

# NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ITS FACTORS

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## “EUROPEANIZATION PROCESS AS AN ELEMENT OF NATIONAL STATES IDENTITY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION”

**Abstract:** In the last two decades the phenomenon of Europeanization has been intensively studied and associated with the process of EU-ization, “transformative impact of the EU” and completing the process of adjusting an internal system of one member state and its policies (foreign and domestic) politics, regulations and objectives of the European Union. Whether it is a recent or old member states, they all have accepted European policies and directions. In addition, from each member state and its activities, priorities and national objectives, depends how much these countries were able to adopt a common foreign and security policy, as well as their own (one hand), or to impose specific priority foreign policy issues to EU, as part of the CFSP, on the other. The authors explain process of Europeanization in EU member states, and indicate the difficulties of western Balkan states in the same process.

**Keywords:** Europeanization, national identity, European Union, member state, European policy, Western Balkans.

### INTRODUCTION

Half a century ago, European leaders agreed that economic and political integrations are the best way for Europe to leave behind centuries of conflicts and wars. French Minister of Foreign Affairs Robert Schumann proposed “Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> [http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/index_en.htm).

Positive experiences of these communities motivated founder states to continue further unification of European economies. Thus, in 1957 European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), European Economic Community (EEC) and European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) were established by Treaty of Rome. This led to the gradual formation of common market. The unification of three European Communities was in 1967.

The European Union provided half century of peace, prosperity, high living standard and launched a European single currency (Euro). Border controls were eliminated, so goods can be transferred and people can travel freely through the continent.

European Union is based on the rule of law, which means that all its functions are based on contracts, democratically and voluntarily accepted by all member states. European Union has specific legal nature. Having in mind its competences and operating methods of certain sectors, EU can be defined in three different ways:

- As a quasi-federation in the areas of monetary relations, trade and agriculture;
- As a confederation in internal policy, consumer protection, environmental, social and economic policy;
- As an international organization in foreign policy area.

## CONCEPT OF EUROPEANIZATION

Theoretical researches of Europeanization include various phenomena: European colonization of other continents, expansion borders of EU, raising awareness of “belonging to Europe”, identification with the “citizen of Europe”, acceptance European characteristics (cultural, linguistic and national) by non-European subjects. Europeanization is influential and modern concept in social science terminology. On one hand, its meaning may be specifically determined, but also, on the other hand, abstract and broad. It signifies a certain political, socioeconomic, and cultural reality, but it is also an ideology, a symbol, and a myth.<sup>4</sup>

In the last two decades, the phenomenon of Europeanization is much more studied and associated with the process of “EU-ization” as “transformative impact of the EU” and complete process of adjusting an internal system of one EU member state and its policies (foreign and domestic) to policies, regulations and objectives of European Union.<sup>5</sup> For example, during negotiations on enlargement, potential member state is required to accept whole “*acquis communautaire*” – political objectives of the Union (legislation, regulations, policies, etc.).

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<sup>4</sup> Anastasakis O, “The Europeanization of the Balkans” available on internet on: [http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/seesox/anastasakis\\_publications/Anastasakis\\_Brown.pdf](http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/seesox/anastasakis_publications/Anastasakis_Brown.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> According to J. Magone: “Europeanization means in its most simple interpretation the impact of EU policies on the polities, politics and policies of the member states”. V. José Magone, “The Europeanization of Portugal (1986-2006). A critical view”, *Nacao e Defesa*, No. 115, 2006, p. 14.

Robert Ladrech defines Europeanization as “an incremental process of re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the extent that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policymaking.”<sup>6</sup>

Risse claims that Europeanization is “emergence and the development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated with political problem solving that formalizes interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules”<sup>7</sup>

One of the most complete definitions of Europeanization is Radaeli’s definition. Radaeli defines Europeanization as a “a) construction, b) diffusion and c) 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 choices.”<sup>8</sup>

Europeanization has a major influence on member states public policies. That influence was not uniform. Member states have lost much of the scope for independent action in some areas, such as monetary policy or trade. In others, the impact has been much more fragmented: on areas such as health care or employment policy. Between these two extremes lie the majority of policy areas.<sup>9</sup> Theorists emphasize four areas that are under the highest influence of Europeanization:

- **Institutionalization of single market.** A sheer volume of directives, regulations and jurisprudence in this area increased dramatically from enacting of the Single European Act (1986).

