

THE UNCERTAINTY OF EU ENLARGEMENT

ANALYSIS

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The European Commission has made the progress of enlargement more measurable for the countries of the western Balkans through an improved assessment methodology in place since 2015. But has that made progress more predictable? A five year timespan (2015-2019) enables researchers and practitioners to examine the experience of European enlargement in the region and draw advice to improve the enlargement “model”. This paper will take the data of Commission’s 2015-2019 reports for the two frontrunners (Serbia and Montenegro) and the countries next in line for opening accession negotiations (Albania and North Macedonia) to analyse concerns related to the current pace of accession in the region and EU’s transformative power.

Over the past decade, the European Commission’s (EC) reports on the western Balkan (WB) countries’ accession process have become more comprehensive and clearer. As of 2015, the reports evaluate the progress made through a measuring system covering 33 chapters (topic areas) and seven priority areas of the so-called “[Fundamentals first](#)”.¹ Namely, EC measures the level of preparedness of WB accession countries in each of the areas through a five-scale system – Early stage of preparation (5); Some level of preparation (4); Moderately prepared (3); Good level of preparation (2); and Well advanced (1).² This allows governments in the region, the EU itself and other stakeholders (media, academia, think tanks etc.) to examine the results of WB governments in meeting membership criteria thus increasing accountability of political elites in WB countries.

Based on the findings of the reports, EC issues tailor made recommendations for each of the areas. Subsequently, it evaluates whether and to what extent WB countries in specific areas have addressed the recommendations through a scaling system, as follows: Very good progress (1); Good progress (2); Some progress (3); Limited progress (4); No progress (5) and Backsliding (6).

While cross-country analysis and comparisons can be drawn on the level of preparedness, such analysis wouldn’t be entirely accurate in relation to the performance of accession countries in addressing recommendations of EC reports. The Commission puts forward recommendations for a specific country in a specific chapter / priority area by taking into consideration the level of preparedness of that specific country in that specific chapter at that specific year. While in some chapters/priority areas it is easier to address certain recommendations over a 12 month period, in others the process takes much longer. Additionally, in order to draw conclusions on trends, it is important to look at the progress over a longer period which is now possible thanks to EC reports 2015-2019. Nevertheless, the scaling system assessing the progress made in addressing EC reports’ recommendations can serve as an indicator for the trend of the political interest and the determination of a WB government in the path towards accession of the European Union (EU). Therefore, the level of preparedness shows us with greater certainty the state of play in a particular chapter in “X” or “Y” country, while the performance in addressing recommendations rather indicates how willing WB governments are to follow EC guidance. When a country continues to

¹ The 2014 EU enlargement strategy prioritizes three main pillars for WB countries’ accession process – rule of law, economic governance and public administration. The subsequent 2015 EC reports for WB countries hence assess seven areas under this approach - Public administration reform; Functioning of judiciary; Fight against corruption; Freedom of expression; Fight against organised crime; Existence of functioning market economy; and Capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces in the EU.

² The 2015 EC reports did not use a unified methodology for all chapters hence the data for this year pose some limitations.

make progress it is actively working to fulfil the EC requirements, while slow progress indicates that a government is only prepared to do the bare minimum.

Although the Commission has indeed made the process more measurable, it does not mean that the data of EC reports helps us to make it more predictable as well. The varying non-technical (like a member state blocking further progress based on a bilateral issue) or other “external”³ factors prevent us from developing an accurate model that forecasts the pace of accession although different scholars have attempted to do so, at least theoretically.⁴ Nevertheless, the data of EC reports over the years can help us understand the current performance of accession process, and lead us to knowledge that would improve the model of accession and EU’s transformative power in the region.

It is important to note that uncertainties may persist even if we improve the technical part of the “EU accession model”, because, ultimately, EU accession is also about political interest and will on both sides (member states and accession countries) and about how it is used.⁵ This does not imply that EC’s assessment system is irrelevant or technically inaccurate. In fact, it is thanks to such transparent system that we, researchers and practitioners, come to construct our analysis by using the wealth of data that was developed and made available over the past five years by the Commission.

2015-2019, what do EC reports suggest?

The data generated by EC reports on WB countries’ accession is increasingly getting the attention of policy analysts and fellow researchers. In April 2019, the European Stability Initiative (ESI) published an analysis of the 2018 EC reports for Albania, North Macedonia (MKD) and Serbia.⁶ It reveals that North Macedonia, which has not opened accession negotiations, is outperforming Serbia (negotiating since 2014) in the seven areas of fundamentals. On the 33 Chapters of the acquis, North Macedonia and Serbia have in average the same performance, despite the fact that Serbia has opened 16 Chapters while North Macedonia was not able to start the negotiations. With regards to Albania, the country is performing at the same level as Serbia on the seven Fundamentals.

In May 2019, ESI published an analysis of the 2019 reports of the European Commission, which for the first time also included Montenegro. This report suggests, again, that North Macedonia is outperforming Serbia, Montenegro and Albania on the seven fundamentals. Additionally, the average score of the level of preparation for the 33 chapters in North Macedonia is the same as in Serbia and Montenegro.⁷ Albania and Serbia are on the same level of preparedness with regards to the seven Fundamentals. In other words, North Macedonia is more prepared than Serbia and Montenegro, but has not opened negotiations. This

³ External factors may be anything that is not a variable of the technical process of alignment with EU membership criteria.

