

**PUBLIC AFFAIRS 974  
REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL  
GOVERNANCE:**

**Spring 2009  
T 3:30-5:25  
383 Van Hise**

**Professor Jonathan Zeitlin**

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Regional integration is one of the most controversial and widely debated phenomena in international governance and political economy, with the rise of the European Union and the development of other regional organizations and trading blocs such as NAFTA, Mercosur, ASEAN, and the African Union. What are the drivers of regional integration and how extensive are regionalization trends within the global economy? Do regional trade agreements threaten the multilateral trading system, or do they facilitate international economic and regulatory cooperation? Should regional organizations such as the EU or ASEAN be understood as shelters against globalization, challenges to US international hegemony, or building blocks of global governance? How do patterns of integration vary across different world regions, and what accounts for such variations? Are other regions likely to follow the European model, or are looser and more open forms of integration more probable and sustainable elsewhere?

This course approaches such questions through a comparative analysis of the European Union, the most highly institutionalized regional organization in the world today. Following an introduction to theoretical and policy debates about regional integration, we will analyze the historical development of the EU, the organization and powers of its institutions, and the dynamics of the European policy-making process. Particular emphasis will be placed on the problems of governing a non-state polity of 27 diverse member states, and the often innovative solutions developed by the Union across a range of key issue areas, including regulating the single market; protecting public health and safety; economic, social, and employment policy coordination; justice, security, and fundamental rights; and enlargement and external relations. The final section of the course will examine current trends in regional integration and organization in the Americas, Asia, and Africa, comparing and contrasting them with European developments. The course will conclude by reviewing the relationship between regional integration and global governance.

## Course Requirements and Grading

This course is designed to be suitable both for La Follette Masters students in International Public Affairs, and for PhD students from social science disciplines such as Political Science, Sociology, Geography, and History.

The course will be taught as a seminar. Students are expected to come to class having done the assigned reading, and to participate in group discussions. In addition, you will be expected to complete the following assignments:

1) Submit **10 brief response memos** (1-2 single-spaced pages) on the week's readings. These memos are intended to prepare the ground for good class discussions by requiring participants to set out their initial reactions to the readings in written form. Memos should *not* summarize the readings, but should comment on specific arguments, compare the positions of different authors, raise questions of evidence or method, draw attention to particular strengths and weaknesses in the texts, and/or explore their policy implications. (Given the short length of these response memos, it will not be necessary – or possible – for you to discuss each reading.) Each memo should also identify at least one question that you would like the class to discuss. (This should not be a purely factual question, though I will be glad to respond to such questions in class.) We will arrange to share these memos through email, using the class list. In order for everyone to have time to read over each other's comments, these will be *due on email by 6 pm on the day before the class meets (i.e. Monday)*.

*The response memos will not be formally marked, but together with class participation will account for 25% of your final grade.*

2) Write a mid-term paper (8-10 double-spaced pages/2000-2500 words) on regional governance problems and solutions in a specific policy field, drawing primarily on the assigned readings. *The paper will be due in class or by email on Tuesday March 24 and will account for 25% of your final grade.* Given the due date and the structure of the course, the mid-term paper is likely to focus on the European Union, but papers on other regions are also acceptable. All topics must be agreed with me in advance.

3) Prepare a final research paper or policy report (20 double-spaced pages/5000 words) on a relevant topic concerning regional integration and international governance. All topics must be agreed with me in advance, based on a short written proposal, *due in class on April 21. The report is due by 9am on Monday, May 12 (either by email or in my Sociology Department mailbox, 8128 Social Science), and will account for 50% of your grade.*

I regret that it is necessary to warn you that plagiarism will result in you receiving an F on the assignment and you will probably fail the course. If you have any doubt about what constitutes plagiarism consult Mary Treleven and she will refer you to relevant materials and Writing Lab classes.

## Reading

A course reader will be available for purchase at the Social Science Copy Center.

All books listed in this syllabus are also available on reserve in the Helen C. White College Library. Most journal articles can be accessed and downloaded through the UW electronic library. Go either to MadCat or to the Electronic Journals List (<http://www.library.wisc.edu/journals/>), look up the title, and follow the links.

