

THE EUROPEANISATION OF GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS AND REGIONAL COOPERATION CRITERIA: A COMPARISON BETWEEN ALBANIA AND NORTH MACEDONIA

*Geri PILACA**

Abstract. *Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation demand that all the bilateral relations of a country be stable and that all the disputes are to be resolved before the signing of the Accession Treaty. Considering that Albania and North Macedonia are two candidate countries which are found at the same stage of the EU Accession, and the weight that such criteria hold for these countries, it is necessary to provide an assessment of their preparation in this regard. The EU studies field provides for the use of Europeanisation literature to measure the fulfilment of the Accession criteria, one approach of which is measuring the policy adoption. For this purpose, Albania and North Macedonia were used as case studies to measure the progress of Europeanisation through the policy adaptation process as regarding Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation during the period 2000-2019.*

Keywords: *Europeanisation, Albania, North Macedonia, relations, cooperation*

1. Introduction

Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation have been one of the main accession criteria since the issuing of the first EC annual reports for the candidate countries. EU's emphasis on such criteria is highly related to the origin of its establishment, which was based on the spirit of cooperation among the countries of post-WWII Europe. As such, a good spirit of cooperation among the surrounding countries has made it possible for the European Integration to run smoothly and provide a common security area for the member states. The application of such criteria becomes even more relevant in countries that have had or still have open issues with their neighbours on several topics, especially in the Balkan Peninsula. This region has suffered from continuous wars and occupations and carries out a history of territorial, cultural, and ethnic disputes which are part of today's political rhetoric. For that reason, their fate regarding the EU accession process has been, on several occasions, heavily reliant on good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation criteria.

Good neighborly relations, as one of the two conditions of this criteria, require the most effort out of the candidate countries. It demands that all the bilateral relations of a country be stable and that all the disputes are to be resolved before the signing of the Accession Treaty. Besides, this condition may affect the ongoing process of

* PhD, Head of Integration and External Relations Sector, Public Procurement Agency, Tirana, Albania, E-mail: gpilaca18@epoka.edu.al

European Integration, like in the case of North Macedonia, against whom, Greece had imposed its veto in the Council against the opening of the accession talks. On the other hand, in a country such as Albania it was seen that such a condition didn't pose a potential blockage towards the Integration process. While, regional cooperation is a condition that relies on the integration of the candidate countries in international and regional organizations, treaties, or initiatives through which the regional cooperation in the region is boosted.

On the other hand, the Integration is highly reliant on the capacity of the candidate countries to undergo domestic change, which can be explained through the domains of the Europeanization process. Considering that, the measurement of Europeanisation rises as a need to aid also to the understanding of the Integration process of candidate countries, and more in particular to two neighbouring countries such as North Macedonia and Albania (Ladrech, 2014).

Considering all of the above, this study aims to answer the following question: Has the Europeanisation of Good neighborly relations and regional cooperation been reached out on same levels in Albania and North Macedonia during the period 2000-2019?

This paper analyzes the good neighborly relations and regional cooperation criteria in Albania and North Macedonia for the period 2000-2019 by focusing on their multilateral relations that promote regional cooperation and the bilateral relations with the neighboring countries with whom they have had the closest and most interactive relations for this period. To analyze these indicators in terms of Europeanisation, the three-degree models of policy adoption provided by Elbasani (2013) (verbal, legal, and substantive) are taken into account.

The fulfillment of good neighbourly relations reflects the most evident differences between the two countries while the regional cooperation condition is seemingly fulfilled. However, it must not be denied that the wider political context in the EU plays a heavy role in the process.

2. Methodology

As the existing literature indicates, Europeanisation may occur through four processes: Historical process, Cultural diffusion, Institutional adaptation, and Policy adaptation. Considering that the policy adaptation process is more regarded by other scholars of Europeanisation such as Börzel and Risse (2000), and Radaelli (2003), it is then used for the purpose of this study. Concretely this study conducts a comparative analysis by taking Albania and North Macedonia as units of analysis.

The comparative method used is a "Small-N" case-oriented analysis, as the study involves two countries as a unit of analysis taken in a given context and time period. According to Lijphart (1971), such an approach is valuable as it provides for a structured analysis of the cases selected. While according to Ragin (1987), this approach provides for the analysis of a common historical process or outcomes for limited cases.

