Operationalizing EU actorness and influence in domestic and global governance

Conceptualizing the Toolbox

Grant Agreement n° 822735, Research and Innovation Action
### TRIGGER
**TRends in Global Governance and Europe’s Role**

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Changes with respect to the DoA

It is the aim of this deliverable to provide an overview and approaches for operationalizing and measuring actorness and effectiveness. This will serve as one input for the development of an ontology that helps conceptualizing the AGGREGATOR database.

On the one hand, the concept for the data base and an ontology for this has not been developed yet. On the other hand, operationalizing actorness and effectiveness and choosing a comprehensive list of indicators is only possible, once the actorness model is complete. However, the framework for analysing actorness should not be based on theoretical findings only, but should also be based on empirical findings from case studies. In this way, the conceptual work based on literature reviews will be informed by the empirical analysis in the case studies and vice versa. This process is on-going.

Secondly, we found that it is useful to align the case studies for developing the model with the topics investigated in the deep dives as each policy area will add additional indicators and framework conditions to the model. We learned from the case study on trade policy, that a closer look into different policy fields helps to further differentiate and specify the actorness model. The topics for the deep dives have now been chosen, so that the work for the smaller case studies can now also begin.

Therefore, this deliverable is considered as a “living document” that will be updated with findings from further case studies, and further develop the actorness model based on the findings on the ontology development. In this way, the document will evolve overtime and present a viable, comprehensive model for actorness, that is based on theoretical as well as empirical findings.

Dissemination and uptake

Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)

Evidence of accomplishment

Report
Content

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1. Introduction

The AGGREGATOR database will conceptualize actorness and the related concept of effectiveness in a way that it becomes measurable. Therefore, an overview on the indicators and available datasets is needed, that can serve as tools for defining, measuring and forecasting the EU's actorness in different policy areas.

To operationalize actorness, we started by analysing the relevant academic literature to develop a model for actorness, which contains the main dimensions of actorness and shows how these dimensions interact with each other as well as how they determine the level of actorness. Besides, we conducted two short case studies to illustrate the relevance of the identified dimensions of actorness and effectiveness. As a result, we developed the following model for actorness:

![Actorness Model Diagram]

**FIGURE 1: ACTORNESS AND EFFECTIVENESS MODEL**

In the following second step, we now aim at operationalizing these actorness dimensions in order to have a tool at hand that is useful for assessing the EU’s actorness in various policy fields over time.
2. Operationalizing Actorness and Effectiveness

2.1. Criteria for Developing Indicators

Analysing, which dimensions constitute actorness and effectiveness from the literature, led us to seven dimensions describing actorness and four additional ones that can be used to assess effectiveness. Some of these dimensions rather describe properties of the EU, and are therefore internal dimensions, others refer to the context in which the EU is operating and describe how the EU is perceived by other actors. Hence, we categorized these as the external dimension of actorness and integrated all dimensions in the following overview:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of EU Actorness and Effectiveness</th>
<th>Internal</th>
<th>External</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legal Competence</td>
<td>Authority (including diplomatic engagement)</td>
<td>Recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Relations</td>
<td>Autonomy (including the bargaining constellation)</td>
<td>Attractiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cohesion (including the constellation of interests)</td>
<td>Policy Arena (including the Opportunity/ Necessity to act)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Credibility/ Trust</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1: OVERVIEW ON DIMENSIONS OF ACTORNESS AND EFFECTIVENESS**

In order to be able to measure the level of EU actorness and effectiveness, it is necessary to operationalize these dimensions and propose indicators. Indicators are a specific, exemplary description of a property or condition and should be testable and verifiable. In the context of TRIGGER, these indicators need to fulfil the following criteria:

- The indicators have to be time sensitive

It is the aim of TRIGGER to provide new approaches for analysing EU actorness and effectiveness today, but also to develop tools for forecasting that allow the EU to understand the mechanisms and developments better that lead to higher levels of actorness and effectiveness. In order to be able to observe differences between past, current and future states of actorness, indicators need to be able to reflect changes over time.

- The indicators need to be applicable to different policy areas

One of the next steps in the project is to analyse EU actorness and effectiveness in different policy areas in so called “Deep Dives”. The conceptual model for the indicators needs to reflect, that the

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1 Deliverable D3.1 of the TRIGGER project contains a more detailed overview on the different dimensions of actorness and effectiveness including a literature review and a description of how we derived our model of actorness from this.
indicators will be applied in different policy areas. Furthermore, the concept for measuring actorness and effectiveness should not be applicable to the cases investigated in TRIGGER, but will provide a universal framework for analysing actorness, that is not designed for specific policy areas only. However, this means that it may be necessary to specify or to complement the more general framework with more specific indicators for a particular policy area.

