

# PS381 Crisis Governance in the European Union

Instructor: [Dr. Adina Maricut](#)

Course Times: Mon 9:00 - 10:30, Wed 11:00 - 12:30

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Office Hours: Tue 10:30 – 12:00

## Course Description

In recent years, the European Union (EU) has been confronted with multiple crises. Since the turn of the century alone, the EU has experienced a legitimacy crisis following the rejection by French and Dutch voters of the proposal for a European constitution, an economic crisis revealing the inherently flawed design of the common currency, and a security crisis caused by terrorist attacks in Madrid, London, Paris, and Brussels. Additionally, an exponential increase in numbers of people seeking to reach the EU from countries in a condition of political and economic collapse has created intense domestic and foreign policy pressure. According to numerous commentators, the performance of EU institutions and officials in response to this range of situations has been dire. Indeed, crisis management remains a difficult notion in a multi-level political system like the EU where local, national, and supranational interests are rarely aligned. This course explores crisis governance in the European Union as a regional supranational organization around four themes: the political system (the legitimacy crisis), the economic system (the Euro crisis), the social system (the refugee crisis), and all of the above (security crises). The course is extensively based on discussions of cases of intra- and inter-institutional EU decision-making, aiming to facilitate students' understanding of EU governance dynamics in times of crisis.

## Learning outcomes:

At the end of the course, students should:

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|-------------------------------|--|
| Content literacy              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• be aware of the main contemporary challenges facing European integration;</li><li>• be able to identify and understand the functioning of the main EU institutions as well as the main decision-making processes in the EU;</li><li>• demonstrate in-depth knowledge of the governance dynamics during different crises;</li><li>• be familiar with the main theories of European integration;</li><li>• be able to locate and analysis EU policy documents and legislation.</li></ul> |
| Intellectual skills           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• gather, organize and deploy evidence, data, and information from a variety of secondary and some primary sources;</li><li>• identify, investigate, and synthesize alternative explanations;</li><li>• construct reasoned arguments and exercise critical judgment.</li></ul>   |
| Personal transferrable skills | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• communicate effectively and fluently orally and in writing;</li><li>• use communication and information technology for the retrieval and presentation of information;</li></ul>  |

- work independently, demonstrating initiative, self-organization and time-management;

## Requirements

### Attendance

This is a discussion-based course and active participation is essential. Mere attendance is not full participation. Attendance at ALL classes is expected. More than two absences (that is absences from two sessions of 90 minutes) in a semester will significantly affect the participation grade for the course.

Students are advised to consult the Student Handbook for regulations governing periods of illness or leaves of absence.

### Assessment

#### **In-class contribution (20%)**

Active participation will be assessed on the basis of the quality and relevance of seminar interventions and contributions to class discussion.

#### **Presentation (15%)**

All students must prepare and deliver one 15-minute seminar presentation. Presentation topics will be allocated during the first session. Presenters are required to make use of and refer to the readings and resources listed under “Presentation” in the course outline. The main aim of the presentation is to critically assess the specified readings, also making reference to additional sources that incorporate the topic in a broader discussion. Presentations are intended to help you learn how we discuss academic texts and research findings. Do assume that your colleagues learn about an author or a research through YOU. Do NOT present on the required readings. They are read by everyone anyway! A presentation should conclude with points for further discussion in the class. Students are encouraged to make use of presentation techniques such as Prezi, Power Point or the flip chart. You will receive individual feedback on this presentation.

### Writing Assignments and Deadlines

#### **Literature review (2,000 words)—25% of the final grade—due Wednesday, March 15, at midnight.**

- The mid-term paper is an individual written assignment due in Week 7 of the semester. Each student is expected write a literature review discussing how one of the integration theories (of your choice) addresses the concept/possibility of ‘crises’.

#### **Final research paper (3,500 words)—40% of the final grade—due Wednesday, May 17, at midnight.**

- You are required to complete a final paper in this course. Students need to discuss their choice of questions with the instructor by week 11. The topic of the research paper needs to address one aspect of crisis governance in the EU, but students are free to choose what they would like to focus on.
- In preparation of the final paper, you are required to submit a two-page outline to the instructor due in Week 12 by Wednesday, April 26, at midnight. Individual consultations on the final paper can be scheduled at the students’ request.
- Your work will be judged on the basis of the quality of your presentation of the relevant theoretical literature, as well as on the critical understanding and the intellectual creativity which you demonstrate in using this. Each paper should be approximately 3500 words in length including references and annexes.