By Europeanisation performance comparison, it is implied the comparison of the ability of the countries to fulfill the various requirements that are set out by the European Commission in their annual reports for both countries. Considering that, the study analyses the Europeanisation process from a top-down approach. This method of measuring Europeanisation takes inspiration from Radaelli's (2003) attempt to measure the policy adaptation process of EU member states, but it applies to the candidate

countries. However, as also Radaelli (2003) states, there is no particular formula of measurement for the extent of Europeanisation, but rather, the measurement is conducted by referring to other pieces of literature and conducting a simplistic screening of the said variables concerning the standards and requirements set in the Copenhagen criteria and the available models in the EU. Nevertheless, considering that the Europeanisation literature provides a variety of key points on which to focus regarding the Europeanisation measurement or progress tracing, it is necessary to provide a final assessment of this process by the end of each variable's analysis.

In this regard, considering that two Western Balkan countries are taken as units of analysis, and the focus is on the policy adoption process, this study has selected Elbasani's (2013) approach to policy adoption. However, it must be highlighted that what the Europeanisation literature refers to as the policy adoption process, is not only the adoption of government policies but also a set of legal documents (Bossaert & Demmke, 2003). As it was previously mentioned, according to Elbasani (2013) there are three degrees of policy adoption: verbal, legal, and substantive degree. The verbal degree, in the words of Elbasani, occurs when domestic political actors have endorsed the policy adoption through rhetoric. In this sense, the display of the discourse of the Albanian and North Macedonian politicians regarding their willingness in adopting the EU policies is taken as a point of reference. The legal degree is the second degree and comprises an attempt to adopt legal documents or institutions in line with the EU set of rules. For this purpose, the amount and the alignment of the pieces of legislation adopted are taken into account. Lastly, the substantive degree implies the implementation of legal documents and verbal rhetoric. Elbasani, defines the implementation as a process in which norms are transposed, adhered and enforced. For this purpose, the level of implementation will derive from how these norms are depicted in the EC reports. However, the EC reports serve as a point of reference for the previous degrees as well.

The research mainly takes into account secondary sources such as data analysis and reports provided by Albanian, North Macedonian, and international institutions. However, as has been explained before, the EC annual reports are the main secondary sources. The reason why these reports are the point of gravity for the Europeanisation assessment for this study is that they are the EU's main instrument of tracing the progress made regarding the fulfillment of the accession criteria.

It is necessary to emphasize that this study focuses on the process of Europeanisation from a top-down approach only, while does not make use of the bottom-up approach. However, it must be indicated that the bottom-up approach is not disregarded at the expense of the other approach. The reason for focusing on the top-down approach relies on the fact that it stems from the structure and principles of the EC reports, which are familiar not only to the academic field but also to the public, and thus, it makes the comparison more understandable and concise since it derives out of official and objective data.

Last, Europeanisation is an on-going process and is subject to internal and external dynamics which makes the prediction difficult and may not result fully accurate in the future. Nevertheless, considering the behavior of the countries towards the process during the reporting period, it is unlikely that there will be extreme events and changes in behaviour.

3. Comparing Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation in Albania and North Macedonia

Albania and North Macedonia both have constructed their foreign policy in the region towards the provision of peace, security, and cooperation in the region of the Balkans, which historically has been characterised by war and ethnic conflict, and tension. Such policy was reflected in their respective multilateral and bilateral relations over the past two decades. As such, many multilateral and bilateral documents were signed in throughout the years, which were serviceable to the improvement of their relations with their neighbours and the overall stability of the region, as indicated in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1. Multilateral and Bilateral documents signed by Albania and North Macedonia (European Commission)

Year	Albania		North Macedonia	
	Multilateral documents	Bilateral documents	Multilateral documents	Bilateral documents
-2000	6		4	
2000	2		1	
2001		2		2
2002	1	1	1	
2003	2	7	2	4
2004	1		1	5
2005		7		9
2006	3	5	3	7
2007	1	1	1	1
2008	2	11	1	7
2009	1	9		4
2010		1		7
2011		4		3
2012		10		6
2013	1	7		6
2014	1	3		1
2015		1	1	1
2016				1
2017	2	4	2	3
2018		1		1
2019	1	1	1	4

However, it should be taken into account that, due to the specificity of these two countries, the nature and number of bilateral and multilateral documents differs, as it is further explained below.

