

Introduction: Conceptualising the Global South and South-South Encounters

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The study of 'South-South relations' is of increasing interest to states, policy-makers and academics,¹ often due to a professed desire to identify ways to maximise the potential benefits of the policies and practices developed by states across the global South. Especially since the 2010s, European and North American states and diverse international agencies have recognised (arguably especially in light of the financial crises which have led to pressures on their own aid allocations) the extent to which Southern states can 'share the burden' in funding and undertaking development, assistance and protection activities. As such, United Nations (UN) agencies, International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and powerful donor states are actively promoting both the 'localisation of aid' and South-South partnerships more broadly as a means of promoting sustainable forms of human development. Following the expansion and reconfiguration in 2004 of the 'Special Unit for South-South Cooperation of the United Nations Development Programme' (SSC), the UNDP's 2013 Human Development Report 'call[ed] for new institutions which can facilitate regional integration and South-South cooperation.' The Report, entitled *The Rise of the South*, noted that 'Emerging powers in the developing world are already sources of innovative social and economic policies and are major trade, investment, and increasingly development cooperation partners for other developing countries' (2013, p. iv), before concluding the 'The South needs the North, and increasingly the North needs the South' (2013, p.2.).

Such assertions demonstrate the extent to which South-South relations cannot be viewed in isolation from historic and contemporary modes of South-North and North-South relations. Indeed, South-South relations, including different forms of South-South cooperation, are by no means new phenomena, and yet the mainstreaming of Southern-led initiatives by UN agencies and states from across Europe and North America is paradoxical in many ways. This is especially the case since South-South cooperation and its underlying principles are historically associated with the Non-Aligned Movement, and anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles around the world. The purposeful development of a South-South cooperation paradigm was, in essence, originally conceptualized as a necessary means of overcoming the exploitative nature of North-South relations in the era of decolonization, with diverse models of transnational cooperation and solidarity developed since the 1950s and 1960s; these include internationalist and socialist approaches and regional initiatives such as

Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism.

Importantly, in their chapter in this volume Thomas Muhr and Mário Luiz Neves de Azevedo make the distinction between South-South Cooperation - dating back to the 1950s and representing solidarity against imperialism -, and forms of 'triangular cooperation' and 'triangular collaboration' that have been actively promoted by Northern actors since the 1990s under neoliberalism. Indeed, neoliberal globalization and technological innovations have helped usher in transformations in the nature of political mobilization and the intensification of population mobility in the global South. Commonalities of experience across the global South have led to new forms of regional and transnational activism, a trend towards new social movements (including between women, feminists, LGBTQI and youth) and individual mobility across wide geographical areas, including for employment, education and health. There is a need to understand these new forms of cooperation to unpack whether they represent the continuation of older forms of South-South cooperation that sought to break with the dominance of the global North or a reconfiguration of North-South interactions based on links with members of diasporas situated in the North, or are being used to promote Northern 'best practice transfer' between global South countries as debated by Thomas Muhr and Mario Luiz Neves de Azevedo (this volume). These new forms of cooperation have become targets for Northern development interventions, as multilateral development agencies and aid donor countries in the global North attempt to guide the nature of the interactions through what they term 'triangular cooperation.' In this context, 'triangular cooperation/collaboration' - a development policy intervention – is viewed by critics as instrumentalizing and co-opting South-South Cooperation and hence depoliticizing potential sources of resistance to the North's neo-liberal hegemony.

Against this backdrop, it is clear that the paradoxes of contemporary attempts to promote the mobilisation of Southern states to fulfil goals delineated by Northern and Northern-led actors are indeed manifold. This is simultaneously because such efforts are antithetical to the history and foundations of South-South cooperation, and also inconsistent with the longstanding determination to develop ways of understanding and responding to and in the world that challenge, rather than reify, global structures of inequality, 'domination, exploitation, subalternization, and peripherization' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira, this volume).

Indeed, long before the institutional interest in 'engaging with', and ostensibly mobilising and co-opting actors from across the global South, rich, critical literatures have been published in diverse languages around the world, demonstrating the urgency of developing and applying theoretical and methodological frameworks that can be posited as Southern, anticolonial,

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postcolonial and/or decolonial in nature (i.e. Anzaldúa 1987, Chakrabarty 2007, Connell 2007, Grosfoguel 2011, Kwoba et al 2018, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013, Mignolo 2000, Quijano 1991, 2007, Said 1978, Smith 1999, de Souza Santos 2014, Spivak 1988, Sundberg 2014, wa Thiong'o 1986, Trinh T. Minh-ha 1989, Wynter 2003). These and other approaches have traced and advocated for diverse ways of knowing and being in a pluriversal world characterised (and constituted) by complex relationalities and unequal power relations, and equally diverse ways of resisting these inequalities - including through historical and contemporary forms of transnational solidarities.

Of course, the very term 'South' which is included not once but twice in the title of this volume, is itself a debated and diversely mobilised term, as exemplified in the different usages and definitions proposed (and critiqued) across the following chapters. For instance, a number of official, institutional taxonomies exist, including those which classify (and in turn *interpellate*) different political entities as 'being' from and of 'the South' or 'the North.' Such classifications have variously been developed on the basis of particular readings of a state's geographical location, of its relative position as a (formerly) colonised territory or colonising power, and/or of a state's current economic capacity on national and global scales.ⁱⁱ In turn, Medie and Kang define 'countries of the global South' as 'countries that have been marginalised in the international political and economic system' (2018, pp. 37-38). Indeed, Connell (2007) builds upon a long tradition of critical thinking to conceptualise the South and the North respectively through the lens of the periphery and the metropole, as categories that transcend fixed physical geographies. And of course, as stressed by Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Kenneth Tafira in this volume, such geographies have never been either static nor defined purely through reference to physical territories and demarcations: 'imperial reason and scientific racism were actively deployed in the invention of the geographical imaginaries of the Global South and the Global North.'

Through conceptualising the South and North through the lenses of the periphery and metropole, Connell argues that there are multiple souths in the world, including 'souths' (and southern voices) within powerful metropolises, as well as multiple souths within multiple peripheries. As Sujata Patel notes, it is through this conceptualisation that Connell subsequently posits that 'the category of the south allows us to evaluate the processes that permeate the non-recognition of its theories and practices in the constitution of knowledge systems and disciplines' (Patel, this volume) It enables, and requires us, to examine how, why and with what effect certain forms of knowledge and being in the world come to be interpellated and protected as 'universal' while others are excluded, derided and suppressed

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'as' knowledge or recognisable modes of being (also see Mignolo 2000, and Dabashi 2015). Indeed, in her chapter in this volume Patel follows both Connell (2007) and de Souza Santos (2014) in conceptualising 'the South' as 'a metaphor' that 'represents the embeddedness of knowledge in relations of power.'

In turn, Dominic Davies and Elleke Boehmer centralise the constitutive *relationality* of the South by drawing on Grovogu (2011, p. 177), who defines 'the term 'Global South' not as an exact geographical designation, but as 'an idea and a set of practices, attitudes, and relations' that are mobilized precisely as 'a *disavowal* of institutional and cultural practices associated with colonialism and imperialism'' (cited in Davies and Boehmer, this volume - emphasis added). Viewing the South, or souths, as being constituted by and mobilising purposeful resistance to diverse exploitative systems, demonstrates the necessity of a contrapuntal reading of, and through, the South.

As such, as Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira powerfully argue in this Handbook, 'the global South was not only invented from outside by European imperial forces but it also invented itself through resistance and solidarity building.' In this mode of analysis, the South has been constituted through a long history of unequal encounters with, and diverse forms of resistance to, different structures and entities across what can be variously designated the North, West or specific imperial and colonial powers. An analysis of the South therefore necessitates a simultaneous interrogation of the contours and nature of 'the North' or 'West', with Mignolo arguing that 'what constitutes the West more than geography is a linguistic family, a belief system and an epistemology' (2015, p. xxv, cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira, this volume).

Indeed, the acknowledgement of the importance of relationality and such mutually constitutive dynamics provides a useful bridge between these rich theoretical and conceptual engagements of, with and from 'the South' on the one hand, and empirically founded studies of the institutional interest in 'South South cooperation' as a mode of technical and political exchange for 'international development' on the other. In effect, as noted by Urvashi Aneja in this volume, diverse policies, modes of political interaction and 'responses' led by political entities across the South and the North alike 'can thus be said to exist and evolve in a mutually constitutive relationship,' rather than in isolation from one another.

An important point to make at this stage is that it is not our aim to propose a definitive definition of the South or to propose how the South should be analysed or mobilised for diverse purposes – indeed, we would argue that such an exercise would be antithetical to the very foundations of the debates we and our contributors build upon in our respective modes of research and action. Nonetheless, a common starting point for most, if not all, of the contributions in this Handbook is a rejection of conceptualizations of the South as that which is 'non-Western' or 'non-Northern'. As noted by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2015 and this volume), it is essential to continue actively resisting negative framings of the South as that which is not of or from 'the West' or 'the North' – indeed, this is partly why the (still problematic) South/North binary is often preferred over typologies such as Western and non-Western, First and Third World, or developed and un(der)developed countries, all of which 'suggest both a hierarchy and a value judgment' (Mawdsley 2012, p. 12).

