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CONSOLIDATING EUROPEANIZATION

A COMMUNICATION-DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

ABSTRACT   This paper discusses a conceptual relationship between Europeanization and communication-development. It analyses the theories and methods of diffusion of knowledge and information in Europeanizing and developing societies. More precisely, it focuses on the exact elements of communication-development which coincide with Europeanization, and to what extent they could be extrapolated to the studies on internalization of the EU-driven social change. In this regard, the article aims to identify the focal points for possible application of such a perspective and sanction further analyses of communication as a consolidating factor in the process of Europeanization.

Keywords: Europeanization, development, communication, European Union

INTRODUCTION

In the modern scholarly debate, Europeanization is understood as an embracement and internalization of the European Union-based logic of behaviour.[1] In transition studies, it is a process compared to a litmus test for the stability and consolidation of democratic and economic reforms and endurance of subsequent social tensions.[2] In other words,

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[1]   Here, Europeanization is understood as the process that aligns member states with the logic and requirements of the European Union. See: C.M. Radaelli, 'Europeanization: Solution or Problem?' in M. Cini, A Bourne (eds.), *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, London 2006.

[2]   P. Blokker, 'Post-Communist Modernization, Transition Studies, and Diversity in Europe', *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2005), p. 503, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1368431005059703>.

Europeanization is a method that introduces a wide range of changes into the domestic system and society which adopt it accordingly to the EU guidelines and its own specificity.[3] Interestingly, among many theoretical approaches devoted to the problem of Europeanization, only a few take into account the issue of its sustainability at the level of the society. Strictly speaking, not many theoretical approaches deal with the the question of how these changing and Europeanising societies internalize and sustain the process of Europeanization. Communication-development research provides an interesting perspective on this matter, as it essentially concerns the social and community level and the issue of adaptation of externally stimulated changes.

Communication-development is a subfield that studies dialogue, diffusion and sustainability of externally introduced knowledge, norms and logic within developing communities. It focuses on how communication concepts and strategies can facilitate transformation periods, especially in the situations when high adaption costs hamper development and social change. Even though the communication-development perspective seems valid in the context of Europeanization, there is very limited literature describing this relationship. This may be due to two important reasons. Firstly, the fact that communication-development has always been debated in relation to the Third World regions, far away from the European integration and modern European states. Secondly, Europeanization studies refer mostly to specific, national domains and the way they respond to the process. The question of Europeanization as a function of change at the level of a community or a citizen is relatively limited. Thus, one can wonder if communication-development theories based on the Third World societies could be extrapolated to the European integration domain. This article aims to investigate this issue and analyse development-communication as a point of reference for the discussion on the consolidation of the process of Europeanization. It should be pointed out that this work does not aim to exhaust the debate on the development or Europeanization. It takes a small portion of extensive discourse on these phenomena and shows where they conceptually coincide at the domestic and community levels. This way, the article focuses on communication as diffusion of norms and knowledge within a given society, leaving out the participatory perspective. In this regard, it is understood as a function of a top-down relationship between the information provider (e.g. European Union, local institution) and the receiver (e.g. society, community). Such an approach will allow identifying the focal points for possible application of such a perspective and will sanction further analyses of communication as a consolidating factor in the process of Europeanization.

COMMUNICATION-DEVELOPMENT AND EUROPEANIZATION – CONCEPTUAL RAPPROCHEMENT

There is no one unified theory or perspective that could comprehensively explain the complexity of the process of Europeanization. This should not be surprising since most

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[3] J. Checkel, 'Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change', *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (2001), pp. 553-588, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/00208180152507551>.

of the research is fairly recent, and the empirical material on which it is based is considered either inadequate or scarce.[4] Some academics even suggest that due to the ambiguity of the term and general lack of consensus, Europeanization should not be used as a scientific and organizing concept.[5] Nonetheless, there are several prominent accomplishments in the field that aim to bring some order to the relatively *disorderly* scientific domain of Europeanization.

