

BRICS Research Topics

National identity, collective identity and incentive mechanism*

——Analysis of Brazil's core motivations for participating in the BRICS

Zhou Zhiwei

Abstract: National identity is a key factor that affects national interests and external behavior. This article adopts the theoretical logic of national identity construction and the function of international mechanisms in the constructivist international relations theory, aiming to clarify the core motivations of Brazil's participation in the BRICS cooperation mechanism. According to the identity construction path from ontology cognition to feedback from "others" emphasized by constructivism, the article analyzes the national identity of Brazil and the collective identity of the BRICS countries from the perspectives of self-cognition and feedback from the international society respectively. Comparison Generally speaking, the international community's recognition of the collective identity of the BRICS countries is higher than its recognition of the national identity of Brazil. This makes the BRICS cooperation mechanism an incentive mechanism that helps build Brazil's national identity. Specifically, the BRICS The country has not only strengthened Brazil's multiple representative identities, but also has a significant motivating effect on Brazil's broadening of its international agenda and increasing its recognition of international influence. Since the Bolsonaro government came to power, Brazil's diplomatic orientation has clearly "turned to the right", but it is basically Continuing the BRICS cooperation policies of previous governments, this actually further proves that the stimulating effect of the BRICS mechanism on the construction of Brazil's national identity is the core motivation for Brazil to participate in this mechanism.

Keywords: Constructivism, Brazil, BRICS national identity, collective identity, identity construction About the author: Zhou

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What is Brazil's core motivation for participating in the BRICS? This is the main question that this article aims to answer. Since the launch of the BRICS cooperation mechanism in 2006, domestic and foreign international relations academic circles have focused on the motivations (or strategic considerations) of participation among the BRICS member states.) has attracted more attention, because it is a key variable that directly affects the cohesion of BRICS countries and the sustainability of BRICS cooperation. At present, the academic community has drawn some consensus conclusions. It is believed that political consensus and economic and trade cooperation are the key to strengthening BRICS countries. There are two core motivations for internal cooperation. Among them, political consensus refers to the "shared desire to reform the international system", while economic and trade cooperation emphasizes the "efficiency advantages of BRICS cooperation". It is undeniable that the above conclusion has a certain explanatory power, but it is not sufficient. Especially when the regimes of some BRICS member states change, foreign policies undergo major adjustments, or even local bilateral relations among BRICS member states experience significant fluctuations, these two conclusions are difficult to predict. Continue to advance cooperation and provide convincing answers.

Taking Brazil as an example, in the past 16 years, the country's political ecology has undergone significant adjustments. It transitioned from the left-wing Labor Party government when the BRICS mechanism was launched to the far-right Bolsonaro government that came into power in 2019. As a result, Brazil's foreign policy reflects ideological tendencies that are inconsistent with cooperation with BRICS countries, such as strengthening alliances with the United States, adopting anti-multilateralism "withdrawal" behaviors, neglecting "South-South cooperation", etc. At the economic and trade level, the level of cooperation between Brazil and Russia, India, and South Africa is not high. Although economic and trade cooperation with China has always been efficient, China and Brazil already have a systematic and efficient cooperation mechanism at the bilateral level. The BRICS countries The driving effect of the mechanism on China-Brazil bilateral economic and trade relations is generally limited (at least for now). However, after the political "right turn", Brazil still continues to participate in the BRICS cooperation issue and has not adopted similar measures due to ideological differences. It has withdrawn from the Union of South America (Unasul) and suspended its participation in the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and other radical diplomatic arrangements. This exceptional stance also reflects to a certain extent that Brazil has interests in BRICS cooperation that go beyond political ideology and economic and trade gains. Other core motivations, and this core motivation may be more convincing in explaining Brazil's BRICS cooperation strategy.

The hypothesis put forward in this article is that the core motivation for Brazil's participation in the BRICS is that this mechanism can have a significant incentive function in building Brazil's national identity. It needs to be emphasized that this hypothesis does not deny that political consensus and economic and trade cooperation have a significant impact on the BRICS. The promotion effect of cooperation, but emphasizing the construction of national identity is the core factor of Brazil's participation in the BRICS.

^ySee Wang Youming: «Role Positioning and Interest Integration of BRICS Mechanism Construction», in «International Issues Research», Issue 5, 2015. Wang Lei: «BRICS Cooperation and Change of Global Governance System: Paths and Practices», in «Guangdong Social Sciences», Issue 6, 2017, Lu Jing: «The driving force of BRICS cooperation: international cognition and its enlightenment», published in «Research on International Issues», Issue 4, 2017, Shen Minghui, Qiu Lina: «Construction of the BRICS Cooperation Mechanism: From the Perspective of Economic and Trade Cooperation», Published in «International Economic Cooperation», Issue 9, 2017, Lu Feng, Li Yuanfang, Yang Yewei: «The Cooperation Background and Prospects of the "BRICS"», Published in «International Political Studies», Issue 2, 2011.

