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University of Glasgow

School of Social and Political Sciences

*The EU's Conceptualisation of the Trade-development Nexus:
'Subordinating development to commercial imperatives' post-crisis?*

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Abstract

The trade-development nexus is the crossing point where trade policy is examined for its effects on development. Often it appears as a paradox between greater emphases on trade as a tool for development or, trade policy initiatives which have adverse development consequences. This dissertation seeks to determine whether the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus has altered as a consequence of economic crisis. It postulates that the EU conceives the trade-development nexus as a means by which to promote its own trade objectives, in an attempt at economic recovery post-crisis, in a relationship of mutual benefit to simultaneously promoting third country development. Concomitant to this, the study acknowledges that the EU's development policy consists of greater trade-oriented growth strategies post-crisis and that the trade agenda employs policies that are mutually beneficial which is taken as demonstrative of the EU's conceptual change that views trade as a propellant of development for both third countries and itself.

List of Abbreviations

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific countries
AFT	Aid for Trade
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, and China
CA	Content Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDA	Doha Development Agenda
DG	Directorate General
EC	European Commission
ECD	European Consensus on Development
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GSP	Generalised System of Preferences
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Intellectual Property
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
LDC	Least Developed Country
LIC	Low Income Country
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MIC	Middle Income Country
MRA	Mutual Recognition Agreement
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation

List of Abbreviations

NTB	Non-tariff Barrier
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PCD	Policy Coherence for Development
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
TRIPS	Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UMIC	Upper Middle-Income Country
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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1. Introduction

The nexus that appears between the interactions of trade policy with development is a subject of rising concern in world where under-development, and its constituent poverty, will be deeply entrenched unless developed nations, such as the European Union (EU), facilitate trade coherence to better contribute to development (Carbone, 2008: 323). As such, this dissertation intends to contribute to existing trade-development literature by interrogating the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus in order to discover whether development is subordinated to commercial imperatives, as a result of economic crisis, thus entrenching poverty. The intended purpose of this research is to ground a theory, in EU literature, of the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus post-crisis.

Research into the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus is important as the nexus represents the crossing-point where trade policy is examined for its effect on development (Young & Peterson, 2013: 497). Should the EU be subordinating development to commercial imperatives then, this is to the detriment of development (Siles-Brugge, 2014a: 49). Moreover, that the EU is often portrayed as a 'development leader' or 'benign partner' to developing countries further elucidates the importance of this research area as it seeks to reveal the portrayal's accuracy (Whitman, 2013: 172). Thus, focusing the research on the trade-development nexus is important in calling to judgement those prolonging underdevelopment.

This dissertation begins by presenting a literature review which defines what constitutes the 'trade-development nexus' and offers an explanation of the EU's primary goals in development to legitimate the interest in the EU's conceptualisation of the nexus (see Faber & Orbie, 2008; Young & Peterson, 2013; Carbone, 2013a). Subsequently, it examines the EU's previous trade-development nexus conceptualisations presenting literature which argues for the EU's position as a 'development leader' and 'benign partner' to developing countries (see Carbone, 2008) countering such with illustrations of literature which argues the nexus is conceptualised for strategic ends (see Bartels, 2007; Makhan, 2009) .

The latter literature presented illuminates previous instances where external events have prompted the EU to conceptualise the trade-development for self-interest (see Heron & Siles-Brugge, 2012; Hurt et al., 2013; Holden, 2014). The literature review then elucidates the damage caused by the economic crisis making logical the proposition that it represents an external event capable of causing trade-development nexus conceptualisation change (IMF,

2009; Whitman, 2010; De Ville & Orbie, 2011 & 2014). Here, the assertion that the EU has changed its trade-development nexus conceptualisation is clarified as a reference to the subordination of development to the EU's commercial imperatives; the nexus has become a way by which the EU pursues its offensive trade agenda as its economic crisis exit strategy (Siles-Brugge, 2014a).

Furthermore, a wealth of literature is reviewed which evaluates current trade and trade as development policies pursued by the EU. This section gives an insight in to current research on the EU's trade-development nexus illustrating the breadth of literature which colludes to the notion that the EU is prioritising its own growth over that of developing countries to their detriment (see Ahnlid & Elgstrom, 2014; Woolcock, 2014; Langan, 2014). Finally, the Literature Review states that the overarching aim of the dissertation is to undermine the conceptualisation of the EU as a 'normative power', in the sense that it is a development leader, by presenting literature that argues such (see Manners, 2002, 2008; Whitman, 2013).

Consequently, this dissertation acknowledges that the vast majority of literature concerned about the EU's trade-development nexus offers evaluations of policy outputs and their impact on development whilst little research provides a holistic conceptualisation of the nexus' change. In offering an analysis of EU discourse, in the form of European Commission (EC) outputs, and investigating the totality of the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus as a post-crisis phenomenon this dissertation will fill a research gap. The research conducted, as elaborated in the Methods chapter, will utilise Grounded Theory combined with Content Analysis whilst being epistemologically grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis in the belief that texts are manifestations of power (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Fairclough, 1989). The research will seek to determine the EU's primary trade and development agendas pre and post-crisis and investigate which agenda takes prominence in its seminal pre and post crisis trade-development texts; 'Trade and Development' (EC, 2002) and 'Trade, Growth, and Development' (EC, 2012b). It intends to compare the trade-development texts in order to generate a theory surrounding the change in trade-development nexus as a post-crisis phenomenon as expelled in greater detail in the Findings and Discussion chapters. Finally, a caveat to the presentation of grounded theory in such strict positivist linearity of research reporting must be made. In this dissertation the notion of data collection and analyses are reported separately despite their simultaneous occurrence in grounded theory research.

To conclude, this dissertation comprises a Literature Review to situate the research, a Methods chapter to detail the conduct of the research, a Findings chapter to detail the results and analysis, and finally the Discussion and Conclusion chapters where the findings are linked to previous literature and the dissertation is synthesised as a whole. Its intention is to generate a theory of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation to discover whether it has changed post-crisis, as a result of crisis, and whether it is used to pursue the EU's offensive trade agenda ultimately subordinating development to commercial imperatives. Ultimately, this dissertation seeks to fill a gap in research by providing a holistic theory of the EU trade-development nexus conceptualisation.

2. Literature Review

In order to theorise about the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus this dissertation must be situated within the surrounding literature in order to identify a research gap and provide the study legitimacy. Therefore, this chapter will proceed to examine the theoretical basis for investigating the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation by drawing from previous literature.

2.1 Defining Terms

What is the Trade-Development Nexus?

In order to theorise about how the EU conceptualises the trade-development nexus we must first define the notion. Using Young & Peterson (2013: 498) definition, this dissertation regards the trade-development nexus as the crossing point where trade policy is examined for its effects on development. The trade-development nexus is often a paradox between trade policies used as a tool for development and those which have adverse development consequences (Young & Peterson, 2013: 498). The definition taken of the trade-development nexus resonates also with Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) literature (see Carbone, 2008) which sees the achievement of development objectives to rely on different policies, trade policies particularly, pulling in the same direction. Henceforth, this dissertation advocates EU trade policy that is coherent with development objectives and actively furthers development as favourable.

Significance of Investigating the EU's Trade-Development Nexus Conceptualisation

Research into the trade-development nexus is important because trade is considered to promote development by engendering economic growth and cultivating a private sector which empowers poor people by providing them with better goods and services at affordable prices (OECD, 2007: 11 & 21). This theory, on the concomitance of trade and development, employs a 'trickle-down' economic logic that, due to the small scope of this study, is accepted unchallenged as a means by which to achieve development and poverty eradication (see Unwin, 2006; Weitershausen, 2010). As the EU's primary goal in development is poverty eradication the concern attributed to a commercially motivated (as opposed to a developmentally motivated) trade-development agenda is thus warranted (Faber & Orbie, 2008: 193).

Secondly, research on the trade-development nexus is important because the EU itself recognises the importance of PCD; it lists trade as a policy area which it should ensure contributes toward creating inclusive growth for all (EC, 2005, 2012b). Thus, we would expect the EU, in order to maintain credibility as an actor in international politics, to fulfil its own commitment to ensure its trade policy renders no developmentally harmful effects (Carbone, 2008: 327).

2.2 Past Trade-development Nexus Conceptualisations

Having defined the parameters of the study this section proceeds to examine the evolution of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation looking at research that posits instances where external crisis have caused the EU to manipulate the nexus for its own strategic use.

The Early Years

Following decolonisation the EU enacted the 1964-1975 Yaoundé Conventions to endow trade preferences upon developing countries that were its former colonies (Hanson, 1998: 61). This has prompted Bartels (2007: 717) to argue that the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation at the time elicited an effort to continue its close relationship to former colonies where it had vested interests; such as maintaining access to natural resources. Thus, the EU employed trade policy for its own interests by providing developmentally assisting trade preferences to some at the expense of non-associated developing countries. This led to an early condemnation of its trade-development nexus as used for self-interested gains in the face of crises; the independence of former colonies and lack of direct control over their resources (Bartels, 2007: 719).

