

Regional Economic Regimes & European Integration

INRE 44300 – Winter 2008

Committee on International Relations
University of Chicago

Tuesday 1.00 pm-3.50pm
Room: Regenstein 502

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Office Hours
Thursday
10am-12pm
or by appointment

Course Overview

In this course, we will engage theories explaining the shift of authority from the national to the supranational level. We will examine general theories, paying special attention to the European integration process, which is the most advanced and most theorized case of multi-level governance. In the first part of the course, we cover theories from the work of Ernst Haas to the present, which ask questions such as: How have political scientists conceptualized European integration? How have they explained the development of supranational institutions? As we will see, there are few areas of agreement, so we will compare the strengths and weaknesses of these various theories.

In the second part of the course, we will address questions regarding power and interests in the European Union. For instance, how is conflict over European issues structured? How does European integration affect domestic contestation between political parties? During this section, we will also consider redistribution, regulation and policies at the supranational level, including monetary policy and foreign affairs. Finally, we will evaluate the generalizability of the lessons from Europe for other regional economic regimes.

Course Expectations and Requirements

Response Papers

Each student will complete three written critiques of the readings, 2000-2500 words each. Each paper should be distributed to all class members via email by 1pm the Monday before class. These response papers will be the starting point for our discussion each week. The authors will also be expected to help lead the discussion during their week. Each student will choose one session from each of the following groups: 2-4, 5-7, and 8-10. To ensure even coverage, we will coordinate response papers during the first session.

I expect the papers to be analytical response papers, not simply restatements of the main arguments. Rather than summaries, you should focus on the strengths and weaknesses of the readings, including addressing any debates between the readings as well as discussing any interesting unanswered research questions raised by the authors. Do not feel obliged to address each article from the week. Rather, you may want to focus on one issue or debate and follow it through several pieces. The supplementary readings provide additional resources for this purpose and you are welcome to incorporate them. For these readings, though, be aware your classmates will not have read them so a little more summarizing may be in order.

An original research paper may be substituted for the critiques; the minimum length is 7,500 words. Research topics require prior approval. If this option is chosen, students will be responsible for choosing 3 weeks to

provide oral comments on the readings.

Evaluation

Response Papers (3)	75%
Participation	25%

Readings

All books will be available for purchase from the Seminary Co-op Bookstore, and will be placed on reserve at the Regenstein Library. Readings will be available on-line, either in JSTOR or directly through the library subscriptions, and will be linked in Chalk (under the Library Course Reserves tab).

Required Books

- Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN: 0521635365)
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. (ISBN: 0801485096)
- Nelsen, Brent F. and Alexander Stubb, eds. 2003. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. (ISBN: 1588262316)
- Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2005. *Europe Undivided. Democracy, Leverage, & Integration After Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press. (ISBN: 0199241198)
- Wallace, Helen, William Wallace and Mark A. Pollack. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. 5th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. (ISBN: 0199276129)

Suggested Background Reading

- Pinder, John. 2001. *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Class Schedule

1 Theoretical Approaches

1.1 European Union: International or Domestic Politics? (Session 1: 8 January)

Required Readings

- Hix, Simon. 1994. "The Study of the European Community: The Challenge to Comparative Politics." *West European Politics* 17.1 (January): 1-30.
- Hurrell, Andrew and Anand Menon. 1996. "Politics Like Any Other? Comparative Politics, International Relations and the Study of the EU." *West European Politics* 19.2 (April): 386-402.

Hix, Simon. 1996. "CP, IR, and the EU! A Rejoinder to Hurrell and Menon." *West European Politics* 19.4 (October): 802-804.

Jupille, Joseph and James A. Caporaso. 1999. "Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 429-444.

Nelsen & Stubb, eds. Selections by:

- Winston Churchill ("The Tragedy of Europe"), 7-11
- Robert Schuman ("Declaration"), 13-14
- Jean Monnet ("A Ferment of Change"), 19-26
- Charles de Gaulle ("A Concert of European States"), 27-44
- Joschka Fischer, Jacques Chirac, & Tony Blair ("Reflections on a Constitution for Europe"), 69-83
- David Mitrany ("A Working Peace System"), 99-121

Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 1 "An Overview": 3-12.

Supplementary Readings

Cornett, Linda and James A. Caporaso. 1992. "And Still It Moves! State Interests and Social Forces in the European Community." In *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, eds. James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 219-249.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1996. "Exploring the Nature of the Beast: International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34.1 (March): 53-80.

