

CURRICULUM VITAE

Gary Marks

August 2022

Email: marks@unc.edu

Homepage: garymarks.web.unc.edu

Born: London, England

Citizenship: United States/United Kingdom

Academic Appointments

- 2004— University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Burton Craige Distinguished Professor of Political Science;
- 2021—2025 Research Professor, Robert Schuman Center, European University Institute, Florence;
- 2016—2021 Recurring Robert Schuman Fellow, EUI, Florence
- 2004—2016 Chair in Multilevel Governance, VU University, Amsterdam;
- 1998—2006 Founding Director, 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.

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

Honors

- 2021 Award for the Best Paper presented at the European Union Studies Association, May 2019, for the paper “Grand Theories of European Integration in the 21st Century.”
- 2017 Daniel Elazar Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award from the Federalism and

Intergovernmental Relations section of the American Political Science Association
 2016 Stein Rokkan Memorial Lecture 2016, University of Bergen, Norway
 2010 Humboldt Forschungspreis (Humboldt Research Prize) for contribution to political science.

Fellowships/Awards

2020 Reynolds Senior Faculty Research and Scholarly Leave, UNC
 2019 Robert Schuman Fellowship, EUI, Florence, May 2019-July 2020.
 2018 Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre, EUI, May-July 2018
 2017 Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre, EUI, May-July 2017
 2016 Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre, EUI, May-July 2016
 2014 Visiting Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford University, Trinity Term
 2013–2014 Fellow at the Kolleg Forschergruppe, Free University Berlin (5 months)
 2011–2012 Fellow at the Kolleg Forschergruppe, Free University Berlin (5 months)
 2010–2011 Fellow at the Kolleg Forschergruppe, Free University of Berlin (10 months)
 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
 1993–1996 Louis D. Rubin Term Chair, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
 1991–1992 Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California
 1989 Fellow of the Institute of Arts and Humanities, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, Fall Semester
 1986–1987 National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
 1986 University of Virginia Sesquicentennial Associateship
 1975–1979 Stanford University Graduate Fellowship
 1977–1978 Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst Fellowship
 1975 Goethe-Institut Language Scholarship
 1973–1974 The University of Birmingham/University of California Exchange Scholarship

Grants

2021-2025 Advanced ERC Grant, “The Transnational Divide: Local Triggers, Social Networks, and Group Identities,” Senior Researcher, €2.498 million
 2015–2018 Horizon 2020 grant “EUENGAGE: Bridging the gap between public opinion and

	European leadership: Engaging a dialogue on the future path of Europe,” €381,059
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	Advanced ERC Grant, “Causes and Consequences of Multilevel Governance,” €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 Organisatie 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
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	Co-recipient, Social Science Research Council Grant for Research Consortium on

	the European Community, \$50,000
1988	University of North Carolina Junior Faculty Development Award, \$3,000
1985—1986	Institute for the Study of World Politics Research Grant, \$7,500
1984	University of Virginia Summer Research Grant, \$3,000
1983	University of Virginia Summer Research Grant, \$3,000

Areas of specialization

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

Citations (8/3/2021)

	All	Since 2016
<u>Citations</u>	47,943	18,072
<u>h-index</u>	77	52
<u>i10-index</u>	146	102

PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH

I. Work in Progress

2022. “Differentiation in the EU and Beyond,” with Liesbet Hooghe and Jonne Kamphorst. In preparation.

2022. “The Social Bases of the Transnational Cleavage: Sex, Education, and Occupation,” with Liesbet Hooghe. In preparation.

2022. “Division on the Christian Right in the US: Conservative pastors and the use of force,” with Liesbet Hooghe and Stephanie Shady. In preparation.

2022. “Restructuring European Party Systems through the Lens of Party Electorates,” with Ruth Dassonneville and Liesbet Hooghe. Submitted.

2022. “Circles of Solidarity: COVID impact on In- and Outgroup perceptions in Italy,” with Gabriele Magni, Jeremy Ferwerda, and Liesbet Hooghe. Comparative Political Studies, R&R.

2022. “Discovering Cooperation: A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change in International Organizations,” with Tobias Lenz, Besir Ceka, Liesbet Hooghe, and Alexander Burilkov. Review of International Organizations, R&R.

II. Data Projects

Chapel Hill expert survey on party positioning 1999-2020

Party positioning on European integration, ideology and policy issues for political parties across Europe for 1999, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2019. The survey team: Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova. See: Jolly et al. (2022) in *Electoral Studies*.

