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1

Introduction: Conceptualizing and Theorizing Europeanization

The recent accession of Cyprus¹ to the European Union (EU) makes it timely to examine the impact of the latter on the *polity*, *policies* and *politics* of the country. What began in the early 1970s as a political strategy to strengthen the country's newly independent status subsequently had an important impact on all dimensions of life in Cyprus. The aim of this book is to provide an examination of this impact on key areas of the country, that is, its executive, legislative and judicial authorities; political parties and public opinion; economy; agricultural and regional policies; foreign policy; and justice and home affairs.

This book will draw primarily from the Europeanization agenda in order to examine this reciprocal relationship between Cyprus and the EU. Other research agendas, such as multi-level governance (Houghe, 1996; Marks *et al.*, 1996; Bache, 1998) and policy networks (Eising & Kohler-Koch, 1999; Bomberg & Peterson, 1999; Peterson, 2004), Europeanization (Radaelli, 2000a, 2004; Caporaso *et al.*, 2001; Heritier, 2001; Knill, 2001; Dyson, 2002; Olsen, 2002; Dyson & Goetz, 2003; Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier, 2005; Goetz, 2006; Graziano & Vink, 2007) draw significantly from 'grand' and 'meso' level theories of European integration such as neo-functionalism (Haas, 1958, 1975; Lindberg, 1963), liberal intergovernmentalism (Moravcsik, 1993) and neo-institutionalism (March & Olsen, 1984; Hall & Taylor, 1996; Pierson, 1996; Pollack, 2004) as well as from social constructivist approaches (Checkel, 1999; Christiansen *et al.*, 1999; Risse, 2004) in the area. While Europeanization has been criticized for being an amalgam of these theories, its practice of borrowing insights with rationalist and constructivist roots can often be useful in explaining such case studies.

Definition of Europeanization

Since the first use of the term in the 1980s, the concept of Europeanization is becoming increasingly popular. Europeanization is not itself a theory, but a phenomenon that a range of theoretical approaches have sought to explain. Goetz (2001a: 211) has cautioned that Europeanization can easily become 'a cause [i.e. the EU] in search of an effect [at the domestic level]'. In regards to its actual definition, there are various suggestions in the literature. Ladrech (1994: 69), for example, defines it as an 'incremental process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making. From a similar perspective, Radaelli (2000a: 4) argues that Europeanization consists of processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms that are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse (national and subnational), political structures and public policies. Other studies have also put emphasis on Europeanization as institutionalization (Stone Sweet *et al.*, 2001) and an interactive process (Goetz & Hix, 2000) while scholars working on the notion of *référentiel* (Muller, 1995) would argue that there is a Europeanization when the EU becomes the *referential* (i.e. the reference point) of domestic political action. From a different perspective, Caporaso *et al.* (2001: 3) define the concept 'as the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance'. Olsen (2002: 924), provides the broadest definition of Europeanization: changes in external territorial boundaries; the development of institutions of governance at the European level; the penetration of European level institutions into national and subnational systems of governance; the export of European forms of political organization and governance beyond Europe; and as a political project in support of construction of a unified and politically strong Europe. Finally, more simply, Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier (2005: 7) define Europeanization 'as a process in which states adopt EU rules'.

It is important to note that Europeanization is not synonymous with convergence, harmonization or European integration. The latter concept belongs to the ontological stage of research, that is, the understanding of a process in which countries pool sovereignty, whereas Europeanization is post-ontological, being concerned with what happens once EU institutions are in place and produce their effects (Radaelli, 2000a: 7).

Thus, when examining Europeanization one begins from the notion that there is a process of European integration under way, and that the EU has developed its own institutions and policies over the last fifty years or so. In this sense, Europeanization is not concerned with why and how Member States produce European integration, and whether the EU is more inter-governmental or supranational – rather, it aims to bring domestic politics back into understanding European integration (Radaelli, 2004: 2–3). It is thus argued that integration theories are not well suited to understanding Europeanization as their main puzzle is the explanation of dynamics and outcomes of European integration rather than domestic effects (Börzel, 2004).

