

The European Union Strategy for the Adriatic-Ionian Region: An Alternative to the European Integration in the Western Balkans?*

Adriyatik ve İyon Denizleri için AB Stratejisi: Batı Balkanların Avrupa Entegrasyonu için Alternatif mi?

Vasileios MIGKOS** - Murat ÖNSOY***

Abstract

Despite the European Union (EU)-sponsored economic and political reforms, the Western Balkans has made little to no progress in several fields, including post-conflict reconciliation, post-socialist economic transformation, and democracy. This situation threatens both regional stability and, more importantly, the EU integration process in the region. On the other hand, the EU is in crisis and its enlargement policy has lost its momentum. If alternative policies are not put in place in the Western Balkans, it would once again be dragged into a whirlpool of conflict. This study asserts that the EU Strategy for Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR), which is a Macro-Regional Strategy could serve as a more realistic integration tool in the Western Balkans and an alternative for EU membership.

Key Words: EUSAIR, Macro-regional strategies, European Union, Western Balkans

Öz

Avrupa Birliği destekli ekonomik ve siyasi reformlara rağmen Batı Balkanlar, çatışma sonrası uzlaşma, sosyalizm sonrası ekonomik dönüşüm ve demokrasi dahil olmak üzere birçok alanda çok az ilerleme kaydetti veya hiç ilerleme kaydedemedi. Bu durum hem bölgesel istikrarı hem de daha da önemlisi bölgedeki AB entegrasyon sürecini tehdit etmekte. Öte yandan AB'nin kendisi de krizde ve genişleme politikası imesini kaybetti. Alternatif politikalar uygulanmazsa, Batı Balkanlar bir kez daha çatışma girdabına sürüklenebilir. Bu çalışma, bir Makro-Bölge Stratejisi olan Adriyatik ve İyon Denizleri için AB Stratejisi'nin (EUSAIR) Batı Balkanlar için daha gerçekçi bir entegrasyon aracı ve bölgenin tıkanmış AB üyelik sürecine alternatif bir mekanizma olarak hizmet edebileceğini ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: EUSAIR, Makro-Bölge Stratejileri, Avrupa Birliği, Batı Balkanlar

Introduction

The future of the European Union's (EU) integration process is full of uncertainties. Mounting political, social, economic, and financial pressures cause EU members to suffer integration fatigue and prevent further harmonization.

Makale Geliş Tarihi: 04.07.2020. Makale Kabul Tarihi: 05.10.2020.

* This article is based on the master's thesis of the first author conducted under the supervision of the second author.

** Field Support Officer at European Asylum Support Office,
E-mail: vasilis.migos@gmail.com, ORCID ID: /0000-0002-5663-7110.

*** Assoc. Prof. Dr., Hacettepe University, Department of International Relations,
E-mail: onsoymurat@hotmail.com, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8990-1547.

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

151

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

After the Eurozone crisis, the EU has turned into a highly heterogeneous entity comprised of member states. These states face a huge variety of problems that stem from extremely different paces of development and growth. In order to move forward, the integration process requires a great deal of commitment. However, in the poorer regions, mainly in the Southern and Eastern part of the continent, the ruling elite have very little political will. In these regions, there is also an increase in the number of people that are reluctant to the idea of a more integrated Europe.

The growing economic divergence between the poorer regions and the residents of the core countries of the EU creates a feeling of injustice and a resistance to the idea of a greater transfer of national sovereignty to the European institutions. While the poorer regions struggle to catchup with the EU standards, they see the biggest share of the pie and development measures concentrated in the core countries.

This makes them feel excluded and estranged to the whole process of European integration. This trend became more visible after the world financial crisis and the Eurozone crisis.¹ These successive economic downturns caused the Southern countries, in particular, to drift away from the EU average. The consequent re-emergence of regional disparities is considered to be one of the main causes for the current lack of wide popular support for the EU integration process.

In the Western Balkans, the most fragile region of the old continent, the situation is not much different. The transformative power of the EU has lost its potency. The EU-sponsored economic and political reforms have proved incapable of solving the structural problems of the region, where there is little to no progress in several fields including post-conflict reconciliation, post-socialist economic transformation, and democracy. When the crucial role that the EU and its institutions play in the progress of the region is taken into account, the EU's setback in its own house poses great risks, threatening both regional stability and, more importantly, the EU enlargement process.

Enlargement was once considered the "most successful" policy of the EU, but today it is at a standstill in the Western Balkans, where they are suffering from "enlargement fatigue." Chasing the EU membership carrot, is dragging the region into a whirlpool of conflict. It is time to consider alternatives to the EU enlargement process in the Western Balkans. In this regard, this article argues that the EU has a portfolio of tools that have the potential to replace the enlargement process in the region. Included in these tools are the macro-

1 Philippe Monfort, Convergence of EU regions redux - Recent trends in regional disparities, European Commission Working Paper 22, p. 6, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/work/022020_convergence_redux.pdf

Göz

Akademik
Bakış

152

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

regional strategies, which are a policy framework designed to address common challenges faced by both EU members and non-members located in the same geographical area.²

The EU Strategy for Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR) is one of the EU's four macro-strategies. It is comprised of four EU member states (Croatia, Greece, Italy, and Slovenia) and five non-EU countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and North Macedonia). This strategy encourages regional and cross-border cooperation, gives the poorer Western Balkan region the opportunity to address the challenges on a regional basis, and mitigates the gap with the EU member states.

This study asserts that the EU integration process in the Western Balkans is in jeopardy, and the EU's most important tool, enlargement, is no longer effective in the region. It argues that the EUSAIR, one of the products of EU's regional policy (cohesion policy) could serve as a more realistic "Europe-ization" tool and has the potential to be an alternative to EU enlargement in the Western Balkans. The article begins with a discussion of macro-region as a conceptual framework. This is followed by a brief history of the EUSAIR. Finally, the EUSAIR is discussed as an EU tool and an alternative to the EU enlargement in the Western Balkans.

Conceptual Framework: Macro-regions and Macro-regional strategies within the context of the EU

Regionalism is a contested concept with different definitions made by different scholarly disciplines and theories.³ When addressed through the sub-disciplinary lenses of International Relations, it refers to the theory or practice of coordinating social, economic or political activities within a geographical region that is comprised of a number of states.⁴ Regionalism presupposes the joint planning and implementation of collaborative projects, expresses the sense of common belonging to a region, and requires collective action of those living this region.⁵ The term "regional integration" refers to the process

- 2 Christiaan van Lierop - Vasileios Margaras, Summary, EU policies – Delivering for citizens: Regional Policy , European Parliamentary Research Service, July 2019, p.3, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/637953/EPRS_BRI\(2019\)637953_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/637953/EPRS_BRI(2019)637953_EN.pdf)
- 3 Piattoni Simona, "Exploring European Union Macro-regional Strategies through the Lens of Multilevel Governance", S. Gänzle, K. Kern (eds) *A 'Macro-regional' Europe in the Making*. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2016, pp.75-97. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-50972-7_4
- 4 Andrew Heywood, *Global Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p.482
- 5 Mary Farrell, "Regional Integration, Regionalism and Public Administration: Bridging the Global-National Divide in Decision Making and Policy Implementation", in A. Farazmand and J. Pinkowski (eds.) *Handbook of Globalization, Governance, and Public Administration*, London: CRC Press, 2006, pp. 211.

