

EUROPEAN UNION'S PRACTICE TURN IN "GREEN" POLICIES IN THE WESTERN BALKANS ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS

Miljana Đurčević Cucić*

¹Faculty of Political Sciences University of Belgrade, Republic of Serbia
e-mail: miljana.djurceviccucic@fpn.bg.ac.rs



Abstract: The European Union's (EU) diplomatic practice stands out as a unique and distinct approach, setting it apart from other diplomatic practices. Putting the European Green Deal at the center of the whole-of-government approach and steering the EU into accelerating the implementation of Agenda 2030 makes this distinction even more realistic. This paper aims to delve into its core aspect, particularly its role in elevating "green" policies to the forefront of the accession negotiations with the Western Balkans (WB). This research, utilizing the theory of practice approach, describes the recent "turn" in EU policies and investigates if the EU is a true and innovative leader on this topic in the Western Balkans (WB). In this context, the first concern is whether the WB truly acknowledges the EU as a crucial leader to follow in transforming green policies. The second concern is whether the EU is guiding and directing the WB through the accession negotiations to become sustainable and greener, intending to achieve a shared goal. Based on the research evidence, the paper situates the EU strategically in the regional landscape by scrutinizing the tangible aspects of its leadership through the lens of the modes of leadership theory. As a result, this paper elucidates how and why the EU is diplomatically leading the green transformation through WB accession negotiations, and it considers the potential success of the 2050 climate-neutral European continent. Establishing regional and international practices in green policies significantly contributes to the EU's position in the global order, and recognizing the EU as a leader underscores its unique diplomatic nature.

Keywords: EU diplomacy, Treaty of Lisbon, European Green Deal, Western Balkans, theory of practice, leadership theory.
Field: Social sciences.

1. INTRODUCTION

The primary investigative objective is to evaluate whether the European Union (EU) plays a crucial role as a diplomatic leader in achieving Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals. The EU and its member states not only carry out activities in the international arena but also extend their reach beyond its borders, employing various foreign policy tools. The Treaty of Lisbon came into force in 2009, marking the core year for the "turn" in practice. In 2019, the European Commission (EC) adopted the European Green Deal (EGD) as a transformative growth strategy, leading the EU to achieve climate neutrality. This marks the second pivotal year for the shift in practice. The Treaty of Lisbon is a cornerstone for the diplomatic legitimacy of the EU, considering the new diplomatic structure and its true innovative nature compared to other international actors. At the same time, the Lisbon Treaty delegated significant formal leadership functions to the EU for its performance in the "wider world," according to Article 2. The EU utilizes the EGD as one of its tools to build a modern, resource-efficient, clean, circular, and competitive economy in order to achieve Agenda 2030.

Additionally, the accession negotiations with the Western Balkans are considered one of the leading foreign policy tools for reaching Agenda 2030 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). This unique diplomacy that the EU is performing toward external partners could be defined as green diplomacy. The EU negotiates to achieve sustainable development goals and establish itself as the first climate-neutral continent by 2050. This consists of adopting specific policies and strategies and obligatory targets for successful implementation, firstly within the EU (so-called Principle of Integration) and afterward through diplomatic channels and instruments to spread the influence over the EU border (Cardiff Process). It means that countries that intend to become part of the EU need to align with EU policies in all specificities. The EU includes sustainable development as a core principle through the Treaty on the European Union and as a priority objective for the Union's internal and external policies, mirrored in the European Green Deal.

Furthermore, the EU's role in shaping the global 2030 Agenda, which has become the world's blueprint for sustainable development, was instrumental. Moreover, the European Commission, appointed for the five-year period in 2019, adopted "a whole-of-government approach," or a comprehensive approach, as a holistic and cross-sector policy approach that needs to be pursued in partnership with

