

The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series

THE RELEVANCE OF REGIONS IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

**BRIDGING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES—
HUMANITIES GAP**

Edited by
Galia Press-Barnathan, Ruth Fine and
Arie M. Kacowicz



The Relevance of Regions in a Globalized World

This volume provides a unique open inter-disciplinary dialogue across the Humanities and Social Sciences to further our understanding of the phenomenon of regions and regionalism in a globalized world both at the theoretical and empirical levels.

What comprises a region? What are the different regional dynamic processes that take place? What is the relationship between the regional and the global? What role does identity building play? Bringing together scholars from various disciplines within and across the Social Sciences and the Humanities to reflect on these questions, the book explores how regions are imagined, constructed, understood, and explained in different academic disciplines. Each chapter addresses these common questions and uses its own disciplinary lenses to answer them. In addition, the volume offers interesting reflections on the academic borders constructed in the study of regions, thus demonstrating the importance of obtaining insights from both social scientists and humanities scholars in order to better understand the relevance of regions in a complex and globalized world.

An important work for scholars and postgraduate students in many fields, including political science, international relations, sociology, economics, geography, history, and literature, as well as for those interested in regionalism and area studies.

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Preface

This book stemmed from the International Conference organized on 14–16 December 2015, by the European Forum at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (HU). The Conference included twenty-six papers, three roundtables, and six panels all dealing with the topic of the relevance of regions and area studies in a globalized world. The Conference was co-organized by the editors of this volume, Galia Press-Barnathan, Arie M. Kacowicz, and Ruth Fine, as an initiative of the latter, as the former Director of the European Forum. The aim was to promote an inter-disciplinary dialogue across the Humanities and Social Sciences over the relevance of regions and area studies for a better understanding of regionalism, trans-regional processes, and globalization.

The Conference was a meeting place for international scholars to engage in an intellectual fruitful reflection about the dynamics of regionalism and area studies, alongside globalization, nationalism, and post-nationalism in our contemporary world. It was particularly fascinating to assess the role of Europe as a model for regionalism and area studies, in juxtaposition to other regions of the world. By bringing together the expertise and collaboration of several Research Institutes and Centers at the Hebrew University (such as the European Forum; the Harry S Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace; the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations; the Liwerant Center for the Study of Latin American and Spain; the Frieberg Center for East-Asian Studies; the Halbert Center for Canadian Studies; and the Nehemia Levtzion Center for Islamic Studies), as well as the cooperation with the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto, the Henry Jackson School for International Studies at Brown University, and the KFG Research College “The Transformative Power of Europe” at the Freie Universität Berlin, we were able to create a unique unprecedented academic synergy among scholars from various disciplines and empirical backgrounds, bringing together researchers with rather diverse theoretical and epistemological perspectives for a productive and challenging dialogue.

The place of regions in general in the academic curriculum at the HU, in Israel and in general, has been a constant source of thought and preoccupation for the co-organizers of the Conference and editors of this book. We soon discovered that this interest and preoccupation were shared by many of our colleagues of different Faculties and disciplines, as well as of other universities. Hence the initiative

of the Conference and of this book, which we believe is a pioneer venture in the academic milieu.

It could be claimed that the history of the body of knowledge that we call *area studies* goes back to the beginnings of the European imperial expansion, but area studies only came on the scene systematically with the division of the world into national states that covered and almost completed the globe after 1945. It was believed that intellectual assumptions and academic practices in area studies depended on the power of national states to define territories marked by distinct boundaries of culture and history. Hence, national states have been understood as the primary institutional base for area studies, and consequently some of the main critiques to the field include its possible links with imperialism, Orientalism, and the much-questioned notion of nation-state. Already for decades, social and political movements inside national territories have challenged the legitimacy of existing states, political and economic developments have changed state boundaries, and globalization has undermined the power of states to organize separate economies and cultural systems. Moreover, it is not unusual to hear the claim that national interests justified funding for area studies in the universities, although it is apparent that mostly the academic interest arose from the need to understand national identities and cultural diversity.

Nevertheless, in our present world, we are witnessing processes that turn the need to reconsider the regional and area studies as a serious matter, such as a possible new version of the Cold War or the policies, both national and regional/international, that react to massive migratory displacements. Boundaries and differences seem to be still very relevant, even when they are shifting and in constant flux. The world's non-European languages and literatures are not dying out; the opposite is the case. National states continue to produce currencies, protect national economies, and sponsor and strengthen national languages and cultures. At the same time, regions are a permanent feature of our present world culture, even and especially when challenged.

Area and regional studies differ in their dominant approaches and institutional frameworks. As Szanton (2004, 4) rightly notes, "the individual Area Studies fields are neither internally homogeneous, nor are they similar to each other. Indeed, examined up close, they are strikingly distinctive in their political, institutional, and intellectual histories, and in their relationships with the disciplines." Moreover, such important differences of approach regarding area studies influence the organization of the academic curricula and study programs.

Stemming from these and many other considerations, we suggested two major fields of discussion for the Conference, and subsequently for the edited volume:

- 1 *The multiple empirical dimensions of regions, regionalism, and trans-regional entanglements*: The empirical phenomenon of regions and regionalism across different disciplines (i.e., political science, international relations, economics, history, sociology, cultural studies, communications); different issue-areas (i.e., ideology and religion; migration and refugees; borders, peace, and security; norms and identity; economics and development); and

inter-relations between different regions (i.e., North America, Latin America, Europe, East Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, and Sub-Saharan Africa), and across time. Of particular interest were the importance of area expertise for explaining and understanding new trans-regional phenomena (such as diasporas), or inter-regional interdependencies brought about by processes of globalization.

