



## European crises

*Philipp Genschel and Hanspeter Kriesi*  
*Seminar Spring 2020*

**Mondays 17:00 -19:00, Badia Seminar Room 2**

Register online: <https://my.eui.eu/>

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### **Description**

This Research Seminar deals with the series of crises that have hit Europe since 2008: the financial crisis, the Eurozone crisis, the refugee crisis and, eventually, Brexit. Supranational decision making was severely tested. From today's vantage point, we observe that policy performance has not lived up to its promises and potential, damaging public trust in the efficacy and transparency of the EU. Pessimistic views now abound in academic and policy debates. And yet, despite existential threats, we observe resilience. The EU and the euro have not fallen apart. At the apex of the crisis, EU leaders managed to agree on strategies for recovery and, with the exception of the UK, are now debating how to strengthen integration in the long run. After record lows, citizens' support for integration is picking up again.

The seminar aims to understand when, how and why doom and elation go together. The EU is still fragile. Its durability ultimately hinges on the capacity of the Union's political sphere to address collective problems and to orchestrate consensus about solutions, in the context of a shared and robust normative order. This is a demanding condition. New capacities were created during the long crisis. But it is not clear how robust they are and whether developing them further will encounter unsurmountable obstacles, including resentment by citizens. Did the sequence of policy crises produce a "deep" political crisis which unsettles fundamental assumptions and practices regarding the exercise of authority and its legitimation, or did it just constitute a temporary setback that will serve to strengthen European integration in the not so distant future? To find answers to this question, we consider two types of literatures. On the one hand, we are reading interpretations of the current sequence of crises; on the other hand, we are reconsidering accounts of precedent crises of European integration.

By choosing to take this class you are taking on the obligation to reading all the materials. Over the course of the seminar students must submit three 500-word response papers to the readings for a given session and post that paper on the course website at noon of the day before class.

These response papers are fundamental for the holding of a good discussion of the materials, as is a thorough reading of the assigned texts.

Writing a term paper is encouraged. Your term paper should draw on the literature covered in the course but go well beyond it. Those who wish to write a term paper should submit it to us by email and in paper copy, with a cc to Maureen Lechleitner.

## **Sessions, topics and readings**

### **1. What is a crisis? (Philipp Genschel) (January 13, 2020)**

- D'Erman, Valerie J. and Amy Verdun. 2018. Introduction. *Integration through crisis*. *Revue of European and Russian Affairs* 12 (1), pp. 1-16.
- Seabrooke, L. and E. Tsingou 2019. Europe's fast- and slow-burning crises. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(3), 468-481.
- Webber, Douglas 2019 *European Disintegration? The Politics of Crisis in the European Union*. London: Macmillan, pp. 1- 18.

### **2. Restructuring Europe (Hanspeter Kriesi) (January 20, 2020)**

- Bartolini 2005. *Restructuring Europe. Centre formation, system building and political structuring between the nation state and the European Union*. Oxford U Press. (Chapter 1: 1-55; Chapter 7: 361-412)
- Vollaard, Hans 2018. *European disintegration. A search for explanations*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan. (Chapter 6: Towards a proper explanation of European disintegration, pp. 119-45)

### **3. A recent interpretation of a participant (Hanspeter Kriesi) (January 27, 2020)**

- Van Middelaar, Luuk 2019. *Alarums and excursions: improvising politics on the European state*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing. (Introduction: 15pp.; II, III, IV: 200 pp.)

### **4. European integration theory and the crisis (Philipp Genschel) (February 3, 2020)**

- Schimmelfennig, Frank 2018. European integration (theory) in times of crisis. A comparison of the Euro and Schengen crises. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25, 7: 969-989.

- Börzel, Tanja and Thomas Risse 2018. From the euro to the Schengen crisis: European integration theories, politicization and identity politics, *Journal of European Public Policy* 25, 1: 83-108.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks 2019. Grand theories of European integration in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8): 1113-1133.
- Degner, Hanno 2019. Public attention, governmental bargaining and supranational activism: explaining European integration in response to crises, *JCMS* 57, 2: 242-259.