Mazey, Sonia. 2001. "European Integration: Unfinished Journey or Journey without End?" In *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, ed. Jeremy Richardson. London: Routledge: 27-50.

1.2 Neofunctionalism & New Approaches to Functionalism (Session 2: 15 January)

Required Readings

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2003. "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-level Governance." *American Political Science Review* 97.2 (June):233-243.

Mitrany, David. 1965. "The Prospect of Integration: Federal or Functional?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 4.2 (December): 119-149.

Nelsen & Stubb, eds. Selections by:

- Ernst Haas ("The Uniting of Europe"), 145-151
- Stanley Hoffman ("Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe"), 163-177
- Bela Balassa ("The Theory of Economic Integration: An Introduction"), 179-194
- Stone Sweet and Sandholtz ("European Integration and Supranational Governance"), 215-238
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks ("Multi-Level Governance in the European Union"), 281-311.
- Markus Jachtenfuchs ("The Governance Approach to European Integration."), 335-348.

Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 2 "Theorizing EU Policy-Making": 13-45.

Supplementary Readings

- Alesina, Alberto, Ignazio Angeloni, Ludger Schuknecht. 2001. "What does the European Union do?" Washington: National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper #8647.
- Alter, Karen J. and Sophie Meunier. 2006. "Nested and Competing Regimes in the Transatlantic Banana Trade Dispute." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (March): 362-382.
- Bache, Ian and Matthew Flinders, eds. 2004. *Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- George, Stephen. 2004. "Multi-level Governance and the European Union." In *Multi-Level Governance*, eds. Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders. New York: Oxford University Press, 107-126.
- Haas, Ernst. 1964. *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Haas, Ernst. 1975. 'The Obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory.' Institute of International Studies. University of California, Berkeley, Research Series No. 25.
- Hoffman, Stanley. 1966. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe." *Daedalus* 95.3 (Summer): 862-915.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2001. *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Marks, Gary and Liesbet Hooghe. 2000. "Optimality and Authority: A Critique of Neoclassical Theory." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38.5 (December): 795-816.
- Mearsheimer, John. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security* 15: 5-56.
- Peters, B. Guy and Jon Pierre. 2004. "Multi-Level Governance and Democracy: A Faustian Bargain?" In *Multi-Level Governance*, eds. Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders. New York: Oxford University Press, 75-92.
- Sandholtz, Wayne and Alec Stone Sweet, eds. 1998. *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scharpf, Fritz. 1994. "Community and Autonomy: Multilevel Policy Making in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 1: 219-42.
- Sweet, Alec Stone and Thomas Brunell. 1998. "Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community." *American Political Science Review* 92.1 (March): 63-81.

1.3 Liberal Intergovernmentalism (Session 3: 22 January)

Required Readings

- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Introduction & Ch. 1 "Theorizing European Integration": 1-85
 - Ch. 6 "Economic and Monetary Union: Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty, 1988-1991": 379-471
 - Ch. 7 "European Integration in Retrospect": 472-502
- Pierson, Paul. 1996. "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 29:123-62.

Wallace, Helen, James A. Caporaso Fritz W. Scharpf, and Andrew Moravcsik. 1999. "Review section symposium: *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6.1 (March): 155-79.

Supplementary Readings

Garrett, Geoffrey and George Tsebelis. 1996. "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism." *International Organization* 50.2 (Spring): 269-99.

Grieco, Joseph. 1995. "The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union and the Neorealist Research Programme." *Review of International Studies* 21: 21-40.

Lieshot, Robert H., Mathieu L. L. Segers, and Anna M. van der Vleuten. 2004. "De Gaulle, Moravcsik and *The Choice for Europe*. Soft Sources, Weak Evidence." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 6.4 (Fall): 89-139.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, Chs. 2-5.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1999. "A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation." *International Organization* 53.2 (April): 267-306.

Stone Sweet, Alec and James A. Caporaso. 1998. "From Free Trade to Supranational Polity: The European Court and Integration." In *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, eds. Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet. New York: Oxford University Press, 92-133.

2 Topics in European Integration

2.1 Contestation over the EU: Political Parties (Session 4: 29 January)

Required Readings

Grzymala-Busse, Anna and Abby Innes. 2003. "Great Expectations: the EU and Domestic Political Competition in East Central Europe." *East European Politics and Societies* 17.1 (February): 64-73.

Eijk, Cees van der and Mark N. Franklin. 2004. "Potential For Contestation on European Matters at National Elections in Europe." In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 32-50.

