

With the support of the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Union

Project no. 177316-LLP-1-2010-DE-ERASMUS-ENWA

**LISBOAN**

**Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Academic Network**

**Report on the ECPR / LISBOAN PhD Summer School**

**‘Europe in the World’**

Deliverable No. D 55

**July 2012**

**[www.lisboan.net](http://www.lisboan.net)**

Dissemination level: Public

Funding Disclaimer: This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.



## **Report on the ECPR / LISBOAN PhD Summer School**

### **‘Europe in the World’**

**18-30 June 2012**

**University Institute of Lisbon (IUL), Portugal**

**By Tobias Schumacher**

**College of Europe, Natolin**

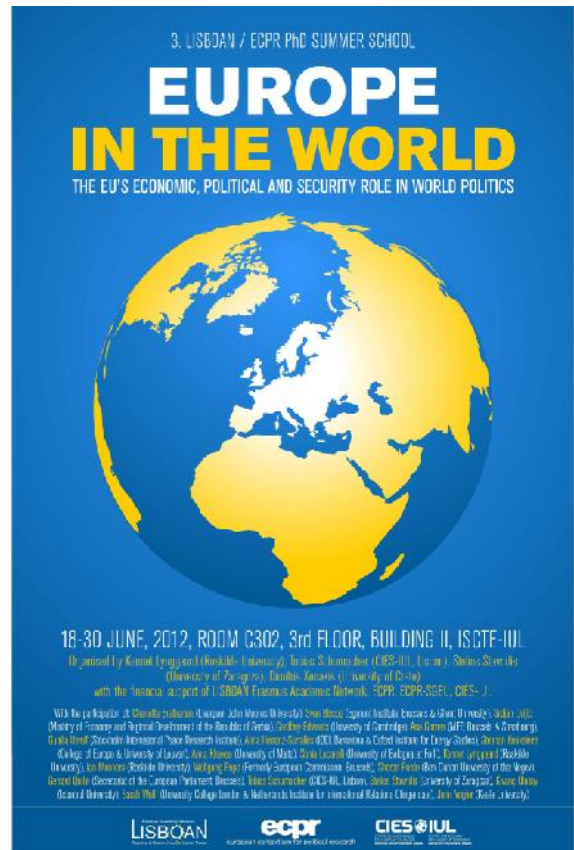
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The PhD summer school ‘Europe in the World’ was held at the Center for Research and Studies in Sociology (CIES) at the University Institute of Lisbon (IUL), Portugal, from 18-30 June 2012, under the auspices of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) and the Standing Group on European Union (SGEU). The PhD summer school was organized jointly with Roskilde University on behalf of the LISBOAN (Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Academic Network) project. The joint organisation of the event, building on a series of three ECPR rotating summer schools (of which the present school was the third) and the LISBOAN network allowed the school to attract a large number of participants as well as to involve a wide range of renowned scholars by drawing on a wide academic network of 68 institutions from all over Europe. Professor Tobias Schumacher (College of Europe, Natolin, formerly University Institute of Lisbon) was in charge of the overall coordination and organization of the 2012 PhD summer school, assisted by Tobias Kunstein (University of Cologne), the LISBOAN project manager.

The general theme ‘Europe in the World’ and the topics of the summer school emphasised the role of the European Union (EU) as an international actor, the implications of EU development and foreign and security policies, but also how the global environment affects EU policies and politics. Accordingly, the summer school had both an ‘outward’ look on the implication of EU agents and policies in global arenas and an ‘inward’ focus on the impact of globalization on EU institutions and policies.

Taking up a tried and tested approach, the summer school programme was structured around presentations by invited lecturers on general topics usually in the mornings, and student presentations of their on-going research usually in the afternoon (see appendix 1 for a detailed programme). The lectures introduced theoretical themes relating as much as possible to the student presentations. The lectures covered a wide variety of subjects ranging from more conceptual themes such as “the EU as a global actor” (with Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler as the authors of a seminal contribution on that topic), to more policy oriented and topical themes such as “the EU and the Arab Spring” and “the EP’s role in EU foreign policy”. Research techniques in the field of European international relations were also discussed including methods known from comparative politics, discourse analysis, foreign policy analysis and international relations. All lectures were received very well and the students were very keen to ask questions and participate in focused academic discussions (see appendix 2 for the minutes of the summer school).

The PhD school aimed to bring together PhD students to broaden their perspective on EU studies by meeting with renowned scholars and fellow students from different academic cultures. At the same time, the school offered support on issues relating to their individual theses. To that effect, students circulated their paper before each presentation, and each presentation had been assigned a discussant who prepared a number of specific comments. All student presentations were followed by substantive discussions



about how to improve their research, both theoretically but also in terms of case studies and empirical evidence. Comments from the researcher-in-residence, Tobias Schumacher, as well as the respective lecturers were also greatly appreciated as they provided a critical outside perspective which complemented in a very beneficial way the feedback a PhD student receives as a matter of course from his or her supervisor. PhD presentations covered institutional topics such as the Council and the EEAS, policy sectors such as human rights, energy, and also regional topics such as the European neighbourhood policy and (northern) Africa and Asia. In many cases, the post-Lisbon dimension played an important role.

The group of participants consisted of 21 doctoral students, nine of which came from the LISBOAN network (see appendix 3). For the latter group, the participation fee was waived. Moreover, they received a travel / accommodation grant of up to 400 €/ 550 €. The participation fee and travel and accommodation costs of students from other institutions were partly subsidized through ECPR funding, including two ECPR travel grants allocated by draw prior to the school. LISBOAN also covered travel and accommodation costs for lecturers from the network, but also for a number of additional high-level speakers and practitioners. The reimbursement on behalf of LISBOAN was

managed by Roskilde University. Local staff of CIES-IUL provided valuable organisational assistance during the school and ensured its smooth execution. The lecturer's considerable record in the research of EU's action on the international scene (see appendix 4) guaranteed a fruitful exchange of views and an in-depth dialogue on matters relating to the theoretical and empirical analysis of the summer school's theme. The open and constructive atmosphere during the discussions allowed for new ideas to be exchanged, exposed students (as well as lecturers) to different academic cultures and provided rich intellectual stimulus. The feedback after the event was overwhelmingly positive, encouraging further activities in the area of international events for graduate students. The LISBOAN network will organise another PhD school in 2013 with the University of Maastricht in the lead.

