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## Book Reviews

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*Human Rights and Democracy in EU Foreign Policy: The Cases of Ukraine and Egypt*, by R. Balfour (London and New York: Routledge, 2012, ISBN 9780415617710); xxii+147pp., £80.00 hb.

Rosa Balfour's timely book explores the role of the EU in promoting democracy and human rights in the two countries whose geopolitical significance underpins the southern and eastern elements of its flagship European Neighbourhood Policy: Ukraine and Egypt. Her contribution comes at a critical time in the EU's relations with both countries, as its strategy and tactics in the field of democracy and human rights promotion have come under the microscope of late more than ever. Whilst these countries at first may appear to be strange bedfellows, for the purposes of a comparative work, Balfour's approach is a successful one; employing, as she does, the same approach to the analysis of both countries which highlights that the continuing gap between EU rhetoric and action is an issue which goes beyond an 'eastern' or a 'southern' dimension.

The book begins with a thorough consideration of the theoretical foreground to this work. This is then followed with a consideration of the position of human rights and democracy through the development of the EU's foreign policy competence. These introductory sections are then followed by an introduction to the piece's protagonists, with a detailed assessment of the EU's interactions with both states, from the early 1990s.

This study centres around an examination of the EU's interactions with both Ukraine and Egypt using two key examples of democracy and human rights concerns in each. In Ukraine this focuses, firstly, upon the pre-2004 issue of press freedom, and, secondly, the Orange Revolution. In Egypt, Balfour's assessment focuses, firstly, upon the issue of torture, and then, on the issue of Egyptian elections. Therefore, in both case studies the reader is provided with an assessment of the EU's position on four critical issues of human rights and democracy.

Methodologically, Balfour utilises a traditional approach, which is well suited to the topic at hand, starting with an extensive analysis of EU documentary output in connection with both Egypt and Ukraine. These findings are then buttressed by a detailed policy analysis and cross-examination by a series of anonymised qualitative interviewing with Council and Commission officials in Brussels and with Member State embassy staff in Cairo and Kiev and among Egyptian and Ukrainian representations to the EU.

As a junior scholar with a broad interest in Europeanization, human rights and democracy, this book was an ideal starting point for further investigation, and is recommended for those with interests in EU foreign policy in general, or for those, such as the writer himself, with an area-specific interest, either in EU–Mediterranean or EU–Eastern Partnership relations, or perhaps a more specific interest in the EU as an actor in democracy and human rights 'export'.

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*Europe's Migrant Policies: Illusions of Integration*, by Suzanne Mulcahy (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, ISBN 9780230299993); xvi+239 pp., £55.00 hb.

This book introduces a comparative study of the impact of the European Union on its Member States' immigrant policies. The book reveals what Mulcahy identifies as 'common trends in immigrant integration policies across Europe', which relates to the fact that the EU's immigrant

integration policy has found it hard to penetrate the domestic policies and legal frameworks of the Member States.

The book opens with an introduction that briefly summarizes the theoretical approaches and empirical methodologies. The second chapter presents three theoretical frameworks, which help in explaining the convergence around EU norms of immigrant integration. The third chapter turns its attention to the emergence of the norms within immigrant integration, while the subsequent chapter examines the EU's policy-making of immigrant integration and the impact of Member States' preferences at EU level. The last four chapters are connected through a range of case studies. The concluding chapter narrows its focus upon the difficulty that the EU encounters in projecting values onto the Member States.

Mulcahy's examination of immigrant integration offers a good understanding of how the EU approaches the issues of migration and integration, alongside a convergence of its normative values at Member State level. Even more interesting is the outlining of the impact of domestic determinants, which introduces a new understanding of how domestic factors may produce both cross-nationally similar and divergent policies. Mulcahy questions whether and to what extent immigrant integration policy is becoming Europeanized and examines if and how Member States' policies are uniting around EU norms. The analysis identifies resistance by some Member States and a stubborn or perhaps naïve attitude by the EU in establishing a common immigration policy.

