



AALBORG UNIVERSITET

Master's Thesis

EU - an institution based on symbolic politics or real substance?

- A case study of the (in)coherence of the EU's objectives in regard to the Transatlantic Trade & Investment Partnership and the Paris Agreement.

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The EU knows that it cannot maintain its fiction of being a “global leader” in the fight against global warming while it pushes ahead with a new generation of climate-hostile free trade deals.

”

- John Hilary (2015)

i. Abstract

Focus for the thesis is the European Union's interests in the two agreements; the climate concerned Paris Agreement and the trade focused Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. Furthermore the specific focus is the (in)coherence and discrepancy between the European Union's interests in the objective and the following desired future implemented regulations and political actions within the two agreements. Even if the EU address both of the agreements without thought on the implications these could have on other political areas, the two areas of interest and the specific objectives of the individual agreements seems to be relative incoherent. Inter alia due to the lack of economic incentives in regards to companies transferring from being fossil fuels based and into based on sustainable energy. A problem regarding the interaction between the objectives of the agreements, if transatlantic companies are to increase their investment and trade across the Atlantic and even within the different areas, this will enable an increased transport of goods, causing an increasing emission, thereby working contradictory to the objectives of the Paris Agreement related to mitigation and achieving a net zero of emission.

The statements and official papers released by the European Union could indicate that both the term power and interdependence from the perspective of liberalism and neo-realism have some explanatory power in regards to the European Union's actions. The European Union's modus operandi in regards to the agreements could indicate that carrying out trade-offs is a mechanism used for creating a relative sense of coherence among contradictory policy areas such as climate and trade has shown to be, inter alia according to the climate-trade framework. The evaluation method of the European Union's actions and interests in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership - and the Paris Agreement in the light of the global position as an institution, both geographically and hierarchically, is based on the terms power and interdependence from the perspectives of liberalism and neo-realism. Particularly the geographical factor and geo-political and geo-economic implications are in the discussion of a major focus and the thesis found these factors to possibly be of a relatively large influence when analysing the actions of the European Union in regards to the foreign policy game.

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ii. Abbreviations

AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
AREI	African Renewable Energy Initiative
CBDR	Common but Differentiated Responsibilities
CBDR–RC	Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities
CEPR	Center for Economic Policy Research
CO ₂	Carbon dioxide
COP21	the 21 st Conference of the Parties
CTF	Customs and Trade Facilitation
CVF	Climate Vulnerable Forum
EC	European Commission
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
ERMs	Energy and Raw Materials
EST	Energy Transfer System
EU	European Union
EU-ETS	The European Union's Emissions Trading System
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GGDS	Government-Government Dispute Settlement
GHG	Greenhouse gasses
GI's	Geographical Indications
ICS	Investment Court System
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INDC	Intended Nationally Determined Contribution
ISDS	Investor-to-State Dispute Settlement System
IPRs	Intellectual Property Rights
NDC	National Determined Contribution
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NTB	Non-Tariff Barrier
RES	Renewable Energy Sources
RTAs	Regional Trade Agreements

SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SMEs	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
TFA	Trade Facilitation Agreement
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWII	World War II

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the last couple of decades, the focus of the European media in regards to European Union's foreign policy – besides its approach to the influx of migrants - have been greatly focused on climate change and trade. During the last couple of years the focus has specifically been on the two agreements; the Paris Agreement and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). These agreements have in the media and through quotes by interest organizations repeatedly been the subject of the astonishment of the incoherence that is somewhat seen to be existing within the European Union (EU). The focus is not on the trade-climate relationship and the EU's position on this in order to create coherence on these two specific areas, but more specifically, the EU's interests in the agreements and where this (in)coherence might be a result – if both implemented - in practice. Furthermore the focus of the analytical work, will be on the conflict of interest/ incoherence in the objectives of these agreements and the EU's approach to the impact this incoherence might have, in regards to the possibility of changing the global picture of power and reposition itself in a global context.

However, it is not a recent trend that states have had a double-focus. A focus on both super-national and the individual national interests. This leads up the theoretical perspective of choice of the thesis. These two theoretical perspectives have somewhat contradictory views and ways of addressing the two terms. And therefore bring forward different explanatory power on the actions of the EU, in regards to its foreign policy. The two terms, power and interdependence will be based on the perspective of liberalism, which has some similarities to the objectives in regards to the creation of the EU, as well as the neo-realistic perspective, which will address the EU's interests in the two agreements from a perspective with a focus of the accumulation of power.

Since the creation of the European Communities, the EU has developed both in regards to its geographical size, its level of global power and in regards to objectives. Today the EU is an economic and political union, made up of twenty-eight member states, but was in its early years the focus was on the economic collaboration, whilst through interdependence to avoid future wars. In the early 1970s climate and environment is a subject of debate and has been up until the present time.

On Earth Day, the 22th of April 2016, 175 countries signed the Paris Agreement at a UN ceremony. The Paris Agreement, which is a series of climate policy measures, are intended at global level, to first and foremost slow down, and later completely stop, the current trends in the use of fossil fuels, through for instance promoting the use of sustainable energy resources. But it seems to be the case for this agreement, not be enough on its own. It will need other policy areas to support these new regulations. The agendas in regards to trade is of great importance due to trade openness

being able to enable a greater use of climate-friendly¹ goods, services and technologies. TTIP is an agreement where the focus is on opening the transatlantic market, enabling easier and cheaper trade and investment between these two areas.

Full-on advancement from the EU on both the Paris Agreement and TTIP could indicate that, creating a coherency between these agreements to such an extent, that both agreements and their contained policies and regulations can be implemented and work side by side simultaneously, is somehow impossible. While the EU is trying to pursue a proactive climate policy - focusing on regulation of greenhouse gas emissions and various actions, which includes adaptation of climate-sensitive areas and protection of biodiversity - the EU is all together trying to promote and emphasise on the positive side of a further liberalization of the market, a self-regulatory market and remove obstacles (inter alia regulations) that may inhibit an implementation of the easiest and cheapest option in regards to trade. Official statements and reports indicate that it will be the regulations within the Paris Agreement that will be undermined, in the pursuit of a coherent foreign policy within the EU. But why does the EU have an interest in (risking) conflicting foreign policy measures? Especially if the result, is that one agreement will not be fully implemented in order for the other to function as intended.

Methodologically, the thesis is largely based on qualitative data, which enables a deeper understanding of the problem statement and 'why' there is an (in)coherence in the policy making of the EU as opposed to whether if this (in)coherence is a reality or not and to what extent.

1.1. Problem statement:

Considering the global positioning of the EU, how can power and interdependence, through the IR theories, liberalism and neo-realism, explain the interests which the EU has communicated through their draft on the TTIP along with the interests in final Paris Agreement?

In accordance with the problem statement, the further areas of focus are:

- The shape of the EU and its position in the global system.
- The climate-trade relation.
- The EU's approach to (in)coherence in their foreign policy actions?
- How to adress (in)coherence in this thesis?
- Incoherence among the EU's interests in the two agreements, TTIP and the Pais Agreement.
- Mechanisms enabling relative coherence between policies.

¹ Something (inter alia a production- or transport method) which does not have negative effects, enabling climate change and environmental deterioratin.

2. CONTEXT

The following paragraphs will focus on the EU, the TTIP and the Paris Agreement, in order to obtain the knowledge needed in furtherance of conducting the later analytical work.

2.1. The development of the European Union - in a global context

In order to understand, evaluate and explain the underlying reasons to the EU actions in relation to the TTIP and the Paris Agreement, this paragraph will provide an overall insight into the EU position in the global order.

2.1.1. The EU in the making

The EU is an economic and political union, with a member count of twenty-eight countries. It was initiated after WWII, in the hope of fostering an economic collaboration. In its infancy the EU was set into function, with the goal of putting an end to the regular disputes among the European countries. The first uniting of the European countries begins with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community. This was the beginning of an economic and political collaboration and uniting. From the Cold War to the protests against the Communist regime in Hungary, the 1950s was a period of time characterised by being a time of turmoil. Finally in 1957, the treaty of Rome enables the creating of the EEC. (Keukeleire & Delreux, 2014) A collaboration with the aspiration to enable interdependence and thereby avoid future conflicts and wars. Later the focus of the collaboration shifted from being exclusively on the economic aspects to both economic and political, with concerns from climate to environment, jobs, education, human rights and health. (European Union, n.d.)

- **1960 – 1979: A time focusing on economic cooperation and growth**

The 1960s was a time characterised by a boost in the economy partly due to the decrease in custom duties among the European countries. During this time the European countries began coming together on a common control of food production and further distribution resulting in a positive development of the agriculture and a surplus of the agricultural products. (Ibid.) In the 1970s three more countries joined the European community – increasing the number of member states to nine. An energy crisis in the middle-east resulted in an economic and energy crisis in Europe. The infrastructure and job situation within the EU is improved, especially in the poorer states and finally the EP undertook its first national direct member election. (Ibid.)

- **1980 – 1999: A time of change**

During this period, Greece became the 10th member of the European Communities, later joined by Spain and Portugal as the 11th and 12th. In 1986 the Single Act was implemented, enabling a FTA among the EU-countries resulting in the 'Single market' for the EU. (Ibid.) In the middle of the 1990s Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU as well. During this period the 'Single market' was given the four features of 'freedoms': movement of goods, services, people and capital. The 1990s was a time of concern regarding the outlying borders and the protection of the EU in regards to defence and furthermore the environment. Finally the Schengen agreement began to slowly enabling easier travel across the European internal borders. (Ibid.)

- **2000 – now: A time full of commotion and challenges**

A common currency (the euro) is implemented for some EU-member countries and with the elimination of the political East-West Europe division, twelve more countries joins the EU during this period.

In 2009, the EU member countries agree upon the Treaty of Lisbon and thereby an efficiency of its institutions, methods and practices. (Ibid.)

During this period a financial crisis – with its origins in the US – is initiated. During this period the EU creates the Banking Union and supports the countries which are worst affected by the crisis. During this period the number of member countries reaches 28. The previously mentioned concerns regarding climate change is still on the agenda, but the confidence and the positive perception of the EU's capability is under severe debate during this period. Several more sceptics take on seats in the European Parliament at the elections in 2014. (Ibid.)

The Russian annexation of Crimea, terrorist attacks and an influx of war- and climate refugees becomes a reality for the EU, placing further concerns in regards to maintaining the EU at the forefront. (Ibid.)

2.1.2. EU's global position

The economically stronger states within the EU are placed in the Northern-, Central- and Western Europe. While the economically weaker states within the EU, accounts for the part of the Eastern Europe. (Steif, 2017; Toussaint, 2011)

Over the last decade, Germany, the Netherlands and Austria have increased their exports with the EU-member states. Compared to countries such as for instance Greece, Spain, Romania and Bulgaria, Germany has greatly increased their competitiveness within the EU-borders. These

southern and eastern countries have experienced an inequality in the trade between themselves and these economically stronger states. Their shortfall in the trading-cooperation results in a surplus in the economically stronger states. The majority of shortfalls age back on the private and are compensated through loans at economically stronger state banks. (Toussaint, 2011) The difference between economically stronger and weaker states can for instance be found in regards to the interest rates. For example, Germany and Austria borrow at a 2 percent interest rate and lend at interest rates of five point two percent. However, the difference when looking at the interest rates associated with the loans made to Greece and Portugal by the EU in 2011 is even greater. In these arrangements the interest rates on the re-payment to the private banks of the economically stronger states was at +ten percent. (Ibid.)

But, has the EU changed as an institution? First and foremost, the influence on international relations by non-state actors has increased over the latest period in time. The EU is no exception. For a long period after the creation of the EEC, this institution was considered to be weak, fragile and incoherent due to its unique form. (Haas, 2009; McCormick, 2007). Looking at the current size, structure and instruments of the EU, it can be recognized as an institution of some power. Defining a 'global power' is partly, by authors on this subject, done through an analysis of whether a traditional state is *“a clearly defined centre of authority which is able to exercise vast control over other states’ behaviour – in the political, economic, social, but also in the cultural field – if necessary and most notably through the threat or use of its extensively available force.”* (Haas, 2009) The EU can be considered to have been lacking some of these factors. Inter alia, the EU's way of addressing the former deteriorating war in the Balkans, could serve as a sign of weakness and thus a status as not being key in the global 'power struggle'. (Haas, 2009; McCormick, 2007)

Some academics consider the EU to have re-defined the way in which a 'superpower' is considered (Leonard, 2005; McCormick, 2007; Manners, 2001/2006; Morgan, 2005) and that the former mentioned way of defining incoherence, resulting in the label; weak, can be a sign of the opposite. And furthermore considered a tool in the process of achieving global influence - through, for instance by creating incentives through the promise of membership. During the enlargement of the EU and the inclusion of the Central-, Eastern- and Southern European countries, this incentive was of great importance. In return the EU experienced a degree of power and influence on these states in regards to implementation of policy actions, beneficial for the EU and its objectives. The EU's foreign policy objectives: promotion of regional cooperation; promotion of human rights; promotion of peace; promotion of good governance; promotion of the rule of law and protection of minorities, is in the current times, in general not considered abnormal and unique to the EU, but the instruments and methods which the EU is given in regards to the shaping of global values and

norms is considered as strong and efficient. (Ibid.)

Another way to assess whether or not an institution such as the EU is a global power-player is by addressing its effectiveness. The effectiveness of non-state actors is defined as the extent to which the institution, on a global scale manages to influence other non-state policies and its ability to implement its desired policies. At the same time, this way of defining a power-player is based on whether this influence and implementations are considered possible on a general global level. A problem seems to arise for the EU when dealing with the implementing of policies when dealing countries outside of Europe. Particularly on parts of the world, where the possibility of using the incentive 'a membership' does not apply and where the norms, know-how's and traditions is different and thereby not a latent wish of adopting European values. Under such circumstances the EU is considered to be lacking effectiveness. (Haas, 2009) Some authors consider the effectiveness of the EU, as being dependent on the given policy field. On one hand, the EU is considered strong when it comes to its trading policies, its monetary policy and in relation to soft policies such as the specification of climate and environmental issues and the implementation of the accompanying solutions. (Ibid.) Looking at the rest of the world, the EU is not considered weak in relation to its exports of its framework in regards to governance, especially in relation to the two trading partners, the US and China. Nor is it generally speaking, considered to be a weak global player when it comes to creating and transforming the international economic environment. Where trade is not of top priority, in regards to (inter)governmental relations, the EU is considered to be highly effective due to the opportunities the EU has for creating economic incentives. (Ibid.)

At the outset, the European Communities was made up of financially strong states, but were for a long time considered weak, due to its structure. These strong, original states was later were later joined by some somehow weaker states. States placed in the Southern- and Eastern part of Europe. Increasing its geographical size, but taking on the financial responsibility for several more states. (European Union, n.d.; Manners, 2001/2006; Morgan, 2005; Steif, 2017; Toussaint, 2011) In the current time, the discourse regarding the structure and methods of the EU changed from a reason of weakness to strength. Several treaties have been agreed upon, in order to create coherence. Moreover, the geographical size increased and finally the EU is considered especially strong and effective at the global level, when it comes to trade and climate-/ environmental issues. Despite the fact, that there is a differentiation, when dealing with the different countries within the borders of the EU, the EU as an entity is generally considered to be of an economically strong status. (Leonard, 2005; McCormick, 2007; Manners, 2001/2006; Morgan, 2005)

The following gives an overview of the economically strong states of recent centuries:

- Mid-15th century – 17th century: Spain and Portugal;

- Early 17th century – 19th century: The Netherlands;
- Early 19th century – Mid-20th century: England;
- Mid-20th century – late 20th century: US;
- Late 20th century - now: US, Europe, Japan.

Some future forecasts and analysts, focusing on the development of world systems, predict that Asia and specifically China have the momentum needed to become a future player, in regards to the status of global superpower as well. (Leonard, 2005; McCormick, 2007; Manners, 2001/2006; Morgan, 2005)

2.2. The Paris Agreement

The following paragraph will outline the main objectives and scope of the Paris Agreement.