- **The advent of Economic and Monetary union (EMU).** Creation of euro zone, single currency and interest rate further increased the degree of interdependence in other policy areas. This caused numerous questions and debates in the areas of employment policies, labour market reforms and change of national pension regimes.

- **Regulation of competition**

- **Process of enlargement.** Some of conditions set during the negotiations on accession often refer to human rights, democracy, legal regulations. In many ways, region

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<sup>6</sup> Ian Bache and Adam Marshall “Europeanization and Domestic Change: A Governance Approach to Institutional Adaptation in Britain” 2004, page 2.

<sup>7</sup> Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse “Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe” Prepared for Keith Featherstone/Claudio Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming) 2009, available on internet in Pdf. Format on: [www.gs.uni.wroc.pl/files/BOERZEL%20-%20RISSE%20Conceptualizing%20the](http://www.gs.uni.wroc.pl/files/BOERZEL%20-%20RISSE%20Conceptualizing%20the).

<sup>8</sup> Agh Artila, *The Politics of Central Europe*. (Sage Publications, 1998); Hearher Crabbe, “How does Europeanization affects CEE governance? Conditionality, diffusion and diversity,” *Journal of European Public Policy* %, no. 6 (2001): 1013-1031.

<sup>9</sup> Bulmar Simon J., Radaelli Claudio M. „The europeanisation of National policies“ *Quins Papers on Europeanization*, NO 1/2004.

of South-Eastern Europe and Turkey is the test case, not only for successful and positive Europeanization effects but also for European identity in the future. Understanding of Europeanization in South-Eastern Europe is insufficient in comparison to Central and Eastern Europe experiences.

Authors like Fritz Scharpf (1998), Christoph Kneel (2001), Bloomer and Paget (2003) research the concept of Europeanization. They state a few types of Europeanization:

### **Governance by negotiation**

European Union is in constant state of negotiation across multiple policy areas: from foreign policy, immigrations through fisheries. Its authority varies across the range of policy areas-from having exclusive authority or limited powers (e.g. employment policy). In each case when EU takes decision, it is a culmination of negotiation processes. Member governments are the key factor: they set the terms under which power has been delegated to supranational bodies such as European Commission or the European Court of Justice.

The greatest Europeanization potential have political areas where interests of member states match, and cases where they are encouraged by Council to avoid unanimous voting and the use of national veto power. As a consequence, individual members are much less likely to pursue obstructionist-negotiating strategies in the Council of Ministers for fear that they will be over-ruled.<sup>10</sup> Many authors consider this kind of Europeanization as a 'real' Europeanization.

### **Governance by hierarchy**

Governance by hierarchy relates to the circumstances when sub national institutions (such as European Council, European Parliament, Commission, Court of Justice (EJC)) have numerous delegated powers. At the end of the negotiation phase, the Council usually accepts European legislation which has to be implemented in the member states.

Command and control mechanisms come into play on this stage. These mechanisms come from unique and sub-national EU character and enable the EU agreements to enter into force in all member states. The enforcement mechanisms are designed to restrict individual states to cheat on negotiation agreement.

### **Facilitated coordination**

Facilitated coordination refers to the areas where the national governments are the key actors. With those characteristics, it is not a subject of European legislation, where decisions are subject of unanimity among the Governments or where the EU is only space for exchanging ideas.

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<sup>10</sup> Bulmar Simon J. , Radaelli Claudio M. "The europeanisation of National states" 2004, p. 6.

In practice, these circumstances refer to the areas of police cooperation and political areas what is known as “the open method of coordination”. In these areas, agreements have a form of soft law or political declarations which are not legally enforceable. In these cases sub national institutions have lower powers, and Europeanization happens on voluntary basis. This type of Europeanization dominates in the areas of foreign policy and security.

## EU MEMBERS AND THE EUROPEANIZATION PROCESS

All EU member states have passed through the process of „adoption“ of European policies and rules of conduct. Besides, from every member state and its activities, priorities and national objectives depend on the capability to accept common foreign and security policy as their own or to impose important issues to EU, as a part of CFSP.

