed in chapter 8. Informal non-work spaces usually gathered people with other affinities beyond working for the same organisation. In São Paulo, I meet outside of work with a couple of Agora staff, and

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<sup>10</sup> Africa Day is celebrated on the 25th May, the date of the creation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963.

followed a Sororidade' activist to meetings, protests, samba rehearsals and carnival parades, meals and drinks with friends in bars, restaurants, her friends' houses, and her graduation ceremony. In Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian research participants who had been exiled in Mozambique invited me to house gatherings. Participant observation in informal work and non-work spaces in Maputo provided valuable ethnographic data for the discussion on sociability, informality, affinity and affective relationships discussed in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

#### **2.4 In-depth semi-structured interviews**

I conducted a total of sixty-seven in-depth interviews (twenty in Brazil, forty in Mozambique, six over Skype and one on a flight from Brazil to Mozambique) and less structured informal interviews with another seven people in both countries. Of the sixty-seven in-depth interviews conducted, eleven were conducted with professionals working for Health for All (five Brazilians, seven Mozambicans, two Europeans, and one from a Portuguese speaking African country) and with ten Mozambicans associated with Mulher & Feminista (five staff members and five staff of member organisations).

All interviews were conducted in Portuguese. The majority of the interviews were individual<sup>11</sup> and face-to-face. The 6 interviews conducted over Skype were with people in other cities and countries; two of them were with female Brazilian professionals who had lived in Mozambique for five years, but had moved to the United States (one in 2011 and the other in 2012); one was with a woman who lived in the North of Mozambique. The majority of interviews conducted in Maputo were not recorded, as most research participants (Brazilian and Mozambican) felt uncomfortable with this. As a result I had to rely on my interview notes. All in-depth interviews conducted in Brazil (with Brazilians and Mozambicans) were recorded. The informal interviews were not recorded, but registered in my fieldwork diary afterwards.

The length of interviews was two hours in average, however some interviews were much longer. For instance, an interview with a Brazilian development worker in Mozambique lasted six hours, and a Skype interview with a Brazilian academic who had conducted research in Mozambique lasted five hours. The majority of research participants were

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<sup>11</sup> One interview with a male Brazilian development worker was conducted in the presence of his Brazilian colleague and friend.



only interviewed once. However, I interacted with most of them in varied and multi-sited situations, including beyond national borders. Where research participants were re-interviewed, this was mainly due to the busy agenda of the research participant or the fact that the first interview had taken place in an inappropriate environment, such as their workplace. However, very few interviews happened in the offices of research participants; these were mainly those with individuals working for Agora in São Paulo; those with individuals working for Health for All in Maputo took place outside the organisation. Most of the interviews were conducted over lunches, afternoon teas, and dinners in restaurants chosen by the research participants.

The in-depth semi-structured interviews adopted a life history approach to map the personal and professional history and pathways of Brazilian professionals into international development (including relevant networks) as well as the constitution and manifestation of professional identities. The interviews with Brazilian development workers traced the life-work history of Brazilian development workers, as well as their views regarding development work, their organisation's work and their own development practice, particularly their interactions with other development workers, Mozambican and from other nationalities. The interviews with Mozambican development workers focused on their encounters, relations and views of Brazilian development workers in particular and expatriates in general. The interviews also explored whether they had been directed involved in South-South cooperation initiatives, their perceptions about the Brazilian presence in Mozambique, as well as their links with Brazilian organisations and individuals in Brazil.

## 2.5 Secondary sources

The secondary data reviewed included project documents and reports, policy and research papers, as well as meeting reports related to South-South Cooperation; most of this data was qualitative in nature. I also drew extensively on published personal writing by three Brazilian research participants about their experiences in Mozambique and this data is analysed in chapter 5. The main reason for analysing these materials is that they candidly express views about interactions with the "Other" in ways that they did not express to me. The writings reflected aspects of the author's lived experiences that did not emerge in the interview, even though I had enquired about them. However, when analysing these

materials I do take into account the social and cultural context in which the authors produced the papers. Thus, consistent with the conceptualisation of identity adopted in this thesis, I do not read writings of my research participants as rigid perceptions of selves and others, fixed on paper (Elizabeth 2008), but instead analyse them in light of their personal and professional trajectory as well as their reflections during the in-depth interviews. Because research participants were promised confidentiality I have decided not to reveal the bibliographic references for these writings. Revealing the name of the author would compromise their anonymity in relation to interviews as well as to interactions in formal and informal work spaces, that we had prior and during fieldwork.

In addition to published papers by research participants, I also use organisational blog posts of Brazilian research participants in Brazil describing personal impressions about work related trips to Mozambique. These are also anonymised to protect to identity of research participants. Furthermore, some research participants shared with me personal documents from the time they lived in or visited Mozambique. For example, Sandra, a Brazilian consultant from Global, in Rio de Janeiro, allowed me to photocopy personal notes taken during meetings with Health for All in Maputo.<sup>12</sup> Lastly, I consulted the curriculum vitae of most Brazilian research participants to obtain information about their professional trajectory which was then combined with the data from the interviews and discussed in chapter 4.

## **2.6 Positionality**

As I explained in the introduction to this thesis, my professional engagement with gender issues and Brazilian development workers in Mozambique has inspired me to undertake this research. My personal history, development and biography are relevant for this research not only in terms of the choice of topic and method but also relationships with research participants. I too am implicated in what I call southern interactions, as a Mozambican development worker, positioned within the web of actors promoting gender equality and women's rights, as a researcher working on South-South relations and as a colleague and friend of some of the research participants. My own work was and still is

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<sup>12</sup> The content of one the note is the following: 'the role of institutional analysis: denouncing the unsaid...individual perceptions and expectations...the alliances formed there; how is the relationship between Brazilians and Mozambicans? Which model [of masculinity? Is Jacinto [Brazilian and Health for All's director at the time] the desired model?'

done via constant engagement with them through formal and informal professional networks and alliances. In this sense, I was an insider/outsider, “native” researcher. Thus, integral to this study were my own personal experiences and position vis-à-vis foreign development workers generally and Brazilians in particular. I am aware of the associated epistemological, moral and ethical challenges (Mosse 2005, Eyben 2008, Mosse 2011). Rather than concealing the fact that I was personally involved in the processes and dynamics that I investigated under the guise of objectivity, I reflected about how this epistemic proximity affected my interactions and analysis. I kept a journal in which I documented my thoughts and actions, and critically reflected about my own frames of reference and imaginaries, as well as the ethical issues that arose during fieldwork and writing up. I included some of those reflections in the monthly reports I sent to my supervisors during fieldwork and these were discussed in our regular meetings.

During interactions with my Brazilian and Mozambican research participants, different sets of characteristics became relevant depending on the research participant. My nationality, class, race and studying at a British university seemed to have influenced how sameness and difference presented themselves in Brazil whilst my nationality, class, professional status and feminist identity manifested in researcher-participants interactions in Mozambique. My nationality shaped my research in Brazil and Mozambique as I had anticipated before starting fieldwork. This was mainly related to the topics I was investigating. A Mozambican investigating Brazil – Mozambique encounters at a British university caused some perplexity and suspicion. I was aware of this position, particularly amongst Brazilian research participants, in Brazil and among people who did not know me. Some research participants were reluctant to reflect and talk about their personal involvement in South-South interactions (mainly people linked to social movements), to talk about race (mainly Brazilians and Mozambicans living in Mozambique) and to talk about differences between Brazilians and Mozambicans (particularly feminists).

I had expected to have better interactions with Mozambican research participants in Maputo, but that was not the case. My nationality did not seem to make it easier for them to interact with me or help me with my research. In fact, it was in Brazil that I received more support from the various people I came across with, Brazilians and Mozambicans alike. The fact that I lived abroad seemed to be perceived differently in Brazil and Mozambique. In Mozambique, it emerged more in relation to a purported relative distance from the “local reality” which overall worked in my favour, as people would be more at

ease every time I claimed not to have prior information about the people and situations they were narrating. In Brazil, on the other hand it brought closer an otherwise distant other, particularly when I was interacting with people who had studied at European universities.

## 2.7 Ethical considerations

Issues of identities, positionality and agency are personal and delicate to explore in research contexts. The fact that this research focused on interpersonal professional relations added another layer of complexity as people worried that talking about certain things could negatively affect their professional image. However, many also felt that it was important to critically reflect about and document their experiences.

This thesis underwent the University of Sussex ethical review procedures and ethical approval has been gained from the University's Social Sciences and Arts Cross-school Research Ethics Committee (SSA C-REC) and in line with these, the research participants have received detailed information (written and verbal) about the research and how I intended to use the data gathered. They were also asked to sign a consent form in which I promised anonymity and confidentiality, informed participants about their right to comment the interview notes and transcripts and offered to share excerpts that concerned them, if necessary, before publishing the thesis. Only one participant asked to share writing related to specific issues discussed during the interview, if I decided to use them. This was not necessary, as I did not use the information that concerned this research participant in this thesis.

I have made anonymous the organisations and individuals I have researched through the use of pseudonyms, even though some of them, such as Tiago and Nweti told me that I could use their real names. Also, I did not include details about the health programme that brought the AIDS professionals to Mozambique or about the geographical origin (state) of research participants. Relatedly, I do not specify in which country Sororidade, the transnational feminist movement analysed emerged. While some individuals within the organisational research sites may be able to identify some of the organisations and individuals, because they took part in the research and were aware that I had interviewed their colleagues, leaving the research setting and professional fields unidentified or

changing characteristics of individuals would have affected the integrity of the data and lead to an 'absolute loss of analytical context' (Goldman 2006:46).

I have contacted research participants who feature prominently in this thesis and asked them to read excerpts of the thesis and tell me if they were happy with the way I had anonymised them. The feedback I received was that because of the large numbers of U.S INGOs working in the health sector who recruited Brazilians, during the period analysed, it was hard to identify Health for All. As for Mulher and Feminista, they were interested in documenting the transference of the international secretariat from Brazil and Mozambique, something this thesis does, even though it is based on my reading of the interactions I observed and the interviews conducted.

### **Chapter 3. Solidarity and difference in the history of South-South relations**

This chapter locates South-South Cooperation (SSC) discourses historically and institutionally, moving from the global to the national level. It identifies landmarks in the history of SSC in the international and development studies literature. This background is important because although Brazil and Mozambique have been differently positioned in SSC processes and situated in different camps in specific moments of history, SSC discourses, institutional mechanisms and related assumptions have been used to frame relationships between the two countries, providing the context for interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican research participants. The first half of the chapter traces the emergence of South-South development cooperation discourses and maps the main institutional mechanisms, and the historical (dis)continuities in the discursive framing of cooperation among developing countries. The second half of the chapter focuses on Brazil and Mozambique's participation in these processes and the evolution of relations between the two countries. The chapter also provides a picture of South-South interactions beyond state institutions and discusses the engagements of non-governmental actors with the southern institutions established in the post-World War II period, as well as civil society organisations' own efforts to build 'bridges across the South' (Buenos Aires Plan of Action 1978).

#### **3.1 Historicising South-South relations**

History matters for this research because it has been deployed to justify SSC interventions, it has shaped SSC institutionalised mechanisms and discourses, it has been instrumentalised in particular ways in bilateral relations between countries and geopolitical developments intersected the professional trajectories of Brazilian development workers. This is also important because the literature on the history of SSC tends to ignore the specificities of relations between particular countries. In this chapter the past is explored to contextualise SSC institutional mechanisms and discourses and relations between Brazil and Mozambique historically.

In this section I look at the history of SSC which dates back to before the Cold War period, following the three historical phases of South-South cooperation identified by Sá e Silva (2009): from the late 1940s to the late 1970s, from the 1980s to the late 1990s and from

the early 2000s to the present. However, the section is organised topically rather than chronologically, teasing out the key characteristics of SSC discourse and practice throughout these phases. Specifically, the section discusses the importance of history in the emergence and framing of SSC; the discourses through which the idea of solidarity has been associated with SSC and its multiple meanings; and how issues of unequal power and difference played out as differentiation between developing countries deepened. It also examines efforts to build ‘bridges across the South’ through institutional mechanisms; the influence of external factors, such as the UN and the Organisation for Economic Development’s Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) on the evolution of SSC; the nature of SSC interventions; and connections and mobilisations involving non-state actors. The section ends with a brief discussion on the extent to which these developments have shaped Brazil-Mozambique relations.

*‘Third World Solidarity’ and South-South cooperation*

The arguments for South-South cooperation are often framed drawing on affinities created through shared historical processes, such as the slave trade, colonisation and neo-imperialism seen by developing countries as the source of underdevelopment. The idea of overcoming underdevelopment is one of the cornerstones of South-South cooperation. According to Escobar (1995:3), the reference to the continents of Africa, Asia and South America as underdeveloped made in Truman’s inaugural speech led to the design of initiatives to promote development in those regions and to countries in those regions to start seeing themselves as underdeveloped. This points to ‘how Northern ideas of development have shaped imaginations of possible futures for the South’ (Williams et al. 2014) and to the processes through which development ‘achieved a status of a certainty in the social imaginary’ (Escobar 1995: xviii) and became a ‘global faith’ (Rist 1997). Patil notes that this entailed an ‘acceptance of colonialist definitions of progress, modernity and development’ by developing countries’ leaders as well as of the ‘designation of their peoples/states as somehow ‘behind’ on economic, scientific and technical, social and other fronts’ (2006:167). Other scholars (Leite 2013, Amanor 2013, Williams et al. 2014) have also shown how countries in these regions also strategically adopted the idea of an underdeveloped world to generate a “common” identity, build unity and mobilise solidarity.

Thus, solidarity is a pervasive and recurrent theme in institutional and academic literature on SSC. Indeed, the main milestones of SSC identified in the literature refer to events, spaces and movements through which the idea of ‘Third World Solidarity’ came into being and evolved over time. Nel and Taylor define ‘South-South solidarity’ as ‘an attitude, feeling and relationship based on ‘the collective pursuit of a common good, the recognition and observance of reciprocal moral duties, including respect for national sovereignty, fundamental equality and mutual benefit’ (Nel and Taylor 2013: 1091, cited in Lorenzana 2015:1), while Lorenzana maintains that solidarity is ‘the moral framework of South-South relations’ (2015:1).

Solidarity emerges as a strategy both to overcome underdevelopment as well as to oppose Western hegemony. Julius Nyerere, Tanzania’s former president and one of the prime movers of SSC, defined ‘Third World Solidarity’ as ‘unity of opposition’ against external domination as well as an instrument of liberation (cited in Lida 1988:376). In this regard, Rosenbaum and Tyler note that ‘a major cause of the growth of South-South relations has been the discovery by the [Less Developed Countries] that they confront common problems in their relations with the North’ (1975:272). Braveboy-Wagner describes this as ‘an instrumental and convenient solidarity’ (2009:07). According to this perspective, Third World Solidarity was mainly about confrontation between the ‘Least Developed Countries’ (LDCs) and the developed countries, as evidenced by the politics of the First Afro-Asian Conference, held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 - seen by some as the ‘first occasion of ‘Third World Solidarity’ (Lee 2010) - as well as the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961,<sup>13</sup> and the formation of the Group of Seventy-Seven (G77) in 1964.<sup>14</sup>

There are, however, other ways of conceptualising ‘Third World Solidarity’ that go beyond discourses and examine its practices. Lida (1988) defined solidarity in the context of the UN General Assembly as a ‘group’s capacity to reach and maintain a common

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<sup>13</sup> NAM was largely conceived by political leaders from India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Ghana and Yugoslavia (Roy 1999) and epitomises the convergence of leaders from developing countries around the importance of joining forces to resist the pressure to align with or against one of the two major blocs of the Cold War, maintain the newly independence of African and Asian countries, oppose Western domination, and advocate for a New International Economic Order (NEIO) (Amanor 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Formed by developing countries in order to increase the representativeness of the United Nations, present a united front and further advance their economic interests at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The G77 was seen as a counterweight to the OECD (Williams 1987, Braveboy-Wagner 2009, Toye 2014). The G77 is the largest intergovernmental organisation of developing countries in the UN.



policy position on a given issue' (1988:376) and measured solidarity among developing countries by analysing policy statements of delegates and leaders as well as roll-call votes. This is relevant, because as we shall see in section 3.3, Brazil's voting behaviour in the UN regarding the independence of Portuguese colonies was critical in shaping its relationships with the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) during the liberation war and immediately after the Mozambique's independence.

There is, yet, another understanding of 'Third World Solidarity' linked to the idea of SSC as a broad institutional framework for collaboration. The final communiqué of the Bandung conference which laid the foundation for Afro-Asian economic and cultural cooperation and framed the provision of development technical assistance as an expression of solidarity reflects this understanding. The communiqué urged countries in Africa and Asia 'more fortunately placed' (1955:5) in the development of their educational, scientific and technical institutions to support countries where these were less developed and recommended that Afro-Asian countries joined international organisations and worked together to promote their mutual economic interests within them.

The participating countries committed to provide technical assistance to one another, to the maximum extent practicable, in the form of: experts, trainees, pilot projects, and equipment for demonstration purposes; exchange of know-how and establishment of national, and where possible, regional training and research institutes for imparting technical knowledge and skills in co-operation with the existing international agencies (Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference of Bandung - 24 April 1955, p.2-3).

It was at a NAM Summit and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), both in 1983 that the expression 'South-South Cooperation' was first used. However, it was only in the 1990s that the expression was consolidated, and from then on it was often used interchangeably with 'Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries' (TCDC) and 'Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries' (ECDC) (Cabana 2014). Actual SSC interventions were limited between the early 1940s and the late 1970s, and formal SSC stagnated between early 1980s and late 1990s, but then grew exponentially in the early 2000s.

Between the early 1940s and late 1970s SSC interventions were mainly related to support to independence movements, infrastructure development and some commercial exchanges. Some initiatives were promoted by socialist countries, such as the USSR,

China, Cuba, Vietnam and a number of countries in Central and Eastern Europe (Sá e Silva 2009, Mawdsley 2012, Hatzky 2012) as well as by autonomous professionals and political activists (Sá e Silva 2009, Massena 2009, Azevedo 2011 and 2012). In the late 1960s China built the Tanzania-Zambia Railway, and India built the Tribhuvan Highway in Nepal. In the 1960s, the Indian government established the India Technical and Economic Assistance Programme and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme (Kumar 2008, Mawdsley 2012). Cuba's SSC and transfer of knowledge to Latin American and African countries during this period has also been documented (Huish & Kirk 2009, Hatzky 2012). According to Rosenbaum and Tyler, during this period, 'with the possible exception of the oil producers, South-South aid is largely of a token nature and is provided within a political subsystem' and on a bilateral basis to neighbouring countries (Rosenbaum and Tyler 1975:270).

While there was an overall stagnation of formal SSC between the early 1980s and late 1990s, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and China's economic transformation in the 1980s facilitated the latter's relations with African states 'regardless of ideological leaning' (Shinn and Eisenman 2012: xi). Cuba was also involved in SSC providing military and civil support to Angola in this period (Hatzky 2015), while Turkey rolled out its food aid programme in 1985 (UNDP 2009). The involvement of middle-income countries, such as Brazil, in international development in the early 2000s was characterized by: an expansion of the geographical reach, thematic focus and scope of their interventions in other countries of the Global South as well as successful alliances in global governance spaces - such as the alliance of Brazil and India for the legitimisation of the trade in generic medicines - which were crucial in strengthening the two countries' relationships with African countries (Toye 2012, Follér 2010).

*Building 'bridges across the South' through institutional mechanisms and discourses*

SSC's institutional mechanisms have resulted from developing countries' lobbying for the adoption of measures that would assist them in their efforts to increase technical cooperation with each other (Sá e Silva 2009, Cabana 2014). The first United Nations' Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, in Buenos Aires in 1978, and the subsequent adoption of the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) are considered landmarks in the definition and diffusion of TCDC as well as in the

institutionalisation of SSC within the UN and the definition of the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) mandate (Mawdsley 2012). BAPA contained recommendations to foster South-South cooperation to fight poverty and underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order; it reinforced the idea of technical cooperation, framed as horizontal exchanges between equal parties as opposed to vertical assistance from Northern institutions, as the foundation for strengthening South-South links. BAPA's implementation encompassed the set-up of in-country SSC mechanisms as well as the institutionalisation of SSC in regional cooperation bodies, between the early 1980s and late 1990s.

However, it was only in the early 2000s that SSC initiatives and interactions proliferated with forums linking Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as events that brought together Southern and Northern development actors; as SSC mechanisms and forums consolidated and expanded the UN repositioned itself to remain relevant. In 2004, UNDP's Special Unit for TCDC had its name changed to Special Unit for South-South Cooperation (SU/SSC) and created various new mechanisms within it to reflect the expanded focus on cooperation among developing countries. This matters because international organisations have played a key role in aggregating the interests of and facilitating interactions between developing countries (Rosenbaum and Tyler 1975). The UN, particularly UNCTAD and the General Assembly have been a critical locus of 'unity of opposition' and for expressing solidarity.

A key element of SSC discourses is the distinction made in relation to North-South cooperation, while at the same time underlining the critical role played by Northern countries in technical cooperation, through bilateral as well as triangular and trilateral cooperation (Rhee 2011, McEwan and Mawdsley 2012). While praising SSC, developing countries and the UN have stressed that it 'is not a substitute for, by rather a complement to, North-South cooperation' (Nairobi Outcome Document 2010:3). Relatedly, the interest of Northern donors in SSC has also grown significantly from the early 2000s, associated with changing geographies of aid linked to the (re) emergence of southern donors in development cooperation (Mawdsley 2012). As Eyben and Savage (2013) put it, this reflects a changing geopolitical landscape with new powers emerging and old ones submerging. Abdenur and Da Fonseca (2013) contend that the North's growing role in SSC, particularly within multilateral platforms, triangular cooperation and knowledge production about SSC, reflects its attempts 'to compensate for its waning influence in the

global South' (2013:1476). According to them, 'Northern donors are seeking new points of entry into SSC to reshape the norms and practices of such cooperation, while also maintaining or gaining access to broader economic, political and security opportunities to which they have been losing access' (ibid.).

SSC has become more visible in the agenda of the High-Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness convened by the OECD-DAC since its third forum was held in Accra in 2008. The Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) makes explicit reference to SSC as one of the mechanisms for the provision of development cooperation, while the 2011 Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation acknowledging differences in 'nature, modalities and responsibilities' between NSC and SSC, frames the latter as horizontal partnerships. These declarations help to reproduce the idea that Southern countries' first-hand experiences with poverty and underdevelopment equip them to provide development cooperation. I return to this discussion in the section on imaginaries of Southernness and shared experience of poverty in chapter 5.

While recognising the relevance of SSC, northern countries have sought the adherence of southern donors to the OECD aid effectiveness agenda, something that has been resisted (Eyben and Savage 2013, Weinlich 2014). As Weinlich points out in relation to Brazil, China, India and South Africa, 'while all four countries endorsed the so-called Paris Principles on aid effectiveness, they only did so in their capacity as recipients of aid; they reject the application of those principles to their own cooperation with developing countries' (2014: 1830). Besides, it is noteworthy that on the one hand southern countries assert their autonomy and independence in relation to Northern donors, and on the other hand they insist on keeping their status as recipients of development assistance.

Since the 2000s, it has become clear that SSC is not just about the South or Southern actors; as Sá e Silva points out, 'it went global and is no longer rooted in the political mobilisation of the South. It is not an exclusive feature of specific countries (such as Brazil and Cuba), leaders (Nyerere, Nehru, Mao), scholars (Amin, Ul Haq), or organisations (G77, NAM) (...)' (2009:51). Yet, the diffusion of SSC, particularly its implementation by international agencies, has meant its conceptualisation as a development technique and a strategy for transferring 'best practices' between developing countries (Jules and Sá e Silva 2008, Sá e Silva 2009, Cabral, Shankland, Favareto and Costa Vaz 2013). According to Jules and Sá e Silva, this has led to the de-politicising of

what emerged as a political project and to situations ‘in which South-South Cooperation is promoted by developing countries with the aim of promoting self-reliance and international solidarity. But, at the same time, their practice is guided by the transfer of programs and policies’ (2008:57). In the next chapter, I discuss how this technicalisation of SSC has created a market for the transnationalisation of Brazilian development workers. In chapters 6 and 7 I analyse how this has taken place in two interrelated fields, teasing out the links between personal trajectories and socio-economic and political processes as well as the complex entanglements between solidarity, expertise and self-interest.

### *Difference, power and solidarity*

Calls for solidarity and attempts to present a united front in global governance spaces often downplayed differences by focusing on commonalities between developing countries. For instance, the establishment of the G77 entailed suppressing national interests in favour of presenting a united front of developing countries within the United Nations. As a result, its members viewed differentiation as potentially harmful to their overall unity. Yet, the process of differentiation was inevitable (Toye 2014). A look at history reveals the unfolding of several processes of differentiation between developing countries. In the following paragraphs, I focus on three factors that have shaped South-South cooperation initiatives, as some countries began to be seen as providers of SS technical cooperation while others came to occupy the receiving end. These factors together with previous historical developments, discussed in section 3.3, contributed to placing Brazil and Mozambique in different camps.

The first process relates to the position and interests of African countries within UNCTAD in the 1970s. In the 1970s, African countries lobbied for special measures for the LDCs sparking fear among other developing countries that this would divert aid from them (Lavelle 2001, Toye 2014). Despite the controversy, in 1971, the UN General Assembly approved a list of twenty-five LDCs classified as the ‘weakest and poorest segment of the international community’ (United Nations 1971), based on per capita income of less than \$900 US dollars, a low manufacturing share of gross domestic

product, and a high rate of illiteracy. At the time, sixteen African countries met these criteria.<sup>15</sup>

The second process that deepened differences between developing countries was the debt crisis of the 1980s and 1990s. The nature of the debt crisis brought to the fore differences and divergent interests between developing countries, challenging the unity of the G77. Toye points out that,

debt problems now pulled Latin Americans and Africans apart because their crises followed different trajectories (...). Latin America's were mainly to private sector banks (...). By contrast, African countries owned debts mainly to public sector financial institutions (...). Different treatment of their debts by the international community effectively broke up the tri-continental alliance [G77] (Toye 2014:1767)

The debt crises associated with limited achievement of policies of nationalisation created scepticism regarding state-controlled economies and Marxist political orientations which had been important sources of inspiration for collaboration between developing countries. Coupled with the structural adjustment programmes that dominated the agenda of most countries in this period, this led to the demobilisation of political support to SSC as countries decided to focus on domestic issues (Sá e Silva 2009).

A more recent process of differentiation has to do with the rising economic influence of some developing countries, their pursuit of international visibility and influence in global governance spaces, including through the formation of new state groupings, such as BRICS, India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA), and Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa (CIVETS), and their (re) emergence as donors (Woods 2008, Nel and Stephen 2010, Chin and Quadir 2012, Mawdsley 2012). While these countries have often presented themselves as guardians of developing countries' interests and claim to practice solidarity, many have accused them of being sub-imperialist and neo-colonial

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<sup>15</sup> Whereas Mozambique joined the list in 1988, Brazil has never been an LDC. In fact, from the mid-1940s Brazil had undergone a policy of import substitution and industrialization and after stagnation in the early-1960s, its economy grew rapidly from the late 1960s, until it was hit by a debt crisis in the 1980s. From the early 2000s until 2012 Brazil was considered one of the fastest growing economies in the world, but in 2013 growth decelerated and the following year it entered a recession. Despite these economic ups and downs, Brazil remains a middle-income country, while Mozambique continues to be a LDC alongside other 47 countries.

(Bond 2013, Bond 2016). Pertinent for the specific focus of this section is Mawdsley's point that

just as the emerging powers don't share the same interests and agendas with each other, so too the relationships between the emerging powers and poorer states are not necessarily aligned in all matters. For example, notwithstanding the various claims by some of the large Southern states to leadership and solidarity with other low and middle-income countries (...) in fact they represent a variety of opportunities and threats for poorer and smaller countries (2012:20).

Related to this is the ongoing debate on whether these countries' interventions in other developing countries, particularly in Africa, normally framed as international solidarity, can be divorced from their national economic or political interests (Inoue and Costa Vaz 2012).

These three processes of differentiation of developing countries illustrate the heterogeneity of the South and have affected how SSC is framed. The review of BAPA's implementation in 2009 identified 25 countries in every region considered pivotal in TCDC, all of which are considered middle-income or close to achieving this status. The notion of pivotal countries captures and reinforces development and knowledge hierarchies between developing countries. Brazil is amongst the leading pivotal countries, as well as other countries with whom Mozambique has relations, such as China, Chile, Cuba, India, Ghana, Malaysia, Nigeria, Singapore and South Africa. According to the report, 'the leading pivotal countries exemplify how years of indigenous effort to build technical competence develop capacity to provide assistance, technology transfer, policy exchanges and funding' (UN 2009:9).

It is evident in both the Bandung final communiqué and BAPA that unequal levels of development constitute the backdrop for technical cooperation between differently positioned developing countries, where technical cooperation is framed as a unidirectional expression of solidarity from better off to the poorest developing countries. In reality, the geopolitics of legitimization of South-South knowledge carries within itself the constitution of new knowledge hierarchies, as chapter 4 discusses.

#### *Southern connections and solidarity among non-state actors*

So far, the discussion has focused on state actors. However, there is also a wealth of knowledge on circulation of people, ideas and discourses among non-state actors who

also imagined the Third World as a political space of solidarity (Prashad 2007). Their connections and mobilisations have been historically associated with NAM, the UN, and beyond. Connections between southern women's movement are a case in point. Women drew on their involvement in organised anti-colonial protest and national liberation struggles to claim a space within NAM-related spaces, such as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, in 1957, where the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation and the Afro-Asian Federation of Women were created, as well as the first Asian-African Women's Conference, held in Colombo in 1958, and the first Afro-Asian Women's Conference, held in Cairo three years later. These spaces were critical for the promotion of sisterhood and solidarity between women in Africa and Asia; diverse groups of formerly colonised women saw then as alternative political spaces to what was perceived as a Western-dominated international feminist movement (Bier 2002, Prashad 2007, Jain and Chacko 2009, Towns 2010, Antrobus 2015). Despite their divergent histories and social locations, these women were connected by a political position against colonialism and imperialism, a struggle for similar political ends, rather than by intrinsic cultural or racial commonalities or a common suffering (Prashad 2007, Jain and Chacko 2009). The connections between southern women as well as how they are framed are of particular relevance for the discussion of interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican women discussed in chapters 5 and 7.

UN spaces have also brought together women from the Global South, fostering transnational links and solidarity-building that combined state and non-state actors (Antrobus 2004, Jain 2005). Women 'entered and occupied' the spaces created by the expansion of UN membership with the entry, in the 1970s, of independent southern nation-states (Antrobus 2015:160), such as Mozambique. These spaces contributed to broadening women's southern connections that until then had a markedly regional character. For instance, whereas in Brazil women's organisations were formed well before the 1940s and had regional and international connections that dated back to the suffrage movement, they had limited connections with women in African and Asian countries (Schmink 1981, Alvarez 1990).

Particularly significant for this research is the different position of southern women in the international arena. Brazilian women were already participating in UN processes – as delegates, working at the UN Secretariat and other UN bodies as well as outside the UN – and together with other Latin American women they had influenced the content of the



UN Charter and the creation of the UN Commission on the Status of Women. Mozambican women had little, if any presence in those spaces until Mozambique's independence in 1975. Moreover, Mozambican women's regional and international connections soon after independence were shaped by their participation in the anti-colonial movement. These historical differences have shaped relationships between Brazilian and Mozambican women, as I argue in chapters 5 and 7.

The character of connections between non-state actors has changed significantly over time. Two recent significant recent developments are the coming together of various actors to scrutinise state-led SSC interventions and the intensification of involvement of non-state actors in official and unofficial SS, triangular and trilateral cooperation. This has been accompanied by a growing acknowledge of and interest in their current and potential roles, such as in the BAPA review report (UN 2009). Others are also paying attention to how civil society actors position themselves vis-à-vis SSC practices and discourses (Poskitt, Shankland and Taela 2016, Shankland and Gonçalves 2016, Rodrigues 2016). This thesis's focus on non-state actors contributes to this scholarship by providing a critical analysis of engagements between Brazilian and Mozambican non-state actors.

This section has discussed the diffusion of the notion of 'Third World Solidarity' and its meanings among state and non-state actors, including women's groups, drawing on the historical roots of SSC and how it has been framed. An important component of this analysis were the effects of processes of classification and differentiation developing countries on their relationships. I have argued that the practice of SSC as an expression of 'Third World Solidarity' draws on those differences, but in a perverse manner as it is shaped by and reinforces development and knowledge hierarchies through notions, such as that of 'pivotal countries' in SSC. In the next section I examine how these dynamics have played out in relations between Brazil and Mozambique.

### **3.2 Situating Brazil - Mozambique relations in the history of SSC**

In this section I argue that the Brazil and Mozambique were differently positioned within the Third World solidarity movement and in the establishment of SSC mechanisms. This translated into strained relationships with the Brazilian military government who had failed to show solidarity to Mozambique at a critical moment of its history (during the

independence war), but strengthened ties between FRELIMO and Brazilian communist parties and exiles who were fighting against dictatorship. I also contend that contemporary efforts to reduce the distance between the two countries, heal historical wounds and build amicable relations, framed in the language of solidarity and historical debt towards Mozambique, were mainly motivated by geopolitical and economic ambitions.

#### *Distance and mistrust*

Brazil joined UNCTAD (group C) in 1964 and is a founding member of the G77, but it has kept a rather ‘measured distance’ (Karam 2016:26) from official membership of the NAM since the 1960s. Brazil’s observer status with NAM results of its inability to pursue an independent foreign policy, its efforts to preserve its bilateral relations with the United States, Cuba’s role within the movement and the deterioration of Cuban-Brazilian relations, as well as the weak adherence to the Afro-Asian dominated movement by Latin American countries (Roy 1999, Morphet 2004, Hershberg 2007, Funk 2013). According to Roy (1999) differences, such as the European dominated ethnic composition of its elites, Western cultural values, traditional trans-Atlantic trade patterns and the fact that decolonisation was long over in Latin America may also partially explain why the region has remained peripheral to the NAM. Nevertheless, Brazilian authorities have learned to deploy the language of non-alignment (Karam 2016).

Brazil was directly involved in the drafting of BAPA and influenced conceptualisations of SSC (Costa Vaz and Inoue 2007). In fact, Brazil’s technical cooperation system dates back to the first phase of the history of SSC. In 1959, the National Commission for Technical Assistance was mandated with setting priorities for technical assistance requests to foreign agencies and conducting studies on Brazilian participation in UN technical assistance programmes, among others. In 1969, two new bodies were created, a Sub-secretariat for International Technical and Economic Cooperation (SUBIN) within the Secretariat of Planning (SEPLAN) to perform operational functions and a Technical Cooperation Division (DCT) within the Ministry of External Relations (MRE) to manage the political aspects of technical cooperation. The focus was on linking support received from Northern countries to national development plans. By the end of the 1970s, Brazil had only sponsored twenty-eight TCDC programmes (Costa e Vaz and Inoue 2007:5).

Mozambique engaged with the NAM from the onset and joined it as well as UNCTAD (group A) in 1976. Its membership with the movement was more an indication of its commitment to the fight against imperialism than of its neutrality in world affairs (Newitt 1995). Socialist countries were seen as natural allies of Mozambique aligning it with countries like Vietnam, Ethiopia, Cuba and Nicaragua (Abrahamsson & Nilsson 1995, Roy 1999). These countries 'whilst emphasising the movement's anti-imperialist and anti-colonial character promoted the idea that socialist countries were 'natural allies' of the Non-Aligned Movement' (Roy 1999:80). NAM and G77's focus on the UN was consistent with Mozambique's own decision to turn to the UN for political support for decolonisation (Taela 2004). Mozambique joined UNCTAD (group A) in 1976.

Until the mid-1980s Mozambique's foreign policy relations were greatly shaped by FRELIMO's transnational origins and the allegiances forged during the liberation struggle. The movement was created in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (then Tanganyika). Tanzania and Algeria had provided training camps, bases and political contacts; FRELIMO also received diplomatic support, arms and training from China and the Soviet Union, as well as medicines, war material and training from Cuba (Gunn 1987, Jackson 1995, Taela 2004, Chichava 2008). Between 1975 and 1979 the role of Cuban, Russian and East German military and technical aid increased (Newitt 1995, Müller 2014) as the Mozambican government dealt with an 'irresponsible and reckless decolonisation' (Taela 2004:9) and the associated mass exodus of Portuguese professionals, many of whom moved to Brazil (Gunn 1987, Hanlon 1991).

Mozambique's socialist allegiances, its efforts to build a socialist society and the role of reciprocal international solidarity are critical to understanding Mozambique's relations with the Brazilian authorities as well as with Brazilian exiles opposed to the military regime that took power in Brazil in 1964. It was through belonging to these leftist networks that many Brazilian exiles became *cooperantes* of the revolution in Mozambique, soon after independence (Massena 2009, Azevedo 2011); some Brazilian feminists also visited Mozambique during this period to learn about Mozambique's socialist experiments; activists from Brazilian black movements of the 1970s also drew inspiration for their militancy from the experiences of the Mozambican liberation movement (Alberti and Pereira 2007, D'Avila 2010).

However, Brazil's foreign policy towards Portuguese-speaking African countries was full of contradictions. In 1953, Brazil signed a Friendship and Consultation Treaty with Portugal that forbade contact with Portuguese colonies in Africa and committed the country to consult Portugal in all its international policies. In the UN, Brazil supported Portugal or remained silent concerning the independence of Portuguese colonies (D'Avila 2010, Santos 2014). Yet, under the governments of Jânio Quadros and João Goulart in the early 1960s, Brazil sought to increase its presence in African countries; this entailed opening the first Brazilian embassies in Africa, in Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal as well as consulates in Angola and Mozambique - both then still under Portuguese colonial rule (D'Avila 2010, Santos 2014).

As Mozambique's independence approached and Brazilian economic interests in Africa increased Brazilian authorities sought to establish relations with FRELIMO; but this failed. Two failed attempts have been documented (Melo 2009, D'Avila 2010, Santos 2014).<sup>16</sup> The first attempt was in November 1974, when a Brazilian diplomatic mission travelled to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania to explain its "non-interference" policy on the matter of decolonisation and negotiate political access to FRELIMO's leadership. Brazil wanted permission to appoint a Brazilian diplomat to accompany the Transition Government and the setting-up of the newly independent government. Machel, then FRELIMO's president refused. He explained that Mozambicans expected more from Brazil, a former colony. Brazil should have intervened earlier (i.e. used its friendship with Portugal to force it to accept independence), but instead distanced itself. FRELIMO was disillusioned with Brazil and did not trust it.

The second attempt was in January 1975, when the diplomat Ovídio de Melo travelled to Dar es Salaam to meet Marcelino dos Santos, FRELIMO's vice-president in charge of foreign affairs, to explain further Brazil's new foreign policy in relation to Africa, propose the creation of a special representation in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) and offer aid to alleviate the effect of the war that had recently finished. Itamaraty, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had requested that FRELIMO drew up a list of priorities, to better guide the Brazilian government in the donation offered" (Melo 2009:101).

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<sup>16</sup> I draw on Melo's own description of the events in the book *Recordações de um Removedor de Mofo no Itamaraty* (Memoirs of a Mildew Remover in Itamaraty), published by the Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation, a public institution linked to the Brazilian Ministry of External Relations.

Marcelino dos Santos accepted the aid offered, noting that any Brazilian aid to the Mozambican people would be accepted with gratitude, but stated that FRELIMO no longer prepared 'lists of priorities' when seeking external aid, as the exercise was often frustrating and a waste of time. 'The aid to Mozambique [a country] devastated by war could be in its entirety similar to what Brasília usually gives to the Northeast of Brazil, in periods of drought and public calamity' (Melo 2009:102). Yet, the most urgent needs were trucks, foods and medicines. Concerning the request for the establishment of a Brazilian special representation, the matter had to be discussed at higher levels. Marcelino dos Santos asked for a period of 20 days to submit it for consideration of FRELIMO's Political Bureau. After that time, Melo travelled again to Dar es Salaam to meet Marcelino dos Santos and find out what had been decided.

FRELIMO could not accept the Brazilian proposal and grant Brazil special status through the anticipated creation of diplomatic relations with Mozambique, because Mozambican minds and hearts, after suffering 14 years of war and during all that time seeing Brazil supporting Portugal, were not accustomed to consider Brazil as a friend. [...] In 1963, precisely to inform the Brazilian public about the drama of anticolonial war, FRELIMO had opened an office in Rio. That official diplomatic representation of a not yet independent country compared, in an inverse sense, to the formal representation we wanted to open in a country whose independence was not yet complete. However, in 1964 [after the military coup] FRELIMO's office in Rio was raided by the police, and its staff imprisoned and mistreated. Plus: they were threatened with expulsion to Portugal, where they would be thrown into the dungeons of the PIDE [Portuguese security agency]. Such disastrous expulsion only did not happen because Leopold Senghor, Senegal's President, interceded in favour of FRELIMO (Melo 2009:112).

The conversation between Melo and Marcelino dos Santos reveals FRELIMO's lack of trust in the Brazilian government and Melo's attempts to convince the latter that Brazil was Mozambique's friend. He explained that Brazil's policy towards Mozambique was because it was 'introvert with its politics', 'received little and distorted news of the war in Mozambique' and 'there were many influential Portuguese nationals in Brazil' rather than an indication that it supported colonialism, adding that despite all limitations and distortions of information 'Brazilian votes in the UN had always tended to abstention'. Marcelino replied that,

[Brazil's] abstentions in the UN while defensible from a purely procedural, juridical and even political point of view disregarded, the sentimental element, derived from greater affinities and historic expectations. Brazil was also a colony. It fought bravely for its independence in Bahia; it had had Tiradentes and Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, who was exiled to Mozambique. Brazil is half-African because of its origins and culture, and owes a lot to Africa. Hence, Mozambique had always expected Brazil's support which, morally, would have mattered considerably before Portugal, before the world. Therefore, Brazil's abstentions [at the UN] were never enough (Melo 2009:113).

FRELIMO did not grant Brazil any special status. It also did not allow the participation of representatives of the Brazilian government in the independence ceremony on the 25 June 1975, but invited Luís Carlos Prestes and Miguel Arraes, two representatives of the Brazilian left (Filho and Lessa 2007) who had played a critical role encouraging Brazilians to support the revolution and the building of a socialist society in Mozambique. Prestes' daughter and her family, who kindly opened the doors of their house to me when I was in Rio de Janeiro, lived in Mozambique at the time. In August 1975, Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique's Foreign Minister when asked by a Brazilian journalist about relations between Brazil and Mozambique replied '[Brazil] was on the side of our enemies during the liberation war' and "will hardly accept the mistakes it has made, except perhaps treating us as victims in need of help. All imperialists act that way'. Chissano added that 'imperialists need us and not the other way around. They need our raw materials, our land and our labour' (Folha de São Paulo 1975). Chissano's words may be related to the fact that Brazil's aid offered through Melo never arrived; Itamaraty first insisted on the need for a list and in the end removed its offer (Melo 2005:110). This seems to have offended FRELIMO, who felt treated as *coitadinhos* [poor souls]. Although Itamaraty recognised Mozambique's independence in 15 November 1975 and opened its embassy in Maputo 1976, Samora Machel declined the invitation to attend the swearing-in of João Figueredo, the new Brazilian president, in 1979.

While political relations between FRELIMO and the Brazilian governments were sour, existing commercial relations between Brazil and Mozambique that dated back to the pre-independence period were not interrupted (Santos 2014, Rossi 2015). Since 1972 Brazil has participated in the Lourenço Marques International Trade Fair - later Maputo International Trade Fair (FACIM) - which has taken place since 1964. Brazilian participation was part of a policy that sought to advance its commercial interests in the country without interfering with colonialism, but only in the late 1970s its attendance

began to be widely known, as trade was seen as an important entry-point to improve diplomatic relations. Relatedly, the first Mozambican mission to Brazil happened in 1979 and was headed by the Minister of Foreign Trade.

The same year, another Mozambican mission travelled to Brazil to strengthen economic relations and technology transfer. There were also conversations about the transfer of Brazilian technical knowledge in the education sector (Campos 2015). In 1977, José Carlos Lobo, the Mozambican ambassador to the United Nations, stated that cooperation with Brazil was mainly needed in the fields of agriculture and education noting that ‘the same climate and ecological conditions, the same language and cultural roots, enable Brazil to collaborate in agriculture, livestock, as well as in human resources training and education, besides [production of] books and school material’ (Folha de São Paulo 1977). This similarity claim would later be used by Brazil, as the discussion in chapters 4 and 5 illustrates.

Thus, the discourse of solidarity was quite marginal to official relationships between Brazil and Mozambique. These were defined in other terms, with disillusionment and lack of trust on the part of the Mozambican political leadership and attempts by Brazilian diplomacy to “prove” its friendship. While the Mozambican government adopted a pragmatic attitude showing that countries do not have to be friends to cooperate, Brazil clearly felt that it was better if they were friends or if at least they treated each other as if they were. Moreover, the discourse of aid and cooperation was already present in their relations during this phase, as well as comparisons between Mozambique and Brazil’s northeast.

Between the early 1980s and late 1990s, Mozambique faced the devastating effects of a sixteen-year period of civil war. The war was a result of the politics of the Cold War and of domestic dissatisfaction about FRELIMO’s policies, particularly those related to rural development and traditional authorities (Hanlon 1984, Geffray 1991, Taela 2004). The country’s state-focused model entered into crisis (1983-1985), leading Mozambique to join the Bretton Woods institutions (in 1984) and adopt a package of market-oriented economic reforms with the introduction of the Programme of Economic Rehabilitation (1987-1990). Ottaway (1988) asserts that in the United States and other Western countries the latter developments were seen as a sign that FRELIMO was becoming less dogmatic, less aligned with Moscow, thus more open to western influence. By 1984 Mozambique

was highly indebted and in December 1988 it was included in the list of least developed countries. In 1990, a multiparty system was introduced, in 1992 the war ended with a peace agreement signed between FRELIMO and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) and in 1994 Mozambique held its first multi-party elections. A new economic reform programme was introduced (1992-1998) in parallel with a UN-led peacekeeping programme with Brazilian participation. In 1998, Mozambique became part of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative and embarked in the development of a Poverty Reduction Strategy; by the end of the 1990s, Mozambique was heavily reliant on aid. This state of affairs has shaped policy-making and affected government-civil society relations (Castel-Branco 2008, 2011) and is relevant because Brazilian development workers' views on North-South and South-South development cooperation (discussed in chapter 4) as well as the relationships analysed in chapters 6, 7 and 8 are shaped by Mozambique's aid dependency.

