



## Transnationalism and Regional Processes in the Southern Cone

LACB3000 (3 Credits / 45 hours)

SIT Study Abroad Program:

Argentina: Transnationalism and Comparative Development in South America

**PLEASE NOTE:** This syllabus is representative of a typical term. Because courses develop and change over time to take advantage of unique learning opportunities, actual course content varies from semester to semester.

### Course Description

Using as a main anchor the “transnationalism” empirical and theoretical framework, this course will seek to provide students with a perspective from which to analyze different phenomena in the region that cannot be looked at within the framework of isolated national states only. In an increasing globalized world whereby institutions, goods, people, protests and agendas become ever more intertwined beyond the nation-state framework, this course seeks to analyze transnationalism from above and from below.

As a form of transnationalism from above, this course will provide students with a general overview of regional integration processes in Latin America by looking at some of its core institutions- amongst others:

- **MERCOSUR (Mercado Común del Sur):** The Southern Common Market is a process of regional integration initially established by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay which in subsequent phases have joined Venezuela and Bolivia, the latter in the process of adhesion. It aims to create a common trade and investment area through competitive integration of national economies to take advantage of international market opportunities.
- **UNASUR (Unión de Naciones Sudamericanas):** The union of South American Nations is an international organization made up of twelve countries of the South American region: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay and Venezuela. Their goal is to build a space for integration in the cultural, economic, social and political arenas, respecting the reality of each nation. Their challenge is to eliminate socioeconomic inequality, achieve social inclusion, increase citizen participation, strengthen democracy and reduce asymmetries, considering the sovereignty and independence of States.

While doing so the course will take both economic and international relations perspective, paying special attention to current transformations and development processes within Southern countries and their implications for regional integration.

This course will also explore the way in which transnational social movements agendas sharpen national and transnational politics and will use Uruguay and Brazil as major site studies where amongst others we will be looking at public policies around: Afrodescendent populations' rights, the right to the city, and other issues.

### **Learning Outcomes**

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Identify key characteristics of the political and socio-economic characteristics of the countries visited (Uruguay and Brazil).
- Demonstrate understanding of current national agendas of the countries visited and the way in which these are shaped by transnational movements' actions.
- Discuss the evolution of regional integration in Latin America and while doing so explain successes and challenges in the making.
- Apply theoretical frameworks and concepts that have been developed in terms of regional integration and transnationalism.
- Illustrate the position of Southern Cone countries in regards to other regional developments in the continent.
- Compare different regional institutions and blocs that have emerged throughout the years.
- Differentiate between different types of institutional arrangements and their evolution throughout the region.
- Characterize the unique regional integration model that has developed in the South and contrast it with other blocs.
- Appraise the benefits, advantages, and challenges of regional integration for the positioning of economic and political interests of southern cone countries.

### **Language of Instruction**

This course is taught in Spanish.

### **Pre-requisites**

None (beyond meeting language requirements to join the program)

**\*Please be aware that topics and excursions may vary to take advantage of any emerging events, to accommodate changes in our lecturers' availability, and to respect any changes that would affect student safety. Students will be notified if this occurs.**

## Course Schedule

### **Module I: Regional integration: Theoretical issues and implications for sustainable development with an application to MERCOSUR and UNASUR**

Module I will be held in Buenos Aires, with the objective of introducing students to the theories of regional integration and to discuss different forms of integration that have been attempted in South America. The seminar will have a particular emphasis on MERCOSUR's background and the evolution, outcomes, current situation, and different points of view of this process. Special attention will be given to current transformation within Southern countries and their implications for regional integration. The sessions will focus on the state of integration in the framework of global architecture and governance, overview the passage from open regionalism to a post hegemonic new regionalism, and present the challenges and opportunities for the region in the global world order.

#### Session 1: Regional Integration I (TRS 1) - The origins and characteristics of regional integration initiatives in Latin America up until the emergence of Mercosur.

Session 1 will contextualize regional integration, with basic concepts and theoretical frameworks. The class will also look at regionalism in Latin America, its background, and the past economic cooperation between Argentina and Brazil. It will then look at the emergence of MERCOSUR and its objectives.

#### Required Readings:

- Porta, F. (2011) Integración regional. En *Carpeta de trabajo*. Bernal: Universidad Virtual de Quilmes (UNQ).
  - o Read *Capítulo 1*.
  - o Read *Capítulo 8*.
- Bouzas, R. & Fanelli, J. M. (2001) *Mercosur: Integración y crecimiento*. Buenos Aires: Fundación OSDE. Retrieved from <http://www.fundacionosde.com.ar/pdf/biblioteca/Mercosur.pdf>
  - o Read *Unidad 4*.

