Carola Lustig, Soft or Hard Power? Discourse Patterns on Brazil’s Foreign Policy Toward South America

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**Online Appendix**

Table 1. Operationalization of the Term *Hard Power*

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| Dimension | Variable | Description of the Variable | Number of Quasi-phrases | Weight | Semantic Nodes Identified |
| Military dimension | Negative Military  | Mention of conflicts with neighboring countries. Increased military spending  | 27 | 1 | 1) Increasing military power for protection from neighboring countries; 2) Conflicts with neighboring countries; 3) Importing and exporting military material; 4) Producing weapons for Brazil’s economic development |
| Positive Military  | Mention of need for the creation of a joint defense system in South America  | 347 | 0.95 | 1) Joint defense and regional agreements for defense; 2) Agreements for demilitarization; 3) Joint Peace Operations; 4) Seeking support for UN Security Council; 5) Trade restrictions on products for military use and fighting drug trafficking.  |
| Negative Border Area | Unfavorable mentions of border cooperation  | 33 | 0.91 | 1) Preventive defense actions and controlling suspicious groups in border areas with no agreement of parties involved; 2) Need for troop deployment in border areas; 3) Challenges of the Amazon area; 4) Unilateral initiatives on border development.  |
| Positive Border Area | Favorable mentions of potential for cross-border cooperation  | 135 | 0.87 | 1) Strengthening of collective border defense; 2) Combined efforts towards radarization; 3) Populating border areas and defense of vulnerable populations in those areas; 4) Cross-border cooperation for trade and land transportation.  |
| Economic dimension | Positive Physical Integration  | Favorable mention of increasing cooperation in physical infrastructure  | 386 | 0.69 | 1) Physical integration as a precondition for economic development; 2) Reduction of geographical obstacles and improving energy connectivity; 3) Infrastructure interdependence; 4) Implementing initiatives in border transport and energy  |
| Negative Economic Integration  | Unfavorable mention of trade agreements  | 155 | 0.61 | 1) Protectionist policies and general measures to protect national industry; 2) Opposition to hemispheric agreements; 3) Opposition to bilateral free trade agreements.  |
| Positive Economic Integration  | Favorable mention of increasing economic interdependence  | 1301 | 0.53 | 1) Gradual trade agreements; 2) Joint initiatives in international economy: denouncing protectionist measures and strengthening the WTO; 3) Using Mercosur as a tool to consolidate trade; 4) Brazilian investment in neighboring countries.  |
| Negative Geographic Integration  | Mention of integration as detrimental to infrastructure  | 30 | 0.46 | 1) Dangers of physical interconnection; 2) Fears over proximity after geographic obstacles are reduced; 3) Negative mention of improving interdependence infrastructure.  |
| Political dimension | Positive Pragmatic Political Integration  | Mention of need for improving integration without institutions  | 728 | 0.38 | 1) Democracy as a precondition for trade; 2) Pragmatic integration of South America; 3) *Ad hoc* actions for political stabilization; 4) Defense of the stability of democratic institutions  |
| Negative Political Integration  | Unfavorable mention of political integration with institutions  | 140 | 0.30 | 1) Participation of Brazil in international forums; 2) Promoting Brazil’s participation in global, rather than regional, multilateral forums; 3) Paternalistic view of Brazil as regards neighboring countries; 4) Defending national sovereignty.  |
| Positive Political Integration  | Positive mention of integration with creation of collective resolution mechanisms  | 304 | 0.23 | 1) Defending mechanisms of political agreement; 2) Proposing the creation of alternative spaces of political agreement; 3) Expanding Mercosur to include new political partners; 4) The process of relinquishing sovereignty in supranational institutions.  |
| Positive Supranational Integration  | Mention of need for improving integration by creating supranational institutions  | 180 | 0.15 | 1) Creating bilateral and multilateral organizations; 2) Increasing joint institutionality among countries; 3) Relinquishing sovereignty in supranational institutions.  |

Source: Compiled by the author.

Table 2. Operationalization of the Term *Soft Power*

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| Dimension | Variable | Description of the Variable | Number of Quasi-phrases | Weight | Semantic Nodes Identified |
| Migration Dimension | Negative Migration from Neighboring Countries | Mention of risks to sovereignty of migratory flows | 3 | (–) 0.15 | 1) Concerns over presence of illegal aliens in Brazil and expansion of immigrant settlements; 2) Establishing norms that limit and control migratory flow; 3) Deportation of illegal immigrants. |
| Positive Brazilian Migration  | Favorable mention of Brazilians settling in other countries  | 29 | (–) 0.23 | 1) Agreements on legalizing Brazilians abroad; 2) Adding consulates to assist Brazilian communities overseas; 3) Favorable mentions of Brazilians settling in neighboring countries; 4) Equal conditions for Brazilians off Brazilian soil and for the rest of the population.  |
| Negative Brazilian Migration | Unfavorable mention of the Brazilian community in other countries | 4 | (–) 0.30 | 1) Unprotected Brazilian communities abroad; 2) Fewer consulates serving communities abroad; 3) Unfavorable mention of Brazilians settling in neighboring countries; 4) Need for differentiated treatment for Brazilians on foreign territory.  |
| Positive Migration from Neighboring Countries | Favorable mention of migration agreements among the neighboring countries | 7 | (–) 0.38 | 1) Need for countries to accept regional migration; 2) High population rates in border areas; 3) Establishing norms to facilitate migration; 4) Legalization department based in Brazil.  |
| Educational Dimension | Positive Funding for Science and Technology  | Favorable mention of cooperation for technical development  | 78 | (–) 0.46 | 1) Direct transfer of technology; 2) Research Funding as a precondition for economic progress; 3) Cooperation on Science and Technology projects.  |
| Positive Funding for Education | Favorable mention of educational projects | 42 | (–) 0.53 | 1) Transfer of knowledge; 2) Education as a precondition for economic progress; 3) Joint educational projects among South American countries.  |
| Positive Academic Exchange | Favorable mention of academic exchanges | 27 | (–) 0.61 | 1) Cooperation in education; 2) Signing agreements for authentication of diplomas; 3) Agreements on university level; 4) Increasing scholarships for exchange programs among Brazilian and South American students.  |
| Expansion of the Portuguese Language  | Positive mention of promoting the Portuguese language  | 19 | (–) 0.69 | 1) Promoting the Portuguese language in different intergovernmental and multilateral forums.  |
| Socio-cultural dimension | Positive Cultural Relationship  | Positive mention of media and cultural projects  | 64 | (-) 0.87 | 1) Citizens Network as a precondition for democracy; 2) Complex network of interest groups and nongovernment organizations to strengthen democracy.  |
| Positive Brazilian Values | Favorable mention of Brazilian society’s praiseworthy values  | 165 | (–) 0.91 | 1) Environmental protection; 2) Defense of democratic and republican values; 3) Defense of an autonomist foreign policy; 4) Defense of the principle of sovereignty and self-determination of a people. |
| Positive Joint Social Policies | Favorable mention of the need for advancing social policies  | 179 | (–) 0.95 | 1) Initiative to promote an agenda for development and social protection; 2) Combating different forms of poverty; 3) Social indicators more important than nuclear warheads; 4) Communities’ living conditions a core concern.  |
| Historical Relations  | Mention of historical fraternal ties and affinity between Brazil and other countries  | 276 | (–) 1 | 1) Countries united by historical and cultural ties; 2) Brazil has neglected the identity and cultural inheritance of certain countries; 3) State of native South Americans forced to exile; 4) Common ethnic, cultural and historical capital; 5) “The American being.”  |

Source: Compiled by the author.