

FURTHER THEORIZING ON THE CONCEPT OF REGIONNESS: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN ENSURING REGIONAL CONVERGENCE

Gema Ramadhan Bastari¹, Aspin Nur Arifin Rivai²

Prakerti Collective Intelligence¹

Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar²

Email: gemarbastari@gmail.com¹, aspin-arifin@uin-alauddin.ac.id²

Received 1 September 2022 / Revised 30 November 2022 / Accepted 12 January 2023 /

Published Online 16 January 2023

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v10i2a4>

Register with CC BY NC SA License - Copyright © The Author(s), 2023.

Abstract

This paper discusses the possibility of strengthening the theory of regionness through the concept of social capital. The urgency for this topic arises from stagnating trend of regionalism project across the globe and the lack of discussions in the role of social aspect in regionalism. According to Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum's theory on regionness, the intensification of social interaction at the grassroot level will pave a way for the creation of a new entity they referred to as the 'regional state'. However, the theory's fallacy came from its reliance on an assumption that social interaction will always lead to convergence. As has been proven by the case of Brexit, sometimes social interaction can also cause divergence and the collapse of the regionalism project itself. This paper employs literature review method to argue that the concept of social capital can complement this theory. It argues that social capital, which is an immaterial resources created through social interactions, will be able to increase the degree of regionness in one region. Furthermore, this paper will also open up a possibility to include sociology study, namely the theory of social understanding, in complementing the theory of regionness and social capital. This paper concludes that regionness is a social capital brought to the regional level as part of a joint effort to create a new governance system unimagined by any individuals alone.

Keywords:

Regionness, Regionalism, Social Capital, Convergence, Divergence

PENGEMBANGAN TEORI TENTANG KONSEP *REGIONNESS*: PERAN MODAL SOSIAL DALAM MEMASTIKAN KONVERGENSI KAWASAN

Gema Ramadhan Bastari¹, Aspin Nur Arifin Rivai²

Prakerti Collective Intelligence¹

Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar²

Email: gemarbastari@gmail.com¹, aspin-arifin@uin-alauddin.ac.id²

Abstrak

*Tulisan ini membahas kemungkinan untuk memperkuat teori tentang *regionness* melalui konsep modal sosial. Topik ini menjadi penting untuk dibahas mengingat terjadinya stagnasi dalam perkembangan proyek regionalisme di seluruh dunia dan kurangnya pembahasan mengenai aspek sosial dalam regionalisme. Berdasarkan teori tentang *regionness* yang dikembangkan oleh Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum, intensifikasi interaksi sosial di tingkat akar rumput akan mengarah pada terciptanya entitas baru yang mereka sebut dengan istilah 'negara kawasan'. Namun, teori ini menemui masalah karena terlalu bergantung pada asumsi bahwa interaksi sosial akan selalu mengarah pada konvergensi. Sebagaimana telah dibuktikan dalam kasus Brexit, interaksis sosial juga dapat menyebabkan divergensi dan keruntuhan proyek regionalisme itu sendiri. Tulisan ini menggunakan metode tinjauan pustaka untuk berargumen bahwa konsep modal sosial dapat melengkapi teori ini. Tulisan ini berargumen bahwa modal sosial, yang merupakan sumberdaya non-materiil yang diciptakan lewat interaksi sosial, akan dapat meningkatkan derajat *regionness* di suatu kawasan. Lebih lanjut, tulisan ini juga membuka kemungkinan untuk mengikutsertakan disiplin psikologi, lewat teori pemahaman sosial, untuk melengkapi teori tentang *regionness* dan modal sosial. Tulisan ini menyimpulkan bahwa *regionness* adalah modal sosial yang diangkat ke tingkat kawasan sebagai bagian dari upaya bersama untuk menciptakan sistem tata kelola yang tidak dapat dibayangkan oleh individu mana pun seorang diri.*

Kata Kunci:

Regionness, Regionalisme, Modal Sosial, Konvergensi, Divergensi

Introduction

In the early 90s, regionalism was one of the most popular buzzwords used by scholars and pundits alike to describe the new world order after the end of the Cold War. At that time, many argues that the nation-state as we know it is going to be finished. For Example, Kenichi Ohmae, in his most famous book *End of Nation-State*, argued that nation-state's demarcation is no longer relevant in a globalized world which

requires free movement of goods and persons in order to operate effectively.¹ He instead favors a regionalized system in which economic activity is governed by a supranational body that he called 'regional-state'. He then boldly predicted that the Westphalian nation-state system will find its demise and be replaced by a regionalized world order.

However, almost thirty years after Ohmae's prediction and nation-state is still strong as ever, if not stronger. In fact, Francis Fukuyama, who famously wrote about how the history will end in an everlasting glory of global capitalism system, changed his position when he wrote a book about building nation-state.² As far as regionalism goes, European Union might be the closest to achieve Ohmae's ideal but it is currently encountering strong backlash from the rise of ultranationalism movement among its members.³ Whereas ASEAN, considered by many as the second strongest regionalism project after European Union, is still maintaining its non-interference principle that puts state's sovereignty as the most importance.⁴ Other regionalism project either fails miserably (African Union and SAARC) or ended with only regional free trade arrangement (NAFTA and Mercosur).⁵ Across the globe, it is quite clear that regionalism process has stagnated and Westphalian nation-state system is far from its demise.

The only silver-lining for regionalism is the fact that the study of this subject is ever-growing within epistemic community. Some of the most influential thinkers in this field, such as Peter Katzenstein, Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, shares Ohmae's sentiment in that they argue the world is running on a straight trajectory toward a "world of regions" accelerated by an "inevitable march of globalization." All those scholars have developed their own theory in regard to how we can reach that new world order, albeit no consensus has ever been made. The general lack of dialogue between

¹Kenichi Ohmae, *End of Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economics* (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1995).

²Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004).

³Gregor Aishch, Adam Pearce & Bryant Rousseau, "How Far is Europe Swinging to the Right?" in *New York Times* (2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/05/22/world/europe/europe-right-wing-austria-hungary.html>., accessed on 27 September 2017.

