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DEPARTMENT OF EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Master's Thesis

TUĞBA DOĞAN

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Supervisor

Dr. Lecturer N. Aslı ŞİRİN ÖNER

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TEZ ONAY SAYFASI

Marmara Üniversitesi
Avrupa Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Müdürlüğüne

Enstitünüz, Avrupa Birliği Siyaseti ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Türkçe / İngilizce Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi **Tuğba Doğan**, tarafından hazırlanan, **"The Impact of Refugee Crisis on European Union's Identity"** başlıklı bu çalışma, 13./06./2019 tarihin de yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda OY BİRLİĞİ / OY ÇOKLUĞUYA BAŞARILI bulunarak aşağıda isimleri yazılı jüri üyeleri tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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ÖZET

2015 yılında patlak veren mülteci krizi, bugün birçok ülkenin hem dış işlerinde hem de iç işlerinde birçok karışıklığa ve politika değişikliklerine sebebiyet vermiştir. Mülteci krizinin odağındaki AB, 2015 yılı itibari ile mülteci krizinin yan etkilerini en çok hisseden birlik olmuştur.

Avrupa'nın vatandaşları için yıllardır kurmaya çalıştığı özgürlük ve birlik sınırlarının mülteci akınına uğraması sonucunda sahip olduğu ortak kimlik, tehdit altında kalmıştır.İnsanların oluşturduğu mevcut sistem, yine insanlar tarafından oluşturulan devletlerin etkileşimi sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bağlamda sosyal inşacılık uluslararası ilişkiler konusuna, toplumsal nitelik kazanmış düşünceler bağlamında yaklaşarak onu toplumsal çerçevede ele almaktadır. Günümüzde oldukça önemli bir konu haline gelen göçmen krizi ve bu krizin AB'ye olan etkileri sosyal kimlik ve yapısalcılık bağlamında ele alınarak değerlendirilmektedir. AB sosyal inşacılık ile birlikte ortak bir geçmişe ve kültüre sahip olan vatandaşlarını birleştirerek tek bir çatı altında toplamıştır. Mevcut kimliğini koruma amacıyla varlığını bir birlik altında varlığını sürdüren Avrupa, bu kimliğini kaybetmemek adına çeşitli önlemler alarak mülteci krizine çözümler üretmeye çalışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kimlik, Avrupa Birliği, Suriyeli Mülteci Krizi, Sosyal İnşacılık

ABSTRACT

The refugee crisis that broke out in 2015 has caused a lot of confusion and policy changes in many foreign countries as well as domestic affairs. The EU, which is in the center of the refugee crisis, has been an union that has been feeling the side effects of the refugee crisis the most, since 2015. As a result of the influx of refugees, the freedom and unity that European Union has been trying to establish for its citizens over the years as well as its identity have been threatened.The existing system created by people is the result of the interaction of states created by the people. In this context, social constructivism deals with the issue of international relations in the context of socially acquired ideas and approaches in the social framework. The migratory crisis that has become an important issue in the present day and the effects of this crisis on the EU are evaluated in the context of social.

Together with the social construction, the EU has united its citizens, who have a common past and culture, under one roof. In order to preserve its identity, EU continues its existence under one unity and tries to produce solutions to the refugee crisis by taking various measures in order not to lose this identity. In this regard, the present study examines the effects of the recent refugee crisis on the European identity.

Keywords: Identity, European Union, Syrian Refugee Crisis, Social Constructivism

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ABBREVIATIONS

AfD	**:**	Alternative für Deutschland
B.C	**:**	Before Christ
CDU	:	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands
ECHR	:	European Court of Human Rights
ECRE	**:**	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
ECSC	**:**	European Coal and Steel Community
EU	**:**	European Union
EURATOM	**:**	The European Atomic Energy Community
NATO	**:**	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organizations
UK	:	United Kingdom
UNHCR	:	United Nations High Commissioner of the Refugees

INTRODUCTION

There are many opinions about the definition of Europeans and who they are. Research on this subject has been carried out by academicians and researchers. However, it is known that these studies are generally carried out according to the information from the citizens. The fact that identities are variable as well as the existence of many opinions on the European identity make its identification difficult. The European identity is generally approached in the context of history, geography, religion and culture. Therefore, it is thought that studies in the field of social interactions are needed. In this respect, there is a need to conduct research on European identity. Moreover, the impact of refugee crisis on European identity is also worth studying because the EU has been very much affected by this crisis.

The recent surge in migration to the European Union (EU) territory is rapidly becoming the largest and most complex facing Europe since the Second World War. The EU member states are facing huge policy and practical challenges in determining and addressing the immediate and long-term needs of refugees and other migrants. The member-states must guarantee the protection of all migrants, irrespective of their status, and ensure that they are treated in accordance with the international law, including with regard to the right to seek asylum. The EU urgently needs to put in place a coherent, long-term and comprehensive strategy that maximizes the benefits of migration and minimizes its human and economic costs, including as part of a wider international effort to manage global migration.

Since the beginning of 2014, approximately 800,000 people have arrived at the EU borders through irregular channels, fleeing conflict and violence at home or in search of a better life abroad. This migration surge has rapidly become the largest and most challenging one that Europe faced since the Second World War. The EU countries have ignored the situation of those who have to leave their countries due to reasons arising from political thought, antagonism and opinion. There is an environment in Europe that invalidates international contracts. Against this background, this thesis examines whether the recent refugee crisis affected the EU in its identity construction process or not.

The refugee crisis has been the EU's problem for 5 years. Different laws, procedures and systems, which are applied among the EU member states, have made it difficult to cope with the refugee crisis. Furthermore, it was observed that they were unable to move together. Recently, the EU has given importance to political integration. But, this integration is difficult especially in the context of the EU's identity construction.

The identity problem of Europe and the constructivist approach have brought new dimensions to the explanation of European integration. The constructivist approach enables this issue to be addressed from a wider perspective. From the perspective of the social constructivism, the effects of the refugee crisis on EU migration policy can be explained not only by economic reasons, but also by identity and norms. As a result of the Syrian refugee crisis, Europe began to accept different identities with interests in their communities. One of the most important aspects of the refugee crisis is how the European citizens perceive refugees. In the process of accepting the refugees, the immigration policies followed in the EU member-states as well as the values of European societies such as tolerance and democracy have been questioned.

This thesis examines the process of EU's identity construction in the light of the Syrian refugee crisis. Humanism and human rights issues have become increasingly important all over the world. Issues such as migration and asylum that directly affect human life are of great importance in this direction. The aim of this thesis is to examine the identity issue in general and the European identity in particular from a social constructivist perspective and to reveal the impact of Syrian refugees on the European identity.

The life-standards of all refugees in Europe including the Syrians have become a very important issue in the framework of human rights. In this respect, it is argued in this thesis that the Syrian refugees have both negative and positive impact on the European identity. The European Union member countries have shown that although they are the place where human rights arose, they can ignore these rights in the case of other nations in order to protect their identities. Although the European countries have opened their doors to refugees, they have clearly stated that they are not pleased with

the situation. In this respect, the negative attitudes of these countries towards refugees reflect the negative impact of Syrian refugees on European identity. Although there are some negative situations, many groups have emerged which are independent of governments and which defend human rights. In this respect, various organizations have been organized to extend help to refugees. These groups, which do not accept the negative policies of the European Union towards refugees, constitute a positive effect on the European identity.

This study, which examines the effects of the refugee crisis on the EU's identity construction process in the light of social constructivism theory, consists of three parts. In the first part of the study, the concept of identity, which is the basic concept of thesis, is examined from a social constructivist perspective. In this context, definitions of pioneers on social constructivism are mentioned, and the definition and characteristics of the concept of identity are explained and the concepts of ethnic and national identity are explained.

In the second chapter, the process of identity construction of the EU is analyzed. European identity, which has a long history, is examined with a focus on how it has been shaped from the times of antiquity until today. Then the influence of the European identity in the formation and formation of the European Union is discussed. At the end of the second chapter, the Maastricht Treaty, which is of great importance for the European Union, is examined.

In the third chapter, the Syrian refugee crisis and EU politics, which found great influence all over the world, are elaborated. The European Union's refugee policies, the refugee crisis and the European solutions to solve this crisis have been addressed. In addition, the Syrian crisis and migration policies of the European Union were also discussed.

In the last chapter, the views of the member states of the refugee crisis and the effects of the crisis on EU identity are analyzed. The impact of the Syrian refugee crisis on European identity is discussed and the expendients of the EU member states about what sort of initiatives have took, are examined. Finally, the negative and positive impact of the Syrian refugee crisis on European identity was evaluated.

There are several studies in the literature on European identity and Syrian refugees. This thesis can be considered as a complementary study in terms of demonstrating the impact of the Syrian refugee issue on the European identity.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ISSUE OF IDENTITY FROM A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE

In this chapter social constructivism, the concept of identity and ethnic identity and national identity as identity types are examined. In the first part, the aspects of social constructivism were discussed within the scope of the representatives views about the subject

1.1 Social Constructivism

Constructivism is the synthesis of multiple theories scattered in a form. It is the assimilation of behavioural and cognitive ideals. Constructive attitude argues that the learner is an act of building meaning, for they understand the experience of the people.

Social constructivism, strongly influenced by Vygotsky's (1978) work, argues that information was first created in a social context and then internalized and used by the individual. Social constructivists believe that the learners' understanding of the process of sharing individual perspectives (cooperative-based elaboration) together and that these constructs are not possible alone in individuals. Woolfolk (2010) represents a number of strategies, such as structured discussions for learning to ask questions.

Social constructivist scholars view is an active process in which they must learn to discover principles, concepts and facts, so that assumptions of learners and intuitive thoughts are also necessary at this point (Brown, Collins, Duguid, 1989, p. 35). In other words, the social constructivists emphasize that reality is not something that individuals can discover, because it is not present before social co-existence. Other constructivists agree and emphasize that individuals make sense through interactions with each other and with the environment they live in (Amineh and Asl, 2015).

Social constructivism is based on the subjectification of the action of persons' actions. Structuralism concerns human consciousness and its role in all areas of human consciousness internationally. Constructivists argue that not only the existence of

identities and interests in the social sphere, but also the sharing of some ideas arising from human capacity and will in this platform. The convergence of human beings does not mean that human behavior is restricted or that people are in conflict. What the social constructors reject is the idea that their work is the basis of the social sciences (Ruggie, 1998, p. 856.)

Constructivism is seen as a way to examine social relations. Structuralism makes explanations about issues that appear to be rather unrelated to society and to a theory that explains the world. The basis of social constructivism is depending on humans' social entity and their social relations with other people (Onuf, 1998, p.58).

Adler (1997) defines the fact that the material world is shaped by the actions and interactions of people, and that this world progresses around people's dynamic, normative and epistemic interpretations as constructivism. People shape the world according to their experiences and cognitions. In this context, constructivism is a social theory based on international policy theories like war and cooperation.

Wendt (1995) considers that social constructs emerge based on shared knowledge, understanding and expectations. This constitutes the nature of the relations of people, albeit in an agreement or in conflict. However, social structures include material resources. These material and intellectual factors are defined by the understanding of individuals. These structures exist not in the ideas or material capabilities of the actors, but in practices.

According to Checkel (1998), constructivism is not only about levels but also about how the social and political world works. In this regard, there are two assumptions. The first of these is that people act as socially as well as economically. The second is that this structure allows people to understand their own interests. In other words, constructivism and methodological individualism are considered together in constructivism.

Constructivism is a relatively new emerging approach within international relations and can explain today's international political issues better than the traditional theories. However, the power of constructivism to explain these problems is limited.

Constructivist theory is also about theories of international relations that can best contribute to understand the effects of identity, diaspora, diaspora activities and the activities of these activities on foreign politics. Constructivism can be considered as a theory or an approach that can help explain the motives and preferences of these actors, how the created identities can be effective in the international system and foreign policy behaviors, and in the forms of communication (Öztürk, 2014, p.2).

Luhmann's theory of self-reference and "reflexivity" is crucial for constructivists. His theory is based on operationally closed, self-referring, and yet cognitively open social systems. Second, he insists on a distinct yet parallel treatment of psychic and social systems, and of different social systems such as politics, economics, law and science, to the effect that his theory necessarily includes a parallel treatment of "action," knowledge and of knowledge production. As a result, his theory allows us to observe in parallel, i.e. it runs an epistemology which is necessarily a sociology of knowledge, besides analyzing how science has become, and functions as, a social system. The main characteristics of constructivism are;

- "being particularly sensitive to the distinction between the level of action (proper), the level of observation and the relationship between the two,
- having an epistemological position which stresses the social construction of meaning (and hence knowledge),
- having an ontological position which stresses the construction of social reality" (Guzzini, 2004, p.208).

The historical development of constructivism in international relations consists of "reflexive modernity" and "awareness of the social nature of international system (end of the Cold War)" (Guzzini, 2000: 147). Reflexive modernity refers to increasing awareness of the inherent limits and ambiguities of technical and social progress, emerged in the beginning of the 20th century. On the other hand, during second détente and the end of the Cold War, constructivism has benefited from the "certitude of possible changes" that swept over Europe (Ghosh, 2016: 50). With the end of the Cold War, European continent moved beyond the security dilemma.

Table 1: Epistemology and Ontology

Ontology	Epistemology	
	Non-constructivist	Constructivist
Mind independence	Naïve empiricism	Constructivist empiricism
	Naïve realism	Constructivist realism
Mind dependence	Naïve constructivism	Social constructivism

Source: (Guzzini, 2000: p. 174).

Overall, according to Guzzini (2000), constructivism is epistemologically about the social construction of knowledge and ontologically is about the social construction of social world (p.174).

1.2 The Concept of Identity

The concept of identity has recently been one of the mostly debated concepts in the world. It is treated both as a phenomenon in these discussions and also in relation to identity types such as ethnic identity, national identity, religious identity and political identity. The reason for the fact that the concepts of nation, religion and ethnicity, which are widely debated today, are so popular is globalization movements in the world.

The concept of identity is used in the western languages as the word "identite-identity" derived from the root of the Latin "idem" (same). This word expresses both identity and being same. In Turkish, "Who are you?" is derived from the question and expresses a mandatory affiliation (Kılıçbay, 2003, p. 156).

Identity is the way people reflect who they are, how they, their roles, needs and values are seen. Our true identity is shaped by the reaction of others and our relationship with them. The concept of identity was considered as one of the basic concepts of psychology and social psychology. Today, the scope of concept has broadened and it has begun to be considered with its social and political dimension, as well. As identities become universal in the context of globalization debates, local qualities have increased in the context of debates on religion, language, nation, culture and ethnic origin.

Social roles and interactions have led to the emergence of the concept of identity. Identity means that the person separates himself from the rest of society. In this process he determines his difference and turns it into concrete situations. The process by

which the individual defines himself / herself is a negative construction process. The individual determines what is not in this process, not what is. Thus, the other is determined. During the construction of identity, besides the emphasis on difference from the other, the process of resembling the other comes to the fore. At the end of this process, a feeling of belonging is formed (Altuntaş, 2004, p. 569).

For the individual, there are multiple identities besides singular identities. Individual roles in the community will gain new identities as associations change. The individual changes other individuals with whom he or she associates throughout his or her life, and the others change spontaneously in connection with the processes they live in. As the others change, the existing identities either change or become different in form. Identity construction for the individual never ends and is never completed throughout life.

It is stated that the concept of identity, which has many different definitions, is used to refer to a society's cultural exchange (Calhoun 1994; Styrker and Burke, 2000, p.284). Other scholars also use the concept of identity as a way of communicating with the community or social category, such as in the theory of social identity, or in order to make the most of current work on social movements. Thus, a common culture is created among the individuals (Styrker and Burke, 2000, p.284).

According to Erikson (1959), the notion of identity comes from the combination of contributions made by people who are partially conscious but generally unconscious, and who have a sense of "stability and integrity" about who they are. This constant, individualistic and holistic formation is shaped by passing through the cultural filter. For this reason, in the same cultures, "perception of similarity and unity" is important in identity formation. In the modern era, identity is defined from a societal point of view as "the phenomenon of sharing common ideas and prosperity of the individuals who constitute the community" (Özgüngör, 2009, p.33).

Identity construction is a social process and always interacts with other identities. From this perspective, social identity is a part of individuals' self-perceptions, which are derived from the knowledge and attitudes of a social group. Social identity can also be considered as the role that one exhibits in communication with people. The

collective identity is to treat social identity at the level of communities (Kınacı, 2014, pp.18-19).

Identity is a key concept that links social structure to individual actions. Therefore, prediction of human behavior require an analysis of the relationship between self and social structure. While society provides the roles that form the basis of identity and self, "I" is also the "active creator of social behaviour". Identity theorists focus on the roles that define themselves as those who will take their place in society rather than the broader social qualities of people which are attributed to themselves. The terms of gender, race, ethnicity, etc. often serve as the master statuses. These traits are structural-based qualities that reflect the characteristics of the social structure in which people's identities are embedded. However, it is stated that these traits do not have separate components of the self due to their inability to carry out certain behaviors. Yet, social qualities are thought to have an indirect effect on self through the roles of individuals, the relative importance of role identities, and the effects of their interactions with other individuals on their nature (Hogg, Terry and White, 1995, p.257).