Flash Chapel Hill Expert Survey on EU position and immigration in 14 EU member states for 2017, available on the website

Data available at: <https://www.chesdata.eu/>

CHES-LA: Chapel Hill expert survey on party positioning 2020

Party positioning on ideology, policy issues, transnationalism for political parties across Latin America for 2019. The survey team: Ryan Bakker, Jonathan Hartlyn, Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo, Nico de la Cerda, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks. In preparation.

Regional Authority Index 1950—2018

Regional authority in 95 countries on an annual basis for ten dimensions estimating self-rule and shared rule. The survey team: Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Sandra Chapman-Osterkatz, Sara Niedzwiecki, Arjan H. Schakel, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield.

Updated and expanded the Regional Authority Index (including India and China) to 2020.

Data available at <http://garymarks.web.unc.edu/data/regional-authority/>

Measure of International Authority 1950—2020

International authority of 76 international organizations estimating delegation and pooling on an annual basis. The survey team: Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Tobias Lenz, Besir Ceka, Svet Derderyan, and Jeanine Bezuijen.

Ongoing: Updating and expanding the MIA index on the authority of international governmental organizations to 2020, with the survey team: Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Tobias Lenz, and Yoram Haftel.

Data available at <http://garymarks.web.unc.edu/data/international-authority/>

III. Books

2019. *A Theory of International Organization*, with Liesbet Hooghe and Tobias Lenz. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 196pp.

2017. *Measuring International Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory, Vol. III*, with Liesbet Hooghe, Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, Besir Ceka, Svet Derderyan. Oxford: Oxford University

Press. 888pp.

2016. *Community, Scale, and Regional Governance: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance, Volume II*, with Liesbet Hooghe. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 200pp. Voted "Book of the Summer" at *MLGwatch*.

2016. *Measuring Regional Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance. Volume I*, with Liesbet Hooghe, Arjan H. Schakel, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandi Chapman-Osterkatz Osterkatz, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 708pp.

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

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.

IV. Special Journal Issues

2019. "Re-engaging grand theories of European integration," with Liesbet Hooghe. *Journal of European Public Policy*.

2018. "Symposium: Scale, Community and Regional Governance," with commentaries by Kent Eaton, J.P. Faguet, and Imke Harbers, and a response by Arjan Schakel, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandra Chapman, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield. *Territory, Politics, and Governance*, [<https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2018.1445021>].

2018. Co-editor (with Liesbet Hooghe and Brigid Laffan) of special issue “Theory Meets Crisis.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25 (1): 1-135. [First online: April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310282>].

2017. Co-editor with Liesbet Hooghe and Brigid Laffan of a special issue “Theory Meets Crisis.” *Journal of European Public Policy*. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310282>>

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.

V. Refereed Articles

2022. “Differentiation in the European Union and Beyond,” with Gary Marks. *European Union Politics*, 24(1).

2022. “Revisiting Party System Structuration in Latin America and Europe: Economic and Socio-Cultural Dimensions,” with Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo, Nico de la Cerda, Jonathan Hartlyn, Ryan Bakker, and Liesbet Hooghe. *Party Politics*. || [DOI: 10.1177/13540688221090604](https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221090604) (June 2022)

2022. “The social bases of political parties: A new measure and survey,” with Liesbet Hooghe, David Attewell, Jan Rovny, and Marco Steenbergen. *British Journal of Political Science*. online first, Feb 2022) || <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123421000740> || [Replication data](#)

2022. [Contesting Covid: The Ideological Bases of Partisan Responses to the Covid-19 Pandemic](#), with Jan Rovny, Ryan Bakker, Seth Jolly, Liesbet Hooghe, Jonathan Polk, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Anna Vachudova, *European Journal of Political Research* || <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12510> (online first, Jan 2022)

2022. [Chapel Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2019](#), with Seth Jolly, Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Anna Vachudova, *Electoral Studies*, 75 (online first, November 2021) || DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2021.102420>

2021. [The Territorial Architecture of Government](#), with Michaël Tatham and Liesbet Hooghe, *Governance*, 34(3): 607-620 (online first April 2021) || [DOI: 10.1111/gove.12603](https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12603)

2021. “Language Difference and Regional Authority,” with Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Arjan H. Schakel, Sara Niedzwiecki, Liesbet Hooghe, Sandra Chapman Osterkatz. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 31(1): 73-97 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2020.1831476> [published online Oct 14, 2020]

2020. “A postfunctionalist theory of multilevel governance,” with Liesbet Hooghe. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* for a “Breakthrough Symposium” on Multilevel Governance, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148120935303> [published online August 20, 2020]. 22(4): 820-826.

