MASTER THESIS

Titel der Master Thesis / Title of the Master's Thesis

"IGOs and Sustainable Development: The role of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries in the SDG implementation in Portuguese-speaking African countries."

verfasst von / submitted by

Ana Filipa Lanceiro Couto Da Silva Reis (BSc.)

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Pledge of Honesty

"On my honour as a student of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it."

Filipa Reis, Vienna, September 17th, 2021

Abstract

In the context of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, it has never been more relevant for governments to cooperate in finding a response to these challenges and pave the way towards a sustainable development. The UN's Development Agenda for 2030 under the motto of *"no one left behind"* is arguably the biggest international effort to create a comprehensive path towards sustainable development, emphasizing the role of different actors in the implementation of the sustainable development goals. The role of intergovernmental organizations in promoting sustainable development has been considerably studied however, the impact of IGOs created based on linguistic ties in achieving sustainable development remains under analyzed. With the end of Portuguese colonialism, and the concept of a Lusophone space emerging, an intergovernmental organization - *Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP) - was created uniting 258 million people and countries over four continents based on a shared language and a shared history. Against this backdrop, this thesis looks at the role of the CPLP in the implementation of the sustainable development goals in the context of Lusophone Africa. To do so, this thesis relies on a literature review, the analysis of primary and secondary resources, a multi case study of Lusophone African countries and semi-structured interviews with relevant experts. This study finds no evidence of a trend in Lusophone Africa regarding SDG implementation. With previous evidence showing some tangible results of multilateral cooperation, the scope and impact of the CPLP's actions towards sustainable development within its African member states remains very limited.

Keywords: Sustainable Development, Intergovernmental Organizations, CPLP, Africa, PALOP

Zusammenfassung

Im Kontext der anhaltenden COVID-19-Pandemie war es für Regierungen noch nie so wichtig, zusammenzuarbeiten, um Antworten auf diese Herausforderungen zu finden und den Weg zu einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung zu ebnen. Die Entwicklungsagenda 2030 der UNO unter dem Motto „no one left behind" ist wohl die größte internationale Anstrengung, einen umfassenden Weg in Richtung einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung zu schaffen und betont die Rolle verschiedener Akteure bei der Umsetzung der nachhaltigen Entwicklungsziele. Die Rolle zwischenstaatlicher Organisationen bei der Erzielung einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung wurde jedoch berücksichtigt, die Auswirkungen von auf sprachlichen Verbindungen basierenden IGOs auf die Erzielung einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung werden jedoch noch nicht analysiert. Mit dem Ende des portugiesischen Kolonialismus und dem Aufkommen des Konzepts eines lusophonen Raums wurde eine zwischenstaatliche Organisation – die Gemeinschaft portugiesischer Länder (CPLP) – gegründet, die 258 Millionen Menschen und Länder auf vier Kontinenten auf der Grundlage einer gemeinsamen Sprache und einer gemeinsamen Geschichte vereint. Vor diesem Hintergrund untersucht diese Arbeit die Rolle des CPLP bei der Umsetzung der nachhaltigen Entwicklungsziele im Kontext des lusophonen Afrikas. All dies stützt sich diese Arbeit auf eine Literaturrecherche, die Analyse primärer und sekundärer Ressourcen, eine Fallstudie zu lusophonen afrikanischen Ländern und halbstrukturierte Interviews mit relevanten Experten. Diese Studie findet keine Hinweise auf einen Trend im lusophonen Afrika in Bezug auf die Umsetzung der SDGs. Da frühere Belege einige greifbare Ergebnisse der multilateralen Zusammenarbeit zeigten, bleiben der Umfang und die Wirkung der CPLP-Maßnahmen für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung in den afrikanischen Mitgliedstaaten sehr begrenzt.

Schlüsselwörter: Nachhaltige Entwicklung, Zwischenstaatliche Organisationen, CPLP, Afrika, PALOP

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Introduction

A Lusophone Space, Identity and Connection

In the 21st century, there are an estimated 252 million Portuguese speakers (221 million of which are native speakers) over significant parts of the world, making it the 6th most spoken language in the world[1]. The countries with Portuguese as their official language have a shared history, which is very much alive in its societal and institutional structures, which determined the language spoken by millions of people and consequently affects the identity of each individual and nation.[2]

With the end of Portuguese colonialism in the later part of the 20th century, the concept of a Lusophone space emerged and, thus, the *Comunidade de Países de Lingua Portuguesa* (CPLP) was created on the 17th of July 1996 and consists of 9 member states and reached 4 continents - Angola, Brazil, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tome e Príncipe, and Timor-Leste. [3]The CPLP, usually deemed an organization that is not very political relevant nor powerful, especially due to the lack of financial resources, and seems to be conceptualized as a neo-colonial project. However, the cooperation activities put forth by this organization and built on a diversity of state and non-state actors, has had positive tangible results, creating a type of Lusophone multilateral cooperation and diplomacy. Even with restricted support from its member states, this success of CPLP cooperation is largely due to the alliances and connections created to various different actors beyond the member states.[4] [5]

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[1] "List of Languages by Number of Native Speakers." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, January 11, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_languages_by_number_of_native_speakers.
[2] Pereira Leite, Joana. "Lusophone Space: Institutions, Identities and Agency." (CSG Investigao em Cincias Sociais e GestoISEG, ISEG). Accessed January 31, 2021. https://csg.rc.iseg.ulisboa.pt/thematic-lines/lusophone-space-institutions-identities-and-agency/.
[3] "Histórico - Como Surgiu?" CPLP, |PAGE|, accessed August 20, 2021, https://www.cplp.org/id-2752.aspx.
[4]Herpolsheimer, Jens. "Making the CPLP 'Work': Old and New Dynamics in Lusophone Cooperation". Paper presented at the Post-colonial Legacies Workshop, London, 21-22 October 2015.
[5] Sanches, Edalina Rodrigues. "The Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries: The Role of Language in a Globalizing World." *Atlantic Future*. IPRI-UNL, June 2014. http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/files/332-ATLANTIC%20FUTURE_14_The%20community%20of%20Portuguese%20Language%20Speaking%20Countries.pdf.

Almost 25 years after its creation, this community has suffered significant changes in what makes up its space: from the economic rise of Brazil, Angola and Mozambique, to the impacts of the financial crises in Portugal, to the more regional transformations in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe. [6] Despite this organization having been created on the basis of a shared language and history based on Portuguese colonialism, the socio, economic and political realities of its member states, as well as their regional contexts are very much different and the challenges that each of these societies faces differ in nature and degree.

Development Agenda: No one left behind

It is extremely relevant to find a response to the great challenges our societies face today – such as but not limited to climate change, socioeconomic inequalities and digitalization - especially given the ongoing effects of the COVID-19 pandemic which has shed light on the fragilities of our societal systems, and this requires a multifaceted analysis and interdisciplinary perspective. The Development Agenda of the United Nations for 2030[7] under the motto of *"no one left behind"* tackles societal, economic and environmental problems which are transnational to all member states and require global efforts by and action form a variety of actors to achieve sustainable development. [8] [9]

The distinct factor about this new development agenda of the United Nations, that thus sets the Sustainable Development Goals apart from the previous Millennium Development goals, is that it is a much more robust data set – with 17 goals and 169 targets – and that all signatory countries are not the only players since governments also rely on the support of the private sector, civil society, leaders, academia and so on. A vital factor for achieving the SDGs is the continuous monitoring of their progress, to learn from the evidence and the experience of the actions taken in order to prioritize

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[6] Ibid., 2

[7] "Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development:. Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform." United Nations. Accessed November 13, 2020. https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld.

[8] "Sustainable Development Goals and Human Rights," OHCHR (United Nations), accessed November 13, 2020, https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/SDGS/pages/the2030agenda.aspx.

[9] Pietro Gennari and Dorian Kalamvrezos Navarro, "Guest Article: Are We Serious about Achieving the SDGs? A Statistician's PERSPECTIVE: SDG Knowledge Hub: IISD," SDG Knowledge Hub (IISD, January 14, 2020), https://sdg.iisd.org/commentary/guest-articles/are-we-serious-about-achieving-the-sdgs-a-statisticians-perspective/.

actions and know where to focus resources – each country can voluntarily create a National Review (VNR) to report on this progress.[10] [11]

IGOs and Sustainable Development

The relationship between institutions, cooperation and development has been extensively examined, for example in the fields of institutional economics which indicates that strong institutions are one of the key determinants of long-term economic growth, internationalism, which highlights the role of international organization in the world and liberal institutionalism, which places emphasis of common goals and global governance in the international system. Within the within International Relations, internationalism defends that cooperation among states is based on common interests and goals such that *"a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions."* [12] As different societies face different challenges in achieving sustainability, some actions towards achieving sustainable development need global cooperation and partnerships as institutions are *"are organizations which structure the choice of actions of many objects, both on global, supranational (regional), national and local level"* [13]. If international institutions are strengthened at different regional levels, actions towards sustainable development will be more effective. In the field of economics, research has shown that institutions and institutional mechanisms for development explain the differences in economic growth rates across developing countries, with weak institutions impeding economic growth[14]. Additionally, strong institutions have a positive influence on socioeconomic development of a country and can contribute to the reduction of poverty and income stratification, help in reducing conflicts, and solve societal problems. [15]

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[10] Ibid., 5

[11] "Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." PreventionWeb. United Nations - Headquarters, 2015. https://www.preventionweb.net/publications/view/45418.

[12] Bull, H.*The Anarchical Society: a Study of order in world politics (*Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1977), 13.

[13] Bochańczyk, Dominika and Renata Pęciak. "Institutions in the context of sustainable development." *The Macrotheme Review: A Multidisciplinary Journal of Global Macro Trends 4* (2015). 29-41..

[14] Dirar Elobeid, "The Role of Institutions in Sustainable Development: The Experience of Sudan Economy". *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development,* vol. 4, No. 5: 53-68, (June 2 2012) https://ssrn.com/abstract=2073875

[15] Ibid., 11

IGOs, as international institutions, thus are relevant actors in achieving sustainable development. IGOs are *"entities created by treaties that involve at least two nations whose objective is to collaborate on economic and social issues of common interest to reach peace and security"* [16] and are normally differentiated by range, membership, or purpose. In the research work of IGOs and cooperation among states, the role of a common language is lacking. Economic research has shown already that there is a correlation between higher levels of economic trade among countries with linguistic similarities[17]. Language is not only a vital tool for communication but also shares an important connection to cultural constructs, social cohesion and identity construction and affects a huge range of human behavior. [18] Furthermore, institutional quality, particularly that of developing countries, has been significantly affected by colonial rule as shown by the existing literature.[19] A recent study which examined the relationship between economic prospects and colonization processes shows that the institutions that were established during the colonial era has had long term economic effects on the development of the countries.[20]

This gives pertinent meaning to research into cooperation actions within the CPLP as an intergovernmental organization that was created on the basis of a shared language and colonial history.

Research Contribution and Outline

Due to the little literature available regarding the role of language communities, particularly of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) founded on the basis of shared

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[16] Agnieszka Olter. *"Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) as relevant actors in International Relations."* (Academic note, University of Lima, 2021).

[17] Toubal F Egger P.H. "Common Spoken Languages and International Trade". *Ginsburgh V., Weber S. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of Economics and Language.* (2016) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-32505-1_10

[18] Djeneba Traore, "The Role of Language and Culture in Sustainable Development" (lecture, The Role of Language and Culture in Sustainable Development, Mexico, Aguascalientes, November 2017), accessed July 15, 2021, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331940836_The_Role_of_Language_and_Culture_in_Sustainable_Development)

[19] Naritomi, Joana, Rodrigo R. Soares, and Juliano J. Assunção. "Institutional Development and Colonial Heritage within Brazil." *The Journal of Economic History* 72, no. 2 (2012): 393–422. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23256943.

[20] Daniel L. Bennett et al., "Economic Institutions and Comparative Economic Development: A Post-Colonial Perspective," University of Miami, November 12, 2016, https://herbert.miami.edu/_assets/pdfs/repec/WP2016-07.pdf.

language and culture in the promotion of sustainable development, as well as an absence of an interdisciplinary analysis of Portuguese speaking countries regarding the SDG implementation, this thesis aims to understand the *r*ole does the CPLP play in the implementation of the sustainable development, using the SDGs as a proxy measurement of sustainable development. To ensure comparable results, the member states subject to analysis are the African countries with Portuguese as an official language (PALOP[21]), namely Angola, Cabo Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe. Equatorial Guinea and Guinea-Bissau are not selected due to missing data regarding SDGs progress. Thus, this thesis relies on a comparative analysis of SDG performance in the PALOPs and within their regional context in order to determine the (lack of) existence of a trend in achieving sustainable development in Portuguese speaking Africa, with the support of a literature review, statistical qualitative analysis, content analysis of relevant texts and semi-structured interviews with experts.

This thesis contributes to the study of International Relations (IR) by offering insights into the role of IGOs created based on a shared language in promoting sustainable development as well as the importance of language communities in fostering cooperation actions for this same end. This study offers additionally an interdisciplinary analysis of the CPLP cooperation for sustainable development in African countries, through the lenses of development economic theories, liberal institutionalism and constructivism. All PALOP members states have historical, geographical, socio-economic and political differences which places them at different stages in the path to achieve the SDGs as well as their capacity to do so. Thus, it is important to both understand the different approaches and strategies of the CPLP African member states towards sustainable development, their progress in what concerns the SDGs in their regional context and in the framework of the main areas of intervention of the CPLP. To continue to narrow down the scope of this thesis, the SDGs will be used as a proxy to measure the progress of each country to achieve sustainable development. In this sense, this thesis will consider but not go into details regarding the effects of language and identity building on cooperation activities and the effects of colonialism on the PALOPs economic trajectory.

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[21] Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa.

The first chapter begins by exploring the theoretical foundations and the research design of the thesis. Firstly, a literature review attempts to define the concept of sustainable development, identify its principles and conditions and explores the role of institutions, specifically of intergovernmental organizations in promoting sustainable development as well as the challenges to global governance of SD. Secondly the relevant theories of International Relations and Economics are selected to conceptualize the emergence of the CPLP, the construction of a Lusophone community and justify its role as an institutions in promoting sustainable development. Additionally, the emergence of the concept of sustainable development is looked at through the lens of economic theories. Thirdly, the research design, methodology and data collection of the thesis as well as the sources and validity are illustrated. The second chapter traces the political, historical, economic and social landscapes that resulted in the idea of creating a community like the CPLP, its organizational structure and modus operandi, the current setup of the CPLP with regard to cooperation for development, including the mechanisms and instruments in place to foster cooperation action for the implementation of the SDGs and lastly a critical review of the CPLP in the international community. The third chapter starts by providing an overview of the two Development Agendas in place in Africa, comparing their goals and orientations. Additionally, it provides a characterization of the chosen 3 PALOPs with regards to each individual political, geographical, socio-economic, situations. The following subchapter provides an overview of the different growth strategies that each of the 3 PALOPs follow, further characterizing their development paths. Additionally, the chapter provides a statistical analysis of each country's progress regarding the SDGs and a comparative analysis with the region each country is inserted in to identifying trends a within Lusophone Africa. Further information regarding the implementation of the SDGs is extracted by each country's VNR. The chapter ends with conclusions regarding to trends of SDG progress in Africa and the relative role of the CPLP in the PALOPs progress. The fourth and final chapter of this thesis brings forth the conclusions regarding the role of intergovernmental organizations created on basis of ideational factors in the promotion of sustainable development, a critical review of the role of the CPLP in Lusophone Africa and puts forth policy recommendations and identifies study limitations.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Foundations and Research Design

1 Literature Review

Sustainable Development: History, Definition, Principles and Conditions

The concept of sustainable development (SD) has been increasingly in the spotlight of political, institutional and public discourse due to the ever-pressing concerns of the implications of social inequalities, climate change and economic growth disparities[22]. Despite the growing use of the concept over the past decades and due to its complex and interdisciplinary nature, there is no universal definition or methodology to measure it.[23] The term "sustainable development" is composed of two independent terms, both which have been analyzed through the lenses of various subjects and angles leading to such a wide range of different definitions and methodological approaches to SD.***[24]***

According to authors Bawa and Seidler (2009)[25] the concept of development as it is known today did not exist before the second half of the 20th century. Until this period, the colonial and imperial structures led to the exploration of colonized regions, where these countries served the purpose of supplying the colonial powers with slave labor (until the mid-19th century), cheap labor and raw materials. Until the first half of the 20th century, economic prosperity was the central focus of the goals of the richer Wester Powers & Japan– "modernization" and "progress", whereas the topics of social equity and environmental protection only became of higher concern in the later half of the century.

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[22] Giovannoni, Elena, and Giacomo Fabietti. "What Is Sustainability? A Review of the Concept and Its Applications." *Integrated Reporting*, Springer International Publishing, 2013, pp. 21–40, http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02168-3_2.

[23] Anna Bluszcz, "Conditions for Maintaining the Sustainable Development Level of EU Member States," *Social Indicators Research* 139, no. 2 (September 5, 2017): pp. 679-693, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-017-1746-6. 746-6

[24] Justice Mensah, "Sustainable Development: Meaning, History, Principles, Pillars, and Implications for Human Action: Literature Review," *Cogent Social Sciences* 5, no. 1 (August 1, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2019.1653531.

[25] Bawa, Kamaljit S., and Reinmar Seidler. 2009. *Dimensions of Sustainable Development*. Oxford: EOLSS Publishers.

According to Pigou (1920) [26] as cited by Mensah (2019)[27] the concept of SD has its roots in economics, being traced back to the Malthusian population theory of the early 19th century, which postulated that population growth follows a geometric progression while the growth of earth's resources grows at an arithmetic progression meaning that population growth would surpass the planet's capacity for subsistence. This dismal science postulated that the earth's natural resources would be depleted, resulting in poverty and misery for humankind. Likewise, Meadows' report "*Limits to Growth*"[28] also analyzed the question of "sustainability" and captured the world's attention with the postulation that exponential economic and population growth in a world of finite natural recourses would worsen human condition.