Mechanisms of Europeanization

An array of mechanisms of Europeanization have been identified that could be divided on the basis of their theoretical basis, i.e. rationalist or constructivist, and the type of the Europeanization process they induce, i.e. ‘top-down’ or ‘bottom-up’. Rationalist mechanisms are based on the notion of ‘optimality’, that is, actors follow a certain policy because they believe it would reap the greatest rewards, whereas constructivist mechanisms are based on the notion of ‘appropriateness’ with actors following a certain policy because they perceive it to be appropriate in terms of their beliefs, ideas and norms. ‘Top-down’ processes of Europeanization are those that are driven by the EU whereas ‘bottom-up’ processes are those that are driven by society and local state actors (Table 1.1).² Thus, drawing on institutionalism in organizational analysis, Radaelli (2000b) presents the mechanisms of *coercion*, *mimetism* and *normative pressures* in EU policy diffusion.³ Knill and Lehmkuhl (1999) distinguish between *institutional compliance* or *positive integration* where the EU prescribes a particular framework, which is imposed on Member States, *changing domestic opportunity structures* or *negative integration* which allows for a redistribution of resources between national actors and *policy framing* or *framing integration* which influences to the point of modifying the beliefs and the common understandings of domestic policy-makers.⁴ Other scholars remind us of the *judicial review* as a mechanism of change (Weiler, 1991; Conant, 2001) while others emphasize the *regulatory competition* as triggering domestic change (Majone, 1996).⁵ Moreover, Kohler-Koch (1996) highlights subtle – yet crucial – mechanisms that go beyond the issue of the impact of EU policy on the ‘balance of power’. Other scholars (Caporaso *et al.*, 2001) have drawn attention to the so-called ‘goodness of fit’ (i.e. institutional and policy compatibility)

Table 1.1 Typology of mechanisms of Europeanization

	Theoretical origin of mechanism of Europeanization	Constructivist	Actor-induced mechanism of Europeanization	State-driven ('bottom-up')
Knill & Lehmkuhl (1999)	Rationalist Positive Negative	Framing	Positive Negative	Framing
Radaelli (2000b)	Coercion Mimetism	Mimetism Normative pressures	Coercion Normative pressures	Mimetism
Grabbe (2001)	Gate-keeping Benchmarking & monitoring Provision of legislative and institutional templates Aid & technical assistance Advice and twinning	Aid & technical assistance Advice and twinning	Gate-keeping Benchmarking & monitoring Provision of legislative and institutional templates Aid & technical assistance	Aid & technical assistance Advice and twinning
Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier (2005)	External incentives Lesson drawing	Social learning Lesson drawing	External incentives Social learning	Lesson-drawing

Source: author's compilation.