2020. “Is Liberal Intergovernmentalism Regressive? A Response to Moravcsik (2018),” with Liesbet Hooghe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1582684> (online Feb 2019). + Supplementary appendix available at marks.web.unc.edu.

2019. “Grand Theories on European integration in the 21st Century,” with Liesbet Hooghe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1569711> (online Jan 2019).

Award for the Best Paper presented at the European Union Studies Association, May 2019.”

2018. “Contested World Order: The Delegitimation of International Governance,” with Liesbet Hooghe and Tobias Lenz. *Review of International Organizations*, forthcoming, [\[https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-018-9334-3.\]](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-018-9334-3)

2018. “The RAI Travels to Latin America: Measuring Regional Authority under Regime Change,” with Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandra Chapman, and Liesbet Hooghe. *Regional and Federal Studies*, online August [DOI: 10.1080/13597566.2018.1509831].

2018. “Virtues and Pitfalls of Subnational Comparison,” with Arjan H. Schakel, Liesbet Hooghe, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandra Chapman Osterkatz, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield. In: “Symposium: Scale, Community and Regional Governance,” edited by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. *Territory, Politics, and Governance*, [<https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2018.1445021>].

2018. “Cleavage Theory and Europe’s Crises: Lipset, Rokkan and the Transnational Cleavage,” with Liesbet Hooghe, *Journal of European Public Policy*. 25(1): 109-135. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310279>

2018. “Introduction to a Special Issue ‘Theory Meets Crisis’” with Liesbet Hooghe and Brigid Laffan, *Journal of European Public Policy*. 25(1): 109-135. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310282>

2017. “Explaining the salience of anti-elitism and reducing political corruption for political parties in Europe with the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey data,” with Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Ryan Bakker, Jelle Koedam, Seth Jolly, Liesbet Hooghe, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, *Research & Politics*, January-March 2017: 1–9. Dataset: <http://www.chesdata.eu>.

2015. Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2010, with Ryan Bakker, Erica Edwards, Seth Jolly, Liesbet Hooghe, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco

Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, *Party Politics* Vol. 21 (1): 143-153. Dataset:
<http://www.chesdata.eu>.

2014. "Patterns of International Authority: Task-Specific vs. General-Purpose Organizations," with Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, and Liesbet Hooghe. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*. 49/2014: 107-132.

2014. 'Delegation and Pooling in International Organizations, with Liesbet Hooghe. *Review of International Organizations*. Online DOI 10.1007/s11558-014-9194-4 [June 2014]. 10(3): 305-28. Dataset: <http://www.falw.vu/~mlg/index.html>

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. "Beyond Federalism: Estimating and Explaining the Territorial Structure of Government," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Publius*, 43(2):179-204. Dataset: http://www.unc.edu/~qwmmarks/research_papers.php

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.

Reprinted in Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, *The European Union: Reading on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 4th Edition (Lynn Rienner: Boulder, Co.: 2014).

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 Brigevid, 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): 1-23 [with responses by Philippe Schmitter, Hanspeter Kriesche, Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse].

Reprinted in Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, *The European Union: Reading on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 4th Edition (Lynn Rienner: Boulder, Co.: 2014).

2009. "Radicalism or Reformism: Socialist Parties before World War I," with Heather Mbaye and Hyung-min 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.

Reprinted in Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham: Elgar).

2008. "European Union?" with Liesbet Hooghe, 30th 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).

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham, Elgar: 2015).

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): 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.

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham, Elgar: 2015).

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), 91-106.2015.

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham, Elgar: 2015).

1996. "Europe With the Regions: Channels of Regional Representation in the European Union," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Publius*, 26(1): 73-92.

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham: Elgar).

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), co-edited with Larry Diamond, 217 pp.

1992. "Rational Bases of Chaos in Democratic Transition," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 35(3/4):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, *Tocqueville Review* 3 (Winter), 195-208.

VI. Book Chapters and Non-Refereed Articles

2022. "The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage: Sex, Education, and Occupation," with Gary Marks. RSC Working Paper 2022/57.

2022. "Chapter 11: Multilevel governance," with Gary Marks and Arjan H. Schakel. In: *Comparative Politics*, edited by Daniele Caramani. Oxford: OUP, 193-210 (revised for 2022 edition).