⁴Erich Corthay, "The ASEAN Doctrine of Non-Interference in Light of the Fundamental Principle of Non-Intervention" in *Asian-Pacific Law & Policy Journal*, Vol. 17, No.2 (2016), pp. 1-41.

⁵Hae Kim, "Regionalism, Globalization and Economic Development in the World" in *Overcoming the Crisis: Economic and Financial Developments in Asia and Europe*, by Štefan Bojnec, Josef C. Brada and Masaaki Kuboniwa (Koper: University of Primorska Press, 2012), pp. 255-265.

regionalism specialists across the world is problematic, according to Fredrik Söderbaum, as it is a sign of both weakness and fragmentation. Even more problematic is the fact that many scholars actually compete with each other in an effort to provide the ‘most convincing’ recommendation for policy makers.⁶ Such fragmentation between scholars can only be counter-productive and will not contribute to the state of stagnation in regionalism project across the globe.

Among all of academic works related to regionalism post-Cold War, one work that the authors argue as exceptional is Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum’s publication titled “Theorizing the Rise of Regionness”. In the time when regionalism scholars mostly refer to economic integration *a la* European Union to discuss their theory, Hettne and Söderbaum instead took their inspiration from social constructivism theory and developed a concept known as ‘regionness’. The word itself is defined by Hettne and Söderbaum as a degree of sense of belonging from the people to the region that they lived in – to put it simply, regionness is what nationness is to the building of a nation. Hettne and Söderbaum then argues that ‘regionness’ is the most essential variable to further regionalism and transform a nation-state into regional state.⁷

What makes Hettne and Söderbaum’s theory on regionness special and deserved to be discussed further is the fact that they managed to argue the importance of social interaction at the grassroot level which is often undervalued by regionalism scholars who are mostly dominated by political economy specialists.⁸ This is especially true in the case of ASEAN Community project which constantly promotes Southeast Asia’s economic and political pillar while underselling its socio-cultural pillar.⁹ Borrowing Hettne and Söderbaum’s words, this paper argues that social interaction between the people of a region is the most important factor in regionalism as it will serve as the glue that sustain the regionalism process.¹⁰ However, this paper questions as to how we can

⁶Fredrik Söderbaum, “Rethinking Regions and Regionalism” in *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2013), pp. 9-18.

⁷Björn Hettne & Fredrik Söderbaum, “Theorizing the Rise of Regionness” in *New Political Economy*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (2000), pp. 457-472.

⁸Fredrik Söderbaum, *Loc. Cit.*

⁹Na-Khwannwalai Dilokwongpong, *ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community: an Ideal Model of a Socio-Cultural Cosmopolitan Community* (Bangkok: Thammasat University, 2012).

¹⁰Björn Hettne & Fredrik Söderbaum, *Loc. Cit.*

engineer that social interaction to ensure regional convergence and prevent regional divergence as in the case of European Union after Brexit.¹¹

In order to promote the importance of socio-cultural pillar in the building of ASEAN Community, this paper will discuss the possibility of strengthening the theory of regionness by using the concept of social capital. This paper employs literature review to find an intertextuality between the concept of regionness and social capital by focusing on the idea that social interaction is the most important aspect in ensuring regional convergence. The literatures on regionalism mostly consist of publications from the second wave of regionalism scholars commonly referred to under the banner of ‘new regionalism study’ which put more emphasis on the socio-cultural dimension of regionalism. Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum will be the central figures in this literature review due to being the major proponents of the theory of regionness as well as their overall influence in driving the new regionalism study. Meanwhile, literatures on social capital will focus on contemporary readings of Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social capital, most notably from the political economy perspective (represented by Jemel Aguilar & Soma Sen). Finally, the discussion will be completed by gaining insights from Social Psychology insights on the nature of social understanding.

The Genealogy of Regionalism Studies

The conceptual and theoretical debates of region and regionalism are complex. The authors note that there has been no consensus in regard to the definition of regionalism. Before discussing the debate on regionalism, this paper should reach an understanding on the meaning of region. Region is a term similar to a nation-state, its differences include composition, capability, and aspirations. The conditions of region may appear to be formal or otherwise, created or recreated through the process of

¹¹The European Union is currently under a threat of regional divergence. After UK’s EU Referendum on June 23rd, 2016 which results in the decision to exit European Union (widely known as Brexit), the support for similar referendum across all European Countries is growing ever since. In response to this situation, Germany’s Economic Minister, Sigmar Gabriel, stated that the EU cannot let such referendum to be repeated or else it will spell doom for the largest civilization project of the 20th century (Meredith).

globalization.¹² Amin Maalouf claims that region is present as long as political actors desires it. In fact, region is quite akin to identity—its nature is not given, but is constructed and constantly changing.¹³

The crucial debate is the relations between regionalism and globalization. The two variables, in some debates, are discussed as either two side of the same coin or mutually exclusive. The former argues that regionalism is a part of globalization practice (stepping stone), while the latter argues that regionalism is a project that will hinder globalization (stumbling bloc) due to the exclusive nature of the region itself.¹⁴ Meanwhile, Mittelman argues that if globalization is understood to mean the compression of the spatial and time aspects of social relations, then regionalism is only one component of globalization.¹⁵ Clearly, the dynamics of regionalism are the topic of globalization itself. Thus, the debate of regionalism as a stepping bloc of globalization remains unclear.¹⁶ For example, Margaret Lee, who observes relationships between regionalism and globalization, argues that the two cannot coexist. This is demonstrated through the African context, In which regionalism is proven to be counterproductive to Africa's economic growth and development agenda.¹⁷

Regionalism studies invite a variety of perspectives to the analysis of region.¹⁸ Broadly speaking, there are many different perspectives in analyzing how regionalism was created, i.e.; (1) geographical proximity¹⁹, (2) the logical consequences of

¹²Björn Hettne, "The New Regionalism: A Prologue" in *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, edited by Björn Hettne, Andras Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. 15-29.

¹³Louise Fawcett, "Exploring Regional Domains: A Comparative History of Regionalism" in *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (2004), pp. 429-446.