1. Theoretical Selection and Analysis Logic

This article attempts to use the relevant theoretical logic of constructivism on national identity and international mechanisms to answer the hypothesis raised above. Winter, a representative figure of constructivism, emphasized that identity determines behavioral motivations and characteristics, and the formation of identity is first rooted in the self-understanding of the actor. Secondly, it also relies on the consistency between the representation of an actor by other actors and the actor's self-understanding. In short, identity is constructed from internal and external structures, and has intersubjective or systemic Characteristics, two concepts are crucial to the determination of identity. One is the concept held by the self, and the second is the concept held by "others". Based on the above logic, using the country as an actor object analogy, the formation of national identity It includes two basic dimensions: firstly, it stems from the country's understanding of its own identity; secondly, it depends on the feedback response of "others" (including the international community) to this self-understanding, or the degree of recognition. In the above interaction process, the country Three different scenarios will be formed with the international community: positive identification, zero identification, and negative identification. The national identity may be strengthened, or it may encounter a crisis, which will prompt the country to revise its original identity. In this revision In the process, the attitude towards the international society determines the path choice of the country. Therefore, the construction of national identity is the result of the joint construction of domestic and international society. In the interaction process between the country and the international society, the self-perception of national identity, the recognition feedback of the international community, and the country's re-feedback of the feedback results of the international community are the three main variables that affect the country's external behavior and preferences. Among them, national identity recognition is a prerequisite link in the identity construction process, and reflects the identity of a country. A complete narrative of one's own characteristics from the time dimension. In the process of self-cognition, "others" are an essential reference for actors to determine their own identity, because "others" provide differences or similarities, "any self" The identity of a country can only be determined in its relationship with the 'other'." Based on this logic, the feedback confirmation of the "other" is an intermediate link in the construction of national identity. The feedback effect directly determines the interaction between a country and the "other" In this way, they may make compromise adjustments to their national identity based on the feedback results of "others", or strive for positive feedback from "others" through diplomatic behavior.

International mechanisms are also an important factor that affects the construction of national identity and national diplomatic behavior. Constructivism believes that actors and international mechanisms also belong to a mutually constructed relationship. Between countries and international institutions,

ŷ [US] Written by Alexander Winter, translated by Qin Yaqing: «Social Theory of International Politics», Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2014, page 220 ŷ [UK] Written by Barry

Buzan, translated by Liu Yongtao: «The United States and the People's Republic of China Great Powers: World Politics in the 21st Century» Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2007, p. 16

In the process of the mutual construction and development of institutions, the identity of the country is shaped and the interests of the country are confirmed. Regarding the effectiveness of international mechanisms, some scholars believe that international mechanisms bring new mutual subjective cognitions and interactive relationships to international actors. The influence is potential and subtle, rather than in a coercive sense. International mechanisms not only provide countries with an international activity environment, but also guide countries to define national interests within the framework of international mechanisms, thus exerting an important influence on countries' international strategic choices. In short, international mechanisms are also a variable that can affect the construction of national identity. This will raise a question worthy of further investigation. A country's attitude towards a certain international mechanism may depend more on whether the mechanism has an impact on the construction of the country's national identity. Incentive effect, especially when the country's national identity cannot obtain sufficient positive recognition from "others", the strength of the incentive function of the international mechanism may be the core consideration that determines the country's participation attitude.

2. Brazil's National Identity Perception and International Feedback

The following section briefly analyzes Brazil's national identity from the perspectives of geography, culture, economy, diplomacy, etc. Know and analyze the actual feedback of "others" or the international community on its identity recognition.

Geographical location and geopolitical environment are the basic elements that constitute the national identity. At this level, Brazil's identity recognition includes the following connotations. First, a regional power with a size advantage. Brazil is a large country with a "continental" scale. Its territory ranks fifth in the world, accounting for 48% of South America. In addition, its population ranks sixth in the world (2021). Brazil ranks fifth in the world. The basic material level has always been positioned as a "big country" identity. Second, a stable and peaceful geopolitical environment. Brazil borders 10 countries, and the number of neighboring countries is second only to China and Russia. However, as early as the beginning of the 20th century, Brazil passed all border disputes with neighboring countries have been resolved through negotiation. The last war in the region that Brazil participated in was the Paraguay War (1864-1870) 150 years ago. This not only strengthened Brazil's sense of geopolitical superiority, but also made it possible to resolving disputes through diplomatic means has become an important connotation of Brazilian diplomacy. Third, Brazil is the leader in regional affairs. It was only from the period of the Old Republic (1889-1930) that Brazil began to place more emphasis on the identity of an American country. In the half century after that, regional policies mainly revolve around "alliance with the United States" and strengthening the role of the sub-regional leader. Since the late 1960s, Brazilian diplomacy has clarified its identity as a "Third World" while emphasizing equal relations with the United States. Regional policies have also focused on gradually moving towards area one

1. Fan Rui: «A Brief Analysis of Constructivist International Mechanism Theory», published in «Consumption Guide», Issue 2, 2009, page 242. Men Honghua: «Effectiveness and Limitations of International Mechanisms», published in «American Studies» Issue 4, 2001, Page 15. World Bank statistics: [// www.worldbank.org/data/download/POP.pdf](#) [2022-08-12]. Celso Amorim: «Brazilian Foreign Policy under Lula (2003-2010): An Overview» in

International Journal of Global Warming, 2010, 3(1): 1-12.

Since the mid-to-late 1980s, the relationship between the two countries has shifted from hostile competition to cooperation and co-construction, and the Southern Common Market, with the relationship between the two countries as the pillar, has gradually become the core of South American integration. Secondly, it emphasizes the country's multilateral diplomatic tradition. In the early 20th century, Brazil began to make initial attempts in multilateral diplomacy. In addition to actively participating in the Pan-American Conference, Brazil showed a high sense of participation in the formulation of international rules. In 1907, Brazil proposed the "principle of equality of nations" at the Second Peace Conference. Opposing the practice of major powers allocating voting rights in international courts based on national strength. In the reconstruction of the international order after the two world wars, multilateralism was also fully reflected in Brazilian diplomacy. In 1919, Brazil participated in the Paris Conference as a "victorious country" Peace Conference, and positioned itself as "a country that plays a coordinating role between big countries and small countries, while safeguarding the rights of the latter, giving itself the same status as the former". After the "World War II", Brazil actively used the post-war international Opportunities to rebuild the multilateral order, becoming a founding member of important international multilateral institutions such as the United Nations and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Finally, Brazil plays an active role in regional and global conflicts, such as mediating in the Palestinian-Israeli peace talks and the Iranian nuclear negotiations. Role. Therefore, the Brazilian elite believes that Brazil's international credibility stems largely from its guiding principles of diplomacy. It is a peaceful country that abides by international law and respects the sovereignty of other countries. It chooses to resolve its disputes through diplomatic means, and encourages Other countries also do the same.