Nevertheless, academics[29] agree that the concept of sustainable development was internationally recognized for the first time during the UN Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm 1972[30] and 20 years later was signed into the Agenda 21 in the UN Conference on the Environment and Development.[31] However, in was meanwhile, in1987, that the Brundtland Report entitled "Our Common Future" defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of current generation without compromising the ability of future generation to meets their own needs" [32]. In 2002 and 2012, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, known as Rio+10, and the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, known as Rio+ 20 respectively, were held to continue the progress, reaffirm the international commitment to SD, identifying it as one of the five key priorities of the UN.[33] It was also during this time that the process for the new SDGs of 2015 was developed. The Agenda 2030 for Development signed in 2015 by all UN member states and it represents one of the

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[26] Arthur C. Pigou and Nahib Aslanbeigui, *The Economics of Welfare*, 1st Edition (New York: Routledge, 2002), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351304368.
[27] Ibid., 11
[28] Donella H. Meadows et al., *The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*, 2nd ed. (New York: Universe Books, 1972).
[29] John Dernbach, "Achieving Sustainable Development: The Centrality and Multiple Facets of Integrated Decisionmaking," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 10, no. 1 (2003): p. 247, https://doi.org/10.2979/gls.2003.10.1.247.
[30] "United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm 1972," United Nations (United Nations), accessed April 17, 2021, https://www.un.org/en/conferences/environment/stockholm1972.
[31] Gisele Silva Barbosa, et al., "A Conceptual Review of the Terms Sustainable Development and Sustainability," *International Journal of Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (2014), https://www.iises.net/download/Soubory/soubory-puvodni/pp-01-15_ijossV3N2.pdf.
[32] Ibid., 24
[33] Ibid., 11

biggest global responses of the critical economic, societal and environmental issues that threaten our societies. The Agenda for Sustainable development articulates 17 goals that represent a new approach to sustainable development. Compared to the previous Agenda set out in 2000, the modernizing aspect is that is driven by the principle of *"leaving no one behind"*, it calls all countries for action and the prescription of the involvement of international agencies, civil society, the private sector among others, not just governments. [34]

Definition

There is no consensus on the definition of SD despite this being a need that is advocated by academics.[35] There is a plethora of definitions of SD. Nevertheless, the most cited one has been the one presented by the Brundtland Commission Report (Schaefer & Crane, 2005 as cited in Justice Mensah, 2019).[36] This this is the definition of SD that will be used throughout this thesis. The Brundtland report "Our Common Future" by the World Commission on Environment and Development defined sustainable development as:

"Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".[37]

This definition as provided in the Brundtland report touches on an idea that is central to SD: intergenerational equity. In the case of SD, intergenerational equity means that natural resources should be preserved for future generations – as to accomplish this equity, policies that account for the externalities of environmental degradation must be developed. Through this definition it is clear then that the main objective of sustainable development is the peaceful coexistence of the economic life with the environment. [38]

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[34] Keysie Brown and Krista Ramussen, "The Sustainable Development Goals in 2019: People, Planet, Prosperity in Focus," UN Foundation, July 9, 2019, https://unfoundation.org/blog/post/the-sustainable-development-goals-in-2019-people-planet-prosperity-in-focus/.

[35] Rob Gray, "Is Accounting for Sustainability Actually Accounting for Sustainability…and How Would We Know? An Exploration of Narratives of Organisations and the Planet," *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 35, no. 1 (2010): pp. 47-62, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aos.2009.04.006.

[36] Ibid., 11

[37] "Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future" (United Nations, March 20, 1987), https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/5987our-common-future.pdf.

[38] Rachel Emas, "The Concept of Sustainable Development: Definition and Defining Principles," January 2015, https://doi.org/ DOI:10.13140/RG.2.2.34980.22404.

The report identified the main issues of unsustainability as being the poverty levels as well as population growth in the global south, as well as the consumption levels of the global North, placing the pollution caused by developed economies on on a secondary factor which is a source of criticism of the report. Still, there were three main pillars or principles identified within the report which should be met: social equity, environmental protection, and economic development.[39]

Principles of Sustainable Development

These 3 major principles of SD have also been identified by academics and recognized in the adoption of the UN's 2030 Agenda, including 2 extra components: People, Planet, Prosperity, Peace and Partnerships.[40] The two extra dimensions, partnership and peace, were added to the concept of sustainable development, which, in addition to justice and strong institutions, allow for stakeholders to have stronger capacities to work together and have better results. These "5Ps" emphasize how all the SDGs are interconnected and that all actions have interconnected implications for the environment, the economy and society. Various authors support that only by respecting the interrelatedness of these 2 pillars, and incorporating these three spheres in decision-making, sustainability can be achieved. [41] [42] [43] [44] [45]

An economic system which is sustainable must avoid disparities across the different sectors, ensure a production of goods and services that meets the needs of society, is energy efficient, has an equitable tax system and ensures smart investments decisions into the needs of society and maintains appropriate levels of spending vs. debt. An environmental system which is sustainable must ensure habitat protection

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[39] Ibid., 31

[40] "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development," United Nations (United Nations), accessed May 6, 2021, https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda.

[41] Yang, L. X. "From general principles of civil law to general provisions of civil law: A historical leap in contemporary Chinese civil law." *Social Sciences in China*, 2, 85–91, 2019.

[42] Cristian R. Bueno Montaldo, "Sustainable Development Approaches for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation & Community Capacity Building for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation," May 2013, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/877LR%20Sustainable%20Development%20v2.pdf.

[43] Wanamaker, Christopher. "The Environmental, Economic, and Social Components of Sustainability." Soapboxie. Soapboxie, December 15, 2020. https://soapboxie.com/social-issues/The-Environmental-Economic-and-Social-Components-of-Sustainability.

[44] "The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2017." DESA-UN, April 4
2018. https://undesa.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html

[45] Ibid., 24

and restoration, preserve biodiversity and stability atmospheric levels, avoid rely on a renewable resources system rather than non-renewables while also ensuring that such a system is not overexploited. Finally, a sustainable social system is one that must adequately provide services such as education, health, ensure an equitable distribution of wealth, ensure gender equity and the protection of people's rights and political participation and accountability. These systems are multidimensional and complex, and their interconnective aspect as well as their individuality implies that different indicators can be used to measure each of these dimensions, adding another level of difficulty in monitoring progress of sustainable development. [46] [47] In this sense, sustainability is not only a goal to be achieved but also the process to attain this goal.[48]

Challenges to Sustainable Development Governance

Having understood the importance of sustainable development for societies, it is important to note that the implementation of sustainable development comes with challenges. In many parts of the world, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Asia and Latin America people are trapped in poverty (SDG 1) – the low levels of income are ultimately connected with pother societal and economic problems reflected in the SDGs such as hunger (SDG 2), lack access of education (SDG4) to healthcare (SDG3), and basic infrastructures services (SDGs 6, 7, 8, and 9). Moreover, parts of Africa are also suffering from demographic stresses, driven by lack of sexual and reproductive education and gender inequality (SDGs 4 and 5), high mortality rates (SDG3) and rapid urbanization (SDG 11). Additionally, many countries face rising inequalities, such as gender inequality (SDG 5), income inequality (SDG 10) and in terms of access to health care and education (SDGs 3 and 4) and other services (SDGs 6, 7, 8, 9). Economic activity has also degraded environmental capacity, and thus the environmental challenges that face states across the world include climate change (SDG13), degradation of land and marine ecosystems (SDGs 14 and 15), pollution and deterioration of air, soil, and water (SDGs 6 and 12). Finally, bad governance and weak institutions in many regions paired with international conflicts and lack of cooperation (SDGs 16 and 17) threaten the capacities of governments to

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[46] Jonathan M. Harris, "Basic Principles of Sustainable Development," *G-DAE Working Paper* 00-04 (2000), https://sites.tufts.edu/gdae/files/2019/10/00-04Harris-BasicPrinciplesSD.pdf.
[47] Ibid., 24
[48] Ibid., 31

implement the UN Agenda at different regional levels.[49] Particularly, different countries, which face different economic, social and environmental challenges, are thus on different stages in the process to achieve sustainable development and need to manage different challenges of this process. The challenges faced by rich economies are different than those of poorer economies.[50] The literature highlights some economic, societal and environmental characteristics that pose challenges to achieve the SDGs in Africa including: *"extreme poverty, rapid population growth rate, rapid urbanization, deforestation, environmental impact of extractive industries, rate of economic growth, rural development, climatic variability and natural environmental hazard."* [51] These characteristics in the framework of the SDGs pose not just opportunities but also challenges for developing economics, namely cost of implementation and financial resources to plan and carry out a course of cation, peace maintenance in conflict and war-torn areas, statistical and institutional means of measuring progress and accountability.[52] [53] [54] Particularly, sustainable development implies high levels of investment, be it in the transition to greener industries or building infrastructure. However, developing economies do not have the ability or capacity to raise the needed financial resources for these investments.[55] To monitor the 169 targets of the SDGs, the UN statistical commission has identified more that 203 indicators and to report on them, each country will have to collect and analyze huge amounts of data disaggregated by many factors. [56] One of the key challenges to sustainable development is the ability to measure progress being made.[57]

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[49] Rotimi Jaiyesimi, "The Challenge of Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals in Africa: The Way Forward," *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 20, no. 3 (2016): pp. 13-18, https://doi.org/10.29063/ajrh2016/v20i3.1.

[50] "Sustainable Development and Its Challenges in Developing Countries - Iynf - International YOUNG NATUREFRIENDS," International Young Naturefriends, August 15, 2018, https://www.iynf.org/2018/08/a-guide-to-sustainable-development-and-its-challenges-in-developing-countries/.

[51] Kanayo K. Ogujiuba, Kizito Uyi Ehigiamusoe, and U. Patrick, "The Challenges and Implications of Sustainable Development in Africa: Policy Options for Nigeria," *Journal of Economic Cooperation and Development* 34, no. 4 (October 2013): pp. 77-111, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287305854_The_challenges_and_implications_of_sustainable_development_in_Africa_Policy_options_for_Nigeria.

[52] Ibid., *49*

[53] Ibid., 49

[54] TWI2050 - The World in 2050, "Transformations to Achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. Report Prepared by the World in 2050 Initiative," IIASA PURE (International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), July 1, 2018), http://pure.iiasa.ac.at/id/eprint/15347/.

[55] Ibid., 51

[56] Sachs, Jeffrey. *The Age of Sustainable Development*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.

[57] Balakrishna Pisupati, "Commonwealth and Sustainable Development Goals," *Discussion Paper*, no. 225 (April 2018), http://fledgein.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CHOGM-Commonwealth-SDGs-Published.pdf.

The role of International Organizations for Sustainable Development

The only way to achieve sustainable development is if all layers of society are involved and participate to this end, including international organizations (IOs). [58] As stated in the Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance (1991):

> *"The concept of sustainable development has been broadly accepted by governments, international organizations, and by a large community of non-governmental organizations. (...) This can only be achieved through a broad participatory process, involving all layers of societies, both in the public and private sectors. Openness, freedom of information and the full right to democratic participation is therefore a precondition for sustainable development." [59]*

According to the UN[60] many IGOs have been engaged and have contributed a great part in the implementation of the SDGs at different regional levels.[61] One of the important features of IOs for the promotion of sustainable development is that provide a forum in which members can debate common issues and find solutions. Furthermore, the members that make up IOs often reflect a diverse community in terms of their socioeconomic, political and cultural values which must work together to achieve common goals. In this sense, IOs provide a means to achieve this cooperation by establishing deals and compromises and must thus manage all conflicts and disagreements effectively. In this sense, IOs must be active in players in defending the interests of their members so that they can get, hence the important question to be asked would be if these international organizations are able to provide its members with what they seek. A vital aspect of an IOs action towards sustainable development cooperation is the participation of all its members.[62] This implies that democracy plays

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[58] Kunugi, Tatsuro. "The Roles of International Institutions in Promoting Sustainable Development." *Ambio* 21, no. 1 (1992): 112–15. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4313898.

[59] "I.I.1 Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance: Common Responsibility in the 1990's," I.I.1 Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance: Common responsibility in the 1990's § (1991), https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/international-law-and-world-order/ii1-the-stockholm-initiative-on-global-security-and-governance-common-responsibility-in-the-1990s-SIM_032856.

[60] "UN System," United Nations (United Nations), accessed July 17, 2021, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/rio20/unsytemandigos.

[61] Inna Semenenko, Ruslan Halhash, and Ivchenko Yevhen, "Role of International Organizations in Promoting Sustainable Development IN Conflict-Affected Regions: Case Of Luhansk Region in Ukraine," *European Journal of Sustainable Development* 8, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): p. 21, https://doi.org/10.14207/ejsd.2019.v8n2p21.

[62] Duncan A. French, "The Role of the State and International Organizations in Reconciling Sustainable Development and Globalization," *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 2 (2002): pp. 135-150, https://www.cbd.int/doc/articles/2002-/a-00088.pdf.

an important role in developing frameworks and thus that there must be a balance between state sovereignty and efficiency in operation efficiency. For example, the UN *"recognizes the continued importance of formal State sovereignty within the international system".*[63] This is particularly important for developing countries which must have chance to present, discuss and have their needs addressed. However, even though the work of an IO is largely dependent on the involvement of the member states that constitute it, International Organizations must take responsibility for the way they operate and the results they generate. Furthermore, there must be better synergies among IOs to better integrate knowledge of different subject areas – this is particularly relevant in the process of attaining sustainable development due to its complex interconnective nature of different systems. Sustainable development needs a greater integration of decision making at the policy level and of implementation, a process which requires various institutions. [64]

2 Theoretical Framework

This interdisciplinary thesis analyzes the research question through the lenses of International Relations and Political Science as well as Economics to conceptualize the emergence of the CPLP as an international organization created on grounds of a shared historical background and a common language among its member states, the role of intergovernmental organizations - particularly language IGOs - in promoting sustainable development through the UN's 2030 Agenda and analyze the path of socio economic development of the different countries within their regional context. The relevant theories for this thesis are thus new regionalisms constructivism and the neoclassical economic theory and the emergent environmental economic theories.

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[63] Ibid
[64] Ibid., 62

New Regionalisms

In the field of international relations, the topic of dealing with competition in the context of globalization has led to much discussion. After the breakdown of the bi-polar world order broke down, states began to undergo a process or reordering in a globalization context, where regions are one of the most important levels of this reordering process.[65] [66] In this context, in order to face the challenges that originate from economic competition at a global level, countries unite themselves with other countries in economic blocs to cooperate. This process of economic, and often regional, integration is often accompanied by the creation of linguistic spaces. However, this situation seems quite a complex one, with many different regional spaces emerging more based on ideational factors such as identity, language and culture, rather than on physical aspects and so the beginning of the 21st century shows the existence of many such "worlds"[6768] . The emergence of linguistic blocs did not only happen due to a need of adaptation to a new world order but it mainly happen so that countries could affirm themselves geopolitically in the international arena. This was the case with European colonial powers such as France and England, which created cooperation engagements with their former colonies, and at a later stage (due to decolonization happening at a later period) Portugal also started to rebuild a Lusophone space.[6970] These blocs, which are geographically non continuous, are thus based on shared linguistic and colonial bonds, uniting a range of different players from the global south and the global north (which have significant differences in regards to their positions in global power).[71]

The theory of new regionalisms is thus particularly suitable to understand how the lusophone space came to be, particularly when relying on the social constructivist

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[65]Björn Hettne. "Globalization and the New Regionalism: The Second Great Transformation," in H. Björn, A. Inotai and O. Sunkel (eds.) *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1-24 1999.
[66] Jens Herpolsheimer. "Security Cooperation in the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries," unpublished Masters' thesis, Universität Leipzig 2014.
[67]Andrew Hurrell. "One world? Many worlds? The place of regions in the study of international society," *International Affairs* 83, no. 1 (2007). 127-146.
[68]Georg Glasze. "The Discursive Constitution of a World-Spanning Region and the Role of Empty Signifiers: The Case of Francophonia," *Geopolitics* 12, no. 4 (2007). 656-679.
[69] Shaw, Timothy M., J. Andrew Grant and Scarlett Cornelissen. "Introduction and Overview: The Study of New Regionalism(s) at the Start of the Second Decade of the Twenty-First Century," in T.M. Shaw, J.A. Grant and S. Cornelissen (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Regionalisms*, Farnham, Burlington VT (2011). Ashgate, 3-30.
[70]Matthias Middell. "Francophonia as a World Region?," *European Review of History* 10, no.2 (2003). 203- 220.
[71]Ibid., 4

approach, which conceptualized regions beyond just geographic areas but rather including different actors and highlighting the relational and ideational factors of region building to construct a space beyond country borders. [72][73] Thus, regions can be understood as "imagined communities" [74]

New Regionalism has attracted the attention of academia since the 1990s, which academics distinguish from other region building projects in the sense that these processes took place in large numbers in the Global South and with it brought a big range of challenges[75] [76]. Theories of New Regionalism challenge classical integration theories due to their *"state-centrism, their foundation in modernization theory"*[77] and the conception that regions are "naturally given"[78]. Instead, new regionalism theories support that regionalization, i.e., region building, is a multidimensional and multidirectional process which occurs either consciously or unconsciously and incorporates a wide range of different state and non-state actors, resulting in a space that does not abide by the geographical restrictions of state borders.[79] [80]Additionally, New Regionalism also challenges the zero-sum approach in classical international relations theories when it comes to regionalization. Rather, both globalization and regionalization are conceptualized as being interconnected such that one may constitute or reinforce the other.[81][82][83]

The dynamics that led to the emergence of the CPLP can be viewed in the light of new regionalism theories, at this community spams across 4 continents and had its origins in shared colonial and linguistic ties, giving states a means to regain control and reaffirm themselves, as well as to face the challenges of globalization.

[72] Marianne H Marchand., Morten Bøås, and Timothy M. Shaw. "The Political Economy of New Regionalisms." *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 5 (1999). 897-910. Accessed March 8, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993602.
[73] Wilfred J Ethier. "The New Regionalism." *The Economic Journal* 108, no. 449 (1998). 1149-161. Accessed May 24, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2565673.
[74] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 1983.
[75] Ibid 55, 57, 59
[76] Haas, Ernst B. "The Challenge of Regionalism," *International Organization* 12, no.4 (1958). 440-458.
[77] Ibid., 71
[78] Ibid., 71
[79] Björn Hettne. "Beyond the 'New' Regionalism," *New Political Economy* 10, no. 4 (2005). 543-571.
[80] Söderbaum, Fredrik and Timothy M. Shaw (eds.). *Theories of New Regionalism: A Palgrave Reader*, Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan ,2003.
[81] Ibid., 55, 57
[82] Iver B Neumann. "A Region-Building Approach," in F. Söderbaum and T.M. Shaw (eds.) *Theories of New Regionalism: A Palgrave Reader*, Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 160-178.
[83] Jens Herpolsheimer. (Re-)Defining Lusophone Cooperation: The Role of Non-State Actors in the CPLP. Paper presented at the 6th European Conference on African Studies, Paris, 8-10 July 2015.