I also expect you to follow current international developments by regularly reading the *Financial Times* and other relevant periodicals such as the *Economist* and *Foreign Policy*, all of which offer student subscription rates. An excellent website which features lively debate on international policy issues, including regional integration, is [www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net). An abundant font of statistical information and analysis on the developed economies can be accessed through Source OECD, available through the UW-Madison Electronic Library (under Journals, Magazines, and Newspapers). Other international statistics are available through [www.nationmaster.com](http://www.nationmaster.com).

## Topics and Readings

### Part I: Introduction and Overview

1. **Introductory Meeting (January 20)**
2. **Regional Integration: Theories and Practices (January 27)**

Sbragia, Alberta, 2008: "Comparative Regionalism: What Might It Be?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46, annual review issue, 29-49.

Hettne, Björn, 2005: "Beyond the 'New' Regionalism", *New Political Economy* 10(4): 543-71.

Higott, Richard, 2006: "The Theory and Practice of Region: The Changing Global Context", in Bertrand Fort and Douglas Webber (eds.), *Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe: Convergence or Divergence?*, London: Routledge, 17-38.

Mattli, Walter, 1999: "Explaining Regional Integration Outcomes", *Journal of European Public Policy* 6(1): 1-27.

### *Further Reading*

Laursen, Finn (ed.) 2003: *Comparative Regional Integration*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

## **Part II: The European Union**

### **3. European Integration: History and Theory (February 3)**

Laffan, Brigid, and Sonia Mazey, 2006: "European Integration: The European Union – Reaching an Equilibrium?", in Jeremy Richardson (ed.), *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., London: Routledge, 31-54.

Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Berthold Rittberger, 2006: "Theories of European Integration: Assumptions and Hypotheses", in Richardson, *European Union*, 73-95.

Moravcsik, Andrew, 2003: "The Choice for Europe", in Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (eds.), *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 239-53.

Stone Sweet, Alec, and Wayne Sandholz, 1997: "European Integration and Supranational Governance", *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(3): 297-317.

Pierson, Paul, 1996: "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis", *Comparative Political Studies* 29(2): 123-63.

Parsons, Craig, 2002: "Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union", *International Organization* 56(1): 47-84.

#### *Further Reading*

Dinand, Desmond (ed.) (2006): *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wiener, Antje, and Thomas Diez (eds), (2004). *European Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **4. The EU: Institutions and Policy Making (February 10)**

Bomberg, Elizabeth, and Alexander Stubb, 2008: "The EU's Institutions", in Elizabeth Bomberg, John Peterson, and Alexander Stubb (eds.), *The European Union: How Does It Work?*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 45-70.

Watson, Rory, and Michael Shackleton, 2008: "Organized Interests and Lobbying", in Bomberg et al, *The European Union*, 92-111.

Pollack, Mark, 2005: "Theorizing EU Policy-Making", in Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 26-35 ("EU Policy-Making in Comparative Perspective").

Wallace, Helen, 2005: "An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes", in Wallace et al., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 49-90.

#### *Further Reading*

Peterson, John, and Michael Shackleton (eds), 2006: *The Institutions of the European Union*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **5. The Problem of Governance (February 17)**

Pollack, Mark, 2005: "Theorizing EU Policy-Making", in Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 36-48 ("The Governance Approach: The EU as a Polity").

Kohler-Koch, Beate, and Berthold Rittberger, 2006: "The Governance 'Turn' in EU Studies", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, annual review issue, 27-49.

Héritier, Adrienne, 1999: *Policy-Making and Diversity in Europe: Escape from Deadlock*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-30, 87-98.

Scharpf, Fritz, 2003: "Legitimate Diversity: The New Challenge of European Integration", in Tanja Börzel and Rachel Cichowski (eds.), *The State of the European Union, vol. 6: Law, Politics, and Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 79-104.

Börzel, Tanja A., 2007: "European Governance – Negotiation and Competition in the Shadow of Hierarchy", unpublished paper prepared for the European Union Studies Association meeting, Montreal, May 17-20.

Olsen, Johan P., 2008: "EU Governance: Where Do We Go from Here?", in Beate Kohler-Koch and Fabrice Larat (eds), *European Multi-Level Governance: Contrasting Images in National Research*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, forthcoming.