The Paris Agreement is an agreement within the UNFCCC and refers to the countries, which signed up to the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. The Paris Agreement was adopted in Copenhagen in 2015, with the purpose of agreeing on an international treaty to follow the Kyoto Protocol. Different from the Kyoto protocol, the Paris Agreement does not focus on specific common goals for the parties involved, but every country is responsible for ensuring that the goals they set are consistent with the overall goals set by the Paris Agreement. (Climate Focus, 2015; Corporate European Observatory, 2015c)

The Paris Agreement is meant to be the start of a new era – a turning point in regards to the use of fossil fuels versus sustainable energy. Where fossil fuels for more than a hundred years were the basis of economic growth, a new approach to energy is brewing. An approach where the use of fossil fuels are near to zero as soon as possible and where the use of sustainable energy resources - solar and wind power – are greatly emphasized. (Worland, 2015)

2.2.1. A legally binding agreement?

While the majority of the developed countries all agree on the wish of coming together on a common united agreement, both in terms of financing, mitigation and adaption – these will later be further disclosed in the following paragraphs - there is a differentiation in the binding character of the agreement. The EU and other coalitions, such as the AOSIS, tried to promote and implement an quantitative definition of the national mitigation policies, future advancements and legal obligations. (Dimitrov, 2016) It was as well the EU which promoted and adhered on a five-year mechanism to be set in order to ensure a sufficient commitment from the individual countries. This mechanism will as well later be outlined. Contrary to this, the US seemed to have more than one

agenda during the negotiation of the agreement. During the debates, the US seemed without major problems and without major objections to be strongly keen on getting a deal set. But during the bilateral debates/ discussions and particularly debates on the objective of making a legally binding commitment on mitigation and future financing, the US could seem to have had other interests of heart. The lesser legal binding character of the agreement is by some authors and politicians considered to be a result of the US' power, global influence and impact on the process. (Ibid.)

In addition to the specific focus, China, being a new player in the game of becoming a global superpower and a major factor when dealing with emission, emphasised on a sturdy legal bond in regards to the obligations of the member states, but was in regards to the five-year mechanism, this was not one of the key points of importance. (Ibid.)

2.2.2 General goals

- **Mitigation**

One of the objectives of the agreement is to keep the global temperature rise - from the level at the beginning of the industrialisation - to below 1.5°C (European Commission, n.d.a). In order for this to be a reality, there are two criteria needed to be upheld before this is possible. Firstly the emission of GHGs must peak within the shortest possible amount of time and the net zero emissions achieved before the turn of the millennium. (Climate Focus, 2015; European Commission, n.d.). Secondly, in order for this peak to occur, the parties involved need to be aware of having to continuously step up their INDC goals through climate regulations and investment in climate-friendly methods. (European Commission, n.d.).

- **The five-year-mechanism & NDCs**

According to the documents on the National Determined Contributions (NDCs) presented by the different countries, it is currently concluded that these are insufficient, in order to meet the general goals in the Paris Agreement. This contributes to a further focus on how to constantly improve the national goals - for instance the use of sustainable gases in lieu of fossil fuels - in order to keep in consensus with the Paris Agreement, where an assessment of current goals and any upscaling is planned to take place every five years. (Climate Council, n.d.) The member states are legally bound to the agreement, but in order for there to be real weight in this agreement, all individual countries must have a genuine interest in continually improving their NDCs. This genuine interest is necessary, as this agreement is only partly binding in the sense that the individual countries are subject to reporting requirements. But in regards to the emission goals, the individual countries are not subject to supranational goals, but they must be set by the states themselves. (Climate Council,

n.d.; Worland, 2015)

- **Adaption**

During the negotiations of the Paris Agreement, one of the important points for the SIDS and AOSIS was an increased focus on the negative climate-dependent impacts on particularly vulnerable parts of the world. Secondly, an increase in the support of the areas through for instance, risk insurance and warning systems was of great importance. (European Commission, n.d.a) Thirdly, focus was desired to be on creating greater economic, social and biological resilience in areas which already have experienced irreversible negative impacts of climate change. For instance through an exchange of knowledge from developed to developing countries, but as well through the financing of the adaption of the climate sensitive areas. The objective of the Paris Agreement is for the developed countries to support the developing countries with a total of one hundred billion dollars per year, in their transition from high fossil fuel based to low fossil fuel based. This number and thereby the financial support from the developed countries is though expected to increase no later than 2020. (C2ES, 2015; European Commission, n.d.)

2.2.3. Creating a greater transparency

In order to achieve a greater transparency, a meeting every five year, where an update of the current objectives will take place, has been agreed upon. (European Commission, n.d.a) The final agreement will enable a smooth transition from the transparency procedures under the UNFCCC and onto a common framework which requires all partners to track and report further implementations of new NDCs and the related results. (C2ES, 2015; European Commission, n.d.) These reports must containing new INDCs, an analysis and discussion of the impact of these and a final draft of the NDCs, which shall be reviewed by experts after which the process, the goals achieved and the future objectives will be evaluated in regards to the time-specific scientific know-hows and methods. (C2ES, 2015)

2.2.4. The Paris Agreement and the private corporations

Through the design of the agreement itself, the impact and role of the private sector is not presented. But despite this, according to other official reports this sector, other supranational authorities, the civil society and private companies are considered stakeholders and an important part in increasing the financially supported sustainable energy-research projects. (C2ES, 2015; Climate reality project, 2016; European Commission, n.d)

2.2.5. Current plans for change

- At local level, leaders from Paris, Stockholm and Vancouver have reported that their ultimate goal is to achieve a one hundred percent use of green energy. (Climate Council, n.d.)
- The US (under the Obama administration) announced that by 2025 they will cut down the emission of GHGs by twenty-six percent. (NRDC, 2015)
- China has announced plans of having their level of carbon emissions peak by 2030 and to raise their use of sustainable energy to twenty percent by 2030. (Ibid.)
- India and France have entered into an alliance that promotes the use of green energy - especially solar energy. (Climate Council, n.d.)
- In Africa, the AREI has announced a goal to "... *build at least 10 GW of new and additional renewable energy generation capacity by 2020 and 300 GW by 2030.* (Ibid.)
- Member countries of the CVF have announced an out-phasing of the use of fossil fuels and exclusively make use of sustainable energy by 2050. (Ibid.)

2.2.6. Financing & Common but differentiated responsibilities

One of the areas that caused much turmoil among the participating countries in the negotiation-process of the Paris Agreement, was the financing of the transition from a world based on fossil fuels and into one based on sustainable energy resources. Furthermore the term 'Common but differentiated responsibilities' (CBDR) was problematic for some of the countries: "(...) *CBDR-RC is a principle within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) that acknowledges the different capabilities and differing responsibilities of individual countries in addressing climate change.*" (Climate council, n.d.) The CBDR and CBDR-RC implies that the different countries have different circumstances and different capabilities. The industrialised countries, which are considered to have had the greatest part in the climate change, are now to be held responsible for their part of the climate change, thus countries of greater economies must take on the biggest financial part, towards safeguarding the more climate-sensitive countries and counteract future negative impacts that the continued climate change will bring. (Ibid.)

The CBDR is not a mechanism forcing the greater economies finance the agreement. The Paris Agreement is intended to create incentives for all countries to take on a part of the work - according to their financially capability. (Ibid.)

2.2.7. The capability of the current overall NDCs

The plans presented by the different nations, which have agreed upon the Paris Agreement appear, according to various analysts, to be insufficient in order to achieve the desired overall objectives, for example, to keep the temperature rise below 2 degrees: *"The problem is that even if we fully implement the current commitments that countries have submitted, it wouldn't keep warming under 2 degrees. One commonly cited study has calculated a 2.7-degree C rise under the current scenario. So countries need to do more at every level – and they need to do it soon."* (Climate reality project, 2016., p9)

2.2.8. The EU's key policy initiatives, current NDCs and their capability

The EU has announced that it:

- by 2030 they will reduce the carbon emissions to such extents that it results in a level below the 1990-level. (NRDC, 2015)
- plans to increase the share of renewable energy in final energy consumption to a minimum of 27 percent, before 2030;
- plans to improve the energy efficiency from the 2005-level, by 27 percent before 2030;
- aspires to reduce the GHG emission, from the 2005-levels, by 43 percent in ²ETS sectors before 2030;
- sets out to reduce the GHG emission, from the 2005-levels, by 30 percent in non-ETS sectors. (Ćwiek-Karpowicz et. al., 2015)

In regards to the short to medium terms, the EU's contributions – partly driven by the Energy and Climate package - are estimated to result in a noteworthy shift in the energy system. The goals set on short-medium terms are according to the EU, estimated to be attainable as a result of the current implemented policies. (European Commission, 2016) When dealing with the long term goals, one being the future reduction of the GHG emission, there might be a reduction foreseen, but the current initiative in regards to a reduction and GHGs is not sufficient in order to obtain the objectives agreed upon under the Paris Agreement. (Ibid.)

The EU is labelled as a stakeholder in regards to creating the incentives and the pressure needed in order to making other parts of the world recognize the importance of private-, governmental-, national- and international investment in order to ensure a coherence of the

² The EU's 'cap and trade' system which operates in all 28 EU membercountries plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. The system is meant to 'cap' the total amount of GHG emission by allowing companies a certain amount of emission – which the companies among one another can trade.

financing system. So, what is considered to be of importance in regards to obtaining the objectives within the Paris Agreement? First of all, there is a further need for adding more details – beyond simply GHG emissions - regarding the EU's INDC. This would enable a greater transparency and credibility of the EU. Secondly, other factors than merely the GHG emissions should be included when understanding the long-term perspective and when assessing whether or not these long-term goals are attainable. The EU needs to acknowledge the different challenges in relation to climate change – not only should the focus be on GHG emissions, but on mitigation and adaptation as well. Thirdly, the Paris Agreement needs to increase the focus on the individual domestic policy processes, when considering how these can contribute to a regular re-evaluation of the NDCs. The future climate policies (after 2030) should be considered of great importance at the very earliest state, in order to ensure the development of the NDCs for following regular of collective action(s). Finally, the EU is given a key-role, which it needs to acknowledge as being of great importance, in regards to the funding of the actions which is thought to be undergone due to the Paris Agreement. (Ćwiek-Karpowicz et. al., 2015)

2.3. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

The following paragraph will outline the objectives and scope of the TTIP.

The TTIP is a US-EU free trade and investment agreement which started being negotiated in 2013. The nature of the TTIP is economic and it is the economic benefits which are emphasized the most – compared to for instance the possible negative complications for inter alia the climate. (European Commission, 2014b) The proposal on the TTIP from the EU contains three main areas: *Market access*, *Regulatory Cooperation*, and *Rules*. These will in the following paragraph be further explained.

2.3.1. Market access

Within the area of 'Market access', there are four subjects which are of main focus for the EU. These are: *Trade in goods and customs duties*; *Services*; *Public Procurement* and *Rules of Origin (ROO)*.

- **Trade in goods and customs duties**

The desire for the EU is to open up the US market, in order to increase its level of trade with the EU, inter alia due to the EU's desire to cause trade to be significantly cheaper for European companies. In addition, the EU wishes to create a more coherent strategy in regards to tariffs/custom duties. As of now, the duties on the same product differ in relations to which area (EU or US) it is being imported from. The purpose of creating a coherent trading system on goods is as

well in order to create a spill-over effect. The EU aspires to scrap transatlantic tariffs, which the EU estimates to enable lower the cost of the export goods, thereby increasing sales, which finally would result firms to produce more and thereby create an increased demand for employees. (European Commission, n.d.b; Pérez & Dudley, 2016)

The EU estimates that changing the tariffs is a manageable project. Especially since this change is thought not to have - if any - very few negative effects and where negative effects would occur, it is the plan for the EU to agree on a period of phasing out in order to minimize the negative financial impact it could have had. Should there be negative economic consequences by removing tariffs that cannot be minimized through a phasing out period, it is the EU's plan for the tariffs of the applicable area to only be partially removed. (European Commission, n. b/ 2015a)

- **Services**

The EU considers *services* as the backbone of both the US and the EU economy. For the EU, services account for approximately sixty percent of the economy and of the total amount of jobs. Currently, there are some obstacles (such as mobility, licensing and approvals) that cause problems when exporting EU services to the US. TTIP is wished to be the mechanism which removes these, while creating a coherent set of standards and regulations in the area of services, in order to ease the process (including the financial costs) of exporting and importing services. (Pérez & Dudley, 2016)

- **Public Procurement**

The EU wants to open up the US market for companies from the EU in order gain a greater share of US products and shares. At the same time, the EU wishes to create equality between the US and EU business on the American market. Currently, the EU and the US are some of the largest players in regards to global market of public contracts, but there are still areas where there are obstacles to overcome in regards to both parties having the equal opportunities to make bids on contracts across the Atlantic. The EU assess a further opening of the cross-Atlantic public procurement as beneficial for both parties to, due to the EU estimating this to enable growth, a greater economic efficiency and new jobs. (European Commission, n.b/ 2015a)

- **Rules Of Origin**

It is a goal for the EU through the TTIP to enable a creation of a framework, *Rules Of Origin (ROO)*, that ensures, that the producers and products which benefits from the removal of the EU/US-tariffs, also originates from the EU and US. It is the goal for the EU that the TTIP shall: "... *make sure our [the EU] rules meet industry needs and promote trade and investment across the*

Atlantic...” and “... agree on a common way to determine where a product is produced” (European Commission, 2015a: p16) As of now, there are different methods taken in use when determining where a product is produced. The objectives for the EU on this area, is to create a more coherent and simple way of determining the country of origin, which easily can be applied by EU importers and exporters. (European Commission, n.d.b/ 2015a)

2.3.2. Regulatory Cooperation

The European Commission wishes for the regulatory cooperation within the TTIP to be more coherent, enable a positive development in the quality of products and services and ease the costs for the EU companies when exporting to the US. A positive development on these areas is considered to enable a growth within the European job market and to provide a greater supply for European consumers. It is the EU's desire to strengthen international cooperation and, though a more similar regulation across the Atlantic, to safeguard both the US and the EU individual public interests. Due to this duality, the EU endorses the establishment of a Regulatory Cooperation Body and institutions working with a focus on new initiatives and the future positive effects these might have in improving the cooperation between regulators. (European Commission, n.d.b/ 2015a)

One of the reservations, the European Commission has in this area, is that the agreements made within the TTIP could risk a lowering of the protection of for instance the environment, public-, animal- and plant health. (European Commission, 2015a)

2.3.3. Rules

The European Commission emphasizes on the importance of protecting the basic right of the workforce, promoting social responsibility amongst the businesses and ensuring that the civil society feels involved in particular the practical part – after the implementation of the TTIP. It is important for the EU that a coherent set of standards is set into function in order to ensure and support a positive impact of the workforce and environment, for example through the use of innovation and trade in sustainable energy resources. (European commission, 2015a; Pérez & Dudley, 2016)

- **Energy and Raw Materials**

The EU's goal is to establish a set of rules for sustainable trade and investment. This is meant to enable the creation of a future model for negotiations, promote sustainability and a transparent set of common rules within the areas of *Energy and Raw Materials (ERMs)*. (European Commission, n.d.b/ 2014a)

There are three areas of focus in regards to the concerns of negative effects on the environment as a result of TTIP: the US' potential for hydraulic fracturing in the European grounds; an increase of the use of fossil fuels and an increase in the carbon emission. Regarding hydraulic fracturing, the concern is that the TTIP should allow US businesses to drill for shale gas in the European underground, due to a reduction in the sovereignty of the individual countries. As of now, the European Commission does not foresee the TTIP to undermine the sovereignty and that each country after the implementation of the TTIP still will be responsible for whether or not to allow drilling for shale gases. Regarding fossil fuels and carbon emissions, the concern is that the trade across the Atlantic will result in an increase in the use of fossil fuels and thereby resulting in an increase of the emission of carbon. (European Commission, n.d.b/ 2015a)

- **Customs and Trade Facilitation**

As it is now, the US and the EU both have their own methods and customs and trade facilitations (CTF). When exporting goods from the EU and into the US, these goods must be secured to maintain US regulations and vice versa. This is for example due to the desire to stop illegal goods in entering the market and in order to secure that companies comply with rules on duties and taxes. (European Commission, 2014c/ 2015b)

Transporting can be more than just a heavy workload in regards to paperwork; it can as well be a very costly affair. If these goods are being transported by water the manufacturer is also subject to payment in regards to a harbour maintenance fee to use the certain port. It can be a costly affair, especially for companies which export high-value goods. An area of products which the European companies typically export to the US. It is in EU's interest to streamline and thereby facilitate the customs process and trade among companies across the Atlantic, in order to secure the imported products to be in compliance with the applicable rules. (Ibid.)

