

Building Transnational Networks

CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE
POLITICS OF TRADE IN THE
AMERICAS

MARISA VON BÜLOW



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page	xiii
<i>List of Tables</i>		xiv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>		xvii

Part One Civil Society Organizations and Their Pathways to Transnationality

1. INTRODUCTION	3
What Is Transnational Collective Action?	5
Why Trade?	9
Why the Americas?	10
Researching Networks in Political Contexts	13
Disclaimers and Main Arguments	16
The Plan of the Book	18
2. MULTIPLE PATHWAYS TO TRANSNATIONALITY	20
The National in Transnational Collective Action	22
Pathways to Transnationality	25

Part Two The Politicization of Trade

3. THE CONTENTIOUS NATURE OF TRADE DEBATES	39
The Creation of a Global Trade Regime and Civil Society Participation	42
4. NEW REGIONALISM IN THE AMERICAS	49
Different Civil Society Responses to NAFTA and MERCOSUR	51
Lessons from NAFTA and MERCOSUR	63

Part Three The Dynamics of Networks

5. TRADE PROTEST NETWORKS	67
Who Are Your Closest Allies?	69
Who Are Your Closest Allies in Other Countries?	76
6. THE ORIGINS AND DYNAMICS OF TRADE CHALLENGERS' NETWORKS	81
The Power of Labor Organizations and Its Limits	81
"We Want Our Own Space": The Rise of Rural Transnationalism	92
The Potential Brokerage Roles of NGOs	103
The Strength of Missing Ties	112

Part Four Organizational Pathways to Transnationality

7. THE CREATION AND DEMISE OF TRANSNATIONAL COALITIONS	117
Campaign and Affiliation Coalition-Building Modes	118
The Creation of the Hemispheric Social Alliance	121
The Continental Campaign against the FTAA	128
8. DIFFUSION AND DIFFERENTIATION OF NATIONAL COALITIONS	131
The Cases of RMALC in Mexico and the ACJR in Chile	133
Coalition Building in the United States and Brazil: Different Pathways within the Same Country	142
National Coalitions: From Gateways to Gatekeepers?	149

Part Five The Search for Ideational Pathways

9. ALTERNATIVES FOR THE AMERICAS	155
Mechanisms and Ideational Pathways	158
The Sovereignty Dilemma	161
10. TRANSNATIONAL COLLECTIVE ACTION IN DYNAMIC POLITICAL CONTEXTS	176
Transnational Collective Action and Political Systems	179
Are New Opportunities for Domestic Action New Threats to Transnational Action?	186

Contents

11. CONCLUSIONS: AGENCY, NETWORKS, AND COLLECTIVE ACTION	190
The National Dimension	190
The Asymmetry Dimension	193
Have Trade Agreements Gone Too Far?	196
<i>Main Abbreviations Used</i>	201
<i>Appendix A: Lists of Interviews</i>	207
<i>Appendix B: Social Network Questionnaire (United States)</i>	219
<i>Bibliography</i>	235
<i>Index</i>	251