

Bibliography

Articles

Andor, László, “Risks of a Slow-Motion EMU Reform.” *European Journal of Economics and Economic Policies* 16 (2) (2019): 226–237.

Bauer, Michael and Stefan Becker, “The Unexpected Winner of the Crisis: The European Commission’s Strengthened Role in Economic Governance.” *Journal of European Integration* 36, April (2014): 213–229.

Beach, Derek, “It’s All About Mechanisms—What Process-Tracing Case Studies Should be Tracing.” *New Political Economy* 21, no. 5 (2016): 463–72.

Copeland, Paul and Scott James, “Policy windows, ambiguity and Commission entrepreneurship: explaining the relaunch of the European Union’s economic reform agenda.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21:1 (2014): 1–19.

Glöckler, Gabriel, Marion Salines and Zbigniew Truchlewski, “Existential Crisis, Incremental Response: The Eurozone’s Dual Institutional Evolution 2007–2011.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 19 (5) (2012): 665–681.

Hanck, Pedro León Sanjurjo and College of Europe, Department of European Political and Administrative Studies, “A Purposeful Opportunist?: The Juncker Commission and EMU Reform.” *Bruges Political Research Papers*, 72/2018.

Heldt, Eugénia C. and Tony Mueller. “The (self-)empowerment of the European Central Bank during the sovereign debt crisis.” *Journal of European Integration*, 43:1 (2021): 83–98.

Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Keleman and Sophie Meunier, “Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration”, *Comparative Political Studies* 49(7) (2016): 1010–1034.

Bibliography

Ojala, Markus. "Doing Away with the Sovereign: Neoliberalism and the Promotion of Market Discipline in European Economic Governance", *New Political Economy*, 26:1 (2021): 203–215.

Otero-Iglesias, Miguel, "Stateless Euro: The Euro Crisis and the Revenge of the Chartalist Theory of Money." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53 (2014): 349–364.

Schimmelfennig, Frank, "European Integration in the Euro Crisis: The Limits of Postfunctionalism." *Journal of European Integration*, 36:3 (2014): 321–337.

Schöller, Magnus G., "Leadership by Default: The ECB and the Announcement of Outright Monetary Transactions." *Credit and Capital Markets – Kredit und Kapital* 51 (1) (2018): 73–91.

Schwarzer, Daniela, "The Euro Area Crises, Shifting Power Relations and Institutional Change in the European Union.", *Global Policy* 3, Supplement 1, December (2012): 28–41.

Scicluna, Nicole, "Integration through the disintegration of law? The ECB and EU constitutionalism in the crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (12) (2018): 1874–1891.

van 't Klooster, Jens, "Technocratic Keynesianism: a paradigm shift without legislative change." *New Political Economy* 27(5) (2022): 1–17.

Ville, Ferdi de, Dieter Berckvens, and College of Europe, Department of European Political and Administrative Studies, "What Do Eurozone Academics Think About EMU Reform?: On Broad Support and German Exceptionalism.", *Bruges Political Research Papers*, 41/2015.

Books

Eichengreen, Barry. "The Irish Crisis and the EU from a Distance." In *Ireland: Lessons from Its Recovery from the Bank-Sovereign Doom Loop*, prepared by IMF European Department, 109–127. Washington D.C.: International Monetary Fund, 2015.

Benz, Arthur. "European Public Administration as a Multilevel Administration: A Conceptual Framework." In *The Palgrave Handbook of the European Administrative Aystem*, edited by M. Bauer and J. Trondal, 31–47. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Cardiff, Kevin. "Back to a different normal". In *The Political Economy of Adjustment Throughout and Beyond the Eurozone Crisis What Have We Learned?*, edited by. Michele Chang, Federico Steinberg, and Torres García Francisco, Routledge Advances in European Politics, 94–121. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2021.

Catão, Luís A. V. "Reforms and external balances in Southern Europe and Ireland." In *Economic Crisis and Structural Reforms in Southern Europe: Policy Lessons.*, edited by Paulo Manasse and Dimitris Katsikas, 89–112. Abingdon, Oxon, 2018.

Chang, Michele, *Economic and Monetary Union*. The European Union Series. (London: Macmillan Education, Palgrave, 2016).

