THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF REGIONALIZATION OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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Received 15 November 2011; reviewed 2 December 2011; accepted 19 March 2012

Abstract: Subject of this paper is focused on the multidisciplinary approach in studying the phenomenon of regionalization, which is conceived as the process of creation of lower administrative and territorial units within a state and transfer of central authorities to these units. Different concepts have been analyzed; the most significant characteristics of definitions: region, regionalization and regionalism have been underlined. Based on the multidisciplinary approach and method, four dominant models of regionalism in Europe have been defined: constitutional, strong, decentralized and administrative one. Regionalization concept has been considered in the dynamic way, within the historical context. Creation of European national states in the period between 17th and 19th century have been analyzed and centralistic state approach based on centralization and hierarchical vision of relations between central government and regions has been explained. Such approach has remained dominant in the territorial policy of national states until the last decades of the 20th century. The paper has presented historical path of regionalization in European countries with dominant models of regionalization e.g. Germany, Italy, France and Scandinavian countries as well as Spain, country with strong regional roots, which dated back more than couple of hundred years. Special attention has been given to analysis of different paths and contents of decentralization in European countries, starting in the 1970’s. Based on the analysis of contents of decentralization and regionalization and its constitutional and legal foundation it has been concluded that these processes represent significant step in further democratization of European countries.

Key words: regionalization, region, regionalism, Europe, decentralization.

Introduction

Process of creation of national states in Europe started during 17th century in France, England and Spain. Essential pre-condition for successful emergence of national states was establishment of central authorities, which had been supported by administration in France and Spain, and by the representative institutions in England (Fabrini, 2007, p. 14). This pattern has also been implemented in states in which the proceses of national state’s creation was

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conducted during the second part of 19th century, such as Germany and Italy. In those countries, establishment of central authorities had been supported by the administration or by the establishment of representative institutions respectfully. Analyses of European states’ historic development point out that development concept in the period between 17th and 19th century was based upon the following idea “The state is the nation and the nation is the state” (Puig, 2007, p. 14). Due to the aspiration for strengthening of state capacities, the elaboration of this idea had gone even further in some countries, all the way to the standing that “state can only be unitary”, thus ignoring the fact that a state can have many different forms and that a complex state is the most common solution.

In the states in which jacobinian concept of centralised unitary state was accepted as a dominant doctrine of constitutional system, there was no space for creation of other forms of territorial communities. Thus, characteristic national and regional identities had stayed captured within the idea of unitary state, without a chance for their own development (Puig, 2007, p. 14). The majority was assimilated, many of them had been hidden for years, but were never gone.

State-centralised approach based on centralisation and hierarchical vision of relation between central government and the regions stayed dominant in territorial policy of national states until the last decades of 20th century. Fundamental postulate of this approach was based on the idea of “wholism”, according to which the whole is more important that the parts. According to Rokkan and Urwin (1982), this idea, in the regional politics, starts from the point that a state is the only repository of national interests, capable for guaranteeing and distribution of public goods, whereas the regions, due to their specific interests, identity and needs, can not have an active political role. Such hierarchical concept of relations between center and the regions, “top-down approach” was accepted, both on the level of European national states and the level of European Union until the late 1970’s of 20th century and it was known as the “old regionalism”. Hierarchical concept of relations, based on the strong central and the weak regional government, implied impersonality of the region as the agent, which was reduced to a mere executor of central government’s tasks. Therefore, genesis of each characteristic regional identity was perceived as a threat to territorial integrity of a country. A relation conceived in such way necessarily created conditions for conflicts and rebellions; thus, according to Gottmann (1980), confrontation is in the essence of model “center-pheriphery”, specially since the politics has been introduced to territorial model (p. 20).

That’s how the aspirations for identification and legitimation of regional conscience and special territorial interests were suppressed for years within the
frameworks of centralist and unitary constituted states. During the 1960’s of 20th century, politisation of regional aspirations was mainly characterised by social and culturally marked demands in relation to economic factors, which led to awakening of regional and national policies in Scotland, Wales, Bretagne, Corsica, Catalonia, Baskia and Belgium as well.