⁴ Böhmelt, T. and Freyburg, T. (2018). Forecasting candidate states’ compliance with EU accession rules, 2017–2050. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(11): 1667–85. doi: 10.1080/13501763.2017.1348385

⁵ See “Money, power, glory: the linkages between EU conditionality and state capture in the Western Balkans” Solveig Richter & Natasha Wunsch, 17 February 2019. Available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13501763.2019.1578815>.

⁶ See “How are they doing” ESI, 29 April 2019 available at <https://www.esiweb.org/pdf/ESI%20-%20How%20are%20they%20doing%20-%20deciding%20on%20merit%20-%20April%202019.pdf>

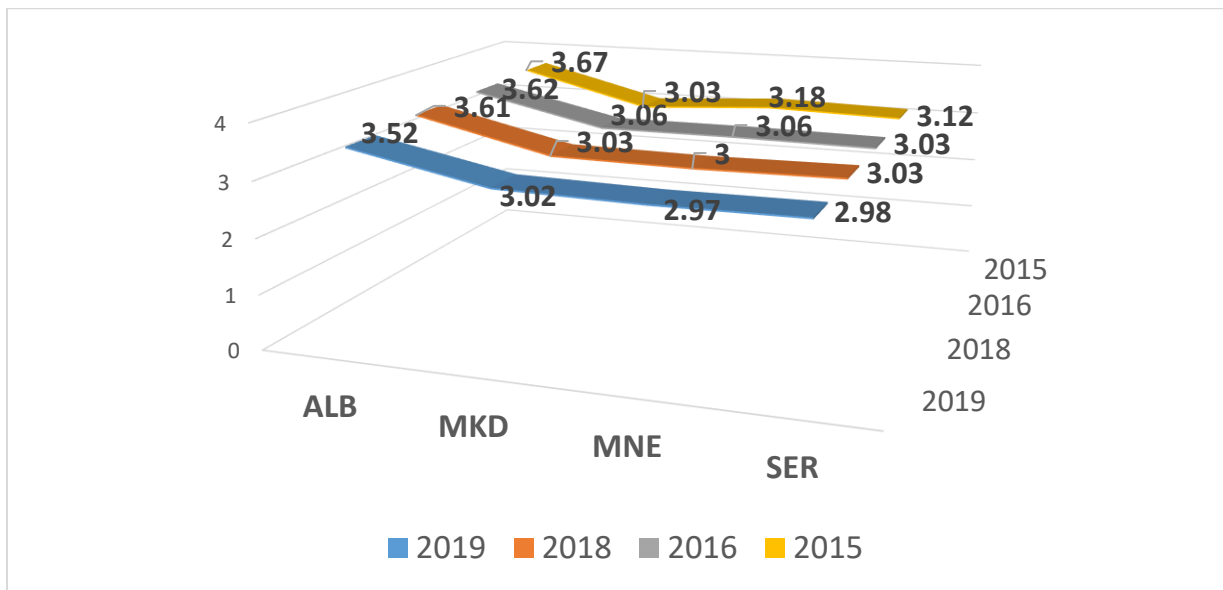
⁷ See “How are they doing 32019” ESI, 29 May 2019 available at <https://www.esiweb.org/pdf/ESI%20-%20How%20are%20they%20doing%20-%20deciding%20on%20merit%20-%20May%202019.pdf>

implies that EU has failed to keep up with its promise to North Macedonia and Albania, but it also raises a disturbing question: has the current EU accession model failed? With Serbia and Montenegro already negotiating their membership for years – why are these frontrunners outperformed or at nearly same level with North Macedonia and Albania in 2019? What else are the data on the Fundamentals and the 33 chapters suggesting for Albania, North Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia over the period 2015 - 2019?

Looking at the level of preparedness of Albania, Serbia, Montenegro and North Macedonia (WB 2 + 2)⁸ over the past five years, findings on the 33 chapters show that the process is made at slow pace. No advancement in the level of preparedness was noted for over 2/3rds of negotiating chapters in these countries. Montenegro has received the same score by EC 2015-2019 reports for 23 chapters, Albania for 25, Serbia for 27 and North Macedonia for 29 out of the total of 33 chapters assessed by the Commission. Montenegro has improved the level of preparation for 9 chapters, Albania and Serbia for 6 chapters each and North Macedonia for 3 chapters only. While Serbia has no chapter where its level of preparation was downgraded in the past 5 years, Albania experienced this for 2 chapters, Montenegro and North Macedonia for 1 chapter each. See Appendix 1 with all scores.

Neither of the four countries has achieved a meaningful progress so as its average score for all 33 chapters combined to advance from one to another level of preparedness. See Figure 1.

Figure 1. WB 2+2 (2015-2019): Average "33 Chapters"

