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Theorising the EU's diplomatic service

Rational player or social body?

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Theorising the EU's Diplomatic Service: Rational Player or Social Body?

Rebecca Adler-Nissen

Introduction

'It's a plane. It's a bird. It's ... the EEAS!' Like Superman, the European External Action Service (EEAS) appears to be a strange visitor from another planet. It is not an EU agency, it is not a Commission Directorate-General and it is not an independent institution like the European Central Bank. Most observers agree on the basics: It is the EU's first common diplomatic body, formally established in the summer of 2010. It supports the EU foreign affairs chief (High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy) in conducting the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It has delegations around the world working on behalf of the people of Europe and representing the EU as a whole. However, as the editors note in their introduction to this book, there is far from agreement on what the EEAS really is. Some scholars call it 'a quasi-diplomatic corps' (Duke, 2002), others 'an interstitial organisation' (Bátora, 2013) or an 'embryonic version of a European diplomatic service' (Spence, 2004). There is little doubt that the EEAS is one of the EU's most important inventions since the introduction of the single currency with the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) in 1999, but how are we to theorise the EEAS as a social, legal and political phenomenon?

From the outset, scholars, commentators and think tanks have struggled to give their particular take on the EEAS. Their efforts have resulted in empirically rich and insightful analyses, as the chapters of this book clearly demonstrate. Yet, with some exceptions, these analyses have not generally been oriented towards theory. In fact, for the majority of contributors to EEAS scholarship, the most important aim has been to identify the challenges facing the EEAS in terms of realising particular policy objectives rather than conceptualising its basic nature. They have tended to focus more on institutional turf wars, than theoretical innovation. This policy orientation is striking given how much theoretical focus there has previously been on

EU foreign policy. In the 1990s, the prospect of a European foreign and security policy was a driver of considerable theoretical innovation within international relations (IR) and EU studies, as concepts such as 'normative power' (Manners, 2002) and 'rhetorical entrapment' (Schimmelfennig, 2001) illustrate. Both concepts are now widely used beyond discussions of the EU's foreign and enlargement policies. For instance, Schimmelfennig's notion of rhetorical entrapment is used in analyses of WTO negotiations (Morin and Gold, 2010) and humanitarian intervention (Merle, 2005). However, conceptual developments have hitherto not been the main priorities of scholars interested in the EEAS. Nonetheless, the existing literature is replete with more or less implicit theoretical assumptions and pre-conceptualisations of the EEAS, and these tell different stories not only about the EEAS, but also about broader issues such as the transformations of European sovereignty, diplomacy and national identities.

This chapter teases out the different theorisations – or conceptual frameworks – of the EEAS in order to show how they – whether implicitly or not – make a difference to our understanding of the nature of the EEAS. The chapter first provides an overview of the existing approaches to the EU's diplomatic service, examining specifically two main approaches to the EEAS: the rationalist approach (including intergovernmentalism, rational choice institutionalism and rationalist organisation theory) and the constructivist approach (including sociological institutionalism and sociological organisation theory). The chapter then demonstrates how these approaches paint contrasting portraits of the EEAS: as a rational political player seeking autonomy from its principals (the member states) or as a social body or organisational arena with norm-abiding civil servants trying to make sense of the new diplomatic world. These theoretically informed portraits of the EEAS build on different assumptions about the nature of European integration, diplomacy and social science. The chapter points to possible blank spots on the map and the potential contribution of approaches currently not widely adopted in the study of the EEAS, including legal-constitutional frameworks, diplomatic theory, network theory, practice theory, anthropology and democratic theory.

From theorising EU foreign policy to conceptualising the EEAS

Social scientific theories help us make sense of the world. They are analytical frameworks that help us interpret the meaning of social life and determine how and why the world works the way it does. Theories give us a systematic way to create a story using data and research to explain the social world around us. Theories have played an important role as lenses for our understanding of what happened to Europe and its position in the world after the end of the Cold War. Indeed, the 1990s led to a renewed focus on European security and foreign policy – and theories were important in assessing Europe's position. The spectrum was wide. Structural realists (e.g., Waltz, 2000) argued that NATO would dissolve because the Soviet enemy had disappeared, while other realists (e.g., Wohlforth, 1994) began to reinvent classical realism and rediscover the importance of perceptions and decision-making processes. Post-structuralists claimed that Europe's 'other' was its past, and that identity-politics drove integration forward and shaped Europe's relations with the rest of the world (Wæver, 1997).[1]