Europeanization is most generally understood as a function of domestic change.[6] To be more precise, a process aimed at transforming state policies, institutions and structures to facilitate introduction and development of systematic logic, political dynamics and administrative mechanisms of the European integration.[7] According to Ladrech, Europeanization is an incremental process that could be compared to calibration or alignment of domestic policies to the rationality of the European Union.[8] In fact, many theories refer to this top-down process, which focuses on transferring or downloading certain models of behaviour by a given state.[9] In this perspective, Radaelli proposes to analyse Europeanization as *processes of construction, diffusion, and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ways of doing things, and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and sub-national) discourse, political structures, and public policies.*[10]

The literature describes several models by which member states respond to the process of Europeanization. The first model can be identified as *accommodation,* in which domestic structures, policies, discourses and identities are aligned with the EU dynamics without modifications of the essential structures and changes in the logic of political behaviour.[11] Much higher degree of change is related to *transformation,* in which parts of domestic structures require fundamental reconfiguration or even replacement in

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[4] J.P. Olsen, 'The Many Faces of Europeanization', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 5 (2002), pp. 921-952, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1468-5965.00403>.

[5] P. Mair, 'The Europeanization Dimension', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2004), p. 338.

[6] B. Sittermann, 'Europeanisation – A Step Forward in Understanding Europe?', *Nachwuchsgruppe Europaische Zivilgesellschaft Working Paper*, 2006, at <http://nez.uni-muenster.de/download/Sittermann_Literature_Review_Europeanisation_FINAL2006.pdf>, 17 September 2014.

[7] K. Howell, 'Developing Conceptualizations of Europeanization and European Integration: Mixing Methodologies'. Paper presented at ESRC Seminar Series/UACES Study Group on the Europeanization of British Politics, Sheffield, November 29, 2002.

[8] R. Ladrech, 'Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (1994), p. 70, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.1994.tb00485.x>.

[9] See: G. Delanty, Ch. Rumford, *Rethinking Europe. Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, London–New York 2005.

[10] C.M. Radaelli, 'Europeanisation: Solution or Problem?', *European Integration online Papers*, Vol. 8, No. 16 (2004), p. 30.

[11] Idem, 'Whither Europeanization? Concept Stretching and Substantive Change', *European Integration online Papers*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (2000), p. 4, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.302761>.

order to fit the European Union guidelines.[12] When such changes cut too deep into the social and political fabric, Europeanization can result in *retrenchment*, in other words, a state when downloaded policies ignite opposition to the European Union and provide an impetus for anti-European interests and withdrawal from the integration project.[13] Finally, Europeanization can, in theory, lead to general political *inertia*, which brings no real change to domestic policies and social structures.

Communication in development, on the other hand, is a mechanism which transfers – like idea – from a source to a receiver with the intent to alter and sustain the behaviour of the latter.[14] Such a process usually occurs in a very specific cultural environment where local knowledge and logic of behaviour stays in opposition to the models provided by the external agency. In this sense, the development provider often aims to supplement, or if necessary replace, the recipient's *way of doing things*.[15] In academic debates, communication is often associated with consolidation of development, here understood as a process by which certain change matures to a moment that is likely to endure in a society.[16] That is why development theoreticians often refer to communication as a consolidating and stabilizing factor in transforming communities and societies.[17] As one of the most researched and practised domains within development studies, it has been built-in into the frameworks of the World Bank and the United Nations.[18] At a very basic level, the process stimulates education and social learning in developing societies, thus enabling mitigation of social tensions related to high adaptation costs.

Since the end of the Second World War, development has become one of the most influential concepts in modern politics. Originally, the notion embodied aspirations and techniques aimed at bringing the Third World closer to the Western developed societies in terms of the political system, economic growth, and educational levels.[19] The first wave of development studies stemmed from modernization theory which is now partially abandoned. The paradigm argues that there was one path to progress, as exercised in the developed world.[20] According to the theory, the problem of

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[12]   T. Börzel, 'Shaping and Taking EU Policies: Member States Responses to Europeanization', *Queen's Papers on Europeanisation*, No. 1 (2003), pp. 54-60.