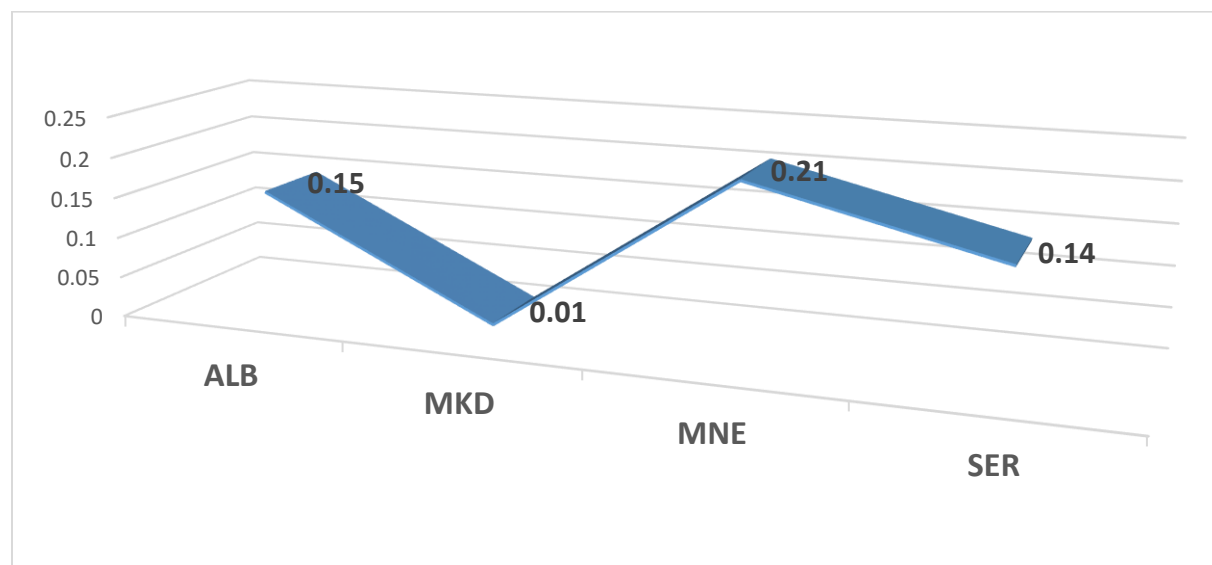


Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019. **Scores:** Early stage (5); Some level of preparation (4); Moderately prepared (3); Good level of preparation (2); Well advanced (1).

⁸ For practical reasons this paper will refer to the four countries under its focus as “WB 2+2” meaning two frontrunners (Serbia and Montenegro) and the next two in line for opening accession negotiations – North Macedonia and Albania.

In fact, Albania has improved its average score of 33 chapters combined, from 2015 to 2019 with quite similar values to those of the two frontrunners. See Figure 2.

Figure 2. WB 2+2 (2015-2019): Positive change in “33 Chapters”



Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (RNM), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019.

In the past five years Albania’s level of preparation for the 33 chapters is at around “moderately prepared” to “some level of preparation” (3.7 in 2015 to 3.5 in 2019); North Macedonia is “moderately prepared” (3.03 in 2015 to 3.02 in 2019); The frontrunners are at the same level of “moderately prepared” with their average scores for 33 chapters improving from 3.18 in 2015 to 2.97 in 2019 for Montenegro and from 3.12 in 2015 to 2.98 in 2019 for Serbia. From this point of View, Montenegro has noted the biggest improve of the score (0.21 points), followed by Albania (0.15), Serbia (0.14) and North Macedonia (0.01).

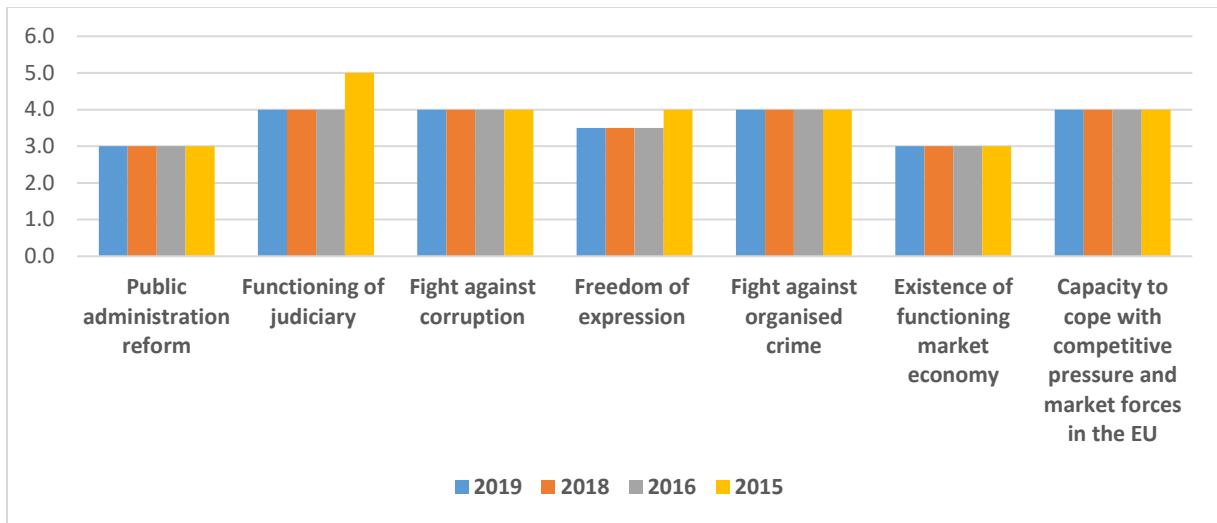
How did WB 2+2 perform on “Fundamentals”?

The European Commission has rightfully identified a set of key areas (Fundamentals), which are not only of pressing concern for WB countries, but also directly influence the effect of reforms in nearly all areas of the 33 negotiation chapters. Priority areas under “Fundamentals” include: Public administration reform; Functioning of judiciary; Fight against corruption; Freedom of expression; Fight against organised crime; Existence of functioning market economy; and Capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces in the EU.

The data produced by EC reports suggests that the frontrunners (Serbia and Montenegro) have made no advancement in the level of preparation. In fact, the only progress is coming from Albania and North Macedonia. Both of them have improved the score of the level of preparation for 2 chapters – Freedom of expression and Functioning of the judiciary. See Appendix 2 with all the scores.

