POLI 242 The European Union and Global Governance

Fall 2015 12-2:50pm SSB 104

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DESCRIPTION:

The European Union has been subject to in-depth theoretical and empirical research from both scholars of comparative politics and international relations. It arguable has found more comprehensive attention as a research subject than most other international and regional organizations, such as the World Trade Organization or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Despite the existence of a large number of studies on a wide range of EU-related topics that are relevant to different research environments – such as the widening and deepening of the EU, patterns of formal and informal negotiations, supranational-national linkages, or foreign and security policies – EU scholars have largely operated in a vacuum and few scholars use the insights of EU studies to advance their research in other areas (and vice versa).

This course explores contemporary research on the European Union from a comparative and international relations perspective, and links this research to broader questions of global governance and political economics. Special attention will be given to a discussion of the applicability of EU research for theories of global governance and comparative/international political economy, including a discussion of relevant topics such as widening and deepening, bargaining and negotiations, delegation, foreign and environmental policies, trade and finance, as well as the domestic effects of international cooperation. The course is conducted in a very research-oriented manner. That is, we will focus on topics that are of relevance to more general questions of global governance and where EU research may have been ahead of other IR research that addresses similar questions in terms of theoretical and empirical development. We will discuss to what extent this research can be utilized to bring along research that is not necessarily focused on the European Union.

The course is tailored to two audiences. Some students will be more interested in learning from EU studies that focus on a comparative perspective, and others will want to learn from EU studies that focus on an international relations perspective. In this course, students will be exposed to both perspectives as this is crucial to an understanding of the value of research on the European Union.

Updated: April 28, 2016

REQUIREMENTS:

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

- 1. Class Participation (30%). I expect that you come to class prepared and participate actively. The success of this course entirely depends on your participation and you should therefore take this component very seriously. Most of our sessions focus on the discussion of the relevance of the readings for broader questions of comparative studies and international relations and I expect you to defend and discuss your insights and opinions in class.
- 2. Discussion Leadership (30%). 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 an opinion about the extent to which you believe the readings may inform (or are informed) more general research in comparative politics or international relations. This involves conducting some research on research in other area that would be of relevance (has anything been done on this topic; if yes, what are similarities/differences, etc). A good discussion leader will guide the other participants along one or two main topics drawing from the readings (rather than simply discussing the articles subsequently without putting them in greater context) and provide the class with ideas for applicability (i.e. what other international or comparative settings could the readings be applied to; and if not, why not).
- 3. Research Paper (40%). You will write a 15-20 page research paper which will be due at 5pm December 4th. The topic has to be cleared with me first during office hours. You will present your proposal on October 16 during class. You have two options:
 - You can write a research paper that proposes to utilize some of the literature that we have discussed in class (or any other EU literature) for application to other research areas (preferably a topic of your interest). 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 the EU-related literature would advance research in that area.
 - 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. The paper should include a discussion on how the EU-related research would advance research in that area (or not).
 - You can write a research paper that proposes to solve a puzzle in the EU-related literature by adapting from other research areas. 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 the more general literature would advance EU-related research.

Updated: April 28, 2016

SCHEDULE:

WEEK 1 (9/25): THE EUROPEAN UNION AS RESEARCH LABORATORY

Week 2 (10/2): Delegation and Principal-Agent Relationships

WEEK 3 (10/9): BARGAINING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Week 4 (10/16): Norms and Socialization in European Cooperation

WEEK 5 (10/23): EU WIDENING AND DEEPENING

Week 6 (10/30): European Political Economy

Week 7 (11/6): European Cooperation and Domestic Politics

Week 8 (11/13): European "Democratic" Governance?

Week 9 (11/20): Public Opinion and Political Parties

Week 10 (12/4): EU Foreign and Environmental Policies

READINGS:

Week 1: The European Union as a Research Laboratory?

• Core Readings:

- Nugent, Neill. 2010. The Government and Politics of the European Union. London: Palgrave Mcmillan. Parts I-III.
- Caporaso, James et. al. 1997. "Does the European Union Represent an n of 1?"
 ECSA Review X, 3: 1-5.
- Warleigh, Alex. 2006. Learning from Europe? EU Studies and the Re-thinking of International Relations. European Journal of International Relations 12: 31-51.

- Nugent, Neill. 2010. The Government and Politics of the European Union. London: Palgrave Mcmillan. Part IV.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998: The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hix, Simon. 2005. "The Political System of the European Union." Houndmills: Palgrave Maxmillan
- Hix, Simon. 1994. The Study of the European Community: The Challenge to Comparative Politics. West European Politics 17, 1: 1-30.

