

**T.C.
SAKARYA UNIVERSITY
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**ON THE ROAD TO TURKEY'S EU MEMBERSHIP:
ANALYZING THE DILEMMA OF EU ACCESSION**

**MASTER'S THESIS
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This work headed "On the Road to Turkey's EU Membership: Analyzing the Dilemma of EU Accession," which has been prepared by Abdullah YUHANNAN, is approved as a M.A. thesis by our jury in majority vote.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and elaboration process of this thesis entirely abodes by scientific ethics, and that the utilization of the others' work in form of references has been undertaken only in compliance with scientific standards, as any quoted data is free from alteration. This thesis is my original work and no any part of it has over been presented before at this or at any other university as another thesis.



Abdullah YUHANNAN

23.10.2018

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BSEC	Black Sea Economic Cooperation
CFPS	Common Foreign and Security Policy
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund
EC	European Community
ECC	European Community Council
ESDP	European Spatial Development Planning
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
IMF	International Monetary Fund
AKP	Justice and Development Party
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OSCE	Organization Security and Cooperation in Europe
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Thesis Title: “On the Road to Turkey’s EU Membership: Analyzing the Dilemma of EU Accession”	
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<p>Turkey is one of the countries that have sought to join the EU from the past to the present. However, efforts to join the EU are still unsuccessful due to various dilemmas and limitations of Turkey, in terms of the political, social, economic and cultural identities of Turkey itself. Consequently, there are many reasons against Turkey's inclusion in the EU. The aims of this work are; 1) to analyze the causes of problems why Turkey has not been accepted by member nations, and 2) to develop new knowledge and new contextual variations that are still a problem for Turkey to join the EU. This research emphasizes on several secondary and primary resources and include both qualitative and quantitative methods. The results of this work found that Turkey's problems in joining the EU ranging from above all its dilemma identity in the religious and cultural dimension of Turkey, the current political problems and economic difficulties. This will likely affect the EU member countries in the future. Based on the findings of this investigation, it was concluded that the EU may benefit if it accepts Turkey’s EU membership on social, strong economic, political and security matters.</p>	
Keywords: Turkey’s EU membership, Role of Turkey, EU integration, Christian Club	

Tezin Başlığı: “Türkiye’nin AB Üyeliği Yolu Üzerine: AB’ye Katılım İkileminin Analizi.”

Tezin Yazarı: Abdullah Yuhanan **Danışman:** Dr.Öğr.Üyesi Philipp O. Amour

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Anabilimdalı: Ortadoğu Çalışmaları

Türkiye geçmişten günümüze AB’ye katılmaya çalışan ülkelerden biridir.Fakat Türkiye’nin siyasi, sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel kimlikleri açısından çeşitli ikilemler ve sınırlamalar nedeniyle AB’ye katılma çabaları halen başarısız. Dolayısıyla, Türkiye’nin AB’ye katılmasına karşı birçok argüman var. Bu araştırmanın amacı; 1) Türkiye’nin üye ülkeler tarafından AB’ye kabul edilmeme nedenlerini analiz etmek, 2) Türkiye’nin AB üyeliği için halen sorun teşkil eden yeni bilgi ve bağlamsal çeşitlemeleri geliştirmektir. Bu araştırma, çeşitli deneysel çalışmalar üzerine yoğunlaşarak hem nitel hem de nicel yöntemleri kullanmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları; Türkiye’nin AB’ye üyeliği konusunda, demokraside yaşanan kırılmalar nedeniyle mevcut siyasi sorunlar, Kürt azınlık meselesinin ihlal edilmesi, ekonomik ikilem ve Türkiye’nin dini ve kültürel boyutundaki kimlik sorunu gibi bazı sorunları mevcuttur. Bu muhtemelen gelecekte AB üyesi ülkeleri de etkileyecektir. Aynı zamanda, bu çalışmanın bulgularına dayanarak, Türkiye’nin AB üyeliğine kabul edilmesi halinde, AB’nin hem sosyal açıdan, hem de güçlü ekonomik, siyasi ve güvenlik konularında fayda sağlayacağı sonucuna varıldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye’nin AB üyeliği, Türkiye’nin Rolü, AB’ye Katılım, Hristiyan Birliği

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The objective of this master thesis is to explore the accession of Turkey to the European Union and how far it is on the long road to become a European Union (EU) member. After the fall of Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the WWI, Turkey, led by Mustapha Kemal, saw a revolution. During which, Turkey began multi-dimensional reforms which led to the building of the new Republic, including establishing legislative, social, judicial, cultural, and economic systems. After joining the Organization of the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO). In September, 1959 Turkey applies to the European Economic Community (EEC) to become an associate member. In 1987, a formal Turkish request to join the EU was made, during which a slow progress towards a full EU accession took place. Today, is several years passed, Turkey could not secure a full EU membership.

During 1990s, Turkey followed closely with the EU by creating the Customs Union in 1995. At the Cologne European Council held on 3-4 June 1999, the initiative was taken by the German Presidency with a view to ensuring the recognition of Turkey's candidate status on an equal footing with the others. The recognition of Turkey as a candidate for accession at the Helsinki European Council in December 1999 ushered a new era in the relations between Turkey and the EU. For both parties, Helsinki marks a qualitatively new beginning and a process of strategic mutual transformation. In October 2005, Accession Negotiations open and the "Screening Process" which is the analytical examination of compliance with acquires has begun under 35 titles. In December 2005, the Council has accepted the new accession partnership document for Turkey and there was announced as an official nominee for the EU membership. In order for Turkey to access the EU, to it has to undergo reforms, which aim to meet legal, political, economic and rights requirements. Despite this, Turkey's application for EU membership is probably never easy because some EU members still remain against the step. In addition to this, the issue of history, culture, and religion of Turkey, and have the relation with Central Asian and the Middle Eastern connections, rather than shared European experiences and the fact that Turkey is a majority-Muslim country that is very different from Christian Europe, all stand as obstacles to this membership. Due to these apparent constrains, Turkey is the fundamental Muslim nation to inquire for membership in the union but until

now in 2017, the country is still conversely to be a full member of the union. The many doubters who are judges that the EU is an exclusive club will make use of the notion the clash of civilizations will put to this examination to check this reason is relevant that Turkey is not accepting to be the union? Moreover, it will also examine the Christian thinking of the EU when it comes to Turkey.

Keeping the many individual characteristics of Turkey in mind, such as being secular in nature and at the same time have a Muslim majority, and that fact that Turkey is situated in a strategic zone with economic benefits, it would be interesting to see how its journey to the EU ends up with. The Turkish acceptance at the European Union has to do with the contemporary situation of the EU, especially after the recent enlargements it went through. For the EU, it is a review period of self-assessment; therefore, the EU's future answer to Turkey membership request will be carefully planned. In this study, various key areas will be investigated. Firstly, the researcher will try to highlight Turkey's condition by laying out the main historical obstacles due to its distant past, namely the Ottoman Empire control of Europe. It will also the issue of political tensions between Turkey and Greece, as well as the issue of Kurds in Turkey, as this issue has been raised repeatedly, especially by Austria, France, and Germany.

Throughout this research, the main questions covering the dilemma of Turkey to access the EU will be answered throughout the following chapters. Particularly, the most prominent critical issue that "Should Turkey be given membership in the EU?" and will more be finding the answer the main or biggest struggles facing Turkey in the contemporary round. A Second question, regarding all the consequences and reflecting: 'What is the current status of Turkey's EU accession negotiations and what are the general conditions for joining the EU? Then will follow with the Third question, 'What are the main arguments with and against the country's accession to the EU?' These questions don't have any complete response. The base 'facts' are never visible and clear why the union doesn't accept the EU, they just using the weakness point of Turkey to denying and against Turkey for EU membership. In the fifth question "why Turkey should join the EU and is an opportunity and benefit for the EU?" These questions will be discussed in the conclusion, considering in mind all aspects of Turkey's accession to the EU in order to

highlight and evaluate the case fairly. Moreover, the question ‘What are the future challenges that could face the EU if Turkey becomes a full member?’ will be answered too.

Concerning references from several studies, in this research will use information massively from EU publications and website of any organization of the European Union, which will provide a various essential information like how the conditions for the member including Turkey as an applicant to access the EU, negotiation process to be the member. Many resources such as reports from the EU, the Turkish government, the foreign government, media, academic articles, academic books and special reports about Turkey and dilemma to the EU member will have been a key primary source to evaluate what is the real fact that the EU deny Turkey to be a member. The decision from any member states, as well as the individual academic analysts, will also to be taken part in this research. In addition, the analysis from another academician in this research filed to provide a comprised understanding of Turkey’s progress on the track to become a member of the European Union.

The approach of this research includes Turkey’s development from the beginning throughout the last few years as proven, and the social and legal aspects to support Turkey’s joining of the union. Its will further present a better version of how Turkey has transformed into developed a country, with a new real democratic system and restore the society to modernization world. The changing reform in politic, economic and Turkish society also has significantly impacted the country’s affairs with the EU and its development in in terms of EU membership. So, the last part of the research will consider the changing and new nature of the EU if Turkey became a full member. It describes how Turkey can reach the final goal as stated at the beginning of the research.

1.2 Background of the Study

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, the Turks had a revolution led by Mustafa Kemal that aimed at achieved Turkish independence. The key

standard of Mustafa Kemal revolution was the total freedom of the nation. He has culminated his position:

“By entire independence, we mean obviously total monetary, money related, juridical, military, social autonomy and flexibility in all matters. Being denied of opportunity in any of these is equal to the country and nation being denied of all its independence”¹

Turkey has seen broad changes, including the economic and monetary sectors, constructing a new republic with legal, social and financial structures. Be that as it may, later fiction by some as an initiator of worldwide change, a significant number of his reformist thoughts already were basic in scholarly Ottoman circles in the late twentieth century and all the more normally uncovered after the Revolution of Young Turks.² Mustafa Kemal became the first President of the Republic of Turkey, leading many radical reforms in the newly established republic, with the aim of transforming the Ottoman system to meet the demands of the new era, and that adopts the Western perception of the country. Each change meant a step forward in this regard.³ This approach to re-define the Republic of Turkey was made of ‘Six Arrows’ known as the ‘Kemalist ideology’. Therefore, we could say that Mustapha Kamal was setting up the new modern era of the Republic of Turkey and started a series of reforms, including industrialization, the ideology of secularization, and the ‘Europeanization of Turkey’.

During World War II, Turkey adopted a neutral position until 1945, when it linked the Allies, resulting in the fact that the state became part of the Marshall Plans. This was due to the fact Turkey was in need to get US security guarantees and rebuild European economies. In 1949, Turkey joined the Council of Europe, and in 1952, the country became a NATO member⁴, thus standing against the Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean.

¹ Gerd. N, (2005), “Analyzing Middle East Foreign Policies and the Relationship with Europe”, p.204, Rutledge Publisher, London.

² M. Şükrü Hanioglu, (2017), “Atatürk an Intellectual Biography”, Princeton University Press, p.55, Princeton.

³ Yuhannan, Ibid. p.167.

⁴ Estonian Atlantic Treaty Association, “NATO Member States”, viewed 30 February 2017, from <http://www.eata.ee/en/nato-2/nato-member-states/>

In 1959, Turkey applied for ‘Associated Members’ status at the European Economic Community. Prall to the state’s transformation from a tumultuous country to a multiparty democracy, several military coups took place in 1960, 1971 and 1980, in addition to the military memorandum of 1997.⁵ Indeed, in 1960 and the end of the twentieth century, influential leaders in Turkish politics that won many electoral victories were Süleyman Demirel, Bülent Ecevit and Turgut Özal. Developing democracy and transparent election in Turkey. After that Turkey was an associated member. Starting from 1963, Turkey signed the ‘Ankara Agreement’ to create a partnership with the European Economic Community (EEC). The treaty also wanted to integrate Turkey into a customs union with the EEC, keeping in mind the major objective of membership.⁶ In 1970, there was another ‘Extra Protocol’ that set up more prominent co-operation amongst Turkey and EEC. There is additionally a time plan for the nullification of taxes and standards on merchandise exchanged amongst Turkey and the EEC.

In April 1987, Turkey presented its request for ECC. The European Commission replied by confirming Turkey’s possible accession in 1989. However, during that time, there was a delay by the EU, citing the political and economic situation in Turkey, and Turkey’s bad relations with neighboring countries such as Greece and Cyprus. Until the 1990s, Turkey kept coordinating with the European Union (EU) through its Customs Union until 1995. Likewise, the Helsinki European Council authoritatively perceives Turkey as a potential candidate member for accession. The following noteworthy stride in relations between the EU and Turkey took place at the Copenhagen European Council in December 2002. As indicated, the European Union would sign arrangements between the EU and Turkey leading to the country’s accession to the EU. The European Commission stated that accession starts in 2005. In this manner, in 2005, Turkey’s legitimate status as a possible full EU member. The EU pioneers concurred in December 2004 to begin increase transactions with Turkey in October, 2005.⁷

⁵ Hale, William Mathew., (1994), “Turkish Politics and the Military”, 1st Edition, pp. 161, 215, 246, Routledge, Oxford.

⁶ Embassy of the Republic of Turkey, (2007), “*Turkey and EU*”, Washington, DC.

⁷ Ibid. p.167.

While Germany and Austria wanted to give chance to get the possibility for Turkey's to get a privileged partnership such as get a free travel visa. Turkey's accession talks have been delayed by some internal and external issues. Especially, both big powers Austria and France have approved regarding the option of opposing Turkey's inclusion in the EU. On account of France, a system was set up in its constitution to demand such a choice, however then another amendment allowed the parliament, providing the approval of a large majority, to block such a referendum. The issue of Cyprus remains one of the critical obstacles to the negotiations. In 2009, Cyprus blocked Chapter six of Turkey's increase arrangements, including essential rights, legal, vitality, culture and education. Cyprus noted that Turkey must have good associations with it, but Turkey has not followed this chapter so by this reason some chapter is more than the difficulties in the negotiation process.

During 2013, the Turkish Foreign Minister, Department of the Ministry of European Affairs stated that the EU should follow and communicate with Turkey by the benchmarking process to open chapters 23 and 24, on fundamental rights, independence, and security was completed in July 2006. In December 2012, Turkey froze to establish relations with the EU following rotation and change of the presidency of the Republic of Cyprus. At the end of 2013, Laurent Fabius, French Foreign Minister, said France withdrew its objection on Chapter 22 ('Regional Policy and Structural Instrument Coordination'), and supported opening the chapter. As of June 25, 2013, the section on 'Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments' was opened, yet the arrangements in this regard would not start until the publication of the annual report, which is distributed in October, because of the treatment of dissidents in Turkey.⁸ Moreover, in November 2013, when the section on regional policy and coordination of basic instruments was open, the EU wanted to launch the visa liberalization dialogue with Turkey serving as a step towards Turkey's full accession to the EU. At first, in January 2014, France withdrew its veto on Chapter 11 'Agriculture and Rural Development', but due to blocking it by Cyprus, there was still a need to obtain the approval of Cyprus before it could be passed. During the EU-Turkey Summit of November 2015, some data from the

⁸ BBC, (2013), "EU delays Turkey membership talks after German pressure", viewed 25 February 2017, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-23044600>

European Commission showed that the EU was welcoming of Turkey's commitment to accelerate and manage the Syrian refugee's crisis in order to stop Syrian refugees from Turkey to the Europe continent including Greece.⁹

The chapter on 'Economic and Monetary Policy' focuses on economy and monetary system of the EU was unlocked by France in December 2015. Turkey's accession to the EU means competing with large member states such as France. However, in March 2016, France withdrew its veto on Chapter 17 and Chapter 33 officially. The Two chapters were about the 'Economic and Monetary Policy' and 'Financial and Budgetary Provisions' ¹⁰ most of the chapters are open because Turkey could improve its economic performance is better than it was able to do in the past. In June 2016, the 'Financial and Budget Provisions' also opens up. The obstacle facing Turkey regarding its quest to join the EU is that the country can't pass the quasi-rule for an EU accession. Suspending negotiations with Turkey has to do with Cyprus, among other issues.¹¹

1.3 Problem Statement

After the First World War, Turkey established a new republic, and adapted a new perception of the country aiming to 'Europeanize' it. Soon after, Turkey, became a member of NATO, a powerful military alliance in the world. In 1959, Turkey applied for the status of 'Associate Members' of the EU and during the 1990s, it continued coordinating with the European Union, namely the Customs Union. In 2005, Turkey was nominated as a candidate for a full EU membership and was considered to start the accession process. Turkey had to make reforms to make the conditions of membership by full legal requirements and need to follow rule and condition perspective by any treaty of the EU.

However, Turkey's accession to the EU was probably never comfortable because many current EU members are against its accession to the union. There are several arguments

⁹ Yuhannan, Ibid. p.168.

¹⁰ Ibid. p.168.

¹¹ Ibid.

against Turkey's EU membership and half of the countries oppose the EU move. Moreover, some argue that this refusal it is a matter of geography since 3% of Turkey's territory in the European continent only. There also has been economic concerns too when comparing Turkey to other EU members, Turkish GDP remains less than half of that of the EU, and regarding the distribution of wealth, it is not equal.

The last main issue has to do with history, culture, and religious background of Turkey, a country that does not share common values and culture with the European people, but rather it looks more similar to the Arabs in Middle East, and Turkey's Muslim values and culture are different than that of Christian Europe. In the same context, many scholars have placed the EU under criticism for not accommodating Turkey as a member state because 'The European Union is an exclusive Club'¹² This research will attempt to find an answer if the EU will agree to Turkey as a member and what the opportunities will be for the EU economically, increasing the political power in the region, and to demonstrate that the European Union is not exclusively a Christian community and anti Islam. Moreover, the EU will use this chance to use Turkey for expanding the opportunity for EU in security dimension. In the end of the article will discuss the accession to the EU member current challenges and future prospects of Turkey's EU Membership.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

1. To highlight the issue of Turkey's dilemma to join the EU by engaging in negotiations with it for the purpose of attaining membership, future challenges and consequence for the EU, If Turkey is officially accepted as such.
2. To develop a better understanding of views against Turkey's accession to the EU and why does the EU still keep Turkey out of the union.
3. To explain the potential advantages of Turkey's EU membership and why should the EU accept Turkey.
4. To present and analyze data about Turkey and EU's enlargement challenges and prospects.

¹² Yuhannan, Ibid, pp. 165-185.

5. To present useful findings for those interested in studying the European-Turkish relations, and the benefits and disadvantages of giving Turkey a full EU membership.

1.5 Research Methodology

This study applies empirical and historical approach due to the highly unpredictable nature of relations between Turkey and the European Union. Therefore, this study uses combinations of qualitative and quantitative methods, focusing on primary sources, media analysis, library-based research, document surveys and statistical analysis. The research question will be answered through the review of literature in the second chapter. The analysis of Turkey and the EU accession dilemma will be handled in the third chapter and the potential benefits, possible impact and prospects will be discussed in chapter four and some parts of chapter five. It provides an overview of previous research on this research study and introduced in the research framework.