- **Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises**

In regards to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), the goal for the EU is to enable and ensure an uncomplicated exporting by European SMEs onto the US' market and take full advantage of TTIP in terms of growth. (European Commission, 2014c) In the EU, about sixty-six percent of the workforce, within the private sector, is employed by SMEs. Therefore, this sector is considered to be the backbone of the economy and the possible economic growth. Between 2002 and 2010, this group accounted for eighty-five percent of the increase in new jobs. (European Commission, n.d.b/ 2014c/ 2015a)

The EU's goal is to make the process (taxes, custom duties and regulations) more

transparent, and estimates the TTIP to have a major impact on the SMEs, as the removal of duties and a more simple customs process, is intended to result in a lower financial burden. This due to the same regulations applying to both groups, but SME's having fewer employees and often a smaller budget compared to the larger companies. (Ibid.)

- **Investment**

In regards to investment, it is the EU's desire to create better opportunities for investment in the US, for European companies and vice versa. This is due to a desire to create better investment conditions, to make the process of Europe's businesses entering the US market more simple and to create incentives for American businesses to invest in the European market. This area of investment is an important part of European foreign and domestic policies. For the EU, this creates better competitiveness and ultimately creates more job opportunities for the European workforce. (Pérez & Dudley, 2016) The goals for the EU are therefore to create better investment conditions inter alia by creating greater understanding and eliminating discrimination. And finally it is in the EU's interests that foreign investors – through a streamlining of regulation and rule – are given the same legal rights (European Commission, n.d.). The current system, ISDS, is estimated to have some shortcomings and problems, which the EU with a new system sees to deal with and desirable completely eliminate. Problems dealing with areas such as the level of transparency, a lack of legitimacy (Ibid.) Due to these concerns regarding the ISDS, it is in the interest of the EU to form a new system - the Investment Court System (ICS). (European Commission, n.d./ 2015a/d)

- **Competition**

According to the European Commission, free competition will ensure even grounds for US and EU businesses cross the Atlantic. Currently the playing field for state-owned (SOEs)- and private owned enterprises not completely even. There are still cases where, SOEs benefits more from advantages that may not available to the private sector. It is therefore the goal for the EU to build an *EU-US Cooperation Agreement* to ensure that the laws in regards to competition, is being upheld and that the private sector and the state-owned is secured equal terms. (European Commission, n.d.b/ 2015a)

”The basis for the EU's position on competition in TTIP is the EU's existing legal framework. Our [the EU's] proposal fully safeguards the treatment of public services under the relevant EU rules, including rules on competition, subsidies and SOEs. So there's no risk that TTIP would undermine public services in the EU.” (European Commission, n.d.b)

- **Intellectual Property**

Creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship are for the EU, an important part due to the fact that it plays a great part in the economic growth by creating jobs. Through copyright, geographical indications and trademarks, the Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) allows firms to innovate and create new products and services. The main goal for the EU is through the IPR to agree on a common set of rule and principles and enable a growth in jobs and investment. Both the EU and the US already have regulations set to protect the intellectual property - which on many areas resemble each other. In TTIP, the EU wishes to streamline these two to create a signed list of international IPR agreements, to create a common list of principles and to ensure that there are binding commitments in areas such as geographical indications. (European Commission, n.d.b/ 2015a)

- **Government-Government Dispute Settlement (GGDS)**

”The objective (...) is to establish an effective and efficient mechanism for avoiding and settling any dispute between the Parties concerning the interpretation and application of this Agreement with a view to arriving, where possible, at a mutually agreed solution.” (European Commission, 2015e: p1) The EU sees the way the WTO settles a disagreement among member-countries as very efficient and successful. Therefore the EU wishes for these processes to be implemented into the TTIP and thereby be able to avoid negative spill-over effects onto other areas of the EU-US relation. (European Commission, n.d.b)

2.3.4. Impacts related to the implementation of the TTIP

A reduction of the Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs) is considered crucial in regards to obtaining the greatest possible benefit from TTIP. Reducing NTBs is assessed as a crucial driver of the possible gains. (European Commission, 2013)

Francois et al. (2013) presents two scenarios. The first assumes a 10 percent reduction of the costs related to the NTBs and a near to complete elimination of tariffs to be possible. The second scenario – a more ambitious scenario - foresee that TTIP will result in an elimination of 25 percent of costs linked to NTBs and furthermore a complete elimination of tariffs. This scenario is by the European Commission estimated to be realistic due to both the US and EU announcements of goals regarding an elimination of the majority of tariffs and the current debating of a consensus on regulatory cooperation. (Ibid.)

TTIP would theoretically specifically for the EU mean:

- an increase of the profit for the EU by approximately one hundred and twenty billion euros a year according to the ambitious scenario; (European Commission, 2013; Francois. et. al., 2013; Pérez & Dudley, 2016);
 - an increase of sixty-eight billion euros a year according to a less ambitious scenario; (Francois et. al., 2013)
- an average increase of the EU household income by 545 euros per year;
- that, several million of jobs would be created as a result of the increase in export
- that the overall salary for both high- and low-skilled workers would increase by roughly point five percent; (European Commission, 2013; Francois. et. al., 2013)
- the sector of 'motor vehicles' is estimated to increase by up to forty-two percent on exports and by forty-three percent in imports globally. Furthermore, exports to the US within this sector, is expected to rise by 149 percent; (European Commission, 2013; Pérez & Dudley, 2016)
- exports within the sector, 'metal products' is expected to increase by twelve percent;
- that the sector of 'processed foods' and 'chemicals' are expected to increase nine percent ;
- that 'other transport equipment' and 'other manufactured goods' is expected to increase by six percent; (European Commission, 2013)
- an annual increase in the GDP of point seven percent (Pérez & Dudley, 2016);
- only less than point seven percent of the labour force would be forced to move between sectors over a period of ten years. (European Commission, 2013; Francois et. al., 2013)

The TTIP is estimated to increase the world GDP by approximately one hundred billion euros. Furthermore, to create incentives in regards to new worldwide regulations on trade (European Commission, 2013; Francois et. al., 2013), and finally increase the trading among EU, US and their partners worldwide, by more than thirty-three billion euros. (Francois et. al., 2013)

On the negative side, the TTIP could result in a decrease of the trade among the EU member countries due to a diverting of this trade towards the US. (European Commission, 2013) Furthermore it could affect less-efficient companies. Lesser efficient companies will experience a lower competitiveness. Likewise will sectors that will carry the largest part of the burden in relation to a restructuring (Electrical machinery and 'other transport equipment' – though not cars - be among the sectors which will experience the most severely negative impacts. (Ibid.)

3. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The following paragraphs will illustrate the methodological, theoretical and scientific considerations that were made during the execution of the thesis.

3.1 Process of the study

Background:

- The development of the EU in a global context
- What are the objectives for the EU in regards to the TTIP?
- What are the objectives for the EU in regards to the Paris Agreement?

→ *Focus:*

- How is the thesis going to address (in)coherence?
- How does the EU approach (in)coherence in their foreign policy actions?
- In which areas is there an (in)coherence between EU's interests in the two agreements?
- How does the EU try to create coherence between the two agreements?
 - Focus: With the EU's positioning in the global system in mind, how can power and interdependence through the perspectives of liberalism and neo-realism explain the EU's actions in regards to these two agreements?

→ *Theory:*

- Neorealism
- Liberalism

→ *Methods:*

- Methodological considerations
- Philosophical considerations
- Theoretical considerations

→ *Research on existing literature:*

- The definition of (in)coherence
- (In)coherence in EU policy making
- (In)coherency between the interests within the Paris Agreement and the TTIP

→ *Analysis*

- (In)coherence among EU's interests within the TTIP and the Paris Agreement
- Liberalism & Neorealism

→ *Discussion:*

- The duality of the international relations and their impact on the actions of the EU.

→ *Conclusion*

- Final conclusion(s)

3.2 Sources of data

The project has made use of a lot of different sources, however, a common denominator for the greater part of these sources, is their connection to the EU. In particular, three sources have been used in the project:

- *The European Commission:*
 - The interest of the thesis is linked to the interest which the EU has in the two agreements. Therefore, the largest part of the data on both the TTIP and the Paris Agreement has been retrieved directly from the European Commission. Most of the data used in regards to the TTIP is retrieved from this source. In regards to the information on the Paris Agreement retrieved from this source, the nature of the data has more been on the interests of the EU on the agreement, rather than the outlining of the agreement itself.
- *The Climate Council:*
 - The Climate Council, which is an independent, organisation with a focus on providing information on climate change and the Paris Agreement, is in this specific thesis used in order to adopt an understanding of the scope of the Paris Agreement.
- *The UNFCCC:*
 - This source has contributed in regards to acquiring knowledge about the practical framework for the Paris Agreement.

3.3 Limitations

First and foremost there is a limited focus in regards to the agreements of choice. The focus being the interests of the two specific agreements sets a frame and limit for which objectives to evaluate and for which political actions to assess. However, there has not been conducted a selection and deselection of specific objectives two draw into focus, thus choosing not to include some objectives. A selection and deselection of objectives could have had a critical influence on the final conclusion.

Partly due to the timeframe, set for the execution of the thesis, the actions of the EU in relation to previously similar situations are not highlighted, but the focus has been on providing a more general understanding of the development of the EU and its weaknesses and strengths.

Another reason for this choice is due to it being estimated to be of lesser importance for the thesis to assess the older actions with those currently being conducted with the two agreements. This is assessed to be of lesser importance due to new situations being framed by new values taking the place of old ones. New knowledge and methods affects the way we view the world, the global relations and the prioritisation of the funding and financial support of individual political areas. The focus is thus how the EU currently is acting and currently wishes to act in the future.

We assume – due to the theories used - there being a dual effect when conducting political actions with the intentions of implementing these in the global system or in a local and or regional system, but which affects the global system. Thus, also assuming that the EU does not stand unanimous in terms of creating the global political framework. As of now, both the EU, the US and parts of Asia are considered to be major powers both socially, politically and economically, and it must therefore be assumed that they have a certain amount of power and influence on the global system and the policy initiatives and implementations as well. The focus has not been on whether or not there is a consensus between the interests of the EU and the interests of the US. The objective of the thesis has solely been on the interests of the EU. This factor – a dual effect - will not fill up a great part of the analysis, but during the discussion this factor will be further elucidated as it somehow is assessed to influence the analysis and the final conclusion of this thesis.

3.4 Philosophy of science

The following paragraph will explain the basic principles of the chosen philosophy of science, why this specific perspective has been applied and explain how this is used in this specific thesis. Finally, the last sections will outline the difficulties that may accompany this perspective and explain how these are addressed.

3.4.1. The relativistic perspective

In this specific thesis, the relativistic perspective is adopted in order to analyse on the problem statement. The relativistic perspective can be boiled down to: everything being relative. Everything is based on predictions, predefined views and the embedded norms and values of the eye of the beholder. As Hamlet expressed: "*(...) nothing is really good or bad in itself—it's all what a person thinks about it.*" (Hamlet, 1603) Everything is given its value based on its context: whether its a cultural, historical, emotional or religious factors. However, it is not uncommon for commonality to occur – a prima facie overall common reference frame - which may tempt one to conclude that a true truth is attainable, but even minimal margins in the understanding and the definition of the given term must be recognized. Concepts are thus not considered to be objective, but vary according

to the individual's preconceptions and the subjective value the individual imposes on the given phenomenon/ concept. (Langergaard, 2006)

According to relativism, the only true truth is, that there exists no such thing. Which makes relativism a paradox in itself. Is the context, to which a term or phenomena is approached with, being relative in itself? If not, is it opposite relative, an absolute. An absolute, thus universal true truth, objective from its context. But if it is relative, then relativism must in itself be relative – and is that truly just another form of absolute? (Bryman, 2012; Langergaard, 2006) The relativistic perspective of this thesis is based on one absolute, namely the Greek philosopher Socrates' famous *Homo Mensura*-sentence/ paradox, stating that the only thing that we can know for sure, is that nothing can be known. (Meyer, 2014).

How to understand society and the approach and understanding of actions within the society, can be divided into three; truth, reality and existence. (Bryman, 2012).

- Truth: The ontological approach (What is reality? How do one approach truth?)
- Reality: The epistemological approach (How does one know reality?)
- Existence: The methodological approach (How do we obtain our knowledge?)

Ontologically speaking this thesis adressess truth as the only true truth being that nothing is can be characterised as an absolute truth. Truth is relative and reality is what one thinks is real – a result of norm, values and predefined perceptions of the given subject. Epistemologically speaking, the thesis is based on this approach to knowledge: it being a matter of perspective. Finally methodologically speaking the thesis deals with the problem statement as so: the evaluation of data is subjective and relative to the eye of the beholder. (Bryman, 2012; Langergaard, 2006)

The two chosen theoretical perspectives are in regards to the approach to power and interdependence relatively contradictory, but this does not mean that these are linked in a true-or-false relationship: what might be false in one context may be true in another. The two perspectives, neorealism and liberalism are not in this thesis to be considered as two bids on a truth and a false reality in relation to the issue on (in)coherence among the interests. Both perspectives can contribute with a degree of both truth and falsehood.

3.4.2. Considerations in regard to applying a relativistic perspective

In regards to disagreements, this is an area which for the relativistic perspective can be problematic. Thus it is therefore significant to disclose that, in regards to this current thesis, relativism could risk causing problematisations. On the one hand, relativism is a theory that seems to be immediately easy to use in regards to any given problematisation. Relativism gives an opportunity to access the task of hand, with a kind of cookie-cutter approach. We experience and evaluate the world and the

given phenomena, due to the framework of preconceptions which the researcher is given by the cultural, historical and social background he or she comes from. This cookie-cutter approach is attempted eliminated through a dual and somewhat conflicting theoretical approach to the EU's interests in the two agreements of focus.

However, as mentioned, relativism may have an explanation problem in case of disagreement. These problems arise with the question of absolute truths occurring in some areas and not in others. Inter alia, in this thesis there is a problem in regards to the two contradictory theoretical approaches to the understanding of the international relations (relations) and the perspective that may be imposed on the international system. If assumed inter alia, that the claim that states is governed by their national interests and that the international system therefore is recognized as anarchistic, this claim is immediately true - if viewed from a realistic perspective. However, if this claim is considered from a liberalistic perspective, this claim is thought to be untrue, due to this specific theoretical perspective to consider the global system to be dominated by a hegemon and a natural order based on trust and interdependence. This way of creating a direct link between the conceptual framework and the assertion - resulting in all allegations having the potential to be somehow false may seem fallible. On one hand a statement is considered to be true and by another theoretical perspective it may be evaluated as to be false. Both the realist and the hegemonic may speak of the same subject - the global system - but at the same time they talk of two different things as their conceptual framework is different. But if so, can they even be talking about the same object? Can a claim/ statement both be true and untrue?