CPLP in the light of Constructivism

The emergence of CPLP as a community also makes sense in the light of constructivist analysis, as a bloc that arose not primarily to fulfill and achieve economic goals, but rather was founded on a principle of cooperation between the states that comprise it. Constructivism is another theory in IR which emphasizes the role of ideational factors which are historically and culturally created in the process of international relations. [84] In the light of this theory, the emergence of the CPLP as a political and diplomatic cooperation forum makes sense as the collective identity at CPLP depends, both on the way its members recognize themselves, as well as on the way they are perceived by the outside and it depends on the social, political, cultural and historical context. In constructivist theories, the author who proposes a new approach to the concept of identity is Alexandre Wendt, presenting a critique of traditional approaches, mainly to the realist approach as the latter defends that the States are constantly in the search for the defense of their national interest, which is defined by the conquest of power.[85][86]

It is worth clarifying here the concept of identity, taking into account the intrinsic existence of a psychological content. The concept of identity refers to the collective identity which can encompass, at the same time, the conscious image that a society feeds of itself and the unconscious image that it may have idealized; this identity results, on the other hand, from a process of construction within which it is possible to discern several stages linked to the emergence of contradictions or factors of change and that for this reason is directly related to the phenomenon of interaction. [87]

For constructivists, the construction of the interests of States takes place at the moment of their interaction. Wendt argues that the actions and reactions of one state depend on the actions of the other state and vice versa. The identity and interests between these two states are built on a structure capable of being changed whenever

[84] Sarina Theys, "Introducing Constructivism in International Relations Theory," E-International Relations, August 5, 2018, https://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/23/introducing-constructivism-in-international-relations-theory/.
[85] Wendt, Alexander. "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (1995): 71-81. Accessed May 26, 2021. doi:10.2307/2539217.
[86] Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391-425. Accessed May 26, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858.
[87] Zhan Mengshu, "A Brief Overview of Alexander Wendt's Constructivism," E-International Relations, May 22, 2020, https://www.e-ir.info/2020/05/19/a-brief-overview-of-alexander-wendts-constructivism/.

they wish. Thus, identities can be conflicting or cooperative, but there is always the possibility of going from conflicting to cooperative, and vice versa, since interests and identities are formed by the interactions of States. [88] [89]

The case of CPLP can also be seen in the light of constructivism as the cognitive geography of the eight countries spread across 4 continents (America, Europe, Africa and Asia, since 2001 with the entry of East Timor) is what allowed for the beginning of a discussing in regards to building creating an international community, based on a consultative and deliberative forum and which would have a fundamental role in terms of conflict resolution and as an example of union based on historical and identity ties (in opposition to the emergence of other communities within the economic scope such like MERCOSUR). In terms of conflict resolution among member states, this would be possible by deconstructing negative perceptions and by constructing new perceptions and confluence of interests. If identity structures were static and there was no possibility of changing the perceptions that some states have of others, nor the possibility of creating new identities based on new and common interests, PALOP'S might not want to enter a community in which one of the central countries is Portugal, since there is already a strong negative historical experience such that negative perceptions were built which would not allow them to believe in a community of cooperation. The PALOPs, more specifically the heads of Government of the PALOPs, have opted instead to reconstruct a set of positive perceptions that would allow for a union possible by historical ties, by the "*common language and by an accumulated experience in years of fruitful consultation and cooperation".* [90]

Final Thoughts

Constructivism, as a reasoning model for the analysis of international relations, deals with the subjectivities that exist within societies and states. Cooperation between nations is possible in the pursuit of achieving their goals and asserting their interests

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[88] Ibid., 87, 85

[89] Farrell, Theo. "Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program." *International Studies Review* 4, no. 1 (2002): 49-72. Accessed May 26, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3186274.

[90] "Declaração Constitutiva Da Comunidade Dos Países De Língua Portuguesa - CPLP," Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa, accessed August 22, 2021, https://www.cplp.org/id-3869.aspx.

and in a peaceful way. The existence of a community like the CPLP, based on political and diplomatic cooperation, on technological cooperation, encourages the possibility of cooperating not only for the opening and ease of movement of goods, (as was the initial argument of the first economic blocs that emerged post-World War II), as well as for the possibility of the absence of borders between human beings, their ideas and their theoretical constructions, already so widespread by the technological advent, but still far from being accessible to all. Thus, in the light of new regionalism theories, a region building on the grounds of shared ideational factors rather than physical ones also as a reaction to the dynamics of globalization makes sense in the framework of the CPLP.

Development and Sustainability: Economics Theory

In the context of the CPLP, the repercussions of years of colonial rule on the development of its member states is an aspect which cannot be ignored, as the processes of colonialism and neocolonialism have imbedded in them psychological and political power dimensions. [91] Neocolonialism is the practice of using economics, globalization, cultural imperialism and conditional aid to influence a country instead of the previous colonial methods of direct military control or indirect political control.[92] [93] However, in this thesis, the definition of the neocolonial process will only take into consideration the economic attribute. Development outcomes in economic and political aspects are conditioned by the different historical trajectories of the PALOPs members. There are several development economic theories that paved the way for the understanding of "development" including Dependency Theory and Modernization Theory and Globalization Theory.[94] Institutional economics has also stressed the importance of strong institutions for development of a nation – and institutions in former colonies have also suffered the negative effects of colonial rule. [95] [96]

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[91] Daniel Oto-Peralias and Romero-Ávila Diego, *Colonial Theories of Institutional Development Toward a Model of Styles of Imperialism* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017).
[92] Eiman O Zein-Elabdin. "Economics, Postcolonial Theory and the Problem of Culture: Institutional Analysis and Hybridity." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 33, no. 6 (2009): 1153-167. Accessed May 24, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23601939.
[93] James H.Street. "The Institutionalist Theory of Economic Development." *Journal of Economic Issues* 21, no. 4 (1987): 1861-887. Accessed May 24, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4225949.
[94] Ibid., 24
[95] Ibid., 92
[96] Ibid., 27

However, to understand the current economic system and why sustainable development in economics is so vital, the neoclassical theory and environmental economics should be investigated. Neoclassical economics – the current dominant theory – which underlies the forces of supply and demand as the main drivers of production, consumption and valuation of goods and services, has several assumptions which have been criticized. Particularly in the domain of the environmental impact of economic activity, the assumption that the economy functions within a closed system of unlimited resources and infinite capacity for the world to absorb which result in negative externalities. Methodologies to internalize and deal with these environmental negative externalities have been conceived, emerging in a new filed of Environmental Economics, based on the monetary value of environmental goods and services as well as a cost-benefit analysis of environmental policy. Natural resources are scrutinized by different assessments in order to be assigned a monetary value, allowing for these goods to be traded in economic systems and believing in the equilibrium mechanisms such that technology, laws and other mechanisms will repair the damage that is done by economic activity. The neoclassical theory has been criticized for being an over simplistic view of reality as is evident from the current ecological issues such as exploitation of natural resources and the inability to restore an ecosystem after it has been destroyed past a critical point. According to Ruggerio[97], this evidence *"evidence undermines the 'faith' in progress to overcome the negative externalities of the neoclassical economic model and makes patent the North-South asymmetries in the distribution of the benefits of scientific, technological, and economic advancements, the differential response to the increasing deterioration of global environment, and the uncertainty about future consequences for people."*

In the neoclassical approach, the main goal of economic activity is to maximize profits and achieve a sustained economic growth and this is the underlying assumption of weak sustainability.[98] [99] Two of the most recent conceptualizations of the economic system emerging from weak sustainability are "Green Economy" and "Circular Economy" which are based on the grounds that environmental problems can be solved

[97] Ibid
[98] Carlos Alberto Ruggerio, "Sustainability and Sustainable Development: A Review of Principles and Definitions," *Science of The Total Environment* 786 (2021): p. 147481, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2021.147481.
[99] R. Constanza and Daly, H.E. , "Natural Capital and Sustainable Development". *Conservation Biology 6*, no.1 (March 1992): 37-46. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1523-1739.1992.610037.x

by scientific and technological advances.[100][101] On the other hand, conceptions such as "Buen Vivir" and "Degrowth" are propositions of strong sustainability.[102] [103]These conceptions are grounded on the reasoning of a strong sustainability which considers that economy and ecology are part of one system where environment is seen as more than set of commodities to be traded and where nature is not replaceable by artificial capital.

In conclusion, to achieve strong sustainability in economic development, the economic system cannot be reduced to reductive assumptions that no not consider the complexity of the ecological system it is a part of.

3 Methodology and Sources

Research Question and Design

This thesis studies the role of IGOs bonded by a common language in the promotion of sustainable development. To do so, this thesis takes the case of the CPLP in the context of African Portuguese speaking countries and to analyses cooperation efforts and the countries' progress in the implementation of the SDGs as a proxy measure of sustainable development. Thus, the main research question is as follows:

"What role does the CPLP play in the implementation of the sustainable

development goals in the context of its African member states?"

100 Patrick Schroeder, Katrika Anggraeni and Uwe Weber "The relevance of circular economy practices to the sustainable development goals" Journal of Industrial Ecology 23, no. 1 (February 2019): 77-95. https://doi.org/10.1111/jiec.12732
101 Thomas Wanner. "The new 'passive revolution' of the green economy and growth discourse: maintaining the 'sustainable development' of neoliberal capitalism"
New Political Economy 20, no.1 (2015): 21-41, 10.1080/13563467.2013.866081
102 Arturo Escobar "Degrowth, postdevelopment, and transitions: a preliminary conversation". Sustainability Science 10 (2015): 451-462, 10.1007/s11625-015-0297-5
103 Eduardo Gudynas and Alberto Acosta. "La renovación de la crítica al desarrollo y el buen vivir como alternativa". Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana 16 (2011). 71-83.

In the analysis of the research question, a mixed method research design was chosen embodying both inductive and deductive reasoning processes as well a qualitative and quantitative analysis. [104] This study begins by a literature review to deepen the understanding on sustainable development and the role of international organizations to promote it, identifying a gap in the literature regarding the role of language based IGOs in the promotion of sustainability. The available theories in the areas of economics and international relations are also identified to establish the grounds for the study and guide the research project. In order to explore the role of language based IGOs in sustainable development, qualitative and quantitative methods were employed. On a first step, analysis of primary and secondary sources regarding the emergence, structure, instruments, and mechanisms of the CPLP for cooperation was conducted. On a second stage, a multiple-case study was implemented, designed to detect any sustainable development patterns and trends among lusophone African countries. Additionally, an exploratory approach to the role of language communities in fostering cooperation for sustainable development is also taken, to allow for flexibility in the consideration of other aspects of the problem. Thus, semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected experts to acquire insights into the topic.

The mixed research method used considers three factors that guide this thesis in the treatment of the problem[105]:

1. The "global" factor, that is, how the existence of the CPLP is conditioned by the global context in which it is inserted and how we can appreciate it in the light of some contemporary theoretical debates that circumscribe the issue of development and international relations.
2. The "intra-community" factor, that is, the elements that are at the origin (or result) of the relations between countries within the CPLP space.
3. The "internal" factor, which corresponds to national experiences and the perspective according to which each of the member countries apprehends the future of CPLP.

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[104]Mariette Bengtsson, "How to Plan and Perform a Qualitative Study Using Content Analysis," *NursingPlus Open* 2 (2016): pp. 8-14, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001.
[105]Adelino Torres and Manuel Ennes Ferreira. Rep. *A Comunidade Dos Países De Língua Portuguesa No Contexto Da Globalização: Problemas e Perspectivas.* Accessed January 31, 2021. http://www.adelinotorres.info/trabalhos/cplp.pdf.

Methodology and Data Collection

Qualitative and quantitative methods are utilized in this thesis since the qualitative approach allows for greater exploration of the phenomenon being studied (the role of a language based IGO in the implementation of SGDs) and allows for more explanation – despite the quantitative approach demonstrating, with limitations causality. Thus, a mixed research method was deemed the best choice.

Comparative Multi-Case Study

Due to the explorative approach of this thesis, a research design based on the comparison of multiple case studies was chosen to be able to analyze the patterns across CPLP member states. Particularly, the 6 lusophone African countries that share the common goal of attaining the sustainable development were selected to allow for comparable results as out of the 9 member states, they are all within the same geographical region (Africa) and all ranked as not being in the high income country group[106][107] with Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau being Low Income Countries (LIC), Angola, Cabo Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe being Low-Middle Income Countries (LMIC) and Equatorial Guinea being ranked a Upper-Middle Income Country (UMIC). To continue to narrow down the case selection, Equatorial Guinea is removed for having limited comparable data available regarding the SDGs, adopting Portuguese as its third official language in 2011 only to be allowed into the CPLP in 2014 and having limited cultural, linguistic and post-colonial commonalities with the rest of the PALOPs. Likewise, Guinea Bissau and São Tomé e Príncipe are also removed due to extensive amounts of missing data in SDGI progress. Comparative case studies make it possible to generalize about causal questions by facilitating the analysis of the differences and similarities cross these countries[108]. By identifying specific units – the CPLP cooperation actions – and analyzing them from 2015 (year the 2030 Agenda was implemented) until 2019 (year of last available data for SDG specific country

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[106] As of 2021 and defined by the World Bank Group, low-Income countries are defined as having an GNI of $1,045 or less per capita, lower-middle-income countries have a GNI of $1,046 – $4,095 per capita and upper-middle-income countries have a GNI per capita between $4,096 and $12,695.
[107]Nada Hamadeh, Catherine Van Rompaey, and Eric Metreau, "New World Bank Country Classifications by Income LEVEL: 2021-2022," World Bank Blogs, July 1, 2021, https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/new-world-bank-country-classifications-income-level-2021-2022#:~:text=The%20World%20Bank%20assigns%20the,%2C%20and%20high%2Dincome%20countries.
[108] Delwyn Goodrick. "Comparative Case Studies: Methodological Briefs - Impact Evaluation No. 9". *Methodological Briefs* no. 9 (2014).

scores) generalizations regarding the relative importance of the CPLP in implementing the SDGs in the PALOPs are possible to make by measuring the trends of the SDG Index. Thus, the comparative case study adopts a process orientation where the role of the CPLP in promoting sustainable development is analyzed by tracing its influence on the implementation of the SDGs. These types of case studies also generally use both quantitative and qualitative methods, which allows for a deeper understanding of how the context of the CPLP cooperation mechanisms and instruments influences the countries' implementations of the SDGs.[109] The case studies are constructed by providing a synthesis of socio economic, geographical, historical, institutional and political backgrounds of the 3 PALOPs, followed by an overview of the different trends in strategies for economic development of each of the countries. A brief overview of the two sustainable development agendas adopted by the PALOPs – 2030 and 2063 Agendas – is provided, with an analysis of the most and least overlapping goals of each agenda. Next, the progress of each of the PALOPs in regard to the 17 SDGs is statistically analyzed using the SDG Index Country scores from 2016-2019 as well as the progress made in each SDG during the same time period, by using the using the SDG Index score to the specific SDG where the data is available. A progress comparison is done within the lusophone space, between the lusophone space and the African continent and between each country and the African region they are inserted in. Through this different level regional analysis, the SDGs with the best and worst performances are highlighted and analyzed within the context of the areas of intervention of the CPLP to understand the causality between cooperation projects of the lusophone community and progress relative to sustainable development.

Measurement of Sustainable Development

As stated earlier in the thesis, there is no one agreed path towards the implementation and measurement of sustainable development. Recognizing the academic debates surrounding the advantages and disadvantages of various methodologies to measure sustainable development and keeping in mind the limited scope of the thesis, the SDGs are chosen as the proxy measurement of sustainable development. The UN's

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[109] Lesley Bartlett and Frances Vavrus. "Comparative Case Studies: An Innovative Approach". *Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education* 1 (2017): 5-17. 10.7577/njcie.1929.

2030 Agenda is understood as being one of the biggest international efforts to attain sustainable development across different countries, emphasizing the importance of various state and non-state actors in the implementation of SD and including a robust data set of goals and indicators. There are also a variety of methods and tools to monitor the SDGs - the chosen tool of measurement for the SDGs adopted in this thesis is the SDG Index (SDGI) which complements the work of National Statistical Institutes in the monitoring the SDGs. This index ranks the signatory countries on their performance regarding to the SDGs. [110] Mainly to changes in the basket of indicators for the 2019 edition, the scores and index is not comparable with the data of 2016, 2017 and 2018 – the dynamic nature of the UN agenda, which allows for revisions in methodologies allows for the evolving of the statistical information over time which must be considered when making comparisons.[111] The 2019 SDG Index covers 6 more countries than in 2018, one of them being São Tomé e Príncipe, and includes many new indicators to a total of 114. The index score is interpreted as a percentage of achievement between 0 (worst) and 100 (the best), such that for example, a score of 80 (i.e.80%) means that the country is 85% on the way to achieving the SDG – this same interpretation is applied to the basket of indicators so that all rankings and scores are comparable. According to the Sustainable Development Solutions Network[112] the SDGI calculation is done by removing the effect of extreme values from each indicator's distribution, rescaling the data across all indicators and aggregate the indicators for each SDG. Regarding the country score, the methodological choice was to have fixed equal weights to every SDG so that the treatment of all SDGs as equal and integrated by policymaker's was reflected. Regarding data reliability and validity, the raw data is sourced mostly from official data sources, mainly from International Organizations, but also includes a range of different non-official sources. Additionally, by using the SDGI this research avoids issues pertaining to missing data when making direct comparison of SDG performance between states and it includes all relevant indicators in monitoring the SDGs.