- 2 *The ontology, epistemology, and methodology of studying regions*: Based on the empirical discussions of regions and regionalism, this theme reflected and illuminated issues not often discussed in the academic study of regions and regionalism. In other words, we emphasized different ontological and epistemological perspectives about how to think about regions and trans-regional processes and how to study them. In particular, we wanted to explore differences (but also commonalities) in the academic perspectives among scholars from the Humanities and scholars from the Social Sciences, looking for forms of cooperation, diffusion, and cross-fertilization across different scholarly areas and disciplines.

The discussions developed on the basis of those fields were thought-provoking and inspiring. At the conclusion of the Conference we were convinced of the need to continue the reflection on the relevance of regions through a dialogue between the Social Sciences and the Humanities, and that a book platform for this purpose was required. From the array of twenty-six papers that were presented in the December Conference, we selected ten chapters, and commissioned two more (Hartmann and Sela), aiming to cover many of the regions of the world. This selection was based on the focus of interest of the papers and their authors, as well as their relevance for the more specific goals of the book.

Undoubtedly, the discussion on comparative regionalism has intensified again in recent years (see Boerzel and Risse 2016), and this book intends to be an important contribution to this renewed discussion. Different regions are represented in the book: Southeast and East Asia, Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. It should be of interest for scholars from area studies, geography, international relations, history, and cultural studies as well. Individual chapters are relevant to other disciplines as well (e.g., IPE and security studies in International Relations, or literature). Mostly, the book aims to bridge the gap between Social Sciences and Humanities approaches in the study of regions.

The present volume aims to contribute to our understanding of regionalism by offering different and sometimes new perspectives and multiple methodologies, with an emphasis upon qualitative studies, textual, literary, and hermeneutic analysis, historical methods, and quantitative (statistics) ones. Furthermore, the chapters adopt different definitions and approaches of regions, drawing distinctions between area studies and regional studies. Consequently, the book speaks to a range of different disciplines and subject areas. It is very broad, while at the same time it has a specific focus on regions.

We hope that this volume will be a significant contribution to the advancement of the debate on the regional and area studies in the academic milieu and in

general, creating a unique unprecedented academic synergy among scholars from various disciplines and empirical backgrounds towards a productive dialogue. We firmly believe that this is important both for the understanding of the geopolitical changes in our present times but also to enhance the academic development of the universities structure and curricula.

We would like to express our deep gratitude to the partners and sponsors of the December 2015 Conference: the Munk School of Global Studies at University of Toronto and the German Academic Exchange Service, DAAD, the Haifa Center for German and European Studies at the University of Haifa, and at the HU: The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, The Harry S Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, The Louis Frieberg Center for East-Asian Studies, and The Halbert Centre for Canadian Studies. Finally, we want to convey our gratitude to the Administrative Director of the European Forum, Elisheva Moatti, for her wonderful work in the organization of the Conference, and to all the participants for their important and stimulating contributions that were the basis for the present book, including Christian Baden, Ayelet Banai, Jacques Bertrand, Louise Bethlehem, Michal Biran, Emmanuelle Blanc, Tanja Boerzel, Tomer Broude, Naomi Chazan, Asher Cohen, Michal Daliot-Bul, Tal Dingott-Alkopher, Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann, Carlos Escudé, James Green, Yoram Z. Haftel, Lior Herman, Dirk Horder, Steven Kaplan, Claudia Kedar, Exequiel Lacovsky, Bruce Maddy-Weitzmann, Edward D. Mansfield, Benjamin Miller, Mor Mitrani, David Newman, Ton Nijhuis, Nissim Otmazgin, Anton Pelinka, Yuri Pines, Norrin Ripsman, Thomas Risse, Luis Roniger, Michael Roessner, Rehav Rubin, Eli Salzberger, Frank Schimmelfennig, Avraham Sela, Fredrik Soderbaum, Etel Solingen, Keren Tennenboim-Weinblatt, Christian Thauer, Alfred Tovias, Daniel F. Wajner, Martina Weisz, and Henry Yu.

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Jerusalem, June 2018

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Abbreviations

ACP	Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific
AD	Antidumping
AL	Arab League
ALBA	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our Americas
ANC	African National Congress
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APSA	The African Peace and Security Architecture
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATLAS	<i>Agrupación de Trabajadores Latinoamericanos Sindicalistas</i>
AU	African Union
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CAN	Community of Andean Nations
CEFTA	Central European Free Trade Agreement/Area
CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
CEMAC	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa
CET	Common External Tariff
CFTA	(African) Continental Free Trade Area
CLCS	UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPA	Cordilleran People's Alliance (Philippines)
CU	Customs Union
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ESCC	European Steel and Coal Community
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Area
FTAA	Free Trade Area in the Americas

GAFTA	Greater Arab Free Trade Area
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HU	Hebrew University of Jerusalem
IFPI	International Federation of the Phonographic Industry
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPE	International Political Economy
IPRA	Indigenous People's Rights Act (Philippines)
IR	International Relations
IS	Islamic State
JI	Jemaah Islamiyah
LAIA	Latin American Integration Association
LDC	Least Developed Country
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MERCOSUR	Common Market of the South
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (Japan)
MFN	Most Favored Nation
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front (Philippines)
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRU	Mano River Union
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NPA	New People's Army (Philippines)
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PRI	<i>Partido Revolucionario Institucional</i> (Mexico)
PSC	Peace and Security Council (in African Union)
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreement
REC	Regional Economic Community
REO	Regional Economic Organization
RSC	Regional Security Complex
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SS	Social Sciences
SS-H	Social Sciences-Humanities (gap)
TFTA	Tripartite Free Trade Area
UMOA	Union Monetaire Ouest Africaine
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

xx *Abbreviations*

UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission on Africa
U.S.	United States
VIIT	Vertical Intra-Industry Trade
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WGIP	Working Group on Indigenous Populations
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWII	World War Two