In the 1990s and 2000s, IR realists used considerable energy to explain why they found it improbable that the EU would ever develop a common foreign policy (Rosato, 2011; Posen, 2006). Neorealists such as Waltz predicted that the only way in which the EU could achieve a foreign policy worthy of the name would be if it became a state, that is, if the federal project were completed (Waltz, 2000). Hyde-Price (2008) concluded that the polarity structure and lack of military resources meant that the EU was turning into a 'tragic power' with its attempt to build a common foreign policy that was doomed to fail. Liberals, from intergovernmentalists such as Moravcsik labelling the EU the 'quiet superpower' (Moravcsik, 2010) to institutionalists such as Koenig-Archibugi (2004), argued that there was potential for developing a common European foreign policy, but that it would (and should) remain intergovernmental (Wagner, 2003). Against this, constructivists and reflectivists claimed that the EU would indeed be – or already was – a power in the world (Manners, 2002; Ruggie, 1998; Sjursen, 2006). Indeed, constructivists and post-structuralists have generally been more optimistic when it comes to the EU's ability to shape the world around it. For instance, the literature on security communities drew heavily on the European experience to explain how a group of states may come to cooperate so closely that they regard war as impossible (Deutsch, 1968; Adler and Barnett, 1998). More sociologically informed literature, building on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, demonstrated that domestic security and defence officials gradually came to see the EU as 'the natural solution to their concerns' (Mérand, 2008, p. 5). Others argued that it was not so much the relationship between member states and their war-ridden history as much as Europe's relationship to others, such as Turkey or Russia (Neumann, 1999; Diez, 2004, 2005), that helped shape the EU's foreign-policy identity. Thus, a field of study devoted to the study of the EU's foreign and security policy developed and consolidated, leading even to the establishment of new journals such as the *European Foreign Affairs Review* (2006), and a range of graduate and post-graduate courses around the world. The EU's foreign policy had clearly become a subject worthy of scholarly interest.

The establishment of the EU's diplomatic service in 2010 thus appeared the ideal laboratory for testing or exploring the comparative advantages of different theories of European security, foreign policy and diplomacy. Yet, while the EEAS generated heated political discussion, it did not engender

much theoretical debate. Most scholarly focus, as this chapter shows, has been on its establishment and position in the EU's institutional landscape and its staff composition, reflecting to a large degree the media and public debate surrounding the Treaty of Lisbon. It is outside the scope of this chapter to examine why we have not seen a continuation of theoretical debates from the 1990s and 2000s with the establishment of the EEAS. It may be still too early to assess the literature on the EEAS so few years after its establishment. Another possibility is that limited interest in theory is linked to developments in EU studies more generally, becoming increasingly disengaged from IR debates and moving closer to fields such as public administration (Adler-Nissen and Kropp, 2015). Sociology of knowledge and science scholars have argued that EU studies is a 'weak field', in the sense that it is so tightly entangled with practitioners (EU lawyers, political leaders and bureaucrats) that it has difficulties distancing itself from its research object (Mudge and Vauchez, 2012).

Nonetheless, the contours of an emerging debate about the nature of the EEAS are identifiable. There are two major approaches: a rationalist (the latter with at least three sub-branches: intergovernmentalism, rational choice institutionalism and rationalist organisation theory) and a constructivist approach (the latter with at least two sub-branches: sociological organisation theory and sociological institutionalism). In addition to these broad approaches, legal-constitutional and democratic approaches also exist. The chapter now examines these approaches in more detail, showing how they each portray the EEAS differently.

Searching the literature and identifying approaches to the EEAS

To provide an overview of existing approaches to the EEAS, English-language publications from 1 January 2005 to 1 March 2014 were searched, a period covering the entire time the EEAS could have been discussed. The Constitutional Treaty was signed in December 2004 when the EEAS was still called a 'foreign ministry', though this changed to 'external action service' with the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009. The most commonly used databases in political science scholarship were searched: Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, Web of Science, World Wide Science and Google Scholar.

The following search terms were used, so as to capture as many publications as possible:

- EEAS
- European External Action Service
- EU foreign service
- EU diplomatic service
- European foreign service
- EU diplomacy
- EU external actor
- High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

The literature was limited to searches on the EEAS, not EU foreign policy or diplomacy more broadly. The search resulted in a total of 67 academic articles and book chapters (see Appendix). Of course, these 67 publications do not include all academic production on the EEAS. Most importantly, think tank reports and working papers were excluded, so that only peer reviewed academic publications formed part of the search. Moreover, although all academic publications explicitly mentioning the EEAS were searched, there remained some that slipped through the search net, notably book chapters and books. This results from the way search engines work. Nonetheless, the 67 articles give enough of a general view to make possible some broader statements about the state of the art in the study of the EEAS.

Coding the publications

The 67 articles were read with a list of relevant theories in mind. The main theoretical approach/framework/perspective of each publication was coded accordingly. The code list (Table 1.1) was not entirely closed, allowing for unexpected theoretical labels to be added during the iterative process of coding. These labels allowed for simplified mapping of the theoretical

Table 1.1 Code list (initial)

- Classical realism
- Neorealism
- Classical liberalism
- Neoliberal institutionalism
- Constructivism
- International Society
- Neo-Marxism
- Post-structuralism
- Copenhagen School
- Feminism
- Foreign policy analysis
- Diplomatic theory
- Federalism
- Neofunctionalism
- Liberal intergovernmentalism
- Rational choice institutionalism
- Historical institutionalism
- Sociological institutionalism
- Europeanisation theory
- Multi-level governance

landscape of research on the EEAS. The preliminary code list consisted of all major IR theories and all major European integration theories. To be as inclusive as possible, implicit use of theories to be counted as a theoretical perspective was also allowed for. By 'implicit' it is understood that authors actively use concepts that clearly derive from a given theoretical perspective without making the theory itself explicit in the publication. For instance, when an article repeatedly uses concepts such as 'delegation', 'principal-agent' and 'agency loss' in connection with an analysis of the institutional autonomy and historical development of the EEAS, it makes sense to label it as implicitly referring to rational choice/principal agency theory and historical institutionalism. In other words, the chapter allows for more than one label to be attached to a publication if multiple theories were compared or combined with equal or comparable weight.

