

SYMPOSIUM

an old world yet to discover? european studies in the latin american southern cone

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Abstract

In spite of the strong historical links that connect Europe with South America, EU studies are underdeveloped in the latter region. This article takes stock of how European politics in general, and European integration in particular, are studied and taught in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay in order to assess such paradox and evaluate its prospects.

Keywords EU studies; Latin America; political science

The Southern Cone of Latin America reunites some of the most European-like societies in the globe, second only to the New World's British offspring. Its peoples have been shaped by European colonization first, and mass migration later. Its demographic and cultural links with the old continent are not limited to the former colonizing countries of Spain and Portugal but have expanded to encompass a mix of Italian, German and other European heritages. Furthermore, the Southern Cone countries have embarked on a process of regional integration that draws heavily on the European experience: the Common

Market of the South – Mercosur. However, the development and influence of the European Union (EU) has not pervaded academic curricula as much as it has in other world regions, such as Asia or North America. Until 2011 there was only one graduate course on EU studies, but no departments, institutes or significant programmes devoted to the study of either European integration or European politics in general.¹ As to EU programmes, there was just one Centre of Excellence and four Jean Monnet Chairs (three of which on legal studies). Additionally, sixteen Jean Monnet modules and three minor

projects have been funded ever – a very modest amount when compared to other regions. Whether under the umbrella of area studies, comparative politics or international relations, 'Europe' lacks institutionalized scholarly visibility, although this may be changing. This article takes stock of the history and present of European studies in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay in order to assess such a paradox and evaluate its prospects.

EUROPEAN INFLUENCE AND THE BUILD-UP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN SOUTH AMERICA

The development of political science in Latin America has been late and asymmetric. Even today, only a handful of countries exhibit some degree of institutionalization, meaning quality university courses, a critical mass of full-time scholars and reputable specialized publications. The group at the forefront includes Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, while Chile, Colombia and Uruguay are catching up and the rest come behind (Altman, 2006; Huneeus, 2006). Progress in the discipline has been linked to the third wave of democratization,² as this not only fostered a growing interest in politics but also allowed the return of a number of exiled scholars and encouraged the creation of departments of political science.

At the University of Buenos Aires, the largest and most prestigious in Argentina, the PS department opened only in 1985. One of the thirty-four departments nationwide, it enrolls one-third of the undergraduate students in the country. Its Uruguayan equivalent, the Political Science Institute of the *Universidad de la República*, was established in the same year and currently dominates all teaching, research and public debate. In Chile, the Institute of Political Science at the Catholic University had been created in 1969–1970, but only in 1982 did

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it offer its first B.A. course; most importantly, it launched the *Revista de Ciencia Política* in 1984, which has gradually become one of the most prestigious disciplinary journals in the Spanish language.

In Brazil, political science affirmed itself in the 1960s and 1970s as a reaction against the sociological paradigms that prevailed at the University of Sao Paulo (USP). Opposing the hegemony of European authors in sociology, two groups of pioneers decided to get scholarly training at American universities. Led by Fábio Wanderley Reis at the Federal University of Minas Gerais and Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos at the University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ), some of the soon-to-be most prominent names of Brazilian political science found refuge in foreign institutions and got funded by the Ford Foundation (Forjaz, 1997). Positivist as opposed to essayistic, *Mineira* and *Carioca* as opposed to *Paulista* and American-oriented as opposed to European-oriented: this was the matrix that, in spite of internal struggles, has shaped the discipline until today. The area of International Relations followed an independent path, as its pioneers in the 1970s were trained in History, oriented by French schools of thought, related to the Brazilian career diplomacy and clustered in the University of Brasilia. As a scientific discipline, IR only took off by the mid-1990s, as an aftermath of the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro launching the journal *Contexto Internacional* and opening a Master's programme in the previous

decade. In 2001, this university started a Ph.D. programme with a mostly foreign-trained faculty.

