

, 2018.

University of Belgrade
Faculty of Political Sciences

Ivana D. Radi Milosavljevi

The European Union in the Politicization
Process

Doctoral Dissertation

Belgrade, 2018

: . , , -

:

1. , ,
2. . , , , -
3. . , , -

:

:

1980-

.

,

,

,

,

.

,

.

,

,

.

,

—

—

,

.

,

.

,

,

.

:

,

,

,

,

,

.

:

:

: 061.1 EU:32 (043.3)

321.7:061.1 EU (043.3)

The European Union in the Politicization Process

Abstract: Since the end of the 1980s, the intensifying of the politicization process has been one of the important characteristics of the EU integration process. The politicization in the EU is understood as the way of contesting and decision-making on public issues, the way that is opposite to the elitist and technocratic mode of decision-making, typical for the first decades of EU integration. Thus, the politicization, and also the politicization in the EU, is grasped as complementary to the public character of modern politics, especially with democracy.

The European union is conceptualized as an extremely compound and non-centralized political system of a non-state type with the elements of consensus democracy and with a deeply segmented society as its basis, divided by national and many transnational lines. Within that society, as well as within its political institutions, the politicization process has been developing which has been influencing the functioning of the system considerably. We explore the experiences of politicization in other compound, consensus democracies in Europe – Belgium and Switzerland – and by comparing the specific cases of politicization, we are searching for the possible specific characteristics of politicization in the EU that stem from its described nature. Also, we are analyzing the possible impact of such politicization on the future of integration and politics in the EU.

Although not always contributing to deepening of integration, the politicization in the EU, under specific circumstances, could have a democratizing effect. It serves as the opportunity for stimulating the debates on important issues and articulating the will of the citizens while the adequate forms of participation in the political process are still missing in the EU. In addition, we discuss the potential impact of the politicization of European issues on the gradual creation of the European public sphere or the Europeanisation of the national public spheres, as well as on the Europeanisation of society and emergence of the European political identity among the EU citizens.

Key words: European Union, politicization, compound political systems, consensus democracy, public, society

Scientific field: Political Sciences

Scientific subfield: European studies

UDC number: 061.1 EU:32(043.3)

321.7:061.1 EU (043.3)

E

	.....	1
	.....	3
I	.....	4
1.	.....	4
1.1	.....	8
2.	.....	11
3.	.....	19
4.	-	23
II	.....	36
1.	:	.....37
2.	:	.....45
2.1	.....	48
III	.....	70
1.	:	.....70
1.1	„coming-together“	.....70
1.2	.....	86
1.3	„holding-together“	.....97
1.4	.....	109
1.5	.....	117
2.	.....	120
2.1	-	120
2.2	.....	126
2.3	.....	132
IV	a :	.....166
V	: :	.....179

.....	193
.....	193
.....	200
.....	201
.....	207

1.	(%)..	44
2.		
	.....	50
3.	(2014 -)	53
4.	(2018.).....	56
5.	(2014-2019)	63
6.	, 2017	78
7.	.....	100
8.	.....	100
9.	(2017).....	104

I

1.

1980-

1990-

1

” “

, (: , 2007), 151.

2014.

(. *EUobserver, Euractiv, The New European*)

2

(David Easton)

3

2005.

³ David Easton, „A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support“. *British Journal of Political Science* 5, 4 (1975): 444.

(*Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande, Hanspeter Kriesi*)

⁴ Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi, Eds., *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 6.

1.1

2008.

1960-

(*Giandomenico Majone*)

e e e

, ...

5

21. :
, 2010), 19-35.

2008. , Ulrich Beck, *German Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), , Claus Offe, *Europe Entrapped* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015). , Jürgen Habermas, *The Crisis of the European Union: A Response* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).

2.

⁹ a

¹⁰

⁹ . , Pieter de Wilde and Michael Zürn, "Can the Politicization of European Integration be Reversed?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50, 1 (2012): 137-153.

¹⁰ . , , „ *partisanship*

Stefano Bartolini, „The nature of the EU legitimacy crisis and institutional constraints: defining the conditions for politicisation and partisanship“ in Olaf Cramme, *Rescuing the European Project: EU Legitimacy, Governance and Security* (London: Policy Network, 2009), 62. . , Hooghe, Lisbet and Gary, Marks, *A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Kriesi)

„ “

11

(

(

).

1987.

1991. 1993.

(Philippe C. Schmitter),

1960-

(. *spill-over*),

¹¹ Hanspeter Kriesi, „Conclusion: The Political Consequences of the Polarization of Swiss Politics“, *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015): 739.

“ ().¹²

’ ”

...

” “

’

’

“ ().¹³

’

” “ ” “

.

.

’

’

’

’

.

’

’

’

’

(Liesbet Hooghe, Garry Marks) ,

’

—

.

” “ ”

“ („constraining

dissensus“)

”

¹² Philippe C. Schmitter, “Three Neo-Functional Hypotheses about International Integration”, *International Organization* 23, 1 (Winter, 1969): 166.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 166.

“ 14

“ 15

(Stefano Bartolini)

“ 16

¹⁴ Liesbet Hooghe and Garry Marks, „The neo-functionalists were (almost) right: politicization and European integration“, in *The Diversity of Democracy: Corporatism, Social Order And Political Conflict*, eds. Colin Crouch and Wolfgang Streeck, 205-222 (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2006).

¹⁵ Simon Hix, “Why the EU needs (Left-Right) Politics? Policy Reform and Accountability are Impossible without it” in Simon Hix and Stefano Bartolini, *Politics: The Right or the Wrong Sort of Medicine for the EU?*, Policy paper No. 19 (Notre Europe, 2006).

¹⁶ Stefano Bartolini, “Should the Union be ‘Politicized’? Prospects and Risks”, *Ibid.*, 46-47.

·
,
e
,
,
,
,
,
”
J
;
J
;
J
” “ ” “
·
,
·
,
· — —
“17
” “

18

¹⁷ Jürgen Habermas, *Europe: the Faltering Project* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 162.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*167.

19

„The Crisis of the European Union: a Response“,

20

21

¹⁹ Ibid. 183.

²⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Crisis of the European Union: A Response*,

28-53.

²¹

() , : , (- : , 2016), 121 .

2016. (Swen Hutter),
(Edgar Grande) (Hanspeter Kriesi) *Politicizing Europe:
Integration and Mass Politics.*

40

”
()
“²²
1970- ,
1980- , “ (.
punctuated politicization).

1.

”

“²³

2.

²² Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds. *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*, *op.cit.* 279.

²³ *Ibid.* 281.

3.

4.

5.

24

25

: (1)

, (2)

”

“

, (3)

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.* 284.

).²⁶

, ,
, ,

3.

Michael Zürn)

(*Pieter de Wilde and*

- (. 1997),

(1985).²⁷

: „...“

, (, (

).

/ „28

²⁶ *Ibid.* 290-291

²⁷ Pieter De Wilde and Michael Zürn, “Can the Politicization of European Integration be Reversed?”, 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

(.)

’ ()“²⁹

30

(Simon Hix)

31

²⁹ Bratoljub Klai , *Rje nik stranih rije i* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1978), 1066.
³⁰ *Ibid.* 1066.
³¹ . Simon Hix, *What’s Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix it* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008).
“ . 85 – 109.

(partisanship)

(partisanship)

. , /
 (.) ,
 ().
 , ,
 - ,
 , , , ,
 . ,
 - ,
 .
 , ,
 “ () , ,
 , .
 ,
 .
 , ,
 , ,
 , ,
 .
 /
 .
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 () . ,
 (, , ,

...)

4. -

(.

)

(,)

(Arend Lijphart)

34

(process tracing)

(politics)

34

, 2003), 102-105.

).

,

.

,

,

.

.

,

,

,

.

,

,

,

,

.

,

.

.

,

,

35

(

),

36

35

,

,

.

:

(

),

(

,

),

(

).

—

36

/

1992.

:

European

Commission,

Public

Opinion,

http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=266&nationID=11,1,27,28,17,2,16,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,30,15,&startdate=1992.04&enddate=2013.05 (

: 16.12.2013).

;
38

37

2008. 2011.
: European Commission, *Public Opinion*
http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=6&nationID=11,1,27,28,17,2,16,18,13,32,6,3,4,22,33,7,8,20,21,9,23,34,24,12,19,35,29,26,25,5,14,10,30,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2012.11,
16.12.2013.

38 (Hanspeter Kriesi Alexander H. Trechsel) (Badie, Bertrand
and Pierre Birnbaum)

. Hanspeter Kriesi and Alexander H. Trechsel, *The Politics of Switzerland: Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

2017.

2008.

2000-

’ ’ ’

.

’

’

’

’

’

’

’

.

’

’

’

.

—

’

’

.

’

(

,

,

,

.)

’

’

.

’

.

”

“

’

(

.

,

)

.

,

.

’

.

”

“

’

’

’

.

’

(

)

.

.

’

, .

, .

()

” “

” “

” “

” “

” “

” “

” “

” “

” “

” “

2014.

³⁹ . Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds. *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*.

⁴⁰ Vivien A. Schmidt, „In the Light and Shadow of the Single Currency: European Identity and Citizenship“, Chapter for Giovanni Moro, ed. *The Other Side of the Coin: The Euro and Citizenship*, (Continuum, 2012), : <http://blogs.bu.edu/vschmidt/publications/>, : 21.12.2013.

II

, . ,

,

.

,

,

,

” “

” “ , .

,

.

,

,

,

(,

).

()

,

1. :

41

42

41

3

42

Ibid. 82-86.

, 2001), 70.

. () (/)

.

.

,

/ , ,

,

,

, , , ,

.

.

/

” “ (J. H. H. Weiler)

” ... ’ ,

, , , , , , ,

, , , , , ,

,

“43

, 1979.

⁴³ 294/83, *Parti ecologiste, “Les Verts” v. European Parliament (1986)*, (: , 2002), 33.

(1993)

(2009):

”

„⁴⁴

2014.

”

“

(*Spitzenkandidat*)

„⁴⁵

”

—

(

)

(

).

1993.

46

⁴⁴ . 8 . „Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community“.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶

(*UNASUR*)

47

48

49

UNASUR, „South American Citizenship Project consolidates its initial steps“, 07.08.2016.
<http://www.unasursg.org/en/node/858>.

(ECOWAS).

47 , 23-25.

48 , Ben Rosamond,
Theories of European Integration (London, New York and Shanghai: Palgrave, 2000).

49 , 24-26.

1. ” “

;

2. ,

;

3.

; ,

4. ,

.50

,

”

“

“⁵¹

,

—

,

,

,

”

“

.

,

— ”

“

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

...“ 52

53

(Juan Díez Medrano),

() “54

⁵² *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵³

⁵⁴ Juan Díez Medrano. „Social Class and Identity“, in *Sociology of the European Union*, eds. Adrian Favell and Virginie Guiraudon, 28-49 (London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 31-32.

1992. 50% 9-10%.