*Corresponding author: miljana.djurceviccucic@fpn.bg.ac.rs



all stakeholders at all levels. This approach ensures political oversight and coordination efforts across government and at all levels, from global to local, for the implementation of the SDGs while taking into account the interlinkages between them. To ensure such policy coherence, it is essential to integrate the economic, social, environmental, and governance dimensions of sustainable development at all stages of domestic and international policymaking. The quality of public administration plays a crucial role in these efforts (A Comprehensive Approach, 2020). In addition, all commissioners need to consider sustainable development once they create and adopt decisions regarding their competencies. Having said that, the EU fully commits to implementing Agenda 2030 and actively supports development assistance to achieve these goals beyond its borders. The substance of this intention of reaching goals beyond EU borders puts it in the position of the potential leader. The subsequent explanation will delve into the nature of this leadership and its recognition within the WB.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research section focuses on scrutinizing specific materials to analyze the EU's accession negotiations policy. Firstly, the theory of practice, as a practice and an instrument of influence towards the Western Balkan region, can be widely applied to the activities of the EU. Secondly, the leadership theory evaluates the EU's recognition as a true leader in the green transition and its role in guiding and directing the Western Balkans (WB) through accession negotiations towards a shared goal of climate neutrality. In the practice theory, Adler and Pouliot defined several elements that a particular action needs to fulfill to become a practice. First, practice is a performance, a process of doing something. Second, this performance is patterned, generally exhibiting certain regularities over time and space. These patterns are part of a socially organized context, giving them meaning and structuring interaction. Third, practice is more or less competent in a socially meaningful and recognized way. Thus, social recognition is a fundamental aspect of practice; its (in)competence is not inherent but attributed to and through social relations. The notion of performance implies that the public, or an audience, can appraise the practice. Fourth, practice rests on background knowledge, which it embodies, enacts, and reifies all at once. Finally, practice weaves together the discursive and material worlds. Without language, communication, and discourse, people could not tell the difference between behavior and practice (Adler&Pouliot, 2011, pp.7-8).

By putting the EU's actions throughout this pattern and all these elements of the theory of practice, we confirm that activities the EU is taking beyond its borders regarding sustainable development are eventually becoming international practices. One of the foreign instruments on this path is the accession negotiation policy. By application of these elements of the practice, it could be concluded that this policy with certainty became a practice in the last few decades (Đurčević Cucić, 2023). The accession negotiation process is a performance, and it is not static. It has also been repetitive and patterned since the first enlargement in 1973. It is also competent and socially recognizable in the candidate countries and potential candidates, as is the eagerness to become a part of this European family. Finally, it manifests through the organizational chart of the regular negotiation process, including established negotiation frameworks, Stabilization and Association Committees and Sub-committees, peer review missions, and annual reporting from the European Commission and European Parliament.

On the other hand, leadership theory elucidates the modes and specificities that an individual aspiring to a leadership position must master. Starting with the definition, Avery states that leadership is a process in which an actor purposely seeks to influence and guide activities in a group toward collective goals, decisions, and desired outcomes (Avery, 2004, p.22). Nye defines leadership as "the power to orient and mobilize others for a purpose" (Nye, 2008, p.19). Consequently, people perceive a leader as an actor who guides or is in charge of others (Nye, 2008, p.18). In this way, people perceive the EU as a leader who can inspire others towards a specific goal, such as implementing Agenda 2030 and SDG and achieving climate neutrality in Europe by 2050. In addition to this argument, the EU occasionally named itself a "global leader" in climate change and sustainable development policies when it represented its priorities in the United Nations. However, to claim the title of "leader," one must receive acceptance and recognition. Parker and Karlsson define several types of leadership that could be applied to this research. The first mode is structural leadership, which relies on the capacity to take action or deploy power resources that create incentives, costs, and benefits that may sway other actors to change their behavior. The second mode is idea-based leadership, characterized by problem naming and framing, agenda-setting efforts, and discovering and proposing joint solutions to collective problems. The third mode is directional leadership, which means leading by example and demonstrating specific policy prescriptions' feasibility, value, and supremacy. The fourth and final mode is instrumental leadership, which refers to

an actor's ability to promote the formation of coalitions, solve negotiation problems, and build bridges necessary to broker deals (Parker, Karlsson, & Hjerpe, 2017, p.242; Parker & Karlsson, 2014). The text below elaborates on this leadership framework by describing the EU's position in the WB region regarding implementing the EGD.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Arguing that the EU is the leader in implementing the Agenda 2030 comes from the valuable available resources. The assumption that accession negotiations serve as a tool to achieve the goal of becoming a global leader also receives confirmation. To determine the EU's leadership role, we need to provide answers to two primary questions. The first question is whether the EU is guiding and directing the WB through accession negotiations to become sustainable and greener in pursuit of a common goal: climate neutrality. The second is whether the WB recognizes the EU as a green transition and transformation leader.