Lome and Development Leadership

In 1973 the EU suffered an oil crisis when US influence side-lined Europe's foothold in the Middle East and Latin America; its main oil supplying regions (Makhan, 2009: 41). This prompted an interest in securing access to Africa's rich natural resources, notes Makhan (2009: 41), leading to the creation of the 1975 Lome Convention with the Africa, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries. The convention enshrined the principle of non-reciprocal trade preferences toward ACP exports leading many scholars to posit the EU was a development leader and benign partner to the developing world (Hurt, 2003: 161).

However, Bartels (2007: 719) contends that underneath its benevolent facade Lome was a means by which to fetter resource rich countries to the EU by overemphasising Lome's developmental nature to disguise its strategic end. For instance, despite the fact that developing countries export far more agricultural products than industrial products, only 19% of products eligible for preferences were agricultural, as opposed to 55% industrial products and another 25% textiles (Bartels, 2007:731). Thus, argues Bartels (2007:731), the lack of useful preferences for developing countries implicates Lome as a strategic convention rendering the EU's trade-development nexus as abused for self-interest, in the face of external crises, once again.

Neo-liberalism and Cotonou

In 1994 the GATT ruled that Lome contravened its MFN clause as the principle of non-reciprocity failed to represent a 'free-trade area' and discriminated between developing countries by benefitting the ACP only (Heron & Siles-Brugge, 2012: 257). Thus, the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus had to change to ensure WTO compatibility. This, combined with the need for the EU to pursue greater market access due to a suffering slow growth in the late 1990s, saw the replacement of Lome with the Cotonou Agreements and the revocation of the principle of non-reciprocity (Carbone & Orbie, 2014: 2-3). As an alternative, the Cotonou Agreements proposed EPAs; agreements for reciprocal trade preferences between EU-ACP (Carbone & Orbie, 2014: 4).

By branding reciprocity as an effective step toward development the EPAs attempted to maintain the EU's 'development leader' image created from the Lome Convention (see Hurt, 2003; Hurt et al., 2013; Carbone 2011 & 2013b). Carbone (2011: 332) postulates that the EU genuinely viewed liberalisation as a stimulus for ACP economies, and thus development, in light of the poor results of Lome; the total share of ACP products - as a percentage of all EU third country imports - fell from 8.1% in 1980 to 2.7% by 2000 under its tenure. Thus, prompting the liberalisation of developing country markets would implicate the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation as genuinely motivated to achieving third country growth.

Much literature however, contends that the EPAs are developmentally inept (see Langan, 2011; Heron & Siles-Brugge, 2012; Hurt et al., 2013) because of the consequences of reciprocity such as, the loss of customs revenue the ACP would endure, the limited scope reciprocity allows for the development of ACP economies dependent on primary goods due

to high EU standards regulations, and the better quality EU imports that now free from tariffs are more competitive. Moreover, much literature completely dispels the notion of a development based incentive for EPAs by highlighting the switch in competence for trade with the ACP from DG Development to DG Trade (see Hurt et al., 2013). DG Development's pro-poor view is in stark contrast with DG Trade's focus on increasing EU business exports engendering the argument that the EU conceptualises a trade-development nexus that prioritises trade.

Furthermore, Heron & Siles-Brugge (2012: 251) highlight that the EPA's negotiating remit included liberalisation commitments on numerous 'trade-related' areas such as services, investment and IPR. That these issues are out-with the Doha round remit implicates the EPAs as going beyond the EU's need to be WTO compatible and are demonstrative of the EU's pursuit of its own trade ambitions of gaining market access in the face of economic strife (Heron & Siles-Brugge, 2012: 257). Additionally, Langan (2011: 90) is similarly sceptical of the development-based motivation for the EPAs arguing that the EU intentionally exploited the link between private-sector growth and development, tenuous in a country possessing little redistributive facilities, to create a pro-poor discourse that bridges trade liberalisation agendas to legitimising, normative goals of poverty eradication. He argues that such egalitarian narratives inoculated the EU from immediate outcry from the ACP and concludes that there has been purposeful veiling, by the EU, of its market-access goals within EPAs (Langan, 2009: 425). Thus, we can conclude that much literature views the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus to have changed post-Lome, due to external pressure from an increasingly neo-liberal environment and a need for economic recovery post-crisis, to a self-interested pursuit of market expansion and growth regardless of the developmental impact (Van Den Hoven, 2004: 263).

To conclude, this section provided a brief overview of the EU's trade-development nexus evolution highlighting literature that argues that external changes or crises are responsible for altering conceptualisations. Thus, it is logical to postulate that the economic crisis – as an external factor upon the EU – could cause the EU to alter its conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus.

2.3 The Economic Crisis and the EU's Struggle for Power

This section endeavours to highlight literature which emphasises the challenges faced by the EU, as a result of economic crisis, in order to justify the postulation that its trade-

development nexus conceptualisation has changed as a consequence and make logical that proposition that development is subordinated to commercial imperatives.

The Economic Crisis as propulsion for change in Conceptualisation?

The economic crisis constitutes the heaviest global economic shock since the Great Depression (IMF, 2008: 4). The EU has suffered as a result of the crisis experiencing declining growth and rapid increases in unemployment levels. This has led literature (see Whitman, 2010; Young, 2011; Smith, 2013) to argue that the EU is facing a massive threat to its position as an economic power in the international arena. For instance, the EU's international leverage is based in large measure on the 'normative appeal' of its own internal market; in its failure to withstand shock it is no longer a model for emulation (Young, 2011: 726). Furthermore, such literature has highlighted how post-crisis the EU is suffering from a lack of competitiveness in comparison to emerging markets and concludes a resultant shift in the international balance of power (Whitman, 2010: 24).

As a result of the challenges to its economic power the EU has fervently sought to pursue further liberalisation and increase its access to markets for trade and investment in an effort to stimulate economic growth. The Commission President stated that the EU intends to 'trade its way out of the crisis' as a way to re-establish its power internationally implying that more aggressive trade policies will be pursued post-crisis (EC, 2010e). This links in to literature which argues that during the on-going economic crisis the overriding mantra has been that the EU's future well-being depends on its ability to compete in global markets (see De Ville & Orbie, 2011 & 2014; Carbone & Orbie, 2014). Additionally, this literature has postulated that, in the more aggressive pursuit of trade, development objectives will fall lower on the list of EU priorities than pre-crisis (see De Ville & Orbie, 2014: 150).

Thus, the EU's aggressive pursuit of market opening and increasing trade post-crisis has engendered a literature which postulates that the EU has been forced to drop its normative pursuit of development leadership in order to pursue an offensive trade agenda to maintain its economic power and standing in the international arena. Particularly illustrative is Woolcock's (2014: 36) argument which postulates that the EU has begun to pursue an agenda of reciprocity – seeking mutual trade opening – through bilateral trade agreements to offset FTA policies of its competitors, regain competitiveness and leverage, and increase its international standing. As the EU's previous pursuit of liberalisation through multi-lateralism, endorsed because of its rule-based platform which ensures equality of treatment for all

countries, has been replaced by a greater pursuit of FTAs where the EU can dictate agendas there has evidently been an abandonment of its norms (Woolcock, 2014: 37). Furthermore, Ahnliid & Elgstrom (2014: 81) argue that the EU's pursuit of the Singapore Issues in the WTO is an example of betraying development leadership norms as they were condemned as self-interested objectives and restrictive of developing countries' policy autonomy.

Finally, Siles-Brugge's (2014a) analysis of the 2013 GSP reform concludes that the economic crisis has prompted the EU to manipulate the policy for its own good rather than for development objectives. Its main argument elicits that the EU is pursuing a reciprocity agenda where it seeks mutual trade opening, to pursue its post-crisis growth strategy, by graduating some countries from preferences under the guise that this helps LDCs take advantage of them (Siles-Brugge, 2014a: 49). Evidently, Siles-Brugge's (2014) research colludes with the other literature above by arguing that the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation is self-interested and motivated by concerns of increasing EU competitiveness leading to the subordination of development.

A Normative Power?

However, this argument is contested by Young (2014: 122) who proffers that such reciprocity is not self-interested but reflects the hegemony of neoliberal ideas affecting ideas on how development is best achieved. Thus, he postulates that the EU is a normative power embodying development leadership as it advocates that liberalisation is the best way to foster economic growth and development.

In spite of Young's (2014) postulation, the broader intent of this dissertation is to challenge the idea of a uniquely 'normative power Europe' which acts in a development friendly fashion and is intent on exporting its development values as posited by Manners (see 2002 & 2008). To be a normative power is to act in an ethically good way and attempt to set international norms; the EU has long constructed an image for itself as a 'force for good' in that it elicits developmentally beneficial trade policy and attempts to be a norm setter with regards to how developed countries deal with development (Manners, 2008: 241). Effectively, Manners (2002:255) argues that the EU's policies are driven by moral principles rather than self-interest. Evidently, to remain a normative power, the EU should act in the interest of developing countries (Manners, 2002: 255). Thus, should the EU be found to be prioritising its own well-being, at the expense of assisting third-country development, its classification as a normative power would be invalidated (Orbie, 2012: 21).

2.4 A Lacuna in Trade-development post-crisis Literature

In conclusion, the literature review has shown that the EU undermines development objectives for its own strategic ends in the face of external crises; that the economic crash represents such a crisis; and that post-crisis a series of policies have been studied for their detrimental impact on development. Accordingly, the literature review has shown a plethora of literature exists concerning the impact of EPAs and post-crisis trade-development policies on development. As such, this dissertation intends to fill a gap in the literature by inducting a theory of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation in totality, simultaneously positing it as a post-crisis consequence, which is grounded in literature produced by the EU.