2. Brazilian diplomacy has the function of improving soft power

at the international level, and diplomatic soft power itself is an integral part of Brazil's international identity. 3. Regarding the feedback of "others" on Brazil's national identity, this article mainly focuses on three aspects: Let's briefly explain each dimension. First, the cultural and values dimension. As mentioned above, Brazil emphasizes the country's diverse "mixed-race" cultural characteristics. However, based on its European colonial history and the choice of Western countries' systems, Brazil's own culture, In the characterization of history and values, there are generic cognitions such as "Western", "Ibero-American" and "Christian", but its foreign policy reflects ambiguous characteristics, with particular emphasis on national autonomy and the uniqueness of society. Regarding this point, the feedback from the Western world is inconsistent. First of all, some people believe that "Brazil and India do not belong entirely to the West." The attitude of the two countries towards the West itself is a complex body including criticism, alienation or imitation. Secondly, Brazil's "mixed-race" culture is often interpreted by Western racist theorists as the "source of underdevelopment" and is also considered to be the reason why

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The key is to lag behind white Europe and Protestant North America. Therefore, in a system dominated by European and American cultural hegemony, Brazilian culture obtains a negative identity from the outside: Brazil is "the other West" - a poorer, The West is more confusing and has more problems. Second, the dimension of

regional representation. Brazil's status as a regional power has received relatively neutral feedback. On the one hand, Brazil's size advantage has received positive feedback from the international community. George Kennan Brazil has been called a "mega country" together with China, India, the United States, and Russia, and Brazil's advantages in territorial area and population size are generally considered to be an important basis for the country's rise. On the other hand, neighboring countries They have a negative recognition of Brazil's regional representation. Due to differences in culture, language, and historical trajectories, Latin American countries lack recognition of Brazil's regional representation. In the 1920s, when Brazil was seeking a permanent member of the League of Nations, It was opposed by some Latin American countries. At the beginning of the 21st century, Brazil's idea of applying for a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council was also unable to win broad regional consensus. These all revealed that Brazil's neighboring countries have an understanding of its regional leadership and regional representative issues. Bias. In addition, some people believe that Brazil does not integrate regionalism into its international identity like Europe. Although it interacts very frequently with neighboring countries, it does not try to achieve deep integration with neighboring countries. There are also opinions that Brazil starts from It pursues its own interests at the global level rather than at the regional level. It emphasizes that it is the "spokesperson of the Southern World" and reflects a certain "exceptionality" in Latin

America's collective identity, which makes it difficult to fulfill its regional leadership role. Third , Global System Dimension. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Brazil has been striving to gain widespread recognition from the international community as a "big country". Its relative advantages in material factors such as resources, population, and economic scale are highly recognized by the international community. Its economic development potential is generally optimistic. Goldman Sachs included Brazil in the BRICS category at the beginning of the 21st century, which fully reflected this. At the same time, major countries in the world also established strategic partners with Brazil earlier. Regarding Brazil's soft power, Joseph Nye once commented that "Brazil has great potential in soft power" Ernst &

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The "Fast-Growing Market Soft Power Index" jointly released by the Koskovo Institute for Emerging Markets in the spring of 2012 pointed out that between 2005 and 2010, Brazil was the country with the fastest improvement in soft power among emerging countries. Ranking rose from 16th to 4th. In both world wars, Brazil allied with the United States and actually participated in the war, hoping to find a more favorable position in the reconstruction of the post-war international order. However, Brazil strived to become Both efforts by the League of Nations and the permanent members of the United Nations were vetoed by major powers. After entering the 21st century, Brazil has shown a positive attitude towards the expansion of the Group of Eight, hoping to elevate Brazil's international role from a "passive obedient to rules" to a "rules follower".

In 2016, the Group of Eight launched a dialogue with five emerging developing countries. Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa were invited to participate. However, Brazil was very dissatisfied with the supporting role of developing countries in the dialogue mechanism, emphasizing that " Without equal participation in decision-making, Brazil is unwilling to participate in the G8." Therefore, from the perspective of the international system, Brazil's self-perception based on its own potential can receive positive feedback from the international system, and the vision of "seeking great power status" is The feedback received tends to be negative.

The Bolsonaro government that came into power in 2019 redefined Brazil's national identity. Influenced by far-right ideology, the Bolsonaro government particularly emphasized Brazil's Western identity in terms of values, "pure West." This is very obvious in the policy orientation of the Bolsonaro government. Affected by this, the Bolsonaro government has made significant adjustments to Brazil's diplomatic tradition, downplaying the emphasis on regional integration and giving priority to the South-South in Brazil's diplomatic tradition. Cooperation, emphasizing multilateralism and other important contents have in turn strengthened ideological diplomacy based on conservatism. Especially at the end of the then-U.S. President Trump's administration, Brazil's diplomacy had the distinctive feature of "following the United States" in multiple dimensions. However, Since Biden came to power, the diplomatic linkage between Brazil and the United States has significantly cooled down. Coupled with the Bolsonaro government's far-right ideology in domestic and foreign affairs, Brazil is facing diplomatic isolation in the Western world. Therefore, Bolsonaro The Naro government's adjustments to Brazil's national identity recognition have also not received positive recognition from other countries. To sum up, among the "other" feedback received from different dimensions of Brazil's national identity recognition, it belongs to positive recognition. There are not many elements, especially regarding the hard power factors involved in the distribution of global power in Brazil's national identity. The feedback from "others" is generally negative. This is in clear contrast with Brazil's self-perception that "should not be limited to ordinary countries"

See Zhou Zhiwei: «Brazilian Diplomatic Adjustment: An Awkward Choice under Ideology», published in «World Knowledge», Issue 6, 2019, pp. 53-55.

