EUROPEANISATION: AN ANSWER TO GLOBALISATION[1]

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Abstract

Europeanisation has emerged as a prominent world order following great societal and economic transformations generated by the European Union. This has been the result of the composition and distribution of formal rules of the EU in the areas of politics, economy, technology and international relations. In this regard, Europeanisation includes the formation of democratic countries in a firm way, which is a pre-condition to be a part of the European Union. It also includes an efficient and modern decision making process for a fair and prosperous EU. While Europeanisation would strengthen the pressure of globalisation, it also provides a great potential for unearthing a well-networked and strong system of regional governance for the EU. It is evident in the article that Europeanisation has been a key respond to the challenges of globalisation, but it is unable to move beyond being a neo-liberal project in practice.

Key Words: *Europeanisation, Globalisation, European Union, European Integration*

Özet

Avrupalılaşma, Avrupa Birliği tarafından şekillendirilen toplumsal ve ekonomik değişimlerin büyüklüğü yüzünden önemli bir dünya düzeni olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Buna, AB içerisinde siyasi, ekonomik, teknoloji ve uluslararası ilişkiler ile ilgili informal kural ve düzenlemeler yanında resmi kuralların oluşumu ve dağılımı neden olmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Avrupalılaşma, AB'nin bir parçası olabilme adına gerekli bir önkoşul olan sağlam demokratik ülkelerin yaratılmasını içermektedir. Ayrıca daha

adaletli ve refah bir AB için etkili ve modern bir karar almayı da içermektedir. Avrupalılaşma küreselleşme baskısını daha güçlendirirken, AB'ne, bölgesel yönetiminde çok iyi bir network ve güçlü sistemini gün yüzüne çıkarması için büyük bir potansiyel sağlamıştır. Bu çalışmada da oldukça açıktır ki, Avrupalılaşma küreselleşmenin zorluklarına anahtar bir cevap niteliğindedir, ancak uygulamada yeni liberal proje olma adına daha ileri gitmede yetersizdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Avrupalılaşma, Küreselleşme, Avrupa Birliği, Avrupa Entegrasyonu*

Introduction

Globalisation and its different dimensions have been explored by almost all social sciences. The questions are often centered around how it affects the state, its institutions and its public policies. The existence of international and regional organizations is one of the most important characteristics of globalisation. As the most developed regional organization of its kind that the European Union (EU) could be considered as a prime example to explore the issue of regional approach to globalisation. What the relationship between globalisation and Europeanisation is, and how the EU member–states are affected by the interaction between these two international dynamics will be the main focus of this paper.

Europeanisation has taken on different meanings throughout modern history[3] and would manifest the term's diversified application in a variety of disciplines of social sciences ranging from history to economy.[4] The different historical meanings of what constitutes "Europe" and who are "Europeans" indicate the use of Europeanisation as a basis of separation for social, cultural and religious identities and interests within the broad geographical area.[5] The concept of "Europe" has become more heterogeneous in recent times. Can we say globalisation and Europeanisation are two sides of the same coin? Europeanisation and globalisation are multi-dimensional processes and their definitions are often quite general. Also, there is an agreement that globalisation and Europeanisation are closely related to each other, but there are variations in their understanding by different perceptions. It seems that the capacity of Europeanisation is often considered and used as a filter for a number of pressures imposed by globalisation. Moreover, as pointed out by Ladi Europeanisation "promote[s] policies and institutions that affect the same processes of globalisation towards a more socially just developments."[6] Therefore the aim of this paper is to explore the relationship between globalisation and Europeanisation through the analysis of the impact of the

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[3] Lars Mjøset, **The Historical Meanings of Europeanisation**, Oslo, Arena Working Paper, No: 24, 1997.
[4] Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe, "Cycles of Europeanisation in Turkey: The Domestic Impact of EU Political Conditionality, **UNISCI Discussion Papers**, Sayı 23, 2010, 129-148.
[5] Kevin Featherstone ve George Kazamias, **Europeanization and the Southern Periphery**, London, Frank Cass, 2001, s. 15.
[6] Stella Ladi, "Globalization and Europeanization: Analysing Change", http://www.psa.ac.uk/journals/pdf/5/2007/Ladi1.pdf (20.04.2012), s. 8.