Considering foreign relations of the older EU members (bigger or smaller) it is obvious that one part of Europeanization was leaving their former colonial systems on one hand ( for example, cases of France and Maghreb, Great Britain and Commonwealth, Belgium and Congo) , and strengthening of inter-European economies and political relations. On the other hand, European Community established new type of relations with their former colonies (association agreements with developing countries- Africa, Pacific, Mediterranean policy of EU etc.)

In the case of Portugal (EU member since 1986), J. Magnone states that process of Europeanization brought:

1. Europeanization of domestic political institutions ( parliamentary practice become similar to the practice of the other member states parliaments, and domestic parliament is more involved with European Community issues);
2. Europeanization of public policies- European Community budget funds influenced on financial policies (structural, regional and social funds etc.)
3. Importance of “Europe” in political speech (as a consequence of Portugal’s presidency in European Union in 1992 and 2000<sup>11</sup>);
4. Foreign policy reform (Ministry of International Affairs’ role and work, relations with former colonies, position of Portugal compared to foreign policies and EU priorities etc.)

Author says an important fact: on the beginning, Portugal was a side that assimilated itself to European political cooperation (EPC). Later, circumstances changed, and Portugal was capable to use EPC in its own favour and influenced that European Union acts like a spokesperson in questions important for Portugal. In this period, an important issue was Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Also due to Portugal’s foreign policy efforts to this former colony gained complete independence (in 2002). It is

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<sup>11</sup> Portugal’s third presidency in EU was in 2007.

obvious that Portugal alone would not be able to achieve these goals as it is done with joint activities of all EU members.

Similar examples of two-way Europeanization exist in the other EU member states, but that process did not have identical effects within all members. It is obvious that some members remained more or less pro-European, same as differences in the implementation of EU regulations in their intern systems (what is a consequence of different efficacy of their intern legal systems.) In this process of accepting / influencing, every country has different foreign policy and security options which are result of their historic and intern experiences. E.g. Ireland, as neutral, a long time avoided to involve in terms of security within the CFSP.<sup>12</sup>

On the other side, Denmark has shown caution towards the development of the CFSP, having in mind its traditional cooperation with USA in bilateral relations.<sup>13</sup>

Netherlands has tried to found a balance in its relations within NATO, on the one hand, and within the CFSP, on the other hand.<sup>14</sup>

Sweden, although neutral, has shown great activity in development process of CFSP, especially in development of its security aspects – CSDP.<sup>15</sup>

In the case of new EU members from Eastern and Central Europe where the Europeanization process still lasts, it is noticeable that they tend to involve their specific foreign policy and bilateral issues in the context of the CFSP, and to influence on EU external relations with the former USSR countries, in the Eastern Partnership; strategy of relations with Russia and others. The conflict over South Ossetia (August 2008) for example, showed significant differences in the reaction of individual Member States to Georgia and to Russia. Baltic countries and Poland, for example, also pay special attention to maintain strong transatlantic relations (i.e. relations with USA and role of NATO in European defence), which affects their attitude towards CFSP, and particularly on the development of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).<sup>16</sup>

Experiences of Greece as a Balkan country, roughly similar size of Serbia are very interesting. It may be noted that Greece foreign (and internal) policy passed through

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<sup>12</sup> "Irish security and defense policy can be characterized as being exceptional and differentiated from that of almost all other small European States", v. B. Torna, S. Kopf, "The Irish Case, The Europeanization of Priority and Policy Issues?", in: *Nacao e Defesa*, No. 118, Outono/Inverno 2007, p. 186.

<sup>13</sup> H. Larsen, "Denmark's Choices between the US and the EU after 2001", in *Nacao e Defesa*, No. 118, Outono/Inverno 2007, p. 165-183.

<sup>14</sup> Rob De Wijk, "Seeking the Right Balance: NATO and EU in Deutch Foreign and Defense Policy", in *Nacao e Defesa*, No. 118, Outono/inverno 2007, p. 147-165.

<sup>15</sup> L. Aggestam, "The European Internationalist: Sweden and European Security Cooperation", *Nacao e Defesa*, No. 118, Outono/Inverno 2007, p. 203-221.

