## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

## **Gary Marks**

Revised: April 2014

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Born: London, England Citizenship: United Kingdom/United States

## Academic Appointments

2004—	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Burton Craige Distinguished Professor of			
	Political Science;			
2004—	Chair in Multilevel Governance, VU University, Amsterdam;			
1998—2006	Founding Director of the Center for European Studies and North Carolina European Union			
	Center of Excellence;			
1994—2004	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Professor of Political Science;			
1994—1998	Co-Director of the Program in European Studies;			
1989—1993	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Associate Professor of Political Science;			
1986—1989	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Assistant Professor of Political Science;			
1982—1986	University of Virginia, Assistant Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs.			

## Fellowships/Awards

2014	Visiting Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford University, Trinity Term		
2013—2014			
	University of Berlin (5 months)		
2011—2012	Fellow at the Kolleg Forschergruppe 'The Transformative Power of Europe, Free		
	University of Berlin (5 months)2010—2011		
2010	Humboldt Forschungspreis (Humboldt Research Prize)		
2010	Visiting Professorship, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, July		
2007—2008 Fellow, Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, September—May			
2005 Visiting Professorship, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, July			
2003	Visiting Professorship, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, June		
2002—2003	Visiting Professorship, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, August—June		
2002—2003	Reynolds Fellowship, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill		
2002—2003	Jean Monnet Fellowship at European University Institute, Florence (declined)		
2001	Visiting Professorship, Sciences Politiques, Paris, May—June		
2000	Visiting Professorship, Universität Konstanz, Germany, June—July		
1998	Hooker Visiting Professorship, McMaster University, Canada, September		
1998	Visiting Professorship, University of Twente, Netherlands, June—August		

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1993—1996 1991—1992 1989 1986—1987 1986 1975—1979 1977—1978 1975 1973—1974	Louis D. Rubin Term Chair, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California Fellow of the Institute of Arts and Humanities, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, Fall Semester National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University University of Virginia Sesquicentennial Associateship Stanford University Graduate Fellowship Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst Fellowship Goethe-Institut Language Scholarship The University of Birmingham/University of California Exchange Scholarship	
Grants		
2013—2015	"Causes and Consequences of Multilevel Governance." Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, €30,000.	
2012—2013	European Commission grant to update the Regional Authority Index for OECD countries, €40,000.	
2010—2015	"Causes and Consequences of Multilevel Governance" Advanced European Research Council Grant, €2.47 million.	
2008—2011	"Party positioning on European integration", UNC EU Center & Title VI funding, \$12,000	
2008—2010	"The Structure of Government: Coding Authority in International Organizations", UNC EU Center & Title VI funding, \$6,000	
2006—2008	"Third Chapel Hill Expert Survey on Party Positioning for 27 EU countries" UNC EU Center & Title VI funding, \$12,000	
2007—2010	PI, UNC Center for European Studies, Title VI Grant from U.S. Department of Education, \$600,000	
2005—2008	PI, European Union Center of Excellence Grant and Co-ordinator of EU Centers, European Union, €175,000	
2004	PI, Grant from the Nederlandse Organisitie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, for workshop, "Comparing Data Sets on the Positioning of National Political Parties," Free University of Amsterdam, €6,670	
2004—2006	PI, UNC Center for European Studies, Title VI Grant from U.S. Department of Education, \$600,000	
2002—2005	PI, UNC Center for European Studies, grant from the European Union for the North Carolina European Union Center, €200,000	
2001—2004	PI, Distance Learning Course Development Grant, Center for European Studies, UNC-CH, \$16,000	
2001—2002	PI, FLAC Venture Capital Grant, UNC Center for European Studies, \$20,000	
2001—2004	PI, UNC Center for European Studies, Title VI Grant from U.S. Department of Education, \$597,000	
2001—2006	Research Grant Faculty Partners Fund UNC-CH (\$3,000 annually)	
1998—2001	PI, UNC Center for European Studies, grant from the European Union for the creation of a North Carolina European Union Center \$600,000	
1998—2001	PI, UNC Center for European Studies, Title VI Grant from U.S. Department of Education, \$606,000	

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1996—1999	PI, UNC Center for European Studies, Fund for the Improvement of Secondary Education (FIPSE) Grant from U.S. Department of Education, \$184,675	
1994—1997	PI, UNC Center for European Studies Title VI Grant from U.S. Department of Education, \$725,000	
1994	Co-recipient of Council of Europeanists Workshop Grant and Planning Group Grant, \$12,500	
1993	Grant from the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, \$3,000	
1991	Co-recipient of George C. Lurcy Foundation Grant, \$27,700	
1989—1992	i j	
1988	University of North Carolina Junior Faculty Development Award, \$3,000	
1985—1986	y ,	
1984	University of Virginia Summer Research Grant, \$3,000	
1983	University of Virginia Summer Research Grant, \$3,000	

## Education

1976—1982	Stanford University, Ph.D. in Political Science	
1978—1979	Freie Universität Berlin, DAAD Research Fellowship	
1975	Goethe-Institut Grundstufe and Mittelstufe, Murnau/Kochel, West Germany	
1973—1974	University of California, Santa Barbara, M.A. in Political Science	
1970—1973	University of Birmingham, England, B.Soc.Sc. with Honors in Economics and Political	
	Science	

# Areas of specialization

Comparative politics; European Union, subnational authority; international governmental organization; political parties; public opinion; measurement; political development of western societies; multilevel governance.