The collective identity perception and international feedback of the three BRICS countries

From the perspective of constructivist international relations theory, collective identity answers important questions such as "Who are we?" The confirmation of knowledge, but it also needs the confirmation of "others" or the international system. As a multilateral cooperation mechanism that started in 2006 and has continuously enriched and active cooperation, BRICS countries can undoubtedly be analyzed in terms of collective identity. Winter It is believed that collective identity is a process of mutual recognition between actors and the formation of "group consciousness". It has a completely internalized culture. Actors regard this culture and the general "other" as part of their self-perception. According to his analysis, the formation of collective identity includes four main variables: interdependence, common fate, homogeneity, and self-restraint. The first three are active or effective reasons for the formation of collective identity, and the fourth is auxiliary or permissive. Reason. Sometimes, all four variables may exist. The higher the degree of their existence, the greater the possibility of collective identity formation. However, the necessary condition for the formation of collective identity is the combination of an effective cause variable and a self-restraint variable. In addition, Wen It is also emphasized that collective identity can rarely achieve the perfect state. In most cases, the best possible state is to identify with concentric circles, that is, actors identify with other actors to varying degrees based on their identities and interests. At the same time, they strive to satisfy their own needs. Although Winter himself admits that his theoretical explanation is insufficient, and some scholars have proposed other variables to explain collective identity, this article does not intend to conduct a complete analysis of the elements of collective identity formation, but starts from the recognition of Starting from the objective fact of collective identity, we analyze the collective identity cognition of the BRICS countries, as well as the feedback from "others" or the international community. Regarding the collective identity of the BRICS countries, there are many analytical

perspectives to choose from. This article chooses the previous leaders of the BRICS countries. Text analysis perspective of the People's Summit Declaration and other related outcome documents As a normally operating multilateral cooperation mechanism, the BRICS countries hold about a hundred activities every year, especially the annual leaders' meeting where a joint declaration is issued. In addition to the BRICS In addition to cooperation with BRICS countries in planning and deployment, they also express their positions on the attributes of BRICS countries, the international system, regional and global issues. These can reflect the collective identity of BRICS countries to a certain extent, especially the relative position of BRICS countries in relation to the international system. cognition of identity

ü [US] Written by Alexander Winter, translated by Qin Yaqing: "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2014, pages 328-334 ü

The contents of the BRICS Leaders' Meeting Declaration and related outcome documents quoted in this section are all from the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China.

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First, a group of regional powers with growth potential and international influence. First of all, the BRICS countries emphasize their own growth potential advantages. The joint statement of the second BRICS leaders' meeting in 2010 pointed out that emerging markets and developing countries are important for the prosperity of the world economy. It has the potential to play a greater and more positive role in promoting world economic growth and prosperity. The 2017 Xiamen Declaration and the 2019 Brasilia Declaration clearly pointed out that the BRICS countries are the main engines of global growth. In addition, the BRICS The size of the country and other comparative advantages are also reflected in the declarations of the leaders' meetings. For example, the 2015 Ufa Declaration emphasized that "the BRICS countries are all resource-rich countries with sufficient labor force, knowledge, and technical talents." In 2019, The Brasilia Declaration pointed out that the output of the BRICS countries accounts for about 1/3 of global output. The 2020 Moscow Declaration mentioned the weight of the BRICS countries in the global economy and trade, and their share in world energy production and consumption. In 2020 Both the Moscow Declaration and the 2022 Beijing Declaration talked about the high proportion of BRICS countries in global agricultural output. Secondly, BRICS countries emphasize the regional representation of members. After South Africa was invited to participate in BRICS in 2011, BRICS countries The issue of regional representation of the BRIC countries was emphasized in the joint statement that year, stating that "five countries came together from different continents" and that cooperation was based on "the ambitious goals and strong commitment to peace, security, development and cooperation." The 2012 joint declaration further emphasized that the BRICS countries are from Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America respectively. The interactive nature across continents makes cooperation more valuable and meaningful. Finally, the BRICS countries emphasize their unique international influence. Strength. The 2011 Sanya Declaration made a relatively clear statement on the international influence of the BRICS countries, emphasizing that "the BRICS countries focus on making important contributions to the development of human society and building a more equal and just world." and other emerging countries have played an important role in safeguarding world peace, security and stability, promoting global economic growth, strengthening multilateralism, and promoting the democratization of international relations." The Samajwadi Declaration pointed out the dimension of international influence of the BRICS ¶ Fortale 2014 countries. The country has made a strong voice in promoting sustainable development, inclusive growth, financial stability, and more representative global economic governance. In 2015, the Ufa Declaration clearly stated that "enhancing the overall role of BRICS countries in international affairs" The 2016 Goa Declaration emphasized that "BRICS countries have an influential voice on the global stage." The 2017 Xiamen Declaration proposed "further enhancing the BRICS voice on the international stage."

