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DESCRIPTION:

The number of regional integration schemes around the globe has mushroomed in the last decades, often with consequences as important as (or more important than) those wrought by global factors and forces. How can we explain the proliferation of regional integration schemes? Why do states participate in forms of regional integration instead of pursuing multilateral or global integration? Why do we see such a diversity of institutional forms in regional integration? And what are the economic and political consequences of regional integration?

This graduate course addresses these questions. Our focus will be on the causes and consequences of regional integration as well as on a comparative perspective of the diversity of regional integration schemes. Part I of the course introduces the topic of regional integration and provides some background to the theory of regional cooperation and organizations. Part II will focus on a more in-depth study of the European Union as the most prominent example of political integration as well as on economic integration schemes in the Asia Pacific and North America. We will pay specific attention to a comparison between these different models of regional integration. Part III will concentrate on a discussion of the economic and political consequences of regional integration.

REQUIREMENTS:

There are five major requirements for this course, with the percentage of the course grade that each constitutes shown in parentheses:

1. **Class Participation (20%).** I expect that you come to class prepared and participate actively. The success of this course crucially depends on your participation and you should therefore take this component very seriously. Most of our sessions focus on different (and sometimes contradicting) explanations and I might well ask you to defend and discuss a particular theory from the readings in class.
2. **Discussion Leadership (20%).** You will be expected to lead the discussion in one or more classes (depending on the number of course participants). When you prepare for your discussion you want to think about aspects that are particularly relevant for your topic, and prepare a number of 'big' questions that you want to discuss during class time. These topics should include a discussion of comparative regional integration where feasible. This means that you may need to read some additional work on the topic or do

some research on work in other areas that may be of relevance. Feel free to talk to me about your discussion leadership if you need any guidance. I am also happy to talk to you individually about your performance as discussion leader. A good discussion leader will guide the other participants along one or two main topics drawing from the readings (rather than just discussing the articles subsequently without putting them in greater context) and put the readings into greater context.

3. **Referee Report (10%).** You will submit one two-page single-spaced (12pt) referee report. Please indicate clearly in your report whether your opinion is reject, accept, R&R with some revisions, or R&R with major revisions. The report will be on “Jupille et al. 2013. Regionalism in the World Polity.” It will be **due at beginning of class in week 2**. Be prepared to defend your position during class discussion.
4. **Discussion Paper (10%).** You will write a two-page single-spaced paper that discusses whether and to what extent it is possible to generalize from the study of the European Union to other forms of regional integration or integration in other regions around the world. You can draw from a discussion by leading EU scholars in the field (see readings in week 6), but do NOT just summarize this debate. I expect you to develop your own argument and to be able to defend your position in class. The discussion may draw from specific policies or historical examples. The paper will be **due at the beginning of class in week 5**.
5. **Research Paper (40%).** You will write a 15-page research paper which will be **due to me by Friday, December 12th**. The topic has to be cleared with me first. Do NOT wait until the midterm to discuss the topic with me. We will discuss research topics in week 5 so you will get some input on your ideas from your colleagues before writing up the design. You have three options:
 - You can write a research proposal that proposes to resolve some of the limitations of the literature that we discuss in class. The proposal has to identify a question or puzzle, discuss how you would try to answer that question (theoretical argument, hypotheses, and research design), lay out the necessary steps of the project, and suggest how this project would advance the literature.
 - You can evaluate one of the theories we have discussed using one or multiple regional organizations, or alternatively, compare theories using case studies.
 - You can advance a research paper that you wrote for a different course and turn it into a (publishable) conference paper. In this case, you need to discuss with me how you propose to advance on your previous work. For example, if you have a research design paper you can conduct the empirical analysis.

SCHEDULE:

WEEK 1: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEBATES

WEEK 2: THEORIES OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

WEEK 3: SCOPE OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

WEEK 4: REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN EUROPE

Updated: October 6, 2014

WEEK 5: THE EU AS A ROLE MODEL FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION?

