THE EUROPEAN UNION ENLARGEMENT AND TURKEY:
A CULTURAL APPROACH

ŞAHİKA SUSUZLU

JANUARY 2008

THE EUROPEAN UNION ENLARGEMENT AND TURKEY:

A CULTURAL APPROACH

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

OF

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

BY

ŞAHİKA SUSUZLU

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ART

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JANUARY 2008

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____
Prof. Dr. Tunçdan Baltacıoğlu
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Art.

_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Filiz Başkan
Head of Department

This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Art.

_____
Asst. Prof. Dr. Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

(Title and Name in alphabetical
    order of last name)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Filiz Başkan   _____

Asst. Prof. Dr. Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu   _____

Asst. Prof. Dr. Işık Gürleyen   _____

....   _____

....   _____

ABSTRACT

THE EUROPEAN UNION ENLARGEMENT AND TURKEY:
A CULTURAL APPROACH

Susuzlu, Şahika

MA, Department of European Studies

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu

January 2008, 138 pages

This thesis aims to analyze the common cultural values that hold the EU together. The effect of European identity on Turkey – EU relationship is examined. The EC was founded because of economic expectations but with the end of the Cold War and break down of East Europe from the USSR, identity issues began to rise as a consequential subject. The satisfaction in the economic expectations resulted with the increase in the authority of the EU as a supranational organization. At present, EU has twenty seven members. Therefore, a common culture is needed to hold the union together and to create a sense of belonging to the EU. The influence of historical and religious values on forming a European identity is examined. How does Europe perceive Turks throughout history? Why does European Union hesitate to embrace Turkey? What diversifies Turkey from the EU in the cultural aspect? The effect of cultural values on Turkey – EU relationship is analyzed. The discourses of important political leaders and thinkers on the importance of common cultural heritage and their comments on Turks and Turkey's membership process are presented.

Key Words: Social Constructivism, European Enlargement Process, European Identity, Culture, History, Religion, the role of othering

ÖZET

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ GENİŞLEME SÜRECİ VE TÜRKİYE:
KÜLTÜREL YAKLAŞIM

Susuzlu, Şahika

Avrupa Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans, Avrupa Çalışmaları Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu

Ocak 2008, 138 sayfa

Bu tez, Avrupa Birliği'ni bir arada tutan ortak kültürel değerleri incelemeyi hedefler. Avrupa kimliğinin Türkiye – AB ilişkilerine etkisini irdeler. Avrupa Topluluğu ekonomik beklentiler sonucu kurulmuştur ancak Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesi ve Doğu Avrupa'nın Sovyetler Birliği'nden ayrılması ile kimlik konuları önemli olmaya başlamıştır. Üye devletlerin ekonomik beklentilerinin karşılanması daha fazla yetkinin Avrupa Birliği'ne devredilmesini ve uluslar üstü bir organizasyon halini almasını sağlamıştır. Günümüzde Avrupa Birliği yirmi yedi devletten oluşmaktadır. Bu sebeple, organizasyonu bir arada tutabilmek için ortak kültürel kimlik ve aidiyet hissinin yaratılması gerekmektedir. Avrupa kimliğinin oluşmasında dinsel ve tarihsel faktörlerin etkisi incelenmektedir. Türkler Avrupalılar tarafından tarih boyunca nasıl algılanmışlardır? Avrupa Birliği'nin Türkiye ile bütünleşmesini engelleyen kültürel faktörler nelerdir? Kültürel faktörlerin Türkiye-AB ilişkisinde önemi incelenmiştir. Önemli politik lider ve düşünürlerin ortak Avrupa kültürel mirası, Türkler ve Türkiye –AB üyelik süreci üzerine görüşlerinden örnekler sunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Yapılanımcılık, Avrupa Genişleme Süreci, Kültürel Kimlik, Tarihsel ve Dini değerler, Ortak Avrupa Kültürel Kimliği

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER III

THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTORS THAT BIND THE EUROPEAN UNION

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECT OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY ON TURKEY – EU

ABBREVIATIONS

CEEC : Central and Eastern European countries
EC : European Community
ECSC : European Coal and Steel Community
EEC : European Economic Community
EU : European Union
NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organization
USA : United States of America
USSR : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

INTRODUCTION

Ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus will always be remembered with his famous expression "panta rhei", "all things flow." He also said "Noone steps to the same river twice."[1] These statements are still valid for current international politics. Even a century ago politics and the actions of states were different. Many things changed when compared to the happenings in the 20th century.

At present, European states define themselves with the rule of law, democracy and respect for human rights. At the beginning of the 20th century colonialism is the common policy of the states in Europe like United Kingdom, Germany, Spain or even Portugal. Today, the USA is the leading power in the world but in the last century the USA used to follow isolationist policy.

WWI and WWII were the catastrophes of the last century. The states defrayed the cost of these wars with the life of their citizens and poverty. The map of the world changed due to the winners of the world wars. Politics of the leaders manipulated the destiny of the world. After WWI, Europe witnessed the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy. The greed of Hitler carried Europe to the World War II. WWII affected the whole world starting from Europe to the Asia. Until the end of WWII, the core principal of international politics was chaos and anarchy. The outcome of WWII was bipolarity because the USSR and the USA became the superpowers of the world.

After WWII, the USA, the USSR and England decided for a new world order. European states were exhausted and suffering. There were two alternatives for Europe. They would either follow the policy of the USA or the USSR. The Soviet Union declared its hegemony in Eastern Europe. The relationship between the USA and the Soviet Union was tough and cooperation was hard to achieve because the relations were leaded on zero sum terms. The USA wanted a new world order for west Europe and wanted to protect them against socialism and the influence of the Soviet Union. England was supporting the politics of the USA. In 1946, Churchill gave a speech on the tragedy of Europe declaring that:

---

[1] http://www.abu.nb.ca/Courses/GrPhil/Heraclitus.htm, accessed on December 13,2007

"I wish to speak to you today about the tragedy of Europe. This noble continent, comprising on the whole the fairest and the most cultivated regions of the earth, enjoying a temperate and equable climate, is the home of all the great parent races of the western world. It is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the origin of most of the culture, the arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern time. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and the glory which its three or four million people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels, originated by the Teutonic nations in their rise to power, which we have seen in this twentieth century and even in our own lifetime, wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind …"[2]

Although Germany was the cause of WWII and most of the states were blaming Germany as the reason of war, with the insistence of England and the USA, France and Germany decided to pool their coal and steel resources. It should be noted that, Churchill wanted Europe to recover but he also wanted England to protect her commonwealth that is why England stayed frosty to this unification and did not want to be a part of it. The idea of pooling coal and steel resources attracted Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Italy and Belgium; they formed the ECSC. The cooperation started between the Founding Six with the establishment of the ECSC. When the ECSC first established nobody has even dreamed of such a big transformation because today the EU has twenty seven members and the EU members willingly decided to abdicate some of their authority to this supranational organization.

The thesis aims to analyze the factors that hold the European Union together in the cultural aspect. There is a positive relationship between the cultural factors that unites Europe and the EU enlargement process. Besides it aims to examine the contradiction between Turkey and Europe. What factors diversify Turkey from the EU? It can be said that European identity negatively affects Turkey's EU accession. This is a wide topic and the economic values and differences between the EU and Turkey can be analyzed but the thesis is limited with the cultural values. The dependent variable of the thesis is the European Union enlargement process. The independent variables of the thesis are identity and cultural values. The key words are social constructivism, identity, religion, historical and cultural values, the role of othering.

---

[2] http://www.stm.unipi.it/Clioh/tioe/Churchill.doc, accessed on December 13, 2007

In the first part of the thesis, neorealism and constructivism are compared. Neorealism is one of the core theories in international relations and constructivism appeared after 1990s. People have fought since the beginning of history. All wars have losers and winners and none of the peace treaties results on the advantage of the losers. As a result, making war is a zero sum game, when one side wins the other always loses.

Kenneth Waltz is the forefather of neorealism and he defines international system as anarchic and he adds that the distribution capabilities of states depend due to their powers. Waltz assumes that the structures are defined not by all the actors but by the major ones.[3] According to Waltz, big fish always catches the small one. World wars can be explained with the theory of neorealism.

Today the political situation and the relations between the European states are different. At present, the European Union is a big supranational organization with its 27 members. The primary aim of this organization was the economic expectations of the states but as the unification transformed to a supranational organization new values began to appear in order to hold the union together. Are twenty seven members of the EU close to each other in the economic aspect? If the EU-15 is considered, it can be said that there is a general harmony in economical values. East and West Europe were separated with definite lines after WWII. West Europe followed the rules of capitalism while East Europe pursued the rules of socialism and affected by the politics of the Soviet Union. The evident separation of the two groups also marked their living condition and perceptions. With the end of the Cold War, the Central and Eastern European Countries changed their policy and applied for the EU membership. With the fall of the Soviet Union the EU-15 took an important decision. Twelve new members were added to the EU with the 2004 and 2007 enlargements.

Therefore the European identity began to rise as an important issue in the European Union. Could East Europe unite with the West? At this point constructivism came into the international relations literature. Constructivism is interested in social values, ideas, culture and identity issues. In the consequential part of the thesis, common values that unite the European Union members together are analyzed. That's why constructivism is in harmony with the thesis.

---

[3] David A. Lake, "Beyond Anarchy, the Importance of Security Institutions", *International Security*, Vol. 26, no:1, (Summer 2001), p.132

In the second chapter of the thesis the European identification through historical perspective is analyzed. Is there a definite border for Europe? Where does it start and where does it end? Common historical past is one of the most important factors that hold a civilization together. How does Europe define itself and how does it construct its identity against its othering? Who are the others of Europe? Europe defines itself as the cradle of civilization because the first democracy had been experienced in the ancient Greece. The important political leaders in Europe have general tendency to define ancient Greek and Roman Empire as their ancestors. These consequential civilizations marked today's Europe in one way or another. Europe is inspired form the democracy in ancient Greece and the law in the Roman Empire.

Margaret Thatcher served as Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990. She outlined her views in 1988 in a speech. She placed Britain firmly in Europe but rejected the notion that Europe meant the absorption of Britain and all the other member states into a single European super state.[4] Thatcher said;

> "I want to start by disposing some myths about my country, Britain and its relationship with Europe. To do that, I must say something about the identity of Europe itself. Europe is not the creation of the Treaty of Rome. We, British are as much heirs to the legacy of European culture as any other nation. Our links to the rest of Europe have been the dominant factor in our history. For three hundred years we were part of the Roman Empire and our maps still trace the straight lines of the roads the Romans built.[5]

Naturally, neither Greeks nor Romans had a strong sense of European identity because some parts of Europe were not occupied by the ancient Greece or the Romans but it can be said that Europe are influenced from them. As T.S. Eliot once said "We are all, so far we inherit the civilization of Europe, still citizens of the Roman Empire"[6] One of the most important contributions of the Roman Empire to Europe is Christianity. The official recognition of the church and its association with the roman state affected Europe's politics.

---

[4] Margaret Thatcher, "A Family of Nations", *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of Eurpopean Integration*, Brent F. Nelsen, Alexander C-G. Stubb ed., (London: Lyne Rienner Publishers, 1998), p.49

[5] Ibid., p.53

[6] T.S. Eliot quoted in Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, (Eastbourne: Antony Rowe Ltd., 2002), p.17

Medieval ages can be named as the dark ages for Europe because the church was so influential that all politics were leaded by the religious authorities. The rise of Islam affected the formation of European identity. In order to put a bar to the possible spread of Islam, starting from 10th to 13th century crusading mentality was influential. The crusades were supported by the pope and the church. Their primary aim was to recapture the Holy land and their secondary aim was to gain wealth. The effect of Christianity decreased during the enlightenment but it can be said that religion is still one of the strongest factors that unites Europe.

Every identity has its othering. Europe had many others throughout history like Islam, Turks, the Ottoman Empire, The Soviet Union and the USA. The thesis is limited with Islam, Turks and the Ottoman Empire. Europe located Islam as one of its others since the crusades. The Ottoman Empire was founded in the 13th century and occupied important parts of Europe for centuries and existed until 20th century. One of the milestones in the European history was the occupancy of Istanbul. With the occupancy of Istanbul by the Ottomans, the philosophers in the East Roman Empire immigrated to Europe and the migration affected the starting of the Renaissance. After six centuries, for Europe, Istanbul still remained as Constantinople. As the Ottoman Empire was one of the greatest civilizations in the history, Europe could not expanded to the east that's why colonialism developed as one of the strongest politics for Europe as they had no alternative to expand to the east.

Europe has tendency to identify Muslims with Turks. There is an idiom like Christian Arab but there is not an idiom like Christian Turks. Important political leaders and philosophers said many expressions on Turks and Muslims. European identity constructed itself against Muslims, Turks and the Ottoman Empire and described its civilization with the terms democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights. In sum, the historical and religious value that unites the European Union together is being analyzed in the second chapter.

In the third chapter the consequential factors that bind the EU in the cultural aspect is analyzed. How did the transformation of the EU occur from a coal and steel unification to a supranational organization? Common historical past or religion can hold a union together to one step. After 1990, with the application of the CEEC members to the EU, identity issues began to rise as an important issue. Top political statesmen concerned about the future of the EU and in order to hold the union

together, they realized the importance of creating a common culture by developing some symbols like a common flag, eurozone, education programmes. Although some states like France or England act more nationalistic than the others but the EU members are like minded on creating and developing common cultural values.

As mentioned above, Europe constructed its identity against Islam since the Crusades. With the immigration flow of Muslims to Europe or the rise in the fundamentalist Islam negatively affected the citizens of Europe. When the important terror attacks and bombings are considered it can be seen that most of them are realized by the fundamentalist Islamic organizations. 21st century can be described as the century of intemperance because there is an inevitable rise in the actions of the radical Islamic organizations. Especially September 11, 2001 marked the relations between Muslims and Christians.

In the last chapter of the thesis, the effect of European identity to the relationship of Turkey and the EU is examined. How does Europe perceive Turks throughout history? Starting from the Crusades, Muslim and Turks were started to be identified with each other and this negative identification continued during the hegemony of the Ottoman Empire. During the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the westernization process of Turks started. With the westernization process, Turkey decided to become a part of the western civilization.

In order to become a member of the EU, the candidate country should guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights, protection of minority rights, and there should be the existence of a functioning market economy. The requirements above are the stated obligations for the eligibility of a candidate country. All the candidate countries should harmonize their laws and regulations with the EU acquis communautaire. Turkey has to realize the consequential reforms that the EU requested on freedom of speech, respect for minority rights. These are the stated obligations for themembership to the EU. However the thesis aims to analyze the cultural identity values that holds the EU together and questioning whether these values are diversifying Turkey from the EU.

First official application of Turkey to the EU was in 1959 and since that time Turkey is the longest standing candidate at the doorstep of the EU. The contradiction between Turkey and Europe in the cultural aspect is going to be analyzed in chapter four.

Can it be possible for Turkey to become a member of the EU? If we examine the application of the EU in the cultural aspect, Turks has been one of the strongest others of the EU. Besides, 99% of Turkish citizens are Muslim. Although it is not always declared by many European politicians it can be said that Christianity is one of the most important factors that unite the EU. Their Christian heritage is generally emphasized by many politicians. French president Sarkozy is one of the most important leaders of Europe and he insistently declares that Turkey has no place in Europe.

The political leaders of the EU members met in Portugal and signed the Lisbon Treaty in December 13, 2007. This treaty was arranged in order to replace the draft constitution which was rejected by France and the Netherlands in 2005. According to the Lisbon Treaty, a politician will be chosen to be the president of the European Council for two and a half years instead of six months.[7] It can easily be observed that the Treaty of Lisbon will contribute to the deepening process of the EU. The president of the European Council will be leading the EU in certain affairs and will be presenting European external affairs in the long term. With the presidency system the EU aims to take more leading roles in the political arena. Besides they aim to remove the national vetoes in some areas in order to reduce the nationalistic stakes of the EU members. Unlike the draft constitution, most of the countries aim to ratify the treaty in parliament, which is less likely to cause an upset than holding a referendum. French President Sarkozy proposed to launch a committee of the wise to address the future of Europe. There are some concerns on this proposal because the committee could negatively affect the successful ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. Second, Sarkozy has a negative stance on Turkey's EU membership and it could widely damage the widening process of the EU.[8] It is interesting to see the negative insistence of Sarkozy on the membership of Turkey to the EU.

In 1997, at a meeting of the Christian Democratic Parties from six countries, the representatives declared that the EU is a civilizational Project and within that project Turkey has no place.This decleration reflects the attitude in certain European

---

[7]"Q&A: The Lisbon Treaty", http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/6901353.stm, accessed on December 14, 2007

[8] José Ignacio Torreblanca, "The Comité des Sages: a wise idea?"
http://www.ecfr.eu/content/entry/commentary_committee_of_wise/, accessed on December 14, 2007

quarters towards Turkey's eligibility for accession to the EU.[9] More than a decade later of the given speech by the Christian Democratic Parties' representatives the idea of the important leaders like Sarkozy is still the same. Even if Turkey realizes the acquis according to the discourse of Sarkozy, Turkey can never be a part of the EU. Therefore the reason of the negative insistence of some of the political leaders can be because of cultural differences between Turkey and the EU.

The endless road of Turkey to the EU started in 1959 and the only achievement that Turkey covered can be defined as the starting process of the negotiations. If Turkey realizes all the reforms and changes that the EU requests than it is forecasted that Turkey can be a member of the EU in 2020s. Unfortunately popular Islam is becoming a constraint on the way to the EU. Since the beginning of the westernization process Turkey is a secular country which means there is a strict separation between the governmental and religious issues. New draft constitution is on the agenda in Turkey and the government is planning to legalize turban in the public areas. It can be argued that Turkey can not bear such a radical change. Turkey is going on a dangerous polarization as the conservative liberals and secularists. This is a dangerous opposition not only for Turkey's domestic issues but also for Turkey's relations with the EU.

---

[9] Meltem Müftüler Bac, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.1, (Spring 2000), p.21

CHAPTER I

A GLANCE TO THE ENLARGEMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION
FROM A THEORATICAL PERSPECTIVE

For more than 2000 years, thinkers have sought to understand, more or less systemically the most basic questions of world politics: the sources of discord and of war and the conditions of cooperation and peace.[10] It is impossible to explain the EU unification with one theory because politics, economy and leaders keep changing. There is no theory that is not contradicted by some experiment.[11] The thesis is prepared to analyze the effect of European Identity on the integration periods of the EU. What binds Europe together with respect to its cultural identity? What is the role of othering in the formation of European Identity? What diversifies Turkey from the EU in the cultural aspect? There is a significant relationship between the European identity and the enlargement process of the European Union because cultural and historical values affect the development of the European Union. The thesis is limited with the cultural aspects and the independent variables are historical past, religion, culture, the formation of othering.

This chapter aims to compare and figure out the features of neorealism and constructivism. Neorealism is one of the strongest theories in international relations. As the thesis is dealing with identity related to EU accessions, the argument is explained through constructivist theory perspective.