The research will use a qualitative review of the literature methodology to analyze the macroeconomic data collected on Turkey and on the relationship between the European Union and Turkey step towards EU accession. Then, the study will use macro-analysis to support research for narrative and statistical inferences about geography, Turkey's political debate, the Turkish economy and the issue of history, culture and religion in Turkey. To clarify and understand the barriers for Turkey to join the EU, this research also uses criticism from several scholars who have discussed on the problem that the EU does not accept Turkey as a member due to the fact that the EU is a Christian union?

The detailed analysis of opportunities for EU security analysis, the benefits of Turkey's role as a regional hegemony in the Middle East and the EU's economic opportunities will be part of this thesis and will be encouraged by quantitative and qualitative methods. To understand Turkey's accession to the European Union. At the end of the investigation will be discussed the membership of the EU's current challenges and Turkey's projections for inclusion of the European Union. The EU site and, where appropriate, the complementary documentation will provide all the necessary information, and this information will be applied to create a clear synthesis. As a result, the information

contained in this study will be undertaken by several sites and EU documents is will be collected through the secondary data, such as publications, academic articles, and special report sources and several primary sources are also taken into consideration for to examine Turkey's accession to the union.

1.5.1 Research Hypothesis

1. The slow progress of Turkey's accession to the EU is not simply because Turkey have not met the criteria for official accession was out by the EU. The researcher maintains that the EU's dealing with Turkey in terms of requirements for membership is not governed by any standard, which could be seen in the context of cultural and religious fears that do not exist in the formal EU conditions, such as the Copenhagen criteria.
2. Turkey's accession to the European Union will give advantages and chances to the European economy and more prominent social and cultural cooperation amongst Turkey and the European Union and will lead to a stable EU structure and to prevent any further problems in the future.
3. Turkey's accession to the EU will not have a significant impact on the social and statistic structure of EU, thus predicting matters such as migration, which is the most alarming issue for the European Union is not valid. However, the demographic growth in Turkey will be a positive issue for the European Union in the future.
4. The European Union will get more benefit and advantages from Turkey's accession if Turkey agrees to be a full member with giving privileges of free movement workers and traveling visa for Turkish citizen this brings a lot of profits and money to the union. Also, a union will get the benefits from Turkish companies which investing in Europe.
5. Turkey should be recognized as one of the biggest economies in the contemporary era and its geopolitical locations will be one of the most crucial for the union in the future as the connection between Europe and Asia. Accepting Turkey as a member would increase and improve stability in the Middle East.
6. The EU should accept Turkey as a Member state to demonstrate that the EU opposes 'Islamophobia' and that the European Union is not a 'Christian club'.

1.5.2 Research Questions

1. What kind of dilemma a Turkish membership in the EU would create and what is the current status of negotiations for the purpose of accession?
2. What are the main arguments for and against Turkey's accession to the EU?
3. Why should Turkey join the EU and will this serve as an opportunity for the EU?
4. Should Turkey be granted a full EU membership? And what are the possible future obstacles that might face the EU, if Turkey became a full member?

1.5.3 Scope and Limitations of the Study

Although this research has been prepared with care, I remain aware of its scope and limitations. The researcher limited this study to analyze the potential benefits, opportunities, obstacles and challenges that could predict the future for the European Union after Turkey became a full member of the EU. The limitations of the study also involves the time the tools/materials and techniques used. First, the study was conducted and focused only on four major issues that are challenging Turkey's accession to the EU covering geography, politics, economics, history and culture. Impact and longitudinal time can be controlled on this research problem and changing coverage or stability over time is very important from the expiration date of my assignment. Instead of this, the researcher try choosing a research problem that does not require too much time to complete the chapter review of the literature, applying the methodology and evaluating the results to complete them at the right time.

Since research mainly provides information to support Turkey's accession to the EU, opportunities for the European Union to accept Turkey as a full member. So it only focus on four biggest obstacle that Turkey should be across and it seems not to provide enough evidence and information of the opportunities fort the EU in the other dimensions. Finally, fluency in another European language is also my limit to being able to read and interpret data and sources of information from other EU member states to search for this topic as well.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This research will provide a definition to what makes the European Union and what the European Union is about. This study has used a theoretical framework to address European integration, by discussing two theories to support the research thesis, namely 'Functionalism' and 'Intergovernmentalism'. In addition, the theory of 'Multiculturalism' is also used to describe the governance of the European Union and Turkey's accession's possible contributions. Turkey's accession to the European Union, the legal requirements for such accession, the Copenhagen criteria, the Schumann's declaration, the Maastricht Treaty and the way it contributed to the process of Turkey's accession, will all be explained in this thesis.

In this study, the European public opinion and what is the reason for and against Turkey's accession to the EU will be addressed. Moreover, in the last part of the literature review, the study sheds light on the question of Turkey's acceptance into the EU as a Member State to demonstrate that the European Union is opposed to Islamophobia. In other words, the researcher wants to see if the European Union is a 'Christian club' or not. The future of the global Muslim community in Europe is also described in the literature review.

2.2 What is the European Union?

According to Sergio Fabbrini, the EU is a union of demographically asymmetrical states who are nationally, linguistically, culturally differentiated, yet, it 'hardly' accommodates centralizing processes of representation and decision-making, due to multiple states structures. This asymmetry has created divides among the EU members. Consequently, the EU lacks a constitution in settling possible interstate disputes.¹³

Fabbrini states:

"The European Union shares the aspects of a 'compound union', or a union of states whose institutional design is aimed at improving tensions between member states and public

¹³ Sergio Fabbrini, (2015), "*Which European Union? Europe After the Euro Crisis*", Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

administrations. In order to push the Union towards a more Coherent of this type of democratic model should formally make a clearer separation of powers between the bodies of the European Union and individual institutions. The principle of unanimity as regards the modification of treaties may also lead to the suppression of the text Cogently convinces that this unanimous condition has led to a tyranny of the minority in terms of European integration”¹⁴

2.3 Enlargement of the European Union

After the Second World War, the Hague Congress of 1948 was a turning point in European history in general, and led to establishing the European Movement and the College of Europe organization to help and gathering place of the supreme leader of Europe will learn and live together. The European Coal and Steel Community in 1952, which was represented as "an important step towards the unity of Europe", beginning with the aim of eliminating the possibility of future wars among member states. France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and West Germany were the founding members of the community as Table 1 shows:

Table 1: shows enlargement of the European Union from 6 to 28 members.

Original Member States (1958)	First Enlargement (1973)	Second Enlargement (1981)	Third Enlargement (1986)	Fourth Enlargement (1995)	Fifth Enlargement (2004)	Sixth Enlargement (2007)	Seventh Enlargement (2013)
Belgium France Germany Italy Luxembourg Netherlands	Britain Denmark Ireland	Greece	Spain Portugal	Austria Finland Sweden	Czech Republic South Cyprus Estonia Hungary Latvia Lithuania Malta Poland Slovakia Slovenia	Bulgaria Romania	Crotia

Source: European Commission, 2013

¹⁴ Andrew Moravcsik, (2012), "Europe After the Crisis: How to Sustain a Common Currency," Foreign. Affairs.

Since 1952, The EU's membership has increased to twenty-seven countries with the latest addition of Romania and Bulgaria in 2007 and Croatia in 2013. Nowadays, in 2017, the EU still going on negotiations progress application with many countries. The enlargement process is not mean only the European integration process, but this term is also mean to the expanding of strengthening cooperation among the EU member for gradual harmonization within the union. In order to enters the European Union; a state should meet political and economic conditions known as Copenhagen criteria, which requires having a stable democratic system that regards the rule of law, and builds security institutions based on democratic values.

Accession process in EU requires the potential candidate country to achieve institutional stability and democracy, encourages human rights, and protects minorities. Moreover, the country should have a functioning market power and compete in the EU market. Membership signifies the candidate country's ability to hold the conditions of membership, including adherence to the goals of an administrative, economic and monetary union. The Treaty of Maastricht states that all Member States and the European Parliament should abide by any expansion (Burca and Craig, 2007). Today, Switzerland and Norway are the only straightforward European nations that are not EU affiliates or candidates.

2.4 Theoretical framework

To approach the quest of EU's integration, this paper discusses two theories to support the research thesis, namely Functionalism and Intergovernmentalism:

1. Functionalism

According to Zeff and Pirro, "Functionalism was the preferred explanation for how Europe would integrate its member states."¹⁵As the EU has evolved through a series of negotiations, treaties, institutions, and objectives, the existence / full integration was a major challenge amongst the Member States seeking to cooperate (albeit limited) and

¹⁵ Eleanor E. Zeff and Ellen B. Pirro, (2015), *The European Union and the member states*, 3rd edition, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

another to defend state sovereignty. Schumann developed the idea of gradualism. For him, the coal and steel industries will pave the way for future projects in other areas other than industry and, inevitably, European integration. This implies that Member States must create common activities, deliberately abandon their national sovereignty, when the interests are founded for a functional Europe. This would facilitate the functions assigned to the institutions and synchronize their tasks. The ultimate goal, therefore, is to shift economic policy directions.

2. Intergovernmentalism

Andrew Moravcsik applied the theory of Realism (in the field of International Relations)¹⁶ to European integration in developing the theory of Intergovernmentalism in his volume “*A Choice for Europe*”. He argues that European nation states built institutions to protect their national economic interests. Intergovernmentalism *vis-à-vis* EU’s integration theory compares local interests to national aspirations.¹⁷ For instance, United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland were primary concerned about their national sovereignty before joining the EU. Besides, rhetoric engendered concerns about economy at the expense of integrative policies. Academic literatures refer to this behavior as ‘Euro-skepticism’. Having this in mind, intergovernmental’ hypothesis is that “European integration is determined by states’ interests and negotiations, giving that integration only takes place if there is a permanent excess of gains and losses for nation-states.”¹⁸ The member states structure their domestic affairs, as far as the national political level is concerned, based on internal considerations.¹⁹

¹⁶ The assumption is that nation-states, being the principle and important actors i.e. rational actors, pursue their own national interests. Power is the key concept for analysis.

¹⁷ Enrico Spolaore, (2013), “What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Summer 2013): 8

¹⁸ Julian Bergmann and Arne Niemann, (2013), “Theories of European Integration and their Contribution to the Study of European Foreign Policy”, Paper prepared for the 8th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, Warsaw.

¹⁹ The member states generally opt for domestic well-being and cooperation in trade, finance, transport, and other economic zones, not a union of states, due to national sovereignty, Euro-skepticism, risk aversion and cost-benefit outcomes.

On the other hand, in Monavcsik's Europe after the Crisis, how to sustain a common currency, he states the following:

“The problem is the result of a fundamental imbalance within the single currency area, which applies a unique monetary policy and a single exchange rate to a heterogeneous group of countries. Political proposals for budget austerity, micromanaging National budgets, tax federalism, rescue or large funds to prevent speculators are insufficient to solve this problem alone. On the contrary, Europeans have to rely on the essentially democratic nature of the European Union, which will encourage to distribute fairer convergence costs Within and between countries, the load must be transferred from European public sectors and deficit to the surplus countries in the private sector and, if not, the survival of the euro will be questioned in Europe and in the long run it may be depleted Their wealth and power for the rest will face an economic catastrophe and STA decade and beyond.”²⁰

Combining the responsibilities of the public (nation-states) and private sectors (banks and financial institutions), the author's proposal calls for equilibrium, trust and shared responsibility between Member States. However, the dilemma of sovereignty persists. According to Monavcsik:

“Governments only transfer sovereignty to institutions where potential profits are great, but efforts to ensure compliance with other governments by decentralized means are ineffective.”²¹

In 1993, Andrew Moravcsik developed the political theory of liberal Intergovernmentalism to explain the issue of European integration. The theory seeks to expound on whether it is the role of issue-specific or economic interests, or the general geopolitical interests and ideas to drive national preferences. In addition, the work seeks to understand whether information manipulation by information asymmetries and supranational entrepreneurs shape substantive bargaining outcomes. Lastly, the theory sought to explain whether the EU's institutions' choices reflected interests towards securing credible commitments among member states, the need for technocratic management, or federalist ideology. The leading argument presented by the theory is that the integration of the EU was a series of rational choices among national leaders (Moravcsik, 1993). In turn, the respective choices responded to opportunities and constraints that stemmed from economic interests presented by powerful domestic

²⁰ Andrew Monavcsik, (2012), “*Europe after the Crisis, how to sustain a common currency*,” Foreign Affairs.

²¹ (Ibid.)

constituents. The eventuality was that the states' relative power accrued from institutional bolstering of interstate commitment credibility, as well as asymmetrical interdependence.

Regarding national preferences, the theory states that the aspect of preference formation involved a wide range of domestic actors who, in turn, spearheaded foreign policy-making. Thus, states are treated as unitary actors due to their assumption that domestic political diplomacy, representation, and bargaining generate consistent preference functions (Moravcsik, 1993). Therefore, goals of national governments in relation to foreign policy are dependent on shifting pressures from emanating from domestic social groups. Indeed, political institutions aggregate the preferences of these domestic social groups. Regarding the case of the formation of the EU, Moravcsik (1993) argued that a majority of initial policy issues arose from prospects of internal warfare and economic affairs and that these concrete economic interests formed a dominant factor of integration at the expense of general concerns such as European ideals and security.

Therefore, the central impetus characterizing a European integration that emerged during the post-war period was that which entailed a shift from the north-to-south intra-industry investment and trade to a north-to-north intra-industry investment and trade arrangement. Therefore, aspects such as geopolitical attributes, adjustment costs, and specific sartorial interests formed the major drive towards the formation of the EU. Regarding the current study, the theory is important because it highlights initial causes or major drivers of EU formation and whether these initial preferences continue to shape the state of member states' discomfort regarding a possible Turkish accession.

Regarding the issue of substantive bargains, Moravcsik (1993) documented that there is a need for states to achieve operation or coordination for mutual benefit by overcoming collectively suboptimal outcomes. At the same time, the states ought to determine the manner in which the mutual gains arising from cooperation are distributed among states. The theory affirms further that there is an often conflict between individual and collective interest. The implication for a Turkish accession is that a conflict between country-specific interests and those spearheaded by the EU is inevitable, and that success lies in the manner in which the two parties may cooperate towards the realization of a lasting solution. Furthermore, bargaining power in the context of international politics is attributed to many factors. For example, the case of the EU context is described in such a

way that asymmetrical dependence, which refers to an uneven distribution of benefits that a given agreement holds, played and continues to play a crucial role. Thus, it is affirmed that hard bargaining that translated into financial side-payment withholding, credible threats directed at veto proposals, and the formation of alternative alliances that would exclude recalcitrant governments dominated (Moravcsik, 1993).

The last aspect that the theory explains concerns the issue of institutional choice. The theory states that upon striking a substantive agreement to design and establish international institutions, the need for coping mechanisms in relation to unwanted, unforeseen, and unintended consequences cannot be overemphasized. Therefore, international cooperation is presented as that which is preceded by the presence of international institutions. Indeed, the theory is insightful regarding trends and events witnessed in the EU in such a way that it explains the manner in which policies have seen national preference functions that are most reliably predictable to entail trade and agriculture in which economic preferences are stable.

In situations where national preferences focus on predictable and large downside risks, the establishment of international institutions, as documented in the theory, seeks to achieve maintenance of national prerogatives (Moravcsik, 1993). For example, in agriculture, member states tend to employ voting rules that seek to maintain tight national controls while restricting the European Parliament's role. Therefore, the formation of the EU is presented as that which was marred by national interests before considering cross-border needs and preference (instead of having continental affairs lead in shaping the nature of operations at the national level). Hence, the theory aids in informing about possible origins of the current state of discomfort among EU's member states (in relation to the possibility of a Turkish accession). The following sections provide additional critical analyses regarding some of the issues making Turkey's perceived attainment of a full EU membership an uncomfortable issue among the current member states.

2.5 European Integration

The history of European integration is complex²², because political actors i.e. governments, technocrats, interest groups, lobbies pursue diverse²³ economic and political goals.²⁴ However, EU's state members pursued 'their' own economic benefits at the expense of 'their' political integration.

2.5.1 Schumann Declaration

The Schumann Declaration²⁵ of 9th May, 1950 is the founding document of European integration, which advocated for "Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole to be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization opened to the participation of the other countries of Europe."²⁶ Justified by security, it aimed to prevent any potential war between France and Germany, and make it "*not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible.*"²⁷ This project paved, plausibly, the way to initial steps towards a more relevant project i.e. federation. As a result, partial integration in coal and steel industry was practical, but possible integration in sensitive areas (collective defense and policy coordination) is faced by political opposition.²⁸ Having said that, to speak of the European integration, according to Fraser Cameron, is to take into consideration the main factors which made initially the union possible. These factors are:²⁹

²² Extensive readings can be done in understanding the argument of "deepening or widening"; should the EU increase political integration or accept new members? However, political integration cannot be understood if not linked with economic integration.

²³ These goals can be at times convergent and at others divergent. In other words, the struggle between politics and economics persists in the survival of a homogeneous union.

²⁴ Enrico Spolaore, (2013), "*What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists*," Journal of Economic Perspectives, American Economic Association, vol. 27(3), pages 125-44, summer.

²⁵ It was named after France's Foreign Minister Robert Schumann, proclaimed 'Father of Europe'.

²⁶ EUROPA, (1950), "*The Schuman Declaration*" viewed 24 January 2017, from https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en

²⁷ (Ibid.)

²⁸ Enrico Spolaore, (2013), "*What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists*," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 27, No. 3, summer.

²⁹ Cameron, "*The European Union as a Model for Regional Integration*," 1-8

1. ***Visionary politicians:*** Robert Schuman (France) and Konrad Adenauer (Germany) ³⁰ advocated a political project based on supranational “community model”³¹ instead of balance-of-power.
2. ***The US support:*** It helped advancing the European vision of Union, extensively known as the ‘United States of Europe’, advocated by Sir Winston Churchill during Zurich Speech in September 19th, 1946.³²
3. ***Politics of consciousness:*** Beside the political will to construct common institutions towards integration, the EU approach is based on solidarity, and support in times of ease and hardship.³³

These factors lacked *validity* when economics clash with politics, with the persistence of diverse systems, the same thing i.e. political union, could mean different things to the member states. In addition, Spolaore argues that the EU’s integration history reveals tension between the interests and power of national governments (intergovernmental) and the role of supranational institutions (functionalism).³⁴ Other literatures conclude that integration was successful with regard to the transfer of regulatory authority to independent institutions, as proposed ideas to give further strength to the EU politically largely failed.³⁵

³⁰ Their Leadership brought into existence the Franco-German axis, despite their tensions and history of wars, the two were considered to be the driving force behind European integration.

³¹ The EU was fortunate to have Robert Schuman, Aldo de Gasperi, Jean Monnet, and others.

³² The USA aspired to create a supranational entity for the Post World War II European states.

³³ EU’s politics of solidarity (argued by some academia to be relative or conditional) is a major challenge to integrated regional organizations. EU member states have demonstrated their willingness to push members in crisis by pulling financial aids and monetary support.

