

The EU's Role in Global Governance

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CEU Credits: 2

This class uses the CEU e-learning platform.

Please register on the website and download schedule and reading materials.

The European Union is trying to establish itself as an independent actor in the global system. In doing so, it does not see itself as simply another power alongside the already established major powers. Without real statehood in the classical sense and without the ability to project power, it sees itself first and foremost as a central actor for the promotion of global public goods. It strives to spread its unique model of governance globally. If the EU succeeds, new perspectives for promoting global public goods will emerge. If it fails, the countries of Europe will be left with few options for global influence. In this course, we explore the EU's ambitious self-image and subject it to critical scrutiny, taking external views into account. We will look at different global policy fields and explore the respective role the EU plays. Our aim is to arrive at a realistic assessment of the 'EU model' and to derive analytical and practical implications for global public policy.

Learning outcomes

Students acquire basic knowledge of the EU's self-perception, both from the perspective of European policy makers and from the perspective of academic contributions. Students get to know different global policy fields in their respective outlines and understand the role of the EU in these fields. They acquire the capability to classify and critically question the scientific literature with regard to its assumptions and methodology. They are able to make an independent and scientifically sound contribution to the conversation about the global role of the EU.

Requirements and assessment

Students are expected to attend the course regularly, prepare the required reading, actively participate in seminar and group discussions, co-chair a session and present a research paper. At

the end, students submit an essay of 3000 words. Deadline for the essay is [...]. Extensions can only be granted with a written medical certificate.

Role of co-facilitators and presenters: Each student will choose one session to co-chair and present (if there is more than one student, this will be one group). The presentation should be a paper specified for each session (15 minutes). As co-moderators, the students will help shape the respective session. This includes an introductory discussion at the beginning of each session (for example, by briefly summarising the central points of the reading) on the topic and the compulsory texts, as well as the preparation of questions for the general discussion, which should last 30 minutes.

All written assignments must be submitted on the CEU e-learning platform for the course. The final grade is composed as follows:

- *Course co-moderation and presentation: 25%*
- *Perusal contribution: 15%*
- *Final essay: 60%*

Schedule

	Topic	Date	Time
1	Introduction – EU actorness		
2	Global Public Goods		
3	Normative Power Europe		
4	The EU in the region		
5	The EU in the multilateral system		
6	Trade		
7	Development		
8	Migration		
9	Climate		
10	Security		
11	Culture		
12	The future of EU global governance		

Presentations

1 Introduction

Mandatory

Bevir, Mark, and Ryan Phillips, eds. 2019. *Decentering European Governance*. London: Routledge.

Zielonka, Jan. 2008. 'Europe as a Global Actor: Empire by Example?' *International Affairs* 84, no. 3: 471–484.

Recommended

European External Action Service. 2016. *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe – A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*. Brussels.

Falkner, Gerda, and Patrick Müller. 2014. *The EU and Global Governance: Shaping Global Policy in an Evolving World Order*. Wien. ÖGfE Policy Brief 7'2014.

Klose, Stephan. 2018. 'Theorizing the EU's Actorness: Towards an Interactionist Role Theory Framework'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56, no. 5: 1144–1160.

Drieskens, Edith. 2017. 'Golden or gilded jubilee? A research agenda for actorness'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24, no. 10: 1534–1546.

Andretta, Massimiliano, and Doerr, Nicole. 2007. 'Imagining Europe: Internal and External Non-State Actors at the European Crossroads'. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 12, no. 3: 385–400.

Chopin, Thierry, and Christian Lequesne. 2020. 'Disintegration reversed: Brexit and the cohesiveness of the EU27'. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*,

Meunier, Sophie, and Milada Anna Vachudova. 2018. 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56, no. 7: 1631–1647.

Thomas, Daniel C. 2012. 'Still Punching below Its Weight? Coherence and Effectiveness in European Union Foreign Policy'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50, no. 3: 457–474.

2 Global Public Goods

Mandatory

Carbone, M. (2007) "Supporting or resisting global public goods? The policy-dimension of a contested concept." *Global Governance*, 13:2, 179-198.