Europeanisation on EU's new member states. First, the key terms for the paper are defined in the next section before focussing on the relationship between the two phenomena in the first part of analysis. The second part of the analysis will be devoted to the discussions on the impact of European integration on Europeanisation in general. Finally, the paper will conclude by arguing that there is a set of close-woven relationships between Europeanisation and globalisation.

The Core Dynamics of Globalisation

Despite the attention it has received in the last decade, globalisation is not a new phenomenon; one can speak about its permanent character as well as different chapters.[7] Globalisation has been used as a "buzzword [...] reflecting an important if yet poorly understood reality".[8] This is largely because globalisation is a term that contains many different meanings. There is a need to formulate a concise definition, while at the same time, it is important to accept that many definitions cannot be purely objective.[9] As David Held notes:

"Globalisation may be thought of initially as the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual".[10]

Although, the interconnectedness can be drawn as the main characteristic of globalisation, it is also broadly defined as the process of liberalisation and integration of markets into single world-wide entities.

In the last fifteen years globalisation has also been in the centre of the analysis of all theoretical approaches. The first group of theories on globalisation describes the weakening of the state and its replacement by new modes of governance of human society.[11] The second group of theories arose as a reaction to the excessive predictions of the first group of writers. They claim that nothing new is happening and that the sovereignty of the state remains the same.[12] Following the same logic, another argument is the changes that are observed are not because of globalisation but due to regional

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[7] Early forms of globalisation can be found in the ascent of the Roman and Parthian Empires, the Han Dynasty and the Ottoman Golden Age.

[8] Martin Rhodes, "Globalisation, Welfare States and Employment: Is there a European 'Third Way?'", Nancy Bermeo (der.), **Unemployment in the New Europe**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, s. 90.

[9] Jan Aart Scholte, **Globalization: A Critical Introduction**, New York, St. Martin's Press, 2004, s. 42.

[10] David Held, "Democracy and the Global System", David Held (der.), **Political Theory Today**, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991, s. 2.

[11] Held, **Ibid.**, s. 201. Susan Strange, **The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, s. 109.

[12] Chris Harman, "Globalization: A Critique of New Orthodoxy", **International Socialism**, 73, 1996, s. 9; Paul Hirst ve Grahame Thompson, **Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance**, Cambridge, Polity Press, s. 257.

integration such as the EU.[13] Finally, the third group of writers takes a midway position and supports the idea that the sovereignty of the state is not decreasing but that its functions and structures are changing within a more internationalized world.[14] The third approach provides a balanced understanding of the concept and the way it is implemented in a wide range socio-economic and political areas, because it recognises globalisation's multidimensional nature. In other words, this third approach recognizes the dual nature of globalisation, which is ideational and material. There is an agreement that liberalization is the main parameter of globalisation. Overall, the third approach would also form the main understanding of globalisation in this paper.

It is interesting to note that the understanding of the role of the EU in relation to globalisation also shows many variations. For some researchers, the EU and Europeanisation is seen as a response to globalisation.[15] In fact, according to this point of view, a strong Europe can function as a barrier to further liberalization and Americanization of the world. According to Schmidt[16], "for most European countries, the changes related to globalisation cannot be considered apart from those related to the regionalization represented by European integration". This does not imply that European integration was strengthened in order to oppose and confront globalisation. In fact, there does not seem to be much evidence of a voluntary and acknowledged acceleration of European integration as a response to globalisation. Nevertheless, looking at the processes and their political effects, one can realise that during the 1990s Europeanisation has increasingly meant, from a public policy perspective, trying to control and respond to globalisation.[17]

Europeanisation: More than an Integration and Harmonisation Project for Europe?

The impact of the EU is often described as Europeanisation. The term made its first appearance in the 1990s[18] in order to describe a process different from European integration and from harmonisation; these are concepts focusing on the domestic

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[13] James Anderson, "The Exaggerated Death of the Nation-State", James Anderson, Chris Brook ve Allan Cochrane (der.), **A Global World? Re-ordering Political Space**, Oxford, OUP, 1995, s. 66.

[14] Philip G. Cerny, "Globalization and Other Stories: The Search for a New Paradigm for International Relations", **International Journal** 51, Sayı 4, 1996, s. 617-637.

[15] Stephan Leibfried, "National Welfare States, European Integration and Globalization: A Perspective for the Next Century", **Social Policy and Administration**, Cilt 34, Sayı 1, 2000, s. 44-63.

