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The project investigates the effectiveness of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), and the newly launched Eastern Partnership (EaP) in three east European countries – Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova.¹ In our research we comprehensively combine both the EU’s and the EE’s perspectives, and include the whole range of methods in order to achieve a better understanding of the success and limitations of the ENP/EaP. We undertook a range of interviews with European officials in Brussels and Strasbourg (Commission, Parliament and Member States’ permanent representations) and examined EU’s official documents and published data. To complement this, we also collected afresh nation-wide surveys, expert interviews, focus-groups and school essay in the four east European Countries, to gain intimate knowledge of the process and problems related to legitimising the ENP/EaP in the region.

Our research of the existing EU practices in Eastern Europe has so far revealed two-level tensions. First, from the examination of official documents, elite interviews and public surveys across the EU border, it has transpired that *conceptually* the EU has limited *uniform awareness* of *what* it is trying to promote in its eastern neighbourhood under the aegis of ‘shared values’, ‘collective norms’ and ‘joint ownership’. Not only is there a discrepancy in the EU’s own rhetoric – juxtaposing its ‘universalist’ values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law (Europeanisation), with its ‘realist’ security ‘needs’ to protect its borders and safeguard its own citizenry (securitisation); there is also an evident clash of the EU’s vision of good governance with what the neighbours perceive to be such, stemming from their own unique historical experiences and cultural traditions. Second, *empirically*, the EU seems to favour a ‘top-down’ governance approach (based on rule/norm transfer and conditionality) in its relations with outsiders, which is clearly at odds with a voluntary idea of ‘partnership’, and explicitly limits the input of ‘the other’ in the process of reform. In the absence of a workable notion of partnership,

¹ Russia is also included into research, as a greater geopolitical neighbour, affecting EU relations with Eastern Europe

external governance (unintentionally) circumscribes the EU’s actions to the EU-centred vision of governance, without necessarily connecting it to the ‘visions’ and ‘needs’ of the partner states. Consequently, without the substantive knowledge of its partners, the EU encounters protraction even from the most ‘enthusiastic’ neighbours, such as Moldova and Ukraine; and resistance from those who are not sufficiently motivated by the ‘universal’ appeal of EU governance.

The project is also organised in cooperation with partners in EE: Centre for Political Research, Belarusian State University; Centre for Sociological Research, Moscow State University; Independent Sociological Research Centre in Moldova and SOCIS Centre for Social and Political Research in Ukraine.



RESEARCH TEAM

Principal Investigator:

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Politics**

Elena holds a PhD degree from the University of Bath, and a PhD equivalent from the Belarusian State University. Her main research interests include democratisation, foreign policy and EU relations with Eastern Europe. Her principal publications include: *The Quality of Democracy in Post-Communist Europe* (ed; London: Routledge, 2006); *Postcommunist Belarus* (ed; Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), *Contemporary Belarus: Between Democracy and Dictatorship* (ed; London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). She has also been a guest co-editor for special issues on the ‘Quality of Democracy’ (*Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 2005) and ‘Values in the New Europe’ (*Contemporary Politics*, 2006).

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Tanya holds an MSc degree in European Union Politics from the London School of Economics, UK and a MA from the Minsk State Linguistic University, Belarus. Her areas of interest include EU enlargement and comparative legislative studies. She is contributor to Special Issue ‘Eastern Partnership: a New Opportunity for Eastern Neighbours?’ (*Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, March 2011).

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PROJECT WEBSITE

www.aber.ac.uk/en/interpol/research/research-projects/europeanising-securitising-outsiders

MEDIA ON PROJECT

EurActiv

www.euractiv.com/en/east-mediterranean/moldova-most-EU-friendly-eastern-country-survey-reveals-news-495197

Rosbalt (in Russian)

www.rosbalt.ru/2010/07/30/758302.html

TEPSA Newsletter Summer edition 2010

www.tepsa.be/newsletter%20Summer.pdf

UACES Newsletter, No. 65 August 2010

www.uaces.org/pdf/newsletter/n65.pdf

BBC Service Ukraine

www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian/news/2010/09/100922_eu_east_oh.shtml

Office for a Democratic Belarus, Brussels

<http://democraticbelarus.eu/node/10260>

Institute for State Ideologies, London

www.instid.org/archives/1055

RESEARCH OUTPUTS (2008-2011)

Monographs

- Elena Korosteleva, *The European Union and its Eastern Neighbours: towards a more ambitious partnership?* (Routledge 30 November 2011, forthcoming)
- Elena Korosteleva (ed.), *Eastern Partnership: a New Opportunity for the Neighbours?* (Routledge 15 November 2011, forthcoming)
- Elena Korosteleva (ed.), *Vostochnoe Partnerstvo: problemy i perspektivy*, Minsk: Belarusian State University (2011, forthcoming)

Articles (refereed)

