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Chapter 1

Roads to Regionalism: Concepts, Issues, and Cases

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Introduction

The influence of regional organizations can be felt in every corner of the world. Fascinating institutional developments have taken place in recent years that have given new momentum to regional integration projects, with a visible impact on the lives of millions of people. Landmark instances of regional engagement included military intervention in Sierra Leone as well as the empowerment of civil society in Southeast Asia. With more than 50 regional organizations already in existence, developments like these confront the observer with a new set of questions. For example, how can we explain the emergence of regional organizations? How can we study their institutions? How can we account for member states' behavior? And what is their impact on the domestic level?

In this volume, we have brought together a number of studies, which seek to address these and other related questions. We approach regional organizations as an outcome of regionalism, which we understand as forms of regional institution building, ranging from traditional cooperation to highly legalized integration. In order to grasp multiple dimensions of the complex nature of regionalism, we propose four distinct perspectives—or “roads”—to the study of regionalism. The four roads will broadly follow the four questions raised in the previous paragraph and structure the contributions to this volume. Accordingly, we introduce the reader to the phenomenon of regionalism in the first part of this book by dealing with reasons for setting up or

joining regional organizations (ROs). Secondly, we aim to find out why institutions are designed in specific ways. The third perspective on regionalism looks at how domestic factors influence state behavior on the regional level. Lastly, the fourth approach seeks to determine and explain the impact of regional organizations on their member states.

Conceptualizing Regions, Regionalism, and Regional Organizations

Before we start to construct our roads to regionalism, it is necessary to lay the groundwork of the crucial concepts employed in this volume. Already the term 'region' itself is a contested concept. A basic understanding is that regions are constituted by groupings of territorial units in geographical proximity, constituting a spatially bound and contiguous area (Hurrell 1995: 333-334, Sbragia 2008). Yet, the study of regionalism inevitably touches upon the more contested elements of 'regions'. Indeed, apart from signifying a geographic space, the term is also charged with a political dimension. Therefore, to obtain political, social and/or economic importance, a region must display a certain degree of mutual interdependence (Nye 1968).

While scholars from an economic background tend to focus on this aspect by reducing regions to integrated market places (Bhagwati 1993, Mansfield and Milner 1999), the contributions to this volume define regions as political ideas and administrative units as well. As such, we subscribe to the idea that regions are socially constructed, spatial ideas, which follow concepts of community and society. This includes shared aspects of cultural identity (for example, religion and language), which foster a common socio-cultural understanding of a region. As van Langenhove points out, regions stem from a two-fold process: "they are imagined and they are created in an institutional way" (2011: 1). Consequently, as readers will see throughout the book,

different understandings of regions have influenced the institutional design of ROs as well as the degree of cooperation and integration among its member states.¹

The studies in this volume share a conceptualization of regionalism as a state-led project based on intergovernmental negotiations and treaties (Breslin and Higgott 2000, Gamble and Payne 1996). In addition, most scholars “would agree that regionalism includes processes and structures of region-building in regard to closer relations on economic, political, security and socio-cultural level” (Börzel 2012). This clearly distinguishes regionalism from processes of regionalization, which describe an increase of intra-regional social and economic interaction of private actors.

The observable outcome of regionalism can take different forms, ranging from cooperation to integration. The latter means a transfer and pooling of sovereignty rights to a third body, usually a regional organization (Börzel 2012). In order to be classified as a regional organization, they need to have more than two member states in geographical proximity,² have exclusive membership and serve multiple purposes.³

Four Roads to Regionalism

In this volume we propose four guiding questions, which provide a coherent and comprehensive framework for the research on regionalism. In this we attempt to cover multiple dimensions of regionalism. While a number of scholarly contributions to the

¹ Moreover, regions can be formed on three spatial levels: (1) on supra-national level by a group of neighboring states; (2) on sub-national level by territories forming an entity within an existing state; and (3) on cross-border level by sub-national territories (De Lombaerde et al. 2010: 736). This book will focus on regions above the national level and regional organizations composed of sovereign states.