<sup>16</sup> A. Molis emphasis that the attitude of the Cieza countries on development of ESDP doesn't depend from the factor of its size, as much from the other factors such as: geopolitical orientation, national identity, internal policy and public attitudes v. Arunas Molis: "The role and Interests of Small States in developing European Security and Defense Policy", *Baltic Security and Defense Review*, Vol. 8, 2006, p. 81.

various phases of Europeanization since country joined EU (in 1981.). Firstly, in the eighties at the time of Papandreou's Socialist government, Greece has been "enfant terrible" in EU foreign policy and in many respects has distanced itself from the basic EU principles (e.g. avoiding embargo on the Soviet Union during its invasion of Afghanistan, prominent "pro-Arab" policy in the context of the Middle East conflict, etc.) Greece has gradually shown a great ability that machinery of the Union use in a direction suitable for its foreign policy goals. In this sense, the biggest success of Greek policy is inclusion of the divided Cyprus in EU (without a settlement of the Cyprus problem, which means that only Greek part of Cyprus, is in EU).

As a wider example of Europeanization, S. Stavridis said that change of Greek attitude towards Balkan neighbours (including Turkey), where "Greece does not follow purely bilateral approach, rather than trying to Europeanize most of its relations with Balkan neighbours."<sup>17</sup> In other words, Greece is trying to express its Balkan interests and options through common EU policy and impose its views into the context of EU policy.

On some issues Greece has a great success (E.g. the case of Cyprus, EU relations with Turkey) while the others (e.g., Macedonia's name issue) Greek Europeanization policy although quite effective, was not entirely convincing.

## EUROPEANIZATION AND THE WESTERN BALKAN REGION

With process of cooperation and integration in EU, Western Balkans was forced with periods of splitting states and instabilities. After dissolution of the SFR Yugoslavia, six new states were created. European Union institutions and members define "the Western Balkans" as Albania and former Yugoslavia, without Slovenia.<sup>18</sup>

One of the most important goals of Western Balkans countries is EU membership. The process of Europeanization in this region is more specific and more difficult than the Europeanization of Western and East Europe countries. Required conditions for Western Balkan countries to obtain EU membership are creation of security, peace, resolution of border disputes, reconstruction, development and democratization. EU has never dealt with such a broad spectrum of issues with candidate members. Balkan countries have initiated EU accession process with lower capacities than previous applicants had.

EU sets conditions that Western Balkans states have to fulfil. These conditions could be broadly determined (set on Copenhagen criteria); concrete (set on Stabilization and Association Agreement) or specific, related on finances and projects. Also, some conditions

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<sup>17</sup> Stelios Stavridis, *The Europeanization of Greek foreign policy: A literature review*, LSE, Hellenic Observatory, London, 2003, [www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory](http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory).

<sup>18</sup> This concept has been criticized, especially in Croatia, where the great majority of publics believe that Croatia has nothing in common with other region countries, and "putting" Croatia in Western Balkan region is often interpreted as an attempt of reconstruction of Yugoslavia.

were set on Dayton, Belgrade and Ohrid Agreements. One of most important conditions is cooperation with The International Court of Justice (ICJ) based in The Hague. Refusing of ICJ cooperation had a negative influence on Stabilization and Association Process with Serbia and Montenegro and start of accession negotiations with Croatia. ICJ cooperation is an important part of normative side of Europeanization of Balkan states and it means justice, confession of past crimes and reconciliation between neighbour countries and ethnic communities. As a result, EU has a power to determine the course of bilateral relations with membership candidates.

Europeanization process is significantly limited by weak and non-efficient state capacities. The weakest region countries have legally accepted EU rules, including the areas where the costs are very high. The main problem is inefficient implementation and enforcement. E.g., Macedonia has adopted an electoral code in compliance with international standards, but the old system used for elections persists.