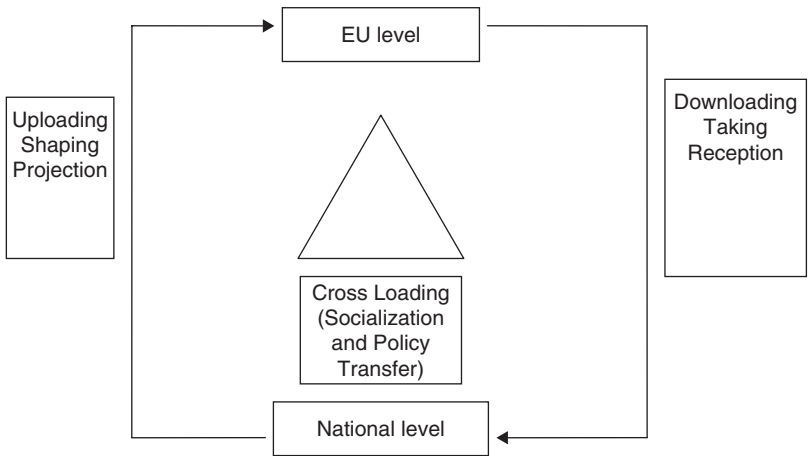
and 'misfit' between domestic institutions and European policy.⁶ By focusing on the 'goodness of fit' these authors draw our attention to *explanatory* factors related to any mechanism of change (Knill, 1998; Knill & Lenschow, 1998; Börzel, 1999; Duina, 1999; Heritier *et al.*, 1996; Caporaso *et al.*, 2001). Furthermore, in a study focusing on the mechanisms of Europeanization used specifically on candidate states, Grabbe (2001) distinguishes five mechanisms that effect change through *conditionality*⁷ and the accession process: gate-keeping; benchmarking and monitoring; provision of legislative and institutional templates; aid and technical assistance; and advice and twinning.⁸ Finally, in a seminal volume on the impact of Europeanization on the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2005) identified the following mechanisms: (a) a rationalist 'external incentives' model based on the logic of 'consequences', 'optimality', 'cost-benefit analysis', 'carrot or stick' or 'conditionality', which follows the strategy of 'reinforcement by reward'; (b) a constructivist 'social learning' model based on the notion of 'appropriateness'; and (c) a dual rationalist-constructivist 'lesson-drawing' model that can be based on both logics of 'consequences' and 'appropriateness'. More specifically, according to the 'external incentives' model, the EU sets the adoption of its rules as conditions that the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries have to fulfil in order to receive rewards (i.e. assistance and institutional ties) from the EU. The 'social learning' model focuses on identification of CEE countries with the EU vision and mission, after a process of deliberation and persuasion by the EU of the legitimacy of its rules as key conditions for rule adoption, and where EU identities, norms and values become internalized at the domestic level. The 'lesson drawing' model, drawn from Rose (1991), is a response to domestic dissatisfaction with the *status quo* whereby policy-makers adopt EU rules not because of external incentives but because they believe that these can provide effective solutions to domestic problems and challenges. In the rationalist variant of this model, the learning process is characterized by 'simple learning' that leads to a change in the means but not the ends, whereas its constructivist variant is characterized by 'complex' learning that includes a modification of underlying goals and a change in policy paradigms.⁹ The authors make a further key distinction. The 'external incentives' and 'social learning' models are exclusively EU driven, whereas the 'lesson drawing' model is exclusively candidate state driven (Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier, 2005: 8). It is generally considered that constructivist (or cognitive) models can potentially have more profound and transformative effects than rationalist models, because

domestic actors essentially change their mentality, approach, thinking, identity and ultimately long-term preferences, which can have more lasting effects than simply acting on a cost-benefit analysis which has a certain coercive element in it. At the same time, it is useful to note that these models can also be complementary and mutually reinforcing, thus a combination of both ultimately leads to greater transformation. Finally, one can argue that the 'social learning' model can in some cases also be candidate state driven, in the sense that national policy-makers and citizens voluntarily adopt EU norms and beliefs because they recognize that these are of higher value to their own.

Processes of Europeanization

The literature above essentially understands Europeanization as a 'downloading' and 'cross-loading' process (Howell, 2004; Major, 2005; Wong, 2007) whereby candidate and Member States download institutions, policies and procedures from the EU, within a context of social learning and lesson-drawing where there is an exchange of ideas, norms, beliefs and traditions but also policy transfer and exchange of 'best practices' between Member States. In other words, the common denominator of those studies is that the independent variable, the cause, is the EU and the dependent variable, the effect, is the state and its institutions, politics and policies. A more neglected – though important – aspect of Europeanization – which somewhat blurs the distinction between cause and effect and independent and dependent variables – is the understanding that there is also an 'uploading' process of Europeanization, where candidate and Member States also project their own institutions, policies and procedures to the EU, thus shaping the general trajectory of European integration in ways that suit their national interests. This 'uploading' process has been identified within the broader EU literature (Wallace, 1971; Katzenstein, 1997; Jeffery & Patterson, 2003) and within the specific Europeanization agenda (Bomberg & Peterson, 2000; Bulmer & Burch, 2001b; Tonra, 2001; Olsen, 2002; Dyson & Goetz, 2003; Börzel, 2003b; Radaelli & Bulmer, 2004; Major, 2005; Wong, 2007). Most of these studies drew empirical evidence from large Member States (e.g. UK and Germany), some of them from small (e.g. Netherlands, Ireland, Denmark) while there is a scarcity of studies on candidate and third countries that focused on this dimension.

