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The promotion of participatory governance in the EU's external policies: compromised by sectoral economic interests?

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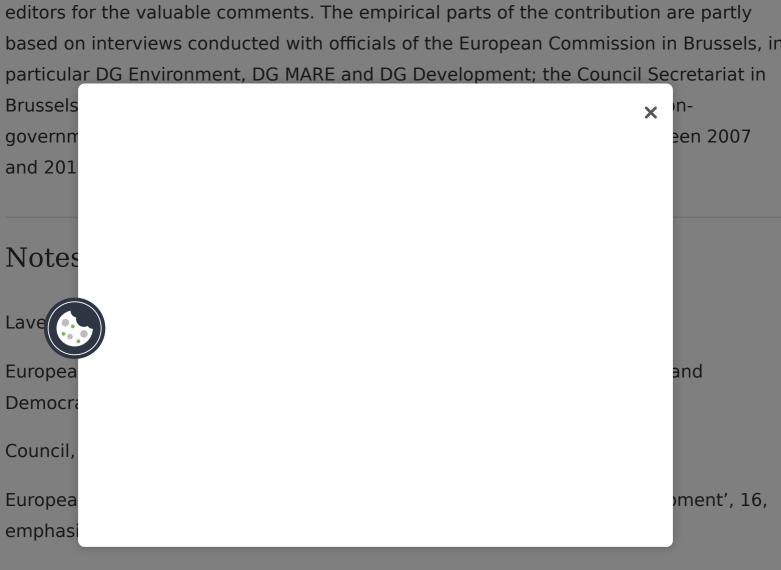
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economic interests.



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Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi, 'Governance Matters VIII', 6.

Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 155-6.

European Commission and Council, 'Democracy building', 26.

European Commission, 'Governance in the European Consensus', 6.

Freyburg et al. 'EU Promotion of Democratic Governance'.

Freyburg, Skripka, and Wetzel, 'Democracy between the Lines'.

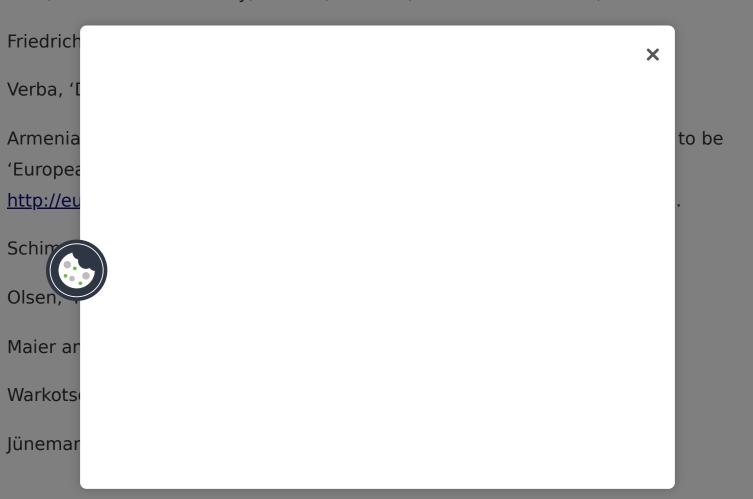
Freyburg et al. 'Democracy Promotion', in this volume.

Maier and Schimmelfennig, 'Shared Values'; Olsen, 'Promotion of Democracy'; Olsen 'The European Union'; Smith, European Union Foreign Policy, 165–7; Warkotsch, 'Non-Compliance'.

Crawford, 'The European Union'; Jünemann, 'From the Bottom to the Top'; Youngs, 'The European Union', 56-7.

Orbie 'Civilian Power Europe', 126.

Held, Models of Democracy, 209-15, Schmidt, Demokratietheorien, 236-53.



Schraeder, 'State of the Art', 33–34; Jünemann and Knodt, 'Explaining EU Instruments', 353–355; Olsen, 'Promotion of Democracy', 163.25.