[13]   Ibid.

[14]   J. Servaes (ed.), *Communication for Development and Social Change*, London 2008.

[15]   Ibid.

[16]   G. O'Donnel, 'Illusions about Consolidation' *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1996), pp. 34-40.

[17]   S.R. Melkote, *Communication for Development in the Third World. Theory and Practice*, New Delhi–Newbury Park 1991.

[18]   For example: UN Development Programme Communication Toolkit "Communicating for Result", United Nations Communications & Advocacy Strategy, World Bank Strategic Communication in Poverty Reduction Strategies, World Bank Strategic Communication for Development Projects.

[19]   See: A. Inkeles, D.H. Smith, *Becoming Modern. Individual Change in Six Developing Countries*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1974.

[20]   S. Waisbord, *Family Tree of Theories, and Strategies in Development Communication*, Rockefeller Foundation, at <http://www.communicationforsocialchange.org/pdf/familytree.pdf>, 16 September 2014.

underdevelopment was caused by inadequate social and political structure embodied into economically backward societies that could not assimilate innovation and progress without proper knowledge base.[21] It would seem that the modernist paradigm was strongly based on economic policies but it also emphasized the need for behavioural change and communication, here understood as mechanisms facilitating development. Modernists believed that underdeveloped communities should be educated and civilized according to a specific model of development.

Although the Europeanization paradigm has far more neutral rhetoric, there are certain similarities between the modernist approach and what is commonly referred to as coercive or *Eastern style* Europeanization.[22] This process can be defined *as linked with the transition to democracy and a market economy, and adaptation to the exigencies of the advanced models of the West.*[23] In this formula member states are required to follow a specific development path as suggested by the European Union. This method of calibration is accompanied by the conditionality scheme and the screening process which allows initializing harmonization of a candidate state long before its full accession.[24] In fact, Europeanization as a process of normalization or modernization is not limited to Central and Eastern Europe. According to Giulianii and Featherstone, Italy and Greece adopted a similar approach to Europeanization, where the process of development was an equivalent of becoming more similar to the other EU member states.[25]

Even though modernist theories made a huge impact on development studies, they have been seriously contested in later debates. In the 1970s, strong criticism of modernist theories led to the introduction of a new paradigm centred around political and economic aspects – the dependency theory. The concept argues that the lack of development does not origin in the absence of information or knowledge infrastructure, but it stems from external factors. The theory points to the Western World as the main cause of underdevelopment – to be more precise, the way the developed states (re)introduced their former colonies to the World Economy. According to this theory, underdevelopment originates in inapt economic policies oriented on post-colonial clientelism which made the Third World dependent on external structural support. Therefore, the

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[21]   J.-P.O. de Sardan, *Anthropology and Development. Understanding Contemporary Social Change*, London 2005, pp. 137-149.

[22]   O. Anastasakis, 'The Europeanization of the Balkans', *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2005).

[23]   Ibid., p. 78.

[24]   F. Schimmelfennig, U. Sedelmeier, 'Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe' *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (2004), pp. 58-34, at <http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1080/1350176042000248089>.

[25]   K. Featherstone, '"Europeanization" and the Centre Periphery: The Case of Greece in the 1990s', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1998), pp. 23-39, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13608740308539524>; M. Giuliani, M, 'Europeanization and Italy'. Paper presented to the "6th Biennial Conference of the European Community Studies Association", Pittsburgh, 2-5 June 1999.

solution for underdevelopment was not informational and knowledge based but rather political and economic.[26]

Although outside the official academic discourse, comparisons of Europeanization to colonization are still quite alive in public and local debates.[27] This type of rhetoric feeds on the lack of knowledge and natural fear of what is new and external. Such a situation is often exploited by extreme anti-European parties, political actors who seek support in disfranchised communities and people who are ignorant about the costs and benefits of internalization of the European Union rules and logic.[28] Even though access to knowledge does not equal pro-European behaviour, it allows making an educated decision regarding the standpoint on the matter. There are situations when Europeanization and its subsequent reforms have to be expounded to the society for the benefit of the process,[29] in other words, it needs to be communicated through reliable and legitimate means. Development theoreticians and practitioners tried to establish such a framework for channelling the message and models of behaviour that would be accepted and sustained in the targeted society.