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1 Regions in a globalized world

Bridging the Social Sciences–Humanities gap

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The study of regions in the Social Sciences and in the Humanities

Traditionally, *area studies* have been a prominent field in the Humanities, with reference to the study of different regions and cultures throughout the world. In the Social Sciences, specifically in the fields of American Political Science and International Relations, there has been a policy-driven interest in the study of regions during the Cold War era and in the wake of the Cold War and the struggle for regional influence among the United States, the former Soviet Union (a resurgent Russia), and a rising China. The renewed interest in regions and regionalism has developed since the end of the Cold War, as the traditional intrusive overlay of great power competition between the Soviet Union/Russia and the United States has diminished, and as regional economic cooperation frameworks such as the EU, ASEAN, MERCOSUR, and NAFTA have become more prominent. Scholars studying war and peace focus more on regional security complexes than on the overall international system (e.g., Buzan and Wæver 2003; Miller, Chapter 5 in this volume). Similarly, scholars studying the international political economy (IPE) have also been paying greater attention to the regional level, with a dramatic rise in the literature on regional economic organizations (REOs) (see Haftel and Wajner, Chapter 3; Hartmann, Chapter 4, this volume). This literature has followed the empirical growth of such institutions and of various regional economic arrangements, like Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) (see Mansfield, Chapter 2, this volume). The discussion of such regional economic organizations has been often framed in the context of broader processes of economic globalization and their impact on the regional level.

This interest joined and further advanced an earlier line of research that had developed since the 1950s, examining the processes of regional integration, with a particular focus upon the European case. European integration, often perceived as *sui generis*, has become a phenomenon that received an increasingly sophisticated treatment from a comparative perspective, as scholars considered the conditions under which different elements of regional cooperation and integration could travel to other regions; for instance, from Europe to Latin America, or from Europe to Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The research program of comparative

regionalism has tried to deal with these conditions more explicitly in recent times (e.g., Boerzel and Risse 2016). Since the early 1990s, to the existing positivist, rationalist literature exploring security and economic dynamics of regions we could add a new body of literature, following the rise of Constructivist and critical theories in the field of International Relations. This new literature shifted its focus to issues related to the social construction of regions and of regional identity (e.g., Acharya 2009 and 2012; Acharya and Johnston 2009). Furthermore, a second recent body of literature – the so-called “New Regionalism” approach – urged the need to move away from a study of regions focused on states and high politics in the direction of studying non-state actors and interactions that are a central component of regional dynamics (see Hettne and Söderbaum 1998; Söderbaum and Shaw 2003). This new approach, still nested in the Social Sciences, suggests the need for a greater understanding of the peculiarities of different regional contexts, more often found among regional, area-studies specialists. In a parallel fashion, the Humanities have also experienced by the turn of the century a declining reference to political or geopolitical regions, favoring instead Constructivist or relativistic perspectives, based on categories such as memory, identity, and ethnicity.

Despite this growing research, the exploration of regions and of regional processes is far from being complete. We are witnessing political and socio-economic processes that suggest the urgent need to reconsider the relevance of regional and area studies as a crucial matter, such as the refugee crisis in Europe, the dramatic British decision to leave the European Union (‘Brexit’), and the Catalan demands for secession from Spain. Boundaries and national differences still seem to matter in our age of globalization, even when they are shifting and being constantly challenged and under pressure. Far from disappearing, the world’s non-European languages and literatures are flourishing. National states continue to defend their currencies, protect private property, develop capital accumulation, and sponsor their national languages and cultures. At the same time, regions are a permanent component of our present world culture and world politics, even when they are dynamically evolving and constantly challenged. In sum, in our complex world we witness the simultaneous and parallel dynamic forces of globalization, nationalism, and regionalism. These forces might overlap and compete with each other, so in order to make sense of the world we have to address their complex dynamics and linkages (see Kacowicz 1999).

Whatever interactions existed between the Social Sciences’ literature on regions and regionalism with its heavy emphasis upon comparative analysis and theory-driven research, and the literature from the Humanities, with its particular focus on specific regions and states, the academic research focused for many years on what was known as *area studies*. Area studies emerged in the highly political context of the early years of the Cold War, driven by the decision-makers’ conviction that in order to ‘win’ different regions in the global competition, it was necessary to understand them from within, exploring their history, culture, and language. At that time, scholars and practitioners believed that intellectual assumptions and academic practices in area studies depended first and foremost on the power of national states to define the contours of culture and history. Hence, traditionally

national states have provided the primary institutional basis for the development of area studies. Consequently, the field has been criticized on the grounds of promoting imperialism, orientalism, and the questioned notion of the paramountcy of nation-states. Moreover, area studies had led to the proliferation of 'area experts,' scholars who adopted largely the research tools of the Humanities, but whose findings also served explicit political purposes. As academic dynamics developed, clear fault lines and inherent rivalries emerged between these 'area experts,' stressing the unique characteristics of a given state or region they were studying, and theory-driven scholars seeking to apply their general social science tools to explore broader patterns and similarity across regions (see the exchange between Robert Bates and Chalmers Johnson 1997 in this context).

However, with the end of the Cold War, two important trends emerged. First, funding for area studies has declined, both for research and in the universities' curricula (see Katzenstein 2001). Second, the gap between social science research on regions and area studies' approaches has narrowed. Nowadays, a new brand of social scientists and area specialist scholars combine both the mastering of political science and of international relations theories with a broad scholarly knowledge of a particular region of the world. They use both Social Sciences methods and an expertise in the language and culture of the region they are studying, so they are particularly sensitive to its regional peculiarities.