² However, even geographic proximity is relative when one considers the existence of ROs like APEC and the Arctic Council. Also, ROs can be built upon a common cultural background, like the League of Arab States.

³ Consequently, single-purpose arrangements like PTAs, military alliances (for instance NATO) or organizations such as OPEC are excluded.

“New Regionalism” debate were published in recent years, they tend to provide detailed analyses of specific aspects of regionalism or a single regional organization (Cai 2010, Dieter 2007, Pevehouse 2005, Ribeiro Hoffmann and van der Vleuten 2007, Thomas 2008). In contrast, this volume covers multiple regional organizations in a comparative perspective. In the absence of a general theory on the development and effects of regional organizations, we combine numerous theoretical and analytical approaches to the study of regionalism in one overarching research framework. In this approach, we sympathize with the call by Warleigh-Lack and colleagues for a bridging of European Integration studies and the New Regionalism Approach (Warleigh-Lack et al. forthcoming, Warleigh-Lack and Rosamond 2010).

Genesis and Growth

First, we analyze the genesis and growth of regional organizations: When, how and why are they created, and what can be said about their developmental paths? Why do states choose to join or remain outside a regional organization? These are questions that have occupied the literature on regionalism for a long time. In particular, theories of European integration have influenced our understanding of the drivers of regional integration. Liberal intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism offer different accounts of why states form, join or leave regional organizations.

For liberal intergovernmentalism, regional integration can be traced back to member states’ preferences, which are in turn shaped by domestic actors. Following the logic of liberal IR theory, states are seen as transmission belts for societal interests and are the primary unit of analysis. Regional integration can then be understood as the result of bargaining processes between member states (Moravcsik 1991, 1993, 1998).

Neofunctionalism, in contrast, puts emphasis on the concept of spillovers, elites, and supranational actors (Haas 1958, 1961, Lindberg 1963).⁴ For neofunctionalists, regional integration is driven by functional spillovers in the context of interdependence: Cooperation in one field induces pressure to integrate in another, for example, as a result of unintended consequences. Political spillover, on the other hand, occurs when domestic elites shift their attention to the level above the nation state, prompted by increasing transnational exchange or the belief that problems cannot be solved domestically. Additionally, supranational actors are important for neofunctionalism as they become “agents of integration” (Niemann 1998). We argue that these theories, although developed in the European context, can inspire the study of regionalism in general.

To account for the importance of functional pressures as well as governments’ decision-making, it is useful to distinguish between demand and supply factors driving regionalism (Mattli 1999). The demand side follows the logic of economic gains, by assuming that economic integration is likely to require increasingly sophisticated safeguards, namely integrated governance. However, demand is necessary, but not sufficient for integration. On the supply side, Mattli argues that actors need to establish commitment institutions to minimize violations of cooperation rules, and that success depends on the existence of a paymaster country willing and able to bear distributional costs (Mattli 1999).

Our research agenda is not limited to theories of regional integration. Especially when we seek to understand why third states decide (not) to join a regional

⁴ For a collection of recent contributions to neofunctionalism, see the 2005 special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy* (Vol. 12, No. 2).

organization, it is fruitful to consider arguments from other parts of International Relations theory. Examples are neorealism—with its focus on security concerns that could stimulate regional cooperation or conflict—and neoliberal institutionalism, which highlights the importance of economic interdependence. To account for the enlargement of ROs, there is a range of rationalist arguments regarding the costs and benefits of accession to a RO (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2002).

Institutional Design

A second focal point of this volume is the institutional design of regional organizations. Given the striking similarities but also differences that can be observed between organizations, it is of great utility to explore different ways of characterizing and accounting for them. Contributions in this volume use three main concepts and explanatory approaches: the Rational Design of International Institutions (RDII), the legalization concept, and the diffusion concept aiming at providing a more process-oriented account for the institutional design of international organizations.