Week 2 Delegation and Principal-Agent Relationships

• Core Readings:

- Pollack, Mark A. 1997. "Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community." International Organization 51(1): 99-134.
- Thomson, Robert et al. 2010. "Information, Commitment and Consensus: A Comparison of Three Perspectives on Delegation in the European Union." British Journal of Political Science 41: 139-159.
- Thomson, Robert. 2008. "National Actors in International Organizations. The Case of the European Commission." Comparative Political Studies 41(2): 169-192.
- König, Thomas and Dirk Junge. 2009. "Why Don't Veto Players Use Their Power?"
 European Union Politics 10(4): 507-534.

• Further Readings:

- Hooghe, Liesbet. 1999. "Images of Europe: Orientations to European Integration Among Senior Officials of the Commission." British Journal of Political Science 29(2): 345-367.
- Hug, Simon. 2003. "Endogenous Preferences and Delegation in the European Union." Comparative Political Studies 36: 41-74.
- Majone, Giandomenico. 2001. "Two Logics of Delegation. Agency and Fiduciary Relations in EU Governance." European Union Politics 2(1): 103-122.
- Schneider, Christina J. and Jennifer Tobin. 2013. "Interest Coalitions and Multilateral Aid Allocation in the European Union." International Studies Quarterly 57: 103-114.
- Franchino, Fabio. 2004. "Delegating Powers in the European Union." British Journal of Political Science 34: 269-293.

Week 3 Bargaining in the European Union

- Achen, Christopher A. 2006. "Institutional Realism and Bargaining Models." in: Thomson, Robert, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen and Thomas König. The European Union Decides. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 86-123.
- Aksoy, Deniz. 2012. Institutional Arrangements and Logrolling: Evidence from the European Union. American Journal of Political Science 56(3): 538-552.
- Golub, Jonathan. 1999. "In the Shadow of the Vote? Decision Making in the European Community." International Organization 53(4): 733-764.
- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe and Kermit Blank. 1996. "European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-Level Governance." Journal of Common Market Studies 34(3): 341-378.
- McKibben, Heather. 2013. "The Effects of Structures and Power on State Bargaining Strategies." American Journal of Political Science 57(2): 411-427.

 Schneider, Christina J. 2011. "Weak States and Institutionalized Bargaining Power in International Organizations." International Studies Quarterly 55(2): 331-355.

• Further Readings:

- Achen, Christopher A. 2006. "Evaluating Political Decision-Making Models." in: Thomson, Robert, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen and Thomas König. The European Union Decides. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 264-298.
- Aksoy, Deniz. 2010. "Who Gets What, When and How Revisited: Voting and Proposal Powers in the Allocation of the EU Budget." European Union Politics 11(2): 171-194.
- Arregui, Javier and Robert Thomson. 2009. "States' Bargaining Success in the EUropean Union." Journal of European Public Policy 16(5): 655-676.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2003. "Unraveling the Central State, but How?
 Types of Multi-level Governance." American Political Science Review 97(2): 233-245.
- Hug, Simon and Thomas Koenig. 2002: "In View of Ratification: Governmental Preferences and Domestic Constraints at the Amsterdam Intergovernmental Conference." International Organization 56(2): 447-476.
- König, Thomas, Brooke Luetgert, and Tanja Dannwolf. 2006. "Quantifying European Legislative Research. Using CELEX and PreLex in EU Legislative Studies." European Union Politics 7(4): 553-574.
- Scharpf, Fritz. 1994. "Community and Autonomy: Multi-level Policy Making in the European Union." Journal of European Public Policy 1(2): 219-242.
- Schulz, Heiner and Thomas König. 2000. "Institutional Reform and Decision-Making Efficiency in the European Union." American Journal of Political Science 44(4): 653-666.
- Slapin, Jonathan B. 2009. "Exit, Voice, and Cooperation: Bargaining Power in International Organizations and Federal Systems." Journal of Theoretical Politics 21(2).
- Slapin, Jonathan B. 2008. "Bargaining Power at Europe's Intergovernmental Conferences: Testing Institutional and Intergovernmental Theories." International Organization 62(1).
- Tsebelis, George and George Garrett. 2001. "The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union." International Organization 55(2): 357-390.

Week 4 Norms and Socialization in European Cooperation

- Kleine, Mareike. 2014. "Informal Governance: A New Research Agenda in EU Studies. Journal of European Public Policy (forthcoming).
- Lewis, Jeffrey. 2005. "The Janus Face of Brussels: Socialization and Everyday Decision Making in the European Union. International Organization 59: 937-971.

- Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2001. "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union." International Organization 55(1): 47-80.
- Stacey, Jeffrey and Berthold Rittberger. 2003. "Dynamics of Formal and Informal Institutional Change in the EU." Journal of European Public Policy 10(6): 858-883.

• Further Readings:

- McKibben, Heather and Shaina Western. 2014. "Levels of Linkage: Across-Agreement v. Within-Agreement Explanations of Consensus Formation among States." International Studies Quartery. (forthcoming).
- Heisenberg, Dorothee. 2005. "The Institution of 'Consensus' in the European Union: Formal versus Informal Decision-Making in the Council." European Journal of Political Research 44: 65-90/.
- Kleine, Mareike. 2013. Informal Governance in the European Union. How Governments Make International Organizations Work. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Lewis, Jeffrey. 1998. Is the 'Hard Bargaining' Image of the Council Misleading? The Committee of Permanent Representatives and the Local Elections Directive." Journal of Common Market Studies 36(4): 479-504.
- Lewis, Jeffrey. 2003. "Informal Integration and the Supranational Construction of the Council." Journal of European Public Policy 10(6): 996-1019.

Week 5 EU Widening and Deepening

• Core Readings:

- Holzinger, Katharina and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2012. "Differentiated Integration in the European Union: Many Concepts, Sparse Theory, Few Data." Journal of European Public Policy 19(2): 292-305.
- König, Thomas and Thomas Bräuninger. 2004. "Accession and Reform of the European Union: A Game-Theoretical Analysis of Eastern Enlargement and the Constitutional Reform." European Union Politics 5(4): 419-439.
- Leuffen, Dirk and Robin Hertz. 2010. "If Things Can Only Get Worse: Anticipation of Enlargment in European Union Legislative Politics." European Journal of Political Research 49: 53-74.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1991. "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community." International Organization 45(1): 19-56.
- Plümper, Thomas and Christina J. Schneider. 2007. "Discriminatory EU Membership and the Redistribution of Enlargement Gains." Journal of Conflict Resolution 51(4): 568-587.

- Fierke, Karin and Antje Wiender. 1999. "Constructing Institutional Interests: EU and NATO Enlargement." Journal of European Public Policy 6(5): 721-742.
- Garrett, Geoffrey and George Tsebelis. 1996: "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism." International Organization 50(2): 269-299.
- Hertz, Robin and Dirk Leuffen. 2011. "Too Big to Run? Analysing the Impact of Enlargement on the Speed of EU Decision-Making." European Union Politics 12(2): 193-215.
- Hertz, Robin and Dirk Leuffen. 2008. "Business as Usual? Analyzing the Effects of Enlargement on EU Legislative Output." CIS Working Paper No. 38.
- Moravcsik, Andrew and Milada Vachudova. 2003. "National Interests, State Power and EU Enlargement." East European Politics and Societies 17: 42-57.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2003. "The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2002. "Theorizing EU Enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses, and the State of Research." Journal of European Public Policy 9(4): 500-528.
- Schneider, Christina J. 2009. "Conflict, Negotiations, and EU Enlargement." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press."
- Schneider, Christina J. 2014. "Domestic Politics and the Widening-Deepening Trade-Off in the European Union." Journal of European Public Policy (forthcoming).
- Sjursen, Helen. 2002. "Why Expand? The Question of Legitimacy and Justification in the EU's Enlargement Policy." Journal of Common Market Studies 40(3): 491-513.

Week 6 European Political Economy

• Core Reardings:

- Bechtel, Michael, Jens Hainmueller and Yotam Margalit. 2014. "Preferences for International Redistribution: The Divide Over the Eurozone Bailouts." American Journal of Political Science (forthcoming).
- Frieden, Jeffrey. A. 2002. "Real Sources of European Currency Policy: Sectoral Interests and European Monetary Integration." International Organization 56(4): 831-860.
- Gray, Julia. 2009. "International Organization as Seal of Approval: European Accession and Investor Risk." American Journal of Political Science 53(4): 931-949.
- Plümper, Thomas and Vera Troeger. 2008. "Fear of Floating and the External Effects of Currency Unions." American Journal of Political Science 52(3): 656-676.
- Smith, Dale L. and Jurgen Wanke. 1993. "Completing the Single European Market: An Analysis of the Impact on the Member States." American Journal of Political Science 37(2): 529-554.