1. The Theory of Neorealism

Kenneth Waltz is the founder of neorealism. He tried to explain international relations with a scientific aspect by rephrasing realism as a structural theory. According to Waltz, political structure consists of three important elements: ordering principle, specification of the functions performed by the actors and distribution of capabilities or power among those actors. Waltz assumes that, the ordering principle of international politics is anarchy, the primary political units are undifferentiated in

---

[10] Robert O. Keohane, "Realism, Neorealism and the Study of World Politics" in *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert O. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 3

[11] Kenneth N. Waltz, "Evaluating Theories", *American Political Science Review*, Vol 91, No: 4, (Dec 1997), p. 914

terms of the functions they perform and states vary in terms of their capabilities. Waltz supposes that states are unitary, purposive actors who at minimum seek their own preservation.[12]

Waltz argues that international system is composed of structure and interacting units. The structure is the system wide component that makes it possible to think of the system as a whole.[13] Structure has two important meanings. It may designate a compensating device that works to produce a uniformity of outcomes despite the variety of inputs. In the second sense structure designates a set of constraining conditions. Structures select by rewarding some behaviors and punishing others, outcomes can not be inferred from intentions and behaviors. Different structures may cause the same outcomes to occur even as units and interactions vary.[14] Political structure produces a similarity in process and performance so long as a structure endures. Similarity is not uniformity. Structure operates as a cause but it is not the only cause in play.[15]

Waltz' reformulation of structural realism have two core claims: the international system is anarchic rather than hierarchic, and it is characterized by interaction among units with similar functions. The third element of structure, the distribution of capabilities across states varies from system to system and over time. The most significant capabilities are those of the most powerful actors. Kenneth Waltz claims that structures are defined not by all of the actors but by the major ones and added that international politics is defined in terms of the distribution of power.[16] Power is not the goal but being militarily powerful helps states to survive and achieve territorial gains because in a self help system, states have to see the possible constraints.

In neorealist theory, states use economic means for military and political ends; military and political means for the achievement of economic interests.[17] The state among states conducts its affairs in the shadow of violence. Some states are

---

[12] Kenneth N. Waltz quoted in Jonathan Monten, "Thucydides and Modern Realism", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.50, (2006), p.15, accessfed from http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2006.00390.x, on April 24, 2007

[13] Kenneth N. Waltz quoted in Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu, *Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity: A Constructivist Approach*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), p.15

[14] Kenneth N Waltz, "Reductionist and Systemic Theories", in *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert A. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 67

[15] Kenneth N. Waltz, "Political Structures" in *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert A. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 80

[16] Kenneth N. Waltz quoted in Lake, p. 132

[17] Waltz, "Political Structures", p. 89

eager to use force at any time and as a result, all states must be prepared to do so or live at the mercy of their militarily more vigorous neighbors. The state of nature among states is state of war. This means war may break out at any time. Among men as among states, anarchy or the absence of government is associated with the occurrence of violence. The threat of violence and the recurrent use of force are said to distinguish international from national affairs, but the most destructive wars of the hundred years following the defeat of Napoleon took place not among states but within them.[18] Structures operate as constraints upon the system's units, disposing them to act in certain ways not in others. States that failed to heed these constraints become less competitive and if they persist in doing so they are ultimately eliminated from the system.[19]

Waltz believes a good theory of international politics must be systemic, and how the relationships among states are organized strongly affects governments' behavior toward one another.[20] Robert O. Keohane is dissatisfied with Waltz's theory. He seeks to show that Waltz's theory of balance of power is inconsistent with his assumption that states seek to maximize power and added that Waltz's theory doesn't explain change well and more attention needs to be paid to connections between the internal attributes of states on the one hand and the international system on the other.[21] Waltz excludes motives, attributes or any particular qualities of states except their capabilities from his analysis. He is more interested in how the qualities, the motives and the interactions of the units are affected by structure.[22]

Structures may change. A structural change is a revolution; it gives rise to new expectations about the outcomes that will be produced by the acts and interactions of units whose placement in the system varies with changes in structure. When we examine the effects on European states of the shift from multipolar to bipolar, we may see that if European states were the world's great powers, unity among them could only be dreamt of. When a state is a major power, according to neorealism there is no need for cooperation. The structure of a system changes with the differences in the distribution of capabilities across the system's units. Changes

---

[18] Kenneth N. Waltz,, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power" in *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert A. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 99
[19] Keith Topper, "The Theory of International Politics? An Analysis of Neoreliast Theory", *Human Studies*, (University of South Carolina: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998), p.160
[20] Kenneth N. Waltz quoted in Keohane, p. 14
[21] Ibid., p. 18
[22] Kenneth N. Waltz quoted in Bozdağlıoğlu, p.14

in structure affect the expectations about how the units of the system will behave and about the outcomes their interactions will produce.[23]

If a theory cannot explain the dynamics of change within a system, it cannot explain structural change itself. Waltz assumes structural change is not identical to those small incremental changes that we encounter in the course of our daily lives. Rather structural change is a revolution and like all revolutions its effects resonate throughout the international system.[24] According to neorealist theory, structural change can not be seen in our daily lives and structures can change with big incidents like World War I, World War II, and collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore, structural change occurs when the material capabilities of states change.

As a result of structural changes, actors may perceive the structure that constrains them and understand how it serves to reward some kinds of behavior and to penalize others. "The structure selects" means simply that those who apply successful practices, more often rise to the top and stay there. The game one has to win is defined by the structure that determines the kind of player who is likely to prosper.[25] At the end of wars, winners and losers sign treaties. Winners are rewarded and losers are debtors and debtors are penalized.

According to Waltz, neither of the states intends to participate in the formation of a structure by which it and others will be constrained. International political systems are individualist in origin, spontaneously generated and unintended. In both systems, structures are formed by the coactions of their units. Whether those units live, prosper or die depends on their own efforts.[26] What neorealism overlooks is international actions are not individualist in origin and they are affected by the domestic policy, and the actions of the other states.

According to neorealism, the international system is characterized as a self help system in which states hold security as their primary concern. States worry about the relative gains of the others and seek to defend their position in the international arena. The distinctions between international political systems are made according to the number of great powers that explains the variation of the structure because the structure of a system changes with the distribution of capabilities across

---

[23] Waltz, "Political Structures", p. 92
[24] Kenneth N. Waltz quoted in Topper, p.161
[25] Waltz, "Political Structures", p. 87
[26] Ibid.

the system's units. Changes in the system depend on the distribution of material capabilities that move the system from anarchy to hierarchy.[27]

Neorealists are likely to emphasize capabilities more than intentions. States worry more about the relative gains of enemies than of allies. Anarchy is often used to define chaos and disorder, a Hobbesian war of all against all. Many theorists define anarchy in terms of the absence of government. Anarchy not only means the absence of government but also the presence of disorder and chaos.[28] Unlike domestic political system, international systems are decentralized and anarchic. Anarchy is the ordering principle of the system. The desire of the units is to survive. In order to survive states should take care of themselves. Self help becomes the ordering principle of action in an anarchic order. The central claim of neorealism is the sources of state behavior which are not located in the character of the primary political units, but in the decentralized system created by their interaction. Classical realists declared power politics to human nature where structural realists or neorealists emphasize anarchy and structure.

Kenneth Waltz defines and argues that wars can occur because there is nothing to prevent them. Modern realism seeks to specify the causal conditions under which certain political outcomes can be expected and systematically tests these propositions against empirical evidence.[29] Naturally, anarchy is not equivalent to war but as the international system is anarchic and there is no ranking and hierarchy, wars are likely to occur as there is nothing to prevent them.

Waltz suggests that unintended consequences arise from the structure of anarchy. As international relations are dominated by anarchy, the international system becomes a self help system, who do not help themselves will lay themselves open to danger. In anarchy security is the highest end. If survival is assured, states safely seek other goals as tranquility, profit and power. Unlike realism power is a means and not a goal; states prefer to join the weaker of two coalitions. The system encourages them to seek security. Increased power may or may not serve that end. Given two coalitions, the greater success of one in drawing members to it may tempt the other to risk preventive war hoping for victory through surprises before disparities widen. If states wished to maximize power they would join the stronger

---

[27] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.14
[28] Waltz, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power", p. 112
[29] Kenneth N. Waltz quoted in Monten, p.15

side and we see not balances forming. The first concern of states is to maximize power and to maintain their positions in the system. If states are free to choose and flock to the weaker side; for it is the stronger side that threatens them. On the weaker side they are both more appreciated and safer provided that the coalition they join achieves enough defensive or deterrent strength to dissuade adversaries from attacking.[30]

Differences between national and international structures are reflected in the ways the units of each system define their ends and develop the means for reaching them. In anarchic realms units co-act whereas in hierarchic realms units interact. Units work to maintain a measure of independence and may even strive for anarchy. The cooperation among states is limited by the structure of international system in two ways. In a self help system, every unit spends a portion of its effort not in forwarding its own good, but in providing the means of protecting itself against others. When faced with the possibility of cooperating for mutual gain, states that feel insecure must ask how the gain will be divided. They are compelled to ask not "Will both of us gain?" but "Who will gain more?" If an expected gain is to be divided in the ratio of two to one, one state may use its disproportionate gain to implement a policy intended to damage or destroy the other. Even the prospect of large absolute gains for both parties does no elicit their cooperation as long as each fears how the other will use its increased, capabilities.[31] To neorealism, in the international relations there is lack of trust among states and with the concern of relative gain of your rival, cooperation is hard to achieve.

According to Waltz, an agent is powerful to the extent that he affects others more than they affect him.[32] Waltz claims that there is a correlation between the distribution of power in a system and the actions of states. Small countries will behave differently than large ones. In a balance of power system alliances can be expected to shift in response to changes in power relationships. If a state is powerful in materialistic terms and affects other states in the way it deserves, than that state is powerful when compared to others. Waltz defines system and structure in anarchic orders to emphasize the recurrent formation of balances of power.

---

[30] Waltz, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power", p. 117
[31] Ibid., p. 101
[32] Kenneth N. Waltz quoted in David A. Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Realism: The Contemporary Debate*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 16

As international relations among states is a self help system, units worry about their survival. International political structures limit cooperation among states. A state worries about a division of possible gains that may favor others more than itself. That is the first way in which the structure of international politics limits the cooperation of states. A state also worries to become dependent on others through cooperative endeavors and exchanges of goods and services. That is the second way in which the structure of international politics limits the cooperation of states. The lack of an international sovereign not only permits wars to occur but also makes it difficult for states that are satisfied with the status quo to arrive at goals that they recognize as being in their common interest, because there are no institutions or common authorities that can make or enforce international laws the policies of cooperation that will bring mutual rewards if others cooperate may bring disaster if they do not.[33]

In the neorealist perspective, cooperation can be analyzed with a zero sum game called Prisoner's Dilemma. In Prisoner's Dilemma there is no solution that is in the best interest of all participants; there are offensive as well as defensive incentives to defect from the coalition with others; and if the game is to be played only once the only rational response is to defect, but if the game is repeated indefinitely it would be in the interest of each actor to have others deprived of the power to defect; each would be willing to sacrifice this ability if others were similarly restrained.[34] The only concern of each player is to maximize his own pay off without any concern for the other player's payoff. Cooperating is strictly dominated by defecting. No matter what the other player does, one player will always gain a greater payoff by playing defect in the short term.

Waltz reframed realism by giving a systemic theoretical basis to the theory. According to him structure involves an ordering principle, specification of the functions of different parts and the distribution of capabilities. Waltz's structural definition of system ignores international economic processes and institutions that can also have strong effects on states' behavior. States are the key actors but what neorealism overlooks is other units may grow in importance like in the EU. Neorealism was successful to emphasize the importance of security issues, balance

[33]Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma", *World Politics*, Vol.30, No: 2, (Jan. 1978), p. 167
[34] Ibid, p. 172

of power because since the beginning of history, wars occur. At present, there are still wars which we can not avoid; but neorealism underestimates the accomplishments which are achieved through cooperation.

It can be said that, one of the important features of neorealism is anarchy. Neorealism assumes anarchy causes disorder and in order to survive, states have to be powerful and have to maximize their military capabilities. At present there are many powerful countries which have armies below 100000 like Holland, Canada, Belgium, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland and Luxemburg. In addition, there are also powerful countries like Vatican, San Marino and Iceland that have no army.

Neorealism argues that states are the primary actors and claims that international relations are led by the acts of major powers. Unlike realism, neorealism accepts international organizations as actors but underestimate their importance. EU integration can not be explained with neorealist theory because after WWII, Europe was in a an anarchic disorder and in this chaotic situation, neorealism assumes that states have to use self help system in order to survive because the game should be played in zero sum terms.

Starting from 1990s, concepts like culture, norms, identity became popular. Economic cooperation by itself was inadequate. European Union decided to unite economically, politically and culturally. In order to create a sense of belonging to the European Union, they have created some symbols specific to the EU. It can be argued that the accession of 2004 is an identity related issue and can be examined in terms of the cultural aspect.With the enlargement in 2007, Romania and Bulgaria are accepted as the European Union members and some politicians say that they have to stop widening and they have to proceed with the deepening process. In the thesis the reasons of this identity related accessions are questioned.

2. The Theory of Constructivism

What holds the World together? This has been a mystery for international relations theorists' right from the start. Realism, neorealism, liberalism, neofunctionism are the major theories in international relations and they have been trying to find an answer to this question.

The world was operated in zero sum terms during WWI and WWII. After WWII, the relations between the USA and the Soviet Union were tough, they did not want to cooperate with each other and the Cold War lasted until the collapse of the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, the USA and the Soviet Union refused to interact with each other and rejected the possibility of cooperation. When the situation of Europe is examined in the postwar period, it can be said that Europe was in a chaotic order.

With the foundation of the EC, institutions like the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, the Court of Justice and other organizations were established. The member states decided to transfer some part of their sovereignty willingly to the union. As a result of the organizations under the skeleton of the EU and the increase in the number of the members, the spill over effect of neofunctionalist theory can be observed.

As it is stated above, each theory can be supported with examples from history but all theories are falsifiable and neither of them is completely true. It is obvious that the EU integration can not be described from one perspective but each period can be grasped with the help of different theories. As the thesis is interested in the cultural elements that unites and holds Europe together, in this part of the chapter, the features of constructivist theory are explained.

Constructivism deals with social interaction, ideas, norms, culture and identity. The EU has twenty-seven members at present and most politicians say that, the EU has to stop widening and should fasten deepening process because in order to keep twenty-seven members together there has to be social interaction in a positive way, that's why constructivist theory will keep its importance in the long run as it emphasizes the importance of identity, interest and social interaction.

Constructivism is a structural and systemic theory that makes the following core claims: states are the principal units of analysis of international relations; the key structures in the state system are inter-subjective and social rather than material. Constructivism is interested in human consciousness and its role in international life. According to John Gerard Ruggie, the roots of constructivism can be found in Emile Durkheim and Max Weber's works. Durkheim assumes that international system shapes and constrains the relations among its units. He aimed to demonstrate the variety of social outcomes ranging from patterns of social cooperation to individual feelings. He examined the anomie and suicide rates in different social orders and he believes that the rates increase and decrease regarding the change in the family and the society.[35]

Max Weber said, "We are cultural beings endowed with the capacity and the will to take deliberate attitude towards the world and lend it significance. This capacity gives rise to a class of facts that do not exist in the physical world."[36] To him, natural and social sciences both use concepts and seek causal knowledge. Natural science aims at the general, seeks to establish universally valid laws and identifies individual events as types to be subsumed under those laws. In the social behavior, concepts must aid in uncovering the meaning of specific actions and in demonstrating their social significance. In Weber's words, "We wish to understand on the one hand the relationships and the cultural significance of individual events in their contemporary manifestations and on the other the causes of their being historically so and otherwise."[37]

Social constructivists study the initial construction and formation of identities, role conceptions and codes of conduct. The identities, interests and behavior of political agents are socially constructed by collective meaning, interpretations and assumptions about the world. Social contexts and interaction processes are seen as constraining and constituting agents at the same time.[38] Social context and social institutions are vital variables for constructivists, but it has been argued that constructivists largely neglect institutions in their models. Wendt argues

---

[35] John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge", *International Organization*, Vol: 52,No: 4, (Autumn 1998), p. 856
[36] Max Weber quoted in Ruggie, p. 856
[37] Ibid., p. 859
[38] Jarle Trondal, "Is There Any Social Constructivist-Institutionalist Divide? Unpacking Social Mechanisms Affecting Representational Roles Among EU Decision Makers", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8:1 , (February 2001), p. 5

that no conceptions of interests or beliefs exist prior to interaction. Wendt's position has been criticized for being context free, ignoring the pre socialized actor entering interaction processes. The institutional concepts addressed by social constructivists are criticized for being too vague; they point to a system out there but they do not unpack central characteristics of this system. It is therefore difficult to deduce precise implications when it comes to determining the concrete construction of roles and identities on the basis of the institutional concepts addressed by social constructivists.[39]

Constructivism has become one of the most outstanding approaches in international relations as the term identity become consequential. Constructivists account for alternative ways of conceptualizing the relationship between norms, discourse, language and material capabilities including the institutional dynamics at work in contemporary Europe.[40]As identity is consequential for Wendt, he focused on corporate and the social identities of states. Corporate identity generates four basic interests; physical security, predictability in relationships to the world, recognition as an actor, economic development. How a state satisfies these corporate interests depends on how it describes the self in relation to the other which is the function of social identities at both domestic level and systemic level of analysis.

Constructivism assumes that the nature of the system is determined by a history of interaction between two actors. If states identify negatively with each other then as realists and neorealists suggest the system will be a competitive security system in which relative gains will take the advantage over absolute or collective gains. A state can have selfish or collective identity but it can be argued that identity is formed with the reverse relation of its other. If there is a positive identification with a state than collective gains are more possible.

Identification can be described as a continuum from negative to positive. According to neorealism, states define their interest in terms of relative gains and locate identity as the negative end of the identification continuum. If there is a positive identification with the welfare of another, the other is seen as a cognitive extension of the self, rather than independent because of corporate needs of differentiation, this identification will rarely be complete. This is a basis for feelings

[39] Trondal, p.5
[40] Steve Smith, "Social Constructivism and European Studies: A Reflectivist Critique", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4 (Special Issue 1999), p.685

of solidarity, community and loyalty. Having such interests doesn't mean that actors are irrational or no longer calculate the costs and benefits that they do so on a higher level of social aggregation.[41]

States are naturally egoistic and define their interests in egoistic terms. Wendt examines explanations for state egoism arguing that their strength varies historically and often leaves room for collective identity formation. Self interest stems from the nature of states. States typically depend on their societies for political survival, which may induce them to place societal interests before those of other states and treat the latter as instruments for realizing the former. It reflects a general relationship between dependency and identity formation. States might be propelled toward collective identification by domestic factors. Those two arguments come together in a third which focuses on nationalism; a sense of collective identity based on cultural, linguistic or ethnic ties. The depth and exclusivity of national identities varies greatly. National identity of Germany in 1939 was chauvinist and exclusivist while it coexist as a EU member at present.[42]

Once an identity is constructed, states institutionalize that identity at both domestic and international levels. Domestically while states develop their identities, they also develop myths and institutions to protect them. The identities of states are not static. They can change as the result of the international developments.[43] Each state may have multiple social identities which are the basis of interests. Actors define their interests in the process of defining situations and the absence or failure of roles makes defining situations more difficult and identity confusion may result.[44] According to constructivist theory, an actor's identity is shaped by interaction.

If there is a positive interaction between several states, then collective identity can occur. Interaction is inevitable with the rising interdependence among states through either increasing trade and capital flows or the emergence of a common external threat. The states that have trade relations are likely to have friendly relations with each other and it can be said that positive interaction is possible. Sometimes unilateral actions of states are not enough and they have to collaborate with each other. These systemic processes increase the sensitivity of actors to each

[41] Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State", *American Political Science Review*, Vol 88, No 2, (June 1994), p.386
[42] Ibid., p.387
[43] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.25
[44] Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization*, Vol:46, No:2, (Spring 1992), p.399

other and this reduces the ability to meet corporate needs unilaterally and increases the extent to which actors share a common fate. The convergence of cultural and political values increases the similarity among nations and the rationale for identities that assume they are fundamentally different from us and the potential for positive identification increases.[45]

Constructivism assumes that cooperation is possible among states but never underestimates the influence of anarchy to states' actions. According to Wendt there are three cultures of anarchy. These are named as Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian. Most of the human history has been characterized by Hobbesian anarchy: states considered it to be in their interest to eliminate other states when they could and to maintain a defensive balance when they could not. In the Hobbesian anarchy, fear is dominant and states should keep balance of power. Neorealists define structure in material terms while leaving room for the emergent of material capabilities. Intersubjective systemic structures consist of the shared understandings, expectations in terms and capabilities of which state define their identities and interests.[46] The greater the degree of a conflict in a system, the more, states will fear from each other and defend egoistic identities. In a Hobbesian war of all against all, mutual fear is so great that factors are promoting anything but negative identification with the other. In such a system, collective action is nearly impossible because each actor fears of being removed from the system. In the individualistic security systems, states are self regarding about their security but are primarily concerned with absolute gains rather than relative gains. One's position in the distribution of power is less important and collective action is more possible. This constitutes neoliberal systems. In the competitive and individualistic systems, they are both self help forms of anarchy in the sense that states do not positively identify the security of self with that of others but instead treat security as the individual responsibility of each.[47] In the Hobbesian state of nature, cooperation is hard to achieve and power concerns are high.