Originally developed by Koremenos, Snidal, and Lipson, the RDII can be employed to categorize and map international organizations while at the same time pointing out factors capable of explaining differences and similarities (Koremenos et al. 2001). Rooted in rational-choice theory, five dimensions of international institutions are identified: membership, scope, centralization, control, and flexibility (Koremenos et al. 2001: 768-773).⁵ The independent variables accounting for the specific institutional design are distribution and enforcement problems, the number and asymmetries of

⁵ For a similar classification see Acharya and Johnston (2007). Criticizing the rational-choice bias of RDII, they put emphasis on the role of norms and legitimacy. Also, they consider ID as an independent variable potentially in the position to explain the nature of cooperation. See Duffield (2003) for another critique of RDII.

actors, and uncertainties about behavior, the state of the world, and other actors' preferences (Koremenos et al. 2001: 773-780).

Abbott, Keohane, Moravcsik, Slaughter, and Snidel have added the concept of legalization to the study of international organizations (Abbott et al. 2000). Legalization, as the name indicates, focuses primarily on the analysis of legal documents creating formal institutions. It thereby allows for a more differentiated comparison of specific types of policy fields or of international organizations. The legalization concept measures three distinct characteristics of international organizations: *precision* "means that rules unambiguously define the conduct they require, authorize, or proscribe", *obligation* describes the extent to which actors are legally bound by arrangements, and *delegation* addresses the degree of authority of independent third parties "to implement, interpret, and apply the rules; to resolve disputes; and (possibly) to make further rules" (Abbott et al. 2000: 401).⁶

Mapping differences and similarities is, however, only the first step of analysis. In a second step, the specific forms of institutional designs need to be explained. Although the three approaches and general IR as well as regional integration theory provide explanatory factors, the concept of diffusion is a fruitful framework that specifically addresses institutional design. Diffusion is defined as a process in which "the adoption of innovation by member(s) of a social system is communicated through certain channels and over time and triggers mechanisms that increase the probability of its adoption by other members who have not yet adopted it" (Levi-Faur 2005: 23). Sociological institutionalism has developed three analytical mechanisms to describe processes of institutional diffusion: through international coercion, emulation or

⁶ For a critique see Finnemore and Toope (2001), and a reply see Goldstein et al. (2001).

mimicry (Campbell 2004, Di Maggio and Powell 1983, Henisz et al. 2005, Jepperson and Meyer 1991).

Member States' Behavior in ROs

Third, we examine how member states act within regional organizations and what explains their behavior. More precisely, this research question focuses on factors that determine the level of commitment to, and compliance with, regional initiatives. Compliance in this regard means that member states follow the rules set at the regional level, for example, by implementing decisions on time. Commitment goes beyond these duties, indicating a preference to deal with problems at the regional level. Thus, the concept of commitment is linked to voluntary decisions, whereas compliance is determined by member states' capabilities or willingness.

The level of regional commitment can be influenced by the structure of the domestic political system, for example, the regime type. Although there exists an extensive body of literature on democracy in Africa, Asia and Latin America, relatively little research has been conducted on the effects that regime types might have on the international level. In particular, characteristics of national political systems such as neopatrimonialism can impact on state behavior (Bach 2005, Mansfield et al. 2008, Mansfield et al. 2002, Rüländ 2009).

With regard to compliance, the question as to why states sign agreements and make commitments that they do not fulfill is a subject of debate. One approach focuses primarily on enforcement: From this perspective compliance is best achieved by means of monitoring and sanctions, because defection is seen as a result of states' cost-benefit calculations. On the other hand, there is the managerial approach which puts more

emphasis on domestic aspects: Capabilities—rather than choices—have to be considered to explain the degree of compliance (Simmons 1998, 2002, Tallberg 2002).

Thus, both compliance and commitment at the regional level are connected to the domestic polity dimension. This is not to say, however, that those structural factors completely determine member states' behavior. Other sub-fields of IR studies should also be considered. On the one hand, from a neorealist perspective, security interests and power politics are expected to be strong factors shaping member states' decisions. Especially in the area of regional security policies, such as military interventions, we expect those arguments to yield a great deal of explanatory power. The constructivist strand of IR literature, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of regional identities and norms, in effect widening our analytical focus beyond the domestic level (Choi and Caporaso 2002, Van der Vleuten and Ribeiro Hoffmann 2010).