This disagreement about the understanding of international relations seems apparent due to the relativist believing that the statement is linked to the given conceptual framework. This is of course a problem, but this thesis assumes that this disagreement and diversity, when providing perspectives and views on the global system, are relative and thus bound to the given conceptual framework.

3.5 Literature review

The following paragraphs will further epitomize on the current literature on (in)coherence in general and in regards to the EU policymaking, furthermore specific in regards to the (in)coherence among the EU's interests of the Paris Agreement and the TTIP.

3.5.1 The concept of (in)coherence vs. consistency

There are many ways to define coherence. One of the problems that may occur as regards a common definition of coherence is the difference between the understanding of coherence and

consistency. (Christiansen, 2001; Gauttier, 2004; Hillion, 2008; Portela & Raube, 2008/2009; Smith, 2004; Tietje 1997; Wessel 2000). Hoffmeister defines the difference between coherence and consistency as such; “*the notion of consistency refers to the absence of contradiction, whereas the notion of coherence relates more to creative positive synergies*” (Hoffmeister, 2008: 161).

Hillion defines coherence as such; “*(...) it involves, beyond the assurance that the different policies do not legally contradict each other.*” (Hillion 2008: 17) and does not consider incoherence and coherence to necessarily be each other's direct opposites (Hillion 2008). Gauttier (2004) supports Hillion's way of appraising coherence and incoherence. For Gauttier, coherence concerns the interaction between policies rather than the possibility of the policies being conflicting. In this thesis, the way of approaching (in)coherence – as an interaction between policies – is adopted. In regards to this current thesis, the understanding of coherence is not as being 'either or' – policies being coherent or not - but as being relative. Making coherency between policies something which can differentiate in degree and thus being more or less coherent.

3.5.2 (In)coherence and efficacy within the EU

The following paragraph will focus on which actions are taken in use by the EU to avoid incoherence.

According to article eleven and twenty-one in the Treaty of the European Union, it states that: “*The Union shall have an institutional framework which shall (...) ensure the consistency, effectiveness and continuity of its policies and actions.*” (European Union, 1992: 21) and that: “*The Union shall ensure consistency between the different areas of its external action and between these and its other policies. The Council and the Commission (...) shall ensure that consistency and shall cooperate to that effect.*” (European Union, 1992: 28) It is thus the term 'consistency' and not 'coherence' used. Consistency, however, is believed to be subject to the understanding of coherence, in regards to Hoffmeister's way of defining coherence and consistency. Consistency deals with the possibility of the existence of contradictory policies and coherence deals with the interaction between policies. This way of using the term consistency causes, according to Hoffmeister, that the EU: “*seem to emphasise more a procedural obligation of the institutions to coordinate their relevant action.*” (Hoffmeister 2008: 161). This legal procedure therefore means that the final work in regards to creating coherence is placed at the political actions. According to Missiroli (2001) a common purpose is required in order for the EU to achieve the best possible efficiency. The EU has created a single institutional framework which is meant to enable a common and coherent goal for the institution. In the Treaty of the European Union (1992), there is presented a common assumption of the desirability and obligation of the necessity of a coherency in regards to policy actions. But is

this a certain outcome? This will be epitomized in the following analytical work.

3.5.3. (In)coherency among the objectives of the Paris Agreement and TTIP

The following paragraph will epitomise the previous literature on the (in)coherence in the policies in the policy making, in regards to the TTIP and Paris Agreement.

”By comparison to what it could have been, it’s a miracle. By comparison to what it should have been, it’s a disaster.” (Monbiot, 2015) This is according to certain authors the perception of the finalised Paris Agreement (Hilary, 2015; Monbiot, 2015; Vanloost, 2015; Neslen, 2016)

An internal memo from the European Commission which addresses the European Commission's negotiators at the Climate Change Conference in Paris could indicate that the agreement is set for failure and that further discussion on climate action within the EU has been put to rest. (Hilary, 2015; Vanloost, 2015; Neslen, 2016) This, due to there being no consensus on the discourse on climate change among the EU governments and the intentions of the EU Commission. For example, there are mechanisms which are key when combating global warming, which seems to be undermined by other interests. (Ibid.).

Delegates from the Southern part of the globe expressed a desire to prioritize climate action which could risk restrictions on international trade. But the EU has declared that the goals of the Paris Agreement should not put any constrains on trade and investment opportunities between EU countries and between EU countries and the rest of the world. (Hilary, 2015)

Contradictory to the commitments made by the EU within the Paris Agreement, it is now voiced that: *“the Parties must agree on a legally binding commitment to eliminate all existing restrictions on the export of natural gas in trade between them as of the date of entry into force of the Agreement”* and that *“the Parties shall cooperate to reduce or eliminate trade and investment distorting measures in third countries affecting energy and raw materials.”* (Neslen, 2016)

The current negotiations regarding the Paris Agreement and the TTIP, serves as an example of how incoherence may occur in EU policies. Simultaneously while trying to create a positive change regarding the current and former anthropogenic climate change, the EU emphasise on the importance on increasing the liberalization of trade and investment in regards to energy. (Combes, et. al. n.d.) At the beginning of the TTIP negotiations, the European Commission stated that the TTIP could be work somehow contradictory to the objectives of an climate change agreement, thus be harmful to both climate and biodiversity by increasing the carbon dioxide emissions – inter alia as a result of the use of shale gas and oil, which is derived from highly polluting fracking. This did though not give rise to a re-negotiation of the TTIP. (Combes, et. al., n.d.; Hilary, 2015; Lode, 2015; Tansey, et. al., 2015)

Paul de Clerck, a spokesman for *Friends of the Earth Europe*, commented on the objectives of the TTIP agreement and considers it to be: “(...) *complete contradiction with Europe’s commitments to tackle climate change. It will flood the EU market with inefficient appliances, and consumers and the climate will foot the bill. The proposal will also discourage measures to promote renewable electricity production from wind and solar.*” (Neslen, 2016)

According to the European Commission the TTIP is planned to encourage the development of sustainable energy, but at the same time, it is the EC's intention for the trade across the Atlantic to be self-regulated in regards to energy. This, according to Corporate Europe Observatory (2015b) is a mistake. It is considered to be problematic both due to concerns regarding fracking, which enables a destruction of local environments, poisons water and destroys the biodiversity and regarding the concerns of this causing a lowering of the standards of consumer protection, an undermining of health and environmental regulations/ policies through empowering corporation. (Tansey, et. al., 2015) This empowering of corporations is one of the bigger concerns in regards to the TTIP. Underlying this empowering of the markets, the concerns are further that this will enable corporation in their creation of 'invisible emission', partly caused through the creation of a new Investment Court System. This 'invisible emission' will inter alia, be a result of increasing the trade of goods and services across borders. From 1990, when the emission associated with trade of services and goods accounted for about eighteen percent of the total global emissions, this now accounts for twentyeight percent. This area has been the subject to the largest annual percentage increase over the past years. It is with an average increase of four point three percent yearly from 2000 to 2008. Studies have shown that for instance France has experienced a seven percent decline in the total emissions from 2000 to 2010, but if looking at the emission related to imports and exports the emission-rate has gone up by fifteen percent over the same period. (Combes, et. al. n.d.)

The concerns regarding the new Investment Court System is that it will provide the US companies with a power to intervene in any European climate regulations, which could work as inhibiting for the US companies profits. (Combes, et. al. n.d.; Hilary, 2015) Natural gasses for instance are not – by climate-focused companies, a variety of authors and NGOs - considered to be a solution due to it being a fossil fuel. A false solution, such as this enables multinational companies to continue the use of their damaging business models by 'greenwashing' their brand and enabling 'invisible emission'. (Combes, et.al., n.d; Corporate Europe Observatory, 2015b; Tansey, et. al., 2015; Tsai, 2015) Companies such as Renault-Nissan and GDF Suez (currently named 'Engie') was both sponsors of the COP21. But contradictory to the objectives of the COP21, Engie currently has thirty coal-base power plants in France and has future plans of investing in more in both Germany and India. (Corporate Europe Observatory, 2015b) At the same time Renault-Nissan

promotes their electric vehicles to be a part of the fight against climate change, but simultaneous lobbies against tougher EU regulations on carbon emissions reduction targeted vehicles. These are corporations which for instance are of focus in regards to 'false solutions' and future problems regarding opposing requests in relation to market self-regulation and climate regulations. (Ibid.)

Even when diving further down into the local level, it seems to be indications to the fact that even the local politicians see the EU's interest in the TTIP and Paris Agreement to be incoherent. Kristian Jensen, a member of the Danish parliament expressed, regarding the coherence between the policies regarding the TTIP and COP21, and the regulation within the EU, as so:

[translated]: *“The right to regulate is a crucial part of the EU's text proposals on investment protection and regulatory cooperation. Legitimate policy considerations such as protection of the environment and climate in regards to the Paris Agreement will therefore take precedence over the protection of investments and the considerations for regulatory cooperation. Investment protection rules should only protect in cases where investors have been exposed to clearly discriminatory actions without being compensated. (...) In addition, the cooperation will be based on volunteering, thus it will only take place when there is mutual interest and even levels of protection on both sides of the Atlantic.”* (Jensen, 2016)

It could thus indicate that even national politicians do not see a complete coherence between TTIP actions and the regulations within the Paris Agreement. In this quote, the Danish politician voices that the agreements made under the Paris Agreement will not be undermined in favour of the TTIP agreement, but this will result in the TTIP agreement not being able to function as it is currently designed to - without any barriers to trade and investment. As of now, there have been a number of incidents where climate- and trade actions have been somehow contradictory. For instance was the EU previously committed through a categorizing of fuels based on carbon emissions, to reduce the emission related to transport by six percent by 2009. But this idea was scrapped and there are indications to this being done, due to concerns voiced by the US – and their fossil fuels industry - regarding unfair discrimination against tar sands. (Tsai, 2015) The case seems to be, that if the TTIP does not undermine regulations, designed to protect domestic industries, biodiversity and public health, the regulations within the Paris Agreement will undermine the liberalization of the market. (Ibid.)

3.6 Conceptualising the relationship between climate and trade

During the last century, the volume of international trade has expanded exceptionally. A great part of the countries have opened up/ liberalised their national trade policies through bilateral and multilateral trade agreements. Regulations and measures which previously restrained or prohibited trade have been either eliminated or drastically reduced. (Tamiotti & Olhoff, 2009) The technological development took up a great part of the change in the way we trade. It reduced the cost related to transportation of goods and communication across borders and made the process and coordination of production easier. But it also expanded the possibilities of exporting and importing from continents, which previously were difficult to trade with. Both the technological development, the opening/ liberalization of trade and an increased focus on trade and investment policies have increased the global participation in international trade. (Ibid.)

In regards to climate and environmental policies, the EU is considered to be the frontrunner, in relation to other governments, when dealing with global climate negotiations. (Ibid.) At the same time, however, there are a number of policy measures undermining these climate measures/ regulations. Inter alia, trade and especially competitiveness and market access is of importance for the EU. The EU tries to promote a pro-deregulation and market-opening strategy, thereby eliminating trade-inhibiting factors such as non-tariff borders and taxation on export. This is considered to counteract the desired regulations and final results in climate policies which will result in climatic changes, adversely affecting climate-sensitive areas and developing countries. (Ibid.) In this regard, it is of interest to elaborate:

- What is the core problem which enables the possibility of incoherence? And how to measure this?
- To what extent do trade activities affect emission?
- Will increase opening/ liberalisation of trade result in an increase in the emission?'

The following paragraph will further describe the relationship between trade and climate.

3.6.1. The Trade-Climate Framework

Particularly three factors, due to previous literature and current economic theories, are considered important when dealing with the trade-climate/ environment relationship. These are: the scale-, composition- and technique effect. This theory was initially developed in order to enable an understanding of the correlation between trade openness and a change in the environmental deterioration and the level of air-pollution. Authors and researchers have applied the knowledge enabled by this tool, in order to study how to obstruct the negative correlation between trade and

environment. (Antweiler et. al. 2001; Grossman & Krueger, 1991; Tamiotti & Olhoff, 2009). This framework will, in the current thesis, serve as a guideline in regards to understand the link between trade and environmental deterioration.

- *The Scale effect:* If assuming the composition and technique effects to be constant, the increasing of the scale of production could, through the desire to meet an increasing demand of a certain product, adversely affect the environment and climate. All in all, the scale effect indicates an environmental deterioration due to an increase in the economic activity. (Tamiotti & Olhoff, 2009)
- *The Composition effect:* Liberalization of trade is thought to affect the total national production by enabling and restraining or limiting economic sectors, affecting the environmental deterioration. Assuming the other two effects to be constant, this effect measures the change in environmental deterioration, due to a change in the shares of different goods in a production. (Ibid.)
- *The Technique effect:* This effect is the influence on the environment, based on the incomes and the manufacturer's reactions to the behaviour on the market. It measures the changes in the environmental deterioration in regards to a change in the methods of production – for instance when applying a more climate-friendly methods in a production. Economy-theories predicts a greater environmental quality to be the outcome of a liberalisation of trade, resulting in an increase in incomes, which are thought to enable the studies and investment in sustainable technologies and use of greater environmental standards. (Ibid.)

Over the past decade, a number of RTAs have undergone environmental assessments. The WTO report concluded that anticipated impacts of the trade agreement on the environment are clarified at the expense of the actual impacts. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that a part of the assessments apply the three effects, very few have proven to be able to clarify the impacts of the individual effect in regards to a trade agreement. Apart from these shortcomings, these studies are considered to enable an insight to the trade-climate/environment relationship. (Tamiotti & Olhoff, 2009)

Both a study by Antweiler et. al. (2001) and Grether et. al. (2007) analysed on the emission of sulphur dioxide, and found that the technique effect played the dominant role. These studies did though not consider the emission of carbon dioxide. This was later done by Cole & Elliott (2003), which found that more trade openness would result in an increase in production and therefore an increase of carbon dioxide. This due to the large scale effect and, in contrast to Antweiler et. al.

(2001) and Grether et. al. (2007), a relative small technique effect. It means that the use of only regulations and emission-reduction technologies, to prevent this increase, would be insufficient.

When dealing with the environmental quality there are a numbers of factors to be considered. Frankel & Rose (2002) analysed on factors such as: the emission of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide, the CO₂/cap and the level of liberalisation of trade. The study concluded that growth and trade liberalisation would lead to increased emission of carbon dioxide. This was as well the conclusion made by McCarney and Adamowicz (2005). But contrary to Antweiller et. al. (2001) and Grether et. al. (2007) this study could not find any significant correlation between the three effects; scale, composition and technique.

Managi (2004) found, alike Frankel & Rose (2002) and McCarney & Adamowicz (2005), that an increase in trade liberalisation would result in increased emission of carbon dioxide. Later in 2008 Managi though conducted a new analytical work, which indicated a difference when taking into account the factor; developed countries and developing countries (Managi et al., 2008). In regards to developed countries, trade liberalisation reduces the emission of carbon dioxide due to the technique effect dominating the scale- and composition effect, but had the opposite effect in regards to developing countries.

Finally, an insight which these studies are thought to have been able to bring are inter alia the causality between trade liberalisation and environmental deterioration in regards to transport. The process of trade across borders requires that certain goods are transported from A to B - from country of production and to country of consumption. A linear correlation between increased fossil fuel based transport and increased emissions have by some authors been assumed. (Ibid.) It is assumed - in the studies previously mentioned - that an increase and expansion of international trade will lead to increased transportation and finally an increased emission. Merchandise trade can be transported several ways: by air, road, rail or water. Only in a few cases is the export of goods subject to a single type of transportation. This due to even goods transported by air and water, will have to be subject to road-transportation in order to reach the final destination. At the same time, other studies have assume a coherence between trade liberalisation and energy efficiency, between trade liberalisation, an increase in income, increased demand for climate-friendly initiatives, and thereby a possible reduction in emission. For instance is the technological development a basis for this presumed connection. (Grossman & Helpman, 1991) Technological development is believed to cause a spill-over effect through, inter alia the research of and development of new know-how's and technologies. Through an expansion of know-how's, new methods of production can be transferred to developing countries from developed countries. This factor are imposed a special status due to the unequal global division. Coe et. al. (1997) for instance estimated that the industrialised countries

in 1995 - countries representing approximately sixty-four percent of global GDP - account for eighty-four percent of the total global spending on research. This is though not a common assumption. Bollen et. al. (2001) presumes this causality between trade liberalisation and reduction of emission to be false. A liberalisation of trade may increase the trade in climate-friendly initiatives/ goods, but this will not necessarily lead to an increase in demand for these. For Bollen et. al. (2001) demand for climate-friendly goods is associated and driven by climate policies/ regulations and not a normative result of market liberalisation and an increase in production.