Results: little theory, many concepts

Table 1.2 provides an overview of the publications.

As Figure 1.1 shows, one of the most striking results is that almost a third (30%) of the identified publications have no explicit theoretical framework. If we exclude implicit theoretical frameworks, the percentage would even rise to 72% (47 publications), which could be considered as having no theoretical framework.

Figure 1.2 provides an overview of the different approaches actually employed in the 67 publications examined. The large number of publications with no explicit theoretical framework is distinctly noticeable.

Institutional and organisational approaches dominate

As can be seen from Figure 1.2, the most common approach is intergovernmentalism (16%) and rationalist organisational perspectives (16%) followed by rational choice institutionalism (15%). The number of coded

Table 1.2   Overview of the material

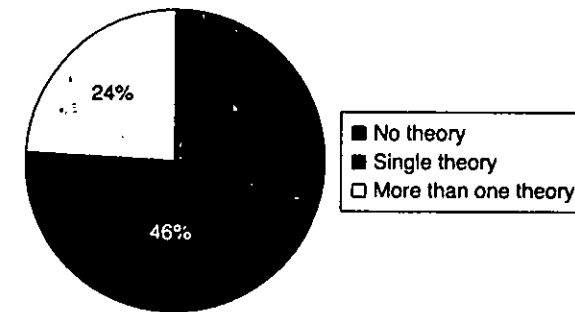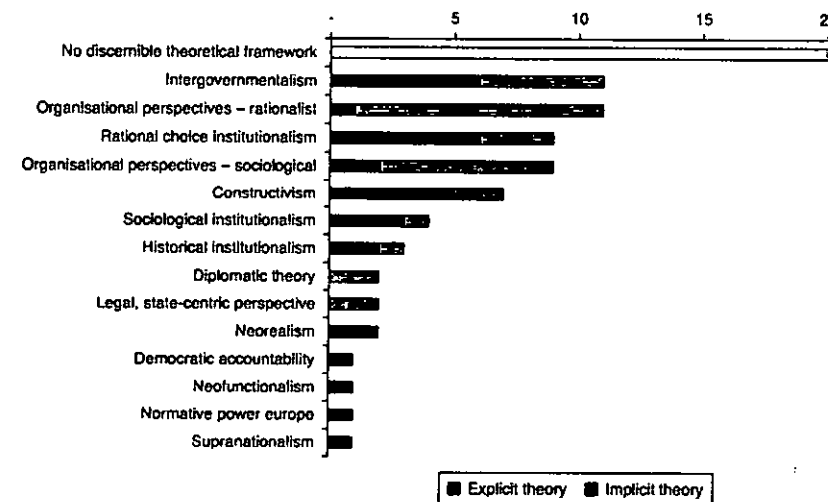|	
Number of coded texts	67
Unique theory labels used	17
Texts using no theory	20
Texts using one theory	31
Texts using more than one theory	16
Texts with explicit use of theory	20
Texts with implicit or indiscernible use of theory	47
Journal articles	56
Book chapters	8
Research papers	1
Conference papers	2

Figure 1.1   Use of theory

Figure 1.2   Frequency of theory and their explicit use

theories is higher than the number of coded articles as some articles refer to and use more than one theory. By intergovernmentalism is understood analyses that subscribe to the basic view that states, and national governments in particular, are the primary actors in the European integration process. Intergovernmentalist approaches claim to be able to explain both periods of radical change in the EU (because of converging governmental preferences) and periods of inertia (due to diverging national interests) (see Schimmelfennig, 2004; Moravscik, 1994). Intergovernmentalism is distinguishable from realism and neorealism because of its recognition of both the significance of institutions in international politics and the impact

of domestic politics upon governmental preferences. In contrast, rational choice institutionalism is a theoretical approach developed initially for the study of domestic institutions, resting on the assumption that actors use institutions to maximise their utility. However, actors face rule-based constraints provided by the institutional environment which influences their behaviour (see also Pollack, 2007; Hall and Taylor, 1996). The rationalist perspective covers principal-agent approaches and similar approaches that conceptualise relations between actors and institutions in contractual terms. Finally, there is a group of rationalist organisational theories, which are closely linked to the basic rationalist assumptions, seeing organisations as basically more or less ordered sites where decisions are made by utility-maximising individuals and groups with more or less complete or incomplete information.[2]

By constructivism is understood theories that are based on the assumption that the social world is socially constructed, that the language and meaning-making processes with which people engage shape it. This puts norms, roles and identities at the centre of the analysis, as these are key to understanding how and why groups and individuals – including EEAS officials – behave in certain ways. Sociological institutionalism refers to approaches that see decisions as shaped meanings generated by particular institutions. By sociological organisational theories is understood the approaches that move beyond the Weberian assumptions about organisations as rationalising devices and instead analyse organisations as either arenas or fields. Organisations can be studied as more irrational or complex arenas with conflicting goals and high uncertainty, and where – following the garbage-can model – rationality and order is rather an ideology than reality (Cohen, March and Olsen, 1972). The other sociological organisational approach, inspired by the work of Giddens and Bourdieu, considers organisations as a social field where organisational culture, informal norms, symbolism and roles play not just a causal but a constitutive role for the life of those parts of the organisation as well as the organisation as such (Scott and Davies, 2003).

