

We as South Americans?: Measuring Entitativity of and Identification
with a Transnational Imagined Community in a Brazilian Sample

Master's Thesis in
Peace, Mediation and Conflict Research
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Spring 2022

Abstract

Aim: The aim of the study was to investigate, from a social-psychological and constructivist perspective, how much the relatively sparse research into South American collective identities could potentially benefit from literature, models, and previous experiments on European transnational identity, by developing different measures and then using these to gauge the psychological existence of and identification with South America as a transnational imagined community in a Brazilian sample.

Method: A questionnaire was completed by 96 female and 74 male Brazilian citizens, and one who identified as “other”. The mean age was 40.7 years (*SD* 15.2) for females, and 38.4 years (*SD* 16.1) for males. The age range was between 16 and 93 years of age.

Results: The results showed that identification with one’s own country was significantly stronger than identification with Latin America, with the world as a whole, and with South America. Of the respondents, 55 reported explicitly negative feelings when thinking of South America, while 32 reported explicitly positive feelings. Meanwhile, 65 held negative prospects for the future of South American integration, while 45 of the respondents viewed this future in a positive manner.

Conclusions: It was found that most of the proposed measures adapted from previous research were reliable and significantly correlated to one another. Some of the trends observed in previous European identity research were not observable in a South American context in the Brazilian sample of the current study. This study also suggests the context-invoked model to be relevant for investigating multiple identities within individuals, and for future research into South American transnational identities.

Key Words: Brazil, collective identity, constructivism, regional integration, social psychology, South America

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1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of the Study

The main objective of this study was to assess if and to what extent models and theories drawn from social-psychological and constructivist research on European collective identities can measure the impact of a relatively long and numerically plural regional integration project on the population of the region's largest nation, Brazil, and the extent to which these elite-led efforts have translated into the perceived creation of an imagined transnational community (Anderson, 1983; Raposo, 2018). This assessment is carried out by means of a proposed seven-scale model for measuring scales correlated with the entitativity of transnational imagined communities and the levels of identification with them. In other words, the aim of the study was to find out how much the sparse field of South American transnational identity research could potentially benefit from the rich literature on European collective identities. Although there is arguably no equivalent to the European Union (EU) in South America (SA) in terms of institutional depth and scope, a framework drawn largely from social constructivist (and psychological) perspectives into European identity and integration is highly relevant due to the fact that the very idea of "South America", as opposed to e.g. Latin America (LA), is still in essence a political construct gradually promoted by the national political elites (Bethell, 2010). Furthermore, even if the prevailing institutions in SA are mostly concerned with trade, and even if they are intergovernmental rather than supranational at their core, these "are also social projects —efforts that rely on and produce cultural, legal, and political material" (Duina, 2013, p. 139). Therefore, one of the initial arguments here is that SA is not only a geographical denomination, but also a label embedded with political meaning, which motivates the present effort in so-called "comparative regionalism"¹ (Börzel and Risse, 2019). One goal motivating the elaboration of the aforementioned scales will then be to assess what other meanings Brazilian citizens might attribute to it and how close their own loyalties stand as regards the region.

¹ "The emerging field of comparative regionalism takes it as an empirical question how far European integration theories travel in explaining the emergence of regionalism, its outcomes, and its effects in other parts of the world" (Börzel and Risse, 2019, p. 1233).

1.1.1 Background

This survey brings two important new additions to the discussion into South American collective identities in areas where significant knowledge gaps have been identified through a review of literature. First, research on collective identities² at a South American (or even Latin American) level has been relatively scarce with few exceptions (cf., Cavalcanti, 2013; Meunier & Medeiros, 2013; Raposo, 2018). Second, even where past research is present, a social-psychological approach to the subject is arguably brand new in a South American context, even though it is widespread in European Identity and Integration studies (cf., Brewer, 2004; Castano 2004). The research tools applied are largely based on mass surveys conducted over the years both across the EU (Eurobarometer) and LA (LAPOP, Latinobarometer) and yet attempt to incorporate different models drawn from the social psychology of collective identities, in particular concepts such as the entitativity of social groups, which can be seen as an innovation, especially in the context of South American identity research. This interdisciplinary background serves to foreshadow the model elaborated and proposed in this study which draws from disciplines as diverse as international relations, social science and social psychology. The instrument employed in conducting this research was developed with the thought in mind of drawing from traditional mass-survey models such as the Eurobarometer or the Latinobarometer, while at the same time aiming to “further refine their methods of enquiry by allowing more sophisticated combinations of layerings of identity” (Meinhoff, 2004, p. 245).

Some clarification on the definitions of important concepts employed throughout the text is considered helpful to avoid confusion. Regional integration is here taken as “the pooling and delegating of authority in regional institutions” (Börzel & Risse, 2019, p. 1232). Such a process is also understood to require “elites with pro-regional identities to engage in community building that resonates with citizens’ identities and generates public support for integration going beyond intergovernmental cooperation” (Börzel & Risse, 2019, p. 1232). This process is related to the phenomenon of regionalism, or “a primarily state-led process of building and sustaining formal regional institutions and organizations among at least three states” (Börzel and Risse 2016, p. 7, as cited in Börzel and Risse, 2019, p. 1246).

² It is to be noted here that throughout the study, regional identity, supranational identity and transnational identity will be used interchangeably.

1.2 Historical Context

1.2.1 The Construction of South America: Early Years

The historical labels attributed to the landmass extending from Mexico all the way to the southernmost tip of Chile have been around for a significant amount of time now. The concept of Latin America was first introduced by foreigners, taken as a name by the elites within the region and appropriated by the United States when trying to exert continental influence. Other labels have come and gone, such as “Hispanoamérica” (Hispanic America), which in itself is othering by nature leaving out nations that were not Spanish-speaking or that had not been colonized by Spain, such as Brazil, and “Iberoamérica” (Iberian America) that in itself includes Brazil, but leaves out nations not colonized by the powers of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Guyana or Surinam (Bethell, 2010). Some authors even go to lengths to claim that, starting from Iberian colonization, past military dictatorships and all the way to the more recent democratization waves “all Latin American countries share a common history”. However, the same projects that drove each of those nations through all those processes are also the ones that arguably set them apart and “[t]hus, national reaffirmation was promoted at the expense of projects of unionism and reciprocal trust among neighbors” (Santos, 2013, p. 43).

Parallel to these broader, continent-wide groupings, smaller ones were also proposed, restricted to less amalgamating features such as a smaller geographical congruity, such as Caribbean and Andean nations. The concept most relevant to the current study is that of South America (“América do Sul”, “Sudamérica”, “América del Sur”, “Sudamérica”...). This concept is somewhat geographically clear and has rarely been politically contested (Galvão, 2009). The main premise is that all 12 nations below the Equator (obviously excluding French Guyana which is technically a part of France, a “department”) can be characterized as such by their mere geographical location (Bethell, 2010). However, in line with what is proposed by Hurrell (1995) that all regions are politically contested social constructions, other important features have to be made salient when addressing the issue of SA.

The nations in the region share much in terms of their history dating back to the colonial era when they were almost completely divided between the Iberian powers of Portugal and Spain. Projects for regional integration can be traced at least as far back as the age of the great heroes of South American liberation struggles, such as the Bolivarian idea of “Gran Colombia”, even though most of these projects portrayed Portuguese Brazil as the “other” to be left out of the union due to the peculiarities of Brazilian independence and monarchy (Bethell, 2010). Coming

to more recent times, even during the mid to late 19th century, many military dictatorships rose to power and fell in different nations in the region at similar times, and several of those (while still in power) worked together and established region-wide military alliances (Cavalcanti, 2013).

1.2.2 South American Integration from the Mid-twentieth Century to Today: from Regional Integration to Institutional Dismantling?

In the later years, one of the legacies of democratic SA has been the significant push, particularly from Brazilian foreign affairs, of integrating the region, especially as a means of opposing influence from other regional powers further north such as Mexico or the United States (Galvão, 2009). Out of those political elite-led efforts a large sprawl of regional bodies has sprung, some with clear strictly technical or economic goals, and others, such as the Union of South American Nations (Unasur), with broader and more ambitious goals that make political integration and the creation of a South American citizenship part of their leading agenda (Unasur, 2008; Meunier & Medeiros, 2013). The focus of the prevailing institutions in South America to which Brazil has signed has been on the integration of elites rather than of societies. The inter-presidential nature of the Southern Common Market (Mercosur, established in 1991) reflects a “top-down model of integration [rather] than the process of a true de facto regional integration among the Mercosur societies” (Santos, 2013, p. 44). Brazil and five other South American nations left Unasur in 2018, denouncing it for its inefficiency, and its state leaders decided to form yet another regional institution named Forum for the Progress and Development of South America (Prosur, which had its first summit in 2019).

