

Załącznik 3

AUTOREFERAT (ENGLISH VERSION)

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Diplomas and academic degrees

Doctorate in Humanities (Political Science) awarded by the resolution of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences on 26 November 2010.

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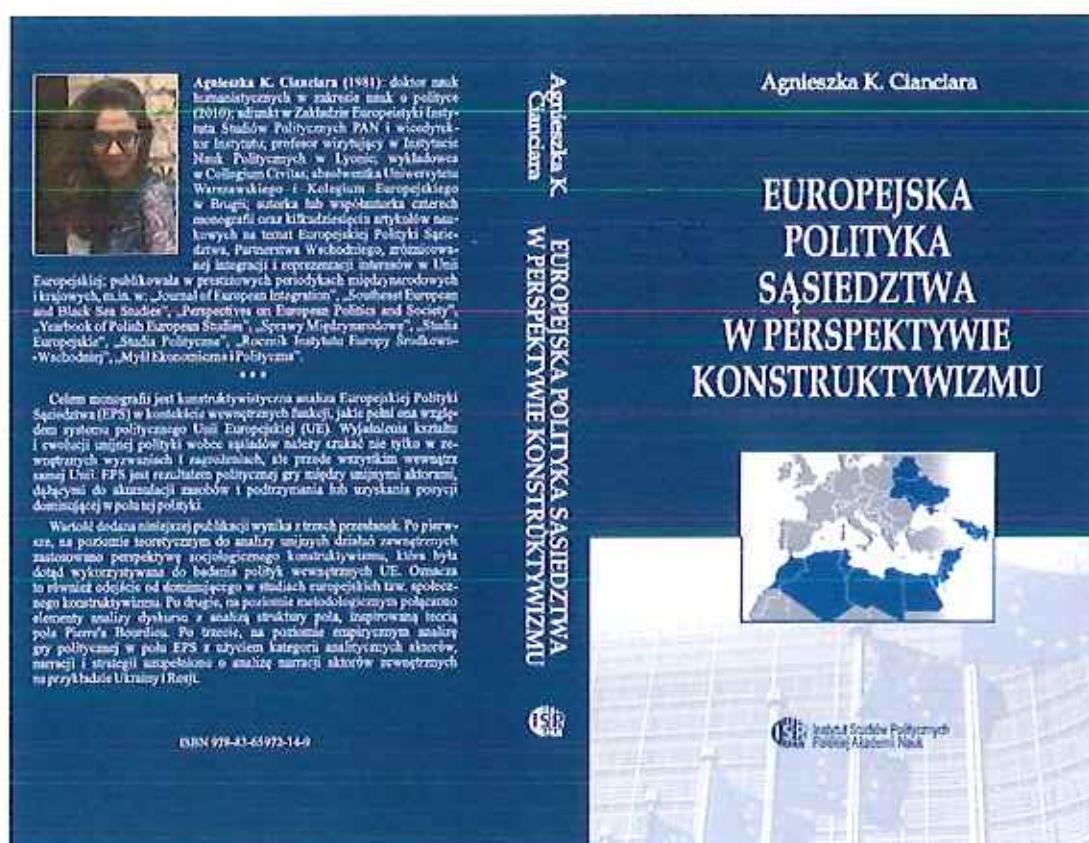
Scientific achievement as defined in the art. 16 par. 2 of the law of 14 March 2003 „o stopniach naukowych i tytule naukowym oraz o stopniach i tytule w zakresie sztuki” (Dz. U. 2016 r. poz. 882 ze zm. w Dz. U. z 2016 r. poz. 1311.):

Agnieszka K. Cianciara, 2017, *Europejska Polityka Sąsiedztwa w perspektywie konstruktywizmu. Aktorzy, narracje, strategie*, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa, ISBN 978-83-65972-14-9, pp. 363 [*European Neighbourhood Policy in a Constructivist Perspective. Actors, Narratives, Strategies*]

Peer review:

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Research objective, problem and questions

The main *research objective* is a constructivist analysis of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in the context of internal functions it performs with regard to the political system of the European Union (EU). The *main thesis* stipulates that the nature and evolution of EU policy towards its neighbours can be better explained by what happens internally in the EU, rather than by external challenges and threats. ENP essentially constitutes a result of a political game played by various EU actors that seek to accumulate resources and maintain (or attain) a dominant position in the policy field. The scientific achievement that I submit for evaluation constitutes the final result of a multi-annual research project carried out in the Department of European Studies of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the years 2012-2016. Research results were presented at numerous national and international scientific conferences, including 3rd Congress of Political Science in Cracow (2015), ELISA conference in Warsaw (2013), ECPR conferences in the Hague (2014) and Trento (2016), as well as CES conference in Paris (2015). Partial results were published in leading scientific journals - both national and international - including *Studia Europejskie* [European Studies], *Studia Polityczne* [Political Studies], *Journal of European Integration*, as well as *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*.

For rationalists, foreign policy formulation is a reaction to events and processes taking place in the external environment. Accordingly, the European Neighbourhood Policy would constitute a response to well-defined collective problems that the European Union is facing in the neighbourhood. As a result, rationalists assume that goals declared in policy documents are real political objectives and their achievement is possible with tools and resources that are at the EU disposal (political, institutional, financial, military). In classical public policy terms, policy effectiveness is measured with the extent to which the declared goals have been achieved. If this is not the case, the policy is considered a failure. But constructivists point out to the fact that policy fiascos are not objective and are often difficult to verify empirically. In fact, they are the result of assessment made by politically relevant actors who choose to construct a narrative of failure in order to pursue their own political objectives.

The problem of interpretation does not only appear at the evaluation stage, but already at the stage of defining policy objectives. What are the objectives of the ENP? Is it to create ("contribute to create") "a ring of friends", "well-governed states" or is it about "sharing the benefits of Eastern enlargement"? Is it about promoting democracy in the neighbourhood? Or is it more about maintaining stability at EU borders, preventing uncontrolled migration and transnational organized crime? In reality, all these objectives to some extent appear in the narratives of EU institutions and EU member states. Moreover, individual actors interpret them rather freely: whereas for some actors the principal objective of the ENP was to replace the enlargement policy and thus delineate EU ultimate borders, for others it was to gradually open the door for further accession, while ENP was considered and developed as a *de facto* pre-accession strategy. In the Polish scholarly literature the ENP is deeply embedded in expectations of further enlargement to the East. This has had a clear impact on constructions of assessments of the ENP as ineffective, given that the policy had been long unable to produce qualitative political change in Ukraine, whereas - according to this narrative - a credible accession perspective undoubtedly would. This assessment is obviously of political

and not analytical nature. Example of Turkey shows that granting a formal membership perspective or even starting accession negotiations does not guarantee that the positive adaptation dynamic is sustained in the candidate country.

The principal *research problem* that I discuss in the monograph - taking the example of the European Neighbourhood Policy - concerns effectiveness of EU foreign policy. I assume that we can better explain the nature and evolution of the ENP when looking what happens internally in the EU and not only at the challenges stemming from the external environment. The ENP is not and cannot be a coherent, centrally formulated and implemented policy as it essentially remains a function of political game between various actors that seek to enhance their position in the policy field. The emphasis of the analysis is not on making the EU an effective international actor but, rather, on understanding the political game in the ENP field as this game determines the shape and functioning of the policy. As a result, we can reformulate the problem of (lack of) ENP effectiveness: instead of asking why the policy is ineffective, we focus on explaining, why so much effort has been put into creating, sustaining and developing a policy that brings limited results. It is argued that the policy does not (only) provide solutions to external challenges, but, more importantly, strengthens the position of some actors against others on the one hand and legitimizes the European integration project as a whole, both internally and externally, on the other.

