Framing energy cooperation

The case of the European Union Association Agreements with Moldova and Georgia

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Abstract

Energy crisis and energy disruptions have contributed to the current securitization and politicization of energy within the European Union (EU). Today the energy policy is a part of the EU external relations, at the same time as the EU is regarded as an actor with the power to spread values and norms in the international arena. The EU Eastern Partnership, and the Association Agreements initiated in 2013, emphasizes normative values, consistent with the theory of normative power Europe (NPE) as well as energy provisions including energy security, inspired by the theory of neorealism. The aim of the thesis is to visualize how these two framings are expressed in the framework of the Association Agreements with Moldova and Georgia. Frame analysis; based on social constructivist assumptions, the theory of NPE, the notion of energy security and neorealism are applied to construct two framings which are applied to the material. The thesis demonstrates how the normative framing and the security framing are influential in the energy cooperation, despite giving rise to different definitions and problematizations. It leads to an ambiguous European approach towards third countries and could even lead to reduced political legitimacy for the EU external relations.

Key words: EU Association Agreements, energy cooperation, frame analysis, normative power Europe, energy security.
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1   Introduction

Even though the energy policy was an important policy area in the establishment of the Coal and Steel Community in 1951, it was only until the beginning of the 21st century that the European Union (EU) started to develop a common energy policy among the member states. A set of proposals regarding the common energy policy was first presented in the 2006 Green Paper which stated: "a coherent external policy is essential to deliver sustainable, competitive and secure energy" (European Commission (hereafter EC), 2006: 14). The Lisbon Treaty which entered into force in 2009 gave the energy policy a specific legal basis and further stipulated that a coherent and effective common energy strategy towards *external agents* should be realized (Kratochvíl and Tichý, 2013: 392, Kanellakis et al.,2013: 1021). Energy disruptions and energy crisis like the ones in 2006 and 2009, between the EU and Russia have contributed to the current politicization and securitization[1] of energy within the EU. Disruptions of the energy supply and lack of energy is today regarded as a security threat (Kratochvíl & Tichý, 2013: 391f). Furthermore, a secure supply of energy is one of the main objectives of the EU energy policy which is a part of the EU external relations (see for instance EC; Energy from abroad, 2014).

The EU energy policy is today referred to in security terms and integrated in the EU external relations. At the same time, the EU is often described as a normative power with the authority to spread values and norms of democracy and good governance in the international arena. The European Neighborhood Policy are build on this kind of normative logic (see for example, Haukkala, 2011:61) and within the EU Eastern Partnership, launched in 2009, the EU is seeking to spread norms of good governance, democracy and market integration in neighboring countries (EU External Action Service (hereafter EEAS); Eastern Partnership, 2014). The third Eastern Partnership Summit in November 2013 initiated EU Association Agreements with Moldova and Georgia. The Association Agreements included deepened trade cooperation, further emphasis on values like democracy and the rule of law but also extensive energy provisions (EEAS; Association Agreements, 2014, EC; energy from abroad, 2014).

Consequently, the concept of energy security is influencing the EU energy policy at the same time as the EU has initiated the Eastern Partnership; a case of extended and deepened cooperation with focus on common norms and values, combined with energy cooperation. How should the energy policy within the Association Agreement be understood? Is the EU applying normative power in the energy cooperation with Moldova and Georgia? Or, is the notion of energy

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[1] For a further definition of securitization, see Buzan et al., 1998.

security and neorealism more influential? To what extent are these framings expressed?

The thesis apply the theory of normative power Europe (NPE) and the concept of energy security, inspired by the theory of neorealism to construct the two framings of the energy cooperation. The framings are then applied to the material to answer the research question. Normative power Europe (NPE) was introduced by Ian Manners in 2002. According to NPE the EU is operating as a normative power with the authority to spread values and norms in the international arena, and hence shape what is regarded as appropriate and normal behavior (Manners, 2002: 236, Whitman, 2011: 2ff). The theory is consistent with the aspirations of the Eastern Partnership. Energy security, influenced by the theory of neorealism has strongly inspired the EU common energy policy in the last decade due to the increased politicization and securitization of energy, and is therefore applied as the second framing.

The aim of the thesis is to visualize how the two framings are expressed in the energy cooperation within the framework of the Association Agreements. To what extent are these seemingly different framings expressed? Are they applied contradictive or could the framings be combined? The possible framings generate an ambiguity of how to interpret and how to understand the energy cooperation within the framework of the Association Agreement. Moreover, it could lead to an ambiguity of how to interpret future partnerships or frameworks (with energy provisions) like the Eastern Partnership. Is the Eastern Partnership reflecting an open EU, striving towards integration even regarding a politicized issue like energy? Or, does it reflect an EU where energy security (and neorealism) has gained influence in partnerships like the Eastern Partnership, supposedly based on norms of inclusiveness and (market) integration? What does this imply for the EU relationship with third countries? Since the EU Association Agreements is a central part of the EU's relation with third countries, could the framings even shape the view on European integration?

1.1   Research question

How is the "normative framing" and the "security framing" expressed regarding the energy cooperation in the Association Agreements with Moldova and Georgia, and in the speeches given previous to the third Eastern Partnership Summit?