3.1. Multilateral relations

The multilateral diplomacy in Albania and North Macedonia is similar as both countries are members of international organizations and treaties that have a direct and indirect effect on the cooperation in the regions such as the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe), WTO (World Trade Organization) and CEFTA (Central European Free Trade Agreement). Even so, both of them are contributors and

supporters of regional initiatives such as the Berlin Process (The Berlin Process-Information and Resource Center) which has produced the Brdo-Brijuni process (European Western Balkans, 2019), Regional Economic Action Plan (Multi-annual Action Plan on Regional Economic Area in the Western Balkans-MAP) and Transport Treaty (Treaty establishing the Transport Community, 2017), the Adriatic-Ionian Initiative (Adriatic-Ionian Initiative), the Border Security Initiative (World Customs Organization), the Energy Community Treaty (Treaty establishing Energy Community), the European Common Aviation Area Agreement (European Common Aviation Area Agreement, 2006), Regional Initiative for Migration and Asylum (Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative) and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (European Commission).

Also, both of them had cooperated with NATO under the 2004 Charter for the security of the region (Ministry of Defence) and had contributed to the ALTHEA mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (European Commission, 2009a; 2009b). In the framework of security, both of them signed many bilateral and multilateral agreements on cooperating in the field of border control, illegal migration, police, fight against organized crime and terrorism. Albania took a step ahead of North Macedonia when it became a NATO member in 2008 and increased its influence regarding the promotion of security and stability in the Balkans (European Commission, 2009a). However, we must keep in mind that North Macedonia's NATO membership had been blocked by Greece's veto (Tziampiris, 2012).

The only evident difference in this matter is the cooperation of North Macedonia with the ICTY, considering that such country was part of Yugoslavia and fell under the scope of that tribunal (European Commission, 2004b) while Albania did not have such cooperation. Such multilateral relations were of utmost importance for imposing the rule of law in the region of the Balkans but also conclude the process of reconciliation in this regard. Overall, the cooperation had been continuous and successful, resulting in the prosecution of all the accused individuals.

As regards the fulfillment of the international obligations, only Albania has had some difficulties in the early 2000s regarding duties derived by the Council of Europe and WTO membership (European Commission, 2004a).

3.2. Bilateral relations

In the past 20 years, Albania has had dynamic interactions with Kosovo, Serbia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Greece, Italy, and Turkey. In the last 30 years of democracy, Albania has applied the "zero problems with neighbours" foreign policy, which is reflected in the analysis on the bilateral relations. Albania has brotherly relations with Kosovo due to their shared history, culture, and language and they both have united their diplomacy. Some occasional tensions were seen with North Macedonia and Serbia which regarded the issue of the ethnic Albanians in these countries (Jano et al, 2018). However, they didn't provide the basis for crisis or conflict and their relations had had continuous improvement and were stable. The same was for Montenegro where no tension or issue had been registered, although more needs to be done to increase the cooperation between the two countries. Greece is one of the most important trading partners of Albania and one of the countries where political, historical, and cultural ties are strong (European Commission, 2020a). In essence, no substantial issues are found, although the countries have discordances regarding some

historical matters such as the Cham genocide sea border demarcation, the nationalistic rhetorics by certain political groups, and Greece's refusal to recognize Kosovo's independence (Cela et al, 2018). Nevertheless, Greece has been a strong supporter of Albania's integration process. While the relations with Italy and Turkey have been excellent and these two countries have consistently supported Albania through investments and in the international area (European Commission, 2020a).