Long, D. and Woolley, F. (2009) "Global Public Goods: Critique of a UN Discourse." *Global Governance*, 15:1, 107-122

Recommended

Heritier, A. and Prakash, A. (2015) "A Resource-based View of the EU's Regional and International Leadership." *Global Policy*, 6:3, 247-255.

Zhang, J.Y. and Swartz, B.C. (2009) “Public diplomacy to promote Global Public Goods (GPG): Conceptual expansion, ethical grounds, and rhetoric.” *Public Relations Review*, 35:4, 382-387.

Albin, C. (2003) “Negotiating international cooperation: global public goods and fairness.” *Review of International Studies*, 29:3, 365-385.

Presentation

Bodenstein, T; Faust, J and Furness, M. (2017) “European Union Development Policy: Collective Action in Times of Global Transformation and Domestic Crisis.” *Development Policy Review*, 35:4, 441-453.

3 Normative Power Europe

Mandatory

Manners, Ian. 2002. ‘Normative Power Europe: A contradiction in terms?’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no. 2: 235–258.

Merlingen, Michael. 2007. ‘Everything Is Dangerous: A Critique of “Normative Power Europe”’. *Security Dialogue* 38, no. 4: 435–453.

Recommended

Bicchi, Federica. 2006. ‘Our size fits all’: normative power Europe and the Mediterranean’. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, no. 2: 286–303.

Luciani, Laura. 2021. ‘The EU’s Hegemonic Interventions in the South Caucasus: Constructing “Civil” Society, Depoliticising Human Rights?’ *Cooperation and Conflict* 56, no. 1: 101–120.

Ahrens, Bettina. 2018. ‘Normative power Europe in crisis? Understanding the productive role of ambiguity for the EU’s transformative agenda’. *Asia Europe Journal* 16: 199–212.

Forsberg, Tuomas. 2011. ‘Normative Power Europe, Once Again: A Conceptual Analysis of an Ideal Type’. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49, no. 6: 1183–1204.

Presentation

Staeger, Ueli. 2016. ‘Africa–EU Relations and Normative Power Europe: A Decolonial Pan-African Critique’. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 4: 981–998.

4 The EU in the region

Mandatory

Freyburg, Tina, Sandra Lavenex, Frank Schimmelfennig, Tatiana Skripka, and Anne Wetzel. 2009. ‘EU promotion of democratic governance in the neighbourhood’. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16, no. 6: 916–934.

Horký-Hlucháň, Ondřej, and Petr Kratochvíl. 2014. "Nothing is Imposed in This Policy!": The Construction and Constriction of the European Neighbourhood'. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 39, no. 4: 252–270.

Ganev, Venelin I. (2013) "Post-Accession Hooliganism: Democratic Governance in Bulgaria and Romania after 2007." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, 27:1, 26-44.

Recommended

Bicchi, Federica. 2016. 'Europe under occupation: the European diplomatic community of practice in the Jerusalem area'. *European Security* 25, no. 4: 461–477.

Musliu, Vjosa. 2020. 'EULEX Kosovo: A status-neutral and technical mission?' In *The Routledge Handbook of Critical European Studies*, edited by Didier Bigo, Thomas Diez, Evangelos Fanoulis, Ben Rosamond, and Yannis A. Stivachtis, 477–486. London: Routledge.

Kurki, Milja. 2011. 'Governmentality and EU Democracy Promotion: The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights and the Construction of Democratic Civil Societies'. *International Political Sociology* 5, no. 4: 349–366.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2011. 'When Europe Hits ... beyond Its Borders: Europeanization and the near Abroad'. *Comparative European Politics* 9, no. 4/5: 394–413.

Kahn-Nisser, Sarah. 2017. 'Channels of Influence: The EU and Delta Convergence of Core Labour Standards in the Eastern Neighbourhood'. *European Journal of Development Research* 29, no. 1: 127–143.

Youngs, Richard. 2009. 'Democracy promotion as external governance?' *Journal of European Public Policy* 16, 6: 895–915.