In effect, as Fiddian-Qasmiyeh argues in this volume (drawing on Brigg 2002), such modes of negative framing risk 'maintaining rather than disrupting the notion that power originates from and operates through a unidirectional and intentional historical entity.' She - like other contributors to this volume addressing the relationships between theoretical, conceptual and empirical dynamics and modes of analysis, response and action -, advocates for us to 'resist the tendency to reconstitute the power of 'the North' in determining the contours of the analysis,' whilst simultaneously acknowledging the extent to which 'many Southern-led responses *are* purposefully positioned as alternatives and challenges to hegemonic, Northern-led systems.' This is, in many ways, a 'double bind' that persists in many of our studies of the world, including those of and from the South: our aim not to re-inscribe the epistemic power of the North, while simultaneously acknowledging that diverse forms of knowledge and action are precisely developed *as* counterpoints to the North.

As noted above, in tracing this brief reflection on conceptualisations of the South it is not our intention to offer a comprehensive definition of 'the South' or to posit a definitive account of Southern approaches and theories. Rather, the Handbook aims to trace the debates that have emerged about, around, through and from the South, in all its heterogeneity (and not infrequent internal contradictions), in such a way that acknowledges the ways that the South has been constructed in *relation* to, *with*, *through* but also *against* other spaces, places, times, peoples, modes of knowledge and action. Such processes are, precisely, modes of construction that resist dependence upon hegemonic frames of reference; indeed, this Handbook in many ways exemplifies the collective power that emerges when people come

together to cooperate and trace diverse 'roots and routes' (following Gilroy 2003) to knowing, being and responding to the world - all with a view to better understanding and finding more nuanced ways of responding to diverse encounters within and across the South *and* the North.

At the same time as we recognise internal heterogeneity within and across the South/souths, and advocate for more nuanced ways of understanding the South and the North that challenge hegemonic epistemologies and methodologies, Ama Biney's chapter in this volume reminds us of another important dynamic which underpins the work of most, perhaps all, of our contributors. While Biney is writing specifically about Pan-Africanism, we would argue that the approach she delineates is essential to the critical theoretical perspectives and analyses presented throughout this Handbook: 'Pan-Africanism does not aim at the external domination of other people, and, although it is a movement operating around the notion of being a race conscious movement, it is not a racist one.... In short, Pan-Africanism is not anti-white but is profoundly against all forms of oppression and the domination of African people.' While it is not our aim to unequivocally idealise or romanticise decolonial, postcolonial, anticolonial or Southern theories, or diverse historical or contemporary modes of South-South cooperation and transnational solidarity, - such processes are complex, contradictory and at times are replete of their own forms of discrimination and violence - we would nonetheless posit that this commitment to challenging and resisting all forms of oppression and domination, of all peoples, is at the core of our collective endeavours.

Aims and Structure of the Handbook

With such diverse approaches to conceptualising 'the South' (and its counterpoint, 'the North' or 'the West'), precisely how we can explore 'South-South relations' thus becomes, first, a matter of how and with what effect we 'know,' 'speak of/for/about' and (re)act in relation to different spaces, peoples and objects around the world; subsequently, it is a process of tracing material and immaterial connections across time and space, such as through the development of political solidarity and modes of resistance, and the movement of aid, trade, people, and ideas. It is with these overlapping sets of debates and imperatives in mind, that this Handbook aims to explore a broad range of questions regarding the nature and implications of conducting research in and about the global South, and of applying a 'Southern lens' to such a wide range of encounters, processes and dynamics around the world.ⁱⁱⁱ

To this end, and building upon the perspectives outlined above, the contributions in the first Part of this Handbook critically explore diverse and critical ways of conceptualising, researching and developing new forms of knowledge from and about 'the South' and 'South-South relations,' highlighting ways of resisting rather than (re)producing unequal power relations and modes of exploitation. With these modes of analysis in mind, Part Two then examines past, present and future opportunities and challenges of different models of South-South cooperation and solidarity, including internationalism, Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism. In turn, Part Three explores key debates vis-à-vis South-South cooperation in the field of international development, while Part Four analyses Southern-led responses and modes of engagement in processes of displacement, security and peace. Part Five brings the previous discussions and debates to bear on a diverse range of connections and modes of exchange, including South-South feminist activism, the position of youth in diverse transnational settings, and the migration of people (including for education and health) and of art across the South.

Part One: Conceptualising and Studying South-South Relations

The contributions in this first part of the Handbook trace multiple ways of studying, knowing and responding to a diverse range of encounters within, across and beyond the global South, whilst simultaneously delineating and critically analysing the very constitution, and contestation, of the contours and content(s) of 'the South' itself. We start from the premise that intellectual, political, social, economic and cultural dynamics are simultaneously permeated in and yet have the potential to resist and overcome diverse forms of structural inequalities and marginalisation. Indeed, we propose that it is through critical modes of analysis that are historically-situated and attentive to a multiplicity of positionalities, spatialities and directionalities of engagement that it becomes possible to more meaningfully understand, and respond to, a myriad challenges and opportunities in the 21st Century.

The seven chapters in Part One set out key theoretical, (inter)disciplinary and methodological approaches to the study both of the South and of diverse relationalities between people across and beyond the South. It opens with Sujata Patel's chapter on the prospect of developing 'global theories' of knowledge that are 'relevant, inclusive, pluralistic and diverse.' Entitled 'Sociology through the 'South' prism', Patel's chapter engages in a dynamic conversation with Raewyn Connell's field-defining *Southern Theory*, to offers key insights into the aims of and relationships between decolonial, postcolonial and indigenous perspectives to research. Throughout the chapter, Patel critically traces the tensions and potentialities of approaches

which variously aim (in the case of decolonialists) to 'create create alternate universal theories, concepts and practices moored in a non-Eurocentric episteme' and those which 'focus their gaze on the academic production of knowledge.' The latter include post-colonialists aiming to 'reconceptualise perspectives within the Northern academy' and proponents of the importance of recognizing indigenous knowledge and developing locally- and/or regionally-specific modes of analysis. Patel concludes by stressing 'a need to simultaneously combine strategies from different intellectual locations (as these have been constituted in the 19th and 20th centuries) to organize global social theories and perspectives and to communicate these across localities, regions and language groupings.' While framed around the prospect of developing inclusive forms of Sociology from the South, Patel's chapter provides invaluable insights which are relevant far beyond the remit of one particular discipline.

The second chapter, by Dominic Davies and Elleke Boehmer, echoes and builds upon Patel's discussions by focusing intently on the history and aims of postcolonial theories, both with regards to its position within Northern (and in particular Anglo-American) academia, and as a theoretical approach which is simultaneously based upon and critiques the constitution of the world into 'the west' and 'the rest'. In addition to critically tracing postcolonial conceptualisations of 'the South' (and highlighting the parallels between the ascension of both), Davies and Boehmer argue that through its commitment both to incorporating 'subaltern' voices and form of knowledge, and of resisting the structural barriers that have historically led to their exclusion, postcolonial theories are quintessentially modes of exploring and promoting South-South intellectual and political encounters. Postcolonialism, they posit, is not beholden to the Northern academy (where it maintains a 'radical' rather than an 'assimilated' position), but rather is itself constituted by a 'practice of constantly seeking to interrogate global cartographic categories and structures of power, precisely by forging links 'amongst' and 'between' others.' This means, they conclude, that 'The postcolonial aim, in other words, is for practitioners and critics to be in intellectual partnership with epistemologies grounded in 'South-South relations', sharing conceptual ground whilst also reflecting critically upon them.' Where Patel focuses primarily on sociology and the social sciences more broadly, throughout their chapter, Davies and Boehmer highlight the significance of postcolonial approaches within the field of comparative literature and the humanities. Crucially, they also centralise the importance of (self-)critical methodologies through which scholars may be able to destabilise hierarchies of power and systems of exclusion while simultaneously being within and re-constituting those same systems.

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The third chapter, by Amber Murrey, pushes us further by positing that, although a focus on Southern and postcolonial theories may enable us to 'shift the gaze' towards hitherto marginalised and excluded speakers and thinkers, they are incomplete since they do not directly tackle the colonial racial hierarchies that sustain these very processes of marginalisation and exclusion. As such, Murrey argues that it is only through a 'feminist decolonial orientation' which pivots on a critical evaluation of racial and geographical inequalities that it becomes possible to truly overturn the 'coloniality of knowledge.' Tracing historical and contemporary projects to decolonise knowledge – including the wide-spread invocation to decolonise curricula and universities tout court -, Murrey powerfully evokes the need to develop modes of both North-South and South-South collaborations and solidarities that directly counter 'an academic silencing of racial inequality in the scholarship on southern theories.' Not confronting such silencing, she argues, 'risks contributing and reconsolidating (rather than effectively challenging) the centrality of the white gaze in global critical theory.' Drawing on Mignolo (2000) and De Sousa Santos (2007), she concludes that 'Pluriversality and the ecology of knowledge are frames for imagining beyond, against and outside of oppositional North-South paradigms,' proposing that 'rather than South-South or North-South partnerships, friendship might be more fundamental for anti-racist theories from and with the South(s).'