¹⁴Some experts argue that regionalism has a relationship with globalization. This is influenced by regionalism as the basis of the practice of the principle of liberalism. The capacity of the State is predicted to fade, followed by the principle of liberalism that has stretched the country's political-economic capacity. See Stephen Gill, In politics, the state is no longer a single actor even though its existence remains an important unit in the global political economy (Gilpin & Gilpin, 2001).

¹⁵James Mittelman, "Rethinking the New Regionalism in the Context of Globalisation" in *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, edited by Björn Hettne, Andras Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. 25-23.

¹⁶Andrew Hurrell, "Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective" in *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organisation and International Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 33.

¹⁷James Mittelman, *Loc. Cit.*

¹⁸Tanja. A. Börzel & Thomas Risse, "Introduction" in *The Oxford handbook of comparative regionalism*, by T. A. Börzel and T. Risse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 3-15.

¹⁹Andrew Hurrell, "Explaining the resurgence of regionalism in world politics" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 21. No. 4 (1995), pp. 331-358.

interdependence²⁰, (3) a certain degree of cultural homogeneity²¹, (4) sense of interconnectedness within the scope of a common community.²² Meanwhile, the study of International Political Economy (IPE) views regionalism as synonymous with regional trade agreements (RTAs) which are part of a competitive scheme regulated by the WTO.²³

Variations on the identification of regionalism are almost always based on political and economic orientation. This assumption is made after looking at some of the definition provided for the concept of regionalism. Anthony Payne defines regionalism as a state project designed to identify a particular region followed by economic and political orientation.²⁴ Schmitt-Egner assumes the same—that the concept of regionalism concerns typology, the administrative region, the political domain, the economic realm, etc.²⁵ There are also a huge number of regionalism interpretations based on geopolitical and geo-economic character. It can be argued that most scholars view regionalism as a state-led phenomenon. The problem is that some states undergone regional cooperation will always have a competing vision on coexisting with each other.²⁶ The second wave of regionalism study, known as “New Regionalism,” argues that state-centric explanation is central to the “Old Regionalism Study.” As a contrast to the ‘old one’, the ‘new’ argues that regionalism is a multidimensional process involving many transnational actors—hence, it is impossible to explain this phenomenon solely on the basis of political elitism and economic matters.²⁷

²⁰Joseph Nye, "Patterns and catalysts in regional integration" in *International Organization*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1965), pp. 870-884.

²¹Bruce Martin Russett, *International regions and the international system: A study in political* (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1967).

²²Björn Hettne & Fredrik Söderbaum, "Theorizing the Rise of Regionness," in *New Political Economy*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (2000), pp. 457-472.

²³Kim Soo Yeon, Edward Mansfield, & Helen Milner. 2016. "Regional trade governance." In *The Oxford handbook of comparative regionalism*, by T. A. Börzel & T. Risse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 323-350.

²⁴Anthony Payne, "Globalization and Modes of Regionalist Governance" in *The Global Transformations Reader; An Introduction to the Globalisation Debate*, edited by David Held and Anthony McGrew (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), pp. 213-232.

²⁵Peter Schmitt-Egner, "The Concept of Region: Theoretical and Methodological and Notes on its Reconstruction" in *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (2002), pp. 179-200.

²⁶Fredrik Söderbaum, "Introduction: Theories of New Regionalism" in *Theories of New Regionalism: a Palgrave Reader*, edited by Fredrik Söderbaum and Timothy M. Shaw (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 1-21.

²⁷Non-state actors are considered to be relevant in regionalism project for Morten Bøås, Marianne H. Marchand and Timothy M. Shaw. These scholars argue that the presence of NGOs,

The other major debate worth discussing is the relations between state and regionalism. In some definitions, regionalism is seen as a continuation of the Westphalian state-system, where the sovereignty of the state remains the main object in the study of international relations (IR), and state becomes the domain in explaining the formation of regionalism. The influence of the Westphalian system in the European region resulted in a Eurocentrism bias in the current IR study.²⁸ The bias is then influential in regionalism, because the experience of regional integration initially took place in Europe which is currently facilitated by the European Union.

The emergence of regionalism practices in recent decades has led to regionalism being mainstreamed in almost all global episodes. Regionalism, in some discussions, tends to be seen as a force which will diminish the role of the state. This is especially true in new regionalism theory that abandons state-centrism altogether, in favor of global social theory. The rise of regionalism then raises serious question to national identity. Is the meaning of identity, which is previously coopted by the state, will be blurred in the face of regionalism? This key question is the driving force for this paper to look at patterns of identity through regionalism.

The ongoing globalization followed by regional activity indirectly opposes the concept of the sovereign state itself. There are three important assumptions as to how globalization defies the existence of the state through a model of regionalism, namely (1) state sovereignty, (2) citizenship, (3) geographical demarcation.²⁹ Björn Hettne has initiated a discussion on the meaning of citizenship in the specters of globalization that reduces the relevance of the nation-state. Furthermore, Hettne sees that the Westphalian system has been eroded by globalization and lost some of its essential aspects. If the nation-state really loses its relevance, the consequence is that citizenship will disappear simultaneously.³⁰

community networks, media, businesses has a significant role in the activities of the region, even though they acknowledge that the state is a powerful and dominant actor. Further, see *ibid*.

²⁸Turan Kayaogly, "Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory" in *International Studies Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2010), pp. 193-217.

²⁹Nikki Slocum & Luk Van Langenhove, "Identity and Regional Integration" in *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice*, edited by Mary Farrell, Björn Hettne and Luk Van Langenhove (London: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 137-151.

³⁰Björn Hettne, "The Fate of Citizenship in Post-Westphalia" in *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2000), pp. 35-46.

Unfortunately, literatures on regionalism tends to undervalue the role of identity in regionalization. This is caused by the general consensus that regionalism is merely a political-economic process organized by the state.³¹ One of the major proponents of this idea is Bela Balassa who suggests that regional integration begins with intrastate agreement of general preferential tariff (GPT) which results in monetary union and the economic totality of the region. This monetary union, which is usually represented by single currency or single market system, is generally considered as the main building block to sustain the regional integration.³² However, economic logic often clashes with the social reality, where economic interaction is considered as a form of competition. This can be seen in the case of European Union where their regionalism project is significantly hindered by diminishing confidence in the value of the eurozone from its members amid ongoing crisis.³³ As such, the sustainability of state-centric regional economic competition remains questionable as it cannot reliably unify the region akin to how single identity can unite a nation.