This period has also been characterised by a shift from the prominence of mass organisations linked to FRELIMO to the mushrooming of NGOs, many of which emerged out of an effort by Northern NGOs to identify local “partners” to implement their projects. For instance, many new organisations were created as a response to the availability of foreign funding for humanitarian projects, and more recently, to “combat” the HIV epidemic (Negrão 2003, Matsinhe 2006). This process was facilitated by the inclusion of freedom of association and citizen political organising in Mozambique's second Constitution, approved in 1990. Women's groups were not immune to this trend; whereas some voluntary organisations emerged in the late-1980s, the majority were created in the 1990s. For instance, the first human rights NGO *Mulher, Lei e Desenvolvimento* (MULEIDE, Women, Law and Development) was created in 1991 while *Forum Mulher* (Women's Forum – an umbrella of women and feminist organisations) was created in 1993. Before that the main women's organisations were *União Geral das Cooperativas* (UGC, General Union of Cooperatives<sup>17</sup>) and *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* (OMM, Organization of Mozambican Women) created by FRELIMO in 1973 (Casimiro

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<sup>17</sup> UGC was founded by women; while men have also joined the union, women continue to be the majority of its members.



2004).<sup>18</sup> This period witnessed embryonic efforts to establish more autonomous women's organisations (Casimiro 2004, Disney 2008).

As in Mozambique, in Brazil this period was marked by important political, economic and social transitions. These included debt, economic stagnation and hyperinflation which were followed by market-oriented policy reforms (foreign trade liberalisation, privatisation of state-run monopolies) according to the Washington Consensus agenda (Bauman 2001, Arbache 2004). In the political realm, the period was characterised by a transition back to democracy, with twenty-year military dictatorship ending in 1985. In 1988, a new Constitution, known as the 'Citizen's Constitution' was promulgated. The 1990s are largely perceived as a period of democratic consolidation characterised, amongst others, by innovations in the area of participatory governance and the flowering of social movements which would, in the next decade, become a focus of collaboration between Brazil and Mozambique. It was also during this period (1987) that the *Agência Brasileira de Cooperação* (ABC, Brazilian Cooperation Agency) was created as part of Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation, an organ of the MRE. Since 1996, ABC has operated under the auspices of the MRE General Secretariat (Costa Vaz and Inoue 2007, Cabral and Weinstock 2010). However, in the 1980s and most of the 1990s, ABC's work was mainly focused on foreign assistance received by Brazil.

Although cooperation between Brazil and Mozambique was affected by the economic crises of the 1980s, there is evidence of continuation as well as efforts to increase commercial flows, illustrated by the signature of the Cooperation Agreement between Brazil and Mozambique in 1981 and its promulgation in 1984. What is more, the discourse of the Mozambican government towards Brazil changed in the 1980s as they sought to address the country's economic crisis. When in June 1980, Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro, Brazil's minister of external relations (who had been part of the first Brazilian diplomatic mission that met Samora Machel in Dar es Salaam, in November 1974) travelled to Mozambique, Samora Machel greeted him by saying 'welcome friend' with a large smile on his face<sup>19</sup> (Folha de São Paulo 1977). Samora underscored the importance of economic cooperation for unity between countries and of concrete actions as 'countries

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<sup>18</sup> OMM was preceded by two women's bodies within Frelimo, namely: *Liga Feminina Moçambicana* (LIFEMO, League of Mozambican Women) created in 1962 and *Destacamento Feminino* (DF, Women's Detachment) created in 1967 (For a history of OMM see Casimiro 2004 and Disney 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Guerreiro had been part of the first diplomatic mission that meet Samora Machel in Dar es Salaam in November 1974.

are not united through words. No, no. There needs to be something concrete' and manifested interest in industrial cooperation. He believed that Brazilian experiences in tourism could be relevant for Mozambique, arguably due to climatic similarities as he asked 'is not your climate like ours? Brazil has many states with climate like here, right? For example, which state does Maputo resemble?'. 'Maputo is very similar to Bahia', replied Guerreiro.

While being friendly, Samora made it clear what kind of relations he expected when a journalist asked what he thought about Brazilian attempts to get closer to Southern Africa. 'It must be done properly, from equal to equal. Brazil should not come here with a paternalist aid spirit, but with a spirit of cooperation'. Samora believed that the trip had brought the two countries closer and strengthened their connections (Folha de São Paulo 1980). Chissano, appointed Mozambique's president after Samora's tragic death in 1986, had also shown commitment to closer relations with Brazil.

Another important element of Brazil-Mozambique relations was the space provided by the creation of the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP, Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries), in 1996; its formation announced during the first meeting of heads of state and government of Portuguese-speaking countries, held in São Luís do Maranhão, in 1989, was greatly influenced by José Aparecido de Oliveira, the Brazilian minister of culture who had been nominated ambassador to Portugal to speed up the process (Ribeiro 2004). CPLP would play an important role in fostering technical cooperation between Brazil and Mozambique, in the areas of HIV&AIDS and gender, among others from the 2000s.

#### *Recovering time lost*

Between 2002 and 2010, Brazil went again through several political and economic changes influenced by the arrival in power of former trade unionist. Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (commonly known) as Lula and his Workers' Party, raising hopes of progressive transformation in Brazil and internationally. In this period, there was also a reduction of income inequality and poverty as a result of economic growth, expanded access to education, an increase in demand for unskilled labour and introduction of conditional cash transfer programmes, such as Bolsa Família (Clementi and Schettino 2015). During Lula's administration (2003-2010), Brazil consolidated its pursuit of international visibility and influence as well as its prominence as an emerging donor in Africa. Contrary

to the previous administration of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994-2002), during this period the government was more concerned with projecting an image of autonomy and independence rather than demonstrating its credibility to external actors to attract foreign investment and aid (De Sousa Neto, 2011).

Brazil adopted a strategy of diversification of partnerships defined by spreading its portfolio of partners and modalities of engagement in international relations (bilateral, multilateral, triangular), building new and strengthening old alliances; and stretching its geographic presence by using a combination of means, such as political diplomacy, direct investment and technical cooperation. It also participated in the creation of international norms (De Sousa Neto, 2011); through global health diplomacy and promotion of a rights-based approach to health inspired by its domestic response to HIV, discussed in the next section. While the previous administration of Fernando Henrique Cardoso played an important role in positioning Brazil as a global player, Lula was personally engaged in projecting Brazil as an international protagonist and in intensifying development cooperation with African countries, particularly Portuguese-speaking (Brigagão and Seabra 2009; Saraiva, 2010; De Sousa Neto, 2011). Brazil became a significant provider of technical cooperation and its in-between position as both recipient and provider of aid shaped both the design of cooperation initiatives as well as the mobility of Brazilian professionals.

Mozambique's position as an aid-dependent country and a "success story" of post-war reconstruction was also consolidated during the 2000s. In 2009, more than 60 bilateral and multilateral donors and 150 INGOs had projects being implemented in Mozambique (OSISA 2009). Government and civil society actors became extremely dependent on foreign financial and technical assistance, making Mozambique's development policies and programmes quite vulnerable to volatile donor agendas (De Renzio & Hanlon 2007, Castel-Branco 2011). Relatedly, Mozambican government and non-governmental actors have become accustomed to dealing with donors and as a result have 'developed advanced skills at managing complex relationships with a diverse range of international agencies, juggling their different priorities and demands, and positively responding to their agendas (...)' (De Renzio & Hanlon 2007:4). Mozambique has also been an important arena of rising powers' interventions in Africa, with Brazil, China and India as prominent actors (Scott 2009, Chichava and Alden 2012).

Although the first technical cooperation agreement between Brazil and Mozambique was signed in 1981, actual interventions only flourished during Lula's administration. In his first trip to Mozambique, in November 2003, Lula talked about Mozambican hospitality towards Brazilian exiles whom he called *companheiros* (companions, comrades), between the late 1970s and early 1980s as well as of his affection for Chissano and Mozambique.

I want President Chissano to know that I entered here [Palácio da Ponte Vermelha in Maputo] thinking that he was a brother, and I leave thinking that he is more than a brother, he is a *companheiro*. The relation Brazil intends to have with Mozambique is not one of an imperialist country with a hegemonic vocation. We are tired, we have been colonised and have freed ourselves from hegemony. Now, we want partnership, we want *companheirismo* [*companionship, comradeship*], and work together for the construction of fair and equal international policy towards democratic multilateral mechanisms to foster equal opportunities (Lula's speech during a State dinner in his honour offered by Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique's President, on the 5<sup>th</sup> November 2003).

In 2004, the cancellation of 95% Mozambique's debt to Brazil, which had been announced four years earlier, during a visit of Fernando Henrique Cardoso to Mozambique, was formalised. This was important as Lula was committed to making up for the time lost, showing "concrete actions" and gaining the trust of Mozambican leaders (Presidency of the Republic of Brazil 2004). This entailed, among others, fostering technical cooperation with Mozambique and promoting Brazilian best practices and expertise in the field of HIV&AIDS and women's rights discussed in chapter 4.

Brazil's technical cooperation is underpinned in the logic of mutual learning for capacity building. It involves multiple sectors and layers of government, what Salomon calls "a multi-level cooperation" (2011:60). Some initiatives are negotiated by national governments and executed through ministries and agencies at the federal level, covering a broad range of areas, such as agriculture, health, education, social protection, human rights, and gender equality. Decentralised initiatives are negotiated at the subnational level, independently from ABC, and these are mainly in the area of urban development and management (Salomon 2011, De Oliveira 2013, Nganje 2016). At the end of 2011, Brazil's bilateral technical cooperation with Mozambique comprised twenty-one ongoing projects and nine in negotiation, while financial resources allocated to bilateral and triangular technical cooperation with Mozambique amounted to US\$ 32,000,783 (ABC 2011).

Brazilian technical cooperation with Mozambique also involves non-governmental actors. Examples include, the “knowledge to react in Portuguese initiative”, a one year project involving women living with HIV from Brazil and Portuguese-Speaking African countries, which resulted from a partnership between four UN agencies with the Brazilian and German governments. Another is the native seed bank knowledge sharing project led by civil society in Brazil, Mozambique and South Africa; the project funded and managed by ABC, involved the *Instituto Brasileiro de Análises Sociais e Econômicas* (IBASE, Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analysis), two Brazilian social movements - the *Movimento de Mulheres Camponesas* (MMC, Women’s Peasant Movement) and the *Movimento Camponês Popular* (MCP, Popular Peasant Movement), the *União Nacional dos Camponeses* (UNAC, Mozambique National Farmers’ Union), and the South African Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE).

Brazil-Mozambique civil society interactions have also increasingly come to contest official SSC. A particular focus of contestation has been the triangular cooperation *Programa de Cooperação Tripartida para o Desenvolvimento Agrícola da Savana Tropical* (ProSAVANA, Programme for Agricultural Development of the Tropical Savannah). IBASE and UNAC are some of the actors involved in this contestation. The native seed bank project itself is part of efforts to counter the dominant agribusiness model adopted by ProSAVANA through promoting alternative agricultural practices (Suyama and Pomeroy 2014). Civil society interactions through transnational networks such as Via Campesina, World March of Women and transnational spaces, as the World Social Forum, are becoming increasingly important in fostering other forms of SS technical cooperation. In chapter 4 I discuss the professional trajectories of people involved in transnational activism and in chapter 7 I focus on interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists in the context of a transnational feminist movement.

This chapter has provided an overview of the historical roots of SSC and associated discourses. It has shown how developing countries collectively constructed a common identity and mobilised solidarity among themselves through acceptance, appropriation and instrumentalisation of a colonialist idea of an underdeveloped world. SSC has been historically defined as an expression of Southern solidarity, through which developing countries collaborate to achieve progress, modernity and development. The chapter has also shown that sameness and difference within the Global South are often expressed through hierarchies according to countries’ position in development rankings and that

these are an intrinsic element of South-South geopolitics and cooperation and are manifested in the idea that those “more fortunately placed” must help the weakest and poorest within the international community, as is the case of Brazil and Mozambique. I have argued that Brazil and Mozambique’s relations in the first two phases analysed were shaped by global geopolitics and characterised by distance and mistrust as a result of Brazil’s alliances with Portugal and the USA, whilst in the third phase they were influenced by a renewed optimism about South-South cooperation, deliberate efforts on the part of Brazilian President Lula da Silva to reconnect with African countries through technical and economic cooperation, as well as political and economic transformations in Mozambique. I have shown how Mozambique’s socialist allegiances, its efforts to build a socialist society and the role of reciprocal international solidarity were critical to its engagement in cooperation; this challenges understandings of Brazil-Mozambique relations that disguise the historical distance and conflicts between the two countries by making essentialist claims and overemphasising affinities.

This discussion is relevant for the thesis because of its focus on South-South relations, the importance of history in perceived affinities and expectations in relationships between Brazilians and Mozambicans as well as the ways in which these are reinforced, contested and re-fashioned in contemporary interpersonal interactions. For instance, echoes of the spirit of *cooperantes* were present in one of my interviewees (Jacinto), who described a conversation with the planning director in the ministry he worked as a technical adviser in the early 2000s in which he identified himself as a communist. The socialist identification which had separated the Brazilian and Mozambican governments in the 1970s and was essential for Brazilian exiles in Mozambique was also important for Jacinto. An element that runs through each of the following chapters (where the focus is shifted from the global and institutional discourses to individuals’ lived experiences and views) is Brazilian and Mozambican individuals’ responses to institutional reactions to opportunities created by geopolitical shifts. Thus the following chapters connect professional trajectories, personal motivations and lived experiences with broader national and global international development cooperation dynamics.

## **Chapter 4. South-South knowledge hierarchies and professional pathways**

In chapter 3, I described the emergence of South-South Cooperation as both complementary and alternative to North-South cooperation, purporting to embrace Southern knowledges and experiences through, amongst other mechanisms, technical cooperation. From Bandung to the most recent review of the implementation of the BAPA we observed efforts to foster mechanisms that allowed the ‘exchange of know-how’, ‘transmission of technical knowledges and skills’, and the idea that instead of making their own mistakes, countries should ‘learn from the experience of others in a similar situation (The South Commission 1990: v). Less visible but also present was the need for ‘overcoming attitudinal barriers’ and ‘increasing developing countries’ confidence in each other’s technical capacities (BAPA 1978:7). I argued in chapter 3 that South-South cooperation discourses reproduce knowledge hierarchies that have structured North-South cooperation. Here, I develop this argument further. Drawing on critiques of the reproduction of systems of expertise and forms of authority (Crewe and Harrison 1998, Kothari 2005, Nieuwma 2007, Mosse 2007, McEwan 2009, Peters 2012), I argue that while one of the starting points for South-South cooperation was opposition to North-South knowledge hierarchies, its legitimisation has been constructed through new forms of authoritative knowledge that reiterate old hierarchies. The purpose of the chapter is to show how this happens, taking Brazil-Mozambique relations as a case in point.

This chapter moves between the international, national, institutional and individual levels. In a similar vein to Roth (2012) and Peters (2013), who explored individual biographies, I draw on the professional pathways of Brazilian development workers to show how the building and international legitimatisation of Brazilian ‘best practices’ has produced a political economy of opportunities and mobility for these professionals. The analysis focuses on two interrelated fields, namely HIV&AIDS and gender equality. I discuss how international initiatives to address the HIV epidemic and promote gender equality, the construction of Brazilian experiences in these two fields as ‘best practices’, the reduction of donor funding to Brazil due to its middle-income status, shifts in Brazilian foreign policy towards Portuguese-Speaking African countries, and the demand from national and international organisations in Mozambique have fostered the international mobility of Brazilian professionals who have been involved in these fields. Brazilian development workers’ professional pathways are a central element of this chapter’s argument as they

illustrate the intermeshing of these various factors as well as personal and professional networks and individual motivations. Their pathways to Mozambique are indicative of the processes of production of South-South expertise and new knowledge hierarchies that I am critiquing.

In the following section I discuss knowledge and expertise in South-South relations. This is followed by a description and analysis of the professional trajectories and motivations of selected Brazilian research participants – people who also feature in chapters 6 and 7, where I discuss their interactions with Mozambican actors in detail. The chapter concludes with an analysis of Brazilian research participants’ positioning vis-à-vis knowledge hierarchies as manifested in Mozambique, through an analysis of their views on the relevance of Brazilian experiences to Mozambique, the country’s need for foreign technical cooperation, and technical cooperation practices. The chapter argues that Brazilian development workers are complicit with and benefit from the knowledge hierarchies and related opportunities created by the South-South cooperation regime.

#### **4.1 Knowledge hierarchies, authoritative knowledge and expertise**

This section discusses how knowledge and expertise play out in SSC. I analyse the articulation between development and knowledge hierarchies and identify three interrelated yet distinct sources of claims of authoritative knowledge within the SSC regime, namely, “first-hand experience” of poverty and underdevelopment, ‘a Southern identity’ and ‘best practice’.

There is an extensive literature critiquing the (re)-production of systems of expertise and forms of authority within the development industry (Crewe and Harrison 1998, Kothari 2005, Nieusma 2007, Peters 2012). Scholars have discussed ‘whose knowledge matters’ (Chambers 1991, Standing and Taylor 2007, Moletsane 2015), the role of ‘knowledge agencies’ (McEwan 2009) and expert development technical advisers and consultants (Mosse 2007). These works have shed light on the links between the production, legitimisation and circulation of development knowledges and power, in that they call for a reading of development as a discourse of knowledge and power and for more attention to the ways in which development operates as a knowledge industry.



I find the two dominant ways of understanding development in the literature identified by Crewe and Harrison (1998) helpful to tease out parallels between the interconnections between development and knowledge in the NSC and SSC regimes. One way of understanding is seeing development as an industry comprised of institutions, policies and practices, while the other looks at development as an ideal that institutions and individuals seek to achieve. In this thesis, I see SSC as an industry, within the broad development industry, which is also driven by a faith in development, i.e. it does not challenge the view that certain countries and regions are less developed than others. Instead, it accepts the idea of underdevelopment and development rankings between countries. Like North-South cooperation, SSC also sees underdevelopment as ‘synonymous with poorly developed technology or with lack of access to modern technology’, Crewe and Harrison (1998:91).

To show the links between the persistence of development and knowledge hierarchies within SSC, I draw on the notions of authoritative knowledge and expertise. Jordan’s (1997) analysis of the processes through which particular knowledges gain legitimacy points to the social nature of knowledge legitimation processes and the influence of power and authority in the definition of what knowledges count. According to Jordan, some knowledge systems are legitimated ‘either because they explain the state of the world better for the purpose at hand (efficacy) or because they are associated with a stronger power base (structural superiority), and usually both’ (Jordan 1997:56). However, this in no way refers to the ‘correctness of that knowledge’ as *‘the power of authoritative knowledge is not that it is correct but that it counts [italics in the original]’* (Jordan 1997:58). Different knowledges are accorded different degrees of authority. This is well articulated in Nieuwma’s definition of knowledge hierarchies as ‘a hierarchically ordered authority structure of diverse knowledge domains’ (2007:32). Central to Nieuwma’s (2007) conceptualisation of knowledge hierarchies is the idea of expertise as specialised knowledge and a social activity that combines authority and knowledge.

It is, however, important to underline that authoritative knowledge and expertise often draw on people’s origin and less on their knowledge itself (Crewe and Harrison 1998, Kothari 2005, Nieuwma 2007, Peters 2012). In this regard, Crewe and Harrison (1998) assert that what counts is often ‘based on ideas about people rather than on objective differences in knowledge and expertise’ reflected in the ‘prior definition of certain forms of knowledge as ‘expertise’ according to who has the knowledge, rather than because of

the nature of what is known' (1998: 92). They also note that the value of technical knowledge is predetermined by the identity of the 'bearer' as well as of those who assess the value of a certain development technology (Crewe and Harrison 1998). In this research, the latter would be those who determine that a given Brazilian social technology constitutes a 'best practice'.

Kothari (2005) is more explicit about the relation between the reproduction of systems of expertise and authority and the production of the development expert. According to her, the professional development expert is identified as such 'not solely because of the extent and form of their knowledge but often because of who they are and where they come from' (2005:426) and through this process certain interventions are legitimised and authorised, particular technical skills are valued and classifications of difference are reinforced. I argue that these dynamics create a political economy of opportunities for mobility and show how individual and institutional Brazilian actors in the HIV&AIDS and gender fields both actively participated in these processes of expertise-creation and strategically positioned themselves to benefit from it. In the remainder of this section, I discuss this idea of a political economy of opportunities for mobility, inspired by Peters' (2012) application of the notion of authoritative knowledge and her discussion of the commoditisation of development workers' histories in the service of development as a regime of mobility (Peters 2012:277).

Drawing on her research in Angola, Peters (2011, 2012) asserts that the interplay of development expertise, knowledge and mobility results in different knowledges and skills being attributed to Angolans and to expatriate development workers; whereas the latter are seen as holders of international knowledge and capacities by virtue of their mobility and circulation in 'subaltern regions of the world' (Peters 2011:20), for the former it is their 'localness' i.e. the assumption that they possess local knowledge and skills and the downplaying of their international knowledges and capacities that enable them to secure their positions in development programmes. According to Peters 'a global hierarchy prevents some individual professionals, particularly those from developing nations, from realising the same benefits of their cosmopolitan mobility as professionals from industrialised nations' (Peters 2012:277).

The research that underpins this thesis suggests that although dominant, mobility is only one of many sources of claims of authoritative knowledge. The South-South cooperation

knowledge industry makes different claims of authoritative knowledge in which “first-hand experience” of poverty and underdevelopment have more centrality than mobility, even though the circulation of experiences framed as best practices is also important for its legitimisation. Among my Brazilian and Mozambican research participants, the view that ‘it is not the same to be a poor person in the North and to be a poor person in the South’ suggests that not every “first-hand experience” of poverty counts. As problematic as this assertion may be, it reflects imaginaries of what the South is and is significant in the legitimisation of SSC. Moreover, identity continues to matter as Crewe and Harrison (1998) Kothari (2005) and Peters (2011, 2012) point out, yet here it is about a purported ‘Southern’ or ‘developing country’ identity, that adds to the “first-hand experience of poverty”, the experience of colonialism and “Western domination”.

However, this does not mean that Northern knowledges are no longer valid, as the framing of SSC cooperation as complementary to North-South illustrates, or that the hegemony of Western knowledges has ended. The BAPA itself, while recognising the need for ‘increasing developing countries’ confidence in each other’s technical capacities’ (BAPA 1978:7), also shows the dependency on Northern models highlighted by Brazilian research participants. Peters’ point that the ‘type of international knowledge and experience circulated in developing organisations is overwhelmingly of developing, not developed, contexts [italics in the original]’ (2011:33) is relevant as the SSC regime distinguishes mobility and circulation in ‘subaltern portions of the world’ (Peters 2011:20) from “being” from a developing context, regardless of the class, race and gender privileges one may enjoy. Thus, it brings a somewhat different knowledge regime, even though it is still based on development workers’ country of origin and nationality. While most of Peters’ (2011) expatriate research participants did not arrive in Angola directly from their countries of origin, the majority of the Brazilians who participated in this research moved from Brazil to Mozambique, as the trajectories analysed in the following section illustrate.

Another source of authoritative knowledge in SSC is found in “best practice” reasoning. I argue that having experiences that have been classified as best practices ascribes expertise and confers authoritative knowledge to the individuals, institutions and countries that were involved in those processes, allowing them to gain ascendancy and legitimacy over other developing countries. Through an analysis of best practice reasoning it is also possible to visualise how the demand for technical cooperation is

created. Finally, the transfer of best practices also reflects the links between knowledge, power and expertise.

I take as a starting point Morais's (2005) discussion on how the best practice image of a Brazilian literacy programme (AlfaSol) was built. Drawing on Long (2001) and Rap (2003) she describes the social construction of AlfaSol as a best practice - from the process of selection to its promotion - and the important role played by individual actors and policy networks in building the image of success. This process takes place at multiple levels, from the global to the local, and the investment in the creation of SSC mechanisms, specifically of thematic technical cooperation agencies in particular countries, such the International Centre for Technical Cooperation on HIV&AIDS in Brazil, is a central element of this process. Besides the lobbying of the Brazilian government in global governance spaces, the activities of sector-specific bureaucrats and of the *cooperantes* themselves, international development organisations in Brazil (including but not exclusively the UN) and Northern and Southern development workers who have worked in Brazil have also played a critical role.

Best practice reasoning is intimately linked to the 'political economy of the commercialisation of knowledge' (Weiler 2006: 2) and some of its effects include, the commoditisation of professionals' histories and experiences (Peters 2012) and the transformation of international solidarity into a professionalised commodity for export (Zeuske in Hatzky 2015). As Morais put it, 'the existence of national experiences qualified as best practices provides the 'raw material' for the establishment of cooperation projects with other countries of the South. On the other hand, South-South cooperation initiatives can serve as a 'testing field' for the design of new or 'better' best practices' (2005:8). However, this process depends on the existence of external demand and efforts to generate it in different moments and spaces, particularly during SSC pilot projects, to reinforce the claim that SSC is demand-driven. Cesarino's analysis of the practices of Brazilian cooperation frontliners in agriculture is enlightening. In asserting the centrality of demonstration 'as display of technological achievements' (2013:93), the author points out that

for these relations [SSC] to multiply and produce concrete effects on the African landscape (...) Brazilians came to regard African partners themselves less as recipients of cooperation than as vital and necessary mediators for its initiation and reproduction. Much of the former's efforts during the trainings were towards

enticing the latter's interest in the Brazilian experience, and their participation in the comparative effort being proposed (Cesarino 2013:95).

Cesarino (2013) reads this as part of Brazilian cooperation's emphasis on horizontality, mutuality and consensus-building, but I see it as Brazilian cooperation frontliners acting as marketing agents. Demonstration may be built around the principle of mutuality, yet arguably it has mainly an instrumental purpose, i.e. of ensuring the buy-in of African counterparts and the continuation of SSC with Brazil. Thus, demand is generated through demonstration. In the next two sections I examine the links between Brazilian "best practices" in the fields of HIV&AIDS and gender and the professional trajectories of selected individuals to Mozambique.

#### **4.2 Brazilian HIV&AIDS best practices, professional trajectories and motivations**

The Brazilian health system is considered one of the most progressive in the world (Shankland and Cornwall 2007; Almeida et al. 2010) and is heavily shaped by the influence of social movements, such as of the *sanitarista* movement,<sup>20</sup> the women's movement and the AIDS activism movement, in the context of the efforts to restore democracy in the country following a period of military dictatorship (Alvarez 1990, Weyland 1995, Biehl 2004, Shankland and Cornwall 2007, Rocha 2013). The AIDS activism movement was particularly influential in articulating the demands of people living with HIV and in demanding universal access to anti-retroviral drugs. They politicised the epidemic, participated in institutional spaces within the national AIDS programme – such as the National AIDS Commission, created informal spaces for dialogue and agenda setting and monitored government policies through social oversight. As a result, Brazil adopted a rights-based approach to its AIDS response and challenged global health governance institutions on issues related to patents and intellectual property rights (Biehl 2004, Chavez et al. 2008). Since 1996, the national health system has provided free anti-retroviral drugs to people living with HIV (Terto et al. 2009, Vianna and Carrara 2010). These gains afforded the Brazilian National STD/AIDS Programme the status of international best practice in promoting universal access to HIV prevention,

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<sup>20</sup> A group of health professionals and researchers who since the mid-1970s had been fighting for the universalization of health care, decentralisation of service provision and management and for shifts in the focus of health policy from curative treatment to preventive measures (Shankland and Cornwall 2007).

treatment and care services at country level, bolstering support for the establishment of international cooperation centres to promote SSC in this area.

In this period Mozambique was still initiating its response to the epidemic, which has been shaped by the HIV&AIDS technical assistance programs deployed by international organisations (Matsinhe 2005). The AIDS response was accompanied by the establishment of several NGOs and Community-Based Associations (CBOs) in the late 1990s, fostered by the availability of AIDS money poured in by donor agencies to “combat” the HIV epidemic (Negrão 2003, Matsinhe 2005). Although some NGOs and CBOs had been created by people living with HIV, the vast majority did not have a constituency. They mainly acted as service providers and implementers of government and donor agendas, without an agenda of their own. The reduction of AIDS funding in the last five years has led to the closing down of many organisations who were not able to adapt to the shifts in donor agendas, the most significant being an increased focus on good governance and accountability as well as the expectation that civil society organisations should play a greater role in shaping public policies.

While Brazil and Mozambique experienced “the arrival of the international AIDS response” and received significant international assistance, the conditions on the ground in each country were substantially different, shaping the roles of international NGOs and civil society actors. In Brazil, there was already social mobilisation around the epidemic and civil society actors were already putting pressure on the Brazilian government to develop adequate policies and provide services. The fashion for creating AIDS NGOs helped to consolidate an existing mobilisation which culminated with the set-up of Brazil’s AIDS programme. The nature of the epidemic (concentrated in some groups, mainly homosexuals), and the fact that it also affected middle-class intellectuals with high purchasing power and mobilising capacity, facilitated social mobilisation in Brazil. Mozambique has a generalised HIV epidemic (the HIV prevalence rate is >1% in the general population) and government policies emphasised prevention; anti-retroviral treatment was only introduced in 2002 and access to it remains limited. Many Mozambicans have seen their relatives die and have been directly involved in the provision of HIV prevention and AIDS care services, but they have been essentially excluded from policy-making processes.

Brazil's HIV technical cooperation with Mozambique was favoured by the foreign policy orientation of the government of President Lula da Silva towards cooperation with Portuguese-Speaking countries, the Brazilian government's active lobbying at global level to export its AIDS model (Foller 2013) and partnerships with UN agencies, such as the United Nations Joint Programme on HIV&AIDS. Although the first HIV cooperation initiative with Mozambique was in 1997 - an international course on planning, administration and evaluation of Sexually Transmitted Diseases and HIV for Portuguese speaking countries - it was only in 2003, after President Lula's visit to Mozambique and his promise to build a platform for the production of antiretroviral drugs in Mozambique, that HIV technical cooperation between the two countries gained momentum. The success of the Brazilian AIDS program and the reduction of donor funding for Brazilian NGOs fostered the international mobility of many of the Brazilian professionals - NGO activists, (former) government officials, and academics - who had been involved in the process. Many professionals with NGO experience in Brazil found their way to Mozambique; short-term consultancies became an important safety-net and a first step to securing a full-time job for many. The Brazilian model and Brazilian professionals' involvement in its design and implementation legitimated their presence in Mozambique, a country where the AIDS response has relied heavily on external funding and technical assistance. The recruitment of Brazilian professionals to work in Mozambique reflects an effort on the part of Brazilian, Mozambican and international organisations to transfer the Brazilian HIV&AIDS response model to Mozambique. The trajectories and stories of Brazilian professionals reveal a number of assumptions about the transferability of the Brazilian model, its relevance to Mozambique and how these were challenged by encounters with the Mozambican reality.

### *Professional trajectories*

This section moves from the institutional to the individual level in order to map the qualifications and experience of Brazilian professionals as well as their pathways to Mozambique. Their professional trajectories are important because they illustrate the ways in which these individuals were professionally connected in Brazil and in Mozambique. They also provide the background to understand their political stance and discourses around development cooperation (North-South and South-South) as well as their reflections on development work, including their own professional practice. Paulo,

a Brazilian researcher and consultant, describes the institutional affiliations in Brazil of the research participants introduced in this section.

*When I arrived in Mozambique, I found several colleagues and friends from the NGO world. They were NGO activists, then went to do government work - something that caused great reproach in Brazil – they started being called the governmentals - but also gave great consistency to the Brazilian AIDS policy. I found many of them in Mozambique working as technical specialists.*

Paulo's description reveals that these Brazilian development workers were all part of the same professional network around the AIDS response in Brazil. In the subsequent paragraphs I describe the professional trajectories of five Brazilian development workers - Melissa, Jacinto, Alexandra, Patrícia and Tiago. They constitute the key group of professionals through whom I will illustrate my points. I have selected them because they have all worked in Health for All's office in Maputo at some point of their professional trajectory.<sup>21</sup> In the paragraphs below, I present their professional trajectories based on the order of arrival in Mozambique.

**Melissa** is a white woman in her early sixties. She is a psychologist and has a Master's degree in Population Studies. Melissa worked in Brazil for 11 years, where she was involved in sexual and reproductive health work, including working as a researcher for two well-known Brazilian NGOs, one focused on adolescent and family health and the other on HIV. She was the first to arrive in Mozambique, in the late-1990s, hired by a UN agency as a health technical adviser; in 1998 she carried out four consultancies in Mozambique and in early 1999 she moved to Maputo. She was Health for All's country representative twice, from 1997-2002 and from 2010-2016. Between 2003 and 2010 she lived and worked in three English-Speaking African countries. In mid-2016 she moved to one of Health for All's offices in the U.S to be the director of a global flagship project.

**Jacinto** is a white man in his mid-forties. He is a psychologist with a Master's in Public Health. In Brazil he worked for the Brazilian AIDS Programme at state and federal levels, and was involved in the training of health teams to manage HIV, HIV prevention and liaising with civil society. After manifesting his interest in working in an African country to his colleagues, in 2000 his name was suggested to be part of an SSC project between

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<sup>21</sup> I do not suggest that these five professional pathways are representative of Brazilian AIDS professionals in Mozambique, as they all worked for the same organisation and were implicated in the office politics I discuss in chapter 6. As the introduction to this thesis suggests, there are other professional pathways to Mozambique, such as those of UN professionals, some of whom were working in the headquarters of UN agencies before moving to Mozambique.



the Mozambican and Brazilian ministries of health aimed at developing a strategy and training materials for young HIV activists, sex workers and truck drivers. In November 2000, he travelled to Maputo and was based in the Ministry of Health for a month and a half. During this trip, he met Melissa, who asked if he would work in Mozambique again and arranged for him to meet her team. A couple of days after returning to Brazil, Jacinto received an offer of a six-month consultancy. With five months of holidays entitlement accumulated, he was authorised to take that period off and go to Mozambique, this time independently. He worked in Maputo from February to July 2001, based within an institution under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. In August, back in Brazil, he received another job offer from Health for All to work as a technical advisor to the Ministry of Education. He accepted and this time stayed for a year and a half. In March 2003, he was invited to work for the Ministry of Health in Brasilia coordinating the articulation between the government and civil society concerning the HIV response. Jacinto stayed in that position for a year and returned to Mozambique in 2004, when he received an offer to be Health for All's country representative, as Melissa was moving to another country. He stayed in that position for six years and in 2010 moved to Health for All's headquarters in the U.S. He continues to travel to Mozambique regularly.

**Alexandra** is a white woman in her late forties. She is a psychologist, trained in occupational therapy and psychoanalysis. In Brazil, she worked with harm reduction among drug users and HIV prevention within a public health unit linked to a state hospital, had her own practice and founded an NGO focused on harm reduction. From 2001 to 2003 she worked as a consultant for the National AIDS Programme in Brasilia, on prevention of HIV transmission among crack users and youth education. During that period she worked with a Brazilian colleague who moved to Mozambique. Between 2003 and 2005 she worked as a technical adviser to the Brazilian Ministry of Health with a UN-World Bank contract and developed the baseline for a national project on sexual and reproductive health and HIV prevention in schools. In July 2005, Alexandra's former colleague who was in Mozambique called and asked her to apply for a new position that had opened at Health for All's office in Maputo. They were looking for a senior youth technical adviser. Two days after the interview Alexandra received a job offer. She arrived in Mozambique in August 2005 and was based in a ministry until late-2010. In 2010, she became a project director at Health for All. Alexandra is still in Mozambique.

**Patrícia** is a white woman in her early sixties. She is highly-qualified and has spent 30 years of her professional career in Brazilian academia where she occupied research, teaching and administrative positions, in the fields of psychology and public health. She combined her studies, teaching and research with community work and political engagement through, amongst others, participation in political movements within and outside academia. She established her own clinical practice and provided technical assistance to the department of health in a municipality in São Paulo State. From 2003 to 2005 she worked at the Ministry of Health where she was responsible for developing various new policies within the ministry and worked on AIDS policy in Brazil. Patrícia's first trip to Mozambique was in 2003 - while she was still working at the ministry - when she accepted an invitation to do HIV-related work from a former student who was at the time working in Maputo for a U.S government agency. Between 2003 and 2006, she undertook six consultancy assignments in Mozambique for a couple of US INGOs, and in 2007 Patrícia was hired by Health for All as a full-time senior technical advisor for a national sexual and reproductive health programme, working with the ministry of education; she occupied that position for two years. In 2009, she became Health for All's director of operations for two years. In 2011 she moved to one of the U.S offices of the INGO to work as a senior youth advisor on a global project supporting several countries. Patrícia is still based in the U.S but travels to Mozambique regularly to provide technical assistance to Health for All's country office.

**Tiago** is a white, man, in his early forties. He is a social anthropologist. In Brazil, he worked for more than ten years for a local AIDS NGO and was involved in the design of Brazil's AIDS strategies and policies and lectured at three Brazilian universities. In 2000, he applied for the post of prevention specialist opened by a Mozambican NGO which was recruiting Brazilian professionals to work in Mozambique, but did not get the job. He first arrived in Mozambique in November 2002, hired by a Brazilian university to work on an HIV SSC project funded by a U.S foundation and implemented by a Brazilian research centre, and linked to the international cooperation department of the Brazilian National AIDS Programme, within the Brazilian Ministry of Health. He was hired as an adviser to the Mozambican Ministry of Health, with responsibility for the project's civil society component. When the project ended in late 2004, Tiago returned to his home town in Brazil, enrolled in a PhD programme and worked as an independent consultant. In 2006, he got a full-time job with the Brazilian National AIDS Programme in the area of HIV

prevention among men who have sex with men and moved to Brasilia, where he worked until 2008 while doing his PhD. In 2008, Jacinto, who was still in Mozambique, invited him to apply for a new position within Health for All. He applied and was interviewed but did not get the job – Patrícia got it. But, because Tiago was the second placed candidate he was offered another position that matched his profile better. Tiago worked for Health for All in Mozambique from 2008 until 2013 when he became Health for All's global technical advisor, based in the U.S. I interviewed him three months before he moved to the U.S. He also has occasional work trips to Mozambique.

These professional trajectories provide a snapshot of the experiences and pathways of a group of Brazilian professionals to Mozambique. Besides the fact that all of them worked for Health for All, they have all worked at some point in their careers for the Brazilian Ministry of Health and interacted directly with aspects of the national AIDS response. Except Tiago, an anthropologist, all the other four have a background in psychology. Their qualifications vary from post-doctoral level to honours degree, with additional diploma training. All of them did their university studies in Brazil. Four of them had worked for an NGO, with the exception being Patrícia. Another important element, particularly in the trajectories of Jacinto, Patrícia and Tiago, was their political engagement. For instance, Patrícia told me that she worked “*as an activist and psychologist*”, underlining the politicised nature of her work in various fields of psychology, her involvement with “social causes and political issues” and her profound “*desire to see transformation and to create a more democratic country*”. Jacinto and Patrícia explicitly mentioned identifying with the Workers' Party, while Alexandra spoke about how much she cared about being a good “*servant of the people*”.

Although not all of them knew the others personally, they had heard about them and their professional networks played a key role in their arrival in Mozambique and in their access to the positions they occupied. Also, for all of them except Tiago, going to Mozambique seems to have been driven by opportunities that came their way and not by any conscious effort on their part. Finally, their professional pathways to Mozambique coincided with the boom in SSC between Brazil and Mozambique in the early 2000s. Although Jacinto and Tiago first came to Mozambique through an SSC project, they all worked within NSC structures and processes. Their professional experience varied from 15 to over 30 years. Mozambique was their first posting abroad, and from there all of them, except Alexandra, took another international position. In the next subsection, I discuss this point further, as

it relates to how these professionals framed their motivation to work in Mozambique and distinguish themselves from another group of Brazilian AIDS professionals in the country.

### *Motivations*

In the following paragraphs, I discuss what motivated these professionals to go to Mozambique. I start with Patrícia, as her case shows the mixed motivations that drove her into international development cooperation, captured in the quote below,

*What made me go to Africa? I think that, like other people in Brazil, we feel irmanados [a sense of sibling connection] with Africa. As if Africa was a continent...forgotten...thus a huge desire to be able to work together, to build together, to work to address people's needs. A matter of political-humanitarian commitment. Yeah, that is what moved me to go to Africa. (...) I think that it was also the moment in my life, my children had grown up (...) I think that the personal and professional moments coincide. The desire to change, to include a new experience, I had never worked for a non-governmental organisation. [...] I had always worked for the government and was very critical of the state apparatus, the way the government is organised. Then I said no, there has to be another experience.*

Patrícia started with the shared identities between Brazil and Africa. In Portuguese *irmanados* means united by a brotherly/sisterly friendship. Although this is not explicit in the quote, she seems to be alluding to the historical ties and the slave trade which she talked about on another occasion (discussed in the next chapter). Patrícia seems to feel a sense of responsibility. In Mozambique, she discovered that people are resilient and willing to learn but lack resources, models and systems to create alternatives. She wants to “*build together*” i.e. to work with and not for Mozambicans. These altruistic reasons co-exist with self-interest, the desire to change, for new professional experiences (specifically, of working within an NGO). Like Patrícia, Melissa also talked about multiple motivations: a political commitment to see things improving, the desire to build something together and learn from others, and the good salary paid by development work.

Alexandra, by contrast, seems to have drifted into working in Mozambique as the move was rather unexpected. She was invited to apply, had an interview, received an offer, accepted the job and arrived in Mozambique, all within a month. She tells me about her initial reaction and the things she left behind:

*I am working in research; I am fine. Do you know when you achieve a certain standard of living? [name of UN agency] research unit, researcher...you brag about it...I am there with my handbag, my scarpa [shoes], my suit, going to work beautifully presented. It's true... my car, very posh. I had a nice house, outside of town, a farm with my cockerels, my things.*

Alexandra led a comfortable life in Brazil and was happy with what she had achieved. She was up for the adventure because that is how things happen in her life, without her programming, she tends to go with the flow. She underlined that it was not because of the money but the thought of working outside Brazil which appealed to her, even though she knew nothing about Mozambique, except that one of the members of a research team she had put together was from Mozambique. Moving was “natural” for her, because she had moved within Brazil several times.

Jacinto and Tiago were motivated by curiosity about [Portuguese speaking] Africa. This is illustrate by the quote below from Jacinto.

*When my boss, at the time, asked me what I wanted to do, I said I wanted to go to Africa, to Mozambique or Angola because I had an interest, an enormous curiosity to see what happens there. (...) I never went to Mozambique Katia: God, I am going to earn in dollars [USD], I'm going to earn money, I'm going to get rich, I'm going to have...it never crossed my mind so much so that I accepted a salary that was very low, you can even ask around, because I accepted a lot less than the others would accept. I was the representative and had a salary that was less than my wife's who was a junior medical doctor. I never prioritised money, now those guys that came after they would come not to see Mozambique, to experience themselves in the alterity, in the difference, I think in a way I came to know myself through the eyes of the Others, of those who were different, I think that is why I went, to challenge and to be challenged.*

Jacinto was driven by curiosity and a desire to “*experience himself in alterity*” through interactions with Mozambicans. At times it is not clear whether this reflects his initial motivation or a transition in motivation during his stay in Mozambique. Jacinto underscores that it was not about money, comparing himself with other Brazilians, a theme I return to below. He explained his motivation in terms of expanding his knowledge of himself through his own gaze in a different place as well as the eyes of the “Other”, to whom he was also the “Other”.

Another important element is that Jacinto and Patrícia's mobility between Brazil and Mozambique and the decision to stay for an extended period of time, were also affected by their personal lives and the professional opportunities Mozambique offered to their partners. In Patrícia's case, moving coincided with her children leaving home and the fact

that her husband got a job soon after arriving influenced her decision to continue in Mozambique. In Jacinto's case, one of the reasons why he returned to Brazil in 2003 was that his wife was unhappy in Mozambique as she could not find a job. When they went back to Mozambique in 2004 she was hired by another U.S INGO who also recruited several Brazilians and worked there until they moved to the U.S.

Tiago was "*tired of being gay in Brazil*" and was driven by a desire to be an "*international gay*" as well as by curiosity, but a different kind of curiosity. His was informed by his childhood memories and interactions with a former priest and school teacher who had lived in Mozambique during the colonial period whose nickname was Moçambique. Moçambique went to Mozambique as a priest and there abandoned everything, became a teacher and married a Mozambican woman. A few years later he returned to Brazil with his wife and a car. Because of this man's influence Tiago started reading about Mozambique. He was the only one of his colleagues with some prior knowledge of Mozambique.

*It was the only car driven on the other side [left] in my town. It was impossible not to know who he was. And his wife was so interesting! We saw them every Sunday at church. She had these 60's hairstyles, with the hair up. I was fascinated by that woman! So that is why I ended up in Mozambique. It was because of the former priest with the car on the other side.*

Jacinto talked about two waves of Brazilians which he distinguished in terms of their motivations to work in Mozambique, period of arrival, field of work and career plans. He and his colleagues from Health for All were part of the first wave, they arrived between the early and mid-2000s, came from the AIDS movement in Brazil, were mainly from social sciences, specifically social psychology, and went to Mozambique driven by curiosity and altruism. The second wave development workers arrived in Mozambique towards the end of the 2000s, were mainly biomedical professionals, and went to Mozambique to earn money and "*with a mentality of positioning themselves in the international market*", their goal was to have an international career. According to Jacinto, for this group going to Mozambique represented an opportunity to have their first international job and from there to seek work in another African country as a pathway to reach a senior position within an international development organisation.

*I never went to Mozambique to pursue an international career, it eventually happened, but I went to Mozambique to have that encounter. Many who came, like Tiago, Patrícia, aaah Patrícia, were people who did not need it, did not go to*

*earn money, eventually they earned, 10, 20 percent more than they did in Brazil. Tiago, never had that mentality [of making money in Mozambique], but other people mainly from areas, I'm sorry for saying that, it may be a prejudice, but I am going to say. I felt that people from biomedical areas, not Mateus right? Because he did not even know how to negotiate money, in fact he negotiated it pretty bad. It's true! But the guys who came after from the same line [biomedical professionals], they came with a more mercantilist mind, I would say. I think that they ended up creating more mercantilist relations.*

Jacinto claimed that his colleagues only earned 10 to 20 percent more than in Brazil, but did not consider all the other benefits they had. In addition, he frames inability to negotiate money as an indication of altruistic motivations while biomedical professionals are perceived to have what Jacinto calls a “*mercantilist mentality*”. In my view, this is rather associated with the commoditisation of Brazilian best practices, how the recruitment of Brazilian professionals has evolved over time and how they entered the international development labour market.