Hofius, Maren. 2016. 'Community at the border or the boundaries of community? The case of EU field diplomats'. *Review of International Studies* 42, no. 5: 939-967.

5 The EU in the multilateral system

Mandatory

Renard, Thomas. 2016. 'Partnerships for effective multilateralism? Assessing the compatibility between EU bilateralism, (inter-)regionalism and multilateralism'. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 29, no. 1: 18–35.

da Conceição-Heldt, Eugénia, and Sophie Meunier. 2014. 'Speaking with a single voice: internal cohesiveness and external effectiveness of the EU in global governance'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21, no. 7: 961–979.

Recommended

Lequesne, Christian. 2015. 'EU Foreign Policy through the Lens of Practice Theory: A Different Approach to the European External Action Service'. *Cooperation and Conflict* 50, no. 3: 351–367

European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. 2021. Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the European Council on strengthening the EU's contribution to rules-based multilateralism. JOIN(2021) 3 final.

Dworkin, Anthony, and Richard Gowan. 2019. Rescuing Multilateralism. European Council on Foreign Relations.

Wunderlich, Jens-Uwe. 2012. 'Comparing regional organisations in global multilateral institutions: ASEAN, the EU and the UN'. *Asia Europe Journal* 10, 127–143.

Smith, Karen E. 2006. 'Speaking with One Voice? European Union Co-ordination on Human Rights Issues at the United Nations'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44: 113–137.

6 International trading system

Mandatory

McKenzie, Lachlan, and Katharina L. Meissner. 2017. 'Human Rights Conditionality in European Union Trade Negotiations: the Case of the EU-Singapore FTA'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55, no. 4: 832–849.

Siles-Brügge, Gabriel. 2014. *Constructing European Union Trade Policy: A Global Idea of Europe*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, chapter 2, 21–56.

Recommended

Meunier, Sophie. 2017. 'Integration by Stealth: How the European Union Gained Competence over Foreign Direct Investment'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55, no. 3: 593–610.

Bollen, Yelter. 2018. 'EU Trade Policy'. In *Handbook of European Policies: Interpretive Approaches to the EU*, edited by Hubert Heinelt and Sybille Münch, 191–206. Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar.

De Bièvre, Dirk, and Arlo Poletti. 2013. 'The EU in trade policy: From regime shaper to status quo power'. In *EU Policies in a Global Perspective*, edited by G. Falkner and P. Müller, 20–37. London: Routledge.

Damro, Chad. 2012. 'Market power Europe'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 19, no. 5: 682–699.

Garcia, Maria, and Masselot, Annick. 2015. 'EU-Asia Free Trade Agreements as tools for social norm/legislation transfer'. *Asia Europe Journal* 13: 241–252.

Gradeva, K. & Martínez-Zarzoso, I. 2016. 'Are Trade Preferences more Effective than Aid in Supporting Exports? Evidence from the "Everything But Arms" Preference Scheme'. *World Economy* 39, no. 8: 1146–1171.

Marx, Axel, Bregt Natens, Dylan Geraets, and Jan Wouters. 2015. 'Global governance through trade: an introduction'. In *Global Governance through Trade: EU Policies and Approaches*, edited by Jan Wouters, Axel Marx, Dylan Geraets, and Bregt Natens, 1–15. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Meunier, Sophie, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. 2006. 'The European Union as a conflicted trade power'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, no. 6: 906-925.

Meunier, Sophie, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. 2019. ‘The Geopoliticization of European Trade and Investment Policy’. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 57: 103–13.

Meissner, Katharina, and 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, no. 9: 1273–1291.

7 International Development

Mandatory

Verschaeve, Joren, and Jan Orbie. 2018. ‘Ignoring the elephant in the room? Assessing the impact of the European Union on the Development Assistance Committee's role in international development’. *Development Policy Review* 36, no. 1: O44–O58.

Gegout, Catherine. 2016. ‘Unethical power Europe? Something fishy about EU trade and development policies’. *Third World Quarterly* 37, no. 12: 2192–2210.

