

Agnieszka K. Cianciara, *The European Neighbourhood Policy from the Perspective of Constructivism*, ISP PAN, Warsaw 2017, 363 pages.

Cianciara considers the European Union's foreign policy only in terms of those activities that are undertaken at the EU level, excluding the EU's external actions. Of the four types of constructivism discussed by Sabine Saurugger, Cianciara has chosen sociological constructivism, which deals with questions such as "who noticed the problem?" and "how and why was this problem defined in the decision process?" In Chapter 2, she reviews the theoretical concepts and approaches used in Western literature to analyze the European Neighbourhood Policy, that is, external Europeanization, external governance policy, the promotion of democracy, the promotion of regional cooperation (which is supposed to reproduce EU integration dynamics), and Ian Manners' concept of normative power and imperial Europe.

Chapter 3 is devoted to analysis of the theoretical aspects of narrative. Cianciara identifies the creators of narratives and the area of the political game to which they relate, as well as the components, interrelationships, and interdependence of different levels of narratives. Chapter 4 deals with the narratives of the main EU actors (the European Commission and the European External Action Service) concerning the European Neighbourhood Policy. Table 1 demonstrates the frequency with which the most important narrative

components are used by the actors. It shows that these components have rarely involved prosperity and the process of democratization and, over the years, they have increasingly often concerned stabilization and security. Table 2 contains data on the frequency of occurrence of the most important narrative components in European Council conclusions. It shows that the Council has dealt primarily with democracy and stability, and only sporadically with security. Moreover, the Council clearly became less active between 2014 and 2015. Most of the material for the analysis comes from resolutions of the European Parliament (Table 3). Table 3 shows that, by 2011, these resolutions were dominated by democracy issues, but in 2015 by security. Table 5 shows the importance of the geographical diversification of the Neighbourhood Policy in relation to individual member countries. It shows the participation of national deputies from Eastern Neighbourhood countries in delegations to parliamentary cooperation committees. Table 6 portrays the participation of deputies from Southern Neighbourhood countries. In addition to EU institutions, Cianciara analyzes views expressed by the leading EU think tank, the Centre for European Policy Studies.

Chapter 5 provides equally interesting material. Cianciara discusses the dominant narratives about the European Neighbourhood Policy in Ukraine and Russia—both among the elites of these countries and in public opinion. As might be expected, sociological research

confirms that opinions about the European character of Ukraine and its separateness from Russia prevail in Ukrainian narratives, although a large part of the Ukrainian public continues to believe that Russia should be the priority of Ukraine's policy. Similarly, it was possible to predict that the Russian elite treats the EU as an unfriendly rival and disseminates a similar xenophobic view in public opinion. This is hardly surprising since

the idea that Ukraine is part of Russia is deeply rooted in the minds of the Russian elite and in public opinion. In this chapter, the author does not treat of opinions as subjective narratives but conducts her analysis by objectively reporting the results of sociological research.

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