"The voice of strength" ¶

cooperation goals¶

Second, representative groups of emerging markets and developing countries. The 2009 Yekaterinburg Joint Statement emphasized that dialogue and cooperation among BRICS countries are in the common interests of emerging market countries and developing countries. This category has been used in the declarations of subsequent leaders' meetings. Both countries have emphasized that. In addition, the BRICS countries are important representatives of emerging markets and developing countries, and they give priority to emerging markets and developing countries for cooperation. The 2011 Sanya Declaration pointed out that BRICS cooperation is inclusive and Non-confrontational and willing to strengthen ties with other countries, especially emerging and developing countries, as well as relevant international and regional organizations

The 2013 Durban Declaration emphasized that the New Development Bank aims to "raise funds for infrastructure and sustainable development projects in BRICS countries, other emerging markets and developing countries". The 2017 Xiamen Declaration proposed cooperation with emerging markets and development China has established extensive partnerships and adopted an equal and flexible approach to dialogue and cooperation with other countries, including the "BRICS+" cooperation model. The declarations of the two leaders' meetings in 2019 and 2020 both emphasized that in the G20 Under the framework of "safeguarding the interests of emerging markets and developing countries" and "promoting the interests and priorities of emerging markets and developing countries". In addition, the BRICS leaders' meeting declaration repeatedly mentioned groups of developing countries in various regions around the world. Fully reflects the BRIC Countries have an identity that belongs to emerging markets and developing countries.

Third, the coordination group of the North-South dialogue. First, in terms of global macroeconomic policy coordination, the BRICS countries require developed countries to adopt responsible macroeconomic and financial policies to minimize the spillover effects of their negative unconventional monetary policies. Pay particular attention to the adverse impact on the growth prospects of emerging economies, and call on major developed economies and emerging market economies to maintain policy dialogue and coordination under the G20, Financial Stability Board and other mechanisms. Secondly, in the sustainable development In terms of development, the BRICS countries require developed countries to fulfill their commitment of official development assistance accounting for 07% of their national income, and further increase aid, debt relief, open markets and transfer technology to developing countries. Finally, at the level of climate negotiations, the BRICS countries Emphasizing that developed countries bear historical responsibility for global climate change, they should take the lead in increasing mitigation actions and expand necessary support for developing countries in terms of funding, technology, and capacity building, and help developing countries prepare and implement mitigation measures suitable for their national conditions. At the same time, the BRICS countries have always adhered to the principles of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and respective capabilities. In addition, when it comes to the issue of equality in North-South relations, the BRICS countries have repeatedly emphasized in the declaration of the leaders' meeting that developed countries should give up "double standards" to avoid putting the interests of some countries above others. The sustainable development models of developing countries should be fully respected and ensure that developing countries enjoy necessary policy space. International cooperation must respect national sovereignty, domestic laws and regulations. Institutional framework and arrangements, etc.

Fourth, the leading group in the reform of the global governance system. Judging from the declarations of the BRICS leaders' meetings from 2009 to 2022, statements about the reform of the global governance system occupy a large space, which reflects the role of the BRICS countries in the reform of the global governance system. The global governance level has the identity recognition of a reform group. The 2010 Brasilia Joint Statement clearly stated that the BRICS countries unanimously believe that the world is undergoing major and rapid changes, highlighting the need to make corresponding changes in all areas of global governance. In 2011 The joining of South Africa in 2014 gave the BRICS countries a stronger political connotation and a clearer direction for the reform of international mechanisms and norms. In 2014

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The Fortaleza Declaration clearly emphasized that "BRICS are an important force in progressive changes to the current mechanism." Regarding the reform of the global governance system, the most complete position statement of the BRICS countries is the "BRICS" released in June 2021. Joint Statement on Strengthening and Reforming the Multilateral System", which proposed such things as "building a more equitable, just, inclusive, equal and more representative multipolar international system" and "making it (the multilateral system) more resilient and efficient. ", effective, transparent and representative" and "building a community with a shared future for mankind". It emphasizes the fundamental principles of safeguarding multilateralism, safeguarding international law, and safeguarding the central role of the United Nations in the international system. It also proposes to strengthen and reform multilateralism. The six main aspects that the system should include. In addition, in the declarations of each leaders' meeting, the BRICS countries also emphasized the core role of the G20 in global economic governance, and targeted the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Reforms at the World Trade Organization, the international monetary system, and the global climate governance system have put forward a common position. The core position is to "enhance their inclusiveness, representativeness and democracy through reform, and enhance the substance of developing countries in international affairs decision-making." participation, and promote the global governance system to be more in line with contemporary reality." Generally speaking, the BRICS countries have not only unanimously expressed the global governance views of emerging markets and developing countries, but have also become a leading group in promoting the reform of the global governance system.

The feedback from the international community on the collective identity of the BRICS countries is mainly reflected in three levels. The first level is the overall development momentum and internal cooperation efficiency of the BRICS countries. Wendt believes that self-interested identity and self-interest are the key to the formation of collective identity. If the process of forming a group threatens the realization of the individual's own needs, the individual will oppose the formation of the group. By analogy, the collective development trend and internal cooperation efficiency become important variables that affect the construction of collective identity, and to a certain extent It also affects the feedback of "others". For the evaluation of cooperation efficiency, the self-judgment of cooperative members is crucial, because this is also an important basis for "others" to judge the effectiveness of a group's collective identity. As a group originated from the economy Based on the concept of growth expectations, it is crucial for the BRICS countries to continue their economic growth advantage. Although there are differences in economic scale and economic growth performance among the BRICS countries, their overall advantages are still very obvious. First of all, in Goldman Sachs After the company proposed the concept of BRICS, the international market also proposed other countries such as "MINT" (3), "MIST" (4), "Civets" (5) and so on.