Ultimately, this dissertation hypothesises that the slow growth and loss of competitiveness suffered by the EU as a result of economic crisis has catalysed a change in its trade-development nexus conceptualisation to one of self-interest where the EU prioritises its own trade at the expense of development objectives.

3. Methods Section

The previous chapter identified a gap in the research surrounding the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation; the literature identified a change in conceptualisation, evidenced in certain policies impact assessments, but failed to elaborate a holistic theory of the changes' cause and constitution (see Faber & Orbie, 2008; Carbone & Orbie, 2014; Siles-Brugge, 2014a & b). Therefore, this chapter outlines how this dissertation fills this gap by examining European Commission discourse in an effort to develop a rounded theory on the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation post-crisis.

Set out below is the theoretical basis for analysing discourse and using it as data. This is followed by an explanation of the method used to build the theory providing an in-depth account of the process, and finally an evaluation of the method used. The purpose of this chapter is to provide replicability and credibility to the study to advocate the reliability of the findings presented in the following chapter.

3.1 Methodology

CDA as an Epistemological Base

To justify the research conducted it is imperative to state that this dissertation epistemologically resides within the theoretical base of CDA and explicate the implications of such. CDA conducts research from the perspective of those who suffer, critically analysing the language use of those in power in the belief that social and political domination are reproduced in texts as they inculcate ideologies and guide the world in certain directions (see Fairclough, 1989, 2001 & 2003). Moreover, such inculcations are often covert thus; discourse analysis allows the revelation of such in the belief that consciousness of domination is the first step toward emancipation from such (Fairclough, 2001: 125). This is important as to generate a rounded theory of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation post-crisis the dissertation intended use EU discourse as data to build upon previous research to expose the EU as subordinating development to commercial imperatives, undermine the notion of the EU as a 'development leader', and condemn its actions. Ultimately, the CDA implies approaching texts with a political goal (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013: 26). For this dissertation the goal was to postulate a theory of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation post-crisis that, if demonstrating a trade-bias to development's detriment, could call the EU to judgement for prolonging subsistent power relations.

3.2 Method of Analysis

CDA is not a homogenous model of discourse analysis but a shared perspective on discourse analysis that is critical (van Dijk, 1998: 131). Thus, any explicit method may be used in the context of CDA research, as long as it adequately produces insights into the whether EU subordination of development to commercial imperatives is evident in text and therefore, is indicative of its trade-development nexus conceptualisation. This dissertation employs mixed methods of Grounded Theory and Content Analysis to gather and analyse data as elucidated below.

Establishing the Existence of the EU's Trade Agenda in its Trade-Development Agenda: Grounded Theory and Content Analysis

The first stage of research employed Grounded Theory applying its coding process to pivotal Commission communications, on the topic of trade and the topic of development, to establish the main agenda for each pre and post-crisis (see Glaser & Strauss, 1968; Corbin & Strauss, 1998). Prior to beginning the coding process, a typology was generated for the classification of policies, according to their trade or development impact (see Appendix. 2), during the process to facilitate concurrent analysis as required by grounded theory's method of constant comparison (Corbin & Strauss, 1998: 117). The coding process saw the texts read in full repeatedly to achieve immersion and subsequently coded line by line and labelled for concepts common to them in the process of open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1998: 159). Then, those codes unrelated to the research question and those of infrequent occurrence were set aside. In the process of axial coding relationships between open codes were sought and finally, the process of selective coding highlighted the most frequent and prominent codes that defined key concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 1998: 162). To prepare for reporting the findings, exemplars for each code and category were identified from the data (see Appendix. 1). This allowed the comparison of trade- and development agendas to one another and over the pre to post-crisis time-scale to establish whether the economic crisis catalysed change.

Subsequently, the second stage of analysis saw a content analysis (see Krippendorff, 1989; Berg, 2007) conducted on the EU's seminal trade-development texts; 'Trade and Development' (EC, 2002) and 'Trade, Growth, and Development' (EC, 2012b). This involved using the codes previously discovered to establish a coding frame of primary trade and development agenda concepts (see Appendix. 1) and recording their levels of occurrence in the texts in frequency tables (see Findings, Tables 1-4). This allowed comparison of the

trade and development agenda presence in the seminal trade-development documents to establish which agenda featured more frequently. An explanatory diagram of the research process (Diagram. 1), offered to clarify the procedure conducted, can be found at the close of this chapter.

Selection of Texts

The texts used as the determinants of the primary trade agenda and development agendas are listed as follows;

Trade Agenda Pre-Crisis: ‘Market Access Strategy for the EU’ (EC, 1996), ‘EU Approach to the Millennium Round’ (EC, 1999), ‘Global Europe’ (EC, 2006)

Development Agenda Pre-Crisis: ‘European Community’s Development Policy’ (EC, 2000), ‘European Consensus on Development’ (EC, 2005)

Trade Agenda Post-Crisis: ‘European Economic Recovery Plan’ (EC, 2008a), ‘External Dimension of the Lisbon Strategy’ (EC, 2008b), ‘Europe 2020’ (EC, 2010c) and accompanying ‘Trade, Growth, and World Affairs’ (EC, 2010e), ‘Toward a Comprehensive International Investment Policy’ (EC, 2010d)

Development Agenda Post-Crisis: ‘The EU’s Development and External Assistance’ (EC, 2010a), ‘Twelve Points to the MDGs’ (EC, 2010b), ‘Agenda for Change’ (EC, 2011), ‘Mobilising Financing for Development’ (EC, 2012a)

The texts used in the grounded theory coding process were all Commission communications as it constitutes the EU body responsible for setting the agenda. Moreover, they offered a rounded perspective of the EU’s conceptualisation of trade and development agendas being created by ‘unbiased’ technocrats whereas other EU institutions are exposed to external interests. Lastly, using all Commission Communication ensured a similarity of format for the analysis.

The periods of text collated offered an overview of the primary agendas circulating around the time of each seminal trade-development text’s creation. Furthermore, grounded theory does not stipulate a set amount of data to use for analyses only that theoretical saturation – gaining an adequate understanding of the dimension and properties of the concepts and themes of a phenomenon – is achieved thus, the texts used were appropriate as they provided

a thorough understanding of the EU's trade and development agendas (Corbin & Strauss: 1998, 143).

The 'Trade and Development' (EC, 2002) and 'Trade, Growth, and Development' (EC, 2012b) documents were chosen for the Content Analysis as they constitute the EU's seminal trade-development documents as the EU only releases its trade for development plans on a ten-year basis and thus, are representative of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation for that period.

3.3 Reflecting on Methods

Having given a description of the combination of methods used this section evaluates them in order to justify their use and to determine how the study could be improved.

The Benefits of the Method and Discounting Others

Firstly, using a combination of both Grounded Theory and Content analysis allowed a deeper understanding of the texts, as the coding procedure called for thorough immersion in them, whilst the frequency analysis created quantifiable results that were demonstrative of the research outcomes. Moreover, the combination of method allowed EU discourse to be used as data; as a somewhat neglected area of study, as the Literature Review revealed the propensity for impact assessments, it provided a fresh insight into the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus and allowed a theory on the EU to be grounded in its own literature. Additionally, grounding in its own literature provides convincing examples of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation. Thus, conducting only content analyses of trade-development agendas was discarded as it would require a pre-determined coding frame, derived from non-EU texts, which would fail to provide a theory grounded in primary literature nor provide a deep interrogation of the texts (Berg, 2007, 352).

Secondly, conducting research that made use of grounded theory was favoured as it used systematic procedures of coding contributing to the development of an inductively derived theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1998: 248). Such a systematic approach lent the study credibility and ensured its replicability through a well-established method that could be reproduced to amount the same conclusions. Moreover, the method benefitted from its ability to analyse texts already in existence adding to the unobtrusive nature of the study providing a general picture of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation. Additionally, the use of pre-existing data was beneficial in that was easily and inexpensively accessible. It is in this way

that interviews or surveys –for example of EU trade and development commissioners - were discounted as they would require interference from the researcher, be affected by participant opinion, and fail to give the EU as a whole’s conceptualisation (see Nederhof, 1985; Berg, 2007; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Finally, the content analysis, that amassed a series of frequencies of trade and development agenda concepts present in seminal trade-development texts, was favoured as it put to greater use the codes generated via the first stage of research to create explanatory and obvious numerical results of pre to post crisis changes (Berg, 2007: 362). Recording frequencies by rudimentary counting and classification was favoured over using a computer programme on two counts; that the programme would take too long to learn how to use and thus was out-with the scope of this study (Berg, 2007: 366). Secondly, that the codes for themes found in the analysis were created from grounded theory, which stipulates an ongoing process of research and analysis, meant they were subject to change, expansion, or elimination and were not the predetermined codes required by a computer programme (Corbin & Strauss, 1998: 264) .

The Critiques of the Method

The first manner by which the research method this dissertation used can be criticised is that its qualitative nature threatens to produce biased research; this is particularly poignant as this study began from a defined political stance of calling out the EU for developmental subordination (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013: 26). However, the grounded theory method employed somewhat alleviates the issue due to the systematic nature of Strauss and Corbin’s (1998: 143) coding process.