Just as Murrey reflects on the 'politics of the mundane in the academy' - including questions such as authorship, citation patterns, the language of publication and politics of career development and everyday encounters in the academy - so too do these questions come to the fore in the following two chapters, by Sari Hanafi and Gordon Mathews.

Focusing respectively on knowledge production and collaboration in the fields of Sociology in the Middle East and North Africa and Anthropology in South Asia, Hanafi and Mathews powerfully trace the nature and limits of South-South academic relations in these regions. In his chapter, Hanafi 'provide[s] a critique of postcolonial scholars and knowledge producers that overstate the role of imperialism and generate an oppositional binary with the West', arguing that in regions such as the Middle East and North Africa it is essential to complement postcolonialism with what he refers to as a 'post-authoritarian approach.' He advocates for the development of a post-authoritarian approach as 'a political project concerned with reconstructing and reorienting local knowledge, ethics and power structures,' By focusing on 'the development and social and intellectual changes inside of the Arab world,' Hanafi argues

that a series of major challenges remain in the local and regional arena of knowledge production, including a need to more rigorously trace the relationships between social phenomena and the political economy of specific Arab states, and the multifaceted forms of self-censorship performed by scholars in the region. By highlighting the combination of a lack of academic freedom for scholars living under conditions of authoritarianism, and scholars' decisions not to prioritise production and publication of knowledge in their local language (in this case, Arabic), Hanafi in turn sets out to propose ways to develop 'not only new epistemologies but also healthy working conditions conducive to dynamic and critical research practices.'

Further analysing 'the intellectual and academic world of South-South relations,' Mathews carefully, and (self-) critically, examines the extent to which anthropology –which 'throughout the twentieth century remained, to put the matter crudely, as a discipline through which mostly rich white people studied poor black and brown people' – has taken steps to become 'increasingly global.' Through a focus on the roles of the World Council of Anthropological Associations and subsequently the World Anthropology Union, Mathews traces the development of contemporary forms of Southern and/or 'South-South' anthropologies. With contemporary anthropology 'consisting not just of the Global North studying the Global South, but rather of everyone studying everyone else,' however, Mathews notes the restrictions still faced, and at times embraced, by anthropologists from across the global South, who find that they 'must intellectually imitate the ways of the Global North in order to survive.' Echoing but transcending Hanafi's focus on local scholars and epistemologies, Mathews argues that 'for anthropology of the Global South to overcome its current Anglo-American straitjacket, it cannot only focus on the local in its own local language, but must, at least to some extent address the Global South as a whole and the world as a whole, even if the only language in which this can be done today is English.' By highlighting one of the key paradoxes underpinning such an approach – 'the language of the Global North's intellectual Anglo-American core enabling the Global South to transcend that Anglo-American core' – Mathews prompts the urgency of continuing to explore and enact ways of knowing, and writing, about the world in ways that transcend entrenched power inequalities in all areas.

With Hanafi and Mathews having set out the significance of both local and global modes of knowledge production through a particular focus on two regions, in the subsequent chapter Thomas Muhr advocates for the application of socio-spatial methodologies to help us better

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understand the particularities of and relationalities between particular 'regions' and regional projects of South-South cooperation. Muhr's chapter, which focuses on the geographies of regionalisms and cooperation in and across the Latin America-Caribbean space, enables us to revisit the question of the role of geography in demarcating particular territories as 'belonging' or 'being' of (specific parts of) the South. By proposing a socio-spatial methodology embedded within a political economy approach, Muhr brings insights from Human Geography to critique the 'methodological territorialism and methodological nationalism, through which co-existing generations of regionalisms become deterministically construed as ideologically separate, incompatible and/or conflicting projects.' Instead of fixed and static conceptualisations, Muhr centralises the importance of relational ontologies and of focusing on 'transnational processes and relations among political and social forces (state and non-state actors) in the construction and reconstruction of regions in/through space/time.' In so doing, his aim is both to highlight the 'greater commonality, interrelatedness and convergence among different regionalisms in the geographical area than is commonly assumed,' and, precisely, to propose the need to apply critical theoretical insights and critical methodologies to challenge 'mainstream' forms of knowledge.

In the final chapter in this opening Part of the Handbook, Jeanette Habashi further explores the contours, and limits of diverse ways of studying people and places situated in what is currently denominated 'the South.' As noted by all of the preceding authors, concrete attempts have long been made to challenge Western/Northern forms of knowledge, including through the development of Southern, postcolonial, decolonial and anti-racist theories, through examining the limits and opportunities of knowledge production from the South, and through setting out methodologies derived from critical theoretical standpoints. In her chapter, however, Habashi sets out 'not to find a method to decolonize research but to articulate the impossibilities for such an intention.' Through a careful articulation of the nature and implications of the continued occupation of Palestine, Habashi argues that 'the current indigenous discourse is a remnant of oppression' and that, 'in reality, decolonizing methodology creates an imaginary supremacy of an alternative research methodology that is very much seeded in traditional Western episteme.' Like Hanafi, who focuses on scholars working in authoritarian settings, Habashi's focus on the nature of knowledge production in contexts of ongoing oppression and occupation leads her to stress the complex realities faced by such scholars as 'individuals in the academy' and as 'members of the academy.' She pushes this further to acknowledge the paradoxes, both for indigenous scholars and

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proponents of decolonizing research, of 'claiming individual ownership for collective knowledge.'

In her chapter, Habashi powerfully rejects the foundation of the (re)quest for academics within and across the South, and in particular those living under conditions of oppression, to seek solutions to deeply entrenched power inequalities. She argues that 'Encouraging indigenous scholars to search for a solution is part of a colonialist ideology that maintains the illusion that we have choices and power. Therefore, any proposed research alternative from other oppressed scholars or myself is deeply intersected with colonial discourse.' This is not to negate the possibility of finding ways of resisting oppression and inequalities, but rather to recognise the nature – and histories - of diverse constraints, and to move away from individualised attempts to 'seek solutions' and rather to focus on developing collective understandings and modes of action which, through dialogue and friendship (to echo Murrey, in this volume), may lead to the constructive articulation of new research methodologies.

Together, the chapters in Part One concertedly provide pivotal entry points, and ways to read and navigate the multi-layered philosophies, ontologies and epistemologies of the South. They also remind us of the ongoing significance, and co-presence, of diverse temporalities, including the extent to which the 'postcolonial' coexists with (rather than following, or replacing) the colonial, with decolonisation being far from complete for the peoples of non-self governing territories and those peoples and territories under explicit and implicit forms of occupation and control.

Part Two: South-South Cooperation: Histories, Principles and Practices

The Handbook's second part expands upon this commitment to historically-grounded analysis by turning to specific models, approaches and principles of South-South relations, including a historically-informed introduction to notions and principles of South-South cooperation and competition, and to the Non-Aligned Movement, the Bandung Conference and the Tricontinental. Individual chapters are dedicated to key models of South-South cooperation including Internationalism, Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism. Together, these chapters trace the histories and ongoing significance of these approaches to inter- and intra-regional relations and diverse forms of mobilisations around the world, initially and persistently against global North domination and more recently for reciprocal social, economic, environmental and cultural development.

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This part of the Handbook opens with a chapter by Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Kenneth Tafira, who restate the invention of the global South in relation to the global North, before summarising the unfolding of resistance against European colonialism and economic and cultural domination through diverse approaches to South-South solidarity. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira historicise the invention of the 'geographical imaginaries' of the global South as being predicated on a paradigm of difference that began with the European Renaissance and Enlightenment. To illustrate, they evidenced the processes (military expeditions, exploitation, enslavement of non-Europeans, economic domination, and masculinized and racialized hierarchies) that promoted Europe as 'the centre of the world' and subjected the other parts of the world to 'subalternization, and peripherization.'

By documenting the histories of South-South encounters over the long duree, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira's chapter – and the Handbook as a whole - demonstrates that 'The most resilient politics in the modern world is that of transforming the world system, its global order and economic system of domination, exploitation, subalternization, and peripherization' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira, this volume). While recognizing the quest for freedom beginning with European encounters in the 15th century, they depict the Haitian Revolution of 1791 to 1804 as 'the ideal beginning of resistance and solidarity politics of self-invention'. They argue that the Revolution – the successful slave revolt in the French Caribbean colony of St Domingue - 'not only paradigmatically challenged racism, enslavement and colonialism but built solidarity among the enslaved black peoples.' Since the Haitian revolution preceded the French Revolution (1789-1799), a decolonial reading of its history would present it as the first modern revolutionary movement for emancipation and recognition of the rights of human beings in the global North, and correct its neglect in the intellectual history of the global North. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira historically situate the Haitian Revolution as 'form[ing] an important base from which to articulate resistance and black solidarity-building as part of self-invention within a context of racism, imperialism, colonialism and racial capitalism.'