[16] Vivien A. Schmidt, "Convergent Pressures, Divergent Responses: France, Great Britain and Germany Between Globalisation and Europeanisation", David A. Smith, Dorothy J. Slinger ve Steven C. Topik (der.), **States and Sovereignty in the Global Economy**, London, Routledge, 1999, s. 174.

[17] Paolo Graziano, "Europeanisation or Globalisation? Empirical Insights From the Italian Case", http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standinggroups/yen/paper_archive/1st_yen_meet_papers/graziano2001.pdf (04.06.2011), s. 4.

[18] Robert Ladrech, "Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France", Journal **of Common Market Studies**, Cilt 32, Sayı 1, 1994, s. 69-88.

adjustment of the member states to EU obligations. Andersen and Eliassen had talked about "europeification" in 1993.[19] There are various suggestions on the definition of Europeanisation in the literature. Risse et al.[20] choose the definition as "we define Europeanisation as the emergence and the development at the European level of distinct structures of governance" or it has been defined as "a process by which domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy-making".[21] Olsen shows the limitations of definitional exercises by arguing that Europeanisation is a set of model-building puzzles, not a set of definitional puzzles.[22] For Radaelli, Europeanisation is a process that draws in three important elements: construction, diffusion and institutionalization of,

"formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies".[23]

There are two possible misunderstandings of this definition. One is to reduce it to the analysis of how EU decisions impact on domestic political systems. Another is to extend it to the point that everything that goes on in Brussels can be seen as a manifestation of Europeanisation when analyzed from the point of view of domestic politics.[24] Börzel explains Europeanisation as a two way-process. It entails a "bottom-up" and a "top-down" dimension.[25] Bottom-up dimension emphasizes the evolution of European institutions as a set of new norms, rules and practices and top-down refers to the impact of these new institutions on political structures and processes of the Member States. Most of the analysis of top-down Europeanisation conducted before the 1990s revolved around the idea of tracking down the implementation of European policies. Overall, member states seek to shape European policy-making according to their interests and institutional traditions. However, it is important to note that at the same time they have to adapt their institutions to European legislation once the latter has been

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[19] Svein S. Andersen ve Kjell A. Eliassen, **Making Policy in Europe: The Europeification of National Policy-Making**, London, Sage, 1993, s. 255-256.

[20] Thomas Risse et al., "Europeanization and Domestic Change: Introduction", Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso ve Thomas Risse (der.), **Europeanization and Domestic Change**, New York, Ithaca, 2001, s. 1-20.

[21] Tanja A. Börzel, "Towards Convergence in Europe? Institutional Adaptation to Europeanization in Germany and Spain", **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Cilt 37, Sayı 4, 1999, s. 573-596.

[22] Johan P. Olsen, "The Many Faces of Europeanisation", **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Cilt 40, Sayı 5, 2002, s. 921-952.

[23] Claudio M. Radaelli, "Wither Europeanization: Concept Stretching and Substantive Change", **European Integration Online Papers**, Cilt 4, Sayı 8, 2000, http://eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2000-008.pdf, (03.06.2011) s. 4.

[24] Claudio M. Radaelli ve Romqin Pasquier, "Conceptual Issues", Paolo Graziano ve Maarten P. Vink (der.), **Europeanization**, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, s. 35-45.

[25] Tanja A. Börzel, "Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging and Fence-Sitting: Member States Responses to Europeanisation", **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Cilt 40, Sayı 2, 2002, s. 193-214.

enacted.[26] This creates an interesting dynamic for the way candidate countries and Member States response to the demands of Europeanisation, particularly in relation to the overall framework of globalisation.

Since its first use, no shared definition for 'Europeanisation' has emerged and those definitions, some of which are incorporated in our review in this paper, are often delimited to a specific article or book chapter.[27] The main reason for this is that overall, 'Europeanisation' has no single precise or stable meaning, which is largely because, as argued by some researchers, the term is so unwieldy that it is futile to use it as an organizing concept.[28] Based on this view that the paper perceives Europeanisation as a process of institution-building at the European level in order to explore how such a Europeanisation process impacts upon the member states.[29]

There are five possible processes of Europeanisation[30]:

1. *Europeanisation as changes in external territorial boundaries.* The European continent becomes a single political space, and Europeanisation means extending its borders;