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

153

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

of integration among states located in a specific region or group of regions (belonging to one or more countries) around a prominent geographical reference point. The degree of regional integration may vary from one region to another. It can be formed as an intergovernmental entity or proceed towards a supranational entity.

The EU is considered a pioneer in regionalism. Their model is considered to be the most successful example of regional integration and is copied by the rest of the world. Although there are many factors behind this success, the most important is the ability to provide economic and social cohesion to its members. However, for the last two decades, EU cohesion is losing strength. Since the early 2000's, the harmony of the EU has been under constant challenge. First, the membership of the low GDP countries of EU-15 that joined in 2004, 2007, and 2013, created an economic disparity among different regions. Then, the global financial crisis and the Euro crisis hit, making it increasingly difficult to close the gap between the EU-15 and the EU-13. These consecutive crises caused the Eastern and Southern regions in particular to drift away from the EU average, and a consequent re-emergence of regional disparities. Due to these problems, the EU has shifted towards a region-based approach, producing policies which are tailored to serve the needs of its regions. To that end, the European regions have been encouraged to work more independently, intensifying interaction and collaboration, surmounting national and administrative borders, and coming up with joint solutions to joint challenges. The introduction of territorial cohesion as the third dimension of EU cohesion policy in the Treaty of Lisbon (2009) catalyzed the regional efforts.

The EU's shift towards a region-based approach placed the concept of macro-regions, macro-regional strategies and macro-regionalism at the center of conceptual debates in regionalism or regional integration studies. At the end of the 2000's, the adoption of macro-regional strategies resulted into the creation of the concept of macro-region. Much of the regionalism integration studies literature considers macro-regions to be the new 'tool of European integration' and explores its contribution to the territorial cohesion policy of the EU.⁶ According to the European Commission, a macro-region is "a large territorial unit or subsystem including areas from several neighboring countries, associated with one or more common futures and challenges."⁷ Similarly, a 'macro-regional strategy' is an enhanced cooperation supported by the European Council to respond jointly to the common challenges encountered by both the EU Member and non-Member states of a geographical area to

6 See. Metzger & Schmitt, 2012; Bellini and Hilpert, 2013; Sielker, 2016.

7 CoR, Committee of Regions Round-up the Sixth Atelier on "EU MacroRegional Strategies and European Governance", (Held on 26 November 2009), p.1

improve the conditions of their respective area.⁸ In this regard, macro-regionalism is “the building of functional and transnational regions of those (administrative) regions and municipalities at the sub-national level of EU member and partner countries that share a sufficient number of issues in common.”⁹

The macro-regions do not require the involvement of all EU member states, only those that share a given region. This allows its members to integrate in a manner that best fits their real needs and potentials, without struggling to catch up with the more advanced regions of the EU or being delayed by the less advanced ones.¹⁰ So far, the EU has concluded the creation of four Macro-regions: i) The Baltic Sea Macro-region (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Finland), which was developed as a result of the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region (EUSBSR) , ii) the Danube Macro-region (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia), which originates from the EU Strategy for the Danube Region (EUSDR) , iii) the Adriatic-Ionian Seas macro-region (Croatia, Greece, Italy, Slovenia, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and North Macedonia), which is the result of the EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR) and iv) the Alpine Macro-region (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Liechtenstein, Slovenia, Switzerland). which derives from the EU Strategy for the Alpine Region (EUSALP).¹¹

History of the EU Strategy for the Adriatic and the Ionian Region

The roots of EUSAIR date back to early 2000s. The first stone laid on the path leading to the Strategy was the Adriatic-Ionian Initiative (AII), which was developed as an intergovernmental forum for promoting economic growth and prosperity in the Adriatic-Ionian region. The AII was first presented in October 1999, during the EU Summit held by the Italian government in Tampere/Finland. It included the countries of Greece, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia and Italy. Next, on 19-20 May 2000,¹² foreign ministers of

8 Agreement in principle on the first negotiating block of the legislative package on cohesion (28.01.2013), | 17666/2/12], part 1, article 2, paragraph 2, point 24, p14.

9 Christine Kern – Stefan Gänzle, “ ‘Macro-regionalisation’ as a New Form of European Governance: The Case of the European Union’s Strategies for the Baltic Sea and the Danube Regions”. 2013: 3. ISL WORKING PAPER.

Department of Political Science and Management, University of Agder. p.23 <https://uia.brage.unit.no/uia-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/134924/ISLWP2013-3%20%283%29.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

10 Simona, “Exploring European Union Macro-regional Strategies”.

11 European Commission, ‘What is an EU macro-regional strategy?’, Publications Office of the European

Union, 2017, <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/dfde7213-cf88-11e9-b4bf-01aa75ed71a1>

12 Serbia and Montenegro joined the initiative in 2002 and North Macedonia in 2020

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

155

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

these countries came together at the Summit on Development and Security on the Adriatic and Ionian Seas conference, held in Ancona, Italy. There, the ministers of foreign affairs signed the Ancona Declaration in the presence of the former President of the EU Commission, Romano Prodi. This declaration established the AII and proposed a strategy to reignite cohesion in the Adriatic-Ionian basin.¹³ Following the Summit, other Forums were established, such as the Association of Universities of the Adriatic-Ionian Region (Uniadrion) in 2000, and the Forum of the Adriatic and Ionian Chambers of Commerce (AIC Forum) in 2001.¹⁴

The AII embodied the idea of securing regional peace through a genuine dialogue and mutual cooperation among the various parties involved, such as civil society, economic and political stakeholders, and the private sector. Through this cooperation, the parties jointly identified their common interests and challenges and took action for issues related to security, economics, trade, scientific and technological research and development, environment conservation, etc. It also stimulated the participating countries to exchange opinions and knowledge, to develop closer collaboration with the EU and regional initiatives, to strengthen regional peace and security, and to solidify regional stability.¹⁵

For a long period, the Ancona Declaration seemed to be in a state of inertia. However, that period of time was needed to nominate the institutions and establish the instruments which would develop its operational aspects. On June 2008, an AII Permanent Secretariat was established in Ancona, with the purpose of ensuring continuity from one Presidency to the next, fostering the Initiative's project-oriented approach, and gathering member country proposals.¹⁶ In 2012, the Adriatic Ionian Initiative began to co-finance small but important projects for the first time.