While social science researchers on regions have interacted over the years with area studies' specialists, they have ignored, or were even oblivious, of a diverse and rich body of literature that explores regions and their dynamics across various disciplines in the Humanities. This includes, for example, historical research that deals with pre-Westphalian or even pre-colonial regional and global realities; and research in the field of cultural studies, literature and arts. Conversely, these various explorations of regions and regional phenomena from the Humanities' perspectives and disciplines have been equally oblivious to important advances in the study of regions in the Social Sciences.

Hence, as editors and scholars coming from across this scholarly gap (two of us teach international relations with regional expertise on East Asia and Latin America, respectively, and one of us Iberian and Latin American literature), we believe that there is a growing need to find intellectual bridges across this divide. An open inter-disciplinary dialogue across the Humanities and Social Sciences over the relevance of regions and area studies will further our understanding of regionalism, trans-regional processes, and globalization, both at the theoretical and empirical levels. This is particularly relevant in our post-Cold War, complex, and even chaotic world.

The virtues of dialogue

Despite fundamental ontological, epistemological, and methodological differences between scholars in the Social Sciences and in the Humanities, there is much to be gained from an enhanced dialogue across disciplines, if we want to explain and understand the phenomena of regions and regional processes in the

contemporary world. The different jargon, as well as the different research drive and framing of research dealing with regional phenomena across the scholarly divide often mask important similarities in terms of questions, answers, and possible insights. Most scholars who study regions tend to view them not as primordial, but rather as socially constructed and dynamic, evolving rather than fixed. This is in itself already a starting point for dialogue.

Given the emphasis on the role of theoretical tools in explaining regional dynamics and the quest for finding recurrent patterns, social scientists are perhaps more explicit than scholars in the Humanities in their attempt to identify the various mechanisms that lead to the construction and reconstruction of regions. For instance, they focus on economic interdependence (Deutsch et al. 1957; Haas 1958), strategic interdependence (Buzan and Wæver 2003), or shared identities and the notion of a regional ‘cognitive prior’ and norm localization (Acharya 2009 and 2012), in order to explore how different types of interaction shape regions across the globe. Thus, regions receive meaning and significance in terms of economic interactions, geopolitics, movement of people, identity matters, and cultural exchanges and interchanges, whereas all of these can be studied from different disciplinary perspectives, both in the Social Sciences and in the Humanities.

In this sense, it remains essential to transcend the area studies’ focus in order to explore the research that deals with regions and regional dynamics from broader disciplinary perspectives from within the world of the Humanities – including history, cultural studies, religious studies, language, music, art, and literature. These areas are not familiar to most social scientists, nor do they necessarily engage each other as well, as disciplinary divides exist also *within* the Social Sciences and *within* the Humanities. We should follow here the wise advice of Sil and Katzenstein (2010), who coined the term “analytical eclecticism” to suggest that research that is driven by an empirical puzzle should be open to explore and combine different analytical and methodological approaches. This is clearly the case for those scholars trying to make sense of regions, and this is also the attitude we adopt as editors of this volume.

Beyond this rationale, increased dialogue across the disciplines can also serve to challenge, and therefore advance various theoretical arguments, and to examine the validity of the hypotheses and assumptions behind them. For instance, while most of the Social Science literature on regionalism has focused on the modern state system, scholars from the Humanities exploring regional processes clearly demonstrate that much was going on in terms of region building and regional processes well before the introduction of the modern nation-state. Thus, this type of research may be of great value for the ability of social scientists to explain and to understand the current and future evolution of regions, as intensified (but uneven) globalization is leading to the undermining of the Westphalian state as the primary building bloc in the construction and maintenance of regions. Similarly, economic trends challenge the centrality of the state, both from below and from above. We also find sub-national and trans-national political and ideational challenges to the nation-state, either in a political form (e.g., the demand of Catalans and Scots for independence), or

in a violent form (e.g., the reorganization if not implosion of Middle Eastern states through the violent campaigns of the Islamic State). Thus, regions are being re-shaped by various non-state actors, both benign and malign. For many social scientists, whose focus has been traditionally in the modern state era, this is a new and revolutionary trend, an uncharted territory in need of exploration and new maps. However, for historians studying, for example, Asian, African, or Latin American regionalism in pre-modern, pre-colonial, or pre-Colombian times, there is a strong sense of a *déjà vu* regarding processes of overlapping authorities and identities that remind us of the Medieval, pre-Westphalian times (e.g., the so-called “New Medievalism”; see Bull 1977). Their *long durée* scholarship can offer important insights that can help us to understand current trends.

As we examine regional dynamics across history and to this day, we find multiple processes for making, re-making, contesting, constructing, and de-constructing regions. These processes involve the making, contesting, and re-making of borders as well. For scholars of political science and international relations borders are largely associated with the political-legal principle of sovereignty of nation-states, though the contemporary study of regions suggests that borders are also more fluid. Borders may be shaped through geographic factors, or through purely political decisions, or through the development of distinct economic and political interactions within a certain area, or through cultural or linguistic interactions, or through a certain combination of all of these factors together. Understanding this empirical making of regions, and the ontology of regions, requires a broad and pluralistic trans-disciplinary approach, as we aim to achieve in this edited volume.

At the same time, turning our spotlight to the study of regions in the Social Sciences and in the Humanities also points out to a different type of borders being constructed: namely the *academic borders* shaped through our distinct jargon, methodologies, analytical frameworks and publication outlets. These academic borders represent competing epistemologies and conceptions of regions. Thus, our volume is an initial attempt and approximation to reflect on the socially constructed nature of these borders in a pluralistic, interdisciplinary, and tolerant way.