With proliferation of information technologies, communication theoreticians quickly embraced the phenomenon of mass media and made it a key instrument for communicating development and social change. Broadcasting had become the method for dissemination of new innovative ideas, practices and techniques that would eventually lead to behavioural change and development.[30] This assumption was a starting point for studies on diffusion of innovations – later on, one of the most influential concepts in development studies. Introduced by Everett Rogers, the diffusion theory describes how innovation communicated through specific channels spreads over time in targeted societies. In his research, Rogers divided populations according to their ability to consume and disseminate innovation throughout social structure. The diffusion theory supported the dominating role of mass media in increasing chances for the success of development. However, in order to sustain the process, Rogers introduced another crucial element – a development broker. He argued that every society has "opinion leaders" and "adopters", in other words, brokers who serve as development facilitators bringing innovation into their community.[31]

Katz and Lazarsfeld give an interesting perspective on the issue with the two step information flow theory. They claim that there are two stages of information exchange in

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[26]   P. Mefalopulos, *Development Communication Sourcebook. Broadening the Boundaries of Communication*, Washington 2008, p. 56 (*World Bank e-Library*).

[27]   L. Hooghe, G. Marks, 'Sources of Euroscepticism' *Acta Politica*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2007), pp. 119-127.

[28]   A. Moroska, *Prawicowy populizm a eurosceptycyzm (na przykładzie Listy Pima Fortuyna w Holandii i Ligi Polskich Rodzin w Polsce)*, Wrocław 2010 (*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, nr 3230. *Monografie Centrum Studiów Niemieckich i Europejskich im. Willy Brandta Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego*, 28).

[29]   For example why selected vegetables are defined as fruits, or why certain types of light bulb are chosen to be more efficient than the other.

[30]   S. Waisbord, *Family Tree of Theories...*, p. 5.

[31]   Types of adopters In this regard he introduced a classification of these agents accordingly to the level of their innovativeness – innovators; early adopters; majority adopters; late majority; laggards.

development communication – from the media to opinion leaders and from the leaders to the general population.[32] However, the adoption of new information depends not only on the availability of knowledge but also on the way this knowledge is introduced into the fabric of the society. The two-step flow theory argues that interpersonal relations within a community, social structure and networks are crucial for dissemination of innovation and sustainability of development.[33] In diffusion and information theories communication is vital for the success of development but at the same time it carries a risk of failure and provoking social conflicts due to negligence of cultural aspects of the process.

In both Europeanization and development studies, mediators or brokers of change play a special role in changing societies. They are often perceived as a type of conflict resolution mechanism, which intervenes when external and internal logics of behaviour collide, escalating to social tensions or overt conflicts.[34] However, their role can be much more extensive. First of all, development brokers facilitate introduction of new models of behaviour, communicating positive and productive aspects of change and development. In this regard, they can play the role of symbols of success, exemplifying on their own experiences how proposed change can increase productivity or quality of certain aspects of life.[35] In the words of de Sardan, brokers often assume a double function: they act as a spokesperson on behalf of technical or scientific knowledge and a mediator between the new and traditional *way of doing things.*[36]

As sociological institutionalism aptly points out, these development brokers can be reflected in epistemic communities and advocacy groups which operate within a specific political culture. In Europeanization studies these institutions are called agents of change, the national actors who have an ability to shape domestic context and persuade other members of their community to reorient their approach and align with the new norms. These norm entrepreneurs are often reflected in epistemic communities, networks with knowledge and normative agenda that can legitimize new models of behaviour and reduce uncertainties within transforming societies.[37] Such communities can play a vital role in policy-making process, supplying necessary answers to the decision--makers who seek knowledge on the possible consequences of the process of Europeanization.[38] Even though the role of knowledge and learning is crucial for sustaining domestic change, constructivism takes into account one more agent of change that

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[32] E. Katz, P. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence. The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*, New York 1955 (*Foundations of Communications Research*, 2).