# Citations (4/16/2014)

	All	Since 2009
Citations	17183	8601
h-index	55	44
i10- index	82	66

## Work in Progress

"Community and Scale", co-authored book with Liesbet Hooghe, in progress.

"Scale and Community: The Design of Subnational Government," co-authored ms. with Liesbet Hooghe, Arjan H. Schakel, Sandra Chapman, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sarah Shair-Rosenfield. In progress.

"Scale and Community: The Design of International Organization," co-authored ms. with Liesbet Hooghe, Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, Besir Ceka, Svet Derderyan. In progress.

"Regional Authority in Latin America from 1950-2010," article with Sandra Chapman, Sara Niedzwiecki, and Liesbet Hooghe, *in progress*.

"Discovering Cooperation: A Contractual Approach to Institutional Change in Regional International Organizations," with Tobias Lenz, Besir Ceka, and Brian Burgoon, *submitted*.

## Ongoing Data Projects

- 2010 Chapel Hill Expert Survey in 27 EU member states, two non-EU members and seven candidatemember states," with Ryan Bakker, Catherine De Vries, Erica Edwards, Seth Jolly, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, and Liesbet Hooghe.
- "Coding regional authority in Latin-American countries (1950-2010)," with Sandra Chapman, Sara Niedzwiecki, and Liesbet Hooghe.
- "Coding regional authority in Southeast Asian countries (1950-2010)," with Sarah Shair-Rosenfield and Liesbet Hooghe.
- Update of the OECD+ data on regional authority (1950-2010)," with Hanna Kleider and Arjan H. Schakel.
- "Coding the authority of international governmental organizations (1950-2010)," with Besir Ceka, Svet Derderyan, Jeanine Bezuijen, Benjamin Neudorfer, Catherine de Vries, and Liesbet Hooghe.

### **Books**

**2010**. *The Rise of Regional Authority: a comparative study of 42 democracies (1950-2006)*, with Liesbet Hooghe and Arjan H. Schakel (London: Routledge), 224pp.

Data: <a href="http://www.unc.edu/~marks">http://www.falw.vu/~mlg/index.html</a>

**2004.** European Integration and Political Conflict: Citizens, Parties, Groups, co-edited with Marco Steenbergen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 280 pp.

Romanian language edition published by S.C. Tipografia Moldova S.R.L., 2008.

**2001**. *Multi-level Governance and European Integration*, with Liesbet Hooghe (Rowman & Littlefield: Boulder, Colorado), 256 pp.

**2000**. *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States?* with Seymour Martin Lipset (New York: Norton), 379 pp.

**1999**. *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, co-edited with Herbert Kitschelt, Peter Lange, and John Stephens (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), 527 pp.

**1996.** *Governance in the European Union*, with Fritz Scharpf, Philippe Schmitter, and Wolfgang Streeck, (London: Sage Press), 182 pp.

**1992**. *Reexamining Democracy: Essays in Honor of Seymour Martin Lipset*, co-edited with Larry Diamond (Beverly Hills: Sage), 365 pp.

**1992**. *The Crisis of Socialism in Europe*, co-edited with Christiane Lemke (Durham: Duke University Press), 255 pp.

**1989.** Unions in Politics: Britain, Germany, and the United States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 277 pp.

### Special Issues

**2012**. Co-editor with Catherine de Vries of a special issue on "The Dimensionality of Political Space," *European Union Politics*, 13, 2:185-193.

**2008**. Co-editor with Liesbet Hooghe and Arjan Schakel of double special issue, "Regional Authority in 42 Democracies, 1950–2006: A Measure and Five Hypotheses," *Regional and Federal Studies*, 19, 2-3: 111-304.

**2007.** Editor of special issue, "Estimating Error in Measures of Party Positioning. Expert, Manifesto and Survey Data Compared," *Electoral Studies* 26, 1:1-141.

**2007**. Co-editor with Liesbet Hooghe of double special issue on "Understanding Euroscepticism", *Acta Politica*, 42, 2: 119–354.

### Refereed Articles

**Forthcoming.** "Delegation and Pooling in International Organizations," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Review of International Organizations*.

**Forthcoming.** 'Patterns of International Authority: Task-Specific vs. General-Purpose Organizations,' with Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, and Liesbet Hooghe, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*.

**2014.** "A Comparative Measure of Decentralization for Southeast Asia," with Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, and Liesbet Hooghe, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 14, 1: 85-108.

Dataset: http://www.falw.vu/~mlg/index.html

**2013.** "Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2010," with Ryan Bakker, Catherine de Vries, Erica Edwards, Seth Jolly, Liesbet Hooghe, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, *Party Politics* (online: DOI: 10.1177/1354068812462931).

Dataset: http://www.chesdata.eu

**2013**. "Beyond Federalism: Estimating and Explaining the Territorial Structure of Government," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Publius*, 43, 2:179-204.

**2012**. "To Dichotomize or Not Dichotomize: A Reply to Proksch and Lo," with Marco Steenbergen and Liesbet Hooghe, *European Union Politics*, 13 (2): 334-339.