The book's focus on norms advances readers' understanding of the impact and role of and particularly relation to immigrant integration policy within the EU. While the book excels in providing a good introduction to the EU norms in relation to immigrant integration, the title of the book is misleading. By using the word Europe, I did expect to read about case studies outside the EU. Once I understood that the book only relates to the EU-15, though five states were excluded due to no national civic integration programme, the book left open an avenue of further research in which an analysis of the newer EU Member States, the 2004 enlargement states, should be considered in a second edition of the book.

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*The European Union and Democracy Promotion: A Critical Global Assessment*, edited by Richard Youngs (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2010, ISBN 9780801897320); 206pp., £31.00 hb.

Ensuring the sustainable implementation of democratic reforms in third countries is a challenge for foreign policy and for international activity at large. Since the Arab Spring, the EU has been criticized for the insufficiency and ineffectiveness of its external democracy promotion, for its inability to convince reluctant regimes to consider political reform as an objective for cooperation, and for its failure to improve its instruments and incentives towards reform-willing partners.

This edited volume assesses the implementation of European democracy promotion on the ground, asking *how* the EU and its Member States promote democratic developments in key states (Morocco, Ukraine, Nigeria and Iraq) and strategically important regions (Balkans, Central Asia and Gulf). The results of this comparative exercise do not necessarily surprise but provide insightful empirical evidence: European efforts in democracy promotion do not follow the often portrayed normative stance, while strategic interests too often easily trump democratization as a key objective; stronger commitments of involved actors are needed, especially by European governments; and the EU tends to interpret democratization as stability-orientated reform rather than as deep democratization.

Youngs, a leading expert on democracy promotion, puts forward potential explanations for the variation in European democracy promotion in his insightful introduction. The aim is not to provide a rigid research design, but rather a guiding analytical framework for the distinctive case studies.

Not all chapters, however, follow the framework in the same manner, and on a few occasions this also turns the strength of this edited book into its weakness. The book defines democracy promotion in broad terms and allows for investigating the different interpretations in the varying contexts. It thus reflects tellingly the real-world scope of translating democracy promotion into state-building in Iraq (by Burke) or into stabilizing inter-ethnic divisions in the Balkans (by Sebastian). Innovative in this regard is the chapter on the OSCE (by Boonstra). Yet, how those findings now link to each other apart from talking to a wider common theme remains unaddressed.

Its empirical richness is also a double-edged sword. At times chapters are dominated by rich descriptions of the European relationship with the respective country, while reducing the prescribed causal factors to structuring keywords only. By contrast, other chapters work best when they follow the prescribed framework and therefore add new insights about the inefficiency of post-accession conditionality in Romania (by Pridham), about the limited success of the EU in Central Asia (by Warkotsch) and about the narrow focus of European interest towards the Gulf Cooperation Council (by Echague).

This edited volume does not necessarily allow for any strict causal inference but it certainly provides an interesting stock-taking of European democracy promotion efforts, especially by making up for the lack of empirical insights from the ground.

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*Governing Social Inclusion: Europeanization through Policy Coordination*, by K. Armstrong (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, ISBN 9870199278374); xvi+332 pp., £50.00 hb.

*Framing Europe: The Policy Shaping Strategies of the European Commission*, by M. Rhinard (Dordrecht: Republic of Letters Publishing, 2010, ISBN 9789089790453); 247 pp., £35.00 pb.

One of the main debates in international relations is about the capacity of international organizations to independently shape the process of policy-making at the international and consequently at the national level. One of the main debates in public administration is about the role and impact of ideas in policy change. The books of Kenneth Armstrong and Mark Rhinard bring these debates together by exploring the evolution of the ideational aspects of European Union policy-making in the fields of common agricultural policy (CAP), biotechnology and social inclusion. Both employ a neo-institutionalist analytical lens, and contend that ideas exercise important leverage in explaining policy processes. Both demonstrate how this influence can be observed through time via systematic tracing of the framing processes and discursive shifts at the EU level of governance, and particularly within the European Commission (EC). The unique contribution of these two books to the existing literature is that unlike most studies that focus either on the polity, politics or policy aspects of the analysed case, in both books the exploration of the ideational evolution runs on two parallel tracks. The reframing of the substantive *policy* debate is intertwined with analysis of the discursive battles regarding the needed (re-)institutionalization, i.e. the *polity* debate.