- Elena Korosteleva, 'EU-Ukraine Relations under the EaP: a Deadlock of Ambitions or Ill-Conceived Policy?' (in progress)
- Elena Korosteleva, 'Rocking the Boat? Security Dilemmas for the Contested Neighbourhood', working paper, *European Union Institute for Security Studies*, Paris (in progress)
- Tanya Radchuk (2010) 'Ride betwixt Wind and Tide: Foreign Policy Choice of Belarus', *Europe-Asia Studies* (under review)
- Elena Simona Davidescu (2010) 'Sustainable Development Strategies and Environmental Institutions in Romania and Moldova', *Environmental Policy and Governance* (under review)
- Elena Korosteleva (December 2011) 'Questioning Democracy Promotion: Belarus' Response to the Coloured Revolutions', Special Issue, *Democratization* (forthcoming)
- Elena Korosteleva (summer 2011) 'Belarus' Foreign Policy in the Times of Crisis', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Special Issue, 27(2 & 3) (forthcoming)
- Elena Korosteleva (June 2011) 'Change or Continuity: Is the Eastern Partnership an Adequate Tool for the European Neighbourhood', *International Relations*, 27(2) (forthcoming)
- Elena Korosteleva, editor and contributor (March 2011) 'Eastern Partnership: a New Opportunity for the Neighbours?', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Special Issue, 27(1), pp.1-21
- Tanya Radchuk (March 2011) 'Contested Neighbourhood or How to Reconcile the Differences', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Special Issue, 27(1), pp.22-50
- Elena Korosteleva (2010) 'Moldova's European Choice: Between Two Stools', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 62, No. 8, pp. 1267-89
- Elena Korosteleva (2009) 'The Limits of EU Governance: Belarus' Response to the European Neighbourhood Policy', *Contemporary Politics*, 15(2), pp.229-45
- Elena Korosteleva (2009) 'Changing Belarus? The Limits of EU Governance in Eastern Europe', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 44(2), pp. 143-165 (with G.Bosse)
- Elena Korosteleva (2009) 'Was it a Quiet Revolution? Belarus after the 2006 Presidential Election', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Special Issue, 25(2 & 3), pp.324-346

Papers Presented/ Guest Speaker

- Elena Korosteleva, 'Partnership and the ENP: Belarusian and Moldovan Perspectives', keynote speaker, seminar series 'Russia and Europe: neighbourhood politics', *St Antony's College, Oxford University*, 8 November 2010
- Elena Korosteleva, panel convenor, 'EaP: Conception of, and Reception in, the Eastern Neighbourhood', speaker 'Transformative Power Europe and the missing 'other' in EU relations with EE', *UACES* annual conference, *College Europe*, Bruges, 6-8 September 2010
- Elena Korosteleva, speaker, 'Deconstructing Partnership in the ENP', *St Antony's College, Oxford University*, 1 June 2010

- Elena Korosteleva, speaker, 'Belarus in the time of Crisis: towards the Year(s) of Quality', *Institute for Central and East European Studies*, Glasgow University, 13-4 May 2010
- Elena Korosteleva, convenor, roundtable, 'ENP's Effectiveness in Eastern Europe', *BASEES* annual conference, *Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge University*, 27-9 March 2010
- Elena Korosteleva, keynote speaker, 'The EU and Eastern Europe: opportunities and challenges', *Wolverhampton University*, 8 March 2010
- Elena Korosteleva, speaker, 'Assessment of the EU's approach to Eastern Neighbours', *St Antony's, Oxford University*, 26 February 2010
- Elena Korosteleva, panel co-convenor, 'Democracy Promotion and Normative Power: neo-colonialism in EU's external relations', *BISA, Leicester University*, 15-17 December 2009
- Elena Korosteleva, *UACES/BASEES* conference 'Russia: a part of Europe, or apart from Europe?', *Birmingham University*, 27-8 November 2009
- Elena Korosteleva, tabled paper, *AAASS conference*, session 13, Boston, Massachusetts, 12-15 November 2009
- Elena Korosteleva, briefing of a new Ambassador to Belarus, *FCO, London*, 7 September 2009
- Elena Korosteleva, keynote speaker, 'Europe-in-between: coping with volatilities of geopolitical interspaces', roundtable "EU, Russia and Central Southeast Europe (Ukraine, Belarus, Caucasus)", *Luxembourg Institute for European and International Studies*, 24 April 2009
- Elena Korosteleva, contribution to specialist roundtable 'EU and Belarus six months after: Achievements and Challenges ahead', *Centre for European Reform*, London, 4 March 2009
- Elena Korosteleva, convenor, roundtable 'ENP and Eastern Neighbours', *Belarusian State University*, 30 May 2008
- Elena Korosteleva, contribution to the conference 'Rethinking the Coloured Revolutions', *Institute for Central and East European Studies*, Glasgow University, 2-3 May 2008
- Elena Korosteleva, speaker, 'An Analysis of Boundaries to EU-Belarus Cooperation', the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies, annual conference, *Fitzwilliam College, University of Cambridge*, 29-31 March 2008
- Elena Korosteleva, speaker, 'Europeanising Belarus?', 5th Wider Europe Conference, *European Parliament*, Brussels, 12-13 March 2008 (with G.Bosse)

EVENTS

Summer 2010

- Presentation of findings to the FCO (London), Cabinet of Commissioner for Enlargement and ENP Štefan Füle, senior officials of DG RELEX, European Commission
- Press-release of project data on the web
- Special issue for the *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* (Routledge March 2011, forthcoming)

Winter/Spring 2011

- Roundtable with Štefan Füle, Chatham House, London, 13 January
- Conference 'The Eastern Partnership and the Future of EU Engagement', Chatham House, London, 16 March
- Press-conference in Minsk, Belarus, April 2011
- *BASEES* annual conference, Cambridge University, 2-4 April 2011
- *BISA* annual conference, Manchester Conference Centre, 27-29 April 2011

Europeanising or Securitising 'the Outsiders'?

Assessing the EU's Partnership Building Approach with Eastern Europe