Meanwhile, in 2009, after the Lisbon Treaty introduced territorial cohesion as one of the EU's main objectives, and same year the first macro-regional strategy of the EU is adopted for the Baltic Sea Region. In 2012, the European Council set forth a formal process to adopt the Adriatic-Ionian Strategy and

-
- 13 Stefan Gänzle - Jörg Mirtl, "Experimentalist governance beyond European Territorial Cooperation and cohesion policy: macro-regional strategies of the European Union (EU) as emerging 'regional institutions'?" *Journal of European Integration* vol.41, 2019, pp. 239-256, p.244
- 14 OECD, Territorial wide area cooperation in the Adriatic-Ionian Region, Lessons from the Implementation of the EU ADRION Transnational Cooperation Programme, 2018, <http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/OECDADRION-PHASE-I-Report.pdf>
- 15 Elke Dall - Jana Machacova, Thematic Report on Innovation Infrastructures in the Western Balkan Countries. Information Office of the Steering Platform on Research for Western Balkan Countries, 2007, p.11. <https://www.zsi.at/de/object/publication/3609>.
- 16 Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs website: "The Adriatic Ionian Initiative" https://www.esteri.it/mae/en/politica_estera/aree_geografiche/europa/ooii/iai.html

Göz

put in place a respective action plan. The European Commission's Directorate General for Regional and Urban Policy was assigned to lead the process, in collaboration with the European Commission services. The European Council urged the Commission to build on the previous experience gained from the implementation of the Baltic Sea Macro-regional Strategy and to proceed with the introduction of an Adriatic-Ionian Strategy before the end of 2014.¹⁷

In order to support the European Commission in developing an Adriatic-Ionian strategy by the deadline, the Committee of the Regions, the advisory body representing Europe's regional and local authorities, created the Adriatic-Ionian Interregional Group on 30 January 2013.¹⁸ As recommended by the European Council Conclusions of 14 December 2012, the duties of the Adriatic-Ionian Interregional Group were: drafting an action plan; that takes into account the proposals and suggestions made by regional and local authorities; promoting a common identity for the Adriatic and Ionian region that will ensure the region's full potential is reached through collective action; making the region more visible at the national, European, and international levels by highlighting its unique features; and creating synergies with the existing Baltic and Danube strategies (partly through their respective interregional groups in the Committee of the Regions) and in particular with the Danube Strategy.¹⁹

On 9 August 2013, the European Commission published a discussion paper on the EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR). Its key priorities were organized into four thematic pillars: innovative blue (maritime and marine) growth; connectivity of the region; preservation, protection, and improvement of the quality of the environment; and increasing regional attractiveness. Moreover, it provided two cross-cutting pillars: research, innovation, and small-and-medium-size enterprise development; and Capacity-building.²⁰ Each of the EUSAIR pillars was assigned to one of four groups. The groups worked individually toward the materialization of the goals of their assigned

- 17 EUR-Lex – Access to European Union Law website: “Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: “A Maritime Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Seas” (COM/2012/0713final*/) www.eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1403163422847&uri=CELEX:52012DC0713
- 18 EUR-Lex Opinion of the Committee of the Regions — EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR), (2014/C 271/08), Official Journal of the European Union, 19.8.2014, C 271/41 issue 11. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52014IR0023&from=EN>
- 19 Committee of the Regions website: Interregional group “Adriatic – Ionian” <https://cor.europa.eu/Pages/PageNotFoundError.aspx?requestUrl=https://cor.europa.eu/en/activities/interregionalgroups/Pages/adriatic-ionic.aspx>
- 20 European Commission, Communication concerning the European Union Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region, 17 June 2014, COM(2014) 357 final. https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/publications/communications/2014/communication-concerning-the-european-union-strategy-for-the-adriatic-and-ionic-region

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

157

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

pillar. In addition, all four groups worked together for the development of EUSAIR's action plan. They have been coordinated by an EU member state in association with a non-EU country of the region, a role that rotates among all the participating countries of the EUSAIR.²¹

Between September - December 2013, the EUSAIR's stakeholders held a consultation on the Discussion Paper (European Commission, August 2013) and the content of the future action plan of the strategy. In addition, an online consultation, accessible by all competent actors, including civil society, was conducted by the end of January 2014. These consultations aimed to tap into the ideas of the relevant stakeholders and to ensure that the strategy adopts a realistic approach, with pragmatic objectives and appropriate responses to the real needs of the people living in the region. The results were presented at the EUSAIR conference, held in Athens on 6-7 February 2014, where the stakeholders had the chance to contribute with further feedback. Following the results of the extensive consultations, the strategy was adopted through a Communication of the Commission {COM(2014) 357 final}. It was accompanied by an Action Plan {SWD(2014) 190 final}, with a view to be adopted by the European Commission. The Communication and the Action Plan were submitted to the Council of the EU for endorsement. At the end of June 2014, the European Commission presented EUSAIR's action plan to the General Affairs Council of the Council of the EU. The European Council endorsed the strategy. The Council conclusions of 29 September 2014 stressed that the implementation of the priorities agreed upon at the June European Council be accelerated. As a result, the implementation phase of the strategy has started.

The Heads of State and Governments of the 28 member states of the EU adopted the EU Strategy for the Adriatic Ionian Region in the European Council Conclusions of 24 October 2014 (EUCO 169/14), asking from "all relevant actors to implement it without delay, and to move from words to actions".²² In addition, the first action plan to implement the strategy was adopted by the Council in October 2014.²³ As stressed by the Council Conclusions, the new strategy benefited from the long experience of the intergovernmental Adriatic Ionian Initiative which fostered cooperation at the level of civil society (Chambers of Commerce, Cities, Universities).²⁴

- 21 EUSAIR Governing Board, EU Strategy for the Adriatic Ionian Region, <https://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/about-eusair/governance/>
- 22 OECD, Territorial wide area cooperation in the Adriatic-Ionian Region, Lessons from the Implementation of the EU ADRIAN Transnational Cooperation Programme, 2018, p.10. <http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/OECDADRION-PHASE-I-Report.pdf>
- 23 COWI, Study on macroregional strategies and their links with Cohesion Policy (Final Report), Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2017, p.12 https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/cooperate/adriat_ionian/pdf/eusair_links_cohesion_policy.pdf
- 24 EC (2014). Council conclusions on the European Union Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR) General Affairs Council meeting Brussels, 29 September 2014. Luxembourg:

Görüş

Akademik
Bakış

158

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

In 2015, the Committee of Senior Officials of the AII agreed to convene single “double hat” Adriatic-Ionian Council/EUSAIR Ministerial meetings in the framework of the EUSAIR Fora.²⁵ These meetings have been held within the EUSAIR Annual Forums since 2016. The Annual forums, which are organized together by the European Commission and a host country among the members of EUSAIR, have turned into an important event, gathering stakeholders from the EUSAIR countries. The first annual forum of EUSAIR was held in 2016 in Dubrovnik/Croatia. The eight EUSAIR member countries declared their support to the concept of Macro-Regional strategies and emphasized their belief that EUSAIR will promote sustainable economic and social prosperity in the Region. Since then, there has been a forum held every year until 2020, when it had to be postponed as a part of COVID-19 measures. The forums are held in different regions and concentrate on different issues that fall under a motto. The second annual forum was held in Ioannina/Greece with the motto “think Macro-regionally act locally” and concentrated on maritime issues.²⁶ The third Forum was held in Catania/Italy under the slogan “Our Region, Our Future” and focused on the Connectivity issues, especially on challenges and opportunities for Transport and Energy networks in the EUSAIR Region.²⁷ The fourth annual forum was held in Budva/Montenegro with the motto “Integration for the people, development for the region” and focused on topics related to the field of Tourism and Blue Growth.²⁸ Despite the postponement of the fifth forum, North Macedonia became the ninth participating country of the EUSAIR on 2 April 2020.²⁹