Regionalisation can be observed in waves, i.e. periods in which many European countries had established different reforms in decentralisation of the government and distribution of responsibility with local authorities. With the arrival of the 1960’s and the 1970’s, as well as with the key years of the rise of regionalisation during the 1980’s and the 1990’s, a significant deviation from centralism, which was previously a rule in the majority of the European countries, could be noticed. On the institutional level, processes of regionalism and regionalisation started after the foundation of the first European institutions (Council of Europe has been founded in 1949, whereas European Coal and Steel Community in 1952). Council of Europe took the first steps in internationalisation of the regional idea, therefore it organised the Conference of Local Authorities of Europe the same year. By organising CEPL, Council of Europe had the aim for this body to represent the regions and not only local authorities, provinces, districts, etc. Such idea represented the first formal institutionalisation of European regional idea.

The idea itself had two key aspects: first – development of the regions on European level and second – creation of the regions within the European countries themselves. Still, the implementation in the full sense has come into life almost 20 years later, when it gained full political support. Since then, European countries have been implementing many reforms of regionalism, thus distinguishing four dominant models: constitutional regionalism, characteristic for Federal Republic of Germany; strong regionalism, characteristic for Italy; decentralised regionalism, characteristic for France and administrative regionalism, characteristic for Norway and other Scandinavian countries. (AER, 2010b).

The aim of this paper and its methodological framework has been limited and directed towards the analysis of historic development of regional idea and its implementation within certain European countries. The regionalisation process itself comprises of finding the optimal solutions for territorially functional organisation and their maximum possible adjustment with geographic location and natural basis, as well as the knowledge and anticipation of demographic processes, repression of ethnographic getoisation, abetment of comparative and competitive development advantages, elaboration of new solutions regarding
management - territorial organisation. The subjects of the paper are relations and relationships, similarities or differences of the structures, functions and behaviours of regional processes between the observed countries.

Theoretical background, defining the regions and concept of regionalisation

In scientific literature, there is no generally accepted definition of the *region*. Still, most of the authors would agree that *region* implies certain geographic closeness and neighbourhood (Hurrell, 1995, p. 353) and mutual interdependency (Nye, 1965, page vii). Other authors would add that there is certain degree of cultural homogeneity (Russett, 1967), conjunction of cultural relations between specific groups and certain area (Gilbert, 1988) or sense of colectiveness (Deutsch et al., 1957). Most commonly, region has only geographical determinant of the specific area, which has “mutual social or even natural characteristics”, without administrative structure. Moreover, region sometimes also applies to a continent (Europe, Australia). Geographic determinant becomes primary in defining region for “New regional geography”, which has evolved at the end of 20th century. New regional geography would be based on the new epistemologic, ontologic and methodologic basis, from which the new comprehension of a region came out of. According to Reibsame (1994, p. 1), region is perceived as an arena for take-off of human activities, whereas it can, but not necessarily, be a geographic entity with clearly defined borders.

According to Puhle (1999), region can be defined as every territory which is smaller than a state and bigger than locality or district. Region, in the classical historical sense, purports territories such as traditional French provinces, which were institutionaly torn down during French revolution or Napoleon’s rule, or some traditional territories – regions, such as Lombardy, Catalonia, Wales or Frankonia. Region can also be artificialy created, which was the case in French regional plans, coordinated to NUTS standards. Practically, a part of central authority can be “regionalised” by one “move” of the state. On the other hand, there are traditional regions which have their own regional identity and cohesion, tradition, mutual history, experience and separate language.

Definition of the region can also have natural geographic determinant. One of the most significant representatives of regional geography, Carl Ritter, defines the region as unique and unrepeteable completeness, where the unity between a nature and a man exists (Tošić, 2005, p. 5). According to this author, region is chlological unit, which consists of particular geographic area with its content. Earth surface is heterogenous and made of more counties (regions), where the region evolves in proces of adaptation of a man, organised into societies,
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determined by natural conditions. Within this definition, it is important to outline the similarity between terms region and county. Namely, majority of geographers use term county, as territorial time category, modeled within the interaction of the nature – society, which is geography’s fundament. Determinant of the region includes higher social aspects, where the most dominant ones are: historic, political, economic, cultural and other aspects. Nowadays, regions mostly refer to administrative units. At the end of this explanation, it can be said that an economist or a politician would always use term region, whereas a geographer would also use term county.