Answering the question about ENP effectiveness requires identifying functions that this policy performs. I do not deny that EU strives to manage challenges stemming from the immediate neighbourhood with the ENP toolkit. However, I argue that external problem solving is not the only and not the most important function of the neighbourhood policy. It is determined by actors' preferences in the ENP field. The key function of the ENP is to boost legitimacy of individual actors, especially EU institutions, as well as of the entire integration project, especially in the context of growing legitimacy deficit resulting from internal and external crises of the European Union.

The *innovative nature* of this work relies on three premises. Firstly, at the theoretical level, I apply sociological constructivism to the analysis of EU external action, whereas this approach has been so far used to examine internal policies. This entails moving away from the social constructivism that is largely dominating EU studies. Secondly, at the methodological level, elements of discourse analysis are linked to the field analysis, the latter inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's field theory. Thirdly, and empirically, the analysis of the game in the ENP field - with analytical categories of actors, narratives and strategies - is complemented by the analysis of perceptions of this game among selected ENP partners and third parties.

Following the scholarly work of Sabine Saurugger, Frederic Merand, Adrian Favell, Virginie Guiraudon, Niilo Kauppi, Andy Smith, Jay Rowell or Didier Georgakakis, I adopt a socio-political perspective in European studies. The added value of this approach is that sociologists focus on individual actors, interactions, conflict and power, and not only on institutions and systems, as political scientists researching the EU often do. For sociologists, shared norms and values are a result of power struggle and reinforce actors' dominant position in the field. The EU is not only an institutional system, but also a power structure.

Moreover, sociologists underline that researchers are not completely 'free', but operate in a social context. Dominant actors monopolize resources, engage in gate-keeping and indirectly influence research output with funding rules, peer review and imposition of

discursive representations of the research area or entire discipline. One consequence for European studies is that scholars often portray the EU in a more positive light than it actually deserves. Thus some theories may achieve a dominant status, not because they provide best explanations, but because their proponents have more resources at their disposal and thus more tools to delimitate what is considered mainstream within the discipline. Finally, there is a link between scholars' political preferences and his or her assessment of the integration process and the choice of theory. Therefore, constructivist scholars underline the importance of critical approaches and reflexivity throughout the research process.

Adopting a constructivist perspective allows to ask a number of theory-driven and empirical *research questions*. As to the former category, how can we move beyond the limitations of rationalism and social constructivism in European studies, or the dichotomy between interests and values in EU foreign policy analysis? How has the constructivist perspective been so far used in theorizing the European Neighbourhood Policy? How does the analysis of narratives produced in the ENP field help us to understand the political game involving EU institutions, member states and non-institutional actors?

Furthermore, the empirical questions were formulated as follows: what are the key actors in the ENP field, what kind of resources they possess and what are their objectives in the game? What is the structure of ENP narratives produced by relevant actors, how and why these narratives are reconstructed? Why is there no strategic vision of the ENP: where does the ambivalence of the strategy papers come from? Under what conditions do the dominant actors integrate elements of contesting narratives into their own narrative? How do actors - both dominant and contesting - seek to strengthen their position in the field? To what extent are the external perceptions of the EU and the ENP in line with the dominant narrative produced by the Union? What are the key components of narratives about the EU produced by external actors? To what extent does the external contestation of EU narratives affect their reconstruction?

Methodology and structure

This work is of *interdisciplinary* nature, linking theoretical insights from international relations (IR), political sociology and European studies. Theoretically, the analysis relies on the constructivist perspective, with particular focus on sociological constructivism. Methodologically, discourse analysis is linked to field theory of Pierre Bourdieu. This method allows for analysis of narratives that are produced by dominant actors in the ENP field, as well as contesting actors that are competing for resources (cognitive, social, political) available in the field with the objective to strengthen their position in the game. Actors act strategically, while pursuing their individual and collective interests. However, their preferences and actions are constituted and constrained by the structure of the field, relevant resources at their disposal, discursive framework imposed by the narratives at the systemic and institutional levels, as well as the logics of path dependence and practical creativity (*bricolage*). In order to analyze narratives produced in the ENP field, I develop an original analytical model allowing for operationalization of the narrative's structure and the process of its reconstruction.

Sociological constructivism allows to analyze actors and not only institutions (although this does not exclude treating an institution as one of actors in the EU super-field), which in turn allows for enhancing the *politics* aspect of the EU decision-making process, i.e. contestation, conflict and power relations. It also provides useful tools to understand "crisis" - in the euro zone and in EU foreign policy, including neighbourhood policy. More precisely, it shows how the crisis situation frames threat perceptions and resulting reactions to these threats - in terms of routine institutional practices or their discrediting and alternative-seeking - as well as why certain solutions are preferred over others. At the same time, it stresses the role of actors in production of ideas and actors' strategies of problem formulation and problem solving that strengthen their position in the game (both when it comes to dominant and contesting actors).

I define narrative as a discursive frame that allows for a logical link between seemingly unconnected phenomena around a causal transformation, which in turn enables to impose a given meaning of the past, present and future, according to the preferences of a narrative producer. The narrative consists of elements such as actors, events and problems, imposes an interpretation of the past (causes of the problems, roles played by individual actors, such as a villain or a victim) and of the future (solutions to the problems, roles played by individual actors, especially figure of the saviour). As a result, the narrative's structure is determined by narrative components and connections between them. The choice of components and the discursive framing of relations between them depend on strategic preferences of narrative producers. However, their narrative choices are not unrestricted and they cannot pursue their preferences in an utterly free manner.

The *analysis of narratives* that emerge from documents and statements of key actors in the ENP field aims at identifying main components of the narratives and the nature of connections between them, namely how these connections are framed by actors' strategic agency. Emphasis is put on those components that are typically considered objectives of the neighbourhood policy - stability, security, democracy, but also prosperity and good governance (rule of law). The key issue here is about which components dominate, whether and why patterns of domination change with time. Identification of narrative components helps to understand how the problem was defined within the decision-making process and why in this way and not the other.

Identification of structure of dominant and contesting narratives constitutes only the first stage of analysis of the political game in the field. Far more important are questions about narrative change and reasons for this change. In other words, under what conditions do (dominant) actors opt for narrative reconstruction instead of narrative reproduction. What is the nature of the reconstruction? Has the narrative about the European Neighbourhood Policy radically changed in the years 2003-2015 or has only emphasis shifted in a negligible way? How can we explain this process?

I assume that narrative changed when: a) patterns of dominance of narrative components have changed (previously dominant components lost importance, whereas the previously marginal ones gained relevance or even became dominant); b) the nature of connections between components has been altered (for instance, the causal relationship was reversed or a different story was told, although the same components were used). It should be underlined that "change" rarely means a radical change, but usually an evolutionary one:

rather a shift - change of emphasis. A radical change of the ENP narrative is constrained by 'higher-level' narratives - those framing the EU foreign policy in general, as well as systemic narratives telling the story of the European integration process. Narrative of a given policy must be relatively consistent with those narratives, otherwise they would all lose credibility and legitimating power.

Another important factor that constrains the change of the policy narrative are resources at the disposal of individual narrative producers. A narrative - as a legitimizing tool - must fulfil certain minimal credibility criteria, and thus cannot completely abstract from actor's actual resources and capabilities. The story of EU action under ENP should be congruent with what the EU can actually do in the neighbourhood, given financial, political and military means it possesses. Otherwise the narrative might generate expectations that EU actors are not able to meet and would thus de-legitimize instead of legitimize actors and their policy.

The suggested approach links the potential for narrative change with actor's uncertainty and insecurity. I assume that these factors raise the probability of absorbing elements of contesting narratives into the narrative of dominant actors, which results in the change (shift) the dominant narrative. In practice, narratives of dominant actors are permanently contested. However, the situation of crisis and the resulting uncertainty pushes actors to a much greater extent towards searching for new legitimizing strategies. Consequently, two types of situations leading to narrative change can be distinguished.