1. /	1992.	1996.	2000.	2004.	2005.	2016. ⁵⁶
	40.0	53.3	39.5	41.4	41.0	39
	47.3	35.4	47.5	46.9	48.0	51
	6.1	5.5	6.3	6.9	7.0	6
	3.2	3.5	3.4	3.1	2.0	2
	3.4	2.3	3.2	1.8	2.0	1

: Eurobarometer (European Commission) Juan Díez Medrano. „Social Class and Identity“.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 37.

⁵⁶ European Commission, „Report“. *Standard Eurobarometer 85* (Spring 2016), European Union. ISBN 978-92-79-63621-9, doi:10.2775/720961.

“

57

,

,

,

(.

).

,

,

(

).⁵⁸

,

,

,

.

”

,

“⁵⁹

2.

:

/

60

,

⁵⁷ Juan Díez Medrano. „Social Class and Identity“, 40.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

60

:

, 97.

(.).

- (-)

(Olivier Costa & Paul Magnette)

”

“

”

(

”
61

“

),

(),

().

⁶¹ . Olivier Costa and Paul Magnette, „The European Union as a consociation? a methodological assessment“, *West European Politics* 26, 3, (2003): 3-4.

.67

.68

.69

2.1

„ :
(. *Power-sharing*),

();
“ 70

⁶⁷ Arend Lijphart, „Democratic Political Systems: Types, Cases, Causes and Consequences,“ *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, 1 1989: 39.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ . Olivier Costa and Paul Magette, „The European Union as a consociation? a methodological assessment,“ *op.cit.* 14.

⁷⁰ Arend Lijphart, „Democratic Political Systems: Types, Cases, Causes and Consequences“, *op.cit.* 41.

(.

,

).

/

.⁷¹

,

,

—

—

.

,

power-sharing- .

—

1999. (

2003.)

)

—

”

-

“,

..”

-

“(

2.).

”

—

“

(

):

„1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

...

„72

”

-

“

:

⁷¹

,

:

, 102-105.

⁷² Ibid. . 76.

„1.

2.

3.

...

4.

5.

„73

2.

74

⁷³ *Ibid.* 76-77.

⁷⁴

„ - „ , , „ - „

()	

: Matthijs Bogaards. „Comparative Political Regimes: Consensus and Majoritarian Democracy“, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2016). Mar 2017. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.65

2014.

” “ ‘ ’ ” “
” “ ‘ ’ ” “
” “ ‘ ’ ” “
” “ ‘ ’ ” “

” “ . , , () ,
). 28 () ,

” “ . , .
 , , .
 (3.).

” “ () ,
 , .

14 , ,
 , 8
()

(ALDE) .

” “

ALDE .

(. 4.).

” “

3. (2014 -)⁷⁵

(Jean-Claude Juncker),	CSV - Chrëschtlech Sozial Vollekspartei,	
(Frans Timmermans),	Partij van de Arbeid - Dutch Labour Party,	()
(Federica Mogherini),	Partito Democratico, ⁷⁶	()
(Kristalina Georgieva),	,	
(Andrus Ansip),	⁷⁷ ,	, ALDE
(Maroš Šef ovi),		()

⁷⁵

: http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019_en

: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/portal/en>, (: 11.7.2016.)

⁷⁶ Camera dei deputati, „Mogherini Federica – PD“, : 11.7.2016.
http://leg16.camera.it/29?shadow_deputato=302831

⁷⁷ BBC News, „Estonia PM Ansip resigns - Europe's longest-serving PM“, 4.3.2014.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26430899>

<i>(Valdis Dombrovskis),</i>	<i>Vienot ba,</i>	
<i>(Jyrki Katainen),</i>	<i>,</i>	
<i>(Günther Oettinger)</i>	<i>- (CDU),</i>	
<i>(Johannes Hahn)</i>	<i>,</i>	
<i>(Cecilia Malmström)</i>	<i>Folkpartiet,</i>	<i>, ALDE</i>
<i>(Neven Mimica)</i>		<i>()</i>
<i>(Miguel Arias Cañete)</i>	<i>Partido Popular,</i>	
<i>(Karmenu Vella)</i>	<i>Partit Laburista,</i>	<i>()</i>
<i>(Vytenis Andriukaitis)</i>	<i>Lietuvos Socialdemokrat Partija,</i>	<i>()</i>
<i>(Dimitris Avramopoulos)</i>	<i>,</i>	
<i>(Marianne Thyssen)</i>	<i>- ,</i>	

<i>(Pierre Moscovici)</i>	<i>Parti Socialiste,</i>	<i>()</i>
<i>(Christos Stylianides)</i>	<i>Dimokratikós Sinagermós, DISY,</i>	
<i>(Phil Hogan)</i>	<i>Fine Gael</i>	
<i>(Jonathan Hill)</i>	<i>,</i>	
<i>(Violeta Bulc)</i>	<i>,</i>	<i>, ALDE</i>
<i>(Elżbieta Biedrońska)</i>		
<i>(Věra Jourová)</i>	<i>ANO 2011,</i> <i>78</i>	<i>, ALDE</i>
<i>(Tibor Navracsics)</i>	<i>Fidesz,</i>	
<i>(Corina Crețu)</i>	<i>,</i>	<i>()</i>
<i>(Margrethe Vestager)</i>	<i>-</i> <i>,</i>	<i>, ALDE</i>
<i>(Carlos Moedas)</i>	<i>,</i>	

⁷⁸ Andrew Gardner, „Czechs choose Věra Jourová for European commissioner“, European Voice, 21.7.14., <http://www.politico.eu/article/vera-jourova-to-be-czech-republics-european-commissioner/>

: European Commission. „The Commissioners“.

1.3.2018.

https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019_en.

„

2018.

ALDE,

(4.).

(*EPP*)

4. (2018.)

	/		
	<i>MICHEL Charles</i>		<i>ALDE</i>
	<i>BORISSOV Boyko</i>		<i>EPP</i>
	<i>Mr BABIŠ Andrej</i>	<i>ANO</i>	<i>ALDE</i>
	<i>LØKKE RASMUSSEN Lars</i>	<i>VENSTRE,</i>	<i>ALDE</i>

	<i>MERKEL Angela</i>	-	<i>EPP</i>
	<i>RATAS Jüri</i>		<i>ALDE</i>
	<i>VARADKAR Leo</i>	Fine Gael	<i>EPP</i>
	<i>TSIPRAS Alexis</i>		/
	<i>RAJOY BREY Mariano</i>		-
	<i>MACRON Emmanuel</i>	<i>En Marche!</i>	<i>EPP</i>
	<i>PLENKOVI Andrej</i>		/
	<i>GENTILONI Paolo</i>		<i>PES</i>
	<i>ANASTASIADES Nicos</i>	<i>Democratic Rally</i>	<i>EPP</i>
	<i>KU INSKIS M ris</i>	<i>Liep ja Party</i>	<i>EPP</i>
	<i>GRYBAUSKAIT Dalia</i>		/
	<i>BETTEL Xavier</i>		<i>ALDE</i>
	<i>ORBÁN Viktor</i>	<i>Fidesz</i>	<i>EPP</i>
	<i>MUSCAT Joseph</i>		<i>PES</i>
	<i>RUTTE Mark</i>		<i>ALDE</i>
	<i>KURZ Sebastian</i>		<i>EPP</i>
	<i>MORAWIECKI Mateusz</i>		
	<i>COSTA António</i>		<i>PES</i>

: „EU Who is Who: the official directory of the European Union“,

1.3.2018.

<http://europa.eu/whoiswho/public/index.cfm?fuseaction=idea.hierarchy&nodeID=264075&lang=en>

() .
,

82

81

” “

82

, 99, Hanspeter Kriesi and Alexander H. Trechsel, *The Politics of Switzerland: Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy*, 89-93.

(, , -). ,
 ,
 . ,
 ”

“ . ,
 . ,

(.
).

,
 .
 .
 ,
 ,
 — . ,
 ,
 : - . ,
 :
 - , - , - ,
 ,
 . ,
 ,
 .
 ,
 ,
 .
 ,
 .

1958. (. 223)

83

5%.

2004., 2007. 2013.

⁸³ . European Parliament. „Union of Democratic Change: Reform of the electoral law of the EU“. 20.2.2018. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-union-of-democratic-change/file-reform-of-the-electoral-law-of-the-eu>.

5. (2014-2019)

<i>EPP</i> – ()	221
<i>S&D</i> –	191
<i>ECR</i> –	
<i>ALDE</i> –	67
<i>GUE/NGL</i> – /	52
<i>Greens/EFA</i> – /	50
<i>EFDD</i> –	48
	52

85

:

(.

)

„ „ ,
 „ „
 „ : (1)

⁸⁴ . , EURACTIV, „EU institutions preparing staff nationality quotas,“ 24.6.2016.
<https://www.euractiv.com/section/public-affairs/news/eu-institutions-preparing-staff-nationality-quotas/>.

⁸⁵ European Parliament, „Results of the 2014 European elections“, : 3.3.2017.
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/election-results-2014.html>.

(2)

(3)

(4)

⁸⁶

(Peter J. Katzenstein) – „

“ „

“⁸⁷

(Wolfgang Streeck)

“

”

“⁸⁸

”

“⁸⁹

(Gerda Falkner)

“

“⁹⁰

⁸⁶ , : , *op.cit.*, 191-192.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 192.

⁸⁸ Wolfgang Streeck, “The study of organized interests: before ‘The Century’ and after”, in *The diversity of democracy: corporatism, social order and political conflict*, eds. Colin Crouch and Wolfgang Streeck, 3-45 (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006), 23.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Gerda Falkner, „Collective participation in the European Union: the ‘Euro corporatism’ debate“, in Colin Crouch and Wolfgang Streeck, *The diversity of democracy: corporatism, social order and political conflict*, 224.

()).

2011.

2017.

11300

().⁹³

⁹³ European Commission, „Transparency Register“, 26.3.2018.
<http://ec.europa.eu/transparencyregister/public/consultation/statistics.do?locale=en&action=prepareView>.

⁹⁴ . . 2 . Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty n European Union nd the Treaty Establishing he European Community (2007/C 306/01).

” “ 95 ,
/

.
. ,
,
(
, ...)

III

1.

1.1

, „coming-together“

1. 1999. (. 2014.)

26

()

46.

”

“⁹⁶

„coming-together“

⁹⁷

), 1848.

(),

1874.

(1891.),

⁹⁶ . 43 .1 : Constitute, : 30.3.2017.

https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Switzerland_2014?lang=en

⁹⁷

, 1998).

1999.

(1.),

3.

1.1.1

() -

200

46 .99

98

1891.

and Alexander H. Trechsel, *The Politics of Switzerland: Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy*, 4-5.

99

150.2

Obwalden, Nidwalden, Basel-Stadt, Basel-Landschaft,

Appenzell Ausserrhoden and Appenzell Innerrhoden

, , . ,
 ()
 (). , ,
 , ,
 ,
 () „
 “ 1959. 2003. .
 ,
 – (2:2:2:1) . 2003. ,
 , 2003.
 (SVP)
 . 2008.
 ” “
 - ,
 SVP.
 , „2:2:2:1“
 SVP, (SP) / (FDP),
 (CVP).
 ,
 .
 , 1999.
 ,
 .
 , 1999.

(2017.)

SVP.

1.1.2

26

)

1848.

