

# Analyzing The Importance Of The National Identity Concept On The Path To Europeanization Process Of Serbia And Croatia

Seda Gözde TOKATLI\*

## INTRODUCTION

The international status quo had been changed rapidly after the breakdown of the communist regimes throughout Central and Eastern Europe at the end of 1989. The transition from communism to post-communist period had been more severe in the Balkans than other communist states of East Central Europe. States have been experiencing the building democracy, following the liberal economic principles and adapting to the universal values by international organizations, such as the European Union (EU). Although two Balkan States are in the similar regional status, shared communism and war experience, they have followed the quite different European

trajectories. This article will briefly discuss the trend of decentralization of Yugoslavia in terms of reopening national question could be primarily motivated by the role of historical legacy, constitutional factors, and the role of intellectual elites and political actors. After giving some information about the dissolution process of the Yugoslavia, it will introduce an argument about the role of the national identity politics on the Europeanization processes of the states. The purpose of this paper is to understand the Europeanization process of Croatia and Serbia after the dissolution from the Yugoslavia. This research paper will develop the identity convergence and identity divergence mechanisms

\* Seda Gözde TOKATLI, Doktorant, Ege Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Ana Bilim Dalı, sedagozde@hotmail.com Orchid ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1880-1338>



in order to explain successful or stalled Europeanization process of countries. In this research paper, historical comparative research technique based on methodological pluralism logic of qualitative research method will be used.

While national identity convergence mechanism provides Croatia's rapid accordance with EU requirements, national identity divergence mechanism had a negative impact on Serbia's EU candidacy process. It is important to examine the history and roots of the dissolution of the Yugoslavia in order to explain how states national identity effect the process of Europeanization, This article argues the Europeanization process of Serbia and Croatia states on the basis of the neo-functional and inter-governmentalist approach in order to understand the path on the EU. This paper analyses both the evolution of these two main theories in the post-war era and their impact on the development of the European project. These cases offer evidence that how these two states

have perceived Europe, what it meant domestically, and how it was imagined profoundly shaped the trajectory of Europeanization. They will explain the question why similar international pressures on states produce different political outcomes on the states. National identity concept has to be taken seriously in order to understand what makes Europeanization process difficult to achieve for states.

### **THE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF YUGOSLAVIA**

The republic of Yugoslavia broke up with the international recognition of several of its republic states as sovereign states. It was the only communist federation that imploded with such violence when everything was seemingly in its favor. The disintegration of Yugoslavia was the result of many factors rather than only a single one. The different recitations of history combine not only the founding 'state-forming' nationality of each republic, but also the distrust, resentment and even hatred between them

and other peoples with whom they previously coexisted (Ingrao,2009: 3). During the 1990s, Yugoslavia's succession was taking place and passion was very high in response to the immense suffering, destruction, and war crimes. Strong nationalist attempts at the preservation of ethnic self-identity with the homogenization of nations lead to the use of non-democratic methods. There are number of important reasons for the analysis of Yugoslavia's break up during 1990s. Indeed, the real reason for the disintegration of countries lays in Yugoslavia's history and in the national ideologies of its main groups rather than those economic, political and social factors. The basic objective was to solve national question by the establishment of the federation of equal nations under the principle of 'brotherhood and unity' of Yugoslav nations. However, the trend of decentralization of Yugoslavia in terms of reopening national question could be primarily motivated by the role of historical legacy, constitutional factors, the importance of the Croatian Spring and the role of the political actors. It is important to understand the weight of history that rooted in Yugoslavia's experience tended to focus on the national ideologies of its constituent peoples and the failure of the integrative ideologies of united Yugoslav nation. Communist power rapidly entered in Yugoslavia which emerged from World War II, was a six republic federation such as Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Single-

ton,1985: 23) In 1946, the new constitution that established six republics was modeled by Soviet Union In the last days of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, nationalism posed the most potent challenge to the ideology of state socialism. Yugoslavia was seen by many as an artificial construct.

### **THE MAIN DRIVEN FORCES OF REVIVED NATIONALISM IN YUGOSLAVIA**

*The Roots of National ideology in Yugoslavia*

Nationalism was certainly not a new phenomenon in Yugoslavia. The resurgent of ethnic conflict and hatred in the former Yugoslavia can be attributed to the complex ethnic structure of the country. Yugoslavia was a highly heterogeneous society composed of various different peoples, and these nations developed and emerged under different social and historical conditions, and were at various levels of economic, cultural and political development at the time they merged with each other (Singleton,1985: 23). Each of the constituent republics of the Yugoslav federation was dominated by a single national group. Therefore, conflicts between the republics turned into interethnic conflict. Ancient ethnic hatreds and the absence of common historical legacy are interpreted as a reason of the meltdown of Yugoslavia's multinational structure.

