

THESEUS-EUCOPAS PHD WORKSHOP 2016

Recovering from the Crisis? The Uncertain State of the EU

21 - 22 January 2016
Sciences Po, Centre d'études européennes, Paris

Twelve PhD students from Europe and Japan met during two days in January 2016 in Sciences Po (Paris) to discuss their PhD. The framework was a joint endeavor of the Theseus program and the new EUcopas project. Organized by Olivier Rozenberg (Centre d'études européennes, Sciences Po) together with Wolfgang Wessels (University of Cologne) and Renaud Dehousse (Centre d'études européennes, Sciences Po), the conference was an opportunity to discuss whether the famous "crisis" of the EU was ended. To that end, three aspects were questioned: issues of democratic deficit, political economy aspects and international relation. Despite the diversity of those perspectives, the contributions draw attention to the great resilience of the EU as an institutional network of cooperation between national and transnational elites.

Two presentations related to economic issues were selected as best papers by the organizing committee: David SCHÄFER (London School of Economics and Political Science) for "*The Grand Bargain on Banking Union: Arguing and Bargaining in the European Council*" and Pierre VANHEUVERZWIJN (Centre d'étude de la vie politique, Institut d'Études Européennes, ULB) for "*A good or a bad cop? The Commission as a policy manager in the European Semester*". This last paper will be soon published in the journal *Politique européenne* consistently with the partnership with this journal.

Christakis GEORGIU (Université de Montpellier)

Title: *Disintegration or trigger for greater integration? The impact of the eurozone crisis on the EU's economic governance architecture*

The consequences of the eurozone crisis are the most salient issue in current debates about the EU's prospects. Various commentators have argued that the crisis is leading to the Union's breakdown. This paper makes a diametrically different case. By reference to the theory of European integration developed in my PhD, according to which European integration is the key dimension in what can be called the 'corporate reconstruction of European capitalism', it argues that the crisis is proving to be a trigger for a significantly greater degree of integration in Europe. The eurozone crisis has demonstrated that EMU's initial design was defective. As a result, the immediate crisis-management policy pursued by European leaders as well as the long-term

agenda for institutional innovation involve an attempt to address the institutional shortcomings of EMU that at some point will entail Treaty change. The paper begins by introducing the 'integration as corporate reconstruction' theory. It then outlines the mainsprings of the eurozone crisis before moving on to show how the European corporate elite has responded to the eurozone crisis by expressing a clear preference for deeper integration. The paper concludes by arguing that on the basis of current trends, the 2010s will go down in history as the decade when the eurozone became a fiscal and banking union.

Femke GREMMELPREZ (Ghent University)

Title: *Upholding the fundamental values within the European Union: Pre- and Post-Accession.*

The European Union is founded on the fundamental values enshrined in Article 2 TEU. Through the pre-accession procedure, potential Member States have to respect and satisfy these fundamental values before joining the European Union. Once they become members of the European Union, they have to uphold these values. Nevertheless, recent developments within certain Member States made clear that not all Member States are able to keep up with the high standards during their membership. Moreover, some Member States are even allowed to join the European Union without satisfying the fundamental values. Although the European Union has several tools at its disposal to act against non-compliant Member States, such as the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism for Romania and Bulgaria, the nuclear option of Article 7 TEU, and the original infringement procedure under Article 258 TFEU, these tools fail to produce the desired outcome since Member States are still violating the fundamental values. Moreover, the European Union creates an increased risk for infringements with respect to the fundamental values and ultimately for the European integration process.

Nikki IKANI (King's College London)

Title: *Continuity and change in EU foreign policy*

The fact that the challenges stemming from the neighborhood put stress on the Union's policies and strategies seems obvious. But when can we expect a crisis to induce the European Union to change its foreign policy course? To fully appreciate the current state of the Union and its capacity for recovery, it is argued, we need more insight in the factors and conditions that determine whether the EU changes its foreign policy. Within the framework of a research project on the determinants of EU foreign policy change in the neighborhood, this paper addresses the uncertain state of the Union through assessing its capacity for change. It follows an inductive approach, looking in more detail at how, in two case studies (Ukraine and Egypt) external pressures on EU policy may lead to EU foreign policy change. Existing approaches to EU