The fact that all the other four, except Alexandra, have left Mozambique, makes it possible to explore their motivations from a different angle, i.e. leaving from Mozambique to the U.S. Jacinto underlined that, for some Brazilians, embarking on an international career was the main motivation to work in Mozambique. Thinking reflexively he tells me “*I never went to Mozambique to pursue an international career, it eventually happened*”. Similarly, Patrícia who left Mozambique told me that she initially intended to stay in Mozambique until 2014, but when the opportunity to work in the U.S emerged, in 2011, it coincided with unfortunate changes in her personal life. She had never imagined or made plans to live in the U.S, but felt that a change of country would be good for her. Jacinto and Patrícia underlined that they did not intentionally pursue an international career, it just happened. The move of these professionals from Brazil to Mozambique and the U.S also suggests that, although not necessarily a motivation, having friends in those countries may have intervened in the decision to relocate.

Mozambican research participants also talked about the motivations of Brazilians, but instead of comparing it in terms of fields (social versus biomedical) as Jacinto did, they compared it historically as well as in terms of sector (non-profit versus profit), distinguishing the *cooperantes* of the revolution, who came in the post-independence period, from development workers. The former are perceived as motivated by a desire to support Mozambique (i.e. FRELIMO) in its project of building the socialist society and

work collaboratively driven by “Mozambicans’ agendas”, while the latter are perceived as career oriented. Mozambicans also established a relation between the personal motivations of Brazilian professionals and their commitment and effectiveness as well as relationships with Mozambicans. Moreover, how Mozambique was imagined seems to influence how people framed their motivations. As one Brazilian pointed out, when development workers perceive people as helpless victims or at least as lacking capacity, they tend to frame their motivations as “helping” instead of working together. I have touched upon this issue in chapter 3 when discussing the relationships between Brazilian and Mozambican governments in the late 1970s, and will return to it in chapter 5.

There is a shared perception, among Mozambicans, that the chances of developing deeper relationships are eschewed when career progression and making money are the main drivers, instead of curiosity and desire to learn about other peoples and cultures, either because they are not interested or because they work long hours and have no social life. I return to this in chapter 8. Relatedly, some Mozambicans also pointed out that when the main driver is career progression, people do everything to remain relevant and retain their expert status by not transferring knowledge to build local capacities as well as by overshadowing and cutting out their Mozambican colleagues. Mozambicans’ perceptions of the motivations of their Brazilian colleagues were entangled with their own expectations concerning their presence in Mozambique, namely that they would contribute to “building local capacity” through passing on skills and promoting professional development and “*leave Mozambicans in charge*”, as Batista, a Mozambican development worker put it. I return to these expectations in chapters 6, 7 and 9.

### **4.3 Brazilian gender expertise, professional trajectories and motivations**

While there is literature on the transfer of HIV policies from Brazil to other developing countries (Almeida et al. 2010, Buss and Ferreira 2010, Foller 2010), there is substantially less about gender policies. This is a reflection of the little attention paid to extent to which the design and delivery of Brazilian SSC address gender equality and women’s rights. The degree of integration of gender equality concerns in technical cooperation initiatives depends more on how gender sensitive the domestic policies of the sectors involved are than on the Brazilian Cooperation Agency’s (ABC) initiative – despite its coordinating



role (Taela 2011). Nevertheless, there is evidence of promotion of SSC to disseminate Brazilian social technologies in the area of gender equality and women's rights that have gained international recognition and sparked interest in Mozambique, paving the way for the international expansion of Brazilian gender expertise and gender training and mobility of the actors involved.

Brazil was the first country in South America to establish gender institutional mechanisms, well before the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995, as a result of the successful lobbying and advocacy by sectors of the women's movement. These mechanisms include women's police stations, councils on the status of women within local government structures, a national council on women's rights within the Ministry of Justice, and a National Secretariat for Policies for women (Alvarez 1990). Brazil has also introduced essential legal and policy changes, such as the approval of Law Maria da Penha in 2006, which allowed an aggressor to be arrested preventively and provided for gender-based crimes against women to be judged in special courts, as well as the approval of basic social protection to domestic workers in 2013 (Gonçalves 2008).

Brazilian legal innovations and social technologies, such as work with boys and men to promote gender equality and health, experiences in the area of family farming, economic empowerment and the use of feminist popular education, have attracted substantial international attention;<sup>22</sup> these have also been the focus of diverse forms of SSC with Mozambican institutions.

Particularly relevant for this thesis is an ongoing, two-year, triangular cooperation project entitled 'Brazil & Africa: fighting poverty and empowering women via South-South cooperation', financed by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and led by the United Nations in partnership with the Brazilian government. The project focuses amongst other things on improving the ability of the Mozambican government to promote women's empowerment inspired by relevant Brazilian experiences. It includes a strong component of documentation and evaluation of Brazilian legislation, policies, programmes and institutions from the past 20 years to be disseminated as best practices for adaptation through SSC. UN agencies will identify the experiences to be evaluated,

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<sup>22</sup> In 2012, for example, the Secretariat for Women's Policies of the State of Pernambuco were recognised with a UN Prize for excellence in gender-sensitive public service delivery, specifically for the *Chapéu de Palha Mulher* an economic empowerment programme targeting rural women workers. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/news/brazilian-feminist-bureaucrats-recognised-with-un-prize> accessed on 13.11.2016



in partnership with the Brazilian Secretariat for Policies for Women, in light of the CPLP's Action Plan for Promotion of Gender Equality and Equity 2012-2016. This project's emphasis on taking stock of Brazilian experiences constitutes part of the process of building best practices. The project document places great emphasis on building Brazilian expertise on the provision of technical cooperation in this area and strengthening the UN's role as an intermediary.

*Professional trajectories*

During fieldwork, I interviewed Brazilian gender professionals working for the UN as well as for national and international NGOs. Their professional trajectories offer a picture of the background and skills mobilised by feminist knowledge production and its circulation from Brazil to Mozambique. Their trajectories also provide the material through which I explore some ambiguities associated with feminist knowledge production and circulation in the next section as well as the background for chapter 7, where I examine in more detail the interactions between these three Brazilians and Mozambican development workers. The other reason why I focus on them is to highlight the contrasts between them and the AIDS professionals introduced in the previous section.

**Susana** is a mixed race woman in her early fifties. She has a background in social communication and popular education, as well as postgraduate training in social work. In 1996, she joined a well-known Brazilian feminist NGO which was actively involved in pursuing and disseminating the "UN agenda" on gender equality and women's rights in Brazil and stayed there for 11 years. She has worked in the promotion of women's and youth rights, with a strong emphasis on women's health, HIV and education, and was actively involved in shaping the Brazilian National AIDS response. In 2008 she started travelling regularly to South Africa for personal reasons and in 2011, she established residence there. Susana's first trip to Mozambique was in mid-2008 to accompany her partner who had a meeting in Maputo. She went to visit Natalia (a Brazilian friend who had already been doing HIV and gender work there for a few years) and explore work opportunities. Some of her friends in Brazil did AIDS work in Mozambique and she was hoping to do the same. She met a few Brazilian AIDS professionals and looked for a Mozambican woman who worked for Mulher & Feminista whom she had met in the Netherlands during a gender and development training a few years earlier, but could not find her. Meanwhile, her partner met other Mozambican feminists in the meeting she was

attending and gave Susana the business card of one of them, who happened to be a very well-connected woman within the Mozambican feminist scene. She managed to have a meeting with this woman and to distribute her CV to various organisations. The first professional opportunity in Mozambique arose a year later when Natalia was contacted by Mulher & Feminista's executive director to undertake a consultancy for them, and recommended Susana, because she was unable to do the work due to other commitments. Susana's name was accepted because two other people already knew that "*she was a feminist and there was the possibility of doing something different*", inspired by the experience of the NGO she worked for in Brazil. The assignment with Mulher & Feminista opened other doors in national and international (non) governmental organisations. Susana combines academic research in Brazil, Mozambique and South Africa, with consultancies in Mozambique. Ninety percent of her consulting work is in Mozambique, because of the language, and focuses on feminist popular education.

**Luana** is a white woman in her early sixties. She is a psychologist, with specialisation in pedagogic psychodrama and institutional psychology. Since 1986, she has coordinated Todas Feministas, a feminist NGO, based in São Paulo, where she lives. Todas Feministas provides advisory and feminist training services to women's groups, NGOs and government officials. Luana has coordinated several institutional publications and authored several articles about the women's movement in Brazil and Latin America. During her university years, in Minas Gerais, Luana participated in the student movement, and the women's movement as well as the Workers Party. She moved to São Paulo in 1989; since then has been involved with a political strand within the Workers Party, through which she became engaged in debates about feminism and developed her activism with women in trade unions and later with women in working class neighbourhoods in São Paulo. In 1989, Todas Feministas was invited by a training institute to organise training courses for women. The institute had been created by *the Central Única dos Trabalhadores* (CUT, Unified Workers' Central) to train Workers' Party activists as well as others from the trade union and popular movements - Paulo Freire, the Brazilian popular educator, was its first political coordinator. Since this work for the institute, Todas Feministas has become a reference in Brazil for feminist training. From 1996 to 2004, Luana was a member of the board of a Brazilian foundation created by the Workers Party, in 1996, as a forum for political and ideological thinking and debate. In 1998 she became associated with Sororidade, the transnational feminist

movement discussed in Chapter 7 of this thesis, and coordinated its activities in Brazil until 2013. Luana has only been to Mozambique once, in early 2013, to deliver a feminist training organised by Sororidade's Mozambican members.

**Teresa** is a mixed race woman in her early fifties. She is an agronomist with postgraduate studies on Latin American Integration, in São Paulo, where she has lived, since she was a teenager. She worked for an NGO and for the municipality of São Paulo. Teresa has done voluntary work with the Brazilian Landless Rural Workers' Movement and has been actively involved in activism around agrarian reform in Brazil. She is also a member of the Workers' Party and has links with CUT. In 1993, Teresa joined Todas Feministas as a programme coordinator where she was involved in popular education, feminist economics, agroecology and solidarity economy and has published several articles on these themes. She has been involved with Sororidade since 1998 and was actively involved in the construction of the movement in Brazil. In 2000, Teresa became a member of the Sororidade's international committee, and from 2006 to 2013, she coordinated Sororidade's International Secretariat, when it moved from North America to Brazil. In this role she has travelled extensively, working with women's movements from around the world. Since 2007, Teresa has represented Sororidade in the organising committee of an international forum on food sovereignty. Teresa's first trip to Mozambique was in mid-2010 to participate in a meeting co-organised by three transnational movements with activities in Mozambique and Brazil. The second trip was, in 2012, when Sororidade's international committee met in Maputo. The last trip was in early 2013, to deliver the feminist training organised by Sororidade's Mozambican members with Luana. Teresa is currently a programme coordinator at Todas Feministas, where she coordinates rural extension and technical assistance activities. She also provides consulting services to the Latin American regional office of a United Nations agency.

The main difference, perhaps not evident in the profiles outlined above, is that these women are situated within different camps of the Brazilian feminist movement, regarding their engagements with the UN. For instance, although Susana never participated in UN international spaces she has been socialised within UN processes, actively involved in HIV and gender equality policy advocacy, and associated with different transnational feminist networks; while Luana and Teresa have been involved in grassroots mobilisation and contentious politics and have distanced themselves from UN spaces. These differences will be explained further in chapter 7. Luana and Teresa have been directly

involved in contestation of initiatives promoted by the Brazilian government and corporations in Mozambique, while Susana has conducted research on SSC. Nonetheless, there are some similarities between these three Brazilian feminists – besides having collaborated with *Mulher & Feminista*. They have lived and worked in Brazil for most of their careers, been active within civil society, are feminist popular educators, have been involved in the provision of technical assistance to organisations in Brazil, and each of them has authored several articles. Luana and Teresa have worked together since the early 1990s; even when Teresa became Sororidade’s international coordinator, their collaboration did not stop as the International Secretariat was located in Todas Feministas’s office.

Another relevant element of Luana, Susana and Teresa’s trajectories is the fact that their paths have crossed on various occasions. The work done by Todas Feministas has shaped Susana’s training, as one of the first courses she took on feminist popular education, in 1999, was organised by this NGO for CBOs. According to Susana, these courses helped her being closer to the “grassroots” and develop greater awareness of what was happening at that level; this was important because by focusing on UN processes, some feminist NGOs, including hers, “*had not paid attention to what was happening domestically [in Brazil], ungluing them from the base*”. Besides this experience, Luana and Susana also have in common the fact that they both participated in a training of trainers in gender and development course in the Netherlands, for women from Portuguese-speaking countries, which was where they first met Mozambican women. Moreover, the NGO Susana worked for and Todas Feministas are both members of a Brazilian network formed in 2001 to monitor and influence Brazil’s foreign policies. In chapter 7, **I discuss how these three women have influenced *Mulher & Feminista*’s feminist praxis and political agenda.**

Lastly, it is important to highlight the intersections between these gender professionals and the HIV&AIDS professionals introduced earlier. Although Todas Feministas has done work on women’s health, sexuality and reproductive rights, it was marginal to the AIDS debate, something that reflects a broader trend that Rocha (2011) described as the silence of Brazilian feminist movements about the feminisation of AIDS epidemic in the country. The mobilisation of feminist groups around AIDS was weak until the early 2000s as preference was given to other health issues. For instance, Todas Feministas focused on maternal mortality, decriminalisation of abortion, and violence against women. However, the NGO Susana worked for has been involved in the AIDS response from the beginning

and Susana has herself represented feminist movements in various institutional AIDS mechanisms. Her participation, in 2004, in the meetings of a national commission for articulation with social movements within the Brazilian Ministry of Health, coordinated by Jacinto, is a case in point. Susana told me that in Brazil they used to have fierce arguments because he represented the government and she civil society. When they met in Mozambique, they laughed about it and agreed to stop fighting because now they are both expatriates. I return to this theme in chapter 8, where I discuss personal relations between Brazilian expatriates in Mozambique. Before concluding, it is important to note that while these three women were invited and hired by a Mozambican NGO, the AIDS professionals were working for a U.S INGO.

### *Motivations*

In this section, I discuss what motivated Luana, Susana and Teresa to do work in Mozambique. They never had to make the decision to live in Mozambique; Susana lives in South Africa, while Luana and Teresa are based in Brazil. Thus, I focus on what motivated them to work with Mozambican organisations.

Susana travels regularly to Mozambique, making at least six trips a year. She decided to look for work opportunities in Mozambique after moving to South Africa for personal reasons. Mozambique seemed the obvious option because she could hardly speak English when she first arrived in South Africa. Besides, she also had more contacts with Brazilian colleagues who worked in Mozambique. She went to Mozambique thinking about working in the HIV field because she had been linked to the AIDS movement in Brazil and thought that perhaps her accumulated experience could help somehow. Susana underlined that although she went to Mozambique *“looking for employment and not for a revolution”*, she looked for work opportunities among organisations she identified with, at least in principle, specifically feminist NGOs. *“I did not go to the private sector or to work for the government. I wanted to work with NGOs, because I have worked with them for more than 25 years in Brazil and feel comfortable working in this sector, despite its contradictions”*. South-South relations are often framed as motivated by political reasons and international solidarity, however, Susana’s statement that she went to Mozambique *“looking for employment, not a revolution”* shows self-interest; specifically, the need to earn a living was her main concern and Mozambique was the easiest option available.

Teresa's first two trips to Mozambique were part of her role as coordinator of Sororidade's international secretariat, but she played a key role in making the third trip happen and invited Luana to go with her. Teresa expressed her interest in supporting Mozambique in its role within Sororidade. The main reasons that motivated Luana to travel to Mozambique to deliver the feminist training were Todas Feministas' commitment to contributing to the movement in this area, as the quote below illustrates, and the desire to team with Teresa, something they used to do before the latter became Sororidade's international coordinator.

*We from Sororidade in Brazil are very committed to contributing to a training proposal for Sororidade, we have undertaken a training process here in Latin America, in Chile. [...] and the experience of [Todas Feministas] is considered a starting point [for other countries]. We also had organised a workshop in Galicia [during Sororidade's international meeting]. Mozambique's invitation was a huge challenge for us.*

**Luana** told me that Todas Feministas had already received several invitations from Mozambique, but they never materialised. They committed to going to Mozambique after it was decided that Sororidade's International Secretariat would be transferred to Mozambique. Arguably, both Luana and Teresa saw in this trip and the training an opportunity to expand their provision of feminist popular education beyond Brazil and Latin America. While Luana and Teresa were critical of the focus in the development industry on gender mainstreaming, this trend has enabled them to sell their gender expertise through the provision of gender training, as illustrated by Luana's trajectory and the quote above about Todas Feministas becoming a reference in the provision of feminist popular education in Latin America.

Although Luana and Teresa were interested in continuing collaboration with Mozambican feminists, they did not want to be associated with forms of official Brazilian SSC, because they consider that development cooperation has been a vehicle for the promotion of capitalist values and of the controversial interventions of the Brazilian government in Mozambique.

*There is a magazine we distributed where projects supported by ABC in Mozambique are analysed; it would be strange to see ourselves next to those projects. It is not very interesting having such projects as companions.*

Teresa had different expectations of the Lula' government and was disillusioned; this prevented her and Todas Feministas from seeking funding from ABC, even when there

was an upsurge of interest from people and organisations who saw funding from this agency as an opportunity to strengthen their international articulation. Conversely, Susana sought to explore the opportunities opened by Brazil's prominent role in SSC, by being involved in comparative research projects that allowed her to connect her multi-sited (Brazil, Mozambique and South Africa) professional life. I continue this discussion about Brazilian development workers' positioning concerning development cooperation (including SSC) in the next section, but there I shift the focus to knowledge practices, the relevance of Brazilian experiences, and Mozambique's need for foreign technical cooperation, in order to shed light on knowledge hierarchies.

#### **4.4 Brazilian development workers and knowledge hierarchies**

*Hi friends! I thought of myself here, South-South and all of us with our South-North knowledges. This article made me think about decolonising gender methods in Mozambique. Are we simply importing [Western methods/knowledges] or are we also doing something different? Something tells me that there is something different in what we are trying to do, when we adapt and create through listening to the [local] reality. Surely [name of women's empowerment programme funded by a European bilateral agency] is a colonising practice. I'm sorry! In that sense, I am embarrassed to be on that boat, but that is valid for 100% of [development] cooperation. Yet I also think that [name of North American INGO] made a difference and that [name of Mozambican female staff of the North American INGO] also managed to find an interesting experimental space. A lot to think about!*

The quote above is from a message sent by Susana on the 10<sup>th</sup> July 2016 to a WhatsApp group called 'Mozambican friends', to which I also belong, that she created in November 2015. The text message followed a link to an article on whether global academic collaboration represents a new form of colonisation of African universities, which made her reflect on her own professional practices and those of her Mozambican friends with whom she works or has worked in the past. Susana identifies convergences between higher education collaboration and development cooperation. In fact, in most cases, the two are interlinked. I chose this quote to introduce this section because it speaks to the focus of this section: the reflections of Brazilian development workers about North-South



and South-South relations, specifically whether they problematize, instrumentalise or resist knowledge hierarchies within the development industry.<sup>23</sup>

Susana's message touches upon the issue of knowledge production and reproduction. She was concerned with our knowledge practices and the types of knowledge we promote and how it is infused with "Northern" knowledges, as illustrated in the first sentences, "*I thought of myself here, South-South and all of us with our South-North knowledges (...) are we simply importing [Western methods/knowledge]?*". This was an explicit reference to methodologies and underlying theories we use in our work and is important, because the literature on SSC does not question the origin of the knowledges that are promoted and legitimated through SSC. Susana questions to what extent the gender methods used are (de) colonising and acknowledges her complicity in what she calls a "colonising collaboration" which in her view applies to all development cooperation. She also talks about "experimental spaces" that allow for the decolonisation of gender methods. This last point relates directly to Prügl's point about the role of postcolonial analysis in 'the identification of different resistances and tensions in the practice of gender training and gender expertise' (2016:38).

The theme of "Western influence" in South-South collaborations also emerged in relation to official SSC. For instance, Teresa, who (as noted in the previous section) distanced herself and her colleagues from official Brazilian SSC, questioned whether ABC will ever be able to promote a different kind of cooperation with other countries because of the agency's origins. She thought that there was no difference between its technical cooperation and that those Brazilian organisations received from Northern development cooperation agencies, specifically the German agency.

*It was set up to have cooperation with Northern countries and receive money from them. Imagine something that was created with a certain logic that is then transferred to something else, without questioning. ABC has a technical cooperation approach similar to the one GTZ<sup>24</sup> had here with us.*

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<sup>23</sup> The paragraphs below draw exclusively on interviews with Brazilian development workers. The views of Mozambican development workers are discussed in the following chapters, in the context of actual interactions.

<sup>24</sup> *Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit*, now *Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit*, German Technical Cooperation Agency.

This point relates to what Soraya, another Brazilian professional, also based in Brazil, framed as the result of lack of alternative references.

*Although we say that SSC is different and so on, a lot of our as well as Mozambique, Argentina, Chile or Angola's experiences come from Northern cooperation, because that is the dominant conception. Therefore, in practice, it is very difficult to operationalise SSC's principles. I am not saying that there is nothing [different] in reality, but that those [alternative SSC] practices are not so visible, systematised and made available. So it is not that they do not exist, they are just not dominant. Sometimes it seems like we are disputing NSC principles, but when it comes to practice, we do not know how to do things differently.*

The issue of whether different practices and ways of working can be and are being fostered through official or unofficial SSC concerned Brazilian research participants as they sought to identify what Susana called “experimental spaces”. What also becomes clear is that interactions are not seen as de-linked from broader practices within the development industry, particularly those of Northern actors.

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, the building and transfer of best practices from one developing country to another is one of the pillars of South-South cooperation. These best practices are normally delivered as technical packages designed to promote particular ways of thinking and working. The interviews revealed that although my research participants were not part of an official SSC programme, there was an expectation, on the part of Mozambicans and international organisations, that they would bring certain packages. Melissa told me, *“I came with packages in my head, but I also think that people expect those packages from us”*. Like Melissa, all the other AIDS professionals indicated that they went to Mozambique with a *“Brazilian way of thinking and of understanding health interventions”*; while this makes perfect sense, as it reflects the academic and professional socialisation they had in Brazil, the assumption that this would fit in the Mozambican context is more problematic.

In fact, with time, these professionals started questioning such assumptions and expectations. For instance, Melissa learned to explore what already exists and listen to ‘local proposals’, while Jacinto and Tiago questioned the relevance of Brazilian experiences for the Mozambican context. Jacinto told me about how he stopped *“understanding the Mozambican health system from the Brazilian point of view of public health. I understood that the Brazilian health model, centred on health service provision at the health unit level, with qualified providers, did not apply to Mozambique”*. While

believing in the existence of a “space for dialogue” and learning, Jacinto underscored differences between the two countries, mainly related to capacity and qualifications - Brazil had qualified providers whilst Mozambique did not. This understanding made him realise the need for more context-specific knowledge, question the relevance of “evidence” produced elsewhere for Mozambique and seek alternative responses that departed from what he called a “more prescriptive approach” based on knowledge specific to the Brazilian context.

Tiago’s first assignment in Mozambique was under a SSC project and he was involved in preparing Lula’s visit to Maputo Central Hospital during his first trip to Mozambique in 2003 (during which he promised to build an anti-retroviral platform in the country). He talked about the lack of conditions in Mozambique to receive Brazilian technology: *“let’s be realistic! Mozambique has no conditions to have an antiretroviral platform. There are many things that need to be in place first for the platform to be properly developed”*. According to Tiago, this promise reflected the de-contextualised, fragmented, unstructured nature of Brazilian international cooperation.

All Brazilian research participants thought that there was a general “lack of capacity” in Mozambique and a need for foreign technical assistance. However, their discourses were full of contradictions. To illustrate, Melissa thought that local capacity had overall improved, but also claimed that little had improved concerning capacity building needs:

*[Mozambique’s] needs are not changing; we are not advancing to a new stage. Even within the organisation, in the country, in relationships, there are few changes, everything is slower than people think. The goal is me not being needed. That there is no more place for me because things are going well. Yet, there is a need for capacity building. We have been here 15 years. Why change is not happening, what are we not doing right? The needs remain the same, they are not changing.*

While noting that there was a need for capacity building Melissa did not reflect on whether she and or the organisation she worked for had invested in this area; this is important, because as I will show in chapter 6, Mozambican development workers felt that little has been done in this area and offered various explanations for why. Like Melissa, Alexandra also talked about changes in local capacity she has observed yet underlined the lack of capacity. She told me about changes in the “analytical capacity” of her government counterparts who when she arrived in the country were supposedly *“incapable of making any criticism, any analysis”*, something she attributed to mental

laziness rather than intellectual incompetence. She also thought that few government officials could write properly. What she attributes to mental laziness can have many other possible explanations, such as fear of expressing one's views in public, lack of interest in the issues under discussions as well as the perception that it is "partners' job" to deal with it, as the quote below suggests.

*[The ministry] is basically implemented by donor agencies and partners, right? Because government staff, I am sorry, with the exception of three people, they are incapable of writing anything, right? (...) I can give you an example of the meeting on adolescent health where the agenda, methodology, templates and terms of reference, everything was designed by [names of one INGO and two UN agencies]!*

Alexandra seems to attribute the fact that all documents were produced by an INGO and two UN agencies to the fact that government staff are "incapable of writing anything", but does not question the effects of the Ministry being "run" by donor agencies on staff motivation and ownership of processes. Nevertheless, she questions the lack of recognition of civil servants' work, noting that low salaries and poor working conditions are demoralising and force government staff (those who do not leave to work for international organisations) to "chase per diems" from donor projects.

*I am sorry, but [low salaries] that is lack of recognition. I do not know if is because the government cannot pay. Is it right that the government does not have resources to pay and donors do? Instead of paying for [name of national director] to leave the ministry why not paying for her/him to remain there [in the ministry].*

Alexandra is talking about donors channelling resources to non-governmental organisations and private partners instead of investing in strengthening public sector human resources management and their tendency of "stealing" Mozambican civil servants to work in their agencies. She questioned donors' commitment to addressing this problem, pointing out that "*donors' agendas are not always about improving an institution*", but underlined that the Mozambican government should be more assertive and demand that donors pay the salary of key staff who intend to leave to work for an international organisation; this shows the complexity of the discourse of lack of capacity as well as donors' complicity in depleting national institutions of human resources.

When talking about Mozambique's need for foreign technical cooperation, Brazilian research participants' highlighted that it is good to learn from other countries' experiences

as long as interactions between Mozambicans and foreign technical advisers do not take place within a ‘colonial and capitalist mind frame’, as suggested by Susana’s text message. The research participants pointed out that technical advisors’ attitudes towards Mozambicans depend more on their worldviews and how they position themselves in any given relationship than on their origin; this led many to talk about how the relationship between Mozambicans and foreign technical advisers is defined and to question the term “cooperation”. Noting that there are different purposes, models and practices of development cooperation they underlined that the term cooperation is often misused and the ideals expressed in the word thwarted, as this quote from Patrícia illustrates,

*Cooperation although a good word, its use is tricky and delicate. It can be a trap because, while it can effectively be cooperation with the other, co-operating or operating together, it also can be cooperation because of unequal relations between countries from a technical, political and financial viewpoint, which often translate into the definition of priorities for the country [Mozambique].*

Patrícia thought that often what is defined as cooperation is an imposition of priorities and interventions by donors. Although Patrícia underlined the importance of needs being domestically defined, she seemed to presume a division of labour where Mozambicans identify the needs and priorities and donors’ develop policies, due to their complexity. Patrícia also thought that aid money and the imposition of donor agendas are intrinsically linked, as the allocation of money is accompanied by conditions about its use and the need to measure progress. Talking about the link between money and imposition of agendas was a way of displacing blame. For instance, when I asked about the INGO she worked for and her own relationships, Patrícia replied that the INGO is a provider of technical cooperation and not a donor because *“it does not define budgets or financial support. [name of INGO] is hired by donors or winning donor projects to carry technical cooperation with the country [Mozambique], so it is clearly technical cooperation”*. By underlining the technical dimension of those projects, she disassociated herself from the practices she criticised earlier. Even though Patrícia distinguished technical from financial cooperation, she did not consider the former merely technical. She talked about its political nature and acknowledged that technical advisers have significant power to define a course of action bringing it closer to donors’ practices: *“we know well that technical cooperation is always also a definition of a priority, a line, an approach, a model, thus in that sense it is political. A political definition of public policies”*.

Brazilian development workers believed that respecting Mozambique's own agendas and listening to the local reality (also evident in the introductory quote from Susana) indicated a less imperialist attitude. Susana portrayed herself as a facilitator of dialogue and identification of needs, who constantly adapted her work based on knowledge of the local reality and did not take sides or impose her views. Alexandra, on the other hand, described herself as a "government adviser", who constantly had to remind herself who she was working for:

*In Mozambique, I never saw myself as an international advisor working in the government. I always perceived myself as a government adviser, and as a result, during my period with the government, I had more rows in favour of the government than of any other agency or [name of INGO].*

By and large, research participants displaced blame onto others, Northern and Southern colleagues as well as Mozambicans, and the self-criticism displayed in Susana's text message was rare.<sup>25</sup>

In this chapter, I have discussed the reproduction of development and knowledge hierarchies within the SSC industry, through an analysis of claims of authoritative knowledge with reference to the Brazilian HIV&AIDS and gender expertise. Considering both institutional and individual dynamics, the chapter analysed the political economy of opportunities for mobility created and reinforced through SSC. It paid particular attention to how Brazilian actors positioned themselves to take advantage of these opportunities, through an analysis of developments within the HIV&AIDS and gender fields and a mapping of the professional trajectories of selected Brazilian development workers. The chapter also looked at Brazilian development workers' views on knowledge hierarchies, specifically on the relevance of Brazilian experiences for Mozambique, the country's need for technical assistance and technical cooperation practices. The lack of reflexivity of Brazilian development workers about the conditions that make their mobility possible and its effects on the reproduction of knowledge hierarchies within the Global South was underlined. In the next chapter, I analyse how Brazilians and Mozambicans imagined their relationship and whether knowledge hierarchies were accepted, contested or re-fashioned by Mozambicans. I also discuss Mozambicans' demand for Brazilian expertise in the light of Crewe and Harrison's point that 'processes [of definition of certain forms

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<sup>25</sup> Susana's openness may be related to the intimacy of the space and the nature of our relationship, which raises questions about research participants' willingness to be self-critical during the interview.

of knowledge as expertise] are by no means mechanical imposition from the outside. They involve negotiation of meanings' (1998:92).

## Chapter 5. Kinship imaginaries and metaphors

The history of Africa is not studied in Brazil, there are few exceptions. The population, a vast majority of whom are Africans, is incapable of recognising its origins beyond stereotypes – an exotic, primitive, miserable, ignorant and violent continent – the three Ts (Tarzan, tribe, and *tambor* drums) ... yet, it has become a cliché to talk about the blood and cultural ties that connect us to Africa. (Pereira, 2012:19)

This chapter analyses how Brazil and Mozambique and the connections between the two countries and their peoples are imagined by Brazilian and Mozambican development workers in terms of kinship. The analysis is organised according to three principal ways in which notions of kinship structure relations and imaginaries between Brazilians and Mozambicans. First I discuss notions of kinship connected to shared blood and historical experience – ancestry and history. Then I discuss kinship as ‘brotherhood of the South’, ‘shared Southernness’ and its related identity of sisterhood which is discussed more fully in chapter 7, when I talk about the feminist movement. Finally, I discuss the idea of a language family, of linguistic kinship looking at implications of Brazil and Mozambique’s identities as Portuguese speaking countries. For each of these, I interrogate the difference and sameness, proximity and distance, the horizontally and verticality that the notion of kinship brings.

### 5.1 Imagining the past, present and future through kinship metaphors

In 2012 Lourenço Do Rosário, a Mozambican writer, wrote the preface for a book “*Passagens para o Índico: encontros brasileiros com a literatura Moçambicana*” (Passages to the Indian Ocean: Brazilian encounters with Mozambican literature) edited by two Brazilian writers (Chaves and Macêdo 2012) and published by a Mozambican publisher. He started the preface with the following sentence: ‘one of the main utopias of the Brazilian imaginary is this permanent nostalgia for its African origins, so present in the imaginary universe of the Brazilian territory, in its history, and human, social and cultural geography’ (Do Rosário, 2012:7). The preface’s title: *O Retorno à Mãe África* (The Return to Mother Africa) echoes the meanings my Brazilian research participants attributed to the feelings and emotions they experienced on their arrival in Mozambique and, in some cases, their motivations to work in Mozambique. The idea of returning to Mother Africa is discussed in section 5.2, which focuses on the place of history, a



“shared” colonial past, and the transatlantic slave trade in perceived ties between Brazil and Mozambique and related ambiguities, contradictions and omissions. What Do Rosario calls “utopia” illustrates a certain cynicism evidenced in the words of Brazilian and Mozambican research participants who contested assumptions of familiarity based on the evocation of Brazil’s African origins.

The previous year (in August 2011), António Emílio Leite Couto, the renowned Mozambican writer known as Mia Couto, had given an interview which touched upon a central theme of this chapter, namely the recourse to kinship metaphors to frame relationships between Brazil and Mozambique. When asked about his first trip to Brazil, Mia Couto replied: ‘when I arrived it was as if I had been there several times. Brazil has filled my childhood as an imagined territory. So when I arrived it was like a reencounter’ (iG 2011). The reporter also enquired whether the fact that Brazil is perceived as an emerging global power was good or bad for Mozambique. Mia Couto responded:

It is mainly good, a member of our family with that weight in the world, with its foreign policies, can be an alternative voice. It is like having a rich uncle. It gives us the possibility of existing in the world, through the other. (ibid.)

Couto’s words illustrate the powerful effect of kinship metaphors in conveying familiarity and intimacy as well as unequal authority and power. In this case, Mozambique exists in certain global governance spaces through Brazil, the once poor uncle who became wealthy and made it to the club of the rich and powerful. There also seems to be an expectation that the uncle will represent the interests of his poorer relatives, and this would offer them the possibility of ‘existing in the world through the other’. This is relevant because as Obarrio puts it “the calculated use of kinship terms establishes a sense of familiarity and confidence (...) in order to create intimacy and, therefore, a contracted obligation of exchange and return (2014:185)”.

Because of its middle-income status, the impact of its social policies in reducing poverty levels and its progressive approaches to sexual and reproductive health rights – even though abortion is still to be legalised – Brazil is perceived by some as Western. This perception emerged vividly in a story told by Tiago. During a discussion with a Mozambican about homosexuality he was accused, in Tiago’s view because he is white, of bringing Western ideas to Mozambique about something that, according to the person, does not exist in Mozambique and is an identity/practice of white Westerners. I asked Tiago if he sees Brazil as part of the West; this was his reply,

*apparently yes, in the eyes of Africans. I had never perceived Brazil as Western until I arrived here and people started saying: you are from the West. But then what is the West? (...)"*. I have debated this issue with various people arguing that here [Mozambique] is also West. What is the West? A place with a central state that dominates the territory? That has a constitution? An instituted government? All those are Western ideas aren't they? The idea of a nation-state, a unitary government, and the regulation of relations through law that is West, the market economy all that we have here too, do you understand? Why here [Mozambique] is not also the West then?

Tiago claims that Africans perceive Brazil (ians) as Western, but then he hints that his own opinion on the matter has also changed through his encounters with Mozambicans. He also questions what the West means and then tries to bridge the “difference” between Brazil and Mozambique, by saying that Mozambique could also be part of the West. Arguing that Mozambique’s politics and economy are influenced by Western ideas is important for Tiago and a way of dealing with the claim that homosexuality is a Western idea and practice and questioning why some Western ideas are considered more acceptable than others. By calling Tiago a white western man, the Mozambican with whom he interacted was drawing on a certain imaginary of the West, but more importantly, the West here appears as the “Other”, carrier of a particular set of values and ideas - a way of thinking about sexuality, specifically sexual identity. In this case, whiteness and West are associated to demarcate difference.

What Tiago sees as Africans’ perception is more generalised. Patrícia, Tiago’s Brazilian colleague, observed that *“today, Brazil is a developed country”*. During a colloquium on the implications of a new global order on human rights that I attended in São Paulo in 2013, a Brazilian referred to Brazil as Western. This perception is related to broader debates about whether Brazil is a developed or a developing country, as Brazil was experiencing ‘a decade of economic and social progress from 2003-2013’ (World Bank 2016), during which poverty and inequality reduced significantly before stagnating again from 2013. Although Brazil has historically experienced extreme regional differences in social indicators, with huge discrepancies between the wealthy (with pockets of poverty) South and Southeast regions and the poorer North and Northeast as well as between black and indigenous and white Brazilians, it is claimed that during this period all regions and ethnic groups in Brazil saw their incomes rise (Weisbrot, Johnston and Lefebvre 2014). Old ideas of Brazil as South are problematized by its ‘emerging’ status as the ‘rich uncle’ metaphor illustrates.

## 5.2 “My grandmother was also mixed race” – kinship as ancestry and shared history

*When I was travelling here I thought about the navigations. After all, I was travelling in the opposed direction to my ancestors. By chance (?!), I came to Africa through Lisbon. Inverted sailing: the Portuguese enslaved the Africans and landed them in Brazil. Now I, Brazilian, arriving in Africa via Portugal. I, undoubtedly a mixture of Portuguese and Africans. I, mixtures. That trip has put me in contact with my ancestors. But, what do I see? Slaves still. All colonised by the CMI [Capitalismo Mundial Integrado, Integrated World Capitalism]: Portuguese, Africans and Brazilians (...)* (Patrícia 2009:194)

In this section, I discuss imaginaries of kinship as ancestry and history. The expression in the title “my grandmother was also mixed race” was used recurrently by Brazilians in interactions with Mozambicans to allude to their black ancestry and typically included reference to Mozambique and Brazil’s ‘shared’ colonial history and the transatlantic slave trade from Mozambique to Brazil. The quote above, extracted from an article written by one of my research participants, captures one of the ways in which Brazilian development workers make sense of their encounters with Mozambique. In this case, the relationship is mediated by reference to the navigations during the colonial period and the slave trade between Brazil and Mozambique. The transatlantic slave trade has served as a symbolic geographical and historical bridge in encounters between Brazilians and Mozambicans. Geographical in the sense that it connected places of origin and destination of the slave trade and historical because encounters of the past are recalled to deal with the present and inform how identities are performed and discursively articulated.

Teng’s (2004) formulation of ‘imagined geography’ is helpful to explore how places of origin and destination of the slave trade (in this case Mozambique and Brazil) and the relations between them are imagined. In contrast with Said’s (1977) ‘imaginative geographies’, which dramatises distance and difference between unfamiliar places and peoples, Teng asserts that ‘rather than simply dramatising distance and difference, imagined geography at once exoticizes the other and attempts to convert otherness into familiarity and we-ness’ (2004:17). This formulation seems more appropriate to explore the inner dissonance evidenced in the discourses of Brazilian development workers and the tensions between difference and sameness, distance and proximity, familiarity and exoticism experienced by them and discussed throughout this thesis.

Patrícia made sense of her trip to Mozambique by recourse to history, specifically the navigations, the slave trade and her ancestors. Her imaginary of Africa was associated

with slavery and travelling to Mozambique through Portugal forced her to deal with the ambiguities of her mixed-race identity, as she visited the lands of her coloniser - colonised ancestors. Patrícia and most of the other Brazilian research participants did not question whether their African ancestors came from Mozambique or not; coming from 'Africa' and from Mozambique were taken as the same.

*The shadow of the Portuguese*

The reference to the Portuguese as the colonisers in Patrícia's article is central for various reasons. First, because they enslaved Africans and transported them to Brazil. None of my research participants mentioned the fact that Brazilians were also involved in the slave trade between Brazil's independence in 1822 and the abolition of slavery in 1888. Secondly, because like the majority of my research participants who self-identify as having a blend of European and African blood or Indigenous and African blood, Patrícia has Portuguese and African ancestry.

Relatedly, many Brazilians, some of whom developed friendships with Portuguese expatriates, felt the need to differentiate themselves from the Portuguese because the latter are perceived both as the former coloniser and a group that is discriminated against by Mozambicans. Distinguishing themselves from the Portuguese is necessary because Mozambicans and expatriates from other nationalities do tend to compare them with the Portuguese. When I asked Antoine, a European development worker who worked for Health for All, about how he thought Mozambicans view Brazilians, he replied in English: "half-half". This answer appeared to have a double meaning. The first meaning is that although Brazilians and Mozambicans share a language and a culture of partying, Mozambicans see Brazilians as a bit rude in their approach. The second meaning is half way in a continuum where the Portuguese are perceived as the further extreme. He told me, "*they are less rude than the Portuguese, but in fact, they are half way. That's what I think. They are more respectful but still rude*" and added "*sometimes it shocks me, the way Brazilians address Mozambicans, right? They are not tactful*". Paradoxically, while Brazilians are perceived by some as less rude than the Portuguese concerning how they address Mozambicans, they are seen as less prone to develop affective relationships with Mozambicans than the Portuguese; this was pointed out by some Mozambican research participants to contest claims of relatedness and affinity. I return to this theme in chapter 8.

These distinctions are also a mechanism to make sense of their own position in post-colonial Mozambique vis-à-vis claims that present day *cooperantes* are neo-colonists. In the quote from Patrícia's article, she makes reference to present day colonialism, noting that Portuguese, Africans and Brazilians are all enslaved by global capitalism. As the text unfolds differentiations become visible. While Africans and Brazilians are perceived as part of the same "minor" hemisphere and connected by trans-Atlantic flows, Africans (including Mozambicans) are dominated by white navigators and later by war, disease and oppression. The cruelty of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique is emphasised and later in the text Patrícia questions whether she is a new coloniser. In the same article, Patrícia talks about her initial anxiety during the first day of the first training she facilitated in Mozambique:

*Initially, I was apprehensive. I think they also were. There is significant mistrust of foreigners. After all, are we the new colonisers? Maybe this is a question we should continue to pose.*

Similarly, Paulo, a Brazilian academic based in Brazil who occasionally works as a short-term consultant for Mozambican NGOs, compared the lives of the Brazilians he met in Maputo to those of Mozambique's former-colonisers and the socioeconomic distance that separated them:

*What struck me was the presence of these cooperantes in spaces that in the past were inhabited by the coloniser; they live in the houses of the former colonisers, they have maids like the coloniser, and there is the same socioeconomic distance that existed between the coloniser and Mozambicans during the colonial period.*

Making sense of their presence in Mozambique has become even more important for Brazilian development workers working for UN agencies and international non-governmental organisations because of the shifting relations between Brazil and Mozambique, affected by the recent presence of Brazilian multinational companies and contested triangular cooperation projects – also perceived as forms of neo-colonialism. For instance, when I invited Vanda, a United Nations manager, to take part in this research, she immediately clarified that she does not work for the Brazilian government. This is further evidenced in discourses of other Brazilians who spoke in pejorative ways about the 'ignorant and racist worker of the multinational company' and the also 'ignorant and naïve government official' both seen as prone to neo-colonial attitudes. While these are markers of difference between Brazilian expatriates, they dialogue with views of some

Brazilian government and corporate initiatives in Mozambique as a form of neo-colonialism and sub-imperialism (Rafael 2011, Bond 2013, Rodrigues 2015).

*The inexorable position of foreigner*

Brazilian development workers' understanding of their position and relationships with Mozambicans is re-fashioned as their lives are crafted in Mozambique. For instance, more complexity is added to Patrícia's sense that there is "*significant mistrust of foreigners*" experienced in her first assignment as a consultant. When I interviewed her, she talked about her intentions being misunderstood:

*I always found myself in a very delicate position because I was a foreigner, earning a salary few Mozambicans earn. I was working for a country that was not mine, yet I wanted it to be mine, in the sense of working for that country, but I was rarely perceived in that way. I perfectly understood that it was difficult for [Mozambicans] people to see things that way. So, I think it was a bit the experience of being a foreigner. I think, as a foreigner, there is this strangeness: being part and at the same time not being part; wanting to be with the other and not always being perceived in that way. That is the inexorable position of a foreigner, isn't?*

Yet, Patrícia and her colleagues believed that Brazilians occupied a special position,

*there is good receptivity and proximity. It seems that the fact that we were exploited and colonised by the same coloniser creates some sort of identification. Plus, today Brazil is a developed country, so it creates hope for Mozambique.*

Patrícia talks of double-identification, because of the shared colonial past and Brazil's ability to "overcome" underdevelopment. I return to this last point in the next section. Patrícia's frustrations with how her good intentions were often misunderstood relate to Brazilians developing an awareness of Mozambicans' gaze and their changing receptivity. Jacinto asserts that Mozambicans' perceptions of Brazilians have also changed over time. If in the early 2000s Mozambicans were "*affable, caring and curious towards Brazilians*", by the late 2000s there was a certain saturation of Brazilian professionals and Mozambicans became less tolerant. Jacinto observed that "*Mozambicans started seeing my mistakes with a certain...as if from a place of domination, we came to tell them what to do with our policies*", he started feeling not welcomed, and according to him, this is one of the reasons that made him leave the country – as he felt that something had been lost.

Valentina, a Brazilian who worked for another U.S INGO, told me she felt less foreign than her Mozambican colleagues perceived her to be despite the fact that *“it is written in my [white] skin that I am not from here”*. She also believed her attitude was more amicable than that of her American colleagues. Although she had good relationships with Mozambicans, sometimes they would demarcate their space and underline their differences, usually to manifest reproach, by using the expression *“we Mozambicans”*. *“Every time somebody said that to me, I knew that I had done something inappropriate because I would stop being part of the group and become a foreigner. In those cases, I would ask: how do you, Mozambicans, do it?”*

*So close, yet so distant*

So far, I have examined how history intervenes in the ways Brazilian development workers make sense of their presence in Mozambique. I now turn to how Mozambicans experienced being exotic and the weight of history in their interactions with Brazilians. Mozambicans were sceptical of the significance of historical and blood ties in their personal and professional relationships with Brazilians, pointing out that this does not necessarily lead to a deeper connection. Their reflections focused on interactions in Brazil and how actual encounters challenged assumptions of familiarity. Here I explore three interrelated assumptions: Mozambicans presume that Brazilians know Mozambique and are interested in developing relationships with Mozambicans; Brazilians presume that Mozambicans want to see Brazil’s Africaness and Blackness; Brazilians presume that Mozambicans automatically identify with the racial struggles of Afro-descendants.

