

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL FOREIGN POLICY SPEECHES

(ACPOLEX)

ACPOLEX – Climate Change

Brief methodological presentation

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1. Database of official speeches by Brazilian authorities - analysis of Brazilian foreign policy related to the climate change agenda

We started to build the database of official speeches by Brazilian authorities, mainly presidents, in 2012, and have since then constantly updated it according to the succession of presidents and the years of government. All speeches by ex-presidents are available on the website of the Library of the Presidency of the Republic, having been downloaded, organized and inserted in the speech bank of this project. Currently, the speech bank covers from José Sarney until the first year of Jair Bolsonaros government (2019). Other documents that are part of the database are the Messages to Congress that each government formulates and sends to the National Congress in order to present government policies and to account for the activities carried out. By their nature, such messages can provide important material for the research to be carried out with the help of the speech bank, particularly in the case of the Interdisciplinary Observatory on Climate Change. Table 1 presents the current panorama of the bank of the official pronouncements of Brazilian presidents. All quantified files are already inserted in NVivo 12 files.

Table 1. Quantitative update of the database of official speeches (Presidents)

President and government period	Number of speeches	Messages to Congress
José Sarney (1985-1990)	579	5
Fernando Collor (1990-1992)	98	2
Itamar Franco (1992-1994)	80	2
FHC (1995-2002)	1,504	8
Lula da Silva (2003-2010)	2,354	8
Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016)	873	6
Michel Temer (2016-2018)	407	2
Jair Bolsonaro (2019)	218	2
Total	6,113	35

Source: The ACPOLEX project (2020).

Another database of speeches was organized around ministers of foreign affairs. All the speeches made available by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty) website were downloaded, covering the period from 2001 to the most recent months. We will use such speeches to analyze how ministers deal with climate change, especially at the international level, thus allowing both individual analyzes of each minister and comparative exercises. Table 2 shows how many speeches were obtained from each minister in the period mentioned above.

Table 2. Number of speeches by each minister (2001-2020)

Minister of Foreign Affairs	Number of speeches
Celso Lafer (2001-2002)	4
Celso Amorim (2003-2010)	93
Antonio Patriota (2011-2013)	44
Luiz Figueiredo Machado (2013-2014)	9
Mauro Vieira (2015-2016)	48
José Serra (2016-2017)	22
Aloysio Nunes (2017-2018)	25
Ernesto Araújo (2019-)	22
Total	267

Source: The ACPOLEX project (2020).

To complement the collection of speeches coming from Itamaraty ministers, digital versions (in PDF) of Brazil's Foreign Policy Reviews were captured from the websites of both the ministry and the Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation (FUNAG), whose content addresses speeches (by presidents and ministers), signed acts, communiqués, notes, messages and information carried out in the field of foreign policy. 124 editions of the Foreign Policy Reviews of Brazil were captured, covering issues 01 to 124, from the period of the second quarter of 1974 (the first edition) until the first semester of 2019. The Foreign Policy Reviews, in addition to complementing the collection of speeches by MRE ministers, will also provide us with material from ministers whose speeches are not available on the MRE website. Due to the absence of some documents in the presidential and ministerial

bases, the analysis will be carried out within the files of these Reviews and its content will be added to the previous content obtained in the presidential and ministerial databases. The Reviews themselves can also be used as the main source of our analysis, if that is the objective of the research to be carried out.

The speeches of the ministers of the Environment were also captured, totaling 54 speeches in the period between 2003 and 2019. Such speeches were obtained through the website of the Ministry of the Environment, and also more specifically within INFORMMA, a website where news related to the performance of this ministry. These news items were filtered based on the search for the keyword “speech” and, after a careful search in the results, the speeches in text and audio formats were downloaded. It should be noted that in some periods of government few speeches were found in full. In some cases, there is only the news with fragments (few lines) of possible speeches made (which have not been added to the database).

Tabla 3. Number of speeches pronounced by ministers of environment under each presidential mandate (2003-2019)

Presidential mandate	Number of files
Lula da Silva	34
Dilma Rousseff	13
Michel Temer	4
Jair Bolsonaro	3
Total	54

Source: The ACPOLEX project (2020).

Throughout the website of the Ministry of the Environment and within INFORMMA database, only materials, mostly news, are available from the year 2000 onwards. We believe that giving transparency to speeches of the authorities is a recent practice and still under development by the Ministry of the Environment, differently from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Presidency of the Republic where such practice has already been institutionalized.

2. Speeches at the UN General Assembly –Brazil, China, India, Mexico, South Africa and Turkey.

The speeches made at the United Nations General Assembly were found on the UN library website. The research was carried out for six selected countries, namely: Brazil, China, Turkey, India, South Africa and Mexico. Thus, after inserting the chosen country in the search box, the website

provides the option to access the speeches made by its representative at the General Assembly, organized chronologically. It is also important to note that, despite seeking by country, the documents are made up of transcripts of all speeches given at that plenary session, including from other countries.

Table 4. Number of speeches at the UNGA by country (1946-2019)

Country	Number of files
South Africa	59
Brazil	83
China	89
India	146
Mexico	85
Turkey	102
Total	564

Source: The ACPOLEX project (2020).

The General Assembly has as its organizational norm to hold annual meetings, called sessions. Each of these sessions consists of plenary meetings, usually one a day, sometimes two. Each of the documents analyzed is composed of the speeches made in each of these plenary meetings; therefore, if a country speaks in more than one of them, it will have more documents in its database. Taking Turkey as an example, we can see that in the same year (so, in the same session) its representatives made speeches in five different plenary meetings, thus generating five documents that appear in the database for the same year. In addition, there is the case of countries that have fewer documents than the number of existing sessions, as is the case with South Africa. This was due to the fact that the country was removed from the General Assembly for some years, due to the Apartheid regime.

3. Speeches at the COPs - Brazil, China, India, Mexico, South Africa and Turkey.

In relation to the speeches given at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Conferences of the Parties, it was necessary to access the website of each of the conferences, based on the list presented on the UN Climate Change website. Each of them had a differently organized website, but in general, special attention was not given to the speeches made. Countries publish few speeches and those that are available usually come in the country's native language (an aspect that can represent certain difficulties). In addition, in the official document of the meetings, the speeches are not transcribed, there is only an indication of who held it and which

country the person who spoke belonged to. Thus, we sought to follow the same pattern of our previous research, focusing on Brazil, China, Turkey, India, South Africa and Mexico. However, due to the unavailability of speeches by the States themselves, few speeches were found. In total, 45 documents were captured, ranging from COP3 to COP24.