Effects on member states

Fourth, we consider the effect of ROs on their member states: How can we study a regional organization's impact on the domestic level? Although the effects of international processes at the domestic level have already been conceptualized in the late seventies (Gourevitch 1978), it is only recently that the "second image reversed" literature has been applied to regional organizations and their relationship to member states. This necessarily poses questions about the independent actor quality of international organizations. Not every RO has a high form of centralization or delegation. In fact, most ROs remain at the hands of their member states. It is probably because of the European Union's supranational characteristics that questions about domestic impact, under the name of "Europeanization", have mainly been addressed

with regard to the EU (for an overview see Axt et al. 2007, Featherstone and Radaelli 2003, Olsen 2002, Vink and Graziano 2007).

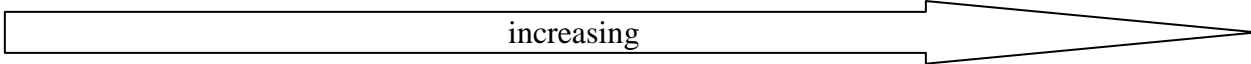
A comprehensive definition is provided by Radaelli who has described Europeanization as processes consisting of “a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’, and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies” (Radaelli 2004: 4). Particularly useful for the analysis of the impact of a regional organization on the domestic level are the concepts developed in the so-called new institutionalism debate (Börzel and Risse 2003). Again, rational choice approaches compete with sociological-based approaches for explanatory power. The rational choice strand of new institutionalism is concerned with the ways in which “changes in the political opportunity structure lead to a domestic redistribution of power” (Börzel and Risse 2003: 58). In contrast, sociological institutionalism holds that the process of regional integration can involve cognitive changes, through the proliferation of regional norms, values and ideas. Sociological institutionalism looks at the possibility that regional norms and collective understandings exert adaptational pressure, and impact on the behavior of political actors (March and Olsen 1989).

A Guide to Analyzing the Genesis, Design and Effects of Regional Organizations

After having outlined the four questions and their respective theoretical umbrella, we bring together our comprehensive research agenda in Table 1.1. It is meant to provide an overview of this book’s structure as well as a reference point for students of regionalism. We do not claim that the suggestions made here are an exhaustive account

of the field of research. We rather want to propose an analytical guideline to structure research on the topic of regionalism. As indicated by the table, each of the research questions touches upon several aspects of regionalism.

Table 1.1 Four Aspects of Regional Integration

	1. Genesis and Growth	2. Institutional Design	3. Member States' Behaviour	4. Effects on Member States
Research Questions	Why do sovereign states institutionalize cooperation on a regional level? Why do states join regional organizations?	How can we describe and explain the institutional design of ROs?	How do domestic factors shape state behavior at the regional level?	How does the pooling and transferring of sovereignty impact back on the domestic structures of the states involved?
Independent Variable(s)	State preferences / economic pressures / subnational actors / systemic changes	State preferences / other ROs	RO / member states / subnational actors	RO
Dependent Variable(s)	Regional cooperation	Institutional Design	Member states' behavior / Commitment / Compliance	Polity, policy, politics of member states
Central Actors	Governments / subnational, transnational actors	Governments	Governments / RO	RO / subnational norm entrepreneurs / veto players
Empirical focus	Supply and demand for regional cooperation	Institution building	Regime type, compliance issues, state capacity	Mechanisms of change, intended/unintended consequences
Theoretical / Analytical Approaches	Neofunctionalism, Neoliberal Institutionalism, Mattli, Liberal Intergovernmentalism, IR theory	RDII, Legalization concept, Diffusion, IR theory	Compliance Theory, regime type analysis, IR theory	Second image reversed, Europeanization literature
Actor quality of RO	 increasing			

Source: own table.

Our thematic grouping allows us to study regional integration on both the independent and dependent variables. This flexibility also requires a high degree of theoretical pluralism. We want to leave the selection of the theoretical approach to the researcher. This openness is driven by the belief that attempts to unite different analytical approaches in one comprehensive framework are more valuable than academic turf battles.