### **6. New Modes of Governance: Experimentalist Solutions? (February 24)**

de Búrca, Grainne, and Paul Craig, 2007: *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch. 5 ("New Modes of Governance"), pp. 144-66.

Sabel, Charles F., and Jonathan Zeitlin, 2008: “Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the EU”, *European Law Journal* 14(3): 271-327.

Héritier, Adrienne, and Dirk Lehmkuhl, 2008: “The Shadow of Hierarchy and New Modes of Governance”, *Journal of Public Policy* 28(1): 1-17.

Tömmel, Ingeborg, 2009: “Modes of Governance and the Institutional Structure of the European Union”, in Tommel and Amy Verdun (eds.), *Innovative Governance in the European Union: The Politics of Multilevel Policymaking*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 9-23.

**7. Enlargement and External Relations (March 3)**  
**Special guest: Professor Laszlo Bruszt (European University Institute, Florence)**

Seidelmeier, Ulrich, 2005: “Eastern Enlargement”, in Wallace et al., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 401-28.

Peterson, John, 2006: “The EU as a Global Actor”, in Bomberg et al., *The European Union*, 201-21.

Zielonka, Jan, 2008: “Europe as a Global Actor: Empire by Example?”, *International Affairs* 84(3): 471-84.

Tulmets, Elsa, 2009: “Experimentalist Governance in the EU’s External Relations: The Cases of Enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy”, in Charles F. Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin (eds), *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union: Towards a New Architecture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Lavenex, Sandra, 2008: “A Governance Perspective on the European Neighbourhood Policy: Integration Beyond Conditionality?”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(6): 938-55.

Bruszt, Laslo, Gerald McDermott, and Vanesa Sanchez (2006): “International Integration Regimes as Development Programs: A Comparison of EU and NAFTA Accession Processes”, unpublished paper.

*Further Reading*

Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Seidelmeier (eds) 2005: *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Hill, Christopher, and Michael Smith (eds), 2005: *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## **8. Regulating the Internal Market (March 10)**

Wallace et al., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, chs. 4-5 (“The Single Market”, “Competition Policy”), pp. 93-140.

Thatcher, Mark, 2005: “European Regulation”, in Richardson, *European Union*, 312-27.

Thatcher, Mark, and David Coen, 2008: “Reshaping European Regulatory Space: An Evolutionary Analysis”, *West European Politics* 31(4): 806-36.

Svetiev, Yane, 2009: “Networked Competition Governance in the EU: Centralization, Decentralization, or Experimentalist Architecture?”, in Sabel and Zeitlin, *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*.

plus at least one of the following:

Newman, Abraham, 2009: “Innovating European Data Privacy Regulation: Unintended Pathways to Experimentalist Governance”, in Sabel and Zeitlin, *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*.

Posner, Elliott, 2009: “The Lamfalussy Process: Polyarchic Origins of Networked Financial Rulemaking in the EU”, in Sabel and Zeitlin, *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*.

Eberlein, Burkard, 2009: “Experimentalist Governance in the European Energy Sector”, in Sabel and Zeitlin, *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*.

## **9. Protecting Public Health, Safety, and the Environment (March 24)**

Wallace et al., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, chs. 12-13 (“Environmental Policy”, “Biotechnology Policy”), 305-51.

Vos, Ellen, 2009: “Responding to Catastrophe: Towards a New Architecture for EU Food Safety Regulation?”, in Sabel and Zeitlin, *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*.

Dąbrowska, Patrycja, 2009: “EU Governance of GMOs: Political Struggles and Experimentalist Solutions?”, in Sabel and Zeitlin, *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*.

Scott, Joanne, and Jane Holder, 2006: “Law and New Environmental Governance in the European Union”, in Gráinne de Búrca and Joanne Scott (eds), *Law and New Governance in the EU and the US*, Oxford: Hart, 211-42.

## **10. Coordinating Economic, Social, and Employment Policies (March 31)**

Wallace et al., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, chs. 6, 10, 11 (“Economic and Monetary Union”, “Social Policy”, “Employment Policy”), pp. 141-60, 243-304.