- Papers must be properly referenced, with a standard form of citation used. You must also include a bibliography of all works consulted. All written contributions need to be original, i.e. produced exclusively by the student who submits the work. References to all other sources must be clearly indicated following accepted academic standards. Any text reproduction which is not clearly identified will have to be considered as plagiarism and, consequently, the submitted work will be acknowledged with no more than 0% of the grade. For further information, please do not hesitate to consult with the instructor.

### Policy on Late Submission of Papers

*Written assignments that are up to 24 hours late will be downgraded one full grade (from B+ to C+, for example). Each additional day being late brings a new downgrade of one full grade until grade C is reached. Thereafter, the student will receive a failing grade for the assignment.*

### Grade Breakdown

- In-class contribution: 20%;
- One 15-minute presentation: 15% of the grade.
- Mid-term literature review (2,000 words): 25%
- Final research paper (3,500) words: 40% (10% outline, 30% final version)

### Schedule

This section details the individual classes, readings, and tasks for each seminar. All readings will be available through the **Google Classroom** website which will be shared with the students at the beginning of the semester. It is the responsibility of the student to check **Google Classroom** every week in order to download and read course materials. The instructor reserves the right to change any reading listed below depending on students' feedback on the degree of difficulty of assigned readings, as well as according to students' expressed interests throughout the semester.

**There are no textbooks required for this class.**

Classes start on Monday, January 30 and run until Friday, May 12 with spring break planned for the week of April 10. Completion week is from May 12 to 19. Students are required to be on campus during completion week.

### Week 1 — Introduction: What Is a Crisis? Why the EU?

#### **Monday, January 30**

Discussion of syllabus and structure of the course.

Crisp, James. 2017. "Year after Year, the EU's Biggest Problem Remains the Same." *EurActiv | EU News & Policy Debates, across Languages*, Newsletter in English edition. Accessed January 6. <http://brief.euractiv.com/2017/01/02/the-brief-year-after-year-the-eus-biggest-problem-remains-the-same/>.

#### **Wednesday, February 1**

Boin, Arjen. 2009. "The New World of Crises and Crisis Management: Implications for Policymaking and Research." *Review of Policy Research* 26 (4): 367–77.

Middelbaar, Luuk van. 2016. "The Return of Politics – The European Union after the Crises in the Eurozone and Ukraine." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (3): 495–507.

## Week 2 — Born Out of Crisis: The Late 1940s-1950s

### **Monday, February 6**

#### Mandatory reading:

Bache, Ian, Stephen George, and Simon Bulmer. 2015. *Politics in the European Union*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 5 'From the End of the War to the Schuman Plan (the late 1940s to the early 1950s)'.

#### Presentation reading:

Gilbert, Mark. 2012. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Revised, Updated Edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Chapter 2 'Enemies to Partners: The Politics of Cooperation in Western Europe 1945–1950'.

### **Wednesday, February 8**

#### Mandatory reading:

Gilbert, Mark. 2012. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Revised, Updated Edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Chapter 3 'Ever Closer Union: From the Schuman Plan to the Economic Community 1950–1958'.

#### Presentation reading:

Haas, E.B. (1968), *The Uniting of Europe. Political, Social, And Economic Forces 1950-1957* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press), pp. xxxi-31.

## Week 3 — The 'Empty Chair' Crisis and Beyond: The 1960s-1970s

### **Monday, February 13**

#### Mandatory reading:

Gilbert, Mark. 2012. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Revised, Updated Edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Chapter 4 'In the Shadow of the General: De Gaulle and the EEC 1958–1969'.

#### Presentation reading:

Hoffmann, S. (1966), 'Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the case of Western Europe', *Daedalus* 95(3): 862-915.

### **Wednesday, February 15**

#### Mandatory reading:

Gilbert, Mark. 2012. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Revised, Updated Edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Chapter 5 'Weathering the Storm: The EC during the 1970s'.