2. *Europeanisation as development of governance institutions at European level.* This approach refers to a center with capacity for collective action, which involves a certain degree of political coordination and coherence;

3. *Europeanisation as central penetration of national and sub-national governance systems.* Europeanisation implies the adaptation of national and sub-national governance systems to the decisions of the European political center and European norms;

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[26] Adrienne Héritier, "'Leaders' and 'Laggards' in European Clean Air Policy", Brigitte Unger ve Frans van Waarden (der.), **Convergence on Diversity? Internationalization and Economic Policy Response**, Aldershot, Avebury, 1994, s. 278-305; Adrienne Héritier, Christoph Knill ve Susanne Mingers, **Ringing the Changes in Europe. Regulatory Competition and the Redefinition of the State: Britain, France, Germany**, Berlin/New York, Walter De Gruyter, 1996, s. 94.

[27] Börzel, **op.cit,** 1999, s. 574; Simon Bulmer ve Martin Burch, "The 'Europeanization' of Central Government: the UK and Germany in Historical Institutionalist Perspective", Gerald Schneider ve Mark Aspinwall (der.), **The Rules of Integration: Institutionalist Approaches to the Study of Europe**, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001, s. 73-96; Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Europeanization of Citizenship?", Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso ve Thomas Risse (der.), **Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change**, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2001, s. 180-197.

[28] Hussein Kassim et al., **The National Co-ordination of EU Policy**, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, s. 238.

[29] Tanja A. Börzel ve Thomas Risse, "Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe", Kevin Featherstone ve Claudio M. Radaelli (der.), **The Politics of Europeanisation**, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, s. 57-81.

[30] Olsen, **op.cit.**, s. 923-924.

4. *Europeanisation as the export of political organisation forms and governance.* Europeanisation refers to the relationship with non-European actors and institutions and to how Europe finds its place in a larger world;

5. *Europeanisation as a political project helps building a unified and stronger Europe.* The level where Europe becomes a more important political entity is linked to the territorial space, the internal adaptation, and to how the European developments have impact and are influenced by systems of government and events outside Europe.

In my opinion, although there is not necessarily positive correlation between the first four processes, the third one is the closest process for understanding the EU mirror in candidate countries, especially in Turkey.

Europeanisation process in the larger framework of globalisation can be well understood in terms of the significant position occupied by Europe from the point of trade, production, technology etc. The power of the Europeanisation movement is significantly filled by the important role and world position occupied by the European continent in various fields of activity. Mainstream contributions to the Europeanisation debate have relied on two main types of explanations in seeking to account for national patterns of Europeanisation: first, domestic variables and secondly, integration-related variables. The first covers a wide array of country-specific political, institutional and policy factors and (ranging from) macro-analyses, the latter probes the causal links between a country's experience of integration and specific patterns of Europeanisation.[31]

As long as the EU and its various constituent economies are interested in furthering their mutually beneficial economic and political interests with other countries of the world, so will the spirit of Europeanisation continue to be recognised and to proliferate. As its main rhetoric of the EU, it is often argued that by the continuation of its function as a cradle of strong, healthy individual democratic nations with inherently stable and strong systems in terms of rule of law, human rights, protection of minorities along with a functioning market economy, the character of Europeanisation will be strengthened in the light of the creation, existence and future role of the EU. However it can be argued that the validity and acceptanceness of this ideas were exposed to serious question marks, because although the EU tries to export these ideas especially, to the candidate countries and other third countries, it sometimes fails to implement the very same policy within its own member states.

In such a perspective we can embrace the theoretical argument to view the EU not as a unique phenomenon that requires a *sui generis* explanation, but as an advanced instance of regional cooperation.[32] In the discussions on the relationship between

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[31] Klaus H Goetz, "Territory", Paolo Graziano ve Maarten P. Vink (der.), **Europeanization: New Research Agendas**, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, s. 73-87.

[32] Andrew Moravcsik, **The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht**, New York, Cornell University Press, 1998, s. 4-5; Olsen, **op.cit.**, s. 932.

