

# Mapping Agency

Comparing Regionalisms in Africa

Edited by Ulrike Lorenz-Carl and Martin Rempe

The International **Political Economy**of New Regionalisms Series

# Mapping Agency Comparing Regionalisms in Africa

### Edited by

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## Foreword

This book is a most welcome and highly important contribution to an emerging research agenda that is becoming ever more lively and innovative, comparative regionalism. The concept of regionalism is as diverse as its object of study. There is no commonly accepted definition of what a region is. Most would agree that a region implies some geographical proximity and contiguity and mutual interdependence. Some would add a certain degree of cultural homogeneity, sense of community, or 'regioness'. Regionalism, then, refers to processes and structures of region-building in terms of closer economic, political, security and socio-cultural linkages between states and societies that geographically proximate.

For quite a long time, the study of regionalism suffered from two problems: Either it was largely Euro-centric insofar as the European model served as some sort of yardstick or 'gold standard' by which to measure regionalism in other parts of the world. Or it treated regions as 'containers' whose political, social, economic, and cultural particularities forbade any cross-regional comparisons.

This has changed dramatically, and this volume is a prime example of the 'comparative turn' in the study of regionalism. Comparative regionalism as an approach treats differences and similarities between regions as research questions rather than making them the starting assumption of a research agenda.

There are three main dimensions according to which we can compare regions: First, on the basis of *contesting models and alternative scripts*. What are the major policies and institutions of regional cooperation and integration in the transnational global arena? How and why do institutions and policies resonate with contesting scripts stemming from different institutional and cultural settings, and why are others rejected? Second, by means of *mechanisms*: What are the prevailing mechanisms of diffusion and transfer? Finally, third, on the basis of *outcomes*: What is the outcome of diffusion and transfer processes across regions with regard to formal institutions and policies, informal transnational meaning systems and collective identities, as well as behavioural practices? What explains the variation between these effects? Which are the varied patterns of convergence, enduring divergence, and resistance when models of cooperation and integration travel to other regions of the world? How are these concepts amalgamated with regional traditions, which conflicts emerge, and what is 'lost in translation'?

This volume adds an important fourth dimension to the comparative study of regions, *agency*: By focusing on African regionalism from various and empirically rich perspectives, the different contributions ask: Who are the agents of diffusion? Who are the 'cultural brokers' serving as agents of translation from one cultural context into another? What kind of transnational networks emerge in these

translation and transfer processes? The authors' approach is decidedly agency-centered by focusing on diffusion mechanism and on scope conditions. As a result, they observe a lot of variation in outcomes, both with regard to institutional change and to behavioural consequences. This allows for a more fine-tuned picture than in the diffusion approaches of conventional social sciences, which often focus on (convergence in) outcomes rather than processes.

The volume results from research undertaken in the framework of the Berlinbased Research College *Transformative Power of Europe?* which is being funded by the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, DFG). The Research College brings together researchers on European affairs in the Berlin-Brandenburg region and institutionalizes cooperation with other universities and research institutions in Germany, Europe, and around the world. This book with its focus on African regionalisms is part and parcel of its research agenda and a vital contribution to 'de-centering' Europe.

Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse Freie Universität Berlin, Research College *Transformative Power of Europe?* 

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Ulrike Lorenz-Carl, Potsdam and Berlin, Germany Martin Rempe, Konstanz and Berlin, Germany

## List of Abbreviations

ACP African, Caribbean and Pacific countries AGRA Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa

AKF Aga Khan Foundation
AMIS AU Mission in the Sudan

AMISOM African Union Mission for Somalia

AMV African Mining Vision

ANSA Coalition between South Africa, Namibia and Angola

APRM African Peer Review Mechanism

ASCCI Association of SADC Chambers of Commerce and Industry

ASEAN Association of South East Asian Nations

ATT Arms Trade Treaty
AU African Union

BCG Boston Consulting Group

BLNS Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland
BLS+M Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique
CBL International Campaign to Ban Landmines

CBTA Cross Border Traders Association
CDM Clean Development Mechanism

CEMAC Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa

CET Common External Tariff

CEWARN Conflict Early Warning Mechanism

CFC Ceasefire Commission
CM Common Market

COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

COP Conference of Parties

COSATU Congress of South African Trade Unions

CSO Civil society organization CTT Currency Transaction Tax

CU Customs Union

CUTS Consumer Unity & Trust Society
DDI Diamond Development Initiative

DoP Declaration of Principles
DRC Democratic Republic of Congo

DSF Digital Solidarity Fund EAC East African Community

EACo Commission for East African Cooperation

EBA Everything-But-Arms

EDF	European Development Fund
EIH	European Integration History

EITI Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

EJN Economic Justice Network

EPA Economic Partnership Agreement

EPZ Export-Processing Zone ESA Eastern and Southern Africa

ESDP European Security and Defence Policy

EU European Union

FATF Financial Action Task Forces
FBO Faith-Based Organization
FCS Forestry Certification Scheme
FDI Foreign direct investment

FOCAC Forum on China-Africa Cooperation FSC Fisheries Stewardship Council

FTA Free trade area

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GAVI Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization

GEF Global Environmental Facility

GSF Global Solidarity Fund GWoT Global War on Terrorism

IANSA International Action Network on Small Arms

ICBT Informal Cross-Border Trade ICC International Criminal Court

ICPAT IGAD Capacity Building Program Against Terrorism

ICU Islamic Courts Union

iEPA Interim EPA

IGAD Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IGADD Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development

IGASOM IGAD Peace Support Mission to Somalia

IPCC UN Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change

KP Kimberley Process

LDCs Least Developed Countries

MAT Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania MoU Memorandum of Understanding

MoU-CoH Memorandum of Understanding-Cessation of Hostilities

MSC Marine Stewardship Council

NBI Nile Basin Initiative

NEPAD New Partnership for Africa's Development

NGO Non-governmental organization
NRA New Regionalism Approach
NRC Natural Resource Charter
NRM National Resistance Movement

NTB Non-tariff barrier

NTM Non-tariff measures

OAU Organization of African Unity

OECD Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PK Peace-keeping operation
PoA UN Programmes of Action
RAS Royal African Society

RATIN Regional Agricultural Trade Intelligence Network
REDD UN Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest

Degradation in Developing Countries

RIGO Regional inter-governmental organization

RISDP Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan

RoO Rules of Origin

RSA Republic of South Africa

SACU Southern African Customs Union

SADC Southern African Development Community

SADC-CNGO SADC Council of Non-Governmental Organizations

SALW Small Arms and Light Weapons

SAPSN Southern African People's Solidarity Network

SASF Southern African Social Forum

SATUCC Southern Africa Trade Union Coordination Council
SEATINI Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and

Negotiations Institute

SEG SADC Employers Group

SPLM/A Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army

SRoO Simplified Rules of Origin

SRRC Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council

SSDF South Sudan Defence Force SWF Sovereign Wealth Fund

TDCA Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement

TFG Transitional Federal Government

TIFI SADC Directorate for Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment

TIFI Directorate for Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment

TNG Transitional National Government UBoS Uganda Bureau of Statistics

UN United Nations

UNECA UN Economic Commission for Africa
UNSC United Nations Security Council

USC United Somali Congress
WTO World Trade Organization

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