The overall understanding from these studies is that Europeanization is a downloading, uploading and cross-loading process where there is a constant, dialectical, and cyclical fueling of institutions, policies, processes,

Emergence of EU institutions and policies***Integration of EU input into the national level***

Source: Adapted from Major (2005: 182).

Figure 1.1 Europeanization as a downloading, uploading and cross-loading process

ideas, norms and beliefs between the national and EU level, and between the various national levels. In this process, states download EU institutions, policies and procedures at the domestic level, they upload their national policies, institutions and preferences at the EU level, and they cross-load, that is, learn, mimic and socialize with each other, in the broader EU arena (Figure 1.1).

Dimensions of Europeanization

Another aspect of Europeanization that has drawn attention in the literature is how the territorial and temporal dimensions of a country may affect the impact of these mechanisms and processes, and ultimately the type of its Europeanization experience. These two intervening variables arguably mediate the relationship between Europeanization and its mechanisms and processes of change. The territorial dimensions of a country include its geographical (location, size of territory and population, distance, physical barriers), political/administrative (age of democracy, type of democracy, type of government, type of electoral and party system), economic (Gross Domestic Product [GDP] per capita, openness of economy) and social/cultural/linguistic/historical attributes

(including shared memories and identities). Thus, geography can influence transport and migration costs and affect communications and the flow of ideas; its political/administrative structure can influence political relations and attitudes towards integration; its economic structure can affect the types of trade relations, financial flows and patterns of labour mobility; and social/cultural/linguistic/historical attributes can influence the capacity for mutual understanding and speedy transfer of ideas and practices. Terms such as 'families of nations'¹⁰ (Castles, 1993), 'centre and periphery'¹¹ (Rokkan, 1980, 1999; Meny and Wright, 1985) and 'constellation'¹² (Mouritzen & Wivel, 2005) structures, as well as 'clusters of Europeanization'¹³ (Goetz, 2006) seek to encapsulate these territorial dimensions that shape a country's Europeanization experience. Thus, for example, a number of scholars point out how a country's small size¹⁴ may accentuate its peripherality and encourage a distinct Europeanization experience (Katzenstein, 1985; Knudsen & Clesse, 1996; Svetlicic, 1997; Goetschel, 1998; Wallace, 1999; Milward, 2000; Thorhallsson, 2000; Armstrong & Read, 2002; Thorhallsson, 2006). In particular, they point to common experiences in terms of their greater dependence than large states, on market economies and supranational institutions (e.g. the Commission), weaker but also more informal and flexible public administrations, limited bargaining leverage at the EU level and a tendency to prioritize specific policy areas (e.g. agriculture, regional policy).¹⁵ Similarly, other scholars point to how a country's southern-Mediterranean status accentuates a distinct Europeanization experience (La Spina & Sciortino, 1993; Aguilar Fernandez, 1994; Pridham & Cini, 1994; Pridman, 1996; Morlino, 1998; Taggart, 1998; Diamandouros & Gunther, 2001; Featherstone & Kazamias, 2001; Pinto & Texeira, 2002; Royo & Manuel, 2003; Falkner *et al.*, 2005; Lucarelli & Radaelli, 2005). In particular, they point out the existence of a 'Mediterranean syndrome' defined by these countries' economic development and social stratification as a consequence of late industrialization, their relatively greater importance on agriculture and services, their financial dependence on EU development aid, their weak bargaining strength and ability to shape EU institutions and policies, their weak public administrations and poor implementation records, their weak and individualistic civil societies and capital, their fragmented party-dominated policy processes, their tendency for corruption and clientelism and their relative absence of popularly based or party Euroscepticism.¹⁶ Thus, on the basis of these insights one can indentify in Europe territorial constellations of small versus large, south versus north and core versus peripheral states.