Tajfel (1979) suggested that groups of people (social class, family, football team, etc.) are an important source of pride and self-esteem. The groups reflect a feeling of belonging to the social world by giving a sense of social identity. Tajfel and Turner (1979) evaluated the other individuals as "us" or "them" (in other words, "in-group" and "out-of-group") and stated that this evaluation consisted of three mental processes which are social classification, social identity and social comparison, respectively.

Individuals and social identities are also present in traditional societies before modernism. These identities are a field of conflict, and the emergence of problems has been accompanied by modernization. In traditional societies, it refers to the membership of groups and communities shaped around the identity, religion and kinship system. These identities are gained by birth in the traditional society to a large extent, and they continue to exist without major changes. In traditional societies, as roles were predetermined, the identities would be constructed in accordance with the roles. Contrary to modern societies, the meanings of the identities in the traditional society were not complex, they were clear. In this case, it prevented a debate about identities

from taking place. In traditional societies, social identities were at the forefront because groups were more prominent than individuals (Karaduman, 2010, p. 2887).

When an individual's identity formation is evaluated, it is first suggested that there is a certain trial period. However, this evaluation process is operated by using items previously created by the community. The individual cannot be expected to make an objective assessment other than the social norms set out in the society. In this case, the individual has to depend on social norms to make sense of his/her own existence, to give him/her a name or identity. The identity of an individual or group is the problem of the individual defining him/herself and positioning it in the world. In this direction, identity is a dynamic and variable structure formed within human relations rather than a concept. Identity depends not on the nature of the person but on the perception of the person. In other words, identity is the concept that arises within the framework of cultural, social and individuality.

Kellner (2001) states that modern identity has become open to very dynamic, multi-level, change and innovation in his "Popular Culture and the Construction of Postmodern Identity". In this work he sorts the characteristics of modern identity as follows:

1. The other is the founding element of modern identity.
2. The identity is always aware that it can change and change when requested.
3. Modernity is a plane in which past-time structures and the collapse of their identities and the production of their innovations can coexist.
4. Can pass through the fashion of human identity, may lose social validity. In this case, one can feel the feeling of not belonging to him at one time and it may experience alienation with it.
5. The constructed identity can become clearer and retain its existence for a long time (Kellner, 2001, p.195).

The versatility, complexity, dynamism and pluralism that emerged in modern society have led to the need for individuals to belong to one or more places. The institutional structures of the modern society have not fully responded to the willingness of individuals to belong. For this reason, they maintained the existence of traditional

constructions within the modern society, and over time, the identities (ethnic, religious) that were supposed to rise from then on became important identities at the local and global level. Identities have gained importance as universal identities in the structure of both communities. In the big cities where modern life is being edited and tried to survive, individuals are increasingly isolated, close themselves to the outside world. Living loneliness and diminishing social security have increased the fears of the individual and have led them to seek a place to have asylum, such as army, religion, and ethnic identity. In modern societies, traditional identities have continued their existence by transforming to the needs of modern life.

Identity consists of two basic components; identification and belonging. Self-definition and societal recognition in society, with a specific attribute in society, is both a basic quality that is unique to man and a human need. The most basic means of "social recognition" is first of all a spoken language, followed by a written language and "cultural expression" due to the fact that the formation of the social and cultural world requires language. However, identity is the sum of the roles of a number of positions in which a person is regarded as the result of interaction with others in a particular social space, other than those processes that are part of the individual's socialization process. At the same time, in a certain social context, identity can also be seen as the coherence and harmony of in-group and out-group images of groups of various sizes, to which one feels that he/she belongs (Ibrahim and Heuer, 2016, p. 15).

Identity includes basic beliefs, assumptions, values, attitudes, preferences, decision propositions, habits and rules. These elements that are effective in the identification of the identity are classified as objective and subjective. Objective elements correspond to material and spiritual realities shared by individuals who do not have identity. Language, religion, ethnicity, history, land country, icons, myths, or traditions are elements that can be considered as tangible combination of identity. Subjective elements are syntheses of the attributes of the individual that belong to the individual, such as their abilities, beliefs, emotions and goals, which are aware of the fact that the individuals share the same elements. Identity is based on a common and constant awareness of belonging to the community and the values of the community. The realization of this takes place in the mind of a common belief system and integrity.

A cultural identity based on ethnicity can become the founder of the national identity if it is a cultural identity based on certain rules, such as citizenship (Altunay, 2012, p. 17-18).

1.3 Different Types of Identity

Identity has several types. This part deals with these different types of identiy including ethnic identity and national identity, which are explained in detail.

1.3.1. Ethnic Identity

German sociologist Max Weber has important works on the concept of ethnicity. According to Weber, an ethnic group is a group based on a subjective belief, and this subjective belief is a common root to the physical type, common traditions (Chandra, 2006, p.402). In other words, it is not necessary for the bonds that hold ethnic groups together or provide membership to this group to be an objective and real blood tie. The founding factor is the existence of a subjective belief in the related ties. Weber's approach has also influenced many social scientists working on identity; for example, according to Horowitz, Ethnicity is the result of properties believed to be born from birth. However, similarities from the common ancestor are part of the concept of ethnicity (Chandra, 2006, p.402).

The concept of race is an integral part of the formation of identity and allows the study of race as a social structure. Thus, it enables us to examine how the exploited persons have been racialized as "the other" and that this affects the sense of self (Challinor, 2012, p.1559). The concept of ethnic identity is described as a sociological reality in which the role of nation-states as a modern phenomenon and the differentiating identities of nation-states such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia, are different. The reason is that ethnic identity can offer a meaningful political, cultural and social universe for the group of people who have been able to organize themselves around common language, common-sense beliefs, cosmology, cosmogony and common life rituals (Yanık, 2013, p.231).

Ethnic identity is defined as the characteristic of an individual's ethnic group. The development of ethnic identity conceptualized as a multidimensional structure involves the process of discovering of one's identity and the sense of belonging to that identity (Brown et al., 2014, pp.154-155). The term "ethnicity" is derived from the roots of "ethni", enabling ethnicity to be defined as a group of people with common language, common ancestry, common interest and organizing around common life rituals (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik and Warner, 2010, p.107). However, the concept of ethnicity has not been tried to be applied to racial characteristics. Taguieff states that the concept of ethnicity is a taboo and softened version of the concept of race with a pejorative meaning (Taguieff, 2001, p. 163).

Examples of this approach described here include living in a mono-ethnic neighborhood, coming from a family speaking a language other than Turkish / English (or the mother tongue spoken in that land), participating in large scale mono-ethnic schools, ethnically rooted rituals and other ethnicity cultural expressions (music, food, etc.), being able to speak the language of their parents and / or grandparents, being involved in the ethnic group of one of the ethnic traditions (including religious traditions), and making friends from almost only their own ethnic group (Blum, 1999, p.129).

According to those who are trying to reconcile the role of cultural, economic and political factors in the formation of an ethnic group or identity, the ethnic group is recognized and distinguished by one or more cultural differences such as religion, tradition, language or institutions emphasizing the role and history is a cultural collective type. There are six characteristics for a group to be perceived as an ethnic group. These features are;

- A collective name given to the group,
- Common lineage,
- Common history,
- Private co-culture,
- Loyalty to a particular piece of land,
- Solidarity sensation (Smith, 1994, p.42).

Ethnic identities are constantly understood as complex and controversial social structures in the process of identity formation. This situation is generally perceived as cultural proposals, with processes such as evolution, revolution and change. Ethnicity is characterized as the consequences of uncertain, constantly debated and changing cultural policies in the process of endless transformation that is based on the past and continuous process of formation, which is always old and new synchronously. There are, however, many common elements related to ethnicity, including language and cultural similarity and geographical concentration, or at least a region known as "home". It can be used to defend a common language or cultural association, as well as the distinctions of the dialects and special small changes can be used to reveal the differences. When the creation and maintenance of an ethnic sense of community is addressed, linguistic and cultural similarities must coincide with the idea of common interests in which significant similarities and insignificant differences are implicated. However, an ethnic community is not an interest group on its own. It does not only embrace intelligence, shared language, cultural norms and the ideas of social institutions, but it also requires an idea of blood bond and a shared history and unity. Shared history does not have to be historically correct, but they should be consistent with cultural traditions. An ethnic past must be found both in written and verbal forms in memory and in history (Lynch, 2006, pp.49-50).

Identity and culture are two fundamental elements of ethnicity. Individuals and groups seek to address ethnic boundaries and semantic problematics through the construction of identity and culture. The construction of ethnic identity and culture is a dialectic that is played both by the actors, in other words by ethnic groups and wider societies. Ethnicity is the product of their definition and the actions taken by the ethnic groups that they shape and reshape their belief. Ethnicity, however, is also constituted by external social, economic and political processes and actors, as well as ethnic categories and definitions that they shape and reshape (Nagel, 1994, p.152).

A three-stage process, including unexamined identity, identity seeking and identity acquisition, has been suggested for ethnic identity. From Phinney's perspective (1993), it means that unexamined young people who have not studied ethnicity have discovered their own ethnicity. It is stated that in the formation of ethnic identities in

adolescents, they are called "researchers" in the second stage and that this process is a turning point (or crisis), the beginning of a discovery process through inquiry. Searching process; reading the related books, taking lessons at school, discussing ethnic issues, trying different ways of life, becoming more politically conscious and more involved in political movements. In conclusion, those who complete the inquiry have a tendency to gain identity due to the level of clarity and the meaning of ethnicity are understood (Martinez and Dukes, 1997, p.504).

Ethnic identity is meaningful only when one or more ethnic groups have been in contact for a certain period of time. In a homogeneous society in terms of ethnicity or race, ethnic identity is almost a meaningless concept. Ethnic identity is sometimes used synonymously with acculturation, but two terms should be distinguished. In general, the concept of cultural diversity is concerned with cultural attitudes, values and behavioral changes resulting from contact between two different cultures. The level of involvement is often largely individual and focuses on how minority or immigrant groups are related to the host society. Ethnic identity can be considered as a direction of acculturation that focuses on how immigrant groups relate to their own group, which is related to the individual and is often a subset of the larger community (Phinney, 1990, p.501).

Two different models including a linear and two dimensional models were developed for the problem of ethnic identity. In the linear model, ethnic identity is conceptualized through a process ranging from extreme ethnic bonds to other general strong ties. The underlying assumption of this model is that strengthening one needs to weaken the other. In other words, there is no strong ethnic identity among the population in general, and acculturation inevitably leads to weakening of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990, p.501).

In contrast to the linear model, according to Phinney (1990), the two-dimensional model emphasizes that acculturation is a two-dimensional process that needs to be underlined in relation to both traditional and ethnic cultures and to the relationship with a new or dominant culture, and suggests that these two relationships are independent of each other. From this perspective, minority group members may have strong or weak identification with their own native cultures, and strong ethnic

identity does not necessarily mean a weak relationship with the dominant culture or low participation. This model states that assimilation or pluralism are not just two cultural extremes, but there are at least four possible ways to deal with ethnic group membership in a different society. The recognition of a strong identity for both groups here is a sign of integration or duality. Marginality indicates that there is no recognition for both groups. Identification with the culture of majority is a sign of assimilation, while identification with only the ethnic group shows separation (Phinney, 1990, p.501-502).

1.3.2. National Identity

For citizens living within the boundaries of a nation state, the first identity has become national identity. This identity is a collective identity that provides legitimacy to the nation state. National identity initially expressed its political commitment to the state in which the individual lived, regardless of differences such as race, language, religion, and ethnic identity. Within the national community, which is thought to be a homogeneous mass within the national state borders, the individual has some rights and duties as a political subject, and the sense of empathy developed during the use of these rights and duties.

Nation is a group of people who are politically organized and living together on a certain territory, and who share common economic life, language, history, spiritual and cultural characteristics. The origin of the term "nation" is derived from the Latin word "nasci", which means birth in English. Until the Middle Ages, this term used for vocational and guild associations in Europe is more commonly linked to common lineages and blood associations. Again, in the political sense, the nation-state structure emerging in Europe with the modernization processes means the group of people living in a country. As capitalism is the dominant form of production in Europe, the relations between states and peoples have taken on a new form. In the medieval ages, the state ruled by the unlimited powers of the kings, left the place with the accumulation and awareness of the living capital to an understanding based on the sovereignty of people. The state approach based on the sovereignty of the people expressed as nationalism revealed the nation-state structures. However, nationalist movements have been studied

from different perspectives in academic manners and different theories have been developed (Aslan and Alkış, 2015, p.25).

National identity refers to the individual's connection with society, not the state, and is more subjective than legal. National identity is learned in practice (at home, at school) and is chosen by the individual. Ethnicity and people shape national identities. National identities play an important role in the formation of attitudes towards groups as well as ethnic identities. Citizenship-based national identity is defined as an identity that includes citizenry on the basis of citizenship and generally includes feelings of belonging and loyalty to a nation state (Bağcı and Çelebi, 2017, p.65).

The formation of "national identity", which is the instrument of the nation-state process, is the product of the modern age. More precisely, in this process the identity of the state and the hypothetical identity of the citizens forming the state have begun to overlap. Until the new state form, which can be defined as a modern-state, people did not need to identify themselves with a "common" identity, which defines the identity of their nation, a problem of analogy, or a nationality. Identity is a spontaneous and congregational phenomenon. Here the subject of the collective is usually society. The states of the pre-modern era cannot find "common identity" that they share their legitimacy with their nationals. Legitimacy is based on a traditional background. Here, it seems that the framing is based on the fact that the difficult use is in line with the legitimate general law, lineage and religious authority. In the modern era, political systems became in need of being fed with as much widespread mass loyalty as possible. At the end of this process, national identities emerged (Altunay, 2012, p. 21).

As a norm of belonging and self-definition that is cultural and affective in nature, national identity would hold relatively steady over time, despite instrumental or political incentives for members of nations to drop, add to or modify their national identities. National identity can thus be prior to instrumental calculations, and it 'explains the occurrence of ingroup bias even in the absence of objective or instrumental causes – for example, conflicts of economic interests' (Brown, 2000, p.748). As institutions in their own right, national identities can thus be prior to, or 'constitutive' of, citizens, and can shape their preferences. This hypothesis also accords

with social constructivism, which seeks 'to understand how preferences are formed and knowledge generated, prior to the exercise of instrumental rationality' (Luedtke, 2005, pp.87-88).

According to Anthony D. Smith, nationalism is based around ethnic roots and defines members of the nation around an ideological movement that acts through autonomy, unity, and identity of a community defined by a common ancestor and historical culture. There are three basic attributes referred by Smith for ethnic nationalism. First one is that the members of a nation come from the common root, forming the upper "family" based on race. As a second characteristic, the people are taken as an object of national purposes and the people are used to legitimize. The third is the mobilization of domestic resources such as language, culture and history. Likewise, Smith considers ethnic nationalism to be effective in Eastern European and Asian nationalism (Smith, 2007 p.28).

Social constructivism is built on the existence of people with their social environment and the systems they share. In this context, structuralism deals with the identities, preferences, interests and social interactions of states. In this study, social constructivism is discussed in terms of the formation of the European Union identity.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY

The identity of the European Union has taken its present form over a very long period of time (Öner, 2004, p. 28). The 15th century European map and 18th and 20th century maps differ from each other. The first is the map of the clergy, the second is the map of the princes, and the third is the map of the nation states. Each map was determined according to the ruling authority or rule of the time. Changes in power led to changes in the map of Europe. The change of authority or powers brought about not only the mappings but also the ideologies prevailing in the periods in question.

In the 20th century, the changing international system showed that it is possible to cooperate with the states, and it led to the emergence of the idea of integration. In other words, between the 15th and 17th centuries, with the emergence of nation states in Europe, where civilization concept was at the forefront, European identity began to take its place as national identities (Deniz, 2014, p. 50).

In this chapter, the historical development of European identity will be examined in Antiquity and Middle Ages, Modern Age, and 20th Century, respectively. After that, the European identity in 20th century will be elaborated in two contexts, namely European Community and European Union.

2.1 The European Identity in the Antiquity and Middle Ages

European identity is concerned with the identification of the "other" that is to be kept out. Before focusing on the European identity, it is worth mentioning the debate about the origins of the name of Europe which comes from the mythology. According to the myth, Princess Europa was the daughter of King of Phoenicia, and Zeus, who was disguised as a bull, kidnapped and took her to Crete. Europa, who had many children from Zeus, then married King Asterion of Crete and settled in Crete. Therefore, the name Europe, which is described as a princess name in mythology, is sometimes referred to a certain part of land related to the region meaning 'Western country'. In this way, Europe became a symbol of identity for a particular culture. In 800 A.D., the Holy

Roman German Emperor Charles who controlled a large part of region at that time, used the term "being European" for the first time (Akdemir, 2012, p. 65).

The European idea was built on the Christian Western perception throughout the Middle Ages and had the task and purpose of establishing hegemony against rising Islam. In other words, Christianity became the dominant identity of Medieval Europe. Since the 7th century, attacks by Muslims and various Turkish tribes to Europe caused the rising of Europe with the influence of migration period. After the demise of the Roman Empire, Europe was vulnerable to attacks from Asia and the southern Mediterranean, the Turks' expansion to the West; and Sultan Süleymanşah's settlement in Iznik led to a revival of European solidarity and unity. All these developments led to the beginning of the Crusades with the call of Byzantine Empire and consequently the crusader ideology became the basic ideology of the Christian unity. As can be seen, these events are the leading factors in the construction of both Europe and the idea of Europe.