This resistance is articulated in Pan-Africanism - a movement that started in the 1890s amongst the African diaspora in the global North to campaign for the liberation of African peoples worldwide from all forms of domination and for recognition of the humanity of African peoples (Adi, 2018). Pan-Africanism connected people of African-descent globally as a concept and a movement, and Biney, later in this volume, examines the ways that pan-Africanism has evolved historically with multiple definitions and tendencies, whilst still retaining its core objectives: its vision of the principles of dignity, freedom, liberation,

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equality and justice for people of African descent. These objectives seem paradoxical in the context of a Euro-North American modernity that positions its liberal values as universal.

It is with this historical context in mind that Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira can argue that 'the global South was not only invented from outside by European imperial forces but it also invented itself through resistance and solidarity building'. Crucially, as Urvashi Aneja notes in the second chapter in this Part of the Handbook, 'the principles of solidarity, sovereign equality, and mutual assistance came to define the parameters for South-South Cooperation'. By tracing the history of institutional modes of South-South Cooperation, Aneja points out that development cooperation between Southern states 'is a form of solidarity rooted in common historical experiences rather than an obligation stemming from a history of economic exploitation under colonial rule.' In their chapters, Aneja, and in turn Isaac Saney, trace the range of state-based attempts to promote solidarity based on mutuality, complementary and common colonial histories that manifested in launch of the Non-Aligned Movement at Bandung in 1955 and the Tricontinental in 1966. The latter, as Saney shows in his chapter, was an attempt to build anti-imperialist alliances across three continents (Latin America, Africa and Asia) aimed at overthrowing 'the international global order.'

It is, of course, debatable the extent to which these principles continue to be reflected in contemporary modes of South-South cooperation among new economic groupings, such as the BRICS, that have emerged with globalization, or whether these principles exist purely at the level of rhetoric. In effect, the saliency of these blocs is being questioned from several fronts, and Aneja has encouraged states such as India to 'build alliances and institutions that cut across the binary lens of the North-South divide and to find a balance between its immediate economic and strategic interests and its larger global responsibilities' (Aneja, in this volume).

Indeed, as explored by Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou in the fourth chapter in this part of the Handbook, regional groupings such as the League of Arab States, which was built upon Pan-Arabism as a discourse and a practice, have often been limited precisely by virtue of their inability to develop connections beyond their specific geopolitical region.

Mohamedou's chapter traces the development of the ideology of Pan-Arabism from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, examining the ways in which it acted as a 'mobilising force' throughout and after the 1970s, and was pursued politically through the League of Arab States. However, he notes that it ultimately persisted 'more as a sentiment

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than an actual project,' arguing that Pan-Arabism was never 'politically-viable', 'was ultimately inconclusive and remains elusive.' In so doing, Mohamedou examines the ways that Pan-Arabism 'was able to grab sporadically the imagination of Arab societies', including in a transmuted form during the so-called 2011 Arab Spring. While having been a significant force at different historical junctures, Mohamedou concludes by focusing on the limitations of Pan-Arabism, arguing that 'the most evident limitation of its manifestation as a South-South project' was Pan-Arabism's inability to 'make significant political connections beyond the Middle East and North Africa.'

Where Pan-Arabism remained, or remains focused on/within the MENA region, Pan-Africanism is intimately related to the roles and relationship within and between 'diaspora' and 'continental' Africans. As the next chapter by Ama Biney demonstrates, Pan-Africanism is 'simultaneously, a movement, idea and ideology', with its roots in the African diaspora opposition to late 19th century colonialism in Africa. Pan-Africanism has thrived on solidarity between people of African descent, as they assert their common humanity in the context of histories of racialization, white supremacy, and colonial and neo-colonial domination, and expressed through the concept of *ubuntu* - a term translated as 'I am a human being through others.' Biney points to the continued relevance of Pan-Africanism in the 21st century, as reflected in the increasingly popularity of the concept of 'global Africans,' now used to unite people of African ancestry irrespective of where they are in the world, whether in Asia, the Americas and/or Africa. Indeed, in many ways, Pan-Africanism complicates common understandings of North-South, South-North, and South-South relationships.

Part Three: South-South Cooperation: Re-viewing International Development

Building upon the preceding discussions of the history and principles of South-South Cooperation (SSC), the four chapters in Part Three examines SSC by firstly, examining key debates and examples of South-South Cooperation for development and aid, followed by three chapters focusing in on Southern approaches to the environment, climate change, and agriculture. These chapters in turn lay the foundations for, and are complemented by, the following two Parts of the Handbook which focus (in Part Four) on humanitarian settings - including those characterised by displacement, violence and conflict – and subsequently (in Part Five) on diverse forms of connections which are also frequently positioned within the remit of 'international development': feminism and gender, youth, migration, health, and education.

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This focus on South-South Cooperation for 'international development' is particularly important because Northern development trajectories have been key vehicles for the epistemological and geographical framing of the relationship between the global North and South since World War Two. In effect, the South is invariably imagined as underdeveloped, catching-up, developing or emerging. Within such a framing, international development agencies and Northern aid donors have organized and supervised tutelage for countries on the path to development: pursued relentlessly, and with limited success, such that development has been perceived (or perhaps 'recognised'?) as an ideology (Amin 1985, Crush 1995, Escobar 2011). 'International development' has been extensively criticised for being unidirectional, with aid and knowledge flowing from North to South, maintaining Southern states and societies in an unequal, supplicatory, and exploitative neo-colonial relationship that espouses global North historical trajectories as universal, desirable, and beneficial.

However, as noted by Emma Mawdsley in the first chapter in this part of the Handbook, this Northern hegemony and South-South binary, which has persisted since the 1950s, is being destabilized as the 21st century has brought profound changes in the 'geographies of wealth and poverty, inequality and precarity.' Economic transformation in some global South countries has resulted in the emergence of new global South aid donors and has unsettled the global consensus as to who are the givers and receivers, as well as altering the modalities of aid - whether development (see Mawdsley, this volume) or humanitarian (as discussed in Part Four). As a result, Northern donors have often attempted to socialize Southern donors into 'how to do development properly' (Mawdsley, this volume), a process that has typically been characterised by Northern indifference to the principles of South-South cooperation which remain 'neglected in policy and scholarly circles.' However, Mawdsley aims to 'make the case that many Northern donors have moved further 'South' than Southern partners have moved 'North.' Through her analysis of three main areas - ethical framing, poverty/growth, and aid/development finance - Mawdsley traces ways in which 'Southern actors are "socialising" the North.' In effect, while acknowledging numerous caveats - including an interrogation of what is lost from view when we continue to equate 'Southern actors' with 'Southern states' - Mawdsley highlights a number of significant ways in which Northern donors and institutions are emulating certain Southern approaches to development assistance.

Planetary transformations arising from climate change, evident in the promotion of the Anthropocene as a new human-induced geological age (Steffen et al 2011, Purdy 2015), are also forcing a rethink of the Northern development trajectory as a universal model, as well as

its future sustainability. On a practical and policy level, the discourse on the environmental impact of capitalist development illustrates the contrasting perspectives between the global North and global South (Bassey 2012). Eberhard Weber and Andreas Kopf, in the second chapter in this part of the Handbook, consider 'how the South constructs environment and climate issues as a function of development and is able to speak with a common voice, even when the South is not only internally diverse but is constantly diversifying'. The impacts, and contested discourse, of climate change pose two important challenges for the global South. First the most vulnerable communities, particularly small island states, are based in the global South and are likely to suffer disproportionately from rises in sea level and average temperatures. Indeed, in the third chapter in this part of the Handbook, Kevon Rhiney examines the significant threat of climate change to agriculture and food security in Caribbean states, to the extent that it makes climate change a national security issue in the region. Second, Weber and Kopf note that as countries in the global South have sought to develop economically and to raise their citizens' quality of life, they are increasingly arguing that global 'environmental protection can compromise their right' to follow a similar development trajectory as the global North; this is especially the case since they bear little responsibility for the current challenge of human-induced climate change. Consequently, Weber and Kopf show how assemblages of state and non-state actors in the global South, using development as leverage, have been able 'to play an increasingly important role in negotiations about the solution to environmental and climate challenges'. In addition, as Rhiney argues, addressing climate change has led to the 'forging [of] strategic and mutually beneficial partnerships and collaborations in research, technology transfer and regional advocacy.'

While these strategic state partnerships and regional alliances are vital to immediate survival, scholars have also started to reconceptualise the foundations of human-nature relationships in the context of a future affected by climate change, and to trace ways for humans to inhabit the planet without further destruction. In the fourth chapter in this Part of the Handbook, Lidia Cabral examines the way that these different development approaches play out in Brazil's provision of aid to countries across Sub-Saharan Africa. In this paradigm, the Brazilian state is seen to continue promoting the extant development model of large-scale farming, whilst 'Brazilian non-state actors have worked with their peers in Africa to contest the promotion in SSC of a model of large-scale commodity production for export markets, while demanding alternative forms of cooperation that would strengthen food sovereignty and agroecology.'