In the Lockean anarchy, sovereignty of actors is mutually recognized; states have more confidence because their existence is not threatened creating room for processes of positive identification to take hold. The ability of states to create new

---

[45] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.21
[46] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", p.400
[47] Ibid. , p.399

worlds in the future depends on the old ones they created in the past.[48] Sovereignty transforms this system into a Lockean world of mutually recognized property rights and egoistic rather than competitive conceptions of security, reducing the fear that what states already have will be seized at any moment by potential collaborators.

A necessary condition for such cooperation is that outcomes are positive interdependent in the sense that potential gains exist which can not be realized by unilateral action.[49] The Peace of Westphalia created a Lockean anarchy based on the principle of sovereignty. This means that states might continue to use force against each other perhaps more frequently than before but they would not exterminate their rivals.[50] It also positions the countries either inside or outside of the western system.

The inside countries live in Lockean culture, while the outside live in Hobbesian culture, but both the outside and inside countries can be engaged in the Kantian culture.[51] Wendt identifies four master variables of social learning which explains how states might come to establish a Kantian culture of anarchy and how they might come to view each other as friends other than rivals. The master variables are interdependence, common fate, homogeneity and self restraint[52].

It can be argued that, Kantian culture is the most civilized one among the others, cooperation is possible and by creating friendly relations, interdependence with social relationships, benefits would be much. Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian cultures vary from each other due to the degrees of the dominance of a particular social role among states, enemy, rival and friend. Each culture includes three degrees of internalization, the motive states have for playing the rules which are coercion, interest and legitimacy. Wendt argues that neorealism is best understood as a theory of state interaction in a Lockean culture, despite its practicioners' affinity to Hobbesian analogies. Although Wendt doesn't mention, neoliberalism is also located

---

[48] Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State", p.389
[49] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", p.416
[50] Alexander Wendt, "Social Theory of International Politics", (Cambridge University Press: 1999), accessed from http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~goodrich/IRnotes/Week12/Wendt_summary.pdf, on June 12, 2007
[51] Yiwei Wang, "The End of International Relations Theories", accessed from http://209.85.129.104/search?q=cache:QloHKATy1q0J:www.leeds.ac.uk/polis/englishschool/yiweiwang1.doc+Kantian+anarchy&hl=tr&ct=clnk&cd=6&gl=tr, on June 15, 2007
[52] Wendt, http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~goodrich/IRnotes/Week12/Wendt_summary.pdf

as a theory of state interaction in a Lockean culture though its practitioners may see it moving moving toward a Kantian culture based on friendship."[53]

Although Wendt believes in the mutual gain of cooperation, he accepts anarchy as an important concept that affects state's behavior. Wendt assumes that anarchy itself has no particular logic, but instead must be given meaning through the types of roles states adopt through their interaction. States will learn the dominant role of any international system through role taking and interaction with others. Innovation may give rise to a new role that may diffuse over time and after reaching a tipping point, a new culture may be produced. As it is mentioned above, before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the cultural features of the Central and Eastern European Countries were totally different, their culture were under the influence of the Soviet Union. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Central and Eastern European Countries decided to become member of the EU and with the acceptance of the ex-satellites in 2004, a new European culture is trying to be created.

How states behave and act in anarchy is one of the most popular questions in international relations. Anarchies are inherently self help systems in which actors do not identify positively with each other's security. Anarchy can occur both in a self help system and in a collective security system. The perception of the state depends on conceptions of self and other. Anarchy of friends is different than the anarchy of enemies. If states bring a friendly and respectful attitude to their encounter then different dynamics of identity formation may ensue. "Anarchy is what states make of it."[54] This is the foundational statement of the constructivist approach. Unlike neorealism, constructivism assumes that anarchic situations can also have positive outcomes. After WWII, Europe was in a chaotic situation. The cooperation between France and Germany on coal and steel resources triggered other European countries and they founded the European Community. For more than fifty years, the EU is still developing with ups and downs.

As Wendt argued, anarchy can have either positive or negative outcomes depending on states' actions. Waltz's definition of political structure is based on ordering principles, the distribution of capabilities and he predicts little about state behavior. Neorealism underestimates the importance of norms, cultures, social

---

[53] Alexander Wendt quoted in Cameron G. Thies, "Are Two Theories Better than One? A Constructivist Model of the Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate", *International Political Science Review*, Vol 25, No 2, (2004), p. 161

[54] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics, p.388

interaction and identity. Structure is not only made up of material capabilities but also social relationships. Social structures include three elements: shared knowledge, material resources and practices and these elements are all interrelated.[55]

Agents and structures are produced or reproduced by what actors do. Systemic structures and processes may affect the context of interaction.[56] Human agents and social structures are interrelated, interdependent entities, and hence we can not account fully for the one without invoking the other.[57] Constructivism rejects the neorealist assumption that structure is unintended by product of rational self interested efforts in order to survive. The preexistence of rules and norms even under anarchy becomes the essential factor for social action. Structure defined in terms of anarchy and distribution of power can not alone lead to behavior. Some link is needed. For neorealists norms do not have any causal force in international politics. For constructivists, agents and structures are interacting and mutually constituted. Norms provide agents with understanding of their interest. Anarchy is indeterminate and it may have multiple meanings for different actors based on their own inter-subjective understandings and practices.

Strategic practice is a factor that affects the emergence of collective identity. It includes what actors do and what actors say. Interaction helps actor to see themselves as others do. Through interaction, actors try to project and sustain presentations of self. Strategic practices may have similar effects on changing others' conceptions of their interests through consciousness by raising dialogue, discussion and persuasion. The social world is constituted by shared meanings and significations which are manipulable by rhetorical practices.[58] It can be agued that the discourses of politicians, religious authorities affect public opinion.

Interpretative and critical constructivists focus on discourse, the mediation of meaning through language, speech, acts and textual analysis. The question is not "whether language is important; the question is which approach to language."[59] Constructivist identity based on explanations and it offers a better understanding of state's preferences and interests. The meanings which objects, events and actions

---

[55] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.16
[56] Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State", p.389
[57] Bozdağlıoğlu, *Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity A Constructivist Approach*, p.15
[58] Ibid, p.21
[59] Fierke quoted in Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Social Constructivism in Global and European Politics", *Advanced Research on the Europeanization of the Nation State Working Papers*, accessed on http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/wp03_15.pdf on May 14, 2007

have for states are necessarily the meanings they have for those individuals who act in the name of the state. Actors usually construct themselves through representation.[60]

By accepting sovereignty, states give up the right of protection by others, will tend to promote egoistic over collective conceptions of interest or possessive over social individualism. Interests are based on representations of the relationship between self and other. These representations are always in process even if their relative stability in certain contexts makes it possible to treat them as a constant. Many factors dispose states toward egoism but these do not always preclude collective identities. International history has produced mostly egoistic states and collective identity formation must start with and overcome that social fact.[61]

Since the beginning of history, states have fought wars because of territorial concerns, prize goods and greed. States had executed their policies in zero sum terms because, until the end of the French revolution and the industrial revolution states used to be governed by tyranny or monarchy. As statesmen were more influential on states' destinies, they used to decide how to act by their own will. Their policy was egoistic and warlike. Actually, neorealism assumes that states have to act in an egoistic way to survive under anarchy because international relations are anarchic and decentralized.

The construction of Europe has depended on the construction of others against which a separate European identity is seen as being constructed, created or invented.[62] Identity is reinforced by contact with others. Wendt argues that anarchy in neorealism does not predict whether two states will be friends or will recognize each other's sovereignty. States are influenced by each other's behavior. In Wendt's terms, structure is not only made of material capabilities but also social relationships. People act toward objects, including other actors on the basis of the meanings that objects have for them.[63] The existence of social identities depends on relations to others. State identities are endogenous not exogenous to state interaction.[64] One state can not be a socialist if there is no socialist around.

---

[60] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.24
[61] Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State", p.388
[62] Thomas Christiansen, Knud Erik Jorgensen and Antje Weiner, "The Social Construction of Europe", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4, (Special Issue 1999), p. 541
[63] Alexander Wendt quoted in Bozdağlıoğlu, p.17
[64] Ibid., p.19

States can act differently due to the policies of other states depending on whether that state is a friend or an enemy. As a result, different perceptions and actions of states toward others can easily be observed. Canadian nuclear research has a different meaning to the USA than do Iran's nuclear research. The USA gave Marshall Aid to several states after WWII. The USA helped European states on purpose; its purpose was to form trade relations with Europe and to protect them from socialism. The USA and the Soviet Union were the leading powers in the postwar period and instead of cooperation they chose to act with each other in zero sum terms; one's gain was the other's loss. In the same historical period the policy of the USA towards the Soviet Union and Europe were totally different. US military power has a different significance for the United Kingdom than for Cuba. The USA has pursued different politics towards Iraq, Kuwait or the United Arab Emirates. The distribution of power may affect states' calculations but how it does depend on the intersubjective understandings and expectations on the distribution of knowledge that constitute their conceptions of self and other. Collective meanings constitute the structures which organize our actions.[65]

The politicians who act in the name of the states affect states' actions. These officials have some ideas about the world, the international system, and the place of their state within that system. These ideas are necessarily rooted in meanings already produced in domestic, political and cultural contexts. Constructivists view norms as shared collective understandings and make behavioral claims on actors through the process that they are constructed at the European level. Constructivists have theorized empirical evidence for the importance of three dynamics. Well placed individuals with entrepreneurial skills can turn their individual beliefs into broader and shared understandings. In the mid 1980s, several advisors to Gorbachov played the part of entrepreneurs seeking to advance new ideas about international politics. Such individual beliefs were influential on Gorbachov's own preferences and this led to the Cold War to a dramatic and peaceful end.[66] When the Soviet Union lost its authority on Central and Eastern European satellites in the wake of 1989's so called

[65] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", p.397
[66] Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Social Construction and ,Integration", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4, (Special Issue 1999), p.552

geographical earthquake, Jean Monnet's ambition of a European construction stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals suddenly seemed possible.[67]

Process of signaling, interpreting and responding completes a social act and begins the process of creative inter-subjective meanings. The first social act creates expectations on both sides about each other's future behavior. The mechanism here is reinforcement interaction rewards actors for holding certain ideas about each other and discourages them from holding others. For constructivists, state identity is the basis of interest and even accounts for benefits because actors often can not decide what their interests are until they know what they are representing, who they are which in turn depends on social relationships.[68] The term identity comes from social psychology where it refers to the images and individuality of distinctiveness held by an actor and formed through relations with significant others.[69]

External and internal factors play important roles in shaping identity. Humans continuously seek to project common identity with other humans. The notion of the other becomes an epistemological necessity in the definition of the self; the very capacity to experience a self is contingent upon otherness; it is in dialogue with others that the self is shaped.[70] After WWII, France and Germany were acting hostile towards each other. With the trigger of the USA, the old enemies became friends and decided to cooperate. It started with the idea of Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet but today the EU aims to create a kinship between the European citizens by creating European symbols and by proceeding deepening process. With this cooperation both the Soviet Union and CEEC became Europe's other. Although East and West Europe was divided after WWII, there are still some cultural values that unite them. As a result, neither the cultural digestion of the EU or social learning for Eastern European States would be too hard. The CEEC states were newly slipped out of direct political pressure and Central and Eastern European members shared a common fate since the WWII. They first decided to cooperate with each other and then proceeded and chose to open a new path for their future by applying to the membership of the EU. At the same period, in the 1990s some norms like shared knowledge, identity became important issues. The EU-15 decided to embrace the

---

[67] John O'Brennan, "Re-Conceptualizing Europe: Social Constructivism and EU Enlargement", p.162, accessed from, http://www.unige.ch/ieug/B6__O'Brennan.pdf on June 5, 2007
[68] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.22
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., p.23

Central and Eastern European countries to recover from socialism. Europe perceived this accession as a return to Europe.

If repeated long enough these reciprocal typifications will create relatively stable concepts of self and other regarding the issue at stake in the interaction.[71] In ancient Greece or in the Roman Empire, Europe was nothing more than a continent. The term "Europe" started to gain value with Christianity. It can be argued that, the starting point of European identity was the Crusades. Starting from the first Crusade, Islam began to appear as Europe's other. The thesis tries to lay out the effect of othering on the formation of European Identity. In different eras, Europe has several others like Islam, Ottomans, the Soviet Union and USA but in my thesis it is limited with Islam, Ottomans and Turks.

The difference between constructivist theory and neorealism is that; in neorealism states do not act according to the others' behavior and are not influenced by each other's actions. In constructivist social theory, people act toward objects and act as a response to other actors' behaviors. The distribution of power always affects states' calculations and expectations.

Neorealism can explain the catastrophes of WWI and WWII but it is inadequate to explain the EU enlargement. The situation after WWII is contrasting with the norms of neorealism as cooperation is hard to achieve. Although during WWII, Germany and France were foes, after WWII, they decided to cooperate in order to recover economically and the European Coal and Steel Community was founded as a result of this cooperation. When the states realized the mutual gains of cooperation they decided to go further and signed the treaty of European Community. Since that time European Union keeps its importance in the international platform. Neorealism underestimates the importance of trade flow, state interaction, social interaction, norms and identity. The thesis deals with the question of what holds the EU together.

In general, constructivists share the idea that international politics is not driven by material factors. Without denying material factors in the formulation of states' interests, constructivism underlines the importance of social inter-subjective factors such as norms, culture, ideas and identity. According to Wendt, social structure exists not in actors' heads or in material capabilities but in practices.

---

[71] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", p.406

Identities are relational. States may have multiple identities and which identity will be more salient depends on the specific social context. While realists define structure in material terms, constructivists emphasize inter-subjective structure although they accept the affects of material capabilities. In constructivism there is a difference between the material capabilities that friends have and those that enemies have.[72]

The EU can be described as a success story when the establishment of single market, monetary union and Eurozone are considered. At present the EU is more than an economic union; it is a cultural project, that's why there has to be an emotional tie between its members. In the 1990s, identity emerged as an important concept in international relations

The European states formed collaborative institutions for good, and the same reasons may lead them to reject those institutions; the game of European power politics has not changed. A liberal or constructivist analysis of this problem would suggest that four decades of cooperation may have transformed a positive interdependence of outcomes into a collective European identity in terms of which states define their self interests. The process of cooperation tends to redefine those reasons by reconstructing identities and interests in terms of new inter-subjective understandings and commitments.

Changes in the distribution of power during the late 20th century are undoubtedly a challenge to these new understandings. Through participation in new forms of social knowledge the European states of 1990 are no longer be the states of 1950.[73] The European Community was developed as a top down model but with the success of the unification, they decided to enhance it as a cultural model. Eurozone was one of the most important steps for the formation of the EU cultural project. An Italian has to consider himself not only Italian but also European. When the symbols on euro official banknotes are considered it can be seen that the EU abstain from nationalistic features instead they designed abstract figures that reflect the periods of art. The EU has a flag and an anthem; these are all designed to form a collective identity among EU members. European Identity rose as an important term in the 1990s after the unification of Germany and the collapse of Russia.

---

[72] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.21
[73] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", p.418

European States give importance to ideas about cultural values, historical past and suggests collective identity constructions concerning Europe. Traditionally, European culture is perceived as having flowed across changing boundaries for hundreds of years, interspersing local, regional and national cultures with common motifs and traditions. Its foundations are to be sought in Greco-Roman civilization, the rise of Christendom, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. In the modern era, it is defined by its identification with liberal humanism, civil rights, freedom of thought, belief, expression and association, with equality and the rule of law, with social responsibility and finally with pluralist and participatory democracy.[74] These values form the European identity.

This thesis is organized to lay out the effects of cultural identity on the EU accession periods. It applies the elements of construction to the elements that unite the EU together. The thesis analyzes the historical and religious perspective of the EU unification. It can be argued that historical background of states affect states' actions because they perceived its rival with the help of its past experiences. Naturally not only historical and religious elements of the past but also universal values like democracy, the rule of law and human rights affected the EU enlargement period. It aims to explain today's binding cultural features of the EU such as EU flag, anthem, Eurozone, Educational Programs.

From this perspective, it can be argued that there is a negative relationship between Turkey's EU accession period and European identity. What diversify Turkey from Europe? Is there a role of othering in this diversification? As constructivism assumes, important actors affect state's acts like philosophers, religious authorities and political leaders. There are many philosophers and politicians who declared their negative thoughts on Turks, Ottomans and Islam.

---

[74]Denise Dunne and Ben Tonra, "A European Cultural Identity – Myth, Reality or Aspiration?" accessed from, http://72.14.221.104/search?q=cache:9RS2rFueo0YJ:www.ucd.ie/dei/about/staff_papers/ben_tonra_european_cultural_identity_1997.doc+European+Identity+%2B+meaning&hl=tr&gl=tr&ct=clnk&cd=4, on June 6, 2007

CHAPTER II

THE EUROPEAN IDENTIFICATION THROUGH HISTORICAL
PERSPECTIVE: THE ROOTS OF EUROPE

What do we mean by Europe? Does Europe have predefined borders or does it simply the heart of a common religion namely Christianity, unifying different nations under a spiritual umbrella? Or is it the name of a common culture, a product of modern ages without any precursors before the period we label as modernity?[75] What do people perceive from Europe? Many Europeans believe they share some cultural, ethical, political and historical values.These values form European identity. This chapter aims to identify the reason of European nations' unification with respect to their historical and religious values. What historically diversify Europeans from its others?

Europe has been used geographically on the one hand in order to indicate the region of the globe and on the other hand a certain form of culture is intended.[76] Europe can be described as a western civilization but it can not be explained by only defining its borders. It is not simply a geographical context. Its birthplace is the Mediterranean, Greece, Palestine and Italy. From there it spread throughout Europe and the Middle East. In antiquity, Athens, Jerusalem and Rome were the center of western civilization. During the Dark Ages, Byzantium was the most important site of cultural and administrative leadership. In the 17th and 18th century, Paris was the cultural capital of the West. In the 19th century, London became the capital. In this century, New York became the leading artistic house in the world. Over the last five hundred years, the impact of western civilization can be seen in the entire world.[77]

T.S. Eliot wrote in 1947, "a new unity can only grow on the old roots: the Christian faith, and the classical languages which European inherits in common." There appears to be widespread consensus that the cultural foundation of Europe is

---

[75] Mustafa Serdar Palabıyık, *Contributions of the Otoman Empire to the Construction of Modern Europe*, (Ankara: A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University, June 2005), p.2

[76] Klaus Held, "The Origin of Europe with the Greek Discovery of the World", *Epoche,* Volume 7, Issue 1, (2002), p 81, accessed from http://www.pdcnet.org/pdf/held.pdf on July 18.2007

[77] William Ebenstein and Alan O. Ebenstein, *Great Political Thinkers Plato to the Present*, (California: Harcourt Brace, 5th ed., 1990) , p.2

deeply rooted in Latin Christendom, humanist values and liberal democracy.[78] While explaining the notion of Europe, Delanty said "it is for sure that Europe is more than a region and polity; it is an idea and identity, a historically fabricated reality of ever changing forms and dynamics."[79] As Delanty and many others thinkers mentioned, Europe is more than a continent, it has an identity.