Mark Rhinard (Associate Professor of International Relations at Stockholm University) as one of the leading scholars in EU agenda-setting presents his insights into the informal ways used by the EC to shape policy formulation by elaborating the model of 'strategic framing', and illustrates it in four case studies from the policy domains of CAP and biotechnology. Kenneth Armstrong (Professor of European Union Law at Queen Mary University of London) as a legal scholar is interested in the implications over the whole policy cycle (including the Europeanization effects on the Member State level), but also in the effects on the EU polity. The focus only on the domain of social inclusion and on one Member State (the UK) allows the consideration of the larger

implications for the EU. He also presents more detailed and comprehensive analysis of the institutionalization discourse. On the other hand, Rhinard's four case studies allow the theorization of a more general mechanism.

*Governing Social Inclusion* has the objective to provide an assessment of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) as a new mode of EU governance. The bulk of the analysis is on the period of emergence and institutional evolution of the OMC (2000–10) but the longer-term engagement of the EU in combating poverty and social exclusion is presented as well, which makes the volume an authoritative work and a must-read for any scholar of EU social policy. The book is structured in eight sections. The author draws on theories of neo-institutionalism, Europeanization and governance approaches in the opening chapter. Less mainstream is the attention to language and the role of discourse in the Europeanization of social inclusion policies, whereby the OMC is conceptualized as a platform that generates, diffuses and institutionalizes 'multiple discourses, frames and paradigms related to social exclusion' (p. 26). What follows in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 is a very systematic process tracing of the actors and ideas that influenced the emergence and institutional evolution of the OMC in the field of social inclusion. Comprehensively presented are three discursive transitions: from poverty to social inclusion, from social policy as hurdling market-building processes to a 'productive factor', and from OMC social inclusion as a stand-alone method of policy coordination to a streamlined social protection mechanism. Chapter 5 turns to the effects of the OMC on the domestic level whereby the UK is presented as a case study. For a work that carries the concept of 'Europeanization' in its title the book treats the Member State level rather briefly. The remaining Chapters 6, 7 and 8 discuss larger implications of the OMC institutionalization for the EU polity. Chapter 6 explores the balance between supranational economic integration and (semi-)autonomous national social policy-making and how the OMC changes it. Chapter 7 gauges the capacity of the Lisbon Treaty to strengthen the EU policy interventions in social policy not only in terms of institutional infrastructure, but also from the normative perspective of establishing social solidarity as a basic EU principle. Chapter 8 analyses the future development of the OMC as a governance architecture that needs strengthening if it is to produce viable effects.

The main ambition of the book *Framing Europe* is to theorize the capacity to strategically frame policy discourses as one of the mechanisms through which the European Commission influences EU policy-making. The book is divided into four parts. Part 1 presents the academic background and approach of the study, and articulates the model of strategic framing. Similarly to Armstrong, Rhinard masterfully pools the resources of different branches of academic literature to provide a comprehensive and plausible model of the process of agenda-setting. Given that all three 'usual suspects' that explain policy change – interests, ideas and institutions – are amalgamated in the proposed mechanism of strategic framing, one wonders whether the model can actually be proven wrong. The author spells out scope conditions of when strategic framing is less influential but does not specify when it does not take place at all. Parts 2 and 3 employ the strategic framing approach to provide a very thorough process tracing of two rounds of CAP reforms (the MacSharry and Fischler reforms) and the evolution of policy frames in biotechnology policy in the 1980s and the 1990s, respectively.