³⁴ Enrico Spolaore, (2013), “*What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists,*” Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 27, No. 3, summer.

³⁵ Fabio Wasserfalle, (2013), “*Political and Economic Integration in the EU: The Case of Failed Tax Harmonization,*” Journal of Common Market Studies.

2.5.2 The Maastricht Treaty

It stated that economic and financial policy³⁶ of the EU would be defined and regulated within an intergovernmental decision-making regime. The compromise was between ‘Functionalism’ and ‘Intergovernmentalism’. Consequently, there were institutional divides in decision-making process. This has given room to discussions on misguided political orientations, and institutional incompleteness. Regardless of these institutional deficiencies, Spolaore states that all-embracing work has to be dedicated to achieve banking union, fiscal union, integrative political union to establish a European Union.³⁷

Having said that, the Maastricht negotiations revealed that EU member states shared mostly what Wasserfalle calls a ‘common understanding’ i.e. “a central monetary policy had to be accompanied by substantial shifts of political authority to the European level”.³⁸ Nevertheless, because economy was dominant, commitment for ‘political union’ was practically absent. Wasserfalle states:

“Although most delegations were committed to starting the transformation of the European Community into a full-fledged federal polity, the reference in the Treaty to a federal goal was dropped on the very first day of the Maastricht Summit. It was assumed that political integration will yet to come.”³⁹

2.5.3 France and Germany’s positions on European Integration

The Maastricht resolutions demonstrated that states mainly France and Germany defended two different integration projects. Hans Tietmeyer, Bundesbank President, constantly urged the need for “deeper political integration”, noting that:

³⁶ During that time, the member states had to settle matters unrelated to single market.

³⁷ Enrico Spolaore, (2013), “*What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists*,” Journal of Economic Perspectives, American Economic Association, vol. 27(3), pages 125-44.

³⁸ Wasserfallen, Fabio, (2013), “*Political and Economic Integration in the EU: The Case of Failed Tax Harmonization*.” Journal of Common Market Studies, pp. 1-16.

³⁹ Wasserfallen, Ibid, p.4.

“The monetary union needed an extensive political underpinning in the form of significant transfers of fiscal, tax and wage authority to the European level”.⁴⁰

Contrary, the French President objected major surrender of nation-state sovereignty and instead called for a more flexible application of the criteria.⁴¹ The conflicting position among state members is considered also an obstacle to an integrative Europe, because to state interests, and relative gains.

2.6 Membership Conditions for Turkish’s Accession to the EU

The EU applies certain approval procedures in regard to Turkey’s EU accession to make sure the country is eligible to be part of the EU, namely by:⁴²

2.6.1 Legal requirements

The EU is governed by the rule of law. In other words, the EU ink agreements and treaties to run its various affairs and to achieve its interests. A treaty, accordingly, is an agreement between the EU and other parties, which set out the EU’s goals, EU institutions’ rule and outlines the process of decision-making. Turkey continues and follows all membership phases to join the EU Member States. In April 1987, Turkey submitted a formal request to become a full EU member in line with the procedures laid down in the treaties.

Article 237: Treaty of Rome

“Any European state may apply to become a member of the Community”.⁴³

By doing so, Turkey became a legitimate candidate for the EU with its relations with the EU becoming stronger than ever.

⁴⁰Tietmeyer’s proposal: “Only a selected core group of Member States that were willing to pool core state powers should proceed with monetary integration.” Quoted from Wasserfalle, “Political and Economic Integration in the EU: The Case of Failed Tax Harmonization,” p. 4.

⁴¹ Wasserfalle, “Political and Economic Integration in the EU: The Case of Failed Tax Harmonization,” 29.

⁴² Yuhannan, *Ibid.*, p.168.

⁴³ European Commission (n.d), “*Treaty of Rome*”, viewed 16 December 2016, From https://ec.europa.eu/romania/sites/romania/files/tratatul_de_la_roma.

Article F: Maastricht Treaty

“Member states shall have ‘systems of government [...] founded on the principles of democracy’”.⁴⁴

Accordingly, the EU shows respect to the national identity of its various member states, as the principle of democracy governs them. In the case of Turkey, it seeks to realize transparency and a real democracy. A member state should respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of its citizens.⁴⁵

2.6.2 The “Copenhagen Criteria”

The Copenhagen criteria is an EU framework and a set of conditions that decide whether a country has the right and meet the conditions to join the EU. On December 12, 2012, the state of the European Council stated that Turkey needs to ask the EU member that: The EU should start accession negotiations with Turkey without delay to decide if Turkey could meet the Copenhagen criteria. Hence, in 1993, the European Council established three criteria for countries to meet if willing to be members of the European Union, including Turkey, which includes stable institutions that guarantee:

- 1.) A functioning market that could cope with competitive forces;
- 2.) Assuming obligations resulting from membership,

Thus, for Turkey to become a member state, it needs to have stable institutions to preserve democracy and provide human rights for its people. It should be able to compete in the market and commit to all obligations of the European Union as stipulated in various EU bodies. However, there still are some conflicting interpretations among the EU member states.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ European Commission (n.d), “*Maastricht Treaty*”, viewed 18 December 2016,

From http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1997/10/13/5a6bfc79-757f-4d53-9379-ad23cc2cc911/publishable_en.

⁴⁵ Yuhannan, *Ibid.*, p.169.

⁴⁶ Yuhannan, *Ibid.*, 165-185.

2.6.3 Turkey's Accession Process

Negotiations between potential member states and the European Commission is one first key step for any country to become an EU member. Turkey's accession process is in its own category - very different from other candidates. . In addition to EU accession, Turkey has to conclude negotiations with the EU in 33 of the 35 chapters included in the EU law.⁴⁷ Following this, Turkey will have the opportunity to be granted the membership of the European Union.⁴⁸

2.7 Who Against and Supports Turkey's EU Membership?

Turkey's EU application remains one of the critical issues for the EU member states. Turkey's EU accession is probably not comfortable since Turkey applied for the EU membership. Because of many current members of EU countries and the European political parties remain against Turkey's membership. Nicolas Sarkozy opposed Turkish EU membership and didn't want Turkey to become a full member of the EU, adding:

"I do not think Turkey appears to Europe, and for just one reason: because it is in Asia Minor"...What I want to offer Turkey is a true partnership with Europe, but not integration in Europe."⁴⁹

On July 27, 2010, David Cameron, promised to pressure other states to accept Turkey at the EU.⁵⁰

"The European Union without Turkey at its heart is not stronger but weaker ... not safer but less... not richer but poorer."⁵¹

Markel also said in Ankara in 2015, Germany is ready to support the process of joining the EU-Turkey because of the crises of European migrants Turkey is an important player

⁴⁷ Golder. (n.d.), "*A Conversation with Meryem Tekol*," viewed 22 February 2017 from http://www.golder.ca/modules.php?name=Newsletters&op=viewarticle&sp_id=1.

⁴⁸ Yuhannan, Ibid. pp.169-170.

⁴⁹ Dan, B., (2007), "*Sarkozy blocks key part of EU entry talks on Turkey*", viewed 27 March 2017, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/25/world/europe/25iht-union.5.6325879.html>

⁵⁰ (Ibid.)

⁵¹ BBC, (2010), "*Cameron anger at slow pace of Turkish EU negotiations*", viewed 27 March 2017, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-10767768>.

for the enhancement of the EU and also supports Europe need to extend the relations with Turkey in various forms, and Merkel said after meeting in Ankara in 2015:

“I think we need to use the crisis we are experiencing through a very disordered and uncontrolled refugee movement to return to closer cooperation on many issues, both between the European Union and Turkey, as between Germany and Turkey,”⁵²

As for the official Turkish opinion, the Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, said in September 2012:

“There are 5 million Turks in Europe and about 3 million Turks in Germany. We are a natural member of the European Union. Germany has invited Turkish workers 50 years ago. However, 50 years have passed and we have remained at the door of the European Union. No other country has experienced such a thing. We will be patient at one point. However, as we move beyond that point, we will bring the light to the situation and decide accordingly.”⁵³

2.7.1 European Public View

In 2006, Eurobarometer conducted a series of polls in the EU on “EU public opinion and Turkey’s EU membership.” The results show that 52% of European member countries opposed Turkey’s membership in the European Union and 53% believe that the European Union will listen. In addition, the survey found some interesting facts that the new Member States are encouraging Turkey’s accession to the EU, half of the respondents from 25 countries present at that time have supported Turkey’s accession to the European Union. Support is particularly strong in Slovenia, Poland, Slovakia, Germany, Luxembourg and Austria, and while most counterparts come from France and the Netherlands mainly due to factors such as the loss of jobs in the region and since Turkey is a Muslim country. If Turkey is fully accepted, it will be a threat to the national EU cultures. In conclusion, the countries that support Turkey’s membership in the EU have predominantly national ‘right-wing’ governments, and the opposition is mainly related to ‘identity’ arguments.

⁵² Reuters, (2017), “*Merkel: Worth doing all we can to improve German-Turkish*”, viewed 10 January 2017, from <http://www.reuters.com/article/turkey-referendum-merkel-idUSB4N1DI013>

⁵³ İnan, İ.H., “*The Importance of Turkish Agriculture within the Framework of European Union*,” viewed 10 January 2017, from [http://bhi.nku.edu.tr/basinyonetim/resim/images/edittorresimleri/413/files/SBM-%20%C3%96zel%20Say%C4%B1\(2\).pdf](http://bhi.nku.edu.tr/basinyonetim/resim/images/edittorresimleri/413/files/SBM-%20%C3%96zel%20Say%C4%B1(2).pdf)

2.8 Multiculturalism in the Governance of the European Union

For decades, and as a result of globalization, interdependence and interaction have become the main characteristics of today's society. These features could be found in social, cultural, economic and security issues. All of these elements form societies, as the European Union is "the most successful regional integration project in the new world order"⁵⁴ Though, the long journey for Turkey to get access to the EU, Today the question on Turkey and European Union access issues are still debating over the world that if the EU will accept Turkey, which is a Muslim majority country, to be part of union? In this study, the researcher will examine the benefits of Turkish EU aspirations within the framework of multiculturalism theory and combine them with the factors of Islam, population, energy, and security.

2.8.1 Multiculturalism and Identity Conflicts

European identity is established following the accumulation of enduring battles and the war between the powerful countries of Europe, revolts, political and religious movements and pressures, industrialization and enlightenment. European countries don't act as an alliance. Instead, they protect and defend their national interests independently, meaning when a security problem happens, these countries look for power rather than economic prosperity, unity and multiculturalism.

To better understand Turkey's position in the EU, one must admit that Turkey is one of the nations with a multicultural background. Turkey is not a homogeneous state as we can see all cultures are melted together, and not just as a Muslim culture only, but rather the Turkish society is kind of heterogeneous society that combines different cultures and traditions. According to Rosado, Turkey is a culturally wealthy country where people maintain their custom and culture in their blood.⁵⁵ Moreover, if Turkey to be part of the union is will be increasing an interactive process in the EU's multicultural that will lead

⁵⁴ Aydın, S., (2002), "*Possible Contributions of Turkey's EU Membership to the Union*".

⁵⁵ Rosado, (1996), "Toward a Definition of Multiculturalism", Viewed 23 April 2017, from http://rosado.net/pdf/Def_of_Multiculturalism.pdf

two cultures to contribute and share some common and different things among people that have several mainly are Christian and Islam believes in this region. As a result, manner is called a 'new culture reality'.⁵⁶

The conceptions of culture and identity were created as a result of change in the society, exchange among people, and continuous dynamism in social for both Turkey and the EU, as Aydın says in his report; the formation of a collective identity is a progressive process that arises with mutual social interaction.⁵⁷ It is a fact that continuity needs a developmental change on cultural. By this reason, is able to conclude that the correlation between both side the EU and Turkey it depends on a common and interests they are. By stirring on the other, both the EU and Turkey can learn experience and exchange their identity without wasting and losing their identity as followed in Copenhagen criteria. Armesto, makes the question important: is there something called European civilization? As an atmosphere where cultural diversity becomes sensitive phenomena, with many interests, multiculturalism presents significant international dynamics.

The European Union's strategy to remain as an independent club creates disarmament. Why to be independent makes exclusion policies to world and then transcultural politics no longer valid. In inter-governmental political bodies, structural conditions affect people's attitudes towards ethnic groups. Furthermore, these characters reveal the consciousness of members of each ethnic society on different identities in the society. Looking at Turkey, it's will be a successfully integrated country in nearly future and country is depends on a 'non-EU xenophobic immigration policy' which has two dimensions;

- 1) The recognition of non-optimal club exclusive features of which by nationality.
- 2) The importance of non-divisibility and not transparency of the migration issue.

Regarding the popular sociological point of view is concerned, the world is becoming more and more of a 'global village' and also underlines the norms and democratization of post-national creation, economic prosperity and cooperation are the key and key

⁵⁶ Aydın, (2002), "Possible Contributions of Turkey's EU Membership to the Union"

⁵⁷ Aydın, Ibid.

factors. Since the European Union has given Turkey a date for launching accession negotiations, the people's agenda on the road has begun to change. Wherever people began to wonder whether the EU can accept Turkey, in particular, a preponderance as a Muslim country or not. According to Benhabib, there is an 'irony' in contemporary political development:

“During state sovereignty in economic, military, and technology areas, it has been greatly disintegrated, but it is vigorously affirmed: while national borders, while more porous, and still keep the strangers and intruders out.”⁵⁸

Benhabib states in his report that it is a dramatic truth that while the EU citizenship provides the possibility for all EU residents to vote and to operate local elections in each country and even at in the EU stage but the time Turkey and the EU are going through the process is the 'era of cosmopolitan norms'.⁵⁹ This is when the conflict between a state sovereignty and national hospitality becomes less important. Nonetheless, it has not been destroyed and another's policy positions seem to dispute these differences among citizens and long-term tenants.

⁵⁸ Benhabib, S. (2005), "Borders, Boundaries, and Citizenship." American Political Science Association Vol 38 No 4: 673-677.

⁵⁹ Benhabib, Ibid.

CHAPTER 3: TURKEY AND THE DILEMMA OF EU ACCESSION

3.1 Introduction

Turkey's accession to the EU has never been a comfortable issue because several EU countries are against its accession. In this chapter, the researcher will analyze the dilemma of Turkey's accession to the EU. There are many opposing reasons, whether a geographical and demographic debate in Turkey, the question of political, economic issues.

Furthermore, due to regional issues between Turkey - Cyprus and Greece, as well as the Armenian issue, it became a dilemma for Turkey to access to the EU. In the last part of this chapter, the question of the Turkish religious background and culture as well as Turkey's historic and cultural roots, go back to Central Asia and the Middle East, more than the shared experiences of Europe, and that fact and that Muslims in the country are different from Christian Europe, will all be discussed. Also, the researcher examined many scholar's criticism that the EU is not accepting Turkey because "the European Union is a Christian club"?

3.2 Geographic and Demographics Debate

Turkey is located between the East and West, the meeting point of two continents, Europe and Asia. Its location offers an important geopolitical and strategic position which plays a role in transportation and economic investment. However, many member countries viewed Turkey as non-European country, as more than 90% percent of Turkish territory is located in Asia. Under the common opinion of the Westerners, Today as a result of conflict state in the Middle East, the EU don't need to share a common borders with the state of conflict, such as neighboring Turkey like Syria, Iran and Iraq as afraid of future emigrants move to the EU via Turkey transit. Moreover, Turkey is very big and large for the EU to integrate unites with the union, with the growing of Turkish population both inside Turkey and outside countries, it will be shaped the demographic changes of migrants of Turkey. From official site of World Bank show, the country expects to reach more than Ninety-Five million by 2050; and it will affect EU member countries in the near future.

3.2.1 The Geographical Regions of Turkey

The geographical distribution of Turkey is different in each region of the country, because of the country's position in both Asia and Europe. Turkey's geography was divided into seven geographic regions, including the part of Aegean, Anatolia, Central Anatolia, South Eastern Anatolia, Marmara, Black Sea and the Mediterranean part. However, Turkey's largest land area is mainly settled in the Anatolia part (or its main Asian part), which connects Turkey with several Asian countries. Most of the territory in Eastern part of the country are mountainous and connected to the main river ways as Tigris-Euphrates River, one of the most significant river in the history and also is the part of other main important river. Furthermore, this part close to the Middle East countries like Iraq, Syria, and Iran most of these country make dispute in the region nowadays. While in the Western and Eastern part of the country, there was separated part of the geographic region by the Marmara Sea, is connected to the Aegean Sea through the important Strait of the Dardanelles as well as the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. However, Turkey's geographical borders are one of the important arguments against Turkey to be part of the EU⁶⁰ as information showed that Turkey is not located in European continent and this argument has a rooted in the old debate that the geographic boundaries of Turkey are suitable with the Europe continent.

⁶⁰ Yuhannan, Ibid. p.171.



Figure 1: shows the map in yellow is Turkey. Notice the black line near Istanbul the wet of that is Europe.

Source: Husain, S., 2015

Mapping is fairly clear: Only 3% of the northwestern part of Turkey, meaning, half of Istanbul and 10% of the population, is technically in Europe, while the rest is in Asia. Europe and Asia look like one geographical extension, and the borders look arbitrary. Most of Turkey is located in Asia, although a small part of Turkish territory is located in Europe.⁶¹ In addition, another argument about a city like Ankara, the capital of Turkey, which is well located in Asia part and many scholars from the past till today most of them is considered geographically of Turkey is ‘Asian’ more than European side. As we can checked on the map showed in Figure 1.

However, this is just a general debate that using for against Turkey to be part of the EU. In fact, Nowadays, Turkey has been an important geopolitical in various actor of the European continent, for example on the international politic arena, economic section, the cultural and summit activities, also many sport associations and etc., that showed Turkey

⁶¹ Yuhannan, Ibid. p.172.

are part of the Europe than joining the country with Asian country. Furthermore, If looking back to the past we can found that, almost for more than six centuries, particularly during the Ottoman Empire, Turkey has at the height of its power during the 16th and 17th centuries. Turk has controlled over more than three continents of the world, For example, many part of South East Europe, North Africa region and also the Western part of Asia. The Ottoman Empire consisted of 29 territories and many states were under the control of Turks,⁶² some of which were then consumed into the Ottoman Empire, while others part of the Europe has received various types of autonomy for a long century.



Figure 2: shows Historical Map of WWI: The Ottoman Empire 1914

Source: emersonkent.com (n.d.)

The Ottoman Empire used to be the center of a cooperation that connects the Eastern and Western world for more than six centuries. Today, we still found a plenty of Turk culture in countries which ever colonized by the Ottoman Empire. During the reign of Suleiman the Great (which ruled from 1520 to 1566), the Ottoman Empire⁶³, with Constantinople

⁶² Yuhannan, Ibid. p.171.