Europeanisation and globalisation, it is important to focus on the way the EU has created a number of externalities in the development of its policy and institutional framework. Overall, the creation of the EU has led to the various externalities. First it has been able to unify the founding European economies, to unleash business and technological potential, to be a stronger and more effective political control, to create a common currency, to allow mobility of Europeans with the intention of employment and trade, to act more sensitive in terms of corporate social responsibility, environmental protection measures, to create stable democratic countries and to effect decision making bodies for a fair and prosperous European Union. Knill and Lehmkuhl identified three main mechanisms by which the EU can lead to domestic change.[33] The first mechanism concerns institutional compliance where policies of "positive integration" are very prescriptive and demand that Member States adopt specified measures. The second mechanism of Europeanisation concerns changing domestic opportunity structures, whereby market-making policies of "negative integration" exclude certain options for domestic actors. The third mechanism of Europeanisation is through framing domestic beliefs and expectations, which change the political climate by stimulating and strengthening the overall support for broader European reform objectives, since changes in domestic beliefs can produce institutional adaptation over time.[34] Still, the EU has been most successful in terms of institutionalizing a system of governance that includes a large part of the continent.

Europeanisation on New Member States

Europeanisation is much more clear-cut in candidate countries than in older member states. In candidate countries, the accession process had a strong impact on the organisation of core executives. The EU also had a direct impact on fundamental principles of liberal democracy. The EU's political conditionality led to a much stronger impact on this aspect of the polity in the candidate countries. Börzel and Risse distinguish domestic change in response to Europeanisation in member states as three degress.

Absorption: Member states incorporate European policies or ideas into their programmes and domestic structures, respectively, but without substantially modifying existing processes, policies, and institutions. The degree of domestic change is low.

Accommodation: Member states accommodate Europeanisation pressure by adapting existing processes, policies and institutions without changing their essential features and the underlying collective understandings attached to them.

Transformation: Member states replace existing policies, processes, and institutions by new, substantially different ones, or alter existing ones to the extent that

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[33] Christoph Knill ve Dirk Lehmkuhl, "The National Impact of European Union Regulatory Policy: Three Europeanization Mechanisms", **European Journal of Political Research**, Cilt 41, Sayı 2, 2002, s. 255-280.
[34] Ebru Ertugal, "Strategies for Regional Development: Challenges Facing Turkey on the Road to EU Membership", **Turkish Policy Quarterly**, Cilt 4, Sayı 3, 2005, s. 63-86.

their essential features and/or the underlying collective understandings are fundamentally changes. The degree of domestic change is high.[35]

On the other hand, the EU's ability to influence patterns of democratisation in the candidate countries has been limited. Pop-Eleches argues that[36] different historical legacies explain the variation in democratisation outcomes, such as initial election outcomes, institutional choices and geographic diffusion. Other analyses that focus specifically on the EU's ability to promote democracy, human rights and minority rights in candidate countries find that the EU's influence has crucially depended on the regime type and the constellation of party systems in the candidates.[37]

As far as the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries were concerned, the chronology of enlargement was: early assistance after the fall of Communism; the conclusion of "Europe agreements" with the post-Communist states from 1991 onwards; the development of a "pre-accession" strategy on the part of the EU from 1993; applications for EU membership between 1994 and 1996; the development of a 'reinforced' accession strategy from 1997; the conclusion of "accession partnerships"; the opening of accession negotiations in March 1998 (or February 2000 in the cases of Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Slovakia); the conclusion of the negotiations in spring 2003, following the European Council in Copenhagen of December 2002; the signing of the Act of Accession in April 2003; and accession in May 2004.

As far as the EU impact on the policy (the public institutions of the state) is concerned, the experience of Western Europe would suggest that governmental-administrative institutions and linkage institutions have been most immediately affected. Linkage refers to "the institutional arrangements that link national executives and EU authorities and the institutional practices that have evolved at the national level to support national-EU connections".[38] CEE countries first had to adapt to Western organizational, functional, and decision-making norms before the democratizing and modernizing their parliamentary institutions. Later, national parliaments modernized legislation and aligned it with EU legal standards. They also adapted to decision-making models used in the EU's supranational institutions. While some of their formal powers were reduced, the national parliaments actively participated in EU matters.