In a similar way, Albania has adopted a comprehensive administrative reform, which however has done little to stop the politicization of public administration. In both cases, corruption and clientelism have undermined the effectiveness of the formal institutional changes.<sup>19</sup>

Economic and political reforms do not require only money, staff and information. They are political risk for governments because of possible loss of political powers and public support. For Balkan region, Europeanization and democratization processes are highly important. EU helped strengthening the liberal opposition that played an important role in overthrow of ultra-conservative and post communistic parties in 2000's. Democracy and human rights are important when it comes to determine the overall misfit between EU requirements for cooperation within Western Balkan states. The lower democratic quality of country results with the higher costs of adoption. Furthermore, it can be aggravating in important politic and economic issues. Also, minority protection and the regional cooperation with neighbour countries is one of the priorities on the EU's agenda.

EU developed programs of capacity building to strengthen the reform capacity of the Western Balkan candidates. Some of these programs are CARDS (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization) as an appropriate program for financial assistance for Western Balkans. It was introduced in 2000.<sup>20</sup> Program for Stabilization and Association provides similar instruments. CARDS recipient countries use TAIEX (Technical Assistance and Information Exchange Instruments). IPA (Pre-Accession Assistance Instrument) replaced various financial instruments in 2006. IPA program is

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<sup>19</sup> Borzel T, „When europeanization hits limited statehood. The Western Balkans as a test case for the transformative power of Europe“ *The Transformative Power of Europe* No. 30 2009, available at the internet: [http://userpage.fuberlin.de/kfgeu/workingpapers/WorkingPaperKFG\\_30.pdf](http://userpage.fuberlin.de/kfgeu/workingpapers/WorkingPaperKFG_30.pdf).

<sup>20</sup> More details about CARDS program on: [http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/enlargement/western\\_balkans/r18002\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/western_balkans/r18002_en.htm).



consisted of five components—transitional assistance and institution building, cross-border cooperation, rural development and development of regions and human resources.<sup>21</sup>

From Western Balkan countries, Croatia is the closest to EU membership. It will become member state in the middle of 2013. Serbia, Monte Negro and Macedonia granted candidate status. Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>22</sup> and Albania<sup>23</sup> are the only regional countries that were not granted EU candidate status.

## CONCLUSION

European Union is a specific legal creation and specific international organization with a significant role in integration and cooperation of European states. Process of adjusting and transformation of member state internal systems and its policies (foreign and internal) to policies, regulations and goals of European Union is known as “Europeanization”.

For the last 20 years, European theorists intensively research term of ‘Europeanization’. Europeanization is a subject of theoretical discussions, especially about its definition and approaches. Process of Europeanization is a challenge for European Union for two reasons. EU member states are dynamic subjects, same as Europeanization process. Accordingly, theme of Europeanization includes question of reciprocal relation between two dynamics factors.<sup>24</sup> The question that is raised lies with the influence of Europeanization on changes in EU member states and EU non-members.

Parallel with the process of Europeanization exist process of globalization. Theorists wonder:

1. Is the Europeanization some kind of “obstacle” against globalization (Americanization) or, on contraire, element of globalization?
2. Is the Europeanization appropriate reason for legalization of internal state reforms? In other words, is it manifestation of globalization?
3. Is it combination of both processes, whose individual effects depends of internal condition in every individual state?<sup>25</sup>

Europeanization affects indirectly on development and transformation of national state’s identity. It represents some kind of national state’s upgrade, which, in the process

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<sup>21</sup> More details about IPA on: [http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/agriculture/enlargement/e50020\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/agriculture/enlargement/e50020_en.htm).

<sup>22</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot apply for candidate status until the OHR is present on its territory.

<sup>23</sup> Albania applied for candidate status in 28 April 2009.

<sup>24</sup> More about this: Ian Bache and Adam Marshall “Europeanization and Domestic Change: A Governance Approach to Institutional Adaptation in Britain” 2004.

<sup>25</sup> More details about this: Anastasakis O, “The Europeanization of the Balkans” available on internet: [http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/seesox/anastasakis\\_publications/Anastasakis\\_Brown.pdf](http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/seesox/anastasakis_publications/Anastasakis_Brown.pdf) P. 79-80.

of Europeanization, gets some extra qualities, related with procedures and content of European legislation and EU policies. Europeanization is not present as just as transformative power and influence on new members and membership candidates. It affects all member states (old or new) and endures in later periods of membership. In that way, Europeanization contributes modernity of national states, its constant modernizations in contemporary context of globalization and transformation of classic national state.

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