Unlike Unasur, Mercosur does not mention the fomenting of a South American identity as one of its goals, as most “official documents of RTAs [Regional Trade Agreements] do not mention identity” (Duina, 2013, p. 140). That being said, there have been arguments (Santos, 2013) about the different ways in which different processes led by the bloc have helped foster a “sense of identity among the citizens of the member states”, usually by catapulting policies that help foster a larger sense of democracy by allowing further citizen participation at transnational decision-making, and by promoting stronger ties between fellow citizens and between citizens and elites across borders, such as the *Somos Mercosur* (we are Mercosur) program and the establishment of a Mercosur Parliament.

1.3 Literature Review

1.3.1 Social Constructivist Approaches to Regional Integration: Ideas, Discourse, and Identities

Having seen that the research on transnational identities is largely based on European identity research, and that the contextual differences between Europe and South America make themselves quite clear, there might be some confusion when discussing SA. It has been argued that the EU has largely captured the ontology of Europe for itself, so European identity research has at large been used interchangeably with identification with/support for the EU. SA, however, currently has no regional bodies as large and as significant as the EU. The most relevant organization in the region, Mercosur, constitutes merely a common trade agreement, which by no means presents the level of institutionalization or, more importantly, societal integration that the EU has demonstrated to have. In that case, there may be some confusion throughout the work over in which cases to talk about SA as a political community, or instead talk about SA as being a social and cultural community. This research intends to address such a meaningful gap, and it will try to adapt these foreign models of enquiry as adequately as possible to the relevant context at hand. Comparisons will then be made between the findings and methodology applied in this study and previous research into European collective identities.

1.3.2 Psychological Existence of Transnational Imagined Communities

In many studies (cf. Castano, 2004; Risse, 2010) it has been argued that that, in order for collective identities to take place in the minds of citizens or peoples, these identities must first acquire the condition of having psychological existence. For these imagined communities to effectively exist within the perception of, say, the peoples of a larger, supra-national geographically- (and to some extent politically, economically, and culturally) bounded region, they would have to be perceived as real, united entities to some extent capable of collective action. Entitativity entails this degree of psychological existence of a group as a community, as coined by American social psychologist Donald Campbell (1957). To quote Campbell, “the degree of being entitative. The degree of having the nature of an entity, of having real existence” (p. 17). Mention should also be made to the importance of John C. Turner’s theory of self-categorization, which proposed that “[w]hen people define themselves in terms of a shared social category membership, there is a perceptual accentuation of intragroup similarities and intergroup differences on relevant correlated dimensions” (Turner, 2012 [1999], p. 21). From this perspective, it is also relevant to point out that it was stated that “people generally tend to

evaluate their ingroup from an intragroup perspective” while “[i]n contrast, they spontaneously adopt an intergroup perspective when they judge an outgroup” (Castano, Yzerbyt, and Bourguignon, 2003, p. 743).

Entitativity is argued (Castano, 2004) not to automatically take place in the presence of factors, such as cultural homogeneity. In fact, “cultural homogeneity is not necessary to establish a sense of belonging to a political community. What mediates the impact of cultural homogeneity on the sense of common identity is the extent to which the community acquires a *psychological existence*” (p. 54, emphasis in original). In other words, entitativity would actually require, as it has in the case of the EU, efforts to bring the aforementioned psychological existence into being, with symbols and icons having significantly demonstrated importance in such efforts. Examples of such symbolism include the introduction of elements commonly associated with the process of national identity-building: a flag; a common currency; the Euro; and an anthem, Beethoven’s “Ode to Joy”. The potential impacts of this sort of symbolism has been demonstrated in cognitive experiments by social psychologists studying European collective identities. Castano (2004) argues that even under the presence of a degree of homogeneity, this entitativity does not spontaneously fall into place, which brings an extra degree of importance to the efforts of national elites to implement symbols, as described above. The case of the Europeanization of national identities, shown by research to be effective to a significant extent (Risse, 2010), leads to the questioning of previously established notions that (especially cultural) homogeneity alone is conducive to the forming of collective identities. At a regional (transnational) level, a first analysis of two distinct cases, the EU and SA, might effectively show this not to be the case and to some extent dismiss the direct correlation between the phenomena of homogeneity and entitativity.

The process of establishing entitativity at a regional level, i.e., bringing psychological existence to a regional entity and into the minds of peoples, and thus developing a process of social (or collective, to be used interchangeably here) identity is theoretically complex. It benefits greatly from contributions across the fields of social-constructivist approaches to European integration theory (Risse, 2009; 2010) and from social-psychological research into social identities, especially at a broader, national, or even supranational, level of conceptualization (Castano, 2004; Tajfel, 1982). However ontologically and/or methodologically distinct these approaches might seem to be, they hold substantial similarities and share significant common ground, such as the notion that identities are not static. Furthermore, across these approaches, identities are taken to be oftentimes multiple within a single individual. Other important common features of these approaches include the

psychological, emotional and political importance attributed to membership; and the paramountcy of the concept of “psychological existence” in the establishing of “supranational imagined communities” (cf. Anderson, 1983; Castano, 2004; Risse, 2010; Tajfel, 1982). These similarities between approaches will be explored in order to establish a theoretical framework that can effectively connect the two and, furthermore, be included into measurement scales.

1.3.3 The Hierarchies of Collective Identities

Several models have been proposed to explain the relationships between multiple identities within individuals. The most relevant models in this case are the ones proposed by Risse (2004), for instance that of nested identities, or identities “conceived of as concentric circles or Russian Matruska dolls, one inside the next”. The second model proposed by the author is cross-cutting, in which “some, but not all, members of one identity group are also members of another identity group” (p. 277). Lastly, the third one is the so-called marble cake model, in which “the various components of an individual’s identity cannot be neatly separated on different levels”. The last one is the model that proposes the question: “what if identity components influence each other, mesh and blend into each other?” (p. 279). The hypothesis here is that the low degree of South Americanization of Brazilian national identities, coupled with a low attachment to supranational loyalties as compared to local or national ones, would nevertheless lead to the assumption that the model that the marble cake model is the most appropriate one when dealing with collective South American identities in a Brazilian sample.



Fig. 1. Scheme depicting an example nested model of multiple identities within individuals. Other models include cross-cutting and marble cake depictions. Model based on Risse (2004), designed by the author.

There have been previous suggestions (Santos, 2013) that a marble cake model might be more suitable for investigating multiple collective identities in a South American context. Referring specifically to the existence of a collective identity among country members of Mercosur, Santos argues “that there is much more Mercosurness embedded in national, regional, or other collective identities than is usually assumed [...] even though the degree of regional collective identity achieved could be debated” (p. 52). It seems reasonable to assume that regional influence on parochial identities, even if this influence is not strong enough to place an alleged regional identity at a same level of importance to a Brazilian citizen as their national or more local ones, is a given fact. However, in line with the aforementioned studies on multiple collective identities, these identities are not necessarily exclusive, and there might even be levels of “South Americanness” embedded in national or local identities. In data, this would translate into a convergence, however slight, of respondents identifying themselves as both South American and other more parochial labels (such as Brazilian or other local identities). In this case, a non-exclusive dynamic of multiple identification is expected to take place.

1.3.4 “European Identity Revisited” and More Recent Research into Transnational Identity

It should be noted that extensive more recent literature has been developed in the study of transnational identities, once again mostly in the context of the EU. However, a significant trend in these studies deems them mostly unsuitable for the present context of this research, seeing that the state of the art of the research on transnational European identities shows that “constructivist approaches have diverted scholarly energies away from determining the presence/absence or the possibility of European identity to studying the processes of its construction and its evolving and multifarious relationship to national identities” (Rumelili & Cebeci, 2016, p. 56). In other words, constructivist research into European identities already sees the existence of said transnational identity as a given, and most research has now moved on to analyze its dynamics in different contexts. Seeing that the very existence of a South American identity is a point of inquiry in the present study, said identity is far from being a given, and therefore, earlier studies into the development and existence of a European identity are deemed more appropriate to be translated into a South American context.