Table 2. Albania's relations with its neighbours (European Commission)¹

Year	Kosovo	Serbia	Montenegro	North Macedonia	Greece	Turkey	Italy
2000	Good	Moderate	Moderate	Good	Good	Good	Good
2001	Good	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Good	Good	Good
2002	Good	Good	Good	Moderate	Good	Good	Good
2003	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2004	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2005	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2006	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2007	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2008	Good	Moderate	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2009	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2010	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2011	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2012	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2013	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2014	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2015	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2016	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2017	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2018	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2019	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

North Macedonia on the other hand, has had close bilateral relations with Albania, Kosovo, Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria. Such bilateral relations has experienced fluidity due to its internal political dynamics and also due to its foreign policy decisions which have impacted the relations with some of its neighbours. The

¹ Based on the data retrieved from the European Commission's annual reports on Albania and North Macedonia covering the period 2000-2019, I have categorized the relations in "Good", "Moderate", "Bad". "Good" relations reflect cooperation on several levels and no conflict, tensions or political issues are registered. "Moderate" relations reflect cooperation but is often damaged by conflict, tensions or political issues. "Bad" relations reflect lack of cooperation as a result of conflict, tensions or political issues.

relations with Albania have been rather good but have been conditioned by the status of the ethnic Albanian minority in North Macedonia with an emphasis on the armed conflicts in the early 2000's and the occasional tensions that proceeded in the following years (Jano et al, 2018). Also, the situation with Kosovo has been good, although North Macedonia has been hesitant to recognize its independence and establish diplomatic relations at the beginning (European Commission, 2009b). However, the hesitation was predominantly influenced by its relations with Serbia which had made clear its positioning on the Kosovo issue (Marolov, 2015). Besides that, the relations with Belgrade have been good, and the countries showed a willingness to let behind their discordances during the 1990s and their opposite decisions on the issue of Kosovo. While the relations with Greece and Bulgaria have been the most delicate as a result of their history. On one hand, Greece has continuously denied the recognition of its northern neighbour's name (Tziampiris, 2012), and on the other Bulgaria has denied the existence of a Macedonian language and ethnicity (Đukanović, 2019). The name dispute took a toll on the Macedonian EU integration process and NATO membership through the veto used by Greece. Nevertheless, the countries settled such a dispute in 2018 through the Prespa agreement where the name "North Macedonia" was adopted (European Commission, 2019b). While the issues with Bulgaria have remained unresolved and could impact North Macedonia's EU integration process in the future.

Table 3. North Macedonia's relations with its neighbours (European Commission)

Year	Albania	Serbia	Kosovo	Greece	Bulgaria
2000	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Good
2001	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Good
2002	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2003	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2004	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2005	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2006	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2007	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
2008	Good	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
2009	Good	Good	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
2010	Good	Good	Good	Moderate	Moderate
2011	Good	Good	Good	Moderate	Moderate
2012	Good	Good	Good	Moderate	Moderate
2013	Good	Good	Good	Moderate	Moderate
2014	Good	Good	Good	Moderate	Moderate
2015	Good	Good	Good	Moderate	Moderate
2016	Good	Good	Good	Moderate	Moderate
2017	Good	Moderate	Good	Good	Moderate

Year	Albania	Serbia	Kosovo	Greece	Bulgaria
2018	Good	Good	Good	Good	Moderate
2019	Good	Good	Good	Good	Moderate

5.3. Europeanisation of Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation in Albania and North Macedonia

After having discussed the multilateral and bilateral relations, same as with the previous variables, it is important to draw out conclusions regarding the Europeanisation of Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation.

Consequently, the three degrees of policy adoption in the Framework of Europeanisation provided by Elbasani (2013), such as verbal, legal, and substantive degrees, are taken into account and are visualized in the chart below.