To further structure the analysis of existing literature – and as there are many overlaps between the approaches – these approaches are grouped into two broad 'churches': the rationalist approaches (intergovernmentalism, rationalist institutionalism and rationalist organisation theory) and constructivist approaches (organisation theory approaches and sociological institutionalism). In the constructivist group, I also include political sociological or practice-oriented approaches drawing on sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Erving Goffman. This leads to a simpler Figure 1.3, which shows that rationalist-inclined approaches dominate the literature on the EEAS with 37%. Constructivist-oriented approaches, the second-largest group, make up 23% of the publications, followed by a group of more diverse approaches discussed below.
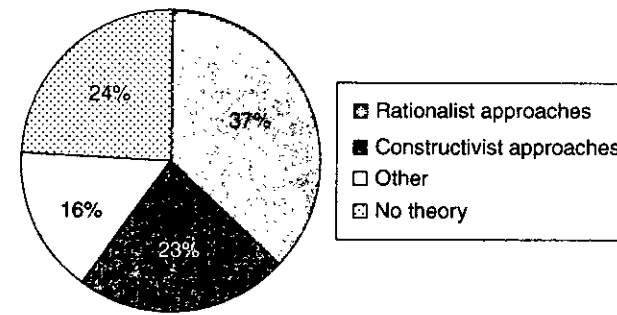

Figure 1.3 Main approaches

IR theory and European integration theories are largely absent

The second major observation that can be made on the basis of the literature search is that many of the dominant IR theories are simply not present in the study of the EEAS. While one may not have expected to find feminist or neo-Marxist approaches to the EEAS, it is striking how few IR perspectives are present in the theoretical landscape. It appears quite simply that most of the broader theoretical approaches are absent. Has the EEAS simply flown under the radar of IR scholars? Or have the perhaps meagre results of the first High Representative Catherine Ashton (2009–2014) made scholars turn to other diplomatic and foreign policy issues, such as Helwig's approach in Chapter 4 in this book? Whatever the reason(s), it merits further reflection and investigation. Interestingly, European integration theories as well as Europeanisation approaches are also largely absent from the study of the EEAS. The first may have to do with the generally slowing tendency in theorising European integration (see Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006; Rosamond, 2007), but it clearly may also have to do with the fact that the EEAS is still a new creature.

Empirically, the most dominant concern in the publications is the way in which the member states are reluctant to hand over competences to the EEAS. 'Creeping competence', as the UK terms it, is framed in terms of 'highjacking' the agenda (Koeth, 2012) or viewed as member states' lack of 'political will' to delegate power and capabilities to the EEAS (Helwig, 2013). Others point rather to the policy implications of the EEAS and its actual effects on the ground, beginning with inter-institutional battles and turf wars (Edwards, 2013), potential for overall coordination (Maurer, 2005; Duke, 2009, Merket, 2012; Smith, 2013), 'pooling of instruments' (Whitman and Juncos, 2013), 'consolidation' (Hadfield and Fiott, 2013), consistency in non-proliferation policy (Zwolski, 2011), civil-military cooperation (Hynek,

Other
23%

European
Constitutional Law
Review
4%

European Foreign
Affairs Review
27%

*The International
Spectator*
4%

*Journal of European
Integration*
3%

*Journal of European
Public Policy*
9%

The Hague Journal
of Diplomacy
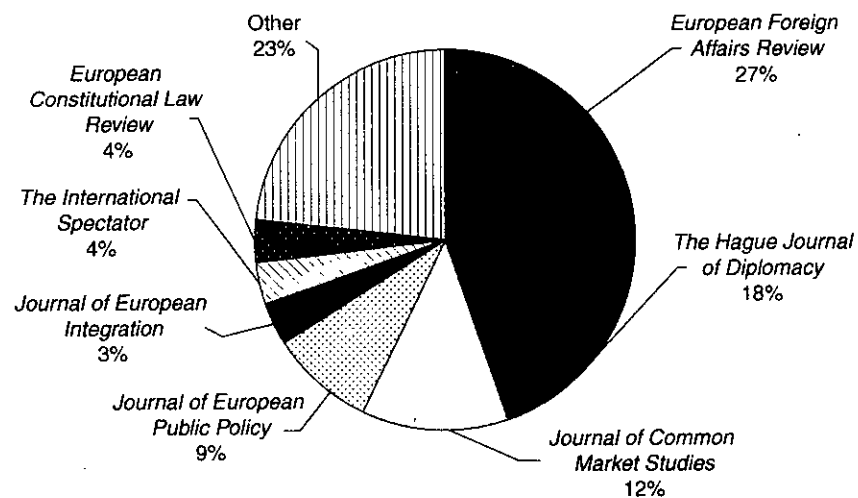18%

Journal of Common
Market Studies
12%

Figure 1.4   Journals

2011), leadership (Missiroli, 2010) and planning development aid (Tannous, 2013; Chapter 6 in this volume), communication and information gathering (Bicchi, 2012) and ability to react to external challenges such as the Arab Spring and the Eastern neighbourhood (Whitman and Juncos, 2012).