Bruna, a young Mozambican who works for Health for All, took part in the fellowship programme in São Paulo explained in chapter 2. There she learned how exotic Africa is for most Brazilians and felt *“like an animal being exhibited”* every time her Brazilian neighbour asked her friends and acquaintances: *“do you see my African friends?”* A similar feeling was described by Nádia, a Mulher & Feminista staff member, as she told me about the treatment the Mozambican delegation attending a transnational feminist event in São Paulo received.

*Nádia: The first shocking thing was that they saw us as exotic, from Africa. An Africa so close but at the same time so distant. So appealing to the eye that it sparks the desire to be close and take photos.*

*Katia: They wanted to take photos with you?*

*Nádia: Many, many photos. They took many photos because we are African, do you know what I mean? It was less because we had traje de capulana [traditional African attire]...Brazil also has a lot of creative fabrics. But the idea of African dress, women from Africa, made them curious. I found it shocking because it is a lot about the past and the external aspects that connected us, do you understand? But not...*

*Katia – The past in what sense?*

*Nádia – The historical past, slaves etc. not the idea of having or establishing a personal relationship, do you understand? Yeah, through chatting. Most people probably left the event without knowing my name, do you understand? I come from Africa, Mozambique is Africa. It was one of the common denominators of the many people who want to know how Brazil and other countries see us. It is a single Africa, right? The countries, yeah. Mozambique alright. But when they introduce you to others: she comes from Africa.*

Nádia understands that there is a certain imaginary about Africa and is critical of how the past has been instrumentalised to create a sense of relatedness. She also seems disappointed that the curiosity of her Brazilian *companheiras* was not followed by an interest in who she was or an attempt to develop a more personal connection. Nádia echoes a view expressed by many Mozambicans I interviewed who believed that middle-class Brazilians, including academics, are ignorant about Mozambique whilst middle-class Mozambicans have extensive knowledge about Brazil acquired through consuming Brazilian cultural products, particularly music and soap operas, as well as often having had the experience of living and studying in Brazil. Like Nádia, they thought that Brazilians' imaginaries of Mozambique are trapped in the past, offering a historically pre-given relationship that does not necessarily translate into a willingness to develop a personal relationship.

There is also an assumption that Mozambicans visiting Brazil should want to visit Bahia. During fieldwork, several people told me: “*you have to go to Bahia*” and made sure that I met their Afro-descendant friends. Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, in the Northeast of the country, is Brazil's first colonial capital and point of entry of slaves. The city is considered a symbol of Brazil's Africanness and Blackness because the majority of its population is of black African ancestry and is thought to have preserved their African heritage in food, music, culture and religion (Alberto 2008, D'Avila 2010, Ressa 2015). For that reason, as mentioned in chapter 3, when Samora Machel asked Ovídio de Melo which Brazilian city Maputo resembles, he responded: Salvador, Bahia. Bahia is the largest State in Brazil's poorest region, the Northeast, which has become a historical



and geographical construct in which Africanness, Blackness and underdevelopment converge (Ress 2015).

While Brazilians sought to showcase their Africanness and Blackness to Mozambican visitors, Brazilian presence in development cooperation agencies and projects in Mozambique was mostly white, as illustrated in the profiles presented in chapters 2 and 4 and detailed in Appendix 3. Brazil's blackness was deployed in official South-South Cooperation with Mozambique, but the country's black population is excluded from broader exchanges with Mozambique. Black Brazilians usually went to Mozambique through churches (usually a more permanent presence) and the arts (more sporadic). They had limited access to the opportunities created by the *Agência Brasileira de Cooperação* (ABC, Brazilian Development Cooperation), beyond the field of culture.

When I asked a white Brazilian scholar of the black movement and racial democracy in Brazil about this tendency, she replied: *"it is because that is the place of black people in Brazil"* i.e. transnational flows and encounters are reproducing domestic inequalities and patterns of exclusion. Mateus, a senior Brazilian government official, who was also vocal about domestic racial inequalities, suggested that the involvement of Afro-descendants with development projects in Mozambique and other African countries could change their negative self-perception as excluded and the nostalgia they felt. He told me that so far *"Afro-descendants have the feeling of not being there [in Africa] nor here [in Brazil] and they don't know the expectations of the Other. Because they feel inferiorised here [in Brazil] they don't realise that they are from the 7<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world"*. I will return to this point about Brazil's middle income status in the next section.

There is also a related assumption that Mozambicans identify with the struggles of Brazilian Afro-descendants; this is a source of great misunderstandings and discomfort for Mozambican development workers, as well as Brazilians in Mozambique. Xavier, a Mozambican development worker who studied in Brazil, once confronted his Afro-Brazilian colleagues by saying *"many of you see yourselves as African, but when you go there you will not recognise yourselves as African and the Africans will not recognise you as Africans. You are Brazilian"*. During fieldwork in São Paulo, I was told a story about a group of black Brazilian women who felt disappointed at being treated as foreigners and not being recognised as African, during a trip to Mozambique. They were particularly

offended by the indifference of black Mozambican feminists and shocked by the fact that the group's members with lighter skin were perceived as non-black.

These experiences of discomfort and disappointment are related to the nostalgia and utopia discussed by Do Rosario (2012) and infused in official and unofficial discourses on South-South relations as illustrated by the findings of Ress's (2015) research on Brazilian SSC in higher education. In her study of the federal University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (Unilab), Ress argues that the solidarity cooperation narrative relied on 'a simplified and historicised image of "Africa" as the supplier of slaves to the economy of Brazil. As such it constructs "Africa" as Brazil's historical other, which brackets the continent's contemporary realities out of existence and makes them conceivable only through the (dominating) gaze of Brazil's present' (2015:251).

### **5.3 Kinship as 'Southern Brotherhood' and shared experience of poverty**

*Relatives and neighbours in Brazil ask me if I am a missionary. They think that I must be a missionary to endure working in harsh conditions [in Africa] when I live in Cape Town!!! (Susana)*

In chapter 3, I described how the idea of the Third World, based on development and poverty levels, was important in calls for solidarity. The differences between Third World-Southern and First World-Northern countries are one of the pillars of SSC. In this section, I argue that representations of poverty and development intervene in the construction of a sense of shared 'Southernness' between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers as well as in related kinship metaphors; this also speaks to how Brazilian development workers distinguish themselves from professionals from the North and their belief that they are well-placed to work as technical advisors in Mozambique, as well as to how Mozambican feminists frame their affinities with their Brazilian *companheiras*, as discussed in chapter 7.

*Similarities: 'like the Northeast'*

My research participants often established parallels between poverty and social inequalities in Brazil and Mozambique. An important element of these parallels is that they were often made in reference to Brazil's blackest and poorest region (Northeast) and to slums across the country as sites of poverty, violence and disease. Nicole, a Brazilian development worker in a UN agency, compared class inequalities in Brazil and Mozambique, observing that in both countries *"there is a small elite that has everything, while the majority of the population lives in deprivation"*, differences that according to her, take on a regional dimension as the majority of the wealth is concentrated in the South of the country, particularly in the capital city.

*Somebody arriving in Maputo may say how it is possible that this country has one of the lowest human development indices. However, there is another extremely poor Mozambique, where people do not have basic education or basic living conditions and are in a very difficult situation. In Brazil is the same, there is that inequality. There are people who are in a certain position and continue to develop and improve their living conditions. There are others who are stagnated at the bottom of the pyramid.*

Mozambican feminists noted that despite significant differences between the two countries, they have the same problems. *"You listen to a Brazilian [woman] speaking about her problems and they are the same"*, Xiluva, from *Mulher & Feminista*, told me. Sónia, also from *Mulher & Feminista*, believes that the political and economic situation in the two countries is quite similar, *"in spite of specificities we [working class people] experience the same problems that Brazilians face. What may happen is that Brazilians experience those problems differently"*. She then talked about land grabbing, violence and women's exclusion from power, in both countries. However, she did not mention the fact that women's participation in politics has historically been significantly higher in Mozambique than in Brazil.

When describing her first trip to an African country (Kenya), to attend the World Social Forum, Susana told me that the Brazilian delegation had been advised to bring bottled water. As a result, one of her friends carried ten bottles in his suitcase. They were also told that there was no electricity. Susana knew that South Africa had better conditions than other African countries but expected *"Kenya to be a disaster, like poor cities in Brazil's hinterland"*. However, once there she soon realised that *"it was the same or better than Recife [in the state of Pernambuco, Northeast of Brazil]"*.

Maurício, an Afro-descendent development worker, based in Rio de Janeiro, who works for Global, a Brazilian NGO with projects in Mozambique, made similar comparisons.

*When I go from Rio de Janeiro to the Northeast of Brazil, it is as if I was going to another country, you know? If I go to Maranhão [in the Northeast]; it has a stronger black identity than other [Brazilian] states. They preserve more the African culture and transform it into an Afro-Brazilian culture. In Bahia [also in the Northeast] is the same. So I can travel to another Brazilian city and I will have the same sensation as if I was going to Mozambique or Cape Verde, i.e. to be in a place in which I identify connections, but we are not talking about the same culture. So in that sense, travelling to Mozambique, Angola or Cape Verde is a bit like the experience I have been having going to Amazonia.*

Maurício talks about similarity - emphasising the Africanness and Blackness of those places – yet the similarity seems to lie less in the places themselves and more in how he experiences them, as he *“feels the same sensation”*. Maurício also acknowledges cultural differences. Similarly, other research participants, while also claiming that Brazilian and Mozambican realities *“are quite similar”*, underlined differences in the nature of poverty and each country’s *“economic relevance in the world”*. Melissa, underlined that *“although Brazil has many problems, it is ahead [of Mozambique]”*. Valentina, a Brazilian who worked for a U.S INGO in Maputo, questioned *“what poverty is this? It’s different from the deprivation that exists in the interior, the Northeast and Amazonia. It’s very different!”* Kristina, a Mozambican development worker who did postgraduate studies in Brazil, was struck by the differences between people living in poverty in the two countries, as she visited houses of poor Brazilians with her colleagues as part of field work. Kristina was surprised that although living in precarious housing, people had access to a gas oven, coffee, bread and knowledge of legislation. *“This is something very different from our country where people living in poverty cook with firewood”*, she told me.

#### *Exposure to “real” poverty*

Despite these differences, the existence of poverty and inequality in both contexts is perceived as facilitating interactions between Brazilians and Mozambicans. This is something that, according to some research participants, rarely happens with those who come from the North. In Nicole’s view, this is because Northern development workers have a ‘less objective’ way of perceiving the realities of people living in poverty, reflected in a tendency to feel pity and neglect their agency.

*I think we have a more objective vision. For example, I do not think that a poor person, going through difficulties and fighting is a poor soul! I have seen millions like that person who are fighting to change their living conditions, or are fighting for something. Sometimes I see a significant lack of objectivity in some Europeans. (...)*

Nicole claims to have experiential knowledge and a better understanding of the strategies adopted by people living in poverty. Her knowledge does not come from living in poverty herself, but from her experience doing volunteer work in Brazilian slums and working in poor regions of a couple of African countries. This positioning was quite common among my Brazilian research participants. Because they have ‘seen’ people dealing with poverty in Brazil, they believe they can understand the problems faced by poor Mozambicans better than somebody from a Northern country. Development workers from the North are usually perceived as coming from contexts in which they are surrounded by wealth and not poverty, (as is the case with the Brazilian middle classes). Along similar lines, Estrela, a Mozambican development worker who also did her undergraduate studies in Brazil, talked about what she perceived as fundamental differences between people living in poverty in the South of Europe and those from countries at the southern end of global development rankings. Her reflections were in relation to discussions about the socio-economic situation in Southern European countries within the transnational feminist movement of which she is part (discussed in chapter 7).

*Even though we say that there are people living in poverty in Europe, they are white poor. The poverty of whites ...yeah. Somebody said: we are losing the welfare state. We [Mozambicans] have never been there. Brazil is in the same condition. Because, as much as you say, I am a Southern country, the fact is that you are a Western Southern country, in Europe. That is something different [said in English]. Yes, a poor European and a poor African will never be the same thing, but a poor Brazilian and a poor African, they are talking about poverty because they don't have access to land. Our discourses have a lot in common. We are talking about multinationals and the evil they are doing, and that is what Brazil is also doing. Do you understand? There are many similarities in terms of issues. I think that it is that set of factors that draws us [Brazil and Mozambique] closer.*

Estrela's imaginary of poverty is deeply racialized and in a way essentialist; she seems to disqualify the poverty experienced by white people in the West, associate white with Western, and equate both with various forms of privilege. In addition, she seems to consider poverty only in relation to lack of access to land and to suffering the impact of exploitation by multinational companies, which are framed as the source of all socio-economic problems in Brazil and Mozambique. Finally, for Estrela Brazil is a legitimate

‘Southern’ country with ‘real’ people living in poverty. A Southern European country is not, because people living in poverty there are not ‘really’ poor. As I discuss in chapter 7, these perceived differences and similarities are critical in shaping alliance building as well as knowledge practices within the transnational feminist movement, given that Mozambican feminists see more similarities in the political agendas of women in Brazil and Mozambique than between them and those in European countries. Estrela and other Mozambican feminists I interviewed were also more open to Brazilian experiences than from other African countries. However, in this case, the shared language between Brazil and Mozambique played a critical role, as I discuss in the next section.



#### 5.4 Kinship as language family

In this last section of the chapter, I turn to the notion of kinship associated with shared language. I discuss how language and the idea of *Lusofonia* (‘Lusophony’, the Portuguese-Speaking world) have been sites of framing and contestation of claims of cultural proximity and brotherhood between Brazil and Mozambique, within a broader language politics involving Portuguese-speaking countries. I analyse the perceptions and language practices of Brazilian and Mozambican development workers, arguing that language is a key element of how proximity and distance are imagined, while language practices are perceived as essential to understanding identity performances (Kroskrity 2004).

Mozambique is a multilingual country where 85% of the population has a Bantu language as mother tongue (INE 2011). Figures from the last three Censuses show that the percentage of people who have Portuguese as their mother tongue has increased marginally since independence, from 1.2% in 1980, to 6% in 1997, and 10.7% in 2007 when the last census was published (INE 2007). Around half (50.4%) of the Mozambican population speaks Portuguese. The language policy of the post-independence period led to the social exclusion of the majority of the population not fluent in Portuguese, whilst facilitating the formation of small urban elites who could progress in education and access newly available jobs (Lopes 1998). It was only nearly two decades later that official efforts were made to revitalise local (Bantu) languages through the standardisation of orthographies of Mozambican languages and the implementation of a bilingual educational system (Ngunga and Faquir 2012, Chimbutane and Benson 2012).

Brazil is also the only Portuguese-speaking country in its region, but while Mozambique is surrounded by English speaking countries, Brazil's nine neighbours have Spanish as their official language. Contrary to Mozambique, the dominant language ideology portrays Brazil as a monolingual country, occluding the existence of Brazilian indigenous languages as well as of many other languages, including border languages and those spoken by immigrants, such as Arabic, German, Japanese, Italian, Ukrainian, Mandarin and Korean (Oliveira 2015). While in Mozambique Portuguese is permeated by various Bantu and other foreign languages, Brazil has attempted to protect its Portuguese from the use of loan-words, particularly borrowings from English, which continues to be perceived in some circles as a symbol of US hegemony (Rajagopalan 2008). Yet, the Brazilian variant of Portuguese is itself the result of a mixture of three linguistic families: the Indo-European, Tupi and Niger-Congo (Castro 2009).

Brazil and Mozambique are both part of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP). The organisation's website<sup>26</sup> describes it as a community of 'nations united by a historical inheritance, a common language and a shared vision of development and democracy'. CPLP is associated with an imagined transnational community of Portuguese speakers termed *Lusofonia*. Morier-Genoud and Cahen assert that *Lusofonia* is based on the belief that "there exists a community of people, a Lusophone community, which share a culture, developed on the basis of the Portuguese language" (2012:20). Ferreira notes that the concept, which suggests cultural homogeneity and harmony in the Portuguese-Speaking world, is based on 'an imaginary brotherhood' (2010:174). The term *Lusofonia* is highly contested as it occludes colonial and postcolonial conflicts, does not take into account the linguistic and cultural diversity of countries, and as Carneiro puts it, 'paints an imaginary role for Portugal in contemporary times' (2005:205).

Efforts to unify different variants of Portuguese through a new orthographic agreement have sparked debates around the presumed familiarity between Portuguese speaking countries, bringing to the fore hegemonic battles between Brazil and Portugal, CPLP's main proponents. The project has generated much controversy, leading some to call it the orthographic (dis)agreement (Carvalhos and Cabecinhas 2013), and Stroud to describe Lusophony as a troubled brotherhood and an unhappy family (2014:227). While Brazil ratified the agreement immediately, Mozambique initially refused to sign it on the

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<sup>26</sup> <http://www.cplp.org/> accessed on 23.11.2016

grounds that it did not respect the specificities of Portuguese variants spoken in the country. Mozambican writers and linguists contended that the development of the new agreement was dominated by the Brazilian Academy of Arts and the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, without social demand or consultation and that it ignored African countries.

Contemporary connections between Brazil and Mozambique have brought to fore the permeability of and differences between the variants of Portuguese used by the two countries. Whilst there is significant penetration of Brazilian Portuguese in Mozambique's urban centres, Mozambican Portuguese remains generally unknown and exotic in Brazil, due to unequal cultural flows between the two countries. The influence of Brazilian Portuguese in countries that adopted European Portuguese in the post-independence period is significant for this thesis because it speaks to Brazil's increased positioning as an alternative to Portugal.

While the idea of linguistic unity in the CPLP has been contested, it continues to be a powerful political tool deployed by politicians to claim distinctiveness and build fellowship, based on the belief manifested in discourses on South-South relations that because Brazilians and Mozambicans share a language, they understand each other. It is noteworthy that this belief permeates social life and as Cahen maintains, that although Lusophony is more a "specific postcolonial space" than a cultural area as often imagined (2012:309), it does have material effects in the relationships between peoples from Portuguese speaking countries. According to Cahen 'Lusophony is a light identity' which 'does exist, but only relatively and contextually' (2012:310).

### *Language practices*

In this section, I focus on the lived experiences of Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. Because of the awareness of language variants when interacting with each other, these professionals tend to imitate each other's verbal approach, word use and accent. An interesting aspect is that both Brazilians and Mozambicans find funny the way the other speaks. In Brazil, Mozambicans are told that the way they speak is "pretty" and are often asked if they can 'really' understand what people are saying.

Whilst all Brazilians living in Mozambique who I interviewed have retained a strong Brazilian accent, Mozambican Portuguese is infused in their speaking, which when they



are in Brazil reveals that they live abroad. The letters that Patrícia wrote to her friends and colleagues contained references to how her accent was changing. My Brazilian research participants pronounced certain words with a “Mozambican accent”<sup>27</sup> and used Mozambican expressions during our conversations. This seemed important for them as both a way of showing familiarity with Mozambicans’ language practices and bridging the distance between them. While working with Susana, I observed how she made an effort to use Mozambican expressions, normally articulating the Brazilian expression first and then translating it. She has also asked me a few times how certain things are said in Mozambican Portuguese. Melissa feels self-conscious in Brazil because she “*speaks differently*”: i.e. she has incorporated Mozambican vocabulary into her speaking, and because of that when in Brazil feels like a foreigner.

Mozambicans have also incorporated Brazilian expressions or learnt to speak Brazilian. Lara, a Mozambican development worker who studied in Brazil told me the following:

*In Brazil, I spoke Brazilian...because it was easier...to avoid misunderstandings, because when I spoke Mozambican Portuguese, they would say: ‘you’re speaking too fast, I can’t understand you’. People there were convinced that I was Brazilian, and when I told them that I was Mozambican, they did not believe me. I would even put back my Mozambican Portuguese, but then they would say that I was joking. I can still speak Brazilian [more than 10 years after returning to Mozambique]. Even here [in Maputo], when I’m chatting with a Brazilian I can sound Brazilian.*

Like Lara, many Mozambican feminists I interviewed for this research (some of whom had never lived in Brazil) also spoke with “Brazilian” intonation and used several Brazilian expressions. This is not exclusive to development workers, but rather part of a larger trend in Mozambique’s urban areas as a result of the influence of Brazilian cultural products. For instance, associated with the proliferation of Brazilian neo-Pentecostal churches in Mozambique, many Mozambican pastors and their followers began speaking Portuguese with a strong Brazilian accent to the point where viewers of programmes broadcast by these churches’ television channels cannot discern whether the pastor is Mozambican or Brazilian.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> There is not a single Mozambican accent. In fact there are marked regional/provincial differences and the ways in which different accents are perceived is closely related to regional inequalities. However, only one of my research participants was based outside of Maputo City, Mozambique’s capital.

<sup>28</sup> This is also because a significant number of Brazilian pastors who come to Mozambique are Black or mixed-race.

Estrela, a Mozambican feminist, asserted that “Brazilian Portuguese” is easier to understand than Portuguese from Portugal:

*Brazilian Portuguese is more flexible for us Mozambicans who don't speak Camões<sup>29</sup> Portuguese. You will never find a Brazilian who will tell you that you spoke Portuguese incorrectly, or talking about the José Maria Relva grammar, do you understand? Brazilians don't care. I think that is also what connects us. The current generation does not speak Portuguese.*

Nádia, another Mozambican development worker, also thought that Brazil's variant of Portuguese is more accessible than the European variant and that it was easier to use Brazilian manuals (something she had done during her university studies). In an interview with the Brazilian journalist Luiz Costa Pereira Júnior, Mia Couto affirmed that Mozambicans had been repressed because they spoke an ‘*incorrect*’ Portuguese and that the Brazilian experience had liberated them.

Brazil has shown us that there is not a pure Portuguese, and that reaffirmed the identity of the Mozambican Portuguese language. (...) The discovery of Brazilian Portuguese was fantastic because it showed us that we needed to see Portugal without Portugal, a Portuguese [Brazilian] which showed that there is a plurality, other cultures that deal with the idiom with the same difficulty and joy. (Junior 2014)

While Mozambicans have incorporated Brazilian Portuguese in their daily lives, they can also be meticulous about their variant of Portuguese when communicating with Brazilians in Mozambique. During a consultancy assignment, a Mozambican colleague corrected the spelling of a text produced by Susana, replacing Brazilian expressions with Mozambican-European ones. Considerable amounts of aid money have been spent adapting documents from Brazilian to Mozambican Portuguese, and Mozambicans often explain to their Brazilian colleagues how things are said and written in Mozambique.

### *Doing development in Portuguese*

The presence of Brazilian professionals allows work interactions to take place in Portuguese, facilitating communication and relationship building. This is significant given that many development organisations continue to operate largely in English; local staff are required to speak English and often internal and external meetings happen in English. While asking for an interpreter during internal meetings would be embarrassing,

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<sup>29</sup> Luís Vaz de Camões was born in early 1500s and is considered Portugal greatest poet; because of his work Portuguese is also known as “the language of Camões”.

some Mozambican government officials are increasingly demanding that meetings with them take place in Portuguese. It is not uncommon to meet an expatriate who cannot speak Portuguese after living in Mozambique for a substantial period of time. Some non-Portuguese speaking expatriates attend short-term Portuguese language courses in Portugal before being posted to Mozambique, but the majority of those who can speak Portuguese have some sort of personal or professional link with Brazil that normally precedes their arrival in Mozambique, as Nádia points out:

*Of course the fact that they can speak the language [Portuguese] allows them to work anywhere the language is spoken. So, in cooperation agencies there are many that have worked in Brazil. Because if you pay attention, the majority of the whites, of foreigners here have a Brazilian accent. So they go through Brazil and then come here.*

Mozambicans feel frustrated because of their difficulties in communicating in English and invest in improving their language skills – often with their own resources, as few organisations pay for language training. The significance of being able to communicate in Portuguese, for people surrounded by English-Speaking countries who face the supremacy of English within the development industry, should not be minimised. Language is a barrier in developing relationships with non-Portuguese speaking expatriates. As Nádia observes, “*communication flows when we speak the same language, you get it, right? So, it is easier to have a more flexible relationship with a woman from Brazil than with a woman from North America*”. Relatedly, there is a sense that it is harder to develop a personal relationship with speakers of other languages.

*There is a different dynamic, the linguistic barrier. The fact that we don't master English makes it harder to develop a relationship that goes beyond the professional (...) it is harder to build a friendship that evolves into familiarity. With Brazilians is different, we meet today, interact and laugh...it is different.<sup>30</sup>*

Brazilian professionals with limited personal or professional experience in English-speaking contexts also have to invest in their language skills in order to be able to follow and contribute to discussions in English. Speaking English is also a factor of differentiation between Brazilians who have lived and worked in English speaking countries, and those who came directly from Brazil. Jacinto compared his English level with that of another Brazilian who had lived in the U.S, while Alexandra was exasperated


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<sup>30</sup> The presumed easiness with which Brazilians and Mozambicans build friendships is discussed in chapters 6 and 8.


that although she can understand spoken and written English, she is unable to express herself in the language. Many Brazilians have learnt English since coming to Mozambique, which also helps to make their leisure travel in neighbouring English speaking countries easier.

Speaking the same language is an essential element of decision-making about which partnerships to establish and experiences to learn from. Estrela, who works closely with Brazilian feminists compared Portuguese with English and argued that

*we [Mozambicans and Brazilians] speak the same language, we don't need to translate what Brazil is saying, we only cut and paste. When they [Brazilian feminists] have the rhythmic beating of drums with slogans, we alter the melody a little bit but the expressions remain the same. An expression that gained a lot of ...when we did the campaign on the right to abortion. We had never carried out a public action, but we integrated all the expressions that the Brazilians use in the march of the Peoples Summit in 2012, "if the pope was a woman, abortion would be legal", we took that from the Brazilians.*



She immediately asks *"but why the same does not happen for example with Portugal?"* and then gives an explanation I also heard from other Mozambican feminists - that civil society activism in general and feminist activism, in particular, is not as strong in Portugal and other Portuguese-Speaking countries as in Brazil and, as discussed in the previous sub-section, that struggles of Brazilians are similar to those of Mozambicans. Estrela also thinks that Brazilian feminist organising has more resemblance with the Mozambican than the Portuguese experience and that the sense of sisterhood and camaraderie is stronger with Brazilian feminists. Perceived similarities and differences between feminist organising in Brazil and Mozambique and relevance of Brazilian experience are explored further in chapter 7.



Brazilian feminists have also played a role in the transmission of gendered language ideologies and the adoption of particular lexical forms by Mozambican feminists. Moita-Lopes's research on changes in the use of language forms in feminist circles in cosmopolitan centres in Brazil shows that 'the use of *seres humanos* (human beings) or *pessoas* (people) is becoming more and more common in contexts in which, in the past, *o homem* (man) would have been chosen to refer to the human species. Likewise, a lot of feminists have preferred the use of *el@* to avoid the use of *ele* (he) to refer to a human being' (2015:3). In my own research, I also observed how Mozambican feminists have



borrowed particular terms such as *companheiras e companheiros* from their Brazilian counterparts.

This chapter has discussed the confluence of different kinship imaginaries and metaphors in Brazil-Mozambique relations. We have seen how this relates to kinship claims based on ancestry and history, political identification and common struggles, shared southern identity and finally linguistic kinship. In all these uses, we see an effort to reduce distance and, in my view to build a privileged and distinctive relationship, where Brazilians are part of the ‘family’ and feel at home in Mozambique. Brazilians’ familiarity with Mozambique is evoked by material culture – as with Valentina recognising the tiles in a guest house’s kitchen floor as “exactly the same” as those in her grandmother’s house - by music, as with hearing Brazilian songs played in public spaces – and by language, as with hearing Mozambicans use expressions from Brazilian Portuguese in their daily lives.

This sense of familiarity is not, however, blind to differences. Differences are often embraced and even praised as the basis for SSC as well as contested. Kinship imaginaries, whether or not they are explicitly enunciated, are essential to how Brazilians and Mozambicans make sense of their relationships. They mediate and are contested through interactions. The use of kinship metaphors such as the siblinghood derived from a common ‘Mother Africa’, or Brazil as the rich uncle, provide a vivid illustration of those imaginaries. These metaphors of the family provide a lens that captures both the desire for relations based on equality, intimacy and loyalty, as well as the reality of power inequalities and hierarchies. Thus the metaphor of the rich uncle is not just an illustration of the imaginary but also of the tension; this is the crux of kinship claims, which are imbued with contestations between likeness and difference, proximity and distance, and horizontality and verticality. In the following chapters, I explore these tensions and contradictions as they are embedded in actual personal and professional relationships between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers.

## **Chapter 6. Friendliness, hierarchy and betrayal in office politics**

This chapter is about workplace interactions among staff of an INGO. The chapter examines how difference and sameness as well as claims of authoritative knowledge are experienced in interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers in the field of HIV&AIDS. The chapter draws extensively on participant observation within and outside the office of Health for All, a U.S INGO operating in Maputo, as well as interviews and informal conversations with Brazilian and Mozambican staff working there; this is complemented by the views of other research participants working in the same field, but situated outside this particular organisational setting.

The first part of the chapter analyses the role of informality, friendliness and humour in workplace interactions within Health for All while the second part analyses expectations and perceived differences between Brazilians and Mozambicans with regards to professional opportunities, as well as what knowledge transfer means, for Brazilian and Mozambican participants, in the context of professional interactions and opportunities. The chapter argues that Brazilians and Mozambicans claims of relatedness are destabilised by conflicts derived from differences in salary, benefits and opportunities and unfulfilled expectations. The chapter also shows how Brazilians' self-image as friendly is contested by Mozambicans who feel betrayed by what they consider a lack of support, specifically lack of commitment to and investment in "capacity building" and professional growth of Mozambicans.

### **6.1 A Northern INGO**

As mentioned in chapter 2 on methodology, I approached organisational ethnographic spaces as research sites where significant interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers take place and not as units of analysis. In line with Baaz (2005) and Eyben (2006), I consider as crucial the formal roles and status attributed to individuals along the lines of nationality, within international development organisations, in shaping the negotiation of identities as well as the configuration of power. The chapter draws on literature on anthropology of organisations (Wright 1994, Gellner and Hirsch 2001), on aid as a form of work (Wigley 2005, Khotari 2005, Eyben 2011, Mosse 2011, Fechter

2012, Roth 2012, Lorenzana 2015) and ethnographies of INGOs (Hopgood 2006, McWha and MacLachlan 2011, Santoro 2014, Peters 2016).

In chapter 2 I indicated that Health for All is an INGO which has been working in Mozambique since 1997. It has a long history of recruiting Brazilian professionals to work as technical advisors to government institutions as part of a large ten-year health programme funded by bilateral and multilateral organisations. The INGO was the main technical assistance provider and worked closely with the other actors involved, including various national ministries and associations. Brazilian and Mozambican technical advisors were either based within the ministries involved or in Health for All's office with frequent visits to the ministries. For instance, one of my informants, Alexandra, was based in one of the ministries and only moved to the INGO's office when the organisation's direct involvement with the programme ended. Patrícia, Tiago, Jacinto (the former country director) and Melissa (the country director at the time of my fieldwork) were all based in the INGO's office. However, at the beginning of their careers in Mozambique, Jacinto and Melissa had been based in one of the government institutions involved in the programme.

During the one-month period I spent with Health for All, the INGO was going through important changes in funding and staffing. Three people left the organisation, two Mozambicans (Batista and Marlene) and one Brazilian (Tiago). I witnessed their departure and the farewell parties organised for two of them. Whilst I was based on the top floor of Health for All's three-storey building, I was able to interact with other people, particularly those seated in the second floor, as the task I was given was part of the portfolio of a project director who sat there. The first floor was dedicated to finance and administration staff while the remaining two were occupied by programme staff; the organisation's director had her office on the second floor.

The organisation of the physical space around programme areas affected the interactions between workers, by creating groupings which were reflected, for instance, in who people had lunch with. People on the third floor normally had lunch with their third floor colleagues and according to Kristina, a Mozambican development worker who worked there, this also affected their socialising in non-work spaces; this will become obvious when I talk about the farewell party organised for Tiago. Nonetheless, I noticed that Brazilian colleagues tended to circulate and interact more regardless of the floor on which

they were located, or their hierarchical position within the organisation. For instance, Alexandra had her desk on the second floor but would regularly come to the third floor to talk to Tiago or Palmira, her half-Portuguese, half-Mozambican friend. Alexandra told me that it had been her idea to organise the physical space around programme areas as a way of increasing control, or as she put it “*to help see who is in and who is not*”. The atmosphere was generally laid back, people usually dressed casually and spoke with each other amicably - there was also a substantial amount of teasing and joking.

Interviews and informal conversations with the staff revealed, however, that underneath the good-humoured interactions I observed there was significant mistrust, suspicion and dissatisfaction. One element of the atmosphere in the organisation was the great suspicion towards those who were personally or professionally closer to the organisation’s top leadership. Emanuela’s perspective on the organisation’s structure resonates with the perceptions of other research participants and with my own observations. She reckoned that there were three types of people in the organisation: those who are perceived as holders of power – that is, who occupy leadership positions; the so-called “*darlings*” who do not have power, but, in her words, “*are doing well*” because they are close to those who have power and “*do everything*” to maintain that connection, and the ones “without” power and who do not have close relationships with those who hold power. These categories are also associated with interactions outside of work and are informed by dynamics that cut across the personal-professional divide. Relatedly, these categories also reflect race and class dynamics, as in the context of this U.S INGO there was a concentration of white, middle-class Brazilian and European colleagues in leadership positions, although there were also a few Mozambicans.

## **6.2 Brazilian informality meets Mozambican formality**

In this sub-section, I explain what (in) formality means for Brazilians and Mozambicans and ways in which it is associated with perceptions of Self and Other. Thus, the section continues the discussion in chapter 4, where I pointed out that although sharing the Portuguese language is considered a distinctive factor in interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers, Mozambican and a couple of Brazilian research participants felt that excessive informality and lack of cultural sensitivity hampered it at times. All Brazilians I interviewed stated that a fundamental difference between them and



Mozambicans was in the level of formality and the weight of hierarchy in professional interactions; there was also a general perception among the former that although Mozambicans, in general, are quite friendly, they are usually very formal and tend to be reserved at first.

The concept of informality is analytically helpful because it constitutes an essential part of imaginaries of “Southernness” as well as of everyday interactions within and outside the workplace. Ethnographies of organisations have paid particular attention to the role of formality and informality in the ways in which individuals related to each other, examining aspects, such as organisation structure, goals, rules and policies as well as the informal norms, values and attitudes of an organisation and its workforce (Wright 1994; Edwards 1994, Wigley 2005, Hopgood 2006, Lewis and Mosse 2006, Christiansen and Neuhold 2012, Olivier de Sardan 2013). Arora-Jonsson and Cornwall (2006) assert the importance of informality in the everyday life of the Swedish Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the exchanges between formal and informal spaces and interactions, and the tensions between (un)conventional ways of communicating as part of a cooperation enquiry and action learning process. The role of informal tactics and networks in the work of feminists in development organisations has been explored by feminist anthropologists who called attention to issues of agency to ‘unsettle the status quo’ (Eyben 2010:58).

Others have put more emphasis on the influence of informal cultural norms and exclusionary practices in relation to gender and organisational change (Rao and Kelleher 2005, Sandler and Rao 2012). Particularly relevant for this discussion is Edwards’s (1994) analysis of the use of informality as a boundary-dissolving device, by workers of Housing Aid (a UK voluntary organisation) to ‘conceptually include themselves in the same category as their clients’, to ‘collapse’ the perceived boundary between them and to distinguish themselves from members of the state and local authority organisations (1994:202). According to Edwards, these workers deliberately adopted practices that connoted informality - the layout of the office, their own appearance and the language they used - placing value on disarray to contrast with the perceived neatness of workers in state and professional agencies (ibid.).

Before explaining how I use the concept of informality in this thesis, I shall discuss the interconnections between informality and imaginaries of “Southernness” identified in the literature as well as in this research. Roy (2009) critiques how informality is often framed

as synonymous with poverty and seen as lack of regulation. This framing is based on rural vs urban, non-capitalist vs capitalist dichotomy of North and South, from dualist theory (Routh 2011) and is associated with imaginaries of the “Global South” as unplanned, chaotic and disorganised. Informality is also associated with imaginaries of the “Global South” as a site of affect and friendliness, in that as Innes et al. note ‘the idea of informality also connotes casual and spontaneous interactions and personal affective ties among participants’ (2007:198). In their work on slum tourism in the Global South and slum imaginaries, Frenzel and Koens also pointed out how ‘the attraction of slums appears to be not formal beauty, but anxiousness and awe of being overwhelmed by informality’ (2013:11). During my research, many Brazilian and Mozambican participants spoke about how Brazilians were less formal and “warmer” than Northern development workers, something that they associated with “*being from the South*”.

The framing of formality versus informality in terms of a North-South dichotomy is also present in the literature on Brazilian national identity (DaMata 1986, Amado and Brasil 1991, Barbosa 1995, Rezende 2008) and on Brazilian South-South Cooperation (Cabral and Weinstock 2010, Rossi 2015). In this scholarship, informality is linked to the supposedly flexibility of its cooperation associated with both the embryonic nature of the country’s legal and policy framework on SSC as well as to the idea of *‘jeitinho Brasileiro’* which captures Brazilians appreciation for informality. The notion of ‘jeitinho’ is relevant for this analysis because it often framed as a ‘Brazilian way of doing things’ and used to define ‘*Brazilianess*’ (Barbosa 1995:45). There is not an English translation for “*Jeitinho*” and meanings of the term resonate with some of the framings of informality present in the imaginary of “Southernness”, such as the gap between legal or institutional rules and actual practices, or what Olivier de Sardan (2008) called practical norms. ‘*Jeitinho*’ has been translated as ‘to pull a string or to cut through the red tape’ (Barbosa 1995:36), ‘to find a way around or to give someone a break’ (Drummond 1995:114).

Barbosa differentiates *‘jeitinho’* from favouritism and corruption, because while the former implies a degree of acquaintance between those involved and personal debt and the latter necessarily involves money *‘jeitinho’* does not. According to Amado and Brasil *‘jeitinho’* is about ‘plasticity and flexibility’ (1991:54). Ferreira et al. associate it with ‘problem-solving strategies in strong hierarchies’ (2012:331) and a way of infusing a personal, affectionate and more informal dimension to impersonal regulations, paternalist authority and hierarchal differentiation. According to DaMata, *‘jeitinho* consists of a

social navigation strategy, developed as a way of trying to negotiate the excessive formality and legal restrictions in Brazilian society' (cited in Ferreira et al. 2012:332). In line with Barbosa,

*jeitinho* emphasises the side of Brazilian society that privileges the human and natural aspects of social reality over the legal, political and institutional ones. Thus, the *jeitinho Brasileiro* expresses the cordial, conciliatory, happy, warm and human spirit of a country that is young, tropical, sensual, beautiful and full of possibilities (1995:46).

As Barbosa (1995) also points out, '*jeitinho*' is perceived as embodying socio-cultural traits that are used positively and negatively for distinguishing Brazilians from Northerners. Brazilians' self-perception as being guided by the heart and emotions (Ianni 2002, Rezende 2008, Holanda 2012) with a perception of Northerners as formal, cold, inflexible, and unemotional. Other scholars (Vieira et al.1982, Motta and Alcadipani 1999, Ferreira et al. 2012:332,) highlighted the links between '*jeitinho*' and views on hierarchy and power inequalities, specifically that '*Jeitinho*' is a reflection of Brazilians' purported preference for a more intimate and informal relationship at any hierarchical level (Ferreira et al. 2012). However, it has also been pointed out that this quest for intimacy reflects an inability to confront difference, power asymmetries and hierarchy (Holanda 2012), embodied in the question-ritual investigated by DaMata (1991) 'do you know who you are talking to?' used by people who wish to establish their position of authority and influence.

In this thesis, I follow Edwards (1994) and Misztal's (2000) theorization of informality as an interactional resource to explore the ways in which it is deployed to create particular forms of relatedness. I understand relatedness in the sense defined by Carsen (2000, 2004) as ways by which 'human beings regard themselves as connected to one another'. Looking at informality as an interactional resource while shedding light into the imagined geographies - specifically how North (formal) and South (informal) are imagined in the literature on informality and by research participants - also allows a better understanding of what proximity generally means in interactions between Brazilians and Mozambicans. Specifically, I explore some of the contradictions embedded in informality in the context of hierarchical professional interactions, and how it can be used to cross boundaries and signal disrespect. Misztal's description of the multiplicity of meanings attributed to informality is useful to tease out how my research participants used it.

In some contexts, ‘informality’ is used to describe a relaxed, casual or non-ceremonial approach to conformity with formal rules, dress codes and procedures, while, in other situations, it can refer to actions taking place behind the official scene and which – because they are not in accordance with prescribed regulation – are perceived as a threat to fair and just treatment, resulting in favouritism, nepotism and patronage (2000:17).

Brazilian and Mozambican research participants claimed that the former are quite casual and non-ceremonial in their way of speaking and dress code, as illustrated in the stories below. However, the term was also used by one Mozambican informant referring to the flexibility of processes in the workplace as they did not require too many approvals. Finally, there was significant interaction between Brazilian colleagues in non-work social spaces which, from Mozambicans’ point of view, placed Brazilians in a more privileged position than them – as work information was exchanged and decisions made in those spaces.

Tiago remembers how impressed he was by the formality of relations within NGOs in Mozambique, because he came from a completely different work environment where people were very informal, including in the way they dressed to go to work.

*I was coming from an NGO you understand. So we wore shorts, t-shirts and flip flops to work in the NGO and there was no “Mr. Doctor” or any kind of hierarchy. That was the spirit of the NGO in which I worked; it was about building another society. And I arrived here and it drove me crazy. Because I remember Fabio’s [Brazilian] comment: perhaps we are bosses and “doctors” here because we are white, right? I remember that he [Fabio] used to say: ‘Here [Mozambique] one leaves the plane and becomes a doctor. You step onto Mozambican soil and become a doctor’.*

In Mozambique, the expression “doctor” is normally used for anybody who has an undergraduate degree, for medical doctors as well as more flexibly to address a person in a senior hierarchical professional position. While the use of the expression “doctor” is more common in the public and private sectors, NGO directors and senior staff tend also to be called doctors; it is common to hear people addressing others as “doctors” in NGO events. Besides, people who guard or wash cars on the streets of Maputo as well as street vendors sometimes address the drivers as “doctor”. Yet, on the streets the more common expressions are still “boss” or father and mother, brother and sister, or uncle and aunt. While “boss” denotes a hierarchical relationship in which the person offering a service places him/herself in a subordinate position, the kinship terminology attempts to establish a more intimate, familial relationship that carries a moral responsibility to provide for

one's relatives, blood or fictive. White people are normally called "doctor" or "boss", although in some cases they can also be called father or mother, or brother or sister, depending on how old they are perceived to be. While the use of kinship terminology in these situations also applies to Mozambicans, as it is about class and wealth inequalities, Fabio's perception is right in that white people are usually seen as wealthy and expert.

Tiago experienced this in the NGOs he worked with and it made him feel uncomfortable. He always insisted with people that he did not want to be treated as "Sir" or "Doctor". Tiago was particularly shocked with the formality within NGOs, because by his own admission, he expected to find a "mirror" of the Brazilian NGO he worked for, but soon realised that things were different in Mozambique. Tiago talked about the "*spirit*" of the NGO he worked for in Brazil as fundamentally different from Mozambican NGOs in terms of disconnect between the personal, professional and political, which I discuss in the next subsection on friendliness and humour.

Whilst warmth, friendliness and '*jeitinho*' were perceived by all my research participants as attributes Brazilians and Mozambicans share, purportedly as a result of the African blood that runs in their veins, Mozambicans' formality sets them apart from Brazilians. Mozambicans are seen as more formal which is expressed in the use of 'respect vocabulary' and 'formal etiquette' (in dress, gesture and spatial organisation). Thus, the difference seems to lie in the degree of intimacy and seriousness in interactions as well as in the 'respect for an established order of social positions and identities' (Irvine 1979:778). Mozambicans are seen as reproducing practices which are said to inhere in bureaucratic organisations. This formality unsettles Brazilians' imaginary of Africa and Mozambicans' behaviour, thus they attribute it to Western and specifically Portuguese influence.<sup>31</sup>

Some research participants explained it as the persistence of Portuguese codes of conduct and patterns of social behaviour from the colonial period. Indeed, the Mozambican state has inherited regulations and legislation from the colonial period, but so has Brazil. Two interrelated essentialist assumptions are implicit in this perception. The first is that Africans are friendly and informal and the second that formality is a Western attribute. Southerners, whether from the Southern hemisphere of the globe or the Southern parts of

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<sup>31</sup> For Brazilians' views of Portuguese formality see Torresan (2011).

Europe, are perceived as more informal than those in the North. Relatedly, informality is often associated with developing countries.

Whereas some of my Brazilian research participants attributed Mozambicans' formality to Portuguese heritage and interpreted it as perpetuation of unequal power relations which foster subservience, others viewed some aspects of this formality, specifically how people address each other and their reserve – as politeness. Some also saw reserve in communication as a way of hiding one's true feelings. One Brazilian research participant from a UN agency thought that *“Mozambicans always have a poker face, it's hard to know what they are really thinking”*. Two participants from Health for all, Alexandra (Brazilian) and Marlene, (Mozambican) talked about reserve and silence as ways of navigating situations of tension and conflict.

Alexandra talked about reserve in professional interactions as passivity and incapacity to criticise. She believed that *“people [Mozambicans] are capable of reacting to criticism, but are incapable of criticising (...) they do not have the first word, they have the second”*. In her opinion, Mozambicans never take the initiative to talk about problems and tend to reproduce the relationship between dominant and dominated from the colonial period. What some may perceive as caution or insecurity, she saw as a deliberate strategy of letting the other person [normally a foreigner] speak and expose themselves, and to then speak to show who has the power to define the rules of the game. Alexandra sees this pattern of communication as a game through which Mozambicans seek to have leverage, *“perhaps the best way of being in a good position to criticise is to let the other person speak first, and lay all the cards on the table”*.