1891.

43

„

“

100 (Lehmbruch),

„ 101

1929. 1943.

19.

¹⁰⁰ Hanspeter Kriesi and Alexander H. Trechsel, *The Politics of Switzerland: Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy*, 7.

¹⁰¹ Gerhard Lehmbruch, „Consociational Democracy and Corporatism in Switzerland“, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 23, 2 (Spring 1993): 45.

(). , ,

” “
102 ,

103

1.1.3 :

. 137.

” “
147.

: ” ,

¹⁰² Christian Suter, Silvia Perrenoud, René Levy, Ursina Kuhn, Dominique Joye, Pascale Gazareth, *Swiss Social Report 2008: Switzerland Measured and Compared* (Zurich: Seismo Press, 2008): 150.

¹⁰³ SWI, „Atlas maps out political divide,“ 12.11.2004. <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/atlas-maps-out-political-divide/4196524>.

„ 104

Swiss Political Science Review

105

(A. Vatter),

SVP (

)

„ 106

90%

107

104

<https://www.admin.ch/opc/en/classified-compilation/19995395/201702120000/101.pdf> (: 11.7.2017)

105 . „Consensus Lost? Disenchanted Democracy in Switzerland“, *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015).

106 Hanspeter Kriesi, „Conclusion: The Political Consequences of the Polarization of Swiss Politics“, *op.cit.* 724.

107

„9. 2015.

233

(94.7%)

(6.).

6. , 2017

-	33	-	13
(PDC)	29	(PDC)	13
	43		12
(UDC, SVP)	68	(UDC, SVP)	6
	12		1
(BD)	6	(BD)	1
	7	/	/

:

-

108

SVP.“ , „ 1. 2016. 211 246 (85.8%).“ Nenad Stojanovi , „Party, Regional and Linguistic Proportionality Under Majoritarian Rules: Swiss Federal Council Elections“, *Swiss Political Science Review* 22, 1 (2016): 42. doi:10.1111/spsr.12208.

¹⁰⁸ The Federal Assembly — The Swiss Parliament, „Council Members since 1848,“ 19.7.2017.

https://www.parlament.ch/en/ratsmitglieder?k=*

109

()

”

“ 110

147.

(),

” “ ().¹¹¹

178.3

¹⁰⁹ . Gerhard Lehmbuch, „Consociational Democracy and Corporatism in Switzerland,“ 52.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹¹¹ . 89.5 100.2 .

() ,

.

,

(Pascal Sciarini),

,

:

”-

;

-

(, .) ;

;

-

/

,

“¹¹²

(Wolf Linder)

” -

“ - ¹¹³

,

,

,

,

,

“ ¹¹⁴

”

¹¹² Pascal Sciarini, Manuel Fischer and Denise Traber, *Political Decision-Making in Switzerland: The Consensus Model under Pressure* (London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 55.

¹¹³ Wolf Linder, *Swiss Democracy: Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies*, Third Edition, Revised and Updated, (London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 139.

¹¹⁴ Pascal Sciarini, Manuel Fischer and Denise Traber, *Political Decision-Making in Switzerland: The Consensus Model under Pressure*, *op.cit.*, 1.

115

, ()

,

,

1970-

116

,

,

,

”

“

,

,

”

“ 117

.

,

”

“

,

,

,

,

—

—

1970-

2001-2006.

,

”

¹¹⁵ Christian Suter, Silvia Perrenoud, René Levy, Ursina Kuhn, Dominique Joye, Pascale Gazareth, *Swiss Social Report 2008: Switzerland Measured and Compared*, 132-133.

. . . . FORS, „Social Report 2012“, : 9.3.2018. <https://socialreport.ch/2012/4political-reshaping/labour-union-strength-and-industrial-conflicts/degree-of-organisation-in-labour-unions-by-country.html>.

¹¹⁶ Pascal Sciarini, Manuel Fischer and Denise Traber, *Political Decision-Making in Switzerland: The Consensus Model under Pressure*.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 238.

(, , .),

“¹¹⁸

1970-

:

1.

2.

3.

¹¹⁹

1960-

“(AUNS)”

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 242.

¹¹⁹ Pascal Sciarini, Manuel Fischer and Denise Traber, *Political Decision-Making in Switzerland: The Consensus Model under Pressure*, 29-31.

120

26

121

122

1960. 2011.

....

120

„Presse Club Schweiz“, „EU-Nein“ „Schweiz für Unsere Kinder“. Clive H. Church, *The Politics and Government of Switzerland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 87.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 98-99.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 99.

... , (.)...
, - , (. , ,).¹²³
 ,
 ,
 (.)
 ,
 ,
 .
 ,
 ,
 (. *Société suisse de radiodiffusion et
télévision*). (, ,)
 ,)
 , , *Swissinfo*
 .
 ,
 , .

1.1.4

¹²³ Linards Udris, Jens Lucht and Jörg Schneider „Contested Elections in Increasingly Commercialized Media. A Diachronic Analysis of Executive and Parliamentary Election News Coverage in Switzerland“, *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015): 582.

1.2

1.2.1

„ „ 2015.

124

()

„ „

(SVP)

„

125

¹²⁴ Sean Mueller, Adrian Vatter und Markus Freitag, „Symposium: Switzerland’s New Challenge – Governing After the 2015 Elections“, *Swiss Political Science Review* 22, 1 (2016): 3.

¹²⁵ Clive H. Church, *The Politics and Government of Switzerland*, *op.cit.*, 185.

126 ()

127

128 *GAL-TAN* (*Green-alternative-libertarian vs traditional-authoritarian-nationalist*).¹²⁸

1970- (*New Left*),

¹²⁶ Lucas Leemann, „Political Conflict and Direct Democracy: Explaining Initiative Use 1920-2011“, *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015): 597.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 596–611.

¹²⁸ , Simon Bornschie, „The New Cultural Conflict, Polarization, and Representation in the Swiss Party System, 1975–2011“, *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015): 684.

(), ()
(SVP)
SVP,
132

SVP

133

¹³² Urs Geiser, „Major pension reform wins majority in parliament“, SWI, 16.3.2017.
https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/pensions_major-pension-reform-wins-majority-in-parliament/43033960.

¹³³ Thomas Milic, Thomas Reiss et Daniel Kübler en collaboration avec Anke Tresch, Laura Scaperrotta, Lukas Lauener, Georg Lutz et Oliver Lipps, „Enquête VOTO relative à la votation populaire fédérale du 24 septembre 2017“.
VOTO (Aarau, Lausanne et Lucerne). http://www.voto.swiss/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/VOTO_Bericht_24_09_2017_FR_reduced.pdf.

1960- , (Baby Boom).

,

,

,

.

,

.

“

”

:

,

,

,

,

,

2017.

,

,

134

,

,

135

,

,

134 (SGB/USS), 16 ,

(Travail.Suisse), ,

(SGB/USS) (Travail.Suisse).

(La Société des employés de commerce)

47000 (LCH).

135 .

“ “ :

http://www.uss.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/FDI_Lettre_femmes_contre_PV2020_Brief_Frauen_gegen_AV2020.pdf.

(: 7.3.2018.)

136

137

138

139

: 52.7%

¹³⁶ SGB/USS, „L’Assemblée des délégué(e)s de l’USS dit clairement Oui à PV 2020“, AVS Prévoyance professionnelle“, Communiqués de presse. 24. 3. 2017. <http://www.uss.ch/themes/politique-sociale/avs/article/details/lassemblee-des-deleguees-de-luss-dit-clairement-oui-a-pv-2020/>.

¹³⁷ : (UPS), (economicsuisse) (SGV/USAM).
UPS: Martin Kaiser, „Non au démontage de l’AVS“. *Revue de presse*. 17.7.2017. <https://www.arbeitgeber.ch/fr/politique-sociale/non-au-demontage-de-lavs/>.

¹³⁸ , SGV/USAM
„Arguments contre la réforme“. 7.3.2018. <https://www.sgv-usam.ch/fr/grands-axes-politiques/politique-sociale/ahv-generationenallianz/die-nein-argumente.html> „Ce que coûte la réforme de l’AVS“. 7.3.2018. https://www.sgv-usam.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/deutsch/2017/kampagnen/av2020/20170707_beilage-mm_faktenblatt_kosten-av2020_fr.pdf

¹³⁹ „Un compromis raisonnable. Appel à la défense des retraites“. <https://www.compromis-raisonnable.ch/>. (5.3.2018.)

141

2014.

50.3%

, 12

5

142

(SVP, AUNS),

¹⁴¹ Duc-Quang Nguyen. „Defining the 25% foreign population in Switzerland“. SWI. 19.11.2017. https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/society/migration-series-part-1-_who-are-the-25-foreign-population-in-switzerland/42412156.

¹⁴² . L'Assemblée fédérale — Le Parlement suisse. „Contre l'immigration de masse. Initiative populaire“. : 5.3.2018. <https://www.parlament.ch/fr/ratsbetrieb/suche-curia-vista/geschaefft?AffairId=20120098>.

143

121

SVP

144

¹⁴³ . Année Politique Suisse. „Initiative de l’UDC ‘contre l’immigration de masse’“. : 5.3.2018.
<https://anneepolitique.swiss/fr/prozesse/33761-initiative-de-l-udc-contre-l-immigration-de-masse#article-55267>

¹⁴⁴ . : L’Assemblée fédérale — Le Parlement suisse.
„Banque de données sur le détail des votes – Les votes nominatifs au Conseil national“. : 5.3.2018.
<https://www.parlament.ch/fr/ratsbetrieb/abstimmungen/abstimmungs-datenbank-nr?BusinessNumber=16.027>.

2014.¹⁴⁵

„
RASA (*Raus aus des Sackgasse*),
“
2014.

„
“¹⁴⁶
“ (*ASIN/AUNS*),
”

100.000
2018.
16. 2018.

2017.

¹⁴⁵ The Local. „Swiss press criticize Bern’s ‘capitulation’ on immigration“. 22.9.2016.
<https://www.thelocal.ch/20160922/swiss-press-criticize-berns-capitulation-on-immigration>

¹⁴⁶ Le Conseil fédéral. Le portail du Gouvernement Suisse. „Le Conseil fédéral rejette l’initiative populaire "Sortons de l’impasse!" et se prononce pour le principe d’un contre-projet direct“. Berne, 26.10.2016.
<https://www.admin.ch/gov/fr/accueil/documentation/communiques.msg-id-64266.html>.

SVP,

()

1.3

„holding-together“

¹⁴⁷ Le News. „New initiative to keep foreign workers out of Switzerland“. 15.6.2017. <https://lenews.ch/2017/06/15/new-initiative-to-keep-foreign-workers-out-of-switzerland/>

1.3.1 :

1830.

coming-together

”

“

holding-together

20.

1993.

1.

¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁹

¹⁵⁰

¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ . 1. : https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Belgium_2014?lang=en

(: 19.4.2017).

¹⁴⁹ . . 4. .

¹⁵⁰ . . 3. .

¹⁵¹ Kris Deschouwer, *The Politics of Belgium: governing a divided society*, 60.

8.).¹⁵²

: - ()

1975. ¹⁵³ - ,

1995.