This chapter examines the effects of the ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, the Crusades, the role of othering, the relationship between Islam and Christianity and the formation of the idea of Europe. For every "us" and the feeling of belonging, there must be "them" or its "other". The discourse of Europe is ambiguous because it is not always about unity and inclusion. It is also about exclusion and the construction of difference based on norms of exclusion.[80] The formation and the evolution of the concept of Europe is examined thoroughly with special reference to the formation of a European identity by negating the other, being the Persian for the ancient Greeks, Islam for the Christianity and the Ottoman Turk for the early modern Europe.[81]

How does the formation of the European identity start? Some claims that modern idea of Europe is a recent phenomenon starting from the early modern period. Unlike this idea, some scholars claim that modern notion had its roots in a remote past since the ancient Greece. It can be argued that the formation of European identity has been influenced from the ancient Greece and the Roman Empire as they were the greatest civilizations of their times. When the Roman Empire accepted Christianity, the influence of religion on Europe became inevitable. With the rise of Islam, the formation of othering started and with the effect of Enlightenment, Renaissance, Reform and the French Revolution, the concept of a modern civilization began to be constructed. Although all these important annals had not been experienced all over the continent of Europe, it can be claimed that European nations are influenced by these events in some way or other.

---

[78] T.S. Eliot quoted in Delanty, p.2
[79] Delanty quoted in Ezgi Genç, *The Role of Religious Identity in Turco-European Relations*, (Ankara: A master thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University, December 2004), p. 28
[80] Delanty, p.1
[81] Palabıyık, p.5

1. Ancient Greece

Europa was a myth before it became a geographical expansion. Like many mythological figures, Europa was the name of a woman. In the Greek myths the Phoenician princess Europa having been seduced by Zeus disguised as a white bull, abandoned her homeland in present day Lebanon from the western island of Crete where she later married the King of Crete. Indeed in many of the myths, Europa was the half sister of Asia and Africa.[82]

Europe was not a Greek discovery and may even have Semitic roots. The notion that Europe was of Greek origin was undoubtedly a later invention and it can be traced to the attempts of counter revolutionary intellectual particularly in the period 1815 to 1830, when classics was founded as a conservative discipline to fabricate a European cultural tradition whose roots lay in a purified ancient Greece that bore no recognition of its roots in the orient.[83] Before Zeus abducted the Phoenician Princess, Europa lived in today's Lebanon so when it is geographically considered Europa was living in Asia.[84]

As it is explained above, the idea of Europe was nothing more than a myth for the ancient Greeks. For Greeks, a non Greek was simply a barbarian. West Coast of the Asia Minor was the lands of Greek colonists. The word "barbarian" was first used by Hellenes for Non-Hellenes. In the 5th century B.C, Greek philosophers started to emphasize the differences in language, customs and distinct systems of government between Europe and Asia. To them, the symbol of freedom was the city of Athens and Persia was the empire of an absolute ruler who had no respect to law or God.[85]

For centuries, the gaps between Europe and Asia, West and East, or Occident and Orient have played a great role in the formation of European thought. The Greeks lived at both sides of the Aegean Sea and if there is a difference between self and other, it was between Hellenes and barbarians not clearly between Europeans and Asians.[86] The notion of the Occident first referred to the eastern Mediterranean

---

[82] Delanty, p.17
[83] Ibid., p.18
[84] F.H. Burak Erdenir, *Avrupa Kimliği Pan Milliyetçilikten Post Millietçiliğe*, (Ankara: 2004), p.53
[85] Genç, p.30
[86] Palabıyık, p.32

world and Europe was of predominantly a geographical context. Orient and Occident began to gain an important meaning as the centre of civilization shifted westwards.[87] For much of Antiquity, Europe didn't encompass what we associate with it today. It was at most a region and not a continent.[88]

2. Roman Empire

It was with the Greeks that first appeared a district sense of the difference between European and Asiatic ideals and of the autonomy of western civilization. The extension of this tradition of higher civilization to the West was the work of Rome whose mission was to act as the intermediary between the civilized Hellenistic world of the eastern Mediterranean and the barbaric people of Western Europe.[89] Neither Greeks nor Romans had a strong sense of a European identity, possibly because some parts of the Roman Empire were spread over non European territory and Roman Empire never included much of the northern parts of the continent. Roman ethnocentrism was focused not on the idea of Europe but on the myth of Europe as the centre of the world. Even in the early Christian era, to be a Christian was to be a Roman not a European.[90]

Before the official recognition of Christianity, Roman Empire had a religion based on a mixture of fragmented rituals, taboos, superstitions, and traditions which they collected over the years from a number of sources. The Roman gods and goddesses were a blend of several religious influences via the Greek colonies of southern Italy. The Roman authorities hesitated for a long time over how to deal with this new religion and defined it as subversive and potentially dangerous. The insistence on only one god seemed to threaten the principle of religious toleration.[91] Before becoming the official religion of Roman Empire, in early centuries Christianity had been a missionary religion relying on preaching and example to persuade people to join the Christian community. When the Roman Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity and made it the official state religion of the

---

[87] Delanty, p.20
[88] Ibid.
[89] Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe : An Introduction to the History of European Unity*, (Washington D. C. : The Catholic University Press, 2003), p. 16
[90] Delanty, p.21
[91] "Roman Paganism – The Religion of Rome", accessed from http://www.roman-empire.net/religion/religion.html, on July 5, 2007

Roman Empire, mission in the early sense faltered as the faith came to be identified rather closely with the Roman State.[92]

Roman Emperor Constantine accepted Christianity himself, because he thought the Christian religion might help for unification and thus bring vitality and solidarity within the Empire. He miscalculated and the developments in the next centuries made it obvious that his hopes were in vain and more division took place within the Christian church. In part of these divisions simply bore some correspondence to the split which the Roman Empire itself underwent in the forth century when it was divided into an Eastern and a Western half.[93] The official recognition of the Church and its association with the Roman state became the determining factor in the development of a new social order. The Church received its liberty and in return it brought its resources of spiritual and social vitality to the Empire.[94]

The division of the Roman Empire, into two parts in 395 as the Eastern and Western Empires was a touchstone in the shaping of the future antagonism between east and west. So Occident and Orient evolved to refer to the two halves of the Roman Empire. The term Occident along with Europe, tended to be used increasingly for the western part of the former Roman Empire and the identity of the western half came gradually to rest on Latin Christianity. Europe and Occident became synonyms for Christendom.[95]

Europe was nothing more than a continent in ancient times, just like Aristotle mentioned Greece was equal to Europe and Roman Empire was equal to the world.[96] Until 15th century, the word "European" is not a widespread word. It can be argued that Europe began to take a new meaning with Christianity. When Roman Empire accepted Christianity, Europe became Christian. With the spread of Christianity and its acceptance as the official religion, the myth of ancient Greece was united with Christianity. Since that time Europe started to gain a cultural meaning.[97]

---

[92]Hugh Goddard, *A History of Christian Muslim Relations*, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000), p. 113
[93] Ibid., p. 12
[94] Dawson, p. 16
[95] Delanty, p.22
[96] A. Nuri Yurdusev, "Avrupa Kimliğinin Oluşumu ve Türk Kimliği", *Türkiye ve Avrupa: Batılılaşma Kalkınma Demokrasi*, ed. Atila Eralp, (Ankara: İmge Yayınevi, 1997), p.32
[97] Ibid.

It can be claimed that Roman Empire has influenced the formation of the idea of Europe and contributed to the development of modern Europe. The idea is expressed by T. S. Eliot that: "We are all, so far as we inherit the civilization of Europe, still citizens of the Roman Empire.[98]

3. The Conflict between Islam and Christianity
3.a. Rise of Christianity

If Europe owes its political existence to the Roman Empire, it owes its spiritual unity to the Catholic Church.[99] The idea of a universal empire was taken over by the Church, which cultivated a historical memory based on nostalgia for the imperial past: the universal empire became the universal church and the cult of emperor worship was transposed to the papacy.[100] According to the Latin Christendom, the bishop of Rome was superior to all others. Rome is the head of the world and it is the Roman church which holds the superior power of correcting the whole of Christendom.[101] The self definition of the men and women of the High Middle Ages can not be disentangled from the Holy Roman Church.[102] During the Medieval period, the effect of Christianity was highly observed.

It is believed that two concepts largely shaped the idea of Europe: Western Christendom and Western Civilization.[103] The word Europe is not found in the Bible but Europe is a Christian notion, at least a part of the Christian way of thinking.[104] One of the most important variables that affect the historical development of a cultural and political entity is religion. It is claimed that the struggle of Christendom against Islam in the Middle Ages helped to produce a greater sense of common European identity. The spread of Christianity remained slow until A.D. 313, the Roman Emperor Constantine issued a declaration of toleration for Christianity, which led eventually to its status as state religion. With the official recognition of the church by the Roman Empire, Catholic Church spread rapidly in the Western

---

[98] Delanty, p.17
[99] Dawson, p. 52
[100] Delanty, p.27
[101] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.243
[102] Ibid., p.244
[103] Genç, p. 43
[104] Ibid., p. 51

Empire.[105] Since then, Christian civilized world emerged and Europe became closely associated with Christianity and its global aspirations. Christianity began to be identified with cultural superiority and civilization, while the non-Christians were seen as uncivilized and barbarian. In the Medieval periods, individuals used to have two common identities. They were faithful to their local authorities like prince or lord and secondly they were faithful to universal authority units like the emperor and the Pope.[106]

Feudalism was terminated with the signature of Westphalia in 1648 and the Utrecht Agreement in 1713 and nation state formed the new system of Europe. Voltaire said that, "some are monarchic, some are mixed, some are aristocratic, some are popular, but all are related to each other as a huge grand commonwealth. They can have different religious sects but all are united under Christianity."[107]

3.b.Rise of Islam

Today, it can be claimed that there is peace and solidarity among European Union but throughout history, Europe had experienced many conflicts and bloody wars. It has been a fact of European history that every attempt made to unite the continent occurred after a period of a major division. Unlike the western frontier, the eastern one has been a frontier of defense and has played a central role in the formation of European identity.[108]

The coming of Islam dominated the history of the 7th and 8th centuries and affected the subsequent developments of the medieval civilization in the West as well as in the East.[109] The Arabs conquered most of North Africa and Muslim power spread over Anatolia, Persia, Mesopotamia and eventually reached India. Naturally Islam was not the only effect. The barbarian tribes of the North (Anglo Saxon Kingdom in Britain, Persians, Vikings and Hungarians) were no longer a threat for Europe. They had been attacking the Roman Empire since the 5th century. The age of the barbarian invasions and the foundation of the Germanic kingdoms in the West have always been regarded as one of the great turning points in world history and as

---

[105] Genç, p. 58
[106] Voltaire quoted in Yurdusev, p.38
[107] Ibid., p.40
[108] Delanty, p.7
[109] Dawson, p. 116

the boundary between the ancient and medieval worlds.[110] These tribes were not a threat anymore because many of them had been converted to Christianity and became the backbone of Christendom.[111]

The 9th century was significant due to the elaboration of Islam. The elaboration can be explained as a network of contacts between Christian and Muslim communities which grew up during that century in what is called today the Middle East.[112]

At the beginning of the 10th century, Europe was backward both intellectually and economically. It was also economically primitive when compared with the Muslim world. In the 12th century the imbalance began to change with the transmission of Greek thought to the West from the world of Islam.[113] It can be claimed that Islamic culture had a major impact on the late medieval Europe. Islamic influence was crucial for the establishment in Western Europe namely the university which was an Islamic innovation going back to the establishment of al Azhar in Cairo. There are earlier institutions in the ancient Greece but they were tended to be centered on individual teachers.[114]

3.c. The Crusaders

From the 10th to the 13th century, one of the most striking aspects of the expansionary activity occurred as the movement of western European aristocrats from their homelands into new areas. This period is called as the age of the crusades.[115]

The idea of Christian community helped medieval kingship to legitimize their myths and served as a medium of cultural cohesion for groups which are separated by language and ethnic traditions. The importance of the crusades is that; they shaped the formation of an ethno-culturally homogenizing identity which subsequently became a core component of European identity. The political energy of the feudal kingdoms in Western Europe was transformed into an eastward movement

---

[110] Dawson., p. 78
[111] Delanty, p.24
[112] Goddard, p. 50
[113] Ibid., p. 97
[114] Goddard, p. 99
[115] Bartlett, p.24

towards colonization. This was also Christendom's counter-offensive against Islam and the idea of a Holy War against the infidel.[116]

The movement of militant Christianity accelerated at the end of the 10th century. The supporters of this movement, the Crusaders were convinced that they had a religious obligation to take up the cross literally in order to recapture the Holy Land, the land in which Jesus had lived and taught from the infidel Muslim in order to facilitate or expedite the return of Christ.[117]

In the minds of most of the participants there was a considerable measure of religious motivation including the longing to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land but they have also had the desire to secure eternal salvation, and at least in the early years the whole movement was suffused with an air of apocalyptic expectation.[118] Crusaders not only wanted to recapture the Holy Land but also they were tempted to travel and to gain wealth.

The First Crusade was launched in 1095 by Pope Urban II with the stated goal of capturing the sacred city of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from Muslims. The aim of this war was to end the warfare and violence that captured Western Christianity. Pope Urban II said, "no Christian should kill another Christian, for whoever kills a Christian undoubtedly sheds the blood of Christ."[119] The Papacy was encouraging territorial conquests by Christians and the middle of the 11th century was the starting point of warfare against Islam in the Mediterranean. In 1095, the Byzantine emperor sent a diplomatic mission to the Pope, the head of the Latin Christendom, to request military assistance. As a result of this diplomatic mission, Pope Urban II made his call for the first Crusade which was the beginning of long history of hostility and mistrust between Muslims and Christians.[120] Pope Urban II spoke as follows referring to the military successes of the Turks against the Greeks:

> "Oh what a disgrace if a race so despicable, degenerate, and enslaved by demons should thus overcome a people endowed with faith in Almighty God and resplendent in the name of Christ! Oh what reproaches will be charged against you by the Lord himself if you have not helped those who are counted like yourself of the Christian faith! Let those who are accustomed to wantonly wage private war against the faithful march upon the infidels in a

---

[116] Delanty, p.34
[117] Goddard, p. 84
[118] Ibid., p. 84
[119] Pope Urban II quoted in Tomaz Mastnak, "Islam and the Creation of European Identity", *Centre fo the Study of Democracy*, CSD Perspectives, Number 4, (Autumn 1994), p.3, accessed from http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/mat01/ on July 24, 2007
[120] Pope Urban II quoted in Genç, p. 36

war which should be begun now and be finished in victory? Let those who have long been robbers now be soldiers of Christ. Let those who have once fought against brothers and relatives now rightfully fight against barbarians".[121]

Tomaz Mastnak focused on the formation of Western Christendom and Europe as a unity that developed a collective identity and the ability to orchestrate action. From this point of view, the crusaders appear as the first western union and the creation of a crusading army marks a spectacular advance toward European peace and unity.[122]

It can be argued that from the 8th to the 10th century, the concept of Europe began to be used more than a geographical cultural term, meaning the Christians living in the continent. This religious understanding of Europe reached its epitome with the Crusades. There were numerous Crusades, at least eight big campaigns between 1095 and 1270 aiming to eliminate the threat of Islam and to recover the Holy lands occupied by the Muslims.[123] The general idea of the crusade was anchored in a distant past in which Christians had marched to defend Europe against Muslim infidels or to liberate Jerusalem for the true faith.[124]

The course of the crusading movement was briefly this: Pope Urban II preached the Crusade at Clermont in France and named the Crusaders' task as the liberation of Jerusalem declaring whoever participated in this task with pure motivation would be released from any penance which had been required of them earlier. The response to the Pope's call was perhaps rather greater than he had expected. A number of princes from many regions of Europe decided to take up the cross.[125]

The crusaders contributed to a worsening of the positions of Christians under Muslim rule, given that they were increasingly distrusted as a potential fifth column at the same time, they also furthered the course of the involvement of the Western church in the Middle East and they also contributed to some extent to the development of contacts on different levels between the Muslim world and Western Europe.[126]

---

[121] Mastnak, p.8
[122] Ibid.
[123] Delanty, p.35
[124] Ibid., p.112
[125] Goddard, p. 85
[126] Ibid., p. 92

The crusades were launched to save Eastern Christendom from the Muslims. When they ended, the whole of Eastern Christendom was under Muslim rule. When Pope Urban II preached his great sermon at Clermont, the Turks seemed about to threaten the Bosporus. When Pope Pius II preached the last Crusade the Turks were crossing the Danube.[127]

4. The Decrease in the Influence of Christianity
4.a. Renaissance

The occupation of Constantinople by Ottomans was one of the landmarks in the formation of European modernity. It can be said that the European Middle Ages came to an end in 1453 when the Eastern Empire fell to the Turks. Islam had finally won a major victory over the Christian world. Constantinople renamed Istanbul, the city of Islam and became the capital city of Ottoman Empire. The capital of the of the greatest Islamic civilization in the world was now located in Europe giving birth to what for centuries was to be known as "Turkey in Europe".[128] Pius II declared the Turks were destroying Greek and Latin culture, the source of European learning and arts. The Pope used the terms "Our Europe", "Our Christian Europe."[129]

As a result of the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 and the subsequent colonial expansion of the western European powers after 1492, the idea of Europe became linked to a system of what was going to be regarded as European values It was thus in the encounter with non European peoples and in resistance to Ottoman expansion that the idea of Europe itself became the focus for the construction of a specifically European identity.[130]

The role of Spain with regard to the process of transmission of knowledge from the Muslim world to Western Europe was undoubtedly great. The works of logic, philosophy, politics and works on science, medicine, astronomy, geography, mathematics were translated into Latin. The important Islamic figures such as Al Farabi, Ibn Sina, Al-Ghazali and the works of Greek authors such as Aristotle, Euclid, and Hippocrates became accessible.[131]

---

[127] Goddard., p. 91
[128] Delanty, p.36
[129] Genç, p.38
[130] Delanty, p.30
[131] Goddard, p. 99

Renaissance humanism contributed to the modifications of the perception of the Turk. Influenced from the ancient Greek manuscripts, some authors began to establish several genealogies regarding European and Turkish ancestors. A byproduct of this understanding was the famous "Trojan genealogy" which argued that Turk was descended from the Trojans who had once been a major threat for the European civilization of the time namely for the Greeks.[132]

4.b. Reformation

The Reformation resulted with the decrease in the influence of Christianity. The 17th century wars of religion cracked the unity of Christendom. The birth of Renaissance and reformation period resulted in a new secular identity. The idea of the Christian Occident or Christendom began to lose its significance and was slowly replaced by more secular notion of Europe. It was the Reformation that undermined the idea of a universal Christian order and created the space for the emergence of a secular notion of Europe. As a result of these developments, the idea of Europe simply became less related with the old nexus of Christendom. The new polarity was one of civilization versus nature. Europe versus the non European signified the barbarity of uncivilized nature.[133]

After 1648, Christendom was divided between several competing forms of Christianity: Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism, Lutheranism and Calvinism and its puritan sects. This growing differentiation of society was one of the most far reaching developments of the age. The English Civil War in the 1640s, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Thirty Years War of 1618-48 were the great formative events in the long process of European secularization. Reformation divided Europe between a Protestant north and a Catholic south but Christianity continued to be the principal source of cultural identity.[134]

In the 18th century, the idea of Europe started to take shape as a cultural model. Rousseau had envisioned an age when "there is no longer a France, a Germany, a Spain, not even England, there are only Europeans. All have the same

---

[132] Palabıyık, p.46
[133] Delanty, p.65
[134] Ibid., p.67

tastes, the same passions, the same way of life"[135] Rousseau envisaged the target of the European Union long before its foundation.