foreign policy are primarily deductive, engaging in the testing of existing EU integration theories. Due to the complexity of the EU as an international actor, this sort of analysis has provided many insights into the EU's international role and its actorness. It is argued, however, that this has left the puzzle of when the EU chooses to deviate from its policy incomplete. As will be shown below, no approach fully captures the decision-making process between the moment a policy discrepancy becomes apparent, and the potential outcome of foreign policy change. An inductive approach, as applied here, will help to discern the underlying order of EU action – or inaction – in foreign policy, enabling to find patterns in EU foreign policy change. The decision-making process on which actors and factors in EU foreign policy making are dependent in order for actual policy change to occur, it will be argued, needs to be put center stage. To this aim, this paper uses insights from Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA).

Camille KELBEL (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

Title: *Leading us up the Secret Garden Path: Formal Processes of Candidate Selection for European Elections*

The ways in which political parties conduct nominations for public office is a key feature of contemporary democracies. Candidate selection is a main filter to elected positions. To the extent that it can sometimes prove more decisive than the election itself: in the case of safe seats, parties find themselves in a position to choose directly who will hold office. Candidate selection is also a key function of political parties and part of their still decisive linkage role between society and government. Understanding how parties concretely manage such function is thus by no means trivial.

This paper intends to shed light on formal processes of candidate selection for European elections. More precisely, it aims at offering a description of these processes and accounting for their variety. To do so, it proceeds as follows. After situating these processes in the wider literature on recruitment, an analytical framework is developed and adapted to the case at hand. Theoretical perspectives considering selection as an institution are put forward, helping to generate expectations on the shape and design of the processes. Empirically, the chapter examines the formal processes of selection – that is, party rules governing the nomination of candidates - having taking place in the run-up to the 2014 EP elections. A large dataset was collected at the party-level, recording the selection processes used in the 198 national parties having gained representation in the 8th EP legislature. Descriptive statistics are used to display the results, and the main findings highlighted.

Valentin KREILINGER (Hertie School of Governance)

Title: *Activities of National Parliaments in EU Economic Governance*

National Parliaments have consolidated their roles in EU Economic Governance and developed scrutiny procedures regarding its different aspects such as day-to-day coordination and surveillance of fiscal and economic policies in the European Semester, exceptional emergency funding through the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) and cooperation at the Interparliamentary Conference on Stability, Economic Coordination and Governance (“Article 13 Conference”). Beyond parliamentary prerogatives, taking stock of their activities in EU Economic Governance allows assessing to what extent national parliaments use their (new) powers and how they have adapted to the executives’ reaction to the economic and financial crisis. This paper examines how national parliaments scrutinised Stability and Convergence Programmes, National Reform Programmes and Country Specific Recommendations in the 2013 cycle of the European Semester and attendance patterns at the “Article 13 Conference” from its creation in 2013 to 2015 – as examples of their “normal” Economic Governance activities. In addition to that the paper analyses whether national parliaments of Euro Area members voted on the (third) rescue package for Greece in July and August 2015 (and when, i.e. ex-ante and/or ex-post) – as an example of an “exceptional” activity regarding Economic Governance. The paper includes a ranking of parliamentary activities that shows that Germany and Latvia have had the most active parliaments in Economic Governance, while many other Euro Area members have been less active, and it demonstrates that the strength of parliaments in the budget procedure or of European Affairs Committees have only limited explanatory power for variation in activities regarding Economic Governance: The economic and fiscal stance of a country and its public opinion on the coordination of economic policies are better in explaining variation in the activities of national parliaments in Economic Governance.

Agathe PIQUET (Université Panthéon-Assas Paris II)

Title: *Dynamics, actors and motives of european police cooperation. Centralisation in the fight against transnational organised crime.*

Since its integration in the European Union by the Maastricht treaty, police cooperation has proven to be a real complex field to handle, leading to a specific status with the creation of a third pillar which was maintained by the Amsterdam treaty and partly by the Lisbon treaty which provides for various derogations. Nevertheless, how collided the integration of police cooperation can be, it is still in progress and is above all characterised by the growing centralisation due to the extension of the European police office (Europol). Indeed, this dynamics is quite clear having a look on the Europol granted budgets and the personnel that, after having known an exponential growth between 1999 and 2007, didn’t decrease even in the economic and financial crisis context. It is even more important as, since 2010, the financing of Europol is ensured by the European community and no longer by the Member States because it has become

a European agency, a special one with various derogations. This change can be quite surprising as the European Commission itself was in 2008 denouncing the problematic heterogeneous proliferation of European agencies perceived as creating problems for democracy and efficiency. On top of this trend against the tide, Europol's expansion can be observed considering the rising number of missions it has to assume in fields more and more remote from its initial central function around drugs. These elements illustrate the sense of emergency in the European Union about "transnational threats" which conducts to the overuse of what is conceived as the main instrument to fight them at all costs.