(.)¹⁵⁴

/ . ,

¹⁵²

: Kris Deschouwer, Lieven De Winter, Jérémy Dodeigne, Min Reuchamps & Dave Sinardet, “Measuring (sub)national identities in surveys: some lessons from Belgium”, Paper presented at the conference *The State of the Federation 2015*, 18 December 2015, Université de Liège.

2014. , 41,7%

42,7 .

8.7% 2.1% . . 11

¹⁵³ Kris Deschouwer, Lieven De Winter, Jérémy Dodeigne, Min Reuchamps & Dave Sinardet „Measuring (Sub)National Identities In Surveys: Some Lessons From Belgium“, Paper presented at the conference *The State of the Federation 2015*, 18 December 2015 – Université de Liège. <http://www.absp.be/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Deschouwer-et-al-Measuring-subnational-identities-in-Belgium.pdf>. 8.

¹⁵⁴ . . 10-11.

, (7.).
(8.).

7.

	1995	1999	2003	2004	2007	2010	2014
	1,5	2,30	3,6	3	1,6	4,4	2,1
	9,4	11,3	8,3	11	6,1	5,0	6,9
	44,7	41,8	39,7	31	38,0	21,1	42,7
	25,3	22,0	18,3	13	19,9	22,8	11,7
	19,1	22,5	30,0	42	34,4	46,7	36,6
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

: Kris Deschouwer & al., „Measuring (Sub)National Identities In Surveys: Some Lessons From Belgium“.

8.

	1995	1999	2003	2004	2007	2010	2014i	2014p

	3,6	7	7,2	7	7,3	8	6,8	8,7
	23,1	22,4	23,3	29	27,4	27,4	24,3	18,4
	45,3	42,2	42,3	45	35,5	41,3	38,7	41,7
	17,2	13,3	15,1	8	17,0	12,4	16,7	8,0
	10,8	15,1	12,1	11	12,7	10,9	13,1	23,2
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

: Kris Deschouwer & al., „Measuring (Sub)National Identities In Surveys: Some Lessons From Belgium“.

,
 . ” “ , -
 () ,
 . , ,
 .
 ,
 ” “
 (.) . , ,
 , ,
 . ,

()

2016.

(*Marc Hooghe*),

: „

„155

1.3.2

:

(*Arwine, Alan T. and Mayer, Lawrence C.*),

1919. 1960-

¹⁵⁵ Marc Hooghe. „Belgium’s absent national identity comes at a price: Why are Belgians so willing to believe they live in a failed state?“. Politico. 31.5.16. <https://www.politico.eu/article/belgiums-absent-national-identity-comes-at-a-price-failed-state-terrorist-attacks-brussels/>

(, .)

156

1960-

157

”

“

,

,

,

,

”

“

,

Volkunie

,

Rassemblement

Wallon, Front Démocratique des Burxellois d'Expression Française

158

”

“

(9).

28

”

“

¹⁵⁶ Arwine, Alan T. and Lawrence C. Mayer, *The Changing Basis of Political Conflict in Advanced Western Democracies: The Politics of Identity in the United States, the Netherlands, and Belgium* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 81. doi: 10.1057/9781137306654.

¹⁵⁷ (PTB/PVDA)

Pascal Delwit, “Plan large sur la Belgique. Une gauche en désordre de marche”, *POLITIQUE* 103, MARS 2018, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323393941_Plan_large_sur_la_Belgique_Une_gauche_en_desordre_de_marche/overview.

¹⁵⁸ Arwine, Alan T. and Lawrence C. Mayer, *The Changing Basis of Political Conflict in Advanced Western Democracies: The Politics of Identity in the United States, the Netherlands, and Belgium*, 82.

9. (2017)

	159	160
<i>N-VA</i> –	, 31	
	<i>Volksunie.</i>	
<i>PS</i> –	-	23
<i>MR</i> –		20
<i>CD&V</i> –		18
<i>VLD</i> –	, 14	

¹⁵⁹ NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data, „Belgium – Political parties“, : 11.5.2017. http://www.nsd.uib.no/european_election_database/country/belgium/parties.html.

¹⁶⁰ La Chambre.be, : 11.5.2017. <http://www.dekamer.be/doc/FLWB/PDF/54/0003/54K0003016.pdf>.

, : VB, PTB-GO!, DéFI, Vuye&Wouters PP.

	(Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang)	
<i>sp.a</i> – –	-	13
<i>Ecolo-Groen</i> –		12
<i>cdH</i> –	,	9

: NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data La Chambre.be

„...
 „161
 „162 (Kris
 Deschouwer)

¹⁶¹ Dave Sinardet, “Is There a Belgian Public Sphere? What the Case of a Federal Multilingual Country Can Contribute to the Debate on Transnational Public Spheres, and Vice Versa”, in *Multinational Federalism: Problems and Prospects*, eds. Michel Seymour and Alain-G. Gagnon, 172-204 (London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 179.

¹⁶² Kris Deschouwer, *The Politics of Belgium: Governing a Divided Society*.

163

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 159.

164

„

(

165

/

(Nicolas Bouteca), „

166

2014.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹⁶⁵

(ACV/CSC), (ABVV/FGTB),
 (ACLVB/CGSLB), (VBO/FEB), (UNIZO/UCM)
Ibid., 205-211.

¹⁶⁶ Nicolas Bouteca, Carl Devos & Manu Mus, „The Future of Belgian Federalism as Seen Through the Eyes of the Social Partners: A Continuing Obstacle to Social Policy Decentralization?“, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 23, 3, (2013): 294. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2013.773892>.

” “

,
.
.
” “
,
,
,
.

167

(Jan Erk)

/ / ,
.
,
1970.

168

(Dave Sinardet,

Peter Bursens)

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹⁶⁸ . Jan Erk, *Explaining Federalism: state, society and congruence in Austria, Belgium, Canada, Germany and Switzerland* (London: Routledge, 2007), 38.

169

170

1.4

171

¹⁶⁹ . Dave Sinardet and Peter Bursens, “Democratic legitimacy in multilevel political systems: The role of politicization at the polity-wide level in the EU and Belgium”, *Acta Politica* 49, 3, (2014): 246-265. DOI10.1057/ap.2013.17

¹⁷⁰ . Dave Sinardet, “Is There a Belgian Public Sphere? What the Case of a Federal Multilingual Country Can Contribute to the Debate on Transnational Public Spheres, and Vice Versa”, 188.

¹⁷¹ Kris Deschouwer, *The Politics of Belgium: Governing a Divided Society*, 78.

2014.

(2014.)

172

172

2007. 2011.

47

(197), 15 18 . Werner Vandenbruwaene, „Constitutional Change through Euro Crisis Law: A Multi-level Legal Analysis of Economic and Monetary Union (Belgium)“, EUI Department of Law. 20.12.2014. <http://eurocrislaw.eui.eu/belgium/>.

1.4.1

173

1993.

2014.

174

– N-VA.

2014.

()

¹⁷³ . Kris Deschouwer, *The Politics of Belgium: Governing a Divided Society*, 233-237.

¹⁷⁴ (MR), (N-VA),

(CD&V)

(OVLD).

(MR)

2017.

2017.

(38 45),

()

(65 67)

175

(Charles Michel)

2014.

175

„Accord de Gouvernement“, 9 octobre 2014.
http://www.premier.be/sites/default/files/articles/Accord_de_Gouvernement_-_Regeerakkoord.pdf

(, ,).¹⁷⁶ , ,
N-VA, ”
“¹⁷⁷

10 (*Groupe des 10*).

(. *Arrêté Royal*).

(
) 10
2014. ,

¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ FGTB. „Non à un accord de gouvernement antisocial, inéquitable et injuste qui veut nous dépouiller!“, 16.10.2014. <http://www.fgtb.be/-/non-a-un-accord-de-gouvernement-antisocial-inequitable-et-injuste-qui-veut-nous-depouiller>.

¹⁷⁷ Jennifer Rankin. „Belgium disrupted by widespread transport and public sector strikes“, The Guardian. 31.5.2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/31/belgium-transport-public-sector-strikes-trains-french-wallonia>.

Leo Cendrowicz. „Belgium grinds to a halt for one-day general strike“. 15.12.2014. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/15/belgium-unions-general-strike-charles-michel>.

¹⁷⁸ RTBF. „Marc Goblet: "C'est en cassant la concertation sociale qu'on va arriver à diviser la Belgique"“. Rédaction RTBF, 15.3.2015. https://www.rtbf.be/info/belgique/detail_le-dossier-epineux-des-prepensions-ou-que-signifie-la-notion-de-disponibilite-adaptee?id=8931709.

10,

(– *FGTB*

– *ABVV*) 10

179

()

180

2019. 181

2011.

¹⁷⁹ Pierre Magos. „Le gouvernement fédéral compte entériner les accords du "Groupe des 10"“. Rédaction RTBF 7.2.2015. https://www.rtbf.be/info/belgique/detail_le-gouvernement-federal-compte-enteriner-les-accords-du-groupe-des-10?id=8900996.

¹⁸⁰ FGTB. “Le gouvernement met en danger la concertation sociale sur les pensions”, 15.6.2015. <http://www.fgtb.be/-/le-gouvernement-met-en-danger-la-concertation-sociale-sur-les-pensions>.

¹⁸¹ : Philippe Walkowiak. „Laisser passer“. 7.10.2015. https://www.rtbf.be/info/article/detail_laisser-passer?id=9101340.

(„ „)

182

183

”

„ 184

¹⁸² . Min Reuchamps, „The Future of Belgian Federalism Through the Eyes of the Citizens,“ *Regional & Federal Studies* 23, 3, (2013): 356 . DOI: 10.1080/13597566.2013.773893.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 355-356.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 366.

,

,

()

,

(N-VA)

185

(CETA)

186

1.5

¹⁸⁶ Laurens Cerulus. „Meet Monsieur Magnette: The man who made Canada weep“. Politico. 25.10.2016. <https://www.politico.eu/article/meet-monsieur-paul-magnette-the-man-killing-ceta-deal-trade-agreement/>.

, .
 ,
 .
 , ,
 , .
 , .
 /
 (). ,
 (),
 " .
 " " .
 " -
 , .
 " .
 , .
 , .
 , .
 , .
 , .
 , .

” “ ”

MR SVP

187

()

” “ ”

“ () ,

—

—

¹⁸⁷ Kris Deschouwer, *The Politics of Belgium: Governing a Divided Society*, 173-175.

(,)

.

,

,

.

,

.

-

,

-

,

-

.

,

.

,

(

1950.

),

.

,

.

.

2.

2.1

-

.

,

.

,

,

,

(*Martin Dolezal, Edgar Grande*

and Swen Hutter)

:

,

”

“

,

”

:

-

,

.

“

-

,

,

...

-

-

,

,

“190

...

,

.

.

.

,

,

,

.

.

,

.

,

,

¹⁸⁸ . Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi, *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*, 56

139.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

， ” “ . ， ，
，
，
() 192 .

2008.

()

()，

192 .
Erik Oddvar Eriksen, John Erik Fossum, *The European Union's Non-Members: Independence under hegemony?*,
(London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 8-9.