1.2   Background

Moldova and Georgia are strategically important actors within the EU external (energy) relations. The south Caucasus region and Georgia are highly important regarding energy production and energy transit. Georgia is the main transit

country of Caspian energy resources and a partner in the Southern Gas Corridor project (SGC) (Abbasov, 2014: 32f). Moldova is a member of the EU Energy Community, where Georgia has observer status, though Georgia is currently in the process of joining the community (Stewart, 2011: 65, Bouzarovski et al, 2012: 79). Energy has become a politicized and securitized policy area and today it is placed on the top of the EU political agenda. The EU institutions such as the European Parliament and the European Commission have acknowledged the external energy strategy to be a vital part of the foreign security strategy (Abbasov, 2014: 27).

Moldova and Georgia have explicitly expressed an interest in joining the EU and are positive to European integration. Of the countries in the south Caucasus, Georgia has been most forward about its ambition to join the EU (Prange-Gstöhl, 2009: 5297, Stewart, 2011: 70). Moldova and Georgia are members of the EU Eastern Partnership, which was launched in 2009 as a framework for further political association and economic integration between the EU and its eastern neighbors. It is supposed to be built on norms of good governance, democracy, human rights and the market economy (Nielsen, 2013: 5f, Korosteleva, 2012: 1f, EEAS; Eastern Partnership, 2014). With the establishment of the Eastern Partnership, the EU intended to strengthen the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) with a particular focus on the eastern neighbors. It was supposed to be a "more ambitious partnership" than the ENP. However, the Partnership have been criticized for being vague and ill defined regarding the conceptual framing as well as regarding the possibility of a future EU membership for the partnership countries. The increased focus on shared values and partnership was regarded as a mean to increase the legitimacy and the efficiency among the citizens in the Eastern Partnership members (Korosteleva, 2011: 244f, Nielsen, 2013: 1f).

The third EU Eastern Partnership Summit was held in Vilnius, Lithuania in November 2013 and initiated Association Agreements with Moldova and Georgia. The agreements will "significantly deepen Moldova's political association and economic integration with the EU […]" (EEAS: Moldova/Georgia, 2014). The Association Agreements include extended and deepened cooperation through the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA), and further emphasis on values like democracy and the rule of law (EEAS; Association Agreements, 2014). The agreements are succeeding the Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCA) which entered into force in the end of the 1990's.

When the conflict in (the Eastern Partnership member) Ukraine broke out in the end of 2013 Moldova and Georgia was put on a fast track to sign the Association Agreements no later than August 2014 (EurActive (a), 2014). Furthermore, during the conflict in Ukraine and due to the tense political relations between Russia and the EU, Russia has discussed to reduce its gas supply to Ukraine which would strongly affect the EU. Within this context the Polish Prime minster have promoted the idea of a joint EU gas import from Russia (EurActive (b), 2014).

1.3 Disposition

The thesis proceeds in five steps. The second chapter provides the methodological basis for the thesis. Frame analysis and particularly the operationalization of the method are presented. In chapter three, the theory of NPE is introduced; the operationalization of frame analysis is then applied along with NPE to construct the normative framing. Secondly, the concept of energy security and neorealism are introduced; the operationalization is then applied along with the concepts to construct the security framing. In the fourth chapter, the framings are applied to the sections of the Association Agreements and the speeches. The analysis in chapter four visualizes how the framings are expressed in the energy cooperation between the EU and the Eastern Partnership members Moldova and Georgia. The fifth and final chapter concludes the thesis with a summary of the findings, some final remarks and a response to the general questions raised in the introduction. The thesis ends with some suggestions for future research.

2   Methodological framework

"A frame is a perspective from which an amorphous, ill defined, problematic situation can be made sense of and acted on" (Rein and Schön, 1993: 146).

2.1   A social constructivist approach

Fame analysis is inspired by social constructivism and its focus on how ideas, practices and institutions gradually changes; what we regard as obvious and "natural" today, might not be "natural" in the future (Wagenaar, 2011: 184). The social constructivist key assumption states that we do not exist autonomously from our social context or its "systems of meanings" (Risse, 2004: 161). Frame analysis is an approach within the area of interpretive policy analysis, which is based on the philosophical assumption that meaning is not merely a description of reality, instead meaning is constitutive of, for instance governing, institutions and public policies (Wagenaar, 2011: 3f). Frame analysis can be applied as both method and theory (see for instance, Ascui and Lovell, 2010: 978f). The thesis primarily applies frame analysis as a method by applying the operationalization to create the framings applied to the analyzed material. However the (social constructivist) key assumption within frame analysis influence the whole thesis.

2.2   Frame analysis

This section starts with an introduction to frame analysis and its theoretical framework. Since the focus lies on the methodological structure and how frame analysis can be applied to construct different framings, this section follows by a step for step operationalization of the method.

