

КАК ВЫ В ЦЕЛОМ ОТНОСИТЕСЬ К ЕВРОПЕЙСКОМУ СОЮЗУ?

HOW MUCH OF 'EUROPEANESS'
REMAINS IN RUSSIA?

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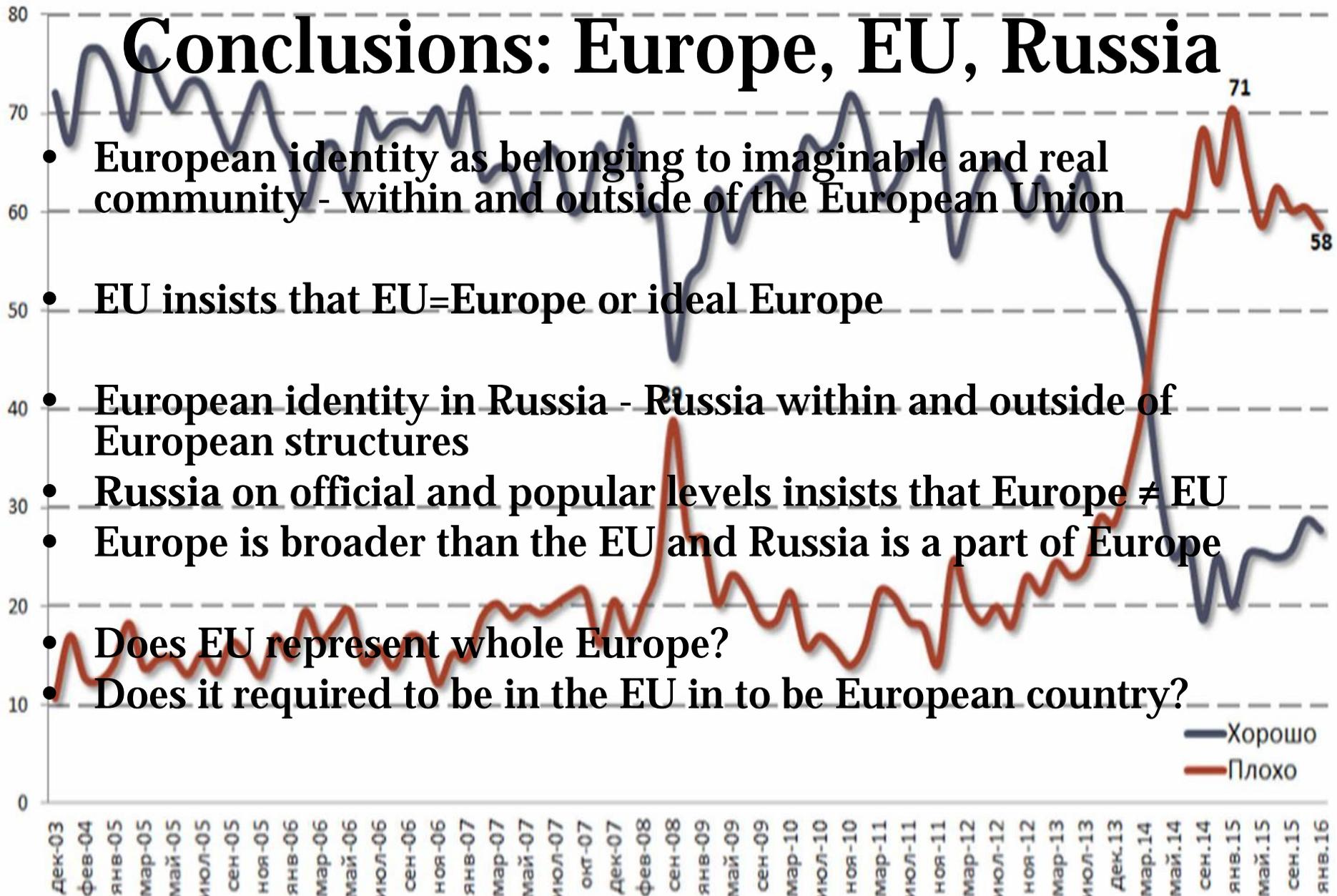
'Europeanness' of Russia

- Self-perception
- Outside evaluation by the European organizations and countries
- 'Europeanness' after 1991 is closely connected with the EU in connection to its enlargement and relations with Russia and other countries in the post-soviet area.
- Study of identity based on *historical constructivism*
- Heinrich Best: "the creation and development of mass identity is determined and directed by the historical givens and practices that form the collective memory of the population". (2012)



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Conclusions: Europe, EU, Russia



- European identity as belonging to imaginable and real community - within and outside of the European Union
- EU insists that EU=Europe or ideal Europe
- European identity in Russia - Russia within and outside of European structures
- Russia on official and popular levels insists that Europe \neq EU
- Europe is broader than the EU and Russia is a part of Europe
- Does EU represent whole Europe?
- Does it required to be in the EU in to be European country?

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Conclusions: 'European syllogism' in Russia and EU

- Young German : "Not all countries in Europe are in the EU, but all EU countries are in Europe".
- One could continue this : "If some countries are outside of the European Union, maybe they are not enough European?"
- Answering the question: "How much Europeaness remains in Russia?" we could observe the decrease of supranational identity and increase of nationalistic feelings.
- But paradoxically the same could be said on EU countries where supranational identity and solidarity decrease while nationalistic feelings increase in last decade.

• Less "EUropeanness" in Russia and EU countries



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Russia and Europe, 1991-2016

- The historical givens or events of last 25 years present gradual binding and then steady estrangement and even alienation of Russia from Europe – real or imaginable. This dynamics is clearly reflected in public opinion in Russia.
- From late 1980s Russia has established closer relations with European organizations, claiming to have a special representation of Europe as a community based on shared values. Namely these organisations are: Council of Europe and the European Union.
- In 1994 Russia signed Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation with the EU.
- In 1996 Russian has joined Council of Europe with adaptation of legal norms and introducing many changes in national law in accordance to CE Conventions, and since 1998 Russia in presented in the ECHR.



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‘Europeanisation’ of Russia

- For Council of Europe and European Union the core of relations with Russia was its *democratization* and *normalization*. Thus the *Europeanization of Russia* meant its progress towards democratic principles in political institutions and stabilizing external relations between Russia and EU countries through constant political dialogue on official level with regard to common issues and challenges.