Politically, the West is not natural, but it is a largely artificial formation. The Islamic threat is important for the development of Christian and European identity. From the 7th century onwards, Europe felt itself under the threat of Andalucia coming from the east and from the south and west (Akdemir, 2011, s. 293). There was only one factor that would bring together the kingdoms and tribes of Europe, which had no ability to unite against all of these threats. It was Christianity. In this way, Christianity has become a unifying and legitimizing ideology for the European rulers. On this side, while European tribes discovered their European identity, they also acquired arguments that could define the other (Öner, 2011, p.29).

Crusades are seen as one of the religious factors that are effective in ensuring European unity.The church, which pioneered this movement, grabbed the benefits of a trip to the East and used it as a motive foreground when spreading it. The Church promised those who participated in the crusades that they would be saved from their sins and would be rewarded by the holy spirit thus settled the European people in a front against a common enemy. However, it is also possible that the expeditions could be regarded as a military movement for political purposes, with the slogan liberating the

sacred lands, with the aim of throwing Turks out of Anatolia and conquering all the Near East with Anatolia (Deniz, 2014, p.53-54).

Although the 150 Crusades made up to the 12th century did not achieve sufficient success, they created an important integrative effect in terms of unifying the common threats of Europe and realizing joint action (Demirkent, 1998, p. 1). In other words, the Crusades had a certain sense of cohesion over European Societies. The European case thus gained a completely political character. In addition with the conquest of Istanbul, the perception of "other" of Christian identity was fully constructed. This led to the representation of the region as the Christian country because the dominant element of identity was Christianity. As later mentioned, the Treaty of Utrecht signed in 1713 would be the last treaty to accept the Christian Land (Ateş, 2008, p. 28).

Throughout the Middle Ages, according to misbelief, man was born sinful and he/she should move away from the world and nature in order to be able to escape from his/her sins. The only way of salvation for sinful people was to believe in God, to give up the world's blessings, and to pass the unquestioning obedience to the Church. Information outside the Bible was described as superstition and therefore the Church and the Pope were considered as the sole authority. This was not only for rulers, but also for kings, princes, and lords (Belge, 2001).

Despite being a dominant idea in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Christian Country had to shrink its borders. The separation that preceded the excommunication of each other by the Patriarch in the Western Rome and the Patriarch in Byzantium grew even sharper in this period.

The territories of the Latin Christians such as England, Spain, Italy and France were excluded from this description. In short, the Christian Land was depicted as a region that has become a part of the people subject to the Roman Catholic Church. Europe thus became a self-defined geographical region, breaking away from Islam and Orthodoxy. Thus, it was no longer a direction but the name of a region of the world. The developments that took place in the Western Europe since the 16th century deeply affected the thought of the Christian Land (Özgöker and Musaoğlu, 2011, p. 69).

Drawing the intellectual frame together with the Age of Enlightenment enabled the transition to modern Europe. Although the Christian culture of the Middle Ages continued, the influence of Modernity began to lose its weight and was pushed into the background. Christianity, which represented the common identity of the states in Europe, lost this feature in the Age of Enlightenment. Religion was reduced to a position that became rational and sustained its existence in particular for the individual (Öner, 2011, p. 2).

The disappearance of the influence of the Christian ideology dominated by the Middle Ages and its evolution towards modernization are generally compounded by three major events: the Renaissance, which provides for the re-awakening of the society; Geographic Discoveries, which opened up to the west and the seas; and finally, the liberation movements of secular rulers liberating the Catholic Church from church's oppression and the birth of national churches. All three developments caused radical changes in Europe.

Europe's overseas expansion was in the 15th century. In the process that began with the discovery of the Azores in 1431, Europe took control of the whole world through colonialism. Numerous raw materials and gold transported from the discovered places served as capital accumulation in Europe and on the other hand led to the weakening and destruction of feudal administrations. As a result, the growth of a new class, namely bourgeoisie, gained momentum. The number of colony empires increased thanks to technology in shipping and trade, which developed with explorations. Mercantilism led to the development of maritime trade in Western Europe, and as a result it became a region of nation states that had trade relations with non-European empires (Öner, 2011, p. 34).

Especially in the 15th and 18th centuries, Europe called the Ottoman Turks the "other". During this period, Turks represented everything denied in the European identity. Religion is the main characteristic structure of Europe. The Ottoman Empire and Europe did not share the same religion so the Ottoman culture was quite different from the European culture (Öner, 2011, p. 5). The Ottoman Turks were marginalized because they did not have European characteristics.

When it comes to civilization, it is seen as a legitimate concept for Europe. This is because the colonialism that emerged with the spread of Europe through colonies by means of technical developments was presented as a useful activity for the societies and lands outside of Europe as well as for the sake of the control of the lands and for the values of the enlightenment and progress. This is the legitimizing argument of action just as it was already emphasized (Özgöker ve Musaoğlu, 2011, p. 64).

These political changes undoubtedly have implications for European identity. Identity is a variable, multi-dimensional phenomenon (Altun, 2006, p. 49). If it is thought that socio-economic developments and political developments are parallel to each other, a development that happens in any area will change or create the hierarchy of elements that are influential on European identity. In fact, the beginning of understanding Europe as a separate entity from "society" as an "individual" in a philosophical sense came to the fore with Renaissance (Altun, 2006, p. 52).

Europe, revealed its existence as a cultural model in the eighteenth century. Rousseau stated that "There is no longer a France, a Germany, a Spain, not even England, there are only Europeans. All have same tastes, the same passions, the same way of life" (Delanty, 2002, p. 347). It is possible to speak of Europeans who had similar tastes, passions and lifestyles in the history scene. At this point it would not be wrong to say that one of the European powers that provided the greatest contribution to the creation of these similar tastes, passions and lifestyles was France. It was perhaps the most dominant power. The great revolution in France has outstanding features in terms of the emergence of concepts such as equality and freedom. Again, these principles constituted the intellectual foundations of the establishment of a large number of independent states, opening up the national state model and spreading this political structure to Europe (Altun, 2006, p. 54).

There is also a conservative tradition in France that defines the nation as a political community based on universal principles, as well as a conservative tradition that keeps the French nation in line with Catholicism and advocates that religion should be the basis of identity. The conservative tradition rooted in France, however, focuses

on religion, but the law, which includes the separation of church and state in 1905, gave rise to the exclusion of religion from the public sphere in France and its secularization, and consequently the conception of the nation based on conquest (Çitak, 2006, p. 146).

This French-centered structure that emerged in Europe with the spread of the principles and institutions of France was actually adopted by a more intellectual segment. Europe began to express political significance this time, as France lost its cultural significance with the loss of power after Napoleon (Delanty, 2002, p. 348). At the Vienna Congress in 1815, following the defeat of France, the statesmen finally decided in the name of pentarchy to balance the interests of all parties for the last time in European history, and a rational policy to safeguard the peace, the hatred of masses and the hatred of the people (Ateş, 2008, p. 39). In other words, the Vienna Congress under the leadership of Austrian President Metternich and British Foreign Minister Castlereagh, came to the conclusion that European peace and prosperity could be preserved by ensuring meticulous obedience to the legitimate authority and not according to the wishes of the people concerned (Ateş, 2008, p.39). The mystery of this congress's success lies in the fact that Metternich and Castlereagh moved in the direction of revenge and legitimacy instead of punishment, and that their ineffectual conflicts were in an endowment. Thus, the newly established international scheme was integrated in France (Ateş, 2008, p. 40).

These political developments are an example of the emergence of a period of balance of power that is called the "European System" as well as an important initiative to show that the great powers in the system can come together when they are complying with their interests. Although this sacred alliance was originally a thoughtful response to a revolutionary demand who wanted to establish nation states, the most dominant element of nationalism with the second half of the nineteenth century failed to prevent national identity from being the dominant (Ateş, 2008, p. 41). It can be thought that the national identities presented by the nation states constituted the dominant belonging element, and they tried to embrace the common European identity ranging from the ancient Greece to the present day.

2.2 The European Identity in the Modern Ages

One of the prevalent aspects about European identity is that it had a Eurocentric character since the eighteenth century. However, it is observed that the First World War began to change this feature. Because this war caused a big damage to the economies of the European states. Nevertheless, the forces that won the war were re-partitioning the European map to weaken Germany, which almost entirely defeated the entire allied coalition in the war. As a result of the defeat, the big gaps in Europe and the Middle East had to be filled and the borders were to be redrawn. In fact, although the formula for reorganizing the map in Europe has been to create ethnic-linguistic nation-states based on the principle of the right to self-determination, the forces that demand rights in this direction have been various nationalist movements, where the victors tend to promote enough anti-Bolshevik qualities. Especially after the Second World War, salvation came from the outskirts of Asia and from the Atlantic steppes. Europe paid the price of this liberation by being divided between two super powers, namely the Soviet Union and the United States (Ateş, 2008, p. 40).

The Cold War, which emerged after the Second World War, was a historic turn in which the conflict between the two great states of war in the simplest terms and the small states clustered around them was maintained without weapons being used against each other. It can also be said that Europe had the most influential period in terms of the formation of identity, because, after World War II, the United States, which had become rich and started dominating the world politics as one of the most powerful countries in the world, begun to have a say in shaping the identity of Europe in the world without losing its European centricity. It was a homogenous, unified European structure that the USA wanted (Öner, 2011, p. 36).

In fact, unity in Europe was historically very old. After the World War I, the movement of the union was intended to be revived by the Pan-European initiative launched by Count Richard Coudenhove Kalergi, who claimed that peace will be achieved through a political unity in Europe (Ateş, 2008, p.42). The name that carried the Pan-European Union movement to the League of Nations, which included a model for the creation of a gradual United States of America's extending economic policy, was

the French Prime Minister Aristide Briand. Briand issued a memorandum in May 1930, stating that the greatest threat to stability and security in Europe was the existence of a large number of states competing with a bourgeoisie, suggesting that they formed a union without waiving their sovereignty (Terzi, 2001, p. 248).

The formation of the European Community consists of a process. The relations of European societies with each other shaped this process. Individuals with different identities within European society have contributed to the formation of the European Union. In this part of the study the European identity during the formation of the European Union, the process of formation of European identity and European identity in European Union are examined.

2.2.1. European Identity in the Foundation of European Community

The foundation of integration in Europe was achieved under the fellowship of France and Germany. But in his speech in Zurich in 1946, the British Prime Minister Churchill stated that France and Germany had to lead the established union. At a meeting in 1948, it was decided to convene an assembly of international parliamentarians to examine the structure of the European community to be established (Terzi, 2001, p. 249). This organization, which later acquired the name European Movement, gradually began to lose its political power in the 1950s, and from that date on, it was influential in the formation of federalists in European integration. (Öner, 2011, p. 48).

After the Second World War, attempts to organize in Europe reappeared. One of these proposals was Winston Churchill's proposal in 1946. The first step of Churchill's proposal was the signing of the Dunkirk Treaty, which established a defense alliance between France and Britain in 1947 against the Soviet threat (Turan, 1998, p. 391). The alliance was later on extended in 1948 with Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. With the Brussels Treaty, the signatory states committed themselves to establishing a common defense system and strengthening their economic and cultural ties. According to the Article 4 of the Treaty, if one of the parties was subject to a military offensive in Europe, others should help.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established on April 4, 1949. The Treaty was signed in Washington between Belgium, Canada, Denmark,

France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United States (Sander, 2001, p. 265). One month after, the Council of Europe was established in London on 5th of May in 1949. The step taken at the beginning of 1950 was one of the most concrete efforts in the context of European integration. This step was the announcement of the Schuman Declaration on May 9, 1950 by the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman. About a year after the Schuman Declaration was announced, The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established in Paris between France, Federal Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg (Öner, 2011, p. 67). The ECSC Treaty determines the policies of these six countries on coal and steel production. European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), was established on March 25 with the Rome Treaty. The Fusion Treaty was signed in 1965, which envisaged the joint activities of the ECSC, EEC and EURATOM bodies, and entered into force on 1 July 1967 (Altun, 2006). The Single Act, which amended the treaties establishing the European Communities in a comprehensive manner and aimed at creating a single market until 1992, entered into force on 1 July 1987. At the Summit held in Maastricht on December 25, 1991, the community decided to undertake a new treaty (Dedeoğlu, 1996, p. 20).

The first official initiative to identify the cultural basis of Europe came with the "Declaration on European Identity" adopted in the 1973 Copenhagen Summit. Thus, the relations of these nine countries with other countries and their place in world affairs would be defined and their responsibilities would be determined. The European identity has been considered together with the dynamic structure of society. As the nine countries that share the same attitudes, they made it a fundamental goal to defend the principles of democracy, the rule of law, social justice and respect for human rights. European nations with common values and loyalty, the consciousness of the attitude towards life and having common interests constitute the uniqueness and dynamism of the European identity. In addition, the European Union created under the leadership of these nine countries is open to other European countries which share the same ideals as them (CVCE, 2013, p.2). So, the common heritage, common values and lifestyle of the nine members of the summit are emphasized, and it is important because for the first time the concept of "European Identity" was officially on the agenda. This document is

the most important emphasis on the need to create a common identity in order for political integration to take place besides economic integration. The Tindemans Report was a preliminary preparation for the steps to be taken in the field of political integration, with reference to the granting of concrete rights to the 1975 European citizens. Steps taken in Europe in the 1980s are important. The necessity to create a European consciousness in the landmark gained importance. The "European Declaration" of 1983 and the idea "Europe of Citizens" debated at the Fontainbleau Summit of 1984 are very important in terms of the expansion of rights of European citizens (Altun, 2006, p. 67).

The element of identity used by construction to explain the European Union is also in contact with enlargement processes. It is important in this respect that the states, who are to become members, undergo a process based on values and norms.The conditions that the state is supposed to fulfill to be a member of the European Union is not only a rule for integration. In particular, the conditions of membership with the Copenhagen Criteria have made membership both institutionalized and expanded and expanded the scope. Thus, a European identity was established in this content.

2.2.2. The European Identity in the European Union

In the 1990s, the European Community began to evolve towards a transnational power by acquiring a more political character. This transformation confronted the Union with a number of problems. In the context of the political and cultural ties of the peoples of the unity, the liberal economic process and integration theories did not respond to political integration efforts. Along with this situation, the Union began to need a cultural policy that could be adopted by Europe (Öner, 2011, p. 50-52).

It can be said that it is not a coincidence that these identity-forming policies in the European Union began to gain weight after the 1990s. The end of the Cold War, which has a great role for European identity with the occurrence of eastern bloc and western bloc, is also of great importance for this identity. During the Cold War, global politics became more complicated, and the world was divided into three parts. A group of mostly prosperous and democratic societies, led by the United States, entered an

ideological, political, economic, military competition with a poorer communist bloc under the leadership of the Soviet Union (Huntingon, 1996). But by the end of the 1980s, the Communist regime collapsed and the Union faced a new situation (Öner, 2011, p. 54-55). This new situation confronting the Union meant that it was possible to get rid of the geographical and historical boundaries imposed on it by the Cold War and to rediscover its values.

There is the notion that the perception of threat of the communist regime, which united Europe against the Soviet Union during the Cold War, could be used as an opportunity to create a new European identity with the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. However, it cannot be said that this situation has been realized. Europe, which created enemies such as foreigners and immigrants, shows high rates of unemployment, increasing number of immigrants, and the immensity of these immigrants not being European at large. Therefore, Europe started to gradually abandon this attitude and made some arrangements (Öner, 2011, p. 58-60). This also shows us that Europe's identity has not changed. However, it should be noted that while the European policy has not changed, the elements that fill this policy have changed and diversified.

Communism that had previously occurred in Europe was replaced by potential migration waves with the fall of the Iron Curtain. Europe was faced with the East European Christian immigration. It is known that Muslim population is migrating to the European region, as well. While the acceptance of the Christian population of the Eastern Europe to the system is debatable, it is not even possible to talk about such an acceptance in the case of Muslim population. It can be said that Islamophobia, which emerged in Europe due to the recent terrorist attacks, constitutes an element that deepens the "other" perception of Europe (Ateş, 2008, p. 48).

The Treaty of Maastricht, signed on 7 February 1992 and entered into force in November 1993, gave the European Community the name of the European Union. The Maastricht Treaty brought new dimensions to the European Communities and created a new legal structure by establishing "three main pillars" (Öner, 2011). This Treaty was

followed by the Amsterdam Treaty, which was signed on 1 June 1997 and entered into force on 1 May 1999 (Akdemir, 2012, p. 64).

Eastern and Central European countries, which gained independence after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, took part in the enlargement policy of the EU. In this regard, the EU channeled the reform process, which should be implemented in an institutional sense for a possible enlargement in these countries. In this context, the Nice Summit held on 8 - 9 December 2000 countries of the EU have reached a settlement on a Treaty amending the Founding Treaties. The Nice Treaty, which was signed on February 26, 2001, came into force on 1 February 2003, after its ratification in all member states. The last important stage in the EU integration process was the Lisbon Treaty, signed in 2007 and entered into force in 2009 (Dedeoğlu, 2003, p. 19).

The European Union was established to emphasize European identity and to create European awareness. The most important of these symbols is the emblem and flag that symbolize the European Community. The European flag is a symbol not only of the European Union, but also of the integrity of Europe. The circle formed by the golden stars is a sign of resistance and harmony in Europe. The European Union flag with 12 golden stars on the sky blue ground was accepted in June 1985 and for the first time on May 29, 1986, it was sent at an official ceremony at the headquarters of the European Commission in Brussels (Dedeoğlu, 2003, p. 20). It is quite meaningful that there is a flag of the European Union in the light of the fact that every nation state has a flag. The origin of the flag symbol is not independent of the past of Europe.