Regarding the first question, the European Union prioritizes the European Green Deal, a growth strategy aimed at achieving climate neutrality and economic prosperity. The EU adopted the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans and An Economic and Investment Plan for the Western Balkans as a core instrument for delivering EGD regionally (An Economic and Investment Plan for the Western Balkans, 2020). Additionally, the European Commission presented the working document with specific guidelines for implementing the Green Agenda for the WB (Guidelines for the Implementation of the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans, 2020). It is based on the pre-accession funds and foresees the inclusion of environmental goals from the Green Deal in all activities for economic recovery. At the Western Balkan Summit in Sofia in 2020, as part of the Berlin Process, the heads of state and governments from the Western Balkans adopted this plan as a unique declaration (Sofia Declaration on the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans, 2020). The EU and each of the Western Balkans partners should view the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans as a blueprint for potential measures based on the existing political and technical cooperation frameworks, particularly the Stabilization and Association Agreements, the Negotiation Frameworks, and Economic Reform Programs. The Agenda should enable the Western Balkans and the EU to create stronger links between climate and environmental actions, policy reforms, and EU approximations. It should also guide the definition of financial and technical assistance strategies at both the bilateral and regional levels. Furthermore, the EU has been leading the way in the transition toward a climate-neutral economy and has much to offer in terms of experience with decoupling economic growth from resource use. The EU's experience, know-how, and resources can support the Western Balkans in their efforts to enhance resilience and adapt to the unavoidable impacts of climate change while also achieving synergies with the clean air objectives (one-atmosphere approach). In line with the European Climate Law, climate neutrality will be reflected in the EU's bilateral relations and accession negotiations with the Western Balkans, who should already now start transforming their societies accordingly (Guidelines for the Implementation of the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans, 2020, 2-3). By creating, adopting, and delivering this specific framework of envisaged activities for the WB, the EU intended to structurally influence the process of adaptation and implementation of policies within the WB region. Additionally, the EU intends to replicate the EGD in the region and, in alignment with EU policies, push forward the reformation and transition of societies toward a greener and cleaner environment. Therefore, the answer to the first question is that the EU naturally guides its actions towards fulfilling defined priorities. It uses the Green Agenda for the WB as a specific tool of influence to bring about regional transformation and a positive impact in achieving Agenda 2030 and the SDGs. The instrument of accession negotiations is perceived as crucial in simultaneously making an impact both regionally and globally.

Regarding the second question, it is challenging to assess the true nature of EU leadership since no such evidence could confirm that citizens of the WB accepted this EU role. Adoption and confirmation are the primary conditions for being a leader. However, specific results arose from the decisions made and implemented by WB as part of the negotiation process. Indeed, the WB intended to become a part of the EU once they started negotiations, which ultimately led to the conclusion that the EU is recognized as a leader. If this were not the case, the negotiation process would not be valuable, realistic, or appropriate. Therefore, the process of accession negotiations closely links the EU's leadership in the WBs. Since the obligations from the accession negotiations Framework and Stabilization and Association Agreements and Economic Reform Programs are essential and cannot be overlooked, candidate countries are aware of the efforts that should be pursued to become "greener." Adopting specific politics, decisions, and strategies is part of the Green Agenda for the WBs and arises from this framework and the negotiation chapters

