

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations	11
List of figures and tables	13
Chapter 1 – Introduction	15
1.1 Relevance and the guiding research questions	15
1.2 The theoretical/conceptual foundations of the key arguments	17
1.3 State of research: weaknesses of the ‘power debate’	20
1.4 Contributions to the academic literature	22
1.5 Research design and methods	23
1.6 Structure of the study	25
Chapter 2 – Analytical framework	26
2.1 The EU as a power in international relations	26
2.1.1 Theoretical debate on the nature of the EU’s power	26
2.1.2 Operationalizing the EU’s power in international relations	30
2.2 Explaining the EU’s RoL power outputs	36
2.2.1 Linking the institutional set-up and policy outputs	36
2.2.2 The Composite Policy Approach	37
2.2.3 Operationalizing the independent variables	41
2.2.4 Interdependence structure	46
2.3 Methodology and case selection	48
Chapter 3 – The Composite Policy	52
3.1 Rule of Law – a contested concept	52
3.2 The European Neighbourhood Policy	55
3.2.1 The relations with the Southern and the Eastern neighbours	55
3.2.2 ‘Genesis’ and evolution of the European Neighbourhood Policy	57
3.2.3 The actors driving the formulation of the ENP	59
3.2.4 The goals pursued by the ENP policy makers	61
3.2.5 The preferred modes of governance and logics of interaction	63
3.3 The ‘governance’ agenda	66
3.3.1 Merging good governance and democracy promotion	66

3.3.2	The actors driving the formulation of the ‘governance’ agenda	68
3.3.3	The goals promoted by the ‘governance’ policy makers	70
3.3.4	The preferred modes of governance and logics of interaction	73
3.4	The JHA External Dimension	75
3.4.1	Initiatives to address the internal/external security nexus	75
3.4.2	The actors driving the formulation of the JHA external dimension	77
3.4.3	The goals promoted by the JHA external dimension policy makers	79
3.4.4	The preferred modes of governance and logics of interaction	82
3.5	Preliminary findings	84
Chapter 4 – Fight against terrorism		86
4.1	Interdependence structure: situation in the ENP countries	86
4.1.1	Mediterranean	87
4.1.2	Eastern Europe	89
4.2	EU counter-terrorism policy-making	90
4.2.1	Synopsis of the EU’s fight against terrorism	90
4.2.2	A shared but not uncontroversial policy frame	91
4.2.3	Presenting the actor coalitions and the distribution of resources	94
4.2.4	Dominant sectoral policy makers at the strategic/diplomatic levels	98
4.2.5	Battles over turf at the level of policy implementation	100
4.3	Counter-terrorism policy output in the ENP	102
4.3.1	Counter-terrorism in the ENP framework	102
4.3.2	Regional level: Southern dimension	104
4.3.3	Bilateral level: Morocco	107
4.3.4	Regional level: Eastern Europe	108
4.3.5	Bilateral level: Moldova and Ukraine	110
4.4	Conclusion	112
Chapter 5 – Fight against drugs		115
5.1	Interdependence structure: situation in the ENP countries	115
5.1.1	Mediterranean	116
5.1.2	Eastern Europe	117
5.2	EU policy-making in the anti-drugs domain	119
5.2.1	Synopsis of the EU’s anti-drugs policy	119
5.2.2	The competing frames in the anti-drugs domain	120
5.2.3	Presenting the actor coalitions and the distribution of resources	122

5.2.4	Turf wars at the level of policy implementation	125
5.2.5	Dominance of the sectoral policy makers at the strategic/ diplomatic levels	127
5.3	Anti-drugs policy output in the ENP	130
5.3.1	Fighting drugs through the ENP framework	130
5.3.2	Regional level: Southern dimension	131
5.3.3	Bilateral level: Morocco	134
5.3.4	Regional level: Eastern dimension	136
5.3.5	Bilateral level: Moldova and Ukraine	139
5.4	Conclusions	141
Chapter 6 – Fight against corruption		143
6.1	Interdependence structure: situation in the ENP countries	144
6.1.1	Mediterranean	144
6.1.2	Eastern Europe	146
6.2	EU policy-making in the anti-corruption domain	147
6.2.1	Synopsis of the EU’s anti-corruption policy	147
6.2.2	The competing frames in the anti-corruption domain	149
6.2.3	Presenting the actor coalitions and the distribution of resources	152
6.2.4	Centralization at the level of policy implementation	154
6.2.5	Disagreements about EU action at the strategic/diplomatic levels	157
6.3	Anti-corruption policy output in the ENP	159
6.3.1	Fighting corruption through the ENP policy framework	159
6.3.2	Regional level: Southern dimension	161
6.3.3	Bilateral level: Morocco	163
6.3.4	Regional level: Council of Europe	165
6.3.5	Bilateral level: Ukraine and Moldova	167
6.4	Conclusions	169
Chapter 7 – Judicial Reform		171
7.1	Interdependence structure: situation in the ENP countries	171
7.1.1	Mediterranean	172
7.1.2	Eastern Europe	173
7.2	EU policy-making in the justice reform domain	175
7.2.1	Synopsis of the EU’s justice reform policy	175
7.2.2	Frame compatibility in the justice reform domain	176
7.2.3	Presenting the actor coalitions and the distribution of resources	178
7.2.4	Centralization at the level of policy implementation	181

7.2.5	Centralization at the strategic level: control over programming	183
7.3	Judicial reform policy output in the ENP	185
7.3.1	Judicial Reform in the ENP policy framework	185
7.3.2	Regional level: Southern Dimension	186
7.3.3	Bilateral level: Morocco and Tunisia	188
7.3.4	Regional level: Eastern Dimension	191
7.3.5	Bilateral level: Moldova and Ukraine	194
7.4	Conclusions	197
Chapter 8 – Comparative analysis and interpretation		200
8.1	Summary of the main empirical findings	200
8.2.1	Comparative analysis of the case study findings	202
8.2.2	Interpretation of results	205
8.3	Criticizing the analytical framework ‘from within’	209
8.3.1	Critique of the choice/use of the explanatory variables	209
8.3.2	Critique of the operationalization of the ‘power’ variable	211
8.4	Summing up the analysis	213
Chapter 9 – Conclusions		215
9.1	Normative power Europe – ‘cobbler, stick to your trade’	215
9.2	The ‘chameleon’ today and in the future	217
10	Bibliography	221