Jünemann and Knodt, 'Explaining EU Instruments', 357-8.

Snyder, From Voting to Violence.

The dilemma is that democratization processes may (temporarily) lead to instability, the empowerment of radical parties and even civil war. Seen from a role theory perspective, the EU faces an internal role conflict: as a democracy promoter it should prioritize democracy even when it is risky, as a security actor, however, the EU has to take these risks into account. Jünemann, 'Externe Demokratieförderung', 164; see also Powel, 'A clash of Norms'; Andrés Viñas, 'EU's Democracy Promotion Policy'.

Warkotsch, 'Non-Compliance', 230-1.

Schimmelfennig, 'Community Trap', 58-61.

Maier and Schimmelfennig, 'Shared Values', 45.

Kochenov, 'Behind the Copenhagen Façade'.

Olsen, 'Promotion of Democracy', 144.



Lavenex, 'A Governance Perspective', 939.

King, Keohane, and Verba, Designing Social Inquiry, 140.

For (non-binding) provisions on participation in fisheries policy: FAO Code of Conduct for responsible fisheries 1995: 'States, in accordance with appropriate procedures, should facilitate consultation and the effective participation of industry, fishworkers, environmental and other interested organizations in decision-making with respect to the development of laws and policies related to fisheries management, development, international lending and aid.' (6.13); 'Within areas under national jurisdiction, States should seek to identify relevant domestic parties having a legitimate interest in the use and management of fisheries resources and establish arrangements for consulting them to gain their collaboration in achieving responsible fisheries' (7.1.2).

European Parliament and Council, 'Directive 2003/35/EC'.

European Parliament and Council, 'Decision No 1600/2002/EC', Art. 9.2(i).

Ibid., Art. 6.2(i).

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European Commission, 'European Neighbourhood Policy'.

One interview partner mentioned that the European Commission provides comments under the some control of the some control of the some control of the European Commission provides comments are is also 2006 on the European Community on 25 Ju

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Personal interview, Brussels, 4 February 2011.

Rosendal, 'Governing GMOs', 90.

Today, the situation has somewhat changed. For example, Ukraine has passed the law 'On the State System of Biosafety at the Time of Creating, Testing, Transporting, and Using Genetically Modified Organisms' (Law of Ukraine of 31.05.2007 No. 1103-V) and other new legislation. Nevertheless, 'the Biotech regulatory system in Ukraine is still under development' (for this assessment and an overview of legislation see USDA, 'GAIN Report Ukraine'). National Biosafety Frameworks have been developed as part of a respective UNEP-GEF project in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine.

Kruszewska, 'Der Wilde Osten'; Zoeller, 'CEE's Experimental Fields'.

Bernauer, Genes, 83; Falkner, Business Power, 153.

European Commission, 'Innovation and Competitiveness', 32–3; Ramani, 'Creating Incentives', 1996.

Rosendal, 'Governing GMOs', 93.

Friends of the Earth Europe, 'Too Close'.

European Commission, 'Life Sciences', 7.



Bernauer, Genes, 69. Ibid., 8. Kruszewska, 'Der Wilde Osten', Higgins, H. 'Romania', 3. Pollack and Shaffer, When Cooperation Fails, 177-234. European Parliament and Council, 'Directive 2000/60/EC', Preamble. The following quotes refer to this Directive. Ibid., Annex VII: A9. Partzsch, 'European Union Water Policy', 243. Page and Kaika, 'EU Water Framework Directive', 334–35. Martin, 'Position Paper'. European Commission, 'European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument', 11. Mott MacDonald, 'Water Governance', A-3. Council Regulation (EC) No 2371/2002 of 20 December 2002 on the Conservation and Sustainable Exploitation of Fisheries Resources under the Common Fisheries Policy. X Currently e the agreeme nern ments agreeme ation from where a the EU b ith Morocco re called and Gre 'Fisher' Argentina 38). This but r article for Borg, 'A 86. Europea Europea