⁶³ Ibid.

or Istanbul as a capital and has a significant power control over the lands of the entire Eastern Mediterranean, in many respect. At this point, if one considers the geographic location of Turkey as a factor to access the European Union, this argument should take into account logic, history and geography. The Ottoman Empire had many of its parts in Europe for several years. It also had other parts in the Middle East and North Africa as well.⁶⁴ Despite this, Ottoman sultans used to mix with other European cultures, not the Middle Eastern, Asian or African cultures. In addition, as the historical foundation for the Ottoman Empire borders in Europe was in Vienna, Hungary, which were parts of the Ottoman Empire, some coastal Italian and Spanish towns were used as naval bases by the Ottomans.

3.2.2 Demography of Turkey

Today, Turkey has been recognized as a modern country and is home for a diversity of races and religious resulting from the expansion of the Ottoman Empire that took place during the middle ages. According to most recent United Nations statistics, in March 2017, Turkey's current population is 80,181,553⁶⁵ as showed in figure 3.

Population of Turkey (2017 and historical)												
Year	Population	Yearly % Change	Yearly Change	Migrants (net)	Median Age	Fertility Rate	Density (P/Km ²)	Urban Pop %	Urban Population	Country's Share of World Pop	World Population	Turkey Global Rank
2017	80,417,526	1 %	795,464	-84,000	30.2	2.08	105	72.3 %	58,172,652	1.07 %	7,515,284,153	19
2016	79,622,062	1.22 %	956,232	-84,000	30.2	2.08	104	71.9 %	57,251,665	1.07 %	7,432,663,275	19
2015	78,665,830	1.7 %	1,271,083	400,000	30	2.1	102	71.6 %	56,288,353	1.07 %	7,349,472,099	18
2010	72,310,416	1.28 %	889,960	-10,000	28	2.18	94	70.5 %	51,011,925	1.04 %	6,929,725,043	18
2005	67,860,617	1.42 %	924,092	-20,000	26	2.35	88	67.7 %	45,918,585	1.04 %	6,519,635,850	18
2000	63,240,157	1.56 %	943,567	-30,000	25	2.62	82	64.7 %	40,899,833	1.03 %	6,126,622,121	18
1995	58,522,320	1.62 %	905,543	-40,000	23	2.87	76	62.1 %	36,355,820	1.02 %	5,735,123,084	18
1990	53,994,605	1.89 %	963,305	-30,000	22	3.35	70	59.2 %	31,966,194	1.02 %	5,309,667,699	21

Figure 3: shows Population of Turkey (2017 and historical)

Source: Worldometers, 2017

Turkey's population is 1.07% of the total world population and the number of 19 countries in the list of all countries (and agencies) around the world per population. The average

⁶⁴ Yuhannan, Ibid. p.171.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p.172.

age of people in Turkey is 30.2 years. For estimated data statistic in 2017, Turkey will have a population of over 80 million citizens, about 70-75% of Turkish citizens are of Turkish origin and was born in country, and mostly of Turk now are Muslim progressive. Regards to the Worldometers document, there has own culture and quiet different from Muslim Arab in the Middle East, the country was get influenced by secular political system during Mustafa Kemal was revolution the country as mentioned before on the part of introduction of this study. ⁶⁶

Groups in Turkey now are mainly composed of Jews, Greeks and Armenians races and the importantly, Turkey is also home to a large population of Muslim Kurds, which accounts for about 18% of the Turkish population and both of them Turk government and Kurdish people still have a problems between them and the other challenges for Turkey to be part of the Union is the last recently refugees crisis flee from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran that are heading to Turkey to settle a new life with their family in Turkey and also other Turkish immigrant races was created a high number on Turkish demographic.

One of the demographic issues facing and blocking Turkey's attempt to join the EU is the ongoing migration crisis of Syrian refugee. The crisis of migrants made Europe confront the issue. Following the flooding of Syrian refugees into Europe, the European public opinion became against Turkey's accession to the EU. According to United Nations, in early January 2017, the Syrian refugee population in the country was more than 2.8 million, who crossed into Turkey, after the outbreak of the Syrian civil war in 2011.⁶⁷ The EU fears that Turkish migrants will flood into Western Europe. For this reason, Europeans were afraid of migration from Turkey which might increase the number of Turks in Europe, which already has a considerable Turkish population.

Many surveys showed that today, more than the 7 million Turks are living permanently in the EU, particularly in Germany where some 2.5 million Turks live, and in the Netherlands where around 250,000 Turks live. This also includes Scandinavian countries and Western Europe. By 2020, the percentage of Turks in the EU will hit about 15 percent

⁶⁶ Yuhannan, Ibid. p.172.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

of the entire population, thus making Turks the largest ethnic group from outside the EU. Thus, the EU is worried that Turks will have control over Europe in the future ⁶⁸

3.3 Economic Debate

The Turkish economy grew by an average of 3.5% by 2014, thus doing much better than most EU countries. With Per capital, income has increased six times, and the economic situation of Turkey is now better than its EU neighboring countries such as Romania and Bulgaria. However, Turkey's GDP has remained less than half the EU average. The wealth of Turkey is distributed unequally among the rich and the poor. In addition, although the Turkish economy has grown significantly, unemployment continues to rise especially in Eastern part of the country.

3.3.1 The Turkish Economy and the Labor Market Issues

One of the issues related to Turkey's accession to the EU is its economic performance. In fact, in the research that found most of the documents published by the European Commission, concerns about the Turkish economy it is not unusual like other countries in the union; However, as economic factors are an important part of the debate on joining a new member for Turkey to be the EU member, So, the economic reason was taken into account as a first step towards the establishment of the European Union and it's also a measures for the new European integration applicant country. Nevertheless, as from trying revolution on the Economic of Turkey made the country now will reach the entire accession process and its will be perceived positively result on the way for its members in this union. As a framework of the Commission working document, the future economic developments will define the economic impact Turkey's accession to the EU will have. Consequently, examining indicators that might explain the situation in Turkey and the problems of free movement of Turkish workers is important. This also includes taking into account the previous enlargement of the EU.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Ansgar, Hefeker, Quaisser, Wood, and Togan, 2014, "Turkey and the EU: Issues and Challenges", Volume 39, No. 6

⁶⁹ Yuhannan, Ibid. pp.173-174.

3.3.1.1 Economic Performance-Income Gap

According to Trading Economics statistic report ‘The Gross Domestic Product (GDP)’ in Turkey stood around 2.70% in the third quarter of 2016. The GDP Growth Rate in Turkey today averaged around 1.07% compared to 1998. The GDP of Turkey is growing an all-time and reached high 5.60 % in the first quarter of 2002.⁷⁰ Turkey’s economy is viewed as a potential economy that could compete with other European economies. Turkey is one of the largest producers of agriculture products in the World, including motor parts and other equipment, such as ships, textiles, and electronics and construction materials.⁷¹ Based on the current data of the World Bank, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Turkey dropped 2.70% in the third quarter of 2016. The average of the growth rate of GDP in Turkey was 1.07% between 1998 and 2016, thus in the first quarter of 2002 reached a record level of 5.60% and a record low of 5.40% in the first quarter of 2009.

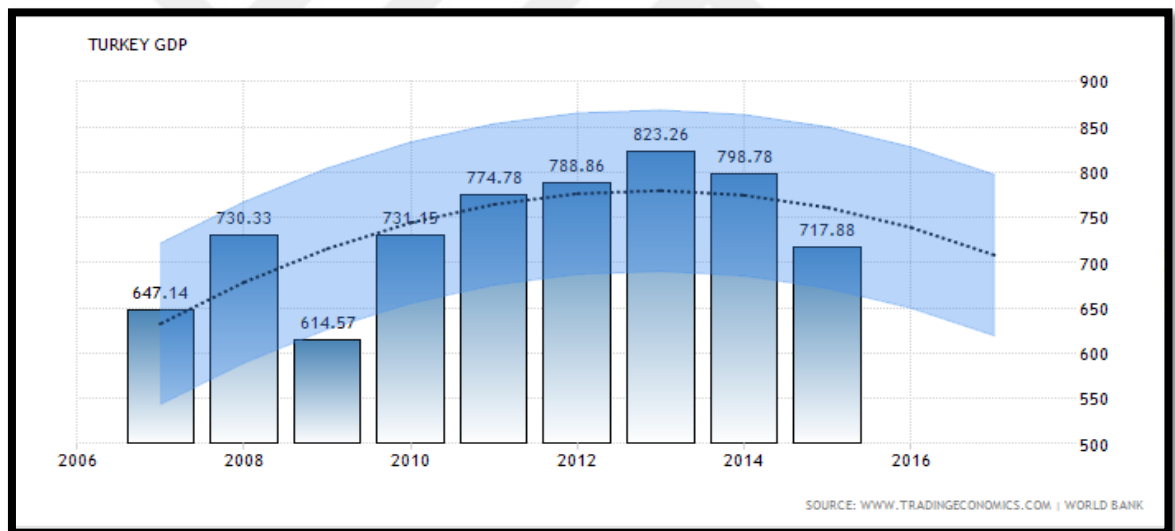


Figure 4: shows The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Turkey from 2006 to 2017
Source: World Bank 2017

⁷⁰ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.174.

⁷¹ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.174.

3.3.1.2 Turkey GDP Annual Growth Rate Forecast

The GDP growth in Turkey is anticipated around 1.10% at the end of 2017.⁷² Looking to the future, the GDP growth in Turkey to reach 1.30 in 1 year. Turkey's GDP growth is projected to be around 1.00% in 2020, according to information from the Trading Economics organization as Figure 5.

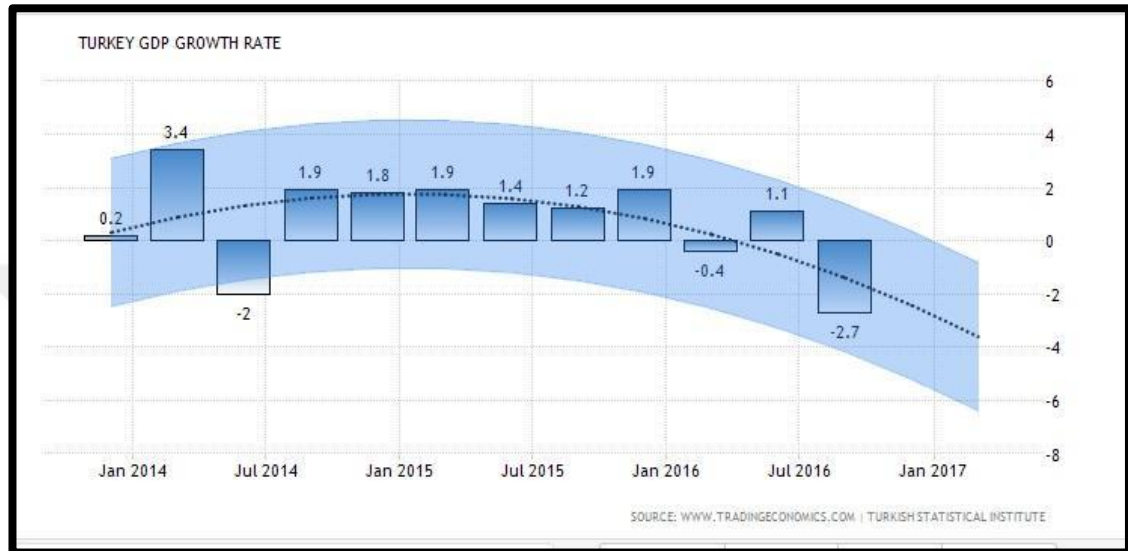


Figure 5: shows Turkey GDP Growth Rate Forecast 2016-2020

Source: Trading Economics, 2017

According to the expected growth rate of Turkey's GDP in the latest updated on March, 2017. (GDP growth rate forecast in Turkey is projected and calculated by using a combined mobile autoregressive model ARIMA) and analyzed together by researchers' expectations (Trading Economics, 2017). The model utilizes historical performance of the GDP growth rate in Turkey by using historical data and adjusting the effectiveness of the econometric model, in addition to considering analysts' estimates and future expectations. In addition, it refers to the World Bank forecasts statistics, It reveals that Turkey's GDP growth rates fell by 2.5% in 2016 when was compared to the previous year. However, Turkey remain has become one of the countries that have achieved positive economic growth rate especially from the World Bank projections; Turkey will

⁷² Trading Economics, (2017), "Turkey GDP Growth Rate Forecast 2016-2020," viewed 21 March 2017, from <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/turkey/gdp-growth/forecast>.

have real GDP growth rates around 3.0%, 3.5% and 3.7%, in 2017, 2018 and 2019, respectively as showed on Table 2.

Table 2: shows World Bank forecast, the GDP growth rates of Turkey

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
%	11.10	4.80	8.50	5.20	6.10	2.50	3.00	3.50	3.70

Source: World Bank, 2017

Compared with the EU countries, it predicts that economic position in Turkey is better off than those in EU-28 and for 2017, 2018 and 2019 (1.6%, 1.5%, and 1.4%), as well as of EU area 1.5%, 1.5% and 1.4%. as Table 3.

Table 3: shows information from the World Bank forecast, the GDP growth rates of Turkey compared with EU-28.

Location	Units	Scale	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
EU28	% change	units	-0.40	0.30	1.70	2.20	1.80	1.60	1.50	1.40	1.60	1.60
Euro area	% change	units	-0.80	-0.20	1.20	2.00	1.70	1.50	1.50	1.40	1.50	1.40

Source: World Bank, 2017

Therefore, if we compare Turkey and the EU28 and the Euro zone, we can find that Turkish GDP forecast is better than the average values of all the EU28 and EURO zone member states. In this respect, Turkey’s economic outlook does not seem to lead to a significant problem for EU Member states in relation to their economic performance in regard to eligibility for accession. To conclude, although Turkey has achieved remarkably when it comes to economic growth, this promising development may not be reflected in the reduction in the income gap in EU averages. This, in turn, could encourage we can find that Turkish GDP forecast better than the means of the EU28 and could support the opinions of those who oppose Turkey’s membership to the EU on economic grounds.

3.3.1.3 Turkey Gross Minimum Monthly Wage

Based on information from the Trading Economics site, Turkey has a Minimum Monthly Salary fixed at hourly, monthly rates, as required by law (the government). The national minimum wage typically applies to all employees in the private and public sections, or at least to a vast majority of workers in the country.⁷³ More than one-third of Turkey's around 30 million-strong labor force is paid the minimum wage. According to a recent data from the Trading Economics, minimum wages in Turkey now is around 1,776 Turkish Lira (455 Euro) on 2017. It means the lowest wage of Turkey was increasing from 1274 TL (326 Euro) in 2014 and (423 Euro) 1647 TL in 2016 and trend to higher in the future.

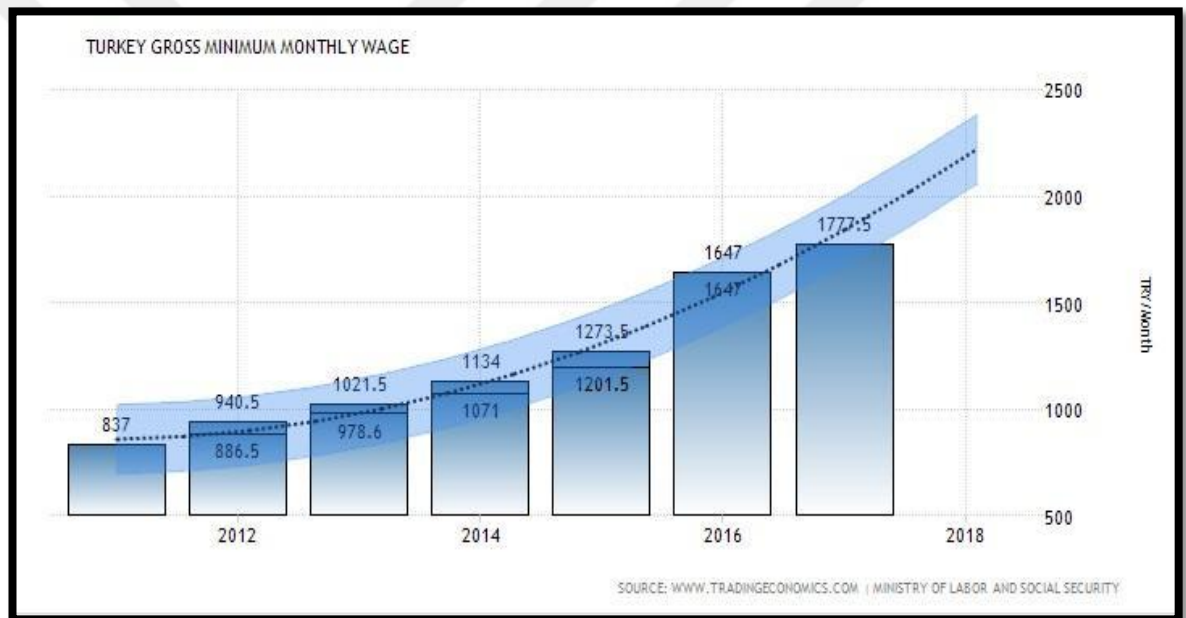


Figure 6: shows Turkey Gross Minimum Monthly Wage from 2012 to 2018

Source: Trading Economics, 2017

In Turkey, the minimum monthly salary refers to the national minimum wage, which is at a monthly, and is required by law (the government). The national minimum wage usually all employees, or at least the large majority of workers in the country apply.⁷⁴ More than a third of the workforce of 30 million Turkish workers receiving the minimum

⁷³ Trading Economics, (2017), "Turkey Gross Minimum Monthly Wage from 1990-2017", viewed 21 March 2017, from <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/turkey/minimum-wages>.

⁷⁴ (Ibid.)

wage. According to recent business data, the minimum wage in Turkey is now about 1.776 Turkish lira (455 euros) so that statistics have shown that the lowest wage in Turkey is up by 1.274 TL (326 euros) in 2014 and (423 euros) in 2016 and 1647 TL (423 Euro) in 2016 and will get higher in the future prospect. So, the debate on Monthly Minimum Wage of Turkey is seems unreasonable for nowadays.