The history was slightly different in the Spanish-speaking countries. At the beginning, most university curricula combined American and European influences, with a slim predominance of the latter. This was due to five factors. The first one was the persistent influence of political worldviews arriving from Europe: from republicanism to nationalism through liberalism, communism and social-democracy, European thinking has always had a strong grip on the political debates of the New World. Second, most educational systems in Spanish America were shaped after the organizational model that characterizes continental Europe. Third, in most countries the founding fathers of political science drew on a mixed background, as some of them had been trained in America while others had followed graduate studies in Europe (e.g. Natalio Botana, Isidoro Cheresky, Emilio de Ipola, Francisco Delich, Liliana De Riz, Arturo Fernández, Eugenio Kvaternik, Carlos Pérez Llana and Juan Carlos Torre in Argentina; Jorge Lanzaro, Francisco Panizza and Luis Costa Bonino in Uruguay; and Oscar Godoy, Manuel Garretón, Carlos Huneeus, Roberto Durán, Ricardo Israel, Ignacio Walker and Alberto van Klaveren in Chile). Fourth, the European research agenda appeared more attractive: the experience with authoritarianism, democratization, neo-corporatism, institutional design, the welfare state and comparative party systems looked more pertinent for the epoch than a survey-based discipline, mostly non-comparative, that focused on consolidated institutions such as the American. Fifth, the ideologies that prevailed among faculty members (Marxism, social-democracy and, in Argentina, national-populism) were more open to new ideas coming from Europe than from the reviled United States, whose frequent political interventions had not raised sympathies in the region.

Just like the larger disciplines of political science and international relations, European studies arrived late in Latin America; however, unlike them, its development was virtually null until very recently. This fact is less shocking if we consider that area studies have hardly taken root in the region – apart from those focusing on Latin America itself. The study of European politics, whether domestically or regionally oriented, was limited to general courses on comparative political systems or international relations. Only sporadically was a seminar on European politics offered, even in graduate programmes devoted to the comparative study of regional integration.

The organization that could have consolidated the study of European integration was created in 1965. The Institute for Latin American Integration (INTAL), a unit of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), was envisaged as a research, consultancy and diffusion agency. Based in Buenos Aires, and under the aegis of IADB president Felipe Herrera, it launched a series of publications that were to become the most important vehicle of reflection on Latin American integration for decades: *Boletín de la Integración* (Integration Bulletin), *Revista de la Integración* (Integration Review), *Derecho de la Integración* (Integration Law), *Integración Latinoamericana* (Latin American Integration) and the still active *Integración & Comercio* (Integration & Trade). Most of the INTAL production followed the UN Economic Commission for Latin America's (CEPAL) historical-structuralist approach, a framework that included a great deal of conceptual innovations: centre-periphery relations, deterioration in the terms of trade, structural imbalance of payments, development planning and regional integration (Bielschowsky, 1998). However, INTAL provided a more pluralist environment and was influenced by events that CEPAL's founders could not have foreseen, such as

the oil shocks, the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the Global South. INTAL's dealing with integration has been done through the prism of the economy, mainly focusing on trade and investment. Remarkably, the process of European integration never became a reference for either CEPAL or INTAL.

During the first years of the democratic transition, several non-university research centres gained some prominence. CEDES, CLADE and EURAL in Argentina; CEBRAP and CEDEC in Brazil; CERC and CIEPLAN in Chile; and CIESU, CLAEH and CIEDUR in Uruguay³ were sponsored by foreign agencies and think tanks, among which were North American ones such as the American IAF, the Canadian IDRC, and the Ford, Mac Arthur and Tinker foundations but also, remarkably, the Swedish SAREC, the Spanish ICI⁴ and the German foundations Konrad Adenauer and Friedrich Ebert (Garcé, 2005; Guiñazú and Gutiérrez, 1991–1992; Huneus, 2006). However, most activities were centred around the agenda of the democratic transition, and thus even the projects related to Europe focused mostly on this issue.

In 1985, the Institute for Europe-Latin American Relations (IRELA) was established. IRELA set its headquarters in Madrid and brought together the most representative people working on both continents, including scholars, business-people and diplomats. Curiously, future Chilean deputy foreign minister Alberto van Klaveren was appointed Joint Director in representation of the Netherlands (Sepúlveda Almarza, 1986: 571). IRELA organized a number of events and produced several publications until financial mismanagement led to its closure by 2000.

