

Contents

<i>List of Boxes, Figures and Tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xiv
<i>Abbreviations and Acronyms</i>	xvi
<i>Preface</i>	xx
1 A Multi-dimensional Crisis	1
<i>Desmond Dinan, Neill Nugent, and William E. Paterson</i>	
Introduction	1
The Multi-dimensional Nature of the Crisis	1
Origins of the Crisis	3
Implications of the Crisis for the EU System	9
Supplying Solutions	12
Conclusions	14
References	15
2 Crises in EU History	16
<i>Desmond Dinan</i>	
Introduction	16
Myth and Reality of the Founding Story	17
From the European Defence Community to the European Economic Community	19
The Crises of the 1960s	20
Economic and Financial Crises Before the Single European Act	23
From Maastricht to Lisbon	25
Many Crises, Few Opportunities	28
Conclusions	30
References	31
3 The Political Economy Context of EU Crises	33
<i>Ben Rosamond</i>	
Introduction	33
The European Capitalist-Democratic Compact	34
The Compact Unravelling: Three Dilemmas and Three Processes	39

	Conclusions	47
	References	48
4	Playing for High Stakes: The Eurozone Crisis	54
	<i>Kenneth Dyson</i>	
	Introduction	54
	A Multi-dimensional and Mutating Crisis	55
	Why the Eurozone Crisis is an Existential Threat	65
	Burden-Sharing in Monetary Union: A Historical Perspective on the Eurozone Crisis	69
	Conclusions	73
	References	75
5	The UK: Membership in Crisis	77
	<i>Lee McGowan and David Phinnemore</i>	
	Introduction	77
	Crisis Point	78
	Avoiding Crisis through Exceptionalism	80
	Heading Towards Crisis: Mounting Pressure for a Referendum on EU Membership	82
	Resolving the Crisis: Renegotiation and Referendum	85
	Crisis Begetting Crisis and Chaos	90
	And for the EU?	94
	Conclusions	95
	References	96
6	The European Migration Crisis	100
	<i>Laurie Buonanno</i>	
	Introduction	100
	Anatomy of the Migration Crisis	101
	Asylum Law and Immigration Policy in the EU	110
	Member States and the Migration Crisis	111
	Implementing the European Commission's Agenda on Migration	117
	Conclusions: The Wider Implications of, and the Prospects for, Inward EU Migration	121
	References	125
7	The Eurozone in Crisis: Core-Periphery Dynamics	131
	<i>Brigid Laffan</i>	
	Introduction	131
	Economic and Monetary Union: A Deliberate Blind Spot	132
	What Kind of Crisis?	135

	Divergent Economic Fortunes	136
	Crisis Politics	139
	Conclusions: What Does the Eurozone Crisis Tell Us About the EU?	144
	References	146
8	The Aftermath of the Eurozone Crisis: Towards Fiscal Federalism?	149
	<i>Caroline de la Porte and Elke Heins</i>	
	Introduction	149
	Governance of EMU and Social Policy before the Eurozone Crisis	150
	Framework for Analyzing Alterations in EU Integration	152
	EMU and Social Policy Governance Following the Eurozone Crisis	155
	Altering the Governance of the European Social Dimension	162
	Conclusions	163
	References	164
9	The Crisis and the EU's Institutions, Political Actors, and Processes	167
	<i>Neill Nugent</i>	
	Introduction	167
	The Crisis, the EU's Institutions, and the Evolving Balance Between Supranationalism and Intergovernmentalism	168
	The Crisis and the Member States	176
	The EU's Continuing Leadership Problem	180
	Conclusions	184
	References	185
10	The Legitimacy Challenge	188
	<i>Christian Schweiger</i>	
	Introduction	188
	From <i>Permissive</i> to <i>Constrained Consensus</i> : The EU's Increasingly Contested Legitimacy	189
	The European Parliament and the Lack of <i>Social Legitimacy</i>	191
	Crisis Conditions and Germany's Informal EU Presidency	194
	Reforming the Governance of the Eurozone and 'the Suspension of Democracy'	196
	<i>Muddling Through</i> the Growing Crisis–Legitimacy Gap?	199

	Tackling the Legitimacy Deficit	203
	Conclusions	206
	References	206
11	Germany and the Crisis: Asset or Liability?	212
	<i>Simon Bulmer and William E. Paterson</i>	
	Introduction	212
	Leadership and Domestic Politics	213
	The Eurozone Crisis	215
	The Ukraine Crisis	220
	The Migration Crisis	224
	Conclusions	227
	References	230
12	Greece: A Crisis in Two-Level Governance	233
	<i>Kevin Featherstone and Dimitris Papadimitriou</i>	
	Introduction	233
	Preparing for the Crisis	234
	Two-Level Governance: The Challenges of Institutional Capacity	239
	Bailout Conditionality as a Lever of Domestic Reform	242
	Normative Europe: Consequences of the Crisis	246
	Conclusions	249
	References	250
13	Central and Eastern Europe: The Sacrifices of Solidarity, the Discomforts of Diversity, and the Vexations of Vulnerabilities	253
	<i>Tim Haughton</i>	
	Introduction	253
	Motivations, Expectations, and Realities of Membership	254
	The Eurozone: Bailouts and Burdens	257
	The Migration Crisis: Numbers and Nationalism	259
	On the Edge: Russian Aggression in Ukraine	261
	Brexit and Its Consequences	262
	Conclusions	264
	References	265
14	The European Union, Ukraine, and the Unstable East	269
	<i>Wolfgang Seibel</i>	
	Introduction	269
	Writings on the Wall, Misread	270

	Run-up to the Crisis	272
	The Fate of the Association Agreement	274
	Russia's Annexation of Crimea and EU Crisis Management	275
	From Minsk I to Minsk II	277
	Inherent Asymmetry	280
	German Uncertainties	282
	Conclusions	286
	References	288
15	The EU's Global Image	294
	<i>Amelia Hadfield</i>	
	Introduction	294
	EU External Perceptions: Raw Material or Raw Power?	295
	Russian Perceptions: Between a Rock and a Hard Place	297
	American Debates: Brave Old World	302
	Chinese Perceptions: A Bridge Too Far?	307
	Conclusions	311
	References	312
16	Theorising Crisis in European Integration	316
	<i>Frank Schimmelfennig</i>	
	Introduction	316
	Integration Theories and Explanations of Crisis	317
	Integration Theories and the Eurozone Crisis	323
	Conclusions	333
	References	334
17	Can the EU Survive?	336
	<i>Douglas Webber</i>	
	Introduction	336
	The Historical Perspective: This Crisis Is Different	337
	Can the EU Disintegrate? Theoretical Perspectives	338
	European Disintegration: Key Determinants	342
	Conclusions	354
	Acknowledgements	356
	References	357
18	Conclusions: Crisis Without End?	360
	<i>Desmond Dinan, Neill Nugent, and William E. Paterson</i>	
	The Unprecedented Nature of the Crisis	360
	A Tale of Three Crises	361
	The Challenges of Legitimacy	368

Increasing Integration	369
Increasing Differentiation, Leading to Disintegration?	371
Crisis Without End?	373
References	375

<i>Index</i>	376
--------------	-----