Firstly, a shift in the narrative may result from growing uncertainty and insecurity of narrative producers related to internal crisis. Since 2005 EU actors are confronted with multi-dimensional crisis - constitutional crisis, euro zone crisis, migration crisis, and consequently, legitimacy crisis of EU institutions and the entire integration project. European Union, its institutions and policies are under non-stop fire from increasingly fervent - both internal and external - critics. Thus EU actors actively search for new narrating opportunities in order to boost EU credentials and legitimacy at home - both when it comes to input legitimacy (decision-making process) and output legitimacy (policy results - decisions and actions). Whereas euro zone crisis significantly contributed to reducing EU output legitimacy (EU failed to guarantee prosperity to all its citizens, but also failed as an effective governance structure), actors sought to explore alternative policy areas, where EU success story could be credibly told. Neighbourhood policy - an EU foreign policy flagship - appeared to provide a promising field to pursue EU normative agenda at the time when local developments seemed conducive to realization of the European transformative ideal.

Secondly, shift in the narrative may result from growing uncertainty and insecurity of narrative producers related to external crisis. Growing instability in the southern (war in Libya and Syria, political instability in Egypt, etc.) and eastern (Russian aggression in Ukraine) neighbourhood provides powerful arguments of contestation that undermine the story told by EU institutions. The perceived gap between narrative and reality on the ground questions credibility and legitimacy of EU policy even though actual impact of EU actions on local developments is difficult to establish. Next to the capability - expectation gap (well described in the literature) emerged a narrative - reality gap.

Thus the external crisis, especially war in Syria and strategic confrontation of EU and Russia, provides yet another impulse to reconstruct the narrative about ENP. In response to

growing contestation, legitimacy-seeking actors adopt a strategy of downgrading ambitions in order to refute accusations of ineffectiveness and failure in the neighbourhood. This strategy includes stricter prioritisation (fewer declared goals and actions), but also framing desirable outcomes as more dependent upon actions of other actors than EU institutions. The narrative reconstruction is about stronger emphasis on agency of local actors in the neighbourhood countries. Thus internal consequences of the external crises led towards limiting of articulated EU aspirations to transform its external environment.

The content of narratives produced by relevant actors identified in the field is examined by means of qualitative analysis, as well as elements of quantitative and comparative analysis and case studies. The following *research techniques* were used: 1) content analysis of official documents and other narrative articulations with the original categorization key; 2) semi-structured in-depth interviews; 3) literature review and critical analysis of existing research.

The *research material* included over 120 *documents* (by the European Commission, European External Action Service, European Council, Council, European Parliament, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, President of the Republic of France, Federal Chancellor and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Federal Republic of Germany, President and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, President and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation). Moreover, a series of interviews was conducted in the years 2012-2016 in Brussels (European External Action Service, European Parliament), Kiev (Supreme Council) and Warsaw; some of them are directly cited in the book, while others significantly contributed to the wider process of conceptualization of the book. In addition, I also used media content (press, Internet) in English, French, Polish, Ukrainian and Russian languages.

During the entire research process extensive usage of Polish and especially English language *literature* proved indispensable. In particular, I consider the most recent European scholarly literature published in the years 2016-2017 to be of significant added value to the Polish readers, especially when it comes to theorizing the European Neighbourhood Policy. Moreover, relevant literature published in French, German, Ukrainian and Russian languages was also drawn upon, albeit to a more limited extent.

As to the *structure of the book*, it consists of 5 chapters, introduction and conclusion. Three chapters are theory-driven, whereas the final two chapters are empirical. Chapter 1 is dedicated to general reflection on EU foreign policy - which ENP is part of - in light of three major IR theoretical traditions. Firstly, the contested notion of 'EU foreign policy' is defined and then juxtaposed against other terms, such as 'EU external action' or 'European foreign policy'. Realist and liberal theoretical traditions are briefly addressed before a detailed account of varieties of constructivism is presented. Due to relatively limited reception of constructivism in Polish IR and EU studies, the objective is to provide an in-depth analysis of constructivism(s) on the continuum between rationalism and post-structuralism. This allows to depict the full spectrum of the consequences of theoretical choices in the context of EU foreign policy: from conventional constructivism (between rationalist and liberal approach) to the post-structural analysis of shifting discourse boundaries. Finally, a promising perspective of sociological constructivism is presented, preparing ground for narrative analysis in subsequent chapters.

The rationale for chapter 2 is to critically discuss key existing concepts and approaches to the analysis of the European Neighbourhood Policy. Thus two objectives are formulated. Firstly, the chapter aims at systematization of theoretical approaches to the ENP and familiarization of the Polish reader with both classical and recent non-mainstream Western European conceptualizations in this area. This is justified as theory-driven research on the ENP is scarce in Poland and relies mostly on Europeanization and (to a lesser extent) normative power concepts. Secondly, the chapter aims at identifying constructivist elements within the six approaches discussed. The ENP is thus analyzed: 1) in terms of external Europeanization; 2) as a form of external governance; 3) in the context of democracy promotion; 4) as a form of regionalism and region-building; 5) in the context of EU normative power; 6) as a manifestation of *sui generis* imperial power of the EU.

The perspective of sociological constructivism outlined in chapter 1 is then applied in chapter 3 to the analysis of narratives produced by relevant actors in the ENP field. Firstly, the narrative turn in EU studies is discussed. Secondly, the general patterns of political game in the field are outlined by means of identification of narrative producers, their articulations and the field structure. This is followed by a presentation of a model, which allows for operationalization of the evolution of the narrative. Finally, the issue of interdependence of levels of narrative is discussed in order to explain the limitations of a radical narrative change.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to empirical analysis of production, reproduction and reconstruction of the narrative in connection with the political game in the ENP field. The analysis explores the structure and evolution of narratives produced by the European Commission and European External Action Service, Council and European Council, European Parliament and non-institutional actors (example of Brussels-based think-tank - Centre for European Policy Studies). The content analysis of narratives produced by individual and collective actors is linked to accumulation and usages of resources by various players that aim at reinforcing their position in the field. Numerous documents and statements under scrutiny are not regarded in terms of strategic policy formulation, where realistic assessment is coupled with definition of objectives that respond to external challenges and threats. Rather, they are discussed in terms of stories, constructed in order to legitimize actors' strategies within the EU political system.

Finally, chapter 5 goes beyond the inward-looking orientation in EU studies, often considered euro-centric. The aim of this chapter is to analyze perceptions of the EU abroad and assess the credibility of the ENP narrative, namely to what extent it performs legitimizing functions externally, beyond EU borders. Another objective is to analyze narratives of external actors with regard to the EU and its actions in the neighbourhood, as well as to establish to what extent EU actors integrate elements of external contesting narratives in the process of narrative reconstruction. In other words, whether and to what extent neighbours are co-owners of the EU narrative about themselves. Two case studies are examined here - an ENP country that has signed association agreement with the EU (Ukraine) and a third country that is not covered by the ENP, but competes with the EU for regional influence (Russia). The selection is determined by relevance of the two cases to Polish readers. It also allows for juxtaposing legitimizing and de-legitimizing strategies of European integration project, reflected in the narratives produced by political elites of third countries.

Research results

In the book I looked at the European Neighbourhood Policy in the context of internal functions that this policy performs with regard to the political system of the European Union. I sought to explain the nature and evolution of the policy not with external challenges and threats (though undeniably the Union reacts to what is happening in the region), but with developments within the EU itself. Equally, I tried to show that the ENP should not be analyzed in terms of a coherent, centrally formulated and implemented state-like foreign policy, because its shape is determined by a complicated political game between various EU actors, seeking to accumulate resources and maintain (attain) a dominant position in the policy field. The specificity of the hybrid governance system and foreign policy formulation of the European Union, as well as inherent legitimacy deficit at the systemic, institutional and policy level that the EU experiences, make the socio-political approach - which emphasizes discursive power struggle in the field - particularly useful.