Serban, ID (2021) “Agency and governance in European Union international development.” *Third World Quarterly*, Early Access.

Recommended

Marijnen, Esther. 2017. ‘The “green militarisation” of development aid: the European Commission and the Virunga National Park, DR Congo’. *Third World Quarterly* 38, no. 7: 1566–1582.

Verschaeve, Joren, and Jan Orbie. 2016. ‘The DAC is Dead, Long Live the DCF? A Comparative Analysis of the OECD Development Assistance Committee and the UN Development Cooperation Forum’. *European Journal of Development Research* 28, no. 4: 571–587.

Verschaeve, Joren, and Jan Orbie. 2016. ‘Once a member, always a member? Assessing the importance of time in the relationship between the European Union and the Development Assistance Committee’. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 29, no. 2: 512–527.

Bodenstein, Thilo, Jörg Faust, and Mark Furness. 2017. ‘European Union Development Policy: Collective Action in Times of Global Transformation and Domestic Crisis’. *Development Policy Review* 35, no. 4: 441–453.

Bodenstein, Thilo, and Achim Kemmerling. 2017. ‘The European Union as a Collective Actor: Aid and Trade in African Public Opinion’. *Development Policy Review* 35, no. 4: 567–586.

Keijzer, Niels. 2020. ‘Drifting towards exhaustion? Historical institutionalist perspectives on recent efforts to modernise the EU’s partnerships with African states’. *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 16, no. 3: 260–275.

Langan, Mark, and Sophia Price. 2020. ‘The EU’s development policy: Forging relations of dependence?’. In *The Routledge Handbook of Critical European Studies*, edited by Didier Bigo, Thomas Diez, Evangelos Fanoulis, Ben Rosamond, and Yannis A. Stivachtis, 499–510. London: Routledge.

Haastrup, Toni. 2020. 'Critical perspectives on Africa's relationship with the European Union'. In *The Routledge Handbook of Critical European Studies*, edited by Didier Bigo, Thomas Diez, Evangelos Fanoulis, Ben Rosamond, and Yannis A. Stivachtis, 511–522. London: Routledge.

Siles-Brügge, Gabriel. 2014. 'EU trade and development policy beyond the ACP: subordinating developmental to commercial imperatives in the reform of GSP'. *Contemporary Politics* 20, no. 1: 49–62.

Young, Alasdair, and John Peterson. 2013. "'We care about you, but . . .': the politics of EU trade policy and development'. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 3: 497–518.

8 Migration

Mandatory

Reslow, Natasja, and Maarten Vink. 2015. 'Three-Level Games in EU External Migration Policy: Negotiating Mobility Partnerships in West Africa'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53, no. 4: 857–874.

Vigneswaran, Darshan. 2020. 'Europe Has Never Been Modern: Recasting Historical Narratives of Migration Control'. *International Political Sociology* 14, no. 1: 2–21.

Recommended

Andersson, Ruben. 2016. 'Europe's failed "fight" against irregular migration: ethnographic notes on a counterproductive industry'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42, no. 7: 1055–1075.

Bouris, Dimitris, and Beste İşleyen. 2020. 'The European Union and Practices of Governing Space and Population in Contested States: Insights from EUPOL COPPS in Palestine'. *Geopolitics* 25, no. 2: 428–448.

Pallister-Wilkins, Polly. 2015. 'The Humanitarian Politics of European Border Policing: Frontex and Border Police in Evros'. *International Political Sociology* 9: 53–69.

Johnson, Heather L. 2013. 'The Other Side of the Fence: Reconceptualizing the "Camp" and Migration Zones at the Borders of Spain'. *International Political Sociology* 7, no. 1: 75–91.

Geddes, Andrew, and Leila Hadj-Abdou. 2018. 'Changing the Path? EU Migration Governance after the "Arab Spring"'. *Mediterranean Politics* 23, no. 1: 142–160.

Stierl, Maurice. 2020. 'Reimagining Europe through the Governance of Migration'. *International Political Sociology* 14, no. 3: 252–226.