Finally, it may be worth looking at the publication outlets of academic work on the EEAS. Figure 1.4 provides an overview of journals, the two single most important being the *Journal of European Foreign Affairs* and the *Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, both relatively new European-based journals with a specific focus on European foreign policy and diplomacy. In other words, the high degree of specialisation and policy orientation is evident not only in the approaches and analytical lenses chosen by EEAS scholars, but also in the journals that publish the analyses. The other key outlets are also European academic journals (*Journal of Common Market Studies* and *Journal of European Public Policy*), but there are very few general political science or IR journals represented amongst the top seven journals. This reveals great potential for those interested in bringing discussions on the EEAS to a wider audience in, for instance, political science and comparative politics, international relations, sociology or law. The diplomatic scholar Jan Melissen (1999) has argued forcefully that the study of diplomacy is and should remain an interdisciplinary field – and the study of the EEAS has the potential to demonstrate that this is indeed a fruitful way to proceed in terms of theorisation. The EEAS as a research object could reach other kinds of journals with very different theoretical and methodological traditions.

Two major approaches: rationalism and constructivism

This section examines the main approaches identified and provides a discussion of some of the limits of each approach, both in terms of theoretical and analytical value added.

Rationalism: the EEAS as a rational agent

The rationalist perspective on the EEAS can be found in both rational choice institutionalism and most intergovernmentalist analyses as well as principal-agent approaches. The basic assumption in the principal-agent argument is that the principal can empower an agent to carry out particular actions through a more or less formal contract. The member states (and sometimes the Commission) are seen as the principals holding the agent (the EEAS) in control (Kostanyan and Orbie, 2013). From this perspective, the key question for understanding how the EEAS evolves and takes action concerns the design of the 'contract'. This includes examining both the EEAS's formal leeway and which policy areas, as Furness (2013) puts it, have 'greater decision-making autonomy than others'. With a more institutionalist leaning, Dijkstra and Vanhoonacker (2011) have developed an 'informational framework' examining institutional autonomy. The last group of scholars, inspired by rationalist assumptions, draws on organisational theory to argue that 'the presence/absence of co-ordination capacities developed within an institution' shape 'the relations between institutions (e.g., in inter-institutional negotiations' (Murdoch et al., 2013). Others emphasise how, despite its intergovernmental nature, the EEAS may represent a form of 'institutionalisation by practice' that will gradually move it beyond the tight control of member states (Morillas, 2012).

Constructivist approaches: the EEAS as a social body

Within this broad group of approaches here labelled constructivist, scholars are interested in identity- and norm-making processes and micro-dynamics such as career choices of new officials. In terms of data, this literature often draws on questionnaires and interviews with practitioners. Here the key questions are what drives EEAS officials, how they evaluate their position and how organisational innovation and pragmatism shape the EEAS (see, e.g., Juncos and Pomorska, 2013, 2014; Henökl, 2014). Juncos and Pomorska find that a sociological rather than a rationalist explanation fares better in explaining what drives officials and that ideational rather than material gains seem to be most important for officials, who share 'a strong identification' with the EU, and a desire to make EU foreign policy 'work' might also explain why officials profess strong support for the EEAS (Juncos and Pomorska, 2013, p. 1339). Similarly, Wisniewski (2013) concludes that

arguments in line with historical and sociological institutionalism are of high relevance for the institution building of the EEAS, while rational

choice institutionalism has less explanatory power. Consequently, institutional change within the EU might not only be based on cost benefit calculation, and future analysis should not therefore 'overlook' normative motivation. (Wisniewski, 2013, p. 83)

Cross also applies a constructivist approach in order to emphasise the importance of norms, learning and socialisation in the training of the EU's new diplomatic service. This focus on staff and 'esprit de corps' is sometimes linked to broader issues relating to the search for external 'coherence' (Duke, 2012) or to the heterogeneity of norms, values and motivations amongst its staff, using Peter Haas' notion of 'epistemic communities' (Spence, 2012; Chapter 2 in this volume). Adler-Nissen (2013) is inspired by Bourdieu's notions of symbolic power and social fields, looking at how the EEAS struggles for recognition as true diplomacy in relation to established, state-based diplomacy (see also Weston and Mérand's Chapter 17 in this volume). Here the EEAS is seen as the symptom of broader changes in state formation and sovereignty in Europe.

Legal and political theoretical approaches

Legal and more formal institutionalist approaches are also worth mentioning. Some scholars emphasise the institutional past to help us understand the current 'design options' for the EEAS (Vanhoonacker and Reslow, 2010), or look at the 'hard bargaining between the different institutions and the "collective action problem" of the member states' (Reynaert, 2012) or the EEAS in relation to the EU's 'single legal personality' (Koehler, 2010). Others examine the struggle of different institutions (including the Commission and the member states) for influence over the construction of the EEAS (Dinan, 2011). Yet others adopt an explicit neorealist approach to explain the French and British interest in reinforcing their global influence through the EEAS (Kluth and Pilegaard, 2012).