The collapse of the Yugoslavia relates to a lack of common interest and a

sense of persistence in national historical narratives in which peoples cast each other as 'the enemy'. (Ramet,2007:3) For example, members of different national groups in a multi-racial states read different newspapers, books and maintain alternative sources of information therefore so democracy and unity became more difficult to maintain or establish in the unified state. (Ramet,2007:4) One of the important ways to address the history of Yugoslavia is to back into the past to understand the lifestyle of the society in those times. For example, citizens were free to express their own nationalism, culture and to speak their own language after the 1963 Constitution. In other words, an individual was not enforced to introduce itself with one of the nationalities or determine himself for one of nationalities (Drakovic,2008:101). The regime was defined itself as a socialist state rather than using any national terms. Above all, mixed marriage was also common between nations in Yugoslavia. In addition to that, extending to the development autonomous educational and media system caused to miss the opportunity of interpreting knowledge in the same way and contributed to the dissolution of the Yugoslavia (Ramet,2007:43) For example, the absence of common education system caused topics relates to culture and history to be taught differently in different republics. In other words, Since 1948, the education system allowed nations to explain their own point of views that caused never har-

monized nations in a coherent way in Yugoslavia (Ingra,2009:27)

The nationalism took two forms such as hegemonic and separatist, both of which resulted in violence and accelerated disintegration of Yugoslavia. Serb nationalism in 1918 was an example for hegemonic nationalism and the Serbian national vision was 'Greater Serbia' at the end of First World War. On the one hand, the national goal was to bring all Serbs into a unified state and to safeguard the Serb national interests. In contrast, the main goal of the Croatian was national integration and aspiration for the national state. Each national ideology claimed that the communist regime intentionally disadvantaged its nation and benefited its competitor nation or nations. When Yugoslavia lost the mandate to maintain its political monopoly or to speak for a single Yugoslavia, nationalist discourse and ethnic mobilization became stronger than it did in the past. Ethnic mobilization played the important role in dissolving the state and what is known is that state failure is much more common in the case of states or regimes which have lost the confidence of their populations; systems which are considered illegitimate by their own populations are more vulnerable to crisis. Ethnic differences, diversities in the traditions and cultures of the nations in Yugoslavia played the important role in failure to constitute a Yugoslav culture, nation and state. National, linguistic, religious, cultu-



ral and historical differences encouraged lawlessness and emerged dissatisfaction within the system in the history. Nationalist doctrines and actions caused ethnic tension and instability in the country. The main factors underlying this development were an underdeveloped political culture and a heritage of authoritarianism compounded by grooving nationalism (Akhavam,1995: 33). The increasing social and political uncertainty and the crisis of social values and opportunities that gave impetus to the search for a solution in ethnocentrism. For Example, Serbs- Croat's language was taught in Slovenian and Macedonian schools, but Slovenian and Macedonian were not taught in the schools of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnian in the past (Cvijeto,2002:107). As a result, their separate cultural and linguistic identities were threatened in the unity therefore, the evolution of Croatian nationalism became a significant factor on the opposition

to the Communist state. Unfair treatment between nations into the federal structure resulted in the absence of political viability. The main drivers of increasing ethnic divergence and nationalist movement of states in the past will have a big impact on absorbing the European values and identities easily. Europeanization process of Serbia and Croatia differs from each other on the basis of the identity issue of the state.

#### *The role of Self management Right in the Revived Nationalism*

The transition from communism to post communism in Yugoslavia was smooth and change was initially imperceptible. The most important decisions, such as the adoption of "social plans, regulation of the monetary system, the total volume of budgetary expenditures, ratification of international treaties "could be adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces only after it had ensured the



adjustment to the positions of the autonomous provinces (Crampton,2002: 121).Joseph Broz Tito, The President of the Yugoslavia states introduced a law on workers 'self -management which differentiate Yugoslav from Soviet Socialism self –management (Crampton,2002:119). The main reform legislation was enacted to increase role of private activity, to reduce the power of state and to establish self managing institutions. Yet, the reforms produced political casualties as well. In fact, after the 1963 Constitution affirmation of individual's freedom to declare any national identity, elites did not accept Yugoslavia under the nationality. Self management right was also extended to education, health, culture and social services areas in the state. All the amendments in 1963 constitution made clear that Yugoslavia's constitutional decentralization occurred on the national level. The self determination right was given to the society to choose one's own way out of an increasingly unen-

durable situation (Cohen,2008:106). After the 1970s, the Yugoslav republics started to behave if they were independent entities in a unified nation. Self management right gave nations independence in the most areas and also accelerated the decentralization of Yugoslav entity in the Balkans.