3.6.2. Impact of climate change on trade

So far, trade's impact on the emission, the possibility of mitigation of climate change and the adaptation of sensitive areas in relation to future warming has been illustrated. This, however, is by some researchers and authors not consider a one-way causality. (Tamiotti & Olhoff, 2009)

Climate change can for instance be the source of disruption in regards to the conditions under which a product or service is produced. In current days some countries are specialised in a certain production of goods. This specialisation may enable advantages in the area of which they produce, but disadvantaged in other. For example are the countries specialised in agriculture particularly vulnerable and easily susceptible to adverse effects caused by climate change. Nevertheless, trade can as well allow for a mending of the inequality that exists between supply and demand if climate changes results in a shortfall in products/ materials, by changing to other markets - where the same product and/ or service can be obtained - and maintain their production. Trade can therefore help in adapting to future possible climate changes. (Ibid.) Countries that find their advantages in their geographical location may experience a greater negative impact on climate change. Especially where as mentioned, an area where agriculture accounts for a large part of the national GDP, may be particularly vulnerable to negative impacts due to climate change, as climate change could, due to more extreme weather, result in a reduction in crop yields thereby reduce the amount of profit. However, it may also mean that other part of the globe could experience more optimal weather conditions, thus an opportunity to increase production or find new areas to produce within. (Ibid.)

In regard to the transport related to trade, climate change may cause the quality and the stability of the transport to dwindle. Extreme weather conditions may temporarily close down-air-, water-, and road transportation. If these changes being long-term these can devastate infrastructure and routes used for transport. Work areas such as transport over permafrost zones and the period of time where roads are sufficiently frozen is notable vulnerable to a rise in temperature due to climate changes. Likewise, transport by coastal areas is particularly vulnerable to temperature increases and

a rise of seawater. (Pachauri & Reisinger, 2008) The overall interconnection between climate policies, trading policies, climate change and economic activity including trading is displayed in *Illustration I*.

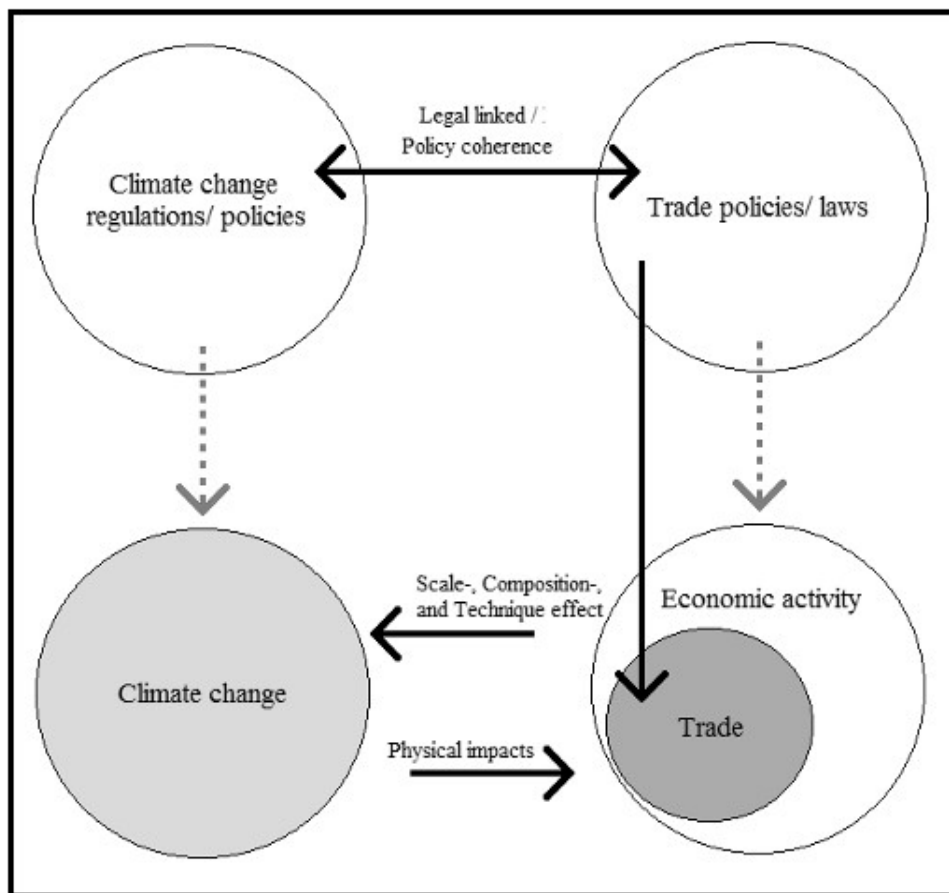


Illustration I: The link between trade and climate at both a legal and practical level

3.6.3. The local climate regulatives' impacts on the international trade

While the majority of the climate policies and regulations are focused on supporting the local systems due to their financial benefits – for one, the creation of jobs. A research from The Institute for Local Self Reliance showed that the value of local ownership within the energy sector and energy production was from fifty to more than two hundred percent larger than energy producing companies which was not. The usage of local finances for developing local companies and finally creating jobs in local areas is estimated to be a major contributor when dealing with the transfer from a high fossil fuels based economy to a low fossil fuels based economy – and this approach has been developed by a lot of countries. (Lilliston, 2016) A country such as the US have, more than half of their states engaged in this type of programs. (Ibid.) Though, some local climate-friendly initiatives may cause trade disputes by for instance setting conditions for outside investors and companies resulting in their entry into the market being difficult or outright impossible. (Ibid.)

TTIP, being a multinational cooperation are supposed to go further by, through the legal rights provided by the ISDS system, allowing multinational and foreign companies to invest and develop their companies under a private court system to prosecute and convey any discrepancies between the public laws and the company. (Ibid.)

3.6.4 Relative (in)coherence & Trade-Off's

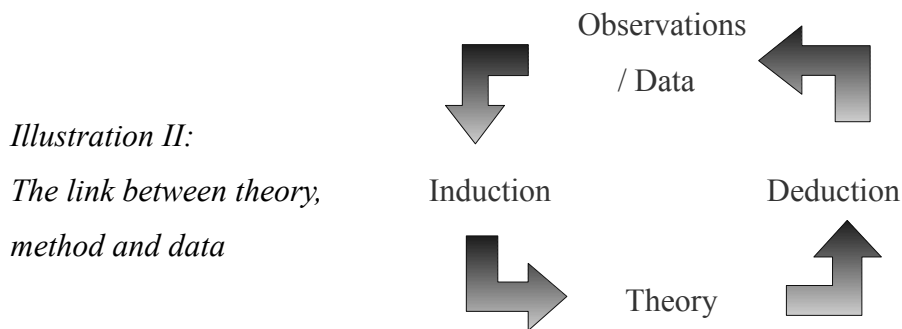
The last concept presented before further presenting the methodological-, theoretical- and analytical work, is the concept of *trade-off*. This concept will play a role in order to understand the EU's actions in regards to trade and climate regulations, due to this thesis accepting a relativistic perspective, thus allowing a relative coherence to be acknowledged and hence anchoring that there may be political situations where compromises must be made, thus creating a relative coherence through a trade-off situation. The concept of trade-off is based on *opportunity cost*, that within the economic theoretical framework denotes a theory in which the costs, inter alia through an exclusion of other actions, which are associated with the first action – in short, where trade-offs are the given outcome - are considered. (Cotei & Farhat, 2009) In this thesis, due to the relativistic perspective, the EU is acknowledged to perform trade-offs and create a relative sense of (in)coherence in their foreign policy in terms of the interests connected to the TTIP and the Paris Agreement. In this thesis, it is acknowledged that it might be the intention in theory to create a totally coherent foreign policy, but this might not always in practice be so straightforward. Trade-offs are in this thesis imposed with the same understanding as the concept of relative (in)coherence, due to relative coherence being understood as the result of an inconsistency or (un)conscious choice and discontinuation of policies/ regulations between two somehow contradictory political areas.

3.7 Method of reasoning

This section will first and foremost explain the two basic methods of reasoning; Deduction and Induction. The inductive way of conducting a research, means for the researcher to generalize a theory from the basis of a sufficient amount of data. The finalised conclusion is therefore reached through the analytical work based on the given data. When working with this method of reasoning, the researcher can never be sure of the stability of the finalised theory, due to the fact that this type of method is not being able to be fully verified and solely being able to be falsified by for instance observing a contradictory observation. (Bryman, 2012)

Opposite induction, deducing means to apply a known theory onto a specific case/ dataset. Following this approach, the final conclusion will be based on the chosen perspectives. (Ibid.) In regards to the final conclusion, deduction compared to induction, imposes a greater possibility of

the stability – though keep in mind the quality of the thesis. This will be further elucidated in an upcoming section. The two basic methods of reasoning are illustrated below:



Typically the discourse regarding the method selection, states that there is a natural and relative established connection between the type of data and the method of choice: The inductive method is linked to qualitative research and the deductive method to quantitative data (Ibid.). But, as mentioned above, this is just a relative definition. This thesis will function as an example of how this 'set of relative rules' cannot be a fixed way of working with scientific research.

This thesis makes use of the deductive method. The deductive method is applied in this specific thesis by choosing two relevant theoretical perspectives, in order to enable an understanding of the process and (in)coherence of the EU's interests in their policy making and finally in order to analyse the (in)coherence in the policies lead by the EU in regards to the TTIP and the Paris Agreement.

3.8 Research method

Firstly, it is important to recognise the different types of data when carrying out a social study – quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative method and type of data is based on numbers and statistics - measurable data. Inter alia, the data can be retrieved from a questionnaire. However, one of a superficial character. An example of a questionnaire of this type, could be conducted with a purpose and desire to quantify for instance the already known fact that there is an incoherence in EU's policy – a study of what degree this incoherence is estimated to be, by inter alia looking at the change of the GHG emissions related to the policies of the TTIP and the Paris Agreement. If used and analysed correctly, the external validity will be greater in a study based on quantitative data, than a study based on qualitative data. This will in the following section, be further elucidated. (Bryman, 2012; Riis, 2012)

Contrary to the quantitative method the qualitative method is based on the desire to gain a deeper understanding of underlying factors. This method is often used when wanting to achieve a

deeper understanding of a person's and/ or group of people's intentions, interests and/ or feelings. (Ibid.) In addition, the qualitative method differs from the quantitative method, due to its invariably unstructured approach to the process and thereby analytical approach - which means that setting a solid framework for the analysis can be problematic. (Bryman, 2012) This will later be further explained.

This thesis takes use of qualitative data. The purpose is not to explore a - if existing - measurable difference in the EU's interest in regards to the TTIP and the Paris Agreement but to, through these agreements, obtain an understanding of 'why' in terms of (in)coherence in the interest and the EU policy actions. Some quantitative data and quantifiable numbers are presented in the thesis, but these are not brought forward with the purpose of quantifying the degree of (in)coherence, but rather as a background information for the later discussion and analysis of why there is an (in)coherence between the interests within the two agreements.

3.9 Quality of the study

The following paragraph will illustrate the basics of the concepts: validity and reliability: Furthermore the problems surrounding the creation of a consensus on quality in a study, will be epitomized.

3.9.1. Conceptualizing quality assurance

There are two different types of validity – the internal and the external. The internal validity refers to the extent to which there is a consensus between the conclusion and the variables chosen. The level of validity within the study describes the interpretation of the data and is determined by the correlation between the problem, the data and the final conclusion. Is one really correctly measuring on the desired focus? (Bryman, 2012, Riis, 2012) If a direct or indirect causality is stated – is this then an accurate assumption? And, more practical, is there a coherency between the paragraphs of the study? (Ibid.)

The external validity can be described as the level of generalisability of the results and refers to whether or not the results from a study can be generalized onto other cases. (Ibid.) Kvale (1997) presents a new and redefined perspectives on both types of validity and furthermore, reliability. Kvale's perspective demonstrates the problems related to creating a consensus in regards to the two concepts. Kvale claims that the key to assessing the validity and reliability of a study is to ensure a great level of generalization. (Kvale, 1997) And Kvale is not the only claiming that these two to concepts are the base of ensuring the quality of a study. Further, according to the author Silverman: "*(...) unless you can show your audience the procedures you used to ensure that your methods were*

reliable and your conclusions valid, there is little point in aiming to conclude a research dissertation.” (Silverman, 2000: 188).

Finally, Kirk and Miller (1986) states that: "*Reliability is the degree to which the finding is independent of accidental circumstances of the research*" (Kirk & Miller, 1986: 20) and presents an understanding of qualitative studies as ones that should be done without being changed under the influence of relatively random variables. When evaluating the level of validity, one therefore needs to look at the methodological part of the process, and whether or not the used instruments, framework and other, are reliable. Were these used correctly or was the process guided by the authors own preconceptions and prejudices? And is the conclusion therefore not an objective result of the analytical work and based on one's preconceived ideas? Objectivity and a high level of external validity, could be assumed to be of greater importance when dealing with quantitative- rather than qualitative studies. (Bryman, 2012). For some authors, a high degree of generalization is not of importance due to these authors arguing, that generalization is not of interest when assessing qualitative data due to the essence and interest of these studies. (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Kvale, 1987; Silverman, 2000). The term 'quality assurance' is used by some authors as a surrogate for the terms 'validity' and 'reliability'. This is often done due to a wish of dissociating the link between the qualitative studies and the positivistic way of working with quality and at the same time this enables authors such as Kvale with the opportunity of not completely renouncing the belief, that quality assurance can be set into a relative set of rules. (Kvale, 1997; Riis, 2012)

3.9.2 Quality criteria

There might be a great quantity of opinions, when assessing which factor are of importance in regards to ensuring the quality of a scientific study, but some concepts are, in general, considered to be factors that may be of greater importance. These are for instance

- Implementation of an analytical strategy;
- Conceptualisation of the theoretical perspective(s);
- Outlining a design of the process;
- Conceptualisation the philosophy of science. (Bryman, 2012; Kirk & Miller, 1986; Kvale, 1987; Silverman, 2000 Riis; 2012)

But are these “steps” a map of directions when ensuring the quality of a study? Can such a map even be made? And is such a map even a target when dealing with qualitative studies? Some authors would answer 'yes' and some 'no'. (Bryman, 2012; Kirk & Miller, 1986; Kvale, 1987; Silverman, 2000 Riis; 2012) In this thesis these four factors are recognized as somehow important when it comes to obtaining a certain degree of quality of the thesis.

3.10 Theoretical considerations

The following paragraph will inform about the theoretical considerations, which were undertaken during the writing of the thesis.