4.c. French Revolution

The French revolution was a preparation for the idea of Europe that came to signify the civilized polity of nation states. The idea of Europe became closely linked to the emergence of a western European polity of nation states and gradually came to take the character of a normative idea.[136] There is a general view shared by many historians that the idea of Europe was an invention of the modern era, particularly emerged with the French and industrial revolutions. These events contributed much to the formation of a European identity; however the roots of the concept of Europe which shaped the modern understanding can be traced back to the ancient Greece.[137]

With the effect of Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment and the French Revolution, Christianity began to lose its absolute effect on the institutions and individuals. It can be claimed that there is a positive relationship between the nation state and secularism. Starting from the United Kingdom, nation states began to form their own churches and terminated the absolute power of the Catholic Church. It should be noted that the process of secularization minified the importance of Christianity but did not terminate its effect on Europe, as Delanty argued "New Europe is the secularized form of Christian Europe.[138]

5. The Role of Othering in the Formation of European Identity

Identities become vehicles for the reproduction of dominant ideologies. National identity, sexism, sectarianism and racism are examples of regressive forms of identification with authority. Identities become absolute in the state, gender, church and color.[139] Identities can also be built in relation to its other. Identity can simply be explained as a sense of belonging and solidarity but it can also be explained with its opposition to the other.

---

[135] Rousseau quoted in Delanty, p.71
[136] Delanty, p.65
[137] Palabıyık, p.30
[138] Delanty quoted in Yurdusev, p.42
[139] Delanty, p.5

Identity is a dualistic concept, for every "us" there must be a corresponding "them". It is a logical condition that identification requires distinction. The important factor is the perception of "other" including identity formation. Identities are formed out of shared experiences, memories and myths in relation to those of other collective identities. Identities are usually constructed through the opposition to the identities of significant others. Othering and identity construction go hand in hand.[140]

While we are talking about the culture and identity, we are not only mentioning traditions, beliefs, life styles, we are also stressing religion. According to Huntington "we know who we are, only when we know who we are not and often only when we know who we are against." [141] This sentence also strengthens the idea that identities are formed against its "other", just like Europe did many years ago by constructing its own identity against Islam and Turks. Formation of othering is a result of a social relationship between the structure and its other. Starting from the Crusades Islam was Europe's other. In Wendt's terms structure is not only made up of material capabilities but also social relationships.

Defined social structures include three essential elements: shared knowledge, material resources and practices and these three elements are interrelated.[142] A social identity on the other hand is defined as a set of meanings that an actor attributes to itself as a social object. While actors have one corporate identity they usually have multiple social identities. Social identities enable actors to determine who they are in situation and their positions in a social role structure of shared understandings and expectations. The existence of social identities depends on relations to others. There can not be a communist if there are no anticommunists around.[143] When we examine the situation after WWII, it can be argued that USA and Russia affected the European countries' destiny. While the Western Europe aided by Marshall Plan of the USA, Eastern Europe were becoming the satellite of Russia. The CEEC countries used to have a shared understanding with Russia.

Sometimes actors may experience unprecedented situations so that they have to construct their meaning and their interests. How do they acquire the identities?

---

[140] Rainer Hülsse, "The Discursive Construction of Identity and Difference – Turkey as Europe's Other?" accessed from
http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/mannheim/w22/hulsse.pdf on July 27, 2007
[141] Samuel Huntington quoted in Genç, p.23
[142] Bozdağlıoğlu, p. 17
[143] Ibid., p. 19

Wendt makes a distinction between the corporate and social identities of states. Corporate identity generates four basic interests: physical security, predictability in relationships to the world, recognition as an actor by others, economic development. How a state satisfies these corporate interests depend on how it defines the self in relation to the other.[144] As it is mentioned above sometimes actors may experience unexpected situations and as a result they have to rebuild their meanings and interests. After the collapse of Russia, the CEEC countries were in a chaos and they decided to rebuild their structure with the help of Western Europe. They applied for the European Union membership at the beginning of 1990s and in 2004; they were accepted as the EU members. Both Eastern Europe and Western Europe calibrated their relationship and today it is argued that with the acceptance of the CEEC members "return to Europe" project came into life. At present the European Union is trying to strengthen European Identity by creating a sense of belonging with the help of European symbols.

According to Delanty, identities can be constructed in two ways; first, by a sense of belonging and solidarity arising out of shared lives and second by a focus on opposition to the other. In the second case: "we" is defined not by reference to a framework of shared experiences, common goals and a collective horizon, but by the negation of the "other". Identification takes place through the imposition of otherness in the formation of a binary typology of "us" and "them". The purity and stability of the "we" is guaranteed first in the naming then in the demonisation and finally in the cleansing of otherness. The defining characteristic of the group is not what members have in common but in what separates them from other groups."[145]

The effect of othering can not be denied while explaining the term modern Europe. The European ideas were shaped with a reference to non-Europeans. Since non-Europeans changed many times in history, the perception of European identity has also changed. Therefore European identity had to be reconstructed according to its other. All belongings contain othering. Throughout the historical periods, Europe has different others. In the medieval period Europe's other was Islam. After 15th century generally Islam and the Ottoman Empire was its other.[146] Although Europe

[144] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.19
[145] Delanty, p.5
[146] Yurdusev, p.46

had many others throughout history; this chapter is limited with the Ottoman Empire, Turks and Islam.

It can be said that the wealth of Islamic civilization flamed the Crusading mentality. Muslims were more civilized and well informed when compared to Europe. That affected the lords and knights of the West. With the probability of recapturing the Holy Land and getting Islamic prize goods, the first crusade started against the sinful Muslims. Pope gave preaches against the infidel and the formation of Christian identity started. Crusaders not only wanted the Holy Land but they also desired to have the prosperity.

Actors usually construct themselves and others long before the actual contact most often through discursive practices that are through representations.[147] People are affected by the discourses of the leaders and religious authorities. Before the start of the Crusades, the Christians of Western Europe didn't have much contact with the Islamic civilizations of the East. Pope's and political authorities' discourses affected them and the formation of othering started in the minds of the Crusaders.

In the crusading mentality, Christians' gain would be Muslim's loss. There was no "win- win" situation and the relative gain of one side is important. The relationship between them was hostile, not friendly. People act towards objects including other actors on the basis of the meanings that the objects have for them.[148] How it does so depends on the inter-subjective understandings and expectations and the distribution of knowledge that constitute their conceptions of self and other.[149] West had a tradition of identifying itself against a threat coming from the East and therefore perception of Turkish threat was not much different from the earlier perceptions, like the Persian threat of the ancient times.[150]

It can be argued that there is no difference between the perception of the Turk and Muslim; in other words, accordingly Turk is Muslim and infidel who had occupied the Holy Lands that must be re-conquered.[151] The French reformer John Calvin too basically followed the stereotypes of his time in remarking on the Turks and their religion and said "when Turks put their Muhammad in the place of God's son and when they do not recognize that God is manifested in the flesh then they are

---

[147] Bozdağlıoğlu, p. 25
[148] Ibid., p. 17
[149] Ibid., p. 18
[150] Palabıyık, p.45
[151] Palabıyık, p.45

guilty of perversities and are leading so many people astray that they deserve to be put to death."[152]

Throughout this rivalry, the danger was not always military, but there is constant fear in Europe about mass conversion of the population of the lands occupied by the Ottomans. These fears were not irrelevant at all, because in some cases inhabitants of Eastern and Central Europe voluntarily chose or welcomed Ottoman rule vis-à-vis their Christian overlords.[153]

Among those who defended the crusading ideals were the two most prominent humanists of the sixteenth century namely Desiderius Erasmus and Martin Luther. Martin Luther was initially against a crusade against the Turk not because he wanted some kind of reconciliation but because he perceived the Turk as the scourge of the God sent by him in order to punish the sins of Christian community.[154]

For most of the humanists, Turks were the enemies of learning and the faith, and it was the duty of Christian princes to protect the achievements of Renaissance from the infidel barbarians. Erasmus, who often be called the first European, believed that Christian princes should stop quarreling in order to be able to form a united front against Ottoman power.[155] He called the Turks as barbarians, monstrous beasts, enemies of the Church, a people contaminated with all kinds of crime and ignominies. Mohammad was to him a criminal. Erasmus needed these barbarians in order to see himself as European. Voltaire regarded Turks as the greatest curse on earth. "It does not suffice to humiliate them, they should also be destroyed."[156]

Since the Koran was translated into Latin in 1143, western society has been familiar with Islam. Pope Innocent III defined Muhammad as the beast of the Apocalypse. For Dante, Muhammad was the evil opposite of Christ and was relegated to the depths of the hell. The Orient was not only represented as despotic and evil but also cruel. Edmund Burke told the House of Commons that the Turks were worse than savages and that any Christian power was to be preferred to these destructive savages. [157]

---

[152] Calvin quoted in Goddard, p. 112
[153] Palabıyık, p.46
[154] Luther quoted in Palabıyık, p.49
[155] Erasmus quoted in Palabıyık, p.50
[156] Voltaire quoted in Genç, p.27
[157] Edmund Burke quoted in Delanty, p.87

As it is mentioned before, the formation of othering in Europe changed throughout history. Starting from the Crusades, Islam was one of its others. Ottomans were one of the greatest empires in the world and was a big hegemon for centuries. During its hegemony, Ottomans invaded important parts of the European continent and Europe located Ottomans as its other until the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

6. The Effect of the Ottoman Empire on the European Identity

Ottoman contribution to the construction of modern European identity is a significant debate among the historians. Europeans perceived the Ottoman Empire as its other because Ottomans were a major threat for the formation of a European identity. Europe and the Ottoman Empire played a significant role in shaping each other's identity. There were several events that contributed much to the negative perception of the Turks. Among them the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 played a special role. It was after this momentous event that Pope Pius II called the Christian world to defend their religion against the Turks; he used the term "Respublica Christiana" and Europe as interchangeable synonyms, also speaking of our Europe, our Christian Europe. The fall of Constantinople was one of the most decisive events in the formation of European identity. The conquest of Constantinople a city revered by the humanists as a treasury of ancient texts was lamented as a devastating blow to classical Greek culture.[158]

A sense of European identity existed by the 15th century, Orient was Europe's common enemy and identity was shaped more by defeat than by victory. As it is mentioned before, in the ancient times there were no Europeans, there were Greeks and Romans but with the effect of Christianity and the medieval period, there occurred a significant increase in the frequency of use of the world Europe. They began to give meaning to the word Europe by identifying the Ottomans negatively. When Pius II first heard the fall of Constantinople, he remarked: "now we have really been struck in Europe, that is, at home." His concept of Europe was not only that of Christendom but in the wake of the Turkish advance it also included Greece, the Balkans and the Byzantium. Luther hoped that Latin Christendom would be able

---

[158] Palabıyık, p.41

to heal its self inflicted injuries and take up the mission of the cross against the Muslim infidels.[159]

The British political historian Lord Acton stated that modern history and European self awareness emerged as a consequence of the pressure caused by the Ottoman victories.[160] Ottoman advance in Europe created a significant reaction from the European powers of the time and this reaction brought identification of the European by negating the Turk as a negative reference group.[161] Since their arrival in the Asia Minor in the eleventh century it can be said that Turks have been a part of Europe in the geographical context. Turks started to be a part of Europe economically by the sixteenth century as trade routes expanded and diplomatically since the nineteeth century. The term Europe was increasingly used in relation to the rise of the Ottomans and the threat they posed to Christianity.[162]

The early modern period between the years 1450-1620 is the opposition between the old and the new. Within the framework of this remarkable age, the interaction between Europe and the Ottoman Empire was very significant. According to Delanty, eastern frontier has always been a frontier of defense and has played a key role in the formation of European identity.[163] The Ottoman Empire expanded quickly towards the Balkans and reached to the Danubian basin within a century and a half, that's why Ottomans had been one of the major threats for Europeans.

This rapid expansion disconcerted Europeans and contributed to the emergence of a European identity as well as for the emergence of the modern European state system. The continent had witnessed many intruders before the Ottomans but generally they were mainly raiders, pillaging and plundering the regions that they had conquered, offering no alternative political and economic system.[164] Ottomans was one of the greatest empires and unlike the barbarian occupiers, it had a political and economic identity which could destroy European values and affect Christianity in a negative way.

"The Turk was different in kind from Christian states whether Catholic or Protestant, a political pariah excluded by his very nature from membership in the family of European states. Ottoman Empire became the anti-thesis of Europe and

---

[159] Pius II quoted in Delanty, p.37
[160] Lord Acton quoted in Genç, p.10
[161] Palabıyık, p.35
[162] Meltem Müftüler Bac, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", p.27
[163] Genç, p. 30
[164] Palabıyık, p.3

European identity emerged in opposition to it. There was not a unified perception of the Turk. The perception of the Turk was generally negative; however the Habsburgs and the Papacy used the Turkish threat extensively as an instrument to maintain their influence in Europe, their proposals regarding the unification schemes were generally perceived skeptically by the European states.[165]

Leading power of the early modern Europe, the Habsburg Empire used the Turkish threat extensively in order to justify its hegemonic aspirations. The second chancellor of Charles V, Mercurino Gattinara, formulated this justification under the rubric of a universal empire. He argued that it was the Habsburg Empire that should lead the unification of Christian territories under one rule which would provide a united response towards the Turkish threat.[166]

Italian sources also reflected worries and fears originated by the Turk in Europe. The Ottomans managed to conquer almost all of the Balkans by the mid 15th century, they were not only threatening and diminishing the Venetian commercial presence in Eastern Mediterranean but were also posing a threat to the Italian Peninsula. The Papacy added a religious tune to this negative perception focusing on the religious divergence and the irreconcilable conflict of Christians and infidels, in order to attempt in restoring its authority once more over its Christian subjects.[167]

The perceptions of the Habsburg possessions varied due to geographical historical and cultural differences. German used to have a negative perception because between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, Hungary remained as a buffer state and its political existence was in danger due to continuous Ottoman campaigns. That's why; Germany felt the Turkish threat more intensely than any other Habsburg possession. Another Habsburg possession, Spain, perceived the Turks mainly on religious grounds as did the Papacy. Ottoman Empire remained too far to dare a direct and large scale attack on Spain, therefore the Spanish did not fear a military expedition; rather their fears were religious and cultural.[168]

When it comes to the French perception, French perceived the Turk as infidel and this provided a negative connotation however the ruling elite because of the severe Habsburg threat saw the Ottomans as a valuable ally, thus they tries to justify their alliance in secular terms. However French people did not seem to approve these

---

[165] Palabıyık., p.36
[166] Mercurino Gattinara quoted in Palabıyık., p.42
[167] Ibid., p.38
[168] Palabıyık, p.38

loyalties and generally perceived the Turks as an imminent threat to the very existence of the Christian world. The initial English perception of the Turk was also negative because the English read about the Turks from French and Italian sources which were generally prejudicial about them.[169]

Europe is more than a geographical framework. To frame Europe geographically has always been a problem throughout history. It has uncertain borders especially in the East. Starting from the 10th century, with the effect of the Crusades it can be argued that Europe began to gain a cultural meaning. This chapter aims to lay out the European identification through historical perspective. European identity can be described simply as a sense of belonging to Europe or feeling as European; but it is not that simple. European identity is not a concept with only positive identifications. Throughout history, European identity constructed itself against its others. Othering is not only territorially (USA and Russia) but also culturally (USA and Islam) including the continent's own past of conflict and bloody wars.[170]

The European originated world view was born as a result of the conflict between Islam and Christianity. With the birth of Islam, Europe began to identify itself with Christianity. Islam began to be assumed as Europe's other. The division of the Roman Empire as East and West was one of the landmarks for the formation of Europe's cultural meaning. West Roman Empire was identified with the Latin Christendom and the Occident, while East Roman Empire was identified with Orient. As a result of the rivalry between the Occident and the Orient, Europe began to gain cultural meaning. It can be argued that there is a correlation between the formation of European identity and the rise of Islam. One of the most important landmarks of the cultural unity of Europe was the Crusades and Islam became Europe's other.[171]

Ancient Greece, Roman Empire, Crusades, Catholic Church, rise of Islam, Renaissance, Reformation and French Revolution all contributed to the formation of European identity. According to Guizot, the contributions of Romans are the city life and Roman law, the contribution of Christianity is the division of religious and secular authorities and the contribution of the barbarians is the personal freedom.

---

[169] Palabıyık, p.39
[170] O'Brennan, p.182
[171] Yurdusev, p.35

That means Europe owes its political being to Romans, its spiritual being to the Catholic Church and its intellectual heritage to the ancient Greece.[172]

When the enlightenment, the process of secularism and the reformation in the modern ages are considered, the big gap between Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant churches can be seen. Does Europe have a common history? Naturally all those historical experiences are not experienced by the whole continent. Ancient Greece was a local civilization. The Roman Empire was unable to conquer Europe totally, Scandinavia, half of Germany and England, Eastern Europe were not the parts of the Roman Empire. The centre of Europe was not Europe but Mediterranean. Christianity covers all Europe in 16th century. Renaissance could not reach northern and eastern Europe. Reformation was experienced in Latin Christianity. It can not be argued that Europe has a common history but all these events were experienced in Europe. Although they didn't share the same historic experiences it can not be claimed that they were not affected from the events. The Roman Empire is one of the most distinct examples of European common culture. Roman law is the base of today's European law. The highway between Madrid-Paris and some highways in England were the lines that Roman Empire used many centuries ago. Although Russia and Europe have only Christianity in common, Gorbachov once said that "Renaissance, Enlightenment and the philosophy of 17th and 18th centuries formed the structure of Europe which lies from Atlantic to Urals.[173]

Although the EU tries to identify its identity on the positive perspective with the sense of belonging and solidarity; it can be said that European countries usually converge after catastrophic incidents like WWII or they construct themselves strongly against its others like Islam, the Ottoman Empire and Turks. Both Islam and Ottomans have been Europe's other throughout the history. In the next chapters, the cultural features and symbols that bind European Union together are explained. What holds Europe together? What are the factors that bind the EU in the cultural aspect? Is Islam a threat for Europe? What diversify Turkey from the CEEC members? Turkey applied for the EU membership in 1959 and since that time she has been waiting at the doorstep of the EU. Why did the EU accept the CEEC members although they have applied after 1990s while staying frosty to the accession of Turkey to the EU? What diversify Europe from Turkey?

---

[172] Yurdusev, p.53
[173] Gorbachov quoted in Yurdusev, p.54

CHAPTER III

THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTORS THAT BIND THE EU IN THE CULTURAL ASPECT

After being the witness of two catastrophic wars, European states were weak and tired. The outcome of a possible war would result in another tragedy for the continent of Europe. French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed France and Germany to pool their coal and steel resources. The European Union started as an economic integration in the 1950s and proceeded until present with ups and downs. When it is economically considered, the EU -15 can be described as a success story.

However, with the accession of 12 new members in 2004 and 2007 enlargements, it will be hard for the EU to digest the newcomers especially in the economic aspect. It can be said that the EU-27 is a combination of west and east, poor and rich. The new members will benefit from the EU budget and the funds. The EU-15 has to support them to close the economic gap. It can be argued that the last two accessions are an economical liability for the EU-15. That's why; there should be a reason for Western Europe to aid the East. This chapter aims to lay out the important figures that hold the EU together.

Constructivism arises as the core theory for the last two enlargements. It deals with ideas, norms, social interaction and identity issues. It studies the initial construction, formation of identities, interests and interpretations. The starting point of the EU was economic however today it is more than an economic union, it can be named as a cultural project as well. The initial and the present points of the EU are different because at the beginning, this unification helped its members to survive and recover economically. The integration became greater than many people expected and today the EU has 27 members. At present, the powerful members have to help the newcomers economically in order to close the gaps in many aspects. Each nation state needs motivation to help the new members. This is the reason why cultural identity arises as an inevitable factor in the European Union harmonization process.

