**Winter 2022 The European Union as an International Actor**

**Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies**

**EURR 5109/INAF 5805**

**Tuesdays, 8:35-11:25AM, Tory 238**

**Instructor’s name:** Annegret Bendiek

**Course description**

The European Union (EU) has reached a new momentum in its development, characterised by contestation online and offline. EU politics have moved from a permissive consensus in place until the early 1990s (Hooghe & Marks, 2009) to increased contestation dynamics with the emergence of the Internet (De Wilde, Koopmans, Merkel & Zürn, 2019). EU policies are being contested, both domestically as well as on the global level by global power competition and the contestation of norms of multilateral cooperation offline and online (Aggestam & Hyde‐Price, 2019; Ikenberry, 2018). This seminar aims to analyse EU external relations by answering the question of: what kind of actor is the EU and how contested is the EU as an international actor?

The theoretical starting point for this seminar is the EU’s international role and the concept of contestation (online and offline). We will study different instruments of EU’s actorness by analysing the varieties of contestation patterns in EU external relations (online and offline). External relations can take multiple forms (neighbourhood policy, transatlantic cooperation, connectivity or external energy relations etc.), can be implemented by various institutional actors and through various instruments, and can vary substantially across regions and the different layers of the Internet. This seminar explores what kind of actor the EU is, whether the EU’s actorness is contested and if we can identify patterns across different aspects of EU external relations. Finally, what lessons can be learned for the EU’s capacity to act as an international actor?

**Required readings**

The literature knowledge is compulsory for all, but not all articles have to be prepared by everyone. The seminar participants have to read at least two texts thoroughly for each session and should be prepared to present them to the other course participants. This includes deriving the relevance of the text and a research question. Reading lists are distributed for each working group in the first session. One working group consists of 2 persons who have to read and prepare the summary of at least 3 texts each on a weekly basis. All required texts are available as electronic class reserves on the ARES system of the MacOdrum Library (accessible on Brightspace).

**Evaluation**

Credits can be earned in this course through (a) regular attendance (25%), (b) critical presentation of a text (25%), and (c) a term paper of 5,000 words (50%).

**Submission of coursework:**

Term papers must be submitted by April 30 at annegret.bendiek@swp-berlin.org. Term papers can also be submitted by email on Brightspace, the account will be announced in the beginning of the course. Term papers will be evaluated within the framework of the attached list of criteria. Term papers should use the following outline: (1) Introduction and Research Question, (2) Literature, (3) own argument, (4) evidence, (5) Conclusion, (6) Bibliography.

**Course schedule**

**11.1. EU as an Actor in International Affairs: Why Bother?**

*Introduction, Organisation, Workload and Distribution of the Required Reading List for each Working Group*

Michael Smith (2021) De-Europeanisation in European foreign policy-making:

assessing an exploratory research agenda, Journal of European Integration, 43:5, 637-649 DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2021.1927012

<https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2021.1927012>

Bossong, R., & Rhinard, M. (2021). The internal and external security nexus in Europe. The Making of European Security Policy: Between Institutional Dynamics and Global Challenges, in: Roberta Haar, Thomas Christiansen, Sabina Lange, Sophie Vanhoonacker (Eds.): The Making of European Security Policy. Between Institutional Dynamics and Global Challenges

Routledge

Karen E Smith (2021) Emotions and EU foreign policy, in: International Affairs, Volume 97, Issue 2, March 2021, Pages 287–304.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaa218>

Dermot Hodson & Uwe Puetter (2019) The European Union in disequilibrium: new intergovernmentalism, postfunctionalism and integration theory in the post-Maastricht period, Journal of European Public Policy, 26:8, 1153-1171

DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2019.1569712

Julian Pänke. (2019) Liberal Empire, Geopolitics and EU Strategy: Norms and Interests in European Foreign Policy Making. Geopolitics 24:1, pages 100-123.

Hillion, Christophe (2017), Conferral, Cooperation and Balance in the Institutional Framework of the EU External Action. M Cremona (ed) Structural principles in EU external relations law (Oxford: Hart Publishing). <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2917203>

Andrew Moravcsik (2017) Europe Is Still a Superpower. And it's going to remain one for decades to come, in Foreign Affairs, April, 13th.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/13/europe-is-still-a-superpower/>

Roy H. Ginsberg (1999). Conceptualizing the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectations Gap, JCMS 37:3, 429-454.

Hill, Christopher 1993: The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role, in JCMS 31:3.