Hix, Simon. 1999. "Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses". *European Journal of Political Research* 35.1 (January): 69-106.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 1999. "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration." In *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, eds. Herbert Kitschelt, Gary Marks, Peter Lange and John Stephens. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 70-97.

Marks, Gary, Carole Wilson, and Leonard Ray. 2002. "National Political Parties and European Integration." *American Journal of Political Science* 46.3 (July): 585-594.

Mattila, Mikko. 2006. "Cautious Voters — Supportive Parties. Opinion Congruence between Voters and Parties on the EU Dimension." *European Union Politics* 7.4: 427-449.

Taggart, Paul and Aleks Szczerbiak. 2004. "Contemporary Euroscepticism in the Systems of the European Union Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 43.1 (January): 1-27.

Supplementary Readings

- Evans, Geoffrey. 2002. "European Integration, Party Politics and Voting in the 2001 Election." *British Elections & Parties Review* 12: 95-110.
- Imig, Doug and Sidney Tarrow, eds. 2001. *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Integrating Europe*. Boulder CO: Rowman and Littlefield Press.
- Hix, Simon and Christopher Lord. 1997. *Political Parties in the European Union*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kopecky, Petr and Cas Mudde. 2002. "The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe." *European Union Politics* 3.3: 297-326.
- Mair, Peter. 2000. "The Limited Impact of Europe on National Party Systems." *West European Politics* 23.4 (October): 27-51.
- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson, and Erica Edwards. 2006. "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality." *Comparative Political Studies* 39.2 (March): 155-175.
- Marks, Gary and Marco Steenbergen, eds. 2004. *European Integration and Political Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Marks, Gary and Carole Wilson. 2000. "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Positions on European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 433-459.
- Pennings, Paul. 2002. "The Dimensionality of the EU Policy Space. The European Elections of 1999." *European Union Politics* 3: 59-79.
- Taggart, Paul. 1998. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research* 33.3 (April): 363-88.

2.2 Contestation over the EU: Citizens (Session 5: 5 February)

Required Readings

- Brinegar, Adam and Seth Jolly. 2005. "Location, Location, Location: National Contextual Factors and Public Support for European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6.2 (June): 155-180.
- Follesdal, Andreas and Hix, Simon. 2006. "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44.3 (September): 533-562.
- Gabel, Matthew. 1998. "Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories." *Journal of Politics* 60.2 (May): 333-54.
- McLaren, Lauren. 2002. "Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or Perceived Cultural Threat?" *Journal of Politics* 64.2 (May): 551-66.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.4 (September): 603-34.
- Tucker, Joshua A., Alexander C. Pacek, Adam J. Berinsky. 2002. "Transitional Winners & Losers: Attitudes Toward EU Membership in Post-Communist Countries." *American Journal of Political Science* 46.3 (July): 557-571.
- Symposium. 2006. "The EU and Its 'Constitution.'" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 39.2 (April).

- Alberta Sbragia, “Introduction—The EU and Its ‘Constitution’: Public Opinion, Political Elites, and Their International Context”: 237-241
- Kees Aarts and Henk van der Kolk, “Understanding the Dutch No: The Euro, the East, and the Elite”: 243-246.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, “Europe’s Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching after the Rejection of the European Constitution”: 247-250.
- Boyka Stefanova, “The ‘No’ Vote in the French and Dutch Referenda on the EU Constitution: A Spillover of Consequences for the Wider Europe”: 251-255.
- Henry Milner, “‘YES to the Europe I want; NO to this one.’ Some Reflections on France’s Rejection of the EU Constitution”: 257-260.
- Sylvain Brouard and Vincent Tiberj, “The French Referendum: The Not So Simple Act of Saying Nay”: 261-268.
- Mabel Berezin, “Appropriating the ‘No’: The French National Front, the Vote on the Constitution, and the ‘New’ April 21”: 269-272.