1.3.5 Presenting the Theoretical Framework: Measuring Scales for Transnational Identity

The link between political integration and the building of common identities can be drawn from relevant works in interdependency and constructivism in the field of international relations (cf. Keohane & Nye, 1977; Wendt, 1999). It is also worth noting that there have been previous

endeavors at establishing links between constructivist and social identity theory in international relations (cf. Larson, 2011), but these have largely constrained themselves to the identities of nation states as agents in the international system, while the current inquiry instead proposes using a combined framework for assessing the state of social identification at an individual level, or rather, the level of social identities of citizens.

1.3.5.1 Group Entitativity and Identification

As relates to social identities as studied by social psychologists, there is a need to narrow the existing research down to the works that relate more specifically to the issues of collective identity-building at a regional level or, relating to the aforementioned research, the psychological existence of supranational communities without which, according to research by social constructivists (Risse, 2010), citizens would not be able to truly perceive each other as part of a single community. Further on, the empirical and theoretical research referred to in here brings forward notions that add value to the present inquiry, such as the idea of entitativity (Castano, 2004). Within the concept of entitativity, the four factors that authors (Campbell, 1958, as cited in Castano, Sacchi, & Gries, 2003) have argued to have direct impact on group entitativity have also been included in the model introduced here. These factors include common fate; similarity; salience; and boundedness.

1.3.5.2 Awareness

Also relevant to the model proposed here are notions of political awareness/participation measured for example by: knowledge of supranational political affairs; reading news on supranational affairs; discussing supranational affairs with relatives, and how it affects attitudes towards political processes at that level. As proposed in studies on Euroscepticism and support for the process of expanding the EU by Lauren Maclaren (2007), “knowledge about the EU is also thought to reduce hostility to the EU project. Empirical analyses have indeed indicated that those who were more cognitively mobilized — that is, those who are better educated and discuss politics more frequently — and those who are more knowledgeable about the EU are indeed more positive about European integration” (p. 235). There has been much written on the importance of mass media in [supra] national identity-building. For instance, Siapera (2004) writes that “the media can be seen as crucial both for the formation of a European identity, analogous to national identity, and for the forging of a European political public, attuned to and oriented toward discussion and the exchange of opinion on subjects of common concern” (p. 170). These factors motivated the inclusion of measures for such awareness in the model, and

higher measures of awareness and civic participation are in turn expected to correlate to higher degrees of transnational group entitativity.

1.3.5.3 Trust

A final layer constituting this model would be the dynamics of trust in the context of support for a process of regional integration. When addressing specifically the issue of trust in national institutions and how these translate to institutional trust/support at a supranational level, Maclaren postulates that “it is expected that feelings of distrust for EU institutions are likely to explain some of the Euroscepticism that exists in the modern day while trusting the EU institutions may lead to more positive feelings about the integration project as a whole” (p. 236). Castano (2004) also implies that disappointment with the performance of national state institutions might lead to stronger perceived entitativity of a supranational community, in particular if the individual perceives the existence and performance of the supranational institutions in a positive manner. This is called the “terrestrial” function of entitativity and “refers to the fact that entitative in-groups are perceived as having a capacity for action, as possessing intentionality and as providing security to their members. As the nation-state provides a progressively less fitting framework for understanding and action in the modern world” the entitativity measure of such a body would likely increase (p. 76). Support for and positive attitudes towards a process of regional integration have also been directly correlated to higher levels of attachment towards the referred to community as demonstrated by previous inquiries (Citrin & Sides, 2004, p. 220: “increased attachment to or pride in Europe depends only on identifying with Europe in some respect, regardless of how one prioritizes European and national identities”). A correlation between lower levels of trust in national institutions and higher entitativity of a transnational community (SA) is expected, as is a correlation between identification with and a sense of belonging to South America.

Higher levels of interpersonal trust are here also assumed to be directly correlated to stronger group identification within this dynamic of “national and international identification” as was demonstrated by Brewer and Herrmann (2004), who stated that “if trust between the groups exists, the increasing integration can lead to positive feedback and growth in a common identity” (p. 26). Risse (2010) also makes a point that interpersonal trust across different nationalities is one of the building blocks of transnational identities, when he states that “another measurement for the degree of transnational social integration and for the sense of community among strangers refers to cross-national trust levels among Europeans” (p. 43). Based on the literature, this scale is then deemed relevant for the model proposed here.

Different measures of civic engagement and awareness assessed by the questionnaires are expected to exert varying influence on both the intensity of social identity and levels of institutional trust (McLaren, 2007). Higher measures of entitativity are expected to translate into higher measures of interpersonal trust, particularly if the persons are given to be part of the in-group (Brewer, 2004). Group entitativity is given to directly influence group identification (Sacchi, Castano & Brauer, 2009), which would justify the inclusion of the two as a single measurement scale³. Previous research (Raposo, 2018) points at the nonexistence of a South American identity: “there are doubts as regards the existence of an alleged transnational identity among South Americans that transcends the national identities predominant in the region [...] the hypothesis is that this transnational identity does not exist” (p. 74, own translation).

The present study presents an inquiry into this alleged transnational collective identity solely from a sample of the population from one country, Brazil, and not comparing it between different nations in the region. It is nevertheless expected that this transnational identity not only does manifest itself in the minds of Brazilians, but also that Brazilians are expected to have a significant degree of attachment to this identity. Respondents are finally expected to see regional integration efforts as not being effective, i.e. the efforts of the political elites have not made a positive impression of, or generated support for, integration in the region (Raposo, 2018). This can translate as a lack of awareness of transnational affairs or a lack of trust in/knowledge of transnational bodies acting in the region.

³ “[T]he entitativity of the ingroup moderates the level of identification with the ingroup. Specifically [...] high levels of entitativity are conducive to strong identification, whereas low levels of entitativity reduce identification with the ingroup” (Castano, Yzerbyt, and Bourguignon, 2003, p.735).

1.4 Research Questions

Research question 1: The interdisciplinary model for measuring entitativity proposed here contains reliable scales and is able to demonstrate significant correlations between these scales as they are deemed relevant to the study of transnational group entitativity and identification, e.g. between higher levels of awareness of South American affairs and higher levels of identification with South America.

Research question 2: The multiple elite-led institutionalization and integration efforts at a regional level were able to foster a significant level of identification with or entitativity of South America in the minds of Brazilians.

Research question 3: The multiple elite-led institutionalization and integration efforts at a regional level were unable to significantly foster positive attitudes towards South American regional institutions or the process of South American integration.

2. Method

2.1 Sample

A questionnaire was completed by 96 females, 74 males, and one respondent who identified as “other”, with 171 respondents in total. Of the respondents, 165 were Brazilian nationals, 153 lived in Brazil, and 18 lived elsewhere. Of the respondents, two were Chilean nationals, two were Brazilian Italian dual nationals, one dual national from Argentina and Brazil, and one was of indigenous origin. The mean age was 40.7 years (SD 15.2) for females, and 38.4 years (SD 16.1) for males. The age difference was not significant. The age range was between 16 and 93 years. The sample was randomized.

Most respondents ($n = 153$) said they resided in Brazil, seven said they resided in Finland, two in England, two in Uruguay, two in Paraguay, one in Australia, one in Mexico, one in Morocco, and one in the United States. All of the respondents were either Brazilian nationals, living in Brazil at the time of the survey, or both.

2.2 Instrument

A mixed-method questionnaire was constructed for measuring collective identities in SA. The instrument was modeled after both mass surveys and in-depth interviews to assess the levels of identities with the hope that these models will be complementary (Blanchard, Caudill, & Walker, 2020; European Commission, 1990; Gaertner et al., 1993; Gerhards, Hans, 2014; Hudson, 2006; LAPOP, 2019; Latinobarómetro, 2018; Latcheva, 2009; Lochner, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1999; Sinnott, 2005). All measures presented here have been translated to English for the convenience of the reader, since the original questionnaires were distributed in Brazilian Portuguese. The original version has been made available as an appendix.

2.2.1 Quantitative Measures

Sense of belonging to different geographical groups was measured with seven items in response to the question “*How much do you feel like you belong to the following geographical groups?*” The items were (a) The locality or town where you live, (b) The state or region of the country where you live, (c) Your country as a whole, (d) South America, (e) Andes, (f) Latin America, and (g) The world as a whole. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = not at all, 1 = slightly, 2 = undecided, 3 = quite much, 4 = very much). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale was .72.

South American group entitativity and identification were measured with eight items in response to a request to *“Please respond to each item by choosing the alternative that comes closest to your opinion”*. The items were (a) South America has a real existence as a group, (b) South Americans have similar values, (c) South Americans from different countries should interact more with each other, (d) South Americans share a common history, (e) South Americans share a common fate, (f) South Americans from different countries are more similar than different from each other, (g) I feel strong ties to other South Americans, (h) I interact frequently with South Americans from other countries. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = disagree completely, 1 = disagree slightly, 2 = neutral, 3 = agree slightly, 4 = agree completely). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale was .82.