Region can also have geographic statistic determinant, which exists in EU terminology, where it is explained by the statistic classifications – NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics). It can also be explained with regional ethnic characteristics, which can be seen more and more often in scientific and professional papers (Blagojević, 2005, p. 96).

According to AER's [Assembly of European Regions] Declaration on Regionalisation, a region is defined as a territorial legal body, which is right beneath the state on the decision-making level and which owns independent political government (AER, 1996). According to this definition, European regions don’t represent homogenous entities and highly differ based on: size, population, institutional structure, jurisdiction and financial power. Still, all European regions have the same basic goal: to contribute to democratic aims and provide service to citizens on the level which is low enough to enable them “to be as close as possible to citizens and their needs”, but also high enough in order to achieve the economy of the scope. With AER’s definition of the region, it is oftenly emphasized that the region is recognised within the national Constitution or the law which guarantees its autonomy, identity, empowerments and organisational structure.

Process of creation lower administrative - territorial units within a state and transfer of central authorities to these units is called regionalisation. These administrative - territorial units are on middle level of authority, between the central government and the municipalities. While regionalism encircles intergovernment (interstate) activities “from the top to the bottom”, political and very oftenly also high institutionalised practice, regionalisation is social process “from the bottom to the top”, mostly economically motivated (Mansfield & Solingen, 2010). Regionalisation is a system of methods (actions) whose implementation is used to know, reveal, model and construct complete territorial systems – regions, as typological categories and occurrences of unique character. According to its essence, that is a very complex method which, on one hand,
expresses subject and methodologic particularity of geographic science, and on the other hand encompasses a whole system of general and special methods (Radovanović, 1993-1994, p. 74). According to the same author, regionalisation is, leastways, brought down to differentiation of territory onto complete territorial systems – regions as real geosystematic complexes and territorial differentiation according to criteria of relative homogenousness (heterogenousness) of charactersitics, gravity-functional cohesion, levels and character of economic development, politically territorial organisational stage, production-technological territorial compactness, character and population density, ethnographic and cultural specificities, etc. Due to plentitude of factors and diversity of characteristics which have territorial parameters, regionalisation method has gone out of framework of classic regional geography a long time ago and gained character of general method in all those sciences which observe territorial relations between occurrences from any aspect whatsoever.

Methodological review

Methodological development can be observed with the transition of traditional to new regional geography. According to Tošić (2005), traditional regional geography based on hological principle experiences graduate criticism due to its theoretic-methodologically weaknesses and is gradually being abandoned in scientific public (p. 4). Its value is reduced to informative and educational sphere. With the occurrence of new regional geography at the end of 20th century, which is based on epistemological, ontological and metodological basis, the region itself has the new comprehension. The same author says that when speaking about regional geography on rationalism, the foundation in Germany was set by C. Ritter (Tošić, 2005, p. 5). The French and the British idea was based upon the idea of posibilism, the Russians based their idea on dualism, whereas the Americans were under the influence of pragmatism. How big was the influence of these methodologies on regional economy and models of regionalisation in general can be seen from the fact that Länders (regions) have also key place in German Constitution under the influence of German school, thus representing one of the more dominant, traditional models of regionalisation – constitutional regionalism.

Still, it's not only geography (traditional and new regional geography) which had the influence on development of regional methodology. Greater implementation of mathematical and statistic methods has generated development of regional geography, specially regional economy, which is nowadays very actual discipline. Moreover, these methods, without which contemporary economy can not be imagined, also represent the biggest initiators of regional studies. Certain
authors, among which famous geographer Bunge (1962), have noticed even 50 years ago the significance of mathematical methods' significance. According to this author, delimitation of territorial relations and relationships, through mathematical methods, borders of the regions, clear as the „rasor's blade“ can be determined.

Implementation of statistic methods represents starting base in all regional researches. Almost all European countries have accepted Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics – NUTS, according to which model and principles regionalisation is conducted (French Nomenclature des unités territoriales statistiques); it classifies geographic areas and enables framework for gathering and publishing standardised statistic information, which can be used for analysis, but also as a framework for European political initiative (Vuković et al., 2011, p. 12). Many economists, such as Krugman (1991a; 1991b), Porter (2003), Brakman and Garretsen (2003), Boschma (2004), Kitson et al. (2008), and many others as well, have also given their contribution to development of regional methodology through their researches.