Both books are a recommended read to everyone interested in the internationalization of policy-making, the role of supranational institutions therein, and particularly the way the latter generate and channel ideas about the reform of the substantive and institutional aspects of policy-making processes. They join an array of academic works in recent years that examine the role of framing and discourses in EU policy-making. In theoretical terms the findings of both books point to a moderate stance with regard to the independent causal influence that can be attributed to ideas. Actors (as the vehicles through which ideas travel and gain support) and institutions (as the channels of acceptable articulations) are recognized as integral elements in the explanation of policy-making. In this way *Governing Social Inclusion* and *Framing Europe* join theories such as

discursive institutionalism (by Kajer and Pedersen, and Vivien Schmidt) that theorize policy-making as a complex relationship between actors, discourses and institutions, whereby international organizations possess and deploy the intangible power of ideas.

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*The European Union in Global Security: The Politics of Impact*, by R.H. Ginsberg and S.E. Penksa (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, ISBN 9780230248267); xxvi+270pp., £57.50 hb.

Since the inception of CSDP, the question of ‘does the EU matter in global security?’ has been one of the most topical issues in the literature on EU foreign and security policy. This book revisits this topic by examining, explaining and evaluating the internal and external impact of CSDP civilian and military crisis management operations. In terms of internal impact, it examines the impact of CSDP operations on the EU itself and its foreign policy decision-making system. Internal impact is evaluated by examining four aspects of CSDP operations along a CSDP mission continuum: mission catalyst, mission mandate, mission launch and mission evaluation. In explaining and evaluating internal impact, a multi-theoretical approach based on neo-realism, rational choice-institutionalism and social constructivism and six levels of analysis including domestic politics, elite actors, national interests, European interest, international system and global/transnational phenomena are used.

In terms of external impact, this book analyzes the impact of CSDP operations on host states and societies and other international security providers, whose interests are affected by the EU’s foreign policy actions. Five types of external impact are evaluated: functional, political, societal, unintended and temporal. In examining impact on other international security providers, five types are examined, including EU Member States, international security organizations (UN, Nato), other international organizations (UN bodies), regional organizations (ASEAN, AU), non-Member States participating in CSDP operations or whose national security interests are affected by such operations (the US, Russia). The impact of CSDP operations is located along a continuum that ranges from nil to marginal and from considerable to significant impact.

This book is theoretically sound, methodologically rigorous and empirically rich. It is well-organized and informative. Multi-theoretical approach and relevant levels of analysis used in evaluating internal impact offer a clear view of why CSDP operations are launched. Analyzing host states, other interested non-Member States and other international security providers’ perceptions of whether the EU matters as a provider of security in evaluating external impact provides an accurate understanding of the EU’s place in global security governance.

A particular strength of the book is its comparative case study method in examining the impact of CSDP operations. Comparative analysis of CSDP operations with marginal or considerable impact helps the reader to gain a comprehensive and realistic picture of the EU’s performance as an international security provider. Moreover, analysis of CSDP operations’ impact at various stages in their duration offers an in-depth understanding of operational impact. This book is highly recommended to students, scholars and practitioners who have a particular interest in the EU’s impact as an international security provider.

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*Transnational Europe: Promise, Paradox, Limits*, edited by J. DeBardeleben and A. Hurrelmann (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, ISBN 9781403995117); x+271 pp., £57.50 hb.

This book is a valuable addition to the emerging field of EU political sociology. In fact, going beyond a tightly framed collection of essays on the policies and practices, as well as structural



configurations of an increasingly interwoven European polity, this volume aims at furthering transnational theory-building. This is a relevant yet complex undertaking in view of the societal transformations in and repercussions of the EU, which have received broader public attention, but little theoretical substantiation.

The editors introduce the volume's topic as stemming from both international relations and sociology/anthropology literatures, and apply Nye and Keohane's groundbreaking definition to the EU's multi-level system, noting the possibilities, negative externalities and limits of those 'transformations of governance and societal relations' (p. 8). Accordingly, two substantive parts of the book concentrate on transnational governance and policy-making, and transnational spaces and identities, respectively. An initial subsection on conceptual perspectives provides various theoretical angles from which to approach transnational relations, and argues for an extended notion beyond EU-actorness, to include more systemic and societal approaches. In it, the distinction between vertical-multi-level and horizontal transnational processes is established, which reappears as a categorizing tool at various times throughout the volume.