- **2012**. "The Struggle over Dimensionality: A Note on Theory and Empirics," with Catherine de Vries, *European Union Politics*, 13 (2): 185-193.
- **2012**. "Scale, Community and 'Eurafrica': A Response to Hansen and Jonsson," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50 (6): 1042–1044.
- **2012**. "JCMS Annual Lecture: Europe and its Empires: From Rome to the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50 (1): 1-20.
- **2010**. "Goldstein's Repression: Crude Conceptualization, Biased Evidence, Weak Explanation," *Labor History*, 51: 305–310.
- **2010.** "Measurement Validity and Party Positioning: Chapel Hill expert surveys of 2002 and 2006," with Liesbet Hooghe, Ryan Bakker, Anna Brigevich, Catherine de Vries, Erica Edwards, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, *European Journal of Political Research*, 42 (4): 684-703.
- **2009.** "Does Efficiency Shape the Territorial Structure of Government?" with Liesbet Hooghe, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12: 225-241.
- **2009**. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus," with Liesbet Hooghe, *British Journal of Political Science*, 39: 1-23 [with responses by Philippe Schmitter, Hanspeter Kriese, Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse].
- **2009**. "Radicalism or Reformism: Socialist Parties before World War I," with Heather Mbaye and Hyungmin Kim, *American Sociological Review*, 74: 615-635.
- **2008.** "Measuring Regional Authority," with Liesbet Hooghe and Arjan Schakel, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18, 2-3: 111-120.
- **2008.** "Operationalizing Regional Authority: A Coding Scheme for 42 Countries, 1950–2006," with Liesbet Hooghe and Arjan Schakel, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18, 2-3: 121-140.
- **2008.** "Patterns of Regional Authority" with Liesbet Hooghe and Arjan Schakel, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18, 2-3: 165-180.
- **2008.** "European Union?" with Liesbet Hooghe, 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary issue of West European Politics, 31, 1–2: 108 129.
- **2007**. "The Sources of Euroscepticism: Introduction," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Acta Politica*, 42, 2: 119-127.
- **2007.** "Does Occupation Shape Attitudes on Europe: Benchmarking Validity and Parsimony," with Liesbet Hooghe and JingJing Huo, *Acta Politica*, 42, 2: 329-351.
- **2007**. "Triangulation and the Square Root Law." *Electoral Studies*, 26, 1: 1-10.
- **2007**. "Cross-Validating Data on Party Positioning on European Integration," with Liesbet Hooghe, Marco Steenbergen, and Ryan Bakker, *Electoral Studies*, 26, 1: 23-38.
- **2007**. "Do expert surveys produce consistent estimates of party stances on European integration? Comparing expert surveys in the difficult case of Central and Eastern Europe." with Liesbet Hooghe et.al., *Electoral Studies*, 26, 1: 23-38.
- **2007.** "Evaluating Expert Judgments", with Marco Steenbergen, *European Journal of Political Research*, 46, 3: 347–366.
- 2006. "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality"

with Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson and Erica Edwards, Comparative Political Studies, 39, 2: 155-75.

Reprinted as "Party Ideology and European Integration: An East-West Comparison," with Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson, and Erica Edwards, in Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield, eds., *Public Opinion*, *Party Competition and European Union Integration in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* (Palgrave, New York, 2006).

- **2006.** "Europe's Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching After the Rejection of a European Constitution", with Liesbet Hooghe, *PS: Politics and Political Science*, 39, 2: 247-250.
- **2005**. "Calculation, Community, and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration," with Liesbet Hooghe, *European Union Politics*, 6, 4: 421-45.
- **2004.** "Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?" with Liesbet Hooghe. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 37, 3: 415-420.
- **2003.** "Unraveling the Central State. But How? Types of Multi-level Governance," with Liesbet Hooghe, *American Political Science Review*, 97, 2: 233-243.

Reprinted in Henrik Enderlein, Sinja Wälti, and Michael Zürn, eds., *Handbook on Multilevel Governance* (Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2008).

- **2002**. "Dimensions of Contestation in the European Union," special issue co-edited with Marco Steenbergen, *Comparative Political Studies*, 35: 8: 879-989, .
- **2002**. "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union," with Marco Steenbergen, *Comparative Political Studies*, 35, 8: 879-892,
- **2002**. "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" With Liesbet Hooghe and Carole J. Wilson, *Comparative Political Studies*, 35: 8 (October), 965-989.
- **2002**. "What Do Subnational Offices Think They Are Doing in Brussels?" With Richard Haesly and Heather Mbaye, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 12, 3: 1-23.
- **2002**. "National Political Parties and European Integration," with Carole Wilson and Leonard Ray, *American Journal of Political Science*, 46, 3: 585-594.
- **2000**. "Optimality and Authority: A Critique of Neoclassical Theory," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, 5: 795-816.
- **2000.** "The Past in the Present: A Theory of Party Response to European Integration," with Carole Wilson, *British Journal of Political Science*, 30, 3: 433-459.
- **1996.** "An Actor-Centered Approach to Multi-Level Governance," *Regional and Federal Studies*, 6, 2: 20-40.
- **1996.** "European Integration and the State: Multi-level vs. State Centric Governance," with Liesbet Hooghe and Kermit Blank, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34, 3: 341-378.