Another symbol is the European Anthem. Each national state has a national anthem written out of its history. There is an anthem that the European Union embraced in this framework. The European Anthem was adapted from the last part of Beethoven's 9th symphony and was adopted by the European Community in 1972. In 1985, the government representatives of the member states of the European Union approved the official anthem of the European Union. European Anthem does not replace national anthems of the member states. It is used to express the idea of unity and integrity (European Commission, 2004, p. 4).

The Day of Europe is one of the Union's symbols as well. 9 May was accepted as Europe Day. On May 9, 1950 Robert Schumann, one of the founding fathers of the European Union, brought the idea of a united Europe to the agenda. As mentioned above, the Schumann Declaration laid the foundations of today's European Union. The decision to celebrate May 9 as Europe Day was also taken at the Milan Summit in 1985 (Öner, 2011, p. 65).

The other symbol is the common currency, Euro. As of January 1, 2002, 12 member states left their national currencies and starting using the common currency, the Euro. Since 1 March 2002, the Euro has become the sole legal currency in the entire Euro-zone (European Commission Booklet, 2004, p. 5). The banknotes of 5, 10, 20, 100, 200 and 500 euros contain Roman arches, Romanesque church gates, a Gothic church window, a Baroque period building, a Rococo style window and a building of modern period architecture respectively. All these architectural forms represent the stages of a common European cultural genre. It is seen that these structures, which are expected to be internalized in the process of building European identity, are the most conspicuous elements. The European Declaration in 1983 is very important in terms of raising the rights of European citizens. (Altun, 2006, p. 68).

All of the above-mentioned developments are powerful elements in the process of constructing European identity. The effect of constructivism is seen in the process of formation of the European Union and the decisions taken. This formation was shaped not only by the influence of politicians but also by the influence of many non-political groups such as non-governmental organizations. As the identity is a concept that is built, culture and national identity are influenced by this process. In particular, it is inevitable that people with very different cultures will have an impact on the European identity as refugees in Europe.

The European researchers have different views on the European identity. Habermas argues that a European identity must rest on 'constitutional patriotism', a form of civic identity emphasizing democratic citizenship as the integrative force. Smith (1992), on the other hand, emphasises the cultural foundations of European identity. His notion of a 'family of cultures' accepts the cultural variations in identity reference

points across Europe, but points to partially shared and overlapping cultural and political traditions (e.g. romanticism, roman law, parliamentary democracy, humanism and classicism) that could provide the basis for the formation of a trans-European identity in the long-term, although he is sceptical of the prospect (Cohesify, 2018: 7).

Most people in the EU see themselves as "European". But there are different aspects about feeling European. Some people feel "national and European", others "European and national", and a small minority feels "European only". Despite this distinction, people living in Europe stated that they found parts of European identity in them. However, a substantial minority of Europeans feel "national only", in proportions varying from 33% to 46% over the last 20 years or so (Eurobarometer, 2014). The reason for the increase and decrease of these rates over the years is the people who migrated to the region and the refugees.

2.2.3. The Place and Importance of the Treaty of European Union in the Construction of European Identity

On 9-10 December 1991 the Treaty of Maastricht was signed and on 7 February 1992 the Delors Report was announced. Agreed upon at the summit in Maastricht, the Netherlands, the Treaty on European Union (TEU) entered into force on November 1, 1993, when the text of the Maastricht Treaty was later revised at the Edinburgh Summit.

The treaty outlines a two-stage process to the member states:

- Removal of all obstacles before the free movement of goods, capital and labor until the end of 1992,
- An economic and monetary union was going to be established until 2002 and member states were going to start using Euro, a new and single currency.

Within the third pillar, the TEU put forward 9 areas to be regarded as areas of common interest of the member states; Asylum policy, rules governing the control of the Community's external borders, immigration policy and policy regarding third country nationals and issues related with criminal matters. The Treaty of European Union was intergovernmental on immigration matters but it strengthened the authority

of the Community's central institutions, enabled the European Union to work with co-initiative with the Member states in immigration and asylum areas. The objective of the Maastricht Treaty is to achieve harmonization in asylum and immigration matters to have a more efficient Union-wide immigration policy. To achieve this, ministers responsible for immigration-related issues presented a report to the Maastricht European Council that set out an immigration and asylum work programme. This dealt with the harmonization of admission policies for family reunion and for work, study or humanitarian reasons together with working on the development of a common approach to illegal immigration, labour migration policies and third country nationals and worked for the implementation of the Dublin Convention. Moreover the report tried to harmonize the application of safe third country principle as well as of a common approach for the definition of a refugee (Ünverdi, 2006, p. 87).

The Treaty states that the member-states must meet economic and institutional criteria before joining the European Central Bank (ECB). Within the scope of the institutional criteria, it was decided to establish the European Central Bank within the European Central Bank System, whose main objective is to achieve price stability. The commencement of the Economic and Monetary Union of which the stages of the Delors Report had been laid down in the Maastricht Treaty, was finalized on January 10, 1999. In the Maastricht Treaty, which lays the foundation of integration and changed the name of the community to "European Union", steps towards political integration with the policies of cooperation in defence, security, justice and internal affairs were specified and economic political unity was named as the European Union project.

The criteria set out in this Treaty were adopted in order to bring the members of the community closer to each other's economic standards and to ensure permanent price stability to support healthy growth and to establish a monetary union among the member states and then transform the Union into an increasingly political union. First of all, as a result of the Maastricht Treaty, European Citizens were allowed to travel within the European Union borders without any restriction. The concept of European Union citizenship was introduced as a legal status with this Treaty. Apart from creating special conditions for making decisions in different areas, the union formed by the Maastricht Treaty has become a part of the ongoing formation (Christiansen et al., 2012, p.690).

With the Maastricht Treaty, adding cultural, social and political dimensions to the understanding of economic union expanded the concept of unity. Most importantly, the concept of European citizenship became legally valid with this treaty and thus integrity was sought (Akdemir, 2012, p. 10). The European citizenship, introduced by the Maastricht Treaty, states certain rights to be used by all European citizens. The European citizenship provides any European citizen the right to entry and residence in the EU countries, entitlement of the right to vote and to become a candidate in the elections of the European Parliament, the right to diplomatic protection in a third country, and finally it gives the opportunity to apply to an ombudsman and the right to apply to the European Parliament (Deniz, 2014, p. 81).

Furthermore, under the Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union was an element in the process of increasing the efficiency of the policy mechanism in Europe. However, in the subsequent period there were several significant problems that led to a perception of lack of efficiency by not providing reliable provisions. This has a relevant aspect since it is affecting the refugees and asylum seekers directly or indirectly. Under the obligation of this treaty, the European Union faced a challenge for working in a better harmony and co-operation in order to fulfill all responsibilities. One of the problems caused by this agreement is the restriction of asylum seekers' freedom of movement. In addition, it causes legal dilemmas in the host countries and causes them to go to countries that offer less opportunities (Gençer, 2016, p.42).

With this agreement, everyone living in the European countries became a member of this union. Therefore, people are beginning to feel belonging because all the innovations made are in the name of this union. Freedom of movement, freedom of residence, gathering under a certain flag, having the citizenship of the same union positively influenced the identity of people. The most important features of the Treaty are that everyone living in the European Union have a uniform citizenship and common economic, social and political goals. All these common goals bring individuals together in a single point. The Maastricht Treaty is a crucial milestone in the context of common values mentioned in the construction and acquisition of the identity of European Union.

The European Citizenship, institutionalized by the Maastricht Treaty, which entered into force in 1993, is a very important step towards the creation of citizenship beyond the nation-state. The integration process in Europe has started with this agreement. The principle of European citizenship aims at creating a citizenship outside the nation-state which are considered as solutions to the most serious problems of democracy and constitutionality. However, whether this agreement was successful or not was also the subject of many academics (Altınbaş, 2009, p. 98).

Europe, which wanted to create a common unity in a certain cultural environment through the decisions made during the search for solutions to refugee problems, tried to shape its own identity. Although Europe wanted to preserve its own culture and identity, it could not protect itself from the influence of refugees fleeing war zones.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN EUROPE

In this chapter, the definition of refugee and related terms such as economic and forced migration, internally displaced persons, and asylum seeker are given. Secondly, the concept of asylum and its function in the EU are explained with the policies.. Thirdly, the refuge crisis which emerged in Europe in 2015 and how European agenda has been changed after the crisis are examined.

3.1. Asylum Policies in the European Union

In this part, the concepts of refugee and asylum-seeker are scrutinized and the asylum policies in the European Union are explained.

3.1.1 The Concept of Refugee

The emergence of the concepts of asylum and refugee dates back to the year 2000 BC (Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013, p. 1010). It is seen that these concepts are important even in these early periods when the boundaries were not determined with definite and clear lines. Since the wars and other events took place in a historical process, the refugee law was developed over time. Oppression and violence caused displacement of the communities and this situation required international regulations to protect those communities. As a result, some institutions and organizations have emerged.

The 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees provided broader codification for refugee rights internationally rather than for specific groups. The concept of refugee in this Convention emphasizes the protection of individuals from political and other types of persecution. The Convention involves both status and rights-based approach while supporting refugees with fundamental principles such as "non-discrimination, non-penalization and non-refoulement" (UNHCR, 1951, p.3).

According to the Convention which was adopted on 28 July, 1951, the concept of "refugee" is defined as a person who:

"As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside his country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (1951 Convention, p.1).

Another definition that needs to be taken into account is John Hope Simpson's definition; "Some details indicate that refugees have to move to other lands to take refuge; Meanwhile, these persons were prevented by the political regimes that prevented them from doing so, returning to their own country" (Simpson, 1938, p. 4). Making logical assumptions in many different ways, the refugee term should be distinguished from other similarly perceived terms.

It is possible to think the refugee movements as a form of migration, but there are at least three features of a refugee movement that distinguish it from other forms of migration: First, a refugee movement consists of people who inadvertently take their usual place of residence. Second, there is a well-known expectation that the people who carry out these movements are in need of international protection and assistance, and thirdly, it is possible to mention the overwhelming belief shared by most refugees, that they will return to their homes after the problems that cause their flights are resolved (Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013, p. 1012).

First and foremost, it is wise to recognize that names and titles can vary depending on other factors, although there are definitions that cannot fully explain the situation. As Hyndman points out, the definition and perception of the refugee term depends on many variables that are determined factors such as geographical location, time period, host countries and other influential institutions (Hyndman, 2000, p. 2). Finally, the most important reason for defining the word "refugee" is to clarify the title of the policy-making mechanism to show a better level of responsibility.

The refugee movement can be considered as a forced migration. At this point, other concepts of migration should be given. For example, voluntary migration also known as economic migration can be defined with "pull-push model" which is the combination of push factors from the original region of individuals and pull factors

from the destination. The push factors lead individuals to migrate to another region or country and involves lack of sources, loss of employment, discriminatory events in terms of religion, ethnics or politics, and natural catastrophes while the pull factors involve opportunities for general living conditions, employment, education, and environment. On the other hand forced migration leads us to question the gap between rich and poor countries, assistance from rich countries, trade reforms and what they can do for liberalization (Turton, 2003, p.8).

Forced migration consists of two extensive groups such as refugees and internally displaced persons. In addition to the concept of refugee, internally displaced persons are:

> "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border" (Global Protection Cluster Working Group. 2010. p.8).

An internally displaced person is someone who was forced to flee his/her home but who did not cross an official state border. These internally displaced people benefit from the legal protection of international human rights law and, in armed conflict, from international humanitarian law. Apart from refugees and internally displaced people; asylum-seekers are those "who have made a claim that they are refugees and are in the process of waiting for it to be accepted or rejected" (European Commission, 2017, p.2).

According to the statistics, as a result of forced displacement, over 65.6 million people around the world need protection and assistance. In 2017, over 40.3 million people were internally displaced as a result of conflict, while 22.5 million were refugees and 2.8 million were asylum-seekers in the world. Approximately 31.1 million people were internally displaced in 2016 because of conflicts and natural disasters (European Commission, 2017, p.2).

3.1.2. Asylum in the European Union

Asylum is offered to individuals who flee from persecution or are subject to serious harm. Although Article 18 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights guarantees asylum, EU

law does not provide opportunities to facilitate the arrival of asylum seekers. The concept of asylum seeker defines those who expect international protection. (European Commission, 2014, p.3). The EU defines asylum as a protection given by a state on its territory, based on the principle of non-refoulement and refugee rights. An asylum seeker, then, is someone who has made an application for international protection under the Geneva Convention (Seilonen et al., 2016, p.12).

The EU cooperation has developed significantly on asylum and migration issues in recent years so that this policy became one of the most dynamic topics in the EU. This topic is prompted by the willingness of European governments to develop more restrictive asylum and migration policies, aiming to overcome liberal domestic pressures and obstacles (Kaunert and Leonard, 2011, p.4).

Asylum flows have been changing since they are not uniformly distributed across the EU. In 2001, asylum flow reached 425.000 applications for the EU-27, while it decreased to under 200.000 in 2006, followed by over 330.000 in 2012 (European Commission, 2014, p.3). The EU provided protection to 710.400 asylum seekers in 2016 which is over twice as much of the number in 2015. In addition, the EU Member-States received over 14.000 resettled refugees. The largest group which benefit from protection in 2016 involves Syrian citizens, approximately 405.600 persons which is about 57% of the total number of individual who had protection status. Syrian citizens are followed by citizens of Iraq with 65.800 individual or 9%, and those of Afghanistan with 61.800 or 9% (Eurostat, 2017, p.1).

In the second quarter of 2018, 18,300 Syrians, 9,200 Afghans and 8,400 Iraqi asylum seekers were the top three nationalities in 145 countries who applied to the European Union as an asylum seeker (Eurostat, 2018. p, 2). As such, the number of persons seeking asylum in the EU during the third quarter of 2018 was 147 000, a number around the levels recorded in 2014, before the summits of 2015 and 2016 A total of 151,000 asylum applications were filed with the second time applicants. Eurostat, 2018. p,1). In the same period, 25% (33,700) of the total applications were made to Germany. Then respectively France with 19% (26,100), Greece with 12% (16,300), Spain with 12% (16,200) and Italy with 10% (13,700). In total, these 5

Member States constitute the states to which 78% of the asylum-seekers first applied (Eurostat, 2018. p. 4).

3.1.3 Asylum Policies and Mechanisms of the European Union

In order to understand the role of refugees in the formation of EU identity within the scope of the thesis, it is necessary to look at various policies and mechanisms related to refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers in the EU. Where member states do not share the same opinion, information should be given about the policy. A number of policies were applied during the EU refugee crisis. Due to the deficiencies and insufficiencies experienced in the European Union, many studies have been carried out on this subject.

Since the establishment of the European Union in 1993, the free movement of EU citizens has become one of the main principles of the Union. The goal of achieving a single market was accomplished and the citizens in EU member-countries were given the right to live, work and trade in the other EU countries. The free movement of citizens entered into force in 1995 under the Schengen Agreement. Thus, the Schengen area was established (Masova, 2016, p. 24).

These developments, which caused the EU member states to act together, also caused the establishment of an international barrier. It meant more difficult entry for the non-EU citizens, as internal borders were closed. The internal borders must be assured with the strengthening of external borders and by the organized movement of non-EU nationals (Hough, 2015, p. 3-4).

The first text linking the EU states to refugee protection in terms of international law is the 1951 Geneva Convention. The Geneva Convention, which is the first international document that defines the refugees and sets out their rights and duties and which entered into force in 1954, is considered to be a milieu about refugees, especially by stating the non-refoulement of refugees. The 1951 Geneva Convention has been a source of inspiration for regional conventions over the past few years, while still retaining its prestigious position. The EU approved the New York Protocol, annexed to 31 December 1967, with a view to broadening the scope of the Geneva Convention.

The EU states were aware of the necessity of establishing a common immigration and refugee policy since 1985, when they put the Schengen system into practice. For this reason, these countries have begun to give importance to EU's immigration policies and laws. Over time, in parallel with the realization and deepening of the political integration, namely the transformation of the European Economic Community to the EU, there has been an increase in the efforts for partnership and solving the problematic issues. During the 1990s, there was a cooperation among the member states, mostly concerned with cross-border crime and terrorism-focused joint work due to the apparent increase in the number of asylum seekers. Finally, by the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999, EU member states had a common ground on examination of asylum applications. Thus, for the first time, the issue of immigration and asylum was accepted as a common issue by the Dublin Regulation, rather than as a problem to be solved by the individual European states.

The Dublin Regulation (Regulation No. 343/2003) allocated the responsibility of EU Member States for the evaluation of individual asylum applications within the EU. The purpose of the revised Dublin Regulation was "to examine claim lies primarily with the Member State which played the greatest part in the applicant's entry or residence in the EU" (European Commission, 2014, p.7). The criteria for establishing responsibility ran, in hierarchical order, from family considerations, to recent possession of visa or residence permit in a Member State, to whether the applicant entered the EU irregularly or regularly (European Commission, 2014, p.7).

Since 1999, the EU has been trying to build a "Common European Asylum System" (CEAS) in order to form a common asylum policy. In this context, it is aimed at harmonizing the legal arrangements of the EU countries concerning refugees, cooperation between the member states, as well as increasing the sense of responsibility between EU member states. In this framework, the minimum standards that were expected to be implemented by member states between 2000 and 2004, the first phase of CEAS, has been identified (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 10).