Multidisciplinary approach in studying of the complex regional issues and its practical implementation has spread its roots only after it gained political support in European countries. Since then, European countries have been applying many reforms of regionalism, being different according to 4 dominant models: constitutional regionalism, which is characteristic for Federal Republic of Germany; strong regionalism, characteristic for Italy; decentralised regionalism, characteristic for France and administrative regionalism, characteristic for Norway and other Scandinavian countries (AER, 2010b).

And yet, historic comparative method would not be complete unless we explain processes and the idea of regionalisation in Spain, which has strong regional roots, even though it does not belong to these dominant models. This general scientific model generates knowledges about genesis and development of regionalisation, its general and specific characteristics and determinants which are of the utmost importance for its development. Historic sources, which can be found in many papers (list of our literature), embraced by comparative method, compare congenial historic events in order to determine differences, but also similarities in the behaviour, structure, intensity, quality, form and content of regionalisation development among analysed countries.
In this part of the paper, the historic path of regionalisation will be presented, the path of European countries which had dominant models of regionalisation: Germany, Italy, France and Scandinavia, as well as Spain, country with strong regional roots, which dated several hundreds of years.

Federal Republic of Germany has long regional tradition, which lasts for centuries, but which had also been interrupted during Nazi regime. After the Second World War, federal structure was gradually reestablished, which was mostly supported by the Allied forces in order to prevent any return to authoritarianism or as prevention in case of political aspirations of a new state. In 1949, a Constitution was passed, according to which Federal Republic of Germany was constituted from Länder districts from the West occupied zone, except Saarland district, which stayed under French sovereignty until 1956. Right after that, Soviet Union proclaimed Democratic Republic of Germany on the East side and abolished all Länders in 1952, thus establishing centralised state administrative structure (Deyon, 1997, p. 32).

Federal Republic of Germany gains three administrative levels: central level, 11 Länders (among which were also cities - regions: Hamburg, Bremen and West Berlin) – regional level and municipalities. Even though the authorities of all Länders were participating in Bundesrat (Federal council), as well as in Bundestag (Parliament), jurisdiction of these authorities were not big or were
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directly controled by the central government. Nowadays, Germany has 16 regions - Länders, out of which 5 had been joined from the former Democratic Republic of Germany after the fall of the Berlin wall. All regions have completely developed independent legislature, their own executive and judicial bodies. Jurisdiction of the federal government and Länders are defined by the Federal Constitution – Grundgesetz.

Figure 2. Regions in Germany (AER, 2010b, page 87)

Longer period of centralisation in Italy under Mussollinni rule had collapsed after the Second World War, with the adoption of the new Constitution. Constitution from 1947 recognised the desire for administrative decentralisation, support to local autonomies and authority delegation. According to paragraphs of this Constitution, the Republic was divided into 14 regions, which had been founded as autonomous bodies with their own specific authorities and functions in accordance with the principles, set out in the Constitution. Besides the desire for regional decentralisation and greater support to local autonomies, Italy then confronted the danger of separatistic movements: Alto Adige, Val-d’Aosta and Istria (AER, 2010b, p. 19). New Constitution from 1947, which guaranteed decentralisation and new territorial units – regions, has decreased the danger from these separatistic movements.
In spite of the incipient enthusiasm, implementation of the regional policy and the results were very modest, mostly due to the lack of financial support, mutual functions with the central level (functions which should be done independently were shared with the central government), political resistance to decentralisation by the opposition, centralist mentality, etc. That's why the second phase of regionalisation – regional reform – had started in 1970. This reform gave much higher empowerments to regions in the sphere of social services, regional planning and economic development (Cassese & Torchia, 1993). Besides direct regional benefits, regional reform has also strengthened Italy with modernisation of the new laws and administration and also strengthening of the democracy. Italy then gained 15th region - Friuli Venezia Giulia.