Civic Engagement and Awareness were measured with eight items in response to a request to *“Please respond to each item by choosing the alternative that comes closest to your opinion”*. The items were (a) I seek information on events in my community and/or country, (b) I seek information on events across South America, (c) I read books, newspapers, magazines, or websites in foreign languages, (d) I discuss community and/or national political matters when I get together with friends or relatives, (e) I discuss South American political matters when I get together with friends or relatives, (f) I attend a public meetings/rallies about politics or go to demonstrations, (g) I feel like I receive enough information on multilateral organizations in South America, (h) I feel the impact of multilateral organizations in my daily life. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = never, 1 = rarely, 2 = sometimes, 3 = frequently, 4 = always). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale was .82.

Trust in National Institutions was measured with five items in response to the question *“How much do you trust the following institutions in your country?”* The items were (a) The Armed Forces, (b) The police, (c) Congress, (d) Government, (e) Judiciary, (f) The political parties, (g) The electoral authorities. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = not at all, 1 = slightly, 2 = undecided, 3 = quite much, 4 = very much). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale was .73.

Trust in International Bodies was measured with six items in response to the question *“How much do you trust the following international organisms?”* The items were (a) United Nations, (b) Organization of American States, (c) UNASUR, (d) PROSUR, (e) Andean Community, (f) MERCOSUR. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = not at all, 1 = slightly, 2 = undecided, 3 = quite much, 4 = very much). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale was .86.

Trust in People in General was measured with three items in response to the query *“Do you think that”*, in order to check for deviations on levels of trust towards other people in general

and people of different South American countries in particular. The items were (a) Most people can be trusted, (b) Most people would try to take advantage of me if they got the chance⁴, (c) Most of the time people try to be helpful. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = disagree completely, 1 = disagree slightly, 2 = neutral, 3 = agree slightly, 4 = agree completely). Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .75.

Trust in People from Different Countries in SA was measured with twelve items in response to the question "*How much do you trust people from different countries in South America?*" The items were Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, Uruguay and Venezuela. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = not at all, 1 = slightly, 2 = undecided, 3 = quite much, 4 = very much). Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .97.

2.2.2 Qualitative Questions

Feelings that come to mind when thinking about South America and attitudes regarding the future of South America as an integrated community were measured with two open-ended questions.

2.3 Procedure

The data collection was conducted with an online questionnaire. The link was distributed via email and social media. The link was active from 28/06/2021 to 27/08/2021.

2.4 Ethical Considerations

The study is consistent with the principles concerning human research ethics of the Declaration of Helsinki (World Medical Association, 2013), as well as it follows the guidelines for the responsible conduct of research of The Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2012).

⁴ The item should be reversely scored.

3. Results

3.1 Quantitative Results

3.1.1 Sense of Belonging to Different Social Groups

Sense of belonging to six different social groups was compared using IBM SPSS Statistics Version 26. The results showed that identification with one's own country was significantly stronger than identification with Latin America [$t_{(174)} = 6.00, p < .001$], with the world as a whole [$t_{(174)} = 3.07, p < .001$], and South America [$t_{(174)} = 2.69, p = .008$]. Identification with one's own country did not differ significantly from identification with one's locality/town or region (see Fig. 2 for means and standard errors).

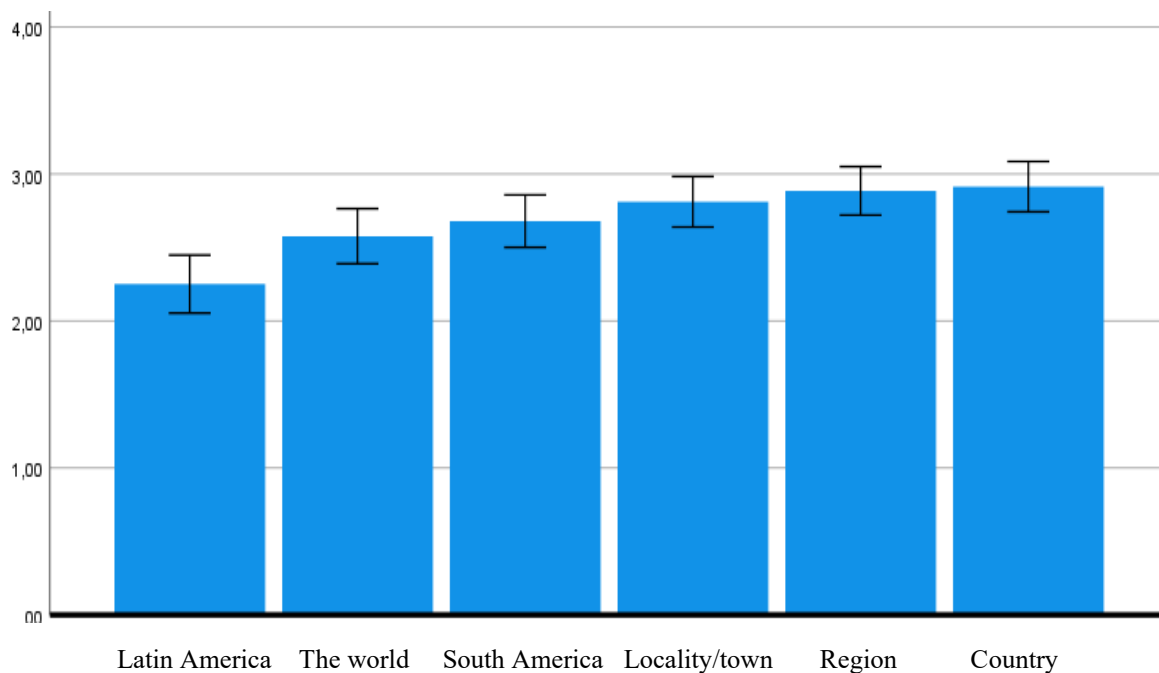


Fig. 2. Mean values on a sense of belonging to different social groups ($n = 171$).

3.1.2 Differences Due to Sex

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted with sex as independent variable and the scales as dependent variables. The multivariate test was significant for sex [$F_{(7, 165)} = 2.21, p = .036, \eta_p^2 = .086$]. However, the univariate analyses showed that there was a significant sex difference on only one scale; trust in international bodies. The women scored significantly higher than the men (2.19 vs. 1.88) [$F_{(1, 171)} = 4.58, p = .034, \eta_p^2 = .026$].

3.1.3 Correlations between the Scales in the Study

The seven scales were correlated with each other. The highest correlation was found between South American entitativity and identification and civic engagement and awareness (Table 1). Trust in national institutions correlated significantly with only two out of six other scales.

Table 1

Correlations between the scales in the study (n = 171)

Scales	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Sense of Belonging to Different Social Groups						
2. South American Entitativity and Identification	.32 ***					
3. Civic Engagement and Awareness	.27 ***	.48***				
4. Trust in National Institutions	.14 †	-.003	-.04			
5. Trust in International Bodies	.24 ***	.17 *	.07	.17 *		
6. Trust in People in General	.31 ***	.20 **	.30 ***	.18 *	.12	
7. Trust in People from Different Countries in South America	.25 ***	.39***	.29 ***	.03	.26***	.37 ***

*** $p \leq .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $< .10$

The most significant correlation ($p = .48$) was found between the scales measuring “South American entitativity and identification” and the one measuring “civic engagement and awareness”. This finding falls in line with previous research on European identity (McLaren, 2007; Siapera 2004) that directly correlated phenomena such as media awareness on EU issues and the formation of European transnational identities. This result holds up even though a distinction was not made in the scale between awareness of national affairs and awareness of transnational affairs. These items were both included here within a single, broader category of “awareness”. When running a correlation between an “awareness” scale, which is a mean of items specifically pertaining to the awareness of South American affairs, and the scale intended to measure SA entitativity and identification, the correlation did not differ significantly ($p = .49$).

Another significant correlation ($p = .39$) is also a reflection of previous arguments regarding other possible measurements “for the degree of transnational social integration and for the sense of community among strangers” (Risse, 2010, p. 43), namely that between “South American entitativity and identification” and “trust in people from different countries in South America”.