Supplementary Readings

- Brinegar, Adam, Seth Jolly and Herbert Kitschelt. 2004. “Varieties of Capitalism and Political Divides over European Integration.” In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 62-89.
- Carrubba, Clifford J. 2001. “The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics.” *Journal of Politics* 63.1 (February): 141-58.
- Eichenberg, Richard and Russell Dalton. 1993. “Europeans and the European Community: The Dynamics of Public Support for European Integration.” *International Organization* 47.4 (Autumn): 507-34.
- Gabel, Matthew. 1998. *Interests and Integration. Market Liberalization, Public Opinion, and European Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gabel, Matthew. 1998. “Economic Integration and Mass Politics: Market Liberalization and Public Attitudes in the European Union.” *American Journal of Political Science* 42.3 (July): 936-53.
- Gabel, Matthew J. and Christopher J. Anderson. 2004. “The Structure of Citizen Attitudes and the European Political Space.” In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 13-31.
- Majone, Giandomenico. 1998. “Europe’s ‘Democratic Deficit’: The Question of Standards.” *European Law Journal* 4.1: 5-28.
- Marks, Gary and Liesbet Hooghe. 2004. “Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?” *Political Science* 37.3: 415-42.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2004. “Is there a ‘Democratic Deficit’ in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis.” *Government and Opposition* 39.2: 336-63.
- Ray, Leonard. 2003. “When Parties Matter: The Conditional Influence of Party Positions on Voter Opinions about European Integration.” *Journal of Politics* 65.4 (November): 978-94.
- Ray, Leonard. 2004. “Don’t Rock the Boat: Expectations, Fears, and Opposition to EU-level Policy-Making.” In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 51-61.
- Rohrschneider, Robert. 2002. “The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-wide Government.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46.2 (April): 463-75.
- Rohrschneider, Robert and Stephen Whitefield. 2004. “Support for Foreign Ownership and Integration in Eastern Europe.” *Comparative Political Studies* 37.3: 313-339.

- Scharpf, Fritz. 1999. *Crisis and Choice in European Social Democracy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Scheve, Kenneth. 2000. "Comparative Context and Public Preferences over Regional Economic Integration." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 31 August-3 September.
- Steenbergen, Marco and Bradford S. Jones. 2002. "Modeling Multilevel Data Structures." *American Journal of Political Science* 46.1 (January): 218-37.
- Tverdova, Y. V. and C. J. Anderson. 2004. "Choosing the West? Referendum Choices on EU Membership in East-Central Europe." *Electoral Studies* 23.2 (June): 185-208.

2.3 Delegation & Compliance in the EU (Session 6: 12 February)

Required Readings

- Börzel, Tanja A. 2000. "Why there is No 'Southern Problem:' On Environmental Leaders and Laggards in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 7.1: 141-62.
- Börzel, Tanja A. 2002. "Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.2 (June): 193-214.
- Mastenbroek, Ellen. 2005. "EU Compliance: Still a 'Black Hole'?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 12.6 (December): 1103-1120.
- Nelsen & Stubb, eds. Selection by:
- Mark A. Pollack ("Delegation and Agency in the European Community"), 255-279.
- Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. "Delegation to Supranational Institutions: Why, How, and With What Consequences?" *West European Politics* 25.1: 23-46.
- Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union." *International Organization* 56.3 (Summer): 609-643.
- Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 12 "Environmental Policy: Contending Dynamics of Policy Change": 305-324.

Supplementary Readings

- Börzel, Tanja A. 2001. "Non-Compliance in the European Union: Pathology or Statistical Artefact?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 8.5:803-824.
- Börzel, Tanja A. 2003. "Guarding the Treaty: The Compliance Strategies of the European Commission." In *The State of the European Union, Volume 6: Law, Politics, and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 197-220.
- Ciavarini Azzi, Giuseppe. 2000. "The Slow March of European Integration: The Implementation of Directives." In *European Integration After Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy*, eds. Karlheinz Neunreither and Antje Wiener. New York: Oxford University Press, 52-67.
- Greenwood, Justin. 2003. *Interest Representation in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ross, Stephen A. 1973. "The Economic Theory of Agency: The Principal's Problem." *The American Economic Review*. 63.2 (May): 134-139.
- Tallberg, Jonas. 2000. "The Anatomy of Autonomy: An Institutional Account of Variation in Supranational

Influence.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38.5 (December): 843-864.

2.4 IPE in the EU (Session 7: 19 February)

Required Readings

Regulation & Redistribution

Barry, Frank, John Brady, Aoife Hannan. 2001. “The Single Market, the Structural Funds and Ireland’s Recent Economic Growth.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39.3 (September): 537-552.

Caporaso, James. 1996. “The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34.1: 29-52.

Majone, Giandomenico. 1994. “The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe.” *West European Politics* 17.3 (July): 77-101.

EMU & Trade

McNamara, Kathleen. 1999. “Consensus and Constraints: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37.3 (September): 455-476.

Meunier, Sophie. 2000. “What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU-U.S. Trade Negotiations.” *International Organization* 54.1 (Winter): 103-135.