**Theory**

**18.1. Normative Power**

Anatoly Boyashov ‘The EU in Prevention Networks of the UN Human Rights Council’, Journal of European Integration, Vol 44(2), 2022

Ana E. Juncos & Karolina Pomorska (2021) Contesting procedural norms: the

impact of politicisation on European foreign policy cooperation, European Security, 30:3, 367-384, DOI: 10.1080/09662839.2021.1947799

Lavenex, Sandra. "Common market, normative power or super-state? Conflicting political identities in EU asylum and immigration policy." Comparative European Politics 17.4 (2019): 567-584

Mark Langan. (2012) Normative Power Europe and the Moral Economy of Africa–EU Ties: A Conceptual Reorientation of ‘Normative Power’. New Political Economy 17:3, pages 243-270.

Manners, I., & Diez, T. (2007). Reflecting on Normative Power Europe. In F. Berenskoetter, & M. J. Williams (Eds.), *Power in World Politics* (pp. 173-188). Routledge. Available at <https://rucforsk.ruc.dk/ws/files/38384259/Diez_and_Manners_Reflecting_on_normative_power_Europe_Berenskoetter_and_Williams_2007.pdf>

Ian Manners (2006) Normative power Europe reconsidered: beyond the crossroads, Journal of European Public Policy, 13:2, 182-199, DOI: [10.1080/13501760500451600](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760500451600)

Helene Sjursen (2006) The EU as a ‘normative’ power: how can this be?, Journal of European Public Policy, 13:2, 235-251, DOI: [10.1080/13501760500451667](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760500451667)

Manners, Ian (2002). Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms? Journal of Common Market Studies Volume40, Issue2, Pages 235-258.

**25.1. Realist/ Normal Power**

Daniel C. Thomas (2021) The Return of Intergovernmentalism? DeEuropeanisation and EU Foreign Policy Decision-making, Journal of European Integration, 43:5,

619-635, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2021.1927013

Patrick Müller, Karolina Pomorska & Ben Tonra (2021) The Domestic

Challenge to EU Foreign Policy-Making: From Europeanisation to de-Europeanisation?, Journal of European Integration, 43:5, 519-534,

DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2021.1927015

Lisbeth Aggestam & Adrian Hyde-Price (2020) Learning to Lead?

Germany and the Leadership Paradox in EU Foreign Policy, German Politics, 29:1, 8-24, DOI: 10.1080/09644008.2019.1601177

Lisbeth Aggestam and Federica Bicchi (2019) New Directions in EU Foreign Policy Governance: Cross-Loading, Leadership and Informal Groupings, Journal of Common Market Studies, 57 (3), 515-532

Susanne Therese Hansen, Nicholas Marsh. (2015) [Normative power and organized hypocrisy: European Union member states' arms export to Libya](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09662839.2014.967763). *European Security* 24:2, pages 264-286.

Ramon Pacheco Pardo. (2012) Normal Power Europe: Non-Proliferation and the Normalization of EU's Foreign Policy. Journal of European Integration 34:1, pages 1-18.

Anand Menon Interests (2011), Power and the EU’s Role in International Security: A Sceptical Response to Normative Institutionalism, In Daniel C. Thomas (ed.):

Making EU Foreign Policy National Preferences, European Norms and Common Policies

Adrian Hyde-Price (2006) ‘Normative’ power Europe: a realist critique, Journal of European Public Policy, 13:2, 217-234, DOI: 10.1080/13501760500451634

**1.2. Market and Regulatory Power**

Matthew J Slaughter and David H. McCormick (2021): Data Is Power. Foreign Affairs

Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman. Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion, International Security (2019) 44 (1): 42–79.

Annegret Bendiek and Magnus Römer (2019) "Externalizing Europe: the global effects of European data protection", in: Digital Policy, Regulation and Governance, Emerald Publishing Limited, Vol. 21 Issue 1, January 2019

Amy Bradford (2016) “The EU as a Regulatory Power”, in: Mark Leonhard (ed.) Connectivity Wars. Why trade, migration and finance are the geo-economic battlegrounds of the future, 133-142 <https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/Connectivity_Wars.pdf>

Chad Damro. (2015) [Market power Europe: exploring a dynamic conceptual framework](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13501763.2015.1046903). *Journal of European Public Policy*22:9, pages 1336-1354.

Jesper Dahl Kelstrup. (2015) [Market Power Europe—A Constructive Critique](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01900692.2015.1053610). *International Journal of Public Administration*38:12, pages 895-901.

Andreas Goldthau, Nick Sitter. (2014) [A liberal actor in a realist world? The Commission and the external dimension of the single market for energy](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13501763.2014.912251). *Journal of European Public Policy* 21:10, pages 1452-1472.