EUSAIR as an Integration Tool and an Alternative to EU Enlargement for the Western Balkans

After the end of the Cold War, the Western Balkans region suffered various crises, including the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia and multiple transitions - social, political, economic, and cultural. The end of war did not lead to a long-term stability in the region. Instead, the post-socialist transition came with heavy costs, such as unstable regimes, rising nationalism, economic crisis,

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

159

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

EU Publications. pg 3, <https://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/General-Affairs-Council-Conclusions-29-Sep-2014.pdf>

25 Dubrovnik Declaration, Adriatic and Ionian Council/EUSAIR Ministerial Meeting, 12 May 2016 available at: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/conferences/adriat_ionian/2016/dubrovnik_dec10052016.pdf

26 EUSAIR Newsletter, 2 Autumn 2017 <https://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/2017/10/18/eusair-newsletter-2-autumn-2017/>

27 3rd EUSAIR Annual Forum, <https://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/event/3rd-eusair-forum/>

28 4th EUSAIR Annual Forum, <https://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/event/4th-eusair-annual-forum/>

29 Annual Forum, EU Strategy for Adriatic and Ionian Region, <https://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/about-eusair/annual-forum/>

poverty, and unemployment.³⁰ These problems gave the EU the opportunity to penetrate into the region. For many years, the EU has been active in the Western Balkans through various sets of legal and institutional strategies. After the end of the Yugoslav wars, the EU guided post-conflict peacebuilding and the post-socialist transition processes. Starting in the 2000's, countries in this region aimed for EU integration, undertaking EU-sponsored economic and political reforms. The countries in this region were given a clear EU membership perspective at the 2003 EU-Western Balkans Summit in Thessaloniki/Greece.³¹ In particular, the proclamation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy became a symbol of the EU's activism in the region.³² The EU continually deepened its involvement in the region, especially with the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) in 1999.

Until the end of 2000s, the EU implemented its Western Balkans policy within the framework of the SAP. The Western Balkans focused on state- and democracy-building processes simultaneously. But these processes require a functioning state apparatus along with other socio-political and economic requirements if they are going to work. Decades later, the region continues to suffer from economic, political, and sociological unrest. There is also a deeply rooted hatred among various ethnic, religious and cultural groups. Although there is an absence of direct violence, the causes of violence are not properly addressed and the eruption of a new cycle of violence on any scale seems quite likely at any time.³³

There are still vital problems in the Western Balkan countries in terms of democracy, economy, and the rule of law. Despite multiple rounds of democratically held elections, there is a lingering skepticism that a functioning liberal democratic institution will ever be established.³⁴ The region has limited eagerness and genuine domestic will for an organic development of democracy, and international involvement seems to be the only alternative for democratization in places like Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. Most of the

- 30 Marija Babović-Danilo Vuković, "Shaping Social Policies in the Western Balkans: Legal and Institutional Changes in the Context of Globalisation and Post-socialist Transformation" in Thomas M., Bojicic-Dzelilovic V. (eds) *Public Policy Making in the Western Balkans*. Springer, Dordrecht, 2015, pp. 28-30.
- 31 Dimitar Bechev- Andreev Svetlozar, "Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up Aspects of the EU Institution-Building Strategies in the Western Balkans" , *Occasional Paper No. 3/05, South East European Studies Programme*, European Studies Centre, University of Oxford, 2005, p.4.
- 32 Nadia Klein-Wolfgang Wessels, "CFSP Progress or Decline after Lisbon?" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 4, No.1, 2013, pp. 449-469.
- 33 Vessela Tcherneva, "What Europe can do for the Western Balkans", *European Council on Foreign Relations* 13th October, 2017, https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_what_europe_can_do_for_the_western_balkans_7238
- 34 Susan Woodward, "Is Democracy Possible in the Balkans? On Preconditions and Conditions in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Serbia", *The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research*. TITLE VIII PROGRAM, 2007.

Görüş

countries in the region remain politically polarized, identifying themselves with or controlled by different political groups. They often express rival sentiments for one another, making collaboration efforts difficult. To make matters worse, no one ensures freedom and independence of the media. As a result, the media fails to contribute effectively in spreading the idea of collaboration. Instead, they often undermine any progress that has been made.

The political elites have also proved to be unwilling to resolve their disputes peacefully. They have manipulated democratic institutions by promoting belligerent pressure-group lobbies or an upwelling of militancy. This has resulted in persistent nationalist rhetoric and sabotaged the democratization processes. These problems also fail to harvest a culture in tune with the values of liberal democracy and to develop state structure that guarantees the rule of law.³⁵

In addition, endogenous and exogenous problems have lowered the standards in the Western Balkans.³⁶ The overall social and political situation has deteriorated because of the world financial crisis and the Euro crisis. Also, foreign direct investments and foreign bank lending have decreased significantly. The EU is involved as well. The rapid Europeanization that had begun with the Stability Pact—whose neo-liberal interventions first had a relatively positive effect on the region—ended with the Euro crisis in 2009. As a result, social gaps and political instability have steadily increased, while the public debts and corruption remain quite high.³⁷

From the beginning of its involvement to the present day, the EU has been unable to provide clear European integration perspectives to the Western Balkan states and support their reconstruction through adequate and transparent funding.³⁸ The EU promoted stabilization and association agreements and cooperative initiatives that relied on external donors, most of whom were understaffed, poorly interconnected, and uncoordinated. In addition, some of these initiatives have partially blocked one another. One example of this is the establishment of Schengen zone, which undermined the pre-existing free trade and visa-free zones and, in fact, erected new interstate barriers in the region. There has also been a conceptual disharmony between the “Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe” and the “Stabilization and Association Process” con-

- 35 Florian Bieber- Irena Ristić, “Constrained Democracy: The Consolidation of Democracy in Yugoslav Successor States”, *Southeastern Europe* Vol. 36, No. 3, 2012, pp.373-397.
- 36 Roberto Belloni, “The European Union Blowback? Euroscepticism and its Consequences in the Western Balkans”, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Vol. 10, 2016, pp.530-547. pp.530-531.
- 37 Adam Balcer- Veton Surroi, “In search of a New Paradigm: the Western Balkans and the EU Integration”, *demos EUROPA Centre for European Strategy*, Warsaw, 2013, p. 11 http://wise-europa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/demos_paradigm.pdf
- 38 Alex N. Grigor'ev-Adrian Severin, “Debalkanizing the Balkans: A Strategy for a Sustainable Peace in Kosovo”, *International Politics and Society* vol. 1, 2007, pp.123-139, p.130

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

161

Cilt 14

Sayı 27

Kış 2020

ducted by the EU. On the other hand, interregional cooperation in the form of the EUSAIR, has the potential to be a successful tool for the Western Balkans and their integration to the EU.