#### Presentation reading:

Weiler, J. H. H. 1981. "The Community System: The Dual Character of Supranationalism." *Yearbook of European Law* 1 (1): 267–306.

## Week 4 — The Post-Crisis Revival of European Integration: Creating the Single Market (1980s)

### **Monday, February 20**

#### Mandatory reading:

Gilbert, Mark. 2012. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Revised, Updated Edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Chapter 6 'The 1992 Initiative and Relaunch of the Community.'

Presentation reading:

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1991. "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community." *International Organization* 45 (1): 19–56.

**Wednesday, February 22**

Mandatory reading:

Gilbert, Mark. 2012. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Revised, Updated Edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Chapter 7 'The Maastricht Compromise'.

Presentation reading:

Bulmer, Simon. 1998. "New Institutionalism and the Governance of the Single European Market." *Journal of European Public Policy* 5 (3): 365–86.

**Week 5 — The 1990s and the early 2000s: Small Crises Accumulate**

**Monday, February 27**

Mandatory reading:

Gilbert, Mark. 2012. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Revised, Updated Edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Chapter 8 'EUphoria'.

Presentation reading:

Christiansen, Thomas, Knud Erik Jørgensen, and Antje Wiener. 1999. "The Social Construction of Europe." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6 (4): 528–44.

**Wednesday, March 1**

Gilbert, Mark. 2012. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Revised, Updated Edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Chapter 9 'Toward a Twin-Track Europe'.

Presentation reading:

Bickerton, Christopher, Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter. 2015. "The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (4): 703–22.

**Week 6 — The Economic and Monetary Union**

**Monday, March 6**

Mandatory reading:

Verdun, Amy. 2016. "Economic and Monetary Union." In *European Union Politics*, edited by Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, 5th edition, 295–307. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Presentation reading:

Jabko, N. (2010), "The hidden face of the euro", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(3), 318-334.

**Wednesday, March 8**

Hodson, Dermot, and Uwe Puetter. 2016. "The Euro Crisis and European Integration." In *European Union Politics*, edited by Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, 5th edition, 365–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Presentation:

Provide a timeline of key EU responses to the economic crisis. You can find an overview of the relevant decisions here: [http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/crisis/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/crisis/index_en.htm)

### Week 7 — The Economic Crisis Continued

**Monday, March 13**

Mandatory reading:

Fabbrini, Sergio. 2013. "Intergovernmentalism and Its Limits Assessing the European Union's Answer to the Euro Crisis." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (9): 1003–29.

Presentation reading:

Van Rompuy, Herman. 2014. *Europe in the Storm: Promise and Prejudice*. Leuven: Davidsfonds; selected chapters.

**Wednesday, March 15**

Mandatory reading:

Hermann, Christoph. 2014. "Crisis, Structural Reform and the Dismantling of the European Social Model(s)." *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, December, 1–18.

Presentation reading:

Zeitlin, Jonathan, and Bart Vanhercke. 2014. "Socializing the European Semester? Economic Governance and Social Policy Coordination in Europe 2020." *SIEPS*, no. 7: 1–86.

**Mid-term due by Wednesday, March 15, at midnight: literature reviews**

### Week 8 — The Foreign Policy Crisis

**Monday, March 20**

Mandatory reading:

Dover, Robert, and Ana Maria Friis Kristensen. 2016. "The European Union's Foreign, Security, and Defence Policies." In *European Union Politics*, edited by Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, 5th edition, 241–54. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Presentation reading:

Smith, Michael E. 2011. "A liberal grand strategy in a realist world? Power, purpose and the EU's changing global role", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18(2), 144-163.

**Wednesday, March 22**

Mandatory reading:

Chelotti, Nicola, and Volkan Gul. 2015. "Legitimacy and EU Foreign Policy." In *The European Union in Crisis: Explorations in Representation and Democratic Legitimacy*, edited by Kyriakos N. Demetriou, 199–218. Springer International Publishing.

Presentation reading:

Create a timeline of EU responses to the crisis in Ukraine. Use the Council's website:

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions/ukraine-crisis/history-ukraine-crisis>; and

Parliament reports:

<https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldeucom/115/115.pdf>

### Week 9 — The Migration Crisis

**Monday, March 27**

Mandatory reading:

Niemann, Arne. 2012. "The Dynamics of EU Migration Policy: From Maastricht to Lisbon." In *Constructing a Policy-Making State? Policy Dynamics in the EU*, edited by Jeremy Richardson, 209–32. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Presentation reading:

Kaunert, Christian, and Sarah Léonard. 2012. "The Development of the EU Asylum Policy: Venue-Shopping in Perspective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19 (9): 1396–1413.