The temporal dimensions of a country can also significantly affect a country's Europeanization experience. This dimension has four

components. It consists of the country's time of accession to the EU in relation to: (a) its domestic political and economic development; and (b) the phase of European integration (cf. Pierson, 1996; Goetz, 2006). It also includes a country's 'temporal rules of governance' that is (c) the temporal rules or inner clocks of its government/administrative structure and (d) the strategic use of temporal governing devices such as calendars, timetables and road maps (Ekengren, 2002; Eder, 2004; Goetz, 2006). In regards to the first time component, accounts of the Southern Europeanization experiences routinely note the interaction between integration, post-authoritarian democratization and socioeconomic modernization in the Greek, Portuguese and Spanish cases (Featherstone & Kazamias, 2001; Pinto & Teixeira, 2002; Royo & Manuel, 2003). Similarly, in the case of the CEE countries, Europeanization and post-communist democratization are equally entangled (Dimitrova, 2004; Pridham, 2005).¹⁷ One can argue there is also an interaction between Europeanization and post-colonial democratization in Cyprus, Malta and Ireland. Much like former authoritarian (Greece, Portugal, Spain) and communist states (CEE states),¹⁸ post-colonial states in Europe, as well as in Africa and Asia, share a certain affinity in terms of their processes of state and nation-building, most of them being problematic and ridden with ethnic conflict, civil war, political turmoil and divisions.¹⁹ Moreover, the political, economic and social fabric of these societies bares the specific imprint and legacy of their former colonial rulers – in the case of Cyprus, imperial Britain. The political and economic development of these countries, government institutions, political culture, identity and citizenship, all bear post-colonial characteristics and have shaped a unique Europeanization experience for these states. Thus, countries emerging from authoritarian, colonial and communist societies face greater adaptation challenges on their path towards the EU than consolidated democracies. Countries in which Europeanization, post-authoritarian, post-communist and/or post-colonial democratization and economic liberalization closely interact are also more likely to find themselves in the position of policy-takers rather than policy-shapers, not least because they lack the strong domestic institutional foundations of consolidated democracies.

Another commonality of these states is that they have been part of agrarian and predominantly catholic and orthodox Europe that was slow in reforming its traditions, as opposed to the 'fast' countries of the industrial and protestant Europe of the Northwest which were engaged in the Reformation process. These 'slow' European counties are 'laggards' and followers of integration initiatives and are reluctant to engage in differentiated integration initiatives such as multi-speed and variable geometry

Europe in order to realize their policy ambitions. They are characterized by anticipatory, adaptive and 'downloading' Europeanization, and they are generally in the fringes of EU policy-making processes. 'Slow' states are also characterized by immature liberal democracies and weak and inefficient political and economic institutions. In regards to the second time component, the time of a country's accession to the EU in relation to the nature of the Union at the time defined in terms of the prevalent EU policy-making mode also creates a distinct Europeanization experience. Thus, for example, countries that joined the EU at a time when 'integration through law' was the predominant form of EU policy-making, might find it more difficult to reorient their domestic arrangements towards new governance instruments than those that have had to confront a more diverse policy repertoire from the beginning. Similarly, countries that joined the EU during a time when the 'regulatory mode' was prevalent and where domestic costs of integration could be cushioned by large transfer payments are likely to develop different patterns of domestic mobilization than those in which early adaptational costs remained largely uncompensated. With the same logic, countries that joined at a time when the prevalent EU policy-making mode was the 'community method', 'distributional mode' or 'intensive transgovernmentalism' are likely to have different responses to Europeanization.²⁰ With regards to the third time component, the degree of disparity between the institutional and administrative rhythms – or 'inner clocks' – of countries, that is, the time, sequence and speed with which national institutions and administrations work, between the equivalent EU rhythms may create greater pressures of adaptation for those states. Regarding the fourth time component, the way in which domestic actors make use of temporal devices such as calendars, timetables, road maps and deadlines can speed or slow down Europeanization. For example, the use of these temporal devices can slow or speed up the opening or closing of accession chapters during accession negotiations and the transposition of EU law into domestic law. Hence, on the basis of these insights one can identify temporal constellations of new versus old, slow versus fast and imperial versus post-colonial states.