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This is a clear example that state-led South-South Cooperation does not necessarily involve a more ecologically sustainable or social justice-directed development model than that emanating from the North. Nevertheless, South-South solidarity, whether in the form of peasant and food sovereignty movements, such as *la via campesina*, or environmental and social justice movements, have created a political ecology of the global South that has challenged hegemonic global North environmental narratives about the relationship between people, development, and the environment (Bailey and Byrant 1997, Peet and Watts 2005, Sundberg 2007, Neumann 2014). Furthermore, the amplification of the need for more environmentally sustainable development arising from climate change and the threat of planetary destruction has led scholars from the global North to look carefully to the ontologies of indigenous and communities in the global South (Latour 2006, Escobar 1998) for solutions to how to live more sustainably. Indeed, unlike the hegemonic Judeo-Christian capitalist culture of the global North, many cultures in the global South have philosophical traditions that do not dichotomize the relationship between human:nature, and subject:object (Folks 2005), and thus have ecological knowledge that could operate synergistically with global environmental science.

Part Four: South-South Cooperation in Displacement, Security and Peace

In contrast to the extensive literature examining the role of South-South Cooperation in international development, Part Four aims to fill a longstanding gap of research into the actual and potential significance of South-South Cooperation in contexts of displacement, security and peace. In particular, the seven chapters in this Part develop detailed analyses of the historical and contemporary significance of Southern actors, and principles of South-South relations through 'humanitarian' contexts across the Middle East and North Africa (chapters by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Carpi), Sub-Saharan Africa (examined by Omata and Daley), China (in Reeves' chapter), the Caribbean and the Americas (explored in chapters by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Cantor and Campbell). Overall, the section considers the power imbalances redressed, reproduced and/or reconstituted through Southern-led initiatives in diverse contexts of displacement, conflict and both slow-onset and accelerated forms of socio-economic and political change.

The first chapter, by Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, examines how, why and with what effect the rich history of Southern-led responses to disaster-induced and conflict-induced displacement has been marginalized from view by analysts, policy-makers and practitioners, or, indeed delegitimised as not truly 'being' worthy of being identified as 'humanitarian' responses at

all. In particular, she draws on her research into Southern-led responses to conflict-induced displacement in the Middle East and North Africa to examine both the multiplicity of *state*-led responses undertaken within an institutional framework of South-South Cooperation (SSC) *and* community-based responses which are less clearly related to the official principles of SSC. Noting the extent to which Southern actors have often resisted, rejected and developed alternatives to the hegemonic aid regime, she then examines why, and with what effect, specific Southern actors have at times been actively mobilised by the 'international humanitarian community.' Specifically, she focuses on the proposed incorporation of Southern national and regional level actors into the international aid system, as part of the (post-2016) 'localisation of aid agenda,' while community- and neighbourhood-level responses -including those developed by refugees themselves- continue to be marginalized and excluded. By focusing on both formal and informal, and state- and community-led responses in relation to the localization of aid agenda, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh argues that exploring diverse *principles* of South-South Cooperation -rather than promoting the incorporation of specific Southern *actors* into the 'international humanitarian system' - offers a critical opportunity for studies of and responses to displacement. She concludes by highlighting the need, firstly, for further research into the diverse modalities, spatialities, directionalities, relationalities, and conceptualisations of Southern-led responses to displacement; and, secondly, of continuing to trace, resist and challenge the diverse structural barriers that prevent the development of meaningful responses that meet individual and collective needs and rights around the world.

In her chapter, Caroline Reeves then examines the long history of China's approach to state-centric philanthropy, and the early years of the Red Cross Society of China in the 1900s. In so doing, Reeves' chapter contextualizes and makes a case for the importance of developing a more nuanced understanding both of a particular approach to 'state-civic collaborative aid' and a well-established model of state-centric humanitarianism. In addition to drawing on her historical analysis to challenge the commonly-made assertion that China and other Southern humanitarian actors are 'new' or 'non-traditional' responders,^{iv} Reeves also challenges the extent to which development practitioners and humanitarians in the global North have vocally critiqued and rejected Chinese aid interventions specifically, as well as being critical of state-led responses developed by Southern political actors more broadly. Echoing the analysis developed by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Reeves stresses that humanitarians in the global North often promote a vision of humanitarianism that is dominated by the figure of the non-governmental organization (NGO) which is guided by supposedly internationally recognised and universal

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humanitarian principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence. However, Reeves (joined by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, and Carpi, both in this volume) argues that the international humanitarian system's rejection of such forms of state-led responses, on the premise that these are politically motivated rather than 'truly humanitarian,' is a fallacy – not least, this is because, under neo-liberalism, the states of the global North have increasingly funded humanitarian interventions and have even developed forms of 'military humanitarianism' (Weiss 2004).

Building upon Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's and Reeves' historically-grounded analyses of diverse forms of humanitarianism and philanthropy across different scales (also see Frost, 2017), the following two chapters focus on the roles played by international organisations – including UN agencies and regional organisations – to promote the development of international, regional and national legal frameworks to protect refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs). In the first of these, Naohiko Omata draws on his experience of having worked with the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), to develop a comparative analysis of the way that South-South Cooperation has been conceptualised in different international organisations and implemented through their assistance activities. With particular reference to West African examples, Omata argues that the applicability of SSC differs among UN organisations depending on their institutional mandates, noting the extent to which SSC is often presumed to be essential for development partnerships, but ultimately incompatible with 'humanitarian' situations. Furthermore, while South-South partnerships are increasingly being 'extensively promoted' on the international agenda to 'address common challenges facing the global South,' Omata notes that 'there is a paucity of research that systematically investigates the concept and implementation of South-South cooperation within these organisations.' His chapter sheds light precisely on the potential, but also 'the limitations and risks of over-emphasising the value of South-South cooperation in certain domains,' including in refugee protection.

Focusing more intently on regional legal frameworks for refugee protection, David Cantor in turn examines the ways that governments in Latin America and the Caribbean have worked together to proactively 'review new challenges facing refugees in the region and to define a common framework of principles, plans and programmes in response.' Building upon the 1984 *Cartagena Declaration on Refugees* – itself developed a few years after the African Unity's 1967 *Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa*, precisely aiming to fill gaps remaining within the so-called 'international' 1951 Geneva

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Convention pertaining to refugees -, Cantor notes that the processes undertaken within and across Latin America and the Caribbean 'represent an unparalleled example of regional State-based humanitarian cooperation in the refugee field.' By tracing the development – both historical and conceptual – of the post-1984 Cartagena framework, Cantor carefully delineates 'distinctive components of this unique model of humanitarian cooperation on refugees.' While acknowledging the pivotal role played by the Cartagena framework and process and this highly-visible example of inter-State cooperation on refugees, however, Cantor concludes by reflecting on the complexities and limitations of such an approach, arguing that 'its contribution to our understanding of South-South approaches is not without complexities.'

Moving away from a focus on the roles played by, and the relationship between, Southern states, regional organisations, civil society networks and key 'international' UN agencies, in the next chapter Estella Carpi examines both 'the actual' and 'imaginary' 'encounters between humanitarian providers and their [local citizen and refugee] beneficiaries' in Lebanon. Based on her long-standing ethnographic research in Beirut and Akkar, Carpi examines 'the attitudes and thinking that have characterised the Lebanese humanitarian economy during the Israel-Lebanon July 2006 war and the Syrian refugee influx into Lebanon from 2011.' In particular, she explores the tension between the humanitarian aid system's 'philanthropic spirit' as it is enacted in the South, and local (including refugee) responses to what she denominates 'Southism.' Carpi proposes Southism, 'both as a concept and a mode of analysis which indicates a structural *relationship* between different sets of providers and beneficiaries, rather than a mere act of assisting the South with a philanthropic spirit.' Inter alia, she examines how the North 'captures' the South as a key form of capital and (echoing Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's earlier chapter) constitutes the South as a space requiring 'appropriate' forms of intervention. Simultaneously, and in line with many conceptualisations of 'the South' outlined above,^v she also demonstrates how 'the Southist intent' to care for 'the South' 'partially transcends physical geographies,' including through the role of 'local' (in this context, Lebanese/Middle Eastern) humanitarian workers. Through this 'de-geographicised notion of Southism', Carpi argues that 'Southism does not merely make the global South, or Southern elements in the North, its special *place* – as [Edward] Said does with the Orient – but it is, rather, employed by Northern and Southern actors to reassert, solidify, and legitimise the Northern humanitarian presence and actions.'

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With the preceding chapters in this section having discussed responses to refugees and IDPs in particular, a related issue is how South-South Cooperation can or should function with a view to decolonising cooperation and regional governance in security, including as a challenge to traditional North-South security relations. This question is explored by the final two chapters in the section, by Yonique Campbell and Patricia Daley respectively.

Global policies relating to national and regional security (from the threat of war) have, since the second World War, been dominated by countries in the global North, especially those making up the permanent members of the UN Security Council (the U.S.A., China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom) and 10 non-permanent members which are voted in every two years. During the Cold War, decisions on whether a crisis poses a threat to regional and global security and whether to intervene militarily were dominated by ideological differences between capitalist and communist states, with countries from the global South pressured to support either position. It is in this context, including the threat of nuclear war, that the South's Non-Aligned Movement was particularly significant (see Daley in this volume). Despite this, the battlefields for the proxy wars between the superpowers took place in the independent territories of the global South. Since then, the security of the global North has dominated global security agenda and Northern military interventions in the South have tended to support the national interests of Northern countries, even after the ending of the Cold War, which some have argued has seen the re-emergence of the colonial order (Gregory 2004, Harvey 2003).