See the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: http://www.mfa.gov.cn/jqjw_674681/xgxw_674683/202205

[2022-08-18] [US] Written by Alexander Winter, translated by Qin Yaqing: « International Political Social Theory » Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House,

2014, page 350 The "Four Mint Countries" refers to the four countries of Indonesia, Mexico, Turkey and Nigeria. The "Fog Countries" refers to Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea and Turkey Four countries.

The "Six Civet Countries" refers to six countries: Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa.

Other concepts of emerging economy groups, but only the BRICS countries have truly institutionalized cooperation. This in itself shows that the BRICS countries have stronger action capabilities, and to a certain extent, the BRICS countries are among the emerging markets and developing countries. The most representative group has stronger regional representation. Secondly, the weight of the BRICS countries in the global economy has increased significantly. According to statistics from the International Monetary Fund, the total economic output of the BRICS countries (calculated on a purchasing power parity basis) is the largest in the world. The share increased from 18.77% in 2001 to 2021 and the global share in 2020 (31.16%) has exceeded the G7 in the global economy. However, the BRICS (31.03%). Although China accounts for 58.87% of the total economic output of the BRICS countries, the country as a whole still shows an obvious upward trend. Finally, the internal cooperation of the BRICS countries shows the characteristics of high efficiency. Within three years, the BRICS countries have upgraded their dialogue mechanism from foreign ministers' meetings to leaders' meetings. It only took two years for the New Development Bank and the Contingency Reserve Arrangement to be formally implemented from proposal to formal implementation. At the same time, BRICS cooperation has formed an important construction with the three core areas of political security, economy, trade and finance, and people-to-people and cultural exchanges, with dozens of professional cooperation mechanisms as a contact network, and with the important goals of promoting world economic growth, improving global governance, and promoting the democratization of international relations. Generally speaking, the BRICS countries are generally considered to be a group with greater potential, systemic importance to the world economy and regional economy, and the ability to influence global economic governance.

The second level is the effective linkage between the BRICS countries and emerging markets and developing countries. As mentioned above, the BRICS countries emphasize that they are a representative group of emerging markets and developing countries, and the degree of representativeness can be measured from It is evaluated in two dimensions: one is the institutional openness of the BRICS countries, and the other is the degree of integration of emerging markets and developing countries. Regarding the openness of the BRICS countries, there are many statements in the declarations of various leaders' meetings. For example, the 2016 Goa Declaration called on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) reform to enhance the voice and representation of the poorest members such as sub-Saharan Africa. The 2017 Xiamen Declaration emphasized support for the African Union to implement the «2063 Agenda» framework. Various plans under the BRICS. In other words, the scope of BRICS cooperation is not limited to the five member countries, but covers the development and international participation of the entire group of emerging markets and developing countries. At the same time, in order to strengthen the inclusiveness of cooperation and openness, the BRICS countries began to explore the flexible dialogue mechanism of "BRICS+" in 2013. At the same time, emerging markets and developing countries have also shown a positive attitude towards integrating into the BRICS mechanism. First of all, the New Development Bank has In 2021, it was approved to absorb the United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Bangladesh, and Egypt as new member states. Secondly, Iran and Argentina have submitted applications to the BRICS, while Egypt,

Ў ҳақда қўшимча маълумот олиш учун қўлингизни остига қўйингиз. Ў қўлимизни остига қўйингиз. Ў қўлимизни остига қўйингиз. Ў қўлимизни остига қўйингиз. Ў қўлимизни остига қўйингиз.

Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia have also expressed a positive attitude towards joining the BRICS. For example, Argentina emphasized that the BRICS is a cooperation mechanism composed of emerging economies. Cooperation is mutually beneficial and has no imposed conditions. The BRICS cooperation mechanism It is of great significance for building a more multipolar and more balanced world. The third level is the actual

results achieved by BRICS countries in promoting the reform of the global governance system. The reform of the global governance system is an important goal of BRICS cooperation, and Improving the voice and representation of emerging markets and developing countries is the core reform idea of BRICS countries. In the past 16 years, BRICS cooperation has played a practical role in promoting the reform of the global governance system in three aspects. First, the New Development Bank has become an important innovation in the existing international multilateral financial system. It is also a concrete result of the BRICS countries' reform of the international financial system. It is also a direct manifestation of the BRICS countries' "balancing Western financial and economic hegemony". Second , The BRICS countries are an important force that enables the G20 to play a central role in global economic governance. The formation of the G20's dominant position also reflects, to a certain extent, the rising power of developed countries over emerging markets and developing countries. In addition, the BRICS countries have parallel meeting arrangements during the G20 Summit, and this collective action will undoubtedly help the spread effect of the "BRICS Plan", thereby enhancing the collective role of the BRICS countries in global economic governance. Third, the BRICS countries have become the first group to benefit from the reform of global economic governance. A typical case is the quota and governance reform of the International Monetary Fund in 2010.