In the 1990s, there were three developments that could have pushed EU studies forward. First, political science underwent a strong boost: in Argentina and Chile, newly established universities set up departments of political science, and both these new departments and the

old ones launched a massive wave of graduate programmes (Leiras *et al*, 2005; Bulcourf and D'Alessandro, 2002; Fuentes and Santana, 2005). Second, in 1991 Mercosur was founded. Bringing together Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, and taking Chile in as an associate member, it reflected the attempt by democratizing governments to emulate the path of the EU in its joint quest for democratic consolidation and economic prosperity. Finally, several European countries – led by Spain – affirmed themselves among the largest commercial partners or foreign investors after many South American states decided to privatize their public enterprises.

In retrospect, however, it is clear that the new developments did not bring about any significant advances of European studies. Again, this can be credited to five factors. First, most research centres were virtually emptied as a consequence of many scholars assuming political positions within the new democratic administrations (Huneus, 2006). Second, the normalization of democratic politics diminished the interest of foreign sponsors to fund non-university research centres, and governments opted instead for supporting public universities where the curricula were less sensitive to issues that were relevant abroad. Third, the end of the Cold War and the democratization of Central and Eastern Europe took attention and resources away from Latin America. Fourth, for most European governments Latin America ranked poorly in most emerging issues of the international agenda such as nuclear proliferation, terrorism and even migration. Fifth, the global expansion of neoliberalism promoted agendas familiar to the American rather than European research institutions, calling the attention of several Latin American scholars who responded in different ways, from rejection in the 1960s to devotion in the 1990s.

There were, however, a handful of pioneers who started to study European

integration much ahead of their time and colleagues. Félix Peña in Argentina, Sonia de Camargo in Brazil, Roberto Durán in Chile and Romeo Pérez Antón in Uruguay stood out among them.

Félix Peña, is currently a professor at the University of Tres de Febrero, and obtained a law degree in Argentina, a diploma in European Law from the Catholic University of Louvaine and a Ph.D. in law from the University of Madrid by the mid-1960s. After an early academic collaboration with Celso Lafer – a distinguished Brazilian scholar who would serve twice as foreign minister in the 1990s – he participated in the negotiations that led to the creation of Mercosur. In the 1990s, Peña first became undersecretary of economic integration and then of foreign trade, while chairing the Club Europa-Argentina and participating in several high-level Euro-Latin American networks. He currently teaches a subject on the lessons of the European experiences for Mercosur.

Unlike Peña, Sonia de Camargo did all her university studies at home. A political scientist graduate from the universities Federal of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and FLACSO⁵ in the 1970s, she has been a professor at the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro for most of her career. As long-time editor of *Contexto Internacional*, she turned the journal into the most consistent outlet in Latin America to publish articles devoted to the process of European integration and related topics. Half retired; she still teaches courses on the history of the EU, its evolution and prospects.

Roberto Durán is a professor in the Institute of Political Science at the Catholic University of Chile. He followed undergraduate studies in Switzerland (Fribourg and Geneva) and Uruguay, and graduate studies in political science in Geneva and Leuven (Belgium). He is a former president of the Chilean European Community Studies Association (ECSA-Chile), and currently teaches a subject entitled 'The International Politics of the European Union'.

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Romeo Pérez Antón is Doctor in Law and Professor at the *Universidad de la República* (Uruguay). He spent some months in Brussels as early as 1980 to study the relations of the European communities with Latin America, and has been associated with trans-Atlantic networks ever since. Like Félix Peña, he participated in several editions of the Euro-Latin American Forum, an initiative coordinated by the Lisbon-based Institute for International Strategic Studies (IEEI) under the coordination of Álvaro de Vasconcelos. He has also published pieces on EU-Mercosur relations in connection with the Institute for International Studies of the Complutense University of Madrid.

Of the four pioneers, Peña is the one who best channelled his European-related expertise into regional policy-making, whereas Camargo is the one who produced the largest scholarly output on the EU. For his part, Durán stands out as an institution-builder, as he contributed not only to consolidating the most active ECSA branch in the region but also to conferring it a political science (rather than juridical) orientation, and Pérez Antón was decisive in raising the profile of European issues in a country where the discipline of international relations never took off.