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[35] Börzel ve Risse, **op.cit**, s. 71.
[36] Grigore Pop-Eleches, "Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change", **Journal of Politics**, Cilt 69, Sayı 4, 2007, s. 908-926.
[37] Judith Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions", **International Organization**, Cilt 58, Sayı 3, 2004, s. 425-457; Judith Kelley, **Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives**, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004; Frank Schimmelfennig, "Strategic Calculation and International Socialization: Membership Incentives, Party Constellations and Sustained Compliance in Central and Eastern Europe", **International Organization**, Cilt 59, Sayı 4, 2005, s. 827-860.
[38] Klaus H. Goetz, "European Integration and National Executives: A Cause in Search of an Effect", **West European Politics**, Cilt 23, Sayı 4, 2000, s. 211-231.

Through the accession negotiations and the conditions set for eastward enlargement, the EU affected several aspects of governance in CEE, including, *inter alia*, public policymaking processes and intra-governmental relations.[39] The EU's agenda in CEE had also become wider, as the Europeanisation approach involved the integration of CEEs through accession conditionality. Barnes and Barnes describe this process of conditionality as "the process of laying down and monitoring the conditions for new states to become members of the EU".[40] The conditions set at Copenhagen in 1993 went beyond those for any previous applicant, stating that not only do prospective members have to take on the "obligations of membership" (i.e. the *acquis communautaire)* but they also have to have a "functioning market economy" and "the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union", as well as "stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for and protection of minorities".

Europeanisation also affects the legislative activities in new member states. According to Caporoso,[41] the process of Europeanisation can be seen in five categories:

1. Policy change,

2. Structural change,

3. Normative change,

4. Change in state,

5. Constitutional change.

One of the most important effects of Europeanisation is the pressure of adaptation. In the process of European Integration in CEE, the role of national Parliaments has gradually shifted. The EU's impact in CEE appears more significant on national party systems.[42] In the process of Europeanising the CEEs, issues concerning the market have been important to the EU, but are not the foremost concern. The foremost concern has always been the establishment of political conditions conducive to liberal democracy. Such political conditions are a prerequisite for the EU to even open accession negotiations with applicant countries.[43] From the mid-1990s onwards, however, the EU

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[39] Heather Grabbe, "How Does Europeanization Affect CEE Governance? Conditionality, Diffusion and Diversity", **Journal of European Public Policy**, Cilt 8, Sayı 4, 2001, s. 1013-1031.
[40] Ian Barnes ve Pamela Barnes, "Enlargement", M Cini (der.), **European Union Politics**, 2. Baskı, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, s. 421-440.
[41] James Caporaso, **Third Generation Research and the EU: The Impact of Europeanization**, Presentation at the Conference on Impact of Europeanization on Politics and Policy in Europe, Toronto, Canada, May 7-9 2004.
[42] Milada Anna Vachudová ve Liesbet Hooghe, "Postcommunist Politics in a Magnetic Field: How Transition and EU Accession Structure Party Competition on European Integration", **Comparative European Politics**, Cilt 7, Sayı 2, 2009, s. 179-212.
[43] Frank Schimmelfennig et al., "The Impact of EU Political Conditionality", Frank Schimmelfennig ve U Sedelmeier (der.), **The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe**, New York, Cornell University Press, 2005, s. 29-50.

had much more impact when CEE governments introduced policies which conformed to the demands of the EU.[44] The EU had a strong and systematic impact on state institutions of CEE executives, legislatures, and judiciaries.[45] For example, Piana finds that the EU pressure for reform had an impact on the governance of the judicial branch and the governance of the court in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary.[46] However, it is important to recognise that the institutional settings and policy regimes in CEE countries vary in a great deal and their experience of Europeanisation has been primarily top down, leaving a limited space for the participation of domestic actors.[47]

Europeanisation and European Integration

There are two different approaches to identify the difference between Europeanisation and European Integration. On the one hand, Schmidt provides a conceptualisation that made the difference between Europeanisation and European integration explicit.[48] Europeanisation is conceptualised as the process of downloading EU directives, regulations and institutional structures to the domestic level. But it should be extended in terms of the EU shared beliefs, informal and formal rules, discourse, identities and vertical and horizontal policy transfer. On the other hand Olsen perceives very little difference between the concepts as he involves many aspects of European integration under the term Europeanisation.[49] Differences exist between Europeanisation and European integration, however they do continuously interact; for instance the development of supranational institutions can be seen as European integration.[50] Theories of integration focus on the issue whether European integration strengthens the state, weakens it, or triggers "multi-level governance" dynamics.[51] However, it would be possible to argue that there are differences between Europeanisation and European integration but there is also a dialogic and dialectical process between the two that is seamless. Similar to globalisation, the process of European Integration is a broad process embracing all three major areas of

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[44] Tim Haughton, "When Does the EU Make a Difference? Conditionality and the Accession Process in Central and Eastern Europe", **Political Studies Review**, Cilt 5, Sayı 2, 2007, s. 233-246.