Criticism can secondly be levied at grounded theory in that often the transparency of research, in particular coding processes, is sparse ultimately jeopardising the credibility of results as the entire process is not presented in the body of the study. This is somewhat assuaged by the availability (upon request) of each stage of coding along with memos and theoretical generation notes to allow verification of findings and conclusions.

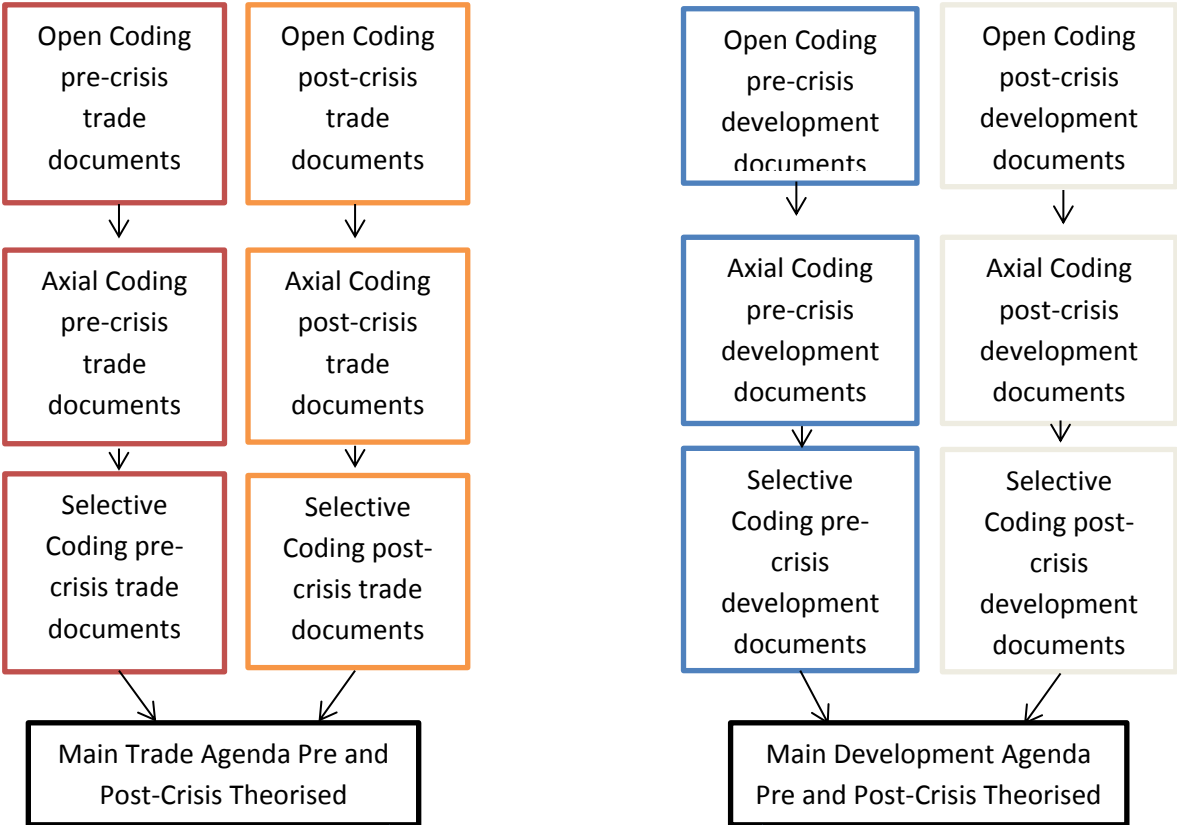
The third criticism that can be levied at the study is that the process of grounded theory calls for theoretical sampling where data initially collected points to subsequent avenues of data collection (Corbin & Strauss: 1998, 143). Due to the time scale and scope of this project such theoretical sampling was limited within the context of Commission Communications.

Therefore, the study could have been bettered had it allowed for other genres of data and methods of data collection giving a wider scope of the EU's conceptualisation of the traded-development nexus.

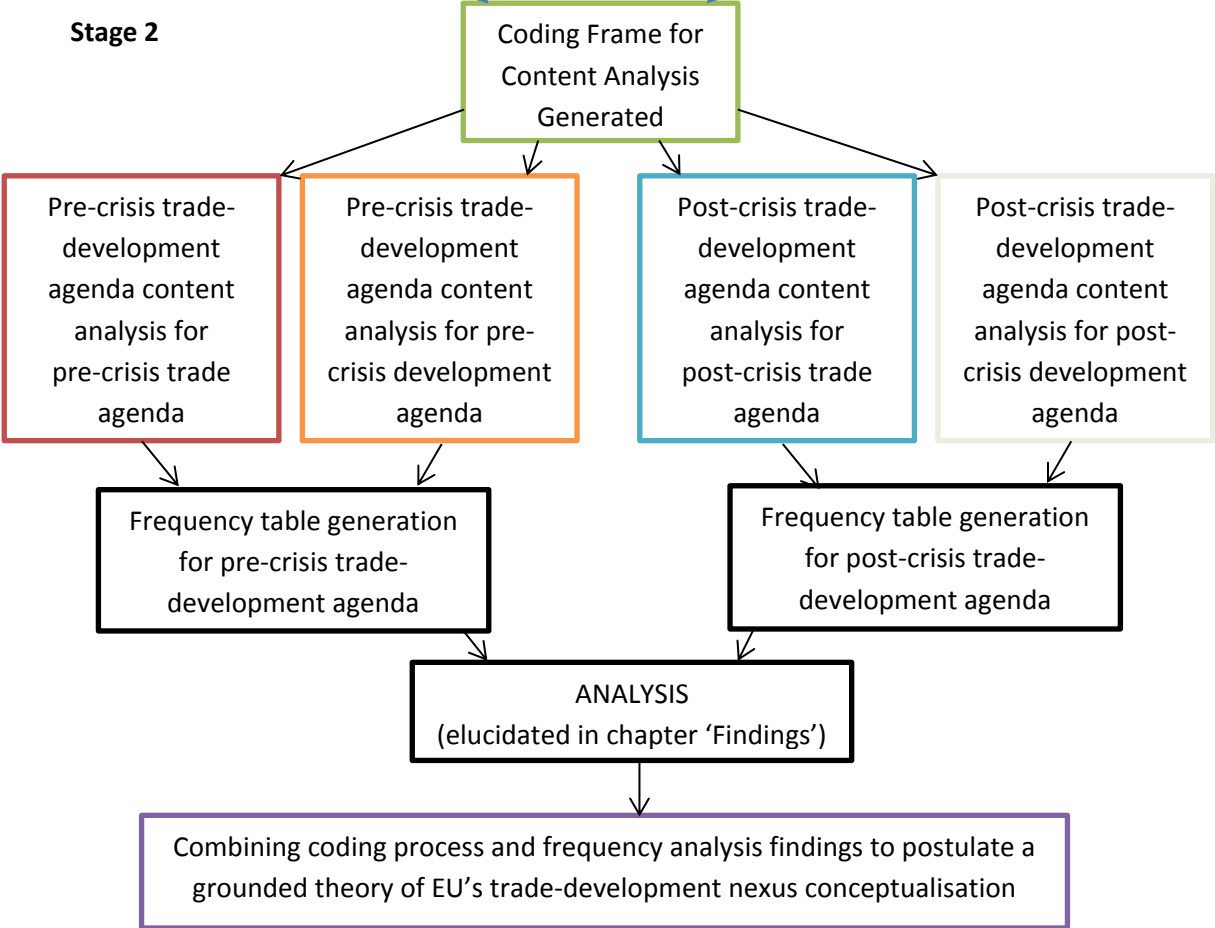
Finally, the biased nature of the researcher's interpretation of data is inescapable meaning the method could have been improved by repeat analysis by a separate researcher in order to lend credibility to the results produced (Berg, 2007: 365). However, the time scale and scope of the research for this dissertation did not permit the occurrence of such. Evidently, this chapter has expounded the method by which the research was conducted, established the legitimisation for such, and finally evaluated the process and the means by which improvement could be made.

Diagram 1. Method of Research

Stage 1



Stage 2



4. Findings

The previous chapter illuminated the method by which the research, intent on producing a grounded theory of the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus, was conducted. The research set out to create a theory of how the EU conceives the trade-development nexus and postulate whether the economic crisis affected such. This chapter will set out the findings of the research and present a theory of the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus grounded in the research literature.

4.1 Reporting Coding Process Findings

The following section aims to compare the primary concepts of the EU's trade and development agendas, as extracted from the coding procedure, within their pre and post crisis time frames and across the time frame which most poignantly highlight differences in priorities pre to post-crisis.

Comparison and Analysis

Firstly, the coding procedure conducted allows the comparison of trade agendas with development agendas in their pre or post crisis time period hence; we begin by comparing the pre-crisis trade agenda and development agenda to one another. The coding procedure revealed that the trade agenda wants trade on 'equal terms' and seeks 'reciprocal market opening' however, the development agenda sees trade as beneficial for development when there are non-reciprocal preferences. Moreover, the development agenda emphasises the importance of regional integration as it facilitates exemption from the MFN principle allowing regionally integrated countries to be endowed with greater preferences. Evidently, the development agenda's use of trade for development –non-reciprocity- does not correspond entirely with trade objectives of reciprocal market opening to increase EU competitiveness. However, the agendas cohere when they similarly represent the multi-lateral system as a protective entity for the participation in international trade by smaller states.