Chang, Michele, Federico Steinberg, and Torres García Francisco. "After the bailout". In *The Political Economy of Adjustment Throughout and Beyond the Eurozone Crisis What Have We Learned?*, edited Michele Chang, Federico Steinberg, and Torres García Francisco, Routledge Advances in European Politics, 1–13. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2021.

Cuello, Carlos, Federico Geli and Carlos Herrero. "Some unpleasant labour arithmetics. A tale of the Spanish 2012 labour market reform." In *Economic Crisis and Structural Reforms in Southern Europe : Policy Lessons.*, edited by Paulo Manasse and Dimitris Katsikas, 140–161. Abingdon, Oxon, 2018.

Donatella Della Porta. "Comparative Analysis: case-oriented versus variable-oriented research." In *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by D. Della Porta and M. Keating, 198–222. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

European Parliament, *EMU reform and the “new normal” for economic policy*. Monetary Dialogue, Brussels: European Union, 2018.

Ferreiro, Jesús and Felipe Serrano. "The Economic Crisis in Spain: Contagion Effects and Distinctive Factors", in *The Euro Crisis. International Papers in Political Economy*, edited by Arestis, Philip, and Malcolm C Sawyer, 235–269. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Hemerijck, Anton and Manos Matsaganis, "The legacy of the eurozone crisis." In *Who's afraid of the welfare state now*, edited by Hemerijck and Matsaganis, 1–49. Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2023.

Henning, Randall. "The ECB as a Strategic Actor: Central Banking in a Politically Fragmented Monetary Union." In *The Political and Economic Dynam-*

Bibliography

ics of the Eurozone Crisis, edited by James A. Caporaso, and Martin Rhodes, 167–199. Oxford: Oxford Academic, 2016.

Hopkin, Jonathan. “The Troubled Southern Periphery: The Euro Experience in Italy and Spain.” In *The Future of the Euro*, edited by Matthias Matthijs and Mark Blyth, 161–184. New York, Oxford University Press, 2015.

Kincaid, G. Russell. “The euro crisis”. In *The Political Economy of Adjustment Throughout and Beyond the Eurozone Crisis What Have We Learned?*, edited by Michele Chang, Federico Steinberg, and Torres García Francisco, Routledge Advances in European Politics, 17–37. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2021.

Kitromilides, Yiannis. “The Irish Tragedy.” In *The Euro Crisis*. International Papers in Political Economy, edited by Arestis, Philip, and Malcolm C Sawyer, 159–195. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Otero-Iglesias, Miguel and Federico Steinberg. “The restructuring of Spain’s banking system. A political economy approach.” In *Economic Crisis and Structural Reforms in Southern Europe : Policy Lessons.*, edited by Paulo Manasse and Dimitris Katsikas, 226–238. Abingdon, Oxon, 2018.

Pagoulatos, George. “Integrating through Crises: Revisiting the Eurozone’s Reform Conundrum.” In *Europe’s Transformations – Essays in Honour of Loukas Tsoukalis*, edited by H. Wallace, N. Koutsiaras, G. Pagoulatos, 147–163. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Pernice, Ingolf and Rüdiger Schwarz, eds., *Europa in Der Welt : Von Der Finanzkrise Zur Reform Der Union*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013.

Pisani-Ferry, Jean, *The Euro Crisis and Its Aftermath*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Riddervold, Marianne, Jarle Trondal and Akasemi Newsome. “European Union Crisis: An Introduction.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of EU Crises*, edited by Marianne Riddervold, Jarle Trondal and Akasemi Newsome, 3–47. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

Royo, Sebastián and Federico Steinberg. “Using a sectoral bailout to make wide reforms”. In *The Political Economy of Adjustment Throughout and Beyond the Eurozone Crisis What Have We Learned?*, edited by Michele Chang, Federico Steinberg, and Torres García Francisco, Routledge Advances in European Politics, 157–180. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2021.

Venesson, Pascal. "Case Studies and Process Tracing: Theories and Practices." In *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by D. Della Porta and M. Keating, 223–239. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Walter, Stefanie, Ari Ray, and Nils Redecker, *The Politics of Bad Options : Why the Eurozone's Problems Have Been so Hard to Resolve*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Official Documents

Banco de España, Eurosistema, "Report on the Financial and Banking Crisis in Spain, 2008–2014". May 2017.