The origins of frame analysis are associated with Erving Goffman and "Frame analysis" published 1974. The methodological framework of the thesis is primarily based on frame analysis as presented by Martin Rein and Donald Schön and also by Hendrik Wagenaar who further have elaborated with the concept. Goffman applies frame analysis to "[…] explicate the structures that give form to processes of social interaction and communication" (Rein and Schön, 1993: 146). Rein and Schön apply a broader definition and states: "In our use of the term, framing is a way of selecting, organizing, interpreting and making sense of a complex reality to provide guidepost for knowing, analyzing, persuading and

acting" (1993: 146). Rein defines a frame as "a structure of thought, of evidence, of action and hence of interests and action" (Wagenaar, 2011: 84). Frame analysis aims at critically analyze the beliefs and objectives which lie behind a certain policy (Wagenaar, 2011: 71, 83). According to the basic assumption of frame analysis, knowledge and information can only be understood when it is related to a "framework of interpretation"; our prior knowledge and associations about a subject; a frame (Wagenaar, 2011. 83). All texts consist of different ideas and policy logics which are bound together by a frame, which is the main concept or theme of the text (Creed, Langstraat and Scully, 2002:37). The process of framing "constructs the situation, defines what is problematic about it, suggest what course of action is appropriate" (Rein and Schön, 1993: 153). Different frames lead to different experiences about reality, which in turn lead to different approaches and solutions to policy problems. Consequently, our interpretations of our environment also form our environment. Wagenaar argues that frames are very resistant to change since they often are institutionalized since policy makers and organizations often have an interest in the promotion and institutionalization of certain frames (2011: 85f).

2.2.1   Operationalization of frames

Frame analysis can be applied to investigate what different frames that exist in a certain policy area. The operationalization operates as a tool; a tool which helps clarifying which factors should be applied and prioritized when the framings are constructed as well as when the framings are applied to the material.

Despite the popularity of the concept of frames it is hard to find methods and techniques for how to operationalize frame analysis (Wagenaar, 2011: 87f). However, Wagenaar and von Gorp refer to a set of steps that can be applied in an operationalization.

A frame package consists of a core frame, a theme, which "makes sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (Wagenaar, 2011: 86). NPE and neorealism- energy security operate as the core frames. A frame package consists of framing devices in the form of: descriptions, visual images, metaphors and exemplars. The frame package also consists of reasoning devices; both explicit and implicit statements about what should be done, consequences and what responses that should be applied to a policy issue. Reasoning devices can be: certain consequences, justifications, effects, moral claims and it can appeal to certain principles (Wagenaar, 2011: 86, von Gorp, 2007: 64). The same facts or evidence can support different policy positions, Rein and Schön refers to this as conflicting frames. Conflicting frames differ from policy disagreements which appear within the same frame and are easier to solve. Policy controversies cannot be solved by pointing towards certain evidence or facts, since the same evidence can be applied to support different frames (Rein and Schön, 2003: 147f).

An example of a framing device is the metaphor of war which has been applied to "the war on drugs" and "the war on terrorism", the metaphor has contributed the particular framing on these issues (Wagenaar, 2011: 86). When

Hong Kong was handed over from Great Britain to China, the Chinese press applied a frame package which described Hong Kong as a part of the Chinese nation family; therefore the only solution was two different political and economical systems within the same country (Von Gorp, 2007: 65). Consequently, the frame package proposes a definition, problematization and evaluation of a certain issue.

2.3   Material

A total of four sections of the Association Agreements are analyzed, these particular sections refer to the structure of the energy cooperation. In the agreement with Moldova are section four "Economic and other section cooperation" and section five "Trade and Trade- related matters" analyzed. In the agreement with Georgia are section four "Trade and Trade- related matters" and title six "Other cooperation policies" analyzed. The final versions of the agreements are not yet signed and the agreements will, for instance, undergo legal revision. However, the agreements analyzed still represent and illustrate how the energy cooperation has been framed until the Summit in 2013.

In addition to the agreements, five statements presented by the European Commission are analyzed. The statements included in the thesis concerns the Eastern Partnership Summit in November 2013 and the time period leading up to the Summit. The statements are regarded as a part of the initiating of the Association Agreements. Two of the included speeches are from the Eastern Europe Energy Efficiency and Environment Partnership, a multi- donor fund developed to improve energy efficiency and environmental protection in the Easter Partnership region. The two statements are included since the fund/partnership, is a part of the Eastern Partnership framework. The speeches are described further and available from the weblinks presented in the list of references.

3   Construction of frames

Chapter three begins with an introduction to the theory of NPE and the concept of energy security, inspired by neorealism. After each introduction, the framings are constructed. The normative framing is hence based on the theory of NPE and the security framing is based on energy security and neorealism. The framings are constructed with the help of the tools presented in the operationalization of frame analysis.