Verdun, Amy, 2009: “Regulation and Cooperation in Economic and Monetary Policy”, in Tömmel and Verdun, *Innovative Governance in the European Union*, 75-86.

Jenson, Jane, and Philippe Pochet, 2006: “Employment and Social Policy Since Maastricht: Standing Up to European Monetary Union”, in Robert M. Fishman and Anthony M. Messina (eds), *The Year of the Euro: The Cultural, Social, and Political Import of Europe’s Common Currency*, South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 161-85.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2007: “A Decade of Innovation in EU Governance: The European Employment Strategy, the Open Method of Coordination, and the Lisbon Strategy”, *La Follette School Working Paper No. 2007-31*.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2009: “Is the Open Method of Coordination an Alternative to the Community Method?”, in Renaud Dehousse (ed.), *The Community Method: Obstinate or Obsolete?*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming.

### *Further Reading*

Heidenreich, Martin, and Jonathan Zeitlin (eds.), 2009: *Changing European Welfare and Employment Regimes: The Influence of the Open Method of Coordination on National Reforms*, London: Routledge, forthcoming.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, and Philippe Pochet, with Lars Magnusson (eds), 2005: *The Open Method of Coordination in Action: The European Employment and Social Inclusion Strategies* (lead co-editor with Philippe Pochet and Lars Magnusson), Brussels: Presses Interuniversitaires Européennes-Peter Lang.

## **11. Ensuring Justice, Security, and Fundamental Rights (April 7)**

Lavenex, Sandra, 2009: “Transgovernmentalism in the Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice”, in Tömmel and Verdun, *Innovative Governance in the European Union*, 255-72.

Monar, Jörg, 2009: “Experimentalist Governance in Justice and Home Affairs”, in Sabel and Zeitlin, *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*.

de Búrca, Gráinne, 2005: “New Modes of Governance and the Protection of Human Rights”, in Philip Alston and Olivier De Schutter (eds), *Monitoring Fundamental Rights in the EU: The Contribution of the Fundamental Rights Agency*, Oxford: Hart, 25-36.

de Búrca, Gráinne, 2009: “Stumbling into Experimentalism: The EU Anti-Discrimination Regime”, in Sabel and Zeitlin, *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*.

### **Part III: Regionalism beyond Europe**

Overview: Telò, Mario, 2007: “Between Trade Regionalization and Various Paths towards Deeper Cooperation”, in Mario Telò (ed.), *European Union and New Regionalism: Regional Actors and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era*, 2nd ed., Aldershot: Ashgate, 127-52.

#### **12. Regionalism in East Asia (April 14)**

Higgott, Richard, 2007: “Alternative Models of Regional Cooperation? The Limits of Regional Institutionalization in East Asia”, in Telò, *European Union and New Regionalism*, 75-106.

Katzenstein, Peter, 2002: “Regionalism and Asia”, in Shaun Breslin et al. (eds), *New Regionalisms in the Global Political Economy: Theories and Cases*, London: Routledge, 104-18.

Solingen, Etel, 2005: “East Asian Regional Institutions: Characteristics, Sources, Distinctiveness”, in T.J. Pempel (ed.), 2005: *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 31-53.

Pempel, T.J., 2008: “Firebreak: East Asia Institutionalizes Its Finances,” in Martina Timmermann and Jitsuo Tsuchiyama (eds), *Institutionalizing Northeast Asia: Regional Steps towards Global Governance* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2008).

Eliassen, Kjell, and Catherine Børve Arnessen, 2007: “Comparison of European and South East Asian Integration”, in Telò, *European Union and New Regionalism*, 203-21.

Bridges, Brian, 2004: “Learning from Europe: Lessons for Asian Pacific Regionalism?” *Asia Europe Journal* 2: 387-97.

Severino, Rodolfo C. 2003: “Regional Integration in Europe and in Asia: The Future of ASEAN Economic Integration,” *Asia Europe Journal* 1: 475-79.

#### *Further Reading*

Pempel, *Remapping East Asia*.

Fort, Bertrand, and Douglas Webber, 2006: *Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe: Convergence or Divergence?*, London: Routledge.