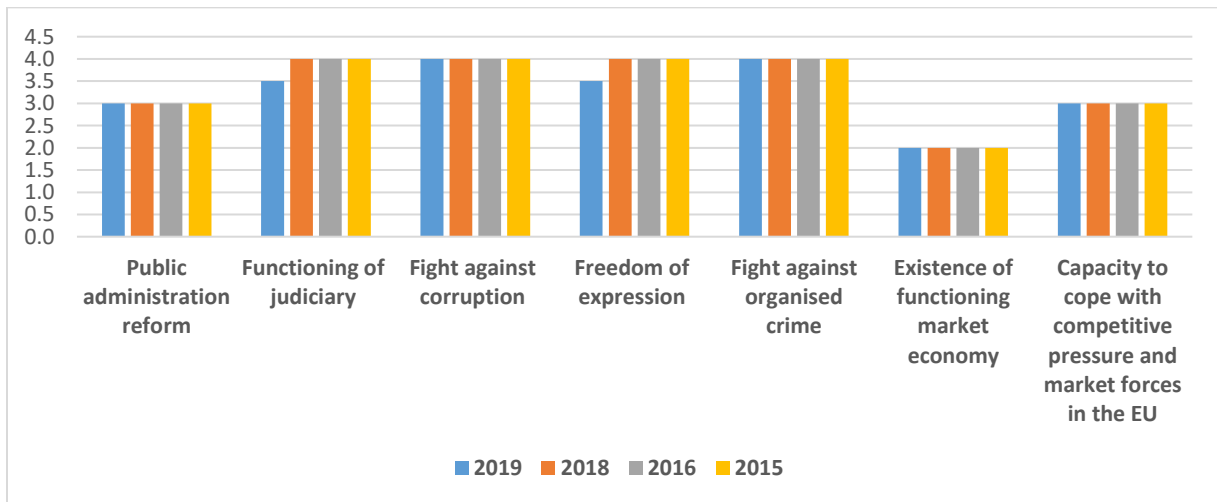
The subsequent figures show the progress of each country in Fundamentals during 2015-2019.

Figure 3. Fundamentals "Albania 2015-2019"



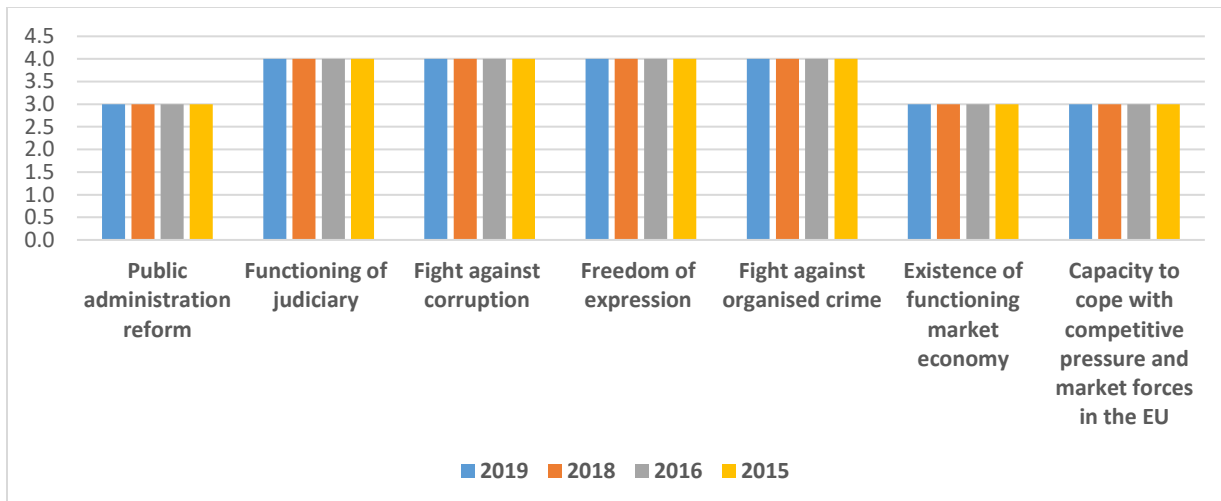
Source: EC reports on Albania 2015-2019.

Figure 4. Fundamentals "North Macedonia 2015-2019"



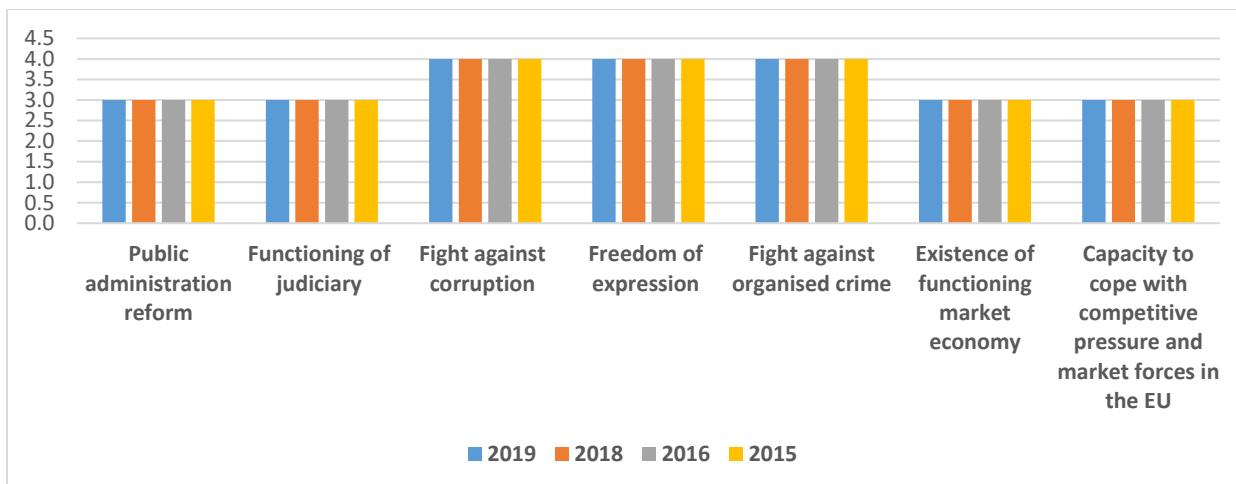
Source: EC reports on Republic of North Macedonia (MKD) 2015-2019.