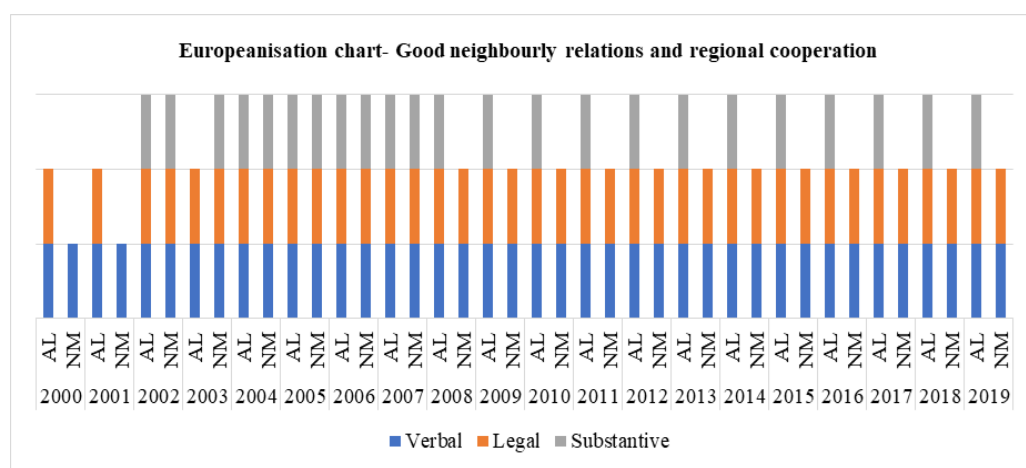


Figure 1. Europeanisation chart of the Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation in Albania and North Macedonia during 2000-2019

Source: Author's work (2023)

As regards the first degree, the **Verbal degree**, similarly with the case of the political system variable, there is no evidence in the EC reports of domestic actors have verbally expressed opponence on adopting the required policies in line with the recommendations provided and also the requirements that stem from the Copenhagen Criteria, as provided in the conclusions of the EC reports in the key milestones for Albania (European Commission, 2007a; 2010a; 2011a; 2014a; 2020a) and North Macedonia (European Commission, 2002b; 2005b; 2006b; 2010b; 2020b). In a similar fashion to the previous case, the implementation of legal reforms consistently through these two decades has showcased the reaching for the subsequent legal adoption degree, which provides for the assumption that the former degree has already been reached and passed.

The **Legal degree** was seen to be reached out for both countries in different years but with a small difference in periods. Both countries have been consistent in adopting bilateral documents with the neighbour countries in many areas which have

had a direct impact on their relations. Similarly, many multilateral documents were signed and adopted with the international institutions which directly or indirectly impact regional cooperation. There were only some differences in the periods of signing the agreements, such as the case of the WTO accession, which for Albania occurred in 2000 (European Commission, 2003a), while for North Macedonia it occurred in 2002 (European Commission, 20b).

Lastly, the **Substantive degree** has been impacted most by bilateral relations. For Albania, the bilateral relations have been overall good and have not become an obstacle to the Accession process, thus providing stability with its border countries. Some difficulties in implementing the obligations from the Council of Europe and WTO accession were evidenced for Albania in the early 2000s but which were addressed by 2004. While for North Macedonia, the complicated relationship with Greece and Bulgaria (European Commission, 2009b; 2018b), and sporadic tensions with Serbia (European Commission, 2002b; 2004b; 2009b) have often impeded the normalization of the relation with them. Moreover, the relation between Greece and Bulgaria has become an obstacle to its Accession process.

6. Conclusions

This paper analyzed the Europeanisation of good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation criteria in Albania and North Macedonia. The baseline of the analysis was the EC annual reports that indicated the progress of the countries from the period 2000-2019. From the comparative analysis, it is indicated that both countries have similarly adhered to and supported the international and regional initiatives. In addition, they both have shown a willingness to foster cooperation and security. As regards the good neighbourly relations, noticeable differences were seen.

For the past 20 years, multilateral relations have been oriented towards the support of economic and security cooperation in the region. Membership to the CEFTA, RCC, and the involvement in the NATO mission and the Berlin Process, have cemented their European orientation in the region. Therefore, the countries have shown quick adaptability and commitment to any international initiative presented and no particular issue has been evidenced.

As regards good neighbourly relations, North Macedonia has faced the most challenges. Periods of tensions have been noted regarding its relations with Serbia which have mostly been a result of the situation with Kosovo's recognition and the border demarcation. While the relations with two member states, Greece and Bulgaria have been stranded by deeply-rooted historical issues. For years Greece had put a blockade on North Macedonia's EU integration process and the issue would finally resolve in a common agreement in 2018. While in the case of its relations with Bulgaria, the issue of non-recognition of the Macedonian language and ethnicity remains open.

As of above, in terms of Europeanisation **processes**, it resulted that both countries have presented continuously throughout the period the phases of **verbal and legal** adoption. However, only Albania has managed to provide a consistent **substantive** level of adoption while North Macedonia was impacted by its issues with Greece and Bulgaria for the most part.