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[110] Jeffrey Sachs et al., *Rep.* "Sustainable Development Report 2019". New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN), 2019.
[111] Ibid
[112] Ibid

Semi-Structured Qualitative Interviews

Asides from conducting a literature research and report analysis, the qualitative method applied in this thesis is semi-structured qualitative interviews to explore and deepen the findings of the literature research and understandings of the actions of the CPLP for cooperation in the field of the implementation of the SDGs. Semi structured interviews are particularly suitable for mixed method research as they allow for deeper understanding of a certain topic with experts.[113] They constitute a mix of open and closed questions, usually with follow up questions of "how and why" and it should generally last a maximum of 1 hour. The developed "interview guide" is a list of questions and topics that should be addressed in the interview but do not have to be done so strictly. The interviewer is able to stray from the guide and ask other relevant questions that arise during the conversation in order to further explore a theme or a topic. This type of interview also allows for flexibility in the order of the questions, such that the sequence in which they are asked may change according to the expert's response – i.e., if a the content of question is already explored before in the respondent's answers that question may not be answered.[114] However, due to the "guide" style of the interview questions, results are ensured to be comparable as they focus on a specific topic within the knowledge of the expert. The problems raised by this method is lies on finding the right experts with the same level of expertise in the field. [115]

Based on the literature review, the following interview guide was developed (Appendix A). The first questions pertained to the use of language in diplomatic and cooperation settings, followed by questions regarding to the diplomatic relations among CPLP members and the perceived effect of the shared colonial history in these relations and the existence of a lusophone identity. The second part directly touches on the actions of the CPLP and its role in implementing the SDGs in the PALOPs, closing with a question regarding to the potentialities of the CPLP in the international arena. The non-random sampling approach applied was the purposive sampling method, as the

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[113] D. Cohen and B. Crabtree. "Qualitative Research Guidelines Project." July 2006. http://www.qualres.org/HomeSemi-3629.html
[114] William Adams. "Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews". 2015. 10.1002/9781119171386.ch19.
[115] P. Gill et al., "Methods of Data Collection in Qualitative Research: Interviews and Focus Groups," *British Dental Journal* 204, no. 6 (March 22, 2008): pp. 291-295, https://doi.org/10.1038/bdj.2008.192.

chosen participants are key informants, and the goal is to increase the breadth of understanding and not representativeness. A range of different state and non-state experts from the different nationalities of the PALOPs. were chosen intentionally, including ambassadors of the different PALOPs, CPLP members, NGOs and companies in the private sector and officials from government institutions. In total 5 interviews were conducted between May 28th 2021 and August 10th 2021 with the Director for Cooperation in the CPLP, the Ambassador of Cabo Verde in Lisbon, the Director of the Division of Studies, Planning and Statistical Coordination of Cabo Verde's National Statistics Institute, Attaché for Cooperation at the Embassy of Portugal in Bissau, and a former board member of São Tomé e Príncipe National Youth Council and member of the African Union Youth Envoy. The interviews took place over Zoom and lasted between 25 minutes and 1 hour and 1 hour and 20minutes. In terms of heterogeneity, two of the interviewees were Portuguese, two were Cabo Verdean and 1 São-Tomean. Only one interviewee was female. The same questions were used for all interviews, except for the expert from Cabo Verde's National Statistics Institute which included tailored questions to her insights on the statistical reporting in Cabo Verde.

Following the framework of Bogner et al[116], the following steps were adopted in the analysis of the interviews: (1) transcription of the recorded interviews into text, (2) paraphrasing, i.e. familiarization with the interview and data which is vital, (3) coding by segmentizing the data into meaningful analytical units and marking the segments of data with category names, (4) thematic comparison, (5) sociological conceptualization and (6) theoretical generalization. Only steps 1-4 are utilized in this thesis. The interviews were recorded on Zoom and transcribed with the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA. This software was also to ascribe codes to specific text passages relying mainly predefined codes which covered the research topics instead of the terminology utilized by the interviewees – coding was done in Portuguese. Following the step of coding, the different passages with similar topics and codes were unified, creating code sets. Then, different passages from different interviews with of similar code sets were bundled together. At this point categories were created by bundling similar codes, allowing for a thematic comparison, which

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[116] A. Bogner , B. Littig, W. Menz et al,. "Interviewing Experts". United Kingdom: Palgrave MacMillian. 2009.

should be checked continuously through the different and relevant sections of the interviews.

Sources and Limitations

The thesis relies on both primary and secondary sources including in the Official documents and statistical information from official bodies of the member states, the CPLP, African institutions, UN institutions – particular relevance of the VNR – and other International Organizations, press articles, publications and reports (from non-state actors), interviews with relevant state and non-state actors to provide their direct perspective on the questions, and in the latter academic literature on theoretical and conceptual approaches to the key concepts that guide the thesis. These sources helped construct the case studies where each member state will be analyzed in its actions towards achieving the SDGs as well as the CPLP as a whole. Secondary sources are particularly important to examine the historical, political and socio-economic context (in which the interviews are also contextualized). Some limitations to data availability occur as VNRs, and some statistical macroeconomic data are not always available for specific time frames and for all the countries. Only 3 PALOPs have available VNRs: Angola (July 2021), Cabo Verde (June 2021, June 2018) and Mozambique (June 2020). Furthermore, the recent reports by the Sustainable Development Solutions Network only include the SDGI score per SDG per country for São Tomé e Príncipe starting in 2019. The SDG Index for each SDG and country scores is not also available for Equatorial Guinea and Guinea-Bissau across the years, and additionally there isn't readily available data for most of the SDG indicators on the Sustainable Development Solutions Network[117]. In order to ensure maximum quality data comparability in the case studies, Angola, Cabo Verde and Mozambique are the selected PALOPs. Lastly, this is a non-exhaustive comparative case study research, as there are various actors at play, different conditions and challenges to the implementation of the SDGs specific to each of the PALOPs and thus identifying a causality relationship between the SDG progress and CPLP projects is recognized as a specially challenging task.

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[117] Ibid., 95

Chapter 2

CPLP Cooperation

1 Language, Identity and Cooperation

CPLP and identities

The entire historical process, at least the most recent, which goes through the late 1960s to the present day, demonstrates how much the CPLP is the result of building a series of identities and projects that seek a stable peace between its member states and within those same states as well, through the creation of democratic institutions capable of guaranteeing this balance. The CPLP has, since its creation, relied on a series of political, historical, linguistic and cultural motivations that characterize it as an important example in the international scenario of a community whose purposes go beyond the commercial and economic, as is the case many others that emerged in the post-Cold War era. However, not much of the population of CPLP member states know about its existence nor what its functionality is. The economic and material development of the countries that make up the CPLP and its structure of ideas can be seen one where both the material factors and the ideal factors complement each other, and without which one cannot understand the interests behind the constitutive statutes of the CPLP. The central concept that allows for the relationship between the structure of the CPLP and the interests of its states is the concept of identity, which can be seen as the result of constitutive practices of the States in the domestic and external arena. This allows for an understanding of who the actors are and what their sets of interests are. Identity is a double concept going far beyond the vision of oneself, being socially complete when complemented with the view that others have of us and us of others. [118] An Identify happens due to shared interests or at least something in common. This happens with the CPLP and it is what justifies it.

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[118] Norbert Elias, "Part III: Mudanças Na Balança Nós-Eu (1987)," in *A Sociedade Dos Individuos* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Zahar, 1994).

Thus, the states that make up the CPLP have evolved in the process of creating a Portuguese-speaking community have been basing their speeches on internal and external events that are part of the construction of the image they have about others. The statutes and the constitutive declaration signed in 1996 by the members of the CPLP are clear regarding the existence of an identity among the peoples that are part of this community, based on historical ties and a common language. However, it can be assumed that, the fact that the historical relations established between Portugal and its former colonies have been marked by centuries of exploitation, this identity was, in fact, yet another discourse emptied of meaning and meaning in the reality of each country.

During his interview, Ambassador Eurico Monteiro stated:

"Não sei se não será temerário falar de uma identidade lusófona. Mas, de qualquer modo, eu creio que não será temerário dizer que nós temos uma base comum de valores, de tradições, de história e as vezes não só de amizade, mas até de próprio sangue, que ajuda a construir algo que é, de facto, algo singular, ainda que seja na diversidade, ou seja, nós temos esta base comum (...) A língua portuguesa para nós é um resultado absolutamente natural. Eu digo isto resultado, porquê? Porque ele é o resultado da nossa convivência durante séculos com Portugal com os portugueses e com a língua portuguesa. E, portanto, não é propriamente uma escolha arbitrária (...) Mas ainda tem outra coisa: para vários países da CPLP, para além da língua ser um produto da cultura, é também uma língua com um instrumento fundamental da coesão nacional, porque é a única língua que une os diversos povos com diversas línguas maternas."* [119]

After the former Portuguese colonies gained their independence in 1974/75, it took a considerable amount of time and efforts from Portugal for "both sides" to begin to approach each other again – it took 20 years after for the CPLP to be created - and

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[119] "I don't know if it's not reckless to talk about a lusophone identity. But, in any case, I believe that it is not reckless to say that we have a common base of values, traditions, history and sometimes not only friendship, but even of our own blood, which helps to build something that is, in fact, something unique, even if in diversity, that is, we have this common basis (...) The Portuguese language for us is an absolutely natural result. I say result, why? Because it is the result of our coexistence for centuries with Portugal, the Portuguese and the Portuguese language. And, therefore, it is not exactly an arbitrary choice (...) But there is more: for several CPLP countries, in addition to the language being a product of culture, it is also a language with a fundamental instrument of national cohesion, because it is the only language that unites different peoples with different mother tongues."

slowly start to construct the idea of a lusophone community even if it still was a fragile one. Lastly, it is important to mention an important concept in the attempts of creating a common identity which is that of "Lusophony". This concept is connected to a colonial discourse produced from the idea of "Lusotropicalism" introduced by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in the 1930s [120] . Lusotropicalism aggregated the idea that the Portuguese embodied an ability or skills for peaceful relationships with different peoples and thus a particular ability to adapt to the tropics as well as an intrinsic lack for prejudice. This concept was disseminated by Salazar's "Estado Novo" to legitimize Portuguese colonization after WWII. Lusotropicalism became the foundation of the idea of a "cultural-linguistic community" [121] which later became embodied by the CPLP, which despite being a postcolonial project still embodies certain colonial elements. [122] This idea of a "Lusophone identity" and a "Lusophony" space seems only of importance and in some ways unique to Portuguese imagination. This criticism had already been made by the Portuguese philosopher Eduardo Lourenço who stated that *"...the new Community of Portuguese-speaking Peoples, as it exists or they want it to exist, would be an imaginary refuge for Portugal, referring to the imaginary of Portugal"* [123]

2 The Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP)

Emergence of the CPLP

There are two names that, during the 1980s and 90s, contributed most to laying the groundwork for what would become the CPLP: Jaime Gama, as Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, and José Aparecido de Oliveira, as ambassador of the Brazil in Lisbon. On the 17th of July 1996 the CPLP was effectively created, with the Summit of the Heads of State and Government, in Lisbon. [124]

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[120]Joaquim Pires Valentim and Ana Maria Heleno, "Luso-Tropicalism as a SOCIAL Representation in Portuguese Society: Variations and Anchoring," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 62 (2018): pp. 34-42, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.04.013.
[121] Ibid., 4
[122] Ibid., 4
[123]Eduardo Lourenço. "A Nau de Ícaro Seguida de Imagem e Miragem da Lusofonia". Lisboa, Gradiva. 1999.
[124]Sónia Perdro Sebastião. "Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa: A afirmação global das culturas de expressão portuguesa". ISCSP Lisboa. 2018.

"Os Chefes de Estado e de Governo de Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Moçambique, Portugal e São Tomé e Príncipe, reunidos em Lisboa, no dia 17 de Julho de 1996; Imbuídos dos valores perenes da Paz, da Democracia e do Estado de Direito, dos Direitos Humanos, do Desenvolvimento e da Justiça Social; Tendo em mente o respeito pela integridade territorial e a não-ingerência nos assuntos internos de cada Estado, bem como o direito de cada um estabelecer as formas do seu próprio desenvolvimento político, econômico e social e adotar soberanamente as respectivas políticas e mecanismos nesses domínios; Conscientes da oportunidade histórica que a presente Conferência de Chefes de Estado e de Governo oferece para responder às aspirações e aos apelos provenientes dos povos dos sete países (...)" [125]

The 7 founding members of CPLP were Angola, Brazil, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe. These were joined by Timor-Leste on the 20th of May 2002, after gaining independence from Indonesian occupation. Additionally, on the 23rd of July 2014, Equatorial Guinea also became a full member. [126]The CPLP has since been a community of nine states spread across four continents and including more than 258 million people.[127] As seen before, language played a crucial role central in the creation of a supranational unity, of a "Lusophone identity" and of an integration mechanism in a globalized and competitive world. [128]

Historical Context

The emergence of the CPLP must be understood taking into account the scenario of the international system in the post-World War II, as this was when the processes of independence of colonies began and, therefore, their decolonization; the process of constituting regional economic blocs began, as well as the WTO's role in the ever-increasing reduction of trade barriers. Within this context there is also a change in the discourse of ideological conflicts East-West to the shift of positions that are based on

[125] Ibid., 90
[126] Ibid., 90
[127] "Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries." Diplomatic Portal. República Portuguesa - Foreign Affairs. Accessed January 31, 2021. https://www.portaldiplomatico.mne.gov.pt/en/foreign-policy/community-of-portuguese-speaking-countries.
[128] Ibid., 105

the division of the world between North and South. Thus, the CPLP could be an important mechanism for putting the agendas of countries in the Southern hemisphere in global discussions, as well as an important institution for strengthening an increasingly necessary South-South cooperation. In the 1990s, when the former Portuguese colonies were already independent, they started a process of building democratic institutions and with that they experienced a certain stability and thus the necessary conditions for the institutionalization of the CPLP had emerged. The international situation was favorable to this institutionalization, since there was a moment characterized by the formation of regional economic blocs, the globalization of economies and a greater interdependence between those same blocs. Furthermore, one must mention the importance of democratic processes for the formation of economic blocs since the independence, sovereignty and freedom of national states become fundamental elements so that these states can choose their foreign policies. It was only when, the processes of independence and the formation of democratic institutions within the Portuguese speaking African countries starting in 1974, as well as the formation of a democratic system in Portugal, and a Brazilian foreign policy strategy oriented towards greater democratization of the international system, that favorable conditions for the reconstruction of a Lusophone Community existed.[129] [130]

International Organizations: The case of the CPLP

The post-Cold War international scenario, characterized by the emergence of a "new world order" is accompanied by a growing number of States associations defined by the convergence of interests with the purpose of achieving common goals, which are more easily attained in a homogeneous context based on political, economic, social, geographical, or even ethnic religious reasons.[131] In this way, the phenomenon of "international regionalism"[132] has resulted in the formation of international organizations on the most diverse grounds, even though the grounds for economic

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[129]Kerry A. Chase. *Trading Blocs: States, Firms, and Regions in the World Economy*. University of Michigan Press, 2005. https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.133506.
[130]Williams Gonçalves. "Convergências, Cooperação e a Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa." *XII Conferência Internacional de Lisboa – Democracia e Integração no Espaço de Língua Portuguesa: 1974- 1994*. Lisboa, 12 a 14 de Dezembro de 2004, Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos Internacionais (IEEI).
[131] Ibid., 67
[132] Ibid., 65

cooperation were the most frequent. It's within this context that the concept of International Organization must be clarified in order to understand the organizational structure of the CPLP and how this structure is part of the institutionalization of a universalist community.

There are some elements common to almost all International Organizations that determine it as such, which are: (1) a voluntary character, which results from the free will of the subjects/agents involved; (2) an equal character that presupposes the existence of equality between members; (3) a pluralist character insofar as it is a multilateral agreement while it remains essential that the IO is separated from the member states that participate in the agreement, (i.e. be autonomous); (4) that an institutional apparatus which allows for the proper functioning of the organization is distinct from the participating States; and finally, (5) it is essential that this organization have an internal regulation, an internal order and an explicit activity in which to pursue tits objectives.[133] That being said, it makes sense to apply this model to the institutional apparatus of CPLP and it's clear that the lusophone community has endowed itself with mechanisms and institutes - including its Declaration, Constitutive Law, Statutes and other mechanisms - that guarantee the execution of the activities for which it was created.

Institutional Setting

The CPLP assumes itself as *"a new political project whose foundation is the Portuguese language, historical link and common heritage of the nine [Member States], which constitute a geographically discontinuous space, but identified by a common language"* [134]. The founding documents of the CPLP are three: the Statutes[135], the Constitutive Declaration and the Ratification of the Constitutive Declaration and the Statutes. Of the three documents referred to, the Statutes are the

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[133] Norberto Bobbio et al., "Organização Internacional," in *Dicionário De Política* (Brasília: UnB, 1998), pp. 855-864.

[134] "Objectivos." CPLP. CPLP. Accessed January 31, 2021. https://www.cplp.org/id-2763.aspx.

[135]"Estatutos Da Comunidade Dos Países De Língua Portuguesa." Accessed January 31, 2021. www.cplp.org/Files/Filer/Documentos%20Essencial/Estatutos_CPLP_REVLIS07.pdf

ones that have the limelight in the initial phase of the thesis as they shaped the general objectives of the organization.

Article 3 of the Statutes establishes the general objectives of the CPLP [136]:

a) *"A concertação político-diplomática entre os seus membros em matéria de relações internacionais, nomeadamente para o reforço da sua presença nos fora internacionais;*

b) *A cooperação, particularmente nos domínios econômico, social, cultural, jurídico e técnico-científico;*

c) *A materialização de projetos de promoção e difusão da língua portuguesa."*

Another fundamental article for this dissertation is Article 5, which defines the guiding principles in two points:[137]

1. *"A CPLP é regida pelos seguintes princípios:*

   a. *igualdade sóbrana dos Estados-membros;*

   b. *não ingerência nos assuntos internos de cada Estado;*

   c. *respeito pela sua identidade nacional;*

   d. *reciprocidade de tratamento;*

   e. *primado da Paz, da Democracia, do Estado de Direito, dos Direitos Humanos e da Justiça Social;*

   f. *respeito pela sua integridade territorial;*

   g. *promoção do desenvolvimento;*

   h. *promoção da cooperação mutuamente vantajosa;*

2. *A CPLP estimula uma cooperação entre os seus membros com o objetivo de promover as práticas democráticas, a boa governação e o respeito pelos Direitos Humanos."*

It is also important to reflect on the priority weighting of the Member States, and of the CPLP as a whole, in relation to strategic objectives. In a first phase, before Timor-Leste joined in 2002, Brazil and Angola were betting mainly on a technical-cultural cooperation. On the other hand, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe focused their interests on stimulating their economic development,

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[136] Ibid
[137] Ibid

while political-diplomatic cooperation was essentially a Portuguese ambition. [138]The objectives of CPLP vastly concern the Portuguese language as a common cultural heritage, which must be maintained and protected, requiring that the institutions that are created to this effect be safeguarded - namely the International Institute for the Portuguese Language (IILP) which as of 1999 the Portuguese-speaking nations would come to agree that it was an instrument of strategic priority.[139] Although initially the objectives had no reference to the area of security, the objectives that seemed of high priority were outlines such as education, health, justice and culture. Overall, the organization's greatest institutional effort was done in the cultural area followed by the areas of security, defence, justice and solidarity and lastly, cooperation. [140]However, the organization does not limit itself to the promotion of the language –Article 5 of the Statutes explains that *"promoting development" and "promoting mutually beneficial cooperation"* are among the guiding principles of the CPLP.