These current days, two paradigms overall defines the way of the world. (Petersen & Skak, 1998) While the international relations within the world is getting closer and closer through further and deeper collaborations, the individual nation's interest in heighten. Especially in terms of profits through trade, a minimization of outsourcing of jobs - all in all, a regards to creating and maintaining a strong economy. With the presidential election in the US in 2016, the Western world was impacted. (Ibid.) After a period of time with focus on global cooperation, expanding Western norms and a strengthening of the cooperation between especially the US and the EU through inter alia, the TTIP, the US' intentions are now to withdraw from both the TTIP and the Paris Agreement. (Branner, 2015) This is done due to the this being though to strengthen the US and its employment- and economic situation. (Branner, 2015; Office of the US trade representative, 2013a/b)

Especially in connection with the TTIP, the interest in the agreement came about due to the strengthening of the collaboration and of the individual the states taking part in the agreement. (European Commission, n. b/2014b/2015a) With regards to both sides of participating states under the TTIP, it is desirable for both sides to conduct a further liberalisation of the markets and enable more trade transatlantic, but it seems to be clear that such a further liberalisation of the European market could cause some negative impacts on the internal trade within EU borders and for the US market such a change could risk negatively impacting the US job situation, as TTIP is intended to ease the capture onto the two markets - both in terms of investment and occupation of jobs. (European Commission, 2014a/b/c/ 2015a; Office of the US trade representative, 2013a/b) It is therefore not only the US that has an egoistic interest in TTIP. It is made clear by the proposal presented by the EU that there is only an interest in TTIP if it is beneficial for the EU. (Ibid.)

Liberalism and neo-realism are theoretical perspectives which have somewhat similar perspectives on the global system and the social interaction. The two views both focus on the state being the main actor within the global system and the actions of the states and the overall global system as somewhat based on rationality. (Keohane & Nye, 2001; Waltz, 1979) The approach of the two perspective is as well somewhat similar on the ontological, epistemological and methodological level, due to their understanding of the obtaining of knowledge being based on the notion of power and politics further based on the use of empirical material/ data. (Ibid.)

The two perspectives thus provide both a relative similar and different perspective on the following analytical work. The differences provided by the two perspectives are based in their view

on the terms power and interdependence. Because of these two perspectives current hold on the global system, both sides are utilized in the thesis. Traces of both neo-realism and liberalism are to be found in relation to the global cooperation (Ibid.), and it is therefore considered inappropriate and inadequate to only reflect upon one of the sides if a deeper reflection and understanding of the EU's actions is to be obtained.

3.11 Analytical framework

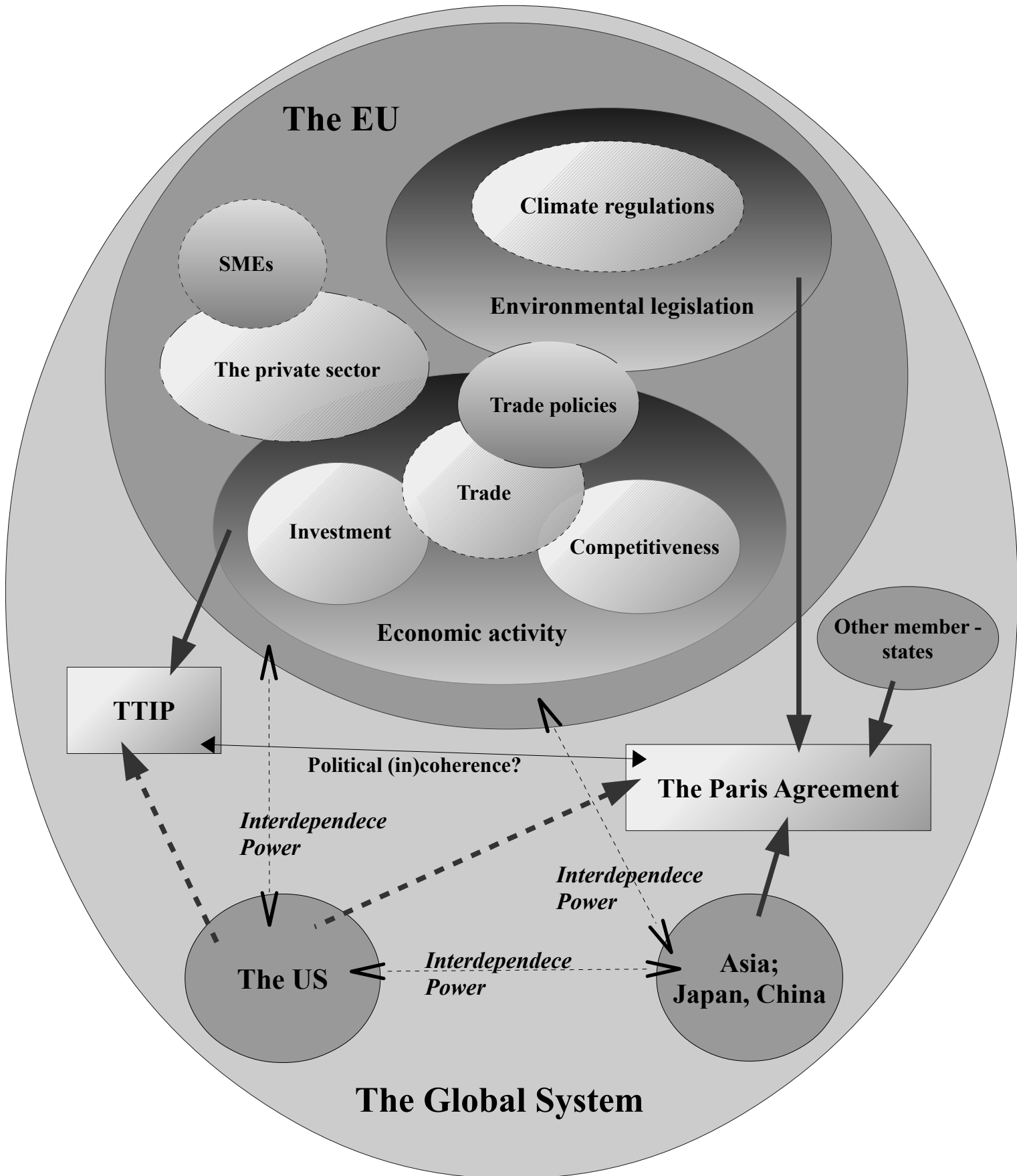
In general two types of analytical frameworks are recognized: The case based- and theme-based framework. The case based frameworks addresses a classification of a phenomenon through specific terms and concepts and an aspect based frameworks seeks out to characterize a phenomena. The specific differences between these two are the depth. For example, through a case based framework one would define a bus, a train and a car under the same category - vehicles – thereby by case. However, through an aspect based framework, focus would be on the social interactions that are associated with the specific case, thus differentiating cases that may be placed in the same category - such as 'vehicles'. (Bryman, 2012) The following analytical framework will have its base in the them-based type of framework.

An analytical framework – especially based on quantitative data – requires and simultaneously enables an understanding and definition of the key terms used in the thesis. It links the theoretical aspect of the thesis with the empirical analytical work. Some authors questions the importance of an analytical framework and takes on a more descriptive approach to the analysis work. For some, this is considered to be non-scientific. (Ibid.)

The purpose of the following presentation of the analytical framework is to set the basic lines of the upcoming analysis. The following will give an overall picture of the structure of the analysis.

3.11.1. The analytical framework of this study

Illustration III: Overall structure*



* *Illustration III* shows the overall structure, key terms and areas in regards to the thesis and the following analytical work.

The very outer circle in *illustration III*, is the overall global system, contains all states included within the global system. With the focus being on the EU, this circle fills up most of 'The global system', but the dimensions of the given circles are not to be considered in accordance to the size of the given circle's influence nor the significance on/ within the given circle.

Within the EU-circle is the circle of 'Economic activity', containing three of the main terms, 'Investment', 'Trade' and 'Competitiveness' and furthermore 'The private sector' and 'SMEs'. In addition, the EU-circle contains its 'Environmental policies' containing the 'Climate regulations'. All of these will in the thesis and the following analysis be of focus in regards to the EU's interests in particular the 'TTIP'.

'The global system' furthermore contains the circles 'The US' and 'Asia; Japan, China'. These are designated their own circles, as these areas play an important role in the later discussion. Additionally, 'The global system' contains the two agreements 'TTIP' and 'The Paris Agreement'. The full-lined arrows leading from the EU-circle and down to the two agreements represent the EU's interest in these. The incomplete arrows leading from 'The US' and to the two agreements indicate the US' interest in the agreements as being somehow incomplete. A factor which in the later discussion will be important due to the US' current interests is not taking part in either a future TTIP or the current Paris Agreement.

The circle 'Other states' leading to 'The Paris Agreement' refers to the other member states of the agreement.

The slim and incomplete double ended arrows 'Interdependence, Power' between 'The EU', 'The US' and 'Asia; Japan, China' presents the theoretical terms and their explanation for the actions of the EU, in regards to the objectives and interests in the agreements and the EU's position within 'The global system', which is the focus of the overall thesis. The terms, the perspectives these are assessed from and the use of these in the thesis, are in the following section 'Theoretical approach' further made intelligible.

Finally, 'The global system' contains the double ended arrow 'Political (in)coherence?' linking the two agreements 'TTIP' and 'The Paris Agreement', indicates the EU's (conflict of) interest within the objectives of the agreements.

The strength provided by an analysis framework comes from the focus it gives the author in the conduction of the later analysis. When conducting quantitative studies, the given factors and terms are early in the process relatively set and the following analysis and its structure are usually

early in the assignment relatively determined. When conducting qualitative research this framework can often be more difficult to set due to the nature of the qualitative data and method. A framework such as the one created in this thesis will serve as the guideline of the analytical work and the following list will provide the overall structure of the steps of the upcoming analytical work.

Overall focus: EU and its positioning in the global system

Followed up by these areas of interests:

- Interests in trade policies → the TTIP
- Interests in climate regulations → the Paris Agreement

Interest of the thesis:

- *The EU's approach to (in)coherence within their foreign policy actions.*
- *The terms power & interdependence and their explanatory power*

In regards to both agreements the following areas are of interest:

- EU's interests in the two agreements
- (In)coherence among the interests of the two agreements
 - The Scale, Composition and Technique - framework
 - Cross-atlantic market access
 - The importance of the private sector
 - Stability vs. conflict
 - Competitiveness vs. sustainable energy
 - Prioritization of green energy
 - False solutions and invisible emission
 - Dissemination of liberal values vs. search for power

4. THEORETICAL APPROACH

Following the methodological paragraph, the next will elaborate on the theoretical terms *power* and *interdependence* from the perspectives, *neo-realism* and *liberalism*, which is used as the theoretical foundation of the thesis. Lastly, the usages of these perspectives in the analytical work will be explained.

The perspective of liberalism on the term, power and interdependence, is in the current paragraph based on Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye and the neo-realistic perspective on power and interdependence is based on Kenneth Waltz.

4.1. Power and interdependence

This thesis applies for both perspectives, that focus is on the relations between states, when dealing with the global system. (Keohane & Nye, 2001; Waltz, 1979) Neo-realism assesses the global system as being anarchic and characterized by turmoil in the form of a constant search for more power. “*Internationally, the environment of states' actions, or the structure of their system, is set by the fact that some states prefer survival over other ends obtainable in the short run and act with relative efficiency to achieve that end*” (Waltz, 1979: 93). This can both be due to a low level of global power, which is desired to be equalized in relations to other states level of power or due to a wish to acquire more power in order to be considered highly powerful in the global hierarchy. (Andretta et al., 2017; Waltz, 1979) This is due to the assumption that power generates opportunities in relation to autonomy and thus freedom, and that it minimizes external threats by creating greater a greater global control. Adverse neo-realism, liberalism sees the global relations and thereby the global system as characterized by trust and a latent natural order. (Waltz, 1979; Wivel, 2002)

For Waltz and his view on neo-realism, the global structure is a key when assessing how and why states operate, which is a development from the classical realism, where the global structure was dependent on the relations among the states. (Waltz, 1979; Wæver, 1992) Waltz argues that three factors are the key, when determining the actions of the state. The *distribution of the capability* in regards to determining the global positioning, the *principle of organisation* in regards to the pursuit of a security policy which can secure the survival of the state and the *entity differentiation* and the imitation among states which may result in an underestimation or simple denigration of the importance of the differences between the given states. (Waltz, 1979)

A mechanism, such as imitation, may cause states which historically have not cooperated, to find common grounds on areas in order to enable cooperation. In regards to the specific thesis, the relations between both the EU and the US and the EU and China may be somewhat affected by this.

Historically, in particular the EU-US relationship has been characterized by great positive and negative fluctuations and an increase and decrease in the size of cooperation dependent to the given historical time and its current political and economic situation. (European Union, n.d.; Haas, 2009; Steif, 2017; Toussaint, 2011) In the context of the EU-China relationship - which later will be discussed during the discussion - this is a relationship which previously was not of a significant economic size. But following a commenced relative conversion of the Chinese market from communist to relative liberalised, China's position in the global system, might have become a factor to consider when assessing international actions. (Leonard, 2005; McCormick, 2007; Manners, 2001/2006; Morgan, 2005)

According to the classical realism, the general level of power is directly correlated to the level of the military power, but according to neo-realism, this direct correlation - high level of military power equals high levels of general global power - is not applicable. The military power is still of importance, but it is only part of the total amount of how power is defined and how it is acquired at global level. (Ibid.) Liberalism, on the other hand, approaches power as a multitude of several key factors, for instance the economic and political strength, as well as the degree of influence on other states. (Andretta et. al., 2017) This way of defining power, is adopted by Kenneth Waltz in his way of defining a superpower as being based on both the demographic size, territorial, the size of military and economic power and stability, and furthermore the direct and indirect influence the state may have on other states and global issues such as climate issues. (Waltz, 1979)

Contrary to both realism and neo-realism, liberalism is characterized by focusing on the advantages of utilizing supranational agencies. Assessing global agencies from a (neo)realistic perspective, these are considered to be of a negative nature, due to these enabling turmoil by physically placing different states with different interests together. This turmoil can for instance be a result of a power struggle regarding the management of the agency. However, this does not mean that Waltz consider the creation of global agencies to be completely unrealistic in a global neo-realistic system and that these cannot be used in a positive manner when dealing with global issues. (Waltz, 1979; Wæver, 1992) The economic benefits that can be caused by such cooperation, creates the potential for these agencies to flourish, even in an anarchic system. The risks associated with cooperation, enabled by global agencies, is an unequal distribution of benefits. Despite the desire to gain power, the result and thereby risk, may be a degradation of the global level power, for example by the agency overriding the interests of a state in favour of the interests of other states. (Ibid.) But this degradation of power can also be the result of a creating of an uneven interdependence between states. An interdependence that may result in some states acquiring power over other states. (Ibid.). An example in regards to the focus of this specific thesis, is that during the drafting of the TTIP, the

focus of the EU was on its own interests and on the finalized agreement to be beneficial to the EU. But this also applies for the process of which the United States was conducting their draft on the TTIP. Such cooperation could easily result in interests not being in accordance with each other, causing certain national interests to be undermined and further cause an uneven power distortion in the objectives of the final agreement. This inequality could for example mean that the export process for the EU could become more expensive and onerous to export goods. Contrary to neo-realism, liberalism considers global agencies to be positive and with great potential for positive development. (Keohane & Nye, 2001) Liberalism recognizes that there may occur an uneven distribution of interdependence and of power, but this is considered to be a detail of lesser importance in terms of the general benefits on both short and long terms. (Andretta et. al., 2017)

Keohane and Nye (2001) further introduced the term *complex interdependence*. This type of interdependence is by Keohane and Nye characterized by being based on the current technological development, which has resulted in a latent sensitivity among the states; a problematic prioritization of the internal government problems/ interests and finally the risk of a negative spill-over effect - for example, by negatively affecting the economic relations / benefits of cooperation between two states – caused by a military intervention. Keohane and Nye also believe that this sensitivity between states has resulted in states on a greater extent having to take other states and their interests in account before acting. (Keohane & Nye, 2001)

4.2. Applying the theoretical terms and perspectives

The perspectives, *neo-realism* and *liberalism* and more specifically how these to approach the two terms *power* and interdependence, will work as a guideline for the following analytical work. Along with the acquired knowledge on the subject of the global (power) system, these two terms from each of the two somewhat contradictory perspectives, neo-realism and liberalism, makes their bid in regards to EU's approach to the (in)coherence. Specifically, these two theories enable two relative different understandings in regards to why the EU acts as it does in terms of the interests and objectives in the two agreements. Is it, on one hand due to the EU seeking to maintain its global power position or increase it by making agreements and showing the scope of their international influence? However though, due to objectives which in application are conflicting, thus having to undergo trade-offs with the objective to make sure not to lose power and only maintain or increase. Or is the EU's interest in these two agreements purely due to a focus on increasing trade liberalisation and interdependence between the different nations, regions and continents, thereby reducing the risk of the future turmoil and possible wars? Or is the answer a third bid - a mix of the first two bids?