3.1   Normative power Europe (NPE)

The notion of NPE was introduced by Ian Manners in the article "Normative Power Europe: a Contradiction in Terms" published 2002. Manners argue that it is not sufficient to discuss the international role of the EU merely as either civilian or military, instead the EU could be regarded as an actor representing normative power (2002: 238f). Instead of states being the centre of analysis, ideas and norms should form the base for EU studies (Whitman, 2011:2). Manners state "[…] the most important factor shaping the international role of the EU is not what it does or what it says, but what is" (2002: 252). Manners further argue that "EU's normative difference comes from its historical context, hybrid policy and political- legal constitution" (2002: 240). The values promoted by the EU have been developed since the 1950's through declarations, treaties and policies (Manners, 2002: 242). According to NPE the EU has the authority to spread values and norms in the international arena and hence shape what is regarded as normal behavior (Manners, 2002: 236, Whitman, 2011: 2ff). NPE recognize that the EU military power and civilian power is still important. However, NPE focuses on the aim of the EU to set standards through norms internationally, as pointed out by Manners, without the use of force (Manners, 2002: 239, Whitman, 2011: 4). EU norm diffusion could occur through procedural diffusion were the relationship between the EU and a third party is institutionalized, through EU enlargements, cooperation agreements and so forth. Another example of norm diffusion is informational diffusion which is the result of policy initiatives or communications from the EU presidency (Manners, 2002: 244f). NPE can be applied when analyzing what principles the EU promotes, how the EU acts and what impact the EU as a normative power has in world politics (Whitman, 2011: 7). Peace, liberty, rule of law, human rights, democracy and good governance are examples of norms which Manners argue form the normative basis of the EU (Manners, 2002: 242f, Manners, 2008: 48). Since the beginning of the 2000th century the norm of good governance has become more important within the EU.

The norm of good governance emphasizes participation, transparency, accountability and partnership. The norm especially highlights the participation of civil society and multilateral cooperation (Manners, 2008: 54). The notion of EU as a normative power has received criticism. For instance, the norms promoted are seen as being EU's own norms; the EU is promoting its own values similarly to super powers like the USA. However, Manners argue that the values are external to the EU, values of peace, human rights and the rule of law are also applied by for instance the United Nations (UN), with international laws as reference point (Manners, 2006: 167f).

Haukkala argues that the normative power of the EU is dependent on the legitimacy it has among its partners. The EU enlargements operate as an incentive and "[…] as the primary vehicle for the Union's normative power […]" (2011: 46). The possibility of an EU membership and full participation in EU institutions and the European identity is regarded as the main source of legitimacy for the EU's normative power (Haukkala, 2011: 49f).

The following statements illustrate how the values associated with NPE can be expressed in EU document. The Lisbon Treaty asserts: "The Unions' aim is to promote peace, its values and the well being of its people" (article 2, paragraph 1). "In its relation with the wide world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizens […]" (article 2, paragraph 5).

3.1.1 Constructing the normative framing

The theory of NPE operates as the first core frame in the analysis, hence the theory is applied to the framing and reasoning devices used to structure and making sense of the energy cooperation (see the methodological section for further explanation). Based on the theory of NPE, applying the "*normative frame*" on the energy policy would imply that the energy policy should not merely be associated with energy security, but with the norms and ideas associated with the EU. As stated by Manners, "[…] the most important factor shaping the international role of the EU is not what it does or what it says, but what is" (2002: 252). According to the normative frame, the energy policy should be underpinned by the notion of multilateralism and inclusiveness. It stresses values of democracy, human rights and good governance when analyzing EU policy. In line with normative frame, these concepts are examples of framing devices which describe and visualize the EU relationship with Moldova and Georgia. The normative framing regards European integration as an important factor. European integration manifests itself through the promotion of market integration which will lead to both political and social developments within the countries. The normative frame stresses the special relationship between EU and Moldova respectively EU and Georgia by focusing on common values and ideas. The reasoning devices applied within the normative frame refer to principles of shared values and ideas. The reasoning devices refer to the EU as a normative power, the effects of market integration and the benefits a shared market will bring to the

Moldovan and Georgian citizens' alike. To analyze how the energy cooperation is framed according to the normative frame, the material are analyzed with regard to the concepts (framing devices and reasoning devices) presented in this section. How are these concepts expressed? Are they prioritized over other issues? Are any references to further and deepened cooperation or the possibility of an EU membership expressed? Consequently, important concepts within the normative frame are: *partnership, (market) integration, interdependence, democracy* and good *governance.*

3.2   Neorealism and energy security

Few studies have applied the theory of neorealism on the EU and European integration since the theory emphasize the notion of anarchy in international relations, the difficulties in cooperation, and states rather than international institutions, as the most important and influential actors (Hyde- Price, 2006: 218f, Pollack, 2012, Mingst & Arreguín- Toft, 2011:70ff). However, in the article "Normative power Europe: a realist critique" published in 2006, Adrian Hyde- Price states that "[…] realist theory can shed considerable light on the emergence, development and nature of the EU foreign and security policy co-operation" (217). Furthermore, Hyde- Price states that (neo)realism emphasize the notion of power in international and not only "regime type" or "ideational" factors like the "liberal- idealist approach" exemplified by for instance, Ian Manners (2006: 223). Neorealism is not a homogenous approach and it exist different frameworks when applying neorealism, for instance offensive and defensive realism (Pollack, 2012, Mingst & Arreguín- Toft, 2011: 73). According to neorealism, states (and especially great powers) undertake regional governance projects due to the interest in stability close to their borders and the persuasion of milieu goals (Hyde- Price, 2006: 222). Neorealism acknowledges EU commitments about democracy, human rights and multilateralism in the EU external policy. States still recognize, and take into account these kinds of values. However, the member states will only allow the EU to act according to these values as long as it does not oppose their national interests. This is exemplified by the EU relation with China where trade under a long period of time has been prioritized over normative values (Hyde- Price, 2006: 223).