Although Alexandra underlined differences between Brazilians and Mozambicans, Melissa, who was also Brazilian talked about Brazilians' in-betweenness as she thought that they were seen by Mozambicans as *“not so different from them and not so different from the Americans”*. Melissa considered herself very upfront and felt that she needed to *“be careful with that in any culture, not only in Mozambique”*. Being careful meant having what in Brazil is called *“jogo de cintura”* which, among other things, referred to the flexibility and ability to adapt to different situations – in this case, different forms of communication – and act accordingly. In this context, *“jogo de cintura”* is granted by Brazilians' paradoxical positioning as similar to both Mozambicans and Northerners, associated with their perceived in-betweenness as a result of their *mestiçagem* and their

middle-income status. Thus, the discourses around cultural sensitivity tend to portray Brazilians as more culturally aware compared to expatriates from Western countries who are perceived as “very direct”. Melissa and other Brazilian development workers felt that directness could be misunderstood and cause offense; this resonates with something I grew up hearing: “*it is important to see how we say things*”. This advice is not exclusive to Mozambique and carries the belief that the message can be lost if not delivered or spoken “properly”. Speaking properly means showing awareness of the interlocutor’s situation and of related socio-cultural norms, when stating what one thinks.

Directness was normally interpreted as disrespect for Mozambique and its people and a demonstration of Brazilians’ superiority, when accompanied by shouting and verbal abuse, as Brazilian and Mozambican research participants affirmed was the case within *Health for All*. For instance, Tiago admitted that he often resorted to shouting and swearing in the workplace: “*sometimes I really shout, I become possessed*”. The situations described by Brazilians as leading to shouting were all associated with what they perceived as Mozambicans’ “incompetence”, “inability to do anything right, even after several explanations”, “lack of commitment” and “laziness”, almost as if that kind of behaviour was acceptable in those circumstances. This discourse is also associated with knowledge hierarchies that portray Brazilians as knowledgeable as well as with what Baaz (2007) called “the image of the unreliable Other”, in relation to European “donor” and expatriate development worker images of Self and the “partner”.

Brazilians talked about it in relation to the “rudeness of well-off Mozambicans towards other Mozambicans, particularly domestic workers” and the behaviour of Brazilians from Vale, a Brazilian mining company.<sup>32</sup> Mozambican and European research participants working for the INGO talked about Brazilians’ rudeness towards their Mozambican colleagues. Alexandra mentioned on several occasions, without being asked, that she had a respectful and open communication with her male domestic worker, who knew intimate details about her relationship with a former Mozambican partner. The issue of treatment of domestic workers also emerged when I interviewed Paulo, a Brazilian academic and occasional consultant, who compared the relationships of Portuguese colonisers and Brazilians with their domestic workers. When complaining about a colleague who like Tiago, shouted at her Mozambican colleagues, Marlene, a Mozambican professional,

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<sup>32</sup> On relations between Brazilians and Mozambicans within Vale see Rodrigues (2015).

compared this precisely to the situation of domestic workers in Mozambican society, by pointing out that shouting “*was disrespectful, you do not talk like that even with your domestic worker*”. Silence was usually her immediate response when she felt that she was being verbally abused. Yet, this was a decision to avoid engaging in confrontation in a situation in which the other person had clearly lost their temper, rather than passivity. So far, I have focused on (in) formality in relation to language. In the next sections, I explore other elements of (informality), such as friendliness and humour.

### 6.3 “They smile, they joke and then exploit you”

There is a wealth of research on the ambivalence of the joking relationship (Radcliffe-Brown 1940, Handelman 1977) and a growing focus on humour in the workplace (Mallet and Wapshott 2014, Plester 2016), including in relation to interethnic coexistence (Back 1991) and nationals and expatriates working together (Wise 2016). For instance, Wise (2016) analysed the role and effect of ‘humour’ in multi-ethnic male-dominated Australian blue-collar workplaces and the work that ‘goes on into negotiating interactional humour frames’ (2016:1). In this section, I focus on interpersonal, interactional humour in association with friendliness. Although the two are related, I first discuss friendliness and then humour.

Brazilians’ friendliness and joking behaviour was a critical element in how proximity was framed and contested by both Brazilians and Mozambicans in my research. In spite of differences in terms of the level of (in) informality, Brazilians and Mozambicans saw each other as friendly. However, there were important differences as regards to how this was manifested. Friendliness in this context refers to Mozambicans’ “*happy nature*” and the ease with which Brazilians purportedly address people they have only just met as if they were longstanding friends through, amongst others, the use of words of endearment, such as “*darling*” or “*friend*”, within professional interactions. As one Mozambican research participant mentioned, “we [Mozambicans] are friendly and they [Brazilians] are also friendly, so people think that we are friends”, questioning the assumption of friendship between Brazilians and Mozambicans.

The interviews revealed, however, that it is not because somebody uses words of endearment that people will necessarily consider them friendly and approachable. For instance, although Melissa, Health for All’s director, occasionally used words of



endearment to address her colleagues and always kept her door open, she was not considered friendly and approachable, as Kristina, a Mozambican development worker, explains:

*Today she greets you and tomorrow she passes by you as if she had not seen you. Sometimes she enters in our room and says: hello my people, and other times she enters the room and goes straight to Tiago's desk. That creates barriers in our communication. Tiago is also like that, but it does not prevent us from talking to him because he is more povão [a less privileged social class].*

Kristina then added that Melissa's behaviour distanced her from the INGO' staff and this was evident in the fact that *"she has the door open, but nobody ever enters"*. Many research participants, including a couple of Brazilians, questioned the authenticity of attitudes such as calling people they hardly know or their work colleagues "darling". One Brazilian development worker from a UN agency pointed out that the use of those expressions does not necessarily mean an intention to develop a closer relationship. This manner of addressing people was particularly confusing for Mozambicans in the workplace, particularly because of contradictory behaviours, like the pattern described above.

While Mozambican research participants tended to approve of the informal and friendly attitude of most of their Brazilian colleagues, because they thought it made the work environment *"lighter" and "more lively"*, they were also suspicious, because they found it unauthentic. In fact, many believed that it did not reflect a genuine affection or interest in friendship, but rather a way of getting something Brazilians wanted, and in this sense, it was seen as manipulation. This perception is evident in Marlene's statement, *"Brazilian people are very merry, it is easier to break the ice, but being merry does not always mean an easy dialogue. They smile, tell a joke and exploit you"*. Marlene's words reveal confusion and a sense of betrayal. They also suggest that the use of humour in the workplace is acceptable and even perceived as positive. Yet, it indicates that telling jokes creates a sense of camaraderie that is then betrayed, because *"they exploit you"*. Other Mozambican participants alleged that the good-humour and smiles of their Brazilian colleagues were fake as they *"laugh, but are not really laughing with you"*, a perception that reflected the lack of trust evident in Marlene's accusation.

Arguably the sense of betrayal and exploitation was heightened by the socio-economic inequalities between national and expatriate staff, in an organisation purportedly

committed to human rights values. For instance, Emanuela complained about the lack of solidarity between work colleagues which she associated with the organisation's culture.

*It is not a humanitarian organisation...there aren't relations of solidarity and if they exist they are very formal, not heartfelt, derived from feelings of connection, empathy and placing oneself in the shoes of the other. That creates fatigue!*

Emanuela had the expectation that an organisation that promotes human rights would be more "humanitarian and express more solidarity towards its staff and that people would care for each other. Her disappointment relates to negative personal experiences she had within the organisation, particularly the severing of what was once, according to her colleagues, a friendship with the organisation's director. The cognitive dissonance between development organisations' ethos and organisational culture expressed in Emanuela's words has also been identified by other work, such as Wigley's (2005) research on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees's (UNHCR) organisational culture and Hopgood's (2006) study of Amnesty International.

Emanuela's frustration also speaks to broader contradictions in interpersonal relationships with Brazilian colleagues that other participants reported. Whilst people trusted Brazilians' professional capacities and passion for their work, they doubted the authenticity of the affection expressed in their smiles and words of endearment. Arguably, this is related to different meanings people attribute to smiles and friendliness in the workplace, as well as the distinction between friendliness and friendship. There also seemed to be at play conflicting understandings of professional boundaries. Below, I explore some of these aspects drawing on Marlene and Tiago's relationship.

A further aspect worth discussing is the role of humour in professional interactions between Brazilians and Mozambicans and how this is perceived as an integral aspect of Brazilian informality. Cesarino (2013) identified joking relations between Brazilian frontliners and West African counterparts as a 'strategy to deal with the language barrier' (2013:45), while Ress noted that while Brazilian students were 'cheerful and lightly communicative (they would smile and greet each other)' (2015:236) they did not engage with their non-Brazilian colleagues. Ress (2015) analyses this in the light of work by Brazilian scholars who 'have argued that joviality and laughter were subtle but common mechanisms in Brazilian society to mask and deny racist sentiments, practices and structures (Dahia, 2008; DaMatta, 2001; Martins, 2008' (2015:236). In the following paragraphs, I draw on Tiago's use of subversive humour to "make micro-politics" through

the utilization of difference as a resource (Semi et al. 2009, Wise 2016). I also discuss Bruna's use of humour to confront Tiago's inappropriate behaviour in order to tease out the different meanings attributed to these practices within the INGO.

Tiago believed that humour was helpful to challenge the formalism of relationships in the workplace and to confront his Mozambican colleagues about the silences around homosexuality, an area in which the organisation worked. *"I understood that humour worked. It is a method of communication to say what one wants, as if by accident"*. Thus, he used humour and sexual jokes to challenge their personal positions on homosexuality; this included asking male colleagues for a kiss or calling them gay. Sometimes, when he left work late and his male Mozambican colleagues were still working, he would play with the idea that *"Friday is men's day"* and tell their colleagues to go home because *"Friday is gay's day and you are also all gay"*.

*This was my way of doing "micro-politics", perhaps not the most appropriate, but it was my way of putting it on the agenda, because we as an organisation work with this theme, we have programmes. So, internally people have to talk about it and also have to have the naturalness to act upon it.*

What Tiago expressed above relates to what my research participants called the conservatism of Mozambicans, specifically the socio-cultural norms about what should and should not be talked about. This was normally discussed in relation to sexuality, but also concerning political life, hierarchical relations and lack of contestation. Many Brazilian professionals expressed frustration concerning what they perceived as silence, in Mozambican society, around sexuality and relatedly HIV&AIDS. Both Brazilian and Mozambican professionals underlined differences between the two countries in this regard. Melissa used two examples related to sexuality to illustrate the differences. The first was about sexual orientation and unwillingness to accept that not all Mozambicans are heterosexual. The second was in relation to abortion, pointing out that "people do it, but do not talk about it" and that although "there is group of people who promote safe abortion, it cannot be spoken about".<sup>33</sup>

I read Tiago's making of jokes about gays as apolitical action to name the unspeakable as having to do both with informality as well the ways in which his multiple belongings

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<sup>33</sup> In December 2014, a year after I interviewed Melissa, the Mozambican government decriminalised abortion, while in Brazil it is still criminalised.

affected his motivation and capacity to act across multiple divides and axes of difference. Tiago's instrumental use of his sexual identity is an important element of thinking and acting politically about ones' work as well as claims to specialised knowledge. In an article entitled "building capacities and producing citizens: the biopolitics of HIV prevention in Brazil", de la Dehesa and Mukherja (2012) discuss how certain identities such as sex worker, travesti (trans person) and gay were reified and made deployable. They examine the use of capacity-building 'to indicate certain 'citizen-like' behaviour as a prerequisite for employment within an organisation', how AIDS NGOs distinguished themselves from others by their base among urban intellectuals, their professionalization and role as suppliers of specialised knowledge, among others, and more importantly, how the 'claim to specialised knowledge was 'based primarily on activists' identification with target populations and consequent access to their 'characteristics and cultures'(2012:190). My point is that Tiago's personal identification and 'activist' specialised knowledge gave him leeway with his Health for All colleagues and was also a source of authoritative knowledge outside the organisation.

Although Tiago underlined that his intention was to stimulate open dialogue about homosexuality, he resorted to humour because he believed that his Mozambican colleagues liked his jokes and found them amusing; this was related to a general perception among Brazilian professionals that Mozambicans like having a laugh and enjoy listening to jokes told by Brazilians, associated with the common practice of Mozambicans sharing Brazilian jokes through social media with relatives, friends and acquaintances. In addition, Tiago, who is openly gay, was admired by his Mozambican colleagues, including those he line-managed, precisely because he was emotionally involved and personally implicated in his work, as he shared identities with one of the groups he worked with – gay men – besides his professional experience working with sexual minorities in Brazil. While Mozambicans are accustomed to Brazilians' sense of humour and Brazilian jokes circulate through people's emails and mobile phones, I believe that his commitment gave him leeway to use his sexual identity as a gay man to challenge by making sexual gay jokes, giving him 'licence to joke' (Handelman and Kapferer 1972). Nonetheless, he was also criticised for not drawing the line in his relationship with co-workers with whom he had a relationship outside of work, as he used the relationship to control and invade their privacy in the workplace, through checking

their computers to see if they were on Facebook or Skype, picking up their mobile phones when they rang, as well as shouting, as discussed in the previous section.

I once observed how Bruna, a young Mozambican woman line-managed by Tiago also used humour to talk about the inappropriateness of his behaviour. Tiago had entered the room complaining loudly about the printing of a manual that had not been done properly, as the instructions he had given to the printing company had not been followed. He complained that the manual was ugly and that the cover was “*rubbish*”. Bruna, who was sat in her desk at the time, jokingly said: “*those manners of yours will end as soon as you enter the U.S air space, hehehe*”. Tiago simply replied: “*no, they will not*” and the conversation ended. Bruna was alluding to Tiago’s upcoming move to the organisation’s office in the U.S. Implicit in her comment was the belief that his behaviour was inappropriate not because he was a rude person, but because he allowed himself to behave in that way in Mozambique, as he did not respect his colleagues. She also seemed to believe that in the U.S he would restrain himself from shouting in the office. This is associated with an expression I heard frequently in Mozambique, “*foreigners do what they want in Mozambique*”, which means that they can act with impunity. What is also interesting about this episode is the fact that Bruna jokingly reacted to a situation in which she was not directly involved, she was calm, and they were all in a good mood. I did not observe her confronting Tiago upfront about any inappropriate behaviour towards her, and did not ask if like Marlene she also resorted to silence when faced with such behaviour.

The discussion in this section sought to illustrate how informality in interactions between Brazilians and Mozambicans involves difference and hierarchies. Informality in language associated with rudeness brought to fore imaginaries of Self and Other; Mozambican research participants’ views on the friendliness of their Brazilian colleagues revealed confusion and ambiguity in those relationships. The section has also shown how humour was used by both Brazilians and Mozambicans to speak truth to each other about difficult subjects: by Tiago to challenge his colleagues about their personal stance on homosexuality and by Bruna to challenge her line-manager’s inappropriate behaviour. In chapter 8, I discuss how Alexandra dealt with humour and jokes from her male Mozambican colleagues, in her efforts to balance the personal and the professional and keep a “professional image”. In the second part of this chapter I turn to another dimension through which difference and hierarchies manifested in interactions within Health for All

and elaborate further on how it relates to the sense of betrayal and exploitation mentioned above.

#### **6.4 The national and international divide and access to opportunities**

There is a substantial amount of work on the national and international divide and access to opportunities in the development industry (Baaz 2005, Jackson 2005, Fechter 2007, Shevchenko and Fox 2008, Leonard 2010, Roth 2012, Redfield 2012, Santoro 2014, Autesserre 2014, Verma 2011, Fountain 2011, Brown 2011, Heathershaw 2016, Peters 2016). The majority of this work focuses on the divide between nationals and Northern expatriates, with little on Southern expatriates and even less on how this divide affects intra-organisational relationships, with few exceptions (Roth 2012, Peters 2012, Palmer 2012, Haztky 2015, Lorenzana 2015, Peters 2016). This literature critiques knowledge hierarchies and exposes conflicts derived from opportunity, salary and benefit differentials. In this section, I discuss how these manifested in mutual imaging and relationships between Brazilians and Mozambicans working for Health for All.

The departures and farewell parties I witnessed during the one-month period I spent with Health for All shed light on the topic of this section. Office farewell parties are a form of informal interaction, events in which people are expected to be friendly to the person departing, even if they did not like them. However, despite the social pressure to be “politically correct”, it is also possible to observe animosities and tension. The different “functions” of farewell parties have been analysed in management literature with a significant focus on retirement (Jacobson 1996, Wollan and Sommer 2003). In this section however, rather than describing and analysing the parties I discuss the perceived professional mobility’ opportunities afforded to the people departing – Batista, Marlene and Tiago. Batista and Tiago had similar qualifications and professional experience, both were programme directors, but had very different career trajectories. Tiago was moving to Health for All’s headquarters while Batista was moving to a high profile and respected national NGO, based in Maputo; despite having expressed interest in taking up an international posting. Batista’s farewell party was attended by the INGO’s director from headquarters, who happened to be in Mozambique at the time. She gave the longest and most expressive speech and talked about the tremendous loss it was to see him leaving the organisation after working there for nearly ten years, especially because there was

space for him within the organisation and they were hoping to see him continue growing there. However, it seemed that the plans they had for Batista did not include opportunities for international mobility (only national mobility, as Batista had moved between Health for All's offices within Mozambique, something that only one of the Brazilian professionals had done). Thus, while Tiago moved within the organisation, Batista moved out of it. The "farewell cards" they receive seem to capture this well: while Tiago received a signed Mozambican flag (so that he would not forget Mozambique), Batista received a signed Health for All' annual report (so that he would not forget Health for All).

A week after Batista's farewell party, the rumours spread about Marlene's departure. Nobody knew for sure if she was leaving or not, as no formal announcement had been made. Marlene did not mention anything about how the organisation responded to her departure when I interviewed her, and only talked about her motivations for leaving. She was dissatisfied and felt that her work and capacities were not appreciated by the organisation's leadership which reduced her chances of career progression. I believe that because she had considerable experience with the project she was working on, she had hoped to be invited to replace Tiago as programme manager. When that did not happen she decided to leave, before a new person arrived to line-manage her in the implementation of a project she felt ready to run, because she had been working on it for several years. Marlene was also disappointed by what she had experienced as contradictions and dissonance between her personal and professional relationships with Tiago; this was expressed through the use of a kinship metaphor "*sister at home and stepdaughter in the office*". According to Marlene, depending on their location in the personal-professional continuum, she became his sister or his stepdaughter. She was sister because they like the same things and had many Brazilian and Mozambican friends in common. At the professional level, within the workplace, she felt like his stepchild, supposedly because he favoured others instead of her. Her expectations seemed to be more related to professional recognition than to the instrumental use of their friendship for preferential treatment in the workplace. She felt that there was a lack of transparency in the distribution of tasks and benefits and that her capacities were not appreciated and rewarded; she had been working for *Health for All* since 2006, two years before Tiago's arrival and played an important role in socialising him into work. Marlene told me that she "*was the person who basically setup the project*" and that Tiago "*never travelled to do anything*" in the provinces where the project was implemented. She also claimed that

even when there was a course related to the project she worked on “*he would send somebody he liked and not me*”. Because of this combination of factors, and probably other things that Marlene did not share with me, she doubted the authenticity of his friendship with her, asserting that “*it was a fake smile, and the relationship was not transparent*”. After being with Health for All for more than eight years, Marlene left to work as programme manager for another U.S INGO, in Maputo.

The conversations I had with Mozambican staff about their colleagues’ departure and their career prospects revealed a lot about how Mozambicans perceive relationships between Mozambicans and Brazilians. While Batista hinted that, despite his qualifications and experience, he did not think he could access an international posting, he did not mention why. A conversation I had with Benedita sheds some light on this issue. This was an informal conversation we had in the INGO’s kitchen, on the day a former Brazilian colleague who had moved to headquarters was visiting the country office to provide technical assistance. I took advantage of the fact that the staff was asking him about life in headquarters to ask Benedita, when we were left alone, if there were any Mozambicans working there. When she answered negatively, I asked why.

Benedita answered that it was difficult and did not know “*how Brazilians managed to get there*”. However, she believed that while “*Brazilians help each other*” “*Mozambicans hamper each other*” to avoid competition as “*they want to be there [in a position of power] alone*”. I pointed out that there was not a single Mozambican there. She asked me if lack of qualifications could be a reason to which I responded by asking what kind of qualifications she thought were needed, if people had to have a PhD to work in headquarters. Benedita replied that it was not necessary to have a PhD, pointing out that Jacinto did not have one and that when he came to work in Mozambique “*he didn’t even have a Masters*”, she thought he had done his Masters while working in Mozambique, but was not sure if he had finished. Benedita then suggested that perhaps “connections” were important, and compared Brazilians with Indians: “*like the banians [Indian merchants]...When a bai [Indian merchants] goes he pulls another bai [Indian merchants], whereas we close [the doors of opportunity] Connections? Jacinto went first and then he took Álvaro*”. She then talked about the arrival of her Brazilian colleagues in Mozambique; told me that Melissa the first to arrive had brought Jacinto, who then brought Álvaro, pointing out that “*when he [Jacinto] went to Boston he also took*



*Álvaro*". Benedita then added, "well, it is also a fact that many of the models and methodologies that *Health for All* uses were developed in Brazil".

Like Benedita, many Mozambican research participants expressed the view that Brazilians progress in their careers not only because of their qualifications, but also and perhaps more importantly because of their connections and the fact that they look out for each other, while Mozambicans do the opposite, they close the doors because they do not want competition. Looking out for each other in the workplace meant facilitating access to opportunities for technical improvement, international exposure and professional mobility. This perception is associated with the importance of contacts and high levels of clientelism and corruption to access employment in Mozambique. Yet, it also reflects a view that if there is any job opportunity within the organisation, in Mozambique or abroad, it will be given to a Brazilian or to another expatriate first, and that people already in a management position tend to be privileged. As Kristina, a Mozambican professional, underlined "for a Mozambican to be director, it has to be somebody like Ferrão [name of a highly qualified and renowned Mozambican colleague], because will open doors [new opportunities for the organisation]".

In my view, Mozambicans explain structural inequalities by attributing them to Mozambicans' "lack of solidarity" and neglecting the moral ambiguities they may face, like the Ghanaian development workers' discussed by Yarrow (2011). For instance, Batista, who for a significant period of time, was the only Mozambican programme director and member of *Health for All's* board, told me about Mozambican colleagues' expectations that he would somehow favour them, something that made him uncomfortable and lead him to keep a certain distance from them. What both Benedita and Kristina's views illustrate is the double standards and exclusion of most Mozambicans from leadership and international opportunities, unless they were highly qualified, normally significantly more than their Brazilian colleagues. For instance, it did not go unnoticed by Benedita that when Jacinto did his Masters he was *already Health for All's* country director, an opportunity a Mozambican in a similar position would not have had. Mozambicans are seen as relevant less because of any knowledge and skills they may possess than for their reputation and influence, which is considered essential, particularly when working with government institutions. Relatedly, some Mozambican participants claimed that although they played a great role in project implementation, their work was never publically acknowledged as Brazilian colleagues were usually the ones

who attended ministerial and donor meetings. Kristina told me *“it was as if we did not have the right skin tone”* to represent the organisation. Yet, during the interview she also pointed out that the treatment of a highly qualified and resourceful black male Mozambican professional was different, supposedly because he was well connected and having him representing the organisation was good for its image. This position of expatriate staff as representatives of their organisations has also been highlighted by Fast (2014).

The story of Emiliene, a Mozambican project officer, further illustrates how opportunities, particularly those involving international trips, are distributed within the organisation. Work trips abroad are extremely valued and perceived as one of the few opportunities to learn and keep abreast of what is happening internationally in one’s field. However, many Mozambicans felt that these trips were inaccessible to them, even when directly associated with the work they did. Azur, a European development worker who became Emiliene’s line-manager when Batista left, told me that once she tried to negotiate the latter’s participation in a high profile international event in the U.S, but was told by the organisation’s director that *“locals do not usually attend this kind of event”* instead she wanted Azur to participate, adding that her English was also better. In the end, Azur did manage to convince her boss that *“she [Emiliene] was able to make a good presentation”*, as the information that was going to be presented was related to a project Emiliene had been coordinating for nearly five years.

Emiliene had separately told me that she had a last minute trip to the U.S which she understood as resulting from *“arm wrestling”* between Azur and their boss. Emiliene, who speaks French fluently, was nervous because of the lack of time to prepare a presentation in a language (English) she did not have good command of. Thus, besides working with Azur on the presentation she also sought presentation tips from her English teacher. For more than a year she had been attending weekly English classes at her own cost, because, among others things, she wanted to be able to meaningfully engage with the organisation’s English-speaking donors as well as the staff working in the organisation’s headquarters. In this episode nationality and professional status were conflated in the configuration of privilege and access to opportunities. Although Emiliene’s poor command of English was presented as one of the reasons why she should not attend the event in the U.S, the main reason given was the fact that she was a “local” project officer. As I noted in the sub-section on language in chapter 4, many Brazilian

professionals in Mozambique, and in the INGO in particular, could hardly speak English when they arrived in the country, yet this has not prevented them from participating in international events, such as international AIDS conferences, most of which took place in English.

Finally, Mozambican and European staff felt that there was discrimination along racial and national and international lines and accused their Brazilian colleagues of being racist and elitist. For instance, I heard from Mozambicans that Brazilian colleagues viewed Mozambicans as they would see black people in Brazil, maintaining that “*they [Brazilians] are used to seeing black people in the bottom of the pyramid*” and because of that tend to assume that black Mozambicans are “*accustomed to live with little*” and as a result resisted improving their salaries and benefits. One example of this was when Batista told me that the organisation’s director had asked “*why Mozambicans go to [private] clinics instead of a public hospital*” and complained that they “*spend too much on clinics*”. It seems that the problem was not that all staff, including Brazilians, used private clinics, but that these were perceived as a luxury which Mozambicans should not enjoy, as the majority of Mozambicans, who cannot afford these services, used public hospitals.

In chapter 4, I presented Brazilians’ views on Mozambique’s need for foreign technical assistance, which were associated with perceptions about the quality of the education in the country and lack of domestic technical capacity. The dominant discourse is one of stagnation and limited improvement over the years. Associated with this discourse is, as Peters (2016) points out, the presumption that national staff are in need of capacity building. However, how this is addressed seems to vary across contexts and institutions. Peters’ found that INGOs in Angola offered ‘many avenues for training and skills development’ which were exclusively available to local staff (2016:505) and asserted that distinctions in opportunities for skills development were made based on the national-international divide, Emiliene’s story illustrates that these distinctions can also reinforce ingrained inequalities. Furthermore, in the case of Health for All, skills development initiatives were rarely connected to professional development plans and career progression opportunities for national staff.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss how Mozambicans framed “capacity building” and “knowledge transfer”.

There was a general sense among Mozambicans that programme and project directors tended to be privileged and that insufficient investment was made in building the capacities of locals (which represented the majority of the INGO's staff) and would have been in line with its mission. In Kristina's words:

*They need to invest a lot more in building the capacities of staff. For example, the opportunities for interacting with colleagues from other countries [where the INGO has offices] are limited. Some colleagues travel to [name of U.S city where the INGO is headquartered], but normally the bosses [programme/project directors]. Each project should have a budget line for capacity building. To study English, I had to pay from my own pocket.*

Kristina talked about a hierarchical distribution of opportunities in the office, with programme and project directors benefiting more from training and international work trips than "field staff", i.e. project officers. Along similar lines, Batista affirmed that Brazilians and other expatriate development workers often underlined the lack of domestic capacity, framed the situation in Mozambique as chaotic "as if Mozambicans did not know where they are going to" and portrayed Mozambicans "like children" without considering that this may be because "exposure" of expatriates is privileged, at the expense of Mozambicans. Several people with whom I spoke talked about lack of opportunities for Mozambicans to grow professionally - through national (including participation in meetings with the government and donors) and international exposure, as well as through access to training. Batista asked,

*how is it possible that meetings with public institutions are only attended by programme directors [usually foreigners] without a single national staff member? For them [expatriates] the most important thing is going to a meeting and discussing, because they want to learn.*

In Batista's opinion participation in such meetings was also an important way of doing personal and professional networking, considered essential for finding another job at the end of each contract. For Kristina, the need for exposure is not because Mozambicans do not have capacity, but because other experiences and professional interactions outside the office are important to gain a better understanding of how things work as well as for professional growth. She lamented that in practice however, "foreigners are the ones who have professional visibility; they have the fame of knowing a lot, because they are cute foreigners with blue eyes. So only the foreigners deal with our international partners".

Batista claimed that international organisations are more concerned with investing in software than in their staff:

*Every year the organisation buys new software, but the staff never attends training (...) where is capacity building? What exactly is the organisation doing in order to build national capacity? What have been the results? There is a responsibility to create national capacity but where is the accountability? Where is the indication that a staff member has moved from level A to B?*

There was a generalised perception among Brazilians that Mozambicans' calls for more capacity building did not express a genuine interest in knowledge and learning but rather an attempt to benefit from the money normally provided for transport and food expenses, as illustrated in Alexandra's words:

*I [Mozambican] am not thinking about that, I am thinking in the 500 Meticaís [around £7] I will take home today which will solve my problem with the water bill. So, yes I want training because the more trainings I attend, more money I will have. Mozambique is a country where people get paid to attend training.*

Alexandra's view was that for Mozambicans, concerns with daily survival – poverty - are more important than acquiring knowledge and learning, because the latter is a longer term gain that requires efforts which people are not willing to make. Yet, the joke she later told me contradicted this view. *“In the last few years there has been a proliferation of Masters Programmes in Mozambique. You can be walking on the street and a Masters Certificate fall on your head, do not be surprised if that happens to you”*. She then added, *“I have not undertaken one because I am too lazy and do not have the time”*. Alexandra's joke was full of cynicism about the expansion of access to higher education system in Mozambique. For her, what the government is calling *“investing in education”* is leading nowhere because *“you have diplomas and diplomas, but you continue without technical capacity for implementation”*. Although Alexandra alluded to the poor quality of education in Mozambique, but I read her comment as expressing a certain personal discomfort because it has the potential to destabilise knowledge hierarchies and make it harder to justify the presence of expatriate technical advisors, unless they are highly qualified.

This chapter discussed workplace interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers by looking at everyday politics in an INGO. I have showed how perceived affinities between these development workers play out in workplace sociability. I have revealed that whereas friendliness and joking were present, there was

a great sense of mistrust between Brazilians and Mozambicans caused by the unequal distribution of power within the organisation, specifically the fact that most leadership positions were occupied by Brazilians with a correspondingly lack of opportunities for professional development for Mozambican staff. Moreover, instead of improving the work environment, personal relations between Brazilians and Mozambicans caused suspicion and left some Mozambicans feeling betrayed. Marlene's story illustrates the tensions that exist when the personal and the professional intersect, particularly in the context of hierarchical relationships and deep structural inequalities between national and international development workers. The chapter also showed that although Mozambicans mentioned "learning a lot" from working with Brazilian colleagues, their expectations of "capacity building" in the form of clear professional development plans and opportunities were not fully fulfilled. Mozambicans felt that their knowledge and experience was not fully recognised and that they did not enjoy the same visibility and exposure as their Brazilian colleagues. The sense of betrayal derived from the realisation that Brazilian colleagues had little incentives to "build" local capacity as they needed to relevant. In the next chapter I analyse the interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists, their mutual expectations and how these were negotiated.

## Chapter 7. Language and political affinities in feminist knowledge practices

*The struggles of Mozambican women are no different from the struggles of women in Brazil and around the world. The possibility of receiving Sororidade is the possibility of strengthening women's struggles through the global experience of struggle. We want Africa to be infected by Brazilian energy.* (Estrela, interview with a Brazilian radio station in São Paulo, during Sororidade's 9<sup>th</sup> International Action, August 2013)

In chapter 5, I discussed the centrality of kinship as southern brotherhood/sisterhood, shared experience of poverty and common political agendas as well as shared membership of a language family to Mozambican feminists' framing of the motivation and significance of interactions with Brazilian feminists as compared with women from other countries. I contended that these kinship imaginaries and metaphors are imbued with tensions. In chapter 6, I examined closely how some of these tensions and contradictions play out in professional interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican INGO workers, exploring Mozambicans' views on expertise and capacity building.<sup>34</sup> Here I continue with that discussion from a different angle. I look at Brazilian-Mozambican interactions in the context of a transnational feminist movement, Sororidade. Such interactions inherently involve people from various countries and examining them deepens my focus on forms of cooperation promoted by non-state actors and offers insights into the significance of language, cultural and political affinities in shaping relationships among movement members.

I explore activist cooperation between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists and their knowledge practices locating them at different scales (transnational, national, institutional and interpersonal). The chapter analyses in great depth the role of Mulher & Feminista, a Mozambican network of civil society organisations, in initiating and shaping knowledge transfer from Brazil to Mozambique, as well as how these interactions are perceived by the women involved. It looks at the process of transfer of Sororidade's international secretariat from Brazil to Mozambique, and examines how power and knowledge transfer were negotiated by Mozambican feminists and the significance of popular education in these processes. **I argue that feminist popular education is an important tool adopted by Mulher & Feminista to "transfer" Brazilian feminist activism. I also contend that Brazilians and Mozambicans differently positioned political trajectories played a central**



<sup>34</sup> Brazilians' views are discussed in chapter 4.

part in the reproduction of knowledge hierarchies. The chapter draws on primary and secondary data (mainly from *Mulher & Feminista* and *Sororidade*): on participant observation in formal and informal activities and discussions promoted by Sororidade in Mozambique and Brazil as well as on interviews and informal conversations with people involved in the movement and in the feminist training course that I discuss in section 7.6.

### 7.1 Transnational movements, activist cooperation and feminist popular education

Bringel et al.'s (2008) conceptualisation of 'solidarities for development' and 'activist/cooperation' connects this chapter with the main themes of the thesis. Bringel et al. (2008) define activist cooperation as development cooperation practices framed by solidarity which are not necessarily linked to the state and seek to strengthen an actor with whom there is some sort of cultural and political affinity and geographic proximity, through reciprocity and political solidarity. Drawing on their work on the internationalisation of the Brazilian Landless Rural Workers' Movement, Cairo and Bringel claim that activist cooperation is based on a different form of knowledge exchange because it is carried out by '(...) networks of international solidarity that are willing to accept convergence with the voiceless subaltern groups of the Global South without trying to teach them a path to salvation or intervening in their activities in order to lead them to a 'revolutionary heaven' (2010:41).

Bringel and Cairo's (2010) claims resonate with descriptions of Sororidade as a feminist network of international solidarity whose political stance and praxis is contrasted to that of Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which tend to be described as pursuing the United Nations (UN) agenda and privileging transnational advocacy within UN spaces. For instance, Alvarez calls the latter 'orphans of the UN' and the former the 'stepdaughters of neo-liberalism'; yet she also warns against dichotomising these groups as they 'sometimes represent two facets of the same activist, organisation or network, two sides of the same feminist coin' (2009:52). Conversely, Conway argues that they 'evidence distinct political cultures, priorities and alliance strategies' (2012:383). This debate is relevant because it was apparent in the discourses of Mozambican feminists about the different Brazilian feminist movements they have engaged with, and in how they made sense of their shifting political identity and the importance of popular education in those processes. In this thesis, I adopt Wiggins's conceptualisation of popular education as 'a





philosophy and methodology that seeks to bring about more just and equitable social, political, and economic relations by creating settings in which people who have historically lacked power can discover and expand their knowledge and use it to eliminate societal inequities' (2011:38). Popular education has been used by both the 'orphans of the UN' and the 'stepdaughters of neo-liberalism', but with different meanings and purposes which are visible in *Mulher & Feminista's* own trajectory (described in section 7.2) and in its importance within *Sororidade* (discussed in section 7.3). However, the significance of knowledge production and popular education is not exclusive to feminist movements, as illustrated by the extensive body of literature on social movements and knowledge production (Esteves 2008, Cox and Fominaya 2009, Choudry and Kapoor 2010, Choudry 2009, Cox 2014). A significant part of this literature discusses pedagogical practices (Hall et al. 2012, Motta and Esteves 2014) and the role of popular education (Kapoor 2003, Harley 2012, Platenga 2012, Friedman 2012, Chang and Yoo 2012, Endresen 2013).

There is a vast literature on popular education in Latin America (Hammond 1998, Kane 2012), on its Brazilian roots (Paulo Freire 1970, Paulo Freire 1973, Hammond 1998, Jara 2010), and on what the North can learn from those experiences (Portner 1994, Pearce et al. 2010, Jaramilho and Carreon 2014). In this regard, Jaramilho and Carreon (2014) argue that Latin American notions of reciprocity, solidarity, and horizontality have been taken up as referents for the Occupy Movement's pedagogical practices as the region opens up "its revolutionary spirit" to the world. There is also some literature on popular education in exchanges between Northern countries and in North-South development cooperation (Åberg 2008, Morales 2010). Drawing on experiences in Chile during the Pinochet military dictatorship (1973-1990), Morales (2010) supports popular education as a methodology for international cooperation asserting its adoption 'ensured that aid during the dictatorship reflected a cooperative process between a small group of British international development organizations and the local counterparts, rather than an imposition of a development paradigm from the outside' (2010:307).

Along similar lines, Blackburn (1993), examines the role of "outsiders" in facilitating processes of empowerment at the grassroots and argues that popular education is an approach to development work through which outsiders could catalyse processes that speak to the aspirations of the poor. In his view, popular education has potential for promoting open exchange of knowledge in which both insiders and outsiders are

enriched. Straubhaar (2014) compares the uses of popular education by an urban neighbourhood association in the Brazil and a U.S INGO operating in Mozambique. Based on the two cases studies the author defends the expansion of the pursuit of critical consciousness from the individual to the organisational level to help organisations continually reassess their organisational performance.

Popular education methods have been praised by activists and development practitioners for their power to promote social change due to their ‘substantively political’ approach to learning and for building people’s capacity to question their reality and existing ideologies (Jara 2010). There is also a widespread perception that popular education methods foster horizontal relationships, mutual understanding and shared learning, thus promoting cooperation rather than imposition. Some view it as a methodology, others as a process and there are also those who perceive it as an ideology (Aronowitz 1993, Bustillos and Vargas 1993). These perceptions relate to Bringel and Cairo’s (2010) claim that activist cooperation is about convergence<sup>35</sup> and not ‘teaching a path to salvation’ or ‘intervening in the other’s activities’ and matter for this analysis because this is also how feminist popular education is framed by Brazilian and Mozambican feminists. In this thesis, I analyse how popular education is used to build convergence.

Particularly relevant for this thesis are feminist conceptualisations of popular education and the re-fashioning of traditional male-biased approaches that did not take into account women’s experiences and gender relations. Although ‘feminist popular education’ and ‘popular education’ share the basic methodological principles of valuing and building upon the experiential knowledge of learners, feminist popular education has a clear focus on ‘de-constructing and constructing gender’ (Walters and Manicom 1996:3) and on transformation of gendered power relationships (Manicom and Walters 2012). The literature on feminist popular education also provides insights into the circulation of feminist ideas and politics of solidarity, the internationalist character that popular education has assumed over time, as well as views concerning its “transferability” (Walters and Manicom 1996, Wiggins 2011, Manicom and Walters 2012). Framings of feminist popular education resonate with claims around the solidarity driven and reciprocal character of SSC discussed in chapter 3. Walters and Manicom Walters warn

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<sup>35</sup> The word convergence emphasises unity and uniformity. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, it means ‘convergence of lines in the distance’. In biology it refers to ‘the tendency of unrelated animals and plants to evolve superficially similar characteristics under similar environmental conditions’.

against ‘the appropriation and translation of models of popular education directly from one context to another’ (1996:6) and underline what they call the ‘self-conscious internationalist’ characteristics of popular education practice and the circulation of ideas and influences ‘via politically committed practitioners and progressive nongovernmental organisations, from site to pedagogical site’ (2012:8). This is done through a process of adaptation, translation and refashioning whereby popular education ideas and practices are re-contextualised and re-signified. Manicom and Walters view feminist popular educators as,

(...) agents of global processes involved in (re) translating feminist thought and catalysing the collective production of place-based feminist knowledge. Working reflexively, mediating feminist and/or educational concepts with local discourses, cultures of learning, and cosmologies, popular educators are coproducing critical knowledge that speaks to local social and political issues and temporalities of struggles, while reflecting transnational feminist political and theoretical concerns (...) (2012:8-9).


According to Manicom and Walters besides sharing a pedagogic praxis with popular education, feminist popular education also converges with transnational feminism in its politics of solidarity specifically the ‘politics and ethics of working across difference’, ‘negotiation of relational privilege and inequalities in collaborative venture’ and ‘a relationship of solidarity and collaboration between educator and learners’ (2012:9). Furthermore, Manicom and Walters note that,

(...) it does not absolve the practice from charitable and missionary motivations, nor from colonialist assumptions. In fact, the challenges of forging ethical and decolonizing relations of solidarity are arguably even more intense for popular education, for there are invariably class, and often racialized differences, between educator and communities of learners in popular education settings. Being a leader, trainer, or ‘teacher,’ and being more formally educated, confers an authority and responsibility complicated by class, cultural, and psychic associations (...). (2012:9)

Nonetheless, they do not discuss further the effects of power relations rooted in structural inequalities in processes of knowledge production within transnational feminism. I will return to this point in the following sections.

## 7.2 Mulher & Feminista

Mulher & Feminista is a network of organisations working in the area of women's rights and gender equality in Mozambique. The organisation is active in the area of policy influencing, lobbying and advocacy and has been involved in the design and approval of legislation and policies to improve women's rights, in the areas of tenure, family, law, violence against women, and more recently abortion. At the time of writing this thesis, the organisation had a total of 85 organisational and individual members - consisting of trade unions, community-based, government and international organisations based in Maputo as well as religious organisations and female leagues of political parties. However, only 35 affiliated organisations (all national non-governmental organisations) were effective members – who had the right to vote. Mulher & Feminista was coordinated by a central office (*Gabinete*), based in Maputo, consisting of an executive director and 14 staff who performed coordination of programmatic components, administration, and were also involved in the direct implementation of activities. About ninety percent of its budget was funded by donors – mostly INGOs, UN and bilateral agencies.

Mulher & Feminista appeared in the early 1990s as an attempt to re-activate coordination amongst organisations working in the area of women in development. Like many other Mozambican NGOs, Mulher & Feminista's emergence and evolution has been influenced by Northern development cooperation. Its origins can be traced back to a Women in Development Inter-Agency Working Group, established in April 1990, which brought together multilateral and bilateral agencies as well as INGOs who met regularly to exchange information and coordinate joint initiatives. Mulher & Feminista's evolution reflects efforts to navigate the development industry and its attempts to develop a more autonomous political agenda in relation to donors and the Mozambican government. South-South interactions have been essential to this process - particularly interactions with Brazilian feminists and social movements in Brazil. The recruitment of Susana, a Brazilian feminist popular educator and independent consultant, to undertake a mid-term review of the network's ongoing strategic plan and develop a new one, led to the organisation changing its statutes and defining its identity as a feminist civil society organisation. 

Although Susana's institutional relationship with Mulher & Feminista only started in 2008, her first encounter with Mozambican feminists was in the late 1990s, on a training

course in Amsterdam. Similarly, Luana, one of the Brazilian facilitators of the training discussed later in this chapter, first meet Mozambican feminists on this course. Estrela, Mulher & Feminista's then executive director also attended the training in the mid-2000s, soon after she joined the organisation. This training was important in creating a sense of political affinity between Mozambican and Brazilian feminists who attended it and identification with popular education as a methodology to train people on women's rights and gender equality.

Interviews with Estrela indicated that the selection of a Brazilian consultant for delivering popular education training to Mulher & Feminista staff and members was not accidental, as the quotation below illustrates.

*Susana comes to work with us because I was looking for a feminist to help us develop a new strategic plan for Mulher & Feminista. (...) we needed to be more radical (...) I needed somebody with the courage to give us the tools we needed and to challenge us (...) so I started searching. The only Brazilian I knew who I thought could do something was Francisca. I knew she had a good reputation, yeah a good Brazilian that is working for [name of organisation]. (...) But this was when she was ending her contract with [name of organisation] so she said: Look Estrela, I am very busy, but I have a friend in whom I deeply trust. This is when she gave us Susana's contact.*

The statement “the only Brazilian I knew who could do something was Francisca” suggests that she was merely looking for a Brazilian consultant. But she wanted more, she sought a Brazilian consultant because she had participated in a gender and development course based on popular education (in the Netherlands) and was interested in how Brazilian feminists had re-fashioned popular education, as she later told me, “I did not learn about this method with Susana, I sought Susana because I was looking for somebody that knew the method”. While both Mozambican and Brazilian feminists had attended the training, Estrela felt that the former “drank the gender and development discourse more” while Brazilian feminists had moved beyond the “gender and development discourse constructed in Beijing”. She criticised Beijing for “institutionalising women's struggle” through the creation of gender mechanisms that in her view created a glass ceiling for women. Estrela also felt that Mozambican feminists did not have other reference-points and her close engagements with Sororidade had exposed her to an alternative feminist politics.

Estrela also believed that popular education had the potential to produce radical personal, organisational and societal changes. Her assessment of the need to be more radical is





associated with the fact that when she was hired Mulher & Feminista was having difficulties with publicly adopting a feminist perspective. These difficulties were expressed, amongst other things, through resistance to the use of the word ‘feminist’ in the organisation’s work, as it was perceived as confrontational and radical compared to the less politically charged notion of ‘gender’. Most of Mulher & Feminista’s members identified themselves as women’s human rights defenders and people who worked to achieve gender equality, not as feminists. This generated contradictory visions and practices within the organisation. Estrela and her team needed a mediator, “*somebody to break down the resistance to feminism*”. This mediation and its outcomes were also important in shaping the organisation’s international engagements and collaboration with feminist transnational movements in Brazil, discussed in the following sections.

The mid-term review report produced by Susana highlighted the need for deepening critical analysis about the theoretical frameworks that underpinned Mulher & Feminista’s work; specifically, unpacking the concepts of gender, feminism, human rights and women’s rights, making explicit their understanding and use of these concepts and defining the network’s own political agenda. This exercise was considered crucial to situate the organisation in a political struggle, strengthen its arguments and forge spaces for women’s voice. The report was followed by a long process of institutional development (2008-2009) that addressed personal, collective and organisational dimensions through the adoption of planning and evaluation methods and learning drawn from popular education. The process was facilitated by Susana in collaboration with the *Gabinete’s* staff, some of whom developed strong personal and professional connections with Susana in the process. Staff from Mulher & Feminista told me about the personal and institutional significance of the work done by Susana, whose recurrent questioning about why they did the work they did helped them realise that what they did was actually related to the feminist movement. Through this process, the organisation and some of its staff came to identify themselves as feminist.