The research problem I addressed concerned the limited effectiveness of EU foreign policy, while taking the example of the European Neighbourhood Policy. The constructivist perspective clarifies that 'success' or 'failure' is not about description of reality, but rather about legitimizing or de-legitimizing strategies used by actors that pursue their goals in the field. An actor may wish to *construct* a failure of the ENP when its goal is to make some of the neighbouring countries accede to the EU, whereas the ENP framework does not foresee an accession perspective. Thus constructing the policy failure serves as a strategy aimed at fostering policy change. Similarly, ENP may be framed as a failure by an actor that aims at strengthening cooperation with Russia, but - according to this actor - the logic of the eastern dimension of the ENP leads both the EU and Russia towards confrontation instead of cooperation. On the other hand, those actors that extract important resources from the current ENP framework and whom the policy allows to sustain a dominant position vis-a-vis other actors, may be expected to defend the ENP and blame exogenous factors for eventual underperformance. Finally, change within the neighbourhood policy usually means an attempt by one actor to reinforce its position at the expense of other players.

Providing resources to key actors in the field constitutes a major internal function that the EU foreign policy (here: neighbourhood policy) performs. ENP formulation back in 2004 can be thus seen as a tentative to further accumulate the legitimating resources that were provided to the integration project and European institutions, the Commission in particular, by the 'big-bang' enlargement to Central-Eastern Europe. In turn, the ENP review of 2011 constituted an attempt to boost EU output legitimacy, seriously damaged by the financial and economic crisis in the euro zone. Faced with revolutions in Arab states, the reformed ENP seemed to provide a new chance for the EU to regain initiative and citizens' support due to effective and 'normative' ('deep democracy' promotion) action in foreign policy. In addition, events in southern neighbourhood were used by the European Parliament that was already encouraged to reinforce its position by its greater competences within foreign policy that the Lisbon Treaty provided for. Meanwhile, the ENP review of 2015 reflected the power struggle between the Commission and EEAS, where the latter - as opposed to 2011 - was determined to reformulate the policy in a way that made resources at its disposal more relevant - at the expense of the Commission. At the same time, an attempt for legitimacy 'damage control' was

made in the face of growing eurosceptic criticism of the entire EU foreign policy and the European integration process.

The analysis conducted in Chapter 1 showed that the perspective of sociological constructivism allowed to overcome the dichotomy between interests and ideas/ values that largely dominated scholarly literature on EU foreign policy. In particular, this perspective enables to go beyond the limitations and avoid the traps of rationalism on one hand and social constructivism on the other. For Pierre Bourdieu interests and ideas are the two sides of the "logic of practice". The focus of sociological constructivism is on the game in the institutional field and on the role of resources that are at the disposal of relevant actors. On one hand resources generate not only structures, but also symbolic hierarchies and justifications. On the other hand agency is framed by the discursive structures available in this field.

Research has also revealed (Chapter 2) that a dualistic approach to change (transformation in ENP countries) dominates the mainstream theorizing on the European Neighbourhood Policy: conditionality based on strategic calculation (rational choice) on one hand, and socialization based on logic of appropriateness (social constructivism) on the other. However, more innovative approaches of the so-called second wave of scholarship have already emerged, drawing notably on sociology of organization, problematizing Europeanization as instrumentalization, or critically conceptualizing democracy promotion in hegemonic terms. Application of constructivist perspective allowed for a fresh take on EU role as promoter of regionalism, or rather an actor that seeks to construct and re-construct its regional environment in such a way, as to avoid confrontation with other players that cherish regional ambitions.

Moreover, constructivism-inspired approach based on sociology of knowledge allowed to explain how it was possible that the initial concept of normative power Europe (generally considered as one of the most influential and controversial conceptualizations of EU foreign policy), which underlined interdependence of material power and normative justification, has become - within a few years - a myth used to legitimate (!) the EU normative power in the neighbourhood. Recent research output creatively links reflection on normative power with critical analysis of imperialism, while promotion of EU norms and values is regarded in terms of civilising mission aiming at imperial identity construction.

In Chapter 3 I explained, how the analysis of narratives produced in the ENP field helps to understand the political game led by EU institutions, member states, non-institutional and external actors. While examining the narrative structure (main components of the narrative and connections between them) produced by individual actors in the years 2003-2016, we can identify major narrative shifts and relate them to actors' reaction to uncertainty generated by the crisis - internal or external. This reaction is conditioned by resources at actors' disposal, as well as constraints resulting from the requirement of epistemic coherence with systemic narratives.

When it comes to the empirical analysis, I identified key institutional and non-institutional actors at the EU level, including European Commission, EEAS, European Council and the Council, European Parliament and a leading Brussels think-tank. I did not limit myself to the analysis of narratives at the level of institutions, but I also identified individual and collective narrative producers within each EU institution. The general goal of each actor is accumulation or conversion of resources and strengthening of one's position in

the game. However, it is worth underlining that for some actors the game in the ENP field is a second order game - a dominant position in this field serves only as one of the resources to be used in other fields that are considered a priority. Relevant resources that actors possess are varied: financial (Commission), discursive (European Parliament), expert knowledge (CEPS) or historic experience (Poland, France).

As amply described in Chapter 4, the narrative structure is closely interlinked with strategic goals and resources of each actor. For instance, whereas the French narrative reflected the weight of military and diplomatic resources of this member state, and its driving role in solving regional and global conflicts, the Polish narrative mostly related to historic experience of transformation in Central Europe in the context of democracy and rule of law promotion in Poland's immediate (eastern) neighbourhood. In turn, the dominant narrative in the European Parliament predominantly reflected its desire to play a greater role in EU foreign policy, justified by the MEPs' democratic mandate and the positive role they play in the context of parliamentary diplomacy as a key dimension of EU's political relations with the neighbouring states. The reconstruction of narratives of individual actors was linked to uncertainty and challenge to their position in the field in the context of crisis, either internal (euro zone crisis) or external (security and migration crises).

Analysis of the political game in the ENP field clearly shows, where the lack of ENP strategic vision, as well as ambivalent wording in the documents (some authors are tempted to analyze them as a simple articulations of sectoral strategy of EU foreign policy) comes from. Declared policy goals might change over time, depending on the changing external circumstances, as well as needs and resources of actors in the field. Practical creativity is evident from the language of EU foreign policy documents. The typically ambivalent formulations do not reflect the strategic vision and pursuit of well defined goals and interests, but rather the quest for a language that is acceptable to all relevant actors involved. Compromise and agreement of all member states is the overarching objective and the benchmark for diplomatic success in EU foreign policy making. The final wording consists of dominant representations in the field and is filtered through what proved possible within the existing balance of power. As long as the ENP (or more broadly EU foreign policy) field is not fully dominated by one actor who would be able to impose its priorities and ways of doing things on all other actors, it is fairly unrealistic to expect a coherent and truly strategic narrative of the neighbourhood policy.

Actors that occupy dominant positions in the field may be tempted to reconstruct their narrative and integrate elements of contesting narratives in a situation of uncertainty generated by a crisis, which threatens them with a loss of resources, especially legitimacy. For example, while preparing the ENP review of 2015, European Commission sought to boost its input legitimacy by means of wide consultations regarding the desired policy changes. This consultation process provided a good opportunity for a number of actors to fundamentally (albeit constructively) criticize the ENP. The recommendations notably concerned the need to introduce a much more differentiated policy offer for individual neighbours and thus relaxing the common policy framework and redefining ENP regional dimensions. At the same time, sharp de-legitimizing contestation of policy results in the neighbourhood contributed to greater emphasis being put in the new narrative on issues of security and conflict resolution, which reinforced the position of EFAS and Council and weakened the Commission.