The ending of the Cold War should have provided the opportunity for South-South Cooperation on regional security governance; however, the military dominance of global North countries, and, since 2011, the West's 'war on terror,' continues to influence the security agenda of countries in the global South. In her chapter, Yonique Campbell examines the attempts by Latin American and Caribbean states to develop their autonomy away from the U.S.A.'s security paradigm - in effect to 'decolonise' cooperation and regional governance in security' through the establishment of new regional and sub-regional organizations that address security issues pertinent to the region, such as the high level of violence perpetrated by organized crime and narco-terrorism. Campbell argues that the success of South-South cooperation in the region will depend on the development of shared norms, but also consensus about the region's relationship with the U.S.A.

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Importantly, there is still considerable room for a debate as to what security actually means for the people of the global South. Peace is seen as the outcome of better security, and yet in the final chapter in this part of the Handbook, Patricia Daley shows how the mechanisms for peace have been defined by the global North since the Second World War, producing a paradigm, now commonly known as the 'liberal peace', based on militarization, liberal democracy, and neo-liberal capitalism as the only way to ensure peace. In her chapter, Daley looks at how the peace that newly-independent postcolonial states in the global South wanted in the 1950s and the 1960s differed from that of the liberal peace. Essentially, newly-independent postcolonial states sought to define a non-violent peace that focuses on development and the recognition of the humanity of people in the global South, following years of colonial exploitation and impoverishment. Cold War geopolitics, as well as economic dependency on the global North through the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and through humanitarian assistance, made it difficult for states in the global South to implement their conceptualization of peace and to take leading roles in the peace process. However, even with limited resources, initiatives, such as those taken by African states, challenge the hegemonic peace of the global North, and provide alternatives to that pushed by liberal institutions. Daley contends that despite some successes, 'South-South cooperation on peace has been largely muted, or, in fact, insufficiently researched.'

Part Five: South-South Connections

Building upon Parts Three and Four, which have addressed key challenges and trends in relation to international development and humanitarianism, the final Part of the Handbook shifts to explore in greater detail a range of forms and scales of connection touched upon throughout the previous chapters, including particular attention to the mobilization and mobility of people, ideas and objects within and across the global South.

As indicated in Parts Three and Four, North-South and South-South perspectives on and approaches to development and humanitarian initiatives are highly heterogeneous, as exemplified by the diverse perceptions and modes of engagement developed by women, feminist and LGBTIQI movements around the world. Indeed, as Fiddian-Qasmiyeh notes in her chapter, extensive critiques have by now denounced the extent to which Northern-led development *and* humanitarian policies alike 'have often been justified as being a moral imperative for Northern actors to 'save brown women from brown men' (Spivak 1993, p.93), reproducing 'them' and 'there' as inherently violent, oppressive and oppressed people and

spaces while 'we' and 'here' are positioned as democratic, free and empowered (see Abu-Lughod 2002; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2013).' In effect, scholars, practitioners and policy-makers alike have long been critiqued for universalizing Northern gender relations and for misinterpreting the nature of gender and sexual identities, and gender relations in the global South (Nayaran 1997, Oyewumi 1997, Cole 2007, Connell 2007, 2014, Daley 2015, Moltlafi 2018, Medie and Kang 2018). So too have they often misunderstood and misrepresented the diverse positions, positionalities, performances and modes of resistance developed by people across the South, including on the basis of intersecting identities (gender, race, class, age, religion, sexuality...), and in relation to diverse structures of oppression (patriarchy, misogyny, racism, heteronormativity, transphobia, (neo)colonialism...) (i.e. see Anzaldúa 1987, Basu 1995, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014, Lugones 2007, Mohanty 1984 and 2003, Moghadam 2005, Trinh T Minh-ha 1989; also see Murrey, in this volume). This includes the commonly-made assertions that repressive practices, policies and legal systems vis-à-vis gender and sexuality are inherent to 'the South,' rather than acknowledging the extent to which colonialism and neoliberalism are at the root of repressive and patriarchal legal systems that institutionalise gender inequality and violence and, for instance, criminalise same-sex relations, around many parts of the world (Abbas and Ekine 2013, Falquet et al 2010, Murray and Roscoe 1998, Rai and Waylen 2014, Radhakrishnan and Solari, 2015).

At the same time, however, Southern feminists have often been rejected from different standpoints, including through the claim that feminism is a Northern import that runs counter to local cultures, and indeed is 'seeped in and [reinforces] unequal power relations' (Medie and Kang 2018, p. 38). As Sohela Nazneen in the first chapter in this part notes, however, the preoccupation with the Northern origins of feminism and the sometime heated debates between Northern and Southern feminists, has directed attention away from the dynamic Southern regional feminist networks and alliances that have grown since at least the 1980s. Indeed, there is an extensive and long history of writing, and acting, to promote social justice for women and gender-non-conforming individuals across what is currently conceptualised as the global South. In practice, Southern activists have developed significant intellectual arguments to challenge both dominant (and dominating) voices from the North and also those within the South who seek to maintain oppressive practices (see Connell 2014, Lugones 2007, Mama 2011). Nazneen discusses the need to extend and study those spaces within the South where 'regional flows of ideas and norms take place that critically influence national movements and policy and shape regional and global initiatives', whilst recognizing that even though the North-South power relations are no longer dominant for feminists, new areas of

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tension and forms of inequalities are emerging based on resource access within the South, between diaspora and home country feminists, elite and grassroots feminists, and between nationalist feminists.

As approaches to diverse feminisms (in the plural) continue to expand, we also note the increased attention to masculinities beginning in the last decade of the 20th century (Connell 1995). As critical scholars have noted, global South masculinities have long been constituted as deviant and deviating from hegemonic white male masculinities, and development agencies have, in turn, sought to intervene across the global South to promote a particular model of 'gender relations' without attention to the colonial legacy of white male racialized patriarchal systems and militarized masculinities (Connell 2014, Daley 2008, Madlala-Routledge 2008). With young men in the global South countries perceived as possessing or being susceptible to violent masculinities, development agencies have persistently conceptualized them as a group in urgent need of modernizing influences (Cleaver 2002, Honwana and Boeck 2005, Honwana 2012). This forces the question as to whether masculinities and youth, both previously excluded from being of scholarly concern, will follow the same intellectual trajectory of feminism. Can South-South cooperation, and its concomitant principles, provide the space to challenge ongoing attempts by development institutions in the global North to define, frame, and transform Southern masculinities and the category youth?

Indeed, youth in the global South have collectively become targets of development policy interventions and are being subjected to diverse forms of 'triangular cooperation' (as outlined earlier in this introduction). Southern countries are encouraged by Northern aid donors to see youth as a problem to be solved - either a threat or an opportunity -, 'a demographic dividend' arising from having much younger population profiles than countries in the global North (UNDP/ DFID 2010, Honwana 2005). Youth have been targeted as the route to end poverty, as potential agents of economic transformation through their perceived capacity to adopt new leadership practices and technology transfers, especially digital technology, and they are being repackaged as entrepreneurial neoliberal subjects (Jeffrey et al 2008, Jeffrey and Dyson 2013, Bersaglio et al 2015, Gough and Langevang 2015). In her chapter in this part of the Handbook, Grace Mwaura shows how most forms of South-South youth cooperation are still funded by the North and yet, echoing Omata's reflections on the lack of evidence vis-à-vis the impacts and outcomes of SSC, she notes that a lack of research means that there is no 'assess[ment] of the utility of such relationships, some of which have often

existed in the form of time-bound programmes' (Mwaura, this volume). This North-South perspective also eludes the dynamics of South-South youth initiatives as promoted by countries such as China, or initiatives developed independently of states in the areas of culture, sport, transnational political activism, and education. In turn, Mwaura asks 'what is the utility of South-South relations in a context of idolized western cultures? Does 'Turning East', or in this case, 'Turning South,' imply emancipation from the North or does it signal alternative opportunities for young people to create livelihoods.'

In effect, a key area of youth policy intervention is education – a key focus for 'triangular collaboration' - where transnational migration for education has grown rapidly in the last two decades, with mobility, South-North and South-South, occurring at the same time as Southern education systems have been subjected to privatization and attempts at external governance by aid donors and the World Bank.^{vi} Thomas Muhr and Mario Luiz Neves de Azevedo, in reviewing the literature on Latin America and the Caribbean's engagement with South-South education relations, identify 'two broad camps': 'a mainstream approach, embedded in liberal and (neo)realist international relations theories; and a critical theory approach, associated with counter-dependency thinking.' However, the case studies of the Cuban originated *¡Yo, Sí Puedo!* global South literacy cooperation programme, and of BRICS-sponsored educational initiatives show that 'South-South principles of solidarity, mutual benefits and efforts of self-reliance are very much practiced', despite attempts at the national level to integrate global South countries (China, India, South Africa) into 'global North-dominated higher education markets.' Nonetheless, Muhr and de Azevedo call for greater research into the hybridity of South-South educational cooperation.