**Cases**

**15.2. Fighting Environmental Degradation**

Sebastian Oberthür & Claire Dupont (2021) The European Union’s international climate leadership: towards a grand climate strategy?, Journal of European Public Policy, 28:7, 1095-1114, DOI: [10.1080/13501763.2021.1918218](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918218)

Franziska Petri & Katja Biedenkopf (2021) Weathering growing polarization? The European Parliament and EU foreign climate policy ambitions, Journal of European Public Policy, 28:7, 1057-1075, DOI: [10.1080/13501763.2021.1918216](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918216)

Robert A. Huber, Tomas Maltby, Kacper Szulecki & Stefan Ćetković (2021) Is populism a challenge to European energy and climate policy? Empirical evidence across varieties of populism, Journal of European Public Policy, 28:7, 998-1017, DOI: [10.1080/13501763.2021.1918214](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918214)

Tim Rayner and Andrew Jordan (2016) Climate Change Policy in the European Union, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228620.013.47

https://oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228620.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228620-e-47

Claire Dupont and Diarmuid Torney (2021) European Union Climate Governance and the European Green Deal in Turbulent Times, in: Politics and Governance, 5 Politics and Governance, 2021, Volume 9, Issue 3, Pages 312–315

https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v9i3.489

https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/4896

Sebastian Oberthür (2019) Hard or Soft Governance? The EU’s Climate and Energy Policy Framework for 2030, in: Politics and Governance, 2019, Volume 7, Issue 1, Pages 17–27

DOI: 10.17645/pag.v7i1.1796

https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/1796/1796

**22.2. Break**

**1.3. Governing (in) the Neighbourhood**

Gergana Noutcheva (2021) Normative Power in the Eastern Neighbourhood, in: Roberta Haar, Thomas Christiansen, Sabina Lange, Sophie Vanhoonacker (eds.) The Making of European Security Policy. Between Institutional Dynamics and Global Challenges, Routledge

Cristian Nitoiu, Florin Pasatoiu. (2020) [Hybrid geopolitics in EU-Russia relations: understanding the persistence of conflict and cooperation](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/21599165.2020.1838488). *East European Politics* 36:4, pages 499-514.

Serida L. Catalano, Paolo R. Graziano. (2016) [Europeanization as a Democratization Tool? The Case of Morocco](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13629395.2015.1129778). *Mediterranean Politics* 21:3, pages 364-386.

Kristi Raik, Ruxandra Lupu Dinesen. (2015) [The European Union and Upheavals in its Neighborhood: A Force for Stability?](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01900692.2015.1015550). *International Journal of Public Administration* 38:12, pages 902-914.

Sonja Grimm, Okka Lou Mathis. (2015) [Stability First, Development Second, Democracy Third: The European Union's Policy towards the Post-Conflict Western Balkans, 1991–2010](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09668136.2015.1055237). *Europe-Asia Studies* 67:6, pages 916-947.

Dmytro Panchuk, Fabienne Bossuyt. (2014) [Effectiveness of EU democracy promotion in the neighbourhood through the lens of foreign policy analysis](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13510347.2014.935732). *Democratization* 21:7, pages 1341-1348.

Jan Zielonka (2008) Europe as a Global Actor: Empire by Example?, in: International Affairs,

Vol. 84, No. 3, Power and Rules in the Changing Economic Order (May, 2008), pp. 471-484

**8.3. EU’s global security engagement: Sifting boundaries of the Justice and Home Affairs, CSDP and CFSP**

Cullen, Patrick (2021) "A perspective on EU hybrid threat early warning efforts." Hybrid Warfare: Security and Asymmetric Conflict in International Relations. By Mikael Weissmann, Niklas Nilsson, Björn Palmertz and Per Thunholm. London: I.B. Tauris, 2021. 46–57. Bloomsbury Collections. Web. 24 Nov. 2021. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781788317795.0009>

Francesco Giumelli, Fabian Hoffmann, and Anna Książczaková (2021) The when, what, where and why of European Union sanctions, in European Security, Vol. 30, No. 1, 1-23

https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2020.1797685

Trineke Palm, Ben Crum. (2019) [Military operations and the EU’s identity as an international security actor](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09662839.2019.1667769). *European Security* 28:4, pages 513-534.

Annegret Bendiek and Raphael Bossong (2019) Shifting Boundaries of the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy. A Challenge to the Rule of Law, SWP Research Paper 2019/RP 12, 25.09.2019, 28 Seiten

doi:10.18449/2019RP12

Oliveira Martins, Bruno, and Michael Strange. "Rethinking EU external migration policy: contestation and critique." Global Affairs 5.3 (2019): 195-202.

Marianne Riddervold. (2018) [A humanitarian mission in line with human rights? Assessing Sophia, the EU’s naval response to the migration crisis](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09662839.2018.1451842). *European Security* 27:2, pages 158-174.

Christina Eckes (2015): The CFSP and Other EU Policies: A Difference in Nature? In: European foreign affairs review.