#### *The Role of the 1974 Constitution in Yugoslavia*

One of the important reasons behind the growing nationalist movement of Yugoslavia is the 1974 Constitution which provides freedom to develop all aspects of human personality and to bring people and nations in line with their interests and aspirations on the way to creating the richer culture and civilization of the socialist society (Gallegner,2003: 27). The 1974 constitution was the most significant change initiated the process of decentralization of Yugoslavia. The constitution devoted most of its provisions to self-management right which was universal in the public sectors and self- ma-

agement was alternative to the state. Another effort was made to dislodge the legislative functions from the parliaments and transfer them to self managing bodies. Furthermore, the constitution gave a clear mandate for the autonomous states to participate in federal decision and also making conferring territorially based powers. In other words, republics and provinces become independent in taking their own actions and gaining the authority over the decision taken by federal state (Ingrao,2009:19). While Yugoslav nationalism was being weakened, the nationalism of the constitutive nations was getting more effective (Jovic,2001:105).

The 1974 constitution was extending self management right in other areas such as political, economic and social life. While Tito was a strong leader connecting all leaders under the hegemony, the institutional lines connecting republics together were very weak. Obviously, this Constitution had made Yugoslavia into more than one republic, because each Republic had a wide range of sovereign rights and powers, and the Republics seem to be both sources of state sovereignty and centers of political power. As a result, the communist actors and their leaders in each republic received a guarantee by the constitutions to have authority over the provinces. 1974 constitution could be described as follows; it weakened the federation and eliminated the true authority of federal decisions; it created the divi-

sion of the population into "working people and citizens," and tolerated the existence of two federal units (Hudson,2003:4). The 1974 constitution and constitutional process were responsible for the collapse of the federal state and it had made it possible for the real government to directly change from unitary party state to the confederation of party states. In other words, constitutional decentralization had established several independent and opposing nations states on Yugoslav's territory (Cohen,2008:105). Most civic rights were guaranteed under the constitution and the republics behaved as de facto independent states with their own political and institutional priorities.

As a result, the institutionalization of national conflicts with the 1974 constitution served to influence of ethnicity on the determining their own interests. The monopolization of ethnic politics by the governing strata in the republics adversely affected interethnic relations and contributed to the formation and expression of the national interests (Akhavam,1995: 35).For example, the republics with stronger economies tended to expand in the direction of the market and they used barriers to protect their national autarchy. States were prone to behave as intervened actor rather than extrovert in their foreign policies. Yugoslavia contributed significantly to the confrontation of interests and disintegration on a national scale in the form of conflict between national sta-

tes. The clash of interests represented one of the main features of the crisis that confronted Yugoslavia society. Actually, this crisis was the result of the emergence of an autonomous political sphere and the strengthening of non-institutional political life that led to the collapse of the old order. In the Article 3, the republic was referred to as states, based on sovereignty of people and communities of the nations (Cohen,2008:106).The right of self-determination was contained in all Yugoslav constitutions and it was an opportunity to establish their own organizations for promoting them and it was given to the federal institution to accelerate nationalist movements in Yugoslavia.

*The role of the Political Actors in the revived nationalism in Yugoslavia*

Tito's death was one of the driven forces in leading to disintegration of Yugoslavia. Ethnic tension became more severe in Yugoslavia after the death of President Joseph Broz Tito in 1980 (Dyker,1996: 94) The death of Tito was perceived by many people as losing the country's main unifying force. During his presidency between 1953 and 1980, he always carried a message of unity and nationalism in Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, Yugoslav unity was dissolved quickly following Tito's death. Indeed, many feared that without his presence unity could not be maintained. It is true that Tito's regime was popular in Yugoslavia and tried to keep societies together. Tito was supported as a father of

their nation and was to be elected for an unlimited term of office. West also sees Tito as an authoritarian leader who opposed the democratic governance and liberal principles because he would endanger the unity of the country. After the death of the Tito, central state was weakened to compete with Republican governments. Also, the multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic structure of Yugoslavia become more problematic issue than before and gave rise to nationalist movement of states. Tito's death combined with the decline of communist ideology in the rest of Europe in the 1980s led to a severe weakening of important unifying factors of Yugoslavia. Since 1980, real power passed to republican level politicians and nationalist ideology was supported by the public intensively. Political actors had certainly played a critical role in the dissolution of Croatia and Serbia from Yugoslavia during the initial stages of state creation. Slobodan Milosevic was also effective political leader in Serbian authority and he has been singled out as the most responsible for the recentralization and final destruction of the country. For example, the intellectuals had an big influence in rising the nationalist sentiments and the problems in the Serbian autonomous province of Kosovo in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) in1986 (Hudson,71). To illustrate that, When Milosevic (1989) came to power in Serbia, he declared to the local Serbs that nobody would be allowed to beat