Neorealism has strongly influenced the notion of and debate about energy security. It does not exist one clear cut definition of energy security which is illustrated in the Routledge Handbook of energy security where 45 different definitions are presented (See Sovacool, 2011: 3f). However, the realist energy discourse is often based on the following assumptions: the world's supply of energy and especially oil is becoming scarce ("peak oil"), a huge part of the new oil supplies is found in fragile states and the possibility of international conflict over energy resources is becoming more likely. Control over natural resources and energy is a vital part of national power (Dannreuther, 2010: 3f). The realist energy

discourse and its key assumptions have influenced national as well as international energy policy, and it justifies the use of (national) defense policies to defend, and secure vulnerable energy supplies and transit routes internationally (Dannreuther, 2010: 3f). Michael Klare, an influential scholar in international relations and energy, states:

"At a time when world supplies of oil, natural gas, uranium and key industrial minerals like copper and cobalt are beginning to shrink and the demand for them is exploding, the major industrial powers are becoming more desperate in their drive to gain control over what remains of the planet's untapped reserves" (2008:2).

Klare further argue that these attempts are obtained with economic as well as military means. "Is is to bolster America's advantage- and to counter similar moves by China and other resource competitors- that the Pentagon has placed resource competition at the center of its strategic planning" (2008: 2). The argumentation made by Klare is one example of an (influential) realistic discourse on energy policy. Youngs argue that "[…] energy security is an area where geopolitical realism has made one of its most spectacular comebacks" (2011:41). Classical geopolitical realism point at conflict over territory, however today geopolitics focuses on securing energy resources hence energy security and geopolitical realism is closely linked (Biresselioglu, 2011: 9).

3.2.1 The EU definition of energy security

The EU defines energy security as the security of supply. More precise, the EU Green Paper "Towards a European Strategy for the security of energy supply", published in 2000 states:

"The European Union's long-term strategy for energy supply security must be geared to ensuring, for the well-being of its citizens and the proper functioning of the economy, the uninterrupted physical availability of energy products on the market, at a price which is affordable for all consumers (private and industrial), while respecting environmental concerns and looking towards sustainable development" (2000:1).

The European Commission has defined energy security as: "Uninterrupted physical availability of energy products on the market at an affordable price for all consumers" (The European Commission in Sovacool ed., 2011: 4).

3.2.2 Constructing the security framing

The concept of energy security and the theory of neorealism operate as the second core frame in the analysis. Energy security and neorealism are applied to the framing and reasoning devices used to structure and understand the energy cooperation (see the methodological section for further explanation). Based on the theories, applying the "*security frame*" would imply that the energy policy is first and foremost about securing the energy need for Europe. According to the EU

definition of energy security; a secure supply of energy should be guaranteed to the European member states. The reasoning devices applied within the security frame refer to the EU– Moldova and EU- Georgia relation, as well as the access to energy, as a zero- sum game. The relation is a competition about (scarce) energy resources. Moreover, the energy policy is a mean to gain control over energy resources and to secure important energy transit routes. The reasoning devices applied in the security frame would imply that the main objective for the EU energy policy should be to diversify the energy supply and aim to find new suppliers and develop additional transit routes. The EU should not depend on one single actor for their energy import. Control over the access to energy is a part of the EU's power internationally. Energy security, diversification of energy suppliers and transit routes, the notion of a zero- sum game and power are examples of framing devices which describe and visualize the EU relationship with Moldova and Georgia, according to the security frame. To analyze how the energy cooperation is framed according to the security frame, the material are analyzed with regard to the concepts (framing devices and reasoning devices) presented in this section. How are these concepts expressed? Are they prioritized over other issues? Consequently, important concepts within the security frame are: *energy security, diversification of energy suppliers and transit routes, zero- sum game* and *power.*

3.3 Summary

The framing and reasoning devices presented in the operationalization of frame analysis operated as tools to construct the normative framing and the security framing. The next step is to apply the framings on the sections of the Association Agreements and the speeches to analyze how the frames are expressed. This is completed in chapter four. To sum up:

The normative framing implies that the energy cooperation is underpinned by notions of good governance, democracy, common values and ideas. The EU refers to as a normative power, European integration and particularly market integration will lead to benefits for the people of Moldova and Georgia.

The security framing implies that the energy cooperation is underpinned by the notion of energy security and power. The energy cooperation should secure the energy of supply for the European members and strive for diversification of energy suppliers and transit routes.

4 The framing of the energy cooperation with Moldova and Georgia

The normative framing and the security framing, constructed in the previous chapter are now applied to the sections of the Association Agreements and the speeches given previous to the third Eastern Partnership summit. The speeches often refer to both Moldova and Georgia. The Association Agreements include similar phrasings for Moldova and Georgia, they are therefore are presented at the same time. The statements and the abstracts represent a selection of the analyzed material, which were further introduced under heading 2.3. The European Commission is referred to as EC.