Twenty-seven individual EU nations are different from each other in many aspects. At least the EU-15 is different than EU-27 in the economic aspect. Members of the EU-15 have powerful economies and their citizens are living in prosperity when compared with the newcomers. Christianity can be stressed as one of the most important figures that bind the EU-27 together but it is not adequate to hold a union together. A common culture should be created among its members to unite in diversity and to become more powerful. In this part of the thesis the symbols of the European Union are also analyzed; how the symbols contribute to the construction of the European identity.

Jacques Delors once said that "If Europe does not have its own soul, it will not define itself as cultural, and it will not be Europe, but if it is only a political or economical community, it will not absolutely fulfill its task."[174] Naturally it could not have started as a cultural project. During its planning stage, the world was suffering from the effects of the WWII and each state tried to survive and recover. There was an economic crisis in the world and Europe had experienced two bloody wars. If the states had followed the self help system they would probably have disappeared from the political arena. Instead of choosing zero-sum game, they decided to play win-win game and with the smart plan of Robert Schuman, France and Germany started to cooperate on coal and steel.

1. A Brief History of the European Union Enlargement Process: Its Transformation to a Cultural Project

In this part of the thesis, the enlargement process of the European Union is analyzed. It aims to lay out its initial point, from past to the present by examining European Union's cultural prospect. It can be said that the EU is transforming from an economic project to a cultural one and it is trying to create its own soul to strengthen its supranational identity. At the beginning, the European Community was a grand design of the USA for Europe to recover economically but today it evolved and became a cultural project.

---

[174] Jacques Delors quoted in W Slomski, "The Philosophy of Culture and European Identity", *Speech presented at Forum Philosophicum Ignatianum*, (Cracovia-Krakow: August 2003), p. 13

The European Union started as reconciliation between France and Germany. The EU has grown to twenty seven members in approximately 50 years time. From 1950 to the present, visions of the politicians, economic, political situations of the countries keep changing. It can be argued that the European Union has been a major economic success story, with its common market, common currency and trade capacity. Today, the EU is more than an economic union; it can be named as a cultural project. The enlargements in 2004 and 2007 were costly and its burden was asymmetrically distributed among the states. 12 new members will increase the existing problems in the decision-making process. They will probably be a liability for the EU-15 when additional financial aids are considered and it could probably lead to a slowdown of the integration process.

This is the reason why many people believe, EU actions seem to be motivated by considerations which have more to do with common identity and shared values. Western Europe certainly shares not identical but similar cultural and historical characteristics with the newcomers but economic disparity between the Eastern and the Western parts of Europe are inevitable. The relationship between the EU and the CEEC members became evident with the fall of the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, as the CEEC members were the ex-satellites of the Soviet Union, the relationship between Europe and the CEEC was hardly existed. When socialism collapsed a special responsibility that aims to unite Europe emerged in order to overcome the division of Europe and to support their economic and democratic transformation. This kinship influenced the member states' preferences with regards to the selection of candidates.[175]

As it is mentioned above, the EU is transforming from an economic project to a cultural project. In this part of the thesis while giving the historical steps of the EU, the effect of the cultural identity on the EU enlargement process is also emphasized because since 1990s identity related issues are on the EU's top agenda. The Treaty of Paris was signed in order to establish the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 by the Founding Six including Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Germany and the Netherlands. They set up a common market for coal and steel. Each member of this organization had different aims while being members: After WWII, European

---

[175]Sonia Piedrafita and Jose I. Torreblanca, "The Three Logics of EU Enlargement: Interests, Identities and Arguments", *Real Instituto Elcano*, No: 51, (2004), p.1, accessed from http://www.arena.uio.no/cidel/PiedrafitaTorreblanca_PE2005.pdf, on August 23, 2007

states were discontented with Germany because they blamed her for being the reason of WWII. By being a member of the ECSC, Germany aims to gain her political ascendance and targeted to increase the export of industrial goods. By signing the treaty, France developed its industrial capacity and succeeded to enlarge her market including agricultural products and became a political initiative. The Netherlands was advanced in freight transportation and took the advantage of increasing trade. After signing the Treaty of Paris, both Italy and Belgium benefited from the increasing trade.[176]

The European Coal and Steel Community expanded into the European Economic Community in 1957. The Treaty of Rome was signed by the Founding Six countries and it resulted in two historic reconciliations: France and Germany had been at war or preparing for war from 1870 to 1945 but the reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics within Christian Democracy helped France and Germany to fix their relations. Indeed ruling or prominent Christian Democrats in all six countries played leading roles in the initial process of European integration.[177]

As it is mentioned above, the ground of the European Union were set by the Treaty of Paris in 1951 and the Treaty of Rome in 1957. These are the treaties that framed the structure of the EC and were amended several times as the complexity and content of integration evolved. Founding Six's primary aim was to remove the traces of WWII and to form and maintain peace between European States. The European Economic Community based on a common market of goods and services.

England supported the integration of Europe since the beginning. In February 1962, England applied for the EC membership and vetoed by De Gaulle's France. England applied once more in 1967 and was rejected again by De Gaulle. De Gaulle rejected England twice because he thought England is the Trojan horse of the USA. England has always had a tendency to identify herself with her own commonwealth and nationalistic figures. A longitudinal study of British party political discourses from the 1950 to the 1990s which analyzed references to collective identities shows very little change in basic identity constructions. The most remarkable feature of British elite attitudes toward European integration is their stability. The fundamental

---

[176] Gamze Güngörmüş Kona, "Avrupa Birliği Genişleme Süreci ve Sorunlar" accessed from http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html, on October 30, 2007
[177] Jose Casanova, "Religion, European Secular Identities and European Integration", *Religion in the New Europe*, ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary : CEU Press, 2006), p. 26

orientations toward the European Community have remained essentially the same since the end of WWII and have survived with the ups and downs in British politics toward the EU. More than twenty years after its entrance into the EU, Britain is still regarded as of rather than in Europe. This attitude has not changed since the 1950s: This can be expressed by prepositions with but not of, "we are with them but not of them". Churchill once said: "We have our own Commonwealth in Europe".[178]

Parliament and the Crown are the important elements of a collective nation state identity of England. The identity related meanings attached to these institutions center around a peculiar understanding of national sovereignty. The Crown symbolizes external sovereignty in terms of independence from Rome and the Pope as well as from the European continent since 1066.[179] While De Gaulle rejected England twice, the other members acted different than France. Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Luxemburg supported England's membership in order to balance a possible German-French hegemony. Germany also supported England's membership because she wanted to increase its trade.[180]

Denmark and Ireland applied for the EC enlargement in 1967. They both wanted to reduce their dependency on England in trade and wanted to increase their retail business with the help of the EC members' links. England, Denmark and Ireland had the EC membership in 1973.[181] Until 1970s, EC cooperation was mostly about economic issues. After 1970s' they took new responsibilities on social, development and regional issues.

Greece joined the EC in 1981. Greece's path towards a united Europe began on 8 June 1959, when it lodged an application for association with the EEC. The Association Agreement between Greece and the EEC entered into force on 2 November 1962. Greece's progress towards joining a united Europe was suspended on 21 April 1967 due to the abolition of democratic institutions by a military junta. In 1974, Constantine Karamanlis requested a meeting with the President of the EC Council of Minister for the reactivation of the Association Agreement. On 27 July 1976 negotiations for full membership opened between Greece and the European Community and on 1 January 1981, the Accession Treaty entered into

---

[178] Churchill quoted in Thomas Risse, "The Euro and Identity Politics in Europe", (University of Notre Dame: 2002), p. 16, accessed from http://www.nd.edu/~nanovic/events/risse.pdf , on October 31, 2007
[179] Risse, http://www.nd.edu/~nanovic/events/risse.pdf
[180] Kona, http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html
[181] Ibid.

force [182] Greece's accession to the EU brought about many significant changes within the country. By joining the European family through its EU accession, Greece moved from the periphery or the semi-periphery to the centre of a system of international economic and political relations.[183]

Democracy is always emphasized in the European identity and it had its cradles in Athens. The ancient Greek understanding has a deep influence in Europe. Greek direct democracy and the philosophers like Aristotle and Plato affected many norms in today's world. It can be argued that with the accession of Greece, the EC started gaining a political and cultural identity.

Spain began to emerge from its postwar isolation and General Franco's death became Spain's major diplomatic goal. In June 1977, Prime Minister Suarez dispatched his foreign minister to Brussels to present Spain's formal application to join the EC. After Spain had acquired the necessary democratic credentials, the economic implications of the prospective Spanish accession caused misgivings among the EC members. The candidacy of Spain and Portugal for membership resulted in deep anxiety in the EC. Both countries are different from the EC with respect to their economic conditions, development degrees and trade capacities. Especially, Spain was one of the most problematic candidates of the EC because of the regional disparities, immigration problem, fishery, agricultural and industrial issues. Portugal had small scale trade capacity and this unification also resulted with some doubts because of the disequilibrium between the EC and Portugal.[184]

These Mediterranean states were newly slipped out of dictatorships and they were not as economically developed as others. The EC states knew this fact and decided to develop economic programs in order to reduce the economic gap between the member states. Greece's accession was followed by Spain and Portugal in 1986. The EC helped these countries to recover their economies and to progress democratically.They tried to fill the gap between the EC and the newly added members "Spain, Greece and Portugal". As a result of these improvements, their sense of being "citizens of Europe" was reinforced. It can be argued that they accepted Greece, Spain and Portugal in order to support them on their way to democratization and protect them from tyranny. European continent suffered from

---

[182] http://www.eu2003.gr/en/cat/136/, accessed on August 4, 2007
[183] http://www.eu2003.gr/en/cat/139/, accessed on August 4, 2007
[184] Kona, http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html

dictators like Hitler, Franco and Mussolini. With the support of the EC to these three Mediterranean countries, they aimed to sweep the last ashes of tyranny near their borders.

When the Cold War was over, Central and Eastern European countries granted their close economies, started democratization process and began to follow the rules of free market economy. At the beginning of the 1990s, the relationship between the EU and the CEEC continued through the partnership agreements. Political unification could not be created until 1990s because of the Cold War. The Maastricht Treaty was perceived as a good opportunity to form a community spirit and consciousness among the member states. As a result, European citizenship rose as a popular term.[185]

The EU signed the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and it resulted in the transformation of the EC to the EU. It developed on two main logical frames; widening and deepening.[186] The EU aimed to create dynamism with the help of the Maastricht Treaty and the Copenhagen criteria and targeted to increase the population and the geographical land of the EU in order to increase its political importance on the global agenda. The EU accepted Austria, Finland and Sweden as its member in 1995. These states harmonized with the acquis of the EU very quickly because of their high standards and prosperity.[187] As the stated countries are economically and democratically advanced, their accession strengthens the democracy and human rights in European identity.

The Maastricht Treaty is the one that framed the EU. The outcome of the Maastricht treaty was monetary union in 1999, European Citizenship, new policies including CFSP, and arrangements for internal security. The outstanding act of this Union was the presentation of a single currency in 2002. Since the beginning of the 1990s, identity issues began to be on the agenda and the EU aimed to go on with a deepening process. Using Eurozone is one of the landmarks in the European cultural identity because it can be said that by using euro instead of national currencies they feel more European than before. Europeans are quite aware of the fact that money is

---

[185]Kona, http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Kona, http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html,

not only about economics and finance but also about nation building and state identity.[188]

Although the EU aims to reduce nationalistic figures and to increase its supranational structure, Britain still stays cold to participate in Eurozone. The British dominant identity discourse makes it very hard to accept the euro in its symbolic quality as an identity marker. Money has always been a symbolic marker in nation building efforts and is strongly related to collective identities pertaining to the nation state.[189] British public opinion is the odd one out in almost all additional categories concerning European integration. Support levels for European integration remain comparatively low in Britain. Two thirds of the English citizens still identify themselves with the nation state. Public opinion toward the euro remains fairly critical and a large majority of public opinion opposes giving up the pound sterling even though 73% are now convinced that the euro will be introduced anyway.[190]

While the deepening efforts of the EU proceeds with ups and downs, at the beginning of the 1990s Central and Eastern European States experienced liberal democracy and applied for the EU membership. The EU welcomed these states because they believe the EU and the CEEC countries are culturally and historically related. Before the 1990s, none of the member states were affirming much about European identity, but with the possible accession of the CEEC, European Identity began to be stressed by many politicians and academicians as a hot debate.

The constructivist approach would point to the extraordinary layers of history and cultural connection that positioned themselves as inter-subjective understandings of the common past with the implication of a natural "right to accession" for the Central and Eastern European States. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the December 1989 European Council in Strasbourg declared the EC's support for those countries which had embarked on the road to democratic change, and stated that the community was willing to implement closer forms of cooperation with those countries.[191] In June 1992, the Commission laid out a report on the "Challenge of Enlargement", this report presents that the integration of these new democracies into

---

[188] Risse, http://www.nd.edu/~nanovic/events/risse.pdf
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] "Chronology of the Fifth Enlargement in Detail", http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/FCO_BEU_5th%20Enlargement%20Chronology%20Detail,0.pdf, accessed on August 6, 2007

the European family represents a historic opportunity.[192] With the Luxemburg summit in 1997 the status of the relationship changed and they began to be accepted as candidate members. The number of the candidate members forced the EU to go on a deepening process.[193]

The Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 and the Nice Treaty in 2000 brought into light some important agendas like democratization, transparency and identity related issues. The EU began to transform to a political organization with the rising of the European identity and European consciousness.[194] The decision to write an EU constitution was taken at the Leaken Summit in 2001. The constitution is not ratified but with the writing of the constitution the EU began to gain a legal identity. The stated summits and treaties helped the EU to become a more federal organization and to increase its supranational powers.[195]

While the EU maintained the deepening process, a huge step was taken on the way to become a territorial power. In 2004, ten new members; eight ex-Communists, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia plus Malta and Cyprus entered the EU. Practically all the territories of medieval Christendom that is of Catholic and Protestant Europe will now be united in the new Europe.[196] The collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin Wall, all were the landmarks in European history and led to the unification of Germany and resulted in the birth of democracy in Eastern and Central European countries. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the balance of power changed in the global arena.

The important factors including the successful accession of the Central and Eastern European countries should be presented. Western European countries wanted to protect the CEEC from socialism and its insecure atmosphere. Besides, the EU wants security near their borders and they want to put a bar to the possible threat of Russia. As Europe defines itself with the words such as civilization, human rights, democratization, the EU-15 wanted to contribute to the democracy that had been blooming in the Eastern European countries. Another factor is the rapid integration of Eastern Europe to Western European core centers with the specific role of

---

[192] "Chronology of the Fifth Enlargement in Detail", http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/FCO_BEU_5th%20Enlargement%20Chronology%20Detail,0.pdf
[193] Kona, http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Casanova, p. 27

Germany. Germany is one of the leading economic powers of Europe. As Germany has a strong relationship with Poland and other neighboring Central European States, it would not be an exaggeration to suggest German influence was decisive in the path of full membership of these countries.[197]

The question about the formation of a European Identity can best be explained by political values and behaviors of Eastern countries and the extent of systematic differences between Western, Central and Eastern Europe and their cultural borders. Differences between groups of countries can be mapped geographically. According to Huntington, the most democratic communities can be found in the Anglo American and the Western European countries and the least developed democratic communities are Muslim countries in South Eastern Europe and Eastern European countries.[198] Although the CEEC members are not economically and democratically well developed when compared to Western Europe, collective identity of East and West seems considerable, because they share some similar cultural values.

It can be said that the last ring of the identity based enlargement process occurred in 1 January 2007 with the accession of Romania and Bulgaria. The accession of 12 member states with the last two enlargements raised several questions because the economic cost of these states to the EU-15 would be high. Regional disparities in the economic area, rate of the unemployment and the rate of crimes in the CEEC members were more than the EU expected. Unemployment will probably bring immigration issues to the light. With the membership of 12 new countries in 2004 and 2007, the population of the EU became 115 million. The heterogenic structure of the EU will result with the harmonization problems of old and new members.[199]

As many European politicians declared, by accepting the CEEC members, the European Union would like to create a kinship and aim to become territorially powerful. It is still a hot debate, because today many politicians think that the EU has to stop widening and should go on a deepening process in order to digest the newcomers. A kinship between east and the west is trying to be created under the

---

[197] Ziya Onis, "Turkey, Europe, and Paradoxes of Identity: Perspectives on the International Context of Democratization", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, (Summer 1999), p.115

[198] Samuel Huntington quoted in Anna Urban, "EU Enlargement, EU Identity, Culture and National Identity in the Eastern Regions", *European of Integration Studies*, Volume 2., Number 2, (2003), p. 47

[199] Kona, http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html,

skeleton of a cultural project in order to compose a sense of belonging to the EU which can be called as the Europeanization process.

Europeanization acquires different meanings in different countries. For the less advanced European countries it means modernization and structural transformation, for the more developed and richer countries it is a smooth process of steady reform and adjustment.[200] Europeanization has its impetus after WWII with the foundation of European communities and it is a Western European term. It started with the collaboration of French and Germany in coal and steel field but proceeded with the EC community under the signature of the Founding Six.

Europeanization started to change its concept with the collapse of communism and finally expanded with the eastern enlargement of the EU. "Europeanization Eastern Style" is linked with the transition to democracy and a market economy. The example of Europeanization of Southeastern Europe can be examined with the accession of Spain, Portugal and Greece as a case of the effective EC impact on the late developing countries of advanced capitalist Europe. With the eastern enlargement in 2004 and in 2007, most of the people can draw an opportunist scenario by looking at the progress of Spain, Greece and Portugal but the accession of the new members would probably impose a big liability on the core EU. Also Europeanization can be explained as a cultural project because of the civilizational other like the USA and Turkey. It forces the EU to distinguish between a Christian, geographically narrow Europe and a broader multicultural European values. [201]

2. What Holds the European Union together?

Jean Monnet is supposed to have said that if he were to start again he would begin with culture. European integration had to begin with economy but its future now depends on the European Union making a success of its efforts to lend itself a political dimension.[202] The Europe paper says that the energy which is needed for support of cohesion can be found in the common European culture.[203]

---

[200] Othon Anastasakis, "The Europeanization of the Balkans", *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Volume XII, Issue 1, (Summer/Fall 2005), p.78
[201] Anastasakis, p.80
[202] Bronislaw Geremek, "Thinking about Europe as a Community" in *What holds Europe together?*, ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 5
[203] Giuliano Amato, "Building Europe", *What holds Europe together?*, ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, (Hungary: CEU Press 2006), p. 107

According to the theory of constructivism, European identity could emerge as a consequence of intensified political and cultural exchanges and cooperation.[204] Debates about European identity have been reinforced in the context of the EU enlargement and the EU Constitutional Treaty. Although the motto "united in diversity" is generally seen as best describing the aim of the EU, opinions differ widely as to how it should be understood.[205]

If European integration is an ongoing process, the national egoism of the governments should be overcome and there should be a call on feelings of shared belonging that goes beyond the national sentiment. "There was a joke in the formation of Italian unity: We have created Italy; now we must create Italians. We could say that we have Europe and we need Europeans. We need to think Europe as a community."[206] The EU-15 used to have much more similar values and cultural figures than the EU-27. At present, the EU is the synthesis of Eastern and Western Europe and the EU has to orchestrate each member well in order to harmonize and create a sense of belonging.

Karl Jespers, speaking on the European spirit in Geneva in 1946, declared that Europe, brings together opposite extremes; the secular world and transcendence, science and faith, material technology and religion. The European Union should not be afraid to refer both to the community of medieval Christianity and the community of reason of the modern era, because in this way it will be able to affirm the contradictory essence of the European spirit.[207] A common spirit between the EU members should be created because the enlargement of the EU will place new burdens on the existing member states. The EU will have to live for many years with a great gap between the standards and prosperity of the people of its member states. In Europe there has always been a prosperity divide between east and west. During the division of the continent this divide merely widened.[208] After WWII, West Europe began to follow the rules of liberalism while the CEEC members became the satellite of the Soviet Union and followed closed economy and the rules of socialism.