The CEAS is a legal framework for protection and solidarity, but it also provides cooperation among Member States in the field of migration, asylum and

security, as noted in the official documents. In 1999, for the first time in the Tampere European Council, the Member States committed themselves to working on a common scheme for the protection of persons in need, in the face of persecution or serious harm. At the same time, however, negotiations were based not only on common grounds for the right to asylum, but also on the overall migration context and the management of migration flows. The European Refugee Fund (ERF) was set up in 2000 to redistribute the financial resources of refugees and people who had to leave their country, but it was also set up to finance mass immigration incidents (Masova, 2016, p. 28).

The first phase of the CEAS′s objective was outlined in The Hague Programme adopted by the European Council in Brussels in 2004 for the period 2005-2010. In this period, apart from setting up the ERF, the European Asylum Dactyloscopy Database (Eurodac) was also set up as one of the key instruments within the overall Dublin Regulation scheme. It defines which Member State is responsible for examining asylum application to ensure that only one country can examine the application at a time and only one asylum application by an applicant can be lodged, thus avoiding multiple applications in different Member States. Furthermore, Dublin Regulation deals also with transfers of individuals to another Member State, if found that another state is responsible for examining an application. In practice, the Dublin Regulation is bound to a hierarchy of countries responsible for examining the application according to the first country of entry principle, as the European Union (2014) notes that "the state responsible for allowing the applicant to enter the common area is typically determined to be the state responsible for reviewing the application".

After the Tampere and Hague Programmes, the Stockholm Programme (2010-2014) focused on further coordination of border management, visa, migration and asylum policies. It highlights the priorities of justice, freedom and security in EU. The main objective of the Stockholm Programme is "to provide a secure Europe where the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens are respected" (Şirin-Öner, 2012, p.136). Fundamental principles of the Stockholm Programme are:

- To prevent illegal immigration and cross-border crime and to encourage cross-border cooperation by second generation Schengen Information System and Visa

Information System,

- To develop a common migration policy, including labor market needs while minimizing "brain drain" effects origin countries, effective integration and return policies (Collett, 2014, p.3).

Apart from the Geneva Convention, the legal framework under which the EU is shaping its policies on refugees is the Dublin Regulation and the EURODAC Regulation. All the regulations concerning their implementation are called "Dublin System". The Dublin Regulation can be seen as the first basic text that the EU has created in its own borders in relation to refugee politics. This regulation was signed by the 12 member states of the European Community (EC) on 15 June 1990 and it entered into force in 1997. The regulation sets out the criteria and mechanisms for the identification of the responsible member state in the examination of the application for asylum in which a third-country national has made in one of the EU member states. A new directive, Dublin II, replaced this document on March 17, 2003. The most important rule in the regulation is that asylum seekers' applications can only be examined by a single state. The aim is primarily to prevent asylum seekers from applying to multiple EU countries simultaneously or consecutively. During the 2015 European refugee and migrant crisis, Hungary became overburdened by the asylum applications to the point that it stopped on 23 June 2015 receiving back its applicants who later crossed the borders to other EU countries and were detained there. However when we look closer, today it is clear that in fact, almost all of the political and economic responsibility for asylum seekers in the Dublin Regulation appears to have been destroyed by the EU states. According to the Dublin regulation, asylum seekers have to apply for asylum in the first European Union country they have reached. In this case, responsibility passes from the inner countries to border countries. Thus, these countries are able to get rid of this problem by sending refugees to the border countries.

In 2004, European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (Frontex) was established. This, in practice, can be considered as an external border management ´police´ working on operations of illegal migrant crossings. Frontex mandates among others are focused on control and surveillance of the external borders

and joint operations at the external borders (Council Regulation (EC) No. 2007/2004, Article 2d, Article 3).

Although, according to the Dublin Regulation, it is foreseen that the application for asylum will be examined primarily in the EU country where the asylum seeker first set foot, in principle, any Member State, as it is also observed in the case of Germany, has the right to examine asylum applications. Apart from the EU member states, Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland also implement the Dublin Regulation. By setting up a new legal arrangement on 26 June 2013, the EU member states made it difficult for asylum seekers to apply for asylum in the EU countries. The Dublin III Regulation replaced Dublin II. There are two agencies that are active in coordinating and regulating EU applications for refugees. These agencies are European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) which was established on October 6, 2016 in Warsaw, the capital city of Poland and the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) which was established on May 19, 2010, in Valetta, the capital city of Malta. EASO's main task is to support member states in their asylum matters and to contribute to the creation of a common European asylum system. The most important task of Frontex is to coordinate the member states in the protection of EU borders.

In addition to Frontex and EASO, the Dublin System also has a data base called EURODAC, which is in support of those agencies and intended for the efficient operation of the system. EURODAC is a system that records the fingerprints of persons, records the identity of asylum seekers older than 14 years and allows the sharing of information between the member countries in the computer environment. The EURODAC Mechanism under the Dublin regulation serves as a database of finger prints of asylum applicants, where Member States can view if an asylum seeker, irregular migrant or a national crossed territory unlawfully previously or already applied for asylum in one of the Member States (Council Regulation No. 2725/2000, 3). Apart from the EU countries, Switzerland, Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway also participate in EURODAC, which has been in practice since 15 January 2003. Despite the above-mentioned legal framework and all practical measures, the EU states have not had a common refugee policy. Even the recent events showed that the EU is unable to produce common solutions. The absence of a common refugee policy within the EU can

be easily understood even in the lack of standardized practices for refugees among the member-states. We can give an example of the differences in the acceptance rates of asylum seekers that have been changing from country to country and the differences the asylum-seekers encounter in benefiting from minimum health and shelter services. Since visa categories for humanitarian purposes that exist within the EU visa system are unfortunately not operated, this opportunity, which is not available at all for asylum seekers, is not used. On the other hand, we should also keep in mind that the Frontex and the Border Surveillance Program (Eurosur) [1] have all kinds of technical equipment to provide relief for the asylum seekers in the sea. The problem is not technical shortcomings but lack of political will. Another important point is that, as mentioned earlier, the major EU states, such as Germany, France and the UK, did not want to reform the Dublin System for a long time, which was in their advantage (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 11-12). Today it is clear that this system does not function well. Ultimately, countries such as Germany, which had long been reluctant to change the system, had to submit new proposals to overcome the crisis with proposals such as the quota system.

Since the Tampere Summit, many attempts have been made to effectively implement the asylum system of all member states. In the framework of the 2008 European Migration and Refugee Pact, external responsibility and asylum standards have been harmonized. However, it lacked the shared responsibility and solidarity in the first phase of the CEAS or the visa policies shared by the Council of the European Union. (European Union Council, 2008, p. 11).

Thus, this pact was also a statement for improvements that should have been achieved in the second phase of the CEAS that set its objectives for the period 2010-2014 under the name Stockholm Programme. Five key elements of improvement in the next CEAS phase have been to organize 1.legal migration with the focus on highly qualified workers, 2.control illegal migration, 3.control borders, 4.construct Europe of asylum and 5.partnership with countries of origin and transit (Commission of The

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[1] The European Border Surveillance System, which gradually became active in 2013, is an intelligence-driven approach. The system established to prevent irregular migration and cross-border crime aims to protect the immigrants living at external borders (EUROSUR, 2013, p.2)

European Communities, 2008, p.11). Under the objective of constructing Europe of asylum incentive it was also mentioned that in case of massive influx of asylum seekers, there should be solidarity and quick mobilization of Member States especially to assist countries that face the biggest pressures with voluntary reallocation schemes (Council of the European Union, 2008, p. 12). As noted above, in the recent refugee crisis the reallocation scheme was, in fact, proposed as a matter of burden-sharing with the΄frontline΄ country of the refugee crisis, Greece. However, unlike in the recommendation of 2008, although reallocation was mandatory this time, real solidarity did not take place in the EU.

In the second phase of the CEAS, there is also the amendment of the concrete legal instruments, especially the reformation of the Dublin Regulation and its criteria. According to Peers (2013), the amendment to the Dublin Regulation II did not change the real controversy about this regulation. The regulation pushes the responsibility for examining asylum applications to the southern EU Member States which have less experience in managing large numbers of asylum seekers and are not able to respond in a coordinated manner to the influx, leaving many refugees unregistered to pass through other countries which made Dublin fail to work for a while (Masova, 2016, p. 30).

3.2. The Refugee Crisis in Europe in 2015

In the Middle East and North Africa, as a result of conflicts emerging after the Arab Spring, the number of refugees on the world has reached the highest level since the Second World War. Especially since the refugees generated by the Syrian civil war were hosted in countries like Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon, Europe did not face this problem for a long time. With the refugees moving towards Europe from the beginning of 2015, the refugee issue in general has become the problem of the EU and its leading member state Germany in particular. The refugee crisis has been the subject of a complex negotiation process involving many different issues in Turkey, Germany and the EU (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 10).

As the immigration level peaked in the summer of 2015, the EU member states have found it very difficult to evaluate all applications, grant refugee status, number of associates, and number of associates. A harmonized asylum procedure and the provision

of appropriate conditions were tested with refugees who had reached an unprecedented number in all European countries. In order to cope with this situation, although some measures have been taken for the establishment of reception centers at the external borders and the advancement of the emergency mechanism, they have succeeded to a certain extent (Beches, 2017, p.8).

The EU leaders were faced with a refugee crisis and should treat it as a common problem in Europe, consistent with the collective responsibilities of individual member states against the refugees. Solving this problem is necessary to meet the collective obligations of the EU as set out in the EU legal order as well as in the EU Fundamental Rights Fund, EU Treaties and legislation.

Nevertheless, in the face of this urgent need, some EU leaders seemed determined to insist on isolation. Most of the refugees in the Greek islands were unable to find humanitarian aid and meet their needs.The Greek government should be taking responsibility, but not yet for the time being. The EU recommends entry and safe passage and relocation. At this moment, those who come on this route have to travel illegally in the Balkans to leave the EU again, sometimes they will once again endanger their lives. Providing safe passage to member countries where asylum claims can be examined and protected in accordance with international and European legislation needs coordinated humanitarian assistance (Hough, 2015, p. 2).

In 2017, an average of 3,000 refugees lost or died in the Mediterranean. 40% of the survivors of the first half of 2017 were rescued by civil society organizations. However, Italy has conducted a campaign that states that the efforts of civil society organizations are not legal or even criminal. Despite calls to legal places to bring families together and to issue visas, member states have only attached importance to the resettlement of refugees. The member states, which responded late to the resettlement of refugees, said 22,518 refugees have been relocated in the last two years. They also submitted a plan to place 50,000 refugees in Europe in the next two years (World Report. 2018. p,1).

Along with all the problems experienced in the case of refugees, a number of negative attitudes towards refugees have been shown in the European Union member

states. The parties in the extreme populist positions of the member states have tried to influence European politics. Nevertheless, many mainstream political parties in the EU have adopted anti-immigration, anti-refugee and anti-Muslim policies (World Report. 2018. p,3).

3.3. The European Union's Agenda on Migration and the Response to Syrian Crisis

In the first two years of the war, when Syrian refugees were not so much a concern for the international community in the world agenda, mostly African refugees became the subject of news after the Arab Spring paved the way for conflicts, especially in Libya. Thousands of asylum seekers from countries like Somalia, Eritrea, Libya, Nigeria, Mali and Sudan chose two cities of Spain in North Africa, Ceuta and Melilla, as their primary target (Vitanova, 2015. p,17). The refugees, who could not step one by one to the millimeter-high wire-braided walls built around these cities, were trying to penetrate into the city, making use of the inability to interfere with security guards by raiding and attacking the walls at the same time. Those who were lucky enough, were entitled to apply for asylum because they had set foot on the EU soil when they entered. But the fact that those who succeeded in entering in this way are relatively feew in number and the fact that the elderly, women and children could not overcome this obstacle caused this route to be relatively less preferred by refugees (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 13).

The first time the refugee problem in the EU countries became the main agenda of the public was due to the death of 365 refugees trying to reach Italy, the second most important route after Spain. The helpless people from Tunisia on 3 October 2013, when the incident took place, filled the sea boats with the promises of human traffickers and wanted to reach the island of Lampedusa, the closest EU land to Italy. Italy announces national mourning on the event that 365 people lost their lives and the search and rescue operation known as "Mare Nostrum" was initiated by the order of the then Prime Minister Enrico Matte. The EU countries failed to take a common step to resolve the refugee issue, despite a summit regime attended by interior ministers following the Lampedusa disaster. In the framework of the Mare Nostrum program created by Italy's

own will, Italian naval patrols were scanning an area of 70 thousand square kilometers and even surveillance to the Libyan coastline. Despite the fact that between October 2013 and October 2014, 3,000 people could not be prevented from disappearing in the Mediterranean waters, the program rescued about 140,000 refugees (Aldırmaz, 2017, p.93-94).

With the start of Triton Operation, the EU actually went back to a security concept that emphasized border security by abandoning the search and rescue concept put forward by Italy's operation and prioritized by the security of refugees. The Triton Operation and the EU executives also showed that they saw the source of the problem in human traffickers. However, as easily understood, immigrants and refugees did not have many alternatives to reach Europe. As a result, this should be seen as a matter of supply and demand. If, in the opinion of the EU countries, genuinely sincere, they need to make it easier for refugees rather than making it difficult for them to apply for asylum. Starting from the fact that a significant number of those who want to reach the EU illegally are refugees who do not have the opportunity to live in their homeland, not migrants who want to live in better conditions, the refugees in the current war zones of Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, Eritrea and Mali should provide the opportunity to apply. This step will allow both human traffickers to be "unemployed" and to save thousands of lives.

The Triton Operation, launched by twenty-one EU governments with Frontex, was not a search/rescue operation, as many European CSOs (Civil Society Organization) had expected. Unlike Mare Nostrum, Triton was functioning in Italy and Malta with a maximum of thirty nautical miles, due to the limited set of designated missions. Many human rights organizations have severely criticized the operation because it has been specifically declared as not having a mission to save the refugees (Koller, 2017. p,8).

While all these discussions were contuining, on April 19, 2015, more than 800 refugees lost their lives during a boat carrying asylum seekers trying to reach Italy sank in the Mediterranean. The EU has decided to increase its operational budget with the number of vehicles and personnel employed in the operation, rather than put an end to

the Triton operation, which has been the tragic eventual failure of the recent greatest maritime disaster. In addition, Britain has decided to send one of its biggest ships, three helicopters and two coast guard tactics to support the operation. According to Cameron, these asylum seekers needed to be taken to the "closest safe country". At this time the issue was seen as a foreign policy of the EU and in addition to the measures mentioned above, the EU directors also accelerated their diplomatic initiatives and brought the issue to the UN agenda. At the UN Security Council (UNSC) session, Federica Mogherini, the EU High Representative for Foreign Policy, urged the EU to increase its military capabilities as only one element in its security strategy to prevent human traffickers by turning the prevention of human traffickers into a push with a central focus on the solution of the EU problem (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 14-15).

As can be seen from the above-mentioned events, the European leaders are often reacting after a tragic event that has taken place in the eyes of the European public. These leaders thought that they should take some steps because of the pressure of the world public opinion and the pressure of the NGOs working in the field of human rights organizations in Europe and the problems of the refugees who reached the peak in times of crisis. The EU also announced that it had suspended the Dublin System because there was no indication of any solidarity in solving the problem. The debate in Europe at this stage was about the protection of EU borders and the EU border states such as Hungary, which officially stated their opposition to any possible revision or enlargement of the Dublin Regulation In such an environment where thousands of refugees agglomerated in Hungary and expressed their willingness to go to other countries in Europe, many EU countries, particularly France and Germany pointed out that Hungary had to keep a record of asylum seekers and that solidarity within the European Union was not actually implemented (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 15-16).

Thus, the EU has not been able to bring a radical solution to the refugee issue as an institution with its policies, and has left member states to act on their own, as well as causing them to oppose each other. Moreover, this policylessness of the EU has caused a grouping in membership by bringing against Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czech Republic, also called "Visegrad Quartet", Germany, Austria, England, Sweden

and France. A group of countries, particularly Germany and Austria and Sweden, have tried to adopt quotas within the EU (Masova, 2016, p. 31).

While the refugee crisis spread to Europe, the photograph of Aylan Kurdi's lifeless body that hit the shores of Bodrum at the beginning of September captured the conscience of the world public. The European politicians, seeing that they could not escape their responsibility, felt that they had to take new steps and acted quickly to intervene. On October 25, 2015, 11 European countries held a mini summit in Brussels to make another final move to resolve the refugee problem on the eve of a binding agreement they intended to make with Turkey. The EU officials, the Balkans and Eastern European countries, agreed that half of 100,000 refugees would be hosted by Greece and the other half by the Balkan countries before winter. In agreement with the 17-item action plan, the leaders agreed to better control borders and stop migrants from moving to other countries beyond the allocation of refugees (Masova, 2016, p. 32-33).

The EU was criticised for not having invited Turkey to the summit. This is clearly seen in the Croatian Prime Minister Zoran Milanovic's expression. He said that the meeting to which Turkey was not invited, turned into a "beautiful market chatter". As a matter of fact, the EU has realized this situation and announced that it would hold a Turkey-EU summit in Brussels on November 29th (Masova, 2016, p. 35).