3.3.1.3.1 Minimum wages in the EU and Turkey

In 2008, among the candidate countries of the European Union, only Turkey had a minimum national wage, which in 2017 increased by 35%, compared to January, 2008, which stood at 354 euros. On the basis of the gross national monthly gross wage in Euro, EU Member States could be divided into three groups⁷⁵ as Figure 7 shows:

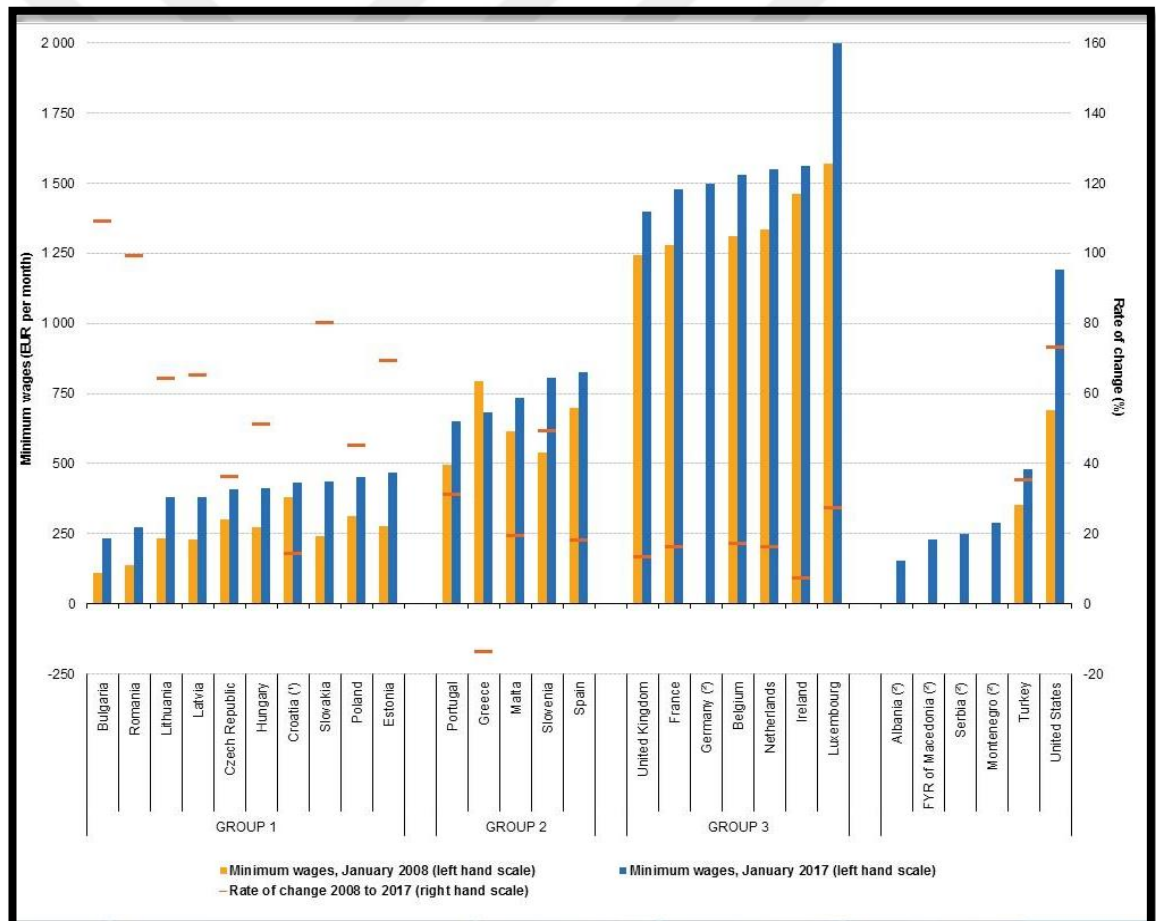


Figure 7: Turkey and the EU's Gross Minimum Monthly Wage

Source: Eurostat, 2017

⁷⁵ Yuhannan, Ibid, pp.174-175.

As illustrated in Figure 7, most countries in the European Union had quite similar minimum wages in Group 1, which is the lowest Minimum Wage group in the EU and most Scandinavian and Western European countries, as in Group number two and three, there is a substantial difference on minimum wages.⁷⁶ However, if one can observe the minimum wage of Turkey (479 euros) which is quite similar to the minimum wage of group 2 of the EU member states and the rate is better than some current states, especially, the EU member countries in Group 1, as their National Minimum Wages have gone from 235 euros in Bulgaria to 470 EUR in Estonia.⁷⁷ So, we can conclude from this statistic regarding Turkey's move from the past so far on minimum wages issues, its minimum wage has been improved faster compared to the other EU candidate members and also some current member countries of the EU in Group 3. Furthermore, even the Turkish Lira becomes weak nowadays, the Turkish economy continues to grow throughout the period of time.⁷⁸ Consequently, the debate on Minimum wages of Turkey now has become weak when we compare Turkey with other EU States. So, the issues on minimum wage of Turkey currently should no longer be against Turkey on these issues anymore.

3.3.1.4 Unemployment Rates

According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (Turkstat) published on 2016, was showed that the unemployment rate in Turkey was increasing to 11.8 per cent in October 2016, with an increase of 1.3 per cent in unemployment rate over the same Last year.

⁷⁶ (Ibid.)

⁷⁷ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.175.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

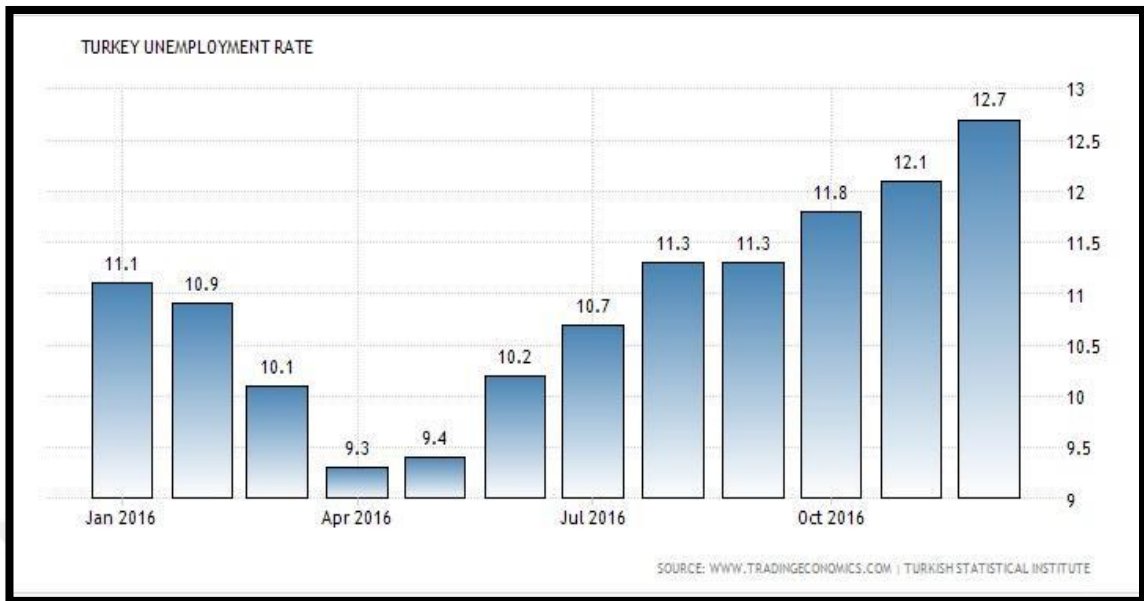


Figure 8: shows Turkey Unemployment Rate during 2016

Source: Trading Economics, 2017.

However, these were the highest figures for Turkish Unemployment Rate since 2010. Notwithstanding, these were the highest numbers for Unemployment Rate in Turkey since 2010. Regarding on a monthly basis, the unemployment rate was increasing to 0.5 percent and this is a higher point than the preceding month at 11.3 percent during September in 2016.⁷⁹ Turkstat has also stated that the number of unemployed rate in Turkey has gradually risen to about 500,000 people. This statistic Turkstat has collected the information from people over the age of 15 years old in all part of Turkey. Although the unemployment has risen, but the Turkish economy has also created 500,000 jobs in October, 2016, compared to 2015.

Meanwhile, unemployment was anticipated to hit 14.1% at the non-agricultural sectors, an increase of 1.5%. The other interesting statistic reveals the unemployment rate among young people in Turkey between the ages of 15 to 24, which reached to 21.2%. This was 1.9 % compared with the previous year and in the age range of 15-64 years old, the

⁷⁹ Daily Sabah, (2017), "Turkey's unemployment rate hits 7-year-high," Viewed March 21, 2017, from <https://www.dailysabah.com/economy/2017/03/15/turkeys-unemployment-rate-hits-7-year-high-at-127-pct-in-december>

unemployment rate was 12 %, with an increase of 1.3 %. The same report from Daily Sabah news has showed, while the average unemployment rate in the EU member countries is around 8.3% in October 2016 and 8.1% in January 2017, and when calculated with all the EU-28 countries the unemployment rate is average valued around 8.3% against the corresponding rates of unemployment 8.9% and 8.4% from April to July 2016⁸⁰ as showed in Figure 9.

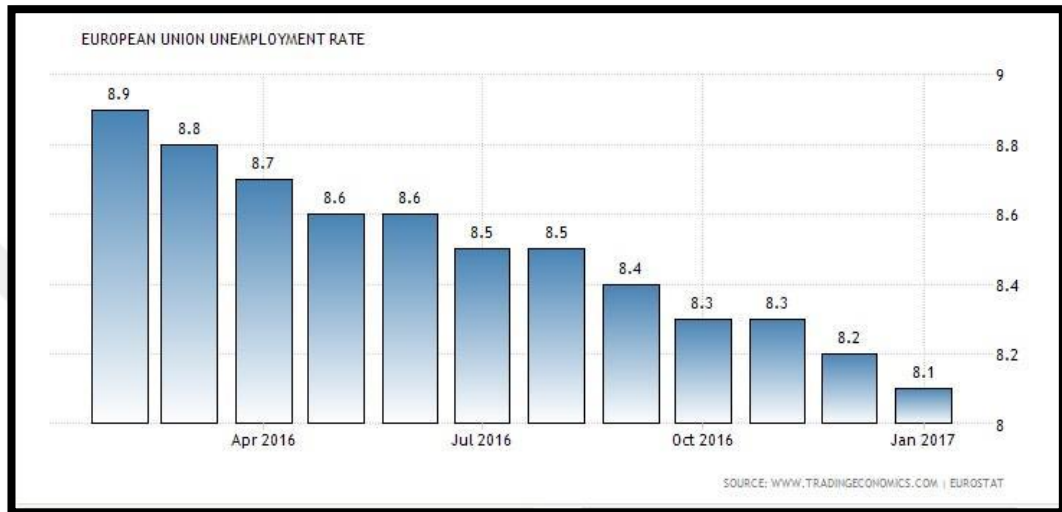


Figure 9: shows European Union Unemployment Rate from 2016 to 2017

Source: Trading Economics

The statistics of 2017 prove that the latest Turkish unemployment rate has reached a rate that could comparable to some EU Member countries like Italy, with Italian unemployment rate standing around 11.9 percent in November 2015. Looking at countries such as Spain Greece, and Cyprus, in 2016, they recorded higher unemployment rate compared to Turkey. However, the unemployment rate in Turkey is remaining higher than usual, this will be the argument from a union to against Turkey to be a member. It could also be a negative impact on other member countries in the union, particularly countries with high wages that lower wage for migrant workers who will move for finding a better salary and a good job. Based on a study in December 2016, Turkey’s unemployment rates (12.7%) were higher than the European unemployment average (8.2%) in December 2006. Look at Figure 10:

⁸⁰ Yuhannan, Ibid, pp.175-176.

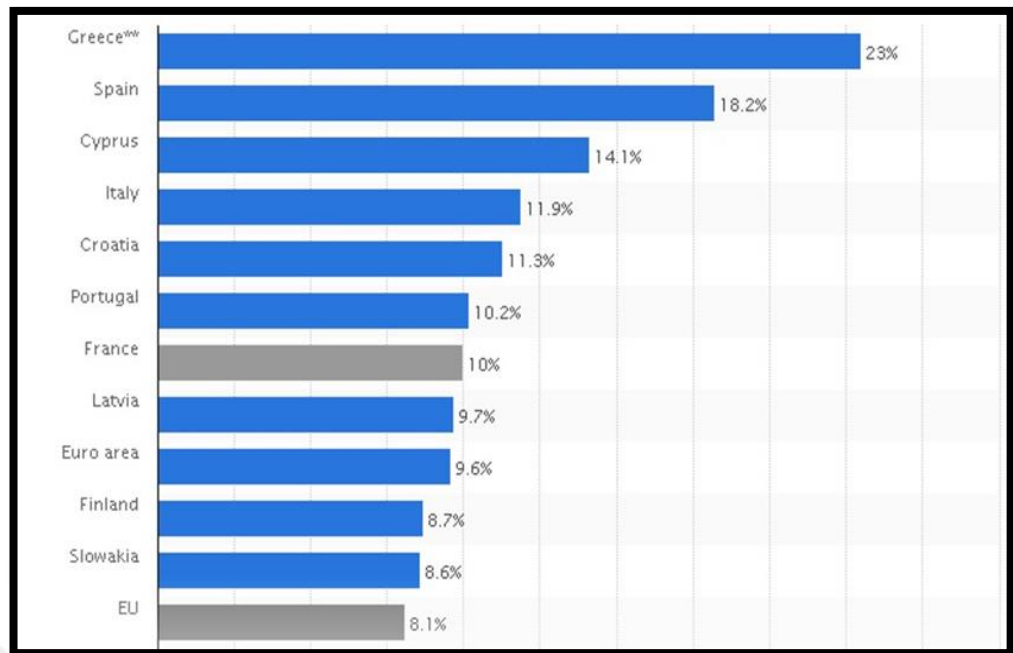


Figure 10: shows unemployment rates at the EU in January 2017

Source: Statista, 2017

In this case, it can be argued that the fragility of Turkish unemployment rate will not be used against Turkey in accessing the EU anymore. Because, right now several countries in the union got affected by the economic crisis and also have high unemployment rates in their labor markets such as Turkey does, like Greece, Spain, Italy and other countries in the EU. Therefore, Turkey's accession may lead to an increase in unemployment in the Union. This means more people might be looking for jobs in the labor market in the EU. It could also be a major concern for young people's concerns⁸¹ as the possibility of migrating is considered relatively high.

Therefore, it not surprising that Turkey could spend longer transition periods than other EU countries did for free movement of workers in the case the negative impact of the crisis on the labor markets of the EU could not be resolved at the time of accession. However, when we considered about the permanent protection conditions for free movement of Turkish laborers' issues in the EU. The Turkish movement of laborers was conducted in an unsuitable way compared with the other nations wishing to be a member of the union. Since the EU membership is contrary to the spirit of the members, it is false

⁸¹ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.175.

to say that Turkish workers who would become the EU citizens would be denied their primary rights from the Union. This is kind of the dilemma will be faced with the principle of equal treatment has setting by the EU.

3.3.2 Dominance of the Agricultural Sector

Looking to the Agricultural sector in Turkey this is the one largest part of the increasing of Turkish economic activity and remains a major actor in the Turkish economy. Moreover, Turkey and other countries in CEECs (especially Poland and Romania) constitute a large segment of the workforce field in agriculture and farming sector in Europe. Turkey has a third of labor and employed in the agricultural sector, which amounts to 12% of all GDP per capita of the country, and also Turkish has a high potential workers and emigrants in this sector.⁸² Furthermore, Turkey runs a significant trade on agricultural goods with the EU. Consequent, of the main reason is that Turkey has its favorable climate, a good weather make Turkey can grow many products in the agricultural sector. Turkey is also one of the countries that has special status with products exported to the EU easily compared to other countries. In contradiction with the EEC case, Turkish products are more quality than the other CEECs members.

These are great opportunities for the European Union in terms of preserving food resources from Turkey, if accepted as part of the Union, and it will provide food supplies for all EU members, but the fear from Turkish human capital or migrant workers will become stronger in the future. Lastly, the dualistic nature of the Turkish Economy structures becomes more and more strong and evident and also the strength of Turkish agriculture would eliminate any barrier for Turkey to access the Union.⁸³

3.3.3 Potential Migration Estimates

One of the interesting issues on Turkish access to the EU is the migration problem. This also brought the concentration by some researchers about this issue, although most research on Turkey's EU membership was grounded on political and economic reasons.

⁸² Ansgar, Belke., (2005), "Turkey in Transition to EU Membership: Pros and Cons of Integrating a Dynamic Economy," viewed 8 April 2017, from <http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Ansgar-Belke.pdf>

⁸³ Ansgar, Ibid.

However, it must be understood that migration issues are fundamental component of the economic determinants of expansion the union.

3.4 Political Debate

Turkey is a Muslim country with a good democratic system. The EU membership qualifies Turkey to have a good and functioning democratic system, good governance and awareness of human rights.⁸⁴ In addition, Turkey is a strong ally and a partner of the great military organization like a NATO. The member of Turkey, makes Turkey part of the super-regional power over the Middle East.⁸⁵

3.4.1 The Rule of Law, Human Rights and Democracy in Turkey

The EU claims that there is a lack of Turkish democracy, yet it is clearly divided as how respond to this claim. Some EU capitals, including France, recommend opening chapters 23 and 24 to support reform and improve EU support of Turkey's EU membership; A strong presence or, in the case of the Netherlands, has led to the revised adherence process.⁸⁶ Some EU Member States that support opening new chapters with Turkey are less willing to use Turkey's political capital, reserving it alternatively for discussions on Eastern Partnership countries. In 2014, the Netherlands have unsuccessfully launched a campaign against Turkey to give it lower amounts of money from the EU 2014-2020 pre-accession assistance (IPA), but the new IPA budget allocated more resources to increase the potential of civil society organizations.⁸⁷

3.4.1.1 Democracy and the Rule of Law and Turkey's Accession Process.

According to the European parliament's summit in the city of Strasbourg, there has been an important discussion on the adoption of a strong resolution on the EU-Turkey accession process, as many dilemmas remain facing Turkey to be EU member. The committee's decision was to temporarily freeze the accession negotiations with Turkey.

⁸⁴ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.176.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ European Council on Foreign Relations, (2015), "*Rule of law, democracy, and human rights in Turkey*," viewed 30 March 2017 from <http://www.ecfr.eu/scorecard/2015/wider/3>.

⁸⁷ European Council on Foreign Relations, Ibid.

During the summit, the European Parliament also warns Turkish governments that the reintroduction of capital punishment should lead to a delay in a formal accession process, as Gianni Patella noted.⁸⁸

Moreover, the Republic of Cyprus issues with Turkey should be maintained on the basis of the criterion of Copenhagen. The European Convention on Human Rights should be fully respected on the group's issues in Turkey. The main dilemma for Turkey is the political dimension, which is contrary to European standards.⁸⁹

3.4.2 The Kurdish Issues and Turkey's EU membership

As mentioned earlier, one obstacle facing the Turkish EU application is the 'Kurdish Issue'. To understand this issue, it is necessary to know the history of the Kurds in Turkey. It is extremely necessary to include the EU in the understanding key factors for the internal debate on Kurds peoples in Turkey. According to the Turkish authorities, The Kurdish Issues in Turkey are constituted exclusively of non-Muslim societies, The European Commission considers that the Kurdish issues report was published with the support of the Human Rights Advisory Committee, which is a state body under the Prime Minister's office. The statement under discussion on the policy for Kurds and in particular highlighted the restrictive interpretation of the Lausanne Treaty.

The Commission recognizes that there has been a greater understanding of the use of Kurdish language in recent years, although there are still restrictions. Moreover, they also note that there have been improvements in social and cultural rights to give Kurdish peoples in Turkey. In the EU report on Turkey's accession by William Chislett, published in 2006 stated that, there are two local radios in Diyarbakir and Sanliurfa which had a permission to broadcast in Kurdish. However, broadcasting was limited to movies and music, time constraints apply, and all matters except for songs that should have a subtitled or translated into Turkish language.