them. A careful and well planned strategy of Milosevic was dominating all Yugoslavia states effectively. He committed to keeping alive Tito's image until 1991 and later he turned to nationalist movement in the state. Besides that, national homogenization and war were permitted and encouraged by Milosevic, and who were given logistical support by Serbia's security apparatus and those are responsible for strategic rape, introduction of terrorist regimes in various Croatia and Bosnian localities that were meant to spread panic and compel whole national communities to go into exile (Blitz, 2006: 31). The Yugoslav Republic's political and intellectual leaders were driven forces of raising national question and also finding the solution for withdrawing from communism to maintain their own ideology and their positions of power.

*The role of the Croatian Spring Movement on the national building process of Croatia*

Croatian Spring movement (1971) that caused for the recognition of the Croatian language was one of the most important cultural initiatives to increase the national feelings in Croatia in 1967 (Pavkovic,2000:67) Croatian culture that was emphasizing the revival of national awareness was an attempt to set up separate school and education plan for their student by ignoring literatures of the Yugoslav nations. Moreover, most of the Croatian intellectuals were oppose the previous school programs and

teaching methods in the Croatia. As a result, they made a call to recreate culture for the Croatian citizens. (Ingrao,23) Communist state was reluctant to tolerate Croatian desire for more autonomy since it was a sign as a beginning of the end of Yugoslavia. For example, In the late 1960s, agitation began among students and intellectuals in favor of greater cultural and economic rights for their own republic. In addition to this, a political movement in Croatia occurred for greater rights of Croatia as well as democratic and economic reform. It was a massive and direct challenge to Yugoslav's political status quo, its constitutional structure, and to Tito's and the party's unquestioned rule (Job,2002:25). Croatian Spring was another significant factor that accelerated disintegration of this unity.

*The dissolution of the Yugoslavia*

The end of the bipolar world and the transition to post-communist period was severe in the Yugoslavia. The basic objective of nationalist movement was to establish nation states such as Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia Kosovo, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The escalation of the war began with the Slovenia, followed by the tragedy of the Croatia, and culminating with the everyday atrocities of the war on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The result of all these events was obviously the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia break up could have been prevented only by a common effort by domestic political leaders and also helped

by the timely aid of the international community. The regime failed to establish and develop formal institutions within the political system for the prevention of ethnic and social conflicts between groups.

The declaration of independence in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991, recognized by the international community, was therefore the most important political result of the first stage of the war. Croatia was under pressure of war, which affects not only its territory and its population, but also its public policies and perspectives. Strong nationalistic tendencies have been reinforced throughout the course of the war. Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its sovereignty in 1991 that was boycotted by the majority of the Serb. International recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina increased diplomatic pressure for the Serbs who are direct responsibility for the genocide, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. What is more, Macedonia was also one of the inheritor of the former Yugoslavia which declared its independence from Yugoslavia (1991) and had civil war experience with the Albanians in 2001. At last, Kosovo was the latest state declared its independence from Yugoslavia (2008) that had been recognized by the international community after having severe war experience in the past. It is obvious that fall of communism gone hand in hand with revival of nationalism. The conflict for the national ideology caused a conflict

between over the control of territory where different nations claimed for their own ideology.

### **THE PATH TO THE EU INTEGRATION PROCESS OF SERBIA AND CROATIA**

A violent break up in Yugoslavia that caused into war for a number of reasons such as the role of nationalism concept, the role played of political leaders, of republics, the failure of its people to develop a common historical narrative, the 1974 constitution and other constitutional factors, the right of self-management, the political illegitimacy in the communism and the domino effect of the separatist movement between republics in Yugoslavia. According to Dean Jovic, the principles of multiethnicity that dominated Yugoslav politics were replaced by a “return to nationalism” in order to protect and strengthen the newly acquired statehood. (Rupnik,2011:37) **In fact, without the pacification of national grievances and without the introduction of a democratic order there will never be stability in the Serbia and Croatia.** The European Union, which offers guidelines, methods and assistance for restructuring, development and transition, is the main source of change and reform on the candidate countries (European Commission, IPA: 2007). Importantly, EU helped Croatia and Serbia to succeed in its process of transition by adapting the models and guidelines’ that are offered. The perspective of EU membership for the Serbia and Croatia was a powerful driver for internal and external reform on the candidate countries. The European Union provides an oppor-

tunity on candidate countries in promoting political stability and economic prosperity in Europe. Today, the EU plays an important role in the international arena with its important foreign policy tools, such as diplomatic, economic and military operations, for the maintenance of peace and implementation of peace (Ginsberg and Smith, 2005: 1). The process of Europeanization is often used to describe the adjustment of an entire political culture of the states on its path towards membership in the European Union. In this process, the European Union exercise impact on the candidate states through both soft power and smart power, however also through hard power from the economic perspective (Cierco,2009: 177). Europeanization is described as a new identity building, administrative innovation and cultural change in a country.