- *EU-Russia relations* could be named in accordance to the notions that used in official documents:

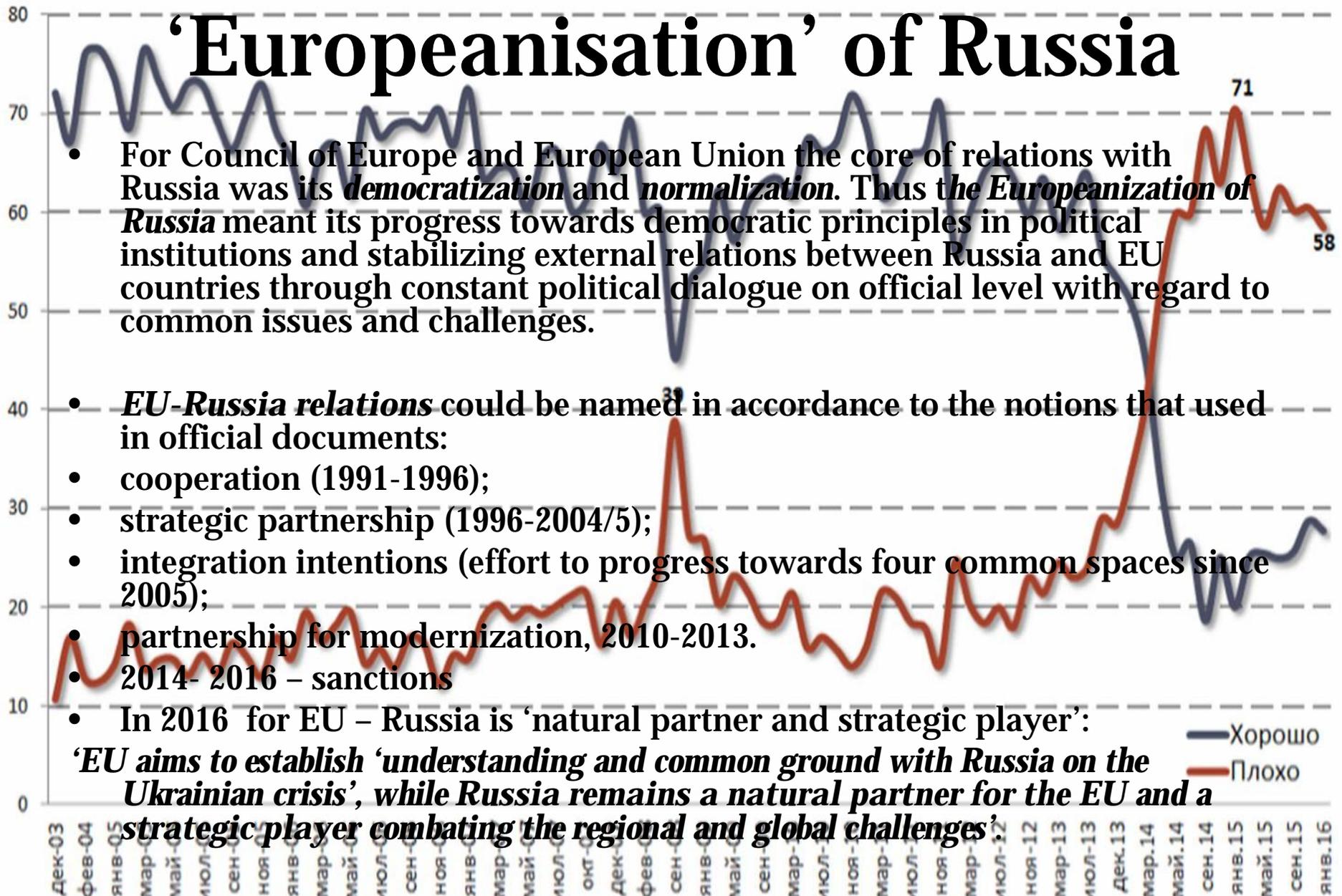
- cooperation (1991-1996);
- strategic partnership (1996-2004/5);
- integration intentions (effort to progress towards four common spaces since 2005);

- partnership for modernization, 2010-2013.

- 2014- 2016 – sanctions

- In 2016 for EU – Russia is ‘natural partner and strategic player’:

‘EU aims to establish ‘understanding and common ground with Russia on the Ukrainian crisis’, while Russia remains a natural partner for the EU and a strategic player combating the regional and global challenges’.



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Securitization of EU-Russia relation as a result of double enlargement (NATO and EU)

- *I would argue that current crisis reflects predominance of security agenda over economic and political interests both in Russia and in the EU on level of elites and then following by masses.*

- Securitization of EU-Russia relations mainly resulted from the EU Eastern enlargement that went hand by hand with NATO Eastern enlargement. NATO Eastern enlargement preceded EU enlargement and was a precondition for Eastern European countries to join EU.

- Double enlargement outplayed logic of shared values and common agenda of other European organizations that Eastern European countries and Russia joined in 1990s - OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and Council of Europe.



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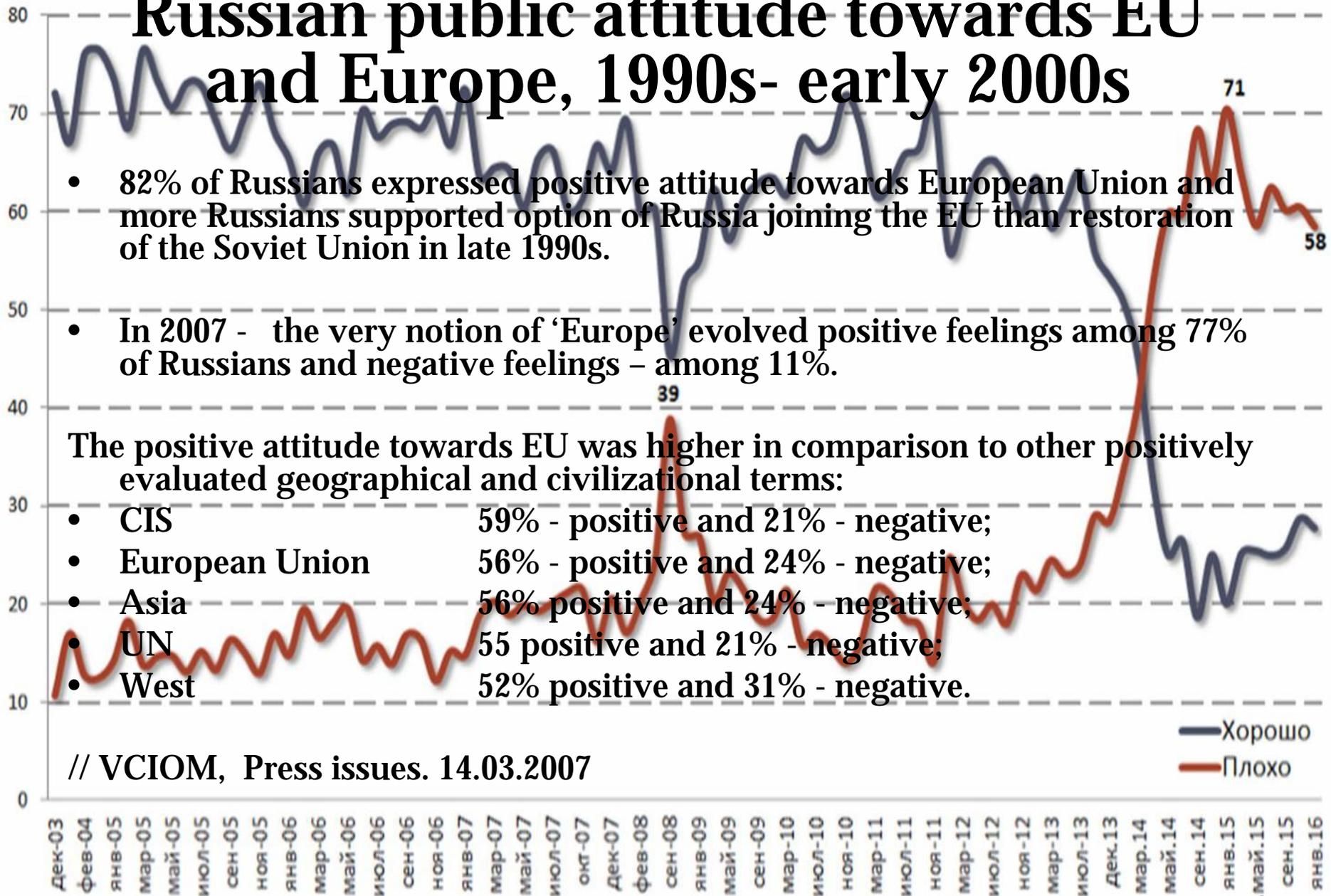
Russian public attitude towards EU and Europe, 1990s- early 2000s