Finally, analysis conducted in Chapter 5 revealed that perceptions of the EU and the ENP among external actors are only to a very limited extent compatible with the narratives produced by dominant actors in the ENP field. In case of Russia the reception of EU narrative is fully contradictory to initial intentions of the European actors. For instance, EU-promoted voluntary economic cooperation and the rule of law are perceived in Russia in geopolitical and imperial terms. Moreover, public opinion polls show that sanctions imposed on Russia by the EU have nothing to do - according to Russian respondents - with annexation of Crimea and war in Donbas, but they reflect the general Western determination to weaken and destroy the re-emerging power that Russia has become. In case of Ukraine the situation is more complicated: the EU is perceived in terms of a desirable development model, but there is an equally strong tendency to framing ENP as a highway to membership, which is incoherent with most institutional narratives that are dominant at the EU level. At the same time, hopes for accession are fuelled by narratives of some actors, such as European Parliament and individual member states, especially Poland and Baltic states. It is hard to give a better example of incoherence of the ENP narrative.

The strategic objective of the narrative produced by Russian authorities is to delegitimize the European Union; this is done notably by means of de-legitimizing the European neighbourhood policy, especially Eastern Partnership. Adoption of a de-legitimizing strategy allows to both consolidate the internal support for the Russian regime and to weaken the EU from the inside by providing resources to eurosceptic actors that contest European integration. The main components of the Russian narrative are: a dysfunctional EU decision-making system that forces Russia to directly cooperate with member states on bilateral basis; division into 'good' and 'bad' Europe, which allows to play the old EU members against the new ones, as well as to depict all EU member states as decadent, morally bankrupt and denying fundamental Christian values. The central element of the strategy is de-legitimization of EU foreign policy that pretends to be based on values, democracy promotion, rule of law and human rights, but - according to the Russian narrative - is in fact both weak and aggressive and based on traditional geopolitics. At the same time, attempts of total de-legitimization of the EU are accompanied by more moderate and constructive demands of abolishing sanctions and involving Russia into the process of economic integration of Eastern Partnership countries with the EU. This part of the narrative is taken over by a number of internal actors at the national and EU level, but has so far failed to achieve a dominant status in the ENP field.

As to the Ukrainian government, it produces a legitimizing narrative of the EU, although its components vary depending on preferences of political forces currently in power. The key element of Ukrainian legitimizing strategy aimed at domestic audience is the modernization ideal - both economic and political - that the EU embodies. Ukrainian support for ENP has always been problematic: the policy did not respond to country's membership ambition, but at the same time constituted the only available instrument that allowed to get closer to the EU. The Ukrainian narrative has always aimed at modifying the ENP towards more differentiation, depending on partners' individual aspirations, thus privileging Ukraine because of its potential and aspirations. It seems that with the ENP review of 2015 and support from some of the actors of the ENP field, this objective was finally attained.

In conclusion it is worth underlining once again the advantages of theorizing European Neighbourhood Policy. Theoretical reflection remains a weakness of Polish, but also until

recently - of the European scholarly literature. Meanwhile, it allows to better understand the functioning of the policy, the political choices that were made within this policy area, as well as conditions for policy effectiveness. The theoretical perspective adopted in this book resonates well with the recently made suggestions for desirable research paths, especially when it comes to researching power relations and structures in the ENP context. The lack of EU effectiveness is not about EU not doing enough or EU not doing what should be done, but rather results from existence of complicated power constellations both at the EU level and in the partner states.

Finally, I would like to point out that *Palgrave Macmillan* has expressed interest in publishing a shortened English version of this book. In addition, I used the research results during the course entitled "EU Neighbourhood Politics" (20h) that I taught at the invitation of the Institute of Political Science in Lyon (*Sciences Po Lyon*) in October 2017.

Discussion of other scientific achievements

In quantitative terms my research production consists of 41 entities, whereas 36 of them have been published after I obtained the doctoral degree, that is in the years 2011-2018. This includes:

- 3 scientific publications in English in international journals from JCR database (2 scientific articles and 1 review - total IF: 4.260);
- 3 authored monographs (including the achievement as defined in the art. 16.2 of the law) and 1 co-authored monograph;
- 15 scientific articles published in scientific journals (ministerial list B and 1 international journal not listed in JCR) - 14 of them published after obtaining the doctoral degree;
- 15 book chapters in edited volumes (6 of them in English, published by renowned international publishers, including Routledge, Nomos, Editions Themis) - 13 of them published after obtaining the doctoral degree;
- 4 other publications (working paper/ policy brief - type) executed for think-tanks and research institutions/ consortia.

All publications have been cited in total - according to Google Scholar - 116 times (73 during the last 5 years - since 2013). H index = 6.

Moreover, in the years 2012-2017 I have presented 26 conference papers: 10 papers at 9 international conferences and 16 papers at 12 national conferences. I have participated in 7 research projects, including 3 international projects (see: Appendix 4). I was principal investigator (PI) in 2 research projects, including a 2013-2016 project funded by the National Science Centre (Sonata).

My scientific achievements and research interests concern European integration and are concentrated in **3 main areas**:

- 1) Theoretical and empirical reflection on EU external action, with particular focus on European Neighbourhood Policy, Eastern Partnership and EU relations with Turkey;
- 2) Interest representation in the European Union;
- 3) Conceptualization of integration and disintegration processes in the European Union, with particular focus on differentiated integration; and selected issues related to institutional system of the European Union.

It is worth stressing that I often link two research areas in my work. Some examples include the chapter on Europeanization of interest groups in Ukraine (areas 1 & 2) or the research project, financed by the National Science Centre, entitled 'Differentiated integration, Turkish accession prospects and EU geopolitics' (area 1 and 3).

- ✓ Europeizacja grup interesu na Ukrainie, w: *Reprezentacja interesów gospodarczych i społecznych w Unii Europejskiej*, red. U. Kureczewska, K. Jasiccki, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa, 2017, ss. 263-288 [Europeanization of interest groups in Ukraine, in: *Representation of economic and social interests in the European Union*].

RESEARCH AREA 1

Theoretical and empirical reflection on EU external action, with particular focus on European Neighbourhood Policy, Eastern Partnership and EU relations with Turkey.

This research area features the vast majority of my research production in quantitative terms: 2 authored monographs, 1 co-authored monograph, 2 articles in journals from JCR list, 7 articles in journals from the ministerial B list and 7 book chapters, as well as 3 think-tank publications. Moreover, I addressed these issues in 8 conference papers presented at international conferences and 8 conference papers presented at national conferences.

My research in this area concerned two dimensions: a) the process of formulation and evolution of EU policy towards third countries - candidates and neighbours (policy-making) and b) EU transformative power in its international environment (policy impact).

Policy-making was notably the subject of the above discussed monograph (achievement as defined by the art. 16.2 of the law). While working on the book, I have published the partial results of my research in the form of articles in scientific journals, for instance:

- ✓ *Stability, security, democracy: explaining shifts in the narrative of the European Neighbourhood Policy*, "Journal of European Integration", 39:1, 2017, ss. 49-62.
- ✓ *Parlament Europejskie w polityce wschodniej Unii Europejskiej 2004-2014*, "Studia Polityczne", 1(41), 2016, ss. 177-202 [The European Parliament in the Eastern Policy of the European Union 2004-2014].
- ✓ *Europejskie imperium. Ekspansja i geopolityczna rywalizacja na wschodnich peryferiach Unii Europejskiej*, "Studia Polityczne", 2(34), 2014, ss. 149-174 [The European Empire. Expansion and Geopolitical Rivalry on the European Union's Eastern Periphery]

The issues of formulation and evolution of EU policies towards candidate and neighbouring states have been addressed, both theoretically and empirically, in other publications, not directly linked to the achievement as defined by art. 16.2 of the law, in particular:

- ✓ *Partnerstwo Wschodnie 2009-2014: geneza, funkcjonowanie, uwarunkowania*, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa, 2014, ss. 177 [Eastern Partnership 2009-2014: origins, functioning, determinants].
- ✓ *Gospodarcze uwarunkowania polityki wschodniej Niemiec i Francji*, "Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna", 2(45), 2014, ss. 191-215 [Economic determinants of the Eastern Policy of Germany and France].