The EU's main tool in promoting national domestic political change is its conditionality, especially for membership, not limited to membership (Schimmelfennig and

Knobel,2003: 495-519). EU is the global actor applying its enforcement mechanism on the candidates during the process of European Union path. EU membership provides a strong incentive for adapting the political, social and cultural changes on the candidate countries. Europeans have proven to be better than any other nation in the world at maintaining peace, cooperation and prosperity (Pavkovic,18). The EU provides its candidates prosperity, stability and peaceful environment by converting states national governance with different mechanisms. For example, Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) of the EU is a process aimed at helping countries for the adoption and implementation of the EU legislation. SAP plays an important role in increasing regional cooperation, building neighborly relations and the resolution of inter-state disputes. The process of Europeanization is a product of national consensus that led states to implement and take all the necessary reforms within the state. While in the short term, Europeanization forced



countries to face with socioeconomic and political choices for the countries that are involved but in the long term, it is defined with modernization, stability and development. Europeanization is a process that includes multiples steps for Balkan countries. To illustrate that, Balkan states has to adjust their national institutions, to implement their market economies and to coordinate their national legislation. Balkan states must resolve bilateral problems, improve regional cooperation and transfer their sovereignty on the accession process of EU. Europeanization process of the states requires creating common identity policy, abolishing borders and stabilizing their economies and policies. EU has applied several instruments towards Balkan countries such as conflict prevention, peace building and conditionality.

Europeanization process consists of external incentive models, rationalist institutionalism and social learning mechanism in order to explain domestic transformation of the state According to

the general assumptions of the external incentive model, the size of the award exceeds the cost of internal compliance, while the state adapts to organizational norms. More specifically, the benefit cost balance depends on the size of the international award, the reliability of promises and sanctions made, and the cost of internal compliance (Schimmelfennig, 2004:4). For rationalist institutionalism, Europeanization is a choice of decision makers who takes the decisions on the basis of their own cost and benefits analysis. For example, for the rationalist institutionalism approach in the EU, Europeanization depends on the decisions of the domestic actors (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2011:661-79). In other words, External incentive model works if benefits of membership are higher than adoption costs. In addition to that, social learning model has a big impact of changing the identity and preferences of the member states. If member states accept the supremacy of the EU, nation will easily accept the rules and principles



of the EU institution. (Schimmelfennig, 2004). According to social learning model, the government considers itself as a European and the society share the values and norms of society easily. Lesson drawing mechanism was effective both governmental and societal actors in order to draw lessons from the EU and to tackle better problems they face. Socialization processes can have an even more profound impact on EU member states and result in changes of national preferences and identities. Domestic empowerment mechanism plays an active role in providing incentives of the EU for the applicant state. Socialization is the identification with the EU community, coordination of the foreign policy actions and compliance with common procedures and norms. Lastly, soft power mechanism is also a part of Europeanization process of the states. Soft power is “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments” arising from a countries culture, political ideas and policies, whereas “hard power” is “the ability to coerce” based on a countries military and economic might (Nye,2004:256). Soft power theory based on attraction because actors want to be like you or wants something that you have. European Union impact on certain candidate countries has worked well, because the EU has the attractive options and methods for states on the Europeanization process.

Neo-functionalism and inter-governmentalism are two important grand theories have shaped the Europeanization integration process that is today called the European Union. Neo functionalism or

Supra nationalist and inter governmentalism will be a part of this article in order to better understand the role of nationalism concept on integration process of the Croatia and Serbia in the EU. Both inter governmentalism and supra nationalism differs not on the role and importance in the process of European Union integration that also differs on who they perceive the EU institutions. According to inter governmentalist theory of the EU, identity divergence is a mechanism that defines their own national principles and resisting norms and rules of Europeanization. Intergovernmentalist theory assumptions are mostly related to rationalist institutionalism mechanism of EU. On the other hand, for supra-nationalist, identity convergence is a process by which political actors strategically shared norms and values, also disregard contradictory ones in the process of EU. Social learning model is mostly compatible with the neo functionalist theory that forefronts the importance of EU institution. In other words, domestic factors outweigh more in intergovernmentalist theory than supranationalist theory.