#### Session 2: TRS 2 – Characteristics of MERCOSUR, the countries that integrate it, its challenges and opportunities

Basic economic characteristics of MERCOSUR member countries will be examined. We will also analyze the performance of the MERCOSUR bloc, macroeconomic policies, trade, investments, and productive complementation among countries, as well as asymmetries within the bloc. The class will also look at the institutional dimension of the bloc, public policies that govern the body, institutions, and mechanisms for conflict resolution. Finally, the class will examine the relations of the bloc with other countries and areas, both in terms of South-South relations and North-South relations. We will conclude with a reflection on economic and political challenges ahead.

#### Required Readings:

- Bouzas, R., Da Motta Veiga, P., & Ríos, S. (2007) Crisis y perspectivas de la integración en América del Sur. Proceedings from the ITAM y la Fundación Chávez: *Taller de Trabajo América Latina: ¿integración o fragmentación?* Mexico City. Retrieved from

<http://es.scribd.com/doc/145116369/Bouzas-Motta-Crisis-y-Perspectivas-de-la-Integracion-en-America-del-Sur>

- Ferrer, A. (2007) El éxito del MERCOSUR posible. *Revista de Economía Política*, 27(1.105), 147-156. Retrieved from <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rep/v27n1/08.pdf>
- Porta, F. (2011) Integración regional. In *Carpeta de trabajo*. Bernal: Universidad Virtual de Quilmes (UNQ).
- Saraiva, M. G. (2012) Procesos de integración de América del Sur y el papel de Brasil: Los casos del MERCOSUR y la UNASUR. *Revista CIDOB D'afers Internacionals*, (97-9), 87-100. Retrieved from [http://www.cidob.org/es/content/download/31854/515449/file/87-100\\_MIRIAM+GOMES.pdf](http://www.cidob.org/es/content/download/31854/515449/file/87-100_MIRIAM+GOMES.pdf)

### Session 3: TRS 3 - New Regionalism and global order.

The class will analyze integration processes from an international relations point of view, considering the peripheral situation of the region and the cohabitation with a global power in the hemisphere. The class will present the state of integration in the framework of global architecture and governance, and overview the passage from open regionalism to a post hegemonic regionalism, as well as challenges and opportunities for the region in the global order.

It will look at the evolution of regional integration in the region for some of the countries in the region that have shifted from neoliberal governments to post neoliberal governments. Other regional integration initiatives will be looked at such as UNASUR and Banco del Sur; CELAC, ALBA.

#### Required Readings:

- Hettne, Björn (2003) New regionalism revisited. En Söderbaum, Fredrik y Shaw, Timothy M. *Theories of New Regionalism*. New York: Palgrave. MacMillan.
- Malamud, Carlos (2009) "La crisis de la integración se juega en casa" – In *Revista Nueva Sociedad* - Nro 219 - Enero-Febrero 2009
- Pinheiro Guimarães, S. (2012) The future of Mercosur. In *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations*, 1(1), 13-22.
- Ruggirozzi, P., & Tussie, D. (Eds.). (2012). *The Rise of post-hegemonic regionalism*. Netherlands: Springer Netherlands.

### Session 4: TRS 4 - An introduction to Transnational Studies

The class will introduce the novel transnational phenomena. We will analyze five intellectual foundations for the Transnational Studies that offer a heuristically rich and compelling set of empirical, methodological, theoretical, philosophical, and practical ideas and options. We will analyze the distinctions between “transnational from below” and “transnational from above”. While doing so we will discuss the transnational dimensions of social movements.

#### Required Readings:

- Faist, Thomas (2013) Ahora que todos somos transnacionales: relevancia de la transnacionalidad para comprender las inequidades sociales. En *Migración y Desarrollo*, 11(20). México: Red Internacional de Migración y Desarrollo. pp. 67-105
- Khagram, S. & Levitt, P. (2005) Towards a Field of Transnational Studies and a Sociological

Transnationalism Research Program, En *The Transnational Studies Reader: Intersections and Innovations*, NY. London: Routledge Press.