dedicated to sustainable development. The implementation process as part of the negotiations with the EU does not consist of voluntary steps by the governments of the WB. It is part of mandatory settlements prescribed in the negotiation framework. Therefore, whether or not the leadership of the EU is sincerely accepted, it is prescribed. This questionable stance of the leader could also be estimated by looking at the results of the latest polls regarding support for EU accession. According to the latest polls, the support in the WB towards accession to the EU is variable. In North Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, 68% of the population would vote for EU accession in a referendum, 79% would do so in Montenegro, while the percentages in Kosovo* (This designation is without prejudice to positions on status, and is in line with UNSCR 1244/1999 and the ICJ opinion on the Kosovo declaration of independence). and Albania are 89% and 92% of the population, respectively. Serbia is an exception since only a plurality of 40% of the population would support joining the EU, while 34% would vote against it. However, the question regarding citizens' attitudes toward the reality of the EU membership perspective provides a different picture. In Serbia, 54% of citizens believe that the EU is not serious in its intention to offer membership in the European Union. In North Macedonia, that percentage is 47%, compared to 34% of people who believe that the EU is serious about enlargement. The public in Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided (44% believe that the EU is serious compared to 42% who believe it is not), while in Albania, Montenegro, and Kosovo, the majority of the population - between 54% and 62% - believes that the EU is serious about offering membership to the Western Balkan countries (Western Balkan Regional Poll, 2024). From this perspective, the leadership of the EU is subject to change across the region due to significant variations in support for accession. It is also a matter of the countries' conditions regarding human rights and the rule of law, the state of democracy, and living conditions that are currently not high in quality. For instance, the citizens' opinion in Serbia on EU accession and the seriousness of the EU in terms of enlargement are closely connected to the citizens' satisfaction with the government, employment, and social policy; opinion toward the Russia-Ukraine conflict; and traditionally strong bond with Russia. Considering only the EU policy on Russia, it is clear why the percentages are low or high depending on the questions. There is no evidence to support the EU's leadership position in the transition to green policies. However, as previously mentioned, the primary outcome of the accession negotiations is the execution of these crucial policies, potentially signifying the implicit acknowledgment of leadership.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Returning to the paper's beginning, it is highlighted that there were two practice "turns" in the EU regarding the green policies and transition to climate-neutral Europe. The Treaty of Lisbon was, with certainty, one of the significant game-changers in regional integration on the global scene. With a new institutional framework consisting of a High Representative, the European External Action Service, and the Delegation of the EU, groundbreaking changes were made. With the explicit declaration of who will represent the EU in which branches and in what capacity, the legitimacy and representation of the EU became unquestionable. Therefore, the practicality of EU diplomacy shifted towards expanding its influence beyond the EU borders. Secondly, adopting the EGD and the composition of the European Commission, appointed in 2019, led to another practice turn, especially in terms of green policies. By using this practice approach and engaging in negotiations with other parties and third countries, the EU aimed to increase its influence and establish itself as a leader in the field. By structurally influencing the WB's political, economic, and social system, the EU achieved a specific position of structural leadership. The second part of this paper's definition of different types of leadership recognizes the EU as a structural leader, as it instrumentalizes the accession negotiations to influence WB societies. Despite the lack of concrete data on the acceptance of this leadership role from WB entities, it is clear that the EU's ongoing accession negotiations, compliance with EU legislation, and commitment to implementing the Green Agenda for the WB, along with the specific funds received through the Instrument for Pre-accession, validate this leadership position.

As for the EU, it could also be stated that in order to exert its influence on the WB, it utilizes structural diplomacy. Keukeleire and colleagues define structural diplomacy as the process of dialogue and negotiation by which actors in a system seek to influence or shape structures in the various relevant sectors (political, legal, social, economic, security, and other) and on the various relevant levels (individual, societal, state, regional, global) (Keukeleire, Thiers & Justaert, 2009). In this context, we can deduce that the EU functions as a structural agent, striving to persuade the Western Balkans (WBs) to implement structural modifications in their political, social, and economic systems. As defined previously, structural leadership relies on the capacity to act or deploy power resources that create incentives, costs, and benefits that may sway other actors to change their behavior. The EU acknowledges all these points