Consequently, the three degrees of policy adoption in the Framework of Europeanisation provided by Elbasani, such as verbal, legal, and substantive degrees, are taken into account.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “About,” Adriatic-Ionian Initiative, Accessed April 4, 2022, <https://www.aip-ps.org/about>
- “About,” The Berlin Process-Information and Resource Center, Accessed, April 8, 2022, <https://berlinprocess.info/about/>
- “Adriatic Charter (A-5),” Ministry of Defense, Accessed February 3, 2022, <https://www.mod.gov.al/eng/index.php/security-policies/relations-with/international-and-regional-organization/90-adriatic-charter-a-5>
- “Albania - Member State - Portal - Publi.coe.int.,” Council of Europe, accessed January 4, 2021, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/albania>
- “Albania 2007 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2007).
- “Albania 2008 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2008).
- “Albania 2009 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2009).
- “Albania 2010 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2010).
- “Albania 2012 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2012).
- “Albania 2013 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2013).
- “Albania 2014 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2014).
- “Albania 2015 Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2015).
- “Albania 2016 Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2016).
- “Albania 2018 Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2018).
- “Albania 2019 Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2019).
- “Albania 2020 Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2020).
- “Albania in OSCE,” Permanent Mission of the Republic of Albania to the International Organizations Vienna, accessed January 4, 2021, <https://ambasadat.gov.al/osbe/en/albanian-osce-chairmanship-priorities-2020>
- “Albania Stabilisation and Association Report 2003,” European Commission (Brussels, 2003).
- “Albania Stabilisation and Association Report 2004,” European Commission (Brussels, 2004).
- “Albania Stabilisation and Association Report 2005,” European Commission (Brussels, 2005).
- “Albania Stabilisation and Association Report 2006,” European Commission (Brussels, 2006).
- Börzel, Tanja; Risse, Thomas (2000), “When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and Domestic Change,” *European Integration online Papers* 4, no. 15, p. 1-20.
- “CEFTA Parties,” Central European Free Trade Agreement, Accessed April 8, 2022, <https://cefta.int/>
- “CEFTA Parties,” Central European Free Trade Agreement, Accessed February 3, 2022, <https://cefta.int/>
- Cela, Alba (2018), “Albania-Greece relations in the context of Albania’s EU integration process: gap between reality and perception,” In *Albania and Greece*,

- Alba Cela, Albert Rakipi, Andi Balla, Bashkim Zeneli, Bledar Feta, Dorian Koçi, Jordan Jorgji, Konstantinos Giakoumis, Ledion Krisafi, Selami Xhepa, Tirana, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, p. 5-16.
- Danielle, Bossaert; Christoph, Demke (2003), *Civil services in the accession states: New trends and the impact of the integration process*, Maastricht, European Institute of Public Administration.
- Dukanović, Dragan (2019), "North Macedonia and its Neighbours: Challenges and Perspectives," *Croatian International Relations Review* 25, no. 85, p. 90-114. <https://doi.org/10.2478/cirr-2019-0007>
- Elbasani, Arolda (2013), "Europeanization travels to the Western Balkans: Enlargement strategy, domestic obstacles and diverging reforms," In *European Integration and the transformation of the Western Balkans*, Arolda Elbasani, London, Routledge, p. 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203386064>
- "Euro-Mediterranean Partnership," European Commission, Accessed April 21, 2022, <https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/euro-mediterranean-partnership/>
- "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia admitted to OSCE," Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Accessed April 1, 2022, <https://www.osce.org/node/58530>
- "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Stabilisation and Association Report 2004," European Commission (Brussels, 2004).
- "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Stabilisation and Association Report 2005," European Commission (Brussels, 2005).
- Jano, Dorian; Hide, Enri; Rama, Klodjan; Andoni, Ben (2018), *Albania's impact in the region in the Albanian-speaking areas*, Tirana, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Ladrech, Robert (2014), "Rethinking the Relationship between Europeanization and European Integration," In *Europeanization and European Integration: From Incremental to Structural Change*, Ramona Coman, Thomas Kostera, Luca Tomini eds., London, UK, Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137325501_2
- Lijphart, Arend (1971), "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," *American Political Science Review* 65, no. 3, p. 682-693.
- Marolov, Dejan (2015), "The relations between Macedonia and Serbia," *Romanian Journal of History and International Studies* 2, no.1, p.117-128. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1955513>
- "Member States," Central European Initiative, Accessed February 2, 2022, <https://www.cei.int/member-states>
- Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative, Accessed, February 15, 2022, <http://marri-rc.org.mk/>
- "Multi-annual Action Plan on Regional Economic Area in the Western Balkans-MAP," Regional Cooperation Council, Accessed April 11, 2022, https://www.rcc.int/priority_areas/39/multi-annual-action-plan-for-a-regional-economic-area-in-the-western-balkans--map
- Multilateral Agreement between the European Community and its Member States, the Republic of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Republic of Iceland, the Republic of Montenegro, the Kingdom of Norway, Romania, the