Structure of the CPLP

When it was created in 1996, the CPLP equipped itself with the following institutional arrangement, written below according to its hierarchical degree as pointed out in the Statues:[141]

1. Conference of Heads of State and Government;
2. Council of Ministers;
3. Permanent Consultation Committee;
4. Executive Secretariat.

The highest body is made up of the Heads of Government of all member states of the CPLP. When they meet in a Conference, they define the objectives and general policies. They also have the competence to create institutions that facilitate the

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[138] Luís Mousinho de Magalhães e Meneses de Mascarenhas Gaivão. "CPLP: A Cultura como Principal Factor de Coesão*". Lisboa, Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 2010.
[139]Victor Marques dos Santos. "Lusofonia e projecção estratégica, Portugal e a CPLP." *Nação e defesa.* Lisboa. S. 2, 109 (October 2004): 123-151.
[140] Ibid., 135
[141] "Órgãos." CPLP. CPLP. Accessed January 31, 2021. https://www.cplp.org/id-2753.aspx

functioning of the CPLP, and decisions must always be taken by consensus and thus also be binding on all member states. The Conference of Heads of Government elects from among its members the President, who has a rotating term of two years. This meeting takes place every two years, but there is a possibility that it will happen sooner if there is a request by at least two thirds of the member states.

The Council of Ministers is made up of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Affairs of all the member states of the CPLP. Its functions are essentially to coordinate all the actions of the Community, as well as to adopt and implement policies appropriate to the objectives outlined by the organization, having authority to approve the budget. The presidency of this body rotates among its members and lasts for one year. Also at this level, decisions are taken by consensus.

The third body is made up of a representative from each of the States. Its function can be considered as supervisory on the performance of the Executive Secretary, with respect to the fulfilment of the recommendations of the Conference or the Council. The Permanent Consultation Committee meets once a month and is coordinated by the representative of the country that holds the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. The decisions of this Committee are made by consensus and it is possible to decide on the activities, policies, budget and internal functioning of the CPLP.

Finally, the Executive Secretariat is, in practical terms, the main body of the CPLP. It is up to it to implement the decisions of the Conference, the Council of Ministers and the Permanent Consultation Committee. It must participate in all meetings of the various organs of the Community and this is the body responsible for the finances and general administration of the CPLP. The Executive Secretariat is ran by the Executive Secretary. This position is filled every two years and the term of office may be renewed only once.

The Sectoral Ministerial Meetings are made up of ministers and secretaries of state from the different government sectors of all member states. It is the responsibility of the Ministerial Meetings to coordinate, at the ministerial level, cooperation actions in the respective government sectors.

The Meeting of Focal Points for Cooperation brings together the units responsible, in the member states, for coordination and cooperation within the scope of the CPLP. It's coordinated by the representative of the country that holds the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and is responsible for advising the other CPLP bodies on all matters relating to development cooperation within the Community. The Focal Points for Cooperation meet twice a year and when requested by 2/3 of the member states. Regarding financial matters, the CPLP has annual contributions from member countries, fixed by the Council of Ministers. The community also has a Special Fund that can have voluntary contributions, both public and private. However, aside from the minimum amount, contributions can be made (only a few member states do so) and thus these quotas seem to be below what they should be. This undermines the performance of the community, as it does not have the resources to carry out the projects it needs. There is a need to review the financial and economic issues within the scope of the CPLP in order for actions and projects that are vital to attaining the objectives of the community to be carried out more effectively.

Associate and Advisory Observers

As mentioned in the Introduction, it is important to frame the concepts of Associate and Advisory Observers at this point, since this is the path that States interested in joining the CPLP must start by following. Article 6 of the Statutes[142] states that *"any State, as long as it uses Portuguese as its official language, may become a member of the CPLP, upon unreserved adherence to these Statutes"*. States that do not meet the necessary conditions to become full members may still apply for the status of Associate Observers of the organization, provided that they *"share the their guiding principles, namely with regard to the promotion of democratic practices, good governance and respect for human rights"* and *"pursue, through their government programs, objectives identical to those of the extra-community collaborations"*. The Observer Status dates back to July 1998 while the categories of Associate Observer and Advisory Observer would be established in 2005. According to Article 7 of the Statutes[143], Associate Observers may participate, without the right to vote, in the

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[142] Ibid., 135
[143] Ibid., 135

Conferences of Heads of State and Government and in the Council of Ministers, with access to non-confidential documentation. Associate Observers may also be invited to technical meetings. It was in this capacity, and with the benefits associated with it, that Equatorial Guinea has had a relationship with the CPLP since 2006 and until its accession as a full member in 2014. Notwithstanding that the status of Associate or Advisory Observer may be *"withdrawal, temporarily or permanently, whenever there are changes in the conditions that recommended its granting"* (Article 7), the Statutes do not touch on the withdrawal of the status of Member States in the event, for example, of non-compliance with the roadmap for membership.

Currently, the number of CPLP Associate Observers exceeds that of Member States - in total there are 32 Associate Observers, 37 countries and 4 organizations, across all continents of the world. According to insights provided during the interview with Manuel Lapão, Director for Cooperation at the CPLP, more recently, at the Luanda Conference, a number of other important countries and organizations have joined as Associate Observers:

"Agora em Luanda, entrou Canadá, o Qatar, Estados Unidos da América, a Espanha, Índia, a Costa do Marfim, Peru, Grécia, Romênia e mais 3 organizações, uma organização que é G7+, a conferência Ibero-americana e a Organização Europeia de Direito Público."[144]

3 Cooperation in the CPLP

According to Herpolsheimer [145] *"cooperation in the framework of the CPLP/Lusofonia has developed a significant dynamic. This dynamic has been characterized by a veritable proliferation of cooperation issues and mechanisms, producing both important symbolic as well as (tangible) practical results".*

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[144] "Now in Luanda, Canada, Qatar, United States of America, Spain, India, Côte d'Ivoire, Peru, Greece, Romania and 3 other organizations have joined, an organization that is G7+, the Ibero-American conference and the Organization European Union of Public Law."
[145] Ibid., 83

According to Figueiredo and Violante,[146] cooperation can be grouped into 3 different types when looking at the geopolitical level:

1. "North-South cooperation" - also called vertical cooperation- is the cooperation between a country from the global north (developed economy) and a country from the global south (developing economy). This type of cooperation has been increasingly more supported. In the case of CPLP, bilateral and multilateral cooperation between Portugal and the PALOPs is an example.

2. "Triangular cooperation" - is the cooperation happening between a mix of developing economies and resources from the global North. Another case using CPLP members states would be the Triangular Cooperation Programme for Consolidating Economic Governance and Public Finance Management Systems (PFMS) in the PALOP-TL

3. "South-South cooperation" - also called horizontal cooperation - is the cooperation between two or more developing countries.

Give the diversity of members that make up this lusophone space, the CPLP members act within all these 3 types of cooperation. For example, in the area of child labour, a project was implemented in 2010-2012 to tackle Child labour in the PALOPs. This was defined as a South-South and triangular cooperation initiative that provided for horizontal exchanges between Portuguese-speaking countries to combat and prevent child labour. The main stakeholders were government institutions, the ILO as a facilitator, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) and the US Department of Labor (USDOL) as providers of financial support and the CPLP as a solid basis for the mobilization and for mutual learning between countries.[147]

The objectives and areas of cooperation are listed in the Statues, and supporting documentation for the areas of cooperation in the CPLP Framework can be found in the "CPLP Strategic Cooperation Document - 2020 - 2026", "Cooperation at CPLP - A Post-2015 Strategic Vision", and "Cooperation at CPLP – A Strategic Vision for Post-Bissau Cooperation" as well as other sectoral cooperation Framework Documents

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[146] Eurico Figueiredo and Alexandre Violante, "A Comunidade Dos Países De Língua Portuguesa (CPLP) e a Estratégia De Projeção De Poder Inteligente Do Brasil: Análise Da Política Externa Brasileira, 1995-2016.," *Revista Da Escola De Guerra Naval* 25, no. 01 (2019): pp. 129-166, https://doi.org/10.21544/1809-3191.v25n1.p129-166.

[147]"A Cooperação Sul-Sul e Triangular Na CPLP: Boas Práticas Na Proteção Social e No Combate Ao Trabalho Infantil" (Organização Internacional do Trabalho, 2014), https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---exrel/documents/event/wcms_240290.pdf.

found in the website of the CPLP.[148] Itt is interesting to note that the majority of the cooperation actions of the CPLP take place outside the objectives set out in the Statues

In the year of its foundation, the Statues of the CPLP included 5 main areas of cooperation: economy, culture, judiciary, social issues and science and technology. There have been 8 ratifications since which have resulted in the addition of more areas of cooperation being included in the Statues and the breakdown of original topics. In 2012, the Statues had officially 16 objectives listed:

1. Education
2. Sports
3. Defense
4. Agriculture
5. Social communication
6. Public administration
7. Health
8. Telecommunications and postal services,
9. Public security
10. Maritime affairs
11. Food security
12. Commerce
13. Economy
14. Science and Technology
15. Judiciary
16. Culture

However, more objectives which are not stated in the Statues, including labor and social affairs, transportation, parliamentary affairs, youth, human rights,central banks, finance, gender equality,internal administration, industrial property, fishery, migration, environment, child labour, and tourism. Looking through the documents of the CPLP, the most common fields of cooperation are social affairs, health, agriculture, labour.

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[148] "Visões para o Futuro." CPLP. CPLP. Accessed January 31, 2021. https://www.cplp.org/id-4176.aspx

Herpolsheimer points out a number of studies which *"show that the cooperation actions of the CPLP have had tangible results albeit limited financial resources, retaining that there is still a need for research in this specific matter."* In the case of political-diplomatic cooperation, perhaps the most well-known and the most successful is the 1998 intervention for conflict resolution in Guinea Bissau.

The fields of cooperation of the CPLP often rely on the involvement of civil societies, NGOs and other non state actors such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, International Labor Organization and the World Health Organization. CPLP members can also undergo different cooperation at different levels.

The CPLP can cooperate with non-state actors in different forms - officially or unofficially - through direct or indirect engagement. Engage directly with the community directly can be done in many ways such as: signing a cooperation agreement, participating in the Civil Society Forum or on the annual CPLP meeting with the Executive Secretaryor by becoming a consultative observer. These mechanisms of cooperation and engagement with other actors serve mainly 2 purposes: expand the reach of the organization and gain virility in the international arena and to obtain funding for particular projects (an example is the ILO child labour reduction programme and the hunger programme with FAO). Involving the civil society in these mechanisms also allows for the exchange of information and channels to reach the government level. Unofficially also, actors can engage with the CPLP "behind the scenes", by means of influencing decisions.

Through the reading of the founding documents as well as the strategic documents for cooperation, the structure of cooperation of the CPLP is characterized by various instruments and mechanisms and can be grouped, as explained by Herpolsheime,[149] into 2 different categories:

1. General Cooperation: "refers to a set of projects and programmes that are framed by the main (strategic) documents of the CPLP touching upon different

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[149] Ibid., 83

fields and topics". This type of cooperation is politically coordinated through the CPLP Council of Ministers, Conference of Heads of State, Government and the Committee for Permanent Concertation, using meetings and other sub-mechanisms at the technical level to support its work and the Indicative Plans and Special Fund Documents as interments for cooperation.

2. Sectoral Cooperation "shares the same framework as general cooperation, but is concerned with one specific cooperation area (e.g. health, education, or environment ". Sectoral Ministers Meetings make it the main mechanism os the sectoral cooperation which is facilitated by other sub mechanisms, and uses general framework documents (such as the Strategic Plans and Protocols) as its mains instruments.

Chapter 3

Development in Portuguese-Speaking African Countries

1 Sustainable Development Efforts

Agenda 2030 and Agenda 2063

In 2000 at a UN Summit, 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were set out, primarily focusing on the social sector. The MDGs, albeit having an unprecedent scope, were rather simplistic and in retrospect a number of criticisms, particularly the exclusive focus for developing economies, large amounts of Development Aid from Western donors, among others. In the 15 years of their existence, the MDGs showed very limited the improvement of African economies in all its goals. In 2015, 17 SDGs were set out including 169 targets, including not just the social sector but also the productive sectors, committing to address global issues and promoting sustainable development in a universal way, far surpassing the scope of the MDGs. [150]

During this period, the African Union Commission with the cooperation of New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) Secretariat and the UN Economic Commission for Africa conducted a study into the various future scenarios of the continent and at the AU Summit of 2013, the outcome of this study was the "Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want" which similarly to the Agenda 2030 included 20 goals (including 7 aspirations and 34 priorities) for the strategic, sustainable and inclusive that would benefit all Africans. Through this Agenda, a universality principle was similarly used, including the perspectives of the continents' low- income countries as well as the middle-income countries. [151]

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[150] Chris Alden, "New Actors, New Models, NEW Outcomes? African Countries' Engagement with China and Other Development Partners in Achieving THE SDGS and AGENDA 2063," *Oxfam Research Reports*, July 27, 2017, https://doi.org/10.21201/2017.0254.
[151] Ibid., 150

Despite their similarities, there are differences in the approaches of these 2 Agendas. According to the findings of the OXFAM research Report[152], the two agendas show a convergence on goals pertaining to social development, economics development, peaceful institutions and societies, but do diverge on environmental goals. Particularly, the SDGs focused on "inequality within and across countries" as well as for the issues of sustainable management of natural resources and of consumption and production.

As pointed out by Baek[153], the 4 areas of high overlap between the agendas are *"promoting peace and inclusive societies for sustainable development"* (SDG 16: 90%), *"ensure access to affordable, reliable and sustainable modern energy for all"* (SDG 7 : 100%), *"achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls"* (SDG 5: 100%) and last but not least *"end hunger, achieve food security and promote sustainable agriculture"* (SDG 2 : 100%). On the other hand the 4 areas of low overlap between both Agendas are SDGS 10 (43%) *"reducing inequality among and within countries"*, SDG 13 (33%) *"taking urgent action to combat climate change",* SDG 15 (20%) *"protecting restoring and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems"* and lastly SDG 14: (29%) *"conserving and sustainably use the osceans and marine resources for sustainable development"*. Overall, 113 targets set out in Agenda 2030, and 137 targets set out in Agenda 2063 matched, showing a convergence of the Agendas (67% of Agenda 2030 and 79% of Agenda 2063).

CPLP Cooperation for the SDGs

In the framework of strategic cooperation for the SDGS, the document that guides not only the CPLP's strategic vision but also for the strategy of the 2030 Agenda for SD is the *"Documento Estratégico de Cooperação da* CPLP *- 2020 – 2026"* [154]*(DEC* 2020 – 2026) which states its alignment with the SDGs and the objective of the 2030 Agenda and identifies it as an instrument for guidance in its activities:

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[152] Ibid., 150
[153]Seung-Jin Baek. "Rethinking development assistance in line with Dual transition of Africa's development agendas", *Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue Forum*. Oxfam International Africa-China Dialogue Platform, 2016.
[154] "Orientações Estratégicas para a Cooperação." CPLP. CPLP. Accessed May 31, 2021.
https://www.cplp.org/id-4176.aspx

"A Cooperação da CPLP assume-se como transversal, uma vez que promove a interligação entre várias áreas e setores e está alinhada com os compromissos expressos na Agenda 2030 para o Desenvolvimento Sustentável e com os Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável (ODS)" (*DEC* 2020 – 2026, p. 4)

It should also be noted that, within the framework of its cooperation activities, that there are several other Strategic Plans for Sectoral Cooperation which can be found in the CPLP website:[155]

1. CPLP's Strategic Plan for Environment Cooperation
2. Strategic Plan Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment CPLP
3. CPLP Youth Strategic Document
4. CPLP Strategy for the Oceans
5. Food and Nutritional Security Strategy (ESAN-CPLP) Part I – Framework; Part II - Strategic Vision
6. CPLP's Strategic Plan for Cooperation in Health
7. CPLP Strategic Plan for Cooperation in Tourism
8. Strategic Plan for Energy Cooperation
9. CPLP Strategic Plan for Multilateral Cooperation in the Field of Education (2015-2020)
10. CPLP's Strategic Plan for Multilateral Cooperation in the Domain of Higher Education, Science and Technology (2014-2020)

As a results of the alignment of the DEC 2020-2026 with the Agenda 2030, the CPLP Heads of State and Government decided to fortify cooperation within the CPLP, with a view to supporting the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, especially through:

1. Exchange of good practices aimed at improving public policies and their alignment with the SDGs;
2. Capacity development, especially statistical capacities for the construction of national indicators for the implementation of the 17 SDGs and their 169

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[155] Ibid., 147

associated targets, promoting access to quality, accessible, up-to-date and reliable disaggregated data, in order to allow a measurement of progress and ensure that no one is left behind;

3. Sharing information about their national SDG implementation plans;

4. Technology facilitation on mutually agreed terms, especially through the preparation of a preliminary inventory of supply and demand of core technologies in Member States for the implementation of the SDGs, in collaboration with the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Technology Facilitation."

Furthermore, and as a result of this alignment, a set of sectors in which the CPLP intends to act more consistently, at least until 2026, were identified, and thus the impact of the projects within these sectors will be evaluated against the SDG progress. These areas of intervention include (1) Environment and Climate Change, (2) Science, Technology and Higher Education, (3) Culture, (4) Human Rights and Good Governance, (5) Education, (6) Energy, (7) Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, (8) Youth and Sports, (9) Health, (10) Food and Nutritional Security, and (11) Tourism (*DEC* 2020 – 2026, p. 8). The CPLP works essentially are going to work essentially with a vision of SDG 17, i.e. partnerships for development, analyzing to what extent by working in a particular sector, the CPLP can generate impacts on others, aligning with the element of intersectionality across SDGs and the principles of sustainable development. According to the Director for Cooperation at the CPLP, Manuel Lapão:

"Agora vamos é fazê-lo de uma forma que nós gostaríamos que fosse inteligente. Isto que eu ainda não lhe disse, e que eu acho que é importante. Como não temos recursos, como eu há pouco lhe disse, nós não podemos dar-nos ao luxo de quando estamos a fazer um projeto em qualquer setor – vamos imaginar no sector da saúde - não ter uma visão horizontal, percepcionando que, para além de impactar diretamente o setor da saúde, este projeto pode impactar nos demais ODS." [156]

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[156] "Now let's do it in a way that we would like to think of as smart. This which I haven't told you yet, I think is important. Since we don't have resources, as I just told you, we cannot afford to not having a horizontal vision when we are doing a project in any sector – let's imagine in the health sector – in addition to directly impact the health sector, this project can impact the other SDGs."