- ✓ Wewnętrzne uwarunkowania polityki zewnętrznej Unii Europejskiej w kontekście kryzysu gospodarczego' w: *System euroatlantycki i bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe w multipolarnym świecie*, red. J. M. Fiszer, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa, 2013, ss. 191-207 [Internal determinants of EU external policy in the context of economic crisis, in: *Euro-Atlantic system and international security in the multi-polar world*].
- ✓ Konsekwencje kryzysu gospodarczego dla wschodniego wymiaru Europejskiej Polityki Sąsiedztwa, w: *Między polityką a rynkiem: kryzys Unii Europejskiej w analizie ekonomistów i politologów*, red. T.G. Grosse, Uczelnia Łazarskiego, Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA, Warszawa, 2013, ss. 163-182 [Consequences of the economic crisis for the eastern dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy, in: *Between politics and the market: the crisis of the European Union in the eyes of economists and political scientists*].

In the above analyses I used theoretical arguments of historical institutionalism ("Eastern Partnership ..." 2014) and liberal intergovernmentalism ("Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna" 2014). In the book on Eastern Partnership (peer review by dr hab. Agnieszka Legucka, AON, PISM) I underlined the importance of path-dependency in explaining the formulation of the ENP and its Eastern dimension. The analysis of origins and evolution of the ENP aimed at revealing the processes and tendencies that were responsible for the current state of the policy and laid foundations for the adoption and development of the Eastern Partnership (EaP). This approach allowed to answer the question, to what extent had the EaP been the result of a qualitative change in neighbourhood policy and to what extent it had reflected historically and institutionally determined path-dependency. In other words, it allowed to look at the EaP in terms of continuity and change with regard to the logic of enlargement and neighbourhood policies, as well as the Partnership itself. In what way did a change occur in conceptualization of relations with the neighbours by member states and EU institutions? What is the added value of EaP in comparison with the ENP? It should also be noted that very positive reviews of the book appeared in "Studia Polityczne" - nr 1(37)/2015 and in "Przegląd Europejski" - nr 1(39)/2016.

The objective of the article published in "Myśl..." was to analyze the importance of Russia and other Eastern European states, especially Ukraine, for economies of Germany and France, as well as the impact of business interest groups on foreign policies of these key EU member states, and consequently, on the policy of the entire EU in the region. According to theoretical assumptions of liberal intergovernmentalism, economic interests dominate among motivations of the state: pressure from economic interest groups determines foreign policy to a much greater extent than security issues or policy-makers' ideological visions. In this context I sought to answer the question, to what extent German and French economic interests were functional (or dysfunctional) to creating a coherent and effective eastern policy of the EU. The empirical part of the analysis was based on two types of sources: 1) quantitative data on trade, foreign investment and (inter-)dependence in energy sector; 2) content analysis of press materials on lobbying activities of German and French business with regard to sanctions against Russia linked to the annexation of Crimea and Russian-Ukrainian conflict in Donbas.

Moreover, I examined Polish position and input into formulation of EU policies towards neighbouring and candidate (Turkey) states. This research was done in cooperation with Polish (Institute of Public Affairs) and European (TEPSA) think-tanks. Cooperation with TEPSA developed in the framework of a research project (FEUTURE) financed by the European Commission (Horizon 2020), which involved preparation of 28 Country Reports

outlining the current state and the future of EU-Turkey relations as seen in each member state (my report concerned Poland). It is also worth underlining that the analysis prepared in 2008 for the Institute of Public Affairs on the Polish initiative of Eastern Partnership remains one of the most cited articles on the topic among international scholars and analysts (48 quotations according to Google Scholar).

- ✓ *EU 28 Country Reports: Poland*, March 2017, <http://www.future.eu/>.
- ✓ *Eastern Partnership - opening a new chapter of Polish Eastern policy and the European Neighbourhood Policy?*, "Analyses & Opinions" no. 4, June 2008, Institute of Public Affairs, <http://www.isp.org.pl/files/8679201040703671001213792577.pdf>

Finally, I explored the dilemmas, scope and future of the Eastern Partnership in an expertise prepared for the Representation of the European Commission in Poland before the Eastern Partnership summit that took place in Brussels on 24 November 2017 (Szczyt Partnerstwa Wschodniego: czas podsumowań czy zmian? [Eastern Partnership summit: time for stock-taking or for change?]) https://ec.europa.eu/poland/news/171120_EaP_summit_pl.

The transformative power of the European Union (policy impact) in selected states covered by the Eastern Partnership initiative and candidates to EU membership was the main focus of a research project, carried out with a team of 3 scholars from 2 departments of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and financed in the years 2013-2016 by the National Science Centre (Sonata). The project resulted in a series of publications: a monograph (peer review: dr hab. Tomasz G. Grosse, professor of Warsaw University and dr hab. Anna Paczeńskiak from University of Wrocław), 3 articles published in journals from JCR list (1 by myself and 2 by one of the investigators), a chapter in a book to be published in 2018 by Edward Elgar, as well as articles in journals from ministerial B list.

- ✓ [with: J. Wódka] External Europeanization through parliamentary cooperation. The EU – Ukraine Parliamentary Association Committee and EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee in comparative perspective, w: *Parliamentary Cooperation and Diplomacy in EU External Relations*, red. K. Raube, M.M. Bac, J. Wouters, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham [2018, in press].
- ✓ *'Europeanization' as a legitimization strategy of political parties: the cases of Ukraine and Georgia*, "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies", 16:3, 2016, 391-411, DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2016.1201984.
- ✓ [with: A. Burakowski, P. Olszewski, J. Wódka] *Europeizacja partii politycznych i grup interesu w wybranych krajach Partnerstwa Wschodniego i kandydujących do Unii Europejskiej*, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa, 2015, ss. 376 [Europeanization of political parties and interest groups in selected Eastern Partnership countries and candidates to the European Union].
- ✓ *Europeizacja społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w krajach Partnerstwa Wschodniego? Casus Ukrainy i Gruzji*, "Społeczeństwo i Polityka. Pismo edukacyjne", 4/2014, ss. 25-42 [Europeanization of civil society in Eastern Partnership countries. The cases of Ukraine and Georgia].
- ✓ *Wzory europeizacji zewnętrznej: mechanizmy, uwarunkowania, rezultaty*, "Studia Europejskie", 3(67), 2013 ss. 9-30 [Patterns of external Europeanization: mechanisms, determinants and effects].

The most important results of the project are the following: 1) conceptualization of the external Europeanization process of political parties and interest group within the mechanism of socialization (theoretical perspective of sociological institutionalism); 2) empirical verification of the hypothesis on the importance of mechanism of socialization in

transnational networks for the process of Europeanization of political parties and interest groups in selected neighbouring countries and candidates to the EU; 3) a solution to overcome the dichotomy between the rational choice and the sociological institutional approach - strategic constructivism (active role of domestic actors and conditions in the Europeanization process), which opens up Europeanization scholarship to a new research agenda; 4) in-depth empirical analysis of Europeanization (and de-Europeanization) of political parties and interest groups in 5 selected neighbouring and candidate countries (qualitative analysis) and providing new knowledge about political, social and economic processes in Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine, Macedonia and Turkey.