[33] Ibid.

[34] J.-P.O. de Sardan, *Anthropology and Development…*, pp. 166-178.

[35] Often migrants assume the role of the symbols of success/agents of change, transferring newly acquired norms from the emigration cultures to their native communities. See: N. Van Hear, 'Theories of Migration and Social Change', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 10 (2010), pp. 1531-1536, at <http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1080/1369183X.2010.489359>.

[36] J.-P.O. de Sardan, *Anthropology and Development…*, p. 45.

[37] Ibid., pp. 153-161.

[38] T. Börzel, T. Risse, 'Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe' in K. Featherstone, C. Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanisation*, Oxford 2011, p. 12.

operates under common beliefs, identities and values. The so called advocacy groups use collective norms and identities to persuade members of the community to reorient their goals and preferences. In this way, the networks execute double-loop social learning, as a result of which actors change their interests and identities as opposed to merely adjusting *their way of doing things.*[39]

Essentially, a development broker and agent of change is one and the same institution that can be reflected in a person or a whole organization, which communicates and promotes a new set of social norms. The role can be played by a respected political or social actor who uses his authority to explain and mitigate the effects of reforms and social changes. For instance, epistemic communities that gather around universities and think-tanks conceptualize social reality by explaining the process and preparing the society for further adaptation costs. Advocacy groups, on the other hands, can serve as pioneers in construction of new identities and utilization of opportunity structures, introducing the community to the benefits of the EU membership.

Europeanization and communication-development emphasize another element that influences compliance and consolidation of external norms – learning and interaction. In this regard, scholars propose two frameworks – rationalist and constructivist. The rational perspectives emphasize coercion, cost/benefit calculations, and material incentives.[40] Rational actors believe in maximizing their position and strength through utilization of opportunity structure presented by the external logic provider. In this model, communication and interaction occurs mainly at strategic and informational level. As Checkel emphasizes, *rational-choice perspective emphasize simple learning, where actors acquire new information as a result of interaction and then use this information to alter strategies, but not preferences.*[41] Rational actors are locked in a certain framework which allows them to acquire resources needed to strengthen their position. In this manner, their behaviour can be modified with material incentives and sanctions, which may be employed when the actor deviates from the new norms that he previously agreed. This model can be exemplified with the European funds scheme, where domestic actors (government, firms, NGOs, individuals) compete for resources from the European Union, submitting proposals which have to be compatible with a certain logic, language and model behaviour.[42] In this regard, the prospective benefactors interact and learn through a given opportunity structure, which not only strengthens the role of the donor agency but also allows it to control the behaviour of the targeted category of social actors.

On the other hand, social constructivist approach emphasizes social learning, socialization, and promotion of social norms.[43] In this perspective *actors are socialized*

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[39] Ch. Agyris, D. Schön, *Organizational Learning*, Reading 1980 (*Addison-Wesley Series on Organization Development*).

[40] J. Checkel, 'Why Comply?...', pp. 553-588.

[41] Ibid., p. 561.

[42] For example incorporation of gender perspective into the projects or adaptation of specific terminology used in development and structural schemes..

[43] J. Checkel, 'Why Comply?...', p. 557.

into new norms and rules of appropriateness through processes of persuasion and learning after which they redefine their interests and identities accordingly.[44] Europeanizing societies comply with the new logic, arguing about its legitimacy and appropriateness, rather than seeking pay-offs before their adaptation. In the constructivist approach the actors reconstruct their own social reality and collectively shared systems of meanings.[45] In this regard, they learn and interact with the norms through social learning. Bandura defines this process as learning from each other through observation, imitation and modelling of desired behaviours.[46] In development studies this approach is utilized by entertainment-education, a strategy which *purposely designs and implements a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, and change overt behaviour.*[47] Even though mass media have an unmatched capacity to influence people's behaviour, they also bring in a number of elements that can pose of threat to the success of development process. In comparison to standard material presented in mass media, education and change-oriented formats may appear dull and unwanted. That is why education-entertainment aims to maximize its effect through diversification of platforms and collaboration with other strategies that bring additional forms of contact and communication.