Translated in Spanish as "Gobernanza Estatocéntrica y Gobernanza Multinivel," in *Gobernanza Multinivel en la Unión Europea*, edited by Francesc Morata (València: Tirant lo Blach, 2004).

Reprinted as "European Integration since the 1980s. State-Centric versus Multi-Level Governance," in *The New Political Economy of Globalisation*, Vol. II, edited by Richard Higgott and Anthony Payne, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), 150-187.

Reprinted in The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, edited by Brent

- Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998), 273-294. [2nd edition, 2000; 3rd edition in 2003.]
- Reprinted as "European Integration and the State: Multi-level vs. State Centric Governance," in Klaus Armingeon, ed., Der Nationalstaat am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts: Die Schweiz im Prozess der Globalisierung (Bern/Stuttgart: Haupt, 1996), 91-106.
- **1996.** "Europe With the Regions: Channels of Subnational Representation in the European Union," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Publius*, 26, 1: 73-92.
- **1996.** "Social Movements and the Changing Structure of Political Opportunity in the European Community," with Doug McAdam, *West European Politics*, 18, 2: 249-278.
- **1996.** "Competencies, Cracks, and Conflicts: Regional Mobilization in the European Union," with Francois Nielsen, Jane Salk, and Leonard Ray, *Comparative Political Studies*, 29, 2: 164-193.
- **1995**. "La Transformación de la Movilización Regional en la Unión Europea," ("The Transformation of Regional Mobilization in the European Union"), with Iván Llamazares, *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, 22, 1: 149-170.
- **1992.** "Comparative Perspectives On Democracy: Essays in Honor of Seymour Martin Lipset", double issue of the *American Behavioral Scientist* 35: 3/4 (March/June), co-edited with Larry Diamond, 217 pp.
- **1992**. "Rational Bases of Chaos in Democratic Transition," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 35: 3/4 (March/June), 397-421.
- **1992**. "Seymour Martin Lipset and the Study of Democracy," with Larry Diamond, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 35, 3/4: 352-362.
- **1990**. "Immigrant Support for the American Socialist Party, 1912 and 1920," with Matthew Burbank, *Social Science History*, 14, 2: 175-202.
- **1989**. "Variations in Union Political Activity: Britain, Germany and the United States from the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Politics*, 20, 1: 84-104.
- **1987**. Review essay on British politics, *American Political Science Review*, 81: 1: 245-253.
- **1986.** "Neocorporatism and Incomes Policy in Western Europe and North America," *Comparative Politics*, 17, 3: 253-277.
- **1981.** "Mobilizing for Jesus: Evangelicals and the 1980 Election in the United States," with Jeanne J. Fleming, *The Tocqueville Review* 3 (Winter), 195-208.

## Published and Forthcoming Book Chapters

**Forthcoming**. European Union and Empire: Achieving Scale by Accommodating Diversity," in Stefanie Börner and Monika Eigmüller, eds., "European Integration, Processes of Change and the National Experience" (New York: Wiley).

**Forthcoming**. "Multilevel Governance and the State", with Arjan H. Schakel and Liesbet Hooghe, in *Oxford Handbook on the Transformation of the State*, edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, John Stephens (OUP).

**2012.** "Politicization," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Handbook on the European Union*, in Erik Jones, Stephen Weatherill, and Anand Menon, eds., (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 840-53.

- **2010.** "Types of Multilevel Governance," with Liesbet Hooghe, forthcoming in *Handbook on Multilevel Governance*, in Hendrik Enderlein, Sonja Wälti, and Michael Zürn, eds., (Cheltenham, Edward Elgar), 17-31.
- **2008.** "Die Entstehung eines politischen Gemeinwesens: Der Kampf um die europäische Integration" (translated from "Making of A Polity. The Struggle over European Integration)" with a new postscript Politisierung und nationale Identitäten *Eine Nachbetrachtung von Liesbet Hooghe und Gary Marks*, in *Die Politische Ökonomie der Europäischen Integration*, edited by Martin Höpner, Armin Schäfer (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag), 159-202.
- **2007.** "Multi-level Governance in Southern Europe: European Integration and Regional Mobilization," with Ivan Llamazares, in P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, Richard Gunther, and Gianfranco Pasquino, eds., *The Changing Functions of the State in the New Southern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press).
- **2006**. "The Neofunctionalists Were (Almost) Right: Politicization and European Integration," with Liesbet Hooghe, in Colin Crouch and Wolfgang Streeck, eds. *The Diversity of Democracy: Corporatism, Social Order and Political Conflict* (Cheltenham, Edward Elgar), 205-222.
- **2004.** "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" with Liesbet Hooghe and Carole Wilson, in *European Integration and Political Conflict: Citizens, Parties, Groups,* edited by Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp 120-140.
- **2004.** "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union," with Marco Steenbergen, in *European Integration and Political Conflict: Citizens, Parties, Groups,* edited by Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1-10.
- **2004.** "Conclusion: European Integration and Political Conflict," in *European Integration and Political Conflict: Citizens, Parties, Groups,* edited by Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 235-59.
- **2004.** "Regional integration and Left Parties in Europe and North America" with Ian Down, in *Restructuring Territoriality: Europe and the United States Compared*, edited by Christopher K. Ansell and Giuseppe Di Palma, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- **2004.** "Contrasting Visions of Multi-Level Governance?" with Liesbet Hooghe. *Multi-Level Governance*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 15-30.
- **1999.** "Territorial Identities in the European Union," in Jeffrey J. Anderson, ed., *Regional Integration and Democracy: Expanding on the European Experience* (Boulder, CO.: Rowman & Littlefield), 69-91.
- **1999.** "On the Relationship of Political Opportunities to the Form of Collective Action: The Case of the European Union," with Doug McAdam, in Donatella della Porta, Hanspieter Kriesi and Dieter Rucht, eds. *Social Movements in a Globalizing World* (New York: St. Martin's Press), 97-111.
- **1999**. "National Parties and the Contestation of Europe," with Carole Wilson, in Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell Smith, eds., *Legitimacy and the European Union* (London: Routledge), 113-133.
- **1999.** "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration," with Liesbet Hooghe, in Herbert Kitschelt, Peter Lange, Gary Marks and John Stephens, eds., *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 70-97.