According to the previous strategic documents and the interview with Manuel Lapão, the area of intervention the CPLP has focused on the most is that of food and nutrition security[157].

Additionally, the work of the CPLP in the area of child labor is also to be noted. In 2016, the CPLP created its national CPLP framework to fight child labor which was cited in the UN Resolution of 2019[158] as one of the factors that motivated the proposal to launch the year 2021 as the International Year of Combating Child Labour. There is also an ILO recognition of the work of the "*political support of CPLP has greatly contributed to the promotion of ILO's fundamental principles and rights at work, including the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 1829)*"[159]

A recent paper published by Manuel Lapão[160] further highlights the areas in which the CPLP works in the framework of the 2030 Agenda. For example, within the framework of SDG2, one of the most common fields of cooperation in the CPLP , more mechanisms from the *"Food Security and Nutrition Strategy—ESAN-CPLP,"* can be promoted, thus having a direct impact on other SDs. Implementing such an horizontal model can thus have positive impacts along the SDG chain, taking into account the intersectional nature of the goals. Lapão also considers the opportunities for cooperation along other SDG chains, for example, touching on "*SDGs 6, 7, 13, 14, and 15 (Clean water and sanitation, Affordable and clean energy, Climate Action, Life Below Water, and Life on land)*" by connection to SDGs 2 and 3 which are already integrated in various strategic plans.

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[157] "Estratégia De Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional." CPLP. CPLP. Accessed May 31, 2021. https://www.cplp.org/id-4755.aspx

[158] "Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly on 25 July 2019: International Year for the Elimination of Child Labour, 2021," 2019.

[159] "Combating Child Labour In The Community Of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) In Africa, Brazil And Timor-Leste "(Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Association, n.d.), pp. 12-13, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---exrel/documents/publication/wcms_409570.pdf.

[160] Manuel J. Lapão, "The Sustainable Development Goals and the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (Cplp) in the POST-COVID-19 Era," *Porto Biomedical Journal* 5, no. 6 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1097/j.pbj.0000000000000102.

2 The PALOP Contextualisation

Country Profile: Angola

As of 2019 Angola's GDP was estimated to be $89.417 billion[161] by the World Bank and a $2,809[162] per capita GDP. Nowadays Angola's economy relies heavily on its natural resources, mostly minerals and oil.[163] In 2007, *The Economist* reported that 60% of Angola's economy – most of the revenue and exports – constituted oil and Diamonds.*[164]* Since 1990, the country has had one of the biggest economic global growth rates. Even though the economic power of the country rises, most Angolans live with less than $2 a day,[165] while the riches accumulate on the hands of few. Besides being a member of the United Nations since December 1st 1976[166] and a member of the CPLP since the 17th of July 1996[167], Angola is also member of three different African Economic Communities: the Southern African Development Community (SADC)[168] since 1980, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)[169] since 1999 and from 1994 to 2007 a part of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)[170]. Angola is composed of 1.247 million km²[171] and a population of 31,825,295[172] people in 2019. Its capital is Luanda which was founded in 1576 and as of 2020 has over 8 million[173] inhabitants. As of today, the

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[161]"GDP (Current Us$) - Angola," The world Bank Data, accessed August 12, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?end=2019&locations=AO&start=1980&year_high_desc=true.

[162] "GDP per Capita (Current Us$) - Angola," The World Bank Data , accessed August 12, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ny.gdp.pcap.cd?end=2019&locations=AO&most_recent_value_desc=true&start=1980.

[163] "Angola," Central intelligence agency (Central Intelligence Agency), accessed August 10, 2021, https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/angola.

[164] "Angola's Uncertain Future," *The Economist*, November 17, 2017. https://www.economist.com/news/2007/11/16/angolas-uncertain-future

[165] "Isabel Dos Santos Não Reina Apenas Na África: Seu Poder Se Estende a Portugal," O Globo, November 12, 2014, https://oglobo.globo.com/economia/isabel-dos-santos-nao-reina-apenas-na-africa-seu-poder-se-estende-portugal-14545078.

[166] "Member States," United Nations (United Nations), accessed August 11, 2021, https://www.un.org/en/about-us/member-states.

[167] Ibid., 3

[168] "Angola," Southern African Development Community, accessed July 31, 2021, https://www.sadc.int/member-states/angola/.

[169]"República De Angola - Ceeac - Eccas," CEEAC, October 1, 2020, https://ceeac-eccas.org/pays-membres/republica-de-angola/.

[170] "COMESA" (Global Edge, 2015). https://globaledge.msu.edu/trade-blocs/comesa/memo#:~:text=November%2014%2C2007%20%2D%20Angola%20suspends%20itself%20from%20COMESA.

[171] Ibid., 163

[172] "Angola Population 2021 (Live)," World Population Review, accessed August 10, 2021, https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/angola-population.

[173] Ibid., 163

ethnic groups that can be found in Angola are dominated by the Bantu. The Bantu are divided into multiple ethnolinguistic groupings. As of 2005 37% of the Angolan population were Ovimbundu, 25% Kimbungu and 13.4% Bakongo and Ovikongo. Around 2% of the population is composed of Mestiço (mixed Native African and European) and Europeans – mostly Portuguese - account for 1% of the population.[174] Angola's official language is Portuguese, even though about half of the population does not speak it. Another 46 languages, mostly of Bantu origin, are also spoken throughout the country, for some people Portuguese being the second or third spoken language. Besides Portuguese, the *Ethnologue* characterises Chokwe, Kikongo, Kimbundu, Oshiwambo and Umbundu as languages that would gain from an institutional status in Angola. Some of the other languages spoken in Angola are Nyaneka, Ngangela, Fiote, Kwanyama, Muhumbi and Luvale.[175]

Country Profile: Cabo Verde

Cabo Verde's GDP in 2019 was determined by the World Bank as $1.982[176] Billion, or a GDP of $3,603[177] per capita. Cabo Verde's economy is mostly comprised of agriculture, service provision (around 73% of the country's GDP), fishing and as the years go by tourism has grown more and more, specially since Cabo Verde is an archipelago, being Sal and Boa Vista Islands the main tourist destinations in the country[178]. The country joined the United Nations on the 16th of September 1975[179] and the CPLP on July 17th 1996[180]. Concerning the African Economic Communities, Cabo Verde is only part of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)[181] since 1976.Prais is the capital of Cabo Verde located in the Island of

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[174] Ibid., 163

[175] Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Twenty-fourth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. 2021. http://www.ethnologue.com.

[176] "GDP (Current Us$) - Cabo Verde," The world Bank Data, accessed August 12, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?end=2019&locations=CV&start=1980&year_high_desc=true.

[177] "GDP per Capita (Current Us$) - Cabo Verde," The World Bank Data , accessed August 12, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?end=2019&locations=CV&most_recent_value_desc=true&start=1980 .

[178]"Cabo Verde," Central intelligence agency (Central Intelligence Agency), accessed August 10, 2021, https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/cabo-verde.

[179]Ibid., 166

[180] Ibid., 3

[181]"Cabo Verde," Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), accessed August 6, 2021, https://www.ecowas.int/member-states/cabo-verde/.

Santiago and has a population of around 110 thousand[182] inhabitants. As a whole, Cabo Verde has a population of 549,935 thousand[183] people, in 2019, and consists of 4,033 km²[184] of land. Ethnically, the percentages of the population are about 71% Creole/ Mestiço/ Mulatto (mixed Native African and European), 28% black and 1% white.[185] The only official language is Portuguese, spoken in radios, television and most importantly in the educational system. However, Cabo Verde's Creole is the day-to-day language spoken by all citizens of the country. Creole as a language has been developing since the end of the XV century as a mix of the languages spoken in Guiné and portuguese. Nowadays the nine variables of creole – each spoken in the respective islands they are named after – can be split in two groupings. From the north Barlavento Creole (Santiago, Maio, Fogo and Brava islands) and from the south Sotavento Creole (Santo Antão, São Vincente, São Nicolau, Sal and Boa Vista islands). The unification of creolo and officialization of the language alongside portuguese is a topic discussed in Cabo Verde's parlament. English and French are also spoken by some students, but mostly immigrants from other African countries like Nigeria and Senegal, creating some communities that speak mostly these languages.
[186]

Country Profile: Mozambique

As of 2019 Mozambique's GDP was estimated to be $15.291[187] Billion by the World Bank and a low $503[188] per capita GDP. As it happens with most ex-colonies, the north and south of the country present different difficulties. While in the north of the country the rural areas rely mostly in agriculture and underdevelopment, the south is urbanized and consists of greater economic development. The country's economy revolves around agriculture, exportation of natural resources (such as titanium,

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[182] "Cape Verde Population 2021 (Live)," World Population Review, accessed August 10, 2021, https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/cape-verde-population
[183] Ibid., 182
[184]Ibid., 178
[185]Ibid., 178
[186] Ibid., 175
[187] "GDP (Current Us$) - Mozambique," The World Bank Data, accessed August 12, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?end=2019&locations=MZ&start=1980&year_high_desc=true
[188] "GDP per Capita (Current Us$) - Mozambique," The World Bank Data , accessed August 12, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?end=2019&locations=MZ&most_recent_value_desc=true&start=1980

aluminum, oil and tobacco) and other products such as fertilizer, clothes and paint[189]. The country also suffers from grave governamental corruption enriching the rich and impoverishing the poor.   Just like Cabo Verde, Mozambique joined the United Nations on September 16th 1975[190] shortly after its independence from Portugal. As with all PALOPs with the exception of Guinea Equatorial, Mozambique is a founding member state of the CPLP in the 17th of July 1996[191]. Within the African Economic Communities, Mozambique was a part of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) from 1994 until 1997 and is currently a member state of the Southern African Development Community (SADC)[192] since 1980. As of 2019 Mozambique has a population of around 30,366,036 inhabitants[193] and is composed of an area of 799,380 km²[194]. The capital is Maputo, founded in 1781, and had a population of 1.1 million[195] as of 2017. As of today, the ethnic groups that can be found in Mozambique, like in Angola, are part of the Bantu people composing 97.8% of the country's population. There are a multitude of different peoples including the Zulus, WaYaos, Macondes, Suáilis, Chopes, Ngunis and Zulus. The most prominent peoples are: In the north the Macuas dominate the region, the Sena, Shonas and Ndaus occupy the Zambeze valley and the South is inhabitated by the Tsongas. As with all ex-colonies from European countries, the population also consists of white and Mestiço (mixes Native African and European) people. There are around 45 thousand people with Indian descent in Mozambique and about 12 thousand Chinese, living in the country. After the independence from Portugal in 1975, a big portion of the Portuguese that lived in Mozambique left the country, returning to Portugal.[196] As with all members of the CPLP, Portuguese is the official language in Mozambique and similar to Angola, there are about 43 languages spoken throughout the country, 41 of Bantu origin, portuguese and sign language. However, even though Portuguese is the official language of Mozambique, only around 50% of the population speaks it and a whoping 10.7% of the population considers it their mother tongue. Languages like

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[189] "Mozambique," Central intelligence agency (Central Intelligence Agency), accessed August 10, 2021, https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/mozambique/
[190] Ibid., 166
[191] Ibid., 3
[192]"Mozambique," Southern African Development Community, accessed July 31, 2021, https://www.sadc.int/member-states/mozambique/
[193]"Mozambique Population 2021 (Live)," World Population Review, accessed August 10, 2021, https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/mozambique-population
[194] Ibid., 189
[195] Ibid., 188
[196] Ibid., 189

Macua (emakhuwa) are considered as a mother tongue to 26.3% of the population, followed by Changana with 11.4%, then portuguese and elomwe at 7.9%.[197]

Growth Strategies

According to the economic overview published by Instituto de Estuos Sociais e Económicos[198] which characterizes the economies of the CPLP member states, a main conclusion is drawn: the relevance of this community will depend on the diversity of its members. Focusing particularly on the 3 PALOP countries, the main strategies for development, focusing on the economic perspective, can be categorized into the following groups:

1. *"Internal savings accumulation strategy and consumption repression" (Angola);*
2. *"Consumption-oriented strategy anchored in the complementarity of domestic and foreign savings" (Cape Verde);*
3. *"Consumption-oriented strategy anchored in foreign savings" (Mozambique).*

Overall, the internal savings of these PALOPS vary a lot. On one end, Mozambique exhibits a very low domestic saving strategy (3.4% of GDP) while Angola exhibits one of the highest levels of domestic savings among (53%) with Cabo Verde falling in between (20%). While Cabo Verde and Angola show an evolution of internal savings, Mozambique's domestic savings deficit is prolonged. ON the other hand, while Angola shows high accumulation rates of domestic savings, it restricts consumption with its population facing "high basic needs". Cabo Verde's strategy leans relies on complementing "internal with external savings", becoming the country among CPLP members to have the highest investment rate, at 40% of GDP, in the period 2000-2014. Lastly, Mozambique's economic performance relies on the "substitution of domestic savings for foreign savings" which is mainly used for immediate consumption

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[197] Ibid., 175
[198] António Francisco and Moisés Siúta. "Diversidade de Estratégias de Crescimento Económico Na CPLP". *IDEIAS*. 1-2. 2017

rather than investment strategies to expand domestic production. [199] [200] [201] [202] Adding to the overview of the economic, ethnic, and political overview of the countries, these "economic strategies" of the PALOP economies show a significant difference of governmental choices that characterize the development path they follow and the socioeconomic reality of the countries. In the next subchapter, with the analysis of the SDGs in these countries, a more in depth picture of the socioeconomic realities of the PALOPs will be illustrated.

3 PALOP Progress in SDGs

This subchapter provides a snapshot into the progress of the PALOP countries, Angola, Cabo Verde and Mozambique, in the SDGs using the SDGI 2019-2021. Since the aim of this paper is to analyze the existence of any trends, if there are any, in the performance of the SDGs, only those which present a 10% or higher difference in progress will be analyzed.[203] There is not available data of the SDGI for each SDG in 2016 and 2017 was missing data for Cabo Verde. Since the methodology changed in 2019, it cannot be compared with previous editions and thus the time period analyzed is 2019-2021. This subchapter will focus on 3 levels of comparison: country, regional and continental.

[199] Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto, "A Modernizing Empire? Politics, Culture, and Economy in Portuguese Late Colonialism," *The Ends of European Colonial Empires*, 2015, pp. 51-80, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137394064_3.

[200]Eduardo Moreira. "Portuguese Colonial Policy." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 17, no. 3 (1947): 181-91. Accessed May 24, 2021. doi:10.2307/1156007.

[201]Joanna Mormul. "Portuguese Colonial Legacy In Luso-african States – A Factor Leading To State Dysfunctionality Or Favorable To Development ?" *Politeja* 56 (2018): 41-66. Accessed May 24, 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26661993.

[202]Ibid., 160

[203] Ibid., 110
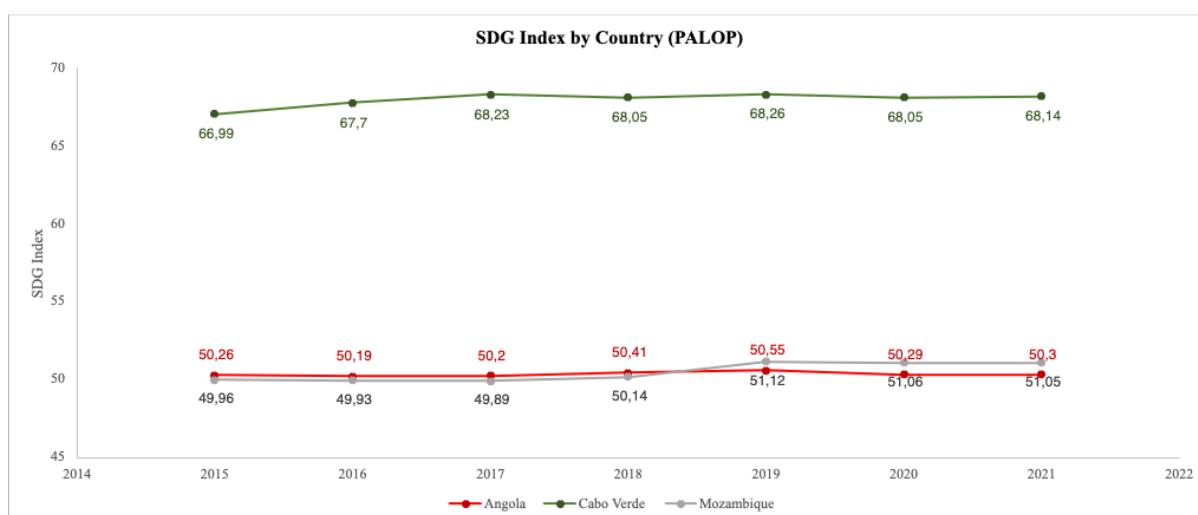
Graph 1: SDG Country Score 2015-2021 for Angola, Cabo Verde and Mozambique

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on SDGI data in the Sustainable Development Reports 2019, 2020, 2021

Based on these initial results, there is a clear statistical difference in SDGI country scores among the 3 PALOP countries, with Cabo Verde staying ahead. Since 2015, all countries have shown improvements on their scores albeit statistically not significant. This trend is evidenced in the last 3 years. Table 1 illustrates the progress on each SDG among Angola, Cabo Verde and Mozambique on the SDGI. Based on these results Cabo Verde is ahead, followed by Mozambique and lastly Angola for all 3 years. This information is corroborated in Table 2 which shows the percentage difference for each SDGI per SDG from 2019 to 2021. Cabo Verde performed statistically better in SGD 1, SDG14 and SDG14 and statistically worse on SDG12. Mozambique performed statistically worse on SGDs 10, 11 and 15. Angola had a better performance on SDG 14 but sis significantly worse on SDG 1 and 10.