According to the reform plan, about 6% of the organization's shares were transferred to dynamic institutions. emerging markets and developing countries, and four BRICS countries, including China, India, Russia, and Brazil, are among the top ten shareholders, while the remaining six countries are all developed economies. This also reflects the international community's attitude toward the BRICS countries. They are positively recognized for their representativeness and relative advantages among emerging markets and developing countries. Overall, the collective

identity of the BRICS countries focuses more on measurable economic dimensions, such as economic growth expectations and expectations for global economic growth. Contribution rate, North-South economic strength comparison, the feedback received from the international community in these aspects is undoubtedly positive, especially in terms of the adjustment of shares and voting rights and the expansion of representation involved in the reform of global economic governance. The BRICS countries are the power The first batch of beneficiary groups of redistribution, which in itself reflects the international community's positive feedback on the economic influence, growth trend and international influence of the BRICS countries. At the same time, emerging market and developing

country groups not only have a positive response to the "BRICS + The dialogue mechanism reflects an active participation attitude, and some regional powers have expr

After this round of reforms, China's share ranking rose from 6th to 3rd, India rose from 11th to 8th, Russia rose from 10th to 9th, and Brazil rose from 14th to 3rd. No. 10

This also shows that the collective identity connotations of the BRICS countries, such as "representative group of emerging markets and developing countries" and "coordinating group for dialogue between North and South countries", have been widely recognized by the international community. In comparison, the international community The negative feedback to the collective identity of the BRICS countries is reflected in the differences in systems and values, the complexity of the relations between BRICS member states, etc. In fact, the 2012 Delhi Declaration clarified the BRICS concept of "openness, unity, mutual understanding and trust" In line with the principle of national dialogue, the 2017 Xiamen Declaration particularly emphasizes the BRICS spirit of "mutual respect and mutual understanding, equal treatment, solidarity and mutual assistance, openness and inclusiveness, and mutual benefit", respecting the development path chosen by each, and understanding and supporting each other's interests. It can be seen from this that Factors such as systems, values, and ideologies that affect national identity are not covered by the collective identity of the BRICS countries. Moreover, the BRICS countries have also been working hard to reduce the interference of differences in bilateral relations on BRICS cooperation. Therefore, these factors do not constitute Negation of the above-mentioned collective identity of the BRICS countries.

The Incentive Function of the Four BRICS Countries on the Construction of Brazilian National Identity

As mentioned above, the degree of positive feedback from the international community to Brazil's national identity recognition is not high. On the contrary, the collective identity recognition of the BRICS countries has received strong positive feedback from the international community. Therefore, from Brazil's From the perspective of national identity construction, the incentive function of BRICS countries can be reflected from the following three levels.

First of all, the BRICS countries have strengthened Brazil's multiple representations. In the collective identity of the BRICS countries, representation is the most core element. Its connotation includes the representation of regional powers, emerging markets and developing countries. It also emphasizes the representative group that plays a major coordinating role in North-South relations and plays a leading role in the reform of the global governance system. From the collective level of the BRICS countries, whether within the BRICS countries or among the "Other" or the category of international society, there is a strong degree of consensus on the above-mentioned representative issues. However, if Brazil is analyzed as a separate object, its representation of the representative issues in the above-mentioned categories is incomplete or insufficient. Therefore, The BRICS mechanism has an incentive effect on strengthening the representative component in the construction of Brazil's national identity. In other words, the BRICS is an incentive mechanism that contributes to the construction of Brazil's national identity. It can especially strengthen Brazil's representation at multiple levels. With regional

Taking representativeness as an example, whether it is the institutional arrangements for South Africa being invited to join the BRICS in 2011, or the current discussion on the "membership expansion" of the BRICS, regional powers are the international community's basic understanding of the BRICS members. Therefore, the BRICS countries can help Brazil resolve the embarrassing situation where its regional representation is questioned by its neighboring countries. In addition, with its advantages in economic scale and growth trends, the BRICS countries' stimulating function in building Brazil's national identity is equally obvious. From the perspective of economic scale (calculated based on purchasing

Now, they are all important tools for Brazil to expand its influence in global governance.

The BRICS countries have become an important driving force in the reform of the global governance system. Judging from the declaration of the leaders' meeting, the BRICS countries have expressed unanimous positions on almost all global and regional important and hot-spot issues. The issues involved range from the initial economic nature to The topics have expanded to include issues in many fields such as climate change, energy security, network governance, sustainable development, public health, regional conflicts, terrorism, etc. It is not difficult to understand that compared with Brazil, whose comprehensive strength is relatively average, the BRICS countries have the highest ranking in the world. The dimension and depth of participation in governance have obvious advantages. What is particularly significant is that the BRICS countries have significantly strengthened their consultation on political and security issues. This provides an important opportunity for Brazil to expand the dimension of participation in global governance and strengthen the depth of participation in global governance. Although the BRICS countries have different positions on many specific issues, the common expression based on seeking common ground while reserving differences has undoubtedly enhanced the indispensability of the BRICS countries in global governance. In this process, the BRICS countries have actually It also provides institutional incentives for Brazil to expand its participation in global governance and shape its national identity. Because of this, Brazil's position on global politics and security issues has become more consistent with that of other BRICS countries. Its position is consistent with that of other BRICS members. The two countries have shown a trend of moving closer together, changing the past situation of taking opposing positions on relevant issues.