Translated in German with a new postscript by the authors, in *Die Politische Ökonomie der Europäischen Integration*, edited by Martin Höpner, Armin Schäfer (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008).

Translated in Swedish as "Hur motsättningar skapar gemenskap," in *Europaperspektiv 1998. Årsbok för Europaforskning inom ekonomi, juridik och statskunskap*, edited by Ulf Bernitz, Sverker Gustavsson and Lars Oxelheim (Stockholm: Nerenius & Santérus, 1999).

Translated in Spanish as "Una politeya en formacion: pugnas sobre la integracion europea," in *Aspectos politicos y sociales de la integracion europea*, edited by Ivan Llamazares and Fernando Reinares, (Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, 1998).

**1999.** "Convergence and Divergence in Advanced Capitalist Societies," in Herbert Kitschelt, Peter Lange, Gary Marks and John Stephens eds., *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 427-460. Also co-authored "Introduction," 1-8.

Reprinted in David Coates, ed., *Models of Capitalism: Debating Strengths and Weaknesses* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2002).

- **1999**. "Gobernación de múltiples niveles, movilización regional e identidades subestatales en la Unión Europea," with Iván Llamazares, in Iván Llamazares and Fernando Reinares, eds., *Aspectos políticos y sociales de la integración europea* (Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch), 159-178.
- **1997.** "A Third Lens: Comparing European Integration and State Building," in Jytte Klausen and Louise A. Tilly, eds., *European Integration in Social and Historical Perspective: 1850 to the Present* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield), 23-50.

Reprinted in Neill Nugent, ed., Theories of European Integration (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1997).

- **1997.** "Contending Models of Governance in the European Union," with Liesbet Hooghe, in Alan Cafruny and Carl Lankowski, eds., *Europe's Ambiguous Unity: Conflict and Consensus in the Post-Maastricht Era* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner), 21-44.
- **1997**. "An Actor-Centred Approach to Multilevel Governance," in Charlie Jeffery, *The Regional Dimension of the European Union: Towards a Third Level in Europe?* (London: Frank Cass), 20-40.
- **1996.** "Territorial Restructuring in the European Union: Regional Pressures," with Liesbet Hooghe, in Sabino Cassese and Vincent Wright, eds., *La Restructuration de L'Etat dans les Pays d'Europe Occidentale* (Paris: Editions La Découverte, Collection "Recherches.")

published in English by Pinter, 207-226.

- **1996.** "Exploring and Explaining Variation in EU Cohesion Policy," in Liesbet Hooghe, ed., *European Integration and EU Cohesion Policy: Building Multilevel Governance*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 388-422.
- **1993.** "Structural Policy and Multilevel Governance in the EC," in Alan Cafruny and Glenda Rosenthal, eds., *The State of the European Community*, (New York: Lynne Rienner,), 391-410.
- **1992**. "Rational Bases of Chaos in Democratic Transition," in Gary Marks and Larry Diamond, eds., *Reexamining Democracy: Essays in Honor of Seymour Martin Lipset* (Beverly Hills: Sage), 47-69.
- **1992.** "Structural Policy in the European Community," in Alberta Sbragia, ed., *The Political Consequences of 1992 for the European Community*, (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution), 191-224.

Translated in German as "Politikmuster und Einflusslogik in der Structurpolitik," in Markus Jachtenfuchs and Beate Kohler-Koch, eds., *Europäische Integration* (Mannheim: Leske and Budrich, 1996), 313-345.

**1992.** "From Decline to Demise? The Fate of Socialism in Europe," with Christiane Lemke, in Christiane Lemke and Gary Marks, eds., *The Crisis of Socialism in Europe*, (Durham: Duke University Press), pp 1-

25.

**1985**. "The Revival of Laissez-Faire: the United States and Britain in Comparative Perspective," in James Ceaser and Richard Hodder Williams, eds., *Politics in Britain and the United States*, (Durham: Duke University Press), 28-54.

**1985**. "State/Economy Linkages in Advanced Industrialized Societies," in Norman Vig and Steven Schier, eds., *The Political Economy of Western Democracies*, (New York: Holmes and Meier), 46-69.