- 82% of Russians expressed positive attitude towards European Union and more Russians supported option of Russia joining the EU than restoration of the Soviet Union in late 1990s.
- In 2007 - the very notion of 'Europe' evolved positive feelings among 77% of Russians and negative feelings - among 11%.

The positive attitude towards EU was higher in comparison to other positively evaluated geographical and civilizational terms:

- CIS 59% - positive and 21% - negative;
- European Union 56% - positive and 24% - negative;
- Asia 56% positive and 24% - negative;
- UN 55 positive and 21% - negative;
- West 52% positive and 31% - negative.

// VCIOM, Press issues. 14.03.2007

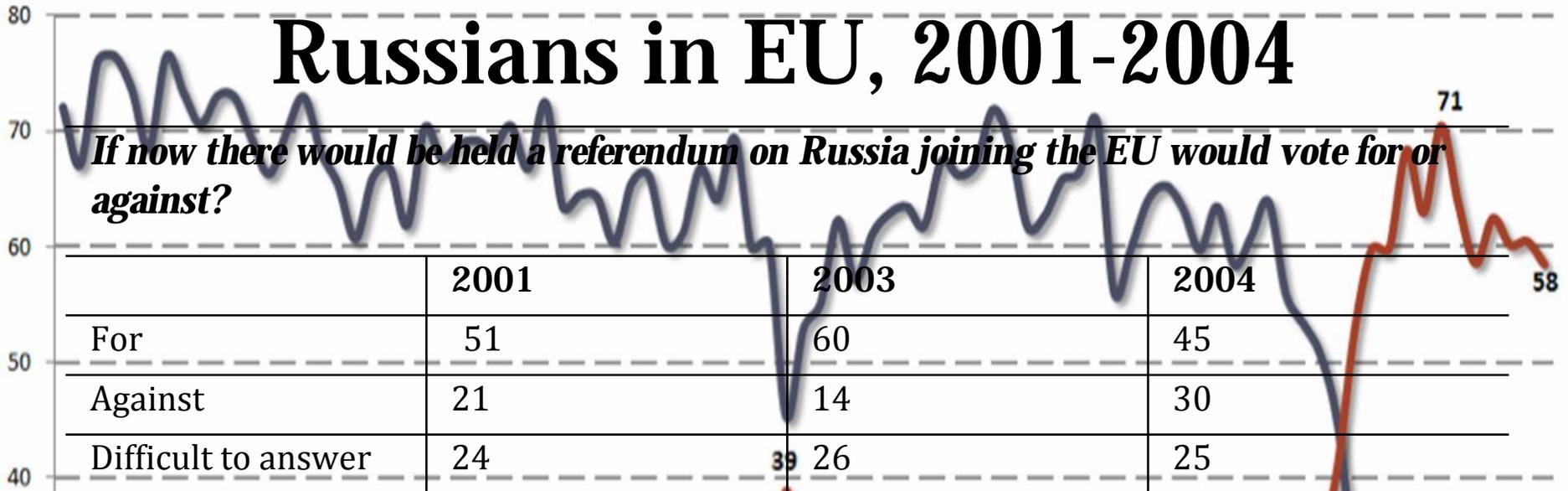


— Хорошо
— Плохо

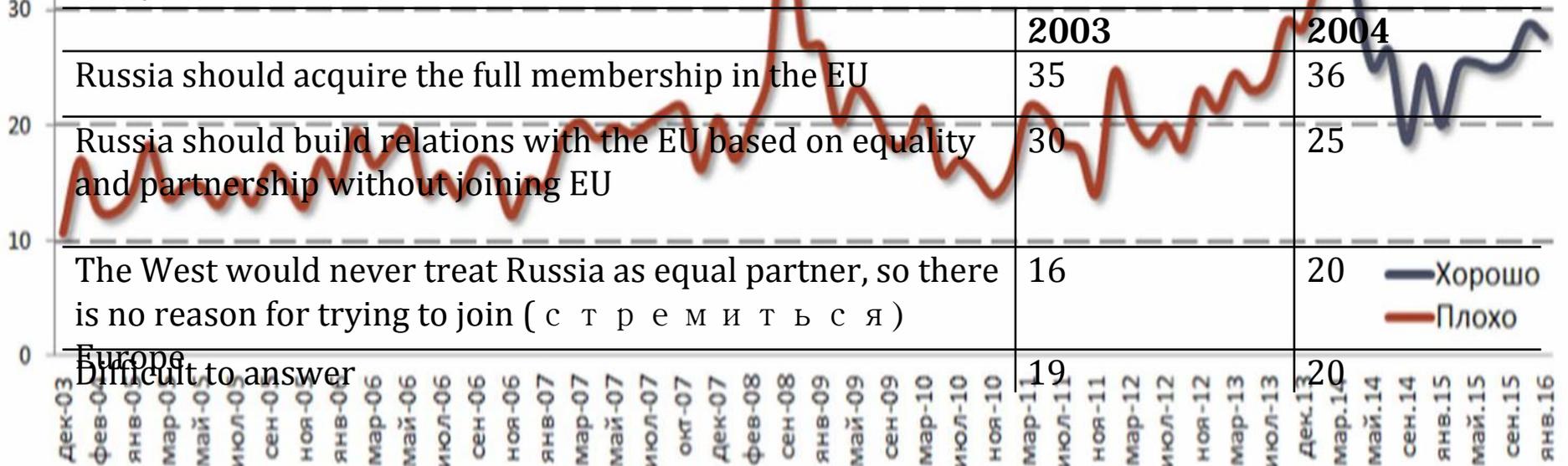
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Russians in EU, 2001-2004

If now there would be held a referendum on Russia joining the EU would vote for or against?