Questions that guide the study of regions in a globalized world

The goal of this book is to bring together scholars that examine different dimensions of regions and regionalism, from both the Social Sciences and the Humanities. We do not want to push for a forced integration of the literature and perhaps an artificial interdisciplinary research. Rather, we argue that if scholars truly interested in regions as a phenomenon become more acquainted with the type of questions asked, and the language used to explore them, by scholars from other disciplines, then a dialogue might become possible, leading to a direct cross-fruitation and perhaps a possible inter-disciplinary research. While the chapters in this volume appear quite different from one another, they all engage, in different ways, with several key questions related to the origin and dynamics of regions. In line with our agenda of a pluralistic dialogue, we preferred posing shared

questions, rather than (im)posing shared definitions for all authors to use. The broad questions/themes we posed were as follows:

- 1 What comprises a region?
- 2 What are the different regional dynamic processes that take place?
- 3 What is the relationship between the regional and the global dimensions?
- 4 What is the role of identity building when studying regions and trans-regional processes?

What comprises a region?

How can we conceptualize a region? Traditionally, an international region can be broadly defined as a limited number of states linked by a geographical relationship and by some degree of mutual interdependence. In addition to the geographical, physical dimension of the common boundaries, there is an ideational, cognitive, and inter-subjective component in the definition of a region (see Adler 1997). Regions can thus be conceived as an intermediate form of community between the national community of the state and a potential global community of humankind.

Regions can be perceived as comprised of individuals, states, formal institutions (inter-state organizations), and non-state actors including economic firms, non-governmental organizations, as well as ‘malign’ actors such as terrorist and criminal organizations. Whichever the lenses scholars choose to adopt, these actors are then seen as linked together into a regional system by formal or informal institutions (economic, security, social, cultural), economic interactions, and strategic interdependence. Those may be shaped from below (‘regionalization’), suggesting that we focus on the vernacular, grassroots, cultural, informal, and popular dimensions of regionalism. Conversely, they can be shaped from above (‘regionalism’), leading us to focus on the role of elites (political, religious, cultural, and economic) in shaping regions. There might be shared stories, narratives, and imaginations, which the regional actors generate, and those as well as may be affected by regional externalities. Thus, regions can be defined in material, geographic terms, but also in inter-subjective, ideational, non-material terms, sometimes transcending clear geographic definitions.

Neither one of these characteristics is necessarily linked to a certain disciplinary perspective. For example, whereas international relations scholars of international political economy focus on regional economic interdependence (see Mansfield, Chapter 2; Haftel and Wajner, Chapter 3; Hartmann, Chapter 4 in this volume), historians and migration experts emphasize as well socio-economic networks that are formed in regions (see Yu, Chapter 9, this volume). Historians like Benedict Anderson (1983) write about “imagined communities,” whereas social scientists like Amitav Acharya (2009 and 2012) offer an analysis of the social construction of regional identities. As we mentioned above, the traditional literature in political science regarding regionalism indeed did privilege the state as the central actor that both comprises a region and that determines its dynamics, whereas much of

the literature dealing with regions in the Humanities has been much more critical of the paramount role of the state. At the same time, since the early 1990s, the “New Regionalism” literature has challenged the state-centric approach to regionalism, opening up space for research on non-state actors and non-state-centric institutions and interactions as a major component of regionalism (see Hettne and Söderbaum 1998).

These various actors, whether people or political/economic units, all operate within a certain geographic setting, to which different scholars may attribute greater or lesser importance. Interestingly, among geographers as well the development of critical geopolitics as a subfield serves as a bridge to studies in the Humanities, as it focuses upon the various factors that shape individuals’ and groups’ geopolitical perceptions and imaginations (see Dittmer and Gray 2010).

What are the different regional dynamic processes that take place?

Based on the different understandings of what a region *is*, different scholars then focus on making sense of *different regional dynamic processes*. They can examine the formal state and inter-state levels (i.e., the signing of PTAs and the establishment of REOs and alliances); or the societal level (regional civil society organizations, regional communities of migrants, Diasporas, role of language, cultural production and its impact on a given region). Social scientists and Humanities’ scholars explore specific events that are important signposts in the evolution of a region, or *long durée* processes, or they assess the everyday practices that comprise the micro level of a given region.

Postcolonial studies, intellectual history, linguistic and cultural translation studies, and theories of collective memory can add a necessary input when addressing questions of de-territorialized circuits, crossing the borders between nations and focusing on the transnational negotiation of cultures. Thus, to make sense of different regional dynamic processes, we need also to study and discern how community identities are formed and what has been the role of cultural circulation processes in the formation of such regional identities. We should then consider regions not only in a geographical or cartographical way, but rather as dynamic entities, focusing on communities of people who live in specific regions and form regional civilizations, cultures or communities of memory, even if at times they might become diasporic in nature (see Yu, Chapter 9; Escudé, Chapter 10; Roessner, Chapter 12; and Kaplan, Chapter 13, in this volume).

What is the relationship between the regional and the global dimensions?

The theory and practice of globalization, as well as the development of regionalism, are the two key drivers in the development of the contemporary world order, alongside the resilient forces of nationalism. Thus, the tension between the territorially based system of political organization, in the form of nation-states, and the

dynamics of globalization, creates new room to assess the complex relationships between the regional and the global dimensions (on issues of peace and war see Miller, Chapter 5, this volume).

Studies of regionalism from different disciplines often touch upon the nature of the interaction between the region and the broader global system. In the field of international relations scholars often debate the nature of these complex linkages – does globalization supersede regionalism and turn the region into a less relevant unit? Conversely, is enhanced regional cooperation a reaction to the challenges of globalization, both functional challenges (regional economies of scale have to compete globally in a better way), or/and identity challenges (how to find a compromise between the local and global realms)? (See Kacowicz 2018). How do different regions interact with one another in a global system? Are they bound to compete, or is the changing, transnational nature of economic regionalism suggesting a different trajectory (of trans-regionalism, for instance)?