*“This was extremely useful, combining (new) theoretical input with methodological and research –oriented issues. Both the morning lectures and the afternoon discussions/presentations have given me much to think about, new perspectives on practical issues and a will to improve my knowledge and my academic work”*

*“Well organized and easy-going. Great lectures, all very insightful. Enough time for Q&As as well as for discussions after the presentations. Friendly atmosphere and communication”*

*“The speakers were incredibly interesting. I learned very much. Moreover it was nice to discuss the work of my colleagues; first to get an idea of their work and approach and, second, to learn how they provide feedback. The balance between lectures, presentations by students and coffee breaks was really good! Thank you!”*

## Appendix 1: Programme

	AM		PM	
	10.00-11.30	12.00-13.30	13.30-15.00	15.00-18.00
<b>WEEK 1</b>				
Monday, 18.06.2012	Arrival			Registration; welcome session followed by joint dinner
Tuesday, 19.06.2012	Opening lecture: Charlotte Bretherton, Liverpool John Moores University, “The EU as a global actor: Present performance, future prospects”	Anna Khakee, University of Malta, “The EU and external promotion of democracy”	Lunch break	Yuliana Palagnyuk, “The EU’s Role in the Democratization Process in Central and Eastern Europe: The case of Poland and Ukraine”  Sophie Wulk, “Listen to your peers: International cooperation in higher education and Europe’s quest for an international identity”
Wednesday, 20.06.2012	Kennet Lynggaard, Roskilde University, “Research designs in the study of European integration and globalisation”	Gunilla Herolf, SIPRI Stockholm, “Transatlantic relations: a converging or diverging process?”	Lunch break	Han Yu, “The Council of the EU after the Treaty of Lisbon”  Lyubomir Stefanov, “Structuring the Contemporary Bulgarian Party System (1990-2009)”
Thursday, 21.06.2012	John Vogler, Keele University, “The EU and the global politics of climate change”	Geoffrey Edwards, University of Cambridge, “The EU’s Common Foreign and	Lunch break	Lydia Avrami, “EU policy on climate change: compliance as a necessary or/and sufficient condition for advanced domestic policy outcomes”  Iwona A. Kaniecka, “Knowledge-based economy and

		Security Policy and diplomacy”		innovation as a further step of the socio-economic transformation on the example of Poland”	
Friday, 22.06.2012	Srdjan Cvijic, Ministry of Economy and Development, Republic of Serbia, “The importance of EU integration for the economic development of South Eastern European countries: the case of Serbia”	Sharon Pardo, Ben Gurion University of the Negev , “From divergence to convergence: The European Union and the Middle East process”	Lunch break	Federica Zardo, “The European Neighbourhood policy and the joint ownership principle in the Mediterranean: An analysis of its meaning and possible inconsistency with the principle of conditionality. A comparison of the eastern European Neighbours and the Mediterranean area”	Inez v. Weitershausen, “Post-Lisbon European foreign policy and the case of the Arab Spring: Impediments and prerequisites for EU actorness in crisis response”
Saturday,					

23.06.2012	Free	14.00-17.00: Stephan Keukeleire, University of Leuven/College of Europe, “The EU, structural power and structural foreign policy?”		
Sunday, 24.06.2012	Free			
<b>WEEK 2</b>				
Monday, 25.06.2012	Kivanc Ulusoy, Istanbul University, “The EU and Turkey: Democratization and Europeanization at work?”	Anna Herranz-Surrallés, IBEI, Barcelona, “The EU’s roles and policy options in world affairs: model, player or instrument?”	Lunch break	Merran Hulse, “Interregionalism - European Union’s Economic Partnership Agreement negotiations”  Ievgen Vorobiov, “Hydrocarbon separatism”: EU energy vulnerability and foreign policy towards Russia”
Tuesday, 26.06.2012	Wolfgang Pape, Brussels, “EU-Asia trade relations and issues”	Anna Herranz-Surrallés, IBEI, Barcelona, “The European external energy policy: between markets and diplomacy”	Lunch break	Camba Alvin, “Energy Transition in the EU and ASEAN: Emergence, Function, and the Inclusiveness of Energy Networks”  Oleksandra Palagnyuk, “European ‘Energy Security Policy’: Between Geo/political and Economic Interests”
Wednesday, 27.06.2012	Sarah Wolff, UCL & Netherlands Institute for International Relations Clingendael, “The external dimension of EU	Sonia Lucarelli, University of Bologna, “External Perceptions of the EU as a global actor”	Lunch break	Julian Bergmann, “The European Union as an Actor in International Conflict Management”  Benedikt Erforth, “French-African relations: A long-term power relationship revisited”

	justice and home affairs”			
Thursday, 28.06.2012	Gerard Quille, Secretariat of the EP, Brussels, “The EP’s role in developing a more strategic and effective EU foreign policy: a practitioner’s view“	Stelios Stavridis, University of Zaragoza, “The European Parliament’s reaction to the 2011 military action in Libya: effective moral tribune or mere talking shop?”	Lunch break	Fabienne Zwagemakers, “The Politics of Attention to Human Rights. Agenda-Setting in the EU”  Andrea Cofelice, “International parliamentary institutions: A comparative study”
Friday, 29.06.2012	Sven Biscop, Egmont Institute, Brussels & Ghent University, “Smart pooling for shared defence – The future of the European military”	Closing lecture, Ana Gomes, MEP, Brussels, “The Future of Europe’s parliamentary diplomacy”	Lunch break	Inês Marques Ribeiro da Silva Casais, “The legitimacy of the Common Security and Defense Policy of the European Union - EU security and defense missions in perspective”  Mauro Gatti, “The European External Action Service: A legal inquiry”  Lubica Debnárová, “The European Neighbourhood Policy: challenges and perspectives for EU member states’ policy-making”
Saturday, 30.06.2012	Departure			



## Appendix 2: Minutes

After an introductory lecture by **Prof. Tobias Schumacher** on the theme of the summer school, **Dr. Charlotte Bretherton** kicked off the summer school with a lecture on “The EU as a global actor: present performance, future prospects”. In assessing the EU’s recent performance and future potential as a global actor, reference was made to a range of policy areas in which the EU acts externally – trade/economic policy; development policy; relations with neighbours; and climate change. In her analysis, she utilised the model of actorness originally developed by herself and John Vogler in the late 1990s and demonstrated the continued relevance, in changing circumstances, of an approach originally intended to assess whether (or not) the EU could be considered as an actor in international relations.