In the context of Europeanization, mass media communication and entertainment-education are widely present and acceptable concepts of change and learning.[48] The case of Poland is a good example of such behaviour – over the years Poland has produced a number of educational materials designed to target a wide spectrum of society. Polish national television *TVP* has since 2004 launched a whole array of television shows designed to *smuggle in* the information on the European Union and positive effects of Europeanization. In 2013, six TV shows alone were devoted to education and communication of the EU related issues.[49] Among them *Szlakiem Gwiazd* (In the trails of the stars[50]) or *Piękniejsza Polska w Unii Europejskiej* (More beautiful Poland in the European Union[51]), both of which used celebrities as information brokers who presented how European funds influenced local Poland ten years after the accession. Entertainment-education does not limit itself to one medium. The Internet has been proliferated with websites and platforms designed specifically to educate and entrain

[44]   T. Börzel, T. Risse, 'Conceptualizing...', p. 10.

[45]   T. Risse, 'Social Constructivism and European Integration' in A. Wiener, T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory*, Oxford 2004, pp. 159-175.

[46]   A. Bandura, *Social Learning Theory*, Englewood Cliffs 1977 (*Prentice-Hall Series in Social Learning Theory*).

[47]   A. Singhal, E.M. Rogers, *Entertainment-Education. A Communication Strategy for Social Change*, Mahwah 1999, p. 343 (*LEA's Communication Series*).

[48]   J. Peter, H. Semetko, C. de Vreese, 'EU Politics on Television News. A Cross-National Comparative Study', *European Union Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2003), pp. 305-327.

[49]   See: Portal Funduszy Europejskich, at <http://www.funduszeeuropejskie.2007-2013.gov.pl/dzialaniapromocyjne/Media/Strony/Media_Telewizja.aspx>, 25 May 2015.

[50]   Free translation.

[51]   Free translation.

all types of social actors and adopters of the European norms.[52] Polish newspapers and radio were equally utilized in the process, disseminating norms and information about the European Union. To exemplify, a series of informational segments and articles were launched in the national newspapers like *Wprost* (Wprost on European Funds[53]) and *Polityka* (Insight into European Funds[54]), whereas radio channels organized competitions where listeners had to describe and advertise the most effective and popular public projects financed from the European Funds.[55] Non-governmental organizations and representations of the EU institutions also play a role in the learning process. Due to theme-specific days, special events, contests and other social campaigns, these organizations engage and promote European norms, activating civil society and facilitating assimilation of new norms and behaviours.[56]

The process of development and social change is an arena where various logics, interests and ideologies clash: those who are initiators of change, in a sense, confront with those to be changed.[57] Hobart describes the relationship between developers and "those to be developed" as an association shaped by developer's knowledge and categories,[58] where power aspects are predominantly defined by the donor's economy, technology, and organizational culture. In this sense, in the eyes of the changing community, development provider imposes his perceptions on a given society with intent to transform it into a more developed or Europeanized community. Such an asymmetrical relationship often leads to social tensions and conflicts based on lack of common understanding and clearly defined purpose and logic of the externally introduced norms.[59]

In this aspect both Europeanization and development studies carry a risk of externally stimulated conflicts, caused by the friction between the traditional and new way

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[52]   Some exmaples of the Polish Internet-based projects: euroman.gov.pl – Fundusze Europejskie na Maksa, Fundusze dla Polski 3 – Interaktywna Mapa Przemian (IMP), Miastomania – gra internetowa. See at <http://www.funduszeeuropejskie.2007-2013.gov.pl/dzialaniapromocyjne/Media/Strony/Media_Internet.aspx>, 25 May 2015.