WEEK 6: REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

WEEK 7: REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN ASIA AND SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

WEEK 8: REGIONALISM AND MULTILATERALISM

WEEK 9: ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

WEEK 10: POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

READINGS:

Week 1 Historical Development and Debates

- Young Jong Choi and James Caporaso. 2002. "Comparative Regional Integration." in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons (eds.) *Handbook of International Relations*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Joseph Nye. 1968. "Comparative Regional Integration: Concept and Measurement." *International Organization* 22(4): 855-880.
- Ernst Haas. 1970. "The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing." *International Organization* 24(4): 607-646.
- Richard Baldwin and Patrick Low (eds.), 2009: *Multilateralizing Regionalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.
- Tanja Börzel. 2001. "Comparative Regionalism. A New Research Agenda." *KFG Working Paper*.

Workshop: How to Write a Referee Report

- William Thomson. *A Guide for the Young Economists. Writing and Speaking Effectively about Economics*. Cambridge: MIT Press, Chapter 3 (Writing Referee Reports).

Further Reading:

- Dennis M. P. McCarthy. 2006: *International Economic Integration in Historical Perspective*, London: Routledge, Chapters 5, 6 & 7.
- Special issue on Regional Integration in *International Organization* 1970, Vol. 24(4).
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Etel Solingen. 2010. Regionalism. *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 145-163.

Week 2 Theories of Regional Integration

- Walter Mattli. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3.

- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner. 1999. "The New Wave of Regionalism" *International Organization* 53(3): 589-627.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Eric Reinhardt. 2003. "Multilateral Determinants of Regionalism: The Effects of GATT/WTO on the Formation of Preferential Trading Arrangements." *International Organization* 57(4): 829-862.
- Jupille, Joseph, Brandy Jolliff, and Stefan Wojcik. 2013. "Regionalism in the World Polity." *Working Paper*.
- Christopher Hemmer and Peter Katzenstein. 2002. "Why is there no NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 56: 575-607.

Also recommended:

- Ernst Haas and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1964. "Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration: Projections about Unity in Latin America." *International Organization* 18(3): 705-37.
- Andrew Moravcsik. 1998. *The Choice for Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Alex Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz. 1998. *European Integration and the Institutionalization of the European Polity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lloyd Gruber. 2000. *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ernst Haas. 1968. "Technocracy, Pluralism, and the New Europe." in Joseph Nye (ed.). *International Regionalism: Readings*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Richard Baldwin. 1997. "The Causes of Regionalism." *The World Economy* 20(7): 865-888.
- Miles Kahler. 1992. "Multilateralism with Small and Large Numbers." *International Organization* 46(3): 681-708.
- Richard E. Baldwin. 1997. "The Causes of Regionalism." *World Economy* 20(7): 865-888.
- Raquel Fernandez and Jonathan Portes. "Returns to Regionalism: An Analysis of Nontraditional Gains from Regional Trade Agreements." *World Bank Economic Review* 12(2): 197-220.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner. 1997. *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 4.
- Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya. 1996. "The Theory of Preferential Trade Agreements: Historical Evolution and Current Trends." *American Economic Review* 86(2): 82-87
- Kathy Powers and Gary Goertz. 2011. "The Economic-institutional Construction of Regions: Conceptualisation and Operationalisation." *Review of International Studies* 37(5): 2387-2415.