## **Published Monographs**

- **2012.** "Beyond Federalism: Estimating and Explaining the Territorial Structure of Government," with Liesbet Hooghe, KFG Working Paper No. 37, Freie Universität Berlin, 1-38.
- **2009**. "Rise of the Regions," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Cahiers of the Committee of the Regions*: Inaugural Edition.
- **2004.** "European integration and democratic competition," with Liesbet Hooghe. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, http://www.fes.de/europolity/SummaryHoogheMarks.htm, 1-13.
- **2003**. "National Identity and Support for European Integration," with Liesbet Hooghe, Wissenschaftszentrum Working Paper, http://www.wz-berlin.de/zkd/dsl/papers.de.htm, pp.1-43.
- **2003.** "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-Level Governance," with Liesbet Hooghe. Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, the Political Science Series 87, pp.1-23.
- **2002**. "Types of Multi-Level Governance," with Liesbet Hooghe, European Integration online Papers (EloP) Vol. 5 (2001) N° 11; http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2001-011a.htm. Also published in *Cahiers Européen de Sciences Po*, Vol. 3, 1-30.
- **2000.** "Party Positions On European Integration: New Politics vs. Left/Right," with Liesbet Hooghe and Carole Wilson, Universität Konstanz Working Paper, 1-35.
- **1997.** "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration," with Liesbet Hooghe, EUI Working Paper RSC No. 97/31, 1-37.
- **1997**. "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration," with Liesbet Hooghe, inaugural issue, *European Issues on Line* [http://eiop.or.at/eiop].
- **1996.** "Channels of Subnational Representation in the European Union," with Liesbet Hooghe, in Renaud Dehousse and Thomas Christiansen, eds., *What Model for the Committee of the Regions?* (Florence: European University Institute Working Papers) 6-33.
- **1996.** "European Integration and the State: Multi-level vs. State Centric Governance" with Liesbet Hooghe and Kermit Blank, *Papers in Political Economy, No. 68* (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario), 1-42.
- **1995**. "European Integration and the State," with Liesbet Hooghe and Kermit Blank (Florence: European University Institute Working Paper), 1-36.
- **1995.** "Channels of Subnational Representation in the European Union," with Liesbet Hooghe, in Renaud Dehousse and Thomas Christiansen, eds., *What Model for the Committee of the Regions? Past Experiences and Future Perspectives* (Florence: European University Institute Working Paper, 1995), 6-25.

#### Published Short Articles and Book Reviews

**2008**. "The EU's Direct Democratic Surplus," EUSA Review, 21 Fall (4), 11-14.

2008. "Postscript on the Making of a Polity," with Liesbet Hooghe, EUSA Review, 21 Spring (2), 5-8.

**2007**. "Scholar of democracy driven to understand American society," *The Guardian*, January 12, 1129 words.

**2004.** "Don't Underestimate Nationalism," *European Politics and Society APSA Newsletter*, Winter, pp.8-11. Available from the web http://www.apsanet.org/~ep/newsletter.html

**2001**. "How FDR Saved Capitalism," with Seymour Martin Lipset, *Hoover Digest, No. 1*, 2400 words.

**2000**. "Social Democracy Lives On," with Seymour Martin Lipset, New Statesman, June 26, 25-27.

**1998**. "The European Union and the *n*=1 Issue," *European Community Studies Association Review*, Spring 1000 words.

**1998.** "Lipset and the Study of Democracy," with Larry Diamond, *Extensions*, Spring 1998, 2000 words.

**1997**. "Comparative Politics and International Relations: Suggestions for a Unitary Approach," *European Community Studies Association Review*, Summer, 800 words.

**1997-1999**. "From the Chair," five short articles, *European Community Studies Association Review*, Fall 1997-Summer 1999, 4000 words.

**1994.** "Industrial Class Relations," in Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*, Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Books, 2000 words.

**1994.** "Seymour Martin Lipset," in Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*, Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Books, 1000 words.

Book reviews published in the American Political Science Review; American Sociological Review; British Politics Newsletter; Contemporary Sociology; European Journal of Sociology; Labor History; Publius.

## Conferences Organized or Co-organized (2002—)

Workshop: "Multilevel Governance within the State," with Liesbet Hooghe, Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg-Delmenhorst, July 31-August 3, 2013.

Conference: "Theory Meets Data: The Design of International Institutions," April 26-27, 2013.

Workshop: "Regional Authority," with Liesbet Hooghe, VU Amsterdam, March 16-17 2012.

Workshop: "Multilevel Governance: Estimating Authority Below and Above the State," with Liesbet Hooghe, Free University Berlin, December 2010.

Transatlantic Ph.D. workshop on European politics: Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, May 2008.

Graduate Conference on "Multi-Level Governance: Combining Theory and Method in EU Research," with Ron Holzhacker and Liesbet Hooghe, VU Amsterdam, May 2006.

Conference on "Parties, Identity, and Multilevel Governance," with Liesbet Hooghe, Chapel Hill, April 2006.

Conference on "Causes and Consequences of Euroskepticism," with Liesbet Hooghe, Amsterdam, VUA, July 2005.

Workshop, "Comparing Data Sets on the Positioning of National Political Parties," with Liesbet Hooghe and Hans Keman, Free University, Amsterdam, October 2004.

Workshop on "Party System Change and European Integration," Center for European Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, April 23-24, 2004.