The expected correlation between lower levels of trust in national institutions and entitativity of and identification with a transnational imagined community did occur, but was not significant ($p = -.003$). This does not confirm the expected negative correlation between both scales based on previous research (Castano, 2008; McLaren, 2007). In fact, the low levels of trust in national institutions gathered from the responses (with a mean of 89.5% distrust among respondents) are to some extent mirrored by low levels of trust in some of the regional bodies, namely Unasur⁵ (12.9 %) and Prosur (7.6%). Only Mercosur boasts a relatively higher percentage of trust among respondents (32%), but this is overshadowed by the percentage of respondents who feel undecided about the body (35.1%). Indecisiveness was also relatively high towards the two previously mentioned bodies (41.5% for both), which should indicate low levels of awareness measures, such as respondents reportedly feeling they receive enough information on these bodies. However, no significant correlations between awareness and international institutional trust scales were found.

The absence of significant differences due to sex, except where women scored higher than men on “trust in international bodies”, does not reflect the findings from European identity research. Within this field, a “gender gap with regard to European identity” is a given, with findings reporting that “[m]en are on average more likely to feel attachment to Europe than women”. However, significant differences due to sex in the scale measuring South American entitativity and identification were not found.

The analysis of the findings also fared positively for the assumption that Risse’s (2004) marble cake model of multiple collective identities would be appropriate for the study of South American identities. As mentioned before, this falls in line with what had been proposed by Santos (2013). The results showed that among those who said they belonged very much to the country where they lived, 59.1% also experienced that they belonged very much to South America. This supports the idea that Brazilian national identities are by and large non-exclusive, i.e. that these identities allow for a degree of South Americanness.

⁵ Although it has been previously mentioned here that Brazil has recently left Unasur.

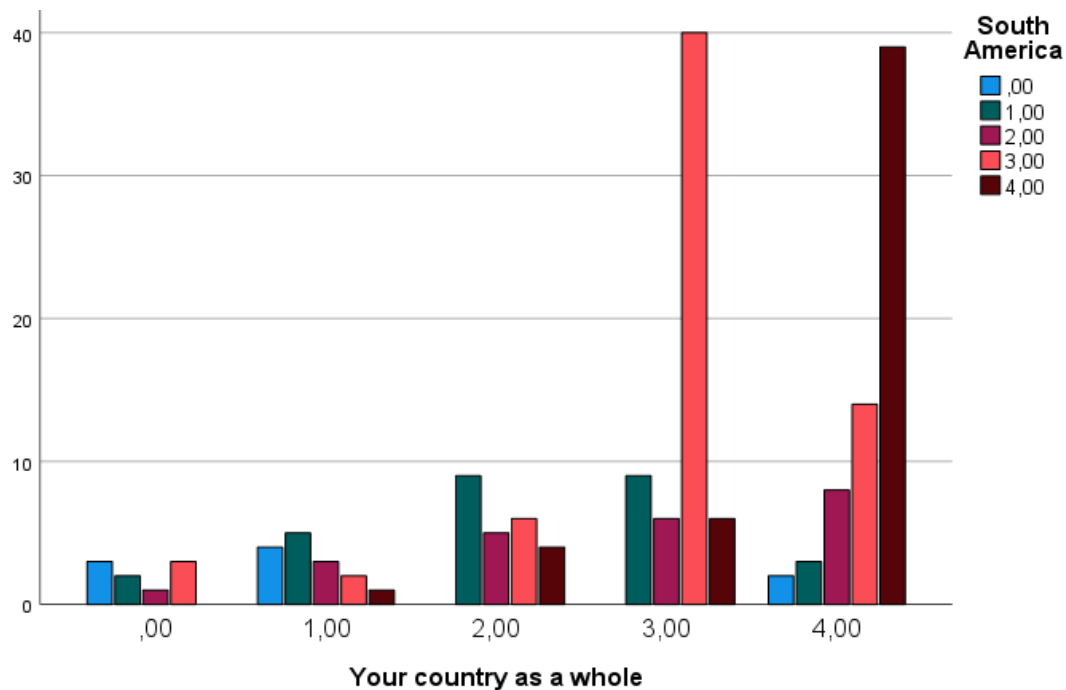


Fig. 3. Number of participants who identified, to different degrees, with their own country and with South America ($n = 171$). Response alternatives were: 0 = not at all, 1 = slightly, 2 = undecided, 3 = quite much, 4 = very much.

3.2 Qualitative Results

3.2.1 Feelings that first comes to mind when thinking of South America

Two qualitative items were included in the survey in order to proceed with an analysis of short written answers provided by the respondents. The first qualitative query was “*When you think of South America, what feeling comes first to your mind?*” While going through the responses ($n = 168$) and conducting thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) using NVivo Release 1.5, it was observed that 55 respondents reported explicitly negative feelings when thinking of South America (“Decepcionado”, “Tristeza”). Meanwhile, 32 reported explicitly positive feelings (“Amor”, “Calorosidade”) towards SA, and 20 respondents made direct references to features of collective identity (“Autoidentidade, todos nós compartilhamos de mesma história”). In addition, 13 felt “distancing” and a lack of union (“Distanciamento”), five expressed a need for improvement (“Poderia ser melhor”) in the region. Finally, four respondents expressed desires for further union (“Seria ótima a união desses países.”), and four respondents felt neutral or indifferent towards the region (“Indiferença”). Thinking of SA evoked negative feelings as diverse as pity, concern and sadness. Most of these feelings were related to a perceived level of underdevelopment or to civil/political disorder across the region, which actually led to some overlap with two other prevailing perceptions amongst respondents, that SA is

underdeveloped/ridden with poverty ($n = 20$), and that SA is embroiled in socio-political chaos ($n = 14$).

On the other hand, a remarkable number of respondents ($n = 20$) made direct links to features of belonging and shared identity, such as feelings that SA is their home or that the region has its own, collective identity. Positive feelings were also present ($n = 16$), although they were outweighed by the aforementioned negative ones. Also relevant to the idea of SA as an imagined community, several respondents ($n = 9$) perceived SA to be a sort of unit or to represent unity as a feeling. On the other hand, more references were made ($n = 20$) to the differences between nations and peoples across the region. Another feature of the responses to the first qualitative question was that relatively few respondents ($n = 4$) had no feelings towards the region or saw it with indifference. This could bode well for the argument that SA is not an altogether empty qualifier, even though it holds starkly different meanings to different people. References were also made to pride ($n = 7$), either towards the region as a whole or towards one's own country in particular. Finally, references were made to a perceived historical/existential struggle ($n = 6$). This struggle is interpreted here to stand for a struggle against socioeconomic inequalities, and also a struggle for political liberties or representation.

3.2.2 Attitudes regarding the Future of South American Integration

The second qualitative question was “*What’s your opinion on the future of South America as an integrated community?*” Analysis and coding of the responses ($n = 168$), using NVivo Release 1.5, showed that 65 of the respondents hold negative prospects for future endeavors concerning South American integration (“*não acredito que a América do Sul poderá ser uma comunidade integrada*”), 45 of the respondents viewed the future of this process in a positive manner (“*Uma forte chance de se tornar uma comunidade mais fortalecida e independente*”), 15 expressed not having an opinion or enough knowledge on the subject (“*Nunca pensei nisso, não tenho opinião formada*”), and six, while not necessarily holding negative or positive views towards this project, claimed that such an effort would be gradual and transpire over a long period of time (“*Esse futuro, se possível algum dia, está muito distante*”).

Among the prospects taken as negative, most references ($n = 17$) pointed at the unlikeness (“*Improável*”) of the process, with differences and lack of cohesion among countries (“*Difícil, muitas diferenças econômicas e políticas*”) as the most recurring explanations ($n = 6$). Among positive perspectives on the future of South American integration, the most references ($n = 9$) were related to development (“*Tem chances de desenvolverem juntos*”), with a particular focus on socioeconomic development and lessening of socioeconomic inequalities (“*Teríamos menos*

diferenças sociais”). The findings gathered from the thematic analysis of the qualitative responses led to the observation of some prevailing trends amongst respondents. For example, the feelings attached to SA seem prevalingly negative ($n = 35$).

As regards the second qualitative question, respondents held mostly ($n = 57$) negative opinions on the future of South American integration. Still, on this more skeptical side of the responses, a number of respondents ($n = 14$) reported that if such a process was ever to take place, significant political, economic, and social changes needed to occur; others ($n = 6$) saw integration as a process that would take place, only gradually over a long period of time; and others still ($n = 4$) stated that even if such a process was ever to take place, it would bring about little to no significant change to countries in the region, especially as regards socioeconomic development. Recurring themes on the negative side of prospects for South American integration revolved around corruption and/or mismanagement; political polarization; and economic barriers to social integration.