The lack of discussion on the socio-cultural dimension of regional integration is quite peculiar as the increased understanding of globalization has shed more lights on the role and contribution of non-state actors in international relations. In that regard, socio-cultural dimensions should be seen as essential in discussing regional integration. The next section will discuss the insights from a group of thinkers who specialize in the socio-cultural dimensions of regionalism, especially their concept of regionness which they argue to be the key to achieving a more sustainable regional integration.

On the Theory of Regionness and Its Fallacy

The theory of regionness belongs to the second wave of regionalism study commonly referred to as the 'new regionalism study'. This wave of thinkers see regionalism not simply as a formal organization (as in the case of EU studies pre-Cold War), nor as a given, but as a part of construction and reconstruction process of global transformation. It is essential, for this wave of thinkers, to see regionalism as a

³¹Rick Fawn, "Regions and Their Study: Wherefrom, What for and Where to?" in *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35 (2009), pp. 5-34.

³²Bela Balasaa, *The Theory of Economic Integration* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

³³Joseph Stiglitz, *The Euro and Its Threat to the Future of Europe* (London: Penguin Books, 2017).

multidimensional form of integration that embraces economic, political and socio-cultural aspects. Therefore, it is imperative to view regionalism beyond the creation of free trade agreements or security regimes. Most importantly, regionalism must also be seen as possessing strategic goal of region-building that includes establishing regional cohesion and identity.³⁴ In a sense, new regionalism theorists argue that regionalism is part of an effort to resist what Falk referred to as ‘globalizations from above’ by putting emphasis on initiative ‘from below’ to cope with global transformations in their own way.³⁵

The word ‘regionness’ was first coined by Björn Hettne in his journal titled “Pursuit of Regionness” as a counter for the growing mercantilist tendency in world politics. In that journal, He argues that Mercantilism, which he defined as a “pursuit of stateness,” is the source of the hierarchized nature of the world. Since every state pursues a realist desire to fulfill their interest first before others, strong states will always trample over the weak one.³⁶ In his previous journal titled “Security and Peace in Post-Cold War Europe,” Hettne argues that mercantilist nature can also be seen in the process of European regionalism which led to the creation of a ‘Fortress Europe’, hell-bent on pursuing their region’s prosperity while ignoring the others. Hettne argues that such regional entity is no different than nation-state. He then urges for the creation of Gilpin’s ‘benign mercantilist system’ where protectionism is motivated by “considerations of domestic welfare and internal political stability.³⁷” By pursuing that kind of mercantilist system, Hettne argues that we will no longer be in a pursuit of stateness but a pursuit of regionness.³⁸

Hettne argues that the concept of regionness is essential in the creation of a neo-mercantilist system. While he acknowledges the diverse variants of mercantilism (capitalist, imperialist and Marxist), he argues that those variants are not significantly

³⁴Mary Farrel, "The Global Politics of Regionalism: An Introduction" in *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice*, edited by Mary Farrell, Björn Hettne & Luk Van Langenhove (London: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 1-20.

³⁵Richard Falk, “Resisting ‘globalisation-from-above’ through ‘globalisation-from-below’” in *New Political Economy*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1997), pp. 17-24.

³⁶Björn Hettne, "Neo-Mercantilism: The Pursuit of Regionness" in *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 28 (1993), pp. 211-232.

³⁷Björn Hettne, "Security and Peace in Post-Cold War Europe" in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1991), pp. 279-294.

³⁸Björn Hettne (1993), *Loc. Cit.*

different from the original conception of mercantilism to warrant the epithet 'neo'. Since the fundamental stance of mercantilism lies in its affinity to national power and particular political territory, the only way to broaden the concept is to put it at a higher level—that is, the regional level. Therefore, neo-mercantilist system should be understood as an economic system governed politically by an entity higher than nation-state. Because such entity does not exist yet, a pursuit of regionness becomes necessary in order to create it. What makes neo-mercantilism different from its original conception is that it transcends the nation-state logic in favor of a “segmented world system, consisting of self-sufficient blocs.” As such, neo-mercantilism will become a transnational system where people are no longer constrained by closed national economies and able to integrate into a regional political organization capable of managing its own regional problems and providing stability. Ultimately, he argues, that nation-states will be replaced by region-states which promotes benign mercantilism instead of the malevolent one.³⁹

The advent of region-state is not only beneficial for economic matters but also social. This line of argument was used by Hettne in his journal titled “The Fate of Citizenship in Post-Westphalia” in which he argues that regionalism can solve many social problems, including nation-state’s incapability in protecting their own citizens in a globalized world, by empowering transnational civil society. A regionalized world order, in his view, is not only a benign neo-mercantilist system but also a world that acknowledges the importance of human rights principle. This is possible because regionalism, as explained by new regionalism theorists, promotes multidimensional process of integration and put emphasis on the initiative ‘from below’ instead of ‘from above’.⁴⁰ The only problem with Hettne’s arguments so far is that he is still unable to define what he means by ‘regionness’. In “Pursuit of Regionness,” Hettne only explained the concept as analogous to ‘nation-ness’ and ‘state-ness’ in that it implies a measurable degree of cohesiveness inside a region. It was not until his collaborative work with Fredrik Söderbaum that a comprehensive theory of regionness was made.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰Björn Hettne, "The Fate of Citizenship in Post-Westphalia" in *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2000), pp. 35-46.

In “Theorizing the Rise of Regionness,” Hettne and Söderbaum assess that regionalism study has been blindsided by its ideological aspect as an urge to create a regionalist world order. This has caused regionalism study to neglect its empirical aspect as a “process that leads to patterns of cooperation, integration, complementarity and convergence within a particular cross-national geographical space.” In other words, Hettne and Söderbaum criticizes how scholars have been focusing too much on how to create a successful regionalism project (usually represented by formal regional institutions) while forgetting the basic fundamental of regionalism in promoting social relations between people across national border. The difference in the two is that the first cares only about regionalism as perceived by the elite member of the society while the latter cares more about how society at the grassroots level perceives regionalism. As a result, regionalism study is still unable to learn about how or why some regionalism is successful while others fail.⁴¹ This became the *raison d’etre* for the theorization of regionness.