All these developments have made the refugee problem one of the biggest challenges. The EU's sudden and short-term responses since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, but especially since the summer of 2015, when the refugee crisis began to affect Europe, clearly show that it is not prepared for this problem. The proposals submitted by the EU on behalf of the solution of the crisis are seen as having many problems. The European Union's attitudes towards asylum seekers are shaped by the influence of both the member states and non-governmental organizations.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS AND ITS EFFECT ON THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY

As a result of factors such as poverty and war in the process of European history, Europe has become a refuge for migrants, who are now seeking a better life. Refugee flows that have started in the recent years from the Middle East to Europe are defined as refugee crises or migrant crises. As a consequence of immigrant and refugee flows, the core population of Europe is changing. Besides, the mentioned immigrants and refugees are deeply influenced by the social and political cultures of the European society they are involved with. Europe has undertaken mutual agreements on immigrants and refugees, working on both their own citizens and newcomers. This situation also affects the relations among the countries.

In this chapter, the refugee crisis which has been increasing recently with the Syrian Civil War, will be elaborated. In this direction, the Europen Union's view about Syrian Civil War will be focused on. However, the European attitudes in the refugee crisis will be examined from various sources. In addition to this, the views of member states about this subject and these states' politics followed during refugee crisis will be included. The situation in Turkey and the Readmission Agreement between Turkey and the EU will be briefly mentioned. Finally, the positive and negative impact of Syrian refugees on European identity is discussed in this chapter.

4.1 The European Union's Views About Syrian Civil War

The EU countries have downgraded the issue of refugeehood and asylum to an immigrant problem, ignoring the situation of those who have to abandon their own countries due to political ideas, ethnicity, religion, nationality, prosecutions stemming from a certain social group membership, and the rights recognized by international conventions. As a result, the reasons for refugees leaving the country were made invisible to the public. With the phrase "Fugitive Immigrants" (Keles, 2014, p.4), asylum seekers who are seeking a social basis for protecting themselves from overall racism, such as criminalization, alination and exclusion, are living in that country

without notifying themselves to the authorities of the country where they go. Refugee and asylum issues, especially since the 1990s, have been addressed in the West under the issue of "immigration control" (Keles, 2014, p.4). In this sense, refugee and asylum policies of European countries cannot be considered independent of the restrictions and exclusionary policies developed for immigrants to work in these countries. Exclusionary and discriminatory policies, both for refugees and asylum seekers, for immigrants and for the second and even third generation in Europe, are more political and cultural than economic. Right-wing parties and groups, which oppose multiculturalism, are based on a European-centric cultural ideology and emphasize the difference in cultural formats, argue that foreigners are forced to adapt and that it is an economic burden. EU countries have been trying to prevent migrants and asylum-seekers from encountering legal and political barriers in social and political life. So they become distant from the human rights perspective and present the refugee and asylum issue as a criminal, cultural and economic problem.

The problem of refugees changes from country to country. For example, in some countries such as Germany and Austria, refugees and asylum seekers are kept far away from the society in a place named "Gott verlassenes" - the place where God abandons. These social isolation practices lead to psychological disturbances, suicides and bad conditions in the camps, especially respiratory tract diseases in children. In addition, it is a known fact that extreme right-wing groups attack refugees and asylum seekers residing in asylum camps and even burn those camps. In other European countries, asylum seekers are given the right to a long-term marriage (Italy), housed in penitentiary camps (Greece) or they are expected to survive in the streets without any accommodation. Although Rojaw / Syrian asylum seekers have been living in Southern Cyprus for more than 10 years, they still have neither citizenship nor refugee status and lastly we can exemplify the fact that the Southern Cyprus government cannot meet the employment, accommodation and nutrition needs of asylum seekers arriving in Cyprus on the pretext of economic crisis. Despite allowing European refugees to work, the right of asylum seekers to participate in work is forbidden. In fact, both those who apply for refugee status and those whose asylum applications are refused are seen as the most important cheaper labor force in the unregistered economy (Keles, 2014, p.4).

In addition to the problem of migration, there are some factors that cause problems for the European countries. In this regard, Syria has recently become a major source of concern for Europe for two reasons. First, the lasting humanitarian tragedy and exodus caused by the ongoing civil war creates a destabilizing situation for neighboring countries, which are either ally of the EU or on friendly terms with the Union. Second, the fact that several hundred EU citizens have gone to Syria as jihadists raises concerns that they will return home and become the "enemy from within" in their countries of origin.

At the same time, some statesmen and countries have expressed the negative role of the European refugee crisis and the war in the Syrian Civil War. In an interview with an Italian newspaper *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, Assad stated that "the only role of the Western and European governments under American rule is to support terrorists" in the Syrian crisis (Pınar, 2017).

During the civil war, many newspapers have been writing news about the refugee crisis and civil war. For instance, a journalist emphasizing that the continuation of Russia's 'destructive' policy in Syria, the former Soviet republics, state that Russia tried to divide the European Union but failed (ABhaber, 2016).

On March 22, 2011, Catherine Ashton, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, issued a statement saying that the European Union strongly condemned "violent press, including alleged ammunition use, peaceful protest at various places." Ashton repeated the EU's condemnation on July 31 after the military operations in Hama ended at least with 136 deaths. On August 18th Ashton stated that "The EU noted that Bashar al-Assad's legitimacy in the eyes of the Syrian people has completely disappeared and that he should be pulled aside" (Crisis Management And Disaster Response Centre Of Excellence, 2013, 2).

According to a report published by the European Union in April 2017, the Union and its member states announced that in 2016 and 2017, refugees were directly financed in Turkey under the name of EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey with an amount of € 3 billion in order to meet the needs of refugees and to welcome communities through humanitarian aid and development assistance. The European

Commission also emphasized that 1.3 million refugees managed to earn 348 million euros through the Emergency Social Security Network (ESSN), a cash-based social assistance scheme that could meet basic daily needs (European Commission Factsheet, 2017, p.2).

4.2 The European Attitude in the Refugee Crisis

The main strategy of the European Union for refugees is to provide security conditions for them to return to their countries. However, security problems cannot be solved and refugees need to be protected, since the majority of the refugees are not able to return, albeit for a short time. This protection should be carried out in places close to the countries of the refugees. This situation is important not only for refugees, but also for the continuation of the period and their connection with their homes. In addition, it is thought that the protection of the refugees in the countries close to them is more cost-effective than in Europe (Groth, 2016, p. 11).

One of the most important reactions in Europe is the signing of readmission agreements between the EU and the neighboring states, which will create an opportunity to cooperate with refugee flows and border security. In order to protect social and political stability in the Member States and to manage refugee flows, readmission agreements have gained importance in the construction of the European Union's foreign policy. The Readmission Agreements do not have a single provision that limits the signatory countries; in particular they are amended to meet the demands and needs of each country. The EU has thus come to the forefront of reducing the pressure on both sides of the borders (Gençer, 2016, p. 49).

Due to difficulties in the implementation phase of the Readmission Agreement, the effect is decreasing. The substance of this deal aims to facilitate the return process of refugees. However, there are a number of variables such as the distribution of costs that determine the boundaries of this condition and time. Routes of immigrants and asylum seekers that need to be identified in this process are difficult due to the lack of information following the first country, identity and asylum applications. Another important issue is that nationality is provable. Moreover, Europe's "burden-sharing" system is a problem for member states. Due to their location, countries such as Malta,

Greece and Italy are the first entry countries, leading to some difficulties. The growth in the number of arrivals has created the perception of an unmanageable crisis and made the public increasingly aware of the issue. Such migration movements can cause difficulties such as the heavy cost of a large population and security concerns (Gençer, 2016, p. 48).

The European Refugee Fund covers financial issues reaching a hundred million euros in a short time. In addition, the European Union continued to work in a wide range of policy-making processes, highlighting the importance of the EU Resettlement Program. According to this program, the EU Member States have placed great importance on standardizing the resettlement of refugees. The EU Resettlement Program has been an important element in the development of conditions, aimed at providing better conditions for refugees and their protection, at the same time for a more robust integration. In addition, the Program has other benefits for refugees, as described by the UNHCR, including the assessment of the granting of citizenship to refugees in the resettlement countries (UNHCR, 2017). In the end, the self-sacrifice and positive nature of the initiatives made by the European Union seem to be promising in a better future. In addition, the European Union has proposed visa facilitation for countries cooperating with the European Union, as explained earlier. Facilitation of this incentive vision is an effective solution to many problems expressed by many neighboring countries. In addition, the involvement of the European Programs has been a useful aspect of the 'Greater Europe' strategy, which has enabled millions of people to experience the multicultural harmony of the European Union's founding structure. Over time, the EU has created a more precise strategy for the region, and has seen neighboring countries eligible for visa facilitation and readmission agreements (Trauner and Kruse, 2008, p. 7).

The EU Commission supports humanitarian programs by providing life-saving assistance to people in need, including food, drinking water, shelter, medical treatment and protection, through various international non-governmental organizations working for humanitarian purposes. At the beginning of 2015, the EU put forward its comprehensive strategy, which includes 1 billion euro of funding for 2015-16, to combat the ongoing crises in Syria and Iraq. It has given financial support to the countries hosting the refugees by the European Union for more than 5 billion euros. In addition, the 'Support to Syria' conference held in London on 4 February 2016 provided 3 billion euros (ECHO Factsheet, 2016, p.1).

4.2.1 The Views and Politics of Member States During the Refugee Crisis

The EU states have shown integrity in most cases, as well as in the refugee crisis. Many countries had to protect their national unity and the integrity of the EU in the face of the refugee crisis.

The Dublin Convention was temporarily suspended and Germany's doors were opened to the refugees in Hungary, as dramatic images emerging from the Hungarian border and other Balkan countries mobilized German public opinion and this country was willing to prevail in this crisis the EU faced. As a result of the perception that Germany was applying open-door policy, many refugees outside of Hungary also turned to Germany. The Germany and other EU states which wanted to correct this situation, begun temporary border checks by suspending the Schengen Agreement. In February 2015, in order to protect the Hungarian-Serbian border, Germany had deployed twenty police equipped with special vehicles in Hungary. Nevertheless, the developments since August 2015 caused sudden and dramatic changes in Germany's policies about refugees. In fact, as the refugee crisis, which had been continuing from 2011 has risen by August 2015, the German government had a proactive policy development. Germany announced that by the end of the year 800,000 refugees were expected to arrive in Germany and that they would not be turned away from the border. Thus, the refugees who gathered in Hungary and wanted to go to Germany turned to the Austrian border. The Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban saw the refugee crisis as a "problem for

Germany", and Merkel's suspension of the Dublin Regulation, temporarily disregarding the EU law, caused a great chaos. The German government had not figured out that announcement could lead to such a quick and powerful reaction.

While 202,834 asylum seekers applied to Germany in 2014, only 39.332 of them had come from Syria. In 2015 there was a virtual explosion in the number of refugees coming to this country until November 22 and has logged 939,000 asylum seekers in Germany. Only 100,000 of them arrived in August. Out of total of 362,153 of these asylum seekers, 112,000 of them from Syria (Balcı, 2018, p. 46).They requested formal asylum in Germany between January and October However, it should be noted that the vast majority of these asylum seekers come from countries outside of Syria such as Eritrea, Kosovo and Afghanistan. Some of them are deported because they do not have a "refugee" status and are denied an asylum application because they are irregular migrants (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 20).

This situation shows us that Europe, and especially Germany, was not ready for this refugee flow and gave immediate reactions. The main reason behind Germany's sudden policy change was trying to preempt the EU in this matter, which has the potential to drift political and social rivalry. It is observed that Germany, which is economically interested in the EU project and the EU's most economically powerful country,was ready to pay a large price of the refugee crisis.

When we look at the attacks against refugees, this situation is very obvious. In Germany the refugees were attacked 24 times in 2012 compared to the year of 2014, the first six months of 2015, only around 200 attacks took place (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 21). In the three-month period the refugee crisis peaked, i.e. from July to September, the attacks began to be organized. These attacks began to increase in 2014 and then dissapeared in Dresden in October, 2015.

As a final step, we see that the refugee crisis became an internal problem for Germany. As a matter of fact, the German Chancellor Merkel had a hard debate in the country after the fact that the refugees in Hungary would be accepted and 800,000 people were expected within a year (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 23).

The disaffection of Angela Merkel against the ruling party does not come only from the members of joint state institutions. Merkel may have been celebrated as a liberal icon, despite being the leader of Germany's conservative party, but her recent compromise on immigration has shifted her further to the right. For example, in the meeting of the of the extreme right in the Pegida movement, which was held in mid-October 2015 and 9,000 people participated, two models of gallows were built for the the Social Democratic Party President and Economy Minister Sigmar Gabriel. The federal prosecutor's office that launched the investigation in this regard announced that the person who carried out the action, would be sentenced to five years in prison on charges of "provoking the crime and disturbing the public through threats" (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 23). According to the political analysts, the extremist groups in Germany began to think that the necessary historical conditions for their empowerment are now coming and they have become a source of inspiration for the aggression towards German origins, which they call "treacherous", as well as countless homebuyers of refugees. One of the most obvious examples of this is the stabbing attack by an aggressor with an extreme right-wing influence on Henriette Reker, an independent candidate advocating pro-refugee politics, in the Cologne Mayoral elections (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 24).

While all these negative developments are taking place, the percentage of those who believe in Merkel's "will succeed" statement published as "That some countries refuse to accept any refugees is not on. That contradicts the spirit of Europe. We'll overcome that. It will take time and patience but we will succeed." (The Guardian, 27.08. 2017) is decreasing day by day. It is also possible to find traces of this situation in public scrutiny. According to a survey conducted by the public, the proportion of those who share Merkel's approach is only 32 percent, 64 percent think that it is not possible (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 23). The confidence of the voters in the German government formed by the CDU, CSU and SPD parties has reached the lowest level in the last year with 34 percent, according to a public opinion poll (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 24).

The United Kingdom now has a very complex system designed to process, defend and promote asylum seekers and refugees. In addition, as noted earlier, the UK's

policies on asylum seekers have been shaped in many different ways (Kicinger, 2013, p. 20). The UK refugee system contains several sections on the same situations with minor differences, as is clearly stated by Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy (2010, p. 161) in a detailed examination of these systems. In David McClean's article, the fluctuation in asylum applications to the United Kingdom is as follows:

> "Asylum applications peaked at an average of 75,000 a year between 1999 and 2002. Then there were 50,000 in 2003, 34,000 in 2004 and 25,000 in 2005. 23,430 applications were made in 2007. Most of the asylum initiative (73%) 3,800 were failed. At the 14,055 appeals to the Asylum and Migration Court, 23% of them were successful, 12705 former applicants were deported or voluntarily separated during the year" (McClean, 2010,p. 155).

Consistent with the previous information, the initiatives made by the British Government have failed to make an impact. These initiatives did not bear successful results covering different aspects. The government is the main component of the UK refugee system, with its responsibility to make decisions. To clarify their responsibilities, the Government defines the laws and the rights of refugees and sets out the procedures (Meili, 2015, p. 139).

Within the Government, the Immigration and Citizenship Acceptance Service (IND) works in the Internal Affairs Office and conducts interviews with asylum seekers and gives the decision to grant or not to grant refugee status. The Refugee Law Center is a non-governmental organization dealing with asylum applications and established by the Government due to an increasing number of applications. It gives legal representation to persons who are interested in immigration and asylum issues in the United Kingdom. Another important component of the system is the British Refugee Council, which provides practical assistance to improve conditions. Despite being a non-governmental organization, the British Refugee Council is financially supported by the government. The Refugee Forum has the feature of being a binding system that allows other NGOs and other organizations to deal with various problems (Phillips and Hardy 2010, p. 164). However, the current system has not reached its targets in some very important issues that would result in negative consequences, such as providing the basic necessities for ensuring proper living under European standards.There is a significant amount of people who become victims of this basic negative perception of

so-called asylum seekers. The decision-making system in the UK works quickly and often on an entrepreneurial base. In addition, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) is also working on behalf of asylum seekers in cooperation with the United Kingdom government (Meili, 2015, p. 130).

Finally, the United Kingdom produces less successful international politics than any other country. The United Kingdom was considered a "bilateral country"; this means that restrictive laws affect British politics only if it is fully internalized by the national institutions (Meili, 2015, p. 134). As a result, the United Kingdom has provided a model for all countries where the number of asylum seekers and the number of refugees is increasing.

The consequences of the UK's Asylum Policies are predictable. The asylum application is very difficult and complicated, especially as stated in the country report prepared by the Asylum Information Database. Because the application process is only in English, it is a rather disturbing process for the asylum seekers, including detailed and long-term paperwork and language barrier. These conditions often cause disturbances for researches conducted by various organizations, such as the Refugee Council and the Maternity Action. In one center, a single sex corridor was introduced after a woman was watched by a shower and followed by a male neighbor. However, for people in need of international protection in the UK, the aid mechanism is very complex and includes many governments, NGOs and other organizations. It has been reported that the resettlement of Syrian refugees is inadequate (Gençer, 2016, p. 61).

Italy has been facing one of the most challenging issues since its geographical location became one of mostly used routes by asylum seekers. Greece was seen as a transit route leading to very complicated and difficult problems. Particularly, this may be one of the reasons for the increase in the number of asylum seekers on the Italian border, and the specific demands of the country have also triggered this problem. Italy's disproportionate allowance for migrants is shown as the reason for the rapid increase in the rate of immigration. As a result, from 1980's to date it was reported that Italy had 5.3 million foreign residents, including 540,000 undocumented persons (Schuster, 2000, p. 122-176, Foot, 2018). These numerous asylum applications have caused political,

environmental and social dilemmas that need to be resolved in cooperation with the Member States of the European Union.

