

22 November 2018

External examiner's report on Ms Monika Bokšová PhD thesis titled:

**THE IMPORTANCE AND THE EFFECTS OF THE COMMON COMMERCIAL POLICY
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION WHEN REACHING NON-ECONOMIC GOALS**

As I stated in my initial report dated 13 September 2018, this is an excellent thesis. It is an empirically rich and original work that makes a significant contribution to the theoretical debate on the kind of actor the EU is within the international order. I would, therefore, recommend with no reservations Ms Bokšová to be awarded the degree of PhD.

The topic of thesis is the link between EU trade and human rights, and its main conclusion is that the EU still uses its biggest asset, i.e. the single market, to influence third countries' human rights regulations. The thesis, therefore, rightly so challenges the Normative Power Europe thesis (Manners) and engages with the Market Power Europe thesis (Damro) in a sophisticated manner. It not only makes an empirical contribution to test the Market Power Europe model, but it also adds to the theoretical discussion on market power and on the EU's role in the international system.

From the beginning of the thesis, Ms Bokšová demonstrated a very good understanding of the literature on power and the debates around the kind of power the EU is. Accordingly, she locates her work well within three disciplinary distinct literatures: International Relations in general, International Political Economy more specifically, and European Law. Doing so, allows her to identify the research gap (p27-29) her study bridges and the research question (p28) she aims to answer: 'How is the EU's market power used to externalise EU human rights regulations in countries with negligible economic importance?'. She also offers a very clear and logical aims and objectives of the study which she follows through. This demonstrate an adequate knowledge of the field and the relevant literature.

The methodological section is clear and precise. I have to praise Ms Bokšová not only for her rigour, but also for the extensive empirical evidence which she collected to support her thesis. The data is a mixture of two qualitative data sets and secondary quantitative data which fits well with the aim of the project, and consists of the relevant EU treaties, quantitative evidence on trade as well as a rich qualitative data of interviews with practitioners who work on EU trade relations. The case studies are clear and well justified (p29-30 and p32-33) and the analytical framework (p33-35) is fitting to the data set and to the research question.

The thesis identifies three themes that are relevant and discussed throughout the thesis in all three cases, namely Enlargement, ENP and GSP+ countries: the principle of leverage, principle of credibility, and the principle of pragmatism. These themes are analytically well executed and very important additions to the theoretical discussion on Market Power Europe.

I made a couple suggestion and raised some questions for the candidate after my initial reading of the thesis. I can confirm that she has taken all of my queries on board and addressed them in her resubmitted thesis. I can also confirm that I am satisfied with all the adjustments.

The candidate has followed my request and included a well-written and helpful abstract to her thesis.

She also incorporated a concluding paragraph at the end of literature review in order to help the reader to understand the link between that chapter and the following methodology chapter. This has been essential for two reasons. First, the literature review usually contains the section identifying the research gap. It is clear why the research gap is in the methodology section and it makes sense, and the paragraph helps to justify it. Second, the paragraph helps to link the specific discussion on kind of power the EU is to the more general discussion on the concept of power that the methodology section starts with in order to help to set up the theoretical positioning of the thesis.

As I stated before the thesis is empirically rich and sophisticated. I am glad to see several adjustments in the methodology sections to link the analytical framework (thematic analysis) to the theoretical framework (Market Power Europe), especially the paragraph on p35.

One of the main strengths of this thesis is the interdisciplinary approach it takes. During her presentation on 21 September, Ms Bokšová demonstrated clearly how the analytical chapters build on this interdisciplinary link between politics, economy and law that she is making in the first part of her thesis. I was satisfied with her explanation.

I was very pleased to see on p108 her addressing my request to identify future research which would allow her to develop her thesis further into a post-doctorate project. I am also pleased to see that Ms Bokšová realises the great potential to work on the concept of principled pragmatism and linking to her own work on pragmatism.

On that note, I believe this thesis contains significant contributions to the scholarship which are publishable. I would like to encourage the candidate to seriously consider reworking parts of her thesis and aim to publish two articles from it. One publication should be on the concept of principled pragmatism and how the concept, as presented within the EU's Global Strategy 2016, relates to her findings on pragmatism. This should be submitted to the Journal of Common Market Studies. The second publication should be on her own conceptual and empirical contribution to the Market Power Europe debate. I am certain that with some good editing the Journal of European Public Policy, who published the Damro piece, would be very interested continuing its engagement with this topic.

I would also like to recommend the candidate to consider submitting her thesis College of Europe – Arenberg European Prize: Unions, Communities, Federations and Citizens <https://www.coleurope.eu/arenberg>.

Dr Beatrix Futák-Campbell, Leiden