Aims and method

This book has a dual aim: (a) to indicate the impact of the EU on the polity, policies and politics of Cyprus, as well as the impact of Cyprus on the institutions, policies and procedures of the EU; and (b) to identify the

rationalist and *constructivist* mechanisms as well as *downloading*, *uploading* and *cross-loading* processes of Europeanization that have effected this impact in light of the country's *territorial* and *temporal* dimensions. In this process, it will also attempt to synthesize and enhance these mechanisms, processes and dimensions of Europeanization, as well as distinguish alternative rival hypothesis of factors that induce domestic and EU change, such as globalization, democratization, and other internal dynamics and processes.²¹

More specifically, in regards to the first aim, the book identifies the impact of the EU on the executive, legislative and judicial authorities (*polity*), political parties and public opinion (*politics*), and economy, agricultural, regional, foreign and justice and home affairs policies (*policies*) of Cyprus, and vice versa the impact of Cyprus on the major institutions and policies of the EU (e.g. European Monetary Union [EMU], Common Foreign Security Policy [CFSP]/European Security and Defence Policy [ESDP], Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters [PJCCM]). In regards to the second aim, it distinguishes empirically the significance of *rationalist* and *constructivist* incentives in effecting change in the country. One way to distinguish these different incentive mechanisms is to focus on the details in the policy-making processes and trace specific aspects of the interaction between EU institutions and domestic politics (Andonova, 2005: 139). Thus, when *rationalist* mechanisms are taking place (i.e. within a context of a logic of consequences), there should be greater emphasis on institutional mechanisms such as monitoring, strategic information-sharing, dependency of assistance on particular outcomes, and negotiations of follow-up procedures. When *constructivist* mechanisms are taking place (within the logic of appropriateness) one should notice processes of network-building, capacity-building, framework agreements, and support for transnational expert groups. Furthermore, *downloading* processes of Europeanization are distinguished in the cases of adaptation of EU institutions, policies and procedures at the national level; *uploading* in the cases of projection of policy preferences at the EU level and shaping of EU institutions, policies and procedures; and *cross-loading* in the cases of policy transfer to and from other Member States as well as in mutual exchange of norms, ideas, beliefs and traditions within the EU arena. Finally, the role of the country's *territorial* (small, southern, peripheral and distant) and *temporal* (new, slow, post-colonial) dimensions in impacting the functioning of these mechanisms and processes can be distinguished by a comparative analysis with the Europeanization experiences of countries with the exactly opposite characteristics.

In order to achieve these goals, the book follows a methodological approach that combines both quantitative and qualitative methods. Thus, the quantitative approach will be useful for instances where the impact of Europeanization can be measured on the basis of numerical data (e.g. impact on economy, agriculture, regional policy, public opinion) whereas the qualitative approach (i.e. interviews, official documents) will be useful for instances where Europeanization cannot be measured exclusively on such data (e.g. impact on government, foreign policy). The qualitative approach will also be particularly useful in identifying the various mechanisms of Europeanization that have effected change in the country, as well as these downloading, uploading and cross-loading processes. Thus, for example, in order to document the various motivations for policy change and policy outcomes, one has to examine officials' personal statements and official documents (government and parliamentary records at both the national and EU levels), while also searching for gaps or disconnects among rhetoric, stated motivation, material interests, and policy outcomes (Andonova, 2005). For example, the adoption of EU norms despite recognized failures of financial assistance or rule adoption exceeding formal EU requirements may indicate strong influence of 'social learning' and 'lesson drawing'. By contrast, evidence of little policy action in support of principles embraced rhetorically or the reversal of internationally promoted principles as a result of a change in the strategic environment or material interests will indicate a weak impact of transnational learning and norm diffusion.

