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**The Problem of 'europeanisation' in the Studies of EU-Russian Relations:  
Russian-language publications**

The term "europeanisation" is one of the most deeply rooted and at the same time disputable in domestic science. Most often the term is associated with the processes of reforms in Russia that Peter the Great launched at the beginning of the XVIII century, aimed at making Russia look like Europe through tough reforms imposed from above. At the same time, some Russian studies show that the process of europeanisation in Russia began already in the 15th century (with the fall of Constantinople and the receipt of Moscow's status of the Third Rome), and perhaps even in the 9th century as a result of the Christianisation of Rus. Historians define europeanisation in this case as "the process of permanent, purposeful development and use of various Western European experiences in Russia, which became part of its internal life, reflected on the international situation of the country."

The term "europeanisation" is also widely represented in domestic discussions on educational reforms and their study. This is natural, since it was about the adoption in our country of the Bologna system, the development of exchange programs for students and teachers. It is interesting, however, that in most of these works, europeanisation is either used only in the title, or is not subjected to any definition, even with consistent use in the text. Moreover, the contexts of works, as well as the use of the term "europeanisation", are significantly different in these texts. It is also interesting that in most cases the European Union is not analysed at all; europeanisation is understood, rather, in its historical significance for Russia.

The fact that the term "europeanisation" existed in Russia before he came from Western political science into European studies proper, that is, study of the EU, played a kind of evil joke with Russian researchers. They traditionally understood Europeanization as an intensification of the European elements in Russia, already belonging to Europe, the EU brought an asymmetric understanding of europeanisation as an orientation toward EU's policies. This, in turn, provoked the reception of the concept of "europeanisation" not in its theoretical sense, but in the context of the dispute about Russia's belonging to Europe, the necessity and the possibility of its return to Europe, including through recognition by the European Union.

For the Russian studies of europeanisation, the same theoretical gap is characteristic, as in general for studies of European integration and Russia-EU relations. On the one hand, the concept of "europeanisation" is known, it is widely applied to the EU and its member countries, to its relations with third countries. On the other hand, this category is not conceptually developed or applied to EU-Russian relations.

Among the Russian works on europeanisation, it is necessary to note, first of all, the works describing this concept. Authors notice the export of EU norms, practices, rules but refuse to support such a strategy. If external europeanisation was recognized, its effectiveness was characterized as substantially less convincing compared with the experience of familiarizing with European rules and norms of candidate countries from CEE. Russian experts, nevertheless, actively applied the concept of "Europeanisation" to the study of processes within the European Union (the study of the interaction of supranational and national levels in various policies, institutional arrangement and political process). Europeanisation in the foreign sense of this term has also been actively used in the Russian-language literature to analyse the policy of the European Union in the common neighbourhood region.

At the same time, Russian studies rarely used Russia's relations with the EU to test the concept of europeanisation. Obviously, this reflects not only inattention in the domestic literature to theoretical constructions, but also that the projection of norms, rules and practices of the European Union encounters the resistance of our country, regardless of who is at the helm of power. In the same works that use the concept of europeanisation, it quickly turns out that Russia can not be a part of the europeanisation process because it contradicts the discourse of its elites, undermines sovereignty, as it is understood in Russia, and is viewed by Moscow in general as a variant of neo-imperialism.

At the same time, there are interesting cases when europeanisation is seen as a possible development of events in the relations between Russia and the European Union. In all cases, this does not imply a radical reform of regulation of the economic and social spheres of life. For

example, V. Novikov spoke of a partial europeanisation in the sphere of economic cooperation. T. Bordachev in his search for a theoretical concept for Russia-EU relations in the middle of the first decade of this century wrote about selective europeanisation. P. Kalinichenko spoke about the europeanization of Russian law. These works, however, were, rather an exception for Russian-language discussions. Moreover, the application of the concept of europeanisation has disappeared altogether since 2014.