The theory of regionness outlined by Hettne and Söderbaum departs from three metatheoretical points: (1) global social theory; (2) social constructivism; and (3) comparative regional studies. Global social theory requires scholars to abandon state-centrism as an ontology of their research. It also requires scholars to go beyond “the mystifications of the concept of globalization,” to not take it for granted and to be able transcend the micro-macro relation in globalization. Meanwhile, social constructivism provides scholars with rich conceptualization on the “interaction between material incentives, inter-subjective structures, and the identity and interest of the actors.” It emphasizes how regions are socially constructed and how ideational forces are relevant in region-building. Finally, Hettne and Söderbaum took comparative regional studies with caution. They acknowledge the criticisms that comparative study tends to ignore cultural relativism. Therefore, it is important to draw the middle-ground between “the devil of too detailed regional specialization and the deep blue sea of general theory.”⁴²

“Theorizing The Rise of Regionness” innovation lies not in its contribution for new definition of regionness (it does not provide new defintion), but in its

⁴¹Björn Hettne & Fredrik Söderbaum, “Theorizing the Rise of Regionness” in *New Political Economy*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (2000), pp. 457-472.

⁴²*Ibid.*

comprehensive theorization as to how the concept matters in regionalization process. First of all, by departing from global social theory, Hettne and Söderbaum were able to free themselves from the constraint of state-centrism in order to discuss regionalism as an independent phenomenon. As a result, they were able to see that regionalism is no mere aggregation of nation-states but a process in which “a geographical area is transformed from a passive object to an active subject capable of articulating the transnational interests of the emerging region.” The concept of regionness then becomes a guideline to find out at which spectrum a regionalization process stands between ‘passive object’ and ‘active subject’. Secondly, by drawing from social constructivism, Hettne and Söderbaum were able to see regions as regions in the making, meaning that regions are always in a constant process of creating and recreating. Most importantly, a regionalization process is not exclusive to state, as in the case of China in 2000, in which Bangkok and Taiwan were part of East Asian regionalism but mainland China does not. This means that degree of *regionness* cannot be increased only by relying on state’s initiative, but every transnational actor within the making of region. It also means that region-state, the final product of regionalism, is not always equal to the combined territory of states within that region.⁴³

Hettne and Söderbaum’s theorization of regionness as a degree of regionalization process led to the creation of their now-famous “five phases of regionalism,” i.e., (1) regional space; (2) regional complex; (3) regional society; (4) regional community; (5) region-state. These five phases of regionalism were the most referred to by scholars who use new regionalism theory.⁴⁴ However, the problem is that most scholars use this five phases of regionalism as an evolutionary logic or stage theory, in which regionalism is seen as a natural process toward the creation of a region-

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴Including, but not limited to: Hannu Heinonen, *Regional Integration and the State : The Changing Nature of Sovereignty in Southern Africa and Europe* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2006); Pia Riggiozzi, "Region, Regionness and Regionalism in Latin America: Towards a New Synthesis" in *New Political Economy*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2011), pp. 421-443; Germán Camilo Prieto, "How does regionalism unfold? Discussing the relationships of constitution and causation between identity and institutions" in *OASIS*, No. 17 (2012), pp. 7-37; Takeko Iinuma, "ASEAN and its Regional Integration from the Perspective of "Regionness" in *専修大学社会科学研究所月報* (2014); Gema Ramadhan Bastari, "Regionalisme Isu Lingkungan Asia Tenggara (1977-2000)" in *Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 5 No. 1 (2016), pp. 42-60

state, while Hettne and Söderbaum intended it only as a framework for comparative analysis.⁴⁵

This approach is problematic since it ignores the socially-constructed nature of regionalism which emphasizes the dynamics of social interaction and instead blindly assuming that increasing social interaction will eventually lead to regional convergence. In actuality, social interaction does not always result into convergence but also a divergence.⁴⁶ The case of Brexit is a legitimate example to show how social interaction at the regional level can lead to political identity which sows hatred within a regional community and put European Union under a threat of regional divergence.⁴⁷ Brexit exemplifies how regionalization is not a linear process but involves an ups and downs dynamic which requires immediate attention.

It is in the face of such phenomenon that we can see the fallacy of Hettne and Söderbaum's theory of regionness which cannot explain how to ensure that social interaction at the regional level will always lead to regional convergence. If Hettne's argument about how regionalism will pave the way for the creation of cosmopolitan entity which favors benign mercantilism and the principle of human rights can be taken into account, then it is in our interest to see it through. From what the authors have seen from Hettne and Söderbaum's explanation on the theory of regionness, it is quite clear that they are severely lacking in the understanding of how social interaction works. Therefore, it is quite worth it to delve into other social studies to fill in this gap that Hettne and Söderbaum have left behind.

Social Capital as a Theoretical Complementary

The theory of social capital is rooted in sociological studies as a theory that explains the 'missing link' in economic analysis. The genesis of the theory came from the realization that Karl Marx' conceptualization on 'capital' is still incomplete. This is

⁴⁵Björn Hettne, "The New Regionalism Revisited" In *Theories of New Regionalism*, by Fredrik Söderbaum & Timothy M. Shaw (New York: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 22-42.

⁴⁶Bert H Hodges "Rethinking conformity and imitation: divergence, convergence, and social understanding" in *Frontiers in Psychology* (2014).