Building on this research agenda, the chapters in this volume offer explanations for the complex processes of regionalism and seek to point out possibilities for further research. Clearly, Europe does not have to be the standard by which everything else is measured. Instances of regionalism such as ASEAN, ECOWAS, the League of Arab States, MERCOSUR, or NAFTA may all be unique in some way—but that does not preclude a comparative perspective (Warleigh-Lack and Rosamond 2010). Placing the individual case studies in the broader context of our thematic framework allows for an original view not only on the theories themselves, but also on the global state of regional integration.

Empirical Overview: A World of Regions

Regional Organizations, as defined above, are a relatively new phenomenon. Mansfield and Milner's (1999) argument that there have been four waves of regionalism in modern history is based on instances of regional trade agreements; regionalism resulting in state-led integration schemes, however, did not become prominent until the post-World War Two era. Since then, we can observe two waves of regional integration out of which a total of 56 regional organizations emerged (see Table 1.2).⁷

⁷ Compared to the 51 regional organizations, some 474 regional trade agreements have been negotiated up to now (World Trade Organization 2011a) of which 211 are currently in force (World Trade Organization 2011b). Yet, more than fifty percent of those are either bilateral or not in regional proximity (World Trade Organization 2011b).

Table 1.2 Overview about Regional Organizations since 1945 sorted by macro-region

	Africa	Middle East & Maghreb	Asia and the Pacific	Europe	The Americas and the Caribbean
1945 - 1990	<p>Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO)</p> <p>Council of the Entente</p> <p>Org. of African Unity (OAU), since 2002: African Union (AU)</p> <p>Eastern African Community (EAC)</p> <p>South African Customs Union (SACU)</p> <p>Mano River Union (MRU)</p> <p>Economic Community of the Great Lake Countries (CPEGL)</p> <p>Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)</p> <p>Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), since 1996: Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)</p> <p>South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), since 1992: South African Development Community (SADC)</p> <p>Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)</p>	<p>League of Arab States (LAS)</p> <p>Council for Arab Econ. Unity (CAEU)</p> <p>Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)</p> <p>Arab Cooperation Council (ACC)</p> <p>Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)</p> <p>Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO)</p>	<p>Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC)</p> <p>Assoc. of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)</p> <p>South Pacific Forum</p> <p>South Asian Assoc. for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)</p> <p>Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)</p>	<p>Council of Europe</p> <p>Nordic Council</p> <p>European Community (EC), since 1993: European Union (EU)</p> <p>Benelux Economic Union</p> <p>European Free Trade Assoc. (EFTA)</p> <p>Org. for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)</p>	<p>Org. of American States (OAS)</p> <p>Org. of Central American States (OCAS)</p> <p>Latin American Free Trade Assoc. (LAFTA), since 1980: Latin American Integration Assoc. (ALADI)</p> <p>Andean Pact</p> <p>Caribbean Community (CARICOM)</p> <p>Amazonian Cooperation Treaty Org. (ACTO)</p> <p>Org. of East Caribbean States (OECS)</p>

1990 - today	Africa Economic Community (AEC)	Melanesian Spearhead Group	Central Asian Cooperation Org. (CACO)	Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS)	Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR)
	Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC)	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC)	Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)	European Economic Area (EEA)	North American Free Trade Assoc. (NAFTA)
	Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)		Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC)		Assoc. of Caribbean States (ACS)
			GUAM Org. for Democracy and Development (GUAM) *		Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA)
		Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)			Union of South American Nations (UNASUR)
	Indian Ocean Rim Assoc. for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC)			Arctic Council	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC)
				Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, defunct now: Regional Cooperation Council (RCC)	

Source: own table with data retrieved from Börzel (2012), UNU-CRIS (2010) and Jiménez (2010).

Note: *There are further integration schemes in the post-Soviet area which are either defunct or single purpose. However, an overview will be provided by Wirminghaus (Chapter 2) in this book. Moreover, in contrast to the collection of Börzel and UNU-CRIS RIKS, based on our definition several ROs had to be qualified differently and are therefore excluded.