- Guarnizo, L. & Smith, P. (1998) *Transnationalism from Below. Comparative Urban and Community Research*. New Brunswick: Transaction, Vol. 6, pp. 3-34.
- Sikkinik, Kathryn (2003) La dimensión transnacional de los movimientos sociales. En: Elizabeth Jelin (comp.) *Más allá de la nación: las escalas múltiples de los movimientos sociales*. Buenos Aires: Libros del Zorzal, pp. 301-335.

#### Session 5: TRS 5 - Political Practices and transnational citizenship in the Southern Cone

In this session we review the political practices and the transnational citizenship in many of the Southern Cone countries. We will examine transnational political engagement of migrants in local, national and global political processes. We will discuss key concepts and trends in our understanding of why, how and with what consequences migrants engage in transnational political practices like transnational networks, transnational election campaigns and cross-border voting in Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia.

#### Required Readings:

- Halpern, Gerardo (2004) Exiliar a los exiliados. Acerca del derecho al voto de los paraguayos en el exterior. En Calderón Chelius, Leticia (coord.) *Votar a distancia. La extensión de los derechos políticos a los migrantes, experiencias comparadas*. México: Instituto Mora, pp. 345-386.
- Merenson, Silvina (2013) Tras el voto Buquebus. Políticas, prácticas e interdependencias en la producción de ciudadanía transnacional. En *Desarrollo Económico*, 52 (207-208). Medellín, Colombia: Estudios Políticos, pp. 285-306.
- Schavelzon, Salvador (2012) La reelección de Evo Morales en São Paulo: análisis del día de la votación. En Jean Michel Lafleur (Ed.) *Diáspora y voto en el exterior La participación política de los emigrantes bolivianos en las elecciones de su país de origen*. Barcelona: CIDOB, pp. 111-128.

#### Session 6: TRS 6 - Environmental perceptions and transnational economic strategies in the Southern Cone

This session will examine a number of topics based on the complex links between transnational economic strategies and the environmental perceptions (attitudes, risk perception, information, and conventions). Based on several ethnographic field studies in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil, we will examine the debates, problems and conflicts that arise from neo extractivism in the region and the connections between how natural resources are used, the “importance” of the extractive industries as a key cornerstone of development policies and the actions of social movements’ protests.

#### Required Readings:

- Grass, C. & Göbel, B. (2014) Agronegocio y desigualdades socioambientales: la soja en Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay. En Barbara, G., Góngora, M. & Astrid Ulloa, M. (Eds.) *Desigualdades socioambientales en América Latina*. Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Sede Bogotá) y Berlín: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, pp. 211-254.
- Antonelli, Mirta (2009) Minería transnacional y dispositivos de intervención en la cultura. La gestión del paradigma hegemónico de la ‘minería responsable’ y el ‘desarrollo sustentable’. En Svampa, Maristella & Antonelli, Mirta (Eds.) *Minería Transnacional, Narrativas del desarrollo y resistencias sociales*.

Buenos Aires: Biblos, pp. 51-102.

- Pakkasvirta, Jussi (2010) *Fábricas de celulosa. Historias de la globalización*. Buenos Aires: La Colmena, capítulos 3, 8 y 9.

## **Module 2: Brazil: Recent socio-economic and political history, its development model, and its situation within MERCOSUR**

Module 2 will take place in Brazil, and will include a number of lectures and visits organized by our academic program coordinators on site. Brazil will be examined in its role as a BRIC country and a regional leader. While doing so we will organize visits that can be analyzed also within a transnational perspective agenda: the landless movement, indigenous communities, the right to the city, Afrodescendants in the region, amongst others. We will also discuss how Brazil political agenda links with that of other countries in the region by looking at different diverse issues such as: cash transfer programs, Human Rights Policies, amongst others

We will visit a number of sites in Brazil, including:

Landless Movement (Movimiento Sin Tierra, MST). The MST is a peasant movement that demands the right to have land. The class will participate in a tour and dialogue with the members of the settlement and camp, focused on the experience of the organization and the work of the members of the movement.

Visit to a Quilombo. In Colonial Brazil, a *quilombo* was a community organized by fugitive slaves located in inaccessible areas, which usually consisted of fewer than 100 people who survived by farming and raiding. Today, *quilombo* is a Brazilian word for a community of an afro-descendant population. The students will have the chance to ask questions to community members about different issues (such as the regularization of lands, the housing rights for people living in *quilombos*, and the current situation regarding rural and urban *quilombo* communities).