On your opinion how Russia should develop/build its relations with the European Union



— Хорошо
— Плохо

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Why Russia should join EU? 2004

- economical benefits 23%
- the fear to remain 'on margins of Europe' 19%
- desire to reach the same level of living and standards of democracy and human rights 18%
- common European identity, the connection of Europe and Russia in culture and spirit 12%

Most of Russians have not seen any threat of *Eastern enlargement of the EU to Russia*.

At the same time this question raised the most uncertainty among respondents: 41% could not give positive consequences for EU enlargement, and 62% could not name negative.

- A comment for this result was that the majority of Russians were not well informed about changes that took place in Europe and thus EU shell pays more attention to providing more information on its policy.

// 24.03.2004 Press issue VCIOM #70. <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=236&uid=637>



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Russia in EU, 2009, 2016

If Russia would have an opportunity to become a full member of the EU, would you support this and would be against?



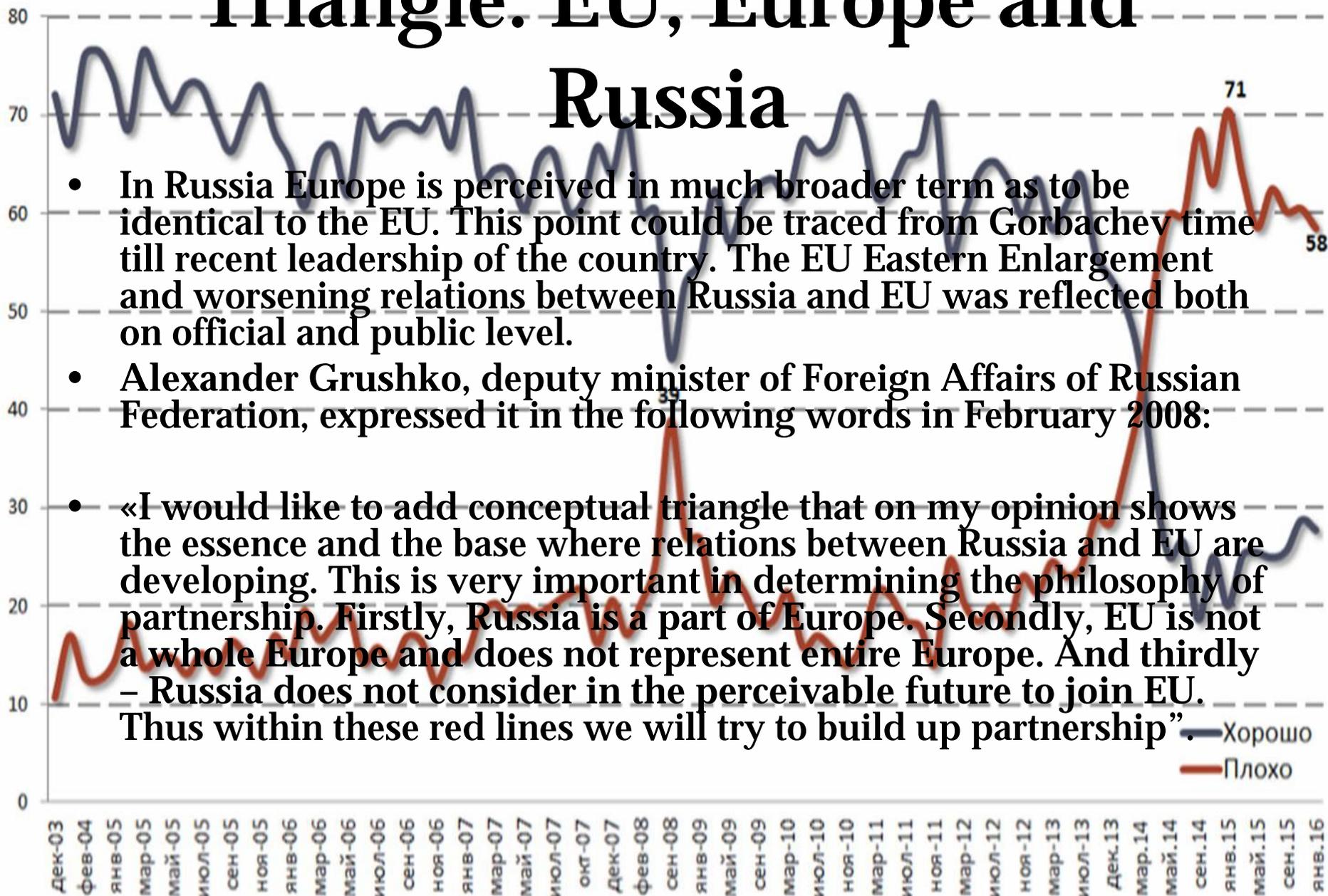
// <http://www.levada.ru/2016/06/02/13400>

— Хорошо
— Плохо

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Triangle: EU, Europe and Russia

- In Russia Europe is perceived in much broader term as to be identical to the EU. This point could be traced from Gorbachev time till recent leadership of the country. The EU Eastern Enlargement and worsening relations between Russia and EU was reflected both on official and public level.
- Alexander Grushko, deputy minister of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation, expressed it in the following words in February 2008:
 - «I would like to add conceptual triangle that on my opinion shows the essence and the base where relations between Russia and EU are developing. This is very important in determining the philosophy of partnership. Firstly, Russia is a part of Europe. Secondly, EU is not a whole Europe and does not represent entire Europe. And thirdly – Russia does not consider in the perceivable future to join EU. Thus within these red lines we will try to build up partnership”