All these developments lead to wonder what are the motives and the actors behind such a development. Literature on this topic offers two main explanations: the upholders of realism would invoke a natural and spontaneous development on police cooperation and Europol due to the transnationalisation of threats, whereas the disciples of neofunctionalism tend to consider spillover as the main explicative factor linked to the necessary "compensatory measures" in front of the abolition of frontiers controls and the setting of a common space.

Atsuko SANO (Rikkyo University)

Title: *An attempt to create the national identity through language education
Focus on the changing educational goal of "special" integration courses in
Germany*

This study focuses on "special" integration courses, set by German government since 2007, to grasp if the integration in Germany can be realized. Through the semi-systemized interviews of the participants and the archive of government websites, it is to clarify if the goal of the integration of Germany is realistic and changeable in accordance with a critical situation with surge of refugees.

There are three reasons to investigate "special" Integration courses with only 20% of participants among those of total Integration courses. First, the diversity of the participants is wider than that of "general" integration courses. The courses with 300 hours longer funding periods than other courses', are for the particular needs of certain groups, such as women, parents and so-called Analphabet: participants without sufficient knowledge of the Latin alphabet, to provide. Integration course is known as a measure of German government to overcome the diversity. The variety of participants in "special" integration courses reflects more accurately the recent situation of Germany, where coming people with various cultural, religious and educational background. Second, the educational goals of the courses can be regarded as the line, which the immigrants have to reach, in order to be regarded as "integrated" to Germany. And the last, those are government's attempt to share common social value between native and non-native on the basis of German language and it lead to provide the national identity acceptable for all German people both with and without immigration background. Thus, analyzing special integration courses means to study the groups, which are equivalent to German current diversity, and its educational goals are the "standard", which the government requires immigrants to reach to provide the national identity.

David SCHÄFER (London School of Economics and Political Science)**Title:** *The Grand Bargain on Banking Union: Arguing and Bargaining in the European Council*

This paper seeks to analyse the creation of the EU's recent grand bargain: how did the EU banking union come about? While still in 2011 key member states objected to the creation of joint banking supervision, the eurozone heads of state or government agreed on banking union in June 2012. How do we explain such swift policy reversals? The theoretical framework of this paper consists of a liberal intergovernmentalist explanation (i.e. material interests and power) and an ideational frame. Methodologically, this paper traces the process leading to banking union and establishes a thick description. The sources considered are policy papers and manifestos, press reports, speeches and statements by leading politicians. It also builds on around 60 interviews conducted with key negotiators, including members of the European Council and their sherpas, finance ministers and deputy finance ministers, director-generals, directors, heads of units and relevant technical personnel in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, the European Commission, European Central Bank, Council, and Cabinet of the President of the European Council.

It is argued that three factors were crucial to bring about banking union. Firstly, crisis pressures urged governments to act in order to save the single currency. Crisis pressures opened a window of opportunity and acted as catalysts for policy-change. However, while they explain why governments took action, they do not explain what action they took. Therefore, secondly, ideas matter. In late-2011, policy-makers in member state governments learned that the eurozone is caught in a vicious circle between banks and sovereigns. Contagion spread from one to the other and impeded a return to growth. Instead of put-your-own-house-in-order-policies consisting of bail-outs and structural reforms, the idea of the vicious circle suggested joint banking supervision and resolution to break the link between banks and sovereigns. This new idea became constitutive for member state preferences and paved the way for the agreement on banking union at the turbulent June 2012 Euro Summit. Thirdly, deliberation matters in European Council negotiations. The German government consistently rejected any form of mutualisation during the euro zone crisis. Yet, it had already publicly acknowledged the existence of the vicious circle and therefore Chancellor Merkel could not credibly argue against its solution at the June 2012 Euro Summit. The German government was rhetorically entrapped, which was used by the main policy entrepreneurs of the agreement to bring about an agreement on banking union.