The post-crisis trade and development agendas reflect each other to greater extent showing clearer evidence that the EU has assimilated trade with achieving development objectives; they appear to be mutually reinforcing objectives. For instance, both the trade and development agenda more frequently advocate the necessity of developing country domestic reform in order to create business environments that are attractive to trade and investment. This benefits the EU as it creates markets for its exports and investment and benefits

developing countries by creating economic growth and employment which contribute to poverty eradication. Moreover, both agendas highlight the importance of ensuring sustainable development advocating the preservation of resources and the environment for future growth for both. Both concepts are indicative of a wider similarity between the agendas that exists post-crisis; a reciprocity agenda. The coding process for both trade and development agendas post-crisis revealed an increasing concern with ensuring mutual benefit in relations with the EU's trade partners and development partners; the EU seeks equal gain to what it gives.

Secondly, the coding procedure allows the comparison of the trade and development agendas of the pre-crisis period to their counterparts post-crisis to illuminate changes. The most evident change in pre to post-crisis trade agendas is the increased urgency to pursue EU growth to reverse declines that are a consequence of crisis. For instance, the post-crisis trade agenda speaks of trade as an 'engine for growth' (EC, 2008a) and the 'cheapest stimulus package for the EU' (EC, 2012b) indicating the prioritisation of EU recovery. Additionally, post-crisis there is a greater pursuit of bilateral FTAs as they expedite liberalisation processes bypassing WTO consensus and allow the EU to mandate deeper liberalisation beyond WTO remit. This illustrates that the EU prioritises deep and rapid opening of markets, for its economic recovery, over its normative ambitions of a multi-lateral trade-system which protects all players.

Both pre and post-crisis development agendas focus upon the eradication of poverty however; post-crisis its achievement is envisioned somewhat differently. The principal change from pre to post-crisis development agenda is a greater focus on using trade to engender development. This is exemplified by the greater emphasis on AfT which facilitates developing countries' ability to take advantage of trade opportunities. Moreover, post-crisis there exists a 'beyond aid agenda' where trade is listed as an alternative source financing for development; effectively the pre-crisis prioritisation of aid and increasing its effectiveness is replaced by greater importance attached to trade. Additionally, there is greater focus post-crisis on differentiation which dictates that trade should be used as a tool for poverty eradication for those countries which have moved beyond a certain stage of development. Finally, there is increasing concern post-crisis of the lack of diversification of developing country economies and their subsequent ability to withstand economic shock; evidently preventing future crisis plaguing economies, by building their strength, is at the forefront of the agenda. Overall, it seems as though post-crisis there exists a greater emphasis on trade as the primary proponent of development, to achieve poverty eradication, than pre-crisis.

4.2 Frequency of Trade and Development Agenda concepts present in Trade-Development Discourse

This section provides frequency tables of the content analysis conducted upon both trade-development agenda texts; ‘Trade and Development’ (EC, 2002) and ‘Trade, Growth, and Development’ (EC, 2012b). The frequencies correspond to the occurrence of primary trade agenda and development agenda concepts in the EU’s trade-development agenda to establish the prevalence of either trade or development discourse (for concept definitions see Appendix. 1). The tables are presented with the left hand column delineating the concept search for labelled; ‘Component of Agenda’. The centre column labelled ‘Frequency of Occurrence’ indicates how many times the concepts occur within the document. The right hand column ‘% Density in Text’ indicates the percentage of the entire text this represents. The final row labelled ‘TOTAL’ indicates the percentage density of the trade or development agenda within the trade-development text. The most and least frequent concepts will be highlighted and analysed for their significance in regard to the research objective of determining the EU’s trade-development nexus conceptualisation post-crisis.

Table 1 - Trade Agenda Presence in 'Trade and Development' (EC, 2002)

<i>Component of Agenda</i>	<i>Frequency of Occurrence</i>	<i>% Density in Text</i>
Barriers to Trade	21	0.18
Comparative Advantage	3	0.03
Competitiveness	12	0.10
Domestic Policies	14	0.12
Employment	3	0.03
Free Trade Agreements	0	0.00
Globalisation	6	0.05
Innovation	1	0.01
Intellectual Property Rights	13	0.11
International Standards	7	0.06
Multi-lateral Trade Regime	34	0.29
Non-Discrimination	3	0.03
Productivity	2	0.02
Protectionism	0	0.00
Reciprocity	3	0.03
Regional Integration	18	0.15
Services	24	0.20
Singapore Issues	20	0.17
Sustainable Development	37	0.31
Trade and Investment	11	0.09
TOTAL	212	1.98

This table represents the presence of pre-crisis trade agenda concepts in the ‘Trade and Development’ Communication (EC, 2002). The results indicated that the ‘Multi-lateral Trade Regime’ concept occurs most often. The significance of such is that it demonstrates the EU’s emphasis on pursuing a trade opening agenda by a forum that provides protection and gives a voice to weaker international players; developing countries. Interestingly, the concept of ‘Free Trade Agreements’ fails to appear in the Communication indicating that pre-crisis interest in bilateral arrangements, to promote EU growth, was slim. Finally, the failure of the concept of ‘protectionism’ to occur indicates that the EU was not overly concerned with discriminative trade practices pre-crisis.

Table 2 - Development Agenda Presence in 'Trade and Development' (EC, 2002)

<i>Component of Agenda</i>	<i>Frequency of Occurrence</i>	<i>% Density in Text</i>
Aid Effectiveness	3	0.03
Business Environment	11	0.09
Differentiation	1	0.01
Doha	26	0.22
Domestic Reform	7	0.06
Economic Diversification	9	0.08
Financing for Development	15	0.13
Human Development	12	0.10
Inclusiveness	7	0.06
Labour Standards	12	0.10
Non-Reciprocity	3	0.03
Ownership	5	0.04
Partnership	17	0.14
Policy Coherence	4	0.03
Poverty Eradication	14	0.12
Public Finance Management	19	0.16
Regional Integration	18	0.15
Security	5	0.04
Sustainable Development	37	0.31
Trade Related Assistance	26	0.22
TOTAL	251	2.13

This table represents the presence of pre-crisis development agenda concepts in the ‘Trade and Development’ Communication (EC, 2002). The results indicated that the concept of ‘Sustainable Development’ occurs most frequently however; the concept is identified as a priority within the trade agenda. This means that their occurrence contributes equally to the total percentage occurrence of each agenda within the communication and thus fails to reveal the prioritisation of either trade or development. Hence, ‘Trade-related Assistance’ and mention of the development focused ‘Doha’ become the development agenda concepts that can be said to take priority in the communication. This highlights that pre-crisis there was an emphasis on aid being used to facilitate trade for development emphasis. Conversely, the

concept of ‘Differentiation’ occurs just once making it the least prioritised of the identified development concepts implying a similar focus on all developing countries and lacking the ‘cost-effectiveness’ ideology of post-crisis differentiation focus which allotted aid to those who really needed it.

Ultimately, although by a marginal percentage difference, it appears that the ‘Trade and Development’ Communication (EC, 2002) contains more concepts defined as belonging to the development agenda (2.13%) as opposed to the trade agenda (2.01%). From this we can speculate that development priorities take precedent pre-crisis.

Table 3 - Trade Agenda Presence in 'Trade, Growth, and Development' (EC, 2012b)

<i>Component of Agenda</i>	<i>Frequency of Occurrence</i>	<i>% Density in Text</i>
Barriers to Trade	7	0.09
Comparative Advantage	1	0.01
Competitiveness	18	0.23
Domestic policies	22	0.28
Employment	2	0.03
Free Trade Agreements	7	0.09
Growth Slow Down	7	0.09
Inclusiveness	9	0.11
Innovation Union	4	0.05
Intellectual Property Rights	4	0.05
International Standards	4	0.05
Investment Opportunities	18	0.23
Multi-lateral Trade Regime	16	0.20
Productivity	4	0.05
Protectionism	2	0.03
Reciprocity Agenda	4	0.05
Regional Integration	6	0.08
Services	10	0.13
Singapore Issues	14	0.18
Sustainable Development	22	0.28
TOTAL	176	2.31

This table represents the presence of post-crisis trade agenda in the ‘Trade, Growth, and Development’ Communication (EC, 2012b). The trade agenda concepts with most presence in the communication are that of ‘Sustainable Development’ and ‘Domestic Reform’. Such concepts are defined as priorities of the development agenda too and are its highest occurring concepts in the trade-development text. Thus, the crux of this section asserts that the development agenda post-crisis has, as earlier established, come to reflect the priorities of the trade agenda manifesting the focus on trade as the principal driver of prosperity. The concept

of ‘Domestic Reform’ achieves both agendas objective as it creates a business environment in developing countries meaning the availability of expansion for EU trade and investment and for the developing country it helps attract such which will engender economic growth. Moreover, it ensures good governance of the developing country which is concomitant with better fiscal management, less corruption, and greater redistributive faculties. The concept of the trade agenda least prioritised in the communication is that of ‘Comparative Advantage’. This is interesting because it appears the EU reverts from pushing for access to areas in which it has a comparative advantage implying the trade-development nexus is not solely commercially conceptualised.

