

**Nadalutti, Elisabetta,
Kallscheuer, Otto:**

**REGION-MAKING
AND CROSS-BORDER
COOPERATION: NEW EVIDENCE
FROM FOUR CONTINENTS.**

New York: Routledge. 2017. 182 pages.

DOI: 10.5817/PC2019-1-74

Cooperation among neighboring states in pursuit of their shared goals and interests has been receiving a lot of attention from researchers since the end of the Cold War and the emergence of big regional projects (e.g. EU, ASEAN, Mercosur etc.). However, for a long time the main focus remained on the intergovernmentalism and state-centrism of the regional cooperation. While this research has brought many significant insights and findings helping us to grasp and better understand the motivations, means, and processes leading to the creation of macro-regions as a new type of actor in the post-Cold War international order, many of its key premises have remained unchallenged and other levels of regional cooperation have been in general under-researched. Introduction of the constructivist perspective into the study of regional cooperation, challenging the traditional realist and liberal-institutionalist premises, has significantly broadened the spectrum of possible questions relating to regions. The constructivist approach is lately becoming more prominent in the study of regions, regionalism and regionalization and the book *Region-Making and Cross-Border Cooperation: New Evidence from Four Continents* builds on this previous constructivist research, enriching it with additional questions and concerns.

The book addresses a significant gap that has developed in the study of regions and re-

gional cooperation – the lack of explanation of the interactions and relations between actors on the three main levels influencing the emergence and functioning of regional cooperation – the macro level (in the form of regional institutions), the state or national level, and the micro level (e.g. border cities and local or municipal governments, citizens). The authors of this book aspire to overcome the division between the different levels and to connect the sub-state level (territorial units, cross-border cooperation between border cities/regions etc.), the state and national level and the transnational macroregional level and explain how they enter the process of creation, conduct and functioning of the cooperation and also how they interact with each other.

The goals of the book are ambitious. It aspires to provide a complex theoretical and empirical analysis of how regions are considered and constructed, applying a comparative bottom-up approach. This comparative focus on the micro level of cross-border regionalism should help to bring more clarity on the relation between the processes at macro- and micro-regional levels and their effects on each other. The book also brings the human dimension into the research of regions and regional cooperation, in the form of normative and ethical considerations and their impact on the cross-border cooperation and region-making. In order to achieve these goals and to be able to derive conclusions enriching the debate on regions and regional cooperation across the globe, the authors of the book bring together studies of several examples from four different continents.

The book is divided into three main parts – the introduction into the main issues of the study of regions, regionalism and regionalization and the relationship between micro-regions and macro-regions; the empirical part consisting of the studies of various examples from different continents focused on the interlinks between different levels and actors

involved in the region-making process; and the last part, focused on the normative and ethical dimension of the region-making process and the human aspects, as well as people's agency in the process.

In the first chapter, Otto Kallscheuer focuses on the case of European regionalism and the dynamics and tensions between its supranational level (norms embodied in treaties) and regional policies carried out on the local level. On the European model, usually regarded as the success model for other regionalism aspirations across the globe but which now faces a crisis in light of the renationalization tendencies present in Europe, he also deals with the question of the future role of regionalism in the world.

In the second chapter, Fredrik Söderbaum presents arguments for the interconnectedness of the macro- and micro-regional levels, both theoretically and empirically, and a more holistic approach to the study of regional cooperation which would help us to understand how these different forces come into dialog and intervene in the region-making processes.

In the third chapter, opening the second part of the book, Flitner, Heins and Herbeck focus on the relation between environmental challenges and actors responding and relating to them across different governmental and nongovernmental scales. Their analysis of the example of coastal erosion and the application of the concept of 'geosociality' in South-East Ghana shows the role the moral aspect can play in the region-making process.

In the following chapter, Harlan Koff demonstrates the interconnections between the three levels of regional cooperation (micro, state and macro) and their roles in the region-making processes on the example of the Andean Community of Nations, specifically on the Cúcuta (Colombia) – San Crístobal (Venezuela) cross-border example. Through a deep analysis, Koff explains the impact that cross-border cooperation has on

supranational integration while demonstrating the possible role (both supporting and hindering) of the state in this process.