”

“

()

—”

“ 193

¹⁹³ Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash: the EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4.

“ 194

(. *swing voters*).

(. *clash*)

195

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 245.

’
.”

“ 196

’
’
’
’
’
’

’

“ 197

’ ”

”

“

”

“

(

”

“).

196

, 153.

197 *Ibid.*, 158.

2.2

()

”

“

2014. (The
European Regulators Group for Audiovisual Media Services - ERGA)

199

¹⁹⁹ . European Commission. *ERGA - Audiovisual Regulators*. 9.1.2018.
<https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/avmsd-audiovisual-regulators>.

() 200

201

Euronews, Politico, EUObserver

Euractiv. (*Euronews*)

“

12

202

(,).

203

200 (: , 2011), 38-48.

201 *Ibid.*

202 Euronews. *About Euronews.* : 8.1.2018. <http://www.euronews.com/about>.

203 Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash: the EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*, 250.

10% 10%

204

„ „

“

“) (. MEDIA

– (European Broadcasting Union).

2014.).

?

205

²⁰⁴ . . 17. . „Directive 2010/13/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 10 March 2010 on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States concerning the provision of audiovisual media services (Audiovisual Media Services Directive),“ OJ L 95, 15.4.2010, 1–24.

²⁰⁵ . , Jakob von Weizsäcker, Andre Wilkens, „Media, fake news and propaganda: It’s time for a European Broadcasting Service“, Der Spiegel, 24.2.2017. <http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/2017/media-and-information-5120709>. , Carl Henrik Fredriksson, Roman Léandre Schmidt, „The EU and the media: Does Europe really need a broadcasting service?“, Eurozine, 9.4.2017. <http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/2017/eu-and-media-5120937>.

2.3

2.3.1

2.3.1.1

2004.

206

²⁰⁶ European Commission, Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on services in the internal market [SEC(2004) 21], <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=COM:2004:0002:FIN>.

2000. (:

)

207

207

2000.

(Communication From The Commission To The Council And The European Parliament - An Internal Market Strategy for Services, COM/2000/0888). 2002.

: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/european-council/conclusions/1993-2003/>. : 2.12.2017.

2006.

208

2004.

208

. European Parliament, „Parliamentary questions: Question for written answer to the Commission, Rule 117, Mara Bizzotto (EFD)“, 3.6.2010. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2010-3919+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=ET>.

(Bolkestein)

2004.

2004.

209

“ 210

²⁰⁹ Simon Hix and Abdul Noury, „After Enlargement: Voting Patterns in the Sixth European Parliament“, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* XXXIV, 2, (2009): 172.

„...“ (Frits Bolkestein),

2006. :„

„ 211

2.3.1.2

(, , ...)

„ 212

²¹¹ International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI), „Berlin and Strasbourg protests oppose the EU-Bolkestein Directive,“ 13.2.2006. <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2006/02/germ-f13.html>.

²¹² . Amandine Crespy, „When ‘Bolkestein’ is trapped by the French anti-liberal discourse: a discursive-institutionalist account of preference formation in the realm of European Union multi-level politics,“ *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, 8 (2010): 1253–1270.

).²¹³

Parti Socialiste (PS),

(European Trade

Union Confederation - ETUC)

²¹⁴

ETUC

²¹⁵

ETUC

²¹³ . Guy Van Gyes, „Unions protest against draft EU services Directive“, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 27.6.2004.. <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/articles/unions-protest-against-draft-eu-services-directive>.

²¹⁴ , 2005. “ 2006.

²¹⁵ . , ETUC 2017 — European Trade Union Confederation, „ETUC position paper: The proposal for a Directive on services in the internal market“, 17.3.2004. <https://www.etuc.org/documents/etuc-position-paper-proposal-directive-services-internal-market#.WiZ6TbpFw2w>.

, *ETUC*

89

39

: ETUC 2017 — European Trade Union Confederation, „Organisation and People“, : 5.12.2017. <https://www.etuc.org/composition-and-organisation>.

2001.

),

²¹⁶

(Amandine Crespy)

(Attac)

²¹⁷

²¹⁸

²¹⁶ . Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani, *Social Movements and Europeanization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 129.

²¹⁷ Amandine Crespy, „Legitimizing Resistance to EU Integration: Social Europe as a Europeanized Normative Frame in the Conflict over the Bolkestein Directive“, *Les cahiers Européens de Sciences Po*, n° 03 (2010), Paris: Centre d'études européennes at Sciences Po.

²¹⁸ Elodie Fazi and Jeremy Smith, „Civil Dialogue: Making it Work Better: Study commissioned by the Civil Society Contact Group“, . 62. 1.3.2018.

<http://act4europe.horus.be/module/FileLib/Civil%20dialogue%2C%20making%20it%20work%20better.pdf>,

() 2004.
(Evelyne Gebhardt),
(Anne Van Lancker),

“ ”
(José Manuel Durão Barroso),
(Charlie McCreevy),

()
219
2005.

²¹⁹ Anna McLauchlin, „Bolkestein legacy ‘too radical’ for new Commission,“ European Voice, 2.2.2005.
<https://www.politico.eu/article/bolkestein-legacy-too-radical-for-new-commission-2/>.

ALDE () 220

, EPP PES. PES ()

, PES

()

“ ”

2.3.1.3

220 : European Parliament, „Services in the internal market (debate)“, 15.11.2006, Strasbourg, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+CRE+20061115+ITEM-003+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN>.

224

225

2004.

2004.

²²⁴ . Louisa Parks, *Social Movement Campaigns on EU Policy: In the Corridors and in the Streets*, (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 149.

²²⁵

. Pascal Delwit, „The 2004 European Elections in Belgium: An Election That Went by Unnoticed,“ in *Campaigning in Europe – Campaigning for Europe. Political Parties, Campaigns, Mass Media and the European Parliament Elections in 2004*, eds. Michaela Maier and Jens Tenschler, (Munster: LIT Publisher, 2006), 311.

„...“²²⁶
 4.
 ...“²²⁶
 2005.
 (Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani)
 24
 (4.5% 1992.)“²²⁷
 „Union pour un
 mouvement populaire – UMP). 2004.
 2005.

²²⁶ European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, „Unions protest against draft EU services Directive“, *op.cit.*

²²⁷ Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani, *Social Movements and Europeanization*, 3.

(Gerhard Schröder),

2005. ²²⁸

“ (.) .

(. *certification*, .

“ 229

²²⁸ .DW. „Schröder Slams EU’s Service Sector Plan“. 18.3.2005. <http://www.dw.com/en/schr%C3%B6der-slams-eus-service-sector-plan/a-1522325>.

²²⁹ Amandine Crespy, “Legitimizing Resistance to EU Integration: Social Europe as a Europeanized Normative Frame in the Conflict over the Bolkestein Directive”, 13.

() .

, ()

2.3.2 „ (six-pack)

2.3.2.1 „ “

2010. 2011.

, , “

2010.

2011. ()²³¹

²³¹ : „Regulation (EU) No 1173/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 November 2011 on the effective enforcement of budgetary surveillance in the euro area“, „Regulation (EU) No 1174/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 November 2011 on enforcement measures to correct excessive macroeconomic imbalances in the euro area“, „Regulation (EU) No 1175/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 November 2011 amending Council Regulation (EC) No 1466/97 on the strengthening of the surveillance of budgetary positions and the surveillance and coordination of economic policies“, „Regulation (EU) No 1176/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 November 2011 on the prevention and correction of macroeconomic imbalances“, „Council Regulation (EU) No 1177/2011 of 8 November 2011 amending Regulation (EC) No 1467/97 on speeding up and clarifying the implementation of the excessive deficit procedure“, „Council Directive 2011/85/EU of 8 November 2011 on requirements for budgetary frameworks of the Member States“.

,
 ,
 ,²³² ,
 ,
 (,
) (,
),
 , , (,
).²³³ ,
 , ,
 , ,
 : „
 20 „²³⁴ ,

Official Journal of the European Union, L 306, Volume 54, 23 November 2011, ISSN 1977-0677, doi:10.3000/19770677.L_2011.306.eng. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=OJ:L:2011:306:TOC>.

²³² : „ „ („Regulation (EU) No 472/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 May 2013 on the strengthening of economic and budgetary surveillance of Member States in the euro area experiencing or threatened with serious difficulties with respect to their financial stability“, „Regulation (EU) No 473/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 May 2013 on common provisions for monitoring and assessing draft budgetary plans and ensuring the correction of excessive deficit of the Member States in the euro area“),
 (1. 2013.),
 „ (2010.)

²³³ ,
 . European Commission. „Reflection Paper on the Deepening of the Economic and Monetary Union“, COM(2017) 291 of 31 May 2017. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/publications/reflection-paper-deepening-economic-and-monetary-union_en.

²³⁴ European Commission. “EU Economic governance "Six-Pack" enters into force”, MEMO/11/898, Brussels, 12.12.2011., http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-11-898_en.htm.

„ 235
2011.
j
„ 236

²³⁵ Leigh Phillips, „EU ushers in ‘silent revolution’ in control of national economic policies“. EUObserver. 16.3.2011., <https://euobserver.com/institutional/31993>.

²³⁶ European Commission. „The EU’s economic governance explained.“ 28.11.2014. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-2180_en.htm.

(Cristina Fasone)

2010. 2011.

²³⁷ Cristina Fasone, „European Economic Governance and Parliamentary Representation. What Place for the European Parliament?“, *European Law Journal* 20, 2, (2014):184.

2010.

2010.

²³⁹

(

²⁴⁰

governance)

(Task Force for economic

2010.

²⁴¹

17. 2010.

„Europe 2020

²³⁹ . European Commission, „Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Central Bank, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Reinforcing economic policy coordination“, Brussels, 12.5.2010. COM(2010) 250 final. , European Commission, „Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Central Bank, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Enhancing economic policy coordination for stability, growth and jobs – Tools for stronger EU economic governance“, Brussels, COM(2010) 367/2.

²⁴⁰ European Citizen Action Service, „Economic governance: public consultations during the crisis: Contribution to the European Citizenship and Political Rights Seminar Barcelona,“ 17th October 2013. : 4.1.2018. <http://jeanmonnetchair.uab.cat/docs/Venables.pdf>.

²⁴¹ European Council and Council of the European Union, „Strengthening Economic Governance in the EU: Final Report of the Task Force to the European Council“, Brussels, 21 October 2010. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/27405/117236.pdf>

Strategy“.²⁴²

243

(),

(),

().

²⁴² European council, „Conclusions“, EUCO 13/10 Brussels, 17 June 2010.

²⁴³ . European Commission, „Communication from the Commission: EUROPE 2020 A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth,“ Brussels, 3.3.2010. COM(2010) 2020 final. <http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/COMPLET%20EN%20BARROSO%20%20%20007%20-%20Europe%202020%20-%20EN%20version.pdf>

2011.

²⁴⁴

e
European Parliament Legislative Observatory. „2010/0281(COD) -
28/09/2011 Text adopted by Parliament, 1st reading/single reading“
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/summary.do?id=1167050&t=e&l=en>

²⁴⁵ European Parliament, Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, „Draft report on the proposal for a regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council amending Regulation (EC) No 1466/97 on the strengthening of the surveillance of budgetary positions and the surveillance and coordination of economic policies (COM (2010) 0526 – C7-0300/2010 – 2010/0280(COD))“, Rapporteur: Corien Wortmann-Kool, 17.12.2010.