(European Commission/Guinea Bissau, 2008a, 2010; European Commission/Mozambique, 2008; European Commission/Cape Verde, 2009; European Commission/Comoros, 2008; European Commission/Greenland, 2008, 2009; European Commission/Ivory Coast, 2008, 2009; European Commission/Madagascar, 2008; European Commission/Mauritania, 2008, 2010; European Commission/Morocco, 2009, 2010; European Commission/São Tomé et Príncipe, 2007; European Commission/Seychelles, 2009b, 2009a),

http://ec.europa.eu/fisheries/cfp/international/agreements/joint_committees/index_en.ht m, last access 15 June 2010.

Personal interviews Council Secretariat, Brussels, 24 March 2009; European Commission, DG Fisheries, Brussels, 26 March 2009.

European Commission, The Common Fisheries Policy, 25.

Council, 'Conclusions on Democracy Support', 1; European Commission, 'European Union's Role in Promoting Human Rights and Democratisation'.

European Commission, 'Integrated Framework for Fisheries', 5, emphasis added.

Council, 'Fisheries Partnership Agreements', Art. 2, p. 15; Council, 'Regulation (EC) No 861/200' Art 7

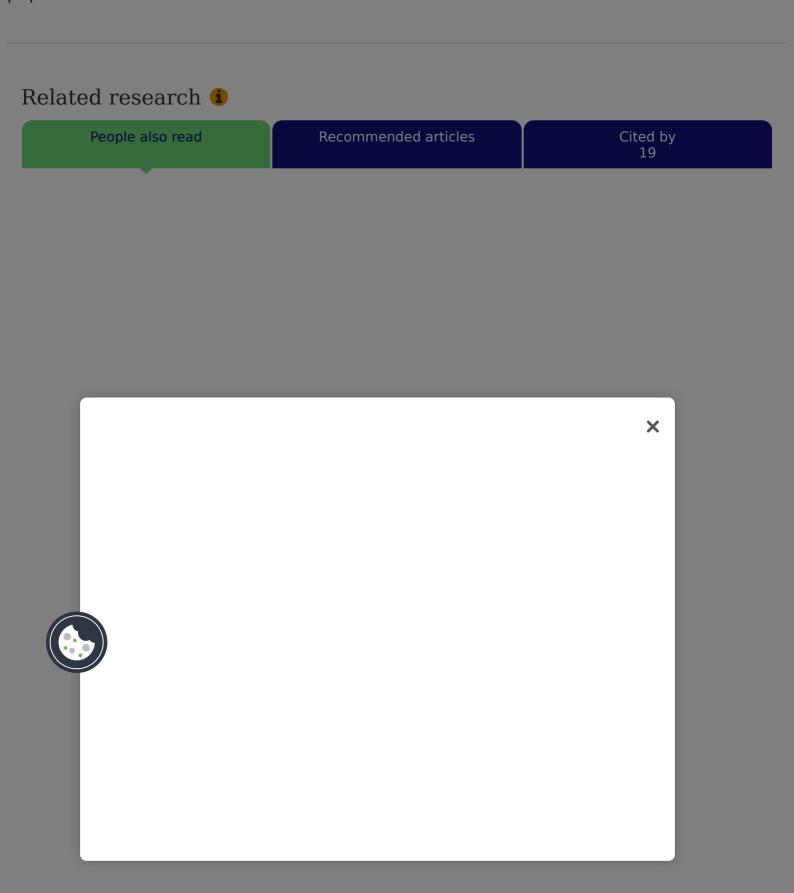


ACFA, 'ACFA Opinion', 18.

Schimmelfennig and Scholtz, 'EU Democracy Promotion'.

Freyburg et al 'EU Promotion of Democratic Governance'.

The present paper does not allow to make inferences about the magnitude of external actors' influence. While they may have a reinforcing effect, it is beyond the scope of the paper to measure these effects.



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