5. ANALYTICAL WORK

The following paragraphs will analyse on the newly acquired comprehension of the trade-climate relationship, evaluate the coherence of the EU's interest in the two agreements through the two terms *power* and *interdependence*, addressed from the relativistic and global perspective.

- **Cross-atlantic market access**

Considering the advantages and disadvantages that the EU anticipates to follow the two agreements, TTIP may cause the EU to have a greater influence on the US markets, but it may as well cause a loss of trade among the different EU member states and cause an economic downturn for some of the individual states. So, why hope to implement the TTIP? From a liberal perspective it could be due to a greater focus on expanding the liberal mindset and creating greater interdependence. But from the perspective of neo-realism it could indicate intentions of increasing the EU's economic situation and in order to gain influence on the US market. Has the EU consciously risked undermining its internal interests in favour of increasing its global competitiveness? And is its actions based on a focus the long-term benefits it could cause in regards to increasing the European job situation, thus improving the overall European economic activity and increase the status of the economically low-cost EU member states?

The Paris Agreement is an opportunity, especially in regards to the US market, for the EU to gain more influence and power. The US might be considered a superpower, but in regards agreements such as the Paris Agreements – in general, the majority rules. So by the EU driving an alliance with other areas and furthermore gaining influence in the matters of other states on the subject of emission and climate-friendly actions, the US' status of superpower could possibly be somewhat undermined by the majority. Further possibly positioning the EU of a higher global power-status. However, it can also be an obvious opportunity for strengthening the cooperation between the US and the EU – hence these two western areas, both having liberal interests in mind – according to some of the objectives of the agreements of focus. Contrary this could as well still be a sign of wanting to gain power due to the US being a superpower and such an agreement of cooperation could – considering the historical aspect - result in the methods applied and a final agreement being very similar to what the EU would implement if it was the sole decision maker – enabling the EU accumulating power – both symbolic and/ or practical.

- **EU's internal market**

A concern in regards to the cross-borders agreement, the member countries and the impacts on these derived from the actions of the EU is the question of the individual member country's sovereignty. From the perspective of liberalism the EU have an interest in securing the sovereignty of the member states and this interests is articulated in especially the TTIP agreement. This type of wish of individual sovereignty could according to the liberal perspective indicate that the EU has an interest in securing the equal terms for the member states, but from the perspective of neo-realism this act to indicate the EU having an interest in securing the economic level and thus the overall status of the EU.

The TTIP and the Paris Agreement may both be a way of showing muscle and certain power at a global level and it may be a way of promoting an increasing interdependence and liberalisation of the global markets. The final draft of these agreements is not something that rests solely on the EU's shoulders. From both theoretical perspectives, the basis of collaboration is the benefits which arises from this agreement, and we therefore assume the final political actions and regulations to not be implemented unless all partners involved consider the cooperation to be beneficial. In regards to the Paris Agreement, there are no major economic benefits in the short term for the industrialised countries including the EU, but in the long term, the dual effect of how the international trade impacts the climate and furthermore how the climate impacts international trade, can cause that climate change in the long run adversely will affect the economic activity negatively and it may therefore be of the EU's interest to agree upon an agreement and alliance between as many states as possible. The EU is currently utilising a certain amount of time and money in research and investment in climate-friendly measures and methods that may act as substitutes in the event of temporary destruction of the conditions necessary to maintain inter alia the agricultural production or as backup in case of permanent change of conditions. This may be due to the risks of future climate change having possible fatal consequences - especially for agriculture. An agreement involving the participation of the highest possible number of states could help reduce the temperature more quickly and if possible – completely stopping them. However, it seems uncertain whether or not it is a goal of truly changing the negative impacts which the climate change currently has, when taking in to considerations that even the EU's current NDCs are not sufficient in regards to achieving the overall targets for emission, mitigation and the final shift in energy sources.

- **Climate and conflict**

Future climate changes may not only cause negative impacts on the economic aspect of the state, it

could as well cause future political instability. A loss of resources as a result of climate change and inter alia temperature increases could cause conflicts and disputes over remaining resources. Furthermore it could cause an influx of refugees in Europe due to the affected people having to flee the areas. With a re-orientation and a re-prioritization of economic resources, in the Western countries, by an increased supply of capital earmarked for adaptation to climate change, this could mean a re-allocation of capital from other sectors – sectors which before a climate crisis was considered to be highly prioritized. A restructuring which could risk social and political insatiability of the given country due to restructuring political areas which could have been considered important due to traditions and norms. Is that something the EU has in interest in risking? In regards to the *GGDS*-paragraph, the EU tries to be clear in their intentions of creating coherence between the partners in order to avoid such future cross-border disputes, but in regards to the possibility of internal disputes the reports of the EU seems not to see this as an area of concern. This action could on one hand be due to the EU truly not considering it to be of risk and does not see the possibility of such connection. But from the neo-realistic perspective voicing concerns regarding the stability of the EU, could cause turmoil and distrust among member states, thereby risking the loss of more or less sceptic member states, thus losing the economic, political and social influence and power this state provided. With the most recent Middle-Eastern crisis, Europe experienced an influx of refugees, creating a divide among the European countries. As previously mentioned this could affect the European states and cause an economic, social and political weakness and furthermore cause an increased risk of conflict due to, weaker states being more accessible to conflict. Has the development meant that the world has become too small in regards to ensuring stability due to the impacts of climate changes on the climate-sensitive areas? Has the closeness of the global community and the interdependence become a problem for the EU? Could the fact that EU wishes to join in on a climate agreement be a neo-realistic way of addressing interdependence? Is the purpose to utilizing the interdependence in order to control and maintain the factors that together give the power the EU currently is holding. Contrary to this approach to migrants, they could be considered an asset to the country and be valued for the (maybe needed) competences they may bring.

However, another correlation between climate change and conflict can also occur through the differences of discourses on fossil fuel emission. There can be some problems in regards to shifting to renewable energy sources. For each nation it is necessary to consider which methods work the best. For example, if the choice of switching from fossil fuels to a renewable energy sources such as nuclear power is carried out, it could cause turmoil among citizens due to the concerns regarding the possible negative consequences that could follow. For example, the nuclear

waste which must be taken care of and which may risk - if not stored properly - destroying the surrounding natural areas and adversely affect the health of the citizens. This can equally be one of the reasons for the slightly vague characteristics of the section dealing with energy sources in the TTIP agreement. This could indicate that the EU is approaching the market and the regulation of the market with the liberalisation of the market in mind, enabling the market and the private sector with a stakeholder-status in regards to the energy shift.

- **Global dissemination of liberal values**

Addressing the two agreements from the liberal perspective, the actions of the EU are somewhat in line with the institutions overall liberal objectives. The EU desires to enable greater interdependence between countries (which if conducting foreign policies based on a neo-realist perspective would be of minimal desire). Agreements such as the Paris Agreement will cause interdependence greater than the scope of a bilateral or regional agreement. As stated, the EU seem to have a relative difficulty in creating incentives for a merge of political perspectives when it comes to states geographically far positioned from Europe. An agreement such as the Paris Agreement could ultimately cause a dissemination and further implementation of liberal values (due to the forum it provides for political debates) and could support the enabling of future agreements between the EU and remote states. The interests in the Paris Agreement can as well be due to a desire of more global influence and power. One of the EU (somewhat) typical sermons is the increase of the transparency of agreements. According to the liberal perspective this could be due to a wish of dissemination the liberal mind set. But from the perspective of neo-realism, it could also be in order to gain insight and future influence over the internal and foreign policy actions of other states. If the liberalisation of the market, an increase of the private sectors influence on the market activity, other countries and their companies' insufficient approach to emissions ultimately causes a change in the European agriculture, due to climate changes, and thus a change in the economic activity in Europe and a relative risk of loss of profit and a decrease in the GDP, is a purely liberal international theory-based system truly of interests of the EU? Is it then not in the interest of the EU to maintain a relative neo-realistic foreign policy tactic? And is the EU's focus on maintaining their competitiveness and not to lose their economic stability, profit and global position, not a sign of the EU being aware of this? The EU and EC might state that a liberalisation of the market and thereby trade activities are positive, but if causes a loss of competitiveness and if there is no direct or even indirect correlation between increasing the supply and an increasing demand of the given product or service – why should the EU then have an interest in being a global leader in regards to research and development of climate-friendly initiatives?

- **Competitiveness versus green energy sources**

According to the neo-realistic perspective, power is an important part of international relations and each state will always try to at least equalize power and maintain its global position. Currently three areas, the EU, US and Japan/ China, are considered to be powerful international players. The neo-realistic approach would explain the EU's interest in the two agreements, by arguing the importance of the power, which could be a result of the two agreements. In regards to the Paris Agreement, the EU is mandated to ensure the future financing. Was the EU given this task through a somewhat random negotiation of the Paris Agreements member states or did the EU wish for the task – and if so, why? Is being trusted with such task correlated to a possible increase in (if only, symbolic) power? If, in addition, the increased focus on developing relatively expensive methods and political initiatives – in order to enable adaption and mitigate the emissions – can cause the competitiveness of the state, which implements climate-friendly regulations, to decline – is it not then in the interest of the EU to promote the same approach to other states in order for the EU not to become less competitive and in the long run risk losing influence and thus power?

The EU is interested in opening up the market and increasing the liberal perspective – according to its official reports/ statements. TTIP is an extension of some of the basic ideas, which the EU was built upon, but at the same time there are features voiced in the draft regarding the changes in the exporting/ importing conditions. These changes which could cause negative impacts on European companies, the EU sets out to ensure not to be changed and for these to stay in their original form – causing the interest of the EU and the intended policies to be implemented into the final agreement to relatively contradict the original intentions of the agreement and the interest of the US regarding the ease of the US companies entry onto the EU market. It may indicate that liberalism therefore weighs a certain part in the political intentions of the EU and in their methods, but simultaneously there seem to be features of which seem to be somewhat in line with the perspective of neo-realism.

The private sector and the private companies are both in the TTIP and the Paris Agreement given a certain stakeholder-status and particularly in the TTIP there is great focusing for these to benefit from the future agreement. The Paris Agreement and the EU's draft on the TTIP indicates that a major part of the work, both in regards to obtaining the objectives of the agreements and the coherence between these the objectives of the two – particularly in regards to the competitiveness versus the promotion of sustainable energy - is to be done particularly through a liberalisation of the private sector. The EU sees it beneficial to open up the US' market to European companies and to streamline the rules for both US and EU companies on this market and furthermore on its own. As

the section, *Public Procurement* disclosed in the EU's draft on the TTIP, this will cause an increase in the EU's volume and influence on the US market and on its products and shares. Something the EU states to have great interest in, due to it being estimated to enable the creation of jobs – considered particularly beneficial to the private sector in regards to enable these in energy research and easing their stakeholder status - benefitting the European companies and economy. The same applies in regards to the EU's wish of creating equality between the US and EU companies in the US market.

Similarly, the EU wishes to ease the process of US companies investment in the European market, finding one of the benefits from such actions to be the opportunity of increasing the numbers of jobs for European citizens. Furthermore the EU wishes for the mechanism *ROO*, to ensure the European countries by securing of the companies belonging to the given countries/ areas producing the given product - which are subject to benefits through TTIP – are guaranteed to receive the benefits. This may indicate that a mix of the two theoretical perspectives may guide the actions of the EU. A blend of the liberalistic positive view on the interdependence and neo-realism's view on competitiveness and the intentions of gaining or at least equalising a balance of power and influence. While the EU is access the increasing interdependence and cross-border trade agreements as positive, it is also considered important, for the specific producer/ EU member state, is to be the one whom reap the benefits from the structure of the TTIP. Unlike the TTIP, the Paris Agreement its objective on adaptation and the mechanism *CBDR*, enable this agreement not to have a direct goal of achieving equilibrium between the financial obligations and the benefits following. Where the Paris Agreement, hold the industrialised world responsible for their past actions and their partaking in the climate deterioration, the focus of TTIP is for the individual countries and thus the individual companies to benefit in accordance to their share of the work.

- **Private companies, Trade-off's and 'False solutions'**

The private sector and in particular SME's take on a great part of the focus in the agreements in regards for these to flourish, achieve their maximum potential and in regards to the overall economic activity an development in the EU. For these, there are three methods through which these companies can enable a relative coherence between trade and climate: *greenwashing* of their brand, *distracting* from activities and *misleading* politicians and citizens on true intentions. The EU adressess the private sector, due to their uptake on the European economic activity and their climate and environmental related activity and image, to be of great importance in regards to the picture of the current and future European approach to energy and trade and even in regards to the picture of the EU in general terms. The (in)coherence created by the European companies among trade and

climate policies by being fossil fuels based and somewhat promoting and supporting climate-friendly projects can cause a negative impact on the general view on the EU. On the rather negative side, can companies, which negatively impacts the climate, and environment and impacts other areas such as the agriculture through for instance the use of fossil fuels, use methods such as greenwashing and distracting, to paint a picture of their brand as being climate friendly and socially responsible. Contrary, these methods enable companies with the opportunity of promoting green energy sources, thereby maybe positively affecting the change which is desired in the Paris Agreement. By greenwashing their brand and/ or distracting from the negative impacts on the climate and environment, companies and their Paris Agreement-counteracting objectives, can end up being undermined, thus giving the opportunity to maintain a climate deteriorating process. But why would the EU allow such dishonesty among companies when promoting transparency? Has the EU somehow made an unofficial trade-off, thus created an unofficial relative incoherence between the objectives of the TTIP and the Paris Agreement by letting the market and hence the privately owned companies becoming endowed with a certain autonomy, thereby somewhat denying its responsibility and official objectives in terms of the development of sustainable energy sources. On one hand, it seems to be in the interests of the EU to promote climate-friendly methods and ultimately undertake a shift from a fossil fuel based market to one of renewable energy sources, but according to the Paris Agreement this shift is to be done through regulations and according to the TTIP, this is to be done through supra-national created incentives, and exerted by the market and to a substantial degree, the private sector.

An area such as transport of goods is an object which can be object to the incoherence which may occur between trade, climate and the private companies' marketing strategies which can seem fraudulent in terms of their branding and true basic actions. *IP* is a mechanism of which is intended cause an increase the amount of companies investing, researching and producing goods – though not a certain energy based type of goods. As mentioned earlier, according to the climate-trade framework, there is causality between increasing investment and trade, increased transport and finally increased emission. Transport is not incontrovertibly an area of which companies premeditatedly take use of methods such as misleading or distracting from their true energy-nature and methods but is a part of the process, in regards to the transport of resources, which can be assessed as infinitesimal and undermined by the restructuring of the energy source(s) within the production process on a smaller scale in regards to the total use of fossil fuels in producing and transport of the goods.

Due to the political awareness on mitigating climate change and the positive outlook on climate-friendly goods and methods from the civil society, it can be beneficial for fossil fuel based

companies be to advertise with conducting a somehow 'green change' or simply a somewhat green production, thus being a small part of the socially and politically accepted change within energy sources. Something that may cause the overall EU to seem proactive in regards to the Paris Agreement objective regarding the mitigation and use of sustainable energy sources. Through advertising actions, which somewhat contradicts to the true intentions of companies might still be assessed as positive change, due to the positive impacts this superficial and relative coherence it brings the EU policy actions.