⁴⁷Sam Meredith, "EU disintegration? Here's the probability of France's far right ending the largest civilization project of the 20th century," in *CNBC* (2 August 2017), <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/01/31/eu-disintegration-heres-the-probability-of-frances-far-right-ending-the-largest-civilization-project-of-the-20th-century.html>.

due to his economic determinism framework that ignores any other aspect besides economy to produce capital. As a result, Marx cannot comprehend other method to seize the means of production other than the acquisition of material power through revolution (i.e., strikes and boycotts). In this regard, Aguilar & Sen argued that Marx has failed to explain how people could obtain noneconomic resources in their effort of class struggle.⁴⁸

The weakness of Marxian notion of capital was later covered by Pierre Bourdieu's explanation on the various forms of capital, in which he defined capital as "accumulated labor ... which when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor."⁴⁹ Aguilar & Sen noted this definition as Bourdieu's acknowledgement on the noneconomic form of capital, which can occur in the forms cultural and social capitals. While economic capital refers to material resources, such as monetary and physical resources, social capital refers to the immaterial power that one gains from their social networks and connections.⁵⁰ Thus, came the popular notion that social capital is a "capital accumulated by individuals and groups through their social interactions that can be used to smooth cooperation among people and foster collective action."⁵¹ This popular notion of social capital is so pervasive, up to this day, that it became part of international development agenda, championed by World Bank, IMF and OECD.

If we were to guess as to why Hettne and Söderbaum never incorporated the concept of social capital in their theory of regionness, it is probably because of the relation between social capital political discourse and neoliberalism.⁵² Starting from Robert Putnam's conceptualization on social capital in 1996, the concept became widely used by think-tanks, academics, journalists, politicians and policy-makers alike as an

⁴⁸James P. Aguilar & Soma Sen, "Comparing Conceptualizations of Social Capital" in *Journal of Community Practice*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2009), pp. 424-443.

⁴⁹Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, by J. Richardson, (New York: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 241-258.

⁵⁰James P. Aguilar & Soma Sen, *Loc. Cit.*

⁵¹Emanuele Ferragina & Alessandro Arrigoni, "The Rise and Fall of Social Capital: Requiem for a Theory?" in *Political Studies Review* (2016), pp. 1-13.

⁵²Judging from the piles of works made by Hettne and Söderbaum, it is easy to see their partiality on the socialism ideology which makes them unable to compromise with the contemporary concept of social capital.

instrument to give meaning to otherwise banal discussions. In this regard, Law & Mooney, argues that social capital has become a “conceptual *deus ex machina*,” a panacea to maladies, a solution to any kind of problems existing on this planet.⁵³ The problem is, as noted by Smith and Kulynych, discourses on social capital as international development agenda will always be followed by an orthodox emphasis on ‘capital’. In other words, when people talk about social capital nowadays, they were actually talking about human capital, or labor, in relation to how it can contribute to further profit accumulation.⁵⁴ It can therefore be argued that the concept of social capital has been appropriated by the logic of capitalism in order to make it convenient for neoliberal regime to incorporate the social aspect of human life in their agenda or, as Lapavitsas put it, to ‘financialize’ it.⁵⁵

However, as noted by Ferragina & Arrigoni, it is important to distinguish between social capital *the theory* and social capital *the political discourse*. While the political discourse of social capital has been usurped by neoliberal-capitalism agenda, the theory of social capital itself goes way back to 1916 when Lyda Hanifan employed the concept to argue how a society can be maintained or destroyed by the degree of social capital that they have accumulated. The theory was later complemented by Bourdieu who explains social capital in its relation to how people can gain power through noneconomic means. According to Bourdieu, social capital is a resource that people compete with each other in order to leverage themselves in society. The immaterial form of social capital can be seen from the *habitus* in how people speaks, dresses or appears in public.⁵⁶

This is the second layer that made bourgeoisie so powerful, in that they possess social capital alongside economic capital. But if the social capital can be distributed evenly by forming an independent community through intense social interactions, then it is possible for every members of society to leverage themselves together and form a

⁵³Alex Law & Gerry Mooney, "The Maladies of Social Capital I: The Missing 'Capital' in Theories of Social Capital" in *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory*, Vol. 34, No.2 (2006), pp. 127-143.

⁵⁴Stephen Samuel Smith & Jessica Kulynych, "It May Be Social, But Why Is It Capital? The Social Construction of Social Capital and the Politics of Language" in *Politics & Society*, Vol. 30 No. 1 (2002), pp. 149-186.

⁵⁵Costas Lapavitsas, "The financialization of capitalism" in *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, Vol. 17, No. 6 (2013), pp. 792-805.

⁵⁶Emanuele Ferragina & Alessandro Arrigoni, "The Rise and Fall of Social Capital: Requiem for a Theory?" in *Political Studies Review* (2016), pp. 1-13.

classless society, without employing extreme stratagem such as revolution.⁵⁷ It is in this Bourdieu's concept of social capital that this paper argues of its relevance in the theory of regionness, namely that both concept seeks to empower people at the grassroots level to interact with each other in order to form a far better governance system than the existing one. The difference is that while Bourdieu only talks about social capital at the national level, Hettne & Söderbaum took it further to regional level. This means that the formation of social capital outlined by Bourdieu is very relevant to the concept of regionness.

However, we must also tread Bourdieu's conception of social capital with caution as it is still not enough to explain how we can engineer the degree of regionness in a way that will always lead to regional convergence. While the concept of social capital does put an emphasis on people's own ability to gain power through institutionalized social relations, there is still a lack of understanding as to how that intense social relation can actually occur. This issue can be mitigated by turning into insights from the discipline of Social Psychology, most notably the theory of social understanding which has shed more lights on the role of both convergence and divergence in social relations. In particular, this theory has indicated that divergence is not necessarily an undesirable result of social relations. On the contrary, divergence is as much an inherent part of human interaction as convergence and that the two will eventually contribute into social understanding.

According to Bert Hodges, divergence in social relations is as pervasive as convergence, but scholars mostly neglect that fact. He argues that this is because of the existence of theoretical and methodological bias commonly referred to as 'Cartesian individuals', which is a tendency for people to think of themselves as an isolated island who only cares about how they can achieve their selfish goals. In Cartesian perspectives, others are only relevant insofar as they can help in contributing one's determined goals, instead of a partner that can work together to achieve that same goal. Due to this bias, social thinkers are mostly blinded by the importance of people to work together in convergence, rather than a divergence, which is considered uninteresting,

⁵⁷James P. Aguilar & Soma Sen, "Comparing Conceptualizations of Social Capital" in *Journal of Community Practice*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2009), pp. 424-443.

since it is seen as a natural consequence of their ‘misassumption’ on the isolated nature of human beings. Regardless of whether it is truly a natural consequence, Hodges argues that it does not excuse scholars to simply abandon the discussion on divergence if it can actually be a fatal blowout to their theoretical proposition.⁵⁸ In a way, we can argue that both Hettne & Söderbaum and Bourdieu are victims to this bias, which can be seen by their blind conviction that more social relations will always be equal to more regionness or more social capital.