Several prominent works have explored the impact of globalization and global exposure on regional developments. Etel Solingen (e.g. 1998, 2008) suggested that the challenges of globalization play an underlying role in pushing regional states to liberalize, and that the emergence of domestic liberalizing coalitions may in turn help pacify regions. Peter Katzenstein suggested that regions nowadays are porous, and they operate within a U.S. imperium (2005). Conversely, Amitav Acharya (2007) suggested that regions have greater autonomy from the global system. Yet, historical literature on migratory trends shows that regions were always porous, that their borders were constantly in flux, and that they long had a significant transnational dimension (see Yu, Chapter 9, this volume). Moreover, in-depth examination of specific regions also demonstrate how global phenomena manifest themselves differently in different regions, something noted in the Humanities before it was addressed by the Social Sciences (for instance, see Bertrand, Chapter 7, this volume, on the discussion of the spread of Islamist networks, and the rise of world indigenous people's movements in Southeast Asia). These global-regional interactions are not captured by much of the standard IR literature on regionalism that focuses either on state actors or on private economic non-state actors. In contrast, studies on the regional-global nexus that are nested in a Humanities perspective often bring across the crucial importance of history and historicity in the study of regions. This is a very important safeguard against a common tendency of social scientists to reify various social constructs as they turn into explanatory variables and frameworks, and to focus upon the contemporary and current events at the expense of a broader historical perspective and context.

For instance, recent attempts of social scientists to understand the dramatic changes in the Middle East since the 2011 events of what came to be known as the 'Arab Spring' reflect the crucial role of scholars who study the history, culture, society, religion, and language of the region. It is doubtful whether a serious historian of the Middle East would have characterized these events as the 'Arab Spring', especially if he was also familiar with European history and society (see Sela, Chapter 8, this volume).

What is the role of identity building when studying regions and trans-regional processes?

In the context of global historical, sociological, and cultural theories, identity constructions are characterized by a kind of multi- or pluri-identity that could be referred to as “trans-identity” or “transversal identity” (using the term of transversality of Deleuze and Guattari 1983, and Welsch 2003). These concepts entail the idea that identity must always be renegotiated because it is located at the interface between cultures in contact with one another, in a trans-territorial cartography that includes constant de-territorializations and re-territorializations in order to make the new place habitable and *co-habitable* (see Roesner, Chapter 12, this volume). Thus, the dynamics and impact of identities are constructed by both state and non-state actors that might have a significant impact upon regional order, integration, and even security governance. There is competition, coexistence, and complementarity among multiple identities around processes of state-building and region-building, whereas the effects upon regional peace and war remain ambiguous (see Miller Chapter 5, and Sela Chapter 8 on the Middle East, this volume).

In this respect, the European case is paradigmatic: While the EU founding principle is “united in diversity,” and the Union has consistently promoted ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity as a distinguishing feature of European identity, European societies have increasingly encountered significant difficulties in managing radical diversity. The rapidly changing patterns of European societies due to migration, globalization, and de-territorialization also put in question Europe’s ability to consolidate its pluralism by opening up to new minorities recently settled in Europe. The recent refugee crisis in Europe has led to the resurgence of traditional nationalism, calling for a ‘return’ to the methodological notion of the nation-state as constituted by a ruling homogenous community that promotes a fixed idea of the social space, with limited protection of minorities and non-inclusion of new minorities, such as in the case of the Brexit.

In this context, we should keep in mind that the European identity has developed as a common cultural ground rooted in shared values, history, and literature (see Zepp, Chapter 11, this volume). With the development of the European project, European identity has increasingly become more significant in terms of the building up of a sense of belonging to a new social sphere that is growing with the consolidation of the European Union as a supranational institution. The main difficulty in developing a sense of belonging stems from the complexity of the European identity, which implies multiple identifications that may allow individuals to simultaneously belong to different national, religious, and linguistic groups. In this sense, the challenge lies in constructing and reconstructing a European identity that concomitantly transcends and comprehends its different national identities. At the same time, as this volume demonstrates, the relevance and study of regions in a globalized world, in terms of identities, is not just a European story, but it goes well beyond the Old Continent (see Otmazgin, Chapter 6, Escudé, Chapter 10, and Roesner, Chapter 12, this volume).

Content of the book

Chapters 2–13 in this volume represent a myriad of approaches to regions and regional dynamics as discussed so far, including social scientists (IR scholars of international political economy and international security; political scientists; sociologists) as well as scholars from the Humanities (cultural studies, history, and literature). In terms of geographic regions, the different chapters refer to sub-Saharan Africa (including a specific chapter on Ethiopia), East Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific area, Latin America, and Europe, as well as comparisons across regions (between Europe and Latin America), and the formation of a trans-regional region (Cantonese Chinese across the Pacific Rim). Going through these chapters may be a challenge as it suggests that the reader would at one point or another be outside of her comfort zone. We structured the book so as to delineate a gradual transition from ‘hard core’ Social Science examples, through mixed approaches, to ‘hard core’ Humanities examples. In the spirit of Julio Cortázar's 1963 classic novel *Rayuela* (*Hopscotch* in English), we suggest that readers coming from either Social Sciences or Humanities may ease their way into the book by reading from Chapter 2 through 13, or from Chapter 13 through Chapter 2.

In Chapter 2, “*Preferential Trade Agreements in the Developing World*,” Edward D. Mansfield reviews the state of the art of the mainstream approach in the field of International Political Economy (IPE), focusing on regions as shaped by and defined through regional economic agreements and organizations (REOs), more specifically, it focuses on the so-called Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) that nation-states join and might include extra-regional members as well. The discussion in this chapter refers to regions in terms of institutions that shape the interactions among its members, which are nation-states.