Figure 5. Fundamentals "Serbia 2015-2019"



Source: EC reports on Serbia (SER) 2015-2019.

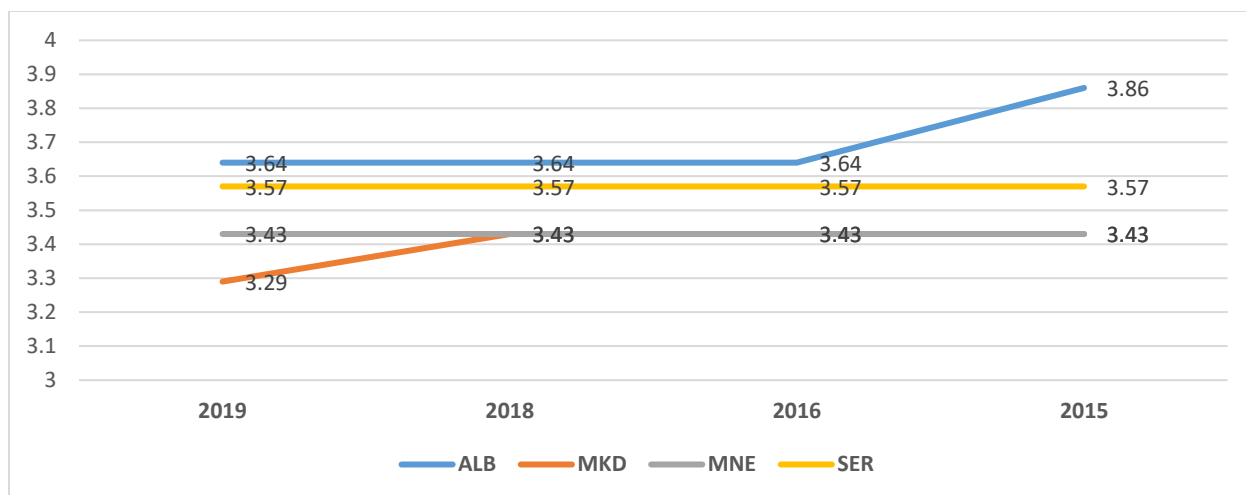
Figure 6. Fundamentals "Montenegro 2015-2019"



Source: EC reports on Montenegro (MNE) 2015-2019.

Not only the frontrunners perform less than the next two in line for opening of accession negotiations, but their average score of the “Fundamentals” is not much different either. North Macedonia is leading the progress with a 3.29 average score in 2019, followed by Montenegro (3.43), Serbia (3.57) and Albania (3.64). See Figure 7.

Figure 7. WB 2+2 (2015-2019): Average “Fundamentals”



Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019.
Scores: Early stage (5); Some level of preparation (4); Moderately prepared (3); Good level of preparation (2); Well advanced (1).

The progress made by the four countries in these seven areas over the past five years shows that they are “resisting progress” in “Fundamentals” and perform better on the 33 chapters.

EC reports’ data of the past five years reveal a fundamental problem – a slow progress accession. This is best illustrated by the lack of progress in Fundamentals by the two frontrunners – Serbia and Montenegro being far from the speed of Croatia’s EU accession which completed the negotiations within seven years.

The responsibility for such a slow pace of accession lies not only with the ruling elites of these four WB countries, but also with EU and its member states. On the one hand, WB ruling elites do not mind a slow accession process, because it allows them to decide on which areas to make progress and which things that may benefit them to keep unchanged. On the one hand, member states seem to be comfortable with the slow pace of accession, because it keeps EU accession off their domestic political discourse.

They decide not only where and when, but also how fast to perform

The data regarding how WB countries respond to EC recommendations for each of the seven priority areas and the 33 chapters over the past five years, show that WB governments (not only choose which areas to progress, but also) decide how fast, if at all, to address tailor made EC recommendations.