- The indicators have to vary between different policy areas:

As we have learnt from the literature review, EU actorness and effectiveness vary across different policy areas. The indicators need to reflect these differences and allow for a comparison between the constellations between different policy areas.

- Data availability for the indicators

Some of the dimensions of actorness can be challenging to operationalize. Nevertheless, it is the aim to develop indicators for each dimension that can be measured using data that are readily obtainable or can be generated. In some cases, it may not be possible to develop indicators and find data that directly represent the dimension of actorness or effectiveness addressed. In these cases, we need to develop proxies that can be used as a tool for operationalizing the actorness dimensions.

The indicators need to reflect these challenges. At the same time, this also has implications on the data sources, we can use for measuring the actorness indicators.
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2.2. Challenges for Identifying Indicators

When identifying indicators we encounter several challenges:

We have found in previous analysis (see deliverable D3.1), that the actorness dimensions are not entirely independent from each other, but that they can effect and reinforce each other at times. We found, that especially the dimensions of “cohesion” and “authority” impact on other dimensions of actorness as well. For example, if the EU has a high level of authority in one policy area, it is likely, that the EU also has resources to act in this policy area, and therefore higher levels of autonomy. Similarly, in the case of cohesion, a joint understanding, and a joint communication of policy preferences, which establishes a higher level of cohesion, may also increase the acceptance of the EU as a credible negotiation partner and increase the levels of recognition. This means, that some of the dimensions may influence each other. This needs to be considered when developing indicators. It is the aim to develop distinct indicators, that do not overlap between the different dimensions of actorness. Yet, they have to allow for a detailed analysis of each dimension.

Secondly, some of the concepts used for describing the different dimensions of actorness are hard to operationalize. Trust for example, is a concept that is highly contested in international relations research. There are various notions of the concept and no universally applied concept how to measure “trust” (Rathburn, 2017; Hoffman 2002). It is possible to develop indicators that help describing “trust”. However, “trust” remains a highly subjective concept and is therefore not easy to measure. Similar challenges occur as also the dimensions “attractiveness” or cohesion are highly subjective. They can be perceived and interpreted in different ways. For example, an international actor may not only evaluate the EU’s attractiveness in terms of current and anticipated future economic performance. He may also take into account opportunities in other regions of the world or make decisions based on diverging values and norms, etc. Hence, the conclusions regarding the desirability of closer cooperation with the EU may differ between two actors even if the cooperation premises are the same concerning the state and preferences of the EU (Lhermitte et al., 2019; Kratochvil et al., 2013).

Data collection may become a third challenge, which the TRIGGER project has to address. As many of the dimensions of actorness cannot be measured in quantitative terms only, but need to include qualitative indicators as well, which require the collection and interpretation of policy documents, media reports, etc. from all over the EU and possibly beyond, data collection is challenging. While verbatim reports and detailed documentation is available for the proceedings within the European Parliament, for example, the same detailed resources may not be available in all Member States (European Parliament, 2019).

Despite these challenges it is possible to define indicators to measure EU actorness and effectiveness, which we will do in the following.
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2.3. Identifying Indicators

2.3.1. Indicators for Authority

Previously, we have defined authority as the de jure authority of the EU, meaning the legal rights and competencies of the EU laid out in the Treaties of the European Union and other legal documents, which serve as a basis for European Action. Hence, the indicator for this dimension of actorness is the legal competence in the EU, which can be measured by the amount and extend of competences that have been transferred from the Member States to the EU level (Rhinard and Sjösted, 2019).

2.3.2. Indicators for Autonomy

In the context of TRIGGER, we define autonomy as a complementary dimension to authority, which takes into account the resources and capabilities to act that go beyond the legal authorization for action. This encompasses agenda setting powers, for example, but also the availability of resources, etc. It can therefore be described as the de facto authority of the EU. Therefore, indicators for autonomy do not only look at the competences granted in European Law. Additional indicators include the types of decision-making processes in the different policy areas, and the extend to which the Member States are involved in decision making processes, as well as instruments and mechanism the EU institutions can use to implement policies, enforce compliance, and sanction non-compliance. The budget that the EU institutions have at their disposal can be another indicator for measuring autonomy (Jupille and Caporaso, 1999; Rhinard and Sjösted, 2019).