Selections from Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*:

- Ch. 4 “The Single Market: A New Approach to Policy”: 93-110.
- Ch. 6 “Economic and Monetary Union: Innovation and Challenges for the Euro”: 141-160.
- Ch. 9 “Cohesion and Structural Funds: Competing Pressures for Reform?”: 213-242.
- Ch. 15 “Trade Policy: From Uruguay to Doha and Beyond”: 377-400.

Supplementary Readings

de Grauwe, Paul. 2000. *Economics of Monetary Union*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Marks, Gary. 2001. *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 81-118 (Chs. 5-7).

Hösli, Madeleine. 2005. *The Euro: A Concise Introduction to European Monetary Integration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Nicolaides, Phedon. 2004. “The Political Economy of Multi-tiered Regulation in Europe.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42.3 (September): 599-618.

2.5 A Common Foreign & Security Policy? (Session 8: 26 February)

Required Readings

Frieden, Jeffrey. 2004. “One Europe, One Vote? The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations.” *European Union Politics* 5.2 (June): 261-276.

- Ginsberg, Roy H. 1999. "Conceptualizing the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectation Gap." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37.3 (September): 429-454.
- Hill, Christopher. 2001. "The EU's Capacity for Conflict Prevention." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 6.3 (Fall): 315-333.
- Piana, Claire. 2002. "The EU's Decision-Making Process in the Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Case of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 7.2 (Summer): 209-226.
- Smith, Michael. 2004. "Toward a Theory of EU Foreign Policy-Making: Multi-level Governance, Domestic Politics, and National Adaptation to Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11.4 (August): 740-758.
- Treacher, Adrian. 2004. "From Civilian Power to Military Actor: The EU's Resistable Transformation." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9.1 (Spring): 49-66.
- Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 17 "Foreign and Security Policy: The Painful Path from Shadow": 429-454.
- Whitman, Richard G. 2004. "NATO, the EU and ESDP: An Emerging Division of Labour?" *Contemporary Security Policy* 25.3 (December): 430-451.

Supplementary Readings

- Glarbo, Kenneth. 1999. "Wide-Awake Diplomacy: Reconstructing the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6.4 (December): 634-651.
- Hill, Christopher. 1993. "The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualising Europe's International Role." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31.3 (September): 305-328.
- Smith, Michael E. 2000. "Conforming to Europe: The Domestic Impact of EU Foreign Policy Co-operation." *Journal of European Public Policy* 7.4 (October): 613-631.
- Wæver, Ole. 2000. "The EU as a Security Actor: Reflections from a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post-Sovereign Security Orders." In *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, eds. Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams. London: Routledge, 250-294.

3 Generalizing Beyond Western Europe

3.1 Moving East: Effects of the EU on Eastern Europe and Beyond (Session 9: 4 March)

Required Readings

- Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2005. *Europe Undivided. Democracy, Leverage, & Integration After Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kelley, Judith. 2004. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* 58.3 (July): 425-457.
- Pevehouse, Jon C. 2002. "With a Little Help from My Friends? Regional Organizations and the Consolidation of Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 46.3 (July): 611-626.

Supplementary Readings

- Hooghe, Liesbet. 2005. "Several Roads Lead to International Norms, but Few Via International Socialization: A Case Study of the European Commission." *International Organization* 59.4 (October): 861-898.
- Kelley, Judith G. 2006. *Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives*. New York: Princeton University Press.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2000. "Trade Blocs, Trade Flows and International Conflict." *International Organization* 54.4 (November): 775-808.
- Pevehouse, Jon C. 2002. "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization." *International Organization* 56.3 (August): 515-549.
- Pevehouse, Jon C. 2005. *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

3.2 Experimenting in Regionalization (Session 10: 11 March)

Required Readings

- Caporaso, James A., Gary Marks, Andrew Moravcsik, and Mark A. Pollack. 1997. "Does the European Union Represent an *n* of 1?" *ECSA Review* 10.3: 1-5.
- Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 16 "Eastern Enlargement: Towards a European EU?": 401-428.

Supplementary Readings

- Cohen, Benjamin J. 2003. "Are Monetary Unions Inevitable?" *International Studies Perspectives* 4.3 (August): 275-292.
- Efird, Brian and Gaspare M. Genna. 2002. "Structural Conditions and the Propensity for Regional Integration." *European Union Politics* 3.3: 267-295.
- Laursen, Finn, ed. 2003. *Comparative Regional Integration. Theoretical Perspectives*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.