



***Patterns of Transnationalization  
and Regulatory Change beyond the EU.  
Explaining Cross-Sectoral Variation in Ukraine***

**Julia Langbein**

**Ph.D. thesis defence on 12 November 2010**

**Abstract**

This thesis seeks to explain cross-sectoral variation in convergence with EU rules in countries outside the EU that lack regulatory capacities and democratic development. In contrast to accounts predominant in the Europeanization literature, this study presents evidence to suggest that regulatory change in non-accession countries is not doomed to failure despite high initial adaptation costs that cannot be mitigated by EU membership conditionality. Making use of qualitative research methods, I analyze variation in convergence with EU rules in Ukraine across four policy sectors (corporate governance, technical regulation, telecommunications and food safety). I find that cross-sectoral variation is a function of different patterns of transnationalization that can be deep, shallow or mixed, depending on the properties and combined effects of interactions between domestic and external actors. In policy sectors where the combined effects of strong economic conditionality, strong market incentives for European and local firms and multiplex capacity building increase the incentives and capacities of domestic public *and* private actors for regulatory change, convergence with EU rules is likely to reach high levels thanks to deep patterns of transnationalization.

My findings have the following implications. 1) Instead of high-powered political incentives (membership conditionality), the EU has down-to-earth economic incentives at its disposal (economic conditionality) to shape regulatory change in non-accession countries. Tying market access to convergence with EU rules in an unambiguous manner is necessary to achieve high levels of convergence beyond the EU's borders. 2) Analyzing the *combined effects* of conditionality, markets and capacity building is more fruitful for explaining cross-sectoral variation in convergence with EU rules than isolated analyses of each mechanism. 3) Convergence with EU rules is not just about creating another level of hierarchy in the markets and political systems of target countries. Rather, it is about creating institutions for governance arrangements in which public and private actors coordinate regulatory tasks. Hence, transnational interactions need to increase the incentives and capacities of public *and* private domestic actors for high levels of convergence. 4) In countries like Ukraine, Russia is not a countervailing hegemon that unflinchingly seeks to obstruct convergence with EU rules. Rather, Russia should be conceived of as an adaptive hegemon that promotes or obstructs convergence depending on the interests of Russian business.



Jury: Adrienne Heritier (EUI), László Bruszt (EUI) (Supervisor), Jacint Jordana (Pompeu Fabra Barcelona), Tanja Börzel (Free University Berlin) (via videolink)

### **Bio**

Julia Langbein currently is Post-doctoral Fellow at the Research College "The Transformative Power of Europe" at Freie Universität Berlin where she is working on a project aimed at understanding the transnational governance of domestic institutional development in the area of food safety. She is also working as research assistant in the project "Transnational Integration Regimes and Domestic Institutional Change in Emerging Market Economies" at the European University Institute. Her research interest include the interplay between transnationalization and institutional change, EU external relations, regulatory politics and post-Soviet transitions. For her thesis "Patterns of Transnationalization and Regulatory Change – Explaining Cross-Sectoral Variation in Ukraine", Julia has conducted extensive fieldwork and held visiting fellowships at the Center for European Policy Studies in Brussels, the International Center for Policy Studies in Kyiv and the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. Between 2006 and 2009, she also taught several courses at FU Berlin. Prior to conducting her PhD at the European University Institute, Julia graduated from FU Berlin with a diploma in Political Science. She also holds a Master's degree in Russian Studies from the European University at St. Petersburg and a MRes in Political Science from the EUI. Her latest publications include "Transnationalization and Change in Economic Institutions – The case of Ukraine" in the book "The Transnationalization of States, Economies and Civil Societies. New Modes of Governance in Europe", edited by László Bruszt and Ronald Holzhaacker, Springer US, 2009; "Differential Empowerment for Institutional Change – EU Impact on State and Non-State Actors in Eastern Europe", in the book "Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe", edited by Sabine Fischer and Heiko Pleines, Ibidem and "À la carte – Ukrainische Positionen zum Freihandel mit der EU", Osteuropa, 2-4/2010.