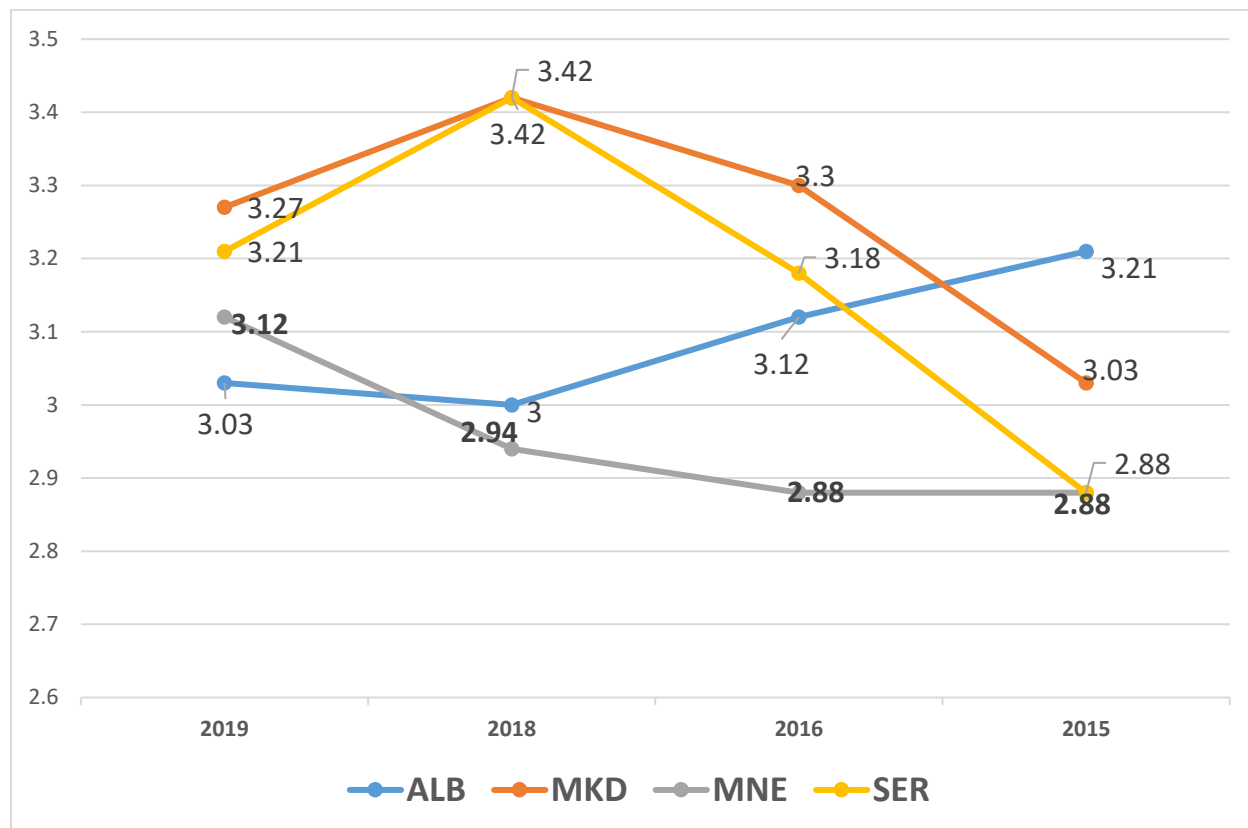
None of the WB 2+2 has ever achieved a recognition of “very good progress” on the recommendations for any of the 7+33 areas over the past five years.⁹ Furthermore, two countries were found to be

⁹ The assessment scale is: Very good progress (1); Good progress (2); Some progress (3); Limited progress (4); No progress (5) and Backsliding (6).

“Backsliding” (6) during this period in three occasions – North Macedonia in 2015 and 2016, and Montenegro in 2018.

Albania in 2019 was found to be more responsive to EC recommendations on the 33 chapters than the other countries, albeit the differences as shown in the figure below are minimal. See Appendix 3 for all the scores.