Given that the private companies are so important for the EU's internal market and economic activity, are the actions of the EU based on the incentive of not losing its competitiveness and the power which follows, causing the EU to accept these companies to mislead, distract and conduct relative incoherent marketing? Is it due to the two policy areas, trade and climate simply being unable, with their pure intentions, to co-exist in a coherent foreign policy, forcing the EU to make trade-off's in order not to lose its power position and the influence on the political actions of other states and regions? Or is it based on desire to expand the liberal values and create an interdependence through SME's with the repercussions being a necessary choice to take political decisions which in practice causes an incoherent policy and possibly undermining the thoughts on a possible decrease in power and global influence?

- **The European) Union – based on symbolic policies or of real substance?**

Through the *Regulatory Cooperation* section in the EU-TTIP draft, in the section on energy the EU clearly states a wish for increasing the use of green energy sources. This could indicate a desire to create a coherent policy. But in terms of the EU's lack of a planning the financing and the creation of other incentives for both public and private companies in order for these to commence and continue the intended researching in climate-friendly methods and the vague plan for achieving an actual implementation of these, can equally seem for the EU's to have no interest or possibility in conducting a completely coherent foreign policy if all political areas are to have their intentions of actions and regulations implemented.

However, this could as well be due to the dual effect that is to be found in particular the TTIP. A double effect, which means that the US, and its interests will have somewhat equally the same amount of political actions which the US finds of great importance to have implemented in a bilateral agreement. These interests and this power behold by the US can for instance have been portrayed in the final draft on the Paris Agreement and its final perspective of the creation of bonds in regards to emissions. Bonds which was not implemented, causing the agreement on the subject on emission restrains to be of a somehow vague structure. During the drafting of the Paris

agreement, it therefore could seem as if the EU is lost, so to speak, the power-match to the US. A TTIP agreement very consciously focusing on developing climate-friendly initiatives, thus relatively undermining the interests of the area of trade, further resulting in major restructuring for the market and energy sector, may be a battle the EU does not have the necessary power and global influence in order to pull the US into any given agreement. One can according to the two theories, assume that both partners involved in an agreement are so, mainly due to the national benefits. The determining or opposite, of legal obligations on emission is one where the US could already have shown some power, causing the possibility of the European draft on the TTIP already to have been influenced. However, it can also simply indicate a possible incoherency between words and actions within the EU. The EU might have been advocating legally binding obligation in terms of emission bonds, but is EU just talking the generally agnised talk? Cause according to the neo-realism, it could be in the EU's favor, not to create a legal interdependence between the different states.

To sum up, by now the correlation between trade and climate has been discussed and the EU's interest in the two agreements has been disclosed. Furthermore have the policies, where they are in conflict and compliance and the agendas of the two agreements, been analysed in regards to the term of power and interdependence. The link between an increase in trade liberalisation, increased trade and an increase in deterioration of the environment has been evaluated and somewhat proved to be at least theoretical be acknowledged – even by the EU. Yet the EU could seem to be jeopardizing the sustainable resource management by promoting an increased liberalisation of international trade and in bilateral trade agreements.

In regards to the areas of *Investment*, *Public Procurement* and *IPR's*, these could indicate that the EU's draft on the final agreement would focus on a strengthening of a cross-border self-regulating market, the rights of the private sector, investors and companies, risking to strengthen the US' hold on the European soil, thus risking to undermine the autonomy of the individual states – despite this briefly being argued not to be the case. This could be due to a desire to gain power without making the risks obvious to the individual countries. According to the neo-realistic perspective on power, it is assumed to always be a priority for the EU to maintain its geographical size, if there are no major discrepancies between the exercised regulations of the individual countries and the EU, in order to maintain the power caused by the size of the land area. But even from the liberal perspective, maintaining the size of the EU is important, though due to the forum this enabling a deep interdependence among states. The EU based on its member states and without these there was no EU. If the EU loses a member state it loses its geographical size but the economic activity contributed by the country as well. With the referendum in the UK on whether or not to leave the EU, resulting in the UK voting to leave, the EU will not only decrease in size but it

will risk an increase in the cost, when trading with the UK or risk been forced the inconvenience of having to find new trading partners in regards to export and, at the same time risk losing products which previously were imported from the UK, due to a rise in costs for the UK when exporting to the EU.

In regards to the Paris Agreement being a global-level agreement, which also means that there is a focus on developing climate-friendly technologies in even the least developed countries. From one perspective, the EU's promotion of IPR's in the TTIP may risk inhibiting this development. Should the developing countries have the capability to create the largest possible shift from fossil fuels to renewables, it is of importance for new knowledge and climate-friendly technologies to be shared. In the Paris Agreement and equally the TTIP this transfer is strongly emphasised and it can therefore be argued that some coherence occurs among the two agreements or at least that coherence is an intended goal for the EU. However, the problem occurs when the *IPRs* becomes so set, that these become less accessible. So maybe the mechanisms of *IPR* function as an inhibition to truly achieving a transfer of the future climate-friendly methods. Addressed from this perspective, the focus which the EU may have on achieving the power of *IPRs*, may lead to an undermining of the objective of the Paris Agreement and create incoherence between the objectives of the TTIP and the Paris Agreement. All in all it could seem that the mechanism of trade-off's and creating a relative sense of (in)coherence within the EU's foreign policy tool is necessary in order for the EU to be considered as a far-reaching, large-scale, influential and powerful human rights-conscious institution.

6. DISCUSSION

The following discussion will discuss the geo-political and geo-economic implications that accompany agreements such as the TTIP and Paris Agreement.

Cause is it even possible for an institution such as the EU, to lead a completely coherent foreign policy without any circumstances forcing the EU to conduct political trade-offs, when having to function as a part of a greater global system? The perspective on the discussion is chosen, based on the theories used to address the EU's positioning in the global system in regards to the TTIP and Paris Agreement – either the relations being based on a constant power struggle or fixed in a natural order, tied together by an interdependence and through a wish of a liberal and free market. From this perspectives of relations, a relative consensus between western and liberal states - the US and the EU will need to be based on mutual interests or on a constant and maybe somewhat latent power struggle with the main focus on, as a minimum maintaining the competitiveness of the different areas. The US, alike the EU has its own interest of heart regarding the TTIP and the Paris Agreement – In regards to the TTIP, if the two areas US and EU are not equally as powerful and has an equal and coherent interest in the agreement, which country's power and influence will outmatch the power and influence of the other? Do the US' powers outweigh the EU's? And how much, if any at all, power does the EU has in praxis?

Labelling interests as geo-political or geo-economic describes a link between the interest and the importance of the geographical location in regards to the shaping of those interests. Through the time, the US and parts of the EU have had the same intentions and interests, both political and economic. Inter alia the WWII and Cold War enabled cooperation across the Atlantic rather than a division and was in line with the thought of a 'Great Europe', which fell quite into place with the idea of a global bipolar system divided between two superpowers. This construction of a bipolar system – with the western world (US and EU) with relatively the same intentions, ideas and interests on one isde and the 'rest of the world' on the other.

The creation and unification of the western European states seemed to be in accordance with the ideas of the Atlantic/ Western system. During the Cold War, the West-European states had little to no interest in losing the cooperation with the US, but grew economically stronger as well, and grew greater inclined to the idea of free trade in lieu of protectionism. This development and unification of the EU states could partly be due to the geographical factors. For one it could be based on the intentions of maintaining a high standard of security, social-, political and economic advancement. With Russia at the outer eastern borders and the Middle East at the southern, it falls necessary for the EU to maintain and tend these relations due to the opportunities of investment and trade in inter alia raw materials and energy sources related to these markets, but equally as much

due to the question regarding security and stability within the borders of the EU.

TTIP being a mega-regional trade agreement and the Paris Agreement being a global agreement, means that these agreements at a certain level binds the states involved together in an interdependence and to a certain level binds these states together by a somewhat common interests. The question is further what type of complex design the TTIP will be imposed with - if ever implemented and applied on the EU-US relationship. Will it be a push for increased standards in regards to the labour market and environment and furthermore push for that more complex economic cooperation between the US and the EU? Following the recent presidential election, the political focus of the US has increasingly been on their own internal market, and protectionism seems to again be rooting into the American soil and the voters of the US seems to increasingly support protectionist political actions.

On one side, an open transatlantic market would possibly enable positives impacts on both economies due to the increased investment opportunities. Furthermore could the geo-political unification of the region signal to the Asian region and the merging China, that the West remains a global power and force to be reckoned in regards to the overall shaping of the future global system – both due to the geographical size, the strength of the economies and thereby competitiveness and the political governance. But if the negotiations, among the US and the EU does not come to an agreement, it could on the other hand risk placing the EU in a weaker global position. For one it could be due to the US choosing to start conversations regarding an agreement with the Asian countries and markets or such an action could enable the EU with the characteristic of being weak and of no true interest for a trading partner. Europe is greatly exposed to foreign markets through exports and imports. Some would argue for the EU to be of greater exposure and under greater influence by other states actions, than countries such as the US, China and Japan, thus the EU having the most at risk with the increasing support of protectionist political actions and ideas. But also the most to win from FTAs such as the TTIP.

It can be stated with a relative certainty, due to the statements made at the G20 meeting at the 8th of July 2017, that the intentions of the US is to completely withdraw from the Paris Agreement and that the US' intentions regarding the TTIP is to not conduct any further discussions. Does this imply that the US holds the practical power and the EU's power and influence in regards to the implementation of their interests and intended global policies on a global level is solely symbolic? Does the US hold such a great extent of power, due to their current political and economic strength, thus making the US the true leader in regards to the shaping of the global system? Will the TTIP agreement never be implemented and the objectives and goals of the Paris Agreement implode if the US does not support these? In the Paris Agreement, the US accounts for a

large percentage of the emission. So will the US' withdrawal from the agreement cause the remaining participating states needing to upgrade their NDC's to such an extent that – if even possible to reach - within the given timeframe it will show near to impossible. According to the information provided by the European Commission, the US' withdrawal from the Paris Agreement will not be one of ease and without problems and challenges, but it will be possible. An important factor in the Paris Agreement is to hold the industrialized countries up to their part of the responsibility for current climate change, but if the US withdrawal - is this specific objective then lost in advance due to the remaining states being unable to meet the required goals on emission? The same applies for the adaptation of climate sensitive areas and the future financial support made by the industrialised countries, which they are required to contribute under the Paris Agreement. Will the US' withdrawing from the Paris Agreement cause the financial objectives of the Paris Agreement, to be a matter of time before considered to be a lost cause due to the US not taking up their part of this environmental 'expense'?

From the outset the TTIP being a two way agreement, was risking not coming into action due to both the areas having to agree and come to a consensus in regards to the objectives and further might have to make compromises, compromising the true interests of the state. The official interests of the US and the EU are quite similar. They wish to create economic growth, increase competitiveness and create jobs. Thus in practise this does not perfectly match. If one job is created an American or European cannot both occupy that same position. Within the TTIP, the EU sets out to create equal opportunity between European and American companies, but ultimately one will lose to some degree - when only focusing on the US-EU power-relationship. The EU has a desire of opening up the US market for the European companies and vice versa, thus creating a new opportunity for US companies to invest in Europe. But with the US' taking the stance of focusing on their domestic interest, thus undermining the idea of free-trade, undermining the very essence of such an agreement. Making the individual parts of the agreement insignificant due to the overall objective being of no interest for the US. In the US, the discourse these days are that trade agreements causes a loss of jobs and a decrease in wages. And this seems to be of much greater concern in the US rather than in the EU. Despite the US withdrawing from the TTIP, the EU could still have a great interest in a future complex economic crossatlantic cooperation. Had it been the EU which had disclosed the idea of not taking part in the TTIP due to an incoherence among interests from both sides of the Atlantic, would the US even had kept the idea of future cooperations' in mind a made an effort of conducting a possibly long discussions of how to compromise when Asia offers the relative same opportunities? Maybe, maybe not.

7. CONCLUSION

According to the neo-realistic perspective on power, the underlying motivations for the actions of the EU, could indicate to either be based on a desire to equalise or increase in the global power-hierarchy, on maintaining or increasing the competitiveness or a wanting to achieve and/ or maintaining the label as being a super power. The US shares a great deal of the same values as the EU and historical events which over time have linked the two sides of the Atlantic together in a somewhat almost normative cooperation which could have consciously enabled a deeper interdependence and furthermore a strong basis for the region to grow both politically and economic. But this cooperation and the opportunity to grow, may have caused and increased focus on the individual area's own competitive position. This seems to be able to become a relative disadvantage for the EU. The EU estimates for there to be a great number of positive economic development opportunities caused by an implementation of both the TTIP and the Paris Agreement. Both due to the increased trade and thereby economic activity cross the Atlantic, the geographical insurance of the benefits through the mechanism, ROO and a considerable economic assurance in regards to the European agriculture, through the objectives of the Paris Agreement. The latter two combined enabling a relative insurance of the EU's competitiveness.

Adversely, the statements of the EU in regards to the interests in the agreements in relations to the explanatory perspective of liberalism, could indicate that an EU action could somewhat be rooted in the liberal attitude towards interdependence which the European communities officially were built upon. An objective of the Paris Agreement is based on the desire of keeping the industrialised countries financially accountable for their actions which have affected the climate negatively. But according to official statements and the draft on the intentions of the TTIP indicates that such action might be a smokescreen or cloak intended to hide the true intentions and is meant to divert more countries to take use of green energy sources, in order for the EU to not lose their global competitiveness and power position, due to particularly competitiveness being of such a great focus for the EU. Though, simultaneously, due to the other areas of the global already having plans for future mitigation and upscaling in climate-friendly methods and energy sources, thus according to the liberal perspective it seems not to be a question of competitiveness, but of increasing the interdependence between the EU and the rest of the world.

During the US' Obama administration the methods in regards to the intentions of increasing the economic situation of the nation was relatively similar to the methods of the EU's, but as a result of the most recent presidential election and according to the newly elected President Trump, the TTIP is not an agreement, which the US are intended to ever have implemented, due to the negative impact this might have on the US' market. Likewise, it seems that the US also wishes to withdraw

its participation in the Paris Agreement due to the restrictions and financial obligations this presents.

But does this depict the US as being a state with its future focus solely on the domestic interests, thus shutting down – and more importantly having the power to shut down - all future intentions of FTAs? Or is this withdrawal from the agreements specific to the TTIP and the Paris Agreement due to the inconsistencies among the interest of the US, the objectives of the TTIP and and the interests voiced by the EU? The answer differs according to the perspective. While the neo-realistic perspective would argue for such action to be regarded as a positive development due to its approach to interdependence, the liberal perspective would argue for this to be relatively conflicting with its approach to interdependence but somewhat of sense due to the liberal perspective emphasising on the importance of the free market and a concern regarding the Paris Agreement precisely being that the regulations within the agreement will work inhibiting in regards to the mechanism of self-regulation within the market.

Regarding TTIP it turned out, not to be sufficient for the EU to carry out actions with enabled a somehow incoherent character to their overall foreign policies in order for the interests of the two parties to come together. For example, if the creation of a weak positioning of the EU on the area of renewable energy sources in TTIP was deliberately intended,, thus creating a discrepancy between the goals and interests which the EU may have in the Paris Agreement and the TTIP, it may be argued that this kind of compromising of own interest could maybe be an indication of foreign policy intentions bigger than just a power struggle. This furthermore not being sufficiently in order to pull the US into the net of the EU, could show the relations being characterised by more than just indistinguishable liberal values and - maybe slightly hidden however not false - intentions of gaining power and increasing its positions in the global hierarchy. Does this imply that the US is the one in power and the one states which can pick and choose who and on which area it see it fit to cooperate on. And is the only true mission of the EU to keep up and hope for the US to eventually acquire an interest in the European market? And finally, as for the Paris Agreement; will the withdrawal by the US mean for the rest of participating states, will be forced to increase their NDC or the objective of the agreement be a lost cause. Time will tell.

iii. References

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