2021. "Multilevel Governance and the Coordination Dilemma," with Liesbet Hooghe. In Arthur Benz, Jorg Broschek, and Markus Lederer, eds. *A Research Agenda for Multilevel Governance*, Edgar Elgar, 19-37.

2021. "Cleavage theory," with Liesbet Hooghe, David Attewell, Jan Rovny. In: *Handbook on EU Crisis*, edited by Marianne Riddervold, Jarle Trondal and Akasemi Newsome. Palgrave, 173-198 (online first in December 2020).

2021. "Beyond Lemke & Marks' 'The Crisis of Socialism'" "The Rise of New Cleavage," with Liesbet Hooghe. In *Transatlantic Relations in Times of Change – A Festschrift for Christiane Lemke*, edited by Jutta Joachim, Andrea Schneiker, and Natalia Dalmer. Nomos Verlag, 40-59.

2020. "The changing political landscape in Europe," with Liesbet Hooghe, David Attewell, Jan Rovny. *The EU Through Multiple Crises*, edited by Maurizio Cotta and Pierangelo Isernia. London: Routledge, 20-44.

2020. "Multilevel governance," with Liesbet Hooghe and Arjan H. Schakel. In: *Comparative Politics*, edited by Daniele Caramani. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 193-210.

2019. "What the rise of radical nationalism tells us about the debate between postfunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism," with Liesbet Hooghe. LSE blog, Feb 26, 2019. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2019/02/26/what-the-rise-of-radical-nationalism-tells-us-about-the-debate-between-postfunctionalism-and-liberal-intergovernmentalism/>

2018. "Re-engaging Grand Theory: European Integration in the 21st Century," with Liesbet Hooghe, EUI Working Papers, RSCAS 2018/43, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI.

2016. "Regional Institutional Design: Pooling and Delegation," with Tobias Lenz. *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, edited by Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 518-538.

2016. "Freedom from the Outside World," in Rectors' Conference: Legacy Of Charles IV: "Education and Academic Freedoms, Innovation and Open Society," Charles University.

2015. "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), 266-282.

- 2014.** "European Union and Empire: Achieving Scale by Accomodating Diversity," in Stefanie Börner and Monika Eigmüller, eds., *European Integration, Processes of Change and the National Experience* (New York: Wiley).
- 2014.** "Multi-Level Governance in the European Union," in Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds. *The European Union: Reading on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 4th Edition (Lynn Rienner: Boulder, Co.).
- 2014.** "Discovering Cooperation: A Contractual Approach to Institutional Change in Regional International Organizations," with Tobias Lenz, Besir Ceka and Brian Burgoon, EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2014/65, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Global Governance Programme.
- 2014.** "Patterns of International Organization: Task Specific vs. General Purpose," with Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, and Liesbet Hooghe, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) Working Paper Series, No. 2014/128, Florence: European University Institute.
- 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.
- 2012.** "Beyond Federalism: Estimating and Explaining the Territorial Structure of Government," with Liesbet Hooghe, KFG Working Paper No. 37, Freie Universität Berlin, 1-38.
- 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.
- 2009.** "Rise of the Regions," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Cahiers of the Committee of the Regions*: Inaugural Edition.
- 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.

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham, Elgar: 2015).

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 (EIoP)* 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.

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 formación: pugnas sobre la integración europea," in *Aspectos políticos y sociales de la integración 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.

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. "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 Publisher: London, 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.

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.

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.

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham, Elgar: 2015).

Translated in German as "Politikmuster und Einflusslogik in der Strukturpolitik," 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.

VII. Published Short Articles and Book Reviews

2020. "Who opposes the EU? Continuity and change in party Euroscepticism between 2014 and 2019." LSE blog, June 1, 2020 (<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2020/06/01/who-opposes-the-eu-continuity-and-change-in-party-euroscepticism-between-2014-and-2019/>).

2019. "What the rise of radical nationalism tells us about the debate between postfunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism" LSE blog, February 26, 2019 (<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2019/02/26/what-the-rise-of-radical-nationalism-tells-us-about-the-debate-between-postfunctionalism-and-liberal-intergovernmentalism/>).

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.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Video Lectures

Video series: “Keys to European Politics” on European integration, multilevel governance, and the transnational cleavage. Thirteen videos: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLctYqE-cUDs4soOidLV4psrCT65ZEi5I3>

Conferences Organized or Co-organized (since 2002)

2022. “PhD. Workshop: The comparative politics of Europe,” EUI, June 27-28.

2021. “Theories of the Contemporary Divide in Western Societies,” Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI, December 15-17.