A chapter on transnationalism in EU governance details the various relationships originating in Brussels, succinctly differentiated according to primarily institutional structures (such as pan-European networks) and procedural provisions (such as cross-border programmes or the OMC). The following three chapters explore questions of public sphere creation and protest mobilization, highlighting the paradoxical nature of cross-border social movements and labour unions having to compete with powerful institutional actors as well as with transnational capital, the former being disadvantaged by the EU's transnational configuration. Three more chapters broaden the focus to include central and eastern Europe, highlighting the concept's value to understand particular trans-border aspects of the region's Europeanization. The final chapters address the issue of (im)migration in relation to the constraining nature of transnational community maintenance and exclusion. A summary conclusion advocates for a stronger integration of transnational approaches in existing European studies and EU integration theories.

Not all contributors locate the horizontal and vertical processes and structures explicitly, which would have enriched the use of transnationalism as a common analytical lens, given the multidisciplinary outlook on the topic. In this sense, the volume falls short of fully theorizing the admittedly complex and nowadays all-encompassing transnational structure of the EU. It is to be applauded, however, for conceptualizing transnationalism in a regionally distinct perspective, thus challenging the rather stagnant field of EU integration theories to come up with improved explanatory tools.

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*The EU's Lisbon Treaty: Institutional Choices and Implementation*, edited by F. Laursen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, ISBN 9781409434627); xxvi+302pp., £65.00 hb.

As with any primary law amendments in the past, the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty brought an opportunity to publish a plethora of books concentrating on its impact on the integration process. While one could dispute the editor's claim that 'the Lisbon Treaty is largely about institutional changes', these undoubtedly form an important part of the Treaty that deserves a book-length treatment. The reviewed volume was moreover authored by some of the most knowledgeable experts in the field, so the potential and my expectations were high.

The book is divided into three core sections. The first ('Basic Institutional Choices') deals mainly with the impact of the Treaty's dissolution of the pillar structure on the architecture of the EU, the second part ('Institutional Actors') explores the main institutional innovations, such as proliferation of co-decision, permanent Presidency of the European Council, the High Representative and European External Action Service. The last section ('External Action') moves from

general to concrete and evaluates how the Treaty will affect supranational external policies of the EU or its representation in international negotiations.

The brief overview of content might look unproblematic, but the book suffers from the traditional drawback of edited texts, that is, low internal coherence. While all contributions somehow touch on institutions, they spread from theoretical to empirical and general to specific. A lot of attention is given to common foreign and security policy, and in this case the chapters often overlap or even contradict. The 'uniting objective' is not revealed by the editor either; his introduction reviews the main changes of the Treaty instead of the research design of the book. Contributions vary in quality; notably the chapters by Shaw and Brunet can be singled out – the former resembles a collection of figures accompanied by a rather incomprehensible text, and the latter contains many abbreviations.

The second major drawback of the book is its temporal placement. It was released in 2012, when the Treaty has only been effective for three years. Yet numerous contributions concentrate heavily on the development before the Lisbon Treaty was even adopted or (better) try to predict how the Treaty will function in practice. The most up-to-date chapters (Closa, Rüger, Laursen) capture the situation by the end of 2010. The reader should thus be aware that there is much more on 'institutional choices' than 'implementation'.

With the above-mentioned limitations in mind, the reviewed book meticulously analyzes the vertical (intergovernmental versus supranational) and horizontal (among EU institutions) disputes during the formative period of Lisbon (Constitutional) Treaty adoption and implementation (2003–10). I think it is an ideal example of a general reference book for libraries. For those interested in the more recent impact of the Treaty on the EU institutions, I would recommend looking at journal articles or working papers, possibly even authored by the same researchers as those included in this volume.

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