“ 246

„ *“EPP ALDE*

()

247

248

– *ECON*),
(*ALDE*).

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ . Solange Hélin Villes, „‘Austerity alone won’t resolve the eurozone crisis’, warn S&D Euro MPs“, S&D Statement, Press Release, 28.9.2011. <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/austerity-alone-wont-resolve-eurozone-crisis-warn-sd-euro-mps#1>.

2011: Solange Hélin Villes, „A fair and lasting action plan to end the crisis“, The S&D Group in the European Parliament, Press releases, 6.9.2011. <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/fair-and-lasting-action-plan-end-crisis>.

²⁴⁸ Mícheál O’Keeffe, Marion Salines & Marta Wieczorek, „The European Parliament’s strategy in EU economic and financial reform,“ *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, 2 (2016): 8.

2011.

249

²⁴⁹ Statewatch article, „No to the undemocratic six pack of prolonged austerity“.
<http://www.statewatch.org/news/2011/sep/alter-eu-no-to-the-undemocratic-six.pdf>

1.2.2018.

(GUE/NGL),

“ 250

“ 251

“ 252

250

(João Ferreira)

A7-0183/2011.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20110928&secondRef=ITEM-005&language=EN&ring=A7-2011-0183#3-261-000>. : 1.4.2018.

²⁵¹ Tony Robinson, „Fiery Schulz calls for EU unity to meet challenges“, The S&D Group in the European Parliament, Press releases, 28.9.2011. <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/fiery-schulz-calls-eu-unity-meet-challenges>.

²⁵² Tony Robinson, „Schulz leads call for united action plan for euro“, The S&D Group in the European Parliament, Press releases, 14.9.2011. <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/schulz-leads-call-united-action-plan-euro>. , Tony Robinson, „Fiery Schulz calls for EU unity to meet challenges“, *op.cit.*

„ 253

2011.

EPP,

254

255

²⁵³ Solange Hélin Villes, „S&D Euro MPs set out a different agenda to reform the Eurozone“, The S&D Group in the European Parliament, Press releases, 23.09.2011. <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/sd-euro-mps-set-out-different-agenda-reform-eurozone>.

²⁵⁴ Dimitris Komodromos. „Martin Schulz: official candidate for the Presidency of the European Parliament“, The S&D Group in the European Parliament, Press releases, 13.09.2011. <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/martin-schulz-official-candidate-presidency-european-parliament>.

²⁵⁵ 2011. 736, *EPP* 265, 184. *ALDE* *EPP* 84, 55. European Parliament. „*The faces of the European Parliament 2009–2011*,“ Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2010, 8-9. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/welcome_brochures/faces/QA3009197ENC.pdf.

, *ETUC*.

2010. 2011.

, *ad hoc*,

256

ETUC

256

2011. : „ *ETUC*,

ETUC

“The European Trade Union Confederation, „European Trade Union Action Day on June 21st: European Economic Governance needs a change of course“, 21.6.2011. <https://www.etuc.org/press/european-trade-union-action-day-june-21st-european-economic-governance-needs-change-course#.WkTwcDco82w>.

“*(Fight the crisis: put the people first)*

ETUC

2009. : „

(New Social Deal),

– *Kurzarbeit*

people first“,

29.12.2017, <https://www.etuc.org/fight-crisis-put-people-first>.

and Amelie Kutter) „ (Mathis Heinrich
 „ 257
 ().
 (Olli
 Rehn),
 2011.

258
 (Roland Erne)
 :
 „...“
 ...
 „259

²⁵⁷ Heinrich, M. and Amelie Kutter, „A Critical Juncture in EU Integration? The Eurozone Crisis and its Management 2010-2012,“ *The Politics of Financial Crisis. Comparative Perspectives* (pre-copy-edited version), eds., F. E. Panizza and G. Philip, 120-139 (London: Routledge, 2013).

²⁵⁸ . European Commission, Press Release Data Base, Olli Rehn, European Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, „Going the last centimeter for reinforced economic governance,“ Joint Debate on Economic Governance in the European Parliament, Brussels, 22.6.2011. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-11-468_en.htm?locale=en

²⁵⁹ Roland Erne, “A supranational regime that nationalizes social conflict: Explaining European trade unions’ difficulties in politicizing European economic governance“, *Labor History* 56, 3, (2015): 352. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0023656X.2015.1042777>.

()

260

: ”

“ 261

”

“

”

. . . .

...

“262

:

”... ”

,

,

:

...

,

“263

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 353-354.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 353.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 355 358.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 355.

“

”

()

?

”

—

“

”

—

“

”

()

”

”

“

IV

A

:

,

—

,

,

.

,

,

.

,

,

,

,

,

.

,

.

,

,

—

.

,

,

,

,

.

,

.

”

“

.

,

,

,

—

.

,

,

,

”

“

.

,

,

.

,

,

,

(.) .

-

,
,
.

,

.

(,) .

,

.

,

,

((,) ,) .

,

” “ .

,

.

,

.

,

.

,

.

,

,

(,)

. ,

EPP)

(*PES*

(*.EPP*),

()

²⁶⁵ European Commission, „European Citizens’ Initiative“, <http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/public/how-it-works/collection>.

: 15.3.2018. <http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/public/how-it-works/collection>.

),
SVP
, N-VA

SVP

”

“ ” “

” “ ” “ ”

”

“

?

,

.

,

.

,

,

.

,

N-VA

,

.

(

,

).

,

,

.

,

.

,

,

.

Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang

”

“

.

.

,

,

7%

.

,

,

(

),

.

.

().

,

.

,

,

,

.

,

,

,

.

.

,

”

“

.

.

,

,

.

,

.

(output) . input

266

267

2008.

²⁶⁶ , 175. .

²⁶⁷ . , Simon Hix, *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix it* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2008) Simon Hix and Stefano Bartolini. „Politics: The Right or the Wrong Sort of Medicine for the EU?“, Policy paper No. 19, *Notre Europe*, 2006.

” “ ‘ ’ 268
 , , , ,
 , , . ,
 , . ,
 . , ,
 , , , ,
 . (-
),

?

‘ , , ,
 . , , ,
 , , . ,
 , , , , ,
 , . , ,

268 , Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, eds., *The Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

ideal speech situation.

“269

²⁶⁹ Amandine Crespy, „Deliberative Democracy and the Legitimacy of the European Union: A Reappraisal of Conflict“, *Political Studies* 62, S1 (2014): 86. doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12058.

Dryzek).

(John

“ 270

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 89.

()

²⁷¹ Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*, 288-289.

).

(

.

,

.

,

.

,

.

,

,

,

.

,

,

.

,

.

.

,

.

(

)

.

,

”

“

(

.

)

.

,

,

.

,

.

,

,

,

,

. Hartmut Kaelble, „Identification with Europe and Politicization of the EU since the 1980s,“ *European Identity*, eds. Jeffrey T. Chackel and Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2010-2011.

”

“

,

.

,

,

.

,

(

),

,

.

,

,

.

.

,

,

,

.

.

,

,

.

,

.

,

,

.

,

.

,

()

.

”

„273

„

(

)

„

„ 274

„ 275

„

„

(

²⁷³ Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 16.

²⁷⁴ : „Virginie Guiraudon. Mobilization, Social Movements and the Media“, in *Sociology of the European Union*, eds. Adrian Favell and Virginie Guiraudon, *op.cit.*, 131.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 130.

),
(*TTIP* *CETA* ,),

” “ ,

” “

()

,

,

,

,

.

,

(

),

,

,

.

”

“

,

,

,

.

.

,

,

,

,

,

.

”

“

,

,

,

,

.

Arwine, Alan T. and Lawrence C. Mayer. *The Changing Basis of Political Conflict in Advanced Western Democracies: The Politics of Identity in the United States, the Netherlands, and Belgium*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. doi: 10.1057/9781137306654.

Beck, Ulrich. *German Europe*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2013.

Bogaards, Matthijs, Markus M. L. Crepaz. „Forum Section – Consociational Interpretations of the European Union.“ *European Union Politics* 3, 3 2002: 357-381.

Bornschiefer, Simon. „The New Cultural Conflict, Polarization, and Representation in the Swiss Party System, 1975–2011.“ *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015): 680-701. doi: 10.1111/spsr.12180.

Bouteca, Nicolas, Carl Devos and Manu Mus. „The Future of Belgian Federalism as Seen Through the Eyes of the Social Partners: A Continuing Obstacle to Social Policy Decentralization?.“ *Regional and Federal Studies* 23, 3, (2013): 293–309.

Chackel, Jeffrey T., and Peter J. Katzenstein, eds. *European Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Church, Clive H. *The Politics and Government of Switzerland*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Costa, Olivier and Paul Maignette. „The European Union as a consociation? a methodological assessment.“ *West European Politics* 26, 3 (2003): 1-18.

Cramme, Olaf. *Rescuing the European Project: EU Legitimacy, Governance and Security*. London: Policy Network, 2009.

Crespy, Amandine. „Deliberative Democracy and the Legitimacy of the European Union: A Reappraisal of Conflict.“ *Political Studies* 62, S1 (2014): 81-98. doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12058.

Crespy, Amandine. “Legitimizing Resistance to EU Integration: Social Europe as a Europeanized Normative Frame in the Conflict over the Bolkestein Directive.” *Les cahiers Européens de Sciences Po* n° 03. Paris: Centre d’études européennes at Sciences Po, 2010).

Crespy, Amandine, When ‘Bolkestein’ is trapped by the French anti-liberal discourse: a discursive-institutionalist account of preference formation in the realm of European Union multi-level politics, *Journal of European Public Policy* 17:8 December 2010: 1253–1270.

Crouch, Colin, and Wolfgang, Streeck, ds. *The diversity of democracy: corporatism, social order and political conflict*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd., 2006.

Della Porta, Donatella and Manuela Caiani. *Social Movements and Europeanization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Delwit, Pascal. „The 2004 European Elections in Belgium: An Election That Went by Unnoticed.“ In *Campaigning in Europe – Campaigning for Europe. Political Parties, Campaigns, Mass Media and the European Parliament Elections in 2004*, eds. Michaela Maier and Jens Tenschler, 307-322. Munster: LIT Publisher, 2006.

Deschouwer, Kris, Lieven De Winter, Jérémy Dodeigne, Min Reuchamps, and Dave Sinardet. „Measuring (sub)national identities in surveys: some lessons from Belgium“. *Paper presented at the conference The State of the Federation 2015*. 18 December 2015. Université de Liège, Belgium.

Deschouwer, Kris and Min Reuchamps. “The Belgian Federation at a Crossroad.” *Regional and Federal Studies* 23, 3 (2013): 261–270. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2013.773896>.

Deschouwer, Kris. *The Politics of Belgium: Governing a Divided Society*. 2nd ed. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

De Wilde, Pieter, Asimina Michailidou, and Hans-Jorg Trenz, eds., *Contesting Europe: Exploring Euroscepticism in Online Media Coverage*. Colchester: ECPR Press, 2013.