In her lecture, **Dr. Anna Khakee** introduced students to the topic “The EU and external promotion of democracy”. According to Khakee, before January 2011 and the outbreak of the so-called Arab Spring, democracy promoting actors and scholars alike were in a phase of serious soul-searching. Democracy promotion, its means and methods, were seen as of decreasing effectiveness and legitimacy in many quarters, including within the EU system. With recent events in the Arab world, this gloom has quickly dissipated and the reasons for it seem to have been left to the side. However, to be effective, democracy promotion will have to be based on previous experiences, lessons and analysis, according to Dr. Khakee. Accordingly, her lecture focussed on EU democracy promotion in a longer-term perspective. EU democracy promotion was put in the broader context of other democracy promoting actors (governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental), and of the recipients and their take on the democracy promotion agenda of (mainly Western) actors. Students were encouraged to debate efforts to theorize EU democracy promotion and how the agenda could be moved forward in the current international context.

The students’ presentations in this session respectively dealt with external aspects of the EU. **Yuliana Palagnyuk** (Black Sea State University) focussed on the EU’s role in the democratization process in Central and Eastern Europe, using case studies of Poland and Ukraine. **Sophie Wulk** (University Flensburg) dealt with international cooperation in higher education. Whereas the European Union arguably plays the most important role as international actor in promoting democracy in the European Neighbourhood, its role in international cooperation on higher education is often seen as less pronounced because the EU lacks visibility and credibility. Both PhD projects respectively aim to evaluate these perceptions through detailed case studies. The discussants highlighted some methodical problems related to case selection and the overall relationship between theoretical approaches and empirics.

In his presentation, entitled “Research designs in the study of European integration and globalisation”, **Prof. Kennet Lynggaard** investigated and sought to differentiate between the implications for EU member states of their EU membership and trends usually seen as having a broader global application. His presentation raised questions, such as: How do we begin to measure the relative impact of the EU and global ideas and institutions on domestic change?; how do we begin to theorise the interrelationship between EU and global ideas and institutions on domestic

change? Throughout his presentation, he substantiated the claim that general knowledge of the implications of either EU-membership or globalisation will remain limited until greater efforts are made to investigate these phenomena in concert.

**Dr. Gunilla Herolf** then gave a lecture entitled “Transatlantic relations – a converging or diverging process?” during which she guided students through the most important developments and dynamics of EU-US relations throughout the last twenty years. During the Cold War transatlantic issues were mainly related to NATO and reassurance was a major factor: for Europeans it was crucial that the US would come quickly to their assistance in case of a Soviet attack. Whereas after the fall of the Berlin Wall the potential military threats were less demanding, Europeans and Americans still wished to keep NATO involved in European security. According to Herolf, the underlying terms needed to be changed, now involving greater European participation. The Petersberg tasks, agreed already in 1992, and the Franco-British meeting in St Malo in 1998, were steps on the way to develop stronger capabilities within the EU. The wars in former Yugoslavia played a role here as well, demonstrating differences in how Europeans and Americans pursued security. Herolf went on to argue that the following years were characterized by solidarity shown by Europeans after 9/11, but also by the rift in transatlantic relations, as well as within Europe in connection with the Iraq invasion. It was argued that during the last few years relations have on the whole been good and solid. According to Herolf this is also due to the awareness on both sides of the Atlantic of mutual dependence; the new threats, such as terrorism, organized crime, etc., can primarily be met by civilian means - an area in which Europe, in the view of Herolf, is as capable as the US and in which cooperation among states is necessary. Another factor, according to Herolf, is the lessened impact of geography: the US is highly affected by crises in Iran, Middle East and North Africa even though geographically the areas are closer to Europe than to the US. Another reason for improved cooperation as pointed out by her is linked to the existing variable geometry of Europe in which the purpose of cooperation determines the set of collaborating countries and in which initiatives emanate primarily in the capitals rather than within the organizations. In her view, a recent example of this is the military operation in Libya, which was based on individual states’ perceptions of their interests more than on organizational deliberations. In this operation, the US took a strong but not dominating role and other countries, irrelevant of their institutional affiliations, assumed roles according to their preferences. She concluded by arguing that converging paths seem to be a likely pattern for the future, in which common security interests, common values, interdependence and complementary capabilities will further a continued close cooperation.

Student presentations by **Yu Han** (CIRDCE University of Bologna – LISBOAN partner 30) and **Lyubomir Stefanov** (New Bulgarian University, Sofia – LISBOAN partner 11) focussed on institutional developments: the EU Council post-Lisbon on the one hand, and the Bulgarian party system on the other. The former presentation dealt with the Presidency system of the Council and its further development. Commentators commended the level of analytical detail but also suggested that it might be worthwhile to introduce a more controversial research question. The latter presentation took a more “systemic” point of view, trying to explain recent counter-intuitive developments in the party system. Discussants inter alia recommended streamlining the theoretical

part which makes reference – perhaps in too much detail – to Sartori, Weber and other classics of social science.

The subsequent lecture by **Prof. John Vogler** focused on “The EU and the global politics of climate change”. It outlined the history of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and considered the EU’s attempts to exercise leadership in its construction. The development of EU internal and external policy was reviewed from the late 1980s through to recent successes at the Durban Conference of the Parties in late 2012. Issues that were covered, using an ‘actorness’ framework are: The declining presence of the Union in terms of emissions counter-balanced by its internal policy activism on emissions trading and the Climate and Energy package; EU capabilities, competences for environmental and climate policy and the relevance of policy instruments; the practice of EU climate diplomacy and the role of DG Climate; the shifting opportunity structure, US abdication, the rise of the BASICs with a comparison of the Copenhagen and Durban CoPs; evaluation of EU effectiveness in relation to the regime.

**Prof. Geoffrey Edwards** shifted the focus and discussed the linkage of the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy with diplomacy. He started by discussing the role and nature of diplomacy in the contemporary international/global system and how the Lisbon reforms, i.e. the enhanced role of the High Representative/Vice President of the European Commission and the creation of the EEAS fit into that. Also he pondered the question of whether policy instruments and the means of delivery have influence on policy and policy-making, thus in relation to foreign policy. In response to both questions, he argued that the EU is bound to narrow and ideally close the gap between the evolution of the CFSP and its emerging diplomacy actorness if it intends to increase its influence in the world. This implies according to Edwards that the HR/VP must have the tools to fully carry out his/her tasks and thereby wholly live up to the expectations placed in him/her. However, as Edwards argued, such a process did not yet take place; instead constant attempts to backtrack have been discernible.

