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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? 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 international cooperation and organizations in general. In Part II we will delve into the theoretical literature on the causes of regional integration. Part III 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. Finally, Part IV will concentrate on a discussion of the economic and political consequences of regional integration.

REQUIREMENTS:

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

1. **Class Participation (25%).** 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. **Two Referee Reports (20%).** You will submit two two-page single-spaced (12pt) referee reports. Please indicate clearly in your reports whether your opinion is reject, accept, R&R with some revisions, or R&R with major revisions. The first report will be on 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. It will be **due at beginning of class in week 3**. Be prepared to defend your position during class discussion. The second report is any article chosen from this syllabus. Alternatively, you can talk to me about choosing an alternative paper to review. This report will be due at the beginning of class when the paper is assigned.

3. **Discussion Paper (10%).** You will write a two-page single-spaced paper that discusses whether the European Union represents an n of 1 or if (and to what extent) it is possible to generalize from the study of the European Union. You can draw from a discussion by leading EU scholars in the field (<http://aei.pitt.edu/54/01/N1debate.htm>), 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 on specific policy or historical examples. The paper will be **due in week 5**.
4. **Research Paper (45%).** You will write a 15-page research paper which will be **due to me by Friday, March 19th**. The topic has to be cleared with me first. Do NOT wait until midterm to discuss the topic with me. You have three options:

- You can write a research proposal that proposes to resolve some of the limitations of the literature we have discussed in the 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 use a conference paper you are currently writing. In this case, you are required to give a 10 minute presentation in class and then submit the revised version including a discussion of how you addressed the recommendations you received in class.

SCHEDULE:

WEEK 1: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEBATES

WEEK 2: THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

WEEK 3: THEORIES OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

WEEK 4: SCOPE OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

WEEK 5: POLITICAL INTEGRATION: THE EUROPEAN UNION

WEEK 6: WIDENING AND DEEPENING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

WEEK 7: ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN NORTH AMERICA: NAFTA

WEEK 8: ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN ASIA: ASEAN

WEEK 9: ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

WEEK 10: POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

READINGS:

The readings will be drawn from a number of books and articles. I have not ordered any books through the UCSD bookstore and am leaving bargain-hunting and purchase decisions entirely up to you. If you decide not to buy, only the two main books (Nugent and Mansfield/Milner) are on reserve at IR/PS library. ILL takes time, so plan ahead and coordinate with your colleagues accordingly.

Week 1 Historical Development and Debates

- Richard Baldwin and Patrick Low (eds.), 2009: *Multilateralizing Regionalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.
- Dennis M. P. McCarthy, 2006: *International Economic Integration in Historical Perspective*, London: Routledge, Chapters 5, 6 & 7.

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)

Week 2 Theories of International Cooperation

- Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, 1998: Why States Act through Formal International Organizations, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(1): 3-32.
- James D. Fearon. 1998: Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation, *International Organization* 52(2): 269-305.
- James D. Morrow, 1994: Modeling the Forms of International Cooperation: Distribution versus Information, *International Organization* 48(3): 387-423.
- Dan Nielson and Michael Tierney, 2003: Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Reform, *International Organization* 57(2): 241-276.

Also recommended:

- Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, 1999: The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations, *International Organization* 53(4): 699-732.
- Darren G. Hawkins, David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney (eds.), 2006: *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 3 Theories of Regional Integration

- Miles Kahler, 1992: Multilateralism with Small and Large Numbers, *International Organization* 46(3): 681-708.

- 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.

Also recommended:

- 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 Non-traditional 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, Chapters 4 and 5.
- Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, 1996: The Theory of Preferential Trade Agreements: Historical Evolution and Current Trends, *American Economic Review* 86(2): 82-87

Week 4 Scope of Regional Integration

- Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, 2001: The Rational Design of International Institutions, *International Organization* 55(4): 761-799.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, 1997: *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 7.
- George W. Downs, David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom, 1998: Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism, *International Organization* 52(2): 397-410.
- Michael J. Gilligan, : Is there a Broader-Deeper Trade-off in International Multilateral Agreements?, *International Organization* 58: 459-484.

Also recommended:

- Peter Rosendorff and Helen V. Milner, 2001: The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape, *International Organization* 55(4): 829-857.
- Edward Mansfield, Helen Milner, and Jon C. Pevehouse, 2008: Democracy, Veto Players, and the Depth of Regional Integration, *World Economy*.

Week 5 Political Integration: The European Union

- Neill Nugent, 2006: *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Durham: Duke University Press. Chapters 1-12.

Discussion Paper:

- Does the European Union Represent an n of 1? (<http://aei.pitt.edu/54/01/N1debate.htm>)

Alternative Background Readings:

- 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.

Week 6 Widening and Deepening in the European Union

- Andrew Moravcsik, 1991: Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community, *International Organization* 45(1): 19-56.
- Ernst B. Haas, 1961: International Integration: The European and the Universal Process, *International Organization* 15(3): 366-392.
- Geoffrey Garrett and George Tsebelis, 1996: An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism, *International Organization* 50(2): 269-299.
- Mark A. Pollack, 1997: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community, *International Organization* 51(1): 99-134.
- Frank Schimmelfennig, 2001: The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, *International Organization* 55(1): 47-80.

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.
- Anne-Marie Burley and Walter Mattli, 1993: Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration, *International Organization* 47(1): 41-76.
- Frank Schimmelfennig, 2003: *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ernst B. Haas, 1958: *The Uniting of Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Week 7 Economic Regional Integration in Asia: ASEAN

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

Further Readings:

- 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.

Week 8 Economic Regional Integration in North America: NAFTA

- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, 1997: *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 2.
- Kerry A. Chase, 2003: Economic Interests and Regional Trade Arrangements: The Case of NAFTA, *International Organization* 57(1): 137-174.
- Frederick M. Abbott, 2000: NAFTA and the Legalization of World Politics: A Case Study, *International Organization* 54(3): 519-547.

Also recommended:

- 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).

Week 9 Economic Consequences of Regional Integration

- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, 1997: *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapters 6 and 8.
- Daniel Yuichi Kono, 2002: Are Free Trade Areas Good for Multilateralism? Evidence from the European Free Trade Association, *International Studies Quarterly* 46: 507-527.

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.

Week 10 Political Consequences of Regional Integration

- Robert O. Keohane, Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik, 2009: Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism, *International Organization* 63: 1-31.
- 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: Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization, *International Organization* 56(3): 515-549.

Also recommended:

- Andrew Moravcsik, 2002: In Defence of the “Democratic Deficit”: Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (4): 603-634.