An interesting exception to the frequently relatively narrow legal approach is provided by scholars such as Wouters and Van Vooren (Wouters and Duquet, Chapter 8 in this volume) who examine the legal nature of the EEAS and its *sui generis* status in the legal sense (Wouters and Duquet, 2012). They seek explicitly to position the EEAS in the broader institutional and legal construction of the EU, raising important questions of statehood and legal competences (Van Vooren, 2011). Elsewhere Wessel and Van Vooren (2013) underline a continuing tension between the EU's diplomatic ambitions and EU and international law as it stands (see De Baere and Wessel's Chapter 9 in this volume). Specifically, these scholars show that traditional state-centred international diplomatic law sits uneasily with the diplomatic dreams of the EU. They also – importantly – discuss the problems of effective external representation in the UN (Drieskens, 2012) and other multilateral arenas

based on member states (and not constructed for non-state actors) as well as the legal challenges shaping the EEAS role in relation to the EU's external migration policy (Papagianni, 2013).

A number of publications fall outside these concerns, emphasising the democratic accountability of the EEAS (Bátora, 2010) or the European Parliament's influence on the EEAS (Raube, 2012; Chapter 7 in this volume). A number of publications, many stemming from (or inspired by) the Norwegian research centre ARENA, have focused on critical theory and the democratic accountability of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, illustrated in work by Sjursen (2002, 2012), Stie (2010) and Outhwaite and Spence (2014). This concern with legitimacy and the democratic accountability of the EEAS is still nascent and could draw inspiration from the broader debates concerning legitimacy and democracy in a post-national or transnational world, including from global governance and political theoretical debates.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the academic study of the EEAS is surprisingly atheoretical. This is in stark contrast to the 1990s when EU foreign policy was a driver of much theoretical and conceptual innovation in both political science and international relations. Building on a systematic literature search and coding of academic publications on the EEAS, the chapter has shown that a striking 30% of the identified publications have no explicit theoretical approach. Yet, it is possible to detect different, more or less implicit theoretical approaches in the literature. Including publications that work with an implicit theoretical apparatus, the most dominant approach to the study of the EEAS seems to be rationalist (covering intergovernmentalism and rational choice institutionalism), which represents 37% of publications. Constructivist (including sociological institutionalism, sociological organisational theory) was used in 23% of the works examined. While the chapter has not sought to explain why the literature on the EEAS has developed as it has, it has indicated that it may have to do with a number of factors, including the EEAS still being new, that US scholars have generally turned away from studying the EU or the EU being no longer the favourite laboratory of IR scholars. Moreover, and perhaps related to this, EU studies have tended towards public administration and comparative politics, and this has pushed EU studies further away from IR theories.

Consequently, the EEAS provides fresh ground for new theorisation, in tune with how EU foreign and security policy became the pet example for IR scholars in the 1990s and 2000s. Rationalist approaches might, for instance, follow up on more recent work within principal-agent theory, including contract design and incentive contracts and network theory (Borgatti and Halgin, 2011) as well as signalling theory, which deals with principal-agent relations where asymmetries of information exist and are not easily solved

(Rothschild and Stiglitz, 1976). Such further sophistication could help explain not just the control that member states seek to establish with the EEAS, but also the particular institutional design that enables the EEAS to develop diplomatic activities (see Dür and Elsig, 2011), borrowing also from other applications of principal-agent analyses of other dimensions of EU policy areas such as environmental and trade policies (see Lin, 2012; Elsig and Dupont, 2012). Moreover, there is a potential bridge-building exercise to be undertaken between rationalist approaches and legal approaches. Here constitutional theory or federalist institutionalism may be an inspiration.

Constructivist approaches, and in particular the sociological organisational perspectives, could draw on the so-called practice turn currently developing in IR, which has focused on diplomacy and its transformation (Neumann, 2012; Pouliot, 2008; Adler-Nissen, 2014; Adler-Nissen and Pouliot, 2014). There is a call in parts of the literature on the EEAS (Bátora, 2013; Adler-Nissen, 2013) for renewed attention to an old concern with institutions in IR but this time round underpinned by a deeper theorising of institutions. Some of IR theory's focus on practice is oriented specifically towards unravelling the social life of institutions and the role-playing of diplomats (Adler-Nissen, 2008, 2014). This would put observations concerning the socialisation and norm-following behaviour of EEAS and Commission officials into perspective, with an explicit focus on fields of power, roles and face work, including the actual decision-making processes that lead the EEAS to adopt particular policies in, for example, developing countries, regarding everything from human rights to HIV policies. This move to practices will also require tracing ideological assumptions concerning 'good EU policy' and ideas about what constitutes competent diplomatic behaviour in the EEAS. Here anthropology and the use of ethnographic methods such as participant observation may also prove useful in gaining insights into everyday foreign policy-making in the EU (see Kuus, 2013).

It is, as Simon Duke (2009, p. 211) notes, 'essential' to think 'through the challenges' facing the EEAS after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. The question is whether such thinking is possible without deeper reflection on the basic assumptions inevitably driving our analyses. Further and more sophisticated theorisation will help the EEAS become a research subject judged relevant beyond scholarship focusing simply on the EEAS itself. More attention to theory will also help in understanding its nature and potential as a diplomatic service. Bringing empirical data into closer conversation with nuanced theoretical frameworks might at first sight mirror the degree of sophistication of approaches and debates about power and influence in other more established EU institutions such as the Council of Ministers (Naurin and Wallace, 2009) or European Parliament. However, this conversation between theory and empirics, should not fall into the same trap as much of EU studies previously has. A focus primarily on operationalisation, fine-tuning, 'testing' of particular assumptions,

missing out on the bigger picture of state transformation, power, political order and legitimacy is clearly incomplete analysis. The study of the EEAS will benefit from keeping the theoretical landscape open and explorative, leading to further debate about the nature of EU diplomacy itself, for this continues to pose new and challenging questions.