**Lydia Avrami** (University of Athens – LISBOAN partner 61) expanded on the topic of the Vogler lecture and dealt with the impact of the EU’s policy on climate change at the domestic level. The subsequent discussion revolved mainly around the rational choice elements of the Europeanization perspective and the possibilities for enriching the empirical part of the thesis. This was followed by a presentation by **Iwona Kaniecka** (Warsaw School of Economics – LISBOAN partner 42) dealing with Poland as an example of socio-economic transformation based on innovation. Inter alia, discussants recommended to further specify the research design (possibly by formulating specific hypotheses) and to further define key concepts such as ‘Knowledge economy’ in order to allow for operationalization of the main variables.

In his lecture “From divergence to convergence: The EU and the Middle East process”, **Prof. Sharon Pardo** analysed EU-Israeli relations and Israel's settlement project to show that there is a striking gap between the EU's normative positions and its trade relations. He argued that the notion that Europe is a normative power in world affairs can only be upheld by and through this separation, but also that the dichotomy between core norms and economic interests signifies a lack of norm

diffusion. He went on to claim that the EU's normative commitment is part of an inward operating force at the heart of the European identity-building process, and has little if any impact on world affairs. Notwithstanding its importance as a mechanism aimed at solidifying the collective identity of the peoples of the 27 EU Member States, the very gap between the normative and the economic may transform into a force propelling the Union's disintegration, according to Pardo.

In the day's student session **Federica Zardo** (University of Torino) presented her research on aspects of the European Neighbourhood policy and the principle of conditionality, comparing the eastern European Neighbours and the Mediterranean. The following discussion dealt with issues of benchmarking and monitoring practices. **Inez von Weitershausen** (London School of Economics), who works on the Arab Spring as a case study for EU actorness in crisis response, outlined the relevance of recent developments for the EU. In the discussion, participants discussed the possibility to reduce the number of sub-questions and to increase the number of case studies.

**Dr. Anna Herranz-Surrallés** gave a lecture on the "EU's roles and policy options in world affairs: model, player or instrument?". By pointing to the fact that European foreign policy has traditionally pursued the objective of promoting multilateral cooperation and a rule-based international order, she outlined that the EU has over time developed different narratives and practices to pursue this aim. Using the research framework and empirical results of two collaborative research projects (EUPROX and DYNAMUS), her lecture focused on how the different roles and objectives that may guide the EU's foreign policy can be conceptualised and identified. In other words, Dr. Herranz-Surrallés presentation revolved around the question "Europe - to do what in the world?". As an illustration of the EU's different foreign policy options, she addressed specific cases at both regional (the European Neighbourhood Policy) and global levels (the EU's action in the framework of the United Nations) and discussed whether the different narratives about the EU's international role are actually compatible in normative and practical terms.

Students' presentations by **Merran Hulse** (Radboud University Nijmegen) and **Ievgen Vorobiov** (University of Maastricht – LISBOAN partner 38) dealt with issues of international economic relations. The presentation by Hulse, entitled "Interregionalism - European Union's Economic Partnership Agreement negotiations", focused on the EU's EPA negotiations with the Southern African Development Community and the Economic Community of West African States. Its aim is explain the apparently contradictory behaviour of regional groupings in their interregional relations, and the underlying conditions. Commentators discussed the "small-N problem" and possible solutions. The second presentation dealt with EU foreign policy towards Russia in terms of energy security, also comparing two actors: Germany and the UK. The aim of the work is to explain why foreign policy approaches adopted by Germany and the UK towards Russia diverge. Discussants *inter alia* highlighted literature refining the concept of "asymmetrical interdependence" developed by Keohane/Nye.

**Dr. Wolfgang Pape's** presentation on "EU-Asia trade relations and issues" focused on issues encountered in the context of EU-Asia relations as seen from the viewpoint of a practitioner and policy-maker. Following a short introduction of relevant characteristics of the EU as well as Asia,

the bilateral links of individual countries and of ASEAN with the EU were analysed and particular issues pointed out. According to Pape, in North-East Asia, China - now the second biggest economy in the world - stands out not only for its mere size but also for its companies that just recently have started to globalise with investments in Europe. Japan, still subdued in her external relations since the burst of the bubble and the dilemma of Fukushima, is pushing hard for an Economic Partnership Agreement in spite of reluctance on the part of major Member States of the EU. South Korea as an Asian frontrunner, however, already is implementing its comprehensive Fair Trade Agreement with the EU with reduced tariffs and far reaching activities of bilateral cooperation. In Pape's view, this 'KorEU' FTA serves as an example for on-going negotiations of the EU with members of ASEAN as well as with India. Nevertheless, as Pape stressed, the EU has not yet entirely abandoned the 'Lamy-Doctrine' of giving priority to the conclusion of the multilateral Doha Round under the WTO, which also would greatly benefit Asia.

This presentation was followed by a lecture by **Dr. Anna Herranz-Surrallés** on "European External Energy Policy: Between markets and diplomacy". The external energy policy of the EU has steadily taken shape since the mid-2000s. With the turn of the decade EU authorities seem to have even assumed functions that would fall in the category of "energy diplomacy", i.e. the use of foreign policy to secure access to energy supplies abroad and to promote cooperation in the energy sector. The aim of this lecture was to provide an overview of these developments and to discuss their degree of novelty and implications. After a brief sketch of some key global energy trends, the presentation reviewed the main features and conflicting aspects of the making of the EU internal energy market and its external dimension. It then addressed more in detail two of the most recent innovations of the EU's external energy policy, namely the EU information exchange mechanism on energy Intergovernmental Agreements between member states and third countries, and the EU's political and economic efforts for bringing the Southern Gas Corridor to completion. The presentation lastly discussed whether these policy innovations meant a break with the EU's more traditional energy governance approach and how member states, third countries and companies accommodate these developments.

Student presentations in this session included those of **Alvin Almendrala Camba** (University College London – LISBOAN partner 59) and **Oleksandra Palagnyuk** (Black Sea State University), both of which dealt with Energy issues. The first presentation compared two very different organisations, the EU on the one hand and ASEAN on the other. Making reference to the literature on energy networks, new modes of governance, and the legitimacy of energy networks, the thesis assumes that regional policy networks are effective promoters of energy transition in either supranational or intergovernmental settings. Closely related to these questions, the second presentation dealt with the EU's dilemma between geopolitical and economic interests in its energy security policy. Comments from the audience in both cases dealt with ways to draw on the interesting conceptual frameworks in order to also make an empirical contribution to the state of the art.