4.1 The normative framing

"The Parties agree to continue their current cooperation on energy matters on the basis of the principles of partnership, mutual interest, transparency and predictability" (EU; Economic and other cooperation policies, Moldova: 36).

"From now on, our economies and a growing number of sectors in our societies will be linked. We will increasingly work together" (EC/13/996).

The energy cooperation is described as a partnership which is based on the mutual interests of the involved actors. The abstracts have been framed according to the logic behind the normative frame. However, the rest of the text does not further illustrate exactly how the notion of partnership is employed within the energy framework of the Association Agreements. The president of the European Commission Barroso further describes the relation with Moldova in a meeting previous to the summit with the Moldavian Prime Minister:

"[…] such a close partner and friend that we are expecting to become politically associated and economically integrated with the European Union" (EC/13/929).

In this sense the notion of partnership, expressed in the abstract above, mostly concerns economic integration, the term "politically associated" is conceptually vague and the rest of the speech does not give any deepened explanation of the phrase. Barroso additionally states that the EU supports its neighbors […] and their free and democratic choices must be respected" (EC/13/929). The statement further argues for the notion of a (equal) partnership but does not define it any

further. The normative framing of the energy cooperation lacks a proper definition of partnership. The notion of partnership gained much influence with the establishment of the ENP in 2004 and continued to influence its successor the Eastern Partnership. It has become a central concept often applied within the EU's external relations (Korosteleva, 2011: 244). The norm of partnership is perceived as being legitimizing. However by not offering a future membership, the Eastern Partnership can lead to uncertainty about the European path among the citizens and result in insufficient implementation of the reforms presented in the Association Agreements (Danii and Mascauteanu, 2011: 99f).

Consequently, within the normative framing it is problematic that the notion of partnership is not further developed in the energy cooperation.

Regarding the energy cooperation, the Association Agreement with Georgia includes the following statement:

"The cooperation shall cover […] development of an attractive and stable investment climate by addressing institutional, legal, fiscal and other conditions." (EU; Other sector cooperation, Georgia: 36).

The energy cooperation is framed as a way to improve good governance, through market developments. Market integration is to some extend framed as going hand in hand with the values associated with the normative framing. Market integration will lead to further development in areas like good governance. In this way the normative power of the EU could be perceived as conditionally applied; the EU is only applying normative power when it regards market developments or market integration.

The notion of an open European internal energy market is a part of the normative framing, as the next abstract illustrates:

"No European nation should be an energy island- isolated from European networks. And Moldova, as a member of the Energy Community, should be free to choose the same rights of access to the energy internal market if it whishes" (EC/13/929).

Because of the strong focus on market integration, one could argue that the notions of partnership and inclusiveness are only pushed for if it will result in a more open (European) market with an increased number of trading partners for the EU. This would increase the security of supply since the energy market would be diversified. This discussion continues in the next chapter. Moreover, the energy cooperation in the Association Agreement with Georgia states that the "cooperation shall also aim at improving the movement of passengers and goods […] include actions to facilitate border – crossings" (158). This further supports the notion of market integration. However, the two statements also illustrate a deeper and continuing cooperation with the partnership countries; movement over borders which might lead to incorporation in the European internal energy market. This could contribute to further legitimizing of the energy cooperation. However, it still does not imply or guarantee a future EU membership.

"The energy cooperation should cover development […] allowing third parties with non- discriminatory access to networks and consumers following EU standards including the development of the relevant regulatory framework" (EU; Other cooperation policies, Georgia: 159).

"We look forwards to your increased participation in European Union's programs and agencies […]" (EC/13/996).

These abstracts illustrate the presumption that increased cooperation and market integration requires regulatory frameworks and increased participation in European institutions by Moldova and Georgia. Successful cooperation is framed as going hand in hand with a proper institutional framework. The structure of the EU operates as the source of reference hence Moldova and Georgia are being included in already constructed EU frameworks. This illustrates a certain degree of Europeanization[2]. In this particular case, the EU institutions are trying to shape the processes and political outcomes in third countries by pushing for market liberalization and good governance. The development of a close relationship requires Moldova and Georgia to comply with the EU political and economic norms. Since the Association Agreements are binding documents, compared to the PCA's (see the background section) which are not, the Association Agreements further imply the participation in EU frameworks (Delcour, 2013: 344f).

"The cooperation shall cover […] energy infrastructure of common interests […]" (EU; Other section cooperation, Georgia: 36).

"But, all this goes much beyond pure economic exchange. It is also about transforming lives and societies. It is about achieving our Partnership's broader political objectives, based on shared values and principles" (EC/13/997).