‘We identify ourselves as a feminist organisation because we recognise that this is the way of becoming a political subject and integrating other political subjects, in this fight for women’s rights. It is a way of celebrating our feminist and political identity. We recognise that the fight for women’s rights is essentially political and the process of naming is also political. The option of calling ourselves feminists places us in an ideological position. By identifying ourselves as feminists, we politicise the fight for women’s rights, question the legitimacy of structures that perpetuate women’s subordination, and develop tools for transformative analysis and action. (Mulher & Feminista’s Strategic Plan 2014-2018, pages.4-5)

Self-identifying as feminists and naming the organisation's work as feminist reflect individual changes among Mulher & Feminista staff and their renewed commitment to Sororidade, a feminist movement. Nevertheless, these shifts were highly contested by those who did not self-identify as feminists and generated tensions between those who had participated in the process with Susana and the staff who joined the organisation afterwards, as the latter were seen as women who had not yet developed their feminist identity. Regular training was considered paramount to ensure that new members developed feminist consciousness as well as to smooth out their differences.

The revision of the organisation's statutes was perceived as critical to its political and institutional sustainability. The new statutes defined Mulher & Feminista as a civil society organisation and delimited the then undifferentiated roles and influence of different types of affiliated organisations – particularly government institutions. The new statutes led to the creation of the category of "effective members" which distinguished 35 national NGOs and associations from the other 45 members, giving the NGO more autonomy from the government and, to a certain extent, greater political robustness and legitimacy. This autonomy was however relative, given the organisation's dependency on donor funding and the influence of this on decisions about what projects the organisation embarked on and how they were implemented. An additional consequence was that by self-identifying as a civil society organisation, Mulher & Feminista could also position itself as part of transnational feminist movements.

Susana's support went beyond the mid-term review and developing the organisation's strategic plan. She also designed and implemented a three-year (2009-2011) mentorship programme on feminist popular education methods for the board of trustees, *Gabinete* and member organisations, as well as a training programme for Mulher & Feminista's network of trainers (mainly composed of national consultants). The rationale was to guarantee that everybody was on board with the ideological shift and prevent the organisation's executive and members from following opposed directions. Thus, the implementation of the new strategic plan (2009-2013) was accompanied by a series of activities which focused on the organisation's political project (understood as its mission) and feminist praxis, revision of work methods and dialogue between the *Gabinete* and members.

While strengthening the capacity of women and their organisations to act in defence of women's rights and advocate for changes in public policies had always been part of the organisation's core business, now it was important to ensure that this was done from a feminist perspective, in line with the organisation's ideological shift. From an almost exclusive focus on training of civil society actors and state institutions in gender mainstreaming in the 1990s - through its network of trainers and consultants - the organisation had slowly shifted towards greater emphasis on attitudinal and behavioural changes at the individual level, within the network. This was associated with a growing understanding that identification with and commitment to feminist values at a more personal level, was essential for conducting this work and mobilising other women.

Women's mobilisation has always been on the agenda and the network has played an important role in the emergence and strengthening of new women's groups, but Mulher & Feminista has always struggled in this area. Some of the reasons included what many of the members and partners perceived as a conflict of interest between the *Gabinete's* coordination and implementing roles. Some members thought that the *Gabinete* competed with them in the mobilisation of donor resources, seeking them for itself and for direct implementation of projects rather than for its members. Improving its capacity to mobilise women was partially what motivated Mulher & Feminista to strengthen its presence within Sororidade. The idea of strengthening women's autonomous leadership and capacity as *sujeitos políticos* (political subjects) also became part of the institutional jargon and embedded in the organisation's approach to training. Popular education was seen as an appropriate method to create space for women to construct knowledge based on their individual and collective experiences and essential for strengthening political consciousness and women's mobilisation.

Susana's work and Estrela's membership of Sororidade's International Committee from 2011 contributed to changing the organisation's perception about the importance of collaboration with transnational social movements and of the need for strengthening its capacity to articulate with these movements. Although the organisation has always engaged with groups outside of Mozambique, between 2009 and 2013 there was a significant shift in the weight of Mulher & Feminista's international connections and articulation with transnational feminist movements. Its 2009 annual report underlines the importance of improving its articulation with social movements, particularly feminist, as a way of promoting its political sustainability. Mulher & Feminista's strategic plans



(2009-2013 and 2014-2018) place a lot more emphasis on expansion and consolidation of the organisation's relationships with national and international collective actors than previous documents, and this has been incorporated into its mission; while its 2014-2018 strategic plan includes indicators to monitor its participation in international movements and forums. Building alliances with social movements was perceived as an opportunity to participate in joint struggles, to nurture and inspire itself, to learn from global networks that bring together women's and feminist organisations, to promote the national and global interests of women, and to identify new sources of funding for the organisation. There is also an acknowledgement that the "fight against patriarchy and capitalism" and desired changes in women's situation will only be achieved through joint transnational effort.

Finally, the shifts described above were accompanied by a re-signification of meanings of solidarity; this entailed moving from an understanding of solidarity as collaboration across difference and an enabler of mutual learning to an understanding of solidarity as empathy towards other women and from a focus on women in Mozambique to a growing attention to the struggles faced by women around the world, including those in the Global North. Through their renewed involvement with Sororidade, Mulher & Feminista's staff began seeing themselves not simply as recipients of solidarity, but also active participants in international networks of solidarity; this was framed as "*putting Mozambique on the map*" and re-fashioning the ways in which Mozambican feminists are imagined by *companheiras* from other countries.

In chapter 4, I highlighted Susana reflections about going to Mozambique looking for employment and not for a revolution, yet the changes within Mulher & Feminista associated with the processes she facilitated are viewed by the organisation's staff I interviewed as an institutional revolution, because it allowed them to pursue certain agendas and to gain international visibility. I have provided this detailed description of the shifts within Mulher & Feminista to illustrate the agency of its staff, map significant moments in its institutional trajectory in which Brazilian feminists have intervened and its effects, and to contextualise the sections that follow.

### **7.3 Sororidade**

In this section, I briefly describe Sororidade's history, organisational set-up, its political stance and the role of popular education. Born in 1995 in North America as a public feminist protest against poverty and violence, Sororidade would go global in the early 2000s bringing together groups, networks and movements of women from other parts of the world, including both Northern and Southern countries. This transnational mobilisation was inspired by the belief that women could relate to each other's demands in spite of geographic, cultural, political and economic borders as well as nationality and social divisions, because poverty and violence transcend them. The idea of a shared bond and global sisterhood between women that transcends all forms of division was perceived as the catalyst for mobilising women around the world. Paradoxically, the consolidation of South-North, North-South, North-North and South-South solidarity feature as political objectives in the movement's documents, illustrating the pervasiveness of these categorisations.

Sororidade is coordinated by an international secretariat that rotates from country to country every six years, led by an international coordinator and a small team of three women, usually administration, communications and liaison officials. This body is overseen by an international committee comprised of elected women from various countries. The former and current international coordinators have both been members of the international committee. Sororidade's coordinating structures include regional, national and local coordinating bodies. Where the international secretariat is located matters in terms of collective organising and in shaping the movement's identity; it also reflects geographies of activism (Conway 2004, Conway 2008a, Conway 2008b) and links to broader social movement processes and spaces. The international secretariat was first based in North America, in 2006 it was transferred to Brazil, and in 2013 to Mozambique. The international secretariat is usually hosted by a local feminist organisation, but is independent from it.

Sororidade defines itself as a feminist anti-capitalism movement. Its engagements with anti-alternative globalisation movements are part of the movement's identity as it works to integrate a feminist approach into their analyses and activist praxis, often framed as the incorporation of Sororidade's demands. This means reflecting about the impact of globalisation processes on women, particularly the unequal redistribution of wealth,

consumerism as well as the failure of democracy and of state responsibility to citizens. Teresa, the movement's former international coordinator, expressed concern about what she saw as weak awareness on the part of Mozambican feminists about the impacts of capitalism and globalisation on women's lives. The movement's knowledge practices, including the use of popular education, aim to raise this awareness and forge an anti-capitalist stance.

The movement does not invest in UN spaces, and many of its members are sceptical of the promotion of women's rights through development cooperation. Its political stance incorporates a critique of the inability of the UN to 'impose itself' in the political and economic arenas, to openly oppose neoliberal capitalism and patriarchy as the structural causes of poverty and violence against women. Sororidade privileges grassroots mobilisation and contentious politics. This political stance demanded a lot of creativity from Mulher & Feminista when interacting with Sororidade, as the former has also privileged collaboration with the government and donors. The two operated under very distinct politics and positioning vis-à-vis the development industry, particularly their relations with development cooperation agencies and donor funding. These dynamics influenced how Brazilian (from Sororidade) and Mozambican feminists perceived each other, creating in the latter the feeling that they were not "*political enough*", which influenced their decision to consume knowledge products developed by Brazilian feminists linked to the movement.

In the remaining paragraphs of this section, I turn to how solidarity, knowledge transfer and popular education feature in Sororidade's discourses, highlighting the contradictions in the movement's knowledge practices as it seeks to avoid the reproduction of knowledge hierarchies whilst at the same time spreading its view of the world to its members around the world. Sororidade's values and actions are 'centred on the globalisation of solidarity' (Sororidade's Declaration of Values, 2003) and rooted in the perspective that there is an ongoing deep crisis in solidarity. Sororidade's Constitution and By-Laws (approved in November 2011) state that '(...) international solidarity and the fact that we are attentive to what happens to our sisters in other parts of the world' are part of the movement's identity. One of the movement's main objectives is global solidarity-building, specifically to 'strengthen and maintain a vast solidarity movement of all women and grass-roots groups so that [Sororidade] constitutes a gesture of affirmation by women of the world' (Sororidade's website).

One of the movement's goals is to 'contribute to the building and strengthening of a vast process of popular education' (Sororidade's Constitution and By-Laws, 2011). Popular education is the main approach for feminist political training, aimed at building political subjects and developing feminist alternatives based on the re-construction of activists' own knowledge and daily practices. Sororidade's bodies put significant effort into organising, creating, capturing and distributing knowledge related to the movement's thematic areas of intervention and its political stance. For instance, many of the 'desired outcomes' outlined in Sororidade's 2007-2010 Strategic Plan were related to production and discussion of texts about various topics<sup>36</sup> to ensure that national coordinating bodies were familiarised with them. It also placed great importance on the development of shared political positions and popular education tools. During this period the international secretariat was tasked with 'inviting national coordinating bodies to develop popular education tools with women at the grassroots, nationally and regionally (...) adapted to each country'.

The 2007-2010 Strategic Plan underlined however that this did not mean

the NCBs [national coordinating bodies] having to adopt a concept developed by someone else but as a collective construction. The IC [international committee] presents some common elements and the debate within the NCBs gives us the possibility to build our analysis. It is also a construction process involving our allies. We learn from them, and can then propose to the other members of [Sororidade] the concepts, principles and evaluations of other movements, reshaping them with a feminist practice and vision at the grass-roots level.

Yet, the term 'transfer of knowledge' is embedded in the 'desired outcomes' of the transfer of Sororidade's international secretariat between countries. It was the case when it was transferred from North America to Brazil and from the latter to Mozambique. What is transferred however varies significantly according to the reading of each country's strengths and weaknesses. In the transition from North America to Brazil (from 2006 to 2008), former international secretariat's staff accompanied the new team 'as needed', and there was 'transfer of knowledge and expertise of the North American team' to consolidate a translation team in Brazil and expand the network of translators (Sororidade 2007-2010 Strategic Plan). **A set of skills and resources were also expected to be transferred from Brazil to Mozambique.<sup>37</sup> While the movement claims to learn from its**

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<sup>36</sup> These include feminist economic alternatives, food sovereignty, peace and militarization, violence against women, and prostitution.

<sup>37</sup> In section 7.5 I discuss how this process was negotiated.

members, what is described as collective construction sometimes seems more like indoctrination and reproduction of knowledge hierarchies, as training design and implementation fall into the educators-learners differentiation trap. I return to this in section 7.6.

#### 7.4 **Mulher & Feminista within Sororidade**

Mulher & Feminista joined Sororidade in 2000. The interviews with *Gabinete* staff revealed that in the first ten years their engagements with the transnational movement did not generate of a sense of commitment and belonging. Estrela stated that although Mulher & Feminista was affiliated to the movement and involved in carrying out its local activities, they “*never really belonged to it*”. As she explains “*(...) we did some things without quite understanding why we were doing them, a bit instrumentalised, but not so instrumentalised because it was somehow associated with our own struggles*”.

According to Estrela, Mulher & Feminista’s involvement with Sororidade demanded more than they had anticipated and could offer, at the time, as they were overburdened with project implementation and still operating “*under the development cooperation logic*” which limited their availability to respond to Sororidade’s demands. To illustrate these tensions she told me the story of her first interaction with Teresa, a Brazilian feminist and the movement’s former international coordinator. It happened in 2010 when Teresa and other Brazilian feminists involved with an international peasant’s movement and an international environmental movement organised a seminar in Maputo Province, with women from African and Asian countries involved in the three movements, to improve their articulation. The seminar was attended by Mulher & Feminista staff as well as some of its members, but not by Estrela, then the network’s executive director. Teresa and her colleagues were interested in learning more about Mulher & Feminista; when they had a day off for leisure, they decided to visit Mulher & Feminista’s office to talk with the women there. They tried to have a meeting with Estrela but it was not possible because she had other commitments. Estrela felt that she had caused a bad impression on the Brazilian delegation and framed it as result of her “*lack of political consciousness*” that did not allow her to grasp the importance of the meeting.

*Just to show you that we were not political subjects (...) Mulher & Feminista is an NGO, and the executive director is busy. I had an institutional meeting with*

*them as the executive director and I was fine with that (...) I did not understand what else they wanted. (...) so they did not have a good impression of us. I remember Teresa's image that day (...) today I understand how frustrated she was. Like, these NGOs are not interested, they don't understand our struggle.*

Teresa seemed rather reluctant to talk about how she perceived her Mozambican comrades and was evasive about the incident described by Estrela. She noted however that Mozambican delegates to the movement's international meetings did not intervene much and that she had the impression that there were many things happening in Mozambique which were not visible at the international level. She also pointed out that the African space within Sororidade was dominated by the presence of French-Speaking women, and that the absence of Portuguese translation must have inhibited a more meaningful participation.

Yet, what Teresa said next contradicted this. She was *"impressed and puzzled"* by the attitude of a delegation from Mulher & Feminista staff and representatives of some member organisations who attended Sororidade's regional African meeting in a West African city, in 2009, because they *"were present and involved"* and *"intervened in the process constructively"*. When I asked what she thought had changed, Teresa responded that the meeting was in Africa. The host country was French-Speaking and the event was also dominated by French-Speaking women from the region. While the contradiction in Teresa's discourse and her attribution of the shift to the fact that the event happened in Africa - implicitly assuming that this may have contributed to making them feel more at home - could suggest a stereotyped view of Mozambican women, I read it as **a reflection of the generalised reluctance to say less positive things about each other (and fear that this might disturb their relationships)** I noticed in Brazilian and Mozambican feminists.<sup>38</sup>

Arguably the shift had more to do with the fact that Mulher & Feminista had already made the decision to meaningfully engage with Sororidade and be more visible internationally which also partially explains why **Estrela agreed to represent the African continent in Sororidade's international committee, in 2011**. Also, **her participation allowed Mulher & Feminista to learn more about the movement. Mulher & Feminista's agency and knowledge of Sororidade were essential in changing the ways in which they engaged with the movement.**

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<sup>38</sup> **It may also have reflected concern about how I was going to use the information.**

I now turn to the process of identification of the country organisation to host the movement's international secretariat and of a new international coordinator. According to Teresa and Estrela, a South African member of Sororidade's international committee with a longstanding presence in the movement and other transnational spaces had applied to be next international coordinator and for South Africa to host the secretariat. However, after an exploratory visit to South Africa, the international committee concluded that there was lack of collective organising around Sororidade in the country and of conditions to host the international secretariat. However, there was urgency in nominating a new international coordinator, as Teresa had been in the position for more than six years and could no longer continue for personal reasons.

The visit to South Africa happened shortly before a meeting of Sororidade's international committee in Maputo. The meeting was organised to coincide with the celebration of Mulher & Feminista's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary and an international conference which also mobilised women from all over the country. The event was to display 'the strength, diversity and above all the increasing capacity of the women's movement in Mozambique' (Mulher & Feminista 2013 Annual Report). The international conference certainly increased Mulher & Feminista's prominence within Sororidade and influenced the decision to transfer its international secretariat to Mozambique. The members of the international committee felt that Mozambique, particularly Mulher & Feminista had what it took to host Sororidade's international secretariat.

A proposal was made to have the international secretariat in Mozambique with the South African woman as international coordinator – because of her exposure to the international arena of social movements and membership of the World Social Forum's International Committee. However, this proposal was rejected, and it was instead agreed that Mulher & Feminista's should host the international secretariat, and Estrela, its executive director (who at the time was a member of Sororidade's international committee) should become the new international coordinator. The South African member of the international committee had played an important role in proposing Estrela as a member of Sororidade's international committee and in coaching her during the initial stages of her trajectory in the movement's international sphere.

Teresa told me that it was important to move this coordination structure to an African country. **Mozambique, despite its weak presence in transnational civil society spaces and**



weak anti-capitalist stance (a fundamental component of the movement's ideology and political project) was perceived by the members of the international committee gathered in Maputo as a better alternative considering the urgency and the effort Mulher & Feminista had put into organising its first international feminist conference and the international committee meeting.

*Everybody was impressed by the political capacity demonstrated by women [Mozambican] to respond to an emergency situation in a well thought out manner. They gathered together, chatted and everybody was Wow! We were also impressed during the national activities. (...) The women in coordination positions dealt very well with themes related to reproductive health, violence, sexuality. They expressed their opinion, made the points that needed to be made without shaming grassroots women. They elicited reflection without embarrassing, they kept it as an open space. So, we were very...I was very impressed by that, I thought it was very cool. Nonetheless, I also thought the anti-capitalist political stance needed work, it was a challenge. We had a public protest, and they were very excited. We bet all our chips on Mozambique ...there was no way out...I am glad they came on board.*

Sororidade's decision to move its international committee to an African country was also strategic as it seems to be partially related to the need to mobilise funding from Northern donors – being based in a developed country or in a middle income country was restricting the movement's access to donor money – as well as to an interest in mobilising more African women. For Estrela, this also indicated that the initial bad impression Mozambican feminists had caused on their Brazilian *companheiras* had been erased. When asked about the importance of Mozambique hosting the international secretariat, in a recent interview with a Portuguese INGO, Estrela replied that the invitation “*meant the recognition of Mozambican women as political subjects and the internationalization of their struggle in defence of their own rights*”. The idea of Mozambican women being or becoming “political subjects” is now dear to Estrela as well as to Mulher & Feminista, as section 7. 6 on the feminist political training will illustrate.

While Mulher & Feminista's relations with Brazil in the context of this transnational feminist movement may appear incidental, they have played a critical role in shifting the organisation's commitment to the movement. Besides, the Brazilian experience within the movement has been used as a model by Mozambican feminists. The use of the Brazilian model means the attempt to replicate (or, as Estrela told me “*cut and paste*”) movement discourses and practices from Brazil to Mozambique. In the next section, I discuss the agency of Mozambican feminists in defining how this ought to happen.



## 7.5 Negotiating knowledge and power transfer

*Our support [from Brazil] during the transition is still being debated. (...) The main question is Teresa. What is Teresa's role? We are careful not to impose but at the same time there is a super contribution, super knowledge, so I think that that is still to be discussed. (Luana)*

As mentioned in section 7.3 knowledge transfer is considered integral to the transfer of Sororidade's international secretariat from one country to another. However, what is transferred and how the transfer takes place varies considerably depending on the countries and people involved, and entails significant negotiation. This section discusses how the negotiation took place as the international secretariat was transferred from Brazil to Mozambique.

Sororidade's newsletter underlines the strategic importance of feminist political training and communications within the transition process and outlines the support of the entire movement, particularly of Brazilian feminists, during this phase.

Our sisters in Mozambique, led by [Estrela], are certain that they have the support of the entire movement in facing this challenge. (...) Since the 9<sup>th</sup> International Meeting in Brazil, we have dedicated ourselves to organising the records of the work carried out in recent years, as well as frequent conversations with our Mozambican sisters in order to transfer the knowledge we have accumulated. (Sororidade Newsletter, December 2013)

The newsletter and the interviews conducted underlined the relevance of the knowledge accumulated by Brazilian feminists as well as the need for "transferring" it to Mozambican sisters. **While the Mozambican team felt that in Brazil there were well-established mobilisation and activism which were easier for them to adopt because of the perceived similarities with Mozambique, they also felt it was important to move with care. Thus what, how and when knowledge got transferred was significantly shaped by the new international secretariat team.**

Estrela saw support from the Brazilian team as paramount and told me that she asked Teresa many questions about issues she wanted to understand, particularly about movement members, as for her it was important "to know with whom to build this path". She normally contacted Teresa when there was a specific issue with which she needed guidance. From Estrela's perspective, it was not only the international secretariat that was in transition, she herself was also in transition trying to combine her responsibilities as

Mulher & Feminista's executive director and as Sororidade's international coordinator, which ultimately led her to decide to commit to working full-time for Sororidade. However, the new team's need to adopt a slow pace of knowledge transfer caused uncertainty about how this should be done and fear of imposition, as a result of the awareness that the process "*belonged to Mozambique*". This is especially visible in the discourses of Teresa and Luana, Todas Feministas's coordinator, as illustrated in the quote in the beginning of this section. The uncertainty and fear were related to the shift in their own position, not knowing what role to play or how to ask directly what support the new team needed.

Teresa was also going through a transition as her role within Sororidade changed - she was no longer part of the movement's leadership. Relatedly, she was troubled by her conflicting desires to help and to give space, informed by her own experience during the international secretariat transfer from North America to Brazil. The process had not been smooth because whilst the North American women involved in international activities wanted to see the international secretariat transferred to Brazil, the ones involved with the movement's local coordination body did not, and resisted the change. This experience traumatised Teresa, and she was determined to act differently and not have a "*maternalist attitude*".

*So, now I don't know. I find myself adopting the posture of how can I help...so that it works [the international secretariat in Mozambique], but it is a difficult exercise for me because I was in a certain mindset...I have to give them space...allow them to sort things out. If they need they will ask, but I am not sure that's how it is. I need to find a balance. (...) I don't know what it looks like, we have to invent it.*

A frank conversation with Estrela helped her deal with this dilemma. Estrela's response to her fears was: "*you can tell us what you think, and if it makes sense to us we will work on it, but if it does not we will do it in another way. So, do not give yourself so much power*". This made Teresa realise that the very dilemma expressed through the fear of voicing her opinion reflected a certain maternalism because it was based on the fear of influencing the Mozambican team and reducing their autonomy. Teresa's fear of voicing her opinion was also rooted in her awareness of her limited knowledge of Mozambique and perceived differences in relation to her own country. While highlighting her history in the movement and accumulated experience she also admitted,

*I actually say many things about Mozambique and it also makes me nervous, you know? Am I talking about a reality that is very different from mine? At the same time, it's what Estrela told me: say what you think because sometimes is interesting to have a different experience, the gaze of another country. Speak and people will know how to measure.*

Luana was concerned that what she perceived as Estrela's lack of familiarity with the "international dynamic" would negatively affect Mozambique's ability to coordinate international activities - both the international secretariat and the international action. The fact that Estrela has been a member of *Sororidade's* international committee since 2011 and has been involved in most of the movement's international meetings did not seem to make much difference. Yet, their awareness that "the process belongs to Mozambique" expressed by Luana meant that they had to respect Estrela and her team's rhythm and priorities.

The provision of feminist popular education training was an arena where there were fewer uncertainties about the Brazilian contribution. **Not only was feminist popular education the main approach to training within Sororidade but also Estrela, who had a particular interest in the approach, made it very clear that this was an area where Brazilian support could make a difference to the feminist movement in Mozambique.** Although Luana and Teresa spoke about the relevance of their accumulated knowledge and experience and the need to explore ways to transfer it to Mozambique, **the idea that Mozambique could follow Brazil's path to collective action and citizen engagement was expressed by Estrela, who seemed to see in Brazilian feminists some kind of inherent knowledge about building a feminist movement.** **Estrela believed that the transfer of feminist popular education pedagogies and the feminist ideas transmitted through them were relevant and viable in the Mozambican context.** These assumptions are examined in the next section, which looks at a feminist political training course facilitated by Luana and Teresa in Mozambique.



## **7.6 Feminist popular education: facilitation, ideology and solidarity**

Between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of February, [Teresa] and [Luana], from [Todas Feministas], were in Mozambique for a feminist political training, part of the transition of [Sororidade]'s international secretariat, from Brazil to Mozambique. During 10 days, 32 women from several Mozambican provinces, members of Mulher & Feminista and other local organisations affiliated to Sororidade, debated themes central to the movement, such as feminist economics, food

sovereignty and the solidarity economy. The training made it possible to expand the feminist stance about different issues establishing links between the exploitation of nature and of women's bodies in territories. Drawing on the final document of [Sororidade]'s International Meeting, the participants discussed the different contexts and megaprojects that affect women's lives, such as ProSAVANA, and exploitation by mining companies, such as Vale. During the training, the activists were in contact with the mechanisms that organise the movement, such as communication and self-financing, and affirmed their commitment to developing training courses and actions in their regions, through the methodology of popular education and the horizontal construction of the movement.

The text above refers to the popular education training examined in this section and was posted on Todas Feministas website a month after the event. The discussion that follows is based on participant observation and on interviews with the facilitators and participants before and after the event.

This section is structured around two dimensions underpinning popular education that are identified in the literature: the pedagogical and the political dimension (Fink and Arnove 1991). The pedagogical dimension rests on a learning methodology that purportedly attempts to eliminate power differences between educator and learners, by questioning knowledge hierarchies, starting from the experience of learners and promoting bottom-up approaches to knowledge and training. While it values the knowledge, abilities and experiences of learners, it also imparts new skills and information. The political dimension derives from its intentionality in promoting collective action and social transformation by working with marginalised groups of society (Kane 2012, von Kotze 2012, Manicom & Walters 2012). These dimensions are intertwined, but I distinguish between them for the purpose of analysis, to examine interactions between the Brazilian educators and the Mozambican learners and **tease out how power relations between participants, rooted in structural inequalities, shaped the process.**

#### *Access and positionality*

Teresa, one of the Brazilian facilitators, was instrumental in facilitating my participation in the training course. I had been introduced to Teresa by Lúcia, a Brazilian woman associated with Sororidade who was in Mozambique on holiday. I told Teresa about my research and manifested interest in learning about the transfer of the international secretariat. She got excited by the idea of having a Mozambican researcher documenting

the process and mentioned that Mulher & Feminista and Sororidade were organising a feminist training. I asked if I could attend and she promised to discuss my participation with Estrela.

Ten days before the training Xiluva, the director of programmes at Mulher & Feminista (who became executive director a year later) emailed me an invitation to the training, which stated that it was aimed at ‘strengthening the capacity of women to analyse changes in the social, political and economic context and their effects in women’s lives, as well as to develop alternatives for the defence of women’s rights’. Accommodation, food and transport costs for all participants as well as the airfares, fees and daily allowances of Brazilian facilitators were covered by Mulher & Feminista, with money from a large social accountability programme, funded by a bilateral development agency.

I knew some women from Mulher & Feminista from when I worked as gender coordinator for a United Nations agency, and had participated in events convened by the organisation, but never became affiliated. My identities as a former UN staff member and feminist consultant from Maputo seem to have shaped interactions with the majority of participants, even though the event organisers and participants were aware of my research and of the fact that this was my main motivation to attend the training. Estrela and Luana seemed to perceive me primarily as an academic.



The main criteria for participant selection, as described in the training course’s concept note were: the person’s role within the affiliated organisation and in the process of strengthening *Sororidade* in Mozambique as well as ‘their potential to mobilise actors and drive training processes at community level’. It was also important to capture the diversity of women with whom *Mulher & Feminista* and *Sororidade* engaged; this was reflected in the selection of participants from NGOs, CBOs and trade unions, working on a variety of issues.

When I arrived at Mulher & Feminista’s office, Luana and Teresa, the two Brazilian facilitators were inside with Estrela and I only saw them when the mini-bus arrived. There was little space for interaction with Luana and Teresa during the trip as they sat together next to Estrela, in the first rows of the mini-bus while I sat in the back, in the last row. It astonished me to see how little Luana and Teresa interacted with the rest of the women during the four-hour trip; they only chatted with each other and with Estrela. The other women were talking to each other, with those sitting next to them, in front and at the back.

I hoped that there would be more interactions between the Brazilian facilitators and us (the training participants) once we arrived in the beach resort.

On our arrival at the beach resort, built on the lakefront of Bilene, one of the most visited beaches in Southern Mozambique, we waited outside the mini-bus whilst Mulher & Feminista representatives and the hotel's staff sorted out in which of the 16 chalets each participant would be sleeping. They had a list with the names of each of us and arrangements had been made for participants to share the chalets. It was decided that I would be sharing with Nweti, a Mozambican feminist in her late thirties. Each of the Brazilian facilitators had their own room, as did Estrela.

I knew Nweti well and she was one of the first people I interviewed for this research. Nweti had taken part Agora's human rights fellowship programme in São Paulo, Brazil. She worked for many years for the UK and Netherlands branches of a large INGO, and had just returned from her postgraduate studies in Europe. Whilst I was delighted to share a room with Nweti and grateful that the training organisers, knowing that we got on well, thought we would more comfortable together, I also felt that the arrangement reflected an unspoken differentiation between women who had studied abroad and worked for international development organisations and women who did not.

Once the accommodation was sorted we were directed to the resort's beautiful garden, shaded by splendid masala trees, where two large tables with pastries, biscuits, and hot and cold beverages had been prepared for us, not far from our meeting room. We circulated around the table but talked little with each other; we were hungry and still recovering from the trip. I observed Luana and Teresa separating themselves from the participants, as they savoured their food. I noticed how the majority of women were dressed including Luana, Teresa and Estrela; they were wearing either a t-shirt, scarf or *capulana*<sup>39</sup> with *Sororidade*'s symbols. I felt naked because there were no organisational symbols on my clothes, as I am not formally linked to either *Sororidade* or *Mulher & Feminista*. At that moment, I was not sure whether it was a *Mulher & Feminista* or a *Sororidade* event – this was not very clear in the invitation, as the document had the logos

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<sup>39</sup> According to Wikipedia, "*capulana* (also spelled "Kapulana," or in Changana "nguvu" or "vemba") is a type of a sarong worn primarily in Mozambique but also in other areas of south-eastern Africa. It is a length of material about 2 metres by 1 metre. It can either be used as a wrap-around skirt, dress or can become a baby carrier on the back. It is considered a complete piece of clothing." <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capulana> accessed on 13/07/2016. Most importantly, capulanas have been used by several national and international organizations in Mozambique, who have custom-made capulanas advertising their organisations and projects, as was the case with *Mulher & Feminista*.

of the two organisations as well as Sororidade's motto. The two organisational identities were entangled not only in the women's clothes, but also in the way the event was run.

### *The pedagogical dimension*

After finishing the meal, we were directed to a large meeting room with capacity for 60 people and large windows through which we could see shrubbery and glimpses of the sea. There were several chairs and a couple of tables at each end of the room. The set-up of the room was important for the facilitators, who asked us to form a large circle with the chairs. This format was a means of creating a horizontal platform for discussions. The circle also resonates with Sororidade's symbol, consisting of women holding hands in a circle, visible in two *capulanas* hanging on one wall and in the clothes of some of the participants.

The first activity was a relaxation exercise. Luana asked us to walk in the room all in the same direction and to stretch our arms and back. We then introduced ourselves to each other; this was followed by an activity in which each of us had to write our expectations about the training in one word. Some of the words that emerged were: sharing, capacities, learn more, confidence, change, experience, knowledge, and strength. I was there to observe interactions between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists, thus I wrote 'observe'. Luana then asked us to form three groups around similar expectations – knowledge, strength and sharing - discuss them and draw a picture representing our collective expectations. While some women framed their expectations in terms of acquisition of new knowledge imparted by the facilitators, others emphasised learning from each other through sharing their own experiences. Another group of women expected to renew their strength to continue doing their work; for them new knowledge, sharing and learning from others contributed to this purpose.

We then discussed how each participant felt during group work: it was a moment during which women could see themselves reflected in the other; **they realised that other women present were doing similar work but they had not been aware of this; they also realised that there was much strength to fight for women's rights and to help each other.** The youngest woman in the room (a woman in her late teens) spoke about how her initial reluctance to speak (because she was the youngest) was overcome when she realised that the other women could relate to what she had to say because they had once been

adolescents. One woman, commented: *“there is a strong interest in the struggle for women’s rights, even Brazil has come to Mozambique”*.

After this exercise we agreed on some ground rules about the end and start of the sessions, including coffee breaks. The women preferred to have an early start (8:30 am) and end (5:00 pm) to give them time to go the beach before it got dark. A brief presentation of the programme for the week followed. We were advised not to take notes during the training, as this would distract us. Luana argued that it was important that each woman was actively involved in listening and reflecting, as well as taking part in the exercises. None of the other participants dissented. This was bad news for me, but I respected the rule. Yet, this later made me feel uncomfortable, as I saw the facilitators and Estrela taking notes throughout the training. While understanding that the rule was to avoid a formal teacher-student situation in which the student is taking notes on what the teacher says, and that the facilitators needed to take notes to produce a report of the event, **this rule also showed the power facilitators had to define how learning and engagement should take place.**

As we left the meeting room at lunchtime, I noticed that a table had been prepared right outside with various materials to support the training; mostly articles and leaflets produced by Todas Feministas and Sororidade on feminism, solidarity economy, and prostitution, plus a couple of articles on megaprojects in Mozambique produced by Brazilian researchers and activists, and a couple of pamphlets on gender-based violence produced by Mulher & Feminista. One side of the table had blue folders with the programme and various articles related to each of the training sessions. The articles were again mostly written by Brazilian academics, with a couple written by European and U.S feminists. **I was perplexed by the selection of materials. There was not a single text on Mozambique or written by a Mozambican scholar in the folder.**

Nonetheless, the table with the training programme included a column entitled ‘toolbox’ with a brief description of support materials for each session, which made reference to Mozambican work, such as a book on the women’s movement in Mozambique written by Mulher & Feminista’s former president, and a collection of materials on gender based violence in Mozambique produced by a Mozambican feminist research-based NGO affiliated to Mulher & Feminista. However, these were not included in the presentations or discussed. During the session on the history of feminism in the world and in Brazil, participants said that they knew little about the history of the women’s movement in



Mozambique and that it was important to trace its milestones. One leader from a trade union told a story about a group of Mozambican female farmers burning seeds and breaking hoes in protest at a government agricultural policy and questioned why the event has not been documented. Discussing some of the materials in the toolbox would have visibilised political trajectories of the women's movement in Mozambique.



The facilitators gave participants space to express themselves in a relaxed, “safe” and non-discriminatory environment. This was appreciated by the women who were also pleased that “*there were no men around*”. Yet, I noticed that there was an imbalance in terms of what facilitators and participants shared with each other. Participants spoke about personal and, in some cases, deeply intimate issues while facilitators did not reveal anything personal; they rather focused on concepts and political stance. While this dynamic is presumably associated with the need to distinguish roles, it created distance between facilitators and participants, reinforcing knowledge hierarchies between them. Relatedly, even though facilitators and participants typically addressed each other as *companheiras* (companions, life partners) and sometimes as *irmãs* (sisters) which meant that at least in language positions and hierarchies were not visible, they were evident in other ways.

Whereas group discussions happened in a circle format, facilitators and participants did not really mix during the workshop as the leaders generally sat next to each other. Luana and Teresa mainly interacted with women who occupied leadership positions within Mulher & Feminista's *Gabinete* or who were responsible for the event's logistics. Plus, the two were always together and I did not see them approaching the other participants to talk, or vice-versa, including during meal breaks or in the evenings. One would expect that at least Luana would be more interested in conversing informally with the Mozambican participants to learn about them and the country, given that this was her first time in Mozambique. During lunch breaks I invited myself to sit next to them, but the conversation between us was minimal beyond discussion of the training activities. However, on one occasion, after a session on sexuality which included a discussion and group work on sexual minorities, Luana approached me and expressed her personal inability to deal with the theme, particularly the ambiguity she felt about the subject. I was taken by surprise, because we had not interacted much. This would have been a good topic for reflexive discussion with the other women and would have diminished the tendency to portray Brazilians as progressive and Mozambicans as conservative.

Luana seemed uncomfortable, insecure and impatient on several occasions, but appeared to become more relaxed in the second week. I read her uneasiness as a reflection of the contradictions of the discourse of familiarity and proximity which presumes competency on the part of Brazilians to interact with Mozambicans. She later told me that delivering the training had been challenging. While speaking Portuguese helped, Luana was well aware of the differences between Brazil and Mozambique and it made her doubt her capacity to undertake the assignment properly, especially because of her limited knowledge about Mozambique. All the information she had was provided by Teresa, who had slightly more information about Mozambique - this was her third (short) trip to the country - and who had discussed the idea with Estrela during a previous trip to Mozambique a few months earlier. Thus, although Luana spoke more during the ten days of the training course Teresa was to be the backbone of the team. This is confirmed by Luana's own words below:

*The fact that Teresa knew Mozambique better gave me a bit more security. She had been there more times and not only Mozambique, she knows many other African countries...so there is more security when discussing the local reality. It was a huge challenge for me, and always when we accept these challenges we think that we will have huge amounts of time to prepare (...) yes, I will prepare myself, I will read this and that, and then you realise the date of travel has arrived.*

Luana believed that by reading about Mozambique she would be better equipped to deliver the training and planned to prepare herself, but did not have time. Although the initial idea and the training programme sent to participants stated that it would be co-facilitated by the two Brazilians with two Mozambicans – Estrela and Paula, a programme officer from Mulher & Feminista, this was not the case. While Estrela participated actively in the discussions, she had a limited role in facilitating and acted more like a “translator” explaining the meanings of some of the things participants were saying to the Brazilian facilitators and vice-versa. Having Mulher & Feminista staff facilitating the training seemed to be important for Luana. She told me that when Estrela invited them the agreement was “*we commit but we want you contributing to the training, the debate and so on*”. Seemingly, Mulher & Feminista staff presumed that knowing the methodology and having experience with Brazilian social movements was enough to allow Luana establish rapport with training participants, even though it was a completely new environment. A participant from Mulher & Feminista's *Gabinete* later commented informally that Luana had disappointed her, because although she was highly experienced

in feminist popular education and an important reference among social movements in Brazil, she was too insecure and did not do justice to her reputation.

### *The political dimension*

The perception of feminist popular education as horizontal and democratic presumes that educators and learners have equal power during the training and ignores the high degree of *facipulation*<sup>40</sup> that takes place from the moment the content of the training is selected and the programme designed. A close analysis of the political component of the training reveals not only an intention to develop critical consciousness but also an explicit desire to transmit Sororidade's ideology and political stance around key issues. The terms of reference stated that at the end of the training course participants should: know the history of the feminist movement and the centrality of debates about the body, autonomy, sexuality and violence against women; have a basic understanding of economics, the concept of development, and the main multilateral institutions that determine the dominant development model; analyse the national context and understand main current issues in Mozambique; explore alternatives for the defence of women's rights; and integrate new knowledges in training processes at local level to strengthen the feminist movement. The main training sessions were to address the following themes: gender, race and class; history of the feminist movement, including identification of strands of feminism and tracing African women's history; body, autonomy, sexuality and violence; political economy, development and the role of multilateral institutions; challenges for the women's movement at international and national levels; effects of transnational companies and megaprojects in women's lives (agribusiness and extractive industries); solidarity economy and agroecology feminist alternatives to development; and popular education methodology.

I would argue that the direction of the discussion was biased towards Sororidade's position on the themes outlined above and that the main purpose of the training was to forge and replicate a certain model of Sororidade's activist, inspired by Brazilian Sororidade activists, despite the diversity of models of activism available within the feminist movement and aperspectives on these issues, participants were being

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<sup>40</sup> The term *facipulation* derives from the combination of facilitation and manipulation. 'It highlights the power of facilitators to potentially dominate participatory processes by setting agendas, steering discussions, framing analysis and summarising conclusions'

<http://www.participatorymethods.org/glossary/facipulate> accessed on 28.07.2016

indoctrinated. For example, although the session on the history of feminism was supposed to address various strands of feminism, the session focused mainly on Marxist and socialist feminisms. Similarly, the discussion on the effects of transnational companies and megaprojects on women's lives did not incorporate a broad range of views, specifically those of Mozambican women living in those areas and/or directly affected by the changes. At times, it seemed that the objective was to enlist women into a particular worldview without allowing much space for divergent opinions to emerge. There was a clear focus on disseminating Sororidade's politics and culture to women who, although they had been involved in some activities associated with the movement, did not yet consider themselves as part of it. The sessions on multilateral institutions and challenges for the women's movement at the international and national levels, also did not fully capture the plurality and tensions between Brazilian feminisms, instead it focused on Sororidade's position regarding engagement with UN institutions.

In my view the training did not allow participants to question the information that was given or to engage with it themselves. In fact, the themes discussed were not generated by the participants, but by *Mulher & Feminista* and *Todas Feministas*. This seemed more like what Freire (1970) defined as 'banking education' and contrary to popular education's political aim as defined by Freire (1985:253), the construction of critical consciousness. It also seems contrary to what Estrela framed as being '*political subjects*' based on grasping one's circumstances and history and acting upon to transform it. Instead, popular education techniques were used to promote acceptance of a pre-determined agenda.

The women participating in the training said little about the thematic content of the training. Their reflections focused on its pedagogy, on the atmosphere of openness and intimacy generated, as well as how it had helped them develop their feminist identity. One woman put it this way: "*now I have arguments and knowledge to defend why I am feminist*". This was particularly important for *Gabinete*' staff who had joined the organisation after the feminist popular education processes led by Susana. Nonetheless, during group work one leader of a women's NGO spoke about the implicit assumption that they were all anti-capitalist by jokingly asking "*what if we are in favour of capitalism?*" However, nobody in the group responded to her provocation.

The processes that led to this training event and the ways in which its content was designed reflect knowledge hierarchies and the power relations between actors experiencing different trajectories and roles within this transnational feminist movement. Specifically, it shows how “expertise” about methodologies (popular education), themes (such as the history of feminism and the effects of transnational companies and megaprojects), and feminist politics (such as mobilisation and contestation) are developed in certain contexts and then circulated. This, in turn, reflects the unequal access to material and knowledge resources between movement members, and in this particular case between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists, despite intra-country disparities in women’s access to resources. Manicom and Walters’ claim that feminist popular educators operate as translators neglects the fact this experience suggests that it is hardly based on ‘a relationship between equivalents’ (Spivak 1999).

The claim that popular education is a bottom-up and horizontal social technology for fostering reflection, political engagement and change does not address knowledge hierarchies embedded in the educator-learner relationships in South-South exchanges promoted by social movements. The reflections of Brazilian and Mozambican research participations suggest that while there is mutual learning, there is a fundamental inequality regarding how and what each party teaches and learns from the other. What is argued here is that the assumption that Mozambican feminists have a lot to learn from Brazilian feminists forms the foundation of the interaction, destabilising claims that all knowledge and experiences are equally valid.

I conclude this discussion with a reflection on my expectations about this training course, drawing on dynamics observed during the first session on ‘gender, race and class’ and how this speaks to the broader question discussed in this thesis. I had hoped to see an in-depth discussion on gender, class and race within transnational feminism. I presumed that this would be part of the discussion because the training was facilitated by Brazilian feminists and was part of the transfer of the international secretariat from Brazil to Mozambique.

The discussion focused on gender and class, and race was only marginally mentioned. Nonetheless, while acknowledging the discrimination women face from men, in the group exercise and the discussion that followed, participants questioned the idea of sisterhood and solidarity between women drawing on examples from their everyday life. The focus

of discussion was on why women cannot place themselves in another women's shoes. **The participants mentioned several cases of women mistreating other women inside and outside the women's movement.** They spoke about the differential treatment pregnant women in Mozambique receive from midwives according to their economic status, of mothers-in-law mistreating their daughters-in-law, **and of "activists in positions of power" within the movement who are hostile to other women.** Xiluva from Mulher & Feminista urged women to remember positive interactions and practices of solidarity between women. Teresa questioned "*why do we react so strongly to discrimination by women against other women?*" and underlined the importance of looking at the entire system instead of blaming women; she also noted that violence of a mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law is a basic patriarchal institution, as it makes women demand things from and fight against each other. Teresa stressed the things women "share" and downplayed those that differentiated them; after all the objective of the training was to foster solidarity between women to enable them to work together.

This may explain why race was marginal in Luana's presentation and in the discussion that followed. However, at the end of the session, Teresa noted that a person can be stigmatised because of her skin colour and spoke about income inequalities along racial lines - white men earn more than white women while black men and women are at the bottom of the ladder. She also claimed that a discriminatory attitude of a white man towards a black female worker cannot be compared to discrimination of a white person towards a black person suggesting that one is more serious than the other. **Race was fundamentally addressed in relation to the 'white man'. Racial relations among women only surfaced in a comment made by Estrela about Mozambican feminist scholars being mostly white or "white with a black skin", but this was not discussed further.** When a few months later I asked Estrela about this gap, she said that perhaps the positioning of the facilitators, one white and one mixed-race foreign women in a new environment full of black women, may have prevented them from talking about race, something I also experienced with other Brazilian and Mozambican research participants.

Moreover, because of the focus of feminist popular education on uncovering power relations, I expected to see discussions on how workshop participants individually and collectively are situated in local and global power matrices and their effects on movement building, on educator-learner relationships, (at least in the introduction when the methodology and programme were explained to the participants) and on relationships

between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists and feminisms. None of these points was discussed. Whereas Brazilian feminists coming to Mozambique to give a training course was seen as important in strengthening relationships between Mozambicans and Brazilians, this was not the primarily objective of the training, at least not explicitly.

In this chapter, I have looked at popular education to explore knowledge practices involving Brazilian and Mozambican feminists, because of its resonances with South-South Cooperation's official discourses and as an entry point for discussing a concrete interaction. In my view, the training did not allow participants to question the information they were being given and openly discuss it in the group. Although this is very common within development cooperation, it contradicted these feminists' rhetoric as well as the current theorization of popular education as a democratic practice. My focus was not on the issues they were promoting, but on how they communicated with and mobilised Mozambican women as well as on how the latter shaped those interactions. **This chapter illustrates the complexities and tensions between ideals and lived experiences and the coexistence of forces pulling them in opposed directions.** On the one hand, the Brazilian feminists wanted to facilitate a democratic space and the development of critical consciousness, but on the other hand, it was important that Mozambican feminists learned about the movement's political stance concerning the themes discussed. In addition, the fact that Luana and Teresa had little knowledge of the Mozambican context did not allow them to change and adapt the context. While speaking the same language was important in delivering the training, it was not enough.