During the first period from 1945 to 1990, ROs focused on reconciliation, economic recovery, and security through regional stabilization. The most prominent projects of regional integration emerged in Europe as well as in the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa. Additionally, there was also a mushrooming of regional integration projects among the newly independent states in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean in the 1960s and 1970s. The second period from 1990 onwards is characterized by regional integration projects in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the construction of new schemes in North and South America (for instance NAFTA and MERCOSUR) as well as the renewal and reformation of old integration schemes (such as the EC which became the EU, and the Organization of African Unity which became the African Union).

Regional Organizations covered

The cases covered in this volume are considered to be the most important instances of regionalism beyond Europe (see Börzel 2012, Sbragia 2008)⁸. Covering all macro-regions, we analyze the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the League of Arab States (LAS), and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (see Table 1.3). Furthermore, a broad and in-depth description of the post-Soviet realm is presented in chapter 2.

Table 1.3 Overview on the ROs covered in this book

RO	founding	member states
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⁸ It should be noted, however, that even our relatively inclusive framework leaves room for additions as well as different conceptualizations. Other scholars, for example, examine the role of non-state actors and informal regional developments, and take into account other instances of regionalism than the well-established, formally integrated regions (Shaw et al. forthcoming).

	year	
ASEAN	1967	Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam
ECOWAS	1975	Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo
LAS	1945	Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, State of Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen
MERCOSUR	1991	Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela (prospective); Associated members: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru
NAFTA	1994	Canada, Mexico, United States of America

Source: own table.

Note: The post-Soviet realm is not included in this table as Wirminghaus does not analyze a particular RO but presents a descriptive overview of the multitude of integration schemes in the region. Venezuela has applied for membership in MERCOSUR, but has not yet been officially accepted.

In conclusion, this volume explores four roads to regionalism and a variety of regional integration schemes in a comparative perspective. The framework developed in this introduction, with geographical inclusiveness and multi-dimensionality as its central strengths, constitutes both an addition to the debate as well as a link to further research. Our results can enter into a mutually stimulating dialogue with research on other regional organizations, less formalized regional arrangements including non-state

actors, and other issue areas such as transnational crime, migration, or ecology (see Shaw et al. forthcoming).

Contributions to this Volume

Contributions to this volume provide a first indication on how the four roads can be explored. In Part Two of the book, the authors look at the genesis and growth of regional organizations. Why does regional integration take place? Why are demand and supply factors changing over time and with what effects? What determines the failure and success of regional organizations? To address these questions, the second chapter by Niklas Wirmingshaus provides a classification of different regional integration schemes in the post-Soviet space as well as a literature review on the reasons for successes and failures. As Wirmingshaus points out, regional integration schemes can serve a huge variety of purposes and aims. To account for the emergence (and failure) of the many attempts at regionalism, he identifies factors that drive or hinder integration as well as a set of factors with ambiguous effects.

Niklas Aschhoff analyzes the accession of Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam (CLMV) to ASEAN in the third chapter. Differentiating between general systemic conditions, organization-specific systemic conditions, and the positional characteristics of the candidate states, Aschhoff finds that a combination of economic and geopolitical factors incited CLMV to join ASEAN. The expectation to attract more foreign investment, to gain more international bargaining power, as well as the collapse of the Soviet Union as an important ally were key motivations for a pro-accession policy.

In chapter 4, Felix Hummel and Mathis Lohaus consider regional integration in South America. To explain the genesis and development of MERCOSUR, the authors

adopt an analytical framework developed by Walter Mattli. Analyzing supply and demand conditions, they find that leadership plays a central role in advancing MERCOSUR. The big players in the region and their presidents drive integration forward—while favoring a low level of institutionalization that allows them to maintain control of the process.