Although market integration is very influential in the normative framing, the last abstract illustrate how the energy cooperation is framed as being something more than trade. It emphasizes the special relationship between EU and the involved countries by pushing for the shared values and principles they possess. The notion of "common interests" reflects the normative logic but it is applied without a definition or further mentioning about what it entails. Whose interest should be prioritized? Does it even imply that the EU, Moldova and Georgia have the same interests due to their shared objectives and values? In the section presenting the cooperation regarding environment, the notion of common interests are not applied. Instead the text refers to "[…] enchant environment protection will bring benefits to citizens and business alike in Georgia and the European Union" (EU; Other cooperation policies, Georgia: 161). It is unclear whether the meaning is the same or if "common interests" is limited to the members of the EU, or if it

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[2] For a further definition of Europeanization, see Börzel and Panke, 2013.

includes the rest of the Eastern Partnership members. The strong focus on common values and norms has received criticism; is the EU merely trying to promote its own norms? As stated in chapter three, as a response to this kind of criticism Manners would argue that these values are not particular connected to the EU. The values are external to the EU and for instance applied by the UN with international law as reference point (Manners, 2006: 167f).

4.2 The security framing

The security framing appears in a less abstract way compared to the normative framing. Whilst the normative framing is more evident in the speeches given previous to the summit, the security framing is more visible in the sections of the Association Agreements.

"The cooperation shall cover enhancement and strengthening of long- term stability and security of energy supply and trade, transit and transport on a mutually beneficial and non- discriminatory basis […]"(EU; Economic and other sector cooperation, Moldova: 36).

"[…] taking into account the need to ensure access to secure, environmentally friendly and affordable energy" (EU; Other cooperation policies, Georgia: 159).

"Eastern Partnership countries face a challenging energy environment. Most are highly dependent on expensive imported gas, which places a heavy burden on their economies" (EC/13/985).

The framing based on the security logic push for the need to diversify energy resources and the need to guarantee access to energy. It promotes not only secure energy but also affordable energy. The text does not define affordable nor state affordable energy for whom? The normative framing would imply that an integrated and liberalized market is necessary to achieve affordable energy for all consumers, not only EU citizens'. Instead, applying the EU's definition of energy security would imply that the EU citizens are the ones who should be guaranteed access to energy at an affordable price. Diversification of energy supply is vital. The EU member states as well as the Eastern Partnership members should not be dependent on one single energy supplier. It is not only important regarding the energy security but also regarding the economy of the countries.

"[…] a Party may impose on enterprises, in the general economic interest, obligations which may relate to security, including security of supply […]" (EU; Trade and trade related matters, Georgia: 121).

As illustrated in the statement above it is possible for the actors to enforce certain regulations on enterprises due to security issues. Energy security is hence

prioritized over the market, under particular circumstances. However this does not necessarily contradict the normative framing since it primarily focus on *market integration* and market integration and an open energy market could still be applied despite of the regulation. At the same time as the Parties can impose restrictions, the first abstract states that trade and transit should be performed on a non- discriminatory basis. This notion is compatible with the normative framing, and it is not evident whether it contradicts the security framing. The normative framing implies that a non- discriminatory market is important for market integration. At the same time, energy transit on a non- discriminatory basis could increase the energy security for the EU since it might lead to diversification of the energy supply.

How to increase the security of energy supply is mentioned in detail in one of the speeches. The president of the European Commission Barroso describes two main priorities regarding the energy cooperation with Moldova, a gas project and an electricity project.

"Both of the projects can significantly increase the energy security of Moldova, by stabilizing its energy supply and by reducing the risk of increased prices" (EC/13/929).

Barroso further states:

"Secure energy supplies are of tremendous importance for the countries in the region" (EC/13/844).

"The potential is huge: if the region could reach the average European Union energy intensity level, its dependency on imported gas would simply become insignificant" (EC/13/844).

"Energy security and diversity of energy supply is of the outmost importance, for our Union and our neighbours" (EC/13/929).

Obviously the statements push for the security of supply, but while the normative framing often refers to common values and interests, a secure energy supply seems to be the "common interest" of single countries. Energy security is framed as important not only for EU members but also for countries outside the EU borders. The security framing focuses particularly on projects which can increase the diversification of supply for *the EU* by involving other countries. The increased influence of energy security has by some been regarded as the return of geopolitics (see chapter three). The security framing implies that the main goal for the energy cooperation should be to secure important energy transit routes and guarantee the access to energy for the EU. Geopolitics today is not merely about securing a certain territory but securing resources. Geopolitics and energy security has become interconnected (Biresselioglu, 2011: 6). Moreover, energy dependence is regarded as a security threat and access to stable energy is today a part of the national security, for actors like the U.S (Greene, 2009: 1614). The

last statement by Barroso illustrates that striving for energy independence is perceived as important for the EU but also for Moldova and Georgia.

Overall, in the material, the access to energy is described as a zero- sum game. However, the EU relation with Moldova and Georgia is not. Moldova and Georgia are not described as rivals, but at the same time the relation is far from the partnership expressed in the normative framing.

Article 213 in the section "trade and trade related matters" in the Association Agreement with Georgia regulates the event of uninterrupted transit. The article states that in the event of a dispute involving any of the parties, any party should not before the conclusion of a conflict resolution interrupt or reduce any transit. There are extensive sections of dispute settlement and conciliation regarding energy disputes. It is possible to establish an arbitration panel from where a chairman can act as a conciliator who:

"[…] shall seek an agreed resolution of the dispute or seek to agree a procedure to achieve such resolution […]" (EU; Trade and trade related matters, Georgia: 138).