UNDERGRADUATE, GRADUATE AND RESEARCH PROGRAMMES ON EUROPE

Surprising as it may, in all the countries under study there is only one curricular (i.e. B.A., M.A. or Ph.D.) course specialized on

European studies: the Master in International Relations Europe-Latin America, offered by ... a European university! Indeed, the University of Bologna, with foreign headquarters in Buenos Aires since 1998, has organized a solid two-year programme and students are to spend one year in Argentina and the other in Italy. There are a number of seminars that focus either on comparative European politics or on EU integration and relations with Latin America, the instructors of which are all European. There is no original research on European issues being developed at the Buenos Aires branch of the university. However, there is a Jean Monnet Module and a European Centre of Excellence under the responsibility of Lorenza Sebesta, who graduated at Sciences Po (Master's degree) and the University of Florence (Ph.D.). A researcher at the European University Institute from 1989 to 1996, she has since been Jean Monnet Professor at the Forlì campus of the University of Bologna, where she created and directed a study centre on European integration: *Punto Europa*. In 2003, her professorship became *ad personam*, and she started teaching at Buenos Aires where she created another *Punto Europa*. Since 2005 she directs the journal *Puente@Europa*, which disseminates information and research on the EU. Together with Giorgio Alberti, the Italian scholar appointed as first director of the Bologna campus in Buenos Aires, she contributed to setting up the European Union-Latin America Observatory (OBREAL) in 2004.

OBREAL is a network established by twenty-six academic institutions and research centres of both regions and headquartered at the University of Barcelona. It seeks to promote exchanges between governmental, academic and social sectors in Europe and Latin America, and was created after an open call with the sponsorship of the European Commission. The Commission pointed out that the

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trans-Atlantic relationship had become closer as a result of bi-regional summits, existing association agreements and ongoing negotiations, and thus more advice was required for decision-making. OBREAL brought together institutions that were disseminated in several countries, thus facilitating their coordination and raising their visibility. Since 2008, after the discontinuation of EU funding, OBREAL refocused its tasks on project managing and incorporating new members to the network.

Apart from Bologna, the presence of European studies in Argentine university curricula is almost nil. No department in any of the largest universities has a course with Europe in its name, not even in the few postgraduate degrees devoted to regional integration. As a rare exception, the Master in International Negotiations jointly offered by FLACSO and the universities of San Andrés and Barcelona (again, a European higher education institution) stands out, in which Roberto Bouzas, Ramón Torrent and Gustavo Prada teach an introductory seminar to the EU. This course is part of a Jean Monnet Module. Notoriously, the two Master's degrees on regional integration respectively offered by the universities of Buenos Aires and Rosario, the first and second largest departments of political science in the country, do not have exclusive courses on Europe. Likewise, the two Master's programmes offered by the University of Tres de Febrero, where Félix Peña and José Paradiso lecture, include one course on Comparative

Integration Processes but none specific to Europe. Strangely enough, in the B.A. programme of the University of Buenos Aires there are standing courses on the Middle East and the Far East, but only sporadic seminars on European contemporary developments.

Although there has been an ECSA branch in Argentina since 1998, which convenes an annual meeting, it suffers from low visibility. This is due, first, to its not being located in Buenos Aires but in Rosario, quite a shortcoming in such centralized a country as Argentina; and, second, to its focus not being on political science, or at least multi-disciplinary, but mostly juridical – lawyers' stuff.⁶ The founding and current president is Miguel Ángel Ciuro Caldani. Of the eight Jean Monnet Modules ever granted to Argentine institutions, three went to universities based in Santa Fe province (Rosario and Litoral) and five to universities located in the Buenos Aires area (apart from Bologna and Tres de Febrero, they were the national University of Buenos Aires and the private University of San Andrés).

The oldest and most reputed social sciences journal in Argentina, *Desarrollo Económico*, has published merely five articles on Europe in the 196 issues edited since 1961, mostly authored by European or European-based scholars. Other relevant journals such as *POSTData* and *Revista SAAP* have published only three and two articles, respectively.

In the Uruguayan *Universidad de la República*, no programme of political science at any level includes specific courses on Europe. Yet, there is a programme on international relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences whose chair, Lincoln Bizzozero, specializes in regionalization processes and has published several pieces on EU–Mercosur relations. For its part CLAEH, a prestigious research centre and university institute, offers a Master's course on integration and Mer-

cosur (since 2011) that does not feature any course carrying Europe in its name. Pérez Antón is both the rector of CLAEH and the coordinator of the master. The only Jean Monnet module ever granted to an Uruguayan institution is in charge of Amílcar Pelaez, at the Catholic University.