### **The inter governmentalist approach on the EU integration Process**

An intergovernmental approach that focuses on the state power and national interest with a proper appreciation of the important role of internal factors in determining the goals that governments pursue Inter governmentalist sees the terms of international cooperation as reflecting the relative bargaining power of different governments. This approach plays a min-

imal role in the process of opening new issues, reforming decision making procedures and ratifying the accession of new members. According to Andrew Moravcsik, the member states have always protected their national own interest and put a strict limits on any attempts in transferring the sovereignty. Thus, states sought to avoid giving high authority to central institutions that could undermine their sovereignty, and preferred to work with intergovernmental institutions such as the Cabinet. (Moga,2009: 802). Inter-governmentalist attribute little influence to supranational agent or institutions .The national policy preferences come first and the future spill over to other areas is blocked. The defenders of this approach avoid to share the power with other authorities that could weaken sovereignty of the state and prefers to work with intergovernmental institutions. Inter-governmentalists are state centrist and also focused on the internal goals and politics of the governing country in each society.

Serbia could be one of the important examples to inter governmentalist theory with its state centrist position in the international system. Serbia rather than other countries that gained their independence from Yugoslavia focused on the internal goals and national interest of the state. In Serbia, state administrators play a decisive role in the preparation of the basic agreements and basic legislation underlying the EU. According to the instrumental rationality approach, actors prefer to choose their way of acting based on cost benefit calculations (Börzel and Risse, 2012:5). Serbia followed different

path on the path to EU than Croatia in terms of policies, values and preferences of the states. In Serbia, the national policy preferences come first and the future spill over to other areas is blocked. Serbia. Intergovernmentalist theory plays an important role in addressing how Serbian state evaluates the process of the European Union. The transformation of Serbian policy stems not from the desire to be idealized European, but from the need for EU membership for realistic and practical reasons. If convergence occurs, it will have a pragmatic or utilitarian function (EC,2014:1039). Serbian nationality comes first rather than other nationalities in the region. Serbia finds difficult to meet not just the political, also economical and cultural conditionality of the European integration. For example, on the path to Europe, Serbia has a financial, social and legal burden on the back such as Kosovo issue, corruption, judiciary system, freedom of rights etc. Serbia has to complete numerous recommendations and requirement on the path to EU, also accept to be Serbian and European identities at the same package.

Europeanization process in Serbia have played very little role in moderating the Serbian policy. The shift in Serbian policy towards the Kosovo is a result of the EU conditionality procedures on Serbia. Serbian policies are mostly linked with the logic of the rationalist rather than the logic of appropriateness policy. For example, changes in Serbian policies that facilitate the pro-European agenda stemmed from an EU-backed democratizing influence that could make Serbian

politics more 'EU-compliant' and lead to a process of 'alignment' under EU pressure (Vachudova,2014).To illustrate that, majority voting is limited by domestic market policy, the power of parliament is restricted and the future spillover to areas is blocked and the attempt to control over future changes in the scope of EC activities (Moravcsik,1991:49). According to inter governmentalist, while this integration process lies in the interest of the states, also provides a relative power to Brussels. Nationalism within the EU is still a significant problem that prevents rapid enlargement, social transformation and regional cooperation of the society in the Balkans.

Although Serbia wants to be a key actor on the decisions that are taken within state, some factors have outweighed into sharing the powers with the supranational organization such as European Union. Although in literature, Europeanization process has perceived as a value building, identity formations and adaption approach, but in Serbia Europeanization process based on the logic of rationalism.

### **The Neo functionalist Approach of the EU integration Process**

The neo-functional theory claims that integration will lead to the spillover effect to other areas in the organizations. The establishment of supranational organizations will mediate cooperation, coordinate and regulate standards among members. As integration continues to expand, effects continue to spill over and the European Union continues to gain its power on the member states. The pro-

ponents of the neo-functionalism approach support the sense of common purpose, which would lead to creation of international organization in order to facilitate international cooperation. On the road to Europeanization, the EU exports to the countries of democratic values and practices, the rule of law, human rights standards and dialogue, which together constitute the norms of good governance (Cierco,2009:196). The three main parts of this theory, including that integration is inevitable, the spillover effect will cause integration to form a new working areas between states and the emergence of parliamentary diplomacy will strengthen the method for organizing interaction of the states in the Union. State actors were no longer able to engage in independent economic action to promote their economies and were experiencing a diminution of sovereignty. Today, the components of neo-functionalism continue to emerge as valid theories to understand the integration process of states on the path to EU. Increasing levels of cross-border transactions and communications by private actors increase the perceived need for European-level rules and policies and for supranational capacity to supply them.

Although Serbia failed to share the powers with other states, to accept the European norms and to implement the EU legislation process easily, Croatian state was successful to be both Croatian and Europeanized.