The most important phase in decentralisation process was in 1997, when Bassanini reform, based on the principle of subsidiarity, has been implemented. This reform has transferred new responsibilities onto the regions (rural planning, environment protection, construction of local roads and professional trainings) and increased fiscal autonomy by creation of new regional tax incomes. Bigger changes in institutional organisation of the regions have been made in 2008,
when the Council of Ministers gave permission to Law on fiscal federalism. This Law has defined criteria and deadlines for attribution of the region's financial autonomy. Italy is now composed of municipalities, provinces, regions and central state. Country is divided into 20 regions, where 15 of them have „regular status“, whereas the remaining 5 have „special status“ (Friuli Venetia Giulia, Sardinia, Sicilia, Trentino-Alto Adige, Valle d'Aosta). There are also two autonomous province: Bolzano and Trento.

France represents typical example of unitary, centralised national state, with roots of centralist structure within the medieval absolutistic monarchy. Existence of territorial sub-divisions in the literature is marked as the best example of deconcentration (Schrijver, 2006, p. 171), understood as transfer of administrative work which is done by state institutions, which are firmly tightened to hierarchical structure of the central state government. Territory of France was result of medieval expansion of the dynasty, therefore the map of France before the Revolution in 1789 looked mainly as it looks today. In 18th century, there were at least four administrative, judicial or fiscal divisions which didn’t match in territorial sense, therefore the conclusion that the new administrative structure had replaced the actual provinces was wrong (Schrijver, 2006, p. 171).

Regional division of France was first accepted and implemented during the Second World War by the Vichy regime, but not as the measure of decentralisation, but rather deconcentration in order to strengthen control of the periphery (Schrijver, 2006, p. 171). Still, French regions have experienced significant development within the second part of 20th century, based on the model of administrative decentralisation. French state is traditionally unitary one, which was confirmed by the Constitution in 1958: „France is inseparable Republic“, but the same Constitution allowed the existence of two levels of decentralisation (AER, 2010b, p. 21): territorial level of decentralisation (in relation to territorial authorities and public institutions) and level of state devolution. By decentralisation, Constitution has foreseen new categories: districts, voluntary municipal consortiums and urban community. State devolution has created administrative state districts, which didn't have the status of legal entity or financial autonomy. They were governed by government representative, known as prefect.

After Constitution had been adopted, additional 20 years had to pass to fully accept the process of regionalisation. Only with strengthening of economic motives in relation to political ones and with recognition of certain regions according to their specific characteristics (for example: Bretagne region for its
agricultural activities), local authorities have played the fundamental role in promotion of regionalisation. Local authorities have influenced many regional reforms with their wish for quicker economic development and promotion of their regions during 1980's. Last constitutional reform in 2003 has confirmed statute of the region as territorial authority with full capacity. Today France has 22 regions on its territory and 4 over-sea regions (Guadeloupe, Guyane, Martinique and Réunion).

Norway and other Scandinavian countries (Sweden and Denmark) had a long tradition of strong local authonomies, without the existence of regional level; such situation had been maintained for more than 150 years (until 1990's). Local autonomies have been reformed in two-phased process: in first phase, the aim was to decrease the number of municipalities, principally to merge them into larger municipalities and to give them different tasks and responsibilities; in the second phase, districts were reformed.
After these two reform processes, Norway had 19 districts and 430 municipalities. Each district was represented by regional agency of the central government and representatives of local entity's institution, elected by local population. These bodies had their own autonomy, budget ans the right to collect taxes, which was the main reason for initiation of reforms in 1964. Aim of the reform was to separate these two functions of the district, but also to distribute tasks, functions and finances among three levels of government (central government, districts and municipalities).

Second phase of reforms was implemented from mid 1970's. Three basic goals of reforms were: to decentralise, democratise and enable efficient administration. After that, better public services are provided to the citizens, because reforms have given good results. Since then, districts provide services to local autonomies, instead of using services provided by the local autonomies (AER, 2010b, p. 23). Looking at Norway's example, it can be concluded that decentralisation of authorities was conducted primarily to increase welfare.
among the citizens. Second and very important characteristic of regionalisation in Norway (and in other Scandinavian countries as well) is that the districts have gained higher degree of independence in relation to central government.