- Joanne Gowa. 1989. "Bipolarity, Multipolarity and Free Trade." *American Political Science Review* 83(4): 1245-56.
- Joseph Grieco. 1997. "Systemic Sources of Variation in Regional Institutionalization in West Europe, East Asia, and the Americas." in Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, 1997: *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 7.
- Joseph Grieco. 1995. "The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union, and the Neorealist Research Programme." *Review of International Studies* 21(1): 21-40.
- Jeffrey Checkel. 1999. "Social Construction and Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6(4): 545-60.
- Baldwin, Richard E. 1993. A Domino Theory of Regionalism. NBER Working Paper No. 4465. September.
- Fernandez, Raquel, and Jonathan Portes. 1998. Returns to Regionalism: An Analysis of Nontraditional Gains from Regional Trade Agreements. *World Bank Economic Review* 12 (2): 197-220.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Helen V. Milner. 2012. *Votes, Vetoes and the Political Economy of International Trade Agreements*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Week 3 Scope of Regional Integration

- George W. Downs, David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. 1998. "Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 52(2): 397-410.
- Walter Mattli. 2000. "Sovereignty Bargains in Regional Integration." *International Studies Review* 2(2): 149-180.
- Edward Mansfield, Helen Milner and Jon Pevehouse. 2008. "Democracy, Veto Players, and the Depth of Regional Integration." *The World Economy*.
- Michael Barnett and Etel Solingen. 2007. "Designed to fail or failure of Design. The Origins and Legacy of the Arab League." in Amitav Acharya and Alastair Johnston (eds.) *Crafting Cooperation. Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Joseph Grieco. 1997. "Systemic Sources of Variation in Regional Institutionalization in Western Europe, East Asia, and the Americas." in Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, 1997: *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 7.

Also recommended:

- Michael J. Gilligan. "Is there a Broader-Deeper Trade-off in International Multilateral Agreements?" *International Organization* 58: 459-484.
- Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55(4): 761-799.

- Peter Rosendorff and Helen V. Milner. 2001. "The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape." *International Organization* 55(4): 829-857.
- Gray, Julia. Forthcoming. Domestic Capacity and the Implementation Gap in Regional Trade Agreements. *Comparative Political Studies*.

Week 4 Political Integration: The European Union

- Ernst B. Haas. 1961. "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process." *International Organization* 15(3): 366-392.
- Andrew Moravcsik. 1991. "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community." *International Organization* 45(1): 19-56.
- Geoffrey Garrett and George Tsebelis. 1996. "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism." *International Organization* 50(2): 269-299.
- Anne-Marie Burley and Walter Mattli. 1993. "Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration." *International Organization* 47(1): 41-76.
- Pier Carlo Padoan. 1997. "Regional Agreements as Clubs: The European Case." in Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, 1997: *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 5.

Background Readings on the EU:

- Neill Nugent, 2006: *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Simon Hix, 2005: *The Political System of the European Union*. Houndmills: Palgrave Maxmillan.
- Andrew Moravcsik, 1998: *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Also recommended:

- Simon Hug and Thomas Koenig. 2002. "In View of Ratification: Governmental Preferences and Domestic Constraints at the Amsterdam Intergovernmental Conference." *International Organization* 56(2): 447-476.
- Walter Mattli. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 69-108.
- Frank Schimmelfennig. 2003. *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mark A. Pollack. 1997. "Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community." *International Organization* 51(1): 99-134.
- Ernst B. Haas. 1958. *The Uniting of Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Week 5 The European Union as Model for Regional Integration?

- Does the European Union Represent an n of 1? (<http://aei.pitt.edu/54/01/N1debate.htm>)
- Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse. 2009. "Diffusing (Inter-)Regionalism. The EU as a Model of Regional Integration." *KFG Working Paper*.
- Shaun Breslin and Richard Higgott. 2000. Studying Regions: Learning from the Old, Constructing the New." *New Political Economy* 5(3): 333-352.
- Philippe de Lombaerde, Fredrik Söderbaum, Luk Van Langenhofe and Francis Baert. 2009. "The Problem of Comparison in Comparative Regionalism." *Robert Schuman Paper Series* Vol. 9(7).
- Karen J. Alter. 2011. "The Global Spread of European Style International Courts." *West European Politics* 35(1): 135-154.