As principal investigator (PI) in this project I conducted research of both theoretical (conceptualization of external Europeanization of political parties and interest group in neighbouring countries, that are not formally offered EU membership, and in candidate countries, where the membership offer is characterized by low level of political credibility) and empirical (analysis of 2 case studies: Georgia and Ukraine) character. Input of other investigators was limited to empirical analysis of 3 case studies (Moldova, Macedonia, Turkey), which is reflected in authorship of chapters of the monograph entitled 'Europeanization of political parties and interest groups' (I authored 6 out of the total 12 chapters - 2 theoretical and 4 empirical).

I would like to draw attention to one other project output in particular, namely the article published in "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies" (2016). Its objective was to critically assess the top-down rational choice and sociological approaches to Europeanization, while advocating the 'usages of Europe' approach. I argued that both classic top-down perspectives do not adequately grasp the nature of Europeanization of political parties beyond member and candidate countries. Empirically, the analysis focused on transnational cooperation of political parties from Ukraine and Georgia and stressed agency of domestic partisan actors seeking international and domestic legitimacy. I argued that European party federations and parliamentary cooperation formats should not only be seen as channels of top-down Europeanization, but they should rather be conceptualized as resources that are used strategically by domestic political parties. Thus the article dealt with the following question: to what extent and how channels of Europeanization had been used by national political parties from outside the European Union as resources serving to attain partisan goals, both in terms of domestic positioning and international legitimacy? Patterns of strategic and legitimating usage of European partisan and parliamentary resources depend on whether parties in question are in power or in opposition and whether they are more pro-European or more pro-Russian.

RESEARCH AREA 2

Interest representation in the European Union.

Within this research area I have published: 1 authored monograph, 4 articles in scientific journals (ministerial list B and international journal that is not listed in JCR) and 4 chapters in edited volumes. I have also addressed these issues in 1 conference paper presented at an international conference and 2 papers presented at national conferences.

Within this research area I analyzed processes of institutionalization and Europeanization of business interest representation from 'new' member states (Poland) and neighbouring/ associated states (Ukraine). Moreover, I examined international lobbying practices at the service of memory politics and the role of institutional innovations introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon (European Citizens' Initiative - ECI) for interest representation in the EU. On one hand I continued to engage with the topic undertaken in my doctoral dissertation and on the other - I explored new research questions in the area of interest representation.

- ✓ *Contestation of EU Climate Policy in Poland: Civil Society and Politics of National Interest*, "Prakseologia", 159/2017, ss. 237-264.
- ✓ Europeizacja grup interesu na Ukrainie, w: *Reprezentacja interesów gospodarczych i społecznych w Unii Europejskiej*, red. U. Kurczewska, K. Jasiński, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2017, ss. 263-288 [Europeanization of interest groups in Ukraine, in: *Representation of economic and social interests in the European Union*].
- ✓ Interest Representation in Poland after EU accession: more regulated, professional and legitimate? w: *Transformative Power of the European Union: the Case of Poland*, red. I.P. Karolewski, M. Sus, Nomos Verlag, Baden-Baden 2015, ss. 54-76.
- ✓ *Polish Business Lobbying in the EU 2004–2009: Examining the Patterns of Influence*, "Perspectives on European Politics and Society", 14:1, 2013, 63-79.
- ✓ O demokracji uczestniczącej w Unii Europejskiej: inicjatywa obywatelska, konsultacje i lobbying, w: *Zarządzanie procesem integracji i modernizacja Unii Europejskiej*, red. J.M. Fiszer, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa 2013, ss. 232-251 [On participatory democracy in the European Union: citizens' initiative, consultations and lobbying, in: *Managing the process of integration and modernization of the European Union*].
- ✓ *Polski lobbying gospodarczy w Unii Europejskiej (2004-2010): perspektywa neoinstytucjonalna*, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa 2012, ss. 266 [Polish business lobbying in the European Union (2004-2010): a neo-institutionalist perspective].
- ✓ *Problematyka trudnej pamięci w relacjach armeńsko-tureckich i jej implikacje międzynarodowe*, "Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej", 10(2), 2012, ss. 91-108 [The question of difficult memory in Armenian-Turkish relations and their international implications].
- ✓ Polish business - politics relations and their impact on national lobbying at the EU level, w: *What capitalism? Socio-economic change in Central Eastern Europe*, red. A. Krause, V. Trappmann, Collaborative Research Centre 580, University of Jena, Jena 2010, ss. 45-61.
- ✓ *Instytucjonalizacja lobbyngu w Unii Europejskiej*, "Państwo i Prawo", Zeszyt 2(756), 2009, ss. 55-67 [Institutionalization of lobbying in the European Union].

Elements of continuation are well evident from the article published in "Perspectives on European Politics and Society" (2013) and in the chapter in edited volume entitled "Transformative Power of the European Union..." (2015). In the former I argued that Polish business interest groups exerted limited influence on Brussels decision-making in the immediate post-accession period. The patterns of influence were examined by means of a resource-based approach, including factors such as organization and budget, networks and reputation, but also on the basis of process tracing and preference attainment analysis. Limited effectiveness of Polish lobbying in the EU in the years 2004-2009 could be explained by the short period of socialization to EU politics. However, research showed that patterns of Polish interest representation in the EU should be further explained by the hybrid domestic institutional environment resulting from transformation and Europeanization processes, as well as by limited compatibility of the two institutional contexts. In fact, the actual

opportunity structures differed to a large extent, both in terms of systemic openness and participatory regimes, between the national and the European level, thus making it difficult for national actors to mobilize at the European level.

In the other publication (2015) I sought to answer the question, to what extent - 10 years after accession to the European Union - interest representation in Poland has become better regulated, more professionalized and legitimized. In other words, to what extent the EU has played the role of a transformative power when it came to Europeanization of regulatory environment, strategies of interest groups and societal acceptance of lobbying in Poland. In order to address these issues I did empirical research in the form of two interview rounds, carried out in Warsaw and Brussels - firstly, in the years 2007-2009 for the purpose of the doctoral dissertation, and then again in 2014. The results point to the fact that the EU influenced transformation of selected elements of institutional and normative framework guiding lobbying activities in Poland, especially with regard to legislative planning and impact assessment. However, the law on lobbying (and subsequent attempts of its modification) was rather, though superficially inspired by US and not European arrangements. Professionalization of Polish business interest representation in Brussels did take place, but this representation remained relatively small and thus with little impact on domestic patterns of lobbying professionalization in Poland. As to legitimacy, high level of acceptance for 'Polish lobbying in Brussels' has not translated into growing acceptance of lobbying activities at the national level.

New research paths related to interest representation and the role of civil society in the European Union are notably present in a chapter on participatory democracy in the European Union (2013) and in the article published in "Prakseologia" (2017). In the former, I argue that EU actions have been overwhelmingly contested in the aftermath of the economic crisis and, at the same time, citizens' participation in EU decision-making has remained marginal. Given the weakness of traditional mechanisms of democratic representation at the supranational level, efforts were made to strengthen EU democratic legitimacy by means of participation in consultation procedures. However, this solution has not brought much change in terms of engaging citizens in EU matters. The European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon seemed not only to be a new, but also a qualitatively different tool in comparison with the European Commission's consultative regime, as it aimed at directly engaging citizens and not just civil society organizations that were already active in Brussels. In this context, I tried to answer the question, whether the ECI could possibly contribute to remedying the EU democratic legitimacy deficit by veritably engaging citizens or whether it is *de facto* another lobbying instrument used by the tried and tested Brussels-based interest groups.