[53]   Free translation.

[54]   Free translation.

[55]   Some exmaples of the Polish Radio-based educational project: Radio Zet *Program na sukces*, RMF FM *Mapa Funduszy Europejskich*, Radio PIN *PIN do Sukcesu*. See at <http://www.funduszeeuropejskie.2007-2013.gov.pl/dzialaniapromocyjne/Media/Strony/Media_Radio.aspx>, 25 May 2015.

[56]   Some examples of communication projects organized by the Representation of the European Commission in Poland: Europejski Piknik 2014, Konkurs o Wspólnej Polityce Rolnej, Konkurs Strzał w Dziesiątkę, Eurodyta 2014, Europa Naszym Domem. See: *Konkursy*, Komisja Europejska – Przedstawicielstwo w Polsce, at <http://ec.europa.eu/polska/news/announcements/index_pl.htm>, 18 September 2014.

[57]   J.-P.O. de Sardan, *Anthropology and Development...*, pp. 185-188.

[58]   M. Hobart, 'Introduction: The Growth of Ignorance?' in idem (ed.), *An Anthropological Critique of Development. The Growth of Ignorance*, London–New York 1993, pp. 1-30.

[59]   The concept of participatory communication presents a number of solutions designed specifically to facilitate social dialogue and mitigate conflicts. The main idea behind participatory communication is the empowerment of people so that they can handle development challenges and influence the direction of their own lives. See: S. Waisbord, *Family Tree of Theories...*, pp. 34-44.

of doing and perceiving things. In development project this tension is what de Sardan describes as the conflict between "technical" and "traditional" knowledge on growth and progress.[60] This theory refers to a wide range of social change situations from healthcare initiatives in the Third World countries, to the attempts to introduce the Western-styled human rights norms into the legal systems of the countries which are not culturally compatible with this paradigm. Regardless of moral or practical reasons behind the changes, both cases have a potential to ignite social and political tensions that would jeopardize development process.

Even though social consent is, to some extent, intrinsic to the process of Europeanization, there is always a risk that a norm or a category mainstreamed by the European Union can be widely contested within a member state society. These contestations often refer to both emotional and rational aspects of the norms, which affect the internal status quo. To exemplify, gender mainstreaming or the issue of environmental policies,[61] associated with the European Union have been an important element of the debate on European integration in the Polish political domain and media for some time now. Accompanied by the lack of any kind of communication component or knowledge-based dialogue, these categories have created a stir in the society, which in a long perspective may evolve into social divisions and contestation of Europeanization. Naturally, it does not imply that if explained and properly communicated these norms would be automatically accepted by the society, but it would create a chance for the public opinion to form a position based on more than emotions or distorted perceptions of the introduced norms and behaviours.

Conflict is a natural state that allows expressing worries and fears of a transforming society, thus enabling the process of development to move forward. It is inherent to social life and has a potential to reproduce and channel social energy into cohesion and more consensual coexistence. Political and social disputes not only expose different interests but also show different perception of change and ideas on progress. In development studies conflicts are considered as indicators of interests and positions linked to specific political and cultural structures as well as common perceptions.[62] In this regard, communication-development is not only a consolidating, but also a conflict managing mechanism. It helps to keep conflicts and social change on the productive path, clarifying externally introduced norms and categories in an acceptable and digestible format. That is why in the communication perspective properly managed confrontations facilitate adjustments of strategies according to the context and intended goals of development or Europeanization projects.

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[60]   J.-P.O. de Sardan, *Anthropology and Development...*, pp. 153-161.

[61]   Environmental policies refer to a whole range of initiatives launched by the European Union including: energy efficiency projects, CO_2 emission, recycling, water usage (e.g. much ridiculed EU rules to standardise the flush on lavatories). See: B. Waterfield, 'EU Seeks to Standardise the Flush on Lavatories', *The Telegraph*, 29 October 2012, at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/10412676/EU-seeks-to-standardise-the-flush-on-lavatories.html>, 19 September 2014.