Finally, and related to this last point, few publications so far have discussed the legitimacy and democratic accountability of the EEAS. However, as the EEAS develops into a veritable foreign policy maker – with impact around the world and within member states – the question of legitimacy becomes ever more crucial. Moreover, in light of the euro crisis and rising euroscepticism, reflected in 2014 in the European Parliament elections, democratic control and the monitoring of EU activities have become even more central to debates about European integration. To become a veritable laboratory for developing concepts of European integration and diplomacy, the EEAS must – as Superman – remain partly enigmatic. The EEAS must be constantly reconstructed as a research object and a research challenge.

Appendix: list of coded articles

Diplomatic Training and the Challenges Facing the EEAS	Duke, Simon	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012
In the Face of Adversity: Explaining the Attitudes of EEAS Officials vis-a-vis the New Service	Juncos, Ana E. & Pomorska, Karolina	*Journal of European Public Policy*	2013
The Programming of EU's External Assistance and Development Aid and the Fragile Balance of Power between EEAS and DG DEVCO	Tannous, Isabelle	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2013
Building a European Diplomacy: Recruitment and Training to the EEAS	Cross, Mai'a K. Davis	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2011
The EEAS's Diplomatic Dreams and the Reality of European and International Law	Van Vooren, Bart & Wessel, Ramses	*Journal of European Public Policy*	2013
Negotiating the European External Action Service (EEAS): Analyzing the External Effects of Internal (Dis)Agreement	Murdoch, Zuzana	*Journal of Common Market Studies*	2012
A Democratically Accountable External Action Service: Three Scenarios	Bátora, Jozef	*European Integration – Online Papers*	2010
The European External Action Service: A Pivotal Actor in EU Foreign Policy Communications?	Bicchi, Federica	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012

A Three-Phase Plan for the European External Action Service	Maurer, Andreas & Reichel, Sarah	*The International Spectator*	2005
The European External Action Service: Living Forwards by Understanding Backwards	Vanhoonacker, Sophie & Reslow, Natasja	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2010
A Legal-Institutional Perspective on the European External Action Service	Van Vooren, Bart	*Common Market Law Review*	2011
The European External Action Service and the Security-Development Nexus: Organizing for Effectiveness or Incoherence?	Smith, Michael E.	*Journal of European Public Policy*	2013
The European External Action Service and the European Parliament	Raube, Kolja	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012
The Early Days of the European External Action Service: A Practitioner's View	Spence, David	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012
The European Union's Foreign Policy since the Treaty of Lisbon: The Difficult Quest for More Consistency and Coherence	Reynaert, Vicky	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012
Who Controls the European External Action Service? Agent Autonomy in EU External Policy	Furness, Mark	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2013
The Making of the EU's External Action Service: A Neorealist Interpretation	Kluth, Michael & Pilegaard, Jess	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2012
The European External Action Service and Agenda-Setting in European Foreign Policy	Vanhoonacker, Sophie & Pomorska, Karolina	*Journal of European Public Policy*	2013
Governance and Institutions: Implementing the Lisbon Treaty in the Shadow of the Euro Crisis	Dinan, Desmond	*Journal of Common Market Studies*	2011
ACP-EU Development Cooperation at a Crossroads? One Year after the Second Revision of the Cotonou Agreement	Bartelt, Sandra	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2012
Providing for European-Level Diplomacy after Lisbon: The Case of the European External Action Service	Duke, Simon	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2009
Europe and the Rest of the World	Hadfield, Amelia & Fiott, Daniel	*Journal of Common Market Studies*	2013
What's in a Name? Challenges to the Creation of EU Delegations	Drieskens, Edith	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012

The European External Action Service: Antidote against Incoherence?	Duke, Simon	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2012
The Arab Spring, the Eurozone Crisis and the Neighbourhood: A Region in Flux	Whitman, Richard G. & Juncos, Ana E.	*Journal of Common Market Studies*	2012
The New EU 'Foreign Policy' System after Lisbon: A Work in Progress	Missiroli, Antonio	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2010
Stasis in Status: Relations with the Wider Europe	Whitman, Richard G. & Juncos, Ana E.	*Journal of Common Market Studies*	2013
EU Foreign Policy and the High Representative's Capability-Expectations Gap: A Question of Political Will	Helwig, Niklas	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2013
The European External Action Service and the Nexus between CFSP/CSDP and Development Cooperation	Merket, Hans	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2012
Relations with the Wider Europe	Whitman, Richard G. & Juncos, Ana E.	*Journal of Common Market Studies*	2011
Forging an External EU Migration Policy: From Externalisation of Border Management to a Comprehensive Policy?	Papagianni, Georgia	*Journal European Journal of Migration and Law*	2013
The EU and International Diplomatic Law: New Horizons?	Wouters, Jan & Duquet, Sanderijn	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012
The Influence of the European Parliament on the European External Action Service	Wisniewski, Elisabeth	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2013
The External Dimension of the EU's Non-proliferation Policy: Overcoming Inter-institutional Competition	Zwolski, Kamil	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2011
Europe's Future Foreign Service	Avery, Graham	*The International Spectator*	2008
European Foreign Policy after Lisbon: Strengthening the EU as an International Actor	Koehler, Kateryna	*Caucasian Review of International Affairs*	2010
The Changing Politics of Information in European Foreign Policy	Dijkstra, Hylke & Vanhoonacker, Sophie	*Journal of European Integration*	2011
The Common Foreign And Security Policy And The Inexhaustible Quest For Its Institutional Consistency	Ciceo, Georgiana	*Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai: Europaea*	2012