Table 4 – Development Agenda Presence in ‘Trade, Growth and Development’ (EC, 2012b)

<i>Component of Agenda</i>	<i>Frequency of Occurrence</i>	<i>% Density in Text</i>
Aid Effectiveness	2	0.03
Burden Sharing	3	0.04
Business Environment	17	0.22
Differentiation	17	0.22
Domestic Reform	22	0.28
Economic Diversification	12	0.15
Financing for development	1	0.01
High EU Standards	9	0.11
Human Development	2	0.03
Inclusive	10	0.13
Labour Standards	1	0.01
Ownership	17	0.22
Policy Coherence	6	0.08
Poverty Eradication	4	0.05
Public Finance Management	7	0.09
Reciprocity	4	0.05
Regional Integration	6	0.08
Security	3	0.04
Sustainable Development	22	0.28
Trade Related Assistance	4	0.05
TOTAL	169	2.03

This table represents the presence of post-crisis development agenda in the ‘Trade, Growth, and Development’ Communication (EC, 2012b). As the concepts of the development agenda which appear the most have been shown to be the same as trade agenda concepts we focus on the concept mentioned least. The concept given least prioritisation in the communication is ‘Financing for Development’ which, when we acknowledge that its definition is ODA, colludes the assertion that trade has become a development strategy and leads to the implication that it has taken pre-eminence of aid-based strategies.

Similarly marginal to the previous two tables, but in the reverse order, the frequency analysis conducted on the ‘Trade, Growth, and Development’ Communication (EC, 2012b) shows that concepts defined as belonging to the trade agenda (2.25%) have a higher occurrence than development concepts (2.03%). From this we can speculate that trade priorities take precedent post-crisis.

Frequency Content Comparison

In comparing the change in frequencies of occurrence pre and post crisis we can see that the trade agenda (1.98%) has raised to a higher level of conceptual occurrence (2.31%) post-crisis; a change of +0.33%. In opposition, mention of development related concepts has fallen from pre-crisis (2.13%) to post-crisis (2.03%) a change of -0.1%. From this we can postulate the conclusion that there is a higher prioritisation to matters concerning trade in the trade-development agenda post-crisis.

4.3 Analysis and Grounded Theory Presentation

The goal of this dissertation was to postulate a grounded theory of the EU’s conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus post-crisis in order, to fill a gap in literature positing that the economic crisis had caused the EU to pursue its trade agenda to the detriment of its development agenda. In order to propose such a theory this section brings together the analyses of the research conducted to address the assumptions made prior to research in the hypothesis.

What is the EU’s trade-development nexus conceptualisation post-crisis?

The first assumption we must address is that the EU has changed its conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus post-crisis. The research evidences such change through the frequency analysis which shows a change concepts afforded priority, by merit of their higher frequency, in the trade-development texts (see Tables 1-4). Moreover, the percentage changes in occurrence of trade and development agenda presence in trade-development texts pre to post crisis is further illustrative that there has been a change in nexus conceptualisation post-crisis (see ‘Frequency Content Comparison’ above).

The second assumption of the hypothesis postulated that the economic crisis was the catalyst of such change. The research conducted supports this assumption as the grounded theory coding process revealed a propensity of statements that evoke a post-crisis trade ideology that

sees ‘trade as an engine for growth’ (EC, 2008a) and trade as ‘the cheapest stimulus package available’ (EC, 2012b). Highlighting the primary aspects of the EU’s post-crisis trade agenda illustrated that the intellectual environment within the EU focused on escaping market failure and regaining the position of economic power possessed prior to crisis through emphasising reciprocity. With regards to development agenda the EU expressed concern that developing countries were hardest hit by the crisis and proffered that trade and investment must be used to greater effect on poverty eradication. We see this evidenced above (see pp. 24) that the development agenda post-crisis employs far more trade policies to achieve its ends. As such, we can postulate that changes to the EU’s conceptualisation post-crisis were catalysed by the crisis itself and the economic decline it caused which prompted trade and investment to be viewed as the best stimulus for growth.

The third assumption of the hypothesis postulated that the change in conceptualisation was self-interested implying that the EU was pursuing its post-crisis recovery, offensive trade strategy at the expense of its development agenda. The frequency analysis conducted concluded that the post-crisis trade-development text contained a higher proportion of trade than development agenda concepts implying that development was subordinated to trade (see pp. 29).

However, a deeper interrogation of the research results allows the postulation that the EU conceptualises the trade-development nexus as a means by which to achieve mutual benefit, fostering its own growth whilst simultaneously engendering third country development, refuting the assumption of the hypothesis. This theory is foremost defended by the revelation that the EU’s development agenda has shifted to more emphatically incorporate trade as a proponent of development. The coding process revealed that the policies pursued by the EU in its post-crisis development agenda reflect a ‘beyond aid agenda’ which places increased responsibility on trade to foster development (see pp.23-24). Moreover, the EU’s post-crisis development agenda possessed a greater correspondence with its trade agenda employing similar policies, that the EU used for its own growth, to achieve and fund development’s aim of poverty eradication. A key exemplar is that post-crisis the development agenda placed less emphasis on ODA in the form of budget support and greater emphasis on AfT (see Table 4, pp. 28). AfT helps developing countries tackle their supply-side and trade-related infrastructure obstacles which constrain their ability to engage in international trade (see Easterly & Williamson, 2011). Therefore, the increased presence of instruments directed toward assisting developing countries trade in the post-crisis development agenda negates the

claim that the higher incidence of trade concepts is evidence of the subordination of development. It is more exemplary of a changing approach to development; the employment of trade liberalisation as economic growth's, and attendant poverty eradication's, primary proponent.

The second manner in which the argument can be supported is that the trade concepts prioritised (possessing highest counts) in the frequency analysis are those which effect mutual benefit on trade and development objectives (see Tables 1-4, pp.25-28; Typology, pp.43). For instance, the two highest occurring trade agenda concepts in the post-crisis trade-development text are 'Domestic Reform' and 'Sustainable Development'. Domestic reform is mutually reinforcing of both trade and development agendas as it can create markets that are desirable for trade and investment in developing countries generating opportunities for the EU, an element of its post-crisis recovery strategy, and boost economic growth for the developing country (see Grindle, 2004; EC, 2008a). Moreover, domestic reform's creation of a sound business environment and subsequent attraction of trade and investment can bring greater tax revenue, better services, and engender good governance for developing countries (see Fink & Maskus, 2005). Regarding Sustainable Development the concept is beneficial for both trade and development as it advocates the protection of the environment crucial to the trading future of both developed and developing countries (see Carbone, 2008; Typology, pp.43).

Moreover, we can note that the post-crisis trade-development content analysis shows that the concept of 'Multilateralism' is mentioned more than 'FTAs', with an occurrence of 16 vs 7 (see Table 3, pp. 27). The multi-lateral trading system is conducted in the interest of many and is protective of its weaker members whereas, FTAs possess the scope for the EU to agenda set for its own self-interest (see Baldwin, 2006; Typology, pp.43). By prioritising the concept which is inclusive and rule-bound preventing the EU dominating the outcome the argument that the EU is conceptualises the trade-development nexus for mutual benefit is compounded; the EU can seek trade opening and developing countries are included and protected. Furthermore, the post-crisis trade-development content analysis contains the concept of 'Inclusiveness' not present pre-crisis. This shows the priority afforded by the EU to incorporating all countries into the global economy and is reflective of the earlier argument that the idea of trade engendering development has transcended more fervently into EU outputs. In sum, it appears that the concepts that are prioritised are mutually beneficial (see Figure. 1 Typology, pp. 43).

The final manner in which the argument can be supported that the EU conceptualises the trade-development nexus as a means to achieve mutual benefit for its trade and development agendas is the emphasis on reciprocity post-crisis. The concept's presence in both trade and development agenda's priority concept lists makes clear that the EU is seeking to gain from what it gives to its partners (see Tables 3 & 4, pp.27-28). Evidently, in the EU's intellectual arena the concept of reciprocity is present and thus, makes logical that the research has found its trade-development nexus conceptualisation to follow suit seeking mutually beneficial policies and outcomes. Therefore, the third assumption, that development is subordinated to trade, has been refuted by the postulation that the EU conceptualises the trade-development nexus for mutual benefit for its trade and development agendas.

In conclusion, this chapter has tested the dissertation's hypothesis, that post-crisis the EU has subordinated development to its own trade priorities, and ultimately refutes it. Instead, this chapter has concluded a theory of the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus that sees that the economic crisis has catalysed a change in the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation to one where the policies used to pursue its own post-crisis recovery strategy simultaneously pursue its development objectives in a relationship of mutual benefit.

5. Discussion

The previous chapter elucidated the analyses of and theory generated by the research conducted in this dissertation. The theory generated postulates that the economic crisis has prompted the EU to conceptualise the trade-development nexus as a means by which to seek mutual benefit achieving both its trade and development objectives. Thus, this chapter will assimilate the findings of the research conducted to the literature previously examined on the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation.