### **5. Explanations for policy-failure** (Philipp Genschel) (February 10, 2020)

- Genschel, Philipp and Markus Jachtenfuchs 2018. From market integration to core state powers: the Eurozone crisis, the refugee crisis and European integration, *JCMS* 56, 1: 178-196.
- Biermann, Felix, Nina Guérin, Stefan Jagdhuber, Berthold Rittberger, and Moritz Weiss 2019. Political (non)reform in the euro crisis and the refugee crisis: a liberal intergovernmentalist explanation, *Journal of European Public Policy* 26, 2: 246-266.
- Scharpf, Fritz W. 2015. Political legitimacy in a non-optimal currency area, pp. 19-47 in *Democratic politics in a European Union under stress*, edited by Olaf Cramme and Sara B. Hobolt. Oxford U Press.
- Lavenex, Sandra 2018. 'Failing forward' towards which Europe? Organized hypocrisy in the common European asylum system, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56, 5: 1195-1212.

### **6. The empty chair crisis** (Hanspeter Kriesi) (February 17, 2020)

- Ludlow, Piers N. 1999. Challenging French leadership in Europe: Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the outbreak of the empty chair crisis of 1965-1966, *Contemporary European History* 8, 2: 231-248.
- Ludlow, Piers N. 2006. *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*. London Routledge. (Chapters 3 and 4: pp. 71-124)
- Palayret, Jean-Marie, Helen Wallace and Pascaline Winand (eds.) 2006. *Visions, Votes and Vetoes. The Empty Chair Crisis and the Luxembourg Compromise Forty Years On*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang. (Chapters 1 (pp. 21-42) and 13 (pp. 301-320)).

### 7. The oil crisis (Philipp Genschel) (February 24, 2020)

- Hager, Wolfgang. 1976. Western Europe: The Politics of Muddling Through, in *Oil, the Arab-Israeli Dispute, and the Industrial World, Horizons of Crisis*, edited by J. C. Hurewitz, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press: pp. 34-51
- Hellema, Duco, Cees Wiebes and Toby Witte. 2004. *The Netherlands and the Oil Crisis. Business as Usual*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 73-96.
- Prodi, Romano and Alberto Clò. 1976. Europe, in *The Oil Crisis*, edited by Raymond Vernon, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New York: Norton & Company, Inc. pp. .
- Simonet, Henri. 1975. Energy and the Future of Europe. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Apr. 1975), pp. 450-463.
- Turner, Louis. 1974. The Politics of the Energy Crisis. *International Affairs*, Vol. 50, No.3 (Jul., 1974), pp. 404-415.

### 8. The UK rebate (March 2, 2020) (Philipp Genschel)

- George, Stephen. 1990. An awkward partner. Britain in the European Community. Oxford: OUP, 137-165.
- Denton, G. (1984). Re-structuring the economic budget: Implications of the Fontainebleau agreement. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 23(2), 117-140.
- Lindner, Johannes. 2020. Blocking intergovernmental relations Conflict between the UK and the other member states over British net-contributions (1974-1984), in *Conflict and Change in EU Budgetary Politics*, Oxford and New York: Routledge, pp. 83-111.
- Spence, James. 2012. A high price to pay? Britain and the European budget. *International Affairs*. Vol. 88, No.6, pp. 1237-1260

### 9. Brexit (March 9, 2020) (Hanspeter Kriesi)

- Carreras, Miguel, Yasemine Irepolglu Carreras, and Shaun Bowler 2019. Long-term economic distress, cultural backlash, and support for Brexit, *Comparative Political Studies*, 1-19, doi: 10.1177/0010414019830714
- Evans, Geoffrey, Noah Carl, and James Dennison 2017. The causes and consequences of the UK's decision to leave the EU, pp. 380-404 in *Europe's crises*, edited by Manuel Castells et al, Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Gamble, Andrew (2019). The Realignment of British Politics in the Wake of Brexit. *The Political Quarterly*, 90(S2), 177-186.
- Hay, Colin 2019. Brexistential Angst and the Paradoxes of Populism: On the Contingency, Predictability and Intelligibility of Seismic Shifts, *Political Studies*
- Jennings, Will and Martin Lodge (2019). Brexit, the tides and Canute: the fracturing politics of the British state. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(5), 772-789.

**10. Taking stock: what have we found?** (March 16, 2020) (Hanspeter Kriesi)