⁸⁸ Avrupa Times, (2016), "EU temporarily freeze accession negotiations with Turkey", viewed 31 March 2017, from <https://www.avrupatimes.com/world/8769-eu-temporarily-freeze-accession-negotiations-with-turkey.html>.

⁸⁹ Raziye. (2015), "How Turkey's Economy Went from Flying to Flagging?" The Daily Telegraph, viewed 30 March 2017.

In addition, educational curriculum training and learning by Kurdish are not permitted. Notwithstanding, we found that the Turkish Public Television (TRT) broadcasts in five different languages, that also includes Kurdish in some Kurdish regions. However, the duration and scope of a program by TRT channel have last shortly. The EU Commission visited Ankara to talk about this issue with the government and notes that the positive statement by Prime Minister Erdogan to Diyarbakir in August 2005, which stressed the need to resolve what he described as the Kurdish issues with democratic means. There is virtually no dialogue between local authorities and politicians in the Southeastern part of Turkey.

In sum, the Commission noted that Turkey made several progress to support cultural rights and respect for and protection of Kurdish people in Turkey.⁹⁰ Firstly, there is no consensus over Kurdish issues representation in international stage. Lastly, the state that chooses which cultural groups want to give official status.⁹¹ Some Kurds have adopted Turkish culture over time. The theoretical debate on multiculturalism is largely a Western debate where the most important controversial issue. Multiculturalists argue that a group's rights are needed, while liberals believe that these organizations are better protected by liberal equality.

3.4.3 The Issue of Cyprus and Turkey's EU Accession

The Cyprus's issue is forms as an obstacle for Turkey to access the EU, and make the Greek and Turkish communities in Small Island of Europe like Cyprus are separation. The issue of Cyprus is one of the complicated issues in the EU's sixth because it has race and religious grounds. Looking back in 1974, when Greeks take their power in Cyprus's attempt and the Turkish peace operation on Cyprus. Greek Cypriot refugees made it to the Southern part of Turkey and then they had settled there, while Turkish Cypriots moved and headed to Northern part of the island. Many years later in, the Northern part of the island declared the formation of the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)'.⁹²

⁹⁰ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.178.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Euractiv, (2007), "*Turkey accession and Cyprus*", viewed 2 April 2017, from <http://www.euractiv.com/section/enlargement/linksdossier/turkey-accession-and-cy>

The 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was recognized by the government of Turkey only and thrown the part of this land into poverty and great corruption, while in the same time in the coastal tourism part of the island are produced prosperity from tourism. However, there has been efforts internationally to resolve this issue especially by the United Nations that need to bring Greek and Turkish Cypriot community to be back peaceful and take the leaders from the both side to the negotiating table to finding a common resolution to fix this issue, since the island has been divided. In 1974 and 1992, the general secretary of the UN, Kofi Annan offered a plan for 'reunification' by recommending such as 'A two-party federation' with a rotating presidency position in each round but it seems this plan are not working for both side and conflict still continue. In April 2004, there has a referendum between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots on the reunification but both side are refused support in a referendum, as the United Nations suggestion for to solve these problems. The fall of 'reunification' market the EU officials, which had allowed Greek Cyprus to join that year in part to address this push for a solution to the Cyprus issues and put pressure for Ankara government to came up in the table of negotiation (Euractiv, 2007)

In May 2004, when the Greek-Cypriot part of Cyprus joined the EU as a full member, EU leaders agreed to start negotiations again with Turkey in October 2005, to address the issue of Cyprus. One of the conditions was that Ankara proposes an association agreement with the EU's Economic Community under which there are ten member states of the Union.⁹³ A year later, Turkey adopted and signed a protocol to extend its EU-10 customs union, but as refer to the Euractiv report showed information that the conflict between them are cannot resolved yet as at the same time when Turkish government notice announcing that this agreement did not mean that it had approved the Republic of Cyprus to join this agreement. Meanwhile, the pro-EU unification candidate Mehmet Ali Talat was elected as the president of the TRNC. He replaced his deputy Rauf Denktaş, 81-year-old, and became the second president of the TRNC history and President Ali Talat was in a less favorable position to continue the discussion with his Southern counterpart. The presidential elections were scheduled for April 2010.

⁹³ Euractiv, Ibid.

This shows how Turkey has not complied by the principles to resolve this issue with the additional protocol agreement and it has not eliminated any obstacles and barriers to apply the free movement of goods and products, including restrictions on direct links with Greek Cyprus. Cyprus Foreign Minister and former EU Health Commissioner, Markos Kyprianou, explained on October 29, 2009 how Turkey's behavior in its relations with Greek Cyprus could have a not good impact on Turkey's EU candidacy. Some observers often suggest distribution is the best resolution. In April 2009, a poll conducted by the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (CyBC) showed that most Cypriot-Greeks supported separation.⁹⁴ In 2017, major publications in southern Cyprus noted that both sides are fine with the status quo, negotiating separation rather than reunification.⁹⁵

Several scholars have suggested the resolution to peace and decreasing the conflict in both Cyprus can only go to accomplished by both political elites side should have begun to come up to talk⁹⁶ and finding the common resolution to resolve the issues or followed the suggestion of former US Vice President Joe Biden and former Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yildirim who reaffirmed their strong support for adopting a solution based on a bi-zonal or bi-communal federation government.⁹⁷

3.5 Religious Background and the Culture Debate

Turkey has been part of the European history since the Ottoman Empire in the 14th century, and made a great impact on this region, whose rich cultural heritage are unique to Turkey.⁹⁸ The membership in the EU for Turkey is also an opportunity and the time to solve the issues around Turkey ranging from the Kurdish problem in Eastern part of the country and its will maintain and establish the new relations with Cyprus and Armenia on their issues. Moreover, as Turkey nowadays as a prosperous Muslim democracy

⁹⁴Cyprus Mail, (2017), "*Why the majority need partition,*" viewed 5 April 2017, from <http://cyprus-mail.com/2017/02/05/majority-want-partition/>.

⁹⁵Cyprus Mail, (2017), "*Our View: Time for a dramatic final act in the Cypriot saga*", viewed 5 April 2017, from <http://cyprus-mail.com/2017/03/26/view-time-dramatic-final-act-cyprob-saga/>

⁹⁶ Vogel, B., & Richmond, O. (2013). "*Enabling civil society in conflict resolution,*" Cultures of Governance and Conflict Resolution in Europe and India.

⁹⁷ Vogel, B., & Richmond, O., Ibid.

⁹⁸ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.181.

country in the world, Turkey the country as Islamic democracy will be clear as the model of a secular Islamic state for other Muslim nations that it will be good opportunities for the EU and increasing chance to reestablish the relationship with the Western world back to the Islamic world. However, even Turkey is showed them like a successful secular Muslim country but it's seem that the EU preferred the member that has the base of culture from Christian tradition more than other religion.⁹⁹

3.5.1 Is the European Union a ‘Christian club’?

Due to the Turkish cultural and historical background was considered to be part of Turkey accession to the EU, as many scholars have criticized the historical, political, social and cultural roots of Turkey by noting that it shares common ground with countries in Central Asia and the ME more than it does with Europe and that Turkey's cultural traditions are different from Christian Europe.¹⁰⁰

One important question on this issue is "Do many people think Europe is a Christian club?" And this assumption is possible as we can see now, Turkey remain are unsuccessful candidate member of the EU, many of researchers agreed with this statement and its quiet factual. In addition, this argument lies in the fact that Europe as a Christian region, so that the accession of Turkey to the Union will make Muslims in Europe increase in the future and finally, this will affect Christians in Europe.

Nowadays, Europe is filled with a variety of races, nationalities, colors and religious groups. Every year, more humans attempt to enter the EU Member States to look for good job opportunities and to build a new life in the Western world to get a better life quality in the European countries that is better than their countries of origin and other parts of the world. Among religious groups in Europe, the Muslim population has been rapidly increasing and Islam has become a fast spreading religion in Europe. The growth of Islam in Europe has led to increasing acceptance of Hijab, fasting during Ramadan and other spiritual practices of Muslims which have become significant in the European community

⁹⁹ Yükleven A, (2009), "*Compatibility of "Islam" and "Europe": Turkey's EU Accession,*" Vol. 11, No. 1, 2009, pp. 115-13., Insight Turkey.

¹⁰⁰ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.182.

too.¹⁰¹ For these reasons, would the EU accept that Turkey, a Muslim country as a full member, which will be affect the future of Europe? In addition, the EU has to examine and reflect on many policy issues towards Muslims in the future if they accept Turkey as a member. Above all, a stability and security that remains one of the most important issues such as terrorism in the EU and the world. It is necessary for EU member states to bring their attention to these issues. In particular, the Charlie Hebdo attack on January 7, 2015 have shocked the world and then the Paris attacks in November 2015, with ISIS taking responsibility for them.¹⁰²

The problem of Terrorism in Europe from Brussels bombings in March 2016 to the truck attack in Nice in July 2016 and the many bombings and attacks by a group of people who claim responsibility, who are ‘radicalized’ followers of ISIS and other terrorist Islamic groups. The most recent attack in Europe was at the Palace of Westminster in London, England in late March 2017.¹⁰³ ‘The 2017 Westminster Attack’ was carried out by Khalid Masood, a UK resident, by driving an automobile into pedestrians, fatally wounding a police officer there.¹⁰⁴ The flow and the growing tendency of Islamophobia and anti-Islam in Western countries has made the European perception of Islam more negative in the recent years. For this reason, Islamophobia spread like fire after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 in the US. Islamophobia has risen in frequency in the last ten years. For all these reasons, Muslims faced violence, hatred or intolerance, with the fear of Islam and Muslims increasing like never before.

3.5.2 The Future of the Global Muslim Population in Europe

The Muslim population of Europe increased due to having large families and a high growth population in addition to Muslim migration from conflict-torn countries in Middle East and Africa. A report showed that Muslims will be almost double in number with 4.5% (18 million people) in 2010 to over 7.1% (30 million people) in 2030. In addition, the Muslims community will increase nearly double their numbers in Europe soon – to

¹⁰¹ Yuhannan, Ibid, p.182.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Cheezburger, (2017), “*Westminster Attack*”, viewed 6 April 2017, from <http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/events/2017-westminster-attack>

¹⁰⁴ Cheezburger, Ibid.

more than 7.1% before 2030 and they will outnumber Christians all over the world by 2070, according to a new forecast. The countries of the European Union by 2030 will have even more Christians compared to other religions, according to the report. On the other hand, Muslim populations are expected to grow faster than any other religion, especially in Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa as Table 4 shows:

Table 4: shows Muslim population in Europe and forecast of Muslim population in Europe to reach 7.1% by 2030

EUROPE				
Number of Muslims in Selected Countries				
<i>Countries</i>	ESTIMATED MUSLIM POPULATION 2010	ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION THAT IS MUSLIM 2010	PROJECTED MUSLIM POPULATION 2030	PROJECTED PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION THAT IS MUSLIM 2030
Austria	475,000	5.7%	799,000	9.3%
Belgium	638,000	6.0	1,149,000	10.2
Denmark	226,000	4.1	317,000	5.6
Finland	42,000	0.8	105,000	1.9
France	4,704,000	7.5	6,860,000	10.3
Germany	4,119,000	5.0	5,545,000	7.1
Greece	527,000	4.7	772,000	6.9
Ireland	43,000	0.9	125,000	2.2
Italy	1,583,000	2.6	3,199,000	5.4
Luxembourg	11,000	2.3	14,000	2.3
Netherlands	914,000	5.5	1,365,000	7.8
Norway	144,000	3.0	359,000	6.5
Portugal	65,000	0.6	65,000	0.6
Spain	1,021,000	2.3	1,859,000	3.7
Sweden	451,000	4.9	993,000	9.9
Switzerland	433,000	5.7	663,000	8.1
United Kingdom	2,869,000	4.6	5,567,000	8.2
Total for these countries	18,267,000	4.5	29,759,000	7.1

Population estimates are rounded to thousands. Percentages are calculated from unrounded numbers.
 Figures may not add exactly due to rounding. Table shows 17 of the 50 countries and territories in Europe.

Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life • *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*, January 2011

Source: Pew Research Center, 2011

CHAPTER 4:
THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS AND POSSIBLE IMPACTS FROM TURKEY'S
MEMBERSHIP PERSPECTIVE

4.1 Introduction

The expansion is one of the major tools to expand a power, interests, benefit and enhance the security in the world. The EU is one of the organizations use this expansion tools to contributes their influence in terms of stability, security and conflict prevention to the region and the world. It has served to create opportunities for success and growth and to ensure transport and energy essential paths.”¹⁰⁵ Regarding the report of the European Commission titled ‘Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008’ clarified the significance of expansion to the EU.¹⁰⁶ Since its founding of the EU, now there have experienced six rounds of enlargement of the EU member that has increased from 6 countries member to right now 28 country members as declaration following:

“Today’s EU, with 28 Member countries and a population of close to more 500 million people, and much safer and richer, more powerful, and prominent more than the European Economic Community since started 50 years ago, its members and only 6 the population less than 200 Million.”¹⁰⁷

The contemporary EU extension plan, which involves states from the Western Balkans as well as Turkey showed that the EU’s aims to have substantial influence and a crucial role in the international stage. Even Turkey has been applied to be a member since the 1960s for to be a member of the union as described as in the introduction part (Chapter 1), and later Turkey began to accession negotiations with the EU in 2005, Turkey its became a nation on the crucial country in this plan. As a long journey of Turkey from the beginning until right now in 2017, so now Turkey’s accession prospect is will more distinct from previous enlargements round. Increasing the advantage of Turkey’s position on the EU plan and makes Turkey now it more alluring country for the EU.

¹⁰⁵ European Commission, (2007), “*Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008*,” viewed 5 January 2017, from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2007/nov/strategy_paper_en.pdf

¹⁰⁶ Yuhannan, Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ European Commission, “*Enlargement-The Policy*,” viewed December 16, 2016 from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/thepolicy/index_en.htm

Turkey, with its population of almost eighty million people, has a total area of 775,000 square kilometers, has geographic boundaries with EU countries and elsewhere in the Caucasus region as Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and close Arab countries like Syria, Iraq and Iran, and it is also the region of energetic economic in the world that is strategy economic located in both continents between Europe and Asia. Turkey has been nominated like a cultural bridge between the West and the East world; is a place for the gathering of the multicultural and great strategy of economic investment in the world. Moreover, the Turkish military has a substantial role in the region and a member of NATO to protect the common interest and benefit of the EU.

Nevertheless, country of a huge amount of Muslim population and would apply to be a member of EU society remain has many dilemma possibilities. It also became the most frequently debated over the years. One important aspect of Turkey's accession could have influenced over the EU in the coming future. Consequently, this leads to a number of questions, for example, Will the possible benefits of an accession outweigh the possible drawbacks for the EU?¹⁰⁸ This chapter investigates the connections of Turkey's future accession, how could Turkey contribute to the European Union on the common security dimension, the establishing stable for the EU in the region and as one of the powerful countries if accepted as a full member of the union, and how will Turkey possibly affects the EU institutions.

4.2 Potential implications of prospective Turkey's Membership on EU's collective Foreign and Security Policy

Since the beginning of the EU foundation, the union has increased its power through the international economic dimension and political scene to secure the union. The EU never stop any utmost goal just economic and political. However, its desire to bring a new strategic has figured and increased more significant roles on the international stage, diplomatic, economic and military. Consequently, there has given the EU one of the leading players in foreign policy around the world not just restricted only to their continent. In these happenings, EU enlargement nowadays has played a crucial role in

¹⁰⁸ Yuhannan, A. (2017), "*Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU's Enlargement Process*", International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches, Issue:1, Volume:1, July, 2017

forming foreign policy and its attempts to become an instrumental global actor. The extension means that the new member countries, will also bring the various security problems, growing neighbor's issues around, increasing the different markets, has a new political problem on how to use political power in new and larger geographic stages in international politics of the European Union.

In this study, it has been found that Turkey's accession to the EU is obvious. It will be affected the EU from either negative way or positive way. However, if we are looking at the possibility of 'EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)' in order to analyzes on this issues. It found that as Turkey was physically situated at the crossroads of three continents: Europe, Africa, and Asia. This great strategic position will make Turkey as a bridge to another Europe,¹⁰⁹ the Middle East, and Trans Caucasus Countries, it is a meeting place for the collaboration and integrated of different historical, cultures, race and various traditions.¹¹⁰ Moreover, forty years ago, when the French President's visit said:

“Here is Turkey, Strict Guardian Master of some of the gates through which, in this region of the globe, there will be peace, which can war, and as a result, possessing great and productive possibilities, but at worst, serious Opportunities also shown.”¹¹¹

As the speech of Charles de Gaulle, the former president of France had stated that Turkey's was a main significant position to make a valuable asset for European people and its culture. The prominent scholar like Barroso also indicated that the value of Turkey has been increasingly tremendously since the beginning of the Cold War. Although, some researchers found that in the period of post- the end of the Cold War, the importance of Turkey between the EU and the world has slightly decreased due to from weak of Turkey itself. Nevertheless, Turkey's importance has increased again once new and emerging negotiation of the country during the Ataturk era. In the region around Turkey particularly in the Middle East region; Turkey could have great contribution to regional stability

¹⁰⁹ Yuhannan, A. (2017), “Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU's Enlargement Process”, International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches, Issue: 1, Volume:1, July, 2017.

¹¹⁰ David A Davies, “*Friends at the Gate: Why Turkey Matters in U.S. and European Security*,” Newport, Rhode Island, The United States Naval War College, 3.

¹¹¹ José Manuel Durão Barroso, (2008), “*Turkey: Master of the Straits, Master of its Destiny*,” Turkish Grand National Assembly, Ankara.

efforts; and the growing geostrategic importance of Turkey in economic, military and political aspects of globalization.¹¹² Currently, the consequences for the CFSP in the foreground in analyzing on the matter of the potential impact for Turkey's accession to the EU is plausible and how this membership can contribute to the union instead.

In the case of Turkey's accession, the EU will become a direct neighbor of several nations which has a good relationship with Turkey from the East Caucasus to the South regional neighbor of Turkey. The disappearance of the regions near Turkey was represented by the following various aspects: during the Second Gulf War in the Middle Eastern region and the subsequent conflict in Iraq were due to Iran's claims. It needs to develop a nuclear weapons program, the conflict on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia in Caucasus region leading to the cause of Armenian control of Nagorno-Karabakh part and its close with Turkey border too. Moreover, the recent armed conflict that still continue between Georgia and Russia army make the instability in this region.