De Wilde, Pieter and Michael Zürn. "Can the Politicization of European Integration be Reversed?". *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50, 1, (2012): 137-153. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02232.x>.

De Witte, Bruno. "Setting the Scene: How did Services get to Bolkestein and Why?", EUI Working Papers, LAW 2007/20. European University Institute, Italy.

Dinan, Desmond. "Governance and Institutions: Impact of the Escalating Crisis." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50, Annual Review (2012): 85-98. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2012.02268.x.

Easton, David. „A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support.“ *British Journal of Political Science* 5, 4 (1975): 435-457.

Eriksen, Erik Oddvar, and John Erik Fossum. *The European Union's Non-Members: Independence under hegemony?*. London and New York: Routledge, 2015.

Erne, Roland. "A supranational regime that nationalizes social conflict: Explaining European trade unions' difficulties in politicizing European economic governance." *Labor History* 56, 3 (2015): 345–368. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0023656X.2015.1042777>.

Fasone, Cristina. „European Economic Governance and Parliamentary Representation. What Place for the European Parliament?.“ *European Law Journal* 20, 2, (2014): 164–185.

Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: the EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Fossum, John Erik, and Hans-Jörg, Trenz. "The EU's Fledgling Society: From Deafening Silence to Critical Voice in European Constitution-Making." *Journal of Civil Society* 2, 1, (2006): 57–77.

Haas, Ernst B. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.

Habermas, Jürgen. *Europe: The Faltering Project*. Cambridge: Polity, 2009.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Crisis of the European Union: A Response*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013.

Heinrich, M. and Amelie Kutter. „A Critical Juncture in EU Integration? The Eurozone Crisis and its Management 2010-2012,“ in *The Politics of Financial Crisis. Comparative Perspectives* (pre-copy-edited version), eds. F. E. Panizza and G. Philip, 120-139. London: Routledge, 2013.

Hix, Simon and Abdul Noury. „After Enlargement: Voting Patterns in the Sixth European Parliament.“ *Legislative Studies Quarterly* XXXIV, 2 (2009): 159-174.

Hix, Simon and Stefano Bartolini. *Politics: The Right or the Wrong Sort of Medicine for the EU?*. Policy paper No. 19, *Notre Europe*, 2006. http://personal.lse.ac.uk/hix/Working_Papers/NotreEurope_Hix%20Bartolini.pdf.

, . : , 2007.

Hix, Simon. *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix it*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2008.

Hooghe, Lisbet and Gary Marks. *A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Garry Marks. „The neo-functionalists were (almost) right: politicization and European integration“, in *The Diversity of Democracy: Corporatism, Social Order And Political Conflict*, eds. Colin Crouch and Wolfgang Streeck, 205-222. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2006.

Hutter, Swen, Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi, ds. *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Klaji, Bratoljub. *Rje nik stranih rije i*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1978.

: , 2001.

Kriesi, Hanspeter and Trechsel, Alexander H. *The Politics of Switzerland: Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. „Conclusion: The Political Consequences of the Polarization of Swiss Politics.“ *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015): 724–739. doi:10.1111/spsr.12189.

Lajphart, Arend. *Modeli demokratije*. Podgorica: Službeni list SCG, CID, 2003.

Leemann, Lucas. „Political Conflict and Direct Democracy: Explaining Initiative Use 1920-2011.“ *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015): 596–616. doi:10.1111/spsr.12190.

Lehmbruch, Gerhard. „Consociational Democracy and Corporatism in Switzerland.“ *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 23, 2 (1993): 43-60.

Lijphart, Arend. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

Linder, Wolf. *Swiss Democracy: Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies*, Third Edition, Revised and Updated. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Loder, Jeff. „The Lisbon Strategy and the politicization of EU policy-making: the case of the Services Directive.“ *Journal of European Public Policy* 18, 4, 2011: 566-583.

Magnette, Paul and Yannis Papadopoulos. „On the Politicization of the European Consociation: A Middle Way between Hix and Bartolini.“ *European Governance Papers* No. C-08-01, 2008.

Majone, Giandomenico. *Europe as the Would-be World Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Medrano, Juan Díez. „Social Class and Identity“, in *Sociology of the European Union*, eds. Favell, Adrian and Virginie Guiraudon, 28-49. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Mueller, Sean, Adrian Vatter and Markus Freitag. „Symposium: Switzerland’s New Challenge – Governing After the 2015 Elections.“ *Swiss Political Science Review* 22, 1 (2016): 1–4.

O’Keeffe, Mícheál, Marion Salines and Marta Wieczorek. „The European Parliament’s strategy in EU economic and financial reform.“ *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, 2 (2016): 217-235. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1025091.

Parks, Louisa. *Social Movement Campaigns on EU Policy: In the Corridors and in the Streets*. New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

„The Future of the EU: A New Paradigm?“ *Journal of European Public Policy* IX, 13 (2015): 45-62.

Reuchamps, Min. „The Future of Belgian Federalism Through the Eyes of the Citizens.“ *Regional & Federal Studies* 23, 3, (2013): 353-368. DOI: 10.1080/13597566.2013.773893.

„The Future of the EU: A New Paradigm?“ *Journal of European Public Policy* IX, 13 (2015): 45-62.

„The Future of the EU: A New Paradigm?“ *Journal of European Public Policy* IX, 13 (2015): 45-62.

„The Future of the EU: A New Paradigm?“ *Journal of European Public Policy* IX, 13 (2015): 45-62.

„The Future of the EU: A New Paradigm?“ *Journal of European Public Policy* IX, 13 (2015): 45-62.

„The Future of the EU: A New Paradigm?“ *Journal of European Public Policy* IX, 13 (2015): 45-62.

„The Future of the EU: A New Paradigm?“ *Journal of European Public Policy* IX, 13 (2015): 45-62.

„The Future of the EU: A New Paradigm?“ *Journal of European Public Policy* IX, 13 (2015): 45-62.

Schmitter, Philippe C. “Three Neo-Functional Hypotheses about International Integration.” *International Organization* 23, 1 (1969): 161-166.

Schmidt, Vivien A. „In the Light and Shadow of the Single Currency: European Identity and Citizenship“, Chapter for *The Other Side of the Coin: The Euro and Citizenship*, ed. Giovanni

Moro. Continuum, 2012. : <http://blogs.bu.edu/vschmidt/publications/>, :
21.12.2013.

Sciarini, Pascal, Manuel Fischer and Denise Traber. *Political Decision-Making in Switzerland: The Consensus Model under Pressure*. New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Seymour, Michel and Gagnon, Alain-G. *Multinational Federalism: Problems and Prospects*. New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Sinardet, Dave and Peter Bursens. “Democratic legitimacy in multilevel political systems: The role of politicization at the polity-wide level in the EU and Belgium.” *Acta Politica* 49, 3, (2014): 246-265. DOI10.1057/ap.2013.17.

Stojanovic, Nenad. „Party, Regional and Linguistic Proportionality Under Majoritarian Rules: Swiss Federal Council Elections.“ *Swiss Political Science Review* 22, 1 (2016): 41–58. doi:10.1111/spsr.12208.

, . :
, 2010.

Theiler, Tobias. “Does the European Union Need to Become a Community?.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 50, 5 (2012): 783–800.

Udris, Linards, Jens Lucht and Jörg Schneider. „Contested Elections in Increasingly Commercialized Media. A Diachronic Analysis of Executive and Parliamentary Election News Coverage in Switzerland.“ *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, 4 (2015): 578–595.

, . : , 2002.

Commission of the European Communities, „Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on services in the internal market,“ 2004/0001 (COD), COM(2004) 2 final/3, Brussels, 5.3.2004.

European Commission, „Communication from the Commission: EUROPE 2020 A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth,“ Brussels, 3.3.2010. COM(2010) 2020 final.

European Commission, „Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Central Bank, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Enhancing economic policy coordination for stability, growth and jobs – Tools for stronger EU economic governance.“ Brussels, COM(2010) 367/2.

European Commission, „Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Central Bank, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Reinforcing economic policy coordination,“ Brussels, 12.5.2010. COM(2010) 250 final.

European Commission, „Report: Standard Eurobarometer 85, Spring 2016,“ ISBN 978-92-79-63621-9, doi:10.2775/720961, European Union, 2016.

European Council, „Conclusions,“ EUCO 13/10 Brussels, 17 June 2010.

European Parliament and the Council. „Directive 2010/13/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 10 March 2010 on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States concerning the provision of audiovisual media services (Audiovisual Media Services Directive),“ OJ L 95, 15.4.2010, 1–24.

European Parliament, Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs. „Draft report on the proposal for a regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council amending Regulation (EC) No 1466/97 on the strengthening of the surveillance of budgetary positions and the surveillance

and coordination of economic policies,” (COM (2010) 0526 – C7-0300/2010 – 2010/0280(COD)),
Rapporteur: Corien Wortmann-Kool, 17.12.2010.

„Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty in European Union and the Treaty Establishing
the European Community,” (2007/C 306/01), *Official Journal of the European Union*, 17.12.2007.

Année Politique Suisse. „Initiative de l’UDC ‘contre l’immigration de masse’“.
: 5.3.2018. <https://anneepolitique.swiss/fr/prozesse/33761-initiative-de-l-udc-contre-l-immigration-de-masse#article-55267>

BBC News. „Estonia PM Ansip resigns - Europe’s longest-serving PM“.
4.3.2014. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26430899>.

Camera dei deputati. „Mogherini Federica – PD“.
: 11.7.2016.
http://leg16.camera.it/29?shadow_deputato=302831

Cendrowicz, Leo. „Belgium grinds to a halt for one-day general strike“. 15.12.2014. The
Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/15/belgium-unions-general-strike-charles-michel>.

Cerulus, Laurens. „Meet Monsieur Magnette: The man who made Canada weep“. Politico.
25.10.2016. <https://www.politico.eu/article/meet-monsieur-paul-magnette-the-man-killing-ceta-deal-trade-agreement/>.

Chancellerie fédérale ChF. „Votation populaire du 24.09.2017.“
6.3.2018.
<https://www.bk.admin.ch/ch/f/pore/va/20170924/index.html>.

Duc-Quang Nguyen. „Defining the 25% foreign population in Switzerland.“ SWI.
19.11.2017. <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/society/migration-series-part-1-who-are-the-25-foreign-population-in-switzerland/42412156>.

DW. „Schröder Slams EU’s Service Sector Plan.“ 18.3.2005.
<http://www.dw.com/en/schr%C3%B6der-slams-eus-service-sector-plan/a-1522325>.

ETUC 2017 — European Trade Union Confederation. „ETUC position paper: The proposal for a Directive on services in the internal market.“ 17.3.2004.
<https://www.etuc.org/documents/etuc-position-paper-proposal-directive-services-internal-market#.WiZ6TbpFw2w>.

ETUC 2017 — European Trade Union Confederation. „Organisation and People.“ : 5.12.2017. <https://www.etuc.org/composition-and-organisation>.

ETUC. „ETUC position paper: The proposal for a Directive on services in the internal market,“ 17.3.2004. <https://www.etuc.org/documents/etuc-position-paper-proposal-directive-services-internal-market#.WiZ6TbpFw2w>.