Finally, the BRICS countries have an incentive function in increasing the recognition of Brazil's international influence. According to the theoretical logic of constructivism, the recognition of international influence is a key link in the construction of national identity, reflecting the "other" or the international community's recognition of a country. The degree of recognition of the country's self-identity. The incentive effect of the BRICS mechanism on improving the recognition of Brazil's international influence is mainly reflected in the following two aspects. First, the affirmative action system of the BRICS mechanism (especially the New Development Bank) enables Brazil to The United States enjoys equal decision-making power, which is a situation that rarely exists in the international multilateral mechanisms in which Brazil participates, including those under the American system. The dominance of the United States is reflected in all aspects. Therefore, with China and India, , Russia's equal status has enabled Brazil to gain the most successful international "marketing" from the BRICS countries. Second, the BRICS countries have become an important channel for Brazil to strive for the status of permanent members of the United Nations. "Becoming a permanent member" is the core goal of Brazil's diplomacy. At this stage, In addition to forming a four-nation group with the most vocal candidate countries, such as Japan, Germany, and India, it also actively uses the leading role of the BRICS countries in the reform of the global governance system and jointly promotes the BRICS countries with India and South Africa to become a four-nation group. Important platform calling for reform of the United Nations Security Council

Zhou Zhiwei: "Strategic Considerations and Effect Analysis of Brazil's Participation in BRICS Cooperation", published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 8, 2017, Pages 117-118

Taiwan. In the declarations of the past fourteen BRICS leaders' meetings, without exception, it was clearly emphasized that "China and Russia reaffirmed the importance they attach to Brazil, India and South Africa (South Africa has only participated in the BRICS mechanism since the third session) in international affairs. status and role, supporting its desire to play a greater role in the United Nations." Therefore, for Brazil, participating in the BRICS mechanism can not only enhance its relative influence in international affairs, but also improve its image in the world. And it will help expand Brazil's influence beyond South America.

Five conclusions

For an emerging power whose comprehensive national strength and international influence are both on the rise, the construction of national identity is a crucial issue. It not only involves the country's cognitive setting of its past, present, and future national identity, but also And it is also necessary to strive for effective positive feedback from the international community. There is no doubt that Brazil benefits from the BRICS countries in multiple dimensions. In particular, BRICS cooperation directly promotes the construction of partnerships between Brazil and emerging powers, thereby enhancing the Brazil's national autonomy has reduced its dependence on developed countries in Europe and the United States. However, with the rise of Brazil, its international strategy aims to seek a wider scope of projection, which further encourages Brazil to more actively utilize international multilateral mechanisms, especially in the Brazil has shown greater initiative in participating in multilateral mechanisms composed of major countries, such as the Group of 20, the India-Brazil-South Africa Trilateral Forum, the BRICS countries, and the four-nation group striving to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. strategic thinking

As mentioned above, there are obvious differences in the feedback results of the international community on Brazil's national identity and the collective identity of the BRICS countries. Therefore, the BRICS countries have demonstrated a significant motivating effect in the process of building Brazil's national identity, which to a certain extent helps In order to enhance the international community's positive recognition of Brazil's national identity, and for Brazil, which has relatively insufficient "hard power" but has "long-term efforts to strive for the recognition of its international influence by the international community", the BRICS countries have a positive impact on their country. The incentive effect of identity can definitely be regarded as a "political dividend" of strategic significance. For example, it strengthens Brazil's representativeness at multiple levels, enriches Brazil's participation channels in global governance, enhances the international recognition of Brazil's international influence, etc. Based on the above logic

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Editor, This article believes that the stimulating function of the BRICS countries in the construction of Brazil's national identity is the core motivation for Brazil to participate in BRICS cooperation. In fact, the Bolsonaro government, which came into power in 2019, has made some changes to Brazil's foreign policy. Substantial adjustments have been made, such as downplaying multilateralism, neglecting South-South cooperation, strengthening strategic coordination with the United States, and rejecting left-wing governments. Overall, it has presented a completely different policy orientation from cooperation with BRICS countries. At the level of multilateral cooperation, the Bolsonaro government even withdrew. The Union of South American Nations has suspended its participation in the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, withdrawn from the United Nations' Global Compact on Migration, and threatened to withdraw from the World Health Organization. However, on the issue of BRICS cooperation, the Bolsonaro government has continued the positive actions of the previous government. This especially reflects the stimulating function of the BRICS countries in the construction of Brazil's national identity. Although the Bolsonaro government has changed Brazil's pluralistic diplomatic tradition and placed more emphasis on the priority of the Western world (especially the United States), this does not mean that Brazil Abandon all multilateral mechanisms with other developing countries, such as the BRICS countries, but it is undeniable that the Bolsonaro government attaches less importance to these mechanisms. However, it needs to be emphasized that for the BRICS countries, the importance of these mechanisms has declined . Regarding the motivational effect of the construction of Brazil's national identity, the Bolsonaro government's focus is relatively narrow. It focuses more on the BRICS countries' shaping of Brazil's identity as an emerging power and a regional power with global influence, rather than emphasizing Brazil as a developing country and a regional power with global influence. Identity connotations such as the coordinator of the North-South dialogue and a force for global governance reform. In addition, considering that although the Bolsonaro government adopts a pro-Western foreign policy, its far-right, conservative domestic and foreign policies have not been fully accepted by Western developed countries. On the contrary, In terms of policies such as democracy, human rights, and the environment, the Bolsonaro government is basically diplomatically isolated in the Western world. Because of this, the role of BRICS in improving Brazil's national identity is even more critical, even to some extent. It has become an

important means for the Bolsonaro government to win recognition from the Western world. It can be seen that the core motivation for Brazil's participation in the BRICS countries is mainly reflected in the significant incentive function of the BRICS countries in the construction of Brazil's national identity. Specifically, The international community's recognition of the collective identity of the BRICS countries is higher than its recognition of Brazil's national identity. This scale effect can form a positive incentive for the construction of Brazil's national identity, and is particularly helpful in improving the international community's recognition of Brazil's national identity. Because of this, the Brazilian diplomatic community generally regards the BRICS countries as international multilateral mechanisms with higher cost-benefit ratios, and even believes that Brazil is the country that benefits more from them. According to this logical inference, Brazil participates in the BRICS The cooperative attitude among BRIC countries is sustainable and can even transcend party politics and ideological differences.

(Editor Gao Han)

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