Spain doesn't have dominant model of regionalisation like Germany, Italy, France or Norway (Spanish model was most similar to French one), but it has a long regional tradition. During 18th century, Spanish elite strived to implement French model of centralisation. In the beginning of 19th century, Napoleon's occupation and Spanish war for independence were historic landmarks with the clear effect onto creation of Spanish nation and modernisation of the state. Popular protest against Napoleon and war for independence was followed by copying of the French state structure and the architects of the liberal Spanish state followed jacobinian ideals of the French revolution: bureaucratic centralisation, cultural homogenisation, standardisation, uniform hierarchical deconcentration (Moreno, 2001b, p. 44-45; Schrijver, 2006, p. 82). That’s how Spain as a state was created modeled on Napoleon’s state tradition. Historic regions were abolished as administrative bodies and were replaced with 49 provinces which reminded on French departments. Unique legal system and centraly elected officials – civil governors (like prefects in France), were appointed in each province.

The idea of regionalisation in Spain was more pleaded by secessionists and nationalists, because they wanted to underline the need for independence of several Spanish territories. Before the very beginning of Second World War, on the day of proclamation of the Second Republic, Catalanian nationalists have declared independent Catalanian Republic and Iberian confederation, which was never realised, because after negotiations, Catalanians acquired status of autonomy. Baskia and Galicia acquired such status several years later. The question of regional autonomy had raised a lot of controversies, which gave their contribution to political polarisation and break-out of the Civil war, which has ended Second Republic and traced the path to establishment of Franco’s regime. According to Morreno, “two the most significant patological fixations of Franco’s dictatorship were anticomunism and antiseparatism” (Morreno, 2001b, p. 56; Schrijver, 2006, p. 84). National unity had become obsession of Francist ideology and the characteristic of the regime was firm decision to eradicate regional identity by brutal prohibition. However, even the authoritarian centralisation and expulsion of regional cultural expressions did not succeed in diminishing linguistic and cultural diversity; on the contrary, it even brought to revitalisation and spreading of regionalism“.
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After 40 years, Spanish Constitution created autonomous community – regions in Spain. According to this Constitution, there are three levels of government in Spain: central, regional – autonomous communities and local authorities. Spain has 17 regions: Andalusia, Aragon, Asturias, The Balearic Islands, Baskia, The Canary Islands, Cantabria, Castile and Lèon, Castila Castile-La Mancha, Catalonia, Extremadura, Galicia, La Rioja, the Madrid region, Mursia, Navara and the Valencia region. Local authorities comprise of 50 provinces and over 8000 municipalities.

Every region in Spain has its own assembly, also known as autonomous parliament. Parliament elects president/chairperson of autonomous community, verified by the King of Spain, who then forms regional government. Regions decide upon the issues important to that region, as well as the issues – jurisdiction, which are transfered to them by the central government: planning and housing issues, public work, traffic infrastructure, ports and airports which are not considered of the national interest, agriculture, forestry, environment, fishery, economic development, cultural heritage, tourism, sport, social protection and health.

Conclusion

Regionalisation path of European countries was difficult. Although traditional regions had existed for very long time (Lombardy, Catalonia, Wales, Baden Wurtenberg, Bretagne or Franconia), central state approach, based on centralisation and hierarchical vision of relations between the central
government and the regions had stayed dominant in territorial policy of national states until 20th century. Only in 1960’s, when the full political support occured, a significant discrepancy from centralism could be seen. Since then, European countries implemented many regionalism reforms, differing from each other according to four dominant models: constitutional regionalism, characteristic for Federal Republic of Germany; strong regionalism, characteristic for Italy; decentralised regionalism, characteristic for France and administrative regionalism, characteristic for Norway and other Scandinavian countries.

Differences in organisation of socio-political system of European countries, their tradition, specific institutional frameworks and natural geographic basis were determining factors in creation of: 16 federal Länder (in Germany), 25 „strong“ regions in Italy, out of which a few (Trentino Alto Adigie, Valle d'Aosta) had secessionist aspirations, 22 regions to which large authorities of a historic unitary and centralised state (France) have been transfered to, large number of smaller regions with long tradition of strong local autonomies (Scandinavia) and 17 regions which were created based on French solutions, thus implementing aspirations of certain Italian regions (Baskia, Catalonia, Iberia in Spain). To be more exact, combination of experiences from these models creates more than 270 regions in Europe, which are spread from the Asores in Portugal to Agiara in Georgia.

Acknowledgement:
This paper is the result of the project 47007 funded by the Ministry for Education and Technological Development of Republic of Serbia.

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