The influence of the Arab Spring has begun to reach the borders of the EU countries that have experienced civil war. In a very short time, the numbers reached a challenging level which forced Italy to demand policy changes and changes to avoid bigger problems. Italy and France demanded closer control over the border and prevented the daily growth of the refugee flow. Italy made it possible to "push back" politics directly with these initiatives and Italian politicians used strange terms like "human tsunami" and "human flood" (Garelli and Tazziol, 2013, p. 1013). It is also reflected in Italy's political human perception movements.

Italy, in the name of facilitating refugees and asylum seekers' work to meet the needs of the target audience, systematized di Protezione per Richiedent Asilo e Rifugiat (Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees), a system set up that works well. Also Centri Di Primo Soccorso e Accoglienza (First Aid Reception Centers), Center Du Accoglienza (Reception Centers), Care-Center Di Accoglienza Per Richident Asilo (Reception Centers for Asylum Seekers), Center of Polifuzional (Multi-Purpose Centers), Center Della Protezione Civile (Civil Defense Centers), Entri Di Idendificazione (Gençer, 2016, p. 60) were established to provide medical assistance, temporary stay for emergency and certain processes such provision for asylum seekers and refugees determined by law.

Moreover, in order to understand the failures, successes and problems affecting the political framework of Italy, the internal status of the country must be known. In particular, there was a consensus on the deficiencies in Italy's asylum policy, which resulted in Italy's economic welfare weakness. In particular, the security discourse followed by Italy is not unique, but rather a reflection of a broader anti-immigrant understanding that is common in most European Union countries. In an attempt to prevent concentration in certain regions, Italy has attempted to equally/equitably distribute refugees, such as the 'Redistribution of the National Territory' plan. According to this scheme, the first issue to be addressed is refugee population and

capacity distribution and the second subject is the processing of several people and manufacturing of paper trail (Garelli and Tazziol, 2014, p. 1009).

According to the data provided by the Asylum Information Database (Aida), there are four main centers in order to assist the needs of the people who are deprived of international protection. The first one is the CPSA, which is a center for first aid and reception with the capacity of 742 persons. There are four of these centers but the centers located in Lampedusa do not currently host any asylum seeker. There are also ten centers called CARA (Accommodation centers for Asylum Seekers) and CDA (short term accommodation centers) with the capacity of hosting 7,866 people. However these centers are currently hosting 9,071 Asylum Seekers due to excessive demand. Another one is the SPRAR (The Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees) system, which is planned to host 16,000 people with the purpose of responding to the increasing number of asylum seekers. There are also special efforts given in order to specialize the designs of some of this system in order to answer the people in need of special care such as children or the people with health problems such as mental disorders and disabilities. Lastly, there are 11 systems established in regards to 'Dublin returnees' who are transferred to Italy. These systems are designed to provide temporary accommodation for the asylum seekers and other people in need of international protection. (Gençer, 2016, p. 62). Even though there are systems currently working in full capacity, due to several reasons such as being overcrowded and lack of organization, current quality is not very significantly adequate to address the basic need of refugees. However, the size and number of shelters and low standards are among the most important ones.

These three countries, Germany, England and Italy have mutual aspects. First, these three countries are interconnected by the European Convention on Human Rights, and in this context, all three parties must guarantee the right to security and freedom. However, this agreement also allows for the detention of such persons in order to facilitate their removal. Secondly, there are common acts reported that refugees are detained in the camps and wait in there until the end of the application process, after a large number of people coming to the European Member States to seek asylum. This situation is common to all Syrian and other refugees in different countries. Moreover,

the duration of this process may vary depending on different factors. As a result, there are many people who suffer from physical and psychological burdens (Gençer, 2016, p. 63).

There are many opinions on security concerns among the European Union citizens. On the contrary, there is evidence that these concerns are less likely and unfounded at some point. Research in the UK shows that the current criminal activities of those who conduct such activities will always find a more sophisticated way to use the existing system. However, policies designed to control and limit can really affect family cohesion to those who really need protection. There is a negative impact on illegal migration, policies and practices for those in need of international protection.

German politics followed a different path from Italy and the United Kingdom. Integration and employment initiatives are now on the agenda of Germany, which is in conflict with the priorities and objectives. Nevertheless, Germany's current situation and efforts with regard to providing protection to refugees should not be confused with the latest sufficiency arising from the fact that Sweden and Denmark have recently taken the initiative and are not the primary target of refugee flows. This is also true in Italy and the United Kingdom, because they are taking a long time (Gençer, 2016, p. 67).

The refugee distribution in the EU member states can be seen in the figure below at the beginning of the refugee crisis in 2015:
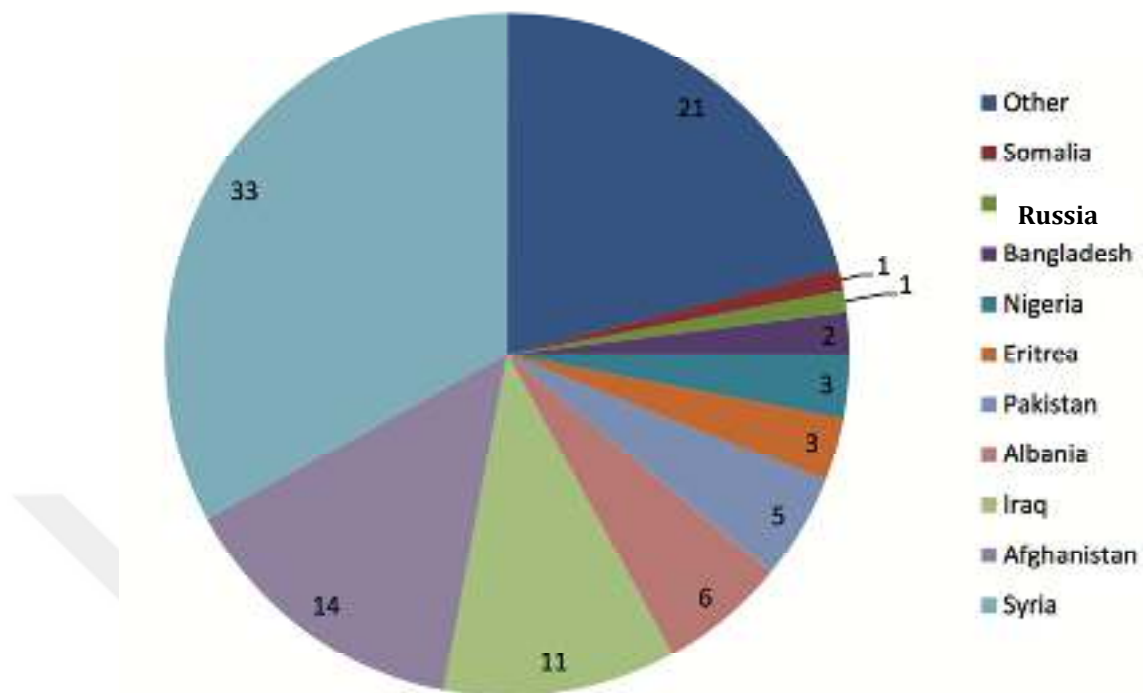
Figure 1. First Time Asylum Seekers in the EU Member States by Country of Citizenship, Third Quarter 2015 (Gençer, 2016, p. 69).

As mentioned above, refugee applications increased rapidly in the European countries. It appears that the applications were mostly made from Nigeria. The least applications were made from Somalia and Russia.

The number of applications identified in the first quarter of 2017 in the light of the latest published reports is shown in the table below.

Table 1. First Time Asylum Applicants for First Quarter of 2017

EU Country	2017 (First Quarter)
Belgium	3440
Bulgaria	1235
Czech Republic	295

Denmark	670
Germany	49080
Estonia	60
Spain	6715
France	21960
Italy	36900
Poland	965
Portugal	250
Romania	625
Finland	1015
Sweden	4375
United Kingdom	8425
Norway	1165
Switzerland	4355

Source:(http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/images/3/36/First_time_asylum_applicants%2C_Q1_2016_%E2%80%93_Q1_2017_V1.png, Access: 05.07.2017).

The table above shows the first asylum applications made in the first quarter of 2017. According to the data, most of the applications were made to Germany, Italy and France.

Migration is not only a process that affects the immigrant itself but also has important social, economic and political effects in the countries of origin and

destination. Due to the influx of refugees, the economic and security dimension of immigration on the European Union agenda has gained more importance and even caused serious disagreements about the sharing of refugee burden among member countries. Some member states face more pressure than others because of their geographical location. Furthermore, there is a need to develop appropriate logistics, institutional and coordination based capacities. Although it is a necessity for people from different cultures to live in a peaceful environment, the citizens of the host countries can meet this situation negatively. The financial and technical difficulties experienced by the host countries are insufficient to meet the needs of the people in their countries.

4.3. Turkey-EU Readmission Agreement

One of the most important reactions of Europe has been to sign readmission agreements between EU Member States and the neighboring states, which will create an opportunity to cooperate with refugee flows and border security. The readmission agreements to protect social and political stability in the Member States and to manage the flow of refugees have gained importance in the construction of the European Union's foreign policy. The readmission agreements do not contain a single provision that limits the signing countries, in particular the demands and needs of each country (Fargues and Fandrich, 2012, p. 13). With the aim to reduce pressure, the Union also signed a readmission agreement with Turkey.

On December 16, 2013, the EU Interior Minister, Cecilia Malmström and the Turkish counterpart Muammer Güler signed the readmission agreement and at the same time visa liberalization dialogue was launched.

"Reimbursement agreements aim at realizing irregular migrants' country of origin or transit by establishing obligations and procedures between the contracting parties. The main objective is to ensure that irregularly and quickly re-admission of persons entering or residing on the territory of the other Party. In the readmission agreement between the European Union and Turkey, both the EU Member States and the repatriation of Turkish nationals, as well as third-country nationals and other persons involved in, stateless persons (including

third-country nationals and stateless persons) or the two sides coming directly from the territory of the other party stay on their territory" (Gençer, 2016, p. 48).

This dialogue and the dialogue on visa liberalization are marking cooperation for better standards between Turkey and the European Union. The European Union and non-EU countries have proposed a visa facilitation in order to get positive results. The intention is to compensate for the negative effects of the distribution of masses, often by providing better standards for economic and other conditions such as full co-operation with the European Union and signatory states (Trauner and Kruse, 2008, p. 4). Although the European Union has spent an excessive amount of money, it does not strive for a better cooperation. (Roig and Huddle, 2007, p. 373).

One of the most important reasons for making the Reimbursement Agreements less efficient is the difficulty in the implementation phase. The main provisions of these agreements have often facilitated the return process of refugees, although there are many variables that force the entire process, such as determining the area of responsibility, timetable and allocation of costs. (Trauner and Kruse, 2008, p. 19). Due to lack of information, it is difficult to determine the routes of migrants or asylum seekers. This process is followed by the authentication and asylum application. As mentioned earlier, such transactions are difficult to manage. In addition, Europe's "burden-sharing" system is another problematic issue among member countries as it operates unequally in terms of international relations. This leads to a number of problems (Moraga and Hillel, 2014, p. 2), often due to refugee status for countries such as Malta, Greece and Italy and the emergence of large numbers of people registered as "first entry" countries.

The European Refugee Fund soon includes financial issues reaching a hundred million Euros. In addition, the European Union continued to work in a wide range of policy-making processes, highlighting the importance of the EU Resettlement Program. According to this program, the EU Member States have placed great importance on standardizing the resettlement of refugees (Moraga and Hillel, 2014, p. 10). The EU Resettlement Program is an important element of the rights to develop conditions, to protect refugees and, in the meantime, to provide better conditions for a more robust

integration. In addition, the Program offers other advantages, including the assessment of citizenship of refugees in resettlement countries, as explained by the UNHCR (Demir and Soyupek, 2015, p. 35).

The deal, which appears to be aimed at sharing Turkey's burden with the EU, is a structure that brings more burden on Turkey. The Readmission Agreement, signed on December 16, 2013, is subject to great criticism even in those conditions.

On 18 March 2016, it was agreed between Turkey and the EU that the Syrians who were trying to enter the EU illegally, would be accepted back to Turkey. With this agreement, the Syrians who went to Europe illegally, would be sent back to Turkey. However, the European Union would accept fleeing refugees from refugee camps in Turkey (Özpınar and Çilingir, 2016:1). Turkey was obliged to open its doors to more than 1.6 million refugees. Under those conditions, it was planned to launch the Readmission Agreement in June 2016, which the EU stipulated for the lifting of visas to Turkey. Since this date, EU countries (except the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark) can request the withdrawal of third-country nationals and stateless persons who travel irregularly to the Union countries via Turkey (Demir and Soyupek, 2015, p. 35).

The first comprehensive meeting of the EU in order to prevent Turkey and Syrian refugees from coming to Europe actually took place on 26 June 2014. In this meeting, the EU undertook a request from Turkey, which means "do not allow the Syrians to come to Europe, take steps to stay in Turkey" and made a pledge to provide financial support in return. At the same time, a letter was sent to the president of the EU Commission and it was reported that he had taken the necessary steps to assist the refugees. According to this letter signed by the EU Delegation of Turkey, Stefano Manservisi, the EU countries' expectations from Turkey are as follows: "Registration of the Syrians, provision of protection and social service rights, integration of the Syrians into the local settlement areas and provision of permanent settlements (provision of houses), Vocational training, etc.' (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 24). An EU official summarized the point that the EU countries would like to reach as follows: "They are

natural, they cannot come to the second phase of displacement, which would have affected us if they had certain rights in Turkey" (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 24).

In the meantime, the EU countries have tried to solve the problem within themselves and reach a conclusion without giving too much "concession" to Turkey. But despite the numerous measures they have taken since the refugee crisis began, they could not reach the desired end result. Accordingly, the EU passed the quota application, dividing the refugees coming to Europe into countries. As a parallel measure, it took strict measures to prevent human traffickers in the Mediterranean from transferring refugees to Europe. It also stepped up efforts to grant the "safe country" status to some of the Balkan countries, including Turkey.

Finally, a number of "asylum seeker registration centers" called "hotspots" have been created. The hotspot approach was first introduced by the European Commission in the European Migration Agenda of May 2015 because the external borders of the EU were affected by the disproportionate migration limits. The European Asylum Support Office (EASO), the EU Border Agency (Frontex), the EU Police Cooperation Agency (Europol) and the EU Judicial Cooperation Agency (Eurojust) together with the authorities of the Member States at the border can quickly identify, register and fingerprint immigrants under European Union law for the purpose of obtaining the records. This approach is also expected to contribute to the displacement plan of May 2015 and September 9, 2015. In this context, those who apply for member states and need international protection can be placed in the other EU countries. The first two Member States to which the hotspot approach has been currently applied, are Italy and Greece (European Commission). Since it was understood that all these measures could not be enough, it became evident that a strategy change had to be made, and the most important goal was to keep refugees as far away from the EU as possible. This marked the value of Turkey's role. While negotiations continued, regarding the refugee issue, the European Commission claimed that it had prepared a text with Turkey which found its place in the European press. Turkish foreign authorities have denied the allegations in question, saying that the Commission had unilaterally prepared the text in question, yet there was no consensus on the text. Nonetheless, the foreign

authorities confirmed that a joint working group had been established and that the draft text was worked on to prepare a joint action plan.

As far as public opinion is concerned, the draft can be summarized in the following main categories, apart from the demands of the EU countries, especially Germany, to strive for the collapse of human trafficking networks and to help Syrian refugees from Lebanon and Jordan be persuaded to remain in these countries:

• Turkey, along with Greece, will also provide Frontex support to provide security at sea border with Greece,

• Turkey should start implementing the readmission agreement,

• Establish centers in Turkey called "hotspots" where asylum seekers' applications and identification information can be recorded to decide who is really refugee and who does not get it before he/she reaches Europe.

The European politicians are aiming to ensure that Syrian or Iraqi refugees do not cross Europe through Turkey. In return for the contributions mentioned above, Turkey has sought more support from its European allies for a "Safe Zone" to be established in the northern Syria, where all the needs of the asylum seekers would be met without further economic aid and the need for Syrian asylum seekers to leave their countries. We can list the demands of Turkey from the EU as follows:

1. The EU Membership Process will be revived,

2. The EU will provide economic support for the costs of the Syrians, which are hosted by Turkey,

3. The EU will apply visa liberalization to Turkish citizens,

4. The EU will support the "safe zone" plan required to be established in Syria (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 26).

Following President Erdogan's talks on 4 to 6 October 2015 in Brussels the European Council President Donald Tusk explained that, "the EU and Turkey in the north of Syria 'Safe Zone' creation is ready to discuss the topic." On 15 October 2015 the EU leaders discussed the issue of refugees and Turkey held a summit to assess

proposals to ensure that support them. The "safe third country", an important instrument that European countries wanted to use to reach the goal of stopping refugees without reaching Europe, came up. The EU Commission had decided to support the idea of changing the situation in Turkey. According to this, if an asylum seeker comes from an EU country that is defined as safe by the EU, then there is no problem in returning to that country. This approach, acting as if the application for asylum can also be done in this "safe country", has been criticized first of all because the EU countries have not been able to define a "Safe Country" by setting a common standard, and that there is no such definition in the UN Geneva Convention.