2019. “The Effects of Multilevel Governance,” Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI, May 23-34.

2019. “Partisan Divides in Europe and America,” with graduate students of Poli 830, UNC, May 3-4.

2018. Book workshop, “Community, Scale, and the Design of International Organization,” Free University Berlin, Berlin, June 7.

2018. “Re-Engaging Grand Theories,” European University Institute, May 31-June 1.

2017. “Updating the Regional Authority Index,” UNC Chapel Hill, November 17-18.

2017. “CHES Workshop – to the 2017 survey,” European University Institute, May 20.

2017. Conference “Rejected Europe, Beloved Europe, Cleavage Europe?,” European University Institute, May 18-19.

2016. Conference “Theory Meets Crisis,” Robert Schuman Centre, EUI, June 30-July 1.

2016. Ph.D. Workshop on “Multilevel Governance, Decentralization, and Regionalism,” VU Amsterdam, June 8-9.

2014. Workshop: “Causes of Multilevel Governance,” Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, Nov 11-13.

2014. Workshop: “2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey,” VU Amsterdam, October. Workshop: “Scale and Community: The Design of International Organization,” Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, July 6-8.

2013. Workshop: "Multilevel Governance within the State," Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg-Delmenhorst, July 31-August 3.
2013. Conference: "Theory Meets Data: The Design of International Institutions," April 26-27.
2012. Workshop: "Regional Authority," VU Amsterdam, March 16-17.
2010. Workshop: "Multilevel Governance: Estimating Authority Below and Above the State," Free University Berlin, December.
2008. Transatlantic Ph.D. workshop on European politics: Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, May.
2006. Graduate Conference on "Multi-Level Governance: Combining Theory and Method in EU Research," VU Amsterdam, May.
2006. Conference on "Parties, Identity, and Multilevel Governance," Chapel Hill, April.
2005. Conference on "Causes and Consequences of Euroskepticism," Amsterdam, VUA, July.
2004. Workshop, "Comparing Data Sets on the Positioning of National Political Parties," 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.
2002. 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," UNC-Chapel Hill, March.
2002. Graduate Student Workshop for Ph.D. students researching the European Union, European University Institute, Florence, April.

Conference Papers and Presentations (since 2010)

2022. "Field of education and the transnational cleavage," with Liesbet Hooghe, *Conference on Cleavage Formation in the 21st Century*, U of Zurich, July 18-19.
2022. "Division on the Christian Right in the US: Conservative pastors and the use of force," with Liesbet Hooghe and Stephanie Shady, *Lessons of Post-Functionalism*, EUI, June 9-10.
2021. "The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage: Sex, Education and Occupation," with Liesbet Hooghe, zoom conference, *Theories of the Contemporary Divide in Western Societies*, EUI, Dec 15-17.
2021. Book workshop, Ashley Anderson, zoom conference, July 2021.
2021. "Multilevel Governance and the Coordination Dilemma," with Liesbet Hooghe, paper

- presented at a conference A Research Agenda for Multilevel Governance, Feb 18-19.
2021. "International Authority, Democracies, and Exit from International Organizations." Discussant, Conference on the Political Economy of International Organization, February 8.
2020. "A Theory of International Organization," presented at a workshop on Decline and Death of International Organizations, University of Maastricht, Brussels office, January 9-10.
2019. "The Future of the European Union?" presented at Vices conference: The European Union Under Stress, VU Amsterdam, October 31-Nov 11.
2019. "A cleavage theory of partisanship," Conference at the Berlin Social Science Center, July 4-5.
2019. "Multilevel Governance and Its Effects," with Liesbet Hooghe, at a conference on the Effects of Multilevel Governance, May 23-24, EUI, Florence.
2019. "Grand Theories of European Integration in the 21st Century," and "The Structure of Political Conflict," Presented at the European Union Studies Association, Denver, May 9-11.
2019. "The Structure of Political Conflict," Presented at a conference on "Partisan Divides," UNC-Chapel Hill, May 3-4.
2018. Paper giver "The social bases of the transnational cleavage," at the conference on "Europe at the Crossroads," University of Lisbon, Portugal, October 15 2018.
2018. Discussant at a conference on "Regions in a Multipolar World," Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, September 27-28, 2018.
2018. Discussant at a panel "Electoral politics in multilevel systems," APSA, Boston, Aug 30-Sept 2.
2018. Discussant for the panel "One or Many: Towards a Theory of Regionalism," at the closing conference of the KollegForschungsgruppe "Transformative Power of Europe," June 8-9, 2018.
2018. Discussant for a paper on "The Discursive Reconstruction of Intergovernmental Europe through Politicization" at the conference "Re-engaging Grand Theory," and paper giver (with L. Hooghe) of "Re-engaging Grand Theory: European integration into the 21st Century," the European University Institute, May 31-June 1, 2018.
2018. Discussant, Workshop, Radicalism and Realignment, Duke University, April 20, 21.
2018. "Emerging Party Trends in Europe," with Liesbet Hooghe, presented at the inaugural conference of the European Politics and Governance Programme (EGPP), Robert Schuman Centre, EUI, March 8-9, 2018.
2017. Commentator, "Book workshop: A Seat at the Table," July 31.
2017. "A Transnational Cleavage: The Structure of Politicization in Europe," presented at a conference "Transformation or Collapse? Change in a Postfunctionalist Europe" organized by ACCESS, Amsterdam UvA-VUA, October 13-14.
2017. "Dealignment meets Cleavage Theory," paper with Liesbet Hooghe, Jan Rovny, David