In her lecture, entitled "External perceptions of the EU as a global actor", **Prof. Sonia Lucarelli** argued that the analysis of the external image of the EU is relevant in several respects as external

images influence the effectiveness of the EU's policies and the process of identity formation in the EU. According to her, images are playing a substantial role as regards the international stance of the EU, otherwise labelled as the "EU's international identity". Prof. Lucarelli reminded the participants that in spite of this relevance, the body of literature on this topic is still narrow and characterized by a state-focus. She argued that the results are however interesting as they point to a gap between self-perceptions and external perceptions. Also, they point to a paradox according to which the EU is perceived to be distinctive where it is weaker and a power similar to others in policy areas where it is supposedly strong. The lecture discussed four main aspects: 1.) the main reasons why studying external images is important, particularly with respect to the process of identity formation in the EU; 2) the characteristics of the main research projects on the topic and their results; 3) suggestions to the EU to improve its image; 4.) possible avenues for future research.

The presentations by **Julian Bergmann** (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz) and **Benedikt Erforth** (University of Trento) again took up external aspects of the EU. Its possible actorness in international conflict management was juxtaposed with an inquiry into French-African relations. In their comments, discussants gave advice on case selection in the former PhD project, and the theoretical approach – which attempts to combine constructivist and rationalist accounts – in the latter.

The lecture given by **Dr. Stelios Stavridis** was entitled “The European Parliament’s reaction to the 2011 military action in Libya: effective moral tribune or mere talking shop?” His presentation covered the EP’s reaction to the 2011 military intervention in Libya and assessed what the EP’s reactions have been prior to, during, and since the end of the military phase of that conflict. Also, it considered the wider implications for a more democratic foreign policy (and by implication a more just international order). In particular, Stavridis looked at the implications of Libya for “R2P/D2P” as the EP explicitly referred to that concept in its reaction to the conflict. The lecture took off by a brief discussion on the often-made claim that the EU (institutions and member states) supported the Libyan regime and thus the status quo. This served the purpose to introduce the need for greater differentiation in the analysis of EU foreign policy and allowed Dr. Stavridis to analyse in-depth the role of the EP in the context of military action in the country in 2011.

The lecture was followed by presentations by **Fabienne Zwagemakers** (LUISS, Rome – LISBOAN partner 32) on “The Politics of Attention to Human Rights. Agenda-Setting in the EU” and by **Andrea Cofelice** (University of Siena), who took a broader comparative perspective on international parliamentary institutions. The question if the awareness to human rights issues in the EU institutions has changed since 1992 is at the centre of Zwagemakers’s project, to be answered on the basis of different annual reports published by the EU. By contrast, Cofelice aims at exploring which factors may promote or inhibit the empowerment of international parliamentary institutions, for example tracing back the existence of IPIs to national parliamentary structures in different regions such as Europe and Latin America. During the discussion, participants commended the structured approach of both projects but suggested to elaborate on the theoretical contribution expected to derive from them.

The last day of the summer school took off with a presentation by **Prof. Sven Biscop** on “Smart pooling for shared defence – The future of the European military”. The starting point of his lecture was the argument that the European Security Strategy (ESS) is not very clear on priorities for Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) operations, resulting in a missing link between the overall political objective in the ESS – “to share in the responsibility for global security” – and CSDP operations and capability development. Therefore, he argued that what is required is a unified vision on the level of ambition, cutting across organizational divides – whether operations are conducted through CSDP, NATO, the UN or an ad hoc coalition, is – according to him – secondary. The EU must decide on a military or civil-military strategy for CSDP, a ‘white book’ that would function as a sub-strategy to the ESS: how many forces should the EU-27 be able to muster for crisis management and long-term peacekeeping, for which priorities, which reserves does that require, and which capacity must be maintained for territorial defence. In Biscop’s view elaborating such an CSDP strategy would require a thorough debate, but he already identified some outlines. In his view, the starting point must be Europe’s “grand strategy”, its vital interests and its foreign policy priorities. For a CSDP that is decoupled from these, can only be sub-strategic, reactive and without the capacity to generate durable results, as the operations undertaken so far have shown. A comparison of the latest white books of the big three – France, Germany and the UK – shows that differences between national strategic thinking are actually less big than is often maintained. Elaborating a CSDP strategy ought to be politically feasible therefore – if the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the financial pressure on defence budgets are sufficient to convince Member States of the need to adopt a more collective attitude to European defence.

The final student session consisted of three presentations on core aspects of EU external action: **Inês Marques Ribeiro da Silva Casais** (ISCTE-IUL Lisbon) dealt with the legitimacy of the CFSP, focusing on EU security and defence missions. The definition of legitimacy was one of the main points raised in the subsequent discussion. **Mauro Gatti** (CIRDCE University of Bologna – LISBOAN partner 30) presented his project on “The European External Action Service: A legal inquiry”. He argued that structure and mandate of the EEAS should be revised by strengthening practical over formal considerations. Commentators focused on the linkage between the more general appraisal of the CFSP and the study of the EEAS, and the need to establish some kind of benchmark for an assessment. **ubica Debnárová** (Charles University in Prague- LISBOAN partner 13) concluded by outlining her work on the European Neighbourhood Policy. Pointing out that scholars so far had not been very interested in member states’ preferences towards the ENP, her approach makes use of process tracing to overcome this gap. The subsequent discussion, inter alia, pertained to the need of narrowing down the various theoretical (federalism, neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism, liberal) and metatheoretical (constructivism, rationalism, normative) approaches mentioned.

The summer school ended with a closing presentation by **MEP Ana Gomes** on the “The Future of Europe’s parliamentary diplomacy” and an informal farewell dinner.