---

[204] "European Values and Identity", accessed from http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441, on August 5, 2007
[205] Ibid.
[206] Karl Jespers quoted in Geremek, p. 6
[207] Geremek, p. 8
[208] Kurt Biedenkoph, "United in diversity: What holds Europe together?", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 19

The enlargement of 2004 and 2007 resulted in the union of the people who are often much poorer and culturally different from most of its Western European citizens. In the long run, it can be argued that economic and cultural divergences within the union will widen dramatically and reflect greater contrasts as a result. The process of drawing up a constitution is an attempt to redefine the unity of the union in a more ambitious way. What could hold the European Union together in this situation? What values, traditions, aims can bring Eastern Europe to the West? When the Western and Eastern European states are considered it can be said that West is economically developed when compared to the East. Freedom of thought and democracy have always been important factors to Western European countries. The Central and Eastern European countries slipped out of socialism and since the 1990s they have been paying efforts and making reforms to become more democratic and transparent states.

When the EU-27 is considered, although there are different religious sects among its members all the members of the EU are Christian. Some of the important leaders emphasize the importance of their heir and Christendom to keep the EU together and some of the states want to refer to Christianity in the draft constitution. Is Christianity enough to hold the EU together? It can be said that since the Roman Empire, Christianity has always been important in the European history but today in order to become a global leader, Europe has to refer to universal values like the progress of democratization, human rights, freedom of thought. In order to close the cultural gaps between east and west, the European Union cultivated some symbols to strengthen the European identity like European flag, anthem, European motto, Exchange programs and Eurozone.

Is the EU-27 more alike or unlike than they have been 200 years ago? European countries are more similar than they have been for 200 years because they are governed democratically and they have market economies. Values of freedom, democracy and market economies are necessary conditions for unification but they are not sufficient. The Union needs solidarity as well.[209] In the words of the Europe Paper: "When individual solidarity is not there, institutionally based solidarity is not enough to bring a polity into being." The solidarity building in Europe could be a reconsideration of the role of religion within the European project. Though never

---

[209]Grabbe Heather, "What hope for solidarity in the enlarged union?", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 42

explicitly stated it is obvious that it is hard for the EU to succeed as a secularist project.[210]

It is difficult for any community to feel a strong sense of solidarity if it increases rapidly in size. "Why should we pay to help all these newcomers?" is a common social reaction. Many people in the EU-15 feel resentment including the rapid expansion of the community to include one third more members all considerably poorer than the old members. The question of solidarity however is not just about the EU budget. Even if member states have often behaved in a self interested fashion they also shared a general belief in the idea that EU policies should also serve to the common good.[211] The Europe paper argues that the old forces of integration, the desire for peace, the existence of external threats, and the potential of economic growth lose their effectiveness and that the spiritual factor of European integration will inevitably grow in importance as a source of unity and cohesion.[212]

In the long run, the newcomers can be a liability for the old members and in order to reduce the resentment of the Western citizens, a kinship is trying to be created which can be named as a return to Europe. In this project Western Europe's role is to save the newcomers from the hands of socialism. With the acceptance of the newcomers to the union, the EU targeted to become a territorially global player.

The historian Ernest Renan gave a lecture at the Sorbonne in 1882 and asked what a nation is. He said that a customs union is not a fatherland.[213] As it is argued, an economic union can not be a homeland for people; it could just be a tool for economic benefit of its members. The European Union is more than a customs union but certainly less than a homeland. Today, the EU is evolving, it started as an economic project but it is becoming a cultural project. In 1992, the President of the European Commission, Jacque Delors called for a soul of Europe arguing that if Brussels wasn't able to inject a spiritual dimension into the EU, it would fail to command the loyalty of its citizens. The EU of today is a triumph of political constructivism.[214]

---

[210] Ivan Krastev, "Europe's Solidarity Deficit", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 144
[211] Heather, p. 43
[212] Ernest Renan quoted in Danuta Hübner, "Solidarity on Trial", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski,, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 126
[213] Rainer Bauböck, "Intersecting and Overlapping European Cultures", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 112
[214] Jacques Delors quoted in Krastev, p. 143

The engines of the EU should be the initiator to create a common culture. Germany and France and the EU's common institutions want to see the creation of a common European culture and identity in order to support and provide the basis for further integration. At the same time, they wish to prevent the development and the adoption of a common culture which is based on Anglo Saxon popular culture.[215]

There are fundamental differences between the EU members due to nations' politics, education, culture, social and economic cohesion. They have to strengthen the democratic participation at all levels and more democracy at the EU level. The EU has to promote the education system by focusing on Europe's common history, to promote the student exchanges between its members.[216] Bringing about and maintaining a common view of history is a primary task for schools and education which must include the history of Europe as a subject in its own right, incorporating national histories and using coordinated agreed upon texts. In addition three languages should be obligatory subjects in the higher school grades, with a view of ensuring communication throughout Europe and mutual understanding.[217] It is for sure that political community needs a common set of values and references to ensure its coherence, and to form a common identity.

According to the Eurobarometer survey, at the end of 2004 only 47% of the EU citizens saw themselves as citizens of both their country and Europe, 41% as citizens of their country only. 86 % of the interviewees felt pride in their country, while 68% were proud of being European. In general, people feel more attached to their country (92%), region (88%), city (87%) than to Europe (67%). Low voter turnout at the European Parliament elections in 2004 (54%) seems to be an indicator hereof. Relatively low political participation and weak attachment pose a legitimacy problem in the EU.[218] In order to reduce the effect of nationalistic figures on the EU citizens, the EU aims to increase the effect of feeling European with the help of supranational symbols.

---

[215] Heather Field, "EU Cultural Policy and the Cration of a Common European Identity", *Griffith University, Contemporary European Studies*, p. 245, accessed from http://www.eusanz.org/pdf/conf98/Field.pdf on August 28, 2007
[216] http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441
[217] Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, "Conditions for European Solidarity", What holds Europe together?, ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 39
[218] http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441

3. Symbols and Consequential Factors in the Construction of European Identity

People mostly feel belonging to their cities and to their countries. To feel a sense of belonging to a supranational organization is an unusual circumstance because states usually act for itself not for a common good. European identity is trying to be created in order to reduce the nationalistic behaviors of individual EU countries. Is European identity a myth or real? In the 1950s, a common European identity was a dream. Until the end of the Cold War, uniting with Central and Eastern European Countries was insubstantial. As history, politics and the balance of power change, the European Union is evolving as a cultural process and European Identity keeps its importance.

Forming a European identity is getting much more critical today than it was. Naturally, at the very first beginning of this unification, no one had even dreamed of such a grand union. As the European Union started as a top down model and in order to make citizens feel as European, some symbols were needed. A series of symbols has been developed by the Council of Europe in order to strengthen the sense of belonging to the EU. These symbols are defined as secular symbols but in these symbols there are implications to the European cultural heritage. The existence of a European flag, a European anthem and the use of Euro are all essential steps in order to construct a concrete European identity. In this chapter, the symbols that unite European Union are explained with respect to their inner meanings.

3.a. European Flag

When the symbols that unite European Union citizens are considered, European Union flag is its outstanding feature. The flag of Europe has twelve golden stars in a circle on a blue background. The EU flag was not associated with the European Union, it was initially used by the Council of Europe in 1955, and it is considered to represent Europe as a whole. The flag was adopted in 1985 by all the EU heads of state and government as the official emblem of the EU and since 1986; it has been used by all European Institutions.[219]

---

[219] "The EU at a glance – The Symbols of the EU", accessed from http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/emblem/index_en.htm on August 5, 2007

12 golden stars are not independent from the European history. The number "12" not only represents perfection and plenitude but also represents epistles, sons of Jacob prophet, Roman law, missions of Hercules, the months of the year and the number of the zodiac sign. Above all, 12 stars is the symbol of Christianity. Catholic Church believes 12 stars represent Virgin Mary's halo.[220]

Legends, myths, stories, liberalization wars of countries affected the designs of flags. The cross in the flags of Greece, the Scandinavian countries and the British flags is a symbol of Christianity. Similarly, the flag of Saudi Arabia is Islamic. The Star of David in the flag of Israel is a Jewish symbol.[221] 12 golden stars in the EU flag is a symbol of the Catholic Church. Not only Christianity but the important figures of European history like Roman law, myths are mentioned in the EU flag.

As it is mentioned above, European flag has some inner symbols referring to Christianity, and European cultural heritage. It can be said that the EU flag is one of the strongest EU symbols that diversify Turkey from Europe. It refers to European cultural heritage and Christianity. The EU flag represents Europe's common history. A flag should reinforce a sense of belonging to its citizens. Turkey is the only Muslim country that has applied for the membership of the EU. By even considering the twelve stars which is important for the Catholic Church it can be said that it is hard for Europe to digest Turkey as a member.

3.b. European Anthem

The European anthem not only represents the European Union but also Europe in a wider sense. The melody comes from the Ninth Symphony composed in 1823 by Ludwig Van Beethoven. For the final movement of this symphony, Beethoven set to music the "Ode to Joy" written in 1785 by Friedrich von Schiller. This poem expresses Schiller's idealistic vision of the human race becoming brothers, a vision Beethoven shared.[222]

In 1972, the Council of Europe adopted Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" theme as its own anthem. The well-known conductor Herbert Von Karajan was asked to write three instrumental arrangements for solo piano, for wind instruments and for

---

[220] Erdenir, p.111
[221] "Meaning of Flag Design and Colors", accessed from
http://www.theodora.com/flags/meaning.html on August 6, 2007
[222] http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/anthem/index_en.htm

symphony orchestra. Without words, in the universal language of music, this anthem expresses the ideals of freedom, peace and solidarity for which Europe stands.[223]

In 1985, it was adopted by the EU heads of state and government as the official anthem of the European Union. It is not intended to replace the national anthems of the member states but rather to celebrate the values they all share and their unity in diversity.[224]

This anthem is an important symbol for common EU cultural heritage. Their aim is not to replace the national anthems of the member states but rather to celebrate the values they all share and to strengthen the EU identity by forming an anthem for all.

3.c. Europe Day

Robert Schuman presented his proposal including the creation of an organized Europe on the 9th of May 1950. This proposal is known as the Schuman Declaration. It is considered to be the beginning of the creation of what is now the European Union. Today, the 9th of May has become a European symbol as the Europe Day. It identifies the political entity of the European Union.[225]

3.d. Motto

The European motto "united in diversity" was officially proclaimed on the 4th May 2000 in the European Parliament. Since that date, the European Constitution proposes the motto "united in diversity"[226] It can be argued that there is a cultural difference between the West Europe and the East Europe. West Europe is sharing the same destiny after WWII. The newcomers used to share the destiny of the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1990 because they followed the rules of socialism. When the Cold War was over the CEEC members applied for the membership to the EU. The EU-15 perceived the membership of the newcomers as a return to Europe. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Turkey lost its importance as a buffer state between the

---

[223] http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/anthem/index_en.htm
[224] Ibid.
[225] http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/9-may/index_en.htm
[226]"European Motto in Varietate Corcordia", accessed form
http://www.eurominority.org/version/eng/languages-motto.asp, on August 8, 2007

EU and the Soviet Union. Europeanness and European identity rose as the popular terms. The EU does not underestimate the cultural difference between its members but by using a motto as "united in diversity", they aim to harmonize the cultures of East and West Europe. However when Turkey and the Muslim citizens of the EU is considered, it can be argued that diversity is repressed in practice. The increase in the belligerence and antagonism to the Muslim people can be seen in the Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark.

3.e. Euro

Euro is one of the biggest steps on the way to establish a European identity because 12 Member States decided to abdicate national currency unit and started using a common currency. The aim of this single currency is to equalize and cover the gaps between the EU states' economies. It can also be argued that by using a single currency, the EU aims to create a common identity. They didn't use any nationalistic figures on Euro because they want to form a common identity which is apart from nationalistic features.

On 1 January 2002, seven banknotes were introduced in 12 Member States of the European Union. Robert Kalina's designs depict the architectural styles of seven periods in Europe's cultural history, classical for the €5, Romanesque for the €10, Gothic for the €20, Renaissance for the €50, baroque and rococo for the €100, 19th century iron and glass architecture for the €200 and modern 20th century architecture for the €500.[227] On the front of the banknotes, windows and gateways symbolize the European spirit of openness and co-operation. There is a chronological sequence between the banknotes and architectural symbols. 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200, 500 Euros are in sequence with Classic, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Rococo and modern era symbols. Coleseum in Rome, Notre Dame Church in Paris represents nationalistic feelings for Italian and French people but for a Spanish citizen; they are historical places to be seen as a tourist. This type of nationalistic symbols does not contribute to European identity that's why they have used abstract architectural figures on Euro.

---

[227] "Designing the Euro Banknotes and Coins",
http://www.ecb.int/bc/faqbc/design/html/index.en.html#q1, accessed on August 8, 2007

When Euro banknotes are examined, it can be seen that the name of the currency is written in the Latin and Greek alphabets. The bridges, which appear on the reverse side of the banknotes, are modeled on the architectural style of each period rather than on specific structures. If it were easy to recognize particular bridges, then certain banknotes would inevitably be associated with a specific country. Therefore the bridges merely represent a period in European history by using a stylist representation. The bridges symbolize the close co-operation and communication between Europe and the rest of the world.

"These designs, and the following features, are presented in more detail below[228]:
- The name of the currency is written in both the Latin (EURO) and the Greek (EYPO) alphabets;
- the initials of the European Central Bank in five linguistic variants – BCE, ECB, EZB, EKT and EKP and it covers the 11 official languages of the European Community;
- the symbol © indicates copyright protection; and
- the flag of the European Union"

The eight euro coins are 1, 2, 5, 10, 20 and 50 cent, 1 and 2 Euro. 1 Euro and 2 Euro are bi-colored and the middle value coins 10, 20 and 50 cent are yellow and the low value coins. While all eight coins have identical common sides, the other sides are country specific and have different designs for each of the twelve countries of the eurozone.

The symbol of Euro is epsilon which is one of the letters in old Greek Alphabet and it shows EU states' strict relationship with their historical values. Printing money provides constitutionalism to the state and reinforce the importance of relationship and identity on people's minds. Throughout history, the important figures such as politicians, artists, statesmen are used on states' coins. In Euro, abstract architectural concepts are used because the aim of Euro is not to emphasize the nationalistic symbols of each state but to form a European identity on the EU citizen's minds.

---

[228] http://www.ecb.int/bc/faqbc/design/html/index.en.html#q1

3.f. European Capital of Culture

The European Capital of Culture is a city designated by the European Union for a period of one year during which it is given a chance to showcase its cultural life and cultural development. The European Cities of Culture were designated on an intergovernmental basis until 2004; the member states unanimously selected the cities most likely to welcome the event and the European Commission granted a subsidy to the selected city each year.

Since 2006, it presents in every cultural capital and in former ones a traveling exhibition as "A Journey to the World: Cultural Capitals." On 11 March 2006, Istanbul, the Hungarian city - Pecs and the German city - Essen were selected as European Capitals of culture for 2010 by the EU Council.[229]

The decision was taken in 2000 enabled the title of European Capital of Culture to be extended to include cities in countries that were not members of the European Union during the period 2005-2019. This created an opportunity for Istanbul to apply for the title of European Capital of Culture 2010. It is a great honor and good reputation for Istanbul to be represented as European Capital of Culture of 2010. This will affect European citizens positively because culture and art of Istanbul will be presented. This project will have a good contribution for the promotion of Turkey on the way to the EU membership.

3.g. Draft EU Constitution

The Convention on the Future of Europe, led by Giscard d'Estaing, a former French president, drafted the first constitution for the European Union. Draft articles contained references to member countries' national identity and human rights, as well as commitments to social justice and the environment but they contained no mention to any deity or religion. However, some politicians and observers argue that the EU needs a stronger identity to be viable. German, Italian, Polish and Slovakian delegates favored adding mention of God and Europe's Christian heritage. More secular nations, like France, Spain and the Netherlands were in opposition.[230]

---

[229] "Istanbul 2010", accessed from http://www.istanbul2010.org/?p=6&lang=eng, on August 10, 2007
[230] "Do God and Christianity have a place in the European Constitution?", accessed from http://www.religioustolerance.org/const_eu.htm, on August 10, 2007

Fundamental disagreements were brought to light during the work on the EU Constitution that sparked heated debates about a reference to God or Christianity in the Preamble, which now refers to the religious inheritance of Europe.[231]

Modern constitutions do not need transcendent references nor is there much empirical evidence for the functionalist argument. All current members of the EU have a majority of its citizens, or a significant minority, who identify themselves with a Christian denomination. Some of the countries that joined in 2004 wanted "Christian values" to appear somewhere in the EU constitution. The Roman Catholic primate in Hungary, Monsignor Peter Erdoe, said "Without Christianity, the heart of Europe would be missing."[232] Especially Poland insisted because it has a large Roman Catholic majority. The Polish ruling Law and Justice Party in its political program of 2005 expressed its satisfaction about the failure of the Constitutional Treaty, because "it negated the role of Christianity in shaping the moral and cultural face of our continent …., it introduced a specific anti-Christian censure to the European constitutional practice".[233]

Representatives of the Catholic church also favoring the inclusion of God and Christianity to the European Constitution. Pope John Paul II lobbied European leaders for a clear reference to God and the Christian faith to be formulated in the European constitution.[234] Bishop Joseph Duffy of Clogher, Ireland represented the Irish Catholic Church. Referring to a meeting with the fomer European Commission president, Romano Prodi, he is quoted as saying: "Religion is part of our identity. You can't understand the history of Europe without acknowledging the impact of religion, which has made an enormous contribution to the identity of Europe. Prodi was trying to impress on us that we are at a very, very significant juncture, which means a new Europe. He is sympathetic to the Churches and sees that they have a contribution to make on the question of the EU identity."[235]

As it is mentioned above, representatives of the Catholic Church have been some of the most prominent actors in the debates on European identity. In an address to the members of the European People's party on 30 March 2006, Pope Benedict XVI said that Europe needed to value its Christian roots and strengthen its awareness

---

[231] http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441
[232] Peter Erdoe quoted in http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441
[233] http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441
[234] http://www.religioustolerance.org/const_eu.htm
[235] Romano Prodi quoted in http://www.religioustolerance.org/const_eu.htm

of belonging to a common civilization to better meet the challenges it faces.[236] According to the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Community (COMECE), explicit references to God or Christianity "would have been a strong signal supporting the identity of Europe". Universal rights and values, such as democracy and the rule of law, have developed from the Christian inheritance of Europe.[237]

As quoted above, some of the important opinion leaders and spiritual leaders have commented on the draft constitution and they declared that it would be better to mention Christianity in the constitution because they believe Christianity is one of the concrete values that European Union has in common.

3.h. Education

Education is one of the most important ways to strengthen the European identity. Subjects such as history are mostly steeped in a particular national tradition of thought. Heads of states and governments asked for "not only a radical transformation of the European economy, but also a challenging program for the modernization of social welfare and education systems". In 2002, they went on to say that by 2010, Europe should be the world leader in terms of the quality of its education and training systems.[238] By raising the standard of education and training systems, the EU aims to cultivate more conscious generations. This process of change will be carried out in each country according to national contexts, traditions and will be driven forward by cooperation between member states at European level, through the sharing of experiences, working towards common goals and learning from what works best elsewhere.[239]

The former Leonardo da Vinci program has been recently classified under lifelong learning program. It plays an important role in preparing European citizens for entering the labor market, thereby reducing unemployment by building a skilled

---

[236] Pope Benedict XVI quoted in http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441

[237] http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441

[238] "Imagine: A European Identity", accessed from http://www.opendemocracy.net/content/articles/PDF/330.pdf, on August 9, 2007

[239] "Education and Training 2010, Diverse Systems and Shared Goals", http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/et_2010_en.html, accessed on August 9, 2007

European workforce. Within this framework, it promotes mobility, innovation, and quality of training through transnational partnership, cooperation between various players in vocational training, such as training bodies, vocational schools, universities, businesses, and chambers of commerce.