### **13. Regionalism in the Americas (April 21)**

Phillips, Nicola, 2003: "Hemispheric Integration and Subregionalism in the Americas," *International Affairs* 79(2): 327-49.

Pastor, Robert A., 2005: "North America: Three Nations, a Partnership or a Community?," *Miami European Union Center Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series* 5(13), <http://www.miami.edu/eucenter/pastorfinal.pdf>.

Peña, Felix, 2005: "Understanding Mercosur and Its Future," *Miami European Union Center Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series* 5(14), <http://www.miami.edu/eucenter/penafinal.pdf>.

Sbragia, Alberta M., 2007: "European Union and NAFTA", in Telò, *European Union and New Regionalism*, 153-64.

Vasconcelos, Álvaro, 2007: "European Union and Mercosur", in Telò, *European Union and New Regionalism*, 165-84.

Duina, Francesco, and Jason Buxbaum, 2008: "Regional Trade Agreements and the Pursuit of State Interests: Institutional Perspectives from NAFTA and Mercosur", *Economy and Society* 37(2): 193-223.

#### *Further Reading*

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor (ed.), 2001: *Regional Integration in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Political Economy of Open Regionalism*, London: Institute for Latin American Studies.

### **14. Regionalism in Africa (April 28)**

Bourenane, Naceur, 2002: "Regional Integration in Africa: Situation and Prospects," in *Regional Integration in Africa*, Paris: OECD, 17-43.

Spicer, Michael 2002: "Globalisation, Regional Integration, Economic Growth and Democratic Consolidation," in *Regional Integration in Africa*, 163-69.

Shaw, Timothy, 2002: "New Regionalisms in Africa in the New Millennium: Comparative Perspectives on Renaissance, Realisms, and/or Regressions", in Breslin et al., *New Regionalisms in the Global Political Economy*, 177-89.

Taylor, Ian, 2002: “Good Governance or Good for Business? South Africa’s Regionalist Project and the ‘African Renaissance’”, Breslin et al., *New Regionalisms in the Global Political Economy*, 190-203.

Babarinde, Olufemi, 2003: “The African Union Debuts: Following in the Footsteps of the EU?”, *EUSA Review*, Summer, 11-13.

Söderbaum, Fredrik, 2007: “African Regionalism and EU-African Interregionalism”, in Telò, *European Union and New Regionalism*, 203-21.

#### *Further Reading*

Buthelezi, Siphon, 2006: *Regional Integration in Africa: Prospects and Challenges for the 21st Century*, East London: Ikwezi Afrika Publishing.

### **15. Regional Integration and Global Governance (May 5)**

“Regionalism and the Multilateral Trading System,” *OECD Policy Brief* (August 2003), <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/23/12/8895922.pdf>.

Palagidis, Theodore, and Harry Papisotiriou, 2002: “Globalisation or Regionalism? States, Markets and the Structure of International Trade,” *Review of International Studies*, 28: 519-35.

Pomfret, Richard, 2007: “Is Regionalism an Increasing Feature of the World Economy?”, *The World Economy* 30: 923-47.

Lamy, Pascal, 2002: “Stepping Stones or Stumbling Blocks? The EU’s Approach towards the Problem of Multilateralism versus Regionalism in Trade Policy,” *The World Economy*, 25(10): 1399-1413.

Bach, David, and Abraham L. Newman, 2007: “The European Regulatory State and Global Public Policy: Micro-Institutions, Macro-Influence”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(6): 827-46.

Laïdi, Zaki, 2008: “The Normative Empire: The Unintended Consequences of European Power”, *Garnet Policy Brief*, No. 6, [http://www.garnet-eu.org/fileadmin/documents/policy\\_briefs/Garnet\\_Policy\\_Brief\\_No\\_6.pdf](http://www.garnet-eu.org/fileadmin/documents/policy_briefs/Garnet_Policy_Brief_No_6.pdf).

Telò, Mario, 2007: “European Union, Regionalism, New Multilateralism: Three Scenarios”, in Telò, *European Union and New Regionalism*, 297-326.

#### *Further Reading*

Söderbaum, Fredrik, and Luk van Langenhove (eds.), 2006: *The EU as a Global Player: The Politics of Interregionalism*, London: Routledge.