In this vein, Johanna Waters and Maggie Leung's chapter draws our attention to multi-directional trends in South-South higher education mobility and argues for a specific focus on China's bid to be 'a powerhouse in global higher education linkages,' by making China a *destination* for students, as well as *funding* higher education projects abroad, as it does in African countries. By examining China's educational cooperation with African countries, they argue that there appears to be a mix of Chinese cultural, neoliberal, and global South solidarity principles and practices informing China's educational cooperation that ought to be studied further. Beyond the state, transnational forms of educational mobility are encouraged by the private sector, and yet the motivations, experiences and aspirations of individuals, such as those in African countries, who are taking advantage of new spaces of educational

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opportunities in India, Malaysia, and other states within the continent, such as South Africa, largely remain outside the preoccupation of contemporary research.

More research might, as Muhr and de Avezedo argue, highlight the hybrid nature of Southern aspects of knowledge transfer to reveal that, whilst adopting some universalizing Northern educational practices such as higher education institutional rankings, Southerners are mobilising to reassert the 'mutual interests' and 'collective development' of Southern states as being central to their educational goals. Together, these chapters thus emphasise the difficulties of de-linking from Northern dominance under the current global economic systems, as Southern initiatives are co-opted and mainstreamed, yet they also point to examples of difference and cooperation that should be investigated further for lessons of national and collective self-reliance. Moreover, as Waters and Leung conclude, 'scholarship needs to expose the spatial and social diversity characterising contemporary international higher education, which should include a discussion of the potential epistemic pluralism that an alternative to Eurocentric knowledges might bring' to countries of the global South.

The final three chapters in the Handbook further contextualise the nature, experiences and impacts of South-South migration and mobility (Crush and Chikanda), before delving in more detail into 'medical tourism' both as a form of migration and as a mode of international cooperation (Ormond and Kaspar), and concluding with critical reflections on the important history, present and potential of South-South cultural and artistic flows and exchanges (Rojas Sotelo).

In their chapter, Jonathan Crush and Abel Chikanda indicate that South-South migration has increasingly come to the forefront of policy agendas as states and organisations have expanded their interest in the potential for migration *within the South* to promote development through different forms (including skilled labour migration, remittances, and/or horizontal modes of knowledge exchange). Indeed, as they demonstrate in their chapter, 'There is substantial evidence that globally [South-South migration] is as almost as voluminous as South-North migration, and for most origin and destination countries in the South it is by far the more important form of migration.' On the one hand, recognising the nature and significance of South-South migration can be viewed as an important corrective to Northern state and non-state discourses which depict the North as a 'magnet' for migrants from across the global South (i.e. incorrectly assuming that global migration is primarily a South-North phenomenon). This corrective could be perceived to be particularly important given that such

discourses are used by Northern states and regional organisations to justify the implementation of draconian (and often illegal) measures to prevent certain people from being able to reach the North. On the other hand, however, the increasing policy interest in South-South migration has been paralleled by concerns that Northern actors may precisely be instrumentalising and co-opting Southern people and dynamics (in this case, migrants and migration flows) to achieve the aims established and promoted by Northern states and institutions – this raises the question of whether mobilising the benefits of South-South migration is not itself emblematic of the global North's desire to keep 'Southerners' in the global South? In this way, when Northern states and institutions promote the significance of South-South migratory flows, often invoking the 'fact' that this is an important way to enhance development outcomes across the South, this can be seen as being part and parcel of Northern states' inhumane, racist and racialized systems of border and immigration control (Brachet 2016). In such a context, we return to the question posed by Biney in her chapter on Pan-Africanism - 'what reparations for the trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonialism should entail for people of African descent living in the diaspora and those living on the African continent' – as this is core to acknowledging and enacting different actors' responsibilities for a range of historical and contemporary processes and phenomena, including exploitation, occupation and oppression by colonial and neo-colonial powers alike.

With such questions in mind, Crush and Chikanda note that, in spite of increased policy focus, South-South migration and Southern diasporic constellations remain under-researched and require much more detailed and nuanced analysis. In effect, they argue that 'the near absence of South-South movement from the migration literature before the turn of the century does not mean that it had not been occurring in the past; it has and for many decades.' They continue by stressing that: 'This blind spot is indicative of the hegemony of the Northern discourse on South-North migration, which has traditionally attracted widespread attention from scholars based in the North and has been assumed to have greater developmental value relative to other migration flows.' Through analysing the bilateral migration database of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), in addition to other major sources of migration data, Crush and Chikanda take important steps to redress such gaps by tracing key trends in different forms of migration within and between different regions of the global South. Inter alia, they examine the feminization of South-South migration, and also the ways in which South-South migration has been typologised and conceptualised by different stakeholders. For instance, they note that 'the typology of South-South migration raises the issue of whether, and to what extent, these different categories of

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migrant can be classified as members of 'diasporas' – indeed, their reflection on this matter echoes many of the points made by Biney (earlier in this Handbook) vis-à-vis Pan-Africanism.

Overall, Crush and Chikanda note that future research is urgently required vis-à-vis South-South migration, and argue that this provides an opportunity to develop more nuanced analyses of the relationship between migration and development since, 'while most discussions of South-North migration focus on the positive and negative development implications for countries of origin only, it is clear that South-South migration has development consequences for *both* countries of origin and destination (Anich et al., 2014).' In this regard, a key question is the extent to which different forms of South-South migration can be viewed as having the potential to promote core principles of South-South Cooperation, such as mutual benefit, solidarity and the development of sustainable systems of 'self-reliance' within and across the South in ways that challenge structural inequalities (also see Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2015).

Indeed, the next chapter in this part of the Handbook, by Meghan Ormond and Heidi Kaspar, examines 'medical tourism' across countries of the global South as a form of South-South migration that potentially enables people to fill significant 'health gaps' that, for diverse reasons, they cannot meet in their countries of origin. In many ways complementing Muhr and de Azevedo's and Waters and Leung's earlier chapters on South-South education and scholarship programmes, Ormond and Kaspar's chapter draws on their extensive research with patients, medical providers, travel facilitators, and policy-makers across South, Central and South East Asia, and in the Caribbean. With reference to structural inequalities on global and national levels, Ormond and Kaspar note that 'widening health gaps' in the global South - between those who can and cannot afford or access appropriate medical care – have themselves been 'produced' by a combination of 'Demographic and epidemiological transitions in global South countries, on the one hand, and the neoliberalisation both of national health systems and international development aid, on the other.'

It is precisely to fill the gaps that have been created and/or widened by neoliberal health and aid policies, that medical tourism across the global South has developed as a major phenomenon, with medical tourists' 'transnational movements reflecting and fostering asymmetrical social, economic and political relations that enable actors in some countries to be in a position to address the care deficiencies of people in other countries.' Through

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detailed attention to the experiences and conceptualisations of people who have themselves sought or provided medical treatment elsewhere in the global South, Ormond and Kaspar argue that 'medical tourism reconfigures relations between and within source and destination countries' populations, by establishing novel forms of post-national market-mediated solidarities and forms of aid.' Whilst acknowledging the extent to which such arrangements may enable the development of 'bonds of social solidarity between states and their subjects', the chapter also stresses that medical tourism often takes place in ways that 'largely bypass government-to-government diplomatic and aid relations.' In line with other chapters in the Handbook which explore the diverse roles played by non-state actors – including members of local communities providing humanitarian assistance to refugees in the Middle East (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh), transnational feminist activists promoting social justice in South Asia (Nazneen), and non-state actors across Brazil and Africa working together to develop more ecologically sustainable modes of agriculture (Cabral) -, Ormond and Kaspar argue that a focus on medical tourism 'upends conventional thinking about the geography of care and solidarity.'

The final chapter in this part, and in the Handbook, provides a further critical analysis of the role and potential of collaboration and solidarity with regards to the important flows and counter-flows of ideas, people and objects. Turning his attention to the 'state of the arts of the global South,' Rojas Sotelo traces cultural and artistic flows and exchanges within, across and from the global South. Echoing the histories and debates traced throughout the Handbook, Rojas Sotelo notes that 'most of the global South... was transformed by modernity/coloniality, their experiences interconnected under global routes of exchange and diverse forms and processes of migration.' Against this historical backdrop, throughout which the arts of the South have simultaneously been 'treated as primitive, uncivilized, savage, and non-refined, but [also] as a source of inspiration for the Western Euro-North American art history,' and as objects to be collected, consumed and commercialised, Rojas Sotelo examines artistic production in/from the South with a particular focus on tropicalism, hybridity and bordering. In so doing, he highlights diverse conceptualisations of the South – including Mosquera's categorisation of 'the issue of 'Third World' or 'Art of the South' not as a geographic problem but as a problem of the geography of power (Rojas-Sotelo, 2011: 163)' -, the significance of race (and whiteness) in processes of artistic cultural production, circulation and consumption, and the development of pluriversal approaches that challenge, resist and fill gaps in existing epistemologies and ontologies, both of the North and the South. Inter alia, he highlights the extent to which 'decentered authors from the South, have been documenting how a potent cultural trialectic took place: indigenous and black artistic

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expression fertilized white modernism, just as white art forms helped shape the indigenous and black modernisms in the South.' Within the context of such trialectics and other forms of interconnections and intersections, throughout his chapter Rojas Sotelo asserts that 'the margin is where their power resides,' while also noting, with reference to bordering, that 'A *mestizo/liminal and alternative* culture has surfaced from the borders, fractures, and crevices, creating a physical and symbolic ethos expressed in the work of the Chicana intellectual Gloria Anzaldua (1988).' Indeed, Rojas Sotelo demonstrates the significance of multiple processes and directionalities of interrelatedness, whether through modes of resistance (against Northern denigration or appropriation of Southern art and artists) or collaboration (with differently positioned and situated artists and audiences). Such modes of collaboration include those showcased, created and nurtured through the Havana Bienalle which, since 1984 'has been known as 'the Tri-continental art event,' presenting artists from Latin America, Africa, and Asia, as well as Southern artists living in the North.'