Faculty Coordinator, "U.S. and Them: How the World Sees the United States," Program in the Humanities and Human Values UNC-Chapel Hill July 2002.

Conference on "Federalism and Multi-Level Governance," with Tanja Börzel, Liesbet Hooghe, and Thomas Risse UNC-Chapel Hill, March 2002.

Graduate Student Workshops for Ph.D. students researching the European Union, with Liesbet Hooghe and Mark Pollack, UNC-Chapel Hill, May 2000; European University Institute, Florence, April 2002.

## Conference Papers and Presentations (2009—)

"Democracy and Subnational Government," Conference on Legitimacy Problems in Established Democracies, Amsterdam, 26-28 September, 2013.

"Patterns of Regional Authority," Conference of Europeanists, Amsterdam, June 25-27, 2013.

"Discovering Cooperation: A Constructivist Theory of Regional Organization," with Tobias Lenz and Besir Ceka, paper presented at the Workshop "Theory Meets Data," Chapel Hill, April 26-27 2013.

"Discovering Cooperation: A Constructivist Theory of Regional Organization," with Tobias Lenz and Besir Ceka, paper presented at ISA, San Francisco, April 2-6 2013.

Lecture, "What is the European Union," Worldview Conference on Europe in Crisis?, Friday Center, UNC, March 21, 2013.

Chair and roundtable, "The Green Challenge: Constructing Participatory Democracy for Post-Industrial SocietyCreating Participatory Democracy," at conference on "Green Politics in Germany since 1983," UNC-Chapel Hill, February 2013.

"Explaining Multilevel Governance," at Conference on "Coping with power dispersion? Autonomy, coordination and control in multi-level systems," University of Copenhagen, December, 2012

"The Authority of International Organizations," Council of Europeanists, Boston, March 22-24 2012.

"Intergovernmental and supranational authority of IOs," International Database Workshop, organized by the WZB, Berlin, February 24-25 2012.

"Supranationalism in Regional Regimes," Conference on Regional Organizations as Global Players: Active = Influential? Kollegforschungsgruppe 'Transformative Power of Europe', Berlin, October 2011.

"Multilevel Governance and the State", Conference on the "Transformation of the State", HWK, Delmenhorst, Nov 2011.

"Assessing Left/Right and Europe after the Crisis," Poros Conference on the Euro-crisis, Poros, Greece, July 4-8, 2011.

"The Evolution of Sid Tarrow: Becoming a Transnational Scholar," prepared for Sid Tarrow's fest, June 2011.

"Beyond Federalism," paper presented at "The EU toward a federation?" Charles University, Prague, May 5-6, 2011.

"Multi-level Governance and its consequences: normative and theoretical perspectives," roundtable participant, biannial meeting of the European Union Studies Association, Boston, March 2011.

Chair, "Diffusion of Regional Integration: Competing Explanations," Conference on "Diffusion of Regional Integration," Research College, The Transformative Power of Europe, Freie Universität Berlin, December 2010.

"From Federalism To Multilevel Governance: Estimating And Explaining The Territorial Structure Of Government," APSA meeting, September 2010; discussant Festschrift panel for Professor Suzanne Berger.

"Conceiving and Estimating Issue Dimensionality," workshop on "Political Competition, Parties and Elections", Center for European Studies, University of North Carolina, April 2010.

"Author Meets Critics: *The Rise of Regional Authority: a comparative study of 42 democracies (1950-2006)* and "Author Meets Critics: Euro-Clash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe," Conference of Europeanists, Montreal, April 2010.

"Does Efficiency Shape the Territorial Structure of Government," and "Why the EU is the World's Most Important Experiment," EUSA conference, April 2009.

### Invited Talks (2009—)

"The EU in Comparative Perspective," London School of Economics, March 2014.

"Discovering Regional Cooperation," Goettingen, February 2014.

"Multilevel Governance in Europe and Beyond," Freie Universitaet Berlin, January, 2014.

"Europe in Crisis?" VUA-UVA ACCESS inaugural event "Europe in crisis – resilient Europe," Amsterdam, January, 2014.

"Discovering Regional Cooperation KFG-Berlin," October, 2013.

'The Authority of International Organizations,' Salamanca University, June 2012; VU University Amsterdam, June 2012, New York University, March 2012; Nuffield College, Oxford University, March 2012.

'Supranationalism in Regional Regimes,' University of Munich, December 14, 2011.

'Community and Scale: A Research Programme," informal jour fixe at the Kollegforschungsgruppe 'Transformative Power of Europe', December 5, 2011.

*Humboldtpreis Lecture* "Europe and its Empires: From Rome to the European Union," Freie Universitaet Berlin, October 19, 2011.

"Community and Scale in the International Arena," lecture at the EHTZ, Zurich University, October 13, 2011.

"Europe and its Empires," talk given at the Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, September 16, 2011.

Opening Speech: "Europe and its Empires: From Rome to the European Union," conference on "The EU toward a federation?" organized at Charles University, Prague, May 5, 2011.

Journal of Common Market Studies Biannial lecture, "Europe and its Empires: From Rome to the European Union," European Union Studies Association meeting, Boston, March 3 2011.

Keynote: "Europe and its Empires: From Rome to the European Union," ECSA Young European Integration Researchers Interdisciplinary Conference, Berlin, February 2011.