5.1 Assimilating Findings to Previous Research

Firstly, as the theory generated expounds that the change in the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation was catalysed by economic crisis it fits with the surrounding literature examined which argued that external crises effects conceptualisation change (see Bartels, 2007; Makhan, 2009; Carbone, 2013a). For instance, previous research showed the developmentally premised Lome Convention to be a guise for ensuring EU access to natural resources in the face of oil crises (Makhan, 2009: 41). Similarly, this study found use of trade for development policy employed as a means by which to secure greater market access needed to boost post-crisis growth.

Secondly, as the theory contends that the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation works to meet both EU trade and development objectives this dissertation fails to integrate with the literature which argues that the EU is subordinating development to commercial imperatives (see Siles-Brugge, 2014a; Ahnlid & Elgstrom, 2014; Langan, 2014; Woolcock, 2014). Despite the research finding that market liberalisation is more offensively pursued post-crisis, in an effort to boost EU growth (as De Ville & Orbie, 2011 & 2014), the analysis revealed that development concerns were not subordinated due to the change in discourse in the development agenda to utilising trade more for development and the prioritisation of trade concepts that were mutually beneficial (see pp. 30-32). The change discovered is that the development agenda came to reflect the strategies intended for EU growth and employ trade more frequently as a means by which to achieve development objectives. Therefore, the mutually beneficial nature of strategies of trade and development has shown that development is not subordinated to commercial imperatives setting this study apart from previous literature.

Finally, we assimilate the findings of the research to the literature which argues that the EU is a 'normative power' as it sets international development norms assuming the role of development leader (see Manners 2002 & 2008; Whitman, 2013). The reflection of the EU's trade agenda in the development agenda leads to this dissertation's subsequent postulation that the EU is attempting to be a leader in development by setting a new standard for using trade for development that goes beyond the WTO's remit whilst simultaneously being the leader in promoting internationally agreed best practices such as AFT (see pp.30). Moreover, the EU is attempting to shape international norms by advocating the use of traditionally trade policies in a relationship of mutual benefit with development objectives (see Typology, pp.43). The research conducted has thus dismissed the dissertation's overarching aim of dispelling the EU's classification as a normative power showing the EU to be attempting to create new development norms by advocating trade liberalisation as best for poverty eradication and be an example for internationally established best practices. As an aside, it is crucial to note here that this study analyses the conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus and does not assess potential impact of policies thus, cannot advocate the subsequent development success of the EU's ideas only that it is shift in approach.

Furthermore, a mutually beneficial trade-development nexus conceptualisation ensures that the EU remains in a position of economic power, by achieving its trade agenda objectives, embodying the role of a prominent international actor with the position to set development norms. Therefore, this dissertation has shown that pursuing economic power and being a normative power are not mutually exclusive as the EU seeks to achieve both its trade and development objectives simultaneously thus, the dissertation's research has been aligned to previous literature which sees the EU as a normative power (see Manners, 2002 & 2008).

In sum, this chapter has shown that the findings of this dissertation assimilate with literature that postulated the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation had changed post-crisis. However, it has shown the findings to refute the literature's assertion that the EU is subordinating development to commercial imperatives by arguing the EU has a mutually beneficial trade-development nexus conceptualisation. Finally, this chapter has shown that the findings of this dissertation collude to the conceptualisation of the EU as a normative power refuting the dissertation's earlier hypothesis that EU is self-interested by showing that economic and normative power are not mutually exclusive. To

conclude, this dissertation has filled a gap in the research by providing a rounded theory of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation post-crisis which sees it pursue mutual benefit for both its trade and development agendas.

6. Conclusion

The previous chapters outlined the basis for and importance of determining a theory of the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus, the method used to generate such, a presentation of the results and analysis, and finally a discussion of the theory generated and its relation to surrounding literature. This section provides a rounded summary of the paper and confirms the main findings of the research conducted.

This paper sought to determine a theory of the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus post-crisis developing forth from literature which postulated that the EU was subordinating development to commercial imperatives. Firstly, the research conducted determined that the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus had changed and secondly, that such change was catalysed by the economic crisis due to its detrimental impact on EU growth and competitiveness. Finally, the research determined that the EU conceptualises the trade-development nexus as a means by which to extract mutual benefits by using trade policy for its own growth and as the principal component and financier in achieving its development agenda. Thus, the dissertation ascertained that the EU is not subordinating development to commercial imperatives but uniting trade and development agendas in a joint framework engendering the growth of itself and developing countries.

The grounds for conducting the research were established in the Literature Review which highlighted literature that showed the EU to use the trade-development nexus for strategic ends as a result of external crises (see Bartels, 2007; Makhan 2009). It proceeded to show how the economic crisis caused problems for the EU which led to slowed economic growth and a falling place in the global economic order (see Whitman, 2010; Young, 2011; Smith, 2013). This meant that the EU had an increasing interest to in pursuing economic growth in order to be competitive in the international arena and maintain its power (De Ville & Orbie, 2014: 164). The literature review proceeded to examine literature that perceived changes in the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation post-crisis and condemned EU actions and policy as commercially motivated (see Faber & Orbie, 2009; Heron & Siles-Brugge, 2012; Carbone & Orbie, 2014; Siles-Brugge, 2014a; Ahnlid & Elgstrom, 2014). Finally, it examined literature that opposed this view and saw the EU as normatively motivated acting in the interests of development (see Manners, 2002 & 2008; Whitman, 2010).

The Literature Review had revealed there to be a plethora of literature concerning the development impact of trade or trade-for-development policies. Thus, a gap in the literature

was established that deemed there to be a lack of a comprehensive study of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation asking whether it subordinated development to commercial imperatives. Moreover, it sought to offer a new perspective on the evolution of the trade-development nexus by viewing the economic crisis as a facilitator for EU conceptualisation change.

To determine a theory on the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus post-crisis the dissertation utilised the methods of Grounded Theory and Content Analysis (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Krippendorff, 1989; Corbin & Strauss, 1998; Berg, 2007). The methods employed took seminal EU trade and development documents, from pre and post-crisis periods, in order to determine the primary agenda of each. Then it utilised the concepts elucidated through the coding process to conduct a content analysis upon the seminal trade-development documents of the EU in order to determine the frequency of occurrence of trade and development concepts. Subsequently, analysis was conducted which amassed in the production of a grounded theory of the EU's trade-development conceptualisation. Both method and analyses ensured the theory produced was firmly grounded in and supported by the literature it was created from ensuring its replicability and credibility.

Finally, the dissertation assimilated its findings to previous research finding that it resonated with that which dictated external crises as a catalyst for conceptualisation change and that the economic crisis catalysed change (see Carbone & Orbie, 2014). However, the conclusions drawn from the research failed to cohere with the literature's assertion that the EU was self-interested and subordinating development (see Siles-Brugge, 2014a; Young, 2014). It postulated instead that the EU's conceptualisation of the trade-development nexus has changed to a mutually beneficial cross-over of policies where the EU trade agenda can be pursued simultaneously to the pursuit of its development agenda.

In conclusion, this dissertation has amassed a theory of the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation that postulates that there is an emphasis post-crisis in seeking mutual benefit in trade-development relations meaning that the EU seeks to achieve its trade agenda simultaneous to pursuing third country development objectives. The assumption from the literature that the EU's conceptualisation has changed has been reiterated as has the postulation that the crisis was its catalyst. However, the argument that the EU subordinates development to commercial imperatives was shown to be overstated as the EU's development agenda post-crisis was shown to in fact include a greater trade focus and prioritised trade

policies had a mutually beneficial impact on trade and development. Ultimately, this dissertation has filled a gap in the literature by providing a holistic theory on the EU's trade-development nexus conceptualisation that is grounded in literature concluding, that the EU conceptualises the trade-development nexus as a means by which to ensure its own growth and developing country growth by simultaneously achieving its trade and development agendas by using policies in a relationship of mutual benefit.

Appendix. 1

Coding Frames for Content Analysis and Frequency Counts

The Grounded Theory analysis of the EU's pre and post-crisis trade and development agendas involved the coding of the documents to establish the main components and objectives of each. Presented here is the final selective coding stage of the process in a coding frame illustrative of the primary concepts of the agendas inclusive of their alternate definitions. It is presented as an explanatory tool which elucidates the concepts ran for their frequencies which facilitated the Content Analysis of the EU's trade-development texts. Listed in bold is the primary concepts of the agendas followed by words or phrases that were counted as synonymous of theme or concept or intention.