Required Readings:

- Sallum Jr., B. (2008) La especificidad del gobierno de Lula. Hegemonía liberal, desarrollismo y populismo. *Revista Nueva Sociedad*, (217), 155-171.
- Kerstenetzky, C. L. (2011) Redistribution and development? The political economy of the Bolsa Família program. *Revista Dados*, (5).
- Chaguaceda, A., & Brancaleone, C. (2010) El movimiento de los trabajadores rurales sin tierra (MST) hoy: Desafíos de la izquierda social brasileña. *Revista Argumentos*.
- Visentini, P. (2013) Brazil: The weakest link of BRICS? *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations* ;Vol II, Nro 4. Brasil: UFRGS

## **Module 3: Uruguay: recent socio-economic and political history, its development model, and its situation within MERCOSUR.**

Module 3 will take place in Uruguay. During our visits throughout the country, we will look at transnational social movements that are unique and important to the country (afrodescendants movement for example). We will also include policies implemented in the last years in the country and analyze them in the context of regional and transnational agendas. Some of the policies we will look at: discussions around the last dictatorship and current human rights policies, the legalization of abortion and the legalization of

marihuana. Finally, within the framework of a visit to MERCOSUR's headquarters we will discuss in depth its working mechanisms and some recently launched policies to involve citizenship further in regional integration discussions like for example the idea of a Parliament platform known as "Parlasur"

We will visit a number of sites in Brazil, including:

- Mercosur headquarters
- The afrodescendent movement

Required Readings:

- Midaglia C., Antía F. (2007) Una nueva síntesis? La agenda social de la izquierda uruguaya a dos años de gobierno. En: *Caderno CRH*. Salvador v. 20 n.51 p. 463 – 478- Set/Dic 2007
- Gonzalez, Luis. (1985) Transición y Restauración democrática. In: Gillespie, Charles, Louis Goodman, Juan Rial, Peter Winn, Uruguay y la democracia, T. III. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental

## Evaluation and Grading Criteria

### Description of Assignments:

Final exam: The final exam will be oral, based on a pre-established list of 12 exhaustive questions that will be handed out ahead of time so that students can prepare. Students will receive all questions at least 2 days before the exam. Students will have the chance to speak on 2 randomly chosen questions included in the list. The oral exam will be individual and students can bring their own notes to this examination.

Participation: Participation takes into consideration attendance, punctuality, attention in class, and active participation in all of the seminar activities, including classes, trips, and debates, among others. It also refers to friendly and respectful behavior by the students. The level, frequency and quality of participation will be monitored and taken into consideration when grading the student's overall performance.

### Assessment:

Final exam	60%
Written exercise	30%
Participation	10%

### Grading Scale

94-100%	A	Excellent
90-93%	A-	
87-89%	B+	
84-86%	B	Above Average
80-83%	B-	
77-79%	C+	
74-76%	C	Average
70-73%	C-	

67-69%	D+	
64-66%	D	Below Average
below 64	F	Fail

The students will be graded considering the challenges and the special circumstances that studying abroad can imply. Work given an “A” shows “excellent” performance (not just “very good”) in terms of structure and organization of assignments, analysis, argumentation and consistency, as well as providing empirical, factual, and statistical evidence.

All of the written exams should be typed and printed before being handed in. Assignments solely sent via email will not be accepted. The student should seek access to a laptop or computer at IDES and save back-ups to ensure that nothing will be lost.

### Expectations and Policies

- Show up prepared. Be on time, have your readings completed and points in mind for discussion or clarification. Complying with these elements raises the level of class discussion for everyone.
- Have assignments completed on schedule, printed, and done accordingly to the specified requirements. This will help ensure that your assignments are returned in a timely manner.
- Ask questions in class. Engage the lecturer. You should keep in mind that the lecturers are often very busy professionals who are doing us an honor by coming to speak.
- Comply with academic integrity policies.
- Respect differences of opinion. This includes the opinions of classmates, lecturers, and local constituents that you interact with during visits. You are not expected to agree with everything you hear, but you are expected to listen across difference and consider other perspectives with respect.

**Please refer to the SIT Study Abroad Student Handbook** for policies on academic integrity, ethics, warning and probation, diversity and disability, sexual harassment, and the academic appeals process.

**Disability Services:** Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Disability Services at [disabilityservices@sit.edu](mailto:disabilityservices@sit.edu) for information and support in facilitating an accessible educational experience. Additional information regarding SIT Disability Services, including a link to the online request form, can be found on the Disability Services website at <http://studyabroad.sit.edu/disabilityservices>.