The geomorphology of the Adriatic-Ionian basin makes cooperation among the countries that share the basin a necessity. The Adriatic and Ionian seas comprise one continuous water channel connecting the surrounding countries with the Mediterranean Sea. The countries of the region not only share common historical, economic, and cultural features, but also common problems and challenges. Given the structure of the landscape, it is impossible for the countries of the region to address regional issues without joint efforts.

The EUSAIR is a great chance for achieving peace and development in this region. The EUSAIR embodies the core idea of the peace approach, which dictates that international crises cannot be resolved through violence, but through genuine dialogue and mutual cooperation among the various peoples, stakeholders, and sectors, including: security, economics, trade, scientific and technological research and development, environment conservation, and preservation of cultural heritage and values. It is expected that international and interregional cooperation opportunities that are provided by the EUSAIR in low politics issues will lead the way for cooperation in high politics issues. This is of vital importance given that some of the participating countries were at war against each other in the very recent past.

There is no shortcut or magic recipe to success in the Western Balkans. For the EUSAIR to be successful in the region, a long and painful process is required. This includes the active engagement of actors from various levels. It is important that regional and local actors (e.g. Municipalities, Regional Administrations, safety and security public institutions, etc.) are given the chance to participate in capacity building activities (e.g. trainings, seminars, etc.). Through these activities, they will learn how to take advantage of the EUSAIR's operational nature, its structure, and its objectives. They will also discover how to develop cooperative projects and apply for funding. And, of course, they will get to meet with their regional neighbours, establish connections, and initiate effective cooperation.³⁹

It is equally important for the EU to simplify the funding procedures as much as possible. For example, they could unify different funds, provide analytical information and guidance through the relevant websites, and organise information and awareness campaigns for the local and regional actors.⁴⁰

39 Roberto Belloni, "Assessing the rise of macro-regionalism in Europe: the EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR)" J Int Relat Dev, 2019, . <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-019-00170-y>

40 OECD, Multi-level Governance and Cross-Sector Practices Supporting EUSAIR, Synthesis

Such campaigns should be also addressed to the people of the Western Balkans. Lack of a central institutionalized structure makes the EUSAIR less visible, especially to the grassroots organizations of the states involved. Informational campaigns, festivals, seminars and relevant material should be organized to ensure that every single person in the region knows about EUSAIR, its potentials, and its benefits. Citizens of the Western Balkan countries should be given the chance to contribute their ideas and recommendations during the planning and the implementation stages of the Adriatic - Ionian macro-regional projects. Active citizens who get involved in issues, such as environmental protection, may realize that their neighbours care about their region as much as they do.⁴¹ The active engagement of the peoples living in the region will empower the vision of the joint action and their enthusiasm will diffuse to the populations involved. It will cultivate solidarity by increasing the sense of common belonging and by the sharing of common problems and concerns with the neighbouring peoples. The EUSAIR can develop its own dynamic, based on its own power and the willingness of its members.

One of EUSAIR's keys to success is to ensure a strong inter-institutional communication. Priority Area Coordinators should establish strong and transparent links between the EUSAIR and the EU Commission. This will allow the EU institutions to conduct a more effective monitoring of the whole effort and to exchange valuable data and know-how with the national and regional/local authorities.⁴²

The national authorities of the Western Balkan countries would benefit from developing a network to exchange information with the local stakeholders, so that both will be updated and will obtain better insight of regional issues. The EU institutions should also be part of this information network. Using the strategy's pool of information, the central governments can adjust their national policies in the region to fit the mandate of the strategy and the pragmatic needs of the people. Consultations, conferences, summits, informational campaigns, and surveys should be widely used to keep in direct contact with the peoples. These events will also allow the EU, the national governments, and the strategy itself to have the ability to monitor and follow-up on the results of its implementation. EUSAIR can only be successful if the leader-

Report, Centre for entrepreneurship, SMEs, regions and cities OECD Multi-level Governance Studies, 2019, p.5 https://www.adriatic-ionician.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/OECD-EUSAIR-Synthesis-Report_FINAL.pdf

- 41 EUNETMAR (European Networking Group for Integrated Maritime Policy), Analysis to support the elaboration of the Adriatic and Ionian maritime Action Plan. Report 2, Rome, Italy, 2014, https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/maritimeforum/sites/maritime_forum/files/Report%202_21_03_2014.pdf
- 42 European Parliament (Directorate-General for Internal Policies), New Role of Macro-Regions in European Territorial Cooperation – Study Part I, Brussels, 2015, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/540349/IPOL_STU\(2015\)540349_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/540349/IPOL_STU(2015)540349_EN.pdf)

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

163

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

ship of this multi-level governance process is shared with regional and local actors in line with the subsidiarity principle enshrined in the Lisbon Treaty.⁴³

When it comes to the alignment of funding, the EUSAIR should establish a suitable framework that will allow exploitation of funds coming from the private sector (voluntarily or mandatorily). For example, a big tourism organization or enterprise would (and should) be particularly interested in the upgrade of the regional attractiveness and connectivity facilitated by the EUSAIR because this upgrade will subsequently bring more tourists in the Western Balkans. Given that more tourists mean more business, a tourism organization should willingly provide financial support to a project that would upgrade the regional attractiveness.

The “three NO’s” rule (no new institutions, no new legislation, no new funding)⁴⁴ oblige EUSAIR to conform itself to the existing dynamics and initiatives of the EU.⁴⁵ The “no new institutions” rule means that EUSAIR’s governance model relies exclusively on the already existing institutions and organizations of the regions of the participating countries and takes advantage of their know-how and valuable experience. Likewise, the “no new legislation” rule requires the participating members to link and coordinate their existing policies and help different sectors improve their cooperation. Finally, the “no new funding” rule means that the participating regions and countries implement joint initiatives and projects using funds from already existing sources. The “three No’s”-imply that the members of EUSAIR need to conduct a careful evaluation, use the existing funds in a more structured and efficient manner, and provide a cooperation and coordination mechanism between all programs and funding instruments, regardless if they originate from European Union, national, regional or local space.⁴⁶ It is of utmost importance to raise awareness about who can have access to funding sources because the macro-regional strategies use existing sources to fund their prioritized actions and Flagship projects.⁴⁷ This should be done in a way that will enable the funding programs

43 Opinion of the Committee of the Regions – EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region - (EUSAIR), Committee of the Regions 107th plenary session, 25-26 June 2014, <http://edz.bib.uni-mannheim.de/edz/doku/adr/2014/cdr-2014-0023-en.pdf>

44 EC (European Commission), Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, The Economic and Social committee of the Regions, Concerning the European Union Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, Brussels, 10 June 2009, COM(2009) 248 final.