Part Three then deals with the specific institutional design of regional organizations. In chapter 5, Leon Kanthak explains differences in institutional design between ASEAN (lowly legalized, highly flexible) and NAFTA (highly legalized, inflexible), by combining the legalization concept and the rational design framework. Kanthak argues for differentiating between sources of political uncertainty. ASEAN is exposed to uncertainty from outside the region, and therefore, chooses a highly flexible institutional structure. NAFTA member states, however, aim to constrain their biggest member, the US. This uncertainty stemming from inside the region makes states agree upon a highly legalized structure. The trade-off between legalization and flexibility therefore depends on the type of uncertainty the member states are facing.

In chapter 6, Annika Korte examines the reasons for the establishment of dispute settlement procedures (DSP) in NAFTA and ASEAN. More importantly, Korte asks why DSPs are used in some cases and not in others. Evaluating the idea that increased trade leads to increased conflicts and increased formalized dispute settlement, she finds that ASEAN member states—contrary to NAFTA—did not pursue a functional goal with the DSP but instead looked for more international legitimacy.

In chapter 7, Constanze Koitzsch addresses the institutional designs of the LAS and ECOWAS. Comparing the institutional reforms planned (in the case of the LAS) and those already adopted (in the case of ECOWAS), she finds surprising similarities

between the two organizations. While “traditional” functionalist and power-based explanations can account for the creation and timing of the specific institutional design and the reforms, they fail to explain the processes by which institutional similarities arise. Koitzsch advances, similarly to Korte (chapter 6), the idea of a “global script” of diffusing international norms.

The general interaction between member states and the regional organization is at the core of Part Four. Veronika Kirschner and Sören Stapel consider regional integration in West Africa in chapter 8. They scrutinize the effects of domestic regime characteristics on the progress of integration in ECOWAS. Measuring the commitment to regional integration via the time span from adoption to ratification, Kirschner and Stapel find that regime type seems to matter. Neither autocratic nor neopatrimonial regimes ratify as quickly and as comprehensively as their democratic counterparts.

In chapter 9, Lukas Goltermann probes the reasons for non-compliance with regional commitments in ASEAN. Starting from the observation that compliance differs among member states, Goltermann looks at two competing explanations. The chapter finds that a lack of state capacity offers more explanatory power for variation in legal implementation than cost-benefit calculations. Goltermann thus concludes that it is not primarily the question whether or not member states are willing to comply, but instead whether they are capable to comply.

In chapter 10, Kai Striebinger looks at the decision-making process in ECOWAS and asks under what conditions the regional organization intervenes in order to protect the constitutional order in its member states. Finding that neither domestic nor international pressure is constitutive for such an action, he concludes that depending on

the type of intervention a high democratic identity or a strong hegemonic interest are sufficient conditions for such an action.

In Part Five we focus on questions relating to the effects of regional integration projects on the member states. This aspect of regionalism pays particular attention to the intended and unintended consequences of regionalism. In chapter 11, Christian Pirzer scrutinizes MERCOSUR's impact on democratic consolidation in its member states. While improvements in the attitudinal dimension of democratic consolidation cannot be confirmed due the strong intervening effect of the economic crisis in 2001, a significant influence of MERCOSUR on the behavioral dimension of democratic consolidation is observable. Since the establishment of MERCOSUR's credible democratic commitments, the degree of anti-system behavior decreased significantly in its member states.

Looking at a different policy field, Corinna Krome analyzes the role ASEAN plays in increasing the role of civil society organizations (CSO) in its member states (chapter 12). Refining the common picture of ASEAN as being a "weak" regional organization that neither progresses very far in regional integration nor influences its member states, she finds that ASEAN does indeed possess mechanisms through which it aims at empowering CSOs in its member states.

Alexander Spielau (chapter 13) investigates the impact of NAFTA on monetary policies in the US and in Mexico. He argues that regional economic integration has unintended consequences for monetary policy. In line with the argument of functional spillover, Spielau argues that even though NAFTA does not explicitly pursue a policy of monetary policy harmonization, trade integration and business cycle synchronization create the need for this harmonization.

In the final chapter, Tanja Börzel summarizes the results and links them to the wider debates between “new” and “old” regionalism. She makes the case for systematically exploring the four roads to regionalism across time and space in order to test mainstream theoretical approaches to regional integration and gain new empirical insights.

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