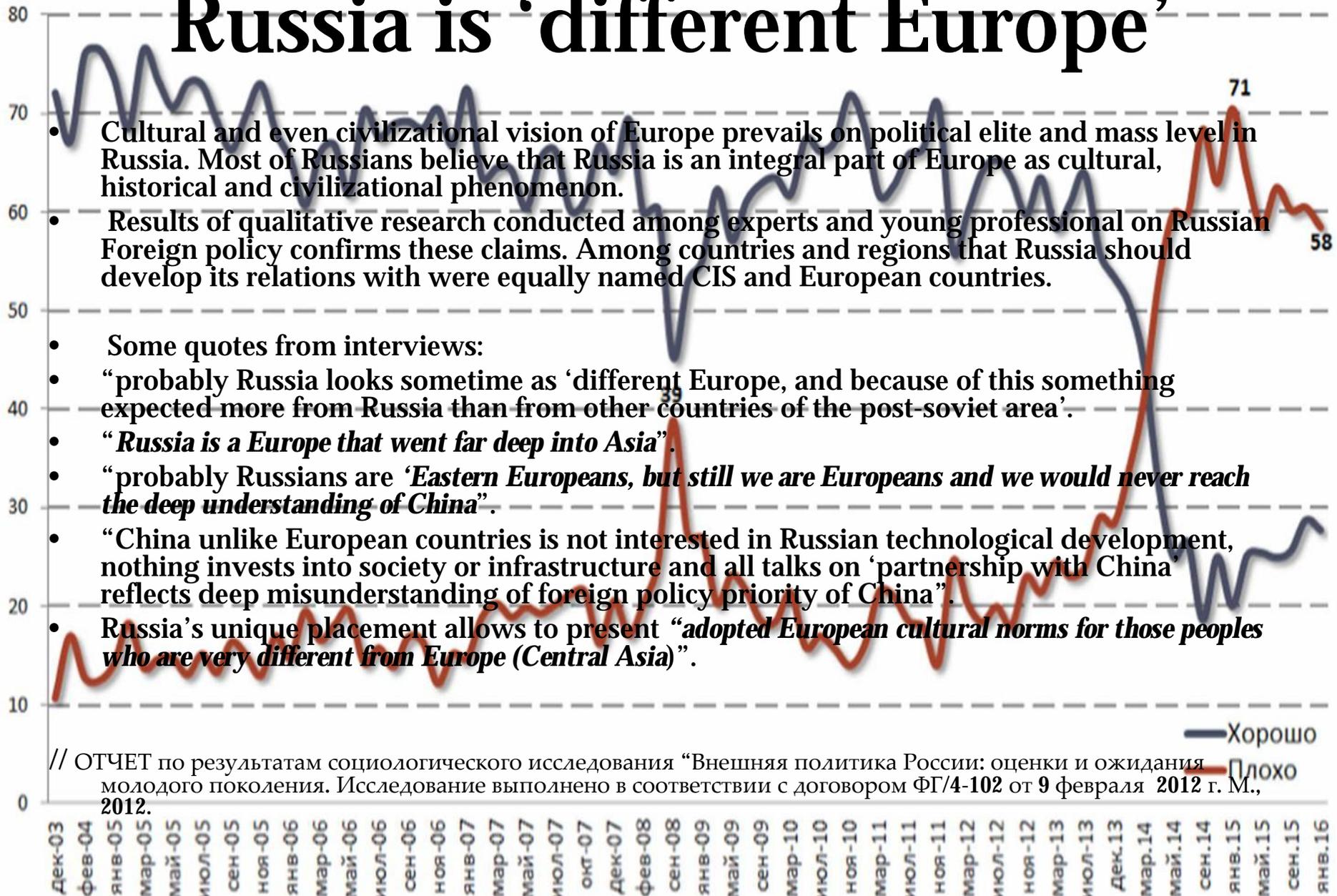
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Russia is 'different Europe'

- Cultural and even civilizational vision of Europe prevails on political elite and mass level in Russia. Most of Russians believe that Russia is an integral part of Europe as cultural, historical and civilizational phenomenon.
- Results of qualitative research conducted among experts and young professional on Russian Foreign policy confirms these claims. Among countries and regions that Russia should develop its relations with were equally named CIS and European countries.

• Some quotes from interviews:

- “probably Russia looks sometime as ‘different Europe, and because of this something expected more from Russia than from other countries of the post-soviet area’.
- “*Russia is a Europe that went far deep into Asia*”.
- “probably Russians are ‘*Eastern Europeans, but still we are Europeans and we would never reach the deep understanding of China*”.
- “China unlike European countries is not interested in Russian technological development, nothing invests into society or infrastructure and all talks on ‘partnership with China’ reflects deep misunderstanding of foreign policy priority of China”.
- Russia’s unique placement allows to present “*adopted European cultural norms for those peoples who are very different from Europe (Central Asia)*”.



// ОТЧЕТ по результатам социологического исследования “Внешняя политика России: оценки и ожидания молодого поколения. Исследование выполнено в соответствии с договором ФГ/4-102 от 9 февраля 2012 г. М., 2012.

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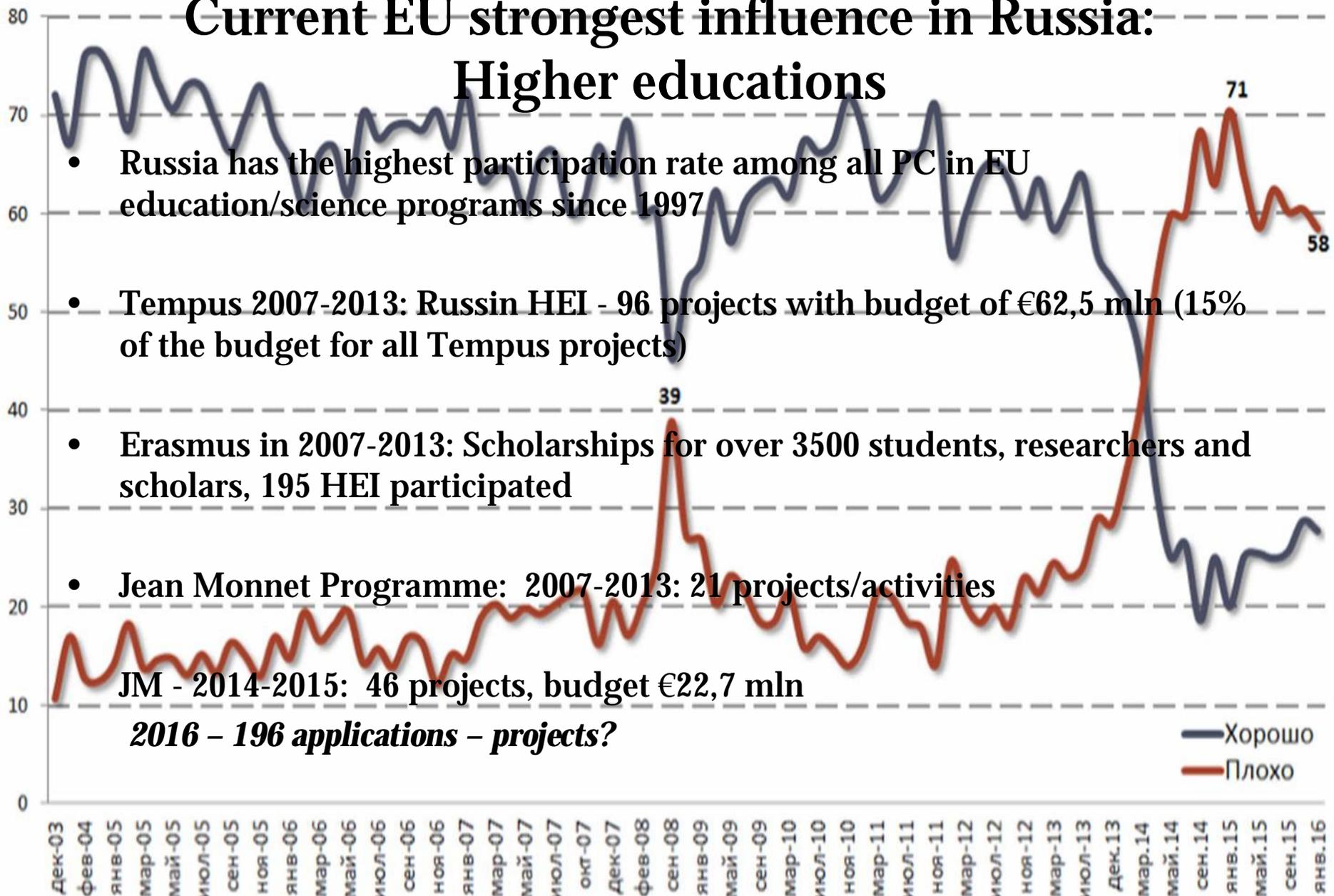
Current EU strongest influence in Russia:

Higher educations

- Russia has the highest participation rate among all PC in EU education/science programs since 1997
- Tempus 2007-2013: Russian HEI - 96 projects with budget of €62,5 mln (15% of the budget for all Tempus projects)
- Erasmus in 2007-2013: Scholarships for over 3500 students, researchers and scholars, 195 HEI participated
- Jean Monnet Programme: 2007-2013: 21 projects/activities

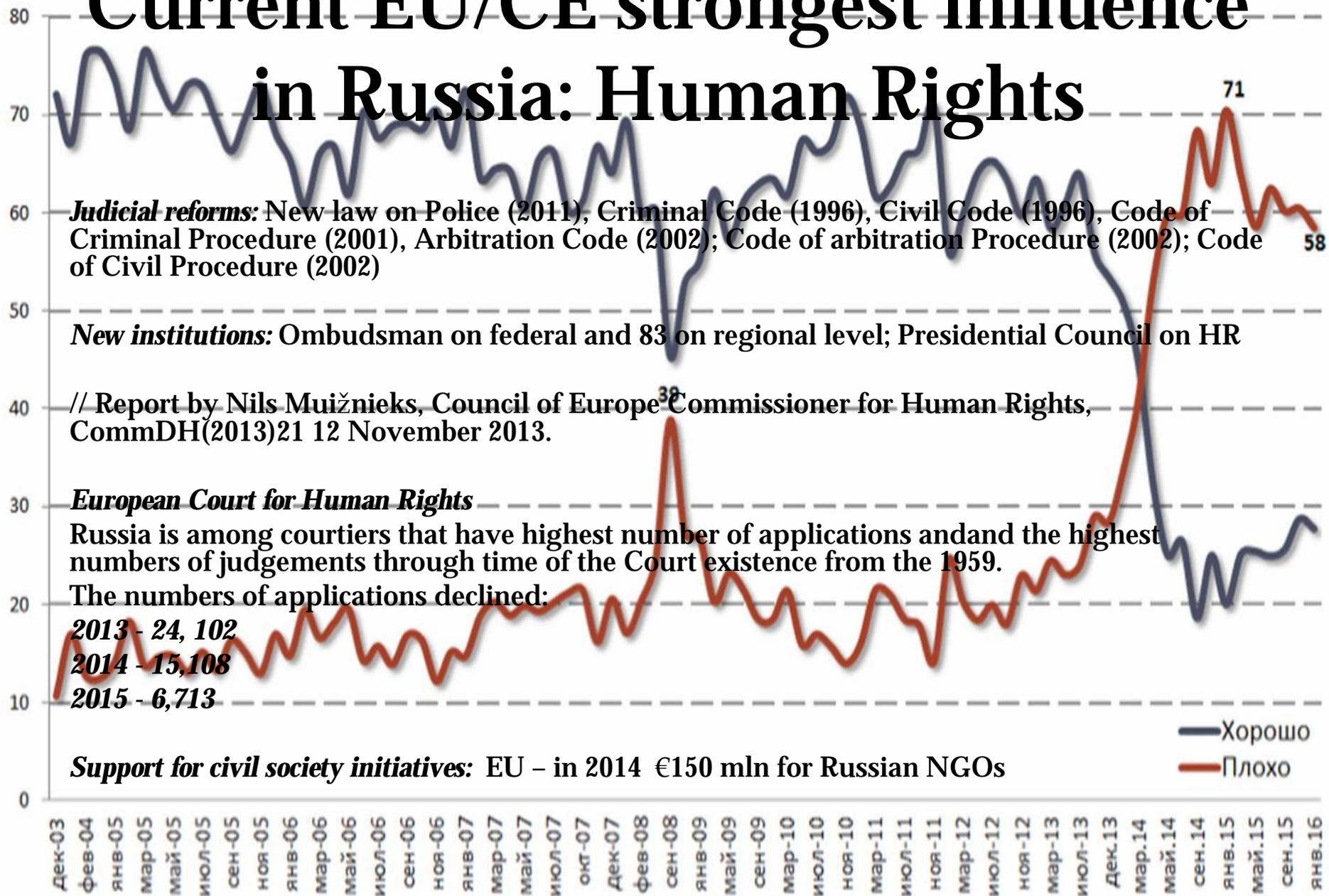
JM - 2014-2015: 46 projects, budget €22,7 mln

2016 – 196 applications – projects?



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Current EU/CE strongest influence in Russia: Human Rights



Judicial reforms: New law on Police (2011), Criminal Code (1996), Civil Code (1996), Code of Criminal Procedure (2001), Arbitration Code (2002); Code of arbitration Procedure (2002); Code of Civil Procedure (2002)

New institutions: Ombudsman on federal and 83 on regional level; Presidential Council on HR

// Report by Nils Muižnieks, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, CommDH(2013)21 12 November 2013.

European Court for Human Rights
Russia is among courtiers that have highest number of applications and the highest numbers of judgements through time of the Court existence from the 1959.