Pre-crisis Trade Agenda

1. **Barriers to Trade;** tariffs, 'non-tariff barriers', NTB, 'trade burdens'
2. **Comparative Advantage;** 'green technology', 'low carbon technology', 'untapped potential', 'telecommunications', 'financial services'
3. **Competitiveness;** compete, 'trade power', 'international standing', 'emerging economy', 'rising power', leader
4. **Domestic Policies;** 'business environment', 'good governance', transparent, stable
5. **Employment;** 'more jobs', 'avoid unemployment', 'human capital investment'
6. **Free Trade Agreement;** FTA, 'bilateral agreement'
7. **Globalisation;** 'global economic order', 'international integration'
8. **Innovation;** 'research and development', 'knowledge economy'
9. **Intellectual Property Rights;** IPR, TRIPs
10. **International Standards;** 'regulatory convergence', MRA, 'mutual recognition agreements'
11. **Multi-lateral Trade Regime;** 'international trading system'
12. **Non-Discrimination;** 'national treatment'
13. **Productivity;** 'market potential', 'intermediary product', 'cheaper imports', 'import variety'
14. **Protectionism;** 'protectionist measures'
15. **Reciprocity;** responsibility, 'mutual benefit', 'fair rules', 'equal terms'
16. **Regional Integration;** 'large home market'
17. **Services;** 'services liberalisation'
18. **Singapore Issues;** 'government procurement', 'public procurement', 'trade facilitation', 'customs issues', 'competition policy'
19. **Sustainable Development;** 'sustained growth', 'environmental protection', 'natural resources', 'raw materials', 'climate change', 'energy security'
20. **Trade and Investment;** 'business environment', 'investment climate', 'legal certainty for investors'

Pre-crisis Development Agenda

1. **Aid Effectiveness;** ‘more aid’, ‘increase aid budget’, ‘better aid’, ‘untied aid’, predictable, ‘aid fragmentation’, harmonisation
2. **Business Environment;** ‘investment climate’, ‘attractive for investment’, ‘attract investment’, ‘private sector development’
3. **Differentiation;** ‘focus on LDCs’, ‘most in need’, ‘diversity’
4. **Doha; DDA**
5. **Domestic Reform;** ‘domestic policies’, ‘good governance’, democracy, human rights, ‘pro-poor policies’, ‘accountable government’, ‘rule of law’
6. **Economic Diversification;** diversified, ‘primary commodities’, ‘exploitation of natural resources’
7. **Financing for Development;** aid, ‘official development assistance’, ODA, ‘budget support’, ‘EU support’
8. **Human Development;** education, health, deprivation, sanitation, ‘access to water’
9. **Inclusiveness;** marginalisation, ‘integration into world economy’
10. **Labour Standards;** ILO
11. **Non-Reciprocity;** ‘preferential access’, ‘non-reciprocal preferences’
12. **Ownership;** ‘reduce dependence’, ‘country owned’, ‘own strategies’
13. **Partnership;** dialogue
14. **Policy Coherence;** ‘external action’
15. **Poverty Eradication;** ‘millennium development goals’, MDG, 2015, ‘eradicating poverty’, ‘poverty reduction’
16. **Public Finance Management;** ‘tax policy reform’, ‘good spending’, ‘macroeconomic policies’, ‘domestic resources’
17. **Regional Integration;** ‘large home market’
18. **Security;** conflicts, ‘conflict prevention’, ‘civil unrest’
19. **Sustainable Development;** ‘environmental protection’, ‘sustainable use of natural resources’
20. **Trade Related Assistance;** ‘Aid for Trade’, ‘capacity building’, ‘trade related technical assistance’, ‘trade capacity’

Post-crisis Trade Agenda

1. **Barriers to Trade;** tariffs, ‘non-tariff barriers’, NTB, ‘trade burdens’
2. **Comparative Advantage;** ‘value added’, ‘high end’, ‘green technology’, ‘low carbon technology’
3. **Competitiveness;** ‘emerging economies’, ‘rising powers’, BRICs, ‘emerging powers’, ‘international standing’

4. **Domestic Policies;** ‘good governance’, ‘domestic reform’, ‘economic governance’, ‘macroeconomic reform’, democracy, ‘accountable government’, ‘rule of law’
5. **Employment;** ‘labour markets’, ‘more jobs’, ‘avoid unemployment’, ‘human capital investment’, retraining
6. **Free Trade Agreements;** FTAs, ‘bilateral agreements’, ‘deeper engagement’
7. **Growth Slow Down;** ‘economic crisis’, downturn, recession, ‘contracted growth’, ‘declining portion of trade’, ‘boosting, growth’
8. **Inclusiveness;** ‘social inclusion’, cohesion, ‘left behind’, marginalisation, ‘social protection’, ‘social market economy’
9. **Innovation Union;** ‘research and development’, ‘knowledge economy’
10. **Intellectual Property Rights;** IPR, TRIPs
11. **International Standards;** ‘international regulations’, ‘regulatory convergence’, ‘mutual recognition agreements’, MRAs
12. **Invest opportunities;** ‘stable business environment’, ‘investment climate’, ‘venture capital’
13. **Multi-lateral Trade Regime;** ‘international trading system’, ‘rules-based international system’
14. **Productivity;** ‘market potential’, ‘intermediary products’, ‘cheaper imports’, ‘import variety’
15. **Protectionism;** ‘protectionist measures’
16. **Reciprocity Agenda;** ‘fair access’, leverage, ‘non-discriminatory access’, ‘non-discrimination’, ‘mutual benefit’, ‘national treatment’
17. **Regional Integration**
18. **Services;** ‘services liberalisation’
19. **Singapore Issues;** ‘government procurement’, ‘public procurement’, ‘trade facilitation’, ‘customs issues’, ‘competition policy’, ‘national treatment’, ‘trade and investment’, ‘WTO plus’, ‘behind-the-border’
20. **Sustainable Development;** ‘sustained growth’, ‘environmental protection’, ‘natural resources’, ‘raw materials’, ‘climate change’, ‘energy security’, ‘climate resilience’

Post-crisis Development Agenda

1. **Aid Effectiveness;** ‘more aid’, ‘increase aid budget’, ‘better aid’, ‘untied aid’, predictable, ‘aid fragmentation’, harmonisation
2. **Burden Sharing;** ‘emerging economies assume responsibility’
3. **Business Environment;** ‘investment climate’, ‘attractive for investment’, ‘attract investment’, ‘foreign direct investment’, FDI
4. **Differentiation;** ‘country need’, ‘focus on LDCs’, ‘most in need’, ‘most vulnerable’, ‘poorest countries’

5. **Domestic Reform;** ‘domestic policies’, ‘good governance’, democracy, ‘pro-poor policies’, ‘accountable government’, ‘rule of law’
6. **Economic Diversification;** diversified, ‘primary commodities’, ‘exploitation of natural resources’
7. **Financing for Development;** aid, ‘budget support’, ‘official development assistance’, ODA, assistance, funding
8. **High EU Standards;** SPS, ‘rules of origin’
9. **Human Development;** education, health, AIDs, ‘human capital development’, deprivation, sanitation, ‘access to water’
10. **Inclusive;** marginalisation, ‘integration into world economy’, ‘aid orphans’, inequality
11. **Labour Standards;** ILO
12. **Ownership;** ‘alignment with national policy’, ‘poverty reduction strategy paper’, PRSP, ‘country systems’, ‘country led’, ‘domestic resources’, ‘own resources’, ‘partnership’, ‘dialogue’
13. **Policy Coherence;** PCD, ‘trade coherence’, ‘impact of other policies’, ‘external action’, ‘beyond aid agenda’
14. **Poverty Eradication;** ‘millennium development goals’, MDG, 2015, ‘human development’, ‘eradicating poverty’
15. **Public Finance Management;** ‘tax policy reform’, ‘good spending’, ‘macroeconomic policies’, ‘domestic resources’
16. **Reciprocity;** ‘mutual benefit’, ‘beneficial to both’, ‘effective collaboration’, ‘level playing field’, ‘strategic relationship’
17. **Regional Integration**
18. **Security;** ‘conflict management’, ‘global and regional stability’
19. **Sustainable Development;** ‘long term growth’, ‘sustained growth’, ‘environmental protection’, ‘climate change’, ‘low carbon growth’, ‘green technology’, ‘natural resources’
20. **Trade Related Assistance;** ‘Aid for Trade’, ‘capacity building’, ‘engine for development’

Appendix. 2

Figure. 1: Typology of Policy Impact

<i>Policy</i>	<i>Impact of Measure</i>		
	<i>EU Trade Beneficial</i>	<i>Development Beneficial</i>	<i>Trade and Development Beneficial</i>
<i>Development Policy</i>	[see trade and development beneficial]	ODA Trade-related Assistance (AFT) Aid Effectiveness Differentiation	Sustainable Development (environmental protection) Core Labour Standards
<i>Trade Policy</i>	Free Trade Agreements (bilateralism) Eliminating Tariffs Singapore Issues (Trade Facilitation, Government Procurement, Competition Policy) Services Liberalisation (comparative advantage) Eliminating Protectionism	Trade Preferences	Domestic Reform IPR Guarantees TBT (International standardisation and regulatory convergence) Investment Policy Regional Integration Multilateralism

Source: Author's own data

This section provided a typology of the classification of trade and development policies to provide an ex ante definition of their impact. Trade policies have been classified as such as they are concerned with increasing trade volumes by removing tariffs and NTBs (see Ahnliid, 2005; Wilks, 2005; Hay, 2007; Young, 2007; Ahnliid & Elgstrom, 2014). Development policies have been classified as such because of their intended effect of tackling poor economic growth and eradicating poverty (see Stiglitz & Charlton, 2005; Faber & Orbie, 2009; Knack et al., 2010; Easterly & Williamson, 2011; Carbone, 2011 & 2013a). Policies classified as trade and development beneficial have been so because they contribute toward trade agenda objectives of increased liberalisation and toward development objectives of promoting economic growth to eradicate poverty (see Grindle, 2004; Maskus et al., 2004; Fink & Maskus, 2005; Baldwin, 2006; Carbone, 2008)

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