as part of its efforts to assist and support the WB. The EU provided the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance as a special incentive and benefit to change WB behavior and increase the implementation success rate of the 2030 Agenda and dedicated SDGs. Furthermore, the term "structurally" in structural diplomacy has three key aspects of performance and goals that are recognized through the activities of the established diplomatic structure by the Lisbon Treaty and implemented over WB. These elements are the objective to influence or shape structures, the objective to have structural or sustainable effects, and the enduring character of the objectives and diplomatic efforts (Arnout&Keukeleire, 2010, p.3). The EU delivers these elements both within the WB and globally. EU diplomacy's specificity and unique nature have been a matter of debate for years, and in reaching a global leadership position, there must be different ways of "doing things." Smith has repeatedly emphasized that the EU aims to lead its diplomacy differently to establish itself as a global actor in the international arena (Smith, 2017, p.126; Smith, 2016, p.313). This intention of the EU to settle as a leader and perform a global impact in terms of green transition is also visible in other instruments used toward other partners. This is evident in the EU's development policy, which serves as an instrument of its foreign policy. The European Consensus on Development, updated in 2017, serves as the primary development tool for supporting and assisting countries in need, particularly developing countries (European Consensus on Development, 2017). Also, the EU Global Strategy adopted in 2016 put sustainable development at the heart of the EU's external action (Mackie, Gavas, Koch, Hackenesch & Maxwell, 2016; EU Global Strategy, 2016). One of the essential instruments used by the EU is also the inclusion of the EU citizens into discussions about the EU's sustainable future, known as the dialogue on the Future of Europe, which is one of the indicators of its specific nature and way of creating policies and consequently external actions (Stefanović-Štambuk, 2023). The EU has already established itself as a global leader in climate change policy, owing to its pivotal role in the negotiations of the 2015 Paris Agreement (Ugur, Kadir Cener & Aksoy, 2016; Bevziuc, 2020; Bremberg & Michalski, 2024). Brandi (2018) estimates that the EU's leadership in this matter is directional.

Having said that, the accession negotiations and the political responsibilities arising from the negotiation framework assert the EU's leadership position in the WBs concerning green policies. If one country intends to be part of the EU community, fulfilling all preconditions is an obligation. The European Green Deal is just one small segment in a broad spectrum of EU policies. However, even a concrete examination of the citizens' attitude toward EU leadership regarding green transition is missing due to different factors and the complexity of the task; it could be concluded that besides the structural leadership that the EU is pursuing toward the WB region and beyond the mentioned typology of leadership, a specific "reformative" leadership (author's emphasis) exists. This means that progress and development in WB are impossible without EU influence due to the probable lack of political will and the current state of play in the region regarding the crucial aspects of quality of life. The WB region is constantly under reformation, revision, or assessment through the EU actions and examinations. It is not necessary to achieve the overall transformation of WB societies. However, reforming these societies remains necessary as a specific driving force. Reformative leadership entails the implementation of change based on the incentives provided by the proclaimed leader, fostering progress, and ensuring the continuity of reformation within the political and economic framework. Although not explicitly stated in any policy or guidelines, reformative leadership is an ongoing process essential for future cooperation and collaboration between the EU and WB. Therefore, through its unique diplomatic role, the EU gains recognition as a leader when we reach a consensus on the pace of implementing each policy, which it transfers to third countries, and their precise alignment during the negotiation process. The nature of the EU leadership in the WB could be assessed as idea-based and instrumental if the specific policies are observed. For instance, this is the case in the Belgrade-Pristina dialogue. However, we cannot agree on the success and effectiveness of this process, nor can we conclude that citizens genuinely believe in this leadership. However, the leadership that the EU intends to obtain collides with the nature of the definitions of these types of leadership. Finally, the practices implemented within the EU in 2009 and 2019 primarily helped the EU position itself as a structural leader in the WB regarding the green transition, as well as a leader in other parts of the world by providing development assistance and support. The accession negotiations are just one of the instruments used by the EU to explore the role of the global leader in sustainable development, as in the so-called green policies in reaching the goal of climate neutrality by 2050. This paper examines the various specificities that the EU possesses and performs in the international scene, highlighting the unique nature of its diplomacy. By declaring higher standards and ambitions than other international actors, such as reaching climate neutrality by 2050, the EU uses its diplomatic nature to put itself in the position of a global leader that others need to look up to. Given the instruments used and their global effectiveness, the EU's potential success in reaching this goal is realistic.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work is supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation Republic of Serbia [grant number 451-03-66/2024-03 from 26 January 2024]