The numbers of applications declined:

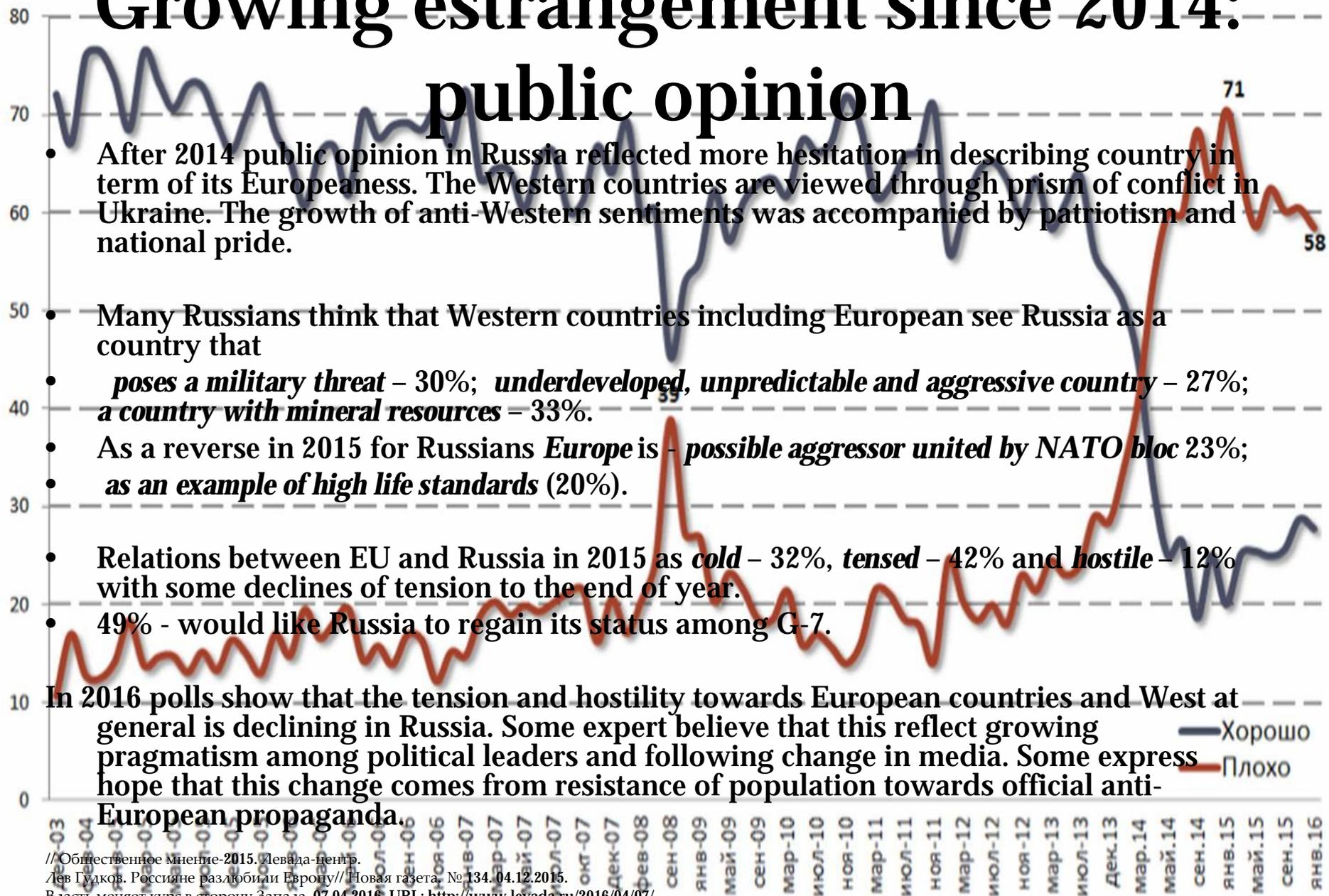
- 2013 - 24,102
- 2014 - 15,108
- 2015 - 6,713

Support for civil society initiatives: EU - in 2014 €150 mln for Russian NGOs

Хорошо
Плохо

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Growing estrangement since 2014: public opinion



- After 2014 public opinion in Russia reflected more hesitation in describing country in term of its Europeaness. The Western countries are viewed through prism of conflict in Ukraine. The growth of anti-Western sentiments was accompanied by patriotism and national pride.

- Many Russians think that Western countries including European see Russia as a country that

- *poses a military threat* – 30%; *underdeveloped, unpredictable and aggressive country* – 27%; *a country with mineral resources* – 33%.

- As a reverse in 2015 for Russians *Europe is* - *possible aggressor united by NATO bloc* 23%;

- *as an example of high life standards* (20%).

- Relations between EU and Russia in 2015 as *cold* – 32%, *tensed* – 42% and *hostile* – 12% with some declines of tension to the end of year.

- 49% - would like Russia to regain its status among G-7.

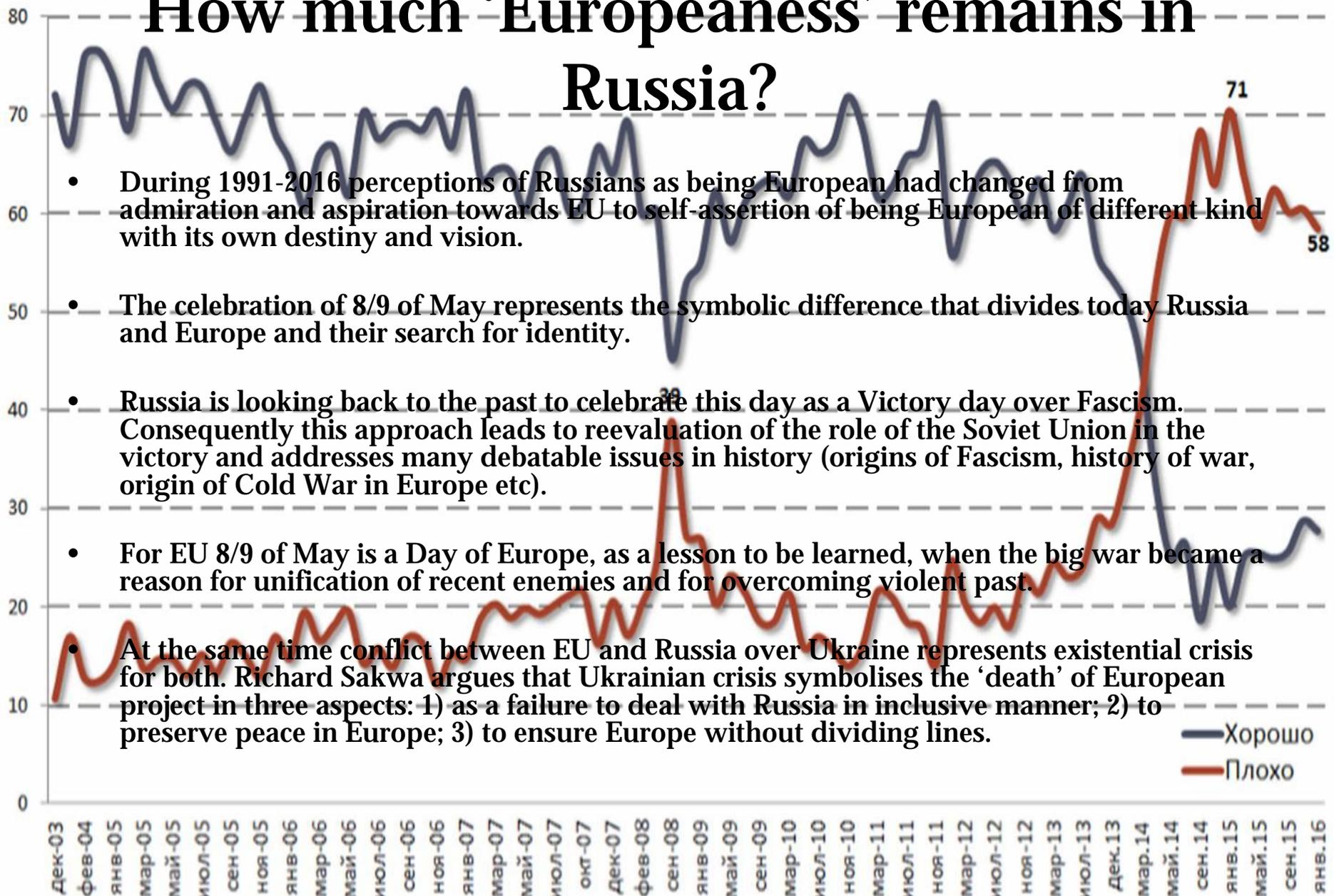
In 2016 polls show that the tension and hostility towards European countries and West at general is declining in Russia. Some expert believe that this reflect growing pragmatism among political leaders and following change in media. Some express hope that this change comes from resistance of population towards official anti-European propaganda.