45 EU Macro regions and macro regional strategies: from concept to policy action, Macro Regional Innovation Week Trieste, 26 September 2016 Dr Andrea Mairate, EC-DG REGIO p.8 https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/sites/jrcsh/files/20160926-macroregional-innovation-mairate_en.pdf

46 Commission of the European Communities: “European Union Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region” p.2 https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/communic/baltic/com_baltic_en.pdf

47 FET Flagships, Horizon 2020, www.ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/h2020-section/fet-flagships

Görüş

and institutions of each region to pursue the goals of the Strategy and subscribe to projects' financing. It is also important that the funding programs reflect the objectives of the strategy and that a proactive approach is adopted so as to ensure funds for the implementation of the strategy.

One of the biggest advantages EUSAIR can provide is a focus on increasing regional attractiveness. The historical, cultural and natural heritage monuments of the region are literally countless. These monuments must be exhibited through a unified and well-organized network, which will be functioning not only at the national levels, but also at the macro-regional level. Indeed, the vast cultural and archaeological diversity that can be found in the region gives it a competitive edge that should be exploited to the greatest extent. Supported by a well-organized and clearly defined transport network, the region can become a unified touristic attraction which will be widely known to the globe through exhibitions and extensive promotional campaigns.

Establishing a Forum of the Adriatic and Ionian peoples could enable the grassroots organizations to get actively involved in the development and implementation of the EUSAIR. The opportunity to meet with each other can begin to eliminate stereotypes and otherness. Constant consultation processes would allow the EUSAIR to interact with people, associations, and non-official or non-governmental institutions. These new voices will contribute fresh ideas and creative energy. Adhering to a bottom-up policy approach will empower the EUSAIR and will diffuse its positive results to the societies that are involved.

Despite the problems in the region, the Western Balkans is well-developed when compared with many other parts of the world. There is only a small percentage of people facing life-threatening poverty and the level of education is also high within the region. These facts will probably prove to be very useful for the spread of the EUSAIR's visions.

The open dialogue between the authorities and stakeholders from the national, regional, and local levels is crucial for allowing the EU to integrate its policies easier. The EUSAIR can be an effective tool for raising awareness among all levels of regional governance about the need to plan and implement a model of inclusive, smart, and sustainable economic growth. Through joint action within the EUSAIR, each level of governance can realize its own unique role in introducing the necessary changes in the region. With the assistance of the Committee of the Regions, the EUSAIR can mobilize regional and local authorities and raise awareness.

Monitoring progress in the EUSAIR is important as well. In many EU countries, the local and regional authorities already have extensive power in areas linked to the Europe 2020 Strategy, such as education and training, en-

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

165

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

trepreneurship and innovation, transport, climate change, labor market, and infrastructure. The Committee of the Regions has set up a Europe 2020 Monitoring Platform and the European Commission provides an online networking platform to involve and enable local and regional authorities to contribute in achieving Europe 2020 goals. These platforms can be used to evaluate the progress and the results of EUSAIR as well.

The EUSAIR should also encourage the participating countries to harmonize their legislation, focusing especially on human rights, environmental protection, freedom of the press, democratization, and transparency. This will be beneficial for four reasons. First, it will facilitate the effective implementation of the various EUSAIR projects. Second, it will bring the non-EU countries, closer to EU membership, increasing the regional integration. Third, it will increase the reputation of the known-to-be-problematic states of the region, enhancing regional attractiveness. Finally, harmonizing the national legal systems of the region, especially for issues that require immediate response, such as maritime pollution, and drafting of common regulations, will help to eliminate long bureaucratic procedures and cross boarding responsibilities. The elimination of such barriers will simplify and enhance the integration process in the region, will assist the evolution of the EUSAIR policies, and will lead to more diplomatic clearances.

Special attention should be given to regional security, given the special features of the Western Balkan environment. There is no need to generate a new police force or inaugurate a new police body, but the already existing border police forces need better coordination. International police groups and networks could consist of police staff from all nine participating countries who already serve as national border police guards. This is the operational and structural model that is used by Frontex. The EUSAIR should encourage such initiatives in order to achieve better environmental surveillance, historical and cultural monuments protection, crime control, and security of transport and energy structures.

When it comes to the protection of the environment, it is important to establish a common database with information related to environmental issues, such as the spatial distribution of pollution and the readiness status of the pollution prevention equipment along the coasts. This common database will allow all relevant stakeholders to improve the operational instruments that they use when coping with the challenges set by the environmental and technological risks in the region.

Safety in navigation is another parameter that ensures a cleaner environment, it leads to less pollution from sea accidents. For this reason, it is very important for all the coastal countries of the region to establish a platform

Göz

that will allow them to exchange information related to the number and the type of the vessels crossing the region, the kind and quantity of goods they are carrying, their routes, and their destinations. It is also important to develop an early warning system based on radar monitoring which will enable the relevant macro-regional actors to identify potential risks for the regional ecosystems and develop initiatives for coordinated interventions towards the resolution of such issues.

The legal provisions for all the aforementioned issues should be incorporated in the planning and implementation of the several agreements and joint projects of the Adriatic – Ionian macro-regional strategy. The need to protect the marine resources and the overall environmental status of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas presupposes that all available measures are taken, including the declaration of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). International law and the regional international agreements and conventions can support this line of action.

The EUSAIR also allows small and medium-sized enterprises from the Adriatic-Ionian countries the chance to overcome obstacles set by linguistic, administrative, legal, social, and cultural differences. Arbitration, conciliation, adjudication, and consulting services can help move the region in this direction. The Forum of Chambers of Commerce can help improve the quality of these services and the International Court of the Adriatic and Ionian Area can enable parties to peacefully dissolve their disputes. The efficiency of these services must be guaranteed by specialized officials and consultants who are qualified, well trained, up-to-date, and communicating regularly with each other. The notion of sharing information is vital for the success of the EUSAIR as its structure and function relies on rules derived from common experience.

For the local economies, international interactions are equally important. Given the complexity and the diversity of the international players who are involved in the region and the particularly sensitive relations between the regional states, the EUSAIR needs to be inclusive. External players, such as stakeholders from Turkey and Russia could be invited as observers at the official meetings and conferences of the EUSAIR. They could also be given the chance to contribute their expertise and experience in region-related issues.

Moreover, the EUSAIR should encourage agreements among the countries on issues such as environmental security, transport safety, and crime prevention. In addition, EUSAIR should lead the charge against regional hatred and conflicts. There are numerous associations and institutions, governmental and non-governmental, who hold a stake in peacebuilding and reconciliation. The EUSAIR is a great chance to get all those stakeholders involved in an organized joint process of establishing positive peace in the region. By collaborat-

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

167

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

ing with stakeholders to diffuse its vision to the peoples of the region, EUSAIR can cultivate a sense of common-belonging, active citizenship, empathy, and solidarity. A Forum that would particularly focus on joint peacebuilding initiatives, always projecting the ongoing process of the strategy's implementation could be a major contribution. Given the nature of the conflicts in the past, it is important that there is also a space for interfaith dialogue (mainly between Christians and Muslims), peace media, and youth exchange. This will help to mediate the ethnic and religious differences and to highlight the strong cultural commonalities among the peoples of the region.