Literature review

The overwhelming majority of studies on the relation between Cyprus and the EU have focused on the impact of the latter on the Cyprus problem (Nugent, 2000; Diez, 2002; Baier-Allen, 2004; Tocci, 2004; Christou, 2004; Eralp & Beriker, 2005; Richmond, 2006) while others have also touched upon this issue through their overall examination of the Cyprus conflict (Joseph, 1997; Kramer, 1997; Brewin, 2000; Theophanous, 2000; Green & Collins, 2003; Richter & Fouskas, 2003) and in comparative studies assessing the role of the EU in conflict resolution (Coppeters *et al.*, 2004; Diez *et al.*, 2006; Tocci, 2007). This important issue is not the focus of this book, although it is inevitably addressed in the historical chapters and the Europeanization of the country's foreign policy. Another volume (Stefanou, 2005) focused on the transposition of the EU *acquis* into Cypriot national law, a process commonly referred

to as harmonization. Again, this is not the focus of this volume – harmonization and Europeanization are distinct terms (Radaelli, 2000a: 6). Rather, the book's distinctive contribution is that it aims to offer the first systematic examination of the impact of the EU on the polity, policies and politics of Cyprus, and vice versa, by drawing from both *rationalist* and *constructivist* mechanisms and *downloading*, *uploading* and *cross-loading* processes of Europeanization while also assessing how the country's *territorial* and *temporal* dimensions have mediated the impact of these mechanisms and processes. In this process, it ultimately aims to synthesize and enhance these mechanisms and processes of Europeanization and assess their applicability to other countries with particular *territorial* and *temporal* dimensions, whether inside or outside the EU.

Organization

The book is structured as follows: Chapter 2 examines the process of the creation of modern Cyprus and how various European and other imperial powers have shaped the country's political, economic and social fabric and defined the country's turmoil-ridden history. Chapter 3 examines the evolution of Cyprus' relations with the EU explaining the context under which the country gradually integrated into the European Community (EC)/EU, the strategies employed to achieve that, as well as the position of various European powers and EU institutions on the country's bid for membership. Chapter 4 examines the impact of Europeanization on the executive, legislative and judiciary authorities in Cyprus. The chapter also examines the workings and pitfalls of the country's national coordination of EU policy system involving the three levels of governance. Chapter 5 examines the impact of Europeanization on the Cypriot political parties and public opinion. It provides a historical analysis of the Cypriot party system and examines reforms in terms of the parties' policy/programmatic content, organizational structures, patterns of party competition, party-government relations and relations beyond the national party system. It also addresses the cohesive impact of the process of Europeanization on the parties and further reforms required in the institutions, practices, norms and behaviours of these political parties in order to help their constituencies meet the challenges of the new European environment. The second part examines diffuse and specific support of the Cypriot public towards the EU and its institutions and policies. Chapter 6 analyses the impact of Europeanization on the structure of state–economy relations as well as the nature of the country's economy. It provides a historical analysis of the state of the Cypriot

economy and focuses on reforms in the domestic markets, state institutions, macroeconomic fiscal and monetary policy as well as changes in the country's trade patterns as a result of market liberalization. It also examines past and ongoing reforms to prepare the country for its participation in the euro and the Lisbon process. Chapter 7 examines the impact of Europeanization on the agricultural and regional policy regime of the country. The first part analyses the historical importance of the agricultural sector for the Cypriot economy as well as the structural reforms that have occurred in this sector from the adoption of the EU's Common Agricultural and Fisheries Policies. The second part analyses the territorial and institutional reforms which have taken place for the purpose of absorbing the EU's structural and cohesion funds, the impact of these funds on the economy as well as further reforms that are required to increase the absorption and management capacity of the state. Chapter 8 examines the impact of Europeanization on the foreign policy of the country. It focuses on the impact of the CFSP/ESDP on the institutions and nature of the Cypriot foreign policy, with emphasis on its relations with the principle actors of the Cyprus conflict, that is, the Turkish-Cypriot community, Turkey, Greece and the UK, as well as its relations with other major EU Member States and world powers such as the US, Russia and China, as well as states in the EU's neighbourhood. Chapter 9 examines the impact of Europeanization on the country's justice and home affairs policy. It focuses on the various reforms that have taken place as a result of the adoption of the various provisions of the Schengen *acquis*, including in the areas of external borders, immigration, organized crime and drug trafficking, terrorism, corruption, judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matters and human rights. Finally, the conclusion assesses the overall impact of Europeanization on Cyprus and examines the interrelation of these mechanisms, processes and dimensions of Europeanization while also assessing their implication to other countries, whether inside or outside the EU.

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