On the other hand, a significant number of respondents ($n = 24$) held explicitly positive views regarding the future of the South American integration process, particularly its future as an integrated community. On a similar note, respondents ($n = 21$) also held the opinion that, if [further] integration was to take place, it would bring about positive changes to countries in the region and to the region as a whole. Some of the respondents even made direct mentions of SA becoming a global “superpower”.

Direct references made to the clearness of the geographical boundaries of South America (“União sem olhar para cima da linha do equador”) suggest that the case is different from what previous research on the entitativity of the European Union as a transnational community points out, namely that “the lack of clear geographical boundaries also weakens any effort by the EU to be perceived as a real entity” (Castano, 2004, p. 55). The reality of fuzzy boundaries in South America might be more institutional than geographical or cultural in nature, due to the plurality of regional bodies and agreements, and diffuse memberships in said arrangements.

A notable number of respondents ($n = 16$) had no formed opinion on the matter. Among these, some respondents also stated that they did not know enough about the process to be able to form an opinion.

Table 2

Responses to the Question

“When you think of South America, what feeling comes first to your mind?” (n = 161)

South America evokes negative/hostile feelings (35)
South America evokes generally positive feelings (16)
South America evokes references to [collective] identity/nationhood (20)
South America evokes a perceived union (9)
South America evokes a perceived poverty/underdevelopment (20)
South America evokes a perceived chaos (14)
South America evokes feelings of pride (7)
South America evokes a perceived distancing/prevaling differences (20)
South America evokes a perceived struggle (6)
South America evokes no feelings at all/indifference (4)

Table 3

Responses to the Question

“What’s your opinion on the future of South America as an integrated community?” (n = 168)

Respondent looks negatively upon [the future of] the South American integration process (57)
Respondent looks positively upon [the future of] the South American integration process (24)
Respondent believes [further] South American integration will bring about positive change (21)
Respondent has no opinion on the process (16)
Respondent believes certain conditions need to be met before [further] South American integration takes place (14)
Respondent believes that if integration was to take place it would be a future endeavor (6)
Respondent believes that even if it was to take place, integration would bring little to no change (4)

4. Discussion

4.1 Summary of Findings

Throughout the progress of this study, it has been repeatedly made clear that comparative theory-building has plenty to offer to the study of transnational identities. Of course, where peculiarities and particularities are due, some of the research on European identity, particularly as regards the entitativity of the European Union as an imagined community, might not provide researchers with the most suitable measurement tools to assess similar phenomena in a South American context. The EU is in a different stage of institutional depth, while at this point, South American leaders cannot yet seem to decide if they even want to follow the same path of integrational policies that go beyond trade agreements. Nevertheless, as proposed by previous research (Duina, 2009), even trade agreements such as the Mercosur, with no explicit intention of fomenting transnational collective identities, end up inciting such feelings, at the very least in the hearts and minds of the elites directly involved in the process. This process arguably takes place through the logic of the relationship between agency and structure.

As this study has shown, to some extent, feelings of South Americanness have managed to “hit home” in different forms and with varying intensity, at least as far as this Brazilian sample was concerned. The discourse and policy of state national elites from various countries in the region have manifested themselves to the region’s citizens in one way or the other, be it on their passports or on the license plates on their motor vehicles, or when the media displays summits of regional leaders. All of these manifestations are argued to make South America more real as a community in the minds of its peoples. This reflects of what was argued by Duina (2009, p. 152), “those meetings generate significant media attention — they are discussed in front-page articles in national newspapers and top-of-the-hour radio and television newscasts”. To a correlated extent, these phenomena also make South American citizens feel closer to other strangers across borders within this imagined community, in the Habermasian sense.

4.2 Implications of the Study

The study of identities has clear implications for policy making at a regional (if not only national) level especially where contentions of democracy and participation of transnational citizenship are implied (cf. Risse 2004a, 2004b, 2010).

As regards the particular subject of peace, mediation, and conflict research, the peaceful potential of transnational imagined communities has been vastly explored by very distinct areas

of science. In anthropology for instance Douglas P. Fry has recently nodded in an article published on *Nature* (2021) to “the development of an overarching socio-political identity” as being “a notable feature of peace systems” (p. 6). It is also hypothesized by Fry in this and in previous works (cf. Fry, 2012) that “an overarching common identity in addition to local identity” is one of the factors that promotes “peace within dynamic peace systems” (p. 3). In sum, as the title suggests to Fry collective identities stretching across societies leads these societies to “avoid war and build positive intergroup relationships”.

Further implications for not only peace but also conflict and their relation to transnational identities has been explored from a sociological point of view as well. Francesco Duina dwells into this dual significance in depth in a book chapter entitled “Identity Construction in the EU, NAFTA and Mercosur: Opportunities for Peace and Conflict” (2009). By referring to “peace” in the sense of “stability within and across countries”, Duina goes over examples of regional organizations standing in the way of threats to democracy and interstate violence, going as far as saying that “the strongest evidence comes from Mercosur” in the maintenance of democratic stability, using several incidents involving coup attempts in Paraguay as historical examples.

4.3 Limitations of the Study

A distinction that is absent and that could have been relevant particularly to the issue of the content of this identity is the one put forward by Bruter (2004), namely the distinction between what he calls civic and cultural political identities. However, civic identification at a transnational level seems weak amongst Brazilians in comparison to EU citizens. The only truly active transnational institution in SA to which Brazil still belongs and which pertains the slightest numeral degree of trust within the sample is Mercosur. This trust might in addition be explained by the historical relevance of state-elite discourse and also some symbolism pervasive in the daily lives of Brazilians, such as mandatory Mercosur car plates or the presence of the organization’s name on Brazilian passports (Fig. 4). The many references made by respondents to historical and cultural heritage when thinking of SA would indicate identification with SA mostly on cultural terms, a cultural collective identity.



Fig. 4. Mercosur-issued Brazilian car plate and passport. Research has linked the presence of institutional symbols in daily life to cognitive aspects of identity-building (Laffan, 2004)

Meinhof (2004) has presented issues with assessing identification measures using “closed-ended survey” which might mislead respondents and not have the same potential of more open conversation, such as in-depth interviews. In her study, the author “found an almost total absence of either positive or negative European identity markers in the spontaneous narratives” of the subjects interviewed. The finding that European identity was not evoked by subjects “unless specifically thematised in the interviews” (p. 240) points to a possible limitation of this study, namely the question of whether respondents would even bring up South America as an identifier at all if it was not mentioned to them beforehand.

The sample is not sufficiently wide for generalizing attitudes across the whole nation. Brazil is very obviously a relatively large country with a large and diverse population spread far and wide across a vast landmass. Nevertheless, drawing from the words of social psychologist Emanuele Castano (2004), a certain degree of generalization is expected and acceptable in social psychology “when investigating basic psychological processes”, and furthermore “it seems reasonable to assume similarity between” (p. 46) this sample and the rest of the Brazilian population.

4.4 Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should try and gather a more diverse sample, for instance from different nations in SA. Another aim for future research could be to carry out in-depth interviews more in line with what some authors in the field have suggested. Not evoking the idea of SA as an option

for identification should also be considered due to previously perceived implications that this identification might not even come up at all if not evoked by the interviewer (such as in interviews conducted in a study by Meinhof, (2004) wherein the author “addresses some of the implications and problems that the “absence of Europe” as self-identification in our data has for research on European identity” [p. 278]). This could in theory mean that many subjects would not even bring up South America in the first place, when asked to identify themselves.

Experimental psychological research into cognitive features of symbols should also be incentivized. It would be relevant for transnational identity research in South America to have data on the cognitive impact of recurring symbols in the daily lives of some South American citizens, such as Mercosur car license plates and passports. This falls in line with previous enquiries into what researchers have labeled “the cognitive dimension of identity building” (Laffan, 2004, p. 94), and a literature search was not able to pinpoint that any research of the sort has been conducted in South America as of now.

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*Appendix 1: Questionnaires distributed in Brazilian Portuguese***Questionário sobre Identidades Sociais na América do Sul**

Este questionário é sobre suas atitudes em relação a seu próprio país e à América do Sul como um todo. O estudo é completamente confidencial, você permanecerá anônimo. Não escreva seu nome em lugar algum. Este questionário só demora 5 minutos para ser completado. Este estudo é administrado pelo programa de Mestrado em Pesquisa em Paz, Mediação e Conflito na Universidade Åbo Akademi, Finlândia. Os dados serão usados somente para propósito científico. Contato: emilio.delpupo@abo.fi

Obrigado por sua participação!