• Further Readings:

 Bechtel, Michael, Jens Hainmueller and Yotam Margalit. 2012. Studying Public Opinion on Mulit-Dimensional Policies: The Case of the Eurozone Bailouts." Unpublished Working Paper.

- Curtis, Amber K., Joseph Jupille and David Leblang. 2013. "Iceland on the Rocks: Self Interest and Sovereign Debt Resettlement." International Organization (forthcoming).
- Frieden, Jeffrey. 1996. "The Impact of Goods and Capital Market Integration on European Monetary Politics." Comparative Political Studies 29(2): 193-222.
- Hallerberg, Mark and Jurgen von Hagen. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cabinet Negotiations, and Budget Deficits in the European Union." NBER Working Paper No. 6341
- Kaltenthaler, Karl C. and Christoper J. Anderson. 2001. "Europeans and their Money: Explaining Public Support for the Common European Currency." European Journal of Political Research 40: 139-170.
- McNamara, Kathleen. 1999. "Consensus and Constraint: Ideas and Capital Mobility in Monetary Integration." Journal of Common Market Studies 37(3): 455-476.
- McNamara, Kathleen. 1998. The Currency of Ideas: Monetary Politics in the European Union. Ithca: Cornell University Press.
- Plümper, Thomas and Vera E. Troeger. 2006. "Monetary Policy Autonomy in European Non-Euro Countries, 1980-2005." European Union Politics 7(2): 213-234.
- Sandholtz, Wayne. 1993. "Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht."
 International Organization 47(1): 1-40.
- Walter, Stefanie. 2013. Distributional Politics in Times of Crisis: Eastern European Policy Responses to the 2008-2010 Global Financial and Economic Crisis. Unpublished Working Paper.

Week 7 European Cooperation and Domestic Politics

• Core Readings:

- König, Thomas and Lars Mädder. 2013. "The Strategic Nature of Compliance: An Empirical Evaluation of Law Implementation in the Central Monitoring System of the European Union. American Journal of Political Science 10
- Patterson, Lee Ann. 1997. "Agricultural Policy Reform in the European Community: A Three-Level Game Analysis." International Organization 51(1): 135-165.
- Plümper, Thomas and Walter Mattli. 2004. "The Internal Value of External Options.
 On the Impact of EU Conditionality on Regulatory Reforms in Transition Countries."
 European Union Politics 5(3): 307-330.
- Schneider, Christina J. 2013. "Globalizing Electoral Politics: Political Competence and Distributional Bargaining in the European Union." World Politics 65(3): 452-490.
- Thomson, Robert et. al. 2007. "The Paradox of Compliance: Infringements and Delays in Transposing European Union Directives." British Journal of Political Science 37: 685-709.

- 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): 861-898.
- Mattli, Walter and Thomas Plümper. 2002. "The Demand-Side Politics of EU Enlargement: Democracy and the Application for EU Membership." Journal of European Public Policy 9(4): 550-574.
- König, Thomas and Brooke Luetgert. 2009. "Troubles with Transposition? Explaining Trends in Member State Notification and the Delayed Transposition of EU Directives." British Journal of Political Science 39(1): 163-194.
- Plümper, Thomas, Christina J. Schneider and Vera Troeger. 2006. "Democracy, Regulatory Reforms, and EU Enlargement: Evidence from a Heckman Selection Model." British Journal of Political Science 36(1): 17-38.

Week 8 European "Democratic" Governance?

• Core Readings:

- Crombez, Christophe. 2003. "The Democratic Deficit in the European Union: Much Ado about Nothing?" European Union Politics 4(1).
- Follesdal, Andreas 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.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. "In Defense of the "Democratic Deficit": Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union." Journal of Common Market Studies 40 (4): 603-634.
- Rohrschneider, Robert and Matthew Loveless. 2010. "Macro Salience: How Economic and Political Contexts Mediate Popular Evaluations of the Democracy Deficit in the European Union." Journal of Politics 72(4): 1029-1045.

• Further Reading:

- Karp, Jeffrey A., Susan A. Banducci, and Shaun Bowler. 2003. "To Know it is to Love it? Satisfaction with Democracy in the European Union." Comparative Political Studies 36(3): 271-292.
- König, Thomas. 2007. "Discontinuity. Another Source of the EU's Democratic Deficit?" European Union Politics 8(3): 411-432.
- Olsen, Johan P., Alberta Sbragia and Fritz W. Scharpf. 2002. "Symposium: Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?" Journal of European Public Policy 7(2): 310-324.
- Rohrschneider, Robert. 2002. "The Democratic Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-Wide Government. American Journal of Political Science 46(2): 463-475.