Figure 8. Keen to follow EC advice? WB 2+ 2 on “33 Chapters” 2015-2019

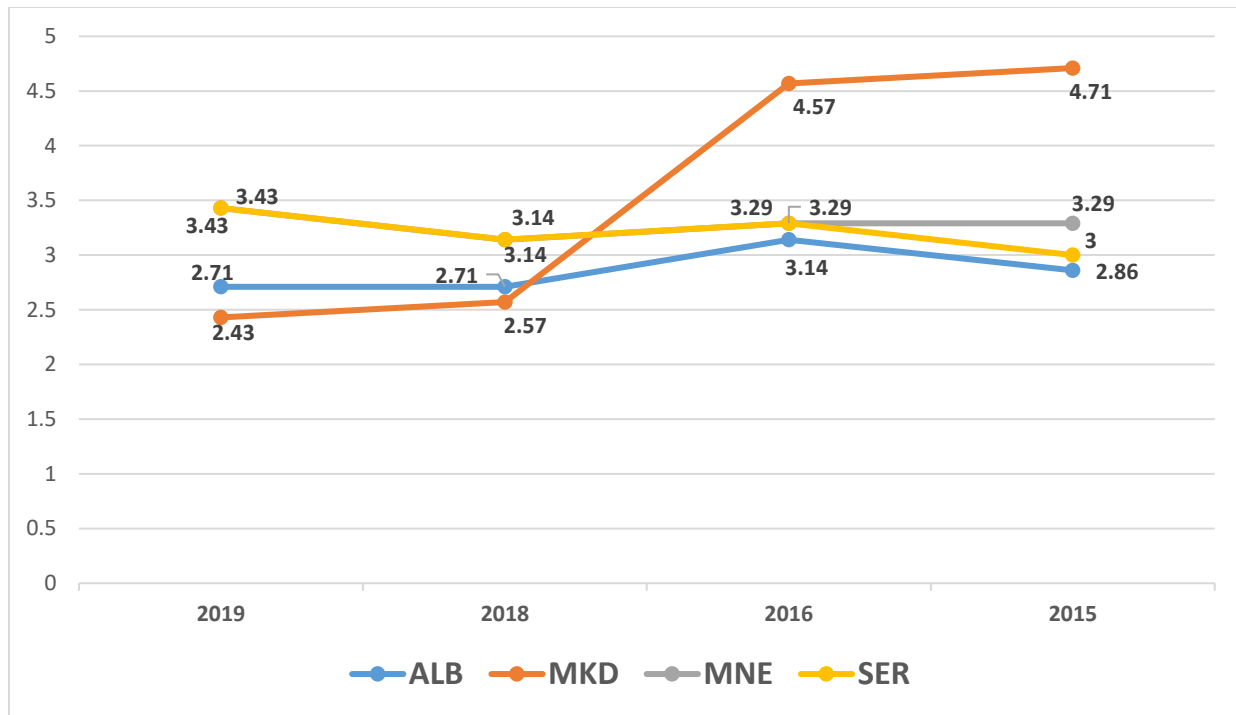


Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019.
Scores: Very good progress (1); Good progress (2); Some progress (3); Limited progress (4); No progress (5); Backsliding (6).

Overall, all four countries most often note “some progress” in addressing EC recommendations related to 33 chapters.

However, their readiness to “listen” to EC advice on the seven areas of fundamentals is different. It is not the frontrunners that make most progress, but the next two in line for opening negotiations: Albania and North Macedonia. These countries are leaning more towards “good progress (2)” while Serbia and Montenegro lean more towards “some progress”. See Figure 9.

Figure 9. Keen to follow EC advice? WB 2+ 2 on “Fundamentals” 2015-2019



Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019. **Scores:** Very good progress (1); Good progress (2); Some progress (3); Limited progress (4); No progress (5); Backsliding (6).

More than five years after opening of accession negotiations, Serbia and Montenegro in 2019 noted “limited” or “no progress” in addressing recommendations for “Freedom of expression” (both, no progress) and “Fight against corruption” (limited progress, in both countries). Albania noted limited progress in 2019 only in regard to addressing EC recommendations for “Freedom of expression”. For all other areas, Albania and North Macedonia have achieved “good” (2) or “some progress” (3) in addressing recommendations, while the frontrunners’ performance in this regard does not go higher than “some progress” (3). See Appendix 4 for all the scores.

Although cross-country comparison in this regard would not be appropriate due to the tailor-made character of EC recommendations, the above data are quite indicative of the political interest and determination of political elites in these countries individually to respond to EC advice and to advance more swiftly in the accession process.

The “uncertainty principle” of enlargement and how to address it

In his “Brief history of time” Stephen Hawking argues that Heisenberg’s “uncertainty principle¹⁰ is a fundamental feature of the universe we live in”. Hence, a successful unified theory that explains everything in the universe must necessarily incorporate it. In Hawking’s words – *we can tell how the*

¹⁰ The uncertainty principle states that the more precisely the position of some particle is determined, the less precisely its momentum can be known, and vice versa.

universe will develop if we know its state at any one time...but only within the limits set by the uncertainty principle.

If enlargement was our universe – the uncertainty principle would be “*the limits set by the political interest to make irreversible progress in the region*”. Rightfully, the Commission eyes on a number of “Fundamental” areas, which are not only precondition but also strongly influence the sustainability of reforms in other chapters. Such power of the “Fundamentals” makes them a difficult challenge. As this analysis showed, it is precisely in the areas of Fundamentals where the political interest from western Balkan political elites sets serious limits. But their political interest is only half of the puzzle. The other half rests with the political interest of EU member states who, erroneously use the consequence (slow progress of WB’s accession) as a justification for their reluctance to actually solve its root cause (impaired transformative power of enlargement).

EU accession is not a technical process of meeting benchmarks set out by EC. It is also a political one where the political interest of accession countries and that of EU member states is essential to ensure sustained progress and positive pressure. Over the past several years however, it seems that EU accession is failing at the political level, which by consequence hampers the “technical” level. Ruling political elites in the WB are setting limits to the democratization and development process because apparently, this will end their control over the state and impunity. North Macedonia crisis (2015-2016) and this country’s revival of performance under EU accession (2017 till present) is a clear example of what the lack of political interest in an accession country can do. Not only has Albania and North Macedonia in the past two years delivered results comparable to or even better than those of the frontrunners in the seven areas of Fundamentals (*see Figure 7*), but they are also outperforming the frontrunners in their readiness to address EC recommendations on Fundamentals (*see Figure 9*). The (lack of) political interest and determination from the EU side is seriously hampering the accession process and facilitating “comfort zone” for WB political elites in government or opposition towards narrow political goals. On the other hand, the lack of political interest from WB elites are ensuring a much needed “comfort zone” for some EU member states which find it difficult to promote enlargement among their own constituencies.

This June the main theme of enlargement debate is to open or not to open accession talks with Albania and North Macedonia. Based on the technical requirements that were discussed in this report, both countries have earned a positive decision. However, it’s even more important for enlargement stakeholders in EU and the region to immediately engage in solving the real concern – slow pace EU accession and impaired transformative power of enlargement. The data of EC reports on accession countries are a good start to recalibrate the accession process. However EU’s political determination must follow. Otherwise, political elites in WB countries will continue to pick and choose when and how fast, if at all, to perform.