### **Appendix 3: Participants List**

#### **Lecturers**

1. **Charlotte Bretherton** (Liverpool John Moores University)
2. **Anna Khakee** (University of Malta - LISBOAN partner 65)
3. **Geoffrey Edwards** (Cambridge University - LISBOAN partner 66)
4. **Gunilla Herolf** (SIPRI Stockholm – LISBOAN partner 53)
5. **John Vogler** (Keele University)
6. **Sharon Pardo** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)
7. **Stephan Keukeleire** (University of Leuven/College of Europe)
8. **Kivanc Ulusoy** (Istanbul University),
9. **Anna Herranz-Surrallés** (IBEI, Barcelona)
10. **Kennet Lynggaard** (Roskilde University – LISBOAN partner 16),
11. **Wolfgang Pape** (Brussels)
12. **Sarah Wolff** (UCL & Netherlands Institute for International Relations Clingendael – LISBOAN partner 59)
13. **Sonia Lucarelli** (University of Bologna – LISBOAN partner 30)
14. **Tobias Schumacher** (Lisbon University Institute)
15. **Stelios Stavridis** (University of Zaragoza)
16. **Gerard Quille** (Secretariat of the EP)
17. **Sven Biscop** (Egmont Institute, Brussels & Ghent University – LISBOAN partner 6)
18. **Ana Gomes** (MEP, Brussels)

#### **Students**

1. **Fabienne Zwagemakers** (LUISS, Rome – LISBOAN partner 32)
2. **Inez v. Weitershausen** (London School of Economics)
3. **Iwona Anna Kaniecka** (Warsaw School of Economics – LISBOAN partner 42)
4. **Lyubomir Stefanov** (New Bulgarian University, Sofia – LISBOAN partner 11)
5. **Mauro Gatti** (CIRDCE University of Bologna – LISBOAN partner 30)
6. **Yu Han** (CIRDCE University of Bologna – LISBOAN partner 30)
7. **Inês Marques Ribeiro da Silva Casais** (ISCTE-IUL Lisbon)
8. **Merran Hulse** (Radboud University Nijmegen)
9. **Andrea Cofelice** (University of Siena)
10. **Lydia Avrami** (University of Athens – LISBOAN partner 61)
11. **Yuliana Palagnyuk** (Black Sea State University)
12. **Oleksandra Palagnyuk** (Black Sea State University)
13. **Julian Bergmann** (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz)
14. **Benedikt Erforth** (University of Trento)
15. **Federica Zardo** (University of Torino)
16. **Sophie Wulk** (University of Flensburg)
17. **Alvin Almendrala Camba** (University College London – LISBOAN partner 59)
18. **Ievgen Vorobiov** (University of Maastricht – LISBOAN partner 38)
19. **ubica Debnárová** (Charles University in Prague- LISBOAN partner 13)



#### **Appendix 4: Lecturers at a glance**

**Sven Biscop** completed his degree in political sciences/public administration at Ghent University (Belgium) by winning the best thesis award for his work on European security and defence policy. He then gained the Paul-Henri Spaak PhD scholarship of the Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders, which he held from 1999 to 2002, when he defended his dissertation, published as *Euro-Mediterranean Security: A Search for Partnership* (Ashgate, 2003). Biscop is Director of the Europe in the World Programme at Egmont – the Royal Institute for International Relations, the think tank associated with Belgian Foreign Affairs, which he joined in 2002, originally as a senior research fellow. His research focuses on the foreign, security and defence policy of the European Union. He is a Visiting Professor for European security at Ghent University (since 2003) and at the College of Europe in Bruges (since 2007). He is a Senior Research Associate of the Centre for European Studies at the Renmin University of China (CESRUC) in Beijing (since 2010) and an Associate Fellow of the Austria Institute for European and Security Policy (AIES) in Baden-bei-Wien (since 2011), and was made an Associate Fellow of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) for the academic year 2011-2012. His recent research and publications have focussed inter alia on European strategy, on which he has recently published *Europe, Strategy and Armed Forces – The Making of a Distinctive Power* (Routledge, 2011, with Jo Coelmont). Currently he is co-editing *The Routledge Handbook of European Security* (with Richard Whitman, forthcoming).

**Charlotte Bretherton** is Senior Lecturer in International Relations and European Studies at Liverpool John Moores University. She has jointly authored, with John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor* (1999 and 2006) as well as numerous journal articles and book chapters dealing with EU actorness and external policy. Her other interests, on which she has also published widely, include gender mainstreaming in EU external policy and the gender dimensions of environmental change.

**Srdjan Cvijic** is currently working for the Ministry of Economy and Regional Development of the Republic of Serbia, as First Councillor in the Embassy of the Republic of Serbia to the Kingdom of Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg\*. Prior to this, Dr. Cvijic was working as an expert on South Eastern Europe for the European Policy Centre in Brussels, and as Expert on Democratisation and Human Rights for the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. Dr. Cvijic has obtained his PhD from the European University Institute in Florence and an MA from the Central European University in Budapest. \* The views expressed during his lecture are his own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the government of the Republic of Serbia.

**Geoffrey Edwards** is Reader in European Studies in the Department of Politics and International Studies in the University of Cambridge and Jean Monnet chair in Political Science. He has been a Fellow, Pembroke College, Cambridge since 1993 where he has also been a Graduate Tutor. He received his PhD from the London School of Economics in International Relations. He thereafter worked at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office and then in various think tanks, including Chatham House, and taught for the University of Southern California and the University of Essex before taking up his post in Cambridge. His areas of particular interest are the European Union's

institutional development and its foreign, security and defence policies on which he has published extensively.

**Ana Gomes Normal** is a Member of the European Parliament since 2004. She was re-elected to a second term in June 2009. Ana Gomes is a full member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and of its Subcommittees on Security and Defence, and Human Rights, as well as of the Delegation for relations with Iraq. She is also a substitute member of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly and of the Delegation for Relations with the United States. In January 2012, she was elected the Socialists & Democrats Group Coordinator for Foreign Affairs. Ms. Gomes is permanent rapporteur on the negotiations of the EU-Libya Framework Agreement. Previously, she was the rapporteur of the following reports: The Strengthening of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear security in the European Union - an EU CBRN Action Plan, The European union's role in Iraq; China's policy and its effects on Africa; Women in International Politics; Small Arms and Light Weapons and Sustainable Development. As an MEP, Ana Gomes participated in a number of EP missions to Libya, Serbia, Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chad, China, Democratic Republic of Congo, East Timor, Kosovo, Lebanon, Indonesia (including Aceh), Iraq, Israel, Palestine, Sudan (Darfur), Turkey, USA, etc. Ana Gomes took part in several Election Observation Missions, notably as EU Chief Observer to Ethiopia (2005), to Nicaragua, (2011), Tunisia (2011), Sudan (2010), Angola (2008) and East Timor (2007). Ana Gomes' academic background is in Law and she has been a career diplomat since 1980. She's a member of the Portuguese Socialist Party since March 18, 2002.