European matters are notoriously missing from the agenda of the Uruguayan political science community. In the three national congresses held between 2006 and 2010, only three papers were presented that dealt with the topic, and all three were put together in the same panel. Furthermore, only one article on European politics was published in the eighteen issues of the *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, and it was authored by a Spanish professor.

Montevideo is home to the Training Centre for Regional Integration (CEFIR), an institution established in 1993 with funds from the European Commission, which was devised to support the nascent Mercosur project and to promote its relations with the EU. CEFIR has trained a number of civil servants and produced several publications. It was initially chaired by Jorge Grandi, an Argentine scholar with a European background, who contributed to foster links between CEFIR and the European Institute of Public Administration at Maastricht.

Although most degrees in political science and international relations offered by Chilean universities do not include a course on Europe at any graduation level, there are a number of specialization programmes and training courses devoted to the issue. The universities of Chile and Adolfo Ibáñez offer a joint diploma in Regional Integration studies, directed by Fernando Laiseca and Paz Milet. Albeit with a strong juridical bias, the University of Los Andes offers a diploma on Law and Institutions of the EU. The University of Concepción has a programme on European studies initially directed by Paulina Astroza, who started

directing a Jean Monnet Module in 2010 and was succeeded by Beatriz Larraín. The University Diego Portales also hosts a Jean Monnet Module chaired by Beatriz Hernández, a Spanish native who teaches European integration and international cooperation. As regards single courses, Roberto Durán lectures on EU foreign policy at the Catholic University; the University of Chile has another on European and Integration Law, which belongs in the law school and not in the political science department. In all, two Jean Monnet chairs and four JM modules have been granted to six different Chilean universities.⁷ All this notwithstanding, in the IX Congress of the Chilean Association of Political Science, held in November 2010, only one panel out of sixty-five was devoted to European Studies. In the previous one, held in 2006, the score was none in fifty.

ECSA-Chile is a professional association established in 2000 with a view to promoting and disseminating studies on international relations, with a particular emphasis on the process of European integration. Among its founding members are Iris Vittini, Alberto Riosco and career diplomats such as María Teresa Infante and Alberto Van Klaveren. It runs a mostly meagre website but acts as a focal point and source of information for those interested in European affairs, and has organized five national conferences to date. For its part, the Latin America Centre for the Relations with Europe (CELARE) is a private association founded in 1993 to strengthen links between the EU and Latin America. It is headquartered in Santiago and among its authorities are several career diplomats, many of whom have chaired Chilean embassies in the EU or in key European countries. Its profile is closer to consultancy, networking and dissemination rather than academic.

Brazilian relations with Europe require a brief historical introduction to be properly understood. At the beginning of the

twentieth century, Brazil was one of the first Latin American countries that forecasts the emergence of the United States as a world power, and thus early switched its alignment from Great Britain to the new hegemon. As a consequence of this unwritten alliance, Brazil was the only Latin American nation to fight both world wars. Although ties with most European countries were never severed, it was the relation with the rising superpower that has defined Brazil's international stance ever since. As academic concerns followed foreign policy orientation, social sciences in general and International Relations in particular focused on agendas that involved the United States rather than Europe as source of scholarly and political interest. This trend has deepened lately, as increasingly more graduate students opt to follow studies in American rather than European universities. The same trend is visible at the professional level: in a recent survey, it came up that 90 per cent of the Brazilian political scientists who held a position in a foreign university were sitting in American institutions, while the same was true for only 40 per cent of the Argentines and none of the Uruguayans (Malamud and Freidenberg, 2011).