European Commission, "Completing Europe's Economic and Monetary Union" ("Five Presidents' Report"). Report by Jean-Claude Juncker in close cooperation with Donald Tusk, Jeroen Dijsselbloem, Mario Draghi and Martin Schulz. June 2015.

European Commission, "Memorandum of Understanding on Financial-Sector Policy Conditionality. Spain." 20th July 2012. Accessed on 18/04/2023 at: https://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/eu_borrower/mou/2012-07-20-spain-mou_en.pdf

European Commission, "Memorandum of Understanding on Specific Economic Policy Conditionality. Ireland." 3rd December 2010. Accessed on 18/04/2023 at: https://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/articles/eu_economic_situation/pdf/2010-12-07-mou_en.pdf

European Commission, "Reflection Paper on the Deepening of the Economic and Monetary Union", *Official Journal of the European Union*, COM(2017) 291, 31 May 2017.

European Commission, "Reflection Paper on the Future of EU Finances", *Official Journal of the European Union*, COM(2017) 358, 28 June 2017.

European Commission, "White Paper On The Future Of Europe", *Official Journal of the European Union*, COM(2017)2025, 1 March 2017.

European Union, "Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union of 13 December 2007", *Official Journal of the European Union*, C115, 26 October 2012.

Houses of the Oireachtas, “Report of the Joint Committee of Inquiry into the Banking Crisis” (Inquiries, Privileges and Procedures) Act, 2013. January 2016.

International Monetary Fund, “Spain: Financial Sector Reform – Final Progress Report”, *IMF Country Report* No. 14/59, February 2014.

Speeches

Kees de Jager, Jan, “Structural conditions for a viable EMU”, speech, 24/05/2011, accessed in *Europa in Der Welt : Von Der Finanzkrise Zur Reform Der Union*, edited by Pernice, Ingolf and Rüdiger Schwarz, 287–293. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013.

Ohler, Christoph, “Die Bewältigung der Schuldenkrise in Europa” [The Tackling of the Debt Crisis in Europe], speech, 01/11/2011, accessed in *Europa in Der Welt : Von Der Finanzkrise Zur Reform Der Union*, edited by Pernice, Ingolf and Rüdiger Schwarz, 305–317. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013.

Schäuble, Wolfgang, Bundesminister der Finanzen, “Reform der europäischen Finanzregeln – für eine bessere Verfassung Europas” [Reform of the European financial rules – for a better European constitution], speech, 26/01/2011, accessed in *Europa in Der Welt : Von Der Finanzkrise Zur Reform Der Union*, edited by Pernice, Ingolf and Rüdiger Schwarz, 221–235. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013.

Van Rompuy, Herman, President of the European Council, “The discovery of co-responsibility: Europe in the debt crisis”, speech, 06/02/2012, Humboldt University Berlin, Walter Hallstein Institute for European Constitutional Law. Accessed on 22/04/2023 at: https://www.eerstekamer.nl/eu/documenten/_the_discovery_of_co/f=vixnbiwjrsod.pdf

Westlake, Martin, EECS Secretary General, speech, 03–04/05/2012, Dublin meeting of the Secretaries General of the national Economic and Social Councils and the European Economic and Social Committee. Accessed on 28/04/2023 at: <https://www.eesc.europa.eu/ceslink/sites/default/files/toolip-old-resources/docs/4-may-2012-dublin-speech-mw-to-national-esc-sgs.pdf>

Interviews

Interview 1 – Interview with a senior official of the Central Bank of Spain, conducted on 04/04/2023 (online).

Interview 2 – Interview with a senior official from the Central Bank of Ireland, conducted on 20/03/2023 (online).

Interview 3 – Interview with a senior banker from Ireland, conducted on 26/04/2023 (online).

Interview 4 – Interview with a senior official from the ECB, conducted on 31/03/2023, Bruges.

Interview 5 – Interview with an academic in the field of European Political Economy, conducted on 30/03/2023, Bruges.

Interview 6 – Interview with an academic in the field of European Political Economy, conducted on 22/03/2023, Bruges.

Other

“On EU Budget Rules Reform, Member States Stand”, *What’s up EU*, 12/04/2023, accessed on 02/05/2023 at: https://whatsupeuenglish.substack.com/p/member-states-divided-over-budget?utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email