- Republic of Serbia and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo on the establishment of a European Common Aviation Area - Annexes - Annexes – Declarations, OJ L 285, 16.10.2006, p. 3–46.
- “NATO’s relations with Albania,” North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed February 2, 2022, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_48891.htm
- “North Macedonia - Member State - Portal - Publi.coe.int.,” Council of Europe, accessed March 24, 2022, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/north-macedonia>
- “North Macedonia and the WTO,” World Trade Organization, Accessed April 1, 2022, https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/countries_e/macedonia_e.htm
- “North Macedonia Report 2019,” European Commission (Brussels, 2019).
- “North Macedonia Report 2020,” European Commission (Brussels, 2020).
- Radaelli, Claudio (2003), “The Europeanization of Public Policy,” In *The politics of Europeanization*, Kevin Featherstone, Claudio Radaelli, eds., Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 27-56. <https://doi.org/10.1093/0199252092.003.0002>
- Ragin, Charles C. (1987), *The Comparative Method. Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*, Oakland, California, University of California Press.
- “RCC member states,” Regional Cooperation Council, Accessed April 7, 2022, <https://www.rcc.int/pages/96/rcc-participants>
- “Republic of Macedonia Stabilisation and Association Report 2003,” European Commission (Brussels, 2003).
- “South-East European Process,” Regional Cooperation Council, Accessed April 7, 2022, <https://www.rcc.int/pages/111/south-east-european-cooperation-process--seecp>
- “The Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Accessed February 2, 2022, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-black-sea-economic-cooperation-organization-_bsec_.en.mfa
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2009 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2009).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2013 Progress Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2013).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2015 Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2015).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2018 Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2018).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2005,” European Commission (Brussels, 2005).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2006,” European Commission (Brussels, 2006).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2007,” European Commission (Brussels, 2007).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2008,” European Commission (Brussels, 2008).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2009,” European Commission (Brussels, 2009).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2010,” European Commission (Brussels, 2010).

- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2011,” European Commission (Brussels, 2011).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2012,” European Commission (Brussels, 2012).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2013,” European Commission (Brussels, 2013).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2014,” European Commission (Brussels, 2014).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Progress Report 2019,” European Commission (Brussels, 2019).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Report 2015,” European Commission (Brussels, 2015).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Report 2016,” European Commission (Brussels, 2016).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Report 2018,” European Commission (Brussels, 2018).
- “The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Stabilisation and Association Report 2007,” European Commission (Brussels, 2007).
- “The Stabilisation and Association process for South East Europe First Annual Report,” European Commission (Brussels, 2002).
- “Treaty establishing Energy Community,” Energy Community, Accessed April 15, 2022, <https://www.energy-community.org/legal/treaty.html>
- Tziampiris, Aristotle (2012), “The Macedonian name dispute and European Union accession,” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 12, no. 1, p. 153–171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2012.661225>
- “Western Balkans 6 leaders to meet at the Brdo-Brijuni Process Summit in Tirana,” European Western Balkans. May 7, 2019. <https://europeanwesternbalkans.com/2019/05/07/western-balkans-6-leaders-meet-brdo-brijuni-process-summit-tirana/>
- “WCO Members,” World Customs Organization, Accessed, April 15, 2022, <http://www.wcoomd.org/en/about-us/wco-members/membership.aspx>
- “WTO membership of Albania, Croatia approved”, accessed February 2, 2022, https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news00_e/gcounc_e.htm