Based on the above insights, this paper argues that social understanding, or regionalism, or accumulating social capital, is not about how we can make other to be more like ourselves or vice versa, but rather a joint process of exploring “a more comprehensive and complex field of action than any of its participants could have predicted or imagined alone.” The word “joint process” means that we must see regionalism as a collective project where every actor is seen as equal. Regionalism cannot be a project led by only nation-state or even grassroots community, but a project led by the combined efforts of every actor within the regionalization process. This is important, because the act of making others to mimic ourselves or force them to conform under a certain institution will only lead to divergence. If we take another look at the case of Brexit, one of the biggest reasons for Britons to exit European Union is the fact that they can no longer tolerate EU’s principle of free movement.⁵⁹ The top-down approach employed by European Union is an imposing manner in which every EU member is forced to obey a certain European characteristic envisioned by Brussels. If we use Hodges’ perspective on social understanding, it is no wonder that Britons chose to exit the EU, because their position are not even considered by the leading actor in regionalism.

Furthermore, the word “a more comprehensive field of action that no one could ever imagine alone” means that the end product of regionalism must be something far more sophisticated and far more imaginative than any governance practices that exist today. It also means that reaching such end-goal will be impossible without the

⁵⁸Bert H. Hodges "Rethinking conformity and imitation: divergence, convergence, and social understanding" in *Frontiers in Psychology* (2014).

⁵⁹Réka Ágopcsa, "Discourse in the United Kingdom on EU immigration: Analysis of Prime Minister David Cameron's political language on EU immigrants between 2010 and 2015" in *Corvinus Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2017).

combined effort of every actor. Leaving the regionalization process to state will only lead to a continuation of Westphalian state-system while leaving it to a cosmopolitan scholar will only lead to an anarcho paradise without any semblance of order. The same is also true for socialist, Marxist, neoliberalist, institutionalist, nihilist, or any intellectual paradigm that exists in this world. Regionalism cannot be only about one of those things, but it must always be about all of those things combined in order to create a governance system unimagined by any individuals alone. When we were able to do that, that is when we can truly see an increase in the degree of regionness.

Conclusion and Reflection on Southeast Asian Regionalism

The conclusion that can be made based on previous explanations is that the theory of regionness cannot only discuss about how to increase social relations at the regional level, but also in what manners the social interaction should occur. By taking the theory of social capital into account, this paper argues that social interaction must occur in a way that will liberate people at the grassroot level from their class and empower them with the possession of social capital. Furthermore, the discussions on social interaction should also consider the possibility of divergence.

This is important because the difference between social interaction at the national level and regional level is not only in terms of the number of people participating in it, but also in the increasingly diverse value, culture and perspectives that will clash with each other. It is relatively easier to create a convergence at the national level because every participant (generally) has the same imagination on their identity. However, such collective imagination does not yet exist at the regional level which makes political identity more likely. When people from different nations interact with each other, it is easier for them to find the reason as to why they are different than why they should work together under the same identity.

Therefore, by incorporating the theory of social understanding, this paper argues that regionalization process must occur in a horizontal manner, in which every perspective can be taken into account in the imaginative process of creating a regionalism. By using the conclusion of this paper, the authors argue that ASEAN must contemplate again as to why they choose to integrate. The historical trajectory of

ASEAN has propelled them into thinking in only two situations, namely deepening and widening. Unfortunately, the regionalism process led by ASEAN so far has only managed to show its expansion in political and economic orientation.

Inward-looking interaction is necessary to understand the role of transnational actors interaction, not only in creating the possibility for people to meet with each other, but in how they contribute to the constant process of construction and reconstruction of Southeast Asia. This is especially true for the continuation of ASEAN socio-cultural pillar (ASCC), which, in essence, is part of an effort to increase regionness among Southeast Asian people by forming a unity of identity. However, such ambition will be impossible if ASEAN continues to champion the importance of state-led regionalism without actually involving the people.

The existing imagined regional identity in the form of “ASEAN Way” principle is mostly an elitist rhetoric. This principle exists solely to legitimate ASEAN’s political economy agenda in their supposedly “open regionalism.” However, the principle is only relevant insofar as it continues to maintain the dominance of the state in Southeast Asian regionalism. Thus, the question that should whether ASEAN regionalism only exists within the ten members’ foreign ministry or is it truly represents the Southeast Asian people’s idea of regionalism?

Without ever acknowledging the importance of the people, ASEAN regionalism is under a serious risk of divergence. This is where the conclusion of this paper can be taken into account. What ASEAN must realize is that region is always a region in the making. There is no steady conceptualization of Southeast Asian region as it is a concept that will constantly evolves along with the increasing degree of regionness in this region. Therefore, it is worth it to implement an effort based on the theory of regionness by emphasizing the importance of horizontal interaction within a region, in which every actor can be included in the process of imagining a region-state of Southeast Asia.

REFERENCES

- Ágopcsa, Réka. "Discourse in the United Kingdom on EU immigration: Analysis of Prime Minister David Cameron's political language on EU immigrants between 2010 and 2015" in *Corvinus Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2017).