SDG	2019			2020			2021		
	Angola	Cabo Verde	Mozambique	Angola	Cabo Verde	Mozambique	Angola	Cabo Verde	Mozambique
SDG 1	45,20	54,3	11	43,91	54,68	11,77	12,91	83,22	8,18
SDG 2	47,8	46,5	45,1	47,22	40,19	45,26	55,42	37,40	45,32
SDG 3	33,7	73,3	31,2	37,22	73,53	33,21	37,44	73,90	36,51
SDG 4	37,8	78,5	41,6	38,20	81,19	46,55	40,78	81,28	49,77
SDG 5	53,6	65,4	60	50,53	72,43	61,50	51,28	68,59	64,90
SDG 6	46	69,1	41,1	53,96	73,10	49,58	53,96	73,10	49,58
SDG 7	48,7	81,2	38	51,48	81,33	38,05	52,43	81,70	39,94
SDG 8	59,9	73,5	53,4	57,92	74,27	68,51	52,49	73,40	58,70
SDG 9	5,7	25,7	11,9	8,38	25,17	10,06	7,52	27,35	10,50
SDG 10	57,2	36,6	49,2	50,49	36,14	25,58	25,25	30,66	12,79
SDG 11	46	81	68,2	47,03	80,10	71,65	46,71	79,05	57,42
SDG 12	93,7	91,8	98,7	92,83	79,50	96,07	92,22	79,27	96,12
SDG 13	90,9	89,9	92,2	96,75	94,22	98,65	96,52	94,36	98,59
SDG 14	47,8	45,5	74	56,71	57,30	72,98	66,93	61,19	68,37
SDG 15	65	54,7	66,6	64,23	69,41	67,70	64,75	71,09	52,99
SDG 16	41,7	74,4	52,6	45,37	76,90	54,08	50,65	78,33	55,01
SDG 17	51,9	64,6	66,8	51,78	72,58	68,93	47,77	64,56	63,23
Global Index Score	51,3	65,1	53	52,59	67,18	54,13	50,3	68,1	51,1

Table 1: SDGI Progress 2019-2021 for Angola, Cabo Verde and Mozambique

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on SDGI data in the Sustainable Development Reports 2019, 2020, 2021

Percentage Change (2019-2021)			
SDG	Angola	Cabo Verde	Mozambique
SDG 1	32,29	28,92	2,82
SDG 2	7,62	9,10	0,22
SDG 3	3,74	0,60	5,31
SDG 4	2,98	2,78	8,17
SDG 5	2,32	3,19	4,90
SDG 6	7,96	4,00	8,48
SDG 7	3,73	0,50	1,94
SDG 8	7,41	0,10	5,30
SDG 9	1,82	1,65	1,40
SDG 10	31,95	5,94	36,41
SDG 11	0,71	1,95	10,78
SDG 12	1,48	12,53	2,58
SDG 13	5,62	4,46	6,39
SDG 14	19,13	15,69	5,63
SDG 15	0,25	16,39	13,61
SDG 16	8,95	3,93	2,41
SDG 17	4,13	0,04	3,57
Global Index Score	1,00	3,04	1,95

Key:

Negative >10 % Change

Positive >10 % Change

Table 2: Country Comparison SDGI Progress 2019-2020

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on SDGI data in the Sustainable Development Reports 2019, 2020, 2021

When comparing each country's SGDI performance to their regions' SGDI performance, Angola shows a biggest similarity with its region with both positive trends in SDG 14 and negative trends in SDG 10, however, it is doing worst at a regional level on SDG 1 and comparatively better on SDG 17. Cabo Verde is doing significantly better than the region in a number of SDGs (2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 14, 15, 16 and 17) and comparatively worse on SDGs 1, 6, and 11. There are no apparent trends. Finally, Mozambique shows only 1 similarity to its region, a negative trend on SDG 10 and

overall looks to be behind compared to its region. There are also no evident trends on SDGI on across the regions of the PALOPs.

SDG	2019 Angola	2019 Middle Africa Avg.	2020 Angola	2020 Middle Africa Avg.	2021 Angola	2021 Middle Africa Avg.	% Change Angola	% Change Middle Africa Avg.
SDG 1	45,20	31,51	43,91	30,80	12,91	22,71	32,29	8,81
SDG 2	47,8	47,39	47,22	47,09	55,42	49,90	7,62	2,52
SDG 3	33,7	39,00	37,22	39,53	37,44	39,30	3,74	0,30
SDG 4	37,8	50,51	38,20	48,33	40,78	48,83	2,98	1,69
SDG 5	53,6	42,95	50,53	43,53	51,28	44,07	2,32	1,12
SDG 6	46	49,58	53,96	51,65	53,96	51,65	7,96	2,07
SDG 7	48,7	38,81	51,48	42,14	52,43	42,86	3,73	4,05
SDG 8	59,9	58,00	57,92	58,05	52,49	56,39	7,41	1,61
SDG 9	5,7	10,84	8,38	12,98	7,52	13,00	1,82	2,16
SDG 10	57,2	49,88	50,49	46,88	25,25	29,56	31,95	20,31
SDG 11	46	49,63	47,03	49,63	46,71	42,49	0,71	7,13
SDG 12	93,7	94,30	92,83	87,73	92,22	87,38	1,48	6,92
SDG 13	90,9	92,90	96,75	97,30	96,52	97,17	5,62	4,27
SDG 14	47,8	52,47	56,71	66,52	66,93	74,57	19,13	22,10
SDG 15	65	75,45	64,23	75,68	64,75	75,02	0,25	0,43
SDG 16	41,7	47,99	45,37	46,78	50,65	50,62	8,95	2,64
SDG 17	51,9	57,88	51,78	53,40	47,77	44,35	4,13	13,52
Global SDG Score	51,3	52,33	52,59	52,79	50,3	51,07	1,00	1,25

Key:
Negative >10 % Change
Positive >10 % Change

Table 3: Regional SDGI Progress 2019-2020 Angola in Middle Africa

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on SDGI data in the Sustainable Development Reports 2019, 2020, 2021

SDG	2019 Cabo Verde	2019 Western Africa Avg.	2020 Cabo Verde	2020 Western Africa Avg.	2021 Cabo Verde	2021 Western Africa Avg.	% Change Cabo Verde	% Change Western Africa Avg.
SDG 1	54,3	35,11	54,68	36,82	43,77	36,67	10,53	1,56
SDG 2	46,5	48,93	40,19	49,97	61,66	54,66	15,16	5,72
SDG 3	73,3	42,93	73,53	42,66	39,35	43,22	33,95	0,30
SDG 4	78,5	38,35	81,19	42,46	51,83	45,52	26,67	7,17
SDG 5	65,4	41,53	72,43	42,53	39,16	42,38	26,24	0,85
SDG 6	69,1	50,93	73,10	54,70	55,96	54,70	13,14	3,78
SDG 7	81,2	29,07	81,33	30,36	54,26	31,95	26,94	2,88
SDG 8	73,5	67,59	74,27	67,65	68,64	63,92	4,86	3,67
SDG 9	25,7	13,71	25,17	17,07	27,11	17,40	1,41	3,69
SDG 10	36,6	58,63	36,14	58,06	37,95	52,44	1,35	6,18
SDG 11	81	51,91	80,10	52,88	52,45	49,35	28,55	2,56
SDG 12	91,8	94,86	79,50	92,57	94,50	92,44	2,70	2,42
SDG 13	89,9	94,75	94,22	98,54	98,71	98,36	8,81	3,61
SDG 14	45,5	56,31	57,30	67,24	79,47	65,86	33,97	9,56
SDG 15	54,7	72,83	69,41	73,16	71,32	70,50	16,62	2,32
SDG 16	74,4	54,19	76,90	55,32	57,90	57,84	16,50	3,64
SDG 17	64,6	56,91	72,58	56,81	44,53	51,61	20,07	5,31
Global SDG Score	65,1	53,42	67,18	55,19	57,6	54,66	7,54	1,24

Key:
Negative >10 % Change
Positive >10 % Change

Table 4: Regional SDGI Progress 2019-2020 Cabo Verde in Western Africa

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on SDGI data in the Sustainable Development Reports 2019, 2020, 2021

SDG	2019 Mozambique	2019 Eastern Africa Avg.	2020 Mozambique	2020 Eastern Africa Avg.	2021 Mozambique	2021 Eastern Africa Avg.	% Change Mozambique	% Change Eastern Africa Avg.
SDG 1	11	27,69	11,77	27,68	8,18	26,58	2,82	1,11
SDG 2	45,1	45,43	45,26	48,60	45,32	56,69	0,22	11,26
SDG 3	31,2	48,63	33,21	49,32	36,51	50,51	5,31	1,88
SDG 4	41,6	53,50	46,55	59,70	49,77	61,19	8,17	7,69
SDG 5	60	60,94	61,50	64,41	64,90	65,48	4,90	4,54
SDG 6	41,1	49,13	49,58	50,87	49,58	50,98	8,48	1,85
SDG 7	38	31,05	38,05	31,50	39,94	33,35	1,94	2,30
SDG 8	53,4	64,42	68,51	67,27	58,70	62,17	5,30	2,25
SDG 9	11,9	14,08	10,06	18,10	10,50	19,22	1,40	5,14
SDG 10	49,2	47,17	25,58	42,63	12,79	34,90	36,41	12,27
SDG 11	68,2	66,34	71,65	63,64	57,42	59,38	10,78	6,95
SDG 12	98,7	92,28	96,07	88,50	96,12	88,35	2,58	3,93
SDG 13	92,2	93,91	98,65	97,20	98,59	97,07	6,39	3,16
SDG 14	74	50,31	72,98	60,60	68,37	66,11	5,63	15,80
SDG 15	66,6	58,16	67,70	59,86	52,99	57,35	13,61	0,81
SDG 16	52,6	56,23	54,08	55,10	55,01	56,49	2,41	0,26
SDG 17	66,8	58,13	68,93	56,14	63,23	52,23	3,57	5,90
Global SDG Score	53	54,11	54,13	55,50	51,1	55,26	1,95	1,15

Key:
Negative >10 % Change
Positive >10 % Change

Table 5: Regional SDGI Progress 2019-2020 Mozambique in Eastern Africa

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on SDGI data in the Sustainable Development Reports 2019, 2020, 2021

Lastly, aggregating the results for the 3 PALOP countries and comparing them to the African continent, there are common trends among 2 SDGs, a negative trend in SDG 10 and a positive trend for SDG14. In these three years, the 3 PALOPs have done significantly worse in SDGs 1, 10, 11 while the African continent has done worse on SDGs 10 and 17. The overall Africa region also shows a similarity with Eastern and Middle Africa with a negative performance on SDG 10.

SDG	2019		2020		2021		Percentage Change (2019-2021)			Key:	
	PALOP	AFRICA	PALOP	AFRICA	PALOP	AFRICA	PALOP	AFRICA			
SDG 1	38,70	38,11	36,79	32,51	21,62	30,34	17,08	7,76		Key:	
SDG 2	50,38	47,24	44,22	46,91	54,13	51,98	3,75	4,74		Negative >10 % Change	
SDG 3	46,78	47,00	47,98	43,87	37,77	44,14	9,01	2,86		Positive >10 % Change	
SDG 4	56,08	52,22	55,31	51,19	47,46	53,62	8,62	1,40			
SDG 5	55,56	51,29	61,49	51,65	51,78	53,01	3,78	1,72			
SDG 6	53,76	51,82	58,88	52,65	53,17	52,58	0,59	0,76			
SDG 7	51,02	39,58	56,96	35,64	48,88	37,28	2,14	2,31			
SDG 8	62,70	63,49	66,90	63,06	59,94	59,98	2,76	3,51			
SDG 9	13,16	15,99	14,54	17,48	15,04	18,24	1,88	2,25			
SDG 10	58,18	47,94	37,40	44,29	25,33	37,33	32,85	10,61			
SDG 11	65,04	59,45	66,26	57,89	52,19	52,73	12,85	6,73			
SDG 12	94,56	91,46	89,47	88,04	94,28	88,02	0,28	3,44			
SDG 13	90,70	91,32	96,54	96,48	97,94	96,27	7,24	4,95			
SDG 14	58,90	54,14	62,33	64,42	71,59	68,01	12,69	13,87			
SDG 15	61,74	67,77	67,11	67,73	63,02	66,84	1,28	0,94			
SDG 16	57,54	55,59	58,78	53,86	54,52	56,05	3,02	0,46			
SDG 17	58,40	62,02	64,43	59,05	51,84	51,65	6,56	10,36			
Global Index Score	57,24	55,09	57,96	54,51	52,97	54,0	4,27	1,09			

Table 6: Comparative SDGI Progress between PALOP (Angola, Cabo Verde, Mozambique) and Africa 2019-2020
Source: Elaborated by the author, based on SDGI data in the Sustainable Development Reports 2019, 2020, 2021

Angola

Angola presented its Voluntary National Review (VNR)[204] in July of 2021 for the first time. According to the results presented in the report, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding the implementation of the SDGs in Angola. Angola is the worst of the 3 PALOPs in regards to progress in the SDGs, ranking 154 out of 165 countries according to the 2021 Sustainable Development Report[205]

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[204] "Voluntary National Review On The Implementation Of The 2030 Agenda For Sustainable Development 2021" (Governo de Angola, 2021).
[205] "Rankings: The Overall Performance of All 193 UN Member States," Sustainable Development Report 2021, accessed August 28, 2021, https://dashboards.sdgindex.org/rankings.

According to the 2021 VNR, Angola is performing better in the areas of *"Education, Health, Gender Equality, Social Protection, Justice and Human Rights, and Environment".* The country is still facing challenges in the fight against poverty, hunger, and socioeconomic inequalities. Great attention is also focused on environmental indicators since the effects of climate change will have direct negative effects on economic growth and inequalities. In the context of Central (or Middle) Africa, 62% of the SDGs are showing negative or stagnating trends with special emphasis on gender equality, clean water and sanitation, sustainable energy, infrastructure. On the other hand, the region is doing quite well regarding climate action and life on land.[206] In this sense there is recognition from the Angolan government that the country is still behind on basic infrastructure, especially in the access to water and energy, and transfer of knowledge.

The government in Angola reacted to the SDGs through the National Development Plan for the period 2018-2022, there they were identified as priorities in light of both Agendas which has put forward various public policies and action programmes. . Additionally, *"Long-Term Strategy for Angola in the 2025 Horizon is the main document of global vision for Angola and its role at the international level"* according to the Angolan VNR. Despite a shown commitment to sustainable development, the Angolan VNR highlights the lack of quality data and progress in terms of implementation as a hindrance to achieve the Agenda 2030.

Cabo Verde

Cabo Verde presented two VNRs, one in 2018 and another in 2021[207], whose results will be analysed. Cabo Verde is the PALOP country that has made most progress

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[206] Rep. *Africa SDG Index and Dashboards Report 2020.* The Sustainable Development Goals Center for Africa and Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2020.
[207]"Voluntary National Review On The Implementation Of The 2030 Agenda For Sustainable Development 2021" (Governo de Cabo Verde, 2021).

towards achieving the SDGs, ranking 86 out of 165 countries according to the 2021 Sustainable Development Report[208]

In terms of SDG performance, while poverty rate saw a reduction of 50%, challenges remain in the area of food security and nutrition due to the structural reasons. Further policy and law advancements in the country have had a positive impact in the reduction of gender inequality. In the environmental SDGs, Cabo Verde is on track to meet them by 2030 with the VNR stressing the importance of the blue economy for the country in regard to their policy priorities. In this sense, and bearing in mind the prosperity connected SDGs, Cabo Verde economic diversification and sustainable jobs are a priority, but there are no significant changes. The VNR points out that infrastructure is still behind due to limited Foreign Direct Investment. Finally, despite the progress made on SDGs 16 and 17, challenges dealing with organized crime and other types of crime remain. In the state context of Cabo Verde, the SDGs are implemented through the Strategic Sustainable Development Plan (PEDS), i.e. PEDS 2017- 2021 and 2016-2021 Government Program, which integrated the SDGs. Additionally, the National Planning System was ratified in order to align budget, plans, monitoring and evaluation of SDGs. Furthermore, the VNR shows that the government has put in place mechanics for transparency and social justice in order to improve the execution of the SDGs.

At the regional level, West Africa shows negative trends in regard to SDGs 3, 5 and 9 and hard challenges in the achievements of SDGs 4, 6, 7 and 11 with goal 11 showing the most off track trend. However, this region shows the highest share of countries performing well on environmental goals with Cabo. Verde being highlighted as one of the best performers. In the region, the challenge is to improve performances in welfare without compromising on environmental sustainability. [209]

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[208] Ibid., 204
[209] Ibid., 205

Mozambique

Mozambique elaborated a VNR in 2020 [210] which serves as basis of the country's SDG performance analysis. Mozambique is right along with Angola as one of the worst performing countries in terms of SDG progress, ranking only slightly higher as 152 out of 165 countries according to the 2021 Sustainable Development Report[211]

According to last year's VNR, Mozambique performs well in SDGs 3, 11, 12, 13 and 14, however the country still faces difficult challenges in achieving most the SDGs by 2030. The goals pertaining to gender equality and the reductions socioeconomic inequalities goals are recognized as being structural issues in the country. In a survey conducted by the Civil Society in 2019, tangible results were presented in all SDGs 2 environmental related ones. In order to achieve the 2030 Agenda, the Mozambican government states that it *"requires particular attention in mobilizing domestic resources".* The government already incorporated a Framework of Indicators and Targets into the Government Five-Year Programme such that 74% of the SDG indicators being part of the programme but only 38% being available for regular national monitoring. Additionally, in 2017, an SDG National Reference Group was created in order to coordinate and promote involvement of various sectors within the SDGs. The VNR recognized that the implementation of the SDGs requires significant mobilization of financial resources, as the economic system is under the weight of high public debt, and more partnership programmes.

In the context of Eastern Africa, one of the worst performing subregions of Africa, there is an overwhelming stagnation trend in the region, especially among SDGs 4, 9 and 16 and with the worst performance being on SDG 2. SDGs 3, 5 and 8 are progressing moderately well and overall, most countries are on track to meet the climate goals[212]

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[210]"Voluntary National Review On The Implementation Of The 2030 Agenda For Sustainable Development 2021" (Governo de Moçambique, 2021).
[211] Ibid., 204
[212] Ibid., 205

4 Sustainable Development Trends in Lusophone Africa

SGDI Trends in Angola, Cabo Verde and Mozambique

Before analysing any trends among the SDGI it is worth mentioning that the time period of analysis was affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. To limit the scope of the thesis, the impact of the pandemic on the SDGs is not profoundly analysed, partially also due to the fact that the real effects have not yet been absorbed by this indicator. However, there is an understanding that cooperation actions and projects as well as each country's economic condition suffered the effects of the health crisis. [213]

Overall, when analyzing the SDGI progress for each SDG as well as the country score for each of the 3 PALOPs both at a national, regional, and continental level over the last 3 years there is no clear trends in progress. Generally, the SDGI shows a general positive trend in SDG14 for the 3 countries and for Africa as well as a negative trend in SDG 10 at the same levels.