Also recommended:

- Dirk Leuffen. 2013. "European Union as a Blueprint? Nine Hypotheses on Differentiated Integration in a Comparative Perspective." *WAI-ZEI Paper* No. 8.
- Francesco Duina. 2011. "The EU as Provider of Frames and Scripts: Evidence on Law and Courts from Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas." *Working Paper*.
- Mary Farrell. 2009. "EU Policy Towards Other Regions: Policy Learning in the External Promotion of Regional Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(8): 1165-1184.
- Mary Farrell. 2007. From EU Model to External Policy? Promoting Regional Integration in the Rest of the World, in: Meunier, Sophie/McNamara, Kathleen R. (eds): *Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 299-315.
- Laurence Henry. 2007. "The ASEAN Way and Community Integration. Two Different Models of Regionalism." *European Law Journal* 13(6): 857-879.
- Anja Jetschke. 2010. "Is Regional Integration Contagious? European Integration and Regional Organization in Asia." *KFG Working Paper Series 17, October 2010*.

Week 6 Regional Integration in North and South America

- Stephan Haggard. 1997. "Regionalism in Asia and the Americas." in Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, 1997: *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 2.
- Alejandro Chanona. 2003. "A Comparative Perspective between the European Union and NAFTA." *Robert Schuman Paper Series* 3(5).
- Kerry A. Chase. 2003. "Economic Interests and Regional Trade Arrangements: The Case of NAFTA." *International Organization* 57(1): 137-174.
- Luigi Manzetti. 1994. "The Political Economy of Mercosur." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 35(4): 101-141.

- Jorge Dominguez. 2007. "International Cooperation in Latin America: the Design of Regional Institutions by Slow Accretion." in Amitav Acharya and Alastair Johnston (eds.) *Crafting Cooperation. Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Also recommended:

- John Vervaele. 2005. "Mercosur and Regional Integration in South America." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 54(2): 387-410.
- Frederick M. Abbott. 2000. "NAFTA and the Legalization of World Politics: A Case Study." *International Organization* 54(3): 519-547.
- Van R Whiting Jr. (ed.). 1996. *Regionalization in the World Economy. NAFTA, the Americas and Asia Pacific*. Delhi: MacMillan India Limited, Chapter 4 and 5.
- Walter Mattli. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 179-188.
- Robert A. Pastor. 2005. "North America: Three Nations, a Partnership, or a Community?" *Robert Schuman Paper Series* 5(13).
- Genna, Gaspare M., and Taeko Hiroi. 2004. Power Preponderance and Domestic Politics: Explaining Regional Economic Integration in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1960-1997. *International Interactions* 30: 143-164.

Week 7 Regional Integration in Asia and Africa

- Miles Kahler. 2000. "Legalization as a Strategy: The Asia Pacific Case." *International Organization* 54(3): 549-571.
- Brian Bridges. 2004. "Learning from Europe. Lessons for Asian Pacific Regionalism?" *Asia Europe Journal* 2: 387-397.
- Yuen Foong Khong and Helen Nesadurai. 2007. "Hanging Together, Institutional Design, and Cooperation in Southeast Asia: AFTA and the ARF." in Amitav Acharya and Alastair Johnston (eds.) *Crafting Cooperation. Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jeffrey Herbst. 2007. "Crafting Regional Integration in Africa." in Amitav Acharya and Alastair Johnston (eds.) *Crafting Cooperation. Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Steven Radelet. 1996. "Regional Integration and Cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Equity and Growth through Economic Research* PN-ABZ-482.

Further Readings:

- Arvind Panagariya. 1994. "East Asia and the New Regionalism in World Trade." *World Economy* 17(6): 817-840.
- Richard Baldwin and Patrick Low (eds.). 2009. *Multilateralizing Regionalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 11.

- Lloyd Gruber. 2000. *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapters 6 and 7.
- John Ravenhill. 2000. "APEC Adrift: Implications for Economic Regionalism in Asia and the Pacific." *The Pacific Review* 13(2): 319-333.
- Douglas Webber. 2001. "Two Funerals and a Wedding? The Ups and Downs of Regionalism in East Asia and Asia-Pacific after the Asian Crisis." *The Pacific Review* 14(3): 339-372.
- Rolf Langhammer and Ulrich Hiemenz. 1990. "Regional Integration Among Developing Countries: Opportunities, Obstacles and Options." Kieler Studien No. 232.
- Acharya, Amitav. 2004. How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism. *International Organization* 58 (Spring): 239-275.