**Anna Herranz-Surrallés** is a *Juan de la Cierva* Researcher at the *Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals* (IBEI), and presently a Visiting Fellow at the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies (OIES). She holds a PhD in International Relations and European Integration from the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Her research has focused on the external relations and foreign policy of the European Union, in particular, EU enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy, energy security, and the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Anna's current project addresses the dynamics of energy governance and energy diplomacy in the context of the EU's relations with its neighbouring countries. She has co-edited two volumes on the parliamentary dimension of EU foreign policy and her articles have appeared in journals such as *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Mediterranean Politics, Cooperation & Conflict* and *Journal of European Public Policy*. One of her most recent publications, co-edited with Esther Barbé, is *Differentiation in Euro-Mediterranean Relations: Flexible Regional Cooperation or Fragmentation* (Routledge, 2012).

**Gunilla Herolf** has been a researcher at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) since 2007. Previously, she worked for the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (Utrikespolitiska Institutet). Her main fields of research are European integration, European security cooperation with an emphasis on France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Nordic security, and transatlantic relations. She has lectured at Stockholm University and at Shandong University, Jinan, China. Many of Dr. Herolf's projects have been pursued within the framework of the Trans Policy Studies Association (TEPSA), of which she is a board member. She is Vice-President of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences (Kungliga Krigsvetenskapsakademien).

**Stephan Keukeleire** is a Jean Monnet Professor in European Foreign Policy at the Institute for International and European Policy of the University of Leuven (Belgium) and Chairholder of the 'Total' Chair of EU Foreign Policy at the College of Europe (Bruges, Belgium). He is the director of the 'Master of European Studies: Transnational and Global Perspectives' and of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence on 'The EU, Foreign Policy and Global Governance' at the University of Leuven. He co-ordinates the specialized Online Resource Guide "Exploring EU Foreign Policy" (<http://www.exploring-europe.eu/foreignpolicy>) and published on various dimensions of EU foreign policy, including the widely used textbook '*The Foreign Policy of the European Union*' (Palgrave Macmillan).

**Anna Khakee** obtained her first degree from the University of Lund, Sweden where she majored in Political Science. She went on to study for a M.A. (Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures, D.E.S.) and a Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. Before joining the Department of International Relations at the University of Malta where she is currently a Senior Lecturer, she worked as a Senior Researcher at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies and for several years as a consultant to think tanks and international organizations, including the Norwegian Peacebuilding Centre, FRIDE, EuroMeSCo, The Policy Practice, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Her research interests include democratization / democracy promotion and development issues. Her previous work experience has also focused extensively on human security.

**Sonia Lucarelli** is Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of Bologna. She is Lead Scientist in the EU-funded Research project EU-GRASP (VII Framework Programme). Her main research interests are: EU's external images, European identity; EU foreign and security policy; IR theory. Among her publications: (with Furio Cerutti and Vivien Schmidt) *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*, Routledge 2011; (with Lorenzo Fioramonti eds) *External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor*, Routledge 2010; (with Furio Cerutti eds) *The Search for a European identity. Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union*, Routledge 2008; (ed.) *Beyond Self Perception: The Others' View of the European Union*, Special issue of *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 3/2007; (co-editor with Ian Manners) *Values and Principles in EU Foreign Policy*, Routledge 2006; (with Claudio Radaelli eds) *Mobilising Politics and Society? The EU Convention's Impact on Southern Europe*, Routledge 2005; *Europe and the Breakup of Yugoslavia. A Political Failure in Search of a Scholarly Explanation*, Kluwer 2000. She is also the author of several academic articles and chapters on the topics of her competence.

**Kennet Lynggaard** is Associate Professor at Roskilde University at Department for Society and Globalisation since 2007. His research focuses on discourse and institutional analysis of the relationship between European integration and globalisation, the implications of European integration and globalisation on national politics and decision making in the European Union.

**Wolfgang Pape** retired after 30 years in 2011 from the European Commission and is currently Research Fellow with CEPS in Brussels. Born and educated in Kassel and New York (High School

Diploma), he studied law and economics at the universities of Marburg(D) and Geneva(CH), researched competition law during two years at Kyoto and Harvard after learning Japanese; Dr.iuris cum laude in Freiburg(D) in 1981. He worked two years as Advisor at the Japanese Embassy, Bonn. Until 2001, he was in charge of Asia at the 'Cellule de prospective' of the EC President, i.a. preparing ASEM and White Paper on Governance. Previously, he coordinated cases of anti-dumping and served the EC as diplomat in Tokyo in the 1980s, where he later co-managed the EU-Japan Centre for Industrial Cooperation while also at the EC Delegation as First Counsellor from 2004 to 2008. His publications cover issues of trade, integration, governance and culture in Europe and East Asia (i.a. his blog "*The Omnilateralist*"), and he occasionally lectures at universities and for 'edu-taining' on cruises in his main four working languages world-wide. Please send comments to: wolfgang.pape@gmail.com

**Sharon Pardo** (Ph.D., Ghent University, Faculty of Political and Social Studies) is a Jean Monnet Chair in European Studies and a senior lecturer in the Department of Politics and Government at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, as well as the Chair of the university's Centre for the Study of European Politics and Society (CSEPS). He is a Senior Fellow at the International and European Research Unit (IERU), Ghent University – Belgium, an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the National Centre for Research on Europe (NCRE), University of Canterbury – New Zealand, a member of the National Executive of the Israeli Association for the Study of European Integration (IASEI), and a member of the National Executive of the Israeli Association of International Studies (IAIS). His research interests focus on the legal/political dimension of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy. Dr. Pardo also has significant interest in the development of the Euro-Mediterranean region and, more specifically, in European-Israeli relationship. He has published widely on these issues and he is the co-author, together with Joel Peters, of the books *Uneasy Neighbors: Israel and the European Union* (Lexington Books, 2010) and *Israel and the European Union: A Documentary History* (Lexington Books, 2012). Dr. Pardo teaches courses on the European integration process and public international law.

**Dr. Gerrard Quille** is a special adviser to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Sub-Committee on Security and Defence (DG External Policies) of the European Parliament. His work focuses on monitoring the implementation (including financial aspects) of the innovations in the Lisbon Treaty as well as the policy areas of CFSP/CSDP and Africa. Previously he held positions of Acting Director and Deputy Director at the think-tank ISIS in Brussels and in London as well as Research Associate at the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College London. In the latter post he contributed to the Ministry of Defence commissioned study on "Achieving the Helsinki Headline Goal" led by Prof. Michael Clarke and the late Air Marshal Lord Timothy Garden. He publishes widely in academic and policy journals and has been a consultant to research institutes (incl. CSIS, SIPRI, and UNIDIR) as well as governments and international organisations. He has been a Marie Currie Research Fellow (ESDP Democracy) and a guest lecturer at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. He has a degree in History, an MA in International Politics and Security Studies, and a PhD on the role and conduct of Defence Reviews.