Indeed, as is powerfully argued by Rojas Sotelo, and as we have aimed to demonstrate throughout the course of this Handbook, 'The stories of the peoples of the South cannot be disentangled from those of the global North, as these stories refer to the building of nation-states and the participation of the people of the South in the economies, cultures, and epistemic understanding of the world.' In effect, while acknowledging the ongoing exclusion and marginalisation of Southern art and Southern ways of knowing, being, and acting, Rojas Sotelo nonetheless concludes that 'All these prominent examples of counter flows, subaltern, situated, and localized cultural production from the South may give a hopeful picture of how the world has become more interconnected, diverse and democratic.' Advocating for the creation of more diverse and meaningfully collaborative spaces, and for the incorporation of both aesthesis ('the sensing and feeling in opposition to the pure formal in aesthetics') and 'decolonial aesthetics' (which have thus far been missing in the discourse of decoloniality), Rojas Sotelo powerfully argues that 'By reconnecting cultural and artistic production to life itself, in relational terms, by readapting ways of living, belonging, and listening to the past and present, alternative systems of governance beyond modern democracy and late capitalism are possible.' This aim is part of the overarching project that we believe the chapters in this Handbook help us better understand, and work towards.

Concluding thoughts

The idea of the global South may have arisen out of the deeply unequal and exploitation relationships that developed with peoples of the world subjected varyingly to Euro-Northern

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American imperialism. As noted by our contributors, the South may be a product of the North, but persistent resistance to Northern domination has produced spatial configurations of common experience, mutual interests and solidarities. The ending of the super-power rivalry of the Cold War and neo-liberal globalization, seeing the rise of Southern economic powerhouses, has further challenged Northern hegemony and reconfigured South-South cooperation. Consequently, and as the chapters in this Handbook demonstrate, the South can no longer be seen as an empty vessel to be filled by modernizing influences from the North, despite ongoing attempts by Northern institutions to collaborate and shape these new dynamics. To the contrary, global interactions are highly nuanced in the 21st century: flows of people, capital, and knowledge have new, complex geographies.

In the academy, the universalization of Northern knowledge and its transfer to the South has been challenged by post-colonial scholars (Chakrabarty 2007, Said 1978, Spivak 1988) and by the decolonial movement (al-Attas 2006, al-Attas and Sinha 2017, Maldonado-Torres 2006, Mignolo 2000, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013, Quijano 1991 and 2007, De Souza Santos 2014, Sundberg 2014, Wynter 2003). This is a movement that recognizes that political decolonization failed to address the coloniality of power. A decolonial approach to South-South relations thus offers opportunities for new research agendas that more explicitly address Northern conceptualizations and interpretations of Southern phenomena, and that open up the academy to new ways of thinking through Southern and indigenous approaches (Tuhiwai Smith et al 2018). It critiques assumptions about the unidirectional flow of knowledge that dominates policy frameworks; recognizes the existence of indigenous and multiple knowledge systems, and, in so doing, reveals and emphasizes the multi-directional flows of knowledge, including from the South to the North. Decoloniality further nuances South-South dynamics beyond binary and geographic assumptions, finding common ground with colonized societies and oppressed groups in the global North (Spillers 1987, Tuck and Wang 2012). Furthermore, it requires on-going attention to racial and gendered hierarchies (Spiller 1987, Lugones 2010), and sexuality (Lorde 1984, Tamale 2011, Lugones 2007), with and without the reference points coming from the global North.

Learning from the South can only occur if the Northern academy recognizes its dominance in the geopolitics of global knowledge production and the ways in which that dominance undermines and de-legitimizes knowledge produced in the global South. Critics from both the global North and South have pointed out how this imagined geography is used to legitimise knowledge produced in the global North or by Northerners on the South (Canagarajah 2002,

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Briggs and Weathers 2016, Cummings and Hoebink 2017, Medie and Kang 2018).

Decoloniality demands a de-centering of global North knowledge through opening up spaces in Northern publications and through genuine collaborations in knowledge production; it demands new forms of transnational collaboration and mutual solidarity, which, as Sundberg (2007) contends, 'encourages individuals and collectives to speak for themselves, while walking with others [to produce the] embodied experiences [that] makes alliances between differently situated actors struggling against unequally constituted geometries of power more possible' (p. 162).

The chapters in this volume all point to new research agendas that are of relevance to the study of the South and the North. One such agenda would be exploring the 'Southernisation' of development, in particular how Northern donors and institutions have adopted the discourses and modes of operation of Southern actors, but also new forms of Southern transnational solidarities and cooperation at the state and non-state levels: 'a de-geographicised notion of Southism that can better capture the complex role of international and local humanitarian workers in crisis settings, as well as the *ad hoc* relevance of nationality within [South-South co-operation]' (Carpi, this volume). For the Northern academy to remain relevant, it needs to address the silences in the histories and presents of Southern-led models of cooperation and exchange, interactions, and Southern relationalities with other Southern actors (state *and* non-state) in addition to with actors from across and within different Norths. In turn, greater attention should be paid to how Southern lenses have and must continue influencing and unsettling the Northern *academy* and institutions (see for example Tiostanova and Mignolo 2012, Daigle and Sundberg 2017, Esson et al. 2017). In essence, we must simultaneously remain alert and responsive to the potential for the mainstreaming and co-optation of Southern initiatives and approaches, whilst continuing to strive for meaningfully learning from alternative ways of being, knowing and engaging in and with the world.

From a foundational acknowledgement of the dangers of essentialist binaries such as South-North and East-West and their concomitant hierarchies and modes of exploitation, this Handbook aims to explore and set out pathways to continue redressing the long-standing exclusion of polycentric forms of knowledge, politics and practice. It is our hope that this Handbook unsettles thinking about the South and about South-South relations, and prompts new and original research agendas that serve to transform and further complicate the geographic framing of the peoples of the world for emancipatory futures in the 21st century.

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ⁱ For instance, see Bobiash (1992), Woods (2008), Six (2009), Mawdsley (2012), Amar (2012), Weiss and Abdenur (2014), Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2015), Gray and Gills (2016), Morvaridi and Hughes (2018).

ⁱⁱ Over 130 states have *defined themselves* as belonging to the Group of 77 – a quintessential South-South platform - in spite of the diversity of their ideological and geopolitical positions in the contemporary world order, their vastly divergent Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per capita income, and their rankings in the Human Development Index (for a longer discussion of the challenges and limitations of diverse modes of definition and typologies, see Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2015).

ⁱⁱⁱ Indeed, Connell notes that “‘Southern theory’ is a term I use for social thought *from* the societies of the global South. It’s not necessarily *about* the global South, though it often is. Intellectuals from colonial and postcolonial societies have also produced important analyses of global-North societies, and of worldwide structures (e.g. Raúl Prebisch and Samir Amin).” See

<http://www.raewynconnell.net/p/theory.html>, emphasis in the original.

^{iv} The term ‘non-traditional’ donor is often used to differentiate between states which are (traditional) and are not (non-traditional) members of the OECD’s Development Assistance Committee. While it is clear that they have a long history of philanthropic action, it has nonetheless often been argued that China, India, and other post-colonial donors defy the Northern development model because they occupy a *different place* in the history of colonial and post-colonial relations (ie see Six, 2009). For this reason, they are often seen as occupying a ‘dual position’ in the aid world, with their historical and contemporary global position contesting the traditional dichotomy of Southern recipients and Northern donors (ibid, p. 1110).

^v For instance, see Connell (2007), Grovogu (2011), Mignolo (2007) and Patel (this volume).

^{vi} For example, in 1997, the World Bank established its African Virtual University (<http://www.avu.org/avuwweb/en/>), promoting liberal economics departments in universities and providing training courses for Africans in Washington DC on debt management, urban violence prevention, municipal finances, and health management; in 2014, the Bank approved US\$280 million to set up Higher Education Centres of Excellence in selected universities across Africa. See <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2014/04/15/world-bank-centers-excellence-science-technology-education-africa>.