*** Obrigatório**

1. Quanto você sente que você pertence aos seguintes grupos geográficos? Alternativas de resposta: 0 = nada; 1 = levemente; 2 = indeciso; 3 = bastante; 4 = muito *

	0	1	2	3	4
a) A localidade ou cidade onde você vive					
b) O estado ou região do país onde você vive					
c) Seu país como um todo					
d) América do Sul					
e) Andes					
f) América Latina					
g) O mundo como um todo					

2. Por favor responda a cada item escolhendo a alternativa mais próxima de refletir sua opinião. 0 = discordo completamente; 1 = discordo levemente; 2 = neutro; 3 = concordo levemente; 4 = concordo completamente *

	0	1	2	3	4
a) A América do Sul tem uma existência real como grupo					
b) Os sul-americanos têm ideais semelhantes					
c) Sul-americanos de países diferentes deveriam interagir mais entre si					
d) Os sul-americanos compartilham uma história comum					
e) Os sul-americanos compartilham um futuro comum					
f) Sul-americanos de países diferentes são mais semelhantes do que diferentes uns dos outros					
g) Eu sinto uma forte ligação com outros sul-americanos					
h) Eu interajo frequentemente com sul-americanos de outros países					

3. Por favor responda a cada item escolhendo a alternativa mais próxima de refletir sua opinião: 0 = nunca; 1 = raramente; 2 = às vezes; 3 = frequentemente; 4 = sempre *

	0	1	2	3	4
a) Eu busco informações a respeito de eventos em minha comunidade e/ou país					
b) Eu busco informações a respeito de eventos na América do Sul					
c) Eu leio livros, jornais, revistas, ou sites em línguas estrangeiras					
d) Eu discuto assuntos de política local e/ou nacional quando me encontro com amigos ou parentes					
e) Eu discuto assuntos de política a nível sul-americano quando me encontro com amigos ou parentes					
f) Eu participo de reuniões e/ou comícios políticos públicos, ou vou para protestos					
g) Eu sinto que recebo informação suficiente sobre organismos multilaterais na América do Sul					
h) Eu sinto o impacto de organismos multilaterais regionais em minha vida cotidiana					

4. Quanto você confia nas seguintes instituições em seu país? Alternativas de resposta: 0 = nada; 1 = levemente; 2 = indeciso; 3 = bastante; 4 = muito *

	0	1	2	3	4
a) As Forças Armadas					
b) A Polícia					
c) Congresso					
d) Governo					
e) Poder Judiciário					
f) Os partidos políticos					
g) Os órgãos eleitorais					

5. Quanto você confia nos seguintes organismos internacionais? Alternativas de resposta: 0 = nada; 1 = levemente; 2 = indeciso; 3 = bastante; 4 = muito *

	0	1	2	3	4
a) Organização das Nações Unidas					
b) Organização de Estados Americanos					
c) UNASUL					
d) PROSUL					
e) Comunidade Andina					
f) MERCOSUL					

6. Você acha que: 0 = discordo completamente; 1 = discordo levemente; 2 = neutro; 3 = concordo levemente; 4 = concordo completamente *

	0	1	2	3	4
a) A maioria das pessoas são confiáveis					
b) A maioria das pessoas tentaria tirar vantagem de você se tivesse a chance					
c) A maior parte do tempo as pessoas tentam ser prestativas					

7. Quanto você confia em pessoas de diferentes países sul-americanos? Alternativas de resposta: 0 = nada; 1 = levemente; 2 = indeciso; 3 = bastante; 4 = muito *

	0	1	2	3	4
Argentina					
Brasil					
Bolívia					
Chile					
Colômbia					
Equador					
Guiana					
Paraguai					
Peru					
Suriname					
Uruguai					
Venezuela					

8. Quando você pensa na América do Sul, que sentimento vem primeiro à sua mente? *

9. Qual sua opinião para o futuro da América do Sul como uma comunidade integrada? *

Você se identifica como:*

Uma mulher

Um homem

Outro

Qual a sua idade? (somente números) *

Em qual país você mora? *

Qual é a sua nacionalidade? *

Appendix 2: Qualitative responses

8. Quando você pensa na América do Sul, que sentimento vem primeiro à sua mente?
Atraso
Bom
Desrespeito
No momento, preocupação
Incertezas.
Desunião
Orgulho
Um pouco de receio.
Sentimento de bagunça, desorganização.
Faixa Sul-Sul
Sentimento de que é necessário evoluir muito ainda
Diversas culturas
Apatia
Alegria
Somos subestimados
Potencial reprimido pelo desserviço de líderes políticos desqualificados e corruptos e políticas públicas ineficientes obsoletas
Identidade
Muito potencial mal aproveitado.
Calor (humano e climático)
Desmanche
Incivilidade
indiferença
Indiferença
Insegurança
Viagem
Que ainda temos que desenvolver muit
orgulho
Autoidentidade, todos nós compartilhamos de mesma historia.
Amor ao meu país.
Saudade
Grande Potencial desperdiçado
Acolhimento
Riqueza cultural e ambiental
Lar
Roubo
Tristeza
Comunidades com culturas muito diferentes entre si
Pobreza
Pobreza
Desvalorização dos povos.
Alegria
Insegurança
Uma região extremamente explorada com historico de conflito político-economico que nunca acaba
No filme Apocalipto e em polarização política e social.
Natureza perfeita
Admiração pela cultura, mas tristeza por muitas situações socioeconômicas
Países subdesenvolvidos
Tristeza
Amor por futebol
Países distantes culturalmente, embora vizinhos.
Precisa de melhoras
Comunismo
Tristeza
escassez

Crescimento
Nada
Opressao
Bem mais evoluído
Casa
Continente abençoado
Alegria
Prosperidade
Fraternidade
Desejo de maior integração frente outras potências
Orgulho da nossa cultura
Decepcionado
Países subdesenvolvidos
Diversidade
Esperança
Necessidade de evolução
Tristeza
Sentimento de pertencimento e que faço parte de uma rica história em termos culturais
Bloco do terceiro mundo. (segundo as grandes potências)
Não sei
Um lindo continente!
Amor
Atraso
União
Alegria
Tristeza
Cultura andina, indígenas
Continente rico, mas eternamente explorado pelo primeiro mundo!
Lar atual
Falta de união
Alguma similaridade, porém unidades muito distintas em vários aspectos.
Dó
Comunidade
Atraso
Esperança
Precisa de união
Um continente/um bloco
Desejo de unificação das lutas
Sentimento de dependência
O carinho das pessoas prá ajudar outras pessoas
Solidariedade
Mesmas dificuldades
Desarmonia
tristeza, veias abertas
Em desenvolvimento.
Que estamos de costas para os demais países da América do Sul. Deveríamos nos integrar mais.
Amizade
Catencia de mais união.
Deveríamos ser mais unidos e educados
Coletividade
Desunião.
Diferente por falarmos portugues e nao espanhol como os demais países
Um local excelente para se viver, mas com políticos muito corrupto
União
Pertencimento
Povo sofrido
Uniao
Subjulgados

Todis os países deveriam lutar pela democracia plena
Saudade
De pena.
Desigualdade
Me veio solidariedade
Países decadentes
Povo sofrido
Alegria
Exploração
Pena
Distanciamento
Corrupção
Saudade
Compaixão
Decepcionado
Preocupação com a educação
Potencial
Violencia
Amor
Proximidade cultural
Tristeza
Otimismo
É preciso muita luts e resistência para superar as opressões internas e externas.
Tristeza pela falta de união
Compre dólar
Poderia ser melhor
Casa
Origem
Conhecer outros países
Beleza natural
Esperanza
Luta, resistência, genocidio, pobreza, desigualdade social, exploração capitalista
Golpes contra a democracia
Desnível social
Falta de união e desigualdade
Comunismo
Falta de união
Bagunça
Exploração a partir da invasão europeia.
Pertencimento
Integração regional estratégica de uma Pátria Grande tendo em vista alcançar autonomia e desenvolvimento nacional e regional
Xenofobia
sucateamento de recursos
Desigualdade
produção de mão e infraestrutura para o mundo
luta
Seria ótima a união desses países.
Calorosidade
Indígenas
Liberdade
Desperdício de recursos
Resistência
Patria Comum
Injustiça
Tinha que ter a mesma língua
Resistência
Força Coletiva