**Tobias Schumacher** (PhD. Political Science, University of Mainz, 2002) is a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Research and Studies in Sociology at the University Institute of Lisbon (CIES-IUL) and, as of 1 July 2012, the Holder of the Chair in European Neighbourhood Policy at the College of Europe, Natolin campus. He has written widely on Euro-Mediterranean relations, the European Neighbourhood Policy, and reform and authoritarianism in North Africa and the Middle East. Among his latest publications are: ‘The EU and Democracy Promotion: Adjusting to the Arab Spring’, in L. Sadiki (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook on the Arab Spring*, London: Routledge, 2012 (forthcoming); ‘Conditionality, Differentiation, Regionality and the ‘New’ ENP in the Light of Arab Revolts’, in E. Barbé and A. Herranz-Surrallés (eds.), *The Challenge of Differentiation in Euro-Mediterranean Relations. Flexible Regional Cooperation or Fragmentation*, London: Routledge, 2012, pp. 142-158; ‘Gulf Cooperation Council Countries and Yemen’, in Joel Peters (ed.) *The European Union and the Arab Spring*, Lanham: Lexington Press, 2012, pp. 109-126; ‘From Brussels with love: leverage, benchmarking, and the Action Plans with Jordan and Tunisia’, *Democratization*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 2011, pp. 932-955 (with R. Del Sarto).

**Stelios Stavridis** (PhD. International Relations, LSE, 1991) has been ARAID Senior Research Fellow, Research Unit on Global Governance and the European Union, University of Zaragoza (Spain) since December 2007. He has held various post-doctoral research/teaching posts in England (1991-2002), Belgium (1997-2001), Greece (2001-2002, 2003), Italy (1998, 2000-2001), Cyprus (2006) and Spain (since 2003). For instance: Jean Monnet Chair (1995-2002) and Director of the Centre for Euro-Mediterranean Studies (1995-2000), The University of Reading, where he was a Lecturer in International Relations (1993-2002); Jean Monnet Fellow, European University Institute, Florence (2000-2001); and Marie Curie Fellow, ELIAMEP Athens (2001-2002). He has (co-)authored or (co-)edited several books, including: *Gobernanza Global Multi-Nivel y Multi-Actor-Ejemplos de Europa, el Mediterráneo y América Latina* (2011); *Understanding and Evaluating the European Union: theoretical and empirical approaches* (2009); and, *La Unión Europea y el conflicto chipriota, 1974-2006* (2008). He has (co-)written some 35 book chapters, as well as 26 articles in journals such as *Mediterranean Politics*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Studia Diplomatica*, *Current Politics and Economics of Europe*, or *The International Spectator*. The most recent are: (with R. Pace) ‘The EMPA, 2004-2008: Assessing the First Years of the Parliamentary Dimension of the Barcelona Process’, *Mediterranean Quarterly* (2010); (with G. Tzogopoulos) ‘The European Parliament and the Debate over Sarkozy’s Mediterranean Initiative: A Preliminary Assessment’, *Études Héliennes/Hellenic Studies* (2009); and, (with C. Tsardanidis) ‘The Cyprus Problem in the European Parliament: a case of successful or superficial Europeanisation?’, *European Foreign Affairs Review* (2009).

**Kıvanç Ulusoy** is currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Istanbul University. He was previously a Jean Monnet Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence and Fellow at the Madrid Diplomatic School. His areas of research include regime change and democratization, Turkish politics and Turkey-EU relations, and Spanish politics. Dr. Ulusoy has conducted studies in various universities such as the Middle East Technical University, Bogazici University and Sabanci University in Turkey; Granada University in Spain; Stockholm University in Sweden; and Tsukuba University in Japan. Some of his recent

publications are “Saving the State Again: Turks face the Challenge of European Governance”, SIGMA Papers, (Paris: OECD, 2005); “Turkey’s reform reconsidered, 1987-2004”, Democratization (June 2007); “The Europeanization of Turkey and its Impact on the Cyprus issue”, Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans (December 2008); "The Changing Challenge of Europeanization to Politics and Governance in Turkey", International Political Science Review (November 2009); “The European Impact on State-Religion Relations in Turkey: Political Islam, Alevis and Non-Muslim Minorities”, Australian Journal of Political Science (2011).

**Sarah Wolff** (PhD LSE) is teaching fellow in EU Politics and Programme Director for the MSc in European Public Policy at University College London. She is currently Senior Research Associate Fellow within the European Programme of the Netherlands Institute for International Relations and Visiting Lecturer in the MSc in Migration management of the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona. Prior to joining UCL, Dr. Wolff worked as a Research Fellow at the Netherlands Institute for International Relations (Clingendael 2009-2011). She was an international aid officer in the Directorate for Latin America of EuropeAid (European Commission 2007-2009). Sarah also worked as an assistant for a Member of the European Parliament (2005-2006). Dr. Wolff was a fellow of the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies Program. During her PhD she was a visiting fellow at the Observatory of European Foreign Policy (UAB-Barcelona), the CEDEJ (Cairo) and the IFOP (Amman). Dr. Wolff is an expert on the EU’s external relations, in particular with the Arab world and Justice and Home Affairs (internal and external dimensions). Her research focuses on the insertion of Justice and Home Affairs considerations in the EU’s security practices with its Mediterranean neighbours. She has conducted extensive fieldwork in Morocco, Egypt and Jordan. She follows closely EU migration and border practices with North African countries. Rule of law promotion, border management (Frontex), the external relations of EU agencies, the Arab revolts and transatlantic homeland security are some of the recent and current projects she is working on.

**John Vogler** is Professorial Research Fellow in International Relations at Keele University UK and convenor of the British International Studies Association Environment Group. He has published extensively on the global commons and the international relations of the environment as well as (with Charlotte Bretherton) on the EU as a global actor. These interests come together in his writing on the EU as an actor in global environmental governance and as a leader in climate change diplomacy. He is currently a member of the ESRC Centre for Climate Change Economics and Policy and is researching the international politics of the climate regime.