For Turkey, it is claimed that it will be the future member of the EU, having a near-border conflict with these neighborhood. This would possibly mean that it will bring the new security challenges and emerging issues in the future for the EU. In addition to the distribution of these problems, the EU should argue that a new development outside the borders is unclear, which cause the EU to reconsider and reformulate its foreign policy on this region, which has been extremely difficult for the EU, because these new policy operations could increase the possibility of different perspectives and perspectives within the EU. This situation could hinder the definition and development of a common policy. EU members could be classified into the general agreement, such as the Iraq crisis during 2002-2003. On the other hand, Turkey's accession to the EU will certainly provide positive way and several benefits for the EU's on Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which is one of the most common interesting policy among the EU members. Turkey's accession to the European Union will commence to extensively accelerate the possibility of EU policies over the world, particularly in the effective strategy and influential factor over several regions such as Muslim world as the Middle East. It is also

¹¹² Yuhannan, A. (2017), "*Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU's Enlargement Process*", International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches, Issue:1, Volume:1, July, 2017

claimed that it was covering both Asia and some countries in Sub Saharan in North Africa, the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Mediterranean region. Furthermore, Turkey's accession to the EU also means an instrument that could provide powerful foreign policy maker to resolve the issues around this region and manage all the issues, which had happened around these strategies region in the future ¹¹³

In this regard, it is imperative that it needs to get more explanation from the basic effectiveness made by the CFSP's policy. Because country under this policy also questions on this policy that the EU is aiming to become a dominant player in their countries under this plan? From the South to the East¹¹⁴ by allowing Turkish representative of EU to take advantage from this region. The answer regards to this question will be an essential part to be answered on this pros and cons of Turkey's accession to the union on EU's CFSP policy both the EU and neighborhood countries around Turkey. From the research found the another interesting policy that is the European Neighborhood Policy for Europe (ENP), this policy was set up in 2004, aiming of this policy plan are needed to limit the development of separation among the expanded EU new member and its neighbors of new member states. ¹¹⁵

As part of this endeavor, EU negotiations will potentially lead to political and diplomatic resolutions on many issues; for example, on the Iranian nuclear weapons issue, the Syrian civil war, and another crisis in these regions. This policy was one of the findings in the resolution to any conflict around the neighbor region such as the conflict in Caucasus region between Azerbaijan and Armenia, as well as the new contemporary struggle between Russia and Georgia¹¹⁶ that Russia claim and need to take over part of the Georgian. These are just a few examples of interests for the EU under influential policy plan. Military procedures conducted by the EU and its diplomatic and economic

¹¹³ Michael Emerson, Nathalie Tocci. (2004), "*Turkey as Bridgehead and Spearhead: Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy*," Centre for European Policy Studies, no.1 (2004): 8-10.

¹¹⁴ Kemal Derviş, Michael Emerson, Daniel Gros and Sinan Ülgen, (2004), "*The European Transformation of Modern Turkey*," Centre for European Studies.

¹¹⁵ European Commission, "*The Policy: What is the European Neighborhood Policy*," viewed 10 February 2017, from http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm

¹¹⁶ Yuhannan, A. (2017), "*Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU's Enlargement Process*", International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches, Issue:1, Volume:1, July, 2017

conditions in various parts of world relations are also important evidence of their desire to influence global player in the field of international politics. Given the EU's influence on the Eastern and Southern regions of Turkey, it is necessary to explore around Turkey and further analyze the potential impact of Turkey's participation in the dimension of EU foreign and security policy.

4.2.1 Turkey and Its Neighborhood on Foreign Policy Dimension

As a Turkey became more important on the international stage, Turkish politics and foreign policy towards neighboring nations has successfully become extremely significant not just only for Turkey as well as for the whole region. In this context, Turkey's relations with its neighbors is still positive and its increasing influence in the region explains why Turkey offers positive proposals in relation to the EU. Moreover, Turkey common benefits in Balkan countries has significantly played an essential geographic territory of both sides towards Turkey and the European Union together and it will increase the powerful negotiation for the EU.

4.2.1.1 Turkey's Role in the Western Balkans

In the present time, there are three nations in the Balkan which have the European Union's membership including; Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania. It has been well-known as the Western Balkan countries of the EU. Remembering of the influence of Ottoman-era over the Balkan region, it is realized that both the Ottoman Empire and Turkey played an important role in security and stability in this region.¹¹⁷ Turkey is an essential maker to making efforts for social improvement, restoration these countries and trying to make cooperative among nation to bring a stabilization and peace back to this continent. In addition, Turkey is a supporter of the EU's on many situations occurred to make stabilization and reconciliation under the EU policies, promote the acceptance of Western Balkan nations to the EU and the world, and significantly play a crucial role in finding the resolution to South East Europe conflict.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Yuhannan, A. (2017), "Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU's Enlargement Process", International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches, Issue:1, Volume:1, July, 2017

¹¹⁸ Commission of the European Communities, "Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective," Commission Staff Working Document, Brussel.

These are remarkable relationships of Turkey's which have attempted to helping in the region. Consequently, Turkey is a part of the union member is worthy and the perspective, leading to various positive consequences for the whole union. It could possibly promote the resolution of mutual conflict among Turkey and Greece dilemmas and good relations with Turkey with the Western Balkan countries. This will bring many advantages for the EU in nearly future and supported by Turkish government to bring the peace back for whole region, Turkey also act as a provider for the Balkan nations' membership in 'Association for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation'. It can be assumed that Turkey has ability and potential, could supply to the region's combination with the EU in the future.¹¹⁹

These are major implications that show how important Turkey's role in the region is. Turkey's EU future accession could have several positive consequences. It could promote the resolution of mutual conflict between Turkey and Greece. Turkey's relations with the Western Balkan aims to stabilize the region and the Balkan countries' accession bid to the Euro-Atlantic Association, it can be assumed that Turkey will could provide the combination of the region with the EU ¹²⁰

4.2.1.2 The Black Sea Region in Turkish Foreign Policy Strategy

The Black Sea is another important pillar in the EU foreign policy. The accession of Bulgaria and Romania during 2007 has expanded the European Union's borders¹²¹ to which Turkey has a strong influence too. Turkey's accession thus means the EU could extend its influence and power beyond the Black Sea region, which is essential in relation to energy, transport, fisheries, illegal immigration and the fight against crime organized by the founding of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). On the other hand, it was an initiator in the formulation of the Black Sea Black Sea region for EU's cooperation

¹¹⁹ Yuhannan, A. (2017), "Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU's Enlargement Process", International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches, Issue:1, Volume:1, July, 2017

¹²⁰ Sedat Laçiner, Mehmet Özcan and İhsan Bal, (2005), "The European Union With Turkey: Possible Impact of Turkey's Membership in The European Union," International Strategic Research Organization, Ankara.

¹²¹ Yuhannan, Ibid.

and ways to provide the implementation of community policy strategies in both Economic size and security in this region.¹²² Thus, the EU would expand its influence in that region.

4.2.1.3 Turkey's role and interests in the Caucasus and Central Asia

Regarding the South Caucasus region, for the accession of Turkey, the European Union would reach the border of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Turkey has recently conducted a 'Platform for Stability and Co-operation in Caucasus' which aims at bringing together Armenia, Georgia, Russia, Azerbaijan and Turkey to discuss various security and territorial concerns. If Turkey's is successful to be a part of the union in this context, Turkey considered as powerful countries in this part could give the EU a crucial role in Caucasus and Central Asia. Thanks to Turkey's accession, the EU could improve its relations with the oil-rich Caspian Sea countries, which are important for energy security of the EU in the future.¹²³

Looking to the Central Asia region, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in last Cold War, most of the countries in Central Asia and Caucasus have obtained their independences and has autonomy government. Turkey has become a significant player in the region again instead of Soviet, reconstruct their relationship, trying to connect Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan that has a same cultural and religious background like Turkey, so Turkey can bring them to back the connect the world and helping in economic restoration, establishing a stable political and also has a significant role in case of to bring security back to the region. Turkey has also helped these countries on many other platforms (The likely effects of Turkey's EU accession, 14) Turkey could thus be a channel for improving Central Asia's EU policies.¹²⁴

¹²² Emerson, Michael, Tocci, and Nathalie. (2004), "*Turkey as a Bridgehead and Spearhead: Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy. CEPS EU-Turkey,*" Working Papers No. 1, [Working Paper]

¹²³ Commission of the European Communities, "*Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective,*" Commission Staff Working Document, Brussel.

¹²⁴ Commission of the European Communities, *Ibid.*

4.2.1.4 Role of Turkey and EU-Russia relations

Turkey's member in restore of the relation between the EU and Russia by using Turkish connection to compromise both sides because Turkey seems to get well along with for both sides. Despite Turkish and Russia historical and political problems, it has ever arisen in the past, such as they are in stay in opposite side during the Cold War and competition in extending common interests in Central Asia and the Caucasus nations. However, from many situations showed that relationship between Turkey and Russia seems positive. Economic signs showed that the flourishing relationships combining to the two countries. Nowadays, from the research showed in statistics, Russia is Turkey's second trading partner in economic after Germany and the increase of investment from both sides. Following Turkey's accession, relations with Russia could be enhanced and showed the importance in the fight against energy interests within the region are more less and the EU can expansion their influence in the Caucasus and Central Asian countries ¹²⁵

4.2.1.5 Turkey's power in the Mediterranean region

Discussion about the Mediterranean region and how important of Turkey for this continent, several studies found that Turkey's accession would be an important constituent and contributing factors for increasing the EU-Mediterranean on partnership discussion, the EU could improve cooperation with the Southern Mediterranean countries in political, social, economic, cultural, and migration issues that are of interest to the region.

4.2.1.6 EU-Turkey Relations in the Context of the Turkey's Model Role in the Middle East and Muslim World

As a continuation of the conflict within the Middle East, one of the regions that has a big issue to resolve the conflict, and rectify the difficulty of the world in bringing security and stable which has turned to the table of conflict management. It is cleared that the EU and the global legal practitioner do not have to deal with the region. Within the accession

¹²⁵ Commission of the European Communities, *“Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective,”* Commission Staff Working Document, Brussels.

of Turkey, EU borders would spread influences to Iran, Iraq, Syria and other Muslim countries, particularly in the Middle East. Turkey and the EU have a mutual agreement that the Iranian nuclear issue need to be handled through a diplomatic solution, the demand of improvement in order to promote democracy in Iraq.¹²⁶ According to the European Commission, “Turkey has an important role to play in stabilizing and restoring Iraq”.¹²⁷ Turkey played an important role in addressing EU concerns. These concerns include the spread of democratic values in the region, energy security, the settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, and the Iranian nuclear dilemma.¹²⁸

Turkey will be essential for EU relations and grow a good relationship with the countries of the Islamic Society all over the world not just only in the Middle East region as well as the whole world that Islam was settled down. Furthermore, over the years, Turkey has been able to build strong and integrated relations with Western and Eastern countries with more extend on various cooperation. Being part of some international and regional organizations, Turkey could aid and help manage the conflict in these Muslim countries. Turkey is a member of organizations such as NATO, OECD and the Council of Europe.¹²⁹

Moreover, Turkey is a member in international organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), most of its members are Muslim nations. Therefore, membership will allow Turkey to have close ties with both Western and Islamic nations. It has been evident that Turkey played an important role as a country that could diminish the conflict in management in the world serving as a real bridge between the Western and Eastern worlds. One purpose for this, Emerson and Tocci, emphasize, in particular, is Turkey’s Membership in the OIC.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Yuhannan, A. (2017), “Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU’s Enlargement Process”, *International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches*, Issue:1, Volume:1, July, 2017

¹²⁷ Commission of the European Communities, *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ For more perspectives in these regards see Philipp O. Amour, “Israel, the Arab Spring, and the Unfolding Regional Order in the Middle East: A Strategic Assessment,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 293–309, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2016.1185696>.

¹²⁹ EUR-Lex, “Convention against corruption involving officials,” viewed 4 April 2017, from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV:l33027>

¹³⁰ Yuhannan, A. (2017), “Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU’s Enlargement Process”, *International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches*, Issue:1, Volume:1, July, 2017

Turkey could become an asset for European countries when it comes to deepening their relationships with the Muslim World.¹³¹ Additionally, the World Economic Forum in Turkey's report entitled '*Connecting Regions, Creating New Opportunities*'¹³² mentioned that Turkey is a 'bridge of various civilizations' and explained its possible role in future prospects which can be extremely important for the whole region. Moreover, the country can simply distribute the knowledge gained over time on the differences between the Orient and the Occident as well as the connections over another country, it can further sustain a culture of dialogue, political and religious in its continent.

Turkey, a democratic country with a predominant Muslim community, and be part a member of international organization of Muslim world as a member of the European Union. This will deliver and confer the right aspect to the Western world and Muslim world at the same time to reduce their conflict of cultural and tradition of people between Muslim and other religion, as well as the philosophy like Samuel Huntington, he discussed on the one famous theory called the 'Clash of Civilizations' this they use to describe and demonstrate that the Union of Europe is not just only a 'Christian Club' because the social was made from various stories, culture, and traditions of people in society and it can prove that 'Western countries have no unusual predominance against Islam'. If the EU can do what it should provide the benefits, it will certainly lead to a prospective balanced solution in conflict among the West and the Islamic world, also lead to the economic, political and cultural development in the region.

4.2.2 Turkey and the European Union's Common Security

Turkey acts as a crucial frontier of Europe as their territories, which are located in the Middle East and the Caucasus region for the EU.¹³³ According to instability of the regional settlement, these regions remain unstable and conflicts still going on in multiple parts of the continent, for example in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Georgia- Russia, Armenia- Azerbaijan etc. Over the years, Turkey has achieved the improvement of their security

¹³¹ Emerson, Michael and Tocci, Nathalie. (2004), "*Turkey as a Bridgehead and Spearhead: Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy. CEPS EU-Turkey*" Working Papers No. 1, [Working Paper]

¹³² Yuhannan, Ibid.

¹³³ Yuhannan, A. (2017), "*Possible Impacts and Potential Benefits from Turkey in the EU's Enlargement Process*", International Journal of Strategic and Social Researches, Issue:1, Volume:1, July, 2017

and stability with their neighborhood due to increasing and prepare of military force, have modern and effective weapons. As the prospects of questionable inquiries, Turkey would be one of the flourished sources of protection for the European Union. Looking back to during the Cold War, Turkey has predominantly become an active role in NATO's security against the Soviet Union expansion in the region; however, even nowadays, it is the end of the Cold War, but Turkey continued to play significant roles in combating the military actions proposed to resolve the dilemmas in the Balkans, Middle East, Back sea region and in various parts of the world, such as in Afghanistan, Palestine dispute and Iraq and in far East like the minority problem on Rohingya people in Arakan state on Burma

As Sinan Ülgen has written study entitled, "Turkey participated in the mission of the military and civilians of Constanta", it showed that Turkey became intimate with the EU on security operations issues.¹³⁴ With many proven factors around such as the big defense funds of Turkish government on protection and its well-qualified military forces, one of the largest of NATO's European officers. Turkey's accession to the European Union would bring about a vital increase in EU military capabilities and the development of military force of the EU.¹³⁵ Moreover, Turkey's member would be valuable to EU in efforts to decreasing the insurgency around the global. According to the 'European Security Strategy of the European Union', in efforts to resolve various global issues, development of people in insurgency state, created the education institution and demolish such a big threat to Europe and the world like terrorism issues and also to finding the resolution for other regional struggling to make a Union is 'more efficient, coherent and capable.'¹³⁶

These threats represented and showed how the importance of Turkey's EU membership. As mentioned earlier, as Turkey's accession to the EU, it was not only contribute a geographically closer between West and East are closer but it also helped as the active

¹³⁴ Baç, "Turkey Accession to the EU: It's Potential Impact on Common European Security and Defense Policy," 26-27.

¹³⁵ Emerson and Tocci, "Turkey as Bridgehead and Spearhead: Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy"

¹³⁶ Javier Solana, (2003), "A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy", Administrators of State and Government at the European Council.

actor to decreasing issues around the region such as terrorism, illegal immigration issues, drug and human trafficking which have been continuously flowing to Europe, as the gained experience that Turkey accepted over the years in management on these threats making Turkey's accession. This would also indicate that the means of the full harmonization of their goals with those of the EU in the fight against these threats.¹³⁷ Furthermore, Turkey's accession does not mean that the contingency of the EU may result only positive way, help to decrease the global threats. However, Turkey territory, where lies between the EU and its Southern part, will be a big gateway of the EU via infrastructure budding through the road, railway line, naval, gas and oil pipelines way to the continent. Turkey's accession would allow the chance for the EU to handle these modes of transport and other important aspects.¹³⁸ In this context, Turkey's access to the EU will show the prosperity of the EU more secure in the field of energy security in the future.¹³⁹

4.3 Possible Economic Impact of Turkey's EU accession

The economic dimension is another perspective of Turkey's accession to the EU, several studies were conducted on possible effects of Turkey's membership, and situational matters broadly discussed through all EU government, and became the main important issues as a Turkey economy growing rapidly. This was an immense impact for both Turkey and all EU citizen. As Turkey initiated Completed membership negotiations on October 4, 2005, there have been underlined that the possibilities of investigations on the economic and association values of this were varied. The assessments regularly focused on the macroeconomic and budgetary impacts on the EU economy, particularly how much of the Turkish migration flow into other EU countries. Due to the fact that these issues are most significant perspectives of Turkey's possible accessions which required to examine in the research. This also was the potential economic consequences by Turkey

¹³⁷ Commission of the European Communities, *"Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective,"* Commission Staff Working Document, Brussel.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Meltem, Müftüleri, Baç, & Deniz Başkan, (2011), *"The Future of Energy Security for Europe: Turkey's Role as an Energy Corridor,"* Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 47, No. 2, 361–378.

for the EU which can be considered at this stage to finding out more about how the impact on Turkey on EU's economic.

4.3.1 The Macro-Economic Influences of Turkey's Inclusion

According to World Banking Statistics 2015, Turkey was the main territory with its 717,880 Million Dollars of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and More than eighteenth of the world's biggest country. In the list of Five countries of the EU members: Germany with its 3,363,447 million dollars (4th on the list), France, 2,418,836 million dollars (6th), Italy, 1,821,497 million dollars (8th), Spain, 1,199,057 million dollars (14th), and Netherlands, 750,284 million dollars (17th).¹⁴⁰ Even many research was considering its large population of Turkey, and their per capita GDP remained lower than that of other EU-28 countries when brought to calculation of statistical measurement. According to World Bank 2015 figures, GDP in Turkey at nominal value (\$ 9,125.7) was only bigger than the two last arrivals in the EU, such as Romania (\$ 8,972.9) and Bulgaria (\$ 6,993.5).

During this period, Turkey has seen an economic revolution and had more access to international trade stage and has comfortable in foreign direct investment and also Belke was stress in his study that Turkey has achieved a sustainable growth and macroeconomic stability.¹⁴¹ However, Turkey now economic become strong as many study results show that even GDP of Turkey when to bring to compare with other the countries in the EU, but there have many reasons that Turkish economic will not be affected the EU in the near future. However, it should not be identified as a cause for concern for Turkey's accession to the European Union. Therefore, a strong core member countries now such as Italy, Spain, and Greece, with continued failure to maintain stabilities and growths in economic expansion while the applicant member like Turkey economic were still expanding even Turkey also got suffered from the economic crises. However, it's economic which can be considered as very big and large in agricultural sector and other economic activities, can fully contribute Turkey remain a stable in economic field.