2.3.3. Indicators for Coherence

Cohesion first of all refers to a consistent line of argument that is underpinned by shared values of the Member States and reinforced by shared policy preferences in specific policy areas. Hence we can distinguish different types of cohesion that can also be measured in different ways:

Value cohesion is similar to the authority and autonomy dimensions in the sense that it represents a structural feature of the EU and is changing over longer periods of time. An indicator for this can be overarching, long-term strategy documents, that lay down the long-term goals, values, and preferences of the EU and the Member states (Jupille and Caporaso, 1999; Bretherton and Vogler 2006).

In contrast, preference or policy cohesion refers to the policy preferences and goals of the Member States and the EU institutions in specific policy areas or on a specific policy initiative (Rhinard and Sjösted, 2019; Thomas 2010). Policy coherence can change faster and differs between the different policy areas. In this case, the day-to-day decisions play a more important role and relevant domestic issues may influence policy preferences of the Member States also.
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over short periods of time. Indicators that are suitable for measuring the degree of cohesion include shared narratives, justifying or rejecting joint action, shared policy goals, and the perceived legitimacy of the EU. These aspects can be extracted from speeches of political leaders in the Member States, strategy documents, but also from press reports, for example.

2.3.4. Indicators for Credibility and Trust

As mentioned above, measuring trust can be a challenge. This dimension covers two views on trust:

1. Strategic trust refers to the notion of trust, that actors believe that other actors have a self-interest in cooperation and their interests are generally in accordance with their own,

2. Moralistic trust encompasses beliefs about the honesty and integrity of potential cooperation partners (Rathburn, 2017)

This dimensions does not only have an internal aspect (perception of the EU's credibility in the MS), but expands to the external dimension as it also describes if the EU is perceived credible and trustworthy by its counterparts in the international arena. Hoffman (2002) suggests 3 main indicators measuring trust in international relations:

- discretion-granting policies in place: How much authority is given to the EU (not only be the Member States but also other actors) meaning if actors grant control over outcomes to another actor, that have been controlled by other actors previously.

- oversight mechanisms: which mechanisms are in place to control the actor in charge for implementing policies (before-the-fact and after-the-fact methods of oversight, for example)

- employed rules in written agreements (framework-oriented agreements vs. statute-oriented agreements)

As these criteria tend to look at a structural perspective, which changes rather slowly over time, it may be useful to complement these indicators also with the perception of trustworthiness and credibility of the EU institutions by the Member States and civil society, which can be measured by evaluating official statements, speeches and media reports.

2.3.5. Indicators for Recognition

The dimension of recognition refers to the view of other actors in the international system on the EU and their perception of the EU as a legitimate negotiation partner. This can be measured in terms of joint strategy documents and policy initiatives, but also how the media report on the EU’s role in global governance and how foreign leaders or representatives of International Organisations refer to the EU in public statements, speeches, etc.
2.3.6. Indicators for Attractiveness

In comparison to recognition, attractiveness goes one step further and takes into account the willingness of other actors to cooperate with the EU and the priority the EU has compared to other cooperation partners. Kratochvíl et al. (2013), describe this in terms of economic opportunities and value coherence. Hence, indicators for attractiveness have to cover these two dimensions and may include economic opportunities such investment opportunities in the EU or anticipated investments of the EU, market access, etc., but also further engagement options like, for example, a possible future EU association or even membership.

2.3.7. Indicators for the Policy Arena

Another external factor that has influence on the actorness and effectiveness of the EU in global governance is the policy arena in which the EU is operating. This refers to the actor constellation in the international arena, windows of opportunity that may emerge from changes in policy preferences of other actors, the development of global trends, etc. However, it does not only refer to opportunities that present itself. External threats may also require policy initiatives and can enable the EU to emerge as an effective actor in global governance. These do not have to be security related threats only, but may apply to the climate change or health related issues, etc. as well. Therefore, indicators have to cover these different aspects broadly, and include: the development of global trends, topics on the agenda of international organizations and states; singular events of global magnitude, agenda of pressure from international civil society, etc.
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3. Overview on Indicators and Data sources