9 Climate change

Mandatory

Burns, Charlotte, Peter Eckersley, and Paul Tobin. 2020. 'EU environmental policy in times of crisis'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27, no. 1: 1–19

De Roeck, Frederik. 2019. 'Governmentality and the climate-development nexus: The case of the EU Global Climate Change Alliance'. *Global Environmental Change* 55, 160–167.

Recommended

Biedermann, Reinhard. 2020. 'Adapting to the changing Arctic? The European Union, the Nordics, and the Barents Governance Mosaic'. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 28, no. 2: 167-181.

Delreux, Tom. 2014. 'EU actorness, cohesiveness and effectiveness in environmental affairs'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21, no. 7: 1017–1032.

Raspotnik, Andreas, and Andreas Østhagen. 2019. 'What about the Arctic? The European Union's Geopolitical Quest for Northern Space'. *Geopolitics*,

Remling, Elise. 2018. 'Depoliticizing adaptation: a critical analysis of EU climate adaptation policy'. *Environmental Politics* 27, no. 3: 477–497.

10 Security

Mandatory

Rayroux, Antoine. 2013. 'Beyond Actorness in EU Crisis Management: Internal Functions of External Peacekeeping'. *Journal of European Integration* 35, no. 7: 731-748.

Sabaratnam, Meera. 2013. 'Avatars of Eurocentrism in the critique of the liberal peace'. *Security Dialogue* 44, no. 3: 259-278.

Recommended

Charbonneau, Bruno. 2009. 'What Is So Special about the European Union? EU–UN Cooperation in Crisis Management in Africa'. *International Peacekeeping* 16, no. 4: 546–561.

Bouris, Dimitris, and Beste İşleyen. 2020. 'The European Union and Practices of Governing Space and Population in Contested States: Insights from EUPOL COPPS in Palestine'. *Geopolitics* 25, no. 2: 428–448.

Mälksoo, Maria. 2016. 'From the ESS to the EU Global Strategy: external policy, internal purpose'. *Contemporary Security Policy* 37, no. 3: 374-388.

11 Culture

Mandatory

Carta, C., & Higgott, R. (Eds.). (2019). *Cultural Diplomacy in Europe: Between the Domestic and the International*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Barnett, C. (2001). Culture, Policy, And Subsidiarity in the European Union: From Symbolic Identity to The Governmentalisation of Culture. *Political geography*, 20(4), 405-426.

de Vries, G. (2020). A Cultural Superpower? The European Union's Venture in Cultural Diplomacy. In Westlake, M. (Ed.) *The European Union's New Foreign Policy* (pp. 125-138). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Benabdallah, L. (2020). *Shaping the Future of Power: Knowledge Production and Network-Building in China-Africa Relations*. University of Michigan Press.

12 Conclusion: Does the EU have a future in global governance?

Mandatory

Abels, Christoph M., Helmut K. Anheier, Ian Begg, and Kevin Featherstone. 2020. 'Enhancing Europe's Global Power: A Scenario Exercise with Eight Proposals'. *Global Policy*, 11: 128–142.

Onar, Nora Fisher, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. 2013. 'The Decentring Agenda: Europe as a post-colonial power'. *Cooperation and Conflict* 48, no. 2: 283–303.

Recommended

European External Action Service. 2019. *The European Union's Global Strategy: Three Years On, Looking Forward*. Brussels.

Chaban, Natalia, and Martin Holland. 2019. 'Introduction. Partners and Perceptions'. In *Shaping the EU Global Strategy. The European Union in International Affairs*, edited by Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, 1–26. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cox, Michael. 2017. 'Europe – Still between the Superpowers'. *Global Policy* 8: 9–17

Farrell, Henry. 2020. 'A Most Lonely Union'. *Foreign Policy*, no. 236 (Spring): 44–48.

Bradford, Anu. 2020. *The Brussels Effect: How the European Union Rules the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Schaik, Louise, Knud Erik Jørgensen, and Remco van de Pas. 2020. 'Loyal at once? The EU's global health awakening in the Covid-19 pandemic'. *Journal of European Integration* 42, no. 8: 1145-1160.