The EUSAIR offers the consolidation of an Adriatic common identity and citizenship which will open the path for a common European identity. Furthermore, co-citizenship can be introduced as the people of the region become aware of the commonalities that go beyond national borders. Civil society can help a lot to this direction, motivating the several national and local stakeholders to come together and act coordinately. Moreover, this will be only possible if the strong political backing the EUSAIR currently enjoys continues. So far, the local/regional stakeholders have proved to be actively involved and deeply motivated. The national stakeholders need to coordinate their effort as well. To prevent a decline of this enthusiasm, the European Commission should keep on motivating the participants and make the strategy even more inclusive, innovative, open, and flexible.

The EUSAIR should synthesize its goals and policies and maintain a suitable balance between European, national, regional and local regulation spheres. Respecting each country's rights and obligations, specific peculiarities, unique characteristics, and national policy plans, while also staying aligned with the mandate set by European and international law and policies is not a small task, but it is necessary. The balance between international law, treaties and agreements on the one side, and the regional agreements and regulations within the frames of the macro-region on the other side, will ensure long-term stability in mutual relations.⁴⁸

The EUSAIR is a great chance for the Western Balkan countries to recommence a sincere dialogue aimed at a final resolution of their international disputes. However, these disputes should not be an obstacle for the further implementation of the EUSAIR. The vision of joint management of interregional issues such as regional security, transportation safety, and environmental protection should not be limited by borders. For example, no matter how far an EEZ is extended, the risk of a marine pollution incident remains the same. It is important that the solution is found jointly. Regions should also

48 Directive 2008/56/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council (17 June 2008): "Establishing a framework for community action in the field of marine environmental policy, Official Journal of the European Union, L 164, pg. 19

Gay

cooperate for the common prevention or response to natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods etc.

The EUSAIR should be more focused and less broad. As it was outlined above, one of its strengths is that it manages to activate stakeholders towards joint management of regional challenges and the establishment of regional development based on macro-regional economic, social, and environmental plans. What everyone expects from the macro-region is that it will give the member states of the EU which are also members of the macro-region the chance to reach the Europe 2020 goals easier, assisted by the policies` harmonization that takes place within the macro-region. Overall, the governance approach used for macro regional strategies shouldn`t insist on a general approach of policies and problems but should rather focus on actions with specific goals. A narrower focus will help the states reach the Europe 2020 goals and achieve better integration, both within their borders as well as within the EU after their accession.⁴⁹ In a sense, this will also make the strategy more flexible. Focus on special regional issues will allow the EUSAIR to estimate clearly the nature of the special regional features and to adjust its policies accordingly. The EU on the other hand, will have a clear picture of the regional problems and potentials and thus be able to act accordingly.

Conclusion

The EUSAIR, as a Macro-Regional Strategy and as one of the products of EU`s regional policy (cohesion policy), will assist the member states of Adriatic – Ionian region to achieve better cohesion, allowing them to cooperate with each other in taking common steps towards development. It will also support the efforts of the candidate and potential candidate countries in the Western Balkans on their way to European integration.

The EU integration in the Western Balkans is in jeopardy and the South-eastern enlargement of the union has lost its attractiveness for the time being. Despite the European Union-sponsored economic and political reforms, Western Balkans made little to no progress in several fields including post-conflict reconciliation, post-socialist economic transformation and democracy. The Union is unable to provide clear European integration perspectives to the countries of the region.

Based on this assumption, this study argued that at a time when the South-eastern enlargement of the union lost its attractiveness and suffering from so called the “enlargement fatigue”, the EU should produce alternatives to the membership carrot, to prevent the region from dragging into a whirlpool of conflict. It is time to consider alternatives to the EU enlargement in the

49 Kai Böhme, “Added Value of Macro-regional Strategies: A Governance Perspective” Luxembourg, Spatial Foresight Brief, 2013, p.3

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

169

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

Western Balkans. EUSAIR has the potential to be a more realistic “Europeanization” tool in the region than the EU enlargement process. It has the potential to give the region necessary impetus in key areas for deepening European integration. Most important function of the EUSAIR is that it encourages regional and cross-border cooperation, giving the opportunity to the poorer Western Balkans region to address the challenges on a regional basis on the way to mitigating the gap with the EU member states.

Bibliography

BABOVIĆ, Marija - Danilo Vuković “Shaping Social Policies in the Western Balkans: Legal and Institutional Changes in the Context of Globalisation and Post-socialist Transformation” in Thomas M., Bojicic-Dzelilovic V. (eds) Public Policy Making in the Western Balkans. Springer, Dordrecht, 2015, pp.17-43.

BALCER Adam - Surroi Veton, “In search of a New Paradigm: the Western Balkans and the EU Integration”, demos EUROPA Centre for European Strategy, Warsaw, 2013, p. 11 http://wise-europa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/demos_paradigm.pdf (Accessed 11 June 2020)

BECHEV, Dimitar- Andreev Svetlozar, “Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up Aspects of the EU Institution-Building Strategies in the Western Balkans” , Occasional Paper No. 3/05, South East European Studies Programme, European Studies Centre, University of Oxford, 2005

BELLINI Nickola-Ulrich Hilpert, *Europe's Changing Geography: The Impact of Inter-regional Networks*. Routledge, London – New York, 2013.

BELLONI, Roberto, “The European Union Blowback? Euroscepticism and its Consequences in the Western Balkans”, Journal of Intervention and State-building, Vol. 10, 2016, pp.530-547

BELLONI, Roberto , “Assessing the rise of macro-regionalism in Europe: the EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR)” J Int Relat Dev, 2019, . <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-019-00170-y>

BIEBER, Florian-Irena Ristić, “Constrained Democracy: The Consolidation of Democracy in Yugoslav Successor States”, Southeastern Europe Vol. 36, No. 3, 2012, pp.373-397.

BÖHME, Kai, “Added Value of Macro-regional Strategies: A Governance Perspective” Luxembourg, Spatial Foresight Brief, 2013, https://www.spatial-foresight.eu/files/spatial_theme/spatial/publications/Brief-2013-3-130710.pdf (Accessed 12 May 2020)

CoR, Committee of Regions Round-up the Sixth Atelier on “EU MacroRegional Strategies and European Governance”, (Held on 26 November 2009) www.cor.europa.eu (Accessed 12 May 2020)

COWI, Study on macroregional strategies and their links with Cohesion Policy (Final Report). Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2017,

Gay

p.12 https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/cooperate/adriat_ionian/pdf/eusair_links_cohesion_policy.pdf (Accessed 12 May 2020)

DALL, Elke-Jana Machacova, Thematic Report on Innovation Infrastructures in the Western Balkan Countries. Information Office of the Steering Platform on Research for Western Balkan Countries, 2007, <https://www.zsi.at/de/object/publication/3609>.