This said, in the last two decades the top Brazilian journals in the social sciences have published several articles focused on European matters. First come the two periodicals devoted to international relations: *Contexto Internacional* has featured twenty-one articles containing 'Europ*' in the title or keywords since 1985, whereas *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* has included nineteen since 1997. Most articles that deal specifically with the EU do so from a descriptive or narrative approach rather than theoretical or explicative, and more than half develop an explicit comparison with Mercosur or other Latin American blocs – usually regarding pathways of institutionalization. A few of them are no more than literature reviews. Broader social

Table 1: Articles on European issues published in top Brazilian journals in the social sciences

Journal	Issues published since (year)	Average articles per issue	Total articles with focus on European issues
<i>Contexto Internacional</i>	65 (1985)	6	21
<i>Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional</i>	28 (1997)	9	19
<i>Lua Nova</i>	40 (1997)	7	6
<i>Dados</i>	54 (1996)	7	3
<i>Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais</i>	40 (1997)	9	1

Source: Data retrieved from the *Scientific Electronic Online Library – Scielo Brazil* (<http://www.scielo.br/>) and *Contexto Internacional* (<http://publique.rdc.puc-rio.br/contextointernacional/>) in December 2010.

science journals also have granted some slots to European issues: *Lua Nova* published six articles, *Dados* three and *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* one since mid-1990s (see Table 1 for full references). The most frequent authors have been Sonia de Camargo, Marcelo de Almeida Medeiros, Miriam Saraiva, Estêvão de Resende Martins and Ana Paula Tostes, all of whom have published at least two pieces.

Camargo and Tostes earned their doctoral degrees from Brazilian universities, although the latter worked abroad (at Michigan State University) until 2011, when she was hired by the State University of Rio de Janeiro. The remaining authors were trained in Europe: Marcelo de Almeida Medeiros holds a Ph.D. from Sciences Po, Grenoble, and is a professor at the Federal University of Pernambuco; Miriam Saraiva holds a Ph.D. from the Complutense University of Madrid and is a professor at the State University of Rio de Janeiro; and Estêvão de Resende Martins holds a Ph.D. from Munich University and is a professor at the University of Brasília. More recently, Elena Lazarou has been hired by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation at Rio de Janeiro to start a centre on European studies. Lazarou is a Greek citizen with a Ph.D. from Cambridge

University, and her research interests and institutional mission may contribute to the consolidation of a Brazil-based scholarly community devoted to the study of Europe. So far, only two Jean Monnet chairs and three JM modules have been granted to Brazilian institutions, and all but one of them are devoted to legal studies.

Considering the region as a whole, in the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP) congress that took place in Buenos Aires in July 2010 just eight papers of 1,230 dealt with European matters, though the majority focused on national and comparative politics rather than on Europe at large.

Significantly, the Europe and Latin America Section (ELAS) of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA, the world's largest association dedicated to study of the region) has been a forum of active participation for Southern Cone scholars: Andrés Malamud, Carlos Quenan and Miriam Saraiva have alternated as members of its executive committee since 2003. ELAS has sponsored two panels in every LASA congress since then, one of them focusing on European–Latin American relations and the other on comparative political processes such as regional integration or populism.

PROSPECTS

Although the EU is an unavoidable reference when studying or promoting regional integration in Latin America, it has not established itself as an independent object of study. Very few academic institutions have developed research centres or university degrees that deal with EU studies in particular or European politics in general, and the European Commission has historically funded trans-Atlantic networks rather than country-based programmes such as Jean Monnet Chairs or Centres of Excellence – which are very rare in the region – or Jean Monnet Modules. A change can be underway though, as an Institute of European Studies (IEE) has been established in Brazil in 2011 after a public call by the Commission. Most of the best Brazilian universities put together nation-wide networks to bid for the three million euros offered by the EU to fund the IEE. Although a proposal coordinated by the University of Brasilia and seconded by top Rio de Janeiro institutions initially seemed to take the lead, the project was finally adjudicated to a consortium of eight institutions reunited around the three state universities of Sao Paulo and coordinated by the largest of them, the USP. The other five members are all federal universities (Santa Catarina, Goiás, Minas Gerais, Piauí and Pará). The IEE is set to develop research, training and outreach activities devoted to Europe, including the establishment of the first doctoral programme in South America on European studies, and to help disseminate the 'European vision' of the world. Launched in November 2010, it may become a watershed regarding EU studies in Latin America – or just another disappointment, just like IRELA and OBREAL before. This attempt, however, could attract more attention by the Commission, as the IEE is framed within the bilateral strategic partnerships that the EU has nurtured

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with Brazil and other rising powers. Other existing cooperation instruments such as Jean Monnet actions, Erasmus Mundus, ALBAN and ALFA programmes,⁸ and EU-Mercosur study centres could help to create a critical mass, but so far they have not been enough to root European studies in the region.