Attewell, presented at a conference “Rejected Europe, Beloved Europe, Cleavage Europe?” EUI, Florence, May 17-18, 2017.

2017. “Dealignment meets Cleavage Theory,” paper with Liesbet Hooghe, Jan Rovny, David Attewell. APSA, San Francisco, Sept 1-2, 2017.

2016. “Europe’s Crises and Political Contestation,” paper with Liesbet Hooghe, presented at conference on “Stein Rokkan’s Heritage to Contemporary Political Science: Understanding Representational and Policy-Making Challenges in Multi-Jurisdictional Polities,” Bergen University, Norway, Sept 20-21.

2016. “Best practices in Expert Surveys,” APSA workshop and short course: “Expert indicators in the social sciences: Challenges of validity, reliability and legitimacy.” Co-author, presenter, roundtable participant for three panels at the APSA meeting, including “Author Meets Critics Panel discussing *Measuring Regional Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance* and *Community, Scale, and Regional Governance: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance, Volume II*, Philadelphia, September.

2016. “The Reaction Against Transnationalism,” draft with Liesbet Hooghe, presented at Workshop on “Wyoming Retreat: International Relations 2030,” University of Wyoming, August 25-27.

2016. “Europe’s Crises and Political Contestation,” with Liesbet Hooghe. Paper presented at a conference *Theory Meets Crisis*, EUI, June 30-July 1.

2016. Roundtable on “Measuring Regional Authority” and “Community, Scale, and Regional Governance,” with comments by Imke Harbers, Markus Haverland, and Hans Keman, VU Amsterdam, June 9.

2016. “What does the Euro-Crisis say to our Theories of Economic and Political Integration?” (roundtable); ‘Community and The Structure of Governance: A Postfunctionalist Theory’ (paper), Council of Europeanists, April.

2015. “The State of the Field in Federalism/IGR Research: Approaches to Design, Data, Measurement, and Analysis,” APSA Short Course for the Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section. Paper presentation on ‘The Effect of Community on Regional Governance,’ APSA, San Francisco, September.

2015. Discussant. Workshop on the European Elections 2014, ACCESS Europe, Amsterdam, March 12-13.

2015. Co-author/presenter/roundtable participant for two panels at the Conference of Europeanists, Boston, March.

2014. “Patterns of International Organization: General Purpose vs. Task-specific” & “From Uniform to Differentiated Governance,” APSA, Washington D.C. September.

2014. “Why have government at different scales?” International Summer School, VU University

Amsterdam, July 9.

2014. "Unraveling the Central State: The Rise of Regional Authority," Nuffield College, Oxford, May 20.

2014. "The Authority of International Organizations: The Effects of Scope and Scale," ISA, Toronto, March 26-29.

2014. "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.

2013. "Europe in Crisis?" VUA-UVA ACCESS inaugural event "Europe in crisis – resilient Europe," Amsterdam, January, 2014. "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 Society," at conference on "Green Politics in Germany since 1983," UNC-Chapel Hill, February.

2012. "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.

2011. "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, November.

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, biannual meeting of the European Union Studies Association, Boston, March.

2010. 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; discussant Festschrift panel for Professor Suzanne Berger.

2010. "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.

Invited Talks (since 2010)

2022. "Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, and the divide on the Christian Right: Conservative pastors and the use of force," with Liesbet Hooghe and Stephanie Shady, EUI SPS Departmental Seminar, March 16.