Appendixes

Appendix 1. Level of preparation in “33 Chapters” of WB 2+2 according to EC reports 2015-2019

CHAPTERS	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER
	2019	2019	2019	2019	2018	2018	2018	2018	2016	2016	2016	2016	2015	2015	2015	2015
CH1. Free movement of goods	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH2. Free movement of workers	4.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	3.0
CH3. Right of establishment & freedom to provide services	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH4. Free movement of capital	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH5. Public procurement	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH6. Company law	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0
CH7. Intellectual property law	3.5	3.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	1.0	2.0
CH8. Competition policy	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH9. Financial services	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH10. Information society & media	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
CH11. Agriculture & rural development	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	3.0	4.0	5.0
CH12. Food safety, veterinary & phytos. Policy	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0
CH13. Fisheries	5.0	3.0	4.5	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0
CH14. Transport	4.0	3.0	2.5	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	4.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH15. Energy	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH16. Taxation	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH17. Economic & monetary policy	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH18. Statistics	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0
CH19. Social policy & employment	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0
CH20. Enterprise & industrial policy	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH21. Trans-European networks	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0

CH22. Regional policy & coordination of Structural instruments	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH23. Judiciary and fundamental rights	4.0	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0
CH 24. Justice, freedom and security	3.5	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	4.0
CH25. Science and research	5.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
CH26. Education and culture	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
CH27. Environment and climate change	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	5.0
CH28. Consumer and health protection	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH29. Customs union	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
CH30. External relations	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0
CH31. Foreign, security and defense policy	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0
CH32. Financial control	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH33. Financial and budgetary provisions	4.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
Average "33 Chapters"	3.52	3.02	2.97	2.98	3.61	3.03	3.00	3.03	3.62	3.06	3.06	3.03	3.67	3.03	3.18	3.12

Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019.

Scores: Early stage (5); Some level of preparation (4); Moderately prepared (3); Good level of preparation (2); Well advanced (1); Moderately to some level of prep. (3.5);

Early stage to some level (4.5); Good level to moderately prepared (2.5).

Appendix 2. Level of preparation in “Fundamentals” of WB 2+2 according to EC reports 2015-2019

FUNDAMENTALS	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER
	2019	2019	2019	2019	2018	2018	2018	2018	2016	2016	2016	2016	2015	2015	2015	2015
Public administration reform	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Functioning of judiciary	4.0	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	4.0
Fight against corruption	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0
Freedom of expression	3.5	3.5	4.0	4.0	3.5	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.5	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0
Fight against organised crime	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0
Existence of functioning market economy	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
Capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces in the EU	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
AVERAGE "FUNDAMENTALS"	3.64	3.29	3.43	3.57	3.64	3.43	3.43	3.57	3.64	3.43	3.43	3.57	3.86	3.43	3.43	3.57

Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019.

Scores: Early stage (5); Some level of preparation (4); Moderately prepared (3); Good level of preparation (2); Well advanced (1); Moderately to some level of prep. (3.5);

Early stage to some level (4.5); Good level to moderately prepared (2.5).

Appendix 3. How WB 2+2 respond to EC advice on “33 Chapters” (2015-2019)

CHAPTERS	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER
	2019	2019	2019	2019	2018	2018	2018	2018	2016	2016	2016	2016	2015	2015	2015	2015
CH1. Free movement of goods	3.0	5.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0
CH2. Free movement of workers	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0
CH3. Right of establishment & freedom to provide services	3.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH4. Free movement of capital	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH5. Public procurement	3.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	6.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
CH6. Company law	3.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH7. Intellectual property law	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH8. Competition policy	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH9. Financial services	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0
CH10. Information society & media	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH11. Agriculture & rural development	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0
CH12. Food safety, veterinary & phytos. Policy	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH13. Fisheries	3.0	5.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	2.0	3.0
CH14. Transport	4.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0
CH15. Energy	3.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH16. Taxation	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH17. Economic & monetary policy	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH18. Statistics	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0
CH19. Social policy & employment	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH20. Enterprise & industrial policy	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH21. Trans-European networks	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0

CH22. Regional policy & coordination of Structural instruments	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	3.0	
CH23. Judiciary and fundamental rights	2.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	
CH 24. Justice, freedom and security	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
CH25. Science and research	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
CH26. Education and culture	3.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
CH27. Environment and climate change	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
CH28. Consumer and health protection	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
CH29. Customs union	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	
CH30. External relations	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
CH31. Foreign, security and defense policy	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
CH32. Financial control	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	
CH33. Financial and budgetary provisions	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	
AVERAGE FUNDAMENTALS	3.03	3.27	3.12	3.21	3.00	3.42	2.94	3.42	3.12	3.30	2.88	3.18	3.21	3.03	2.88	2.88	

Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019.

Scores: Very good progress (1); Good progress (2); Some progress (3); Limited progress (4); No progress (5); Backsliding (6).

Appendix 4. How WB 2+2 respond to EC advice on “Fundamentals” (2015-2019)

FUNDAMENTALS	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER	ALB	MKD	MNE	SER
	2019	2019	2019	2019	2018	2018	2018	2018	2016	2016	2016	2016	2015	2015	2015	2015
Public administration reform	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0
Functioning of judiciary	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	6.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	6.0	3.0	3.0
Fight against corruption	2.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0
Freedom of expression	4.0	2.0	5.0	5.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	3.0	6.0	5.0	5.0
Fight against organised crime	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0
Existence of functioning market economy	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	2.0
Capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces in the EU	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
AVERAGE "FUNDAMENTALS"	2.71	2.43	3.43	3.43	2.71	2.57	3.14	3.14	3.14	4.57	3.29	3.29	2.86	4.71	3.29	3.00

Source: EC reports on Albania (ALB), Republic of North Macedonia (MKD), Montenegro (MNE) and Serbia (SER) 2015-2019.

Scores: Very good progress (1); Good progress (2); Some progress (3); Limited progress (4); No progress (5); Backsliding (6).