Whereas the interactions within the region are largely economic, they rest on clear political underpinnings, both domestic and international (strategic and geopolitical considerations). From a domestic standpoint, various studies have found that interest groups pressures, domestic institutions, and leaders’ preferences influence whether states enter PTAs. From an international standpoint, power and security relations, the multilateral trade regime, and strategic interdependence has guided the formation of PTAs.

In Chapter 3, “*Linking Economic Performance and Regional Institutionalization: More Local, Less Global?*”, Yoram Z. Haftel and Daniel F. Wajner focus as well on REOs as the main characteristic of regions. They examine domestic political-economic processes of economic development and their impact upon the regional level; that is, the nexus between economic development and regional integration. The chapter strives to sort out the relationships between changing economic conditions (within countries) and regionalism by conducting a bird’s eye cross-regional analysis.

The authors employ an original data set that contains detailed information on economic cooperation through regional organizations as well as data on regional economic conditions and other factors to examine their theoretical framework.

The analysis includes close to thirty REOs, most of them in the developing world. Hence, it ventures well beyond Europe and North America, bringing in African, Asian, and Latin American regional organizations. The empirical findings suggest that economic growth is conducive – and thus that economic hard times are detrimental – to more institutionalized regionalism. This effect is contingent, however, on other particular regional factors.

In Chapter 4, “*Overlapping Regionalism and Region-Building in Africa*,” Christof Hartmann explains the phenomenon of overlapping regionalism and region-building in Africa, emphasizing the contrast between ‘regional’ (i.e., sub-regional) integration in the form of REOs, versus ‘continental’ integration through the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and later on the African Union (AU). Thus, the chapter focuses on one of the main puzzles that are linked to the trajectory of African regionalism; i.e., the persisting two-layer structure of African regionalism, through the simultaneity of multi-issue regional and continental cooperation.

This overlap is intended but at the same time ‘nested’ in the sense that the regional organizations occupy a spatially and functionally defined subset of competencies and policies vis-à-vis the AU. The construction of regions remains thus contested in Sub-Saharan Africa. There is competition between the continental and the regional that is articulated discursively around the notion of subsidiarity but it is not sufficiently resolved in practice.

In Chapter 5, “*Focusing on Regions as the Way to Understand War and Peace*,” Benjamin Miller explains war and peace in regional terms. He argues that we have to distinguish between the more intense, or ‘hot’ outcomes of war and peace versus the less intense ones of ‘cold war’ and ‘cold peace.’ On the whole, whereas the outcomes of cold war and cold peace are heavily affected by international factors, notably the type of great power regional engagement, the more intense hot or warm outcomes of war and peace are best accounted for by regional factors.

What are the most specific constituents of these regional factors? Among them, the author emphasizes the ‘state-to-nation balance’ in a given geographical region. This balance has two dimensions: the level of state capacity or failure in the region, and the extent of national congruence between the existing states’ international boundaries and the key national aspirations, sentiments, and affiliations in the region. Thus, the greater the state-to-nation balance in the region; that is, the greater the state capacity and the higher the congruence between boundaries and identities in the region, the more peaceful the region. In contrast, the greater the state failure and the lower the congruence between state boundaries and national identities in the region, the more war-prone the region is likely to be.

In Chapter 6, “*A New Cultural Geography of East Asia: Imagining a ‘Region’ Through Popular Culture*,” Nissim Otmazgin refers to the cultural geography of East Asia in terms of a transnational popular culture and the process of region making. While much of the literature on regionalism in East Asia focuses on regions as manifested by economic and political interactions, this chapter focuses on a different dimension of what makes a region; namely, the circulation of regional cultural manifestations; in this case, popular culture. Thus, popular culture both reflects the region and constitutes it over time.

The author views the emergence of East Asia's media industries as constructive for the making and remaking of East Asia, by both facilitating the massive movement of media products across borders and encouraging transnational cooperation in the field, as well as by providing the cultural context to imagine a region from below. The chapter focuses on strategies employed by advertisement, music, animation, and video game industries to describe a major shift toward a new stage, where transnational cultural production and consumption has become a major feature of East Asian's regional dynamism, as expressed by a transnational urban culture.

In Chapter 7, "*Nationalism, Religion, and Sub-State National Identity in Southeast Asia: Regional and Global Relevance*," Jacques Bertrand examines how sub-state nationalism in the Philippines is affected by global and regional trends. Thus, nation, religion, and sub-state nationalist identity in Southeast Asia are partly shaped by its regional context. The author argues that, while we can see examples of global trends that have shaped and transformed sub-state nationalist conflicts, at the same time the region displays some characteristics that depart from experiences elsewhere. As a result, region specific historical paths determine some of the factors that explain changes in sub-state nationalist conflicts.

In the first instance, Bertrand analyzes the impact of the indigenous peoples' movements and global resurgence of Islamic identity politics on sub-state nationalist conflicts in Southeast Asia. In the second instance, he assesses how the evolution of Islam in Southeast Asia, as well as regional norms of non-interference, have created region-specific effects.

In Chapter 8, "*The Middle East: A Volatile Region in Transition*", Avraham Sela discusses the relevance of the Middle East as a region, emphasizing its impact on intra-regional dynamics of conflict and cooperation on the one hand, and the extra-regional political arena, on the other. He adopts a dynamic-oriented analysis of inter-state interactions and changing alignments, focusing on transformed domestic politics and inter-state relations.