**15.3. EU’s bilateral and multilateral relations**

Ferreira-Pereira L.C., Smith M. (2021) Strategic Partnerships in European Union External Action: Evolution and Analysis of a Developing Policy Instrument. In: Ferreira-Pereira L.C., Smith M. (eds) The European Union’s Strategic Partnerships. The European Union in International Affairs. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66061-1_2>

Richard Haass and Charles A. Kupchan, A Concert of Powers for a Global Era

Mar 25, 2021

Annegret Bendiek and Barbara Lippert (2020) Positioning the European Union within the

Sino-American Rivalry, in: Lippert, B., & Perthes, V. (Eds.). (2020). Strategic rivalry between United States and China: causes, tragectories, and implications for Europe (SWP Research Paper, 4/2020). Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik -SWP- Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit. <https://doi.org/10.18449/2020RP04>

Lisbeth Aggestam and Adrian Hyde-Price (2019) Double Trouble: Trump, Transatlantic Relations and European Strategic Autonomy, JCMS 2019 Volume 57, Annual Review

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/jcms.12948>

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes (2018) The European Union’s human rights policy: is the EU’s use of the human rights clause inconsistent?, in: Global Affairs, 4:2-3, 277-289,

DOI: 10.1080/23340460.2018.1535251

Katharina L. Meissner & Lachlan McKenzie (2019) The paradox of human rights conditionality in EU trade policy: when strategic interests drive policy outcomes, Journal of European Public Policy, 26:9, 1273-1291, DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2018.1526203

**22.3. Cyber and digital policy**

Bendiek, Annegret and Eva Pander Maat (2021) The EU’s Cybersecurity Policy: Building a Resilient Regulatory Framework, in: Gabi Siboni/Limor Ezioni, Cybersecurity and Legal-Regulatory Aspects, Israel: World Scientific Publishing Company, January 2021

Jürgen Neyer (2021) After global governance. Technological innovation and the new politics of sovereignty in internet governance, in: Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, August 2021

https://doi.org/10.1007/s41358-021-00290-3

Myriam Dunn Cavelty & Andreas Wenger (2020) Cyber security meets security politics: Complex technology, fragmented politics, and networked science, Contemporary Security Policy, 41:1, 5-32, DOI: [10.1080/13523260.2019.1678855](https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1678855)

Myriam Dunn Cavelty. (2018) Europe's cyber-power. European Politics and Society 19:3, pages 304-320.

André Barrinha and Thomas Renard (2017) Cyber-diplomacy: the making of an international society in the digital age Pages 353-364

<https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2017.1414924>

Andre Barrinha (2016) Cybersecurity in the European Union. Resilience and adaptability in governance policy, European Security, 25:3, 387-389,

DOI: [10.1080/09662839.2016.1160892](https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2016.1160892)

**Colloquium**

29.3. Presentation of Essays

5.4. Presentation of Essays

**Conclusion**

12.4. What Kind of contested actor is the EU?

**COVID-19 related Rules**

Additionally, there are rules related to Covid 19 in place that needs to be respected by all course participants:

“All members of the Carleton community are required to follow COVID-19 prevention measures and all mandatory public health requirements (e.g. wearing a mask, physical distancing, hand hygiene, respiratory and cough etiquette) and mandatory self-screening prior to coming to campus daily. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately, self-isolate, and complete the mandatory symptom reporting tool. For purposes of contact tracing, attendance will be recorded in all classes and labs. Participants can check in using posted QR codes through the cuScreen platform where provided. Students who do not have a smartphone will be required to complete a paper process as indicated on the COVID-19 website. All members of the Carleton community are required to follow guidelines regarding safe movement and seating on campus (e.g. directional arrows, designated entrances and exits, designated seats that maintain physical distancing). In order to avoid congestion, allow all previous occupants to fully vacate a classroom before entering. No food or drinks are permitted in any classrooms or labs.

For the most recent information about Carleton’s COVID-19 response and required measures, please see the University’s COVID-19 webpage and review the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs).

Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca

Please note that failure to comply with University policies and mandatory public health requirements, and endangering the safety of others are considered misconduct under the Student Rights and Responsibilities Policy. Failure to comply with Carleton’s COVID-19 procedures may lead to supplementary action involving Campus Safety and/or Student Affairs.”

**Plagiarism**

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

* any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
* using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
* using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
* submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
* failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course’s instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of “F” for the course.

**Requests for Academic Accommodations**

Please include the following text, provided by Equity and Inclusive Communities, on all course outlines, and read it at the beginning of your first few classes to remind students. For details, see Section 8 above, and the Instructors’ Guide to Academic Accommodation.

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form (click here).

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details click here.

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton’s Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>