Merkel arrived in Turkey on 18 October 2015, and met with President Tayyip Erdogan and Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu. The main agenda of the talks was expected as well as preventing Syrian refugees from reaching Europe and securing them in Turkey. After the conversations about refugees, Merkel said that besides economic support, Turkey needed to revitalize the EU membership process and that new chapters could be opened and visa facilitation for Turkish citizens could be achieved. What should be noted here is that Merkel and the EU officials insisted on visa facilitation rather than visa exemption. Despite these discussions and recommendations, no concrete progress was made between the parties. The EU, saw that the AK Party government won, and went into a summit with Turkey. In the summit held in Brussels on November 29th it was explained that Turkey had reached an agreement on issues such as the EU membership process, opening new chapters, visa liberalization and readmission agreement. The joint statement made after the summit includes the following points;

• The 17th chapter on economic and monetary policy in Turkey's EU accession negotiations would be opened on December 14th. In this context, it is also recorded that new chapters to be opened in the first quarter of 2016 will be determined. According to an explanation made by the EU Minister Volkan Bozkır, it was planned to open negotiations for 5 new titles in 2016.

• To organize the EU-Turkey summit twice a year in order to increase the dialogue between the countries and to make it more structured; to launch the High-level

Economic Dialogue Mechanism in the first quarter of 2016 and to organize the second one of the High Level Energy Dialogue Meeting in the first quarter of 2016.

• The EU has pledged to provide 3 billion euros in financial support for "as an initial" for Syrian asylum seekers in Turkey. In this context, the EU emphasized the importance of burden sharing between Turkey and the EU on the refugee issue and emphasized the resettlement programs implemented by the member states and the EU for the refugees. In this context, according to some reports in the German press, EU member states have been planning to directly accept about 400,000 Syrian refugees in Turkey.

• The EU and Turkey have clarified that they agree to speed up the steps to be taken regarding visa exemption. Accordingly, the EU Commission would issue a second report on visa exemption in March 2016. Against this, the Readmission Agreement signed between the EU and Turkey from June 2016 would be implemented. In case the EU Commission's third report in the autumn to determine the fulfillment of conditions relating to publish and visa exemption, the start of visa exemption for Turkish citizens since October 2016 was planned.

• They emphasized that the steps to be taken at the end of the text of the statement would be synchronous and closely monitored (Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p. 27).

Decisions taken at the summit indicated the start of a new process in the EU-Turkey relations. For the first time after 11 years, such a summit was enough to be called a turning point in relations. In this case, the negotiation process with Turkey, which stood for quite a while between the EU meant to get into action again.

4.4. General Evaluation of the impact of Syrian Refugees on the European Identity

The impact of Syrian refugees on European identity, which constitutes the main part of the study, is dealt with positively and negatively. The policies of European Union countries defending human rights against refugees are negative impact. On the

other hand, the groups that support the protection of refugees against these policies demonstrate a positive impact.

European countries are trying to adapt migrants to their own structures. Immigrants who have different cultures and different history, have difficulty in integrating into those structures. These different groups of people, which are trying to keep their own cultures alive, bring together a multicultural structure. This emerging multicultural structure is a sign of the transition to a population that is very permanent from a temporary migration movement. These developments also affect the European identity. This multicultural environment can trigger the closure of each culture and prevent the creation of some human values (Altun, 2006: 107). While the protection of human rights is one of the primary objectives of the European Union, the situation in practice is different. The European Union is called Fortress Europe by the critics because the borders of the European Union are strictly monitored as in the castles. This contradicts the basic principles of the European Union. This deepens the refugee crisis by triggering irregular migration from the sea (Çakran ve Eren, 2017: 22-23). When this situation is evaluated, it is seen that European identity has changed.

When we look at the history of Europe, it is seen that the concept of "us" has always been at the forefront in different periods and other communities have been treated as "others". Barbarians during the Roman period, Muslims and Jews during the Middle Ages, primitive groups who had not met with civilization during the enlightenment period, and the Soviet Union during the Cold War took part in this "other" definition. But with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the late 20th century, the figure of "others" disappeared. With the September 11, 2001 attacks, it was determined who the new "other" would be. Using the words "terror" and "Islam" together, "other" perception reappeared. Thus, the European Union has been in the definition of "us" again (Kanat and Zenginoğlu, 2017: 259). This situation causes Europeans to prejudiced against refugees and conflict within themselves.

It seems that the refugee crisis has caused some strains in the European countries. With the increasing number of refugees coming and the rising unemployment, the enforcement of public budgets has further increased the economic concerns of those countries. They have to spend significant amounts, such as providing

housing and food for refugees, determining their skills, training and integrating them into the labor market. There are additional costs related to processing asylum claims and then enforcing migrants who do not qualify for asylum to return. The fact that the minimum living conditions in the camps and in the reception centers established for the refugees are not reached also shows that human rights are violated (Yücel, 2017: 16).

Another issue is that refugees reduce the employment opportunities of Europeans in common with their work force, and as a result, poverty emerges. This will lead to an unhealthy compromise between the indigenous people and the refugees, making it even more difficult for refugees to integrate into society (Poddar, 2016: 6-7). Individuals with different cultures also affect the society they live in as they are affected by the society in which they live. Families from different ethnic groups adopt and internalize the forms of communication, rules, roles and routines of the culture in which they grow (Şahan ve Akbaş, 2018: 219). Refugees living in European cities are included in the daily lives of Europeans. As a result of mutual interaction, it is inevitable that the daily lives of both the refugees and Europeans will be affected. Refugees who have difficulty in adapting to European cultures are trying to adapt their own culture instead of adhering to culture. This is one of the factors deteriorating the European identity. Another factor in the change of European identity is the marriage of people from different cultures. Europeans and refugees who start living together, also begin to build families together. Thus, new generations are born with a new identity outside the known European identity. There are no studies on this subject, but marriage between refugees who live in Turkey and Turks are widely known. This situation is another issue that supports our argument.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is increase in the number of refugees and various developments, which create a negative perception towards refugees in European societies. One of these developments is the various crimes committed by refugees of Middle Eastern origin. For example, during the New Year celebrations in Germany, a group of 1,000 Middle Eastern men in a train station, sexually harassed women. There were also mass robberies reported separately from the cases of harassment. On top of all this, hate and fear have increased in the European countries due to terrorist acts by people of Middle Eastern origin in various cities of Europe. In

parallel with the security-oriented perception of the refugee issue, xenophobia and Islamophobia increased significantly. With the deepening of the refugee crisis, the high-level officials in some European states have drawn attention to the rise and expansion of neighborhoods under the control of Islamists, known as impassable areas and, with increasing jihadist terrorism risk (Newman, 2016, p.16-17). This negativity causes the Europeans to be prejudiced to the refugees. While some of the Europeans want to help the refugees, others want refugees to leave the country. This causes divisions within the European identity.

The European Union gives recommendations to the states of the world, particularly the states where they have signed readmission agreements, to protect both general human rights and the rights of migrants. However, the member states of the European Union does not abide by these principles and even does not refrain from stretching the principles for the protection of rights according to their own interests. This situation is considered as a result of the identity crisis. While the Union creates a European identity within itself, it sees international migration as a threat against the homogeneity of European identity. On the other hand, in the definition of "others", which is a practical tool for creating European identity, it uses the struggle against international migration flows as a tool (Kanat ve Zenginoğlu, 2017: 29). The increase in the number of refugees in Europe triggers changes that might threaten the political structure of the European Union. Excessive immigration and existing migrants trigger xenophobia within the EU and lead to high voting rates of radical right-wing parties. The spread of the radical right from Eastern Europe to Western Europe leads to increased uncertainties and fears within the EU (Koçak and Gündüz, 2016: 87). This shows that concepts such as human rights and humanism, which are part of European identity, cannot be maintained. Thus, it is seen as one of the negative effects supporting our argument.

Although the effects of Syrian refugees on European identity are considered to be negative, they also have positive impacts. In particular, there are many volunteers who help refugees through established non-governmental organizations. There are people and groups who do not support the negative decisions of the government on

refugees and who defend human rights. The existence of such approaches can be considered as an indicator of positive effects.

It is also known that some Italian villages, whose young population is declining and the economy is weakening, have accepted refugees. Italian leaders have expressed that their hopes depend on refugees to revive these settlements (Akdoğan ve Sağıroğlu, 2017: 154). The settlements, which have been revived by refugees when it is about to disappear, are important to show that refugees do not have a negative impact on the European identity alone.

As we can see, the impacts of Syrian refugees on European identity are both negative and positive. The most obvious effect is negative.The European Union was established to protect European culture and identity. However, this situation has begun to change with the arrival of refugees with a different culture to Europe. Refugees living in European cities have affected the daily life of the cities they settled. Thus, the lifestyles of European citizens were affected. In addition, it is inevitable to have intercultural interaction with the formation of social ties between two different cultures. The neglect of human rights, which forms part of the European identity, can be regarded as one of the signs that European identity has deteriorated. Secondly, the positive effect can be mentioned. Refugees have shown how important the concepts of solidarity and unity are for the Europeans, even though they lead to a change in European identity. The European segment defending human rights has taken action for this. They ensured the establishment of civil defense organizations and assistance to refugees in need of assistance. This shows that despite all the negative effects, still there are people who do not lose the European identity and want to protect the Syrian refugees.

CONCLUSION

The European Union is defined as a family of democratic European countries, working to improve the lives of its citizens and create a better world. It is an association that brings together countries and transfers democratic decisions at the European level to the common institutions where some of the decision-making powers are formed together. The Member States that make up the EU remain independent and sovereign but they bring their sovereignty together to gain the power and effectiveness they cannot have in the world.

Before the united European countries became a real political project and a long-term goal in the government policies of the countries, it lived only in the minds of pre-eminent people. The United States of Europe was a piece of humanistic and peaceful imagination. For centuries, Europe has been the scene of bloody wars. Between 1870 and 1945, France and Germany fought three times. Many people lost their lives during these wars. Some European leaders and thinkers on these disasters had the idea that peace was the only way to sustain and economic and political directions united countries. An organization that could overcome national disagreements in Europe originated from the resistance movements that fought against totalitarian governments during the Second World War.

Germany, Luxembourg, France, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands were the countries that laid the foundation of the European Union. Founded in 1951 in the name of the European Coal and Steel Community, the union was named as European Economic Community along with the Rome Treaty signed in 1957. The union began to expand with new members joining in the following years. This enlargement began with membership of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark, followed by Greece in 1981, and in 1986 in Spain and Portugal. These memberships were followed by Austria, Finland and Sweden. When it came to 2004, the membership of the ten countries was fully agreed. These countries were Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Malta and the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus. An enlargement took place in 2007 and Romania and Bulgaria became a member of the Union. The last enlargement took place in Croatia in 2013.

The historical background is important in the process of forming the European Union and its identity. It is understood that the characteristics that bring together the European Union are not only shared identity, but also intentions. The European Union is a union formed in a historical process through many challenging stages and wars. Today, many countries, including Turkey, are trying to fulfil the requirements to become a member of the European Union.

The EU itself is a test field that implements the constructivist approach and is not an example in the discipline of International Relations. Theories of European integration, beginning with federalism and functionalism, have been diversified by the development of new approaches, which have changed with the changing and increasingly complex social, legal and political structure. These theoretical debates have become involved in the discipline of International Relations since the late 1980s when rational theories were questioned. From the end of the 1990s, theories of European integration have been more influenced by reflexivist approaches. The rejection of the rational approach to define integrative factors such as social affairs and identity has begun to become more involved in the European theories. At this point, the social constructivist approach has come to the forefront in the unveiling of European integration, the EU's rhetoric of identity issues and security issues. New dimensions have been added to explain the European integration with the constructive approach that helps us look at the issues from different angles without denying the importance of rational institutions and rules. There are many things to be mentioned about issues such as identity and governance, inclusion and exclusion, the nature of state-society relations, democracy and the creation of the "other" in the field of social constructivist approach. In particular, it is assumed that social constructivism provides significant contribution to the formation of identities and behaviours, in explaining the effects of norms and ideas. The efforts to create an identity of the European Union, which is still under construction, have made a significant contribution to social constructivism.

With social constructivism, not only states but also actors influencing the European integration process, such as non-governmental organizations and interest groups, can be included in the analysis process. In this sense, the social constructivist approach provides a broader framework for understanding the different dimensions of

European integration. Moreover, this approach does not tend to ignore the rationalist preferences of the member states, but helps us look from a wider perspective on how societal preferences are constructed socially and prepares a basis for the study of the long-running political and social change process in Europe. Because, unlike many other theories and approaches, there are many questions about social institutions, the formation of identities, the effects of rules and norms, the role of language and political discourses. While many authors have studied social ontologies such as norms, institutions and practices, these subjects are the cores of constructivist approach. Understanding the transformation process in Europe will also accelerate the more systematic study of European integration.

Some of the internal turmoil that began in the Arab world at the end of 2010 due to the Arab peoples' demands for democracy, freedom and human rights constituted part of the foundation of today's refugee movements. Due to the Syrian civil war, around 13 million Syrians had to leave their homes. Of these refugees, 4.8 million were in neighbouring countries, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt. The number of Syrians who have taken refuge in the European countries were around 1 million by the end of 2017 (MHD, 2018).

The world has faced the biggest refugee crisis since the Second World War. By the end of 2014, some 60 million people have left their homes due to wars and have become refugees. Of this figure, 38 million are made up of refugees who have to change their places of origin. Only 11 million people were forced to leave their homes because of the civil war in Syria. Of this figure, 4 million are asylum seekers, mainly Syrians, have taken shelter in Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq. While the world is experiencing the greatest refugee crisis that history has seen, hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing the Middle East conflict and massacre have come to the European continent through the Mediterranean and Aegean Sea. As of November 27, 2015, 867 thousand refugees were illegally transferred to Europe by sea (Aldırmaz, 2017: 84). In 2015, EU countries have faced a refugee crisis, especially due to the refugees arriving in Europe.

It can be said that Germany, one of the most powerful states in the EU, is the front-line of EU member countries' refugee policy. Although it had been abstaining from the refugee crisis like the other major EU countries for a long time, it made a policy change to open its doors to asylum seekers in the face of escalating migration starting from the end of summer 2015. But most European countries did not seem very happy with the flow of refugees in their countries, especially with the Syrian civil war. The on-going refugee problem had directly affected a few countries outside the EU until late summer 2015, but the unstoppable migration wave moved beyond regionalism by influencing the EU countries along the seashore, followed by Germany and other countries. Europe tends not to be homogeneous but prejudiced against different cultures and religions. Especially after the September 11 attacks, increasing anti-Islamic propaganda revealed a negative attitude towards Muslims. Right-wing parties with racist ideologies in Europe, particularly in Germany, and parties advocating for the acceptance of only Christians, have made it difficult for refugees to be accommodated and embraced by society in many countries of Europe. This leads to a number of problems in countries where refugees go.

When the historical development process is examined, Europe, which is based on the events it faces and which identifies itself as competitive and strong, has been able to establish its identity as a whole that can be determined over time. However, the constantly changing world structure has made it necessary for Europe to develop new features so that it can continue its existence. As a result, Europe has introduced new processes for the identification of its own characteristics. Europe, which has begun to identify and define its systematic features with the European Union institutionalization, is trying to create its own identity through the processes that we have called identity identification mechanisms.

However as it can be understood from the constructivist approach, any redirection requires redefining identities and interests. Refugees in Europe are seen as a threat to the identity of the European Union. Because, in times of crisis and war, countries are concerned about their national security and immigrants are thought to be caused by population growth and economic recessions.It is possible to say that the refugee crisis has grown so much because of the constructivist approach of the

European Union member states. This identity that Europe is trying to construct is affected negatively by situations such as the arrival of refugees in countries, the creation of new fields of work, and social equality degradation. When European identity itself is formed with clear lines, the common interests determined by the EU are also subject to the entry of refugees into the countries. Given that social structuring is one of the most important steps in the process of identity formation, it is possible to say that the refugee crisis has a negative impact on the identity that Europe is trying to create. It is possible to act within the framework of common interests for a socially and economically equal community. In the direction of social constructivism, refugees in social life in Europe have to stop collective interests and social progress.

Immigration movements, which have many hardships within it, cause cultural changes both in the process of migration and in host societies. Even today, the prospects of changing the social structures of societies with the goal of establishing European identity have become a subject that has been discussed by Germany, Italy, England and other European countries. The fact that immigration is changing the social structure of countries is always something to be feared. Immigrants leave deep traces in the consciousness of the societies. It shapes the physical environment, material life conditions and spiritual structure of people. Even today, refugees who have emigrated from a country like Syria to Europe and struggled to adapt to a new social structure are still unable to adapt to the social life in Europe and are found to have collective harm. Refugees have become a problem in Europe because of this outlook, which will make the identity construction work.

As a result, Syrian refugees have various effects on European identity. Although these effects are generally negative, there are some positive effects, as well. However, negative effects are more than positive effects. The main reason why European identity is affected by the Syrian refugees is that different cultures have to interact due to migration. However, further research is needed to determine the effectiveness of this interaction on European identity.

Despite all the developments and situations mentioned above, today the refugee crisis is still ongoing. The EU needs to reconcile in a common migration policy

that will ease the burden of non-EU countries. Constructive and sensitive plans are expected from the EU in the context of human rights.

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