Maryna SHEVTSOVA (Humboldt University)

Title: *Europeanization and human rights norms diffusion in third countries: searching for alternative to ‘Normative Power Europe’*

The present paper engages with the analysis of Europeanization of different domains in third countries related to the promotion of human rights of LGBTI people. It examines top-down efforts the EU put on third countries governments and the effects of the EU’s strategies to empower domestic civil society. Drawing on in-depth semi-structured interviews with political actors and experts as well as on extensive policy and document analysis this paper aims to answer following research questions: How does the European Union influences situation with LGBTI rights in third countries? Is there traceable progress with LGBTI rights promotion in these countries which could be attributed to the EU influence? What mechanisms does the EU use to promote its norms ‘beyond Europe’?

Simona SOBOTOVICOVA (University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU - Université de Pau et des Pays de l’Adour, UPPA)

Title: *The free movement of third country nationals in the European Union and its impact on immigrant integration*

Europe is part of a globalized and interconnected world where international mobility is expected to increase. The current European Union (EU) legislation after entry into force of Lisbon Treaty is facing new challenges in the field of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. The EU shall propose a new legal framework in migration phenomena regarding the current migration flows. There is a significant “*Europeanization*” of migration policy. The last EU enlargement shifted the migration from classical working class immigration, to the so-called “brain drain immigration”, since now younger and highly educated people tend to migrate more in other countries to pursue their professional career. The present paper assets to identify the main key research questions related to the EU legal migration policy. The article brings together an overview of current EU policy for third nationals when they decide to enter and/or work in the EU territory legally, pointing out that decision as a challenge or as an opportunity for these citizens.

Pierre VANHEUVERZWIJN (Centre d’étude de la vie politique, Institut d’Études Européennes, ULB)

Title: *A good or a bad cop? The Commission as a policy manager in the European Semester*

The financial, economic and sovereign debt crisis that hit the European Union (EU) in 2008 has led to a broad revamping of its architecture of economic governance. Scholars largely disagree

on which institutional actor has come out as the winner from this. This paper attempts to contribute to this debate by examining a somewhat overlooked aspect of the post-crisis economic governance, namely its implementation by the Commission since the first cycle of the European Semester (ES) in 2011. The main argument is that although the decisions to respond to the crisis have to a large extent been initiated and taken by the Member States, the incomplete character of what are defined as two different “contracts” of delegation from the Member States to the supranational level has left the Commission with important discretionary power over the ES. This is demonstrated through an analysis of the Commission’s discretion in the enforcement of the Macroeconomic Imbalance Procedure and the Stability and Growth Pact as well as in the very organization of the ES. At the same time, the paper also shows that the Commission seems to use its discretionary power very carefully by mixing an understanding and inflexible attitude vis-à-vis Member States, thus employing the “good cop, bad cop” strategy.

Lucie-Qian XIA (University of Oxford)

Title: *The State of EU-China Relations: Actors, Networks and Diplomacy*

In light of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of EU-China diplomatic relations, this paper investigates a novel way of understanding the state of EU-China relations through the prism of a network-based diplomatic approach. The overarching research question guiding the paper is how does diplomacy, as a method of building and managing relations, play a role in the multifaceted EU-China relationship? The findings of the research will open the black box of the making of EU-China diplomatic relations. Data utilised in the research comprises primary and secondary sources, which includes official documents and speeches, interviews, diplomatic statements and scholarly literature. The research is grounded in qualitative analysis and incorporates methods from network analysis to develop a methodology for network mapping in international relations.

The first part of the paper examines the limitations of the main theoretical debates in the scholarly assessment of the rapid development of EU-China relations. It underscores the analytic importance of a diplomatic approach to our understanding of the ever more important relationship. The second section introduces a network analytical framework to capture the complexity that characterises the multi-actor and multi-level EU-China relations and the ebb and flow of interactions between the two sides. It contends that a network approach to the decision-making processes involved in the making of EU-China relations can offer a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the mechanisms and processes in EU and Chinese foreign policy decision-making. The third section of the paper presents the ongoing findings by illuminating the different types of actors and institutions constituting the fabric of EU-China relations and explains the formal and informal decision-making procedures. The paper concludes by theorising a network-based analysis applied to the study of diplomacy.