Week 8 Regionalism and Multilateralism

- Jeffrey Frankel and Shang-Jin Wei. 1998. "Regionalization of World Trade and Currencies: Economics and Politics." in Frankel (ed.) *The Regionalization of the World Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jagdish Bhagwati. 2007. "Regionalism vs. Multilateralism." *World Economy* 15(5): 535-556.
- Daniel Yuichi Kono. 2002. "Are Free Trade Areas Good for Multilateralism? Evidence from the European Free Trade Association." *International Studies Quarterly* 46: 507-527.
- Judith Goldstein, Douglas Rivers and Michael Tomz. 2007. "Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and the WTO on World Trade." *International Organization* 61: 37-67.
- Alan Winters. 1996. "Regionalism versus Multilateralism." *Policy Research Working Paper* 1687.

Further Readings:

- Paul Krugman. 1993. "Regionalism versus Multilateralism" in Jaime de Melo and Arvind Panagariya (eds) *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 58-79.
- Pravin Krishna. 1998. "Regionalism and Multilateralism: A Political Economy Approach." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 113(1): 227-251.
- Jeffrey Frankel. 1997. "Regional Trading blocs in the World Economic System." Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.
- Ethier, Wilfrid J. (1998a). "Regionalism in a Multilateral World." *The Journal of Political Economy* 106 (6): 1214-1245.

Week 9 Economic Consequences of Regional Integration

Updated: October 6, 2014

- Marc Busch. 2007. "Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade." *International Organization* 61(4): 735-761.
- Julia Gray and Jonathan Slapin. 2013. "Exit Options and the Effectiveness of Regional Economic Organizations." *Political Science Research Methods*.
- Magnus Henrekson, Johan Torstensson and Rasha Torstensson. 1997. "Growth Effects of European Integration." *European Economic Review* 41: 1537-1557.
- Gray, Julia. 2009. "International Organization as Seal of Approval: European Accession and Investor Risk." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 931-949.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Rachel Bronson. 1997. "The Political Economy of Major-Power Trade Flows." in Mansfield and Milner (eds.) *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 8.
- Jason Beckfield. 2006. "European Integration and Income Inequality." *American Sociological Review* 71

Also recommended:

- Van R. Whiting Jr. (ed.). 1996. *Regionalization in the World Economy. NAFTA, the Americas and Asia Pacific*. Delhi: MacMillan India Limited, Chapter 3.
- Miles Kahler. 1995. *International Institutions and the Political Economy of Integration*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Gray, Julia, and Jonathan B. Slapin. 2012. How effective are preferential trade arrangements? Ask the experts. *Review of International Organizations* 7 (3): 309-333.

Week 10 Political Consequences of Regional Integration

- Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix. 2006. "Why there is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(3): 533-562.
- Lloyd Gruber. 2000. *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 1.
- Jon C. Pevehouse. 2002. "With a Little Help from My Friends? Regional Organizations and the Consolidation of Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 611-626.
- Gary Marks and Carole Wilson. 2000. "The Past and the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 433-459.
- Hanspeter Kriesi. 2007. "The Role of European Integration in National Election Campaigns." *European Union Politics* 8(1): 83-108.

Also recommended:

- Joseph Nye. 1971. "Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization." Boston: Little, Brown.

- Andrew Moravcsik. 2002. “In Defence of the “Democratic Deficit”: Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (4): 603-34.
- Robert O. Keohane, Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik. 2009. “Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism.” *International Organization* 63: 1-31.
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2000. Trade Blocs, Trade Flows, and International Conflict. *International Organization* 54 (4): 775?808.