2022. "The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage" with Liesbet Hooghe, talk at Departmental Seminar at *Pompeu Fabra*, Barcelona (zoom), March 7.

2021: "The Social Bases of the Transnational Divide: Sex, Education, and Occupation," EUI-EGPP Programme seminar, Nov 10, 2021.

2021: "Podcast: The Sociology of Politics and the Work of Seymour Martin Lipset" with Tarik Abou-Chadi, available at

(<https://soundcloud.com/user-467531770/episode-18-gary-marks-the-sociology-of-politics-and-the-work-of-seymour-martin-lipset>)

2020. "Book Presentation: A Theory of International Organization," with Tobias Lenz and

Liesbet Hooghe, RSCAS Seminar, European University Institute, January 29.

2019. “A cleavage theory of partisanship,” with Liesbet Hooghe, University College London & London School of Economics, London, December 2.

2019. “The basic set-up of international organization: a trade-off between scale and community,” St Gallen, Switzerland, October 8.

2019. “A cleavage theory of partisanship,” Sciences Po, Paris, September 10, 2019;

2019. “A cleavage theory of partisanship,” ETH-Zurich & University of Zurich, October 3,

2019. “A cleavage theory of partisanship,” St Gallen, Switzerland, October 8.

2019. “Brexit: What, Where, and How?” Center for European Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill, April 8.

2018. “Brexit, and the Revolt Against Transnationalism,” Worldview, January 25

2017. “What Future for Britain and Europe?” UNC Center for European Studies, October 17

2017. “Community, Scale, and Jurisdictional Design within States,” American University, September 15.

2017. Commentator, “Conjoint Experiments on Support for International Governance,” at the NCCR Final conference, ETH Zurich, June 14, 2017.

2017. “Four Methodological Challenges,” European Union Institute, May 18.

2017. “Cleavage Theory and Europe’s Crises: Lipset, Rokkan and the Transnational Cleavage,” Minda de Ginzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, April 21.

2017. “The Future of the European Union,” Workshop on “Averting Civilizational Collapse? Challenges to Governing Contemporary Human Society,” Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago de Chile, April 3 & 4.

2017. “Scale, Community, and Regional Governance,” Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago de Chile, April 4.

2017. “The Fate of the EU,” Euroweek, Center for European Studies at UNC Chapel Hill, March 27.

2017. “The European Union, Brexit, and the Revolt Against Transnationalism,” Worldview, February 3.

2016. “The Brexit Shock and its implications,” Davidson College, NC, October 19.

2016. “The Brexit Shock—future scenarios,” Global Development and the Arts and Sciences Foundation, University of North Carolina, October 6; presentation for the International Affairs Advisory Council, University of North Carolina, November 14,

2016. Stein Rokkan Memorial Lecture: “Rokkan on Regional Governance: The Effect of Community,” Bergen University, Norway, Sept 22.

2016. “The Brexit Shock,” Center for European Studies, UNC, September 8.

2016. Participant at a Roundtable on “Brexit – the Aftermath,” SPS at the EUI, June 28.

2016. "Multilevel Governance within the State: Data, Trends, Patterns," OECD Directorate on Territorial Governance, Paris, June 10.
2016. Talk on "The European Union", Worldview (one hundred twenty K-12 teachers), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, March 23.
2015. "Explaining Supranationalism in International Organizations," EUI, Florence, May 13.
2014. "Why have government at different scales?" International Summer School, VU University Amsterdam, July 9.
2014. "Unraveling the Central State: The Rise of Regional Authority," Nuffield College, Oxford, May 20.
2014. "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.
2013. "Discovering Regional Cooperation KFG-Berlin," October.
2012. "The Authority of International Organizations," Salamanca University, June 2012; VU University Amsterdam, June 2012, New York University, March 2012; Nuffield College, Oxford University, March.
2011. "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* Biennial 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.
2010. "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.

Professional Service (partial list, since 2002)

2022 — Series Editor, Elements in European Politics, Cambridge University Press

2018 — Series Editor, “Tranformations in Governance,” Oxford Universty Press

2015—2022. Member, International Advisory Board of Charles University Prague

2018. Member Award Committee for the APSA’s Daniel Elazar Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award from the Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section

2013–2016. Team leader “European Politics & Society” of ACCESS Europe, Amsterdam Center for Contemporary European Studies

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

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

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

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

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

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

2004. 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

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

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

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

Tenure/Promotion reviews

American University; University of Amsterdam; University of Birmingham, England; Brandeis University; Brown University (thrice); City University, London; 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; Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität; University of Maastricht; New York University; North Carolina State University; Oklahoma State University; Princeton University; Princeton University; Rutgers State University of New Jersey; University of Rochester; University of Sheffield; Stanford University; Temple University; University College, London University; Wake Forest University; Washington University, St. Louis; University of Wisconsin at Madison; Yale University.