[45] Radoslaw Zubek and Klaus H. Goetz, "Performing to Type? How State Institutions Matter in East Central Europe", **Journal of Public Policy**, Cilt 30, Sayı 1, 2010, s. 1-22.

[46] Daniela Piana, "The Power Knocks at the Courts' Back Door: Two Waves of Postcommunist Judicial Reforms", **Comparative Political Studies**, Cilt 42, Sayı 6, 2009, s. 816-840.

[47] Klaus H. Goetz, "The New Member States and the EU", Simon Bulmer ve Christian Lequesne (der.), **Member States and the European Union**, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, s. 254-280.

[48] Vivien A. Schmidt, "Europeanization and the Mechanics of Economic Policy Adjustment", **Journal of European Public Policy**, Cilt 9, Sayı 6, 2002, s. 894-912.

[49] Olsen, **op.cit.**, s. 948.

[50] Kerry E. Howell, "Developing Conceptualisations of Europeanization: Synthesising Methodological", **Queen`s Papers on Europeanization**, Sayı 3, 2004, s. 1-13.

[51] Börzel, **op.cit.**, 1999, s. 576-577.

political-legal structures, economy and civil society.[52] Although the processes of European Integration and Europeanisation are interrelated, but not equivalent.[53]

Scholars have also noted that Europeanisation is not restricted to the EU and its member states. According to Caporaso, the term Europeanisation was invented to fill "the conceptual difficulty of talking about the effects of Integration on domestic structures" and "like globalisation, Europeanisation is not one thing".[54] Europeanisation should not be confused with *convergence*, neither with harmonisation, nor with political integration. Convergence can be a consequence of European integration, but it must not be used synonymously with Europeanisation because there is a difference between a process and its consequences.[55] Overall, engagement with the EU changes the political systems of current and prospective member states, but, on the whole, the impact of Europe is 'differential'. The EU does not promote the progressive convergence of domestic political life amongst its members; because in their engagement with the EU individual states depart from very different starting conditions. The other reason is domestic variables, institutions, interests, ideas, identities, differ greatly and 'filter' integration pressures. And lastly, EU membership is not the same for all members, think only of the differences between small and large members or those who have adopted the Euro and those who have not.

In the studies of EU's external relations the process of Europeanisation is often implicitly present or assumed. Some have suggested that the expansion of EU governance beyond the EU constitutes a new perspective on the EU's international agency and scholars have found the concepts of "external" and "multilevel governance" valuable. These studies have focused, for instance, on EU's external relations in terms of trade, development aid, foreign, security and defence policies.[56] External governance is connected to the EU's aspirations to manage interdependence with its neighbouring states and other regional institutions. It is argued that external governance seeks to expand the impact of the EU with only limited openings of its institutions.[57] Relatedly, the multi-level governance literature argues that Europeanisation has enlarged the scope

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[52] Attila Ágh, "Parliamentarization as a Region-Specific Way of Democratization in East Central Europe", Susanne Kraatz ve Silvia von Steinsdorff (der.), **Parlamente und Systemtransformation im postsozialistischen Europa**, Opladen, Leske und Budrich, 2002, s. 43-62.

[53] Petra Guasti, "The Europeanisation of Parliaments in Central and Eastern Europe, Recon Online Working Paper, 2011/11, http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_1111.pdf?fileitem=5456465 (08.06.2011), s.2.

[54] Caporaso, **op.cit.**, s. 5.

[55] Radaelli, **op.cit.**, s. 5.

[56] Christopher Hill ve Michael Smith, "International Relations and the European Union: Themes and Issues", Christopher Hill ve Michael Smith (der.), **International Relations and the European Union**, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, s. 49; Charlotte Bretherton ve John Vogler, **The European Union as a Global Actor**, 2. Baskı, London, Routledge, 2006, s. 88.