In the last chapter of the empirical part of the book, Xiangming Chen combines three cross-border cooperation actors – state, cities and citizens – with a set of three factors – resources, power and opportunity – into a new model which he then applies on the examples of cross-border cooperation in the China-Myanmar and China-Laos borderlands. Through this approach, Chen researches the ways in which the actors on different levels enter the region-making process and influence the cross-border cooperation using the three mentioned factors to their leverage.

In the first chapter of the last part of the book, J. W. Scott analyses the European Neighborhood Policy. He focuses not only on its development and instruments but mainly on the tension between the EU's normative approach to the ENP and other external policy frameworks, and the particular interest- and economic-based policies implemented inside these frameworks. Scott argues for more reflection and re-evaluation of the EU's current approach and explains how more attention paid to the needs and expectations of the ENP partner countries, instead of the EU-centered predominant approach, could benefit the EU and make the ENP more effective.

In the seventh chapter, Jens-Uwe Wunderlich continues the analysis of the EU's policies with a comparative analysis of the EU approach and the ASEAN approach in dealing with refugee crises. Through this comparison, Wunderlich explains the impact these crises and the instruments applied by the regional institutions and nation states had on the macro-regional cooperation in these two geographical areas. Attention is paid to the role of the normative dimension in macro-regional cooperation as a supportive or disruptive aspect in the making of regions.

In the last chapter, Nadalutti looks into the influence the normative-ethical aspect has in regional cooperation on its micro and macro level. On two examples, from the EU and South-East Asia, she demonstrates that the role normative values play in cross-border cooperation policies, mainly on the local level. She also shows that these policies are aimed not only on economic development but also to support the feeling of common responsibility, mutual trust and solidarity in the pursuit of not only particular interests but also of the 'common good'.

Combining several new and innovative approaches to the study of regions and regional cooperation, the book *Region-Making and Cross-Border Cooperation: New Evidence from Four Continents* represents a very valuable contribution to the current debate. Not only does it challenge the approach of traditional IR theories (the most obvious case being the contradiction between realist assumptions and the proven normative-ethical aspect present in regional cooperation), it also draws attention to issues that were generally overlooked by previous studies, such as the role of norms, values, and identity in the region-making and region-building processes or the role of people and citizens as agents in these processes instead of being only passive receivers, enriching thus the research of regionalism and regionalization with new aspects. The book also offers a different conception of 'region' itself – the authors do not see regions only as territorially delimited spaces but rather as attached to the people, giving the concept a human dimension, which is then present throughout the entire book. A very important contribution of the book to the research of regional cooperation is the attempt to overcome the division in the study of macro-regions and micro-regionalism that still prevails in the academic community. The authors of the book were able to shed more light on the roles various actors

on different levels have on region-building and region-(un)making processes and even how these different levels interact and influence each other, thus offering grounds for further research. Last but not least, I would also stress the fact that the chapters of the book do not bring only theoretical findings and knowledge but often also valuable practical recommendations on how to make regional/cross-border cooperation more effective and more beneficial to the people living in the area.

Jana Juzová

Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University

Keman, Hans:

**SOCIAL DEMOCRACY:
A COMPARATIVE ACCOUNT OF
THE LEFT-WING PARTY FAMILY.**

London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. 2017. 230 pages.

DOI: 10.5817/PC2019-1-76

Social democratic parties in developed Western countries do not have a stellar reputation nowadays for their political powers or policy preferences. Some have ceased to exist, some struggle with the transition into 21st century politics and are being marginalised by new political opponents, and some still enjoy considerable electoral victories. Researchers have questioned the relevance of social democratic ideology and its performance since the fall of communism. If there is one common characteristic of social democratic parties, it is that at present no single narrative what is happening with them exists. Lavelle (2008) claims the death of Social Democracy, Giddens (1998) advocates for Third Way politics, Callaghan