Series Editorships

2022 — Series Co-editor, Cambridge University Press, *Elements in European Politics*.

2013 — Series Co-editor, Oxford University Press, *Transformations in Governance*.

1997 — 2007. Series Editor, Rowman & Littlefield, *Governance in Europe*.

Editorial Boards

Acta Politica (2003-2013); *American Behavioral Scientist* (1994—); *Comparative European Politics* (2003—); *Comparative Political Studies* (2004—); *European Union Politics* (1999—); *Journal of Common Market Studies* (1999—); *Journal of European Public Policy* (2016—); *Journal of Regional and Federal Studies* (1994—); *Publius* (2008); *Research and Politics* (2015—); *Territory, Politics, Governance* (2013—).

Journal Referee (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 International Relations*; *European Journal of Political Research*; *European Political Science Review*; *European Union Politics*; *International Organization*; *Journal of Common Market Studies*; *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; *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*; *Labour History*; *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*; *Party Politics*; *Perspectives*; *Political Behavior*; *Political Power and Social Theory*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *Political Studies*; *Public Administration*; *Publius*; *Regional and Federal Studies*; *Regional Politics and Policy*; *Regional Studies*; *Research & Politics*; *Social Forces*; *Review of International Organizations*; *Southeastern Political Review*; *Territory, Politics, Governance*; *Urban Affairs Review*; *West European Politics*; *Western Political Quarterly*; *World Politics*;

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; Palgrave Macmillan; Penn State Press; Princeton University Press; Rowman & Littlefield; Routledge; Sage Publications; Temple University Press; University of Toronto Press; Westview Press.

Evaluator of Research Grant Applications

National Science Foundation; European Research Council; Fritz Thyssen Stiftung; Research Foundations/Councils for Belgium, Canada, European Union, Netherlands, United Kingdom, the United States; Leverhulme Trust; National Science Foundation; DFG-Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft; ERC-European Research Council, EU Commission.

University Service (partial list, since 2012)

- 2020 Out-of-field Research Report on the Research of Professor Stephen Gent for Promotion to Full Professor.
- 2017-2019 Chair, Long-range Planning Committee
- 2017. In-field Research Report on the Research of Professor Graeme Robertson for Promotion to Full Professor
- 2017. Member, Mentoring Committee
- 2017. Chair, Comparative Politics Comprehensive Exam Committee
- 2016. Out-of-field Research Report on the Research of Professor Jason Roberts for Promotion to Full Professor.
- 2016. Member, Long-range Planning Committee
- 2016. Member, The James W. Prothro Award for Outstanding Research.
- 2016. Member, Post-tenure committee (teaching reports for Professor John Stephens and Professor Susan Bickford.
- 2016. Chair, Comparative Politics Comprehensive Exam Committee
- 2013. Member, Terry Sanford Award
- 2013-2018 Lectures to teachers for UNC Worldview
- 2013-2019 Member, Transatlantic Masters Program Advisory Committee, Center for European Studies

Ph.D. students (principal advisor or principal co-advisor since 2000)

Name (graduation)	Current position
Stephanie Shady	active
Jacob Gunderson	active
David Attewell (2021)	Postdoctoral fellow, University of Zurich
Jelle Koedam (2019)	Postdoctoral fellow, University of Zurich
Micah Levinson (2018)	Fellow, Middle East Forum
Jeanine Bezuijen [VU Amsterdam] (2015)	Statistician, Government of Scotland

GARY MARKS – CV

Benjamin Neudorfer [VU Amsterdam] (2014)	Research officer, University of Oxford
Jan Rovny (2013)	Professor, Sciences Po, Paris
Emanuel Coman (2012)	Associate Professor, Trinity College Dublin
Arjan H. Schakel [VU Amsterdam] (2009)	Research Professor, U of Bergen
Erica Edwards (2008)	Lecturer, North Carolina State University
Ryan Bakker (2007)	Professor, University of Essex
Catherine De Vries [VU Amsterdam] (2007)	Chaired Professor, Bocconi University
Heather Mbaye (2004)	Associate Professor, University of West Georgia
Richard Haesly (2000)	Associate Professor, California State U., Long Beach