The path to EU of Croatia will assist post conflict democratization, economic prosperity and supervise the nation building by conditionality procedures. The international recognition of the Republic of Croatia in 1992 has paved the way to the beginning of the relations between Croatia and the EU. After the Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995, Croatia tried to make a quick transition, being one of its priorities to distance itself from the negative label of "Balkan country" (Cierco,2009:178). Croatia was willing to accept conditionality procedures of the EU on the way to membership of this union. European Union membership was a desire of all political elites in a country. The positive trend in the political, social and economical reforms in the country represents the incentives to be a part of the EU. The domestic changes in the domestic policies that are linked with the EU conditionality procedures and all the implementations that are in a harmony with EU legislations played an important role in a membership process of Croatia. More importantly, the all positive political, social and economical changes in Croatia embedded within the society. Neo functionalism will continue to predict integration and development of the European Union in years to come. Supranational organizations with independent authority are at the heart of the expansive dynamism of European integration. All the political, social, and economic factors are related to the EU integration process in Croatia for

democratization, modernization and prosperity.

Today, the capacity of national governments individually and collectively to control policy making outcomes at the EU level has declined and the authority of supranational bodies has increased. European values do not require the abandonment of any of the prized values or their own traditions. Having universal European values and being called Europeans provide advantageous for Serbia and Croatia over their national identity. The exit from Yugoslavia and disintegration was necessary for the Serbia and Croatia who wish to enter the European club and to be called Europeans. Inter-governmentalist criticizes the neo-functionalism for the continued dominance on the national state and on the national interests. In Croatia, identity convergence process by which political actors willing to share norms and values with European Union and disregard the contradictory ones. On the other hand, in Serbia, identity divergence process by which political actors unwilling to share their identity, culture and norms with European ones. While Balkan identity outweighed in Serbia, European identity outweighed in Croatia. Asymmetrical relationship of the Croatia and Europe forced the cooperation with Croatia in multiple areas that has accelerated convergence process of the Croatia on the path to toward the Europe Union.

## Conclusion

The dissolution of Yugoslavia prevented free elections in the system and caused political pluralism among republics that failed to resolve the national question for each republic. The absence of common historical narrative and the role of political leaders and intellectuals, ethnic diversity and the role of the 1974 constitution were important factors of increasing nationalist movement resulted in failure to constitute a Yugoslav culture and nation together. A stable political institution, central administration and effective political leaders that are backbone of the unity play remarkable role to keep the society together and to prevent any kind of uprising movements from any kind of groups. Moreover, the process of decentralization within the political framework of the former Yugoslavia was led by nationalist movements, with the primary goal of establishing nation states. A revival of traditional nationalism within dissident delegitimizing ideologies in the 1960, became in the late 1980s, a powerful tool for political mobilization (Pavkovic,2014: 98).

The demise of the former Yugoslavia was brought about by various dissident movements seeking international recognition of statehood. The resolution of the complicated problems connected with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the development of the emerging nation states, will take a long time to be resolved. In other words, National identity concept has

a dual effect in building a nation state. While national identity issue became a main driver to build a new nation in the region, it might have an adverse effect in sharing the power with other powers in the system.

Instead of summary, inter governmentalist theory outweighed in the Serbia's policy towards the EU in terms of refraining from national identities and adopting the set of rules and norms that are offered by Europe. Serbian border and statehood problem played an important agenda on the path towards the European Union. For Serbia on the path to EU, the actions are designed to meet the conditions set by the EU in order to meet specific interests or objectives of national decision-makers, without being based on the any normative based purposes. (Economides and Ker-Lindsay,2015:1040). On the other hand, adapting to union standards, national building process and other promotions supervised by EU absorbed by Croatia more easily than Serbia. Although Croatian society is more adaptive to the external changes in the state, Serbian minority is reluctant in putting the changes into practice. In Serbia, decision makers have more voice in changing the way of the decisions towards the process of the Europeanization than Croatia.

While intergovernmentalist approach has gained weight in analyzing the European Union processes of Serbia, Neo functionalist approach is still

compatible with the policy of Croatian government on the path to European Union. While interest based approach to Europeanization serving the economic purposes of Serbia, value based approach is assisting in transforming the economic, political and cultural areas of the Croatia. In the case of Europeanness, the honorific and symbolic benefits greatly outweigh any tangible costs of adopting it: being European makes you thus feel good without costing you anything. No other supranational identity to date certainly not Yugoslavs could beat this (Pavkovic,2009:18).