REFERENCES

- Adler, E. & Pouliot, V. (2011). International Practices. *International Theory*, 3(1), 1-33.
- Avery, G.C. (2004). *Understanding Leadership Paradigms and Cases*. London, SAGE Publications
- Bevziuc, V. (2020). The European Union as a Leader in International Climate Change Politics. *Compartimentul Moldoscopie*, 2(89), 10-23.
- Brandi, C. (2018). EU Climate Leadership? Europe's Role in Global Climate Negotiations. Dans C. Leggewie, & F. Mauelshagen, *Climate Change and Cultural Transition in Europe* (219–244). Brill.
- Bremberg, N. & Michalski, A. (2024). The European Union Climate Diplomacy: Evolving Practices in a Changing Geopolitical Context. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 1-30.
- Đurčević Cucić, M. (2023). The European Union's enlargement policy changes in the last decade – a successful international practice or dysfunctional transformation?. *SCIENCE International journal* 2(3), 97-103. doi:10.35120/sciencej0203097d
- European Commission. (2017). European Consensus on Development. Retrieved from https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/european-development-policy/european-consensus-development_en/ - European Consensus on Development
- European Commission. (2020). An Economic and Investment Plan for the Western Balkans. Retrieved from https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/document/download/30108255-efa8-4274-962a-c24faee32734_en?filename=communication_on_wb_economic_and_investment_plan_october_2020_en.pdf
- European Commission. (2020). Commission staff Working Document Delivering on the UN's Sustainable Development Goals A comprehensive approach. Retrieved from https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2020-11/delivering_on_uns_sustainable_development_goals_staff_working_document_en.pdf. – A comprehensive approach
- European Commission. (2020). Guidelines for the Implementation of the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020SC0223>
- European External Action Service. (2016). Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy. Retrieved from https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eugs_review_web_0.pdf /- EU Global Strategy
- International Republican Institute. (2024, May 14). Western Balkans Regional Poll February-March 2024. Retrieved from <https://www.iri.org/resources/western-balkans-regional-poll-february-march-2024-full/> - Western Balkans Regional Poll
- Justaert, A., & Keukeleire, S. (2010). Structural Diplomacy, Contextual Difference, and the Process of Learning. Porto: Institute for International and European Policy University of Leuven.
- Keukeleire, S., Thiers, R. & Justaert, A. (2009). Reappraising Diplomacy: Structural Diplomacy and the Case of the European Union. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 4 (2), 143-165.
- Mackie, J., Gavas, M., Koch, S., Hackenesch, C., & Maxwell, S. (2016). The European Union's global strategy: Putting sustainable development at the heart of EU external action. European Centre for Development Policy Management.
- Nye, J. (2008). *The Powers to Lead*. Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Parker, C. & Karlsson, C. (2014). Leadership and International Cooperation. In Eds, R. A. W. Rhodes & P. Hart. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Leadership* (580-594). Oxford, Oxford Academic. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199653881.013.026>
- Parker, P., Karlsson, C. & Hjerpe, M. (2017). Assessing the European Union's global climate change leadership: from Copenhagen to the Paris Agreement. *Journal of European Integration* 39 (2), 239-252. DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2016.1275608
- Regional Cooperation Council. (2020, November 10). Sofia Declaration on the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans. Reiterate at October 2024, Regional Cooperation Council: <https://www.rcc.int/docs/546/sofia-declaration-on-the-green-agenda-for-the-western-balkans-rn>
- Smith, M. (2016): European Union Diplomacy. In Eds. C, M, Constantinou, P, Kerr & P, Sharp. *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy* (308-318). London: SAGE Publication
- Smith, M. (2017). The EU, Strategic Diplomacy and the BRIC Countries. In Eds. M, Smith, S, Keukeleire & S, Vanhoonacker. *The Diplomatic System of the European Union: Evolution, Change and Challenges* (115-128). London: Routledge
- Ugur, O., Dogan, K. C. & Aksoy, M. (2016). European Union as a Leader in Climate Change Policy: Assessing Europe's Roles in the World. *European Scientific Journal*, 12(5), 285-296.
- Стефановић-Штамбук, Ј. (2024). Расед савршеног круга владавине Европске уније на Западном Балкану дипломатијом Европског зеленог договора. Политичка ревија. Published ahead of print.: <https://doi.org/10.5937/pr83-53356>