The main focus of the abstracts above is clearly on a secure supply of energy, in accordance with the notion of energy security. However, matters like energy disputes are regulated. Institutional frameworks for how to solve these matters are included in the energy cooperation in the Association Agreements. The normative framing also refers to institutional frameworks but within the security logic the regulations are framed as a mean to achieve security of supply. Energy security is perceived as an objective *in itself*; while the normative framing consider the energy cooperation as a mean to achieve market integration and an increased focus on issues like good governance.

5 Conclusion

5.1 The framings expressed…

The normative framing and the security framing give rise to two different definitions, problematizations and evaluations of how to understand the energy policy, within the framework of the Association Agreements with Moldova and Georgia. The framings are based on different key objectives and intentions of how to understand the energy cooperation. When the two framings are expressed in the same context, in this case the EU external relations, it leads to a vague and ill defined approach, in this case, towards third countries. Although certain aspects, like for instance market integration could be applied within both of the framings. The framings would entail different answers on how to apply market integration in the context of the energy cooperation. Instead of regarding market integration as a means to further Europeanization, the security framing defines market integration as a means to achieve a secure supply of energy.

The normative framing is clearly articulated in the speeches given previous to the third Eastern Partnership Summit, while the security framing more often is illustrated in the sections of the Association Agreements. In general, the normative framing is presented in quite abstract terms, key concepts like partnership and common values are not clearly defined. Common values are emphasized and the normative framing of the material refer to a European identity including Moldova and Georgia. The logic behind the normative framing implies that by referring to common values the EU is not trying to promote its own values, since the values referred to are not limited to the EU, they are international norms. The framing pushes for market integration and market development along with stronger institutions and improvements in the area of good governance. Therefore, market integration concerns more than merely trade; the normative values and market integration concerns the transformation of societies and peoples' lives. A process of Europeanization, norm diffusion through procedural diffusion and the institutionalization of norms are key processes when applying the normative framing on the energy cooperation. The security framing is influential when specific energy projects are presented and in statements concerning how the EU could guarantee a secure supply of energy. Issue like how to guarantee the energy supply in the case of conflict is important. A secure supply of energy is not only vital for the EU but also for Moldova and Georgia. The actors are striving for control over energy resources in a zero- sum game where power is reflected in the control over transit routes and resources. The Eastern Partnership members have the right to impose regulation and hence control the energy market in the case of security threats. A few aspects are presented in abstract terms, for example who is

the reference point for affordable energy? However, definitions of issues like affordable energy are less relevant in a context where the energy policy is expressed in security terms.

The emphasis on common values and the similarities among the EU and its eastern neighbors could be regarded as a means to increase the legitimacy for the Eastern Partnership in third countries. However, the Eastern Partnership members are presumed to be a part of a European identity but without the option to take part in the agenda setting and the decision making in the EU institutions. A secure supply of energy for the EU members is prioritized over the normative framing. Moreover, the perception by the EU of Moldova and Georgia to prioritize energy security over normative values could constrict the notion of the energy cooperation as a (equal) partnership. The analysis illustrates that due to which framing which is applied to the energy cooperation; it will affect the design, the goals and presumably even the outcome. It is therefore vital to be aware of and acknowledge how different framings are expressed and what problematizations and solutions they promote, not only regarding energy cooperation but in all EU policy areas.

5.2 …what about European integration?

As discussed in the introduction. Since the Association Agreements are a central part of the EU's relation with third countries, could the different framings shape the approach to European integration? The normative framing is clear regarding European integration; it manifests itself through market integration which will benefit all the involved parties. Far- reaching trade cooperation, political association and Europeanization are important factors defining European integration. It might seem contradictive to discuss European integration in the same context as energy security and particularly neorealism. However, neorealism shares a couple of assumptions with intergovernmentalism; one of the most influential theories on understanding European integration since the 1960´s (Cini, 2013: 72). Neorealism as well as intergovernmentalism argue that states are the most powerful and influential actors within international relations. States are rational actors which strive to maximize their own advantage. However, the theories differ, for instance regarding the significance and influence of international institutions and the nature of state preferences (Pollack, 2012:1). The differences *are* crucial. However, since energy security and neorealism today *are* influencing the EU external policy, it might be useful to discuss different framings on European integration and how they interact with this kind of security framing.

5.3   Suggestions for future research

The thesis focus on the EU energy policy as a whole; the way the whole energy policy is portrayed in the Association Agreements and in the speeches. A future research area could therefore analyze how energy security is connected to different kinds of energy. For example, the "Energy Strategy for Europe" includes guidelines for gas, oil, and renewable energy, the single energy market and so forth. Another research topic could be how the EU is applying NPE regarding a policy area like the EU greenhouse gas emission allowance trading scheme. The aim of the thesis is not to present a definite explanation of energy security; this could easily be the single task of one thesis. Hence defining and problematizing the concept of energy security could be another possible research topic.

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[3] *Energy Policy* does not provide with an issue number, only volume and pages are therefore presented.

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