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21 - 22 January 2016
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Thursday, 21st January

Room 900, 9 rue de la Chaise - 75007 Paris

2:00 pm *Welcome coffee and address*

DEMOCRATIC VALUES & EUROPEAN LEGITIMACY

Chair: **Wolfgang Wessels** (University of Cologne, Jean Monnet Chair)

- 2:15 - 3:00 pm **Femke Gremmelprez** (Ghent University)
“**Upholding democratic values within the EU: Pre- and post-accession**”
Junior discussant: **Camille Kelbel**
Senior discussant: **Olivier Rozenberg** (Sciences Po, CEE)
- 3:00 - 3:45 pm **Camille Kelbel** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)
“**“Secret Garden” or Jungle out There? An analysis of Candidate Selection Processes for European Elections**”
Junior discussant: **Maryna Shevtsova**
Senior discussant: **Olivier Rozenberg**
- 3:45 - 4:30 pm **Atsuko Sano** (Rikkyo University)
“**An attempt to create the national identity through language education. Focus on the changing educational goal of “special” integration courses in Germany**”
Junior discussant: **Agathe Piquet**
Senior discussant: **Wolfgang Wessels**
- 4:30 - 4:45 pm *Coffee break*
- 4:45 - 5:30 pm **Simona Sobotovicova** (University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU
Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour, UPPA)
“**The free movement of third country nationals in the EU and its impact on immigrant integration**”
Junior discussant: **Pierre Vanheuverzwijn**
Senior discussant: **Riva Kastoryano** (Sciences Po, CERI)

Friday, 22nd January

Room Goguel, 56 rue des Saints-Pères - 75007 Paris (Entrance through the 27 rue Saint-Guillaume)

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND ECONOMIC GOUVERNANCE

Chair: Renaud Dehousse (Sciences Po, CEE)

- 9:30 - 10:15 am **Pierre Vanheuverzwijn** (Centre d'étude de la vie politique, Institut d'Études Européennes, ULB)
“Managing the European Semester: reassessing the role of the Commission in the EU’s new economic governance”
Junior discussant: **Simona Sobotovicova**
Senior discussant: **Bruno Palier** (Sciences Po, CEE, CNRS)
- 10:15 - 11:00 am **Christakis Georgiou** (Université de Montpellier)
“Disintegration or trigger for greater integration? The impact of the Eurozone crisis on the EU's economic governance architecture”
Junior discussant: **Lucie Qian Xia**
Senior discussant: **Bruno Palier**
- 11:00 - 11:15 am *Coffee break*
- 11:15 - 12:00 am **Valentin Kreiling** (Hertie School of Governance)
“Activities of National Parliaments in EU Economic Governance”
Senior discussant: **Renaud Dehousse**
- 12:00 - 12:45 pm **David Schäfer** (London School of Economics and Political Science)
“A banking union of ideas?”
Junior discussant: **Atsuko Sano**
Senior discussant: **Renaud Dehousse**
- 12:45 *Lunch Break*

EU IN THE WORLD

Chair: Christian Lequesne (Sciences Po, CERI)

- 1:30 - 2:15 pm **Nikki Ikani** (King’s College London)
“EU foreign policy change as a response to challenges”
Junior discussant: **Valentin Kreiling**
Senior discussant: **Christian Lequesne**

- 2:15 - 3:00 pm **Lucie Qian Xia** (University of Oxford)
“The state of EU-China relations: actors, networks and diplomacy”
Junior discussant: **Femke Gremmelprez**
Senior discussant: **Benedetta Voltolini** (Sciences Po, CEE)
- 3:00 - 3:15 pm *Coffee break*
- 3:15 - 4:00 pm **Maryna Shevtsova** (Humboldt University)
“Europeanization and human rights norms diffusion in third countries: searching for alternative to ‘Normative Power Europe’”
Junior discussant: **Nikki Ikani**
Senior discussant: **Benedetta Voltolini**
- 4:00 - 4:45 pm **Agathe Piquet** (Université Panthéon-Assas Paris II)
“Dynamics, actors and motives of European police cooperation centralisation in the fight against transnational organised crime”
Junior discussant: **David Schäfer**
Senior discussant: **Benedetta Voltolini**