EU Crisis Management after the Lisbon Treaty: Civil-Military Coordination and the Future of the EU OHQ	Hynek, Nik	*European Security*	2011
The EU's Foreign Policy and the Search for Effect	Edwards, Geoffrey	*International Relations*	2013
Institutionalization or Intergovernmental Decision-Taking in Foreign Policy: The Implementation of the Lisbon Treaty	Morillas, Pol	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2011
To What Ends EU Foreign Policy? Contending Approaches to the Union's Diplomatic Objectives and Representation	Thomas, Daniel & Tonra, Ben	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012
The COREU Network and the Circulation of Information Within EU Foreign Policy	Bicchi, Federica & Carta, Caterina	*Journal of European Integration*	2012
The EU and a Holistic Security Approach after Lisbon: Competing Norms and the Power of the Dominant Discourse	Zwolski, Kamil	*Journal of European Public Policy*	2012
The Missing Link in the EU's Nascent Strategic Approach toward Asia: Military Diplomacy	Engelbrekt, Kjell	*Asia-Pacific Review*	2012
Image-ing the EU as an International Leader: A Survey of Asian Newsmakers' Perceptions from a Public Diplomacy Perspective	Chaban, Natalia	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2012
European Commission Delegations and EU Public Policy: Stakeholders' Perceptions from the Asia-Pacific	Chaban, Natalia; Kelly, Serena & Bain, Jessica	*European Foreign Affairs Review*	2009
The Emergence of the EEAS: A Retrospective on the Institutional Wrangling for the Soul of European Diplomacy	Barton, Benjamin	*European Union Diplomacy: Coherence, Unity and Effectiveness*	2012
Transnational Diplomats: Representing Europe in EU 27	Kuus, Merje	*Geopolitics and Expertise: Knowledge and Authority in European Diplomacy*	2014
To Be or Not to Be: A Neorealist Interpretation of the EU's External Action Service	Kluth, Michael & Pilegaard, Jess	*12th Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association*	2011
Implications of the European External Action Service	Angelet, Bruno & Vrailas, Ioannis	*European Defence in the wake of the Lisbon Treaty*	2008
The Setup of the European External Action Service – Inexplicable by Grand Theories of European Integration?	Helwig, Niklas & Strob, Simon	*The EU as a Global Player*	2012
The European External Action Service	Cameron, Fraser	*An Introduction to European Foreign Policy*	2012
Perceptions of European Union Member State Diplomats: The Potential Impact of the EEAS in New Zealand	Kelly, Serena	*The Varieties of Linguistic, Religious and Geographical Identities in Europe*	2008
Symbolic Power in European Diplomacy: The Struggle between National Foreign Services and the EU's External Action Service	Adler-Nissen, Rebecca	*Review of International Studies*	2013
The Lisbon Treaty, the European External Action Service and the Reshaping of EU Development Policy	Furness, Mark	*The European Union and Global Development: An Enlightened Superpower in the Making?*	2012
The European External Action Service: A Look into EU Diplomat Training	Frattini, Franco	*European View*	2010
Setting up the European External Action Service: An Act of Institutional Balance	Erkelens, Leendert & Blockmans, Steven	*European Constitutional Law Review*	2012
The Commission's External Service	Spence, David	*The European Commission*	2006
The Intergovernmental Constitution of the EU's Foreign, Security & Defence Executive	Thym, Daniel	*European Constitutional Law Review*	2011
Building the European External Action Service: Institutional Learning versus Intergovernmental and Bureaucratic Politics	Smith, Michael E.	*UACES*	2010
Building Foreign Affairs Capacity in the EU: The Recruitment of Member State Officials to the European External Action Service (EEAS)	Murdoch, Zuzana; Trondal, Jarle & Gänzle, Stefan	*Public Administration*	2013
European Diplomats: State Nobility and the Invention of a New Social Group	Adler-Nissen, Rebecca	*Transnational Power Elites: The New Professionals of Governance, Law and Security*	2013
The Emerging EU Diplomatic System: Opportunities and Challenges after 'Lisbon'	Petrov, Petar; Pomorska, Karolina & Vanhoonacker, Sophie	*The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*	2012

Notes

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1. See Andreatta (2011) for a very useful overview of theorisations of EU foreign policy.
2. For a good but early overview of different approaches to institutions in EU studies, see Jupille et al. (2003).

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Part I

The New Setting of EU Diplomacy: Problems and Prospects for the European External Action Service