The future of EU–Latin American relations is another area where more research and analysis will be required. Interestingly, this is so not because Latin America is affirming itself in the world as a single actor, but precisely because its countries are drifting apart and more nuanced approaches are necessary to cope with growing diversity. For example, Mexico and Central America orbit around the US market and politics much more than South America, where economic and cultural ties to Europe are stronger. As tacit recognition of the divergent trends of the Latin American countries, the EU has signed separated trade agreements with Chile, Mexico and, more recently, Central America, and is currently negotiating similar deals with the Andean countries and Mercosur. Yet, as China rises and the Pacific basin becomes the gravity centre of the world economy, the EU is likely to lose relevance. Funding academic studies on European matters could mean a valuable counterweight to such a trend. Additionally, the EU–LAC summit, a biennial meeting of heads of state and government of Latin America, the Caribbean and the EU, has helped to keep the trans-Atlantic relationship in the academic agenda, as several scholars are routinely called to advise and collaborate in the draft of the summit reports.

After Brazil, Chile is the country where EU Studies face better prospects. In 2006, the University of Chile inaugurated a Centre of European Studies to develop teaching, research and outreach activities jointly with some European countries. Uruguay is not likely to establish a similar institution anytime soon, and Argentina will probably continue to rest on the initiatives of the University of Bologna to foster and disseminate European studies. Major research themes involving Europe will continue to fall within mainstream comparative politics and EU–Latin American relations. Comparative integration studies, however, are likely to grow as several regionalization projects, whether rival or overlapping, develop in the area (Malamud, 2010).

To be sure, the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) could make a contribution. Currently there are six Australian, six Israeli, seventeen Canadian and thirty-one American institutions

associated to the ECPR, but only five Latin American institutions.⁹ It would be beneficial for Latin American political science in general, and European studies in particular, if more universities were to become involved with ECPR activities. Other scholarly associations such as ECSA or European Union Studies Association (EUSA) could also give crucial stimulus and the small funding necessary for more Latin American scholars to participate in international networks. Without greater European commitment, Asia is likely to become a magnet for future Latin American generations of scholars – just like America is at present, and Europe was once upon a time.

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Notes

1 Source: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/jean_monnet/jean_monnet_en.php (retrieved 3 March, 2012).

2 Argentina democratized in 1983, Brazil and Uruguay in 1985, and Chile in 1990.

3 CEDES: *Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad*; CLADE: *Centro Latinoamericano para el Análisis de la Democracia*; EURAL: *Centro de Investigaciones Europeo-Latinoamericanas* (Argentina); CEBRAP: *Centro Brasileiro do Análise e Planejamento*; CEDEC: *Centro de Estudos de Cultura Contemporânea* (Brazil); CERC: *Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporánea*; CIEPLAN: *Corporación de Estudios para Latinoamérica* (Chile); CIESU: *Centro de Informaciones y Estudios del Uruguay*; CIEDUR: *Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo*; CLAEH: *Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana* (Uruguay).

4 IAF: Inter-American Foundation (United States); IDRC: International Development Research Centre (Canada); ICI: *Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana* (Spain); SAREC: Swedish Agency for Research in Developing Countries (Sweden).

5 The *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* (FLACSO) is an intergovernmental organization for Latin America and the Caribbean dedicated to research, teaching and dissemination of the social sciences. It was created in 1957 following a UNESCO initiative.

6 Among the legal or economics scholars that have published introductory or text books on European issues are Florencia González-Oldenkop and Luis Felipe Agramunt in Argentina; Karine de Souza Silva in Brazil; and José Ignacio Martínez Estay in Chile.

7 Information and links to these programmes are available from the ECSA website (available at <http://www.ecsachile.cl>).

8 The European Commission's Programme Alban is a high-level scholarship programme addressed to Latin America. ALFA is a programme of co-operation between Higher Education Institutions of the European Union and Latin America.

9 Of which three are in the Southern Cone. The full list includes the University of Chile, the Federal University of Paraná and the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in Brazil; the University of Los Andes in Colombia;

and the Centre for Research and Teaching in Economics-CIDE in Mexico. The University Torcuato Di Tella (Argentina) ceased to be listed as member some years ago.

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