The following table gives an overview on indicators to measure the dimensions of actorness identified in the literature review. It also contains possible data sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of actorness</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Potential Data Sources</th>
<th>Links</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>De jure authority: The legal basis of the EU’s action and the rights granted to the EU by the Member States</td>
<td>• The legal rights of the EU institutions</td>
<td>• Legal documents</td>
<td><a href="https://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html?locale=en">https://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html?locale=en</a> <a href="https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/search-law/eu-law_en">https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/search-law/eu-law_en</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>The necessary resources and capabilities to act (to ability to set one’s own priorities and make one’s own decisions)</td>
<td>• Available instruments and mechanisms to enforce policies • Deployable Resources</td>
<td>• EU seats in International Organisations (full membership, observer status, represented through MS only) • Voting procedure (unanimous or majority decisions required, approval in MS, etc.)</td>
<td><a href="http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/Login.do?message=SessionExpired">http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/Login.do?message=SessionExpired</a> <a href="https://uia.org/yearbook">https://uia.org/yearbook</a> <a href="https://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html?locale=en">https://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html?locale=en</a> <a href="https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/eu-budget/documents_en">https://ec.europa.eu/info(strategy/eu-budget/documents_en</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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| Trust/ Credibility | • Legitimacy (of EU institutions perceived by MS and civil society) | • Joint policy initiatives | https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/search-law/eu-law_en
| | | • Media reports | https://www.eurotopics.net/en/#
| | | | https://europa.eu/newsroom/home_en
| | Trust plays a role on two levels: (1) strategic trust, (2) moralistic trust | • discretion-granting policies in place | https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/search-law/eu-law_en
| | | • oversight mechanisms | https://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html?locale=en
| | | • employed rules in written agreements | https://unimelb.libguides.com/europea/n_union/treaties
| | | • the perception of trustworthiness and credibility | | |
| Recognition | Acknowledging the EU as a legitimate negotiation partner by other actors in the international system | • International perception of the EU | https://www.eurotopics.net/en/#
| | | • Strategy documents | https://europa.eu/newsroom/home_en
| | | • Speeches of foreign actors and representatives of International Organizations | | |
| | | • Media reports | | |
| | | • International joint policy initiatives | | |
| Policy Arena | Options for acting are determined by the external context in which the EU is operating. This includes windows of | • Development of global trends | https://www.eurotopics.net/en/#
| | | • Topics on the agenda of | https://europa.eu/newsroom/home_en
| | | • Strategies of International Organizations | | |
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>opportunity as well as external threats, which may make joint action necessary</th>
<th>international organizations</th>
<th>Demands from civil society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Singular events of global magnitude</td>
<td>• Agenda of/ pressure from international civil society</td>
<td>• Media reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Scientific analysis of global trends</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attractiveness</th>
<th>The advantages of cooperation with the EU compared to other actors</th>
<th>Economic opportunities</th>
<th>GDP development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Engagement options</td>
<td>• Trade balance</td>
<td>• Foreign Direct Investments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Investment climate</td>
<td>• EU neighbourhood and enlargement strategies, treaties and other policy documents</td>
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<th></th>
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<td>• Investment climate</td>
<td>• EU neighbourhood and enlargement strategies, treaties and other policy documents</td>
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**TABLE 2: OVERVIEW ON INDICATORS AND DATA SOURCES**

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/data-base
https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/node_en
https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/about/local_en
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4. Conclusions and Next Steps

Operationalizing actorness requires to find indicators for a variety of different dimensions of actorness. In this report, we have proposed indicators that are meant to form a framework for building the concept of the AGGREGATOR data base and serve as a reference for the upcoming case studies on EU actorness in different policy fields (e.g. climate policies, SDGs). We have conducted one of these case studies on trade policies (see deliverable D3.1), the others, which will prepare the Deep Dives and therefore cover the same policy areas, still have to be conducted. However, we already learned from the first case study on trade that the list of indicators is not conclusive yet. The contexts in which the EU is operating is very different for the various policy fields. Therefore is necessary to evaluate for each case study, what constitutes the framework conditions and to check whether the list of indicators is comprehensive or whether additional indicators need to be added to be able to adequately assess the EU’s actorness and effectiveness. Similarly, the data sources need to be identified and evaluated based on the relevant sources for the specific policy field and can then complement the more general list presented in this paper.

To be able to compare the results of the case studies, it is necessary to introduce a systematized tool for comparing different levels of actorness. So far, the question has not been answered what constitutes a high level of actorness, what is a minimum standard and what is a desirable level or threshold. This can either be achieved by comparing different policy areas and describing the level of actorness and effectiveness using the comparison to determine higher or lower levels of actorness. Another option is to develop a scoring system that attributes a value to certain findings of the analysis on a scale. This score could be expressed numerically (1-10), in a colour scheme (green, yellow, red) or in symbols (++, +, 0, -, --), etc. This system needs to take into account the different types of actorness dimensions. It would elaborate whether certain criteria need to weigh differently. For example, the scoring system would need to consider if more weight should be assigned to dimensions like “coherence” and/or “authority” because they influence other dimensions of actorness, etc. or if all dimensions are weighted the same.

However, to be able to define the level of actorness, it is necessary to define benchmarks for actorness and effectiveness, that serve as reference values for the scoring system. Therefore, it is necessary in a next step to develop such a scoring system to be able to visualize and compare the levels of actorness.
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5. Literature


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