ETUC. „European Trade Union Action Day on June 21st: European Economic Governance needs a change of course.“ 21.6.2011. <https://www.etuc.org/press/european-trade-union-action-day-june-21st-european-economic-governance-needs-change-course#.WkTwcDco82w>.

ETUC. „Fight the crisis: put the people first.“ 29.12.2017,
<https://www.etuc.org/fight-crisis-put-people-first>.

Euractiv. „EU institutions preparing staff nationality quotas“. 24.6.2016. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/public-affairs/news/eu-institutions-preparing-staff-nationality-quotas/>.

Euronews. „About Euronews.“ : 8.1.2018.
<http://www.euronews.com/about>.

European Citizen Action Service. „Economic governance: public consultations during the crisis: Contribution to the European Citizenship and Political Rights Seminar Barcelona.“ 17th October 2013. : 4.1.2018. <http://jeanmonnetchair.uab.cat/docs/Venables.pdf>.

European Commission. „ERGA - Audiovisual Regulators.“ 9.1.2018.
<https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/avmsd-audiovisual-regulators>.

European Commission. „European Citizens’ Initiative.“ : 15.3.2018.
<http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/public/how-it-works/collection>.

European Commission. „The EU’s economic governance explained.“ Brussels, 28.11.2014. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release MEMO-14-2180_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-2180_en.htm)

European Council and the Council of the European Union. „Strengthening Economic Governance in the EU: Final Report of the Task Force to the European Council.“ Brussels, 21.10.2010. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/27405/117236.pdf>

European Parliament. „Results of the 2014 European elections.“ : 3.3.2017.
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/election-results-2014.html>.

European Parliament. „Services in the internal market (debate),“ 15.11.2006. Strasbourg.
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+CRE+20061115+ITEM-003+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN>.

European Parliament. „Union of Democratic Change: Reform of the electoral law of the EU“. 20.2.2018. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-union-of-democratic-change/file-reform-of-the-electoral-law-of-the-eu>.

Fazi, Elodie and Jeremy Smith. „Civil Dialogue: Making it Work Better: Study commissioned by the Civil Society Contact Group.“ : 1.3.2018.
<http://act4europe.horus.be/module/FileLib/Civil%20dialogue%2C%20making%20it%20work%20better.pdf>

FGTB. “Le gouvernement met en danger la concertation sociale sur les pensions”, 15.6.2015. <http://www.fgtb.be/-/le-gouvernement-met-en-danger-la-concertation-sociale-sur-les-pensions>.

FGTB. „Non à un accord de gouvernement antisocial, inéquitable et injuste qui veut nous dépouiller!“, 16.10.2014. <http://www.fgtb.be/-/non-a-un-accord-de-gouvernement-antisocial-inequitable-et-injuste-qui-veut-nous-depouiller>.

Fredriksson, Carl Henrik Roman Léandre Schmidt. „The EU and the media: Does Europe really need a broadcasting service?“. Eurozine. 9.4.2017. <http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/2017/eu-and-media-5120937>.

Gardner, Andrew, „Czechs choose V ra Jourová for European commissioner“, European Voice, 21.7.14., <http://www.politico.eu/article/vera-jourova-to-be-czech-republics-european-commissioner/>.

Geiser, Urs. „Major pension reform wins majority in parliament“, SWI. 16.3.2017. https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/pensions_major-pension-reform-wins-majority-in-parliament/43033960.

Hooghe, Marc. „Belgium’s absent national identity comes at a price: Why are Belgians so willing to believe they live in a failed state?“. Politico. 31.5.16. <https://www.politico.eu/article/belgiums-absent-national-identity-comes-at-a-price-failed-state-terrorist-attacks-brussels/>

Kaiser, Martin. „Non au démontage de l’AVS.“ *Revue de presse*. 17.7.2017. <https://www.arbeitgeber.ch/fr/politique-sociale/non-au-demontage-de-lavs/>.

Kaufmann, Bruno. „Before the vote is after the vote: Why the pension reform vote is not the end of the story,“ SWI. 11.9.2017. https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/directdemocracy/before-the-vote-is-after-the-vote_why-the-pension-reform-vote-is-not-the-end-of-the-story/43494770.

L’Assemblée fédérale — Le Parlement suisse. „Contre l’immigration de masse. Initiative populaire“ : 5.3.2018. <https://www.parlament.ch/fr/ratsbetrieb/suche-curia-vista/geschaeft?AffairId=20120098>.

Le Conseil fédéral. Le portail du Gouvernement Suisse. „Le Conseil fédéral rejette l’initiative populaire "Sortons de l’impasse!" et se prononce pour le principe d’un contre-projet direct“. Berne, 26.10.2016.
<https://www.admin.ch/gov/fr/accueil/documentation/communiques.msg-id-64266.html>.

Le News. „New initiative to keep foreign workers out of Switzerland“. 15.6.2017.
<https://lenews.ch/2017/06/15/new-initiative-to-keep-foreign-workers-out-of-switzerland/>

Pierre Magos. „Le gouvernement fédéral compte entériner les accords du "Groupe des 10"“. Rédaction RTBF 7.2.2015. https://www.rtbf.be/info/belgique/detail_le-gouvernement-federal-compte-enteriner-les-accords-du-groupe-des-10?id=8900996.

McLauchlin, Anna. „Bolkestein legacy ‘too radical’ for new Commission.“ European Voice, 2.2.2005. <https://www.politico.eu/article/bolkestein-legacy-too-radical-for-new-commission-2/>.

Milic, Thomas, Thomas Reiss et Daniel Kübler en collaboration avec Anke Tresch, Laura Scaperrotta, Lukas Lauener, Georg Lutz et Oliver Lipps. „Enquête VOTO relative à la votation populaire fédérale du 24 septembre 2017.“ VOTO (Aarau, Lausanne et Lucerne). http://www.voto.swiss/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/VOTO_Bericht_24_09_2017_FR_reduced.pdf.

Phillips, Leigh. „EU ushers in ‘silent revolution’ in control of national economic policies.“ EUObserver. 16.3.2011., <https://euobserver.com/institutional/31993>.

Rankin, Jennifer. „Belgium disrupted by widespread transport and public sector strikes.“ The Guardian. 31.5.2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/31/belgium-transport-public-sector-strikes-trains-french-wallonia>.

Robinson, Tony, „Fiery Schulz calls for EU unity to meet challenges“, The S&D Group in the European Parliament. Press releases. 28/09/2011.
<http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/fiery-schulz-calls-eu-unity-meet-challenges>

RTBF. „Marc Goblet: "C'est en cassant la concertation sociale qu'on va arriver à diviser la Belgique"". Rédaction RTBF, 15.3.2015. https://www.rtb.be/info/belgique/detail_le-dossier-epineux-des-prepensions-ou-que-signifie-la-notion-de-disponibilite-adaptee?id=8931709.

Schweizerischer Gewerbeverband/Union suisse des arts et métiers. „Arguments contre la réforme“. 7.3.2018. <https://www.sgv-usam.ch/fr/grands-axes-politiques/politique-sociale/ahv-generationenallianz/die-nein-argumente.html>

Schweizerischer Gewerbeverband/Union suisse des arts et métiers. „Ce que coûte la réforme de l'AVS“. 7.3.2018. https://www.sgv-usam.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/deutsch/2017/kampagnen/av2020/20170707_beilage-mm_faktenblatt_kosten-av2020_fr.pdf.

SGB/USS. „L'Assemblée des délégué(e)s de l'USS dit clairement Oui à PV 2020, AVS Prévoyance professionnelle.“ Communiqués de presse. 24. 3. 2017. <http://www.uss.ch/themes/politique-sociale/avs/article/details/lassemblee-des-deleguees-de-luss-dit-clairement-oui-a-pv-2020/>.

Statewatch article. „No to the undemocratic six pack of prolonged austerity.“ 1.2.2018. <http://www.statewatch.org/news/2011/sep/alter-eu-no-to-the-undemocratic-six.pdf>

SWI. „Atlas maps out political divide“. 12.11.2004. <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/atlas-maps-out-political-divide/4196524>.

The Federal Assembly — The Swiss Parliament. „Council Members since 1848“. 19.7.2017. https://www.parlament.ch/en/ratsmitglieder?k=*

UNASUR, „South American Citizenship Project consolidates its initial steps“, 07.08.2016. <http://www.unasur.org/en/node/858>.

„Un compromis raisonnable. Appel à la défense des retraites“. <https://www.compromis-raisonnable.ch/>. (5.3.2018.)

Vandenbruwaene, Werner. „Constitutional Change through Euro Crisis Law: A Multi-level Legal Analysis of Economic and Monetary Union (Belgium).“ EUI Department of Law. 20.12.2014. <http://eurocrisislaw.eui.eu/belgium/>.

Van Gyes, Guy. „Unions protest against draft EU services Directive.“ European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 27.6.2004. <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/articles/unions-protest-against-draft-eu-services-directive>.

Villes, Solange Hélin, „S&D Euro MPs set out a different agenda to reform the Eurozone“, The S&D Group in the European Parliament. Press releases. 23/09/2011. <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/sd-euro-mps-set-out-different-agenda-reform-eurozone>.

Walkowiak, Philippe. „Laisser passer“. 7.10.2015. https://www.rtf.be/info/article/detail_laisser-passer?id=9101340.

Weizsäcker, Jakob von, and Andre Wilkens. „Media, fake news and propaganda: It’s time for a European Broadcasting Service.“ Der Spiegel. 24.2.2017. <http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/2017/media-and-information-5120709>.

Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l’Europe – <http://www.cvce.eu/>

Constitute: The World’s Constitutions to Read, Search and Compare – <https://www.constituteproject.org/>

Eurobarometer, Public Opinion Analysis sector of the European Commission – http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm

European Commission. *National Parliament opinions and Commission replies* –
http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat_general/relations/relations_other/npo/index_en.htm

European Parliament Legislative Observatory –
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/home/home.do>

Eurostat, statistical office of the European Union –
<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home>

Norwegian Centre for Research Data – <http://www.nsd.uib.no/nsd/english/index.html>

Official Journal of the European Union – <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOIndex.do>

Swiss Social Report – <https://socialreport.ch/index.html>

The Manifesto Project – <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/>

Transparency Register –
<http://ec.europa.eu/transparencyregister/public/homePage.do?redir=false&locale=en>

23.3.1979.

2004

”

2014.

”

“

“

2014.

()

(

),

1.

-a _____
_____ 993 _____

” “

) ,
)

) ,
) /

, _____ 12.4.2018. _____

2.

o

_____ 993 _____

_____ " _____

_____ . _____

/

.

,

,

,

_____ 12.4.2018. _____

3.

” “

:

„Европска унија у процесу политизације“

/

(Creative Commons)

/ .

1.

2. -

3. - -

4. - -

5. -

6. -

(,)

, _____ 12.4.2018. _____

1. - ,
 , , .
2. - . ,
 , , .
3. - - , ,
 , , ,
 . ,
4. - - .
 , , ,
5. - . ,
 , , ,
6. - . ,
 , , ,
 . ,