"From Federalism To Multilevel Governance: Estimating And Explaining The Territorial Structure Of Government," Freie Universität Berlin, November 2010; Hertie School Berlin, December 2010.

Roundtable participant, "European identity, public discourse, and European politics," Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, November 2010.

"From Federalism To Multilevel Governance: Estimating And Explaining The Territorial Structure Of Government," European Studies Centre, University of Hannover, November 16, 2010.

"The Causes and Consequences of Multilevel Governance," Worldview, UNC-Chapel Hill, May 2010.

### Professional Service (2002—)

Series Editor, Oxford University Press, "Transformations in Governance," 2013—

Team Leader, European Politics and Society, Amsterdam Center for Contemporary European Studies, 2013—

External Review for University Chair, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität— München, 2012.

European Research Grant review, 2011.

Chair Harrison Prize committee for best article published in 2008 in *Political Studies*.

External Review: Department of Public Administration, Leiden University, the Netherlands, 2008;

Series Editor, Rowman & Littlefield, "Governance in Europe," 1997—2007;

External Review; Center for West European Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, 2005

Member, Scientific Advisory Board of the Mannheim Center for Social Research (MZES), University of Mannheim, 2005—2009;

Member, Scientific Advisory Board of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria, 2004—2007;

Member, "International A" Peer Review Panel, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2004;

Chair, Mattei Dogan Award selection committee for the best book published in the field of comparative research, 2004;

Chair, Selection Committee for Research Support Program of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2003; 2004;

Chair, Best Article in Comparative Politics Award, Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, 2003;

Member, Selection Committee for the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies Fellowships, 2002; 2003;

#### Tenure/Promotion reviews

University of Amsterdam; University of Birmingham, England; Brandeis University; Brown University (thrice); University of California at Berkeley; University of California at San Diego; Cornell University (thrice); University of Essex; Free University Amsterdam; Georgia State University; Hamilton College; Harvard University; University of Houston; Indiana University at Bloomington; London School of Economics; New York University; North Carolina State University; Oklahoma State University; Princeton University; Rutgers, State University of New Jersey; University of Rochester; University of Sheffield; Stanford University; Temple University; Wake Forest University; Washington University, St. Louis; University of Wisconsin at Madison; Yale University.

### Journal Boards and Refereeing

Series Editor: Oxford University Press book series on "Transformations in Governance" (2012—) (coeditors: Liesbet Hooghe and Walter Mattli)

Series Editor: Rowman & Littlefield, "Governance in Europe" (1997—2007).

Member of the Editorial Boards of *Acta Politica* (2003—); *American Behavioral Scientist* (1994—); *Comparative European Politics* (2003—); *Comparative Political Studies* (2004—); *European Union Politics* (1999—); *Journal of Common Market Studies* (1999—); *Journal of Regional and Federal Studies* (1994—); *Publius* (2008—); *Territory, Politics, Governance* (2013—).

### Manuscript articles reviewed (2000—):

Acta Politica; American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review, American Sociological Review, British Journal of Political Science; Cambridge Journal of Economics; Comparative Political Studies; Comparative Politics; Electoral Studies; European Integration Online Papers; European Journal of Political Research; European Union Politics; International Organization; Journal of Common Market Studies; Journal of European Integration; Journal of European of Public Policy; Journal of Politics; Journal of Public Policy; Industrial Labor and Relations Review; Journal of Theoretical Politics; International Studies Quarterly; Nationalism and Ethnic Politics; Party Politics; Political Power and Social Theory, Political Research Quarterly; Public Administration Review, Publius; Regional and Federal Studies; Regional Politics and Policy; Regional Studies; Social Forces; Southeastern Political Review, Territory, Politics, Governance; Urban Affairs Review; West European Politics; Western Political Quarterly; World Politics;

*Evaluator of Research Grant Applications*: European Research Council; Research Foundations/Councils for Belgium, Canada, European Union, Netherlands, United Kingdom, the United States; Leverhulme Trust.

#### Book manuscript referee:

Brookings Institution; Cambridge University Press; Cornell University Press; McGraw-Hill; University of Iowa Press; University of Michigan Press; University of Pittsburgh Press; New York University Press; Oxford University Press; Penn State Press; Princeton University Press; Rowman & Littlefield; Routledge; Sage Publications; Temple University Press; University of Toronto Press;

Westview Press.

## *University Service* (2002—)

Member, Department of Political Science Planning Committee, 2012.

Member, Undergraduate Studies Committee; Post-Tenure Committee; Trans-Atlantic Masters Advisory Committee;

Chair, Asia Search, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2008

Graduate Admissions Director, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2005-2007

Chair, Recruitment Committee for Sara and E.J. Evans Distinguished Professorship in the Politics of Israel and the Middle East, 2005--2006

Director, Center for European Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill, 1994—2006

Director, North Carolina EU Center, 1998—2006

Director, Transatlantic Masters Program, UNC-Chapel Hill 1998—2006

Member, Advisory Board, Center for International Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2001—2006

Member, Advisory Board for the Curriculum in International Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2001—2006

Chair, Recruitment Committee, post-Soviet Politics position, 2002--2003

Chair, Recruitment Committee, Eastern European Politics position, 2000--2001