It provides funding for mobility by trainer exchanges, pilot projects, transnational networks by facilitating the transfer and exchange of experience and good practice, production of training materials to develop innovation and joint actions as collaborative projects with Socrates and youth.[240] Socrates program is the European Community action program in the field of education. It is based on Articles 149 and 150 of the EC Treaty. Article 149 provides that the Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by means of a range of actions to be carried out in close cooperation with the Member States.[241]

The objectives of the Socrates program are to strengthen the European dimension of education at all levels, to improve the knowledge of European languages, to promote cooperation and mobility throughout education, to promote equal opportunities in all sectors of education. The budget allocated for the program is EUR 1,850 million.[242] Socrates program supports transnational mobility of people in the field of education in Europe; pilot projects based on transnational partnerships, designed to develop innovation and enhance quality in education; promotion of language skills and understanding of different cultures; use of information and communication technologies in education; transnational cooperation networks facilitating the exchange of experience and good practice; observation and comparative analysis of education systems and policies; activities for the exchange of information and the dissemination of good practice and innovation.[243]

Erasmus lifelong learning program is the higher education program. It seeks to enhance the quality and reinforce the European dimension of higher education by encouraging transnational cooperation between universities, boosting European mobility and improving the transparency and full academic recognition of studies and qualifications throughout the Union.Erasmus consists of many different activities; student and teacher exchanges, joint development of study programs such

---

[240] "The Leonardo da Vinci Program"accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/leonardo/index_en.html on August 9, 2007
[241] "Education and Training, Frequently Asked Questions" accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/faq_en.html on August 9, 2007
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.

as curriculum development, international intensive programs, thematic networks between departments and faculties across Europe, language courses, European credit transfer system. Erasmus action is targeted at higher education institutions and their students and staff in all 27 Member States of the European Union.[244]

The Trans-European mobility scheme for university studies enables universities from the EU member states to cooperate with those in Western Balkans, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Mediterranean partner countries in higher education modernization projects. Tempus was established in 1990. It has been renewed three times after the fall of the Berlin Wall.[245]

Tempus projects fall into three categories of which the main type, joint European projects, are implemented by actors in higher education in EU member states and partner countries, and help the higher education sector propagate its knowledge outside academic institutions. Individual mobility grants help staff in participating partner countries to take part in training and conferences abroad, and to assist European teachers deliver training courses in partner countries, within the context of Tempus' objectives.[246]

Turkey must realize the importance of using the lifelong learning programmes to become a member of the EU; because by sending university students to EU countries, the European students will have the chance to see our culture and the Turkish students will have a chance to see their livingstyles. Vice versa the European students are also coming to Turkey as the exchange students and it is a good chance for Turkey to present itself to the European citizens.

It is hard for the EU to create a common culture for its members because there are twentyseven nations. Before the last two accessions of 2004 and 2007, it can be said that the EU-15 have similar values; because West Europe is economically and socially well developed and civilized. During the harmonization process, they created aids and funds for its slow going members like Greece, Spain and Portuguese. During 1945-1990, the Soviet Union was West Europe's other and the Central and Eastern European countries used to be called as the ex-satellites of the Soviet Union. Therefore it can be said that East Europe used to be West Europe's

---

[244] "ValorisationDissemination and exploitation of innovative projects' result, accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/index_en.html, on August 9, 2007
[245] "The Tempus Program" accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/tempus/index_en.html, on August 9, 2007
[246] Ibid.

other until the collapse of the Soviet Union. The CEEC members had to follow the rules of socialism. After the end of Cold War, the CEEC decided to open a new leaf in their history and warm up the relations with the West and tried to realize the reforms that the EU requested. Besides, the EU-15 wanted to help the twelve newcomers for their adaptation to the new world order. That will be the reunification of European continent under a supranational authority. With the last two accessions, the EU has twentyseven members. Therefore the EU has to create a common culture to hold the union together. Education is one of the most consequental factors that can be used to create a sense of belonging to the EU.

The EU members identify themselves with the rule of law, respect for human rights, freedom of speech and democracy. In order to maintain a common culture, they created European symbols but these symbols contain cultural and religious factors. Although European Union is a secular supranational organization popular political leaders still refers to the European cultural and religious heritage.

4. The Role of Maintaining a Stronger European Identity

Identity is rooted in society; it acquires a shape due to the relations with others. Every identity needs its other; an outsider to distinguish oneself and to feel superior. The separate identities of the states in the EU evolved out of European states' competing against one another from 1648 to 1945. The Cold War is over and the Soviet Union once was a good candidate for Europe's other but it no longer exists. With the expansion of the EU in 2004, the Soviet Union lost its ex-satellites, Eastern and Central Europe. The Balkans and parts of the former Ottoman Empire are members of the EU today. That makes the Islamic world and United States as plausible candidates for Europe's other.[247]

After WWII, the United States had contributed to the recovery of Europe by Marshall Plan and today she is still supporting the progress of the European Union.[248] The United States has always been an economic competitor to Europe both in industry and in agricultural productions. Beyond economics the United States

---

[247]James A. Caporaso, "The Possibilities of a European Identity", *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Volume XII, Issue I, (Summer / Fall 2005), p. 71
[248] Ibid., p. 72

serves as the non Europe in many different areas. In the militaristic aspect, the USA and Europe quarrel on NATO for the control of the military command units. Politically, the USA and the EU have different perspectives; they offer and propose different leadership in the world. They have different visions on environmental issues. Europe signed Kyoto Treaty and the EU members are trying to take some precautions against global warming while the US does not even sign the treaty. Europe and the USA have different views on the case of Iraq war and the efforts of Iran to acquire nuclear weapons. To simplify, the Europeans have relative preference for "jaw-jaw", and the United States for "war-war".[249] As it is mentioned before, Europe has usually positioned itself on contrary to its others. Othering is not only territorial (USA and Russia) but also cultural (USA and Islam) including the continent's own past of conflict and bloody wars.[250]

Samuel Huntington argues that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or economic. The great divisions among the humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and group of different civilizations.[251]

Middle East and Muslim Countries are the secondary other in the hierarchy of alternatives to the vision of a united Europe. The Ottoman Empire was one of the great empires in the world and most of the Europe was under its hegemony for centuries. Ottomans invaded an important part of the European continent and Europe located Ottomans as its other until the fall of the Empire. With the rise of fascism and the rise of Germany under the rule of Hitler, Nazi Germany became Europe's other until the foundation of European Coal and Steel Community. After WWII, both the USA and the Soviet Union were powerful. Europe was suffering both economically and politically. USA aided Europe. Economically, USA aimed to make trade with Europe, politically the USA aimed to protect them from the influence of socialism. The Soviet Union became its other between 1945-1989 and during the stated period the CEEC members were the satellites of the Soviet Union. It can be said that they were also EU's other until the collapse of the Soviet Union. The effort of the Central

---

[249] Ibid.
[250] O'Brennan, p.182,
[251] Samuel P Huntington., "The Clash of Civilizations", *Foreign Affairs,* 72/3, (Summer 1993), accessed from http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19930601faessay5188/samuel-p-huntington/the-clash-of-civilizations.html on August 2, 2007

and Eastern European members to get through from closed economy to liberalism and from socialism to democracy affected Europe because they believe in a kinship between Europe and the Central and Eastern European members. Romania and Bulgaria had their independencies with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In the last two situations, it can be argued that both Central and Eastern European members, Romania and Bulgaria had their independencies and escaped from Europe's others; the Ottoman Empire and Russia.

As it is mentioned before, the formation of othering of the EU changed throughout history. Starting from the Crusades, Islam was one of its strongest others. Today, due to the rise in the actions of the fundamentalist Islam, immigration problems and the rise in the population of Muslim citizens in European countries, Europe is much more anxious than ever.

5. Is Islam a threat for Europe?

Throughout the modern era, Western Europeans immigrated to the different parts of the world. When the colonial phase is considered, it can be said that European colonists, colonizers and missionaries settled all the corners of the globe. During the age of industrialization from the 1800 to the 1920s, it is estimated that around 85 million Europeans emigrated to the Americas, Southern Africa, Australia and Oceania, 60 percent of them to the United States. However, the flow of migration has reversed and many Western European societies have become centers of global immigration.[252]

Muslim population in Europe is dated back to the colonialism in 19th century. In France there are immigrants from Algeria, Syria and Tunisia. In UK there are immigrants form Egypt and Iraq. During the 1950s, Germany began seeking guest workers from Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Tunisia, Yugoslavia and Turkey to help rebuilding the country and to maintain profit from the economic boom. Unlike the United States where immigrants were asked to come and participate in the American dream and possibly make a fortune, Germany said: Come, work here for a while and then get lost.[253] 50% of the immigrants left Germany, but the other half stayed.

---

[252] Casanova, p. 30
[253] "Can Merkel's Integration summit deliver more than just promises?" accessed from http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,493407,00.html , on August 20, 2007

Today, almost one out of five residents in Germany is either an immigrant or the child of immigrants.[254]

The largest Muslim population in Europe is in France. About 70% have emigrated from North African colonies of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The growth of the community has challenged the French ideal strict separation of religion and public life.[255] In Italy, the Muslim population is diverse, the largest group coming from Morocco. Up to 160.000 Muslims are Italian born. Most Muslims have the right to reside and work in Italy but are not citizens.[256]

In Europe immigration and Islam are almost synonymous. The overwhelming majority of immigrants in most European countries, the UK being the main exception, are Muslims and the overwhelming majority of Western European Muslims are immigrants.[257] The Muslim birth rate in Europe is currently more than three times that of non-Muslims. One third of France's five million Muslims are under the age of 20; one third of Germany's four million Muslims are under 18; one third of the United Kingdom's 1.6 million Muslims are under 15; one third of Belgium's 364,000 Muslims are under 15.[258] Today approximately 50% of Muslims in Western Europe were born there. It can be argued that the young Muslim generation is going to have a strong authority to decide on political issues of Europe in a decade as they are the citizens of the European countries.

The nature of the Muslims presence in Europe is also changing. They are no longer temporary guest workers, Muslims now a permanent part of western European landscapes. Nonetheless, Muslims increasingly identify first with Islam rather than with either their family's country of origin or the European country in which they now reside.[259] Western Europe formed different models in order to deal with Islam. Austria, Spain and Belgium have legally recognized Islam. Sweden is willing to fund certain activities for Muslims as long as they are represented through organizations of a minimum size. In France no religious community has official recognition. Germany still refuses to accept that it is a country of immigration and the immigrants

[254] "Can Merkel's Integration summit deliver more than just promises?" accessed from http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,493407,00.html
[255] "Muslims in Europe: Country Guide", accessed from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4385768.stm , on August 20, 2007
[256] Ibid.
[257] Casanova, p. 32
[258] Timothy M. Savage, "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing", *The Washington Quarterly*, (Summer 2004), p.28
[259] Ibid., p.30

are known as guest workers even after three generations. Britain although not legally recognizing the Muslim community and she accepted the diversity of its minorities.[260]

Europe's cultural and religious pluralization associated with the phenomenon of immigration and the long term settlement of immigrant populations in the host countries. The core of the phenomenon of Islamic presence in several European countries is a common bond between European countries facing the problems of differentiating separate religious and cultural worlds. The different approaches to issues such as the wearing of veils in school are clear demonstration of the fact that the presence of Islam has become a fact of life that both unites and divides different European countries.[261]

Islam has long been an important part of Europe and has shaped its cultural identity. Europe too has been a significant presence in Muslim societies and has shaped their identity as well. Each has been the other's other. Their sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile relations have bonded them far more deeply than they realize.[262] Is Islam a threat for Europe? Islam is widely considered as Europe's fastest growing religion with immigration. Above average birth rates leading to a rapid increase in Muslim population. Many people in Europe think that Islam is inherently incompatible with multicultural democracy and in the long run, it poses a long term threat to Europe. They point to the fact that very few Muslim societies are democratic and conclude that the reason for this is lying in the undemocratic character of Islam.[263]

Most of the experiments in the foundation of Islamic state have turned out to be theocratic like Iran or totalitarian like Pakistan and Sudan. The struggle for power in Algeria has been another forceful reminder to Europeans that they are surrounded by "Islamic Crescent", a crescent that extends from the Ottoman Empire and the soft underbelly of the former Soviet Union, from the Magreb in the west to Pakistan,

---

[260]Hussain Dilwar, "Europe and Islam: Mutual Experiences and the Future", *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, (July 11, 2005), accessed from , http://www.turkishweekly.net/comments.php?id=1493 on August 20, 2007

[261] Daniele Hervieu Leger, "The Role of Religion in Establishing Social Cohesion", *Religion in the New Europe* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 52

[262] Bhikhu Parekh, "Is Islam a Threat to Europe's Multicultural Democracies?", *Religion in the New Europe*, ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, (CEU Press, Hungary, 2006), p.121

[263] Ibid., p.121

Indonesia and Philippines in the east heart to the South Africa.[264] Among every four humans in the world, one of them is Muslim. Muslims have increased by over 235 percent in the last fifty years up to nearly 1.6 billion. By comparison, Christians have increased by only 47 percent, Hinduism, 117 percent, and Buddhism by 63 percent. Islam is the second largest religious group in France, Great Britain and the USA.[265] By 2015, Europe's Muslim population is expected to double, conservative projections estimate that, compared to today's 5 percent, Muslims will comprise at least 20% of Europe's population by 2025 and that if trends continue, and Muslims could outnumber non-Muslims in France and perhaps in all of Western Europe by mid-century.[266]

In the aftermath of the events of September 11, the rhetoric associated with Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilization" is thick in the air. Despite official protestations to the contrary, many in the west think that the underlying problem is not terrorism or even Islamic fundamentalism, but Islam and inferior civilization. Most of the organizations and individuals that are being targeted by the US – led "war against terrorism" are Muslims, but also because Islam is so clearly evoked by many terrorists and jihadi organizations. Bin Laden remains the greatest advocate of the clash of civilization thesis.[267]

There are moderate Muslims and extremists or fundamental Muslims in the world and there is a big danger that extremists could become in charge of those parts. The term fundamentalism is used for those Muslims who want to implement harsh rules over people and even want to kill others due to their religious beliefs.[268] These two terms used for Muslims are not very old and came into existence mainly after 9/11, Afghanistan and Iraq War. Of course it is true that there have been considerable changes in the world after these events. Surely in every nation, religion, country or society there would be extreme elements.[269] It can be argued that the EU sees Islam

---

[264] Leonard A. Stone "Late Ottoman and Modern Turkish Perceptions of Europe: Continuity and Change", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.3., No.2, (Autumn 2002), p.193
[265] http://islamicweb.com/begin/results.htm, accessed on August 11, 2007
[266] Savage, p.29
[267] Tariq Modood, "Muslims and European Integration ", *Religion in the New Europe*, ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, (CEU Press, Hungary, 2006), p.97 (pp 1- 166)
[268]Imran Khan, "Old Leaders – New Slogans", accessed from

http://www.turkishweekly.net/comments.php?id=2686 on August 20, 2007

[269] Ibid.

as a threat with respect to its increasing population and the rise in fundamentalist Islamic movement.

As Samuel Huntington says, the world politics is entering a new phase and according to his hypothesis the fundamental source of conflict is not ideological and primarily economic. The great divisions among the human kind are cultural.[270] A civilization may include several nation states like Western, Arab or Latin. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another by history, language, culture, tradition and religion. After the end of Cold War, "kin country" syndrome is replacing political ideology and traditional balance of power as the principal basis of cooperation and coalition.[271]

Russia with a despotic past used to be identified as one of the principal others of contemporary Europe but with the fall of the Soviet Empire, ex satellites applied for membership to the EU and they decided to proceed on the way to liberalism and democratization. In 2004, they were accepted as the EU members and most of the people believe, the reason for this accession can be named as the kinship between the East and the West. Is there really a kinship between the East and the West? They have religion in common, no matter whether there are different sects like Orthodox, Catholic or Protestant they are Christian. One of the strongest ties that hold them together is their religion. Huntington argues that the civilizations are differentiated by history, language, culture and tradition and mostly religion. A person can be half French and half Arab but it is impossible to be half Christian and half Muslim.[272] When Huntington first declared that future international politics would be based on cultural conflicts, most commentators criticized him. They explained that politics are made by states and they are interested in national interests not in cultural goals.

September 11, 2001 was one of the keystones that marked the relations between Muslims and Christians in the negative way, because fundamentalist Islam began to terrify the whole civilization. There is a correlation between the rise of Islam and the strengthening efforts of the European identity. All through history, Islam was Christianity's other and today many Europeans are uniting on their cultural and religious heritage. Religion has been at the heart of many modern

---

[270]Huntington, http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19930601faessay5188/samuel-p-huntington/the-clash-of-civilizations.html
[271] Ibid., p.7
[272] Ibid., p.4

political identities. Catholicism for Poles, Irish, and Protestantism for the 17th and 18th century, Orthodoxy in the case of contemporary Greece has been important topics for each stated country.[273]

Europe's roots are Christian and there is no way of getting around it. A minority of people is drawn back to religion in their quest to reconnect, but many more can be led to a kind of non theological non cultic historical identification with their Christian past. [274] Europe's cultural roots begin to stand out when there are sizeable populations that do not share them. They are mainly Muslims, but there is a steady diversification of religious belonging in Europe in part through immigration, in part through internal change. Faced with growing Muslim populations, we find many Europeans becoming conscious of their roots in Christendom.[275]

The European Union is facing a great challenge. On the one hand it is expanding on a problematic scale; over 70 million more people will have EU passports in the near future. On the other hand, the EU is attempting to redefine itself through the process of drawing up a Constitution.[276] The failure of the "Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe" has given a fresh impetus to the advocates of introducing a reference to Christianity in the Preamble of the future European Constitution. Angela Merkel insisted on a stronger anchorage into the Christian dimension of the European identity and she claims that it would not merely reflect the realities of the European historical and legal constitutional traditions, but it would also offset the lack of solidarity and concrete motivation for furthering the European political project.[277] The integration of Catholic Poland to Europe can be seen as another difficult challenge because the Polish Episcopate has enthusiastically stressed that one of its goals upon Poland's joining Europe is to restore Europe for Christianity.[278]

---

[273] Charles Taylor, "Religion and European Integration", *Religion in the New Europe*, ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (CEU Press: Hungary, 2006), p. 10
[274] Ibid., p. 13
[275] Ibid., p. 14
[276] Kurt Biedenkoph, Bronislaw Geremek, Krzysztof Michalski and Michel Rocard, "What holds Europe together?", ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, *What holds Europe together?* , (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), p. 93
[277] Camil Ungureanu, "A Christian or a Laic Europe? Moving Beyond a False Dichotomy", *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, p.6
[278] Casanova, p. 25

Today, in Western Europe around 10 million Muslims, Islam has become a point of hot debate: What will be the future of these Muslims in Europe? Are they a threat that needs to be contained and assimilated before they endangered the stability of Europe? It is true that a great deal of mistrust regarding the other prevails, both on the side of some Muslims and on the side of certain elements within Europe. François Leotard as French defense minister stated, "Islamic fundamentalism is as dangerous today as Nazism once was."[279] Huntington's theories through largely rejected continue to have their devout followers. Throughout Europe, Islamphobia seems to be on the increase. On a more general level, former UK Conservative party chairman Lord Tebbit's view, he said, "You can't have a whole load of different cultures in one society; you have one culture for one society.[280]

It can be said that with the enlargements of 2004 and 2007, the EU became a powerful actor territorially. From 1950s to 1990s the EU used to be an economic project more than a political power but with its 27 members today the EU is