The Sustainable Development Solutions Network's "2019 SDG Index and Dashboards Report"[214] developed a cluster analysis, which grouped each African country by their similarities in SDG performance rather than by region shows 5 cluster groups ranging from *"Cluster 1: Continental Leaders"* to *"Cluster 2: Growing"*, *"Cluster 3: Middle of the Pack"*, *"Cluster 4: Emerging"* and lastly *"Cluster 5: Distressed".* On this analysis Cabo Verde belongs in group 2 which is a group that performs relatively well in SDGs 5 and 17 but performs worse on climate action goals and levels of inequality. Angola and Mozambique both belongs to group 3 - the biggest and most diverse group - which is the best performer of SDG 12 and 13 but has worse performances on SGDs 1 and 9. It's also interesting to note that São Tomé e Príncipe is part of group 1 and Equatorial Guinea and Ginea Bissau are both part of group 5.

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[213] "Africa 2030: SDGs Within Social Boundaries Leave No One Behind Outlook "(The Sustainable Development Goals Center for Africa, 2021), https://sdgcafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/20210721_Full_Report_Final_Web_En.pdf.
[214] Ibid., 206

When comparing this cluster analysis to the findings of this thesis some similarities can be drawn: Cabo Verde performs better than Mozambique and Angola in the SGDI for most SDGs and shows a significant positive difference in the Global Country score which corroborate the fact that it is grouped in a better performing cluster, and that Mozambique and Angola, which show similar scores, are clustered in the same group. Additionally, Cabo Verde showed significantly positive performances of SDGs 5 and 16. Like its cluster analysis, Angola had a bad performance in SDG 1, but no trend is seen for Mozambique, however both performed worse in SDG 10. Still on the inequality goal, Cabo Verde did not show a significantly bad performance despite it performing worse than the region.

Moreover, if these results are analysed in the light of the findings of Baek in terms of the highest and lowest goal overlaps for the 2030 and 2063 Agendas, there are mixed results. Mozambique, Angola and the 3 PALOP group performed significantly worse on SDG 10 over the years - one of the SDGs with the lowest percentage of overlap in both Agendas. Despite no country level trends are evident for SDG 14 performance, at the PALOP and Africa level, this was the only SDG that had significantly showed improvements despite it also being one of the SDGs with the lowest overlap percentage.

The role of the CPLP in promoting SDG progress

Regarding the main areas of cooperation in the CPLP projects, which include mainly hunger and malnutrition (SDG 2) - which is one of the goals common to both Development Agendas - and child labour (SDG 8), there are no trends in SDG performance at the country, regional and PALOP levels. Regarding the CPLP's actions for SDG 8, Manuel Lapão stated during the interview that this area *"em 2020/ 2021 teve um impacto muito sensível",* in order words, had very little impacts.

With little evidence in support of a trend in DGS progress among Portuguese speaking African countries, the work of the CPLP in promoting the SDGs in the PALOPs seems quite limited. As mentioned earlier in the thesis, there are various other international regional and state level mechanisms at play which may have a higher influence on the

implementation of the SDGs in the PALOP context. In the interview with Manuel Lapão, when asked about the impact of the CPLP in the promotion of the SDGs in the PALOPs he noted that:

"(...) Portanto o esforço primariamente a ser reconhecido é as administrações dos Estados membros da CPLP. Portanto, numa primeira fase, acho que as melhorias que se assistem se devem fundamentalmente à responsabilidade e ao bom nível de governação existente na generalidade dos países da CPLP, primeira questão. Segunda questão, essa boa governação e esse alinhamento não deixa de ser influenciado pela agenda Internacional. Muito pelo contrário, é amplamente influenciado pela agenda Internacional e, também, gostaria de dizer, pela agenda da CPLP. Em contexto de CPLP isso é claro - quando estamos nas nossas reuniões, isso é indiscutível."[215]

It is also worth noting that in the 4 VNRs available for each of the PALOPs analyzed, there was no mention of the CPLP as an IGO that has had a direct impact in their progress towards meeting the SGDs nor as political mechanism that promotes cooperation among states for the implementation of the SDGs. As noted during one of the interviews with one of the responsible employees for the Cabo Verdean VNR at the Cabo Verde National Statistical Institute, Engª Nereida Moreira:

"O papel da CPLP, aqui o que eu posso dizer é que os objetivos, a lista das metas e dos indicadores dos objetivos sustentáveis não foram traduzidos para a língua portuguesa, o que é uma primeira lacuna que sentimos. Eu acho que a CPLP poderia ter tido um papel aqui muito importante que é na tradução dos indicadores (...) a essa é uma das principais lacunas." [216]

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[215] "(...) Therefore, the primary effort to be recognized is that of the administrations of the CPLP member states. Therefore, in a first phase, I think that the improvements that are being seen are fundamentally due to the responsibility and the good level of governance that exists in most CPLP countries. Second point, this good governance and this alignment is still influenced by the International agenda, actually, it is largely influenced by the International agenda and I would also like to say by the CPLP agenda, in the context of CPLP this is clear, when we are in our meetings, this is indisputable."

[216] "The role of CPLP, here what I can say is regarding the goals: the list of targets and indicators of sustainable objectives have not been translated into Portuguese, which is a first problem we feel. I think the CPLP could have had a very important role here, in the translation of the indicators (...) this is one of the main issues."

Despite the efforts in the organization of workshops and meetings with the aim of sharing knowledge and good practises organized by the CPLP, there was no unified response regarding the translation of SDG indicators. On one hand, and considering the large scope of countries with Portuguese as an official language, the lack of a unified response in terms of translating the SDG indicators undermines the work towards promoting Portuguese as an important language in the international arena. On another hand, this fact is also problematic in a context where the measurement of the indicators is already a global challenge, particularly also when the countries at hand do not have robust statistical infrastructure to do so (this can also be seen by the frequency of VNR publications, for example, when compared to Portugal).

There is a relative consensus regarding the fact that the performance of the CPLP has been below the expectations of those who are part of it. In 25 years of existence, there are not many situations that can be mentioned in relation to a direct action of CPLP that has drastically benefited its members. The same goes for the current Agenda of Development. However, the pillar on which the most developed project is based was that of diplomatic political consultation. Examples of this activity can be mentioned, including: the growing recognition on the part of international organizations, such as the UNDP and the World Bank, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Latin Union, in addition to the conference United Nations for Trade and Development (Unctad); the positions taken by the CPLP in the defense of refugees in southern Africa in public criticism against landmines and the mediation that the CPLP made in the conflict in Guinea-Bissau through the creation of a Contact Group, chaired at the time by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cape Verde. It is also an example of this action, of political and diplomatic consultation of the CPLP, the Timorese situation to which the CPLP sent 15 people to supervise the acts of the referendum on autonomy by Indonesia. Nevertheless, this pillar is not enough to judge the performance and the development of the community both in regards to interstate relations and in the relations of these states with others in the international system. [217]

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[217] Pinto, José. (2011). Da CPLP à Comunidade Lusófona: o futuro da lusofonia. Revista Angolana de Sociologia. 107-118. 10.4000/ras.1212.

Chapter 4

Conclusions

This Thesis had as its starting question: *"What role does the CPLP play in the implementation of the sustainable development goals in the context of its African member states?"* With only 9 years remaining to reach the ambitious goals of the 2030 Agenda, in a context where climate change is threatening the development of societies, the role of international organizations in promoting sustainable development and facilitating the implementation of the SDGs has never been so crucial. Much research has been done in the regarding the importance of organizations for development, with particular emphasis on the UN and UN bodies. However, the importance of language communities, as organizations founded on the basis of shared ideational factors such as language and culture, remains lacking in the field of international relations.

To answer this research question, on a first stage, a literature review was conducted to define the concept of sustainable development and investigate the existing work done regarding the role of Intergovernmental Organizations in promoting sustainable development. On a second stage, a theoretical basis for the work was established, using the theories of constructivism and new regionalisms to conceptualize the emergence of a linguistic bloc such as the CPLP and justify its role as an intergovernmental organization in the international arena. Additionally, theories of economic growth were analyzed to bring to light the processes through which sustainable development as a concept emerged, bringing emphasis to the fact that economic activity cannot be conducted without proper consideration of the national environment. A description of the process that led to the creation of the CPLP is described, with basis on primary and secondary sources, justifying its institutional setting and understanding its structure in regard to cooperation for development by exploring the mechanisms and instruments that the CPLP has at its disposal. To investigate its role in the field of cooperation for development, a comparative case study of 3 Portuguese speaking African countries was built to explore any trends in lusophone African in regard to sustainable development. The 2030 Agenda for

Development was chosen as a framework that provides guidance for countries to achieve sustainable development through the achievement of certain goals. The SDGI was chosen as a proxy measure for country's sustainable development since it provides information regarding each SDG at a different regional levels and data quality and validity can be assured. By constructing comparative tables of each country and each region's SDGI a comparison of progress in relation to sustainable development can be made across country, region and linguistic bloc. Using primary sources from official entities, each country's profile is determined and their position in the SDG's is analyze, and the CPLP cooperation in the fields of the SDGs are explored. Additionally, semi structured interviews conducted with the CPLP Director for Cooperation, the Ambassador of Cabo Verde to Portugal, the Attaché for cooperation in Guinea Bissau, a technical expert from Cabo Verde's National Statistics Institute and a Former CPLP Youth Forum Ambassador and current Envoy of the African Union, provided insights from various players into the different processes of the CPLP in the framework of a multilateral organization founded on the grounds of a shared colonial history facilitating cooperation for development.

This study found no evidence of SDG trends among lusophone African countries. The performance of each country in relation to the SDGs showed more similarities with the geographical region they are inserted in or with the clusters formed by the Sustainable Development Solutions Network's cluster analysis. Despite the positive results of the CPLP's strategic cooperation programs in the fields of food security and in child labor though triangular and south-south cooperation activities, there was still no evidence of a trend in SDGs 2 and 8 between the PALOPs and their regions, or between each country and their region. One of the key elements to SDG implementation, as it was corroborated by the CPLP's Director of Cooperation are government's efforts to integrate the goals in their national strategic plans and allocate the appropriate financial resources to programs that tackle the SDGs. This and other factors played a relatively more important role in the progress of each countries in the areas of socioeconomic and environmental sustainability. Notwithstanding the role of the CPLP as a multilateral forum for political and diplomatic cooperation is still a crucial one, that cannot be easily quantifiable. Particularly in the context of the PALOPs and capacity building for the monitoring and evaluation of the SDGs and statistical empowerment which is a crucial aspect in the Agenda 2030. The role of political diplomatic

concertation relies very much on dialogue among countries As the Director for Cooperation exemplified:

> "A CPLP, por exemplo, conseguiu que a muitos, enfim que em algumas organizações internacionais, alguns dos seus cidadãos tenham sido levados a postos de decisão importante, isso foi um trabalho diplomático da CPLP e é um trabalho de sucesso. Vou recordar apenas alguns. No caso concreto do antigo Diretor-Geral da FAO José Graziano da Silva, que era um brasileiro, ele foi Diretor-Geral da FAO, porque os países da CPLP se uniram nessa votação e conseguiram influenciar espaços de integração regional. (...) O mesmo se diga agora para a Organização Nacional das Migrações, onde está agora António Vitorino; O mesmo se diga no esforço que foi feito para a eleição do primeiro mandato do Secretário-Geral das Nações Unidas, António Guterres, e agora, na sua reeleição para um segundo mandato."[218]

Limitations to this study are observed. Firstly, SDGI data for each PALOP was not readily available back to 2015 – robust data sets for all countries were only found only from 2018 onwards. Due to a change in methodology of the SDGI the editions previous to 2019 could not be comparable to more recent ones which conditioned the time frame of the analysis and the choice of countries. For example, almost no data concerning the SDGs is available for Guinea Bissau and Equatorial Guinea. Additionally, the effects of COVID-19 pandemic on the SDGI are not easily identifiable but also had negative repercussions on the implementation of projects due to lockdowns. Thirdly, making an exhaustive list of all the direct and direct engagements of the CPLP in the field of development would have been too exhaustive given the scope of this thesis – more research should be done to this extent. The last limitation pertains to the direct effects of CPLP projects – there are no impact evaluations available which translate directly into the SDGs. This makes the exercise of determining the absolute effects of programs on the indicators and thus on the

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[218] "The CPLP, for example, has managed to ensure that many, in some international organizations, some of its citizens have been taken to important decision-making positions, this was a diplomatic work of the CPLP and it is a successful work. I'll just remember a few. In the specific case of former FAO Director General José Graziano da Silva, who was a Brazilian, he was FAO Director General, because the CPLP countries joined in this vote and managed to influence spaces for regional integration. (...) The same can be said now for the National Organization for Migration, where António Vitorino is now; The same can be said in the effort that was made to elect the first term of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, António Guterres, and now, in his re-election for a second term."

performance of a country. Due to the enormous amounts of variables and wide variety of actors at play in the pursuit of sustainable development, this task becomes even statistically difficult to accomplish and more exhaustible.

The overall results of the thesis demonstrated that both the PALOPs and the African continent are not on track to meet the SDGs until 2030. Particularly given the context of the COVID-19 pandemic worsened macroeconomic and social welfare scenarios, and knowing that Africa had not been on track previously compared to other regions of the world, the role of organizations is more needed than ever.[219] The CPLP faces a major setback as an Intergovernmental organization, which is the lack of financial resources. Perhaps to overcome such an obstacle, the CPLP could attempt to verify in which subjects it is stronger and specialize itself in these areas of intervention, in order to better allocate resources making cooperation more impactful, more effective in its application.

The CPLP emerged in 1996 following a series of attempts to unify the Portuguese-speaking peoples under the umbrella of a multilateral organization, under the justification of the existence of historical ties, shared language, cultural identity and geopolitics. This is a significant number of people with a very rich cultural diversity, if we use Weberian[220] terminology of civilizations, we have at CPLP 4 different civilizations: the western one, represented by Portugal; the Latin American one, represented by Brazil; the African represented by the PALOPs; and finally the civilization represented by East Timor that can be classified as Asian.Thus it can generally be seen that the existence of a community like the CPLP, overturns the "clash of civilizations" arguments and demonstrates the possibility of different cultures coming together for common goals without necessarily being of a forum economic and without acculturation to each other for their coexistence.

Geopolitically it's important to mention that the CPLP has great qualities since Portugal is in the European Union and in its Economic Exclusive Zone transits a large part of the intercontinental air and sea flow. Another strategic and geopolitical quality of the

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[219] Ibid., 204
[220] Kalberg, Stephen. "Max Weber's Sociology of Civilizations: The Five Major Themes." *Max Weber Studies* 14, no. 2 (2014): 205-32. Accessed May 26, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24579857.

CPLP is Brazil's position today, as an average power with great resources and growing influence in the Southern cone and in international relations as a whole. A country rich in natural, water resources, of great territorial extension and which represents a gateway to other countries in Mercosur. The presence of the PALOP's at the CPLP allows entry into other economic and trade communities existing within Africa itself, not to mention access to developing economies that tend to increase the flow of capital and foreign interest in investments and access to energy resources. Last but not least, the presence of East Timor, whose independence is a strategic point in the Pacific for the CPLP and its members, just as Macau is for the representativeness of CPLP in the Asian world, one that is increasingly competitive. Thus, once the natural reserves of the existing imbalances in terms of development of some countries are overcome, the conditions are created for the establishment of a Lusophone space whose versatility (geographic, ethnic, cultural, social and economic), and political versatility (meeting point between other regional spaces) allow to anticipate the materialization of synergies that are advantageous for the constituent countries.

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Appendix A
Interview Guide

Portuguese Version

1.1. Qual o papel da língua portuguesa na facilitação de relações diplomáticas?

    1.1.1. Estamos perto de ter o português como língua principal nas organizações internacionais?

    1.1.2. O que seria necessário para isso?

1.2. Qual a sua avaliação da atuação da CPLP no cenário internacional nestes 25 anos de existência?

    1.2.1. Onde há necessidade de maior intervenção?

    1.2.2. Em que áreas se pode melhorar?

    1.2.3. Quais os maiores obstáculos a uma melhor intervenção?

1.3. Qual tem sido o papel da CPLP para a implementação dos ODS nos PALOP?

1.4. Qual o papel da juventude, sociedade civil e do setor privado no âmbito da CPLP e dos ODS?

1.5. Os PALOP estão no caminho certo para atingir os ODS?

    1.5.1. Quais os aspetos de intervenção mais prioritários?

    1.5.2. Quais são os maiores obstáculos na implementação dos ODS?

1.6. Como descreveria as relações diplomáticas com entre os PALOP e o resto da CPLP?

1.7. Os antecedentes coloniais afetam de algum modo as relações diplomáticas entre os países da CPLP, ou já é "uma coisa do passado"?

1.8. A seu ver, existe realmente uma identidade lusófona? Porquê?

1.9. Quais as potencialidades de uma comunidade como a CPLP?

    1.9.1. Onde se posiciona a CPLP comparada com outras comunidades linguísticas como a *Commonwealth* e a *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie*?

    1.9.2. A CPLP poderá tornar-se num espaço homologo à da UE? C

    1.9.3. Considera importante que houvesse uma política externa comum entre os países da CPLP?

    1.9.4. Qual o papel de regiões como Macau e Goa para a CPLP?

English Version

1.1. What is the role of the Portuguese language in facilitating diplomatic relations?

    1.1.1. Are we close to having Portuguese as the main language in international organizations?

    1.1.2. What would it take for this?

1.2. What is your assessment of CPLP's performance on the international scene in these 25 years of existence?

    1.2.1. Where is there a need for further intervention?

    1.2.2. In what areas can you improve?

    1.2.3. What are the biggest obstacles to a better intervention?

1.3. What has been the role of CPLP for the implementation of the SDGs in the PALOP?

1.4. What is the role of youth, civil society and the private sector within the CPLP and the SDGs?

1.5. Are the PALOP on track to achieve the SDGs?

    1.5.1. What are the highest priority aspects of intervention?

    1.5.2. What are the biggest obstacles in implementing the SDGs?

1.6. How would you describe diplomatic relations between the PALOP and the rest of the CPLP?

1.7. Does the colonial background somehow affect diplomatic relations between the CPLP countries, or is it already "a thing of the past"?

1.8. In your opinion, is there really a Lusophone identity? Why?

1.9. What are the potentials of a community like CPLP?

    1.9.1. Where does the CPLP stand compared to other language communities such as the Commonwealth and the Organization Internationale de la Francophonie?

    1.9.2. Could the CPLP become a space similar to that of the EU?

    1.9.3. Do you consider it important that there was a common foreign policy between the CPLP countries?

    1.9.4. What is the role of regions such as Macau and Goa for CPLP?