9. Qual sua opinião para o futuro da América do Sul como uma comunidade integrada?
Hoje, não acho viável. Primeiramente, os países deveriam amenizar (já que resolver está complicado) os graves problemas internos, que são de diversas naturezas sociais, políticas, econômicas, etc.
Nada
Crescimento
Sem opinião
Incerto .
Não vejo o necessário para um crescimento integrado
Confiança
Acho difícil. Mentalidades muito diferentes. Além disso, continente muito rico e cada um quer o melhor para si.
Não tenho uma opinião formada sobre esse assunto.
Cooperação e aprofundamento das integrações
Em minha opinião é necessário muito conhecimento e evolução para que possa ser considerada uma comunidade integrada fazendo conexão com outras comunidades
Tem chances de desenvolverem juntos
Acredito que se queremos conquistar mais, precisamos de maior união e ela vai acontecer.
Junto com a barreira da linguagem, o Brasil se comporta como não parte da América do Sul e acho muito difícil que seja possível essa integração. Seria mais fácil entre os outros países da América do Sul
Unida com o propósito de crescer economicamente
Não muito prospero
Confesso que não sei qual seria a melhor saída.
Caso a polarização política se fortaleça, a realidade ideal de uma comunidade integrada se afasta cada vez mais.
Foi desmantelado esse sentimento
Explorada ao limite
Nunca parei pra pensar nisso, então no momento, não tenho uma opinião formada.
Nunca pensei nisso, não tenho opinião formada
Incerteza
Com união governamental poderiam se tornar super potências mundiais
Crescimento
Esperança de melhores condições de vida e respeito
Que nunca teremos de fato uma utopia, a paz absoluta é inalcançável.
Seríamos uma potência mundial.
não acredito que a América do Sul poderá ser uma comunidade integrada
É um sonho que dificilmente trará o esperado futuro próspero, por conta de problemas sociais (principalmente criminalidade e desigualdade), problemas econômicos e principalmente corrupção.
Pode dar certo, mas necessita maiores esforços
Não vejo muita integração, talvez uma “manutenção” das organizações já existentes.
Em hipótese alguma deve ocorrer
Sem opinião formada
Coletivismo é lixo
Acho que há pouca integração, ainda mais no atual governo. Deve haver mais diálogo e busca de pontos em comum entre as nações
Falta mais união entre povos, menos política e mais miscigenação
Não tem futuro
Capitalismo dificulta integração.
Não tenho opinião formada sobre.
Incerteza
Minhas projeções não são positivas dado a situação político econômica do Brasil, da Argentina, na Venezuela, etc
Os países Sul Americanos não tem muitas comunidades integradas nem internamente, quem dirá em nível continental.
Muitas vitórias
Não sei
Deveriam ser mais unidos
Improvável
Não vai acontecer

Uma colcha de retalhos. A integração poderia ser interessante em vários aspectos, mas isso vai de encontro a interesses externos. Desunidos somos mais interessantes.
Não vai melhorar enquanto as pessoas não fizerem melhor
Capitalismo e existência de mercado forte fortificando o laço entre os países
Deveria ser integrada desde o início, porém, acho algo difícil de acontecer em um futuro próximo.
Acho difícil
Precisa melhorar muito
Nenhuma
Sem opiniao
Quando se tem uma política de responsabilidade tudo flui bem.
Sem futuro
Promissor
Ainda é muito nova essa ideia
Muito boa, crescimento para todos
Stop-and-go.
Sou bastante a favor, mas acredito que não há vontade política nas lideranças atuais - é preciso muita mudança nesse sentido
Juntos somos mais fortes
Utópica
Um futuro imprevisível
Torcendo para que governos nacionalistas caiam pra que aconteça
Prosperidade
Não sei se funcionaria
Nenhum
Acho isso ainda bem difícil, pois há grandes divergências políticas entre os países, em especial o Brasil em relação aos países vizinhos atualmente.
Não vejo grandes mudanças. Mas acredito que uma colaboração maior seria benéfico a todos.
Não sei
Penso que será muito bom para a região se essa integração se der de fato.
Desuniao
Acho que há falta de interesse dos governos.
Um sonho a ser realizado.
Distante, falta muito para isso.
Não dará certo devido a interesses políticos de cada país.
Riqueza cultural
Quase impossível
Pouco chances
Podemos ser uma comunidade integrada, desde que não seja um regime político socialista ou comunista como na Venezuela.
Difícilmente acontecerá
Promissora
Ainda conseguiremos nos relacionar como amigos.
Fraca
Difícil pois existem muitas diferenças econômicas e políticas..
Seria o ideal
Pouco promissor. Não estamos buscando integração, infelizmente.
Gostaria
Uma forte chance de se tornar uma comunidade mais fortalecida e independente
Ter mais empregos, ter alimentação mais barata. Ter os Povos mais Unidos principalmente o mais Pobres
Integrada nos teríamos muitas chances de enfrentar o poderio norte-americano e europeu.
Não vejo uma integração
Força e pujança
Necessária para sobreviver
União.
Não vejo essa possibilidade num futuro próximo, tendo em vista as divergências de cunho ideológico e político, diferenças socio-econômicas e culturais, além da pressão dos interesses econômicos.
Caso haja de fato essa integração na América do Sul o futuro é muito promissor e com muitas possibilidades no campo da tecnologia, conhecimento e inovação.

É possível, mas depende de todos nós.
Temos um longo caminho a percorrer ainda, por conta de desigualdades sociais e econômicas
Será a alternativa mais viável para tornar os países sul americanos mais fortes.
Com os governos de direita e populistas que tenho visto o futuro comum é muito difícil.
Pouco provável
Não há possibilidade de uma comunidade integrada
Fortalecimento dos países
Não creio
Não acredito numa América Latina integrada
Impossível
Parcialmente nos próximos 40 anos.
Fico indecisa sobre o futuro da América do Sul. Alguns países são socialistas causando muota pobreza e sofrimento ao povo.
Maior independência e com isso melhora de economia em geral
Nas relações comerciais talvez possa existir algum elo, mas poucas relações sociais.
Melhoria econômica
Acredito que há grandes oportunidades, se tivermos governos decentes com senso de comunidade que não é o caso do Brasil hoje
Muito difícil
Não acredito numa América Latina integrada
Pouco provável devido a falta de coesão das massas, consequentemente fora das pautas políticas de médio e baixo escalão
Sou favorável a uma união, formação de um bloco latino Americano.
Nula
Não acho que consigam
Não vejo união
Uma boa alternativa para fortalecer os países
Meu desejo é que se integre mas, desconfio disso
Utópica
Precisa melhorar a questão política partidária investir na educação e divisão de renda.
Seria uma grande potência se aproveitasse toda sua capacidade
Será uma necessidade!
Esse futuro, se possível algum dia, está muito distante
Não vai acontecer pq não é de interesse global
Espero que não só a América Latina, mas o mundo se integre mais
Enquanto a maioria dos governos forem de direita e extrema-direita, as perspectivas de um continente integrado e com soberania política e social, as perspectivas são nulas.
Precisa se fortalecer
Inexistente
Não sei responder essa
Não tenho uma opinião formada
Incerto
Difícil de acontecer
Acho que não iria dar certo, por questões políticas e socio-econômicas
Union
Acho que conseguiremos nos unir, após muitas lutas
Um sonho distante
Tenho medo de virarmos Cuba ou Venezuela
Muito difícil de integrar
Poucas chances atuais de ocorrer
Muito importante essa integração
Incerto
Certa vez eu li na internet que na América do Sul "somos um povo sem pernas, porém que segue caminhando". É isso que eu sinto. Apesar de todo o nosso passado de exploração, estamos seguindo em frente e buscando alternativas para nos tornarmos uma comunidade. Embora criar esse sentimento de pertencimento seja extremamente difícil.
É a única saída frente ao neoliberalismo

Somente a união poderá nos tornar mais fortes e desenvolvidos, sendo uma estratégia indispensável para superar a dependência
Fim da xenofobia
acredito que as tendências de integração são essenciais para o desenvolvimento das nações sul americanas, principalemnte por haver uma história parecida com problemáticas políticas semelhantes em ambito local e gloca: recursos naturais, ondas neoliberais, indices de pobreza e distribuição de renda, consequencias de ditaduras não tão antigas, inconstância governamental e outros.
União sem olhar para cima da linah do equador
os países precisam dialogar mais para se ajudaram e acabar com os americanos
Sera possível através da luta do povo de
Creio possível e em andamento.
Uma maior integração da América do Sul é necessária e possível, porém num futuro um pouco mais distante.
Teríamos menos diferenças sociais
Progresso
Mínimo, quase nenhum
Utopia
União ou dominação.
A ser construída
Difícil
Necessário
Acho válido