[57] Frank Schimmelfennig ve Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Candidate Countries and Conditionality", Paolo Graziano ve Maarten P. Vink (der.), **Europeanization: New Research Agendas**, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007, s. 88-101.

of relevant units of policy-making and their ability to bypass states and recently scholars have focused on the applicability of the concept for theorizing EU foreign policy[58] and international role.[59] The importance of the new type of units is also highlighted by studies focusing on the EU's relations with other regions in the context of 'new regionalism' or 'interregionalism', often highlighting the interlinkage of regions as distinct actors with a distinct identity and institutional set up.[60] Within these accounts the role of the EU is underlined, as it is most developed regional actor with clear external policies including support for regionalization elsewhere.

The impact of the process of European Integration on European Politics and Internal Politics can be better understood in terms of the Positive Integration and Negative Integration.[61] Positive Integration, as the name suggests is a phenomenon, dealing with market-correcting rules. It includes within its purview policies aimed to correct the otherwise damaging effects of market processes such as pollution control, social policy, regional policy and veterinary policy which accompany the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP). Negative Integration concerns itself with the removal of national barriers necessary to create sufficiently strong national policy. In the process of Europeanisation, European legislation plays an integral role in putting policy into practice as a majority of these policies may be contained in European Treaties themselves. A discussion of the ways in which European space may be politically organized and governed presupposes that Europe as a *geographical* concept, the external boundary of Europe as a space or territory, can be delimited and defined.[62] European transformations are not limited to the EU and its Member States or to western Europe. Cross border relations have been, and still are, managed through a variety of transnational regimes and institutions besides the EU.[63]

Conclusion

Europeanisation is a reaction to the challenges of globalisation. In other words, with both Europeanisation and globalisation on the reference points and perceptions could be quite different from each other, depending on a particular ideology or socio-economic perspective. To overcome such an impasse, we would need to specify not only what Europeanisation is but also what it is not. Europeanisation is not political integration and would not exist without European integration. European integration and

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[58] Michael Smith, "Toward a Theory of EU Foreign Policy-Making: Multi-Level Governance, Domestic Politics, and National Adaptation to Europe`s Common Foreign and Security Policy", **Journal of European Public Policy**, Cilt 11, Sayı 4, 2004, s. 740-758.

[59] Michèle Knodt, "International Embeddedness of European Multi-Level Governance", **Journal of European Public** Policy, Cilt 11, Sayı 4, 2004, s. 701-719.

[60] Julie Gilson, "New Interregionalism? The EU and East Asia", **European Integration**, Cilt 27, Sayı 3, 2005, s. 307-326; Björn Hettne et al., **Globalism and the New Regionalism**, London, Macmillan, 1999, s. 68.

[61] Simon J. Bulmer ve Claudio M. Radaelli, "The Europeanisation of National Policy?", **Queen's Paper on Europeanisation**, Sayı 1, 2004, s. 1-22.

[62] Christer Jönsson et al., **Organizing European Space**, London, Sage, 2000, s. 7.

[63] Helen Wallace, "Europeanisation and Globalisation: Complementary or Contradictory Trends?", **New Political Economy**, Cilt 5, Sayı 3, 2000, s. 369-382.

the resulting Europeanisation can be seen as defensive strategy in the context of globalisation. It must be recognized that "European integration" in itself covers a wider range of processes and institutions. Not restricting the concept of Europeanisation solely to the impact of the EU has the advantage of being able to apply the same methodological tools for larger processes within Europe, and for other cases of regional integration.

Broadly speaking the discussion above has tried to analyse major features of the two processes, globalisation and Europeanisation. With a strong emphasis on modernisation and sustainable development, these processes bring about changes in individual states of economic development. European states remain challenged by the process of European integration. Thereby, European states - members and non-members of the EU-are confronted with the important and still unsolved question about the consideration of future policies vis a vis globalisation. While Europeanisation will further strengthen globalisation pressures it also permits the EU to exhibit great potential to emerge as a well-networked and strong system of regional governance.

Finally, globalisation and European integration are primarily understood as vectors of ever further integration of markets since market opening tends to favour the interests of capital over those of labour. European integration in particular has been characterised by a dynamic of "negative integration" which fosters an ever increasing integration of markets and deregulation, whereas measures of "positive integration" that should regulate or balance the negative impact of market liberalisation have played a significantly smaller role. In line with such a view it could be concluded that the consequences of European integration are similar on the impact of "globalisation" or "economic internationalisation" upon domestic politics.

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