**Wednesday, March 29**

Mandatory reading:

Trauner, Florian. 2016. "Asylum Policy: The EU's 'crises' and the Looming Policy Regime Failure." *Journal of European Integration* 38 (3): 311–25.

Presentation reading:

Create a timeline of EU responses to the migration crisis of 2015/2016. Use Council website as reference for dates: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/migratory-pressures/history-migratory-pressures/>

**Week 10 – The Security Crisis**

**Monday, April 3**

Mandatory reading:

Argomaniz, Javier. 2010. "The European Union Post-9/11 Counter-Terror Policy Response: An Overview." *RIEAS: Research Paper*, No. 140, February.

Presentation reading:

Create a timeline of EU responses to the terrorist attacks of 2015/2016. Use the Council website as reference for dates: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/fight-against-terrorism/foreign-fighters/>.

**Wednesday, April 5**

Mandatory reading:

Huysmans, Jef. 2000. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (5): 751–777.

Presentation reading:

Boswell, Christina. 2007. "Migration Control in Europe after 9/11: Explaining the Absence of Securitization." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 45 (3): 589–610.

**Spring Break (April 10 – April 17)**

**Week 11 – Brexit and the Legitimacy Crisis**

**Monday, April 17**

Federal holiday (no classes).

**Wednesday, April 19**

Mandatory reading:

Usherwood, Simon. 2015. "Britain and Europe: A Model of Permanent Crisis." In *The European Union in Crisis: Explorations in Representation and Democratic Legitimacy*, edited by Kyriakos N. Demetriou, 3–

14. Springer International Publishing.

Presentation reading:

Describe the United Kingdom's position on exiting the European Union. Use official speeches from the government, such as:

May, Theresa. 2016. "Our Vision for Britain After the Brexit." *Vital Speeches of the Day* 82 (12): 378–81.

**Week 12 – The Legitimacy Crisis Continued**

**Monday, April 24**

Mandatory reading:

Smismans, Stijn. 2016. "Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union'." In *European Union Politics*, edited by Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borrágán, 5th edition, 339–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Presentation reading:

Guerra, Simona, and Lauren M. McLaren. 2016. "Public Opinion and the European Union." In *European Union Politics*, edited by Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borrágán, 5th edition, 352–64. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Wednesday, April 26**

Mandatory reading:

Hix, Simon. 2008. *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It*. Cambridge: Polity, chapter 1.

Presentation reading:

Nicolaïdis, Kalypso. 2013. "European Democracy and Its Crisis." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (2): 351–69.

**Preparation for final essays: Submit a 2-page outline of your research paper, describing succinctly: 1) the main argument; 2) the structure and overview of content; and 3) the type of evidence you will use. Due by Wednesday, April 26, at midnight. Worth 10% of the final grade.**

**Week 13 — The Multiple Crises in the EU and How to Fix Them**

**Monday, May 1**

Federal holiday (no classes)

**Wednesday, May 3**

Mandatory reading:

Habermas, Jürgen. 2012. *The Crisis of the European Union: A Response*. Trans. by C Cronin. Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Presentation reading:

Khan, Gulshan. 2015. "Jürgen Habermas and the Crisis of the European Union." In *The European Union in Crisis: Explorations in Representation and Democratic Legitimacy*, edited by Kyriakos N. Demetriou, 123–39. Springer International Publishing.

**Week 14 — The Future of the EU**

**Monday, May 8**

Mandatory reading:



Laffan, Brigid. 2016. "The Future of the EU." In *European Union Politics*, edited by Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, 5th edition, 380–89. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Wednesday, May 10**

Mandatory reading:

Schmitter, Philippe C. 2012. "European Disintegration? A Way Forward." *Journal of Democracy* 23 (4): 39–46.

No presentations will take place during the last week of classes.

**Completion Week (May 10-19)**

Final papers are due by Wednesday, May 17, at midnight.