Week 9 Public Opinion and Political Parties

- Gabel, Matthew. 1998. "Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories." The Journal of Politics 60(2): 333-354.
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gerard Roland. 2005. "Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament." British Journal of Political Science 35(2): 209-234.
- Marks, Gary and Carole J. Wilson and Leonard Ray. 2002. "National Political Parties and European Integration." American Journal of Political Science 46(3): 585-594.
- Ray, Leonard. 2003. "When Parties Matter: The Conditional Influence of Party Positions on Voter Opinions about European Integration." Journal of Politics 65(4): 978-994.

• Further Readings:

- Anderson, Christopher J. 1998. "When in Doubt, Use Proxies. Attitudes Toward Domestic Politics and Support for European Integration." Comparative Political Studies 31(5): 569-601.
- Carrubba, CJ. 2001. "The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics." Journal of Politics 61(1): 141-158.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2005. "Calculation, Community, and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration." European Union Politics 6(4): 419-443.
- Marks, Gary and Carole J. Wilson. 2000. "The Past in the Present: A cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration." British Journal of Political Science 30: 433-459.
- Schneider, Christina J. and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "Partisan Heterogeneity and International Cooperation: The Case of the European Development Fund." Journal of Conflict Resolution (forthcoming)
- Tucker, Joshua, Alexander C. Pacek and Adam J. Berinsky. 2002. "Transitional Winners and Losers: Attitudes Toward EU Membership in Post-Communist Countries." American Journal of Political Science 46(3): 557-571.

Week 10 EU Foreign Policies

- Bechtel, Michael M. and Gerald Schneider. 2010. "Eliciting Substance from 'Hot Air': Financial Market Responses to EU Summit Decisions on European Defense."
 International Organization 64(2): 199-223.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2004. "Explaining Government Preferences for Institutional Change in EU Foreign and Security Policy." International Organization 58: 137-174.
- Merand, Frederic, Stephanie C. Hofmann, and Bastien Irondelle. 2011. "Governance and State Power: A Network Analysis of European Security." Journal of Common Market STudies 49(1): 121-147.

Meunier, Sophie. 2000. "What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU-U.S.
 Trade Negotiations." International Organization 54(1): 103-135.

- Börzel, Tanja A. 2002. "Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization." Journal of Common Market Studies 40(2): 193-214.
- Börzel, Tanja and Thomas Risse. 2004. "One Size Fits All! EU Policies for the Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law." Unpublished Manuscript.
- Holzinger, Katharina, Christoph Knill and Thomas Sommerer. 2008. "Environmental Policy Convergence: The Impact of International Harmonization, Transnational Communication and Regulatory Competition." International Organization 62(4): 553-587.
- Jupille, Joseph. 1999. "The European Union and International Outcomes." International Organization 53(2): 409-425.
- Keeler, John. 1996. "Agricultural Power in the European Community: Explaining the Fate of the CAP and GATT Negotiations." Comparative Politics 28(2): 127-149.
- Manners, Ian. 2002. "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" Journal of Common Market Studies 40(2): 235-258.
- McLean, Elena and Randall W. Stone. 2012. "The Kyoto Protocol: Two-Level Bargaining and European Integration." International Studies Quarterly 56(1): 99-113.
- Meunier, Sophie and Kalypso Nicolaidis. 1998. Who Speaks for Europe? The Delegation of Trade Authority in the European Union." Journal of Common Market Studies 37(3): 477-501.
- Rhinard, Mark and Michael Kaeding. 2006. "The International Bargaining Power of the EUropean Union in 'Mixed' Competence Negotiations: The Case of the 2000 Cartagena Prtocol on Biosafety." Journal of Common Market Studies 44(5): 1023-1050.
- Schneider, Christina J. and Johannes Urpelainen. 2013. "Distributional Conflict Between Powerful States and International Treaty Ratification." International Studies Quarterly 57(1): 13-27.
- Smith, Michael E. 2004. "Institutionalization, Policy Adaptation and European Foreign Policy Cooperation." European Journal of International Relations 10(1): 95-136.
- Smith, K. 2006. "Speaking with One Voice? European Union Coordination on Human Rights Rights Issues at the United Nations." Journal of Common Market Studies 44(1): 113-137.
- Verdier, Daniel and Richard Breen. 2001. "Europeanization and Globalization: Politics Against Markets in the European Union." Comparative Political Studies 34: 227-262.
- Young, Alasdair. 2004. "The Incidental Fortress: The Single European Market and World Trade." Journal of Common Market Studies 42(2): 393-414.