

Saint-Petersburg 2017
Research Brief No 41

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## «Normative power» in Studies of EU-Russian Relations:

## **Russian-Language Studies**

The problem of the "normative power Europe" (NPE, where "Europe" mainly means the European Union) came to domestic research with some delay. In the EU, the impulse was given by the article by I. Manners in 2002. In Russia, this concept was late to arrive.

The NPE approach in Russia was characterized by the same theoretical gap as in general for European studies and the study of relations between Russia and the European Union. On the one hand, researchers vigorously discussed theoretical developments of the NPE with the reference to the EU itself, on the other hand, they had difficulty using this conceptual paradigm for the relations between Russia and the European Union, and also did not develop it theoretically either in application to the EU or in application to EU-Russian relations. When it was discussed in Russian literature, it was often reduced to empirical reflections about why the EU can not be recognized as a normative leader in relation to Russia.

The first group of studies specified the values that the EU promoted, examined the historical preconditions of NPE, and also mechanisms, which help the European Union to project its understanding of the normal beyond its borders. In most cases, this was a retelling of Western works. Moreover, Russian authors preferred the historical approach, supplementing it with small elements of constructivist methodology.

Attempts to delineate the line between "normative power" and "soft power" have been sketchy until recently. A significant change in this trend was made in 2017 when Elena Pavlova and Tatiana Romanova noted that the two concepts differ in: 1) whether they are applicable as an instrument of foreign policy and conscious manipulation of the Other; 2) how great is the distance between the agent and the recipient of power; and 3) whether there is a decline for normative power and soft power.

The third group of studies includes works that actually applied the concept of the NPE to the relations between Russia and the European Union. And here, with rare exceptions, the work remained rather descriptive, focused on the comprehension of rich empirical material, rather than on theorizing. From the very beginning this strand of research was linked to the dilemma of interests vs. values. Some researchers stressed that the EU is characterised by the idealistic pursuit of values. Others noticed that the EU is increasingly realist in its intentions, taking interests into account. This contradiction between values and interests (although disputable as one conditions the other) was correctly believed to set the agenda of EU-Russian relations.

Some Russian-langauge studies also highlighted the instruments that the EU could use in Russia to advance its normative power: legally binding documents, the principle of political convention, dialogue with civil society, technical assistance programs. This focus, however, ignores the fact that NPE could not be exercised intentionally and instrumentally.

Some researchers also looked at the ways in which Russia challenges the NPE. The following ways were identified: 1) Russia's refusal to recognize the universality of the interpretation of norms that the European Union provides, 2) disagreements in the interpretation of norms, 3) challenge that the EU acts solely from the point of view of norms and values, and not from interests, 4) challenges to Russia's European identity that stem from the practice of the NPE. Others proposed to structure Russia's criticism into "a discourse based on political realism" and "an approach that refers to moral values."