Although both nations gained their independence from Yugoslavia after the Cold war, they have had different path on the integration process of the EU. Today, Croatia became a member of the EU in which cooperation has spread into many new organizations and areas of coordination and integration. On the other hand, Serbia which still holds a candidate status of the Union has a long path to fulfill the requirements of the membership in the Union. While the concept of identity convergence explains Croatia's rapid compliance with controversial EU requirements, the concept of identity divergence had created a negative impact on the Serbia's EU candidacy. In the context of Europeanization, identifying presence or absence of the broadly shared European idea best explains differing pathways of Europeanization. While this research analyzes important issue of the

Europeanization process of Croatia that has resolved statehood problem by identity convergence theory also claims that the unresolved statehood problem in Serbia caused by identity divergence of the EU. It is important to make an output in this research that seeks to present the effect of national identity issues on the Europeanization process of the two states in the system.

### **Bibliography**

Akvaham, P.(1995).*Yugoslavia the former and Future*.The Brookings institution, Washington.

Blitz, K, B.(2006).*War and Changes in the Balkans, Nationalism , Conflict, and Cooperation*, Cambridge university Press, New York.

Börzel, T. A and Risse, T.(2012).*From Europeanisation to Diffusion: Introduction*,West European Politics.

Cohen, J, L. and Soso, Dragovic, S.(2008).*State collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New perspectives on Yugoslavia's disintegration*. Purdue university Press, USA.

Crampton ,R,J.(2002),*The Balkans since the Second World War*, Longman, London.

Cohen, J, L. (1993). *Broken Bonds. The disintegration of Yugoslavia*, West view Press, Oxford.

- Cierco, T.(2009).*Europeanization Impact on Croatia's Course to Democracy*, Primavera, Nação e Defesa.
- European Commission,(2007).*Financial assistance is provided under the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance*, (IPA) .
- EU Commission (2014).*Financial assistance is provided under the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance*, (IPA) .
- Ginsberg,R. and Michael E. S.(2005). *Understanding the European Union As a Global Political Actor: Theory, Practice, And Impact,*" Princeton University.
- Gallagher, Tom,(2003).*The Balkans After The Cold War,From tyranny to tragedy*, Routledge Press, London and New York.
- Hudson, Kate.(2003). *Breaking the South Slav Dream*, Pluto Press, London.
- Ingra, W, C.(2009).*Confronting the Yugoslav controversies: A scholars' initiative*, Purdue university Press, USA.
- Job, C.(2002).*Yugoslavia's Ruin ,The bloody lessons of Nationalism* ,Littlefield Publishers, New York.
- Jovic, D.(2001) *The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: A Critical Review of Explanatory Approaches*, European Journal of Social Theory.
- Milacicic,F.(2020).*Europeanization and Statehood Problems: The Cases of Croatia and Serbia*, Cambridge University Press.
- Moga, T.L.(2009).*The Contribution of the Neofunctionalist and Intergovernmentalist Theories to the Evolution of the European Integration Process*, Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences.
- Nye, Joseph (2004). *Soft power and American Foreign Policy*, Political Science Quarterly.
- Pavkovic, A.(2000).*The Fragmentation of Yugoslavia*, Macmillan Press, Great Britain.
- Pavkovic,A.(2014).*Yugoslavs and European :A Tale of Two Supranational Identities*,Research Gate.
- Ramet, S.(1995).*Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia 1962-1991*,Indiana University Press, USA.
- Radaelli, C.M.(2003)*The Europeanization of Public Policy*. In Featherstone, K. and Radaelli, C.M. (eds) *The Politics of Europeanization* ,Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ramet, S.(2007)*The Dissolution of Yugoslavia: Competing Narratives of Resentment and Blame*,Journal of Politics and Society, Southeast Europe.
- Rupnik, J.(2011).*The Balkans as a European question*, European Union Institute for Security Studies.
- Singleton, F.(1993). *A Short History of*

*Yugoslav Peoples*, Cambridge University Press, USA.

Sigleton, F. (2006). *A short History of Yugoslav People*, Cambridge University Press, (1993), 23.

Sedelemeier, U. (2011). *Europeanisation in New and Candidate States*, Living Reviews in European Governance.

Schimmelfennig, F. and Engert, S. & Knobel, H. (2003). *Costs, Commitment, Compliance: Latvia, Slovakia and Turkey*, Journal of Common Market Studies.

Schimmelfennig, Frank and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2004). *Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe*, Journal of European Public Policy.

Schimmelfennig, F. and Sedelmeier, U. (2011). *Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe*. Journal of European Public Policy.

Vachudova, M. Anna, (2014). *EU Leverage and National Interests in the Balkans: The Puzzles of Enlargement Ten Years On*.

Vejvoda, I and Dyker, D.A, (1996). *Yugoslavia and After*, Longman, London.

Willer, Franke, (2002). *The Social Construction of the Man, the State and War*, Routledge Press, New York, London.