// Общественное мнение-2015. Левада-центр.
 Лев Гудков. Россияне разлюбили Европу// Новая газета. № 134. 04.12.2015.
 Власть меняет курс в сторону Запада. 07.04.2016. URL: <http://www.levada.ru/2016/04/07/>

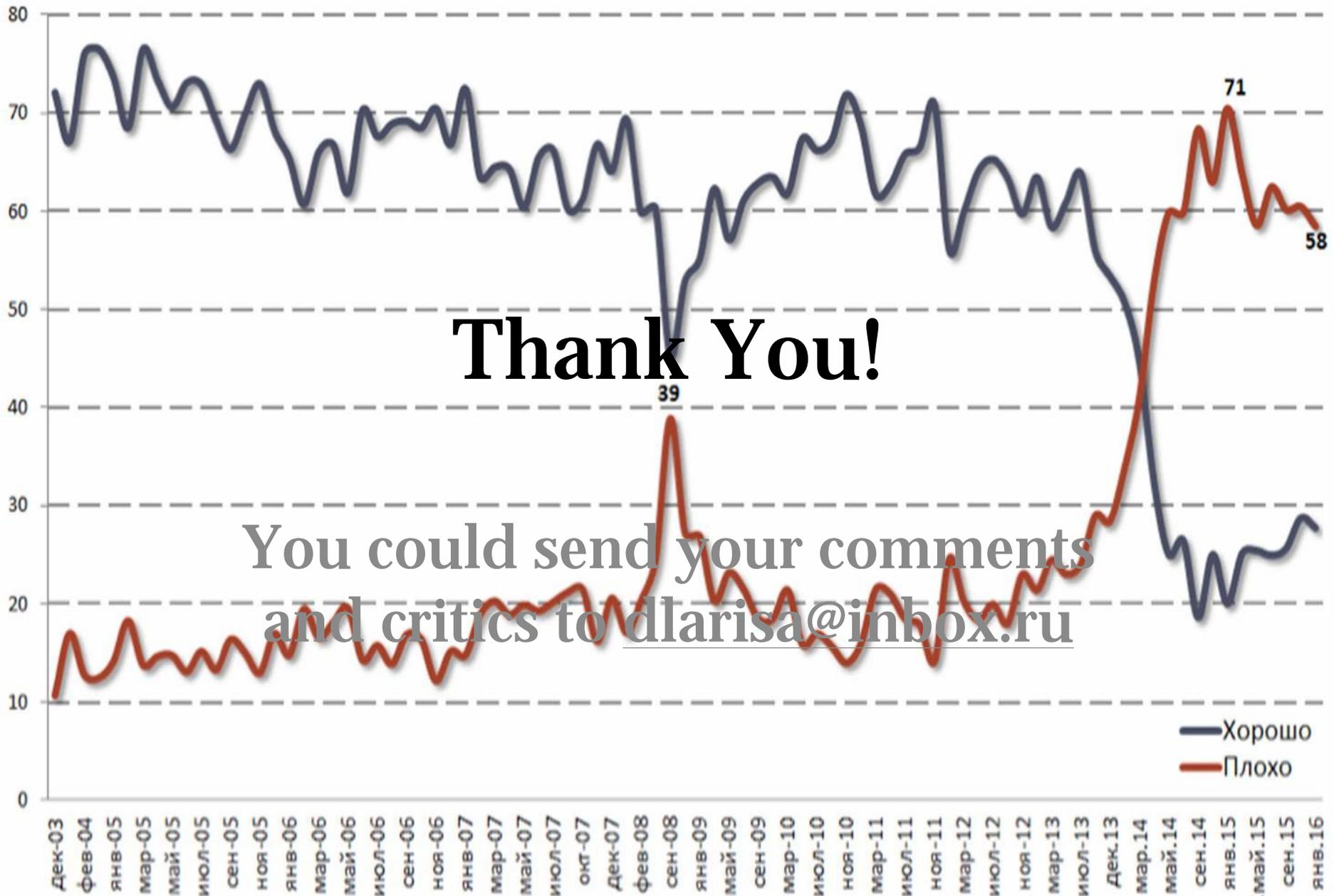
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How much 'Europeanness' remains in Russia?

- During 1991-2016 perceptions of Russians as being European had changed from admiration and aspiration towards EU to self-assertion of being European of different kind with its own destiny and vision.
- The celebration of 8/9 of May represents the symbolic difference that divides today Russia and Europe and their search for identity.
- Russia is looking back to the past to celebrate this day as a Victory day over Fascism. Consequently this approach leads to reevaluation of the role of the Soviet Union in the victory and addresses many debatable issues in history (origins of Fascism, history of war, origin of Cold War in Europe etc).
- For EU 8/9 of May is a Day of Europe, as a lesson to be learned, when the big war became a reason for unification of recent enemies and for overcoming violent past.
- At the same time conflict between EU and Russia over Ukraine represents existential crisis for both. Richard Sakwa argues that Ukrainian crisis symbolises the 'death' of European project in three aspects: 1) as a failure to deal with Russia in inclusive manner; 2) to preserve peace in Europe; 3) to ensure Europe without dividing lines.



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Thank You!

You could send your comments
and critics to dlarisa@inbox.ru