In the article published in "Prakseologia" I examined narratives contesting EU climate policy produced by Polish non-governmental actors. My starting point was that analyses of mobilization at the European level of interest groups and civil society organizations from Central-Eastern Europe have been rather partial and simplistic: authors mainly focused on the dichotomous division into the NGO sector that supported EU climate policy and business and industrial groups that contested it. Meanwhile, a more adequate and nuanced picture of the policy contestation in Poland could be painted, when analyzing actors and their articulations in the context of a cosmopolitanism - nationalism (globalism - localism) cleavage. Thus the

article provided illustration of civil society-based Euroscepticism, where contestation of EU at the policy level was used to voice opposition to European integration project in general (systemic level). Empirically, the objective of this research was twofold: to identify the content of the narrative with particular focus on system-level contestation (Euroscepticism); and to provide explanations for the limited mobilization of these actors at the EU-level. The results of this research had been presented in 2016 at the ECPR international conference in Prague, as well as at the XVI National Sociological Congress (XVI Ogólnopolski Zjazd Socjologiczny) in Gdańsk, Poland (dissemination of research results took place within a project funded in the framework of a programme for development of young scholars - internal application procedure in the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences).

Finally, I am continuing my research on lobbying in Poland - in a comparative perspective - in the framework of a Polish-German research project coordinated by European University Viadrina (<https://www.borders-in-motion.de/web/wim/projektpartner>). This project - carried out in the years 2017-2018 - aims at analyzing boundaries between lobbying and political counseling (ger. *politische Beratung*) in the perception of Polish and German members of parliament (Sejm and Bundestag). The results of my research will be published in Germany as a chapter in an edited volume. The chapter will be written in 2018 together with a scholar from Hertie School of Governance in Berlin.

RESEARCH AREA 3

Conceptualization of integration and disintegration processes in the European Union, with particular focus on differentiated integration; and selected issues related to institutional system of the European Union.

Within this research area I published 1 scientific publication from the JCR list (a review), 5 articles in scientific journals (ministerial list B) and 4 chapters in edited volumes. I also addressed these issues in 2 conference papers presented at international conferences and 7 papers presented at national conferences.

Within this research area I have produced analyses of institutions and institutional arrangements in the context of treaty change (European Commission, European Council, permanent and rotating presidency), as well as analyses of differentiated integration and of various visions of the European Union's future. In my writing I have extensively discussed theoretical models of European integration (two-/ multi-speed Europe, Europe as club of clubs, Europe as a system of differentiated integration), as well as relations between differentiated integration and disintegration. Empirically, I have in particular analysed the Polish political debate on the future of the EU in the period 2011-2014.

- ✓ *Czy tylko różne prędkości? Przyszłość integracji europejskiej*, "Sprawy Międzynarodowe", nr 1/2017, ss. 58-69 [*Differentiation as the Future of European Integration*].
- ✓ Book Review: *Which European Union? Europe after the Euro Crisis*, by S. Fabbrini, Cambridge University Press, 2015, "Journal of Common Market Studies", 55:1, 2017, 155-156.
- ✓ *Does differentiation lead to disintegration? Lessons from theories of European integration and comparative regionalism*, "Yearbook of Polish European Studies", 18/ 2015, ss. 39-58.

- ✓ *W poszukiwaniu alternatywnych modeli integracji: Europa jako klub klubów*, "Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna", 4(51), 2015, ss. 166-187 [In search of alternative models of integration: Europe as a club of clubs]
- ✓ *Differentiated Integration and the Future of Europe. Debate in Poland*, "Yearbook of Polish European Studies", Vol. 17/ 2014, ss. 167-189.
- ✓ *Zróżnicowana integracja w Unii Europejskiej i scenariusze ewolucji stosunków transatlantyckich* w: *Współpraca transatlantycka. Aspekty polityczne, ekonomiczne i społeczne*, red. J.M. Fiszer, P. Olszewski, B. Piskorska, A. Podraza, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa 2014, ss. 69-84 [Differentiated integration in the European Union and scenarios for evolution of transatlantic relations, in: *Transatlantic cooperation. Political, economic and social aspects*].
- ✓ *Oceny polskiej prezydencji w niemieckim i francuskim dyskursie medialnym*, w: *Prezydencja Polski w Radzie Unii Europejskiej*, red. J.M. Fiszer, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa 2012, ss. 188-206 [Assessments of Polish Presidency in German and French media discourse, in: *Poland's Presidency in the Council of the European Union*].
- ✓ *Rotating Council Presidency within the Post-Lisbon Institutional Dynamics: Politically Irrelevant?*, "Yearbook of Polish European Studies", Vol. 15/ 2012, ss. 27-42.
- ✓ *Jakie przywództwo? Rada Europejska po wejściu w życie Traktatu z Lizbony*, w: *Kryzys przywództwa we współczesnej polityce*, red. W. Konarski, A. Durska, S. Bachrynowski, Wydawnictwo SWPS Academica, Warszawa 2011, ss. 100-111 [What kind of leadership? European Council after entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, in: *Leadership Crisis in Contemporary Politics*].
- ✓ *The Constitution is Dead, Long Live the European Commission*, w: *Unresolved Issues of the Constitution for Europe. Rethinking the Crisis*, red. N. Neuwahl, S. Haack, Les Editions Themis, Montreal 2007, ss. 163-182.

In the context of theoretical reflection on differentiated integration I consider two articles particularly relevant: the first one was published in the "Yearbook of Polish European Studies" (2015) and the second one in "Sprawy Międzynarodowe" (2017). In the former, I pointed out that differentiated integration was a normal and permanent feature of the ever larger and more heterogeneous European Union. With the growing impact of the widening, deepening and politicization dynamics, the Union can be conceptualized as a 'system of differentiated integration'. At the same time, concerns over 'disintegration' are mounting. In this light I reflected on the relationship between differentiation and disintegration: does the former lead to the latter? Should we prevent further differentiation, or promote it as means of making the EU more effective? On one hand, European integration theories provide few adequate answers on the mechanisms and conditions for disintegration. On the other hand, analysis of other regional organizations puts the European dilemma into perspective, and it seems that the existence of various forms of differentiation does not prevent successful cooperation between states.

In the latter, I asked the question about what types of differentiated integration would dominate in the years to come. Is the EU only facing further differentiation in the pace of integration at the policy level (already existing Europe of different speeds), or is it condemned to segmentation at the institutional (constitutional) level? The objective of the analysis was to look at various logics of differentiation, while pointing to the dilemmas that EU peripheral countries faced with regard to the euro-zone centre as well as limits of the 'rebel' strategy as opposed to the 'policy-taker' strategy.

Furthermore, I am pursuing my research on differentiated integration in the context of external differentiation, looking in particular at the relations between the European Union and Turkey in light of exhaustion of the current accession formula. This problem is addressed in

the framework of a research project funded by the National Science Centre (Sonata) entitled 'Differentiated integration, Turkish accession prospects and EU geopolitics' that is carried out in the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the years 2016-2018 (PI: dr Jakub Wódka) in cooperation with Warsaw University (dr hab. Adam Szymański). Together with Adam Szymański we have presented partial results of the project at the 2017 UACES Annual Conference in Kraków and at the II Congress of European Studies in Szczecin. Final results will be published in a monograph by the end of 2018.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to *selected elements* of my *teaching, outreach and expert activities*, especially at the international level (for details, see: Appendix 4.III). Although my work at the Polish Academy of Sciences does not involve teaching obligations, I have given courses at master level since 2010, mostly in English to international groups of students. I have taught courses at Collegium Civitas and at the Institute of Political Science in Lyon. Moreover, I delivered guest lectures at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and Panthéon-Sorbonne University in Paris. I supervised two master theses and I am assistant supervisor of 1 doctoral dissertation. I was main initiator and co-organizer of an international scientific conference, organized with the Polish Institute of International Affairs, on EU-Turkey relations. I am official representative of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in ECPR (*European Consortium for Political Research*). I reviewed articles for prestigious international scientific journals - *Futures* and *Geopolitics*. Since 2016 I have been serving as an expert on IIS5 panel of the National Science Centre. Since March 2017 - at the invitation of Director of the City of Warsaw Library Michał Strąk PhD - I have been organizing (and chairing) a series of expert debates on European issues.