- Aguilar, James P. & Soma Sen. "Comparing Conceptualizations of Social Capital" in *Journal of Community Practice*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2009), pp. 424-443.
- Balasaa, Bela. *The Theory of Economic Integration*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Bastari, Gema Ramadhan. "Regionalisme Isu Lingkungan Asia Tenggara (1977-2000)" in *Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 5 No. 1 (2016), pp. 42-60
- Börzel, Tanja. A. & Thomas Risse. "Introduction" in *The Oxford handbook of comparative regionalism*, by T. A. Börzel and T. Risse. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, by J. Richardson. New York: Greenwood, 1986.
- Corthay, Erich. "The ASEAN Doctrine of Non-Interference in Light of the Fundamental Principle of Non-Intervention" in *Asian-Pacific Law & Policy Journal*, Vol. 17, No.2 (2016), pp. 1-41.
- Dilokwongpong, Na-Khwannwalai. *ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community: an Ideal Model of a Socio-Cultural Cosmopolitan Community*. Bangkok: Thammasat University, 2012.
- Falk, Richard. "Resisting 'globalisation-from-above' through 'globalisation-from-below'" in *New Political Economy*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1997), pp. 17-24.
- Farrel, Mary. "The Global Politics of Regionalism: An Introduction" in *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice*, edited by Mary Farrell, Björn Hettne & Luk Van Langenhove. London: Pluto Press, 2005.
- Fawcett, Louise. "Exploring Regional Domains: A Comparative History of Regionalism" in *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (2004), pp. 429-446.
- Fawn, Rick. "Regions and Their Study: Wherefrom, What for and Whereto?" in *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35 (2009), pp. 5-34.
- Ferragina, Emanuele & Alessandro Arrigoni, "The Rise and Fall of Social Capital: Requiem for a Theory?" in *Political Studies Review* (2016), pp. 1-13.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2004.
- Heinonen, Hannu. *Regional Integration and the State : The Changing Nature of Sovereignty in Southern Africa and Europe*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2006.

- Hettne, Björn & Fredrik Söderbaum. "Theorizing the Rise of Regionness" in *New Political Economy*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (2000), pp. 457-472.
- Hettne, Björn. "The Fate of Citizenship in Post-Westphalia" in *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2000), pp. 35-46.
- Hettne, Björn. "Neo-Mercantilism: The Pursuit of Regionness" in *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 28 (1993), pp. 211-232.
- Hettne, Björn. "Security and Peace in Post-Cold War Europe" in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1991), pp. 279-294.
- Hettne, Björn. "The New Regionalism Revisited" In *Theories of New Regionalism*, by Fredrik Söderbaum & Timothy M. Shaw. New York: Palgrave, 2003.
- Hettne, Björn. "The New Regionalism: A Prologue" in *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, edited by Björn Hettne, Andras Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999.
- Hodges, Bert H. "Rethinking conformity and imitation: divergence, convergence, and social understanding" in *Frontiers in Psychology* (2014).
- Hurrel, Andrew. "Explaining the resurgence of regionalism in world politics" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 21. No. 4 (1995), pp. 331-358.
- Hurrel, Andrew. "Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective" in *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organisation and International Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Iinuma, Takeko. "ASEAN and its Regional Integration from the Perspective of "Regionness" in *専修大学社会科学研究所月報* (2014).
- Kayaogly, Turan. "Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory" in *International Studies Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2010), pp. 193-217.
- Kim, Hae. "Regionalism, Globalization and Economic Development in the World" in *Overcoming the Crisis: Economic and Financial Developments in Asia and Europe*, by Štefan Bojnec, Josef C. Brada & Masaaki Kuboniwa. Koper: University of Primorska Press, 2012.
- Lapavitsas, Costas. "The financialization of capitalism" in *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, Vol. 17, No. 6 (2013), pp. 792-805.
- Law, Alex & Gerry Mooney. "The Maladies of Social Capital I: The Missing 'Capital' in Theories of Social Capital" in *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory*, Vol. 34, No.2 (2006), pp. 127-143.

- Mittelman, James. "Rethinking the New Regionalism in the Context of Globalisation" in *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, edited by Björn Hettne, Andras Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999.
- Nye, Joseph. "Patterns and catalysts in regional integration" in *International Organization*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1965), pp. 870-884.
- Ohmae, Kenichi. *End of Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economics*. New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1995.
- Payne, Anthony. "Globalization and Modes of Regionalist Governance" in *The Global Transformations Reader; An Introduction to the Globalisation Debate*, edited by David Held and Anthony McGrew. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003.
- Prieto, Germán Camilo. "How does regionalism unfold? Discussing the relationships of constitution and causation between identity and institutions" in *OASIS*, No. 17 (2012), pp. 7-37.
- Riggirozzi, Pia. "Region, Regionness and Regionalism in Latin America: Towards a New Synthesis" in *New Political Economy*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2011), pp. 421-443.
- Russett, Bruce Martin. *International regions and the international system: A study in political*. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1967.
- Schmitt-Egner, Peter. "The Concept of Region: Theoretical and Methodological and Notes on its Reconstruction" in *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (2002), pp. 179-200.
- Slocum, Nikki & Luk Van Langenhove. "Identity and Regional Integration" in *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice*, edited by Mary Farrell, Björn Hettne and Luk Van Langenhove. London: Pluto Press, 2005.
- Smith, Stephen Samuel & Jessica Kulynych. "It May Be Social, But Why Is It Capital? The Social Construction of Social Capital and the Politics of Language" in *Politics & Society*, Vol. 30 No. 1 (2002), pp. 149-186.
- Söderbaum, Fredrik. "Introduction: Theories of New Regionalism" in *Theories of New Regionalism: a Palgrave Reader*, edited by Fredrik Söderbaum and Timothy M. Shaw. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Söderbaum, Fredrik. "Rethinking Regions and Regionalism" in *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2013), pp. 9-18.
- Stiglitz, Joseph. *The Euro and Its Threat to the Future of Europe*. London: Penguin Books, 2017.

Yeon, Kim Soo, Edward Mansfield, & Helen Milner. 2016. "Regional trade governance." In *The Oxford handbook of comparative regionalism*, by T. A. Börzel & T. Risse. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Website

Aishch, Gregor, Adam Pearce & Bryant Rousseau. "How Far is Europe Swinging to the Right?" in *New York Times* (2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/05/22/world/europe/europe-right-wing-austria-hungary.html>., accessed on 27 September 2017.

Meredith, Sam. "EU disintegration? Here's the probability of France's far right ending the largest civilization project of the 20th century," in *CNBC* (2 August 2017), <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/01/31/eu-disintegration-heres-the-probability-of-frances-far-right-ending-the-largest-civilization-project-of-the-20th-century.html> accessed on 27 September 2017.