Finally, what the chapter also shows is the essential role played by Mulher & Feminista staff in inviting Brazilians and in translating Mozambican dynamics to Brazilian feminists; this not only demonstrates their agency, but also their power in defining which knowledges count - as well as the power inequalities between Mulher & Feminista staff and the network members who attended the event. **The discussion in this chapter illustrates how difference among women affect interactions and movement building efforts and the difficulties in openly addressing them.** In the next chapter, I look at how class dynamics influence Brazilian and Mozambican development workers' sociability practices.

## Chapter 8. The personal, the professional and micro-politics of difference

This chapter analyses the interconnections between the personal, the professional and the political by looking at sociability practices. It discusses the intersections between expatriates' personal, professional and political lives, Brazilians perceptions and sociability among each other, with other international development workers and with Mozambicans, as well as their sexual and romantic relationships. I focus on sociability practices and the connections between work and non-work spaces. Specifically, I investigate with whom Brazilian research participants interact outside of work, how relatedness is enacted and difference reinforced as well as the potential for professional relationship between Brazilians and Mozambicans discussed in chapters 6 and 7 to evolve into something more personal. I also discuss the role of class, gender and nationality in these professionals' interactions; a theme that runs through the chapter is how personal ties to others serve as resources in the professional arena (Khan 2012).

I analyse sociability practices drawing on theoretical work on interconnections between class and different forms of capital: cultural (level of education, linguistic competence, knowledge of foreign, languages, and travelling), social (social relations and networks) and economic (income and employment status), (Bourdieu 2010, Mellor, Blake and Crane 2010, Khan 2012, Prieur and Savage 2013, Sato et al. 2016). Bourdieu's notion of distinction is helpful, but I expand it beyond the "judgment of taste" (although I also pay attention to eating practices); I pay more attention to the social and political dimensions, i.e. the role of political views and personal networks in shaping Brazilian development workers' lifestyle and sociability choices and attempts to distinguish themselves from other development workers.

While Bourdieu's theory of distinction emphasises how culture is used by people to recognise one another (Khan 2012), I also consider how political views also serve that function. Relatedly, I look beyond Bourdieu's concept of class as struggles over the means of production, drawing on Ollivier's (2008) conceptualisation of classes as resources and classes as lifestyle groups. According to Ollivier, "*classes as resources* [italics in original] refer to social economic and cultural sources of power" (2008:276) while '*classes as lifestyle groups* [italics in original] are social divisions that arise on the basis of these resources but in a way that is contingent, contextual, and generally intertwined with other dimensions of inequality' (ibid.). Also of particular relevance for



this thesis is Bayly's work on the deployment of cultural capital, specifically externally generated acquisitions in the form of money, knowledge, commodities and personal possessions, by Vietnamese men and women who worked as development experts in former French and Portuguese colonies, from the 1960s, recruited by socialist governments, as well as their personal narratives about life overseas in the socialist world.

This chapter's focus on sociability practices and distinction-making processes is important because my research participants understood the distinctiveness of Brazil-Mozambique relationships less in terms of how development work is conducted and more in relation to the fluidity of personal-professional boundaries and ultimately the potential for closer relationships. Yet, I argue, it is precisely within the personal-professional continuum that differences between Brazilians and Mozambicans, and similarities between Brazilians and other expatriates, emerge more vividly. I also argue that the idea of first-hand experience of deprivation and poverty underlying imaginaries of "Southernness" are problematic because they fail to address how socioeconomic inequalities and people's lifestyles shape relationships between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers. These arguments are developed by analysing distinction-making processes in relation to four aspects: work related sociality and nationality, similarity of values and tastes, eating and drinking together outside work, and establishing romantic and sexual relationships. The chapter contributes to scholarship on national and international development workers' lifestyles (Fechter 2001, Heron 2007, Verma 2008, Jevšnik 2009, Roth 2015).

### **8.1 Work related sociality**

Most of my Brazilian research participants' friendships were associated with work and included several Brazilian expatriates. I identified some differences between Brazilians who worked for Health for All, those who worked for UN agencies and the feminists who are not based in Mozambique. The main difference is that Brazilians working for UN agencies were more dispersed and socialised with a wide range of expatriates, whereas those who worked for Health for All, although they occasionally socialised with non-Brazilians, had Brazilians as their closer friends. Luana and Teresa's interactions with Mozambicans outside of work were more limited, given that they are based in Brazil.

Susana who is based in South Africa is closer to Mozambique and invests significantly in relationships in that country.

I start with Brazilians from Health for All and with Patrícia's description of her circle,

*look, I basically hung out with Brazilians. We were a small, but very intimate group. So we had like a family relationship, like an extended family. Very strong! But not only, I did hang out with Mozambicans too, people I was able to get to know and exchange, in a more intense manner. Very cool, it was very cool! And some foreigners, only a few Americans I would say. In fact, I ended up knowing more people from other nationalities. More people from Europe, some Italians, French and Spanish who were also linked to the public health field. I think it was basically those. Well, and the Portuguese! Sure! Right? Those we even forget that they are not Mozambicans, but are Portuguese. However, the core and more intimate group were the Brazilians.*

Like Patrícia, who was surprised to realise that she had more acquaintances from other nationalities than from the U.S, I had expected that the Brazilians who worked for Health for All would have interacted more with their American colleagues. Valentina said that the U.S professionals she worked with “*have a Brazilian soul*”, but Tiago was the only one who indicated having a friendship with an American. Jacinto found it hard to connect with Americans, while Alexandra felt uncomfortable speaking English. This core and more intimate group of Brazilians described by Patrícia was comprised of professionals who worked for Health for All, their partners and their partners' friends, and the occupations of the majority of them were health related.

Another element of this group is that some of them had personal relations or friends in common in Brazil; they perceived each other as people who embraced similar values. Arguably, what Valentina described as “*feeling at home in Maputo*” was not only because she found “*the same tiles*” as those in her grandmother's house, but also as a result of finding many familiar faces and work colleagues from Brazil in Mozambique. This group from Health for All was perceived as isolated from other Brazilians and Mozambicans, and perceived themselves as different. They had been in Mozambique for longer than, for instance, the UN professionals I interviewed, and they had seen the arrival of the Brazilians who worked for the private sector. Alexandra and Tiago told me that other Brazilians claimed that those from Health for All “*only socialise amongst themselves and not with other Brazilians*”. The empirical data suggests that while they were open to socialising with other development workers, they did interact mostly with each other.

In her research on Brazilian political exiles in Mozambique in the post-independence Azevedo (2011) found that although Brazilians did socialise with Mozambicans (mainly government officers, Frelimo militants and university students). However, some of her informants distanced themselves from what they perceived as a Brazilian ghetto that excluded Mozambicans. Azevedo (2011) also notes that the fact that these Brazilians regularly interacted in the workplace, albeit working for different institutions, contributed to drawing them closer to each other, but political views and professional status whether they were employed by the Mozambican government or by international development organisations, distanced them from other Brazilians.

Although all research participants mentioned having Mozambican friends, only Tiago and Susana indicated having mainly Mozambican friends, and Nicole (who worked for a UN agency) said that her best friend in Mozambique was Mozambican. It was hard to assess the depth of these friendships, as I realised that Brazilians tended to call people “friends” and use terms of endearment with people to whom they were not even close, something also found by Rezende (1999) and Torresan (2011). Some Brazilian research participants seemed disturbed when I specifically asked them to tell me more about their Mozambican friends, and only a couple of people were able to talk about them in more detail. Jacinto mentioned a few Mozambicans, mainly work colleagues, but did not describe the nature of the relationship. Jacinto told me about some Mozambicans he met through work, who he would have liked to get to know better, as *“they seemed interesting people”*. They were all well-known development workers who worked in public health, and two of them had studied in Brazil. According to him, there was no particular reason why these relationships did not evolve.

Francisco, a Brazilian academic based in Brazil, and occasional consultant for Mozambican NGOs, who had *“privileged access as a friend not as a researcher”* to Brazilian AIDS professionals, believed that they lived in an “involuntary isolation”, largely caused by the intensity of their work and lack of work-life balance.

*They were tied to their offices because there was a huge demand for production of results and data that forced them to work sixteen hours a day. It was common going to their houses for dinner, with other Brazilians, and they were there, with their laptops working on things they had started in the office. Their work isolated them from the [Mozambican] reality.*

This is relevant because some Brazilians and Mozambicans complained that sociality gravitated around work. For instance, Alexandra had to reduce her out of work interactions with a colleague because she found herself discussing work instead of relaxing every time they met. In this regard, Eyben notes that ‘the split between home and office is much harder to maintain where most of the life of staff members centres around the job’ (2006:45). I believe that their nationality (i.e. the number of Brazilians working for Health for All) and the long work hours contributed to drawing them together and for their closeness. Contrary to Jevšnik’s (2009) assertion that nationality is marginal in shaping development workers’ sociability and lifestyles, my empirical data suggests that it plays a central role, as other scholars have also pointed out (Fechter 2001, Azevedo 2011, Santoro 2014).

In the case of my Brazilian research participants, the fact that they knew each other before arriving in Mozambique (some were related, long-term friends or acquaintances through direct contact or reputation) and that the majority had training in social sciences (social psychology and anthropology) affected their arrival, integration and sociability in Mozambique. Their shared values and life experiences (e.g. participating in the shaping of the Brazilian national AIDS response) were important. While initially there were only a couple of Brazilians with whom Susana could identify, leading her to avoid Brazilians whom she considered elitist and racist over time, as more Brazilians from her feminist circle moved to Mozambique, her socialising with Brazilians increased.

Reflecting about Brazilians closeness, my Mozambican research participants established parallelisms with what they perceived as the tendency of foreign development workers to mingle among themselves. It affected their perception of inequalities between national and international staff, particularly because they saw sociability outside of work as important means to access relevant work-related information, expand networks and build professional partnerships. Many felt that the fact that the leadership and senior staff of their organisations were mainly foreigners, who met among themselves, marginalised Mozambicans without a “*white connection*”, as one Mozambican research participant put it, associating foreignness with whiteness. Brazilians’ social capital derived from their participation in certain networks (of INGO’ leadership) and distinguished them from Mozambicans who did not participate in those circles, especially those who as Peters’ put it ‘are not the elite ‘brokers of national and international influence (...) nor the influential senior staff of local organisations’ (2016:499).

Relatedly, Brazilians from Health for All who did not mingle much with other Brazilians occupied an ambiguous position. Alexandra's trajectory within Health for All provides a good illustration. Some of Alexandra's Mozambican co-workers alleged that she was seen as "*less trustworthy*" by her Brazilian colleagues and had been excluded from the professional opportunities afforded to other Brazilians because she was vocal about what she called "*internal disagreements derived from the racial and national multiplicity*", within Health for All, and called for more internal transparency about salaries and their funding sources as a way of reducing the dissatisfaction of Mozambican staff. According to her Mozambican colleagues, she was also isolated from the Brazilian circle because she had a relationship with a Mozambican man; I return to this below. However, her break-up and the departure of some Brazilians had drawn the remaining Brazilians nearer to her. As her personal relationship with Melissa, Health for All's director became stronger some Mozambican co-workers became suspicious. They believed that Brazilians watched out for each other and that Alexandra was only spying on her Mozambican colleagues for Melissa. Even so, they took advantage of her closeness to the INGO's leadership, by inviting her to be part of the Mozambican workers' commission. It seems that Alexandra's in-betweenness was both an advantage and a disadvantage.

## **8.2 Similarity of values and tastes**

In this section, I explore my research participants' views on the influence of race and class in personal relationships. I first discuss their emphasis on the importance of being with people with similar values who appreciated similar things; then I analyse the ways in which purchasing power, political identification and cultural capital shaped relationships between Brazilians and Mozambicans, taking Nweti (Mozambican) and Susana's (Brazilian) friendship as a case in point.

Several Brazilian research participants told me about the importance of being with people with "*similar values*", who "*appreciated similar things*", with whom they could be themselves. I specifically asked if race and class mattered. Melissa replied that class was more important than race in shaping her adaptation to Mozambique as "*there are more similarities with people from the same social class*", who share the same intellectual and worldly knowledge, as well as purchasing power. Melissa then talked about the relationship she had with people from different classes, and to illustrate told me about her

relationships with Health for All's driver, who has transported her from home to work and back for many years. This is "*a professional relationship; I am his boss. It is a work relationship and will never change*". This example of the office driver who is situated at the bottom of the office hierarchy is used to convey social distance.

Francesca, who worked for a UN agency, underlined the importance of "*being among one's own*"; this meant people with whom she felt free to voice criticisms about work that she "*could not express during the day*" but also included a class element with cultural and financial dimensions. "*I am not going to be friends with somebody without education*", she told me. For Francesca, it was essential that her friends were highly educated, well-read, watched similar movies and could afford certain things (such as eating out and travel), to avoid her paying their bills and the risk of developing friendships based on material interest.

Mozambicans' mobility emerged as critical in Brazilians' relationships, as they tended to feel more at home with those who had lived and studied abroad and or were well-travelled (particularly in Northern countries). Some decided whether was worth or not investing in a given relationship based on the chance of seeing the person again after leaving Mozambique. For instance, Francesca asked "*when I leave, how many [Mozambican] friends will I see again? How many will visit me?*" Thus, for her, it was important that her friends spoke foreign languages and had the ability to travel. In her research on the utilisation of cultural capital by development agents in Mozambique Santoro found that one's travel status was central in conversations between international development workers in Mozambique, pointing out that 'someone who had no travel or development experience might not feel entirely comfortable in this social circle' (2014:215).

There was a class dimension to the general perception among research participants that expatriates, including Brazilians, are more supportive of each other than Mozambicans are of them. According to Francesca, "*expatriates help, start to be your family, lend you their car when they travel. I doubt a Mozambican would lend you his/her car. Many [Mozambican] colleagues are well travelled and they should know that a newcomer needs support, but they don't offer it*". Francesca thought that Mozambicans were self-centred, pointing out that they "*do not move to help, they only care about their own lives*". Francesca expected help and reciprocity from her Mozambican colleagues. While Francesca was aware that Mozambican colleagues are in different circumstances than

foreigners, for instance that they have more family commitments (including to people who may be in more need of borrowing a car than relatively well-off foreigners), she seemed to presume that overall they have the same conditions and allegiances.

Brazilians are perceived by Mozambicans (and some Brazilians) as particularly elitist as compared to other expatriates. However, my Mozambican research participants also underlined that while many only interacted with a selected group of Mozambicans, a few were more open and willing to mingle with Mozambicans from different social classes and levels of mobility. Nweti, a Mozambican development worker, talked about these dynamics in some events she had attended:

*There are many spaces I have been to, where I arrived and saw that the Mozambicans there, had been hand-picked, because they are perceived as having a certain status, a certain “added value”, those Mozambicans who are seen to be like them. They are accepted because they are close to them, they are clever enough, went to schools they approve of; they are like them, but in a Mozambican-African version. You, myself and (...), i.e. there is a group of black [female] Mozambicans who are perceived like them, because they are eloquent, studied abroad, are well-travelled, intelligent or perceived as such, so there is a feeling that we belong. In their mental horizon, we are black but we belong. (...) I have ended up in an event, in the house of an ambassador where the blacks who were there you could clearly see what was their status, they were perceived as “from our level”.*

This type of space is convened by people who are not interested in interacting with those whom they see as too different from them, defined in terms of race, class, occupation and hierarchical position. Tiago summarised this in the following way: *“I don’t know if it’s fear, but it has to do with the encounter with the Other”*. However, I would argue that even what Nweti saw as a more open and diversified space - the weekly dinners organised in the house of a Brazilian who worked for a bilateral agency attended by *“people [Mozambicans and expatriates] from different classes, professions and activities from hip-hop singers to people who worked for bilateral agencies”* - was also selective in its own way. It gathered those who were perceived as outgoing and fun to be around, socially dynamic people who enjoyed nightlife and partying, stereotypically epitomised by *“Mozambicans with dreadlocks”*. They are people who know the cultural and social scene and are considered important connections if one enjoys partying.

Although the majority of Brazilian research participants’ friends were people they considered *“one’s own”*, a few circulated across different worlds. For instance, Tiago who had *“always enjoyed interacting with Mozambicans”*, had mainly black

Mozambican friends from different socio-economic backgrounds, ranging from “*middle and upper class, travelled, educated, [who] own a car, have a good job and live near Polana*” whom he described as “*people similar to me*” to people from less privileged neighbourhoods of the capital city. However, while he circulated between the city’s expensive restaurants and the kiosks – small informal eating and drinking stalls - most of his socialising was in Polana Cimento where he lived.

*Seeing each other as equal*

Although Nweti and Susana live in different countries they chat with each other on a weekly basis, over WhatsApp and other social media, and every time Susana is in Maputo they meet for dinner, in one of the city’s best restaurants; they both like trying new restaurants. They rarely socialise in the two-bedroom flat Nweti owns, close to Polana Cimento, and shares with her younger sister, but occasionally work there when undertaking a consultancy together. The lack of home based socialising was more a reflection of the lifestyle they led than of socio-economic inequalities or lack of affinity. Besides interviewing both of them, I have been able to observe their interactions closely enough over a long period of time, but here I talk about the relationship mainly from Nweti’s point of view.

Nweti and Susana first met in 2009, when Susana was working with Mulher & Feminista. **Nweti worked closely with the network and was part of an informal group of Mozambican feminists who met to discuss feminism.** Although they first met in a professional setting, Nweti already considered Susana her friend, *companheira*, colleague and a reference before they had a chance to work together directly. According to Nweti, the relationship evolved and became personal because there was political affinity between them concerning power inequalities and discrimination against women.

*Susana had been working in this [women’s rights] for many years and we wanted to explore, discover and learn more. She proved to be an ally in that sense. There was a connection about how we see the world, what matters to us, what we want to change and the fact that we were both revolutionaries, indignant about the status quo etc.*

For Nweti, being friends meant interactions beyond work, access to each other’s house (including for holidays), personal conversations about relationships and relatives, and what Nweti described as “*working the self*”. Nweti has spent a New Year’s Eve break



with Susana in South Africa and has lodged Susana's Brazilian friends in her own house. Reciprocity and reflexivity are essential in Nweti's framing of their relationship. Nweti is a straightforward woman and Susana is personally committed to confronting the "elephant in the room" - and discussing uncomfortable aspects of people's positionality, including her own, as she believes that silence about these issues is a way of disguising and retaining power. What Nweti called "working the self" refers to the ability to question one's own attitudes and behaviours, in the light of their feminist values, something she can only do "with a specific group of friends". The quest for greater harmony between their values and practices, was also important for the consolidation of their professional relationship. Nweti appreciated Susana's attitude when they worked together, which she compared to that of a Brazilian man she worked with in an INGO, who had a different worldview, distinct knowledge and "came under the cover of an expertise he did not have".

*Susana has another type of background. Although she has more years of experience than me in these [feminist] spaces, (...) it was not like: I'm Susana, the Brazilian with more than 20 and 30 years of experience and you know less or, in this context, have less experience, so she called the shots. Instead, [Susana's attitude] is let's listen to each other, share and discuss. It's another dynamic [as compared to some expatriates]. We see each other as equal, not with a mentality of 'I'm better than everybody else'.*

Although Susana's work opportunities derived from Mozambicans' perceptions of Brazilians as "people with knowledge and experience", as Susana put it, she valued Nweti's knowledge and experience and they had a horizontal relationship. The nature of professional relationships affected co-workers' desire to spend time together beyond work. Susana was perceived as exceptional by her Mozambican colleagues, in many ways, not only because of their political identification but because she was seen as making an effort to co-operate and forge respectful and horizontal relationships with the people with whom she interacted. Mozambican research participants underlined that how one behaves in the workplace determines their interest in developing a closer relationship with them outside of work. Relatedly, Mozambicans compared Brazilians to non-Brazilian development workers, many of whom were seen as more respectful and interested than Brazilians.

Finally, whereas language was an important element in strengthening Susana's relationships, professed affinities went beyond the fact that she was Brazilian. It is noteworthy that Nweti and Susana's affinities were also influenced by social class

identification and the fact that they had similar purchasing power, lifestyle and consumption patterns – manifested among other things in their passion for travel and eating out – an issue which is the focus of the next section. This particular friendship suggests that although political identifications and affinities were important in their relationship, class played a critical role both in terms of shaping their similar tastes as well as in the opportunities for interactions (through meals out and travelling) and for developing a closer relationship. Few Mozambicans can afford these leisure activities and it affected their ability to interact with Brazilians outside the workplace. In the next section, I examine how eating and drinking practices reflect both the social differences between Brazilians and Mozambicans as well as their efforts to bridge the distance between them.

### **8.3 Eating and drinking together**

This section deals with two interrelated issues: the role of food gatherings in bridging the distance between Brazilian and Mozambican development workers and Brazilian development workers' complain that Mozambicans do not invite to their homes.

An important component of my fieldwork was related to food practices i.e. observing who eats with whom, what and where and I identified other work spaces in which national and international staff socialised, besides the farewell parties discussed in chapter 6. In the various spaces I participated, I could observe how socioeconomic differences between Brazilians and Mozambicans affected their sociality. The meals in Health for All's kitchen provide a good illustration. I could observe Alexandra and Palmira, her white half-Portuguese, half-Mozambican colleague having 'takeaway' Indian food from a nearby Indian restaurant, notice that most Mozambicans brought food from home, while a couple of people who lived near the office (a European and a Mozambican woman) usually had lunch at home. Eating out or ordering a takeaway is perceived as a sign of wealth, while bringing a lunch box to work is seen as an indication that the person needs to save money or is on a diet. Those who can afford it normally eat out. I did not see Alexandra or Melissa bringing a lunch box to work. During the interviews, I gathered that seminars and work trips were some of the few occasions in which Brazilian and Mozambican staff ate together; work trips were also a unique opportunity for Brazilian and Mozambican staff to get to know each other better.

Whenever I went out with the Brazilians who worked for Health for All, I noticed that there were no Mozambican staff present. I suspect that this was related to the fact that the places we went to were expensive and the salary differences between Brazilians and their Mozambican colleagues. For instance, on one occasion we went to Manjar dos Deuses (Food of the Gods), a stylish upper-class restaurant that serves gourmet food (fish, seafood and meat) and the second time to “Wine Lovers”, a wine bar that also serves expensive tapas. Food gatherings at home were a more affordable and potentially more inclusive option. In the following paragraphs, I provide **ethnographic snapshots** of two women-only food gatherings - one with Health for All staff and the other with the feminist crowd from chapter 7 – in which I participated during fieldwork and analyse the contrasts and continuities between them.

The first was a “girls’ evening” at Alexandra’s house on a Friday. The idea was to have an open night where we could “*do anything we felt like*” - play, sing, listen to music and cook. Thus, Alexandra offered her flat as a meeting point and wanted it to be a space “*to do things together*”, once a month. By using the expression “*anything we felt like*” Alexandra was underlining the informal and spontaneous nature of the gathering as opposed to a structured party as well as to the fact that she often felt that gatherings with Mozambican couples had a tense atmosphere and that she needed to be tactful.

Alexandra insisted we met at her flat because “*there would be no intrusions, discomfort and jealousy. I am alone [i.e. not in a relationship]*”. She allowed us to invite anybody we wanted, except men, i.e. her friends’ partners. Her statement and conditions were related to a dominant perception among single female Brazilian research participants, that it is difficult to socialise with Mozambican friends who are in a relationship and their partners. Alexandra thought that Mozambican women behaved differently around their partners, i.e. they were “*less spontaneous*” and sometimes “*jealous of their single [female] friends*”. Many also thought that Mozambican women with a husband and children did not go out at night alone, and that “*they really only go out at night if they don’t have a husband. While men do go out alone because they have a sexual interest in other women*”, as Francesca a Brazilian UN development worker put it. There was also a feeling that because most Mozambican women in their age group already have children, they tended to socialise with people with children, and those without children were not invited. While, according to Francesca, expatriates’ gatherings tended to mix people with and without children.

When I arrived, Alexandra and Marlene (who had left Health for All that week) were already there. Soraya, one of Alexandra's Mozambican friends (Alexandra is also godmother to one of Soraya's children) and Maria, her Spanish friend were the next to arrive. The last guest was Matilde, a Mozambican friend of Marlene. I happened to know all the other guests, except Maria. Soraya and I had studied together one year, in secondary school, while one of Matilde's brothers was married to a close friend of mine from childhood. I also knew Marlene from my teenage years – we dated the same boy, at different periods. Alexandra later told me that Maria was married to a Mozambican man and going through “the same issues” she had gone through with her Mozambican partner – he did not go out with her, claiming that his male friends did not feel comfortable having her around. Alexandra and Marlene were close. That night I heard Marlene ask Alexandra to help her with the preparations for her son's fifteenth birthday party. Also, to avoid drinking and driving, that night Marlene (who lives in the outskirts of Maputo) stayed at Alexandra's.

It was a relaxing evening, we ate nice food that each of us had brought (cheese and olives with fresh bread, fish prepared by Alexandra's maid, seafood and grilled chicken); we also listened to Brazilian music and played games. We wore casual jeans and dresses and only Maria and Soraya had make-up on. However, later that evening Marlene and I got a free make-up session from Alexandra. There was little conversation, and it was mostly frivolous; we did not talk about relationships or work, except for a couple of brief references to the latter, made by Alexandra. The first was that she had decided to take Friday night off work and drink as much as she wanted, despite having a boat trip planned with Melissa for the following morning. The second was when unexpectedly she told us about her “altruist gesture” of organising a farewell event for a national project officer she line-managed. I believe that this reference and the gathering had something to do with the fact that Marlene had not had a farewell party. In my view, one of the purposes of the gathering was to “compensate” for the fact that Marlene did not have a farewell party, ensure the continuity of their relationship, as well as to help Alexandra cope with her post-break up solitude. This speaks to the agency of Brazilian development workers in acting across organisational divides through personal and informal interactions.

The second food gathering was with Brazilian and Mozambican women who self-identified as feminists, the majority of whom had a full-time job that involved promotion of gender equality and women's rights. Although they were affiliated with different

institutions, they had worked together on several occasions. The gathering was organised at the last minute, after a full day of joint activities during the 16 days of activism against gender-based violence campaign.<sup>41</sup> It was in the rented one bedroom house of Camila, a Brazilian feminist who was doing fieldwork for her PhD on women's farmers and collective action in Mozambique (co-supervised by Mulher & Feminista's former President) and who in the past had been active within Sororidade, in Brazil.

There were five Mozambican women, all associated with Mulher & Feminista (Carmen, Estrela, Nádia, Sónia and Xiluva) and three Brazilians (Camila, Lúcia, a Sororidade' activist who was in Mozambique on holidays and Teresa). I knew all the other Mozambican women from well before the research mainly, through work, except Sónia whom I had met through a common friend. All the women, except me, were associated with Sororidade and wearing its symbols on their t-shirts, scarfs and *capulanas*, like in the feminist training course discussed in chapter 7, which happened a few months later. Relatedly, the content of the conversations gravitated around relationships among Sororidade members. However, the interactions in this gathering were more intimate and the Brazilian women present talked more about themselves than during the feminist training course. There was no music and we had lively conversations. We talked about sexuality and family as well as trust, companionship and looking after each other. The three Brazilians, who are also all associated with Sororidade and based in Brazil, were not close to each other, yet being in Maputo at the same time, working with the same group of women, led them to interact. This link, however, was not maintained on their return to Brazil, as I discovered when I was there, a few months later. This time we ate pizzas we had bought at a South African restaurant chain. There was also a lot of alcohol, mostly beer – but the women drank less than those at Alexandra's gathering, perhaps because it was a Wednesday evening.

Both gatherings were in the houses of Brazilian women who were attempting to get close to Mozambicans and brought together people linked by professional employment, yet there were fundamental differences between the two. While Alexandra was based in Mozambique all the Brazilian feminists involved in the second space lived in Brazil (Camila had only rented the house for a few months). The gathering at Alexandra's house,

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<sup>41</sup> An international campaign initiated in 1991 celebrated every year from the 25<sup>th</sup> November to the 10<sup>th</sup> of December that is coordinated by the Centre for Women's Global Leadership in the U.S and constitutes an important period in the calendar of women's organisations in Mozambique.

albeit not explicitly, reflected an attempt to use socialising to unmake some of the dynamics of office politics, while at Camila's house these issues were marginal as the women emphasised political affinity and shared movement identity and the continuous construction of sisterhood between people who were not friends, and did not know each other.

Another fundamental difference between the two gatherings was that the one at Camila's brought together Brazilian and Mozambican women who did not live in the same country; the Brazilians were only in Maputo for a short period, ranging from six months to one week. I also read this gathering as connected to and an extension of the political mobilisations of the week as the women were able to reflect on the activities undertaken, as well as "especial treatment", an occasion to entertain a visitor after a long day of work, in this sense it is an extraordinary situation.

Arguably, the sporadic nature of the encounters between these Brazilian feminists and Mozambicans also had an effect on Brazilians and Mozambicans' investments in their relationships and sociability; this includes Brazilians' incentives to address contradictions, superficial impressions and stereotypes, as compared to those who have to interact with Mozambicans on a daily basis. Conversely, the incentive to spend time with Mozambicans outside of work might also be greater of their limited knowledge about the country and of the short duration of their visits; those interactions are informal means to learn about the country. We still know little about the sociability of 'moving experts' and travelling consultants (Amit 2002, Amit 2006); the sporadic and fleeting nature of SSC, as well as changes in NSC away from the 'embedded technical expert model' suggest the need for more research in this area.

Finally, although home gatherings were potentially more inclusive they also exposed other forms of hierarchy and distinction, particularly the feminist gathering that brought together mainly the movement's leadership. Moreover, home sociability also laid bare differences in living conditions between Brazilians and Mozambicans, as the next paragraphs illustrate.

#### *Home invitations*

Several research participants shared a perception that Mozambicans do not invite work colleagues to their houses. After hearing this repeatedly, I sought to understand if this was

the case and if so, why it happened, by directly asking my Mozambican research participants. Lack of trust, the socio-economic distance between national and expatriate staff, the need to separate private and professional spaces as well as fear of being judged by work colleagues were some of the reasons given for this. While expatriates complained about this, it was not only an attitude of Mozambicans towards expatriates, but rather a tendency not to invite any work colleagues to one's house, except those with whom one had developed a more intimate relationship, or for special occasions. Brazilians and Mozambicans had very different views about the purpose of home based socialising, particularly when it involved an invitation to their senior managers' houses. Some saw invitations to their senior managers' houses as an attempt to co-opt and spy on them in a more intimate and relaxed environment. For others, these interactions only served to confirm inequalities in remuneration and benefits as manifested in their colleagues' living conditions. Comparing Brazilians and Mozambicans, Kristina believed that the former are very hospitable, but their hospitality "*does not come cheap for whoever enjoys it*". This view expresses a lack of trust and a belief that, in the context of professional relationships, Brazilian hospitality was motivated by selfish interests.

*Inviting someone to one's house is personal and individual. Our house is our space and we invite who we want. You can invite somebody not because you trust them, but because you want to create something, you want something from them.*

Some of my research participants believed that there was always a hidden motivation behind invitations from their co-workers, especially when there was a hierarchical relationship and when more personal interactions in the office were limited or hostile. They could not understand why somebody who did not show any interest in them in the workplace would want to socialise with them in their house. They also felt that sometimes invitations are used to attenuate workplace tensions, without addressing their root causes. An episode two Mozambicans described to me illustrates this perception.

Hortência and Esperança worked for the same UN agency and both told me that the Brazilian country representative invited her Mozambican co-workers to an end of year dinner in her house. However, the majority of the colleagues did not want to go (including a Scandinavian expatriate), and only went after one of them argued that "*it would not look good*" not to go. Once, the country representative brought up the event during a meeting in the office, when they opposed one of her decisions by saying: "*I even invited you to have dinner in my house and you act in this way with me*". The country

representative thought she was an open boss, who always tried to organise things at her house, asked sick workers how they were and brought chocolates for them, every time she travelled. This country representative was described as an “*arrogant and elitist woman from Rio de Janeiro*”, who made it clear that “*she was the only person in the office with a PhD*”, and that the office was “*a UN agency and not an association of Mozambican women*”. This was also a professional who had made her career in the UN headquarters with little experience in a country office and who was not seen as committed to the gender equality agenda.

While the country representative’s attitude could be seen as a personality trait, my Mozambican research participants read it as reflecting a socio-cultural trait; this becomes evident in the comparisons they made between this country representative and the previous one who was also Brazilian and self-identified as a “*North-eastern feminist*”. The latter was seen as kind and respectful towards all co-workers, particularly those in non-professional positions. One of my research participants highlighted the women’s different origins, the Southeast (the richest part of Brazil) and the Northeast (the poorest), and believed that the woman from the Northeast was more humble. Some Mozambicans, like Salomão, who has lived in Brazil and works with several Brazilians in Mozambique, believed that there was a genuine interest on the part of some expatriates in building friendships with Mozambicans.

*The whites who are here, they are more open, sometimes more than in their country. Because they are in our country, they want to gain our friendship, that’s why they take us to their houses.*

By contrast, Mozambicans’ decision to host or not depend on a close professional relationship based on mutual respect and trust was considered critical for their decision to invite a co-worker to their house. When these two elements were not present they preferred to avoid more personal interactions with their work colleagues. Salomão and Esperança also thought that “*Mozambicans are very sociable*” and that the reason for not inviting Brazilian and other foreign colleagues were related to Mozambicans’ living arrangements and the socio-economic distance between them. Salomão had developed close relationships with some foreigners, who went to his house and he also went to theirs. When I asked him about Mozambicans not inviting colleagues to their houses, he told me:



*I don't know, I really don't know. We also have an inferiority complex, we have many problems, not only with Brazilians, but with whites in general. We think that [all] whites are rich, and so on. So we have a lot of difficulty in them coming to our house and seeing our poverty. Sometimes we live with the grandmother, the auntie, and sisters. I don't know, sometimes we don't want to show those things.*

Esperança was more explicit and said that although she would love to invite some friends and co-workers to her house, she did not have “adequate conditions to entertain”, because she lived with relatives. During field work I was invited to her birthday party which took place in a rented venue, and some of her co-workers were there.

Although Salomão emphasised what he perceived as Mozambicans' inferiority complex, he also noted that, “those who have more economic stability open the doors of their houses and invite people in, they also go out for coffees and lunches, their children get together [with those of their expatriate friends]”. He himself is an example of somebody who although not wealthy took pleasure in inviting people to his house. As he put it, “I don't have that problem. I think that my poverty is my poverty, it is also for them to see - that's who I am. So that they don't have ideas that I'm rich”.

While Salomão underlined the inferiority complex, others described other feelings sparked by the socio-economic distance between themselves and their expatriate co-workers, particularly the location of their houses. All Brazilian research participants based in Maputo lived in what many Mozambicans call the “second Maputo”<sup>42</sup> which is mainly inhabited by expatriates. All my Mozambican research participants socialise in the “second Maputo”, but only as visitors and not inhabitants, because they could not afford it.

*We all want to live in Julius Nyerere.<sup>43</sup> How can we explain that even though I'm trained and qualified like a foreigner I cannot [afford to] leave the place where I live? The foreigner can immediately move there. I would need an entire year of savings. Even though we work together, my salary does not allow me.*

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<sup>42</sup> Maputo residents often talk about the city's spatial division in dualist terms, i.e. cidade de cimento (city of cement or concrete) and cidade de caniço (city of reeds). The expression “second Maputo” underscores spatial, racial, social and economic differences in the capital city within what is considered *cidade de cimento* (cement or concrete city), and it is used to describe what is perceived as the wealthier region of the cidade de cimento particularly Polana Cimento and Sommershield neighbourhoods and the prestigious Julius Nyerere Avenue. While Roque, Mucavele and Noronha (2016) assert that there are more interactions and connections between the city's different spaces than portrayed by the dualist spatial division of the city, this research suggests that this division continues to matter and that few expatriates interact with other parts of the city beyond “second Maputo”.

<sup>43</sup> The main avenue in the “second Maputo”.

These perceived inequalities not only affected their sociality, but also created dissatisfaction, as Bruno, a Mozambican development worker expressed,

*discontent settles in. We socialise together and even laugh, but there is also derision. You earn 5000 and I 1000. So let's keep smiling and all with a pinch of inauthenticity. But [interaction] outside is easier if we work for different organisations, because I don't know how much they earn. Anyhow, this creates revulsion, annoying Mozambicans.*

What Salomão framed as inferiority complex and the derision described by Bruno indicate that despite the fact that these Mozambicans earn a salary higher than the vast majority of their peers, salary and benefit differences have an effect on how Mozambicans and foreigners perceive each other and negatively affect their relationships outside of work. Also, the tendency to compare the salaries and benefits of Mozambican INGO workers with the rest of the population often fails to account for the rising cost of living in Maputo, the processes of gentrification that have pushed many away from the city centre, inadequate transport services, the poor social protection system in the country and Mozambicans' responsibilities towards their extended family, issues that have also been discussed by Peters (2016) in relation to differences between Angolans and international staff. This blindness has led Santoro (2014) to interpret Mozambicans' complaints mainly as a quest for power, status and prestige by individuals who are 'mimicking the activities and lifestyles' (2014:190) of international development workers who purportedly 'bring high culture' (ibid.) to Mozambique's capital city.

To conclude this section, it is important to note that Mozambican development workers are not a homogeneous group regarding their socio-economic condition. As Nweti pointed out and her lifestyle illustrates, there is a small privileged elite, who notwithstanding national/expatriate inequalities earns significantly more than the rest of development workers. There are also those whose wealth results from the combination of several income sources such as consultancies and academic employment or NGO work and academic employment; others have their own businesses,<sup>44</sup> and or come from wealthy and/or politically powerful families. Besides socio-economic differences, there are also differences in lifestyle and consumption patterns, specifically how people choose to use their resources. Some prefer to spend in expensive cars and clothes while others find it

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<sup>44</sup>Which includes housing, i.e. some own houses and flats in the "second Maputo" which are rented to development organisations and where some of their expatriate co-workers live. The rising costs of rent have meant that while landlords are profiting, those without a house of their own are being pushed to the underserved periphery of the capital city (Bornschein 2009, Jenkins 2011, Manuel 2014, Sumich 2015).

more of a pleasure to spend in meals out with friends and travelling; there are also those who can afford to spend in both (Manuel 2014). These differences have an effect on Mozambican sociality. While some Mozambicans may feel that they do not have the “adequate” conditions to entertain expatriates, others are more prepared to do so, like Salomão. Also, as the section on Nweti and Susana’s friendship illustrated, sometimes people simply prefer to meet at restaurants and bars because it is part of their lifestyle. There are also other factors that intervene in the decision to invite people to one’s house, such as the nature of the relationship between the people involved. In some cases, opening the doors of one’s house derives from a sense of affinity, closeness, reciprocity and trust between people, and becomes just another space in which to interact. In the next section I analyse how socioeconomic differences play out in sexual and romantic relationships between Brazilians and Mozambicans.

#### **8.4 Romantic and Sexual Relationships**

During fieldwork I encountered a wide range of Brazilians married to or in long-term relationships with Mozambicans. These included a well-known Brazilian (naturalised Mozambican) filmmaker; Brazilian pastors; some Brazilian women who arrived in Mozambique with the Mozambican partners they met while the latter were studying in Brazil; and also lesbian and gay relationships; there are also virtual relationships established through online dating sites and social media. As I mentioned earlier, many Brazilian development workers arrived in Mozambique already in a relationship, but there were also those who moved to Mozambique because of love; this was the case with two female research participants (Antónia and Carol) who met their Mozambican partners abroad (one in Europe and the other in Brazil).

In this section I explore the experiences and views of three Brazilians (Alexandra, Francesca and Tiago) who have had relationships with Mozambicans, in the light of relevant literature on sexual and affective relationships in Brazil and Mozambique. Mozambicans’ and other expatriates’ perceptions of Brazilians openness to sexual or romantic relationships with Mozambicans were framed along racial, class and nationality lines. Nationality matters because Brazilians were compared to expatriates from other nationalities, while race, class and nationality also intervened in how Mozambican men and women imagined their desirable partners. Three themes run through this section:

perceptions on Brazilian influence – through soap operas and other cultural products – on gender discourses in Mozambique and families’ acceptance of marriage in Maputo City; Brazilians perceptions of Brazilians who are in relationships with Mozambicans; and how differences between Brazilians and Mozambicans worked for relationships or prevented them from flourishing.

As discussed in chapter 5, Brazilians tended to implicitly or explicitly refer to the blood ties between them and Mozambicans, often as a way of reducing difference and distance between them. However, Mozambicans used friendships and affective and sexual relationships to challenge this proximity. Batista pointed out “*if your grandmother was morena [brown or mixed], I want to see you marrying a Mozambican*”; this was his way of exposing what he perceived as white Brazilians’ discomfort with blackness and unwillingness to marry a non-white. Batista’s perception resonates with a body of knowledge (Goldstein 1999, Moutinho 2004, Pacheco 2009, Telles 2014) on interracial relationships which indicates that ‘race is a significant variable in determining partner choice’ (Telles 2014:192) and that Brazilians prefer racial endogamy.

Exploring how dominant racialized and gendered social representations intervene in Brazilians’ sexual and affective lives, Pacheco contends that ‘black and *mestiça* women are outside the ‘affective market’ and naturalised in the ‘sex market’, in eroticization, domestic work, feminised and ‘enslaved’; in contraposition white women belong in those representations, to the ‘culture of affectivity’, marriage, and stable union’ (2009:13). She summarises these perceptions in the title of her PhD thesis as ‘*branca para casar, mulata<sup>45</sup> para f... e negra para trabalhar*’, ‘white to marry, *mulata* to f... [fuck] and black to work’. This literature (Moutinho 2004, Pacheco 2009, Telles 2014) also indicates that white Brazilian women are more likely to have sexual and affective relationships with black men than white Brazilian men with black women. Brazilian and Mozambican research participants also identified this trend. Reflecting about his changing tastes while living in Mozambique, Jacinto made reference to starting to feel sexually attracted to

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<sup>45</sup> While the terms *morena* and *mulata* both refer to mixed ancestry (normally white and black parents) and are basically synonymous in terms of colour, the term *mulata* is highly sensualised and contested by Afro-Brazilians. However, the term *moreno* is also contested when used to refer to black people because it is thought to reflect a “politics of whitening” (See: Caldwell 2007). **The racial classification is different in Brazil and Mozambique and the expressions *morena* or *moreno* are not used in Mozambique. In Brazil there is an attention to both skin colour and physical features and ancestry, while in Mozambique there is an emphasis in skin colour. For an analysis of racial classificatory systems in Brazil and other Portuguese speaking countries see: For an analysis of racial classificatory systems in Brazil and other Portuguese speaking countries see: (Telles 2004, Fry 2009, Guimarães 2012)**

Mozambican women as part of what he described as opening “*a new chapter in Mozambique*”, “*cutting away*” his Brazilian roots and immersing himself “*in a more Mozambican universe*”. While he did not make reference to race, the fact that he later told me that he was particularly attracted to a black woman, I happen to know, suggests that the changing tastes had a racial dimension. Jacinto’s inclusion of feeling sexual attraction towards a Mozambican woman in the list of his changing tastes, suggests that this was “outside the norm” for Brazilians in Mozambique.

Perceptions of interracial romantic relationships between Brazilians and Mozambicans were also articulated by research participants in the light of class inequalities in Brazil, as depicted in soap operas as well as literature that indicates that intermarriage occurs mostly among the lower classes rather than in the middle and upper classes (Telles 2004, Cicalo 2012). For instance, several research participants suggested that “*middle-class Brazilians do not marry middle-class Mozambicans*” and that a “*middle-class Brazilian woman will only marry an upper-class Mozambican*”. While this is a common perception, associated with the view of Brazilians as elitists, the Mozambican partners of female Brazilian research participants were mainly middle-class, with a working class family background; Francesca was the only exception, as I discuss below.

In her analysis of the role of class, ethnicity and similar values in families’ acceptance of marriage in Maputo City, Manuel (2014) makes reference to Brazilian influence via soap operas. Groes-Green (2011) notes that discourses on gender equality emanating from Brazil amongst other countries, through TV series, music, art and fashion as well as flows of people between the two countries have shaped young people’s ideals and dreams. Similarly, Van De Kamp (2012) discusses the influence of Brazilian Pentecostal churches in Mozambique in shaping interpretations of love and relationships through pre-marriage counselling sessions, workshops, and group meetings for married couples, which discuss love, sexuality and marriage. Besides influencing class divisions and gender relations in Mozambique, Brazilian soap operas also provided the lenses through which some Mozambican research participants contested Brazilian kinship discourses, as Batista did.

The role of class, race and gender dynamics in the expatriate dating scene in Maputo can be seen at the Núcleo de Arte; this is a bar based at the oldest collective of artists in Mozambique, which dates back to the colonial period. The place features in most tourist guides about Maputo and is known for attracting mostly young female and male

expatriates who like to mingle and have sex with the “locals”, as well as the location where certain Mozambican men go “hunting white women”, as Nweti put it. Mozambican research participants differentiated expatriate women’s likeliness of going to Núcleo de Arte along nationality and age lines. Brazilian women are seen as different from young Southern European and Scandinavian women who are perceived as less elitist, who enjoy socialising in spaces such as Núcleo de Arte, and more likely to date Mozambican men. When talking about relationships with Mozambican men, Francesca distanced herself from this space, without me asking, by stating “*I am not going to fool around with Mozambican men from Núcleo de Arte*”, adding that “*the place stinks of weed and alcohol*”.

Indeed, although there were examples of inter-racial, inter-national relationships between Mozambicans and white Europeans within Health for All, Alexandra was the only Brazilian who had been in a long-term romantic relationship with a Mozambican. When I asked Antoine, a European development worker who worked for the INGO, if he knew Brazilians who were in relationships with Mozambicans, he replied

*I don't know any Brazilians married to Mozambicans. But I certainly know some who had sexual relationships and left behind Mozambican children. I don't think they got married, perhaps they did and then got divorced. However, I think that although Brazilian society is multicultural it is built around 'castes', I mean marriage between different races is not welcomed.*

### *Love, sex and class*

In the following paragraphs, I analyse how socioeconomic inequalities shaped perceptions of self and othering processes in more intimate relationships. This can be seen from the stories of three research participants: Alexandra, Francesca, and Tiago. I first present the three stories and then discuss the similarities and differences between them.