¹⁴⁰ The World Bank, (2017), "*Gross Domestic Product*," viewed 5 April 2017, from <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf>

¹⁴¹ Ansgar, Ibid.

Several point of views showed that Turkey was probably involving in a period of prosperity during which were the real income differential per capita. In this case, if it confronted with some EU countries that will be reduced to a significantly lower level. So, the economic debate on Turkey will provide a chance for the adhesion of Turkey to the EU. Since Turkey has initially begun the fundamental reforms in 2001, for the duration of the proceedings, it has been decided that the procedure for the negotiation of the accession of the member states should be accompanied by the policy maker. However, the main challenge in economic dilemma and prospect for Turkey accession to the EU is the remarkable 'heterogeneity' of the Turkish economy.

4.3.2 Demographic Impact of Turkish Labor Migration to the EU

Regarding to demographic issues, in contrast, the growing of Turkish demographic issues are becoming important aspect for expanding the economic activity and several businesses in the EU. Due to the fact that the growth of Turkish demographic structure with an increasing proportion of working age is a definitive benefit and increases important opportunities for both Turkey and the EU. In addition, the unemployment of workers rate in rural areas, worker women issues now were diminishing in Turkey. In essence, it can be a major change in more productive actions in a positive way for the EU industry and services business like a hotel, airline, and other services in variety of career fields. These factors may consider for further expansion of Turkish GDP per capita and it will be the great advantages of joining economic of both regions, Europe and Asia. The profit outcome from Turkey membership on demographic issues was important than just only focus on the labor issues that will flee from Turkey to move and will take a job in the EU countries as with benefits from very different factors produced by Turkish member. Finally, it was also possible to advance the total productivity of factors by increasing technological changes, increasing direct foreign investment (FDI) in the EU.

Several studies showed a common evaluation of Turkey has the potential to grow in economic activity faster than EU member countries in this era. Moreover, its economy is considerably higher than that of EU countries now. Turkey is characterized by demographic dynamism. The workforce in Turkey continues to find rising rates of more than one percentage point at least one generation. In contrast, work tends to shrink in

many CEECs (Central and Eastern European Countries) so compare to Turkey now are becoming better. In addition, Turkey's working age population is up, ready for economic expansion and will faster than the total of population. This is a good sign for Turkish economic and it's will be affected in positive ways for the EU economic labor issues in the future too.

4.3.3 Free Movement of Capital in the Context of Turkey's EU Candidature

Since Turkish workers in the EU were given a full freedom of movement, the provisions contained in these legal documents should be considered as an implementation of prosperity in order to provide the radical movement of Turkish workers in future. There is some information indicated by the experience gained in the EU to ramification that the level of immigration anticipated for workers before enlargement has not been achieved. Additionally, it is not as plausible as the EU expected. Due to the labor markets, there were not seriously affected by the free movement of labor from lower level economic countries like Bulgaria, Romania or Poland, in contrast, the members of EU countries seem enjoyable with a wide range of different economic benefits from the lower level country labor to increasing economic performance for their country.

It is estimated that the future of the independent movement of Turkish workers in the EU will be subjective evidence to transitional arrangements and it will be longer than the countries which have applied the new EU members. However, imposing permanent restrictions on workers' movement does not seem acceptable. In fact, discussing the issue of Turkey's accession to the EU without allowing Turkish workers to work in the EU markets could be translated as a lack of interest of allowing Turkey to join the EU. It could also be explained that the introduction of permanent protection conditions for the free movement of Turkish. In essence, workers would not be so clear that this fundamental right to free movement within the European Union's citizenship. Moreover, candidates for the enlargement countries of the former EU have adopted such a restrictive measurement to assess their accessibilities to the EU.

Therefore, the principle of equal treatment is violated. Even if Turkish citizens become EU citizens, as members of the EU, they cannot mobilize freely in the sustainable markets of the old EU Member States. On the contrary, Turkish workers are willing to participate

and get the right to the freedom of movement they deserve. Given the economic indicators and the labor market situation in Turkey compared to European standards, it is very likely that the transitional regime for Turkey's accession must be the same as the previous ones, such as Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and others previous candidate countries.

4.3.4 Potential impacts on agricultural commodity markets

The agricultural section remains an important indicator in the Turkish economy and it has brought Turkey as a leading country to be strenuous in agriculture field in the world as well as the EU membership. Turkey agricultural section is very comparable with other CEECs since a significant part of the workforce is formally employed in agriculture businesses and the agricultural sector. One-third of the Turkish worker is employed in this sector, so make Turkish agriculture sector became comparatively strong. However, it was representing only less than 12% of GDP. Compared with other countries in the European Union, it shows the low productivity of the worker in this sector, it seems not too much has efficient on tremendous workers or and potential workers.

However, an obscurity of lacking in the differentiation of other candidate in various countries is shown that Turkey has excess trade in EU agricultural products. The principal reason is that Turkey has been environmental features such as pleasant weather, make country become one of the great agriculture activities in the regional area. Moreover, Turkey gets priority to export their agriculture products, for instance, fruits, vegetables, and dried fruits, which can be delivered to the EU. It is evident that the EU does not significantly control imports and some product, Turkey was exempt from pay tax for exportation.

4.4 The Possible Impact of Turkey's Membership on EU Institutions

The possible consequences of Turkey's membership of the EU are the serious critique in the EU matter, because as large of Turkish territory from North to South is very big than most the EU nations, demographic of Turkish civilization can be measured as having tremendous population in the level of higher than another's EU nations, and power of Turkey in political and international stage role etc. Most all will be affected on the EU institution in coming future. The size of the Turkish demographic would be one of the

acceptable explanations of defining in terms of the extent of these consequences. Turkey's membership will bring to changing the portion and position of the important seats in the European Parliament. In addition, according to data from the Lisbon Treaty, Turkish member in parliament would have an impact by majority vote, which would be based on the dual majority system, 55% of EU countries and 65% of the EU population that is mean Turkish people have more chance to vote people from their country and will be more influential than another EU country. However there has some a new rule setting by the EU as a decisions could be avoided for a minimum of four nations ¹⁴² because this system would limit and decrease the power of high population countries, so its mean Turkey could not use much power and strength in decision-making because of their huge population. The demographic impact would be much more significant when merged with other densely populated minority.¹⁴³

4.5 The Impact of Islamophobia on Turkey's Candidature of European Union

The EU is supposed to accept Turkey as a member to prove it is not an Islamophobia "Christian Club."¹⁴⁴ The question on the matter is If Turkey becomes a member of EU is a great opportunity for the EU to prove that EU is not a Christian club or not? This remains one of the interesting questions to several people, especially, Turkish people who doubt on this issue. Turkish President also said that the EU must accept Turkey as a member to prove that EU is not a "Christian club."

"We are testing Europe and see will Europe be able to digest and to accept Turkey, whose main population are Muslims? If you oppose Islamophobia, then you must accept Turkey into the EU"

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Yet, many of the leaders of the European Union try to say that 'the European Union is not a Christian club,' but in case Turkey's join to the European Union was showed that

¹⁴²Foundation Robert Schuman, (2007), "*The Lisbon Treaty, ten easy-to-read facts sheets*," viewed 25 March 2017, from www.robert-schuman.org/doc/divers/lisbonne/en/10fiches.pdf

¹⁴³ European Commission, (2004), "*Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective*", p. 45-46, Brussels.

¹⁴⁴ Sputnik, (2015), "*Turkey Pressures EU with Membership Ultimatum*," viewed 5 March 2017, from <https://sputniknews.com/politics/201501241017307947/>

¹⁴⁵ Jordan Schachtel, (2015), "*EU Is an 'Islamophobic Christian Club' If They Refuse Us Entry: Turkish Press Erdogan*," viewed 8 Mach 2017, from <http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2015/01/26/eu-is-an-islamophobic-christian-club-if-they-refuse-us-entry-turkish-pres-erdogan/>

EU cannot prove themselves. Moreover, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said in the Republic of Djibouti where he presented remarks on a range of foreign policy concerns, that Turkey's future did not depend on membership,¹⁴⁶ asserting:

“Will Europe be able to digest and accept Turkey, where people are Muslim, If you are opposed Islamophobia, then you must admit Turkey into the EU, and If EU not accepts Turkey as a member, their status as a Islamophobia Christian club remains unquestionable.”¹⁴⁷

4.6 Turkey and the EU: Current Challenges and Future Prospects

According to the academic article entitled ‘Moving closer to a reset, Turkey and the EU in 2017, written by Joost Lagendijk, he was stressed that Turkey and the EU will have entered difficult times, as a result of the refugees crisis in Europe and since March, 2016, when both sides reached agreement and can get the final deal on refugees crisis manage that the EU call for Turkey need to stop open Turkish- EU border for decreasing the fleet of migrants attempting to access Europe from Turkey.

However, current issues remain problematic. Both sides cannot possibly resolve their problem on common agreement, while refugee continues to use Turkey for transfer to the EU countries, the EU also cannot provide the amount of money to resolve this issues, leave Turkey to face the problem alone. Furthermore, both relationships are more increasing serious situation after coup attempt.

Although both sides are continuously facing difficulties, several analyzed confidential evidence which can be acknowledged for possibility that neither Turkey nor the European Union unwilling to come closer to the accession negotiations process since they began in 2005 till 2017. However, in the current studies, there has numerous signs which can demonstrate Turkey will be part of the union since Turkey managed responsibly the refugees' problem. Turkey and the EU came up to do working together and supported a generous reduction of refugees arriving in Greece and another part of the EU, promised financial assistance to Turkey in the refugee problem, allow visa waiver for Turkish citizens, and bring Turkey accession negotiations process to the table.

¹⁴⁶ Jordan, Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Wright, (2016), “Reality Check: How soon can Turkey join the EU?”, BBC News, Brussels

On the visa lifting matter for Turkish, even since 2013, Turkey promised to get a lifting visa to visit the EU countries as Turkey is ready and pass all condition rule but lifting visa process remain delay until 2017. The EU give the plausible reason that Turkey is getting new dilemma, particularly on the terrorism issues, there have many bombs in many big cities as the terrorist attack like İstanbul, İzmir, and capital Ankara. The EU call to Turkey to needs develop and resolve on terrorism issues, but it did not go down well in Turkey, the situation and attack from the terrorist group are going on. Due to Turkish governments have clarified that they were unwilling to deal with this legislation when the country was living the terrorist attacks on the Islamic State (IS). Consequently, this is the reason why the EU are not lifting the visa exemption for Turkey as previous common agreement and the negotiation process are going on.

4.6.2 The future of EU-Turkey Relations

Since failing of Turkey trying to the EU since 2005, the Turkish president acknowledges that membership is unwilling to be a card anymore. It seems uncontroversial that Turkey became the countries which will never give up on the negotiation process even they trying too hard to pass all requirement and condition authorized by the EU. However, it will consider that several implementations will be taken into consideration for years. Meanwhile, Turkey requires Europe's support to overcome existing problems but country now has stability security in economic and the basic infrastructure, agricultural section becomes modern and labor rate slightly decreasing over years, in addition, minimum wage on Turkey now are better than some EU countries.

In consequence from a Turkish perspective, improving customs union to the EU integration could be the right alternative for the country that enables ensuring Turkey's economic stability in the future. However, it was cleared that the refugee crisis has still been existed, ensuring that their risk is the most critical security Europe can be managed in cooperation with Turkey, the EU disagreement of requirement in troublesome or worrying on the migrant's issues to Europe. Unless they give priority visa only for Turkish people, they do use common territory. This new alliance partnership agreement would give both sides to more an active economic. And made Turkey strategic ties more closely with Europe.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

Turkey has long been willing to participate to the EU community for several years from the beginning till now. It is one of the countries that have sought to join the EU from the past to the present. However, efforts to join the EU are still unsuccessful due to various dilemmas and limitations of Turkey's commitment, in terms of the political, social, economic and cultural identities of Turkey itself. This study found that Turkey's problems in joining the EU ranging from the current political problems in democratic breakdowns, violation Kurdish issue, economic dilemma and its dilemma identity in the religious and cultural dimension of Turkey. This has brought to the consequence that the EU member countries will not likely to show the effective prosperity in the future. Based on the findings of this investigation, the EU may benefit from acceptance the Turkey candidate if EU will ultimately accept Turkey's EU membership on social, strong economic, political and security matters.

5.2 Conclusion

The difficulty for Turkey to be part EU continue even Turkey able to follow all the chapter rule that setting by the EU. The issue of Kurds in Turkey, the Cyprus conflict and recent and past problem between Turkey government and Greece are challenges to Turkey's EU membership. The issue of demography and geography of Turkey itself, the political discussion that many permanent members are don't accept Turkey and blamed that Turkey is not a considered European country. About the economic predicament. Even nowadays, Turkey's economy had improved, although from several statistics reveal that Turkish's GDP remains less than a half of the all member of EU countries average. In addition, on this research found that the matter of Turkey identity, history, and culture are also one of important debatable discussion on the solving negotiations among the EU-member states. Additionally, Turkey's historical and cultural origins slept and seem like the culture of people in Central Asia and the Middle East more than to shared communal experiences with Europeans. By this reasons that it will be affected the European society in the future. However, many scholars, especially from Turkey classified the EU as a Christian club.

5.2.1 Arguments for and against Turkey's EU membership

The “geographical and demographical discussion” is one of the big dilemmas for Turkey to access the EU. Turkey is one of the countries of the great strategies and became an important of meeting place for over two continents between Europe and Asia, however the crucial point that Turkey is not specifically mentioned as European country. Since most of the territory of Turkey is lie in Asia. The other one from demographic effects is the current immigrant crisis of Syrian refugee flees to Turkey, nowadays, the Syrian migrant crisis makes Europe suffer and become a major problem. The outcome of Syrian refugees leads to the European public opinion against Turkey to join the member and head to extend the EU's participation for Turkey. Another demographic dilemma is that the EU member is concern that Turkish immigrants will enter Western Europe after they got the free visa from the EU. By 2020, based on predictable statistics, Turkey will be the biggest country, with around 15 percent of Turkish population in the EU compared with entire EU population.

The other dilemma is from the ‘economic dialectic’ even the Turkish economy had grown up, and it seems much better than some European nations and capital income have increased. However, Turkish economic are remains behind the average of most of EU nation. The economic status of Turkish people is dissimilar between wealthy and poor people in their country, one of this reason, if EU acceptance Turkey as a member, the large of poor immigrants from the rural part of the country will be moving forward to finding a job in EU countries. However, when it comes to EU membership, as the information is analyzed, Turkey's economic position is likely to be similar to some of the new EU member states, a growth that should be accepted without incertitude.

Another provocative issue of Turkey joining to the EU comes from the ‘political debate’ as Turkey is a powerful partner of the member of NATO and a regional leader power of the Middle East. Turkey still has big regional issues with Cyprus and Greece this also will bring a conflict between the European Community in the future. In the last current major dilemma found in this research is ‘the religious background and identity of Turkey itself, even Turkey is a part of the history of Europe since Ottoman, whose rich cultural heritage and traditions are unique with European people. The President of Turkey Recep Tayyip

Erdoğan blamed that EU is not accepting Turkey as member regularly because of “EU is the Christian club.” Most of the debate above are the reasons against for Turkey to access the EU member.

5.2.2 The Potential Benefits, Possible Impacts, and Challenges from Turkey's membership perspective.

It has been extensively studied and discussed on “the potential benefits, possible impact and challenges” wherever accept Turkey as a part of the EU membership. Turkey has the EU’s goal of being more powerful and have substantial influence and power on the international scene. Turkey, with its population of more than eighty million, has geographical boundaries with EU countries and elsewhere in the Caucasus, the Middle East and Central Asia. Turkish politics towards its neighborhood has been significant not only for Turkey itself but also for the whole region and could contribute to the common foreign policy of the EU.

Regarding the southern Caucasus region, for the accession of Turkey, the European Union would have possibly reached a border with Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Turkey’s enthusiasm to resolve conflicts in these regions and their attempts to bring security and stability to the area. Looking at Central Asia region is concerned, Turkey has become a significant compromise in the Central Asian countries connecting with the rest of the world. As for Turkey’s ongoing relationship with the Western Balkan countries, their attempts to stabilize the region and the accession of Balkan countries to the Euro-Atlantic Association, it can be assumed that it could provide the complexity of combination in the region with the European Union. In addition, the Black Sea is another major issue of EU foreign policy. Besides Turkey’s membership, the European Union would have overseen the entire coast of the Western and Southern Black Sea. In this way, the EU could extend its influence and power beyond the Black Sea.

Finally, the most important prospects for the European Union are the role model in Turkey in the Middle East and the Muslim world. By the accession of Turkey, EU borders extend the influence of Iran, Iraq, Syria and other Muslim countries of the Middle East. Turkey

and the EU agree on reaching a diplomatic solution to the Iranian nuclear program and promoting democracy in Iraq. In these circumstances, as an outstanding player of Turkey could be potential to work for stabilize the region. Turkey could be an important factor in promoting EU concerns. These interests include the spread of democratic values in the region, and energy security.

Turkey's accession also would be essential for EU to creates the relationship with the Islamic countries all over the world not just either the Middle East or MENA region but all the whole of the Muslim world will become are more cooperative with the Western world. From many studies, there have been tremendous evaluations that have been ignited as a secular and democratic state with a Muslim-majority community like Turkey has become a member of the EU.

5.2.3 Possible Economic Impact of Turkey's EU accession

The possible benefits and economic values of this membership have been highlighted. The Commission is of the opinion that it is important to ensure that the community and the member states are in a position to regulate their economic activities in the light of the macroeconomics of the EU economy. In essence, turkey is considered as the young country of Turkey in the EU, the dynamic population and possible migrations from Turkey pass to other EU countries, Turkish Accession to the EU. The Macroeconomic impacts of Turkey's accession. Several points show that Turkey is probably now in a period of prosperity during which the real income differential per capita if it confronts with some EU countries that will be significantly diminished to a proportionately lower level. Therefore, the economic debate on Turkey will give you the adherence of Turkey to the EU, you must politically.

Moreover, Turkey will need further investigation to implement a large-scale of economic reforms. The contributing process of accession is going to be implemented, pursued in order to support the industrial and economic development of Turkey and shall contribute to the further development of the Turf, insofar as it provides for the development and established interests and compositions of both Turkey and the EU.

5.3 The Future of EU-Turkey Relations

After August 2017, the relation both the EU and Turkey will start to change a quickly. In Germany, where parliamentary elections took place in September, Merkel would be happy to start a new debate on relations with Turkey, because e they needed to get a more vote from German-Turkish voters to win an election. In Turkey, the AKP-government reach a high position and presented a new plan and projects after passed and won in the referendum during April 2017. Moreover, rebuilding Turkey's system of democracy will move Turkey to the new stage and its depend on the characteristics of democracy in Turkey or Turkish rule of law which means the future will see the creation of effective ways by Europe to assist Turkey to be part of the European Union.

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