[62]   J.-P.O. de Sardan, *Anthropology and Development...*, pp. 188-192.

CONCLUSION

The consolidation and internalization of externally introduced norms encompasses not only communicating change but also, in a sense, becoming change. European Union as an organization has created a whole structure of norms that are promoted and educated throughout Europeanizing societies and beyond. In this aspect Europeanization and development have a lot in common. Both processes aim to alter and modernize a society in order to bring it closer to a certain idea or an intended state. Usually this state is a productive model of economic, social and political behaviour that would in theory generate an added value to the members of a modernising and/or Europeanising community. Both development and Europeanization at some point tend reconfigure the domestic level with an assumption that the old ways of doing things are incompatible with the new logic of the framework institution (i.e. European Union or a development agency). In many aspects Europeanization is often associated with the process of development and modernization. This correlation is most visible in the Central-Eastern and South-Eastern European states where the European Union has become the symbol of economic growth and Westernization.[63] In these countries European funds, which in essence support development, have dominated the political and public discourse on pros and cons of the EU membership and the value of the integration process itself.[64]

During transformative periods, the element of sustainability and consolidation of domestic reforms is always problematic. In such situations, development-communication plays a vital role in a changing society. First of all, it creates an information structure that educates and promotes new norms at domestic and community level. In this way, it softly introduces new models of behaviour showing its positive aspects and argumentatively persuading members of the community to internalize the new logic. Secondly, it often produces an opportunity structure which locks the society in a framework of material incentives and sanctions, thus creating a positive reinforcement for the execution of an intended change in a society. Finally, communication-development presents a number of strategies and approaches that utilize a wide range of mass media and traditional communication channels. These strategies aim to educate and familiarize changing societies with ideas and concepts, slowly incorporating this new logic to the public discourse and social awareness.

Communication perspective is not entirely new to Europeanization studies. There are elements in sociological and rational intuitionalism that can be directly extrapolated to communication-development domain. The concept of agent of change is possibly the most visible element that appears in both paradigms, linking them conceptually and operationally. Additionally, social constructivism emphasises the role of interaction

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[63]   P. Blokker, 'Post-Communist Modernization…', p. 505.

[64]   See: Ministerstwo Infrastruktury i Rozwoju, *Polska w UE. Bilans dziesięciolecia*, Warszawa 2013, at <https://www.mir.gov.pl/rozwoj_regionalny/Ewaluacja_i_analizy/Raporty_o_rozwoju/Raporty_krajowe/Documents/MIR_Bilans_dziesieciolecia_broszura_070514.pdf>; J. Misala (ed.), *Polska w Unii Europejskiej – wstępny bilans członkostwa*, Radom 2006.

and communication, showing how social learning can stimulate Europeanization and the subsequent process of reconstruction of identity. Both, concepts stress the importance of actor-oriented perspective in dissemination of innovation and underlining the role of local institutions in the process of social change. These similarities go deeper; however, the question was whether communication can serve as a framework for research on consolidation of the process of Europeanization.

In this aspect, communication-development appears to be a valid framework, as it provides a perspective on the methods and process of incorporating a new logic and behaviours into the culture of a changing society. This article employs a top-down perspective on communication, which in the case of Europeanization is a sensible approach. It shows how a vertical diffusion of knowledge can be conceptualized and incorporated into the studies on consolidation of Europeanization and the subsequent development. Moreover, this perspective does not apply only to the first stages of EU membership. The idea behind European integration is that member states are continuously undergoing the process of Europeanization and much needed development as well as economic growth. In this regard, societies have to change and adapt to new political and economic circumstances much faster than they used to. In order to do so, they need mechanisms and that would facilitate this process and help consolidate the outcomes. On this subject, communication-development perspective proposes a new avenue for research on Europeanization, maybe slightly outside the traditional framework. However, if it does not restrict itself to pure theorization it has a potential to contribute to our understanding of Europeanization and the process of its consolidation in the European societies.

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