Alexandra’s story illustrates how socioeconomic differences between Brazilian women and Mozambican men were experienced as well as how her relationship with a Mozambican man, influenced how she perceived herself and was perceived by her co-workers, revealing the intersections between gender, nationality, and “*degree of Mozambicaness*” shaping Brazilians’ interactions with Mozambicans.

Alexandra is quite reserved and has always made a huge effort to keep her personal and professional life separate; this translated into drawing clear boundaries in interactions

with male co-workers: she avoided telling jokes, making playful remarks, laughing and exchanging text messages with her male colleagues. *“That is not why I am here”*, she told me. Alexandra’s efforts to maintain a “professional image” also translated into avoidance of commenting about her love-sex life with her Brazilian and Mozambican colleagues. Despite her efforts, Alexandra never really managed to keep work and love life separate. She fell in love and moved in with a work colleague, a Mozambican man from a different department in the Ministry where she worked. This relationship ended a couple of months before the interview. Most people at work knew about this relationship, but nobody ever said anything and they treated her *“with great consideration”*; she *“never felt disrespected inside the ministry”*, even when the relationship started deteriorating. Alexandra believed that in spite of her efforts to maintain clear boundaries, being married to a Mozambican man made people see her as more approachable than other expatriates. *“They may think, she cannot be that inaccessible, she has a relationship with somebody from here [Mozambique]”*. Indeed, her colleagues perceived her as “a different kind of Brazilian”; a Mozambican colleague said that she *“is more Mozambican than Brazilian”*, and a Brazilian that *“nowadays, she is more Mozambican than anything else”*. The fact that people saw Alexandra as a ‘different kind of Brazilian’, due to her relationship with a Mozambican man, was related to the fact that despite presumed affinities between Brazilians and Mozambicans, the research participants were not used to seeing Brazilians having Mozambican partners. Few people were able to identify Brazilian-Mozambican couples, and the majority were from an older generation, Brazilians who had been living in Mozambique since before the country’s independence.

Alexandra was vocal about how status and socioeconomic differences affected her relationship. According to her, now and then her former partner used their relationship *“to demonstrate his strength and power, because he was with ‘the adviser’”* and that the relationship had afforded him material and symbolic privileges. Alexandra enjoyed the privileges of an expatriate contract and earned substantially more than her former partner. When they were together, they lived in Alexandra’s three bedroom apartment with sea-view, in the upscale Polana Cimento neighbourhood. On several occasions, Alexandra mentioned how difficult it was to be the main provider and to *“avoid making him feel inferior”*. She wanted her partner to be able to perform the socially sanctioned male provider role, and often gave him money so that he could pay their bills, especially in restaurants, because she thought he felt embarrassed when she paid.

By contrast, Francesca story shows how socioeconomic differences between a Brazilian woman and a wealthy Mozambican man were experienced. Francesca was in her early thirties and self-identified as heterosexual. She arrived in Mozambique with her Brazilian husband but got divorced there a couple of years later. When I asked if she had met anybody in Mozambique after her divorce, specifically if she had ever dated a Mozambican man, Francesca talked about the difficulties of meeting intelligent and respectful Mozambican men. She also admitted having prejudices against Mozambican men, and to illustrate she told me that when she met a wealthy, cultured and intelligent young, black affluent Mozambican businessman who paid all the bills when they went out, she did not trust him and presumed that the money had been earned illegally. While Francesca enjoyed his company, had sex with him, and even tested to see how he would fit into her group of friends and *“whether he would be able to deal with them”* – something *“he managed well”* – she decided not to pursue the relationship. She was not used to having a relationship with a person that earned substantially more than her and was too suspicious. Reflecting on it during the interview, she showed regret as she noted: *“it was all my own silly prejudices. I started making a movie in my head: fraudulent business, womaniser, because he had two children”*. Francesca believed that common stereotypes about Mozambican men applied to this man and did not allow herself time to get to know him better, because she did not know how to deal with her suspicions and the differences between them, and was afraid of getting attached to him. She clarified that *“this had nothing to do with racial discrimination, but with other types of prejudices related to the different”*, adding that *“we tend to stick to what we already know”*.

I indicated that Francesca’s prejudice was associated with common stereotypes about Mozambican men, which are shared and disseminated by Mozambican and foreign women (Manuel 2014) as well as by the gender literature that portrays them as cheaters, violent and guilty of all evils that happen to women, and lacking the willingness to commit to a serious relationship (Macia and Langa 2004). Plus, Mozambican men tend to be compared to white expatriates who are imagined as monogamous, generous and gender-sensitive (Manuel 2014, Groes-Green 2014). However, as Parker (1999) points out in his book *“Beneath the Equator”*, imaginaries of Brazilians’ love and sex lives are infused with similar images used to distinguish North from South and developed from developing countries. In Mozambique, there is a racialized imaginary formed through consumption of Brazilian cultural products in which Brazilian men are seen as sensual,



hedonistic, and romantic yet unfaithful; black men are hypersexualised and portrayed as violent.

Tiago's experiences reveal how class, education and knowledge intervened in sexual and affective homosexual relationships. Like his Brazilian gay flatmate, who had *brought "tons of lubricant, unaware that he was not going to use any of it"*, Tiago hoped to find openness and opportunities for sex. This expectation was based on gay men's involvement in AIDS service NGOs in Brazil. Instead, he found a closed environment, which made him, someone who had always been open, become quite reserved. In his first year in Mozambique, his sex and love life were also negatively affected by the fact that he was between Brazil and Mozambique, to the point of despair. *"I could not find, could not find, could not find [a gay man]"*.

Eventually, Tiago discovered that Maputo had a 'gay community' and that *"there are other spaces for gay men to express their identities"*, when he met a group of Mozambican and expatriate men during the farewell party of a gay Brazilian literature professor. *"All the gays will be there, come"*, was the professor's invitation. *"Almost two years in Mozambique without finding a gay man and finally I found them. It was so enjoyable!"*. He realised that parties were a space to meet gay men and a few weeks later opened the doors of his house to the gay men he had recently met, and became known for his parties. While Tiago met many Mozambican men with whom he developed friendships and had sex, he did not meet anybody he would want to be in a relationship with, because he experienced these sexual contacts as unequal and unfulfilling. The interview extract below illustrates how Tiago framed those relationships.

*Tiago: They considered themselves my boyfriends. In a way it was the case, but for me it was more like a good friend with whom I had sex.*

*Katia: Friends with benefits?*

*Tiago: Yeah, yeah. Friends with benefits, a fuck buddy, sort of thing. Because dating is something so...Initially I did not live here, I would stay two, three months and then return to Brazil, and I did not plan to establish myself here, how could I date somebody?*

*Katia: Have you ever had a boyfriend here [Mozambique]?*

*Tiago: Not that I considered as such. But they considered, several considered me their boyfriend.*

*Katia: And how did you manage that?*

*Tiago: I always denied it. I demarcated, because my understanding of dating someone is of an egalitarian and mutually beneficial encounter that will make me grow. However, with all the people who considered me their boyfriend, the level of exchange I expected was not there, do you understand?*

*Katia: So it is an exchange at what level?*

*Tiago: It is an exchange in which I often teach more than I learn, where I pay all the bills, and where I am a lot more open about homosexuality than the other person.*

*Katia: Open in private or in public?*

*Tiago: In public.*

Tiago narrated how he gradually discovered the places where gay men could socialise and have encounters, many of which were in poorer neighbourhoods. However, these encounters ended up being quite transactional. His story sheds light into how his expectations about the acceptability of homosexual relationships and Mozambican gay men's openness about their sexual identity led first to shock, fear of visibility, and reservedness in his first years in Mozambique and then to inability to understand the reluctance of Mozambican men to go public. Tiago's story also shows how his self-perception led to othering, through which his Mozambican "fuck buddies" were seen as people to whom he taught things.

Money interfered in similar ways in Alexandra and Tiago's stories as compared to Francesca's; while Alexandra and Tiago were the ones paying for everything, Francesca who was well-paid, was not used to relating to wealthy Mozambican men. However, in both Francesca and Tiago's cases, we see a decision not to engage beyond sex. Dominant stereotypes of Mozambican men prevented her from exploring a relationship with a Mozambican man, while Alexandra was willing to enter and stay for years in what she experienced as an "unequal relationship" until her partner left her.

In this chapter, I have shown how socioeconomic differences and political affinities affected sociability inside and outside of work. Claimed affinities between Brazilians and Mozambicans evoked by South-South Cooperation discourses are destabilised by these development workers' sociability patterns and relationships, which highlight difference and distance. Yet, the chapter has also shown that there is a tendency among Brazilians to draw near to Mozambicans who are perceived to be "like them", highlighting the importance of class and political identification (particularly related to gender and feminism) as a factor in overcoming this distance. Nweti and Susana's friendship is both a story of a horizontal relationship as well as of one of the ways in which inequality, difference and privilege manifest in South-South relations.

As I pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, the assumption that there is a special, privileged and distinctive relationship between Brazilians and Mozambicans applies to

both the professional and the personal realms. A related assumption is that their everyday lives and lifestyles will challenge privilege and inequality, i.e. that they will distinguish themselves from other international development workers through their efforts to challenge their privilege. My research suggests that while nationality sets them apart from other international development workers, their social class, lifestyles, and occupational status draw them to other development workers as well as to affluent Mozambicans. While similar political values, about gender and feminism, are an important bridge that creates identification with women from less privileged backgrounds, they do not erase other differences; this matters because in the logic of South-South cooperation class cannot be present, as geopolitical position and struggle seem to take precedence.

This research shows that Brazilian development workers' social positioning in Mozambique is defined by other factors, besides their political values and geopolitical struggles; these include, their cultural capital (formal education and specialist knowledge), their economic capital (income and benefits associated with their status as international development workers), their social capital (social networks particularly being friends and acquaintances with national and international development workers in senior management positions and access to senior Mozambican government officials) are also important intervening factors. Combined, these factors influence how Brazilian development workers' interact with Mozambicans and deal with unequal power relations within the development industry. This is the focus of this thesis' concluding chapter.

## Chapter 9. Assimilating, resisting and reinforcing unequal power relations

Amanda Rossi [Brazilian journalist]: I feel that people [in Mozambique] treat Brazil in a brotherly way. Then Brazilian companies arrived. Is there a risk of a brother country becoming the rich cousin?

Mia Couto [Mozambican writer]: Ah, no doubt. (...) People expected something else. However, it turned out that their logic is similar to the others, of those powerful companies around the world. There is resentment, right? (...) There was a naïve expectation that “with these [Brazilians] we will understand each other better” etc. So the end result is more disastrous because there is disillusionment [with Brazil]. I think that some companies (...) think that because it worked in Brazil, it also works here. For instance, I have seen questionnaires Brazilian companies applied to survey Mozambique’s social reality which were copy and paste versions of the ones used in Brazil. (...). It is not because we have the same language, share historical, cultural and political affinities that I will arrive in Brazil and do things that I cannot do. (Rossi 2015:362)

The text above is an extract from an interview given by Mia Couto to Amanda Rossi, a Brazilian journalist, as part of her study on Brazilian businesses in Africa. When I read Mia Couto’s words, four months before completing this thesis, I realised that like him and the other Mozambicans to whom he alludes, I also had expectations that relationships between Brazilians and Mozambicans would be different from those between Mozambicans and Northern development workers. I also became conscious that the sense of uneasiness I felt as a development worker signalled my disillusionment with development work. Although Mia Couto is speaking of Brazilian companies, his critique also applies to formal and informal, state and non-state Brazilian interventions, as their starting point is the same: a presumption of appropriateness.

In this concluding chapter, I reflect on the assumption that there is a special and distinctive relationship between Brazilians and Mozambicans and the expectations associated with identification as kin. I also tease out how the heaviness of the expectations placed on Brazilians speaks to larger issues related to dissatisfaction with current development cooperation models and hope for the emergence of alternative ways of thinking and doing development. This is how I read the faith in South-South cooperation as a new development paradigm.

This chapter is organised in two parts. In the first part, I seek to answer the thesis’ guiding question which is: to what extent South-South relations challenge, resist or reinforce unequal power relations within the development industry? In the second part, I outline

this thesis' contribution to academic debates on feminism and feminists in Mozambique, aid ethnographies and on South-South relations.

### **9.1 Complicity and unresolved contradictions**

Development organisations tend to reflect unequal power relations in the broader society, as well as create new ones. Where individuals situate themselves and their personal agency emerge as crucial mediating factors in challenging or reinforcing unequal power relations in development practice (Dwiwedi 2002, Chambers & Pettit 2004). In this regard, one conclusion to be drawn from this thesis is that Brazilian professionals have been assimilated by the development industry, through the transformation of Brazilian social innovations and activist praxis into a 'professionalised commodity' (Hatzky 2015). In this process, Brazilian professionals who have become expatriate development workers in Mozambique have been complicit in the reproduction of unequal power relations within development cooperation. I argue that their views on both North-South and South-South development cooperation were shaped by their degree of assimilation and investment in development work.

In the following paragraphs, I summarise how this has happened, elaborating on differences and similarities between Brazilian AIDS professionals and gender professionals. I focus on two aspects: their positioning vis-à-vis knowledge hierarchies within the development industry, and how they made sense of power inequalities between themselves and Mozambicans. These two aspects are discussed in the light of Moore's (1994) theorisation of agency and 'fantasies of power and of identity', drawing on Holloway's notion of 'investment', which is useful in explaining what makes individuals resist or comply with certain situations, discourses and practices.

Moore's (1994) understanding of resistance and complicity as types of agency and forms of subjectivity is also analytically useful, because it recognises that personal agency consists of both acts that challenge social norms and those that uphold them. 'Fantasy' refers to the ideas we have about how we would like to be seen by others, while 'investment' underlines the role of emotional commitment and vested interests in explaining how individuals take specific subject positions. This conceptualization is helpful because it takes into account the ways in which discourses and discursive practices provide subject positions, the fact that they are socially constructed and that 'some of

these subjects positions will be contradictory and will conflict with each other' (Moore 1994:55). **Situating subject positions within discourses also underlines the relational nature of discourses (Holloway 1984, Davies and Harre 1990, Moore 1994) and allows me to account for my own intervention in their discourses, through interviewing them; that is, the ways in which my multiple positionalities may have affected their responses and my reading of them. As Davies and Harre assert, 'one's beliefs about the sorts of persons, including oneself, who are engaged in a conversation are central to how one understands what has been said. Exactly what is the force of any utterance on a particular occasion will depend on that understanding'** (1990:11).



Brazilian development workers' personal and professional histories intersected with the development industry before their arrival in Mozambique, as all of them had worked with or for an international development organisation. However, that experience did not emerge in the interviews in the ways that are often assumed in the literature, which would imply that Brazilian development workers' discourses and reflections on their work include a critique of development and knowledge hierarchies within the development industry. In fact, the majority of them made reference to their past life as recipients of aid in relation to their 'activist identities' (to distinguish themselves from Mozambicans) and to their professional expertise (claiming authoritative knowledge).

Moreover, few Brazilian development workers were able to reflect, or at least to share their reflections, about their implication in development work or to openly discuss the office politics, conflicts and contradictions discussed in chapters 6, 7 and 8. On many occasions, instead of talking about themselves, Brazilian research participants talked about the 'Other': hierarchical and unequal power relations between Mozambicans, the lack of proactiveness of the Mozambican government in forcing donors to help them retain public officials, and Mozambicans' incompetence and victimisation. The 'Other' was not only Mozambican. Brazilian development workers who supposedly had a 'mercantilist mind', as Jacinto noted and had used the posting in Mozambique as a springboard to an international career were also the 'Other', as were Northern development workers who were accused of imperialist behaviour.

It was also possible to discern 'a subjective commitment to implicit storylines' (Davies and Harré 1990:10), in my Brazilian research participants' discourses, in which they emerged as committed activist technical advisors and consultants and dedicated

government advisers. However, the interviews and professional pathways suggest that this was rather based on a pre-existing idea of themselves, as they underlined their activist identities and the politicised nature of their work in Brazil, but failed to acknowledge their complicity in the discourses and practices they critiqued in Mozambique. In my view, this is related to their investment in an activist identity and the pressures generated by the expectations that they will bring ‘packages’ from Brazil to Mozambique. The activist and political dimension, specifically the ‘meanings and practices of participation and citizenship in Brazil’ (Cornwall, Romano and Shankland 2008:03) is a critical element of the Brazilian innovations that development actors sought to transfer to Mozambique. Thus, an ‘activist identity’ became a sought after professionalised commodity in the South-South cooperation industry.

There were, however, some exceptions. While Luana and Teresa seemed to take for granted knowledge hierarchies between Brazil and Mozambique (as discussed in chapter 7), Susana talked about the ‘politics of feminist knowledge transfer’ (Bustelo et al. 2016). The three women (Luana, Susana and Teresa) about the importance of building things together with their Mozambican *companheiras*, yet the interviews revealed that they often ended up doing most of the work themselves. Besides, while none of the AIDS professionals voiced a critique of notions of development that are promoted through development cooperation, **these three women denounced the seductive power and promises of development discourses, exposing their limitations**; Luana and Teresa engaged in a combination of contestation and action. Despite working with or being funded by international organisations, **they were critical of how feminist ideas have been de-politicised and of the distance between gender professionals and women’s movements**.



I read the positioning of these three women as the result of a confluence of factors, including their feminist values and the fact that none of them lived in Mozambique, which meant that they had sporadic professional contact with Mozambican feminists characterised by different interactions and investments.

#### *Mozambican development workers’ assumptions, expectations and agency*

I started this chapter by talking about my own assumptions and expectations about Brazil and how I could relate to the sense of disillusionment described by Mia Couto, who in 2014 claimed that “Brazil fooled us [Mozambicans]” (Couto 2014). This statement drew the attention of many who have been scrutinising Brazil’s activities in Mozambique and

other African countries. Although appealing, Mia Couto's statement homogenises both the multiple and diverse Brazilian actors in Mozambique and the equally varied Mozambican' views of them. Thus, in this section, I take a step back and critically reflect on whether the Mozambican research participants also felt "fooled by Brazil", and which Brazil they talked about. While Mozambicans' use of the 'rich uncle' metaphor referred to the Brazilian government and companies, landless workers, battered women as well as middle-class professionals and activists were framed as brother and sisters connected by a common political project.

Furthermore, while the research indicates that some Mozambican development workers felt betrayed by their Brazilian co-workers, this is arguably related to the nature of existing relationships rather than an *a priori* assumption about Brazilians, as Marlene and Tiago's story illustrates. In fact, besides their facility in communicating (due to speaking the same language) Mozambicans fundamentally view Brazilians as expatriate development workers, privileged by their knowledge, experience, personal and professional networks, their whiteness as well as by broader South-South inequalities.

I develop this argument by summarising the assumptions and expectations of Mozambican development workers towards the Brazilians they interacted with, as well as their agency in shaping those interactions. I have identified five main assumptions shared by Brazilians and Mozambicans: that Brazil has done well in reducing poverty, addressing the AIDS epidemic, and in promoting gender equality and women's rights; that Brazil has strong, progressive and solidarity-focused social movements; that Brazilian social innovations and technologies as well as activisms are replicable and relevant for the Mozambican context; that Brazilians are knowledge bearers and that Brazilians have little to learn from Mozambicans.

Mozambican research participants seemed to have internalised knowledge hierarchies and had a tendency to underestimate their own knowledges and experiences, by focusing on problems and difficulties. Very few questioned the tendency to import packages and tools from Brazil or their adaptability to the Mozambican context. In fact, the majority believed that Mozambicans had more to learn from Brazil than the other way around. This was usually framed in relation to each country's wealth. For instance, one Mozambican research participant observed that Brazil "*has things to receive from other [more developed] countries*" but not from Mozambique, because



*obviously if we are very poor, we don't have money, don't have knowledge, have less opportunities, somehow learn something from the opportunities they give us, even if [we are] exploited.*

Only a minority thought that Brazilians could learn from Mozambicans; this included some feminists who indicated that they were good at dealing with donors and mobilising financial resources for their projects, something Brazilian colleagues could learn. However, there were also Brazilians and Mozambicans with a more critical view who questioned the idea that “*Brazilians can build any capacity*” in Mozambique, by pointing out that many Brazilians as well as other expatriates do not possess enough qualifications and professional experience, things many acquire in Mozambique through working with Mozambicans.

These assumptions have led to very concrete and pragmatic expectations that, in my view, have more to do with what they expect to get out of the relationships rather than an expectation of the equality and horizontality suggested by official South-South cooperation discourses. Although Mozambicans identified similarities between the two countries and social, cultural and political affinities, they did not see Brazilians as equal to them; quite the contrary. Arguably this is precisely what makes Brazilians well-suited for Mozambicans' personal, organisational and political projects. Moreover, while some Mozambicans framed exchanges with Brazilian non-state actors in positive terms, bordering on romanticising them, the majority underlined that solidarity and self-interest coexisted. This did not prevent them from engaging in such collaborations because their own interests were clear and they believed they also could get something positive out of them. However, this carried its own contradictions. Even though Mozambican research participants could make sense of the coexistence of solidarity and self-interest, they also expected a genuine desire to “empower” them on the part of Brazilians. A research participant described this dynamic well.

*I want to have more knowledge, do you understand? If somebody tells me they are going to pay for me to access knowledge I will be happy. But then when you look at the big picture, you see that actually, the first discourse [solidarity and empowerment] was not quite it, everybody has vested interests. I also had my interest. I wanted to study more, learn more and know the world. And it worked, I achieved it. I do not question a programme's objective or terms of reference. I question their ulterior objectives. Ultimately, it hurts to know that meu [mate] your main objective was not actually to empower our group to be like your group. Your objective was actually to use that as a springboard for you to be in another category, do you get it?*

In this case, the disappointment is associated with Brazilians' motivations and commitment, that is, whether the promise of 'empowerment' and 'capacity building' was motivated by a genuine desire to see Mozambicans develop their autonomy and if the promises made were fulfilled or not. In the two fields analysed it was possible to identify different yet related expectations. The Mozambicans working for Mulher & Feminista expected political guidance, training, continued collaboration, networking opportunities and alliance-building, whilst those working for Health for All expected equal access to professional development opportunities, visibility and recognition of their knowledge and experience, better salaries and benefits and professional mobility, including promotion.

The disappointment emerged when Mozambicans felt that Brazilian co-workers and *companheiras* were not committed to empowering them to become like them. This is not a naïve expectation, as Mozambican participants were aware that they work in a highly competitive environment and that expatriate technical advisors are under pressure to deliver quickly to justify their high salaries - which often translates into them accusing Mozambican co-workers and counterparts of being slow and preferring to do things themselves instead of collaboratively. They also believed that Brazilians and other expatriates feel the need to remain relevant, which in turn reduced their incentives to "build" local capacity. From Mozambicans' point of view this was what thwarted the relationship. South-South cooperation discourses create the illusion that because social technologies and institutional innovations come from a 'similar' developing country, the "recipients" will become like the "givers", as evidenced in the quote above. The notion of fantasies of power and of identity also applies to Mozambicans who seek to cultivate an 'activist identity' through exchanges such as those analysed in chapter 7.

With regard to Mozambicans' agency, in chapter 2, I mentioned attending a talk for 2<sup>nd</sup>-year international relations' students about a research, conducted by two Brazilian researchers from the *Instituto Políticas Alternativas para o Cone Sul* Institute Alternative Policies for the Southern Cone (PACS). I had read the research report 'The story told by the prey or the hunter? Views on Brazil from Angola and Mozambique' (Garcia, Kato and Fontes 2013) a year before the talk, and was pleased that it brought voices from Angola and Mozambique. However, after reading it a second time and listening to the presentation and students' questions I felt uncomfortable with the way the two countries were portrayed – as victims in need of rescuing. During fieldwork, I found that this imaginary was pervasive in Brazilian and Mozambicans' discourses, particularly among

members of social movements. In fact, the title was inspired by a story told by a Mozambican interviewee. While accepting that agency varies among different individual and collective actors, this thesis offers a different reading of Mozambicans' agency based on the micro-level interactions analysed and the intersectional approach adopted in this thesis, which recognises the interconnections between structures of difference, individuals' identities and identifications, and types of agency. This perspective is inspired by Moore's call for accounts of agency that are analytically and politically specific in context rather than assumed in advance (1994:50) and Jawitz's analysis of how individuals link 'past and present experiences with future possibilities' (2009:243) when deciding which identity trajectory to follow.

Thus, I differentiate the types of agency identified within Health for All's office politics and sociability outside of work and those observed in relationships between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists, including the feminist training analysed in chapter 7. I argue that within Health for All, Mozambicans' agency manifested in their decision to interact or not with Brazilians outside of work, in developing friendships, in remaining silent and in building alliances with Brazilian co-workers because they needed a "white face" close to the organisation's leadership to advance their agendas.

The patterns of interaction and agency of Mozambicans within Mulher & Feminista were somewhat different. The terms of engagement with Luana, Susana and Teresa were negotiated by Estrela and the *Gabinete* staff. They also invited other Brazilian feminists, pursued their support and guidance, collaborated with them, and "copied and pasted" Brazilian experiences. The Mozambican leadership of the organisation chose with whom they wanted to align, in what terms and what they wanted to get from it. Yet, in the feminist training, Mozambican participants had no say in the design of the training and the contents discussed, as class, hierarchy, knowledge inequalities as well as power differences between *Gabinete* staff and its members combined to lead to the exclusion of members' voices and inputs. This is important as gender expertise and feminist knowledge have emerged as instruments of power (Davids and Van Eerdewijk 2016, Prügl 2016).

Finally, although both Health for All and Mulher & Feminista were dependent on donors' funding and agendas, the Brazilian AIDS professionals held significant control over financial resources and decisions about whether or not to invest in "building the capacity"

of Mozambican co-workers, while the (often demonised) donor money enabled *Mulher & Feminista* to define what technical assistance they required and how much they were willing to invest in it, albeit within the limits allowed by donors and organisational politics.

## **9.2 Implications for further debates on feminism, aidnographies and SSC**

This thesis' contribution is situated at the intersection of three research fields: feminist praxis and organising, ethnographies of development work, and South-South relations.

Feminists have written extensively about 'the contested relationship between feminism and development and the challenges for reasserting feminist engagement with development as a political project' (Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead 2007:1). In this thesis, I chose a South-South perspective that incorporated the agency of Mozambican feminists. This has brought to light differences and similarities between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists in their engagements with development and the particular histories that have shaped feminist activism in each country. The brief history of *Mulher & Feminista* provided in chapter 7 challenges the usefulness of the notion of NGOisation of women's movements (Alvarez 1998) to understand Mozambican women movements' engagements with development. *Mulher & Feminista*'s history, the transformations in its identity as well as of its staff and members suggests, despite all its ambiguities, an embryonic 'movementisation of NGOs' (Helms 2014), rather than an NGOisation of social movements. This is in contrast to other cases.

As in other contexts such as India (Roy 2011, 2015), in urban Mozambique, many women encounter feminist politics through paid employment in international development organisations, including NGOs. For the majority of this group, especially younger women, this was the context in which their feminist consciousness and agency developed. Thus, the tendency to frame professionalisation as de-politicisation is problematic, as personal stories of feminists in development organisations illustrate (Eyben and Turquet 2013). Such a reading does not take into account instances where professionalisation in the field of gender equality and women's rights was the main pathway for the politicisation of many women.

Nonetheless, in Mozambique professionalisation has also had unintended consequences, such as the creation of a small middle-class elite of professional gender activists, in a context of growing feminisation of poverty and flagrant inequalities between women. This has had effects on the ability of these professionals to mobilise other women, as noted in chapter 7.

What I see as an embryonic “movementisation” of *Mulher & Feminista* can be characterised in the following ways: as the shift from an exclusive engagement with government and donors’ institutional gender mechanisms that privileged collaboration and persuasion, towards incorporation of confrontation and pressure. There is also growing awareness of the straightjacketing effect of most donor funding and its effects in the creation of hierarchies between NGO workers and the women they want to reach, as well as the limitations of projectised interventions. Finally, a new emphasis on movement building and adoption of strategies to improve the network’s ability to connect with and mobilise a broad range of Mozambican women. These shifts have resulted both from changes on the donors’ side, such as a greater focus on social accountability and governance, and from the network’s engagements with transnational feminists. While *Mulher & Feminista* has acted in different transnational spaces and interacts with feminists from various countries, Brazilian feminisms/feminists have exerted the most influence on its thinking and practices. These dynamics suggest the need for further work on Southern actors’ movement building efforts and their attempts to “repoliticise feminism in gender and development” (Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead 2007:2) and bridge two different forms of citizen engagement, what Alvarez, Baiocchi, Laó-Montes, Rubin and Thayer (2017) called ‘uncivic activism’ and the ‘civil society agenda’.

The literature on transnational relationships between feminists has largely neglected interactions between Southern feminists. In chapter 3, I briefly traced connections between Southern feminists within the movement for ‘Third World Solidarity’ and mapped engagements between Brazilian and Mozambican feminists historically. This was motivated by a desire not only to situate the interactions analysed in chapter 7, but also to contribute to filling a gap in existing historical accounts of relations between Brazil and Mozambique, which have neglected feminist and women’s movements. The discussions in chapters 5 and 7 shed light on the imaginaries, aspirations and views of Brazilian and Mozambican feminists with regards to their ‘common differences’ (Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991:ix) as well as the appropriateness of Brazilian

experiences as compared to those from other African, Southern and Northern countries. I have shown that these imaginaries tend to disregard the geo-historical conditions and dynamics that shaped Brazilian feminisms and activisms.

This research contributes to expanding feminists' conceptualisations of difference, specifically on how Southern women represent themselves and other Southern women; this study demonstrated that this goes beyond their shared experiences of colonialism, imperialism and capitalism or a shared political project. Class, professional experience, knowledge and qualifications also intervene in how they perceive each other, and most importantly in how they relate with each other at the personal and professional levels. Finally, the thesis offers an account of how Brazilian and Mozambican feminists have opposed what they consider to be neo-colonial and capitalist practices. Yet, this process is marked by contradictions. Discourses and practices of feminist solidarity are affected by broader South-South inequalities in terms of feminists' experiences, knowledges and power, which call for greater reflexivity on the part of those involved in SS collaborations.

Just as in feminist movements, we need to take our postcolonial gaze away from the North-South axis, ethnographies of development work also need to look at South-South dynamics. We still know very little about international development workers from the Global South working in the development industry at various levels. This ethnographic study on Brazilian development workers in Mozambique seeks to extend our current understanding of privilege and authority as they relate to nationality, gender, race and ethnicity within postcolonial thought, beyond the focus on Northern white expatriates (Heron 2007, Eyben 2008, Leggett 2010, Fechter and Walsh 2010). My analysis of the profiles, life paths and identities of Brazilian development workers complicates conceptualisations of privilege and expertise centred on the "West versus the rest" dichotomy. It also invites postcolonial theorising to broaden its critique of international development by investigating both the continuities between the colonial era and the contemporary 'post-colonial' epoch, in relationships between former colonies. This research indicates that colonial discourses and imaginations about Africa, the Global South and the North have historically shaped the relationships among people from former colonies and continue to be relevant in postcolonial contexts. Thus, there is a need for more empirical research and theorization on the ways in which dominant representations are incorporated, resisted and reinvented as well as on the ways in which "Otherness" is constituted, communicated and transformed through South-South engagements.

This thesis has argued that organisations' and people's countries of origins also matter in development work. Not only are there different perceptions about the policies and practices of different bilateral agencies, but the latter also tend to be staffed by national professionals from their own countries. In chapter 3, I showed that certain countries are seen as part of Mozambique's history; this historical imprint mattered for the ways in which expatriates from different nationalities perceived each other and were perceived by Mozambicans. When talking about expatriates, Mozambicans and expatriates themselves, use their nationality as a category to differentiate people. Nationality mattered in terms of who occupied what positions within the INGO, access to opportunities and sociability. Development organisations, particularly multilateral ones have assumed that hiring Brazilians to occupy positions in Southern countries would facilitate identification, promote horizontality and ameliorate conflicts with national professionals. However, hiring members of a different demographic group does not 'bring about the end of hierarchy within development', as Hindman and Fechter have also argued (2014:16).

The interactions analysed in this thesis force us to think laterally and multidimensionally about other kinds of difference, associated othering practices and their historical origins. Finally, the researcher's nationality also affects fieldwork interactions; my Mozambican nationality was at the forefront of my mind during the research and it also mattered to the research participants. While writing this conclusion, I asked Alexandra, to whom I have become close since I interviewed her in 2013, how she had felt being interviewed by a Mozambican about relationships between Brazilians and Mozambicans. This is what she replied: *"comfortable because it was you...but honestly I would not do it with other researchers, because looking at the Other and at ourselves requires trust."*

#### *Expanding the visible spectrum of SSC*

The way in which I investigated South-South relations is substantially different from how most scholars have approached the subject. I have adopted a multiscale analysis that moved from the macro to the micro levels; while it included attention to global geopolitics and institutional politics, my focus was on micro-politics of difference and sameness in interpersonal relationships. I have paid attention to concrete personal and professional interactions and how the individuals involved made sense of them. Specifically, I have looked at how understandings of Self and Other influenced interactions between Brazilians and Mozambicans, the ways in which they conceptualised and practised

development, and how they made sense of deep-seated knowledge hierarchies and power inequalities between them. I did this because I was interested in understanding how micro-interactions reinforce or challenge structural unequal power relations. Below I discuss the theoretical and methodological insights provided by this approach.

The interactions I investigated do not fit neatly with current definitions of SSC. This is because the existing literature on SSC has been centred on the state and institutions. This thesis' focus on Brazilian development workers' professional trajectories and motivations as well as their life and work in Mozambique adds a societal perspective to our understanding of South-South relations. It reveals the messiness of reality and the limitations of compartmentalising reality in North-South, formal-informal, personal and professional. Even though Brazilians' descriptions of life and work in Mozambique draw on broader SSC claims, as evidenced in the distinctions made between themselves and Northern development workers, based on assertions of experiential knowledge of poverty, they did not necessarily frame their work as SSC or see themselves as development workers. While some research participants had been involved in formal SSC projects, and in those cases, it had been the source of their first professional engagement with Mozambique, when I interviewed them they worked for Northern INGOs, multilateral agencies, Brazilian NGOs and as consultants for Northern organisations funded through Northern money; this challenges the tendency to erect rigid boundaries between Northern and Southern development cooperation. Nonetheless, I also believe that had this research been conducted with Brazilian and Mozambican state actors different discourses would have emerged influenced, amongst others, by their own professional identities and investments.

This thesis' focus on personal relationships combined with attention to organisational practices, situated within the office politics of a U.S INGO and interactions within a transnational feminist movement, contributes to expand our thinking on how Southern development workers experience development work. While I explored organisational aspects of NGOs and social movements, my focus has been on internal interpersonal dynamics, demonstrating the contradictions between what is idealised and claimed about South-South cooperation and actual practices. Through this, the thesis seeks to deepen our understanding of how relationships between national and expatriate development workers take place and how they are framed by those directly involved. This analysis challenges scholars of South-South relations to question their prior assumptions about the



potential of affinities for building more democratic aid relationships; the thesis illustrates that while personal, professional and political affinities facilitate identification, opening up space for building relationships, they do not address unequal power relations. In fact, the thesis suggests that the emphasis placed on affinities leads to a distancing of those who are not perceived like “us”, along nationality, hierarchical position, salary and benefits, knowledge and worldview lines.

The findings discussed in this thesis suggest the need for methodological attention to patterns of engagement in sporadic and episodic encounters; this requires, among others, attention to whether or not individuals remain in contact between encounters and how, which I attempted to do by incorporating an analysis of a WhatsApp group and a feminist training in the same enquiry. Where ethnography is situated institutionally, there is also a need for expanding our analysis beyond the office, into the realm of sociality; this will allow us to capture the simultaneous deepening of South-South relations which result from longer periods of presence of Southern development workers in each other’s countries, a tendency within Aidland institutions and Northern INGOs. It will also shed light on the effects of South-South Cooperation’s enduring tendency to operate sporadically, something that is increasingly visible in North-South cooperation.

All of this builds up to a need for broadening the visible spectrum of our enquiry on SSC, including of Southern professionals embedded in North-South aid relations, not neglecting to study government development cooperation, but doing so in a series of institutional settings with the understanding that many Southern professionals migrate across a fluid boundary between government, academia and civil society. Above all, however, we need to concentrate our ethnographic gaze on forms of South-South relations that are not constrained to the state, understanding South-South non-governmental engagements as existing within these sets of tensions around movement and NGO identities and the latter’s implications for dynamics of affinity and difference, solidarity and hierarchy that I have discussed in this thesis. Once we have extended our ethnographic gaze to these interactions we will be better placed to understand the far-reaching implications of the pluralization of development actors and the growing role of the South, moving beyond simplistic framings of affinity, appropriateness and adaptability without neglecting the real political resonance and significance that it has for certain actors, especially social movements, but also for the trajectories of individual professionals.

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## Appendices

### A1. Cast of Characters

#### *Brazilians*

**Alexandra:** female development worker in her late forties; has lived and worked in Mozambique for more than 10 years. Alexandra works as a technical advisor for Health for All since the day she arrived in Mozambique.

**Camila:** female researcher and Sororidade Activist in her late-fifties. Alexandra was doing fieldwork for her PhD on women's farmers and collective action in Mozambique (co-supervised by Mulher & Feminista's former President). It was her first trip to Mozambique.

**Francesca:** female development worker in her early-thirties; Francesca has worked for a UN agency for more than twelve years, including the five years she spent in Mozambique.

**Jacinto:** male development worker in his mid-forties. Jacinto has lived and worked in Mozambique for around nine years, first involved in a South-South cooperation programme, then as UN technical advisor at a government ministry and lastly as Health for All's country director for six years, before moving to the INGO's office in the U.S where he is currently based.

**Luana:** female development worker in her early-sixties. Luana is the director of the Brazilian NGO Todas Feministas since the late-1980s and a Sororidade activist. Luana is based in Brazil and has been to Mozambique only once to co-facilitate a feminist training course for Mulher & Feminista with Teresa.

**Lúcia:** female public official and Sororidade Activist in her early-fifties. Lúcia lives in Brazil and travelled to Mozambique once on holidays; she facilitated my access to Teresa in Maputo and to Sororidade's activists in São Paulo.

**Mateus:** male public official in his early-sixties. Mateus is based in Brazil where he works for the Ministry of External Relations and is involved in large SSC cooperation programme with Mozambique. Mateus has never been to Mozambique.

**Maurício:** male development worker in his early-forties; he works for Global, a Brazilian INGO headquartered in Rio de Janeiro which has U.S funded programmes in Mozambique. Maurício has never been to Mozambique.

**Melissa:** female development worker in her early-sixties. Melissa has lived and worked in Mozambique for more than 10 years, first as a UN technical advisor at a government ministry and then as Health for All's director, before moving to one of the INGO's offices in the U.S.

**Nicole:** female development worker in her mid-thirties; she has lived and worked in Mozambique for four years for a UN agency.

**Patrícia:** female development worker in her early-sixties. Patrícia lived and worked in Mozambique for nearly five years, for Health for All, after undertaking several short-term consultancies whilst still based in Brazil. She now works at one of Health for All's offices in the U.S.

**Paulo:** male researcher and independent consultant in his mid-fifties. Paulo did fieldwork for his PhD in Mozambique and socialised with other Brazilians from Health for All.

**Sandra:** female development worker in her mid-thirties. Sandra works for Global, a Brazilian INGO headquartered in Rio de Janeiro which has U.S funded programmes in Mozambique. Sandra has undertaken several short assignments in Mozambique, including for Health for All.

**Soraya:** female development worker in her mid-thirties. Soraya works for a Brazilian NGO and is based in Brazil; she has been involved in several South-South cooperation initiatives but has never been to Mozambique.

**Susana:** female development worker in her early-fifties. Susana is an independent consultant based in South Africa, but most of her work is in Mozambique. Susana facilitated the development of Mulher & Feminista's strategic plan.

**Teresa:** female development worker in her early-fifties. Teresa is based in Brazil and was Sororidade's international coordination; she has travelled to Mozambique a few times and co-facilitated a feminist training course in Mozambique for Todas Feministas.

**Tiago:** male development worker in his early-forties. Tiago has lived and worked in Mozambique for more than eight years, first involved in a South-South Cooperation programme and then as a technical advisor at Health for All. He line-managed Bruna, Benedita, Marlene and Kristina. During fieldwork, Tiago moved to one of Health for All's offices in the U.S and a couple of years later returned to Brazil.

**Valentina:** female development worker in her late-forties. Valentina lived and worked in Mozambique for around nine years; she worked for another U.S INGO for six years.

**Vanda:** female development worker in her early-fifties. Vanda lived and worked in Mozambique for two years as a country representative of a UN agency.

### *Mozambicans*

**Batista:** male development worker in his late-thirties. Batista worked for Health for All for more than ten years. He line-managed Azur and Emiliene. During fieldwork, he left Health for All and moved to well-known national NGO.

**Benedita:** female development worker in her early-fifties. Benedicta did postgraduate studies in Brazil and has worked for Health for All for more than eight years, w.

**Bruna:** female development worker in her early-thirties. Bruna participated in Agora's fellowship programme for activists from Lusophone African countries in São Paulo and has worked at Health for All for four years, where she was line-managed by Tiago.

**Emiliene:** female development worker in her early-thirties. Emiliene has worked for Health for All for four years. She was first line-managed by Batista, when he left the INGO, Azur became her line-manager.

**Esperança:** female development worker in her early-thirties. Esperança works for the same UN agency as Hortência and Vanda.

**Estrela:** female development worker in her late-forties. Estrela has lived and studied in Brazil for several years. At the time of fieldwork, moved from the post of Mulher & Feminista's executive director to become the international coordinator of Sororidade's International Secretariat.

**Hortência:** female development worker in her early-fifties. Hortência works for the same UN agency as Esperança and Vanda.

**Kristina:** female development worker in her early-thirties. Kristina did postgraduate studies in Brazil and has worked for Health for All for four years, where she was line-managed by Tiago.

**Lara:** female development worker in her mid-thirties. Lara did graduate and postgraduate studies in Brazil; she worked for Health for All for three years.

**Marlene:** female development worker in her early-forties. Marlene worked for Health for All for nearly nine years and was line-managed by Tiago. During fieldwork, she left Health for All and moved to another U.S INGO.

**Nádia:** female development worker in her late-thirties. She is a programme manager at Mulher & Feminista's programme manager and active within Sororidade.

**Salomão:** male public official in his early-forties. Salomão participated in Agora's fellowship programme for activists from Lusophone African countries in São Paulo. He moved from a bilateral agency to a public institution.

**Sónia:** female development worker in her early-thirties. Sónia participated in Agora's fellowship programme for activists from Lusophone African countries in São Paulo; she is a programme manager at Mulher & Feminista and active within Sororidade.

**Xavier:** male development worker in his early forties. Xavier did Masters and PhD studies in Brazil. He works as an independent consultant and has been involved in a couple of South-South Cooperation initiatives.

**Xiluva:** female development worker in her late-thirties. During fieldwork Xiluva, who until then was Mulher & Feminista's director of programmes, became the network's director; she is also active within Sororidade.

### *Europeans*

**Antoine:** male development worker in his late-fifties. Antoine has lived and worked in Mozambique for more than 20 years of which more than twelve have been working for Health for All.



**Azur:** female development worker in her late-thirties. Azur has lived and worked in Mozambique for eight years of which four have been working for Health for All.

*Other African Country*

**Emanuela:** female development worker in her mid-sixties. Emanuela has lived and worked in Mozambique for more than 20 years of which more ten have been working for Health for All.

## A2. Summary of research design

Research theme	Research participants	Research methods	Sites
Brazilians in the development industry and in Mozambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agora</li> <li>• Global</li> <li>• International development actors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Document review of secondary sources;</li> <li>• Organisational ethnographic sites;</li> <li>• In-depth semi-structured interviews;</li> <li>• Participant observation (formal and informal professional spaces)</li> </ul>	Brazil
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Health for All</li> <li>• Brazilian development workers</li> <li>• Mozambican actors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Document review of secondary sources;</li> <li>• Organisational ethnographic sites;</li> <li>• In-depth semi-structured interviews;</li> <li>• Participant observation (formal and informal professional spaces)</li> </ul>	Mozambique
Social imaginaries, mutual imaging, ascribed identities	Development workers (Brazilian, Mozambican, and other nationalities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Document review of secondary sources;</li> <li>• In-depth semi-structured interviews;</li> <li>• Participant observation (work and non-work spaces);</li> <li>• Internet research (Facebook, blogs)</li> </ul>	Mozambique, Brazil, virtual
Views on feminist values, commitments and principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mulher &amp; Feminista</li> <li>• Todas Feministas</li> <li>• Sororidade</li> <li>• Brazilian development workers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-depth semi-structured interviews;</li> <li>• Participant observation (work and non-work spaces);</li> </ul>	Mozambique & Brazil
Motivation and capacity to act	Brazilian development workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-depth semi-structured interviews;</li> <li>• Organisational ethnography</li> <li>• Participant observation (formal and informal professional spaces);</li> </ul>	Mozambique
Experienced, negotiated and re-fashioned identities	Brazilian development workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-depth semi-structured interviews;</li> </ul>	Mozambique & Brazil
Mozambicans' power and agency	Brazilian and Mozambican development workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-depth semi-structured interviews;</li> <li>• Participant observation (formal and informal professional spaces);</li> </ul>	Mozambique & Brazil
Ways of understanding and doing development	Mozambican, Brazilian and other development workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Document review of secondary sources;</li> <li>• In-depth semi-structured interviews;</li> <li>• Organisational ethnography</li> <li>• Participant observation (formal and informal professional spaces);</li> </ul>	Mozambique & Brazil

### A3. Profiles of research participants

<b>Sex</b>	Females	51
	Males	23
<b>Age Group</b>	25-40	34
	41-80	40
<b>Nationality<sup>46</sup></b>	Brazilian	32
	Mozambican	33
	European	5
	Other African	3
	Other South American	1
<b>Place of residence<sup>47</sup></b>	Brazil	21
	Mozambique	48
	United States of America	3
	South Africa	1
<b>Employer</b>	National non-governmental organisation	22
	International non-governmental organisation	26
	Independent consultant	2
	Multilateral	7
	Academia	7
	Brazilian government	2
	Mozambican government	6
	Brazilian multinational corporation	2

<sup>46</sup> Three Brazilian research participants indicated having dual nationality - Brazilian and European.

<sup>47</sup> This refers to the research participant's place of residence when the interview was conducted.