Dubrovnik Declaration, Adriatic and Ionian Council/EUSAIR Ministerial Meeting, 12 May 2016, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/conferences/adriat_ionian/2016/dubrovnik_dec10052016.pdf (Accessed 15 May 2020)

EUR-Lex – Access to European Union Law website: “Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: “A Maritime Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Seas” (COM/2012/0713final*/) www.eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1403163422847&uri=CELEX:52012DC0713 (Accessed 12 May 2020)

EC (European Commission), Communication concerning the European Union Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region, 17 June 2014, COM(2014) 357 final. (Accessed 13 May 2020)

EC (European Commission), Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, The Economic and Social committee of the Regions, Concerning the European Union Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, Brussels, 10 June 2009, COM(2009) 248 final. (Accessed 9 May 2020)

EC (European Commission), Council conclusions on the European Union Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR) General Affairs Council meeting Brussels, 29 September 2014. Luxembourg: EU Publications. (Accessed 12 May 2020)

EC (European Commission), EU Macro regions and macro regional strategies: from concept to policy action, Macro Regional Innovation Week Trieste, 26 September 2016 Dr Andrea Mairate, EC-DG REGIO https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/sites/jrcsh/files/20160926-macroregional-innovation-mairate_en.pdf (Accessed 12 May 2020)

EC (European Commission) (2017), ‘What is an EU macro-regional strategy?’, Publications Office of the European Union, 2017. (Accessed 12 May 2020)

EUNETMAR (European Networking Group for Integrated Maritime Policy), Analysis to

support the elaboration of the Adriatic and Ionian maritime Action Plan. Report 2, Rome,

Italy, 2014. https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/maritimeforum/sites/maritime_forum/files/Report%202_21_03_2014.pdf (30.11.2015). (Accessed 12 May 2020)

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

171

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020

EUR-LEX, Opinion of the Committee of the Regions — EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR), (2014/C 271/08), Official Journal of the European Union, 19.8.2014, C 271/41 issue 11. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52014IR0023&from=EN> (Accessed 12 May 2020)

EUSAIR, Annual Forum, <https://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/about-eusair/annual-forum/> (Accessed 12 May 2020)

EUSAIR Governing Board, EU Strategy for the Adriatic Ionian Region, available at: <https://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/about-eusair/governance/> (Accessed 12 May 2020)

European Parliament (Directorate-General for Internal Policies), New Role of Macro-Regions in European Territorial Cooperation - Study, Brussels, 2015. (Accessed 12 May 2020)

European Parliament, Directive 2008/56/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council (17 June 2008): “Establishing a framework for community action in the field of marine environmental policy, Official Journal of the European Union, L 164. (Accessed 12 May 2020)

FARRELL, Mary, “Regional Integration, Regionalism and Public Administration: Bridging the Global-National Divide in Decision Making and Policy Implementation”, in A. Farazmand and J. Pinkowski (eds.) Handbook of Globalization, Governance, and Public Administration, London: CRC Press, 2006 (Accessed 12 May 2020)

GÄNZLE, Stefan-Jörg Mirtl, “Experimentalist governance beyond European Territorial Cooperation and cohesion policy: macro-regional strategies of the European Union (EU) as emerging ‘regional institutions’?” Journal of European Integration vol.41, 2019, pp. 239-256

GRIGORIEV, Alex N.-Adrian Severin, “Debalkanizing the Balkans: A Strategy for a Sustainable Peace in Kosovo”, International Politics and Society vol. 1, 2007, pp. 123-139

HEYWOOD, Andrew Global Politics, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

KERN, Christine-Stefan Gänzle, “‘Macro-regionalisation’ as a New Form of European Governance: The Case of the European Union’s Strategies for the Baltic Sea and the Danube Regions”. 2013: 3. ISL WORKING PAPER. Department of Political Science and Management, University of Agder.

<https://uia.brage.unit.no/uia-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/134924/ISL-WP2013-3%20%283%29.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

KLEIN, Nadia, Wolfgang Wessels, “CFSP Progress or Decline after Lisbon?” *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 4, No.1, 2013, pp. 449–469.

van LIEROP, Christiaan-Vasileios Margaras, Summary, EU policies – Delivering for citizens: Regional Policy , European Parliamentary Research Service, July 2019,

Göz

[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/637953/EPRS_BRI\(2019\)637953_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/637953/EPRS_BRI(2019)637953_EN.pdf) (Accessed 12 May 2020)

METZGER, Jonathan - Peter Schmitt, "When soft spaces harden: the EU strategy for the Baltic Sea Region", *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 263-280, <https://EconPapers.repec.org/RePEc:pio:envira:v:44:y:2012:i:2:p:263-280> (Accessed 12 May 2020)

MONFORT, Philippe, "Convergence of EU regions redux - Recent trends in regional disparities", *European Commission Working Paper 22*, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/work/022020_convergence_redux.pdf (Accessed 12 May 2020)

OECD, Multi-level Governance and Cross-Sector Practices Supporting EU-SAIR, Synthesis Report, Centre for entrepreneurship, SMEs, regions and cities OECD Multi-level Governance Studies, 2019,

https://www.adriatic-ionician.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/OECD-EUSAIR-Synthesis-Report_FINAL.pdf (Accessed 12 May 2020)

OECD, Territorial wide area cooperation in the Adriatic-Ionian Region, Lessons from the Implementation of the EU ADRION Transnational Cooperation Programme (2018). <http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/OECDADRION-PHASE-I-Report.pdf> (Accessed 12 May 2020)

PIATTONI, Simona, "Exploring European Union Macro-regional Strategies through the Lens of Multilevel Governance", S. Gänzle, K. Kern (eds) A 'Macro-regional' Europe in the Making. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2016, pp.75-97. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-50972-7_4 (Accessed 12 May 2020)

SIELKER, Franziska, A Stakeholder-based EU Territorial Cooperation – the Example of European Macro-regions. *European Planning Studies* Vol. 24, No.11, 2016, pp.1995–2013.

"The Adriatic Ionian Initiative" Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs website: available at: https://www.esteri.it/mae/en/politica_estera/aree_geografiche/europa/oiii/iai.html (Accessed 12 May 2020)

TCHERNEVA, Vessela What Europe can do for the Western Balkans, European Council on Foreign Relations Website, 13th October, 2017, available at: https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_what_europe_can_do_for_the_western_balkans_7238 (Accessed 12 May 2020)

WOODWARD, Susan "Is Democracy Possible in the Balkans? On Preconditions and Conditions in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Serbia", The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research. TITLE VIII PROGRAM, 2007. (Accessed 12 May 2020)

Gazi

Akademik
Bakış

173

Cilt 14
Sayı 27
Kış 2020