The chapter discusses the historical foundations making the Middle East a region, and its complex structure of old societies and new states shaped by colonial powers and non-state players, all of which left their imprint on the sub-regional divisions, inter-state politics, and cross-national societal forces. In this sense, Sela explains the transformations this region has undergone in terms of power relations, ideological trends, and rules and norms of collective security and cooperation. A special emphasis is given to supra-state ideational forces – Arabism and Islamism – and their impact on the region's stability and place in the global context.

In Chapter 9, "*The Cantonese Pacific in the Making of Nations*," Henry Yu examines the regional nature of migration processes. He focuses upon the Cantonese-speaking regional migration system around the Pacific in the last two hundred years, referring specifically to migration networks of Chinese in East Asia, Oceania, and Western North America, through multiple generations and dispersed networks. The Chinese migrants dominated the creation of Pacific networks of trade and capital formation, exemplified in the rise of Hong Kong as the main origin

port for Pacific migration. During the 19th century they formed the major source of labor and trade networks in virtually every developing urban region around the Pacific from Sydney and Melbourne to Honolulu, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Victoria, and Vancouver. Their presence drove anti-Chinese and anti-Asian political campaigns that helped organize settler national imaginaries around white supremacy in the 19th and 20th centuries, whereas the dismantling of Asian exclusion transformed the Pacific region in the late 20th century. In the chapter, Yu asks some pertinent questions related to the formation of regions: How did one set of migrant networks have such a long-standing effect in shaping the history of the entire Pacific region? How did they both facilitate the growth of European colonialism in the Pacific, as well as shape the rise of post-colonial nations in the aftermath of empires?

In Chapter 10, “*Linguistic Peace? Reflections on the Interstate Security Consequences of Iberian American Linguistic Kinship versus European Linguistic Fragmentation*,” Carlos Escudé compares and contrasts the ‘linguistic’ peace of Latin America to the linguistic fragmentation and violence of Europe. He argues that it is probably due to linguistic kinship that Iberian America has such a remarkable record in terms of the relative scarcity of interstate wars.

The key to understanding the processes of ‘linguistic peace’ requires a *long durée* approach that is more akin to the Humanities than to the Social Sciences. Iberian American linguistic kinship and European linguistic fragmentation are phenomena that extend from the pre-national to the post-national eras. Moreover, Iberian American linguistic kinship has not challenged the primacy of the state. It remained the very core of the Iberian American order that arose from the constellation of new and domestically weak states born out of the Napoleonic crisis two hundred years ago. In a nutshell, as Samuel Huntington suggested, according to Escudé Iberian American should be regarded not as a region, but a civilization.

In Chapter 11, “*Regions of History: The International Congress for the Defense of Culture, Paris 1935*,” Susanne Zepp examines the 1935 Writers Congress as an important chapter in the transnational intellectual and literary history of Europe. Moreover, the Congress is a European case of the development of awareness as to a reality; in other words, Europe is considered a transnational cultural region and the Congress embodies a transnational alliance of intellectuals who opposed nationalism and war in times of a dramatic rise of extreme nationalism.

Zepp argues that, with regard to the dialogue between different disciplinary perspectives on global issues, a recourse to key events of European cultural history is fruitful and rewarding. The 1935 International Congress for the Defense of Culture is precisely such an important event. It took place during a period marked by turmoil. At the same time, the Congress shows that, at least in the Paris of 1935, intellectuals were seriously considering the possibility of saving European culture from totalitarianism without another world war. By assessing key contributions to the Parisian Congress, the analysis at hand demonstrates the potential of an integrated perspective combining research questions pertaining to the study of regions in the Social Sciences, as well as in area and literary studies.

In Chapter 12, “*The Role of Translatio/n in the Constitution of Community (Regional) Identities: The Interdependence of Europe and Latin America*,” Michael Roessner examines cultural transfers between Europe and Latin America in both directions as a way of defining each other and building the region(s), in terms of constructing community identities. The chapter discusses the role of (cultural) translation in the construction processes of regional, national, and supranational communities in Europe and Latin America. Among other topics it addresses the importance of concepts of European identity developed in Latin America for the present discussion of a European identity within a globalized world, based on the analysis of literary texts. At the same time, Roessner pays particular attention to communication between regions, as this implies always a translatio/n that in many cases creates or at least shapes the ‘original’ (the ‘identity’) that has to be translated.

In Chapter 13, “*How the Ethiopians Changed Their Skin: The Orient, Africa, and Their Diasporas*,” Steven Kaplan assesses different ways and perspectives of understanding ‘Ethiopia’, to which regions does Ethiopia belong? To the ‘Orient’? To Africa? To both? Thus, this is a chapter that explores how regions are being (re)made and (re) framed, both by scholars and by ‘interested observers’ (like politicians and other practitioners).

Accordingly, the chapter is divided into three sections. In the first, Kaplan considers the place of Ethiopia in African diaspora thought as both a semi-mythical African Christian nation and a vigorous opponent to European colonialism. In the second, he discusses the emergence of ‘Ethiopian Studies’ as an organized academic field and its affiliation with Oriental rather than African studies. Finally, in the third section, he documents the ‘re-placement’ of Ethiopia into an African context following the Revolution of 1974 and the development of a vibrant Ethiopian diaspora.

In Chapter 14, “*Conclusions: Imagining, Perceiving, Constructing, Explaining, and Understanding Regions*,” Galia Press-Barnathan, Ruth Fine, and Arie M. Kacowicz refer back to the four main research questions suggested above in their search for common patterns across disciplines and a fruitful dialogue between Social Sciences and the Humanities. Bridging the fundamental ontological, epistemological, and methodological differences between scholars across disciplines remain a daunting task. We derive several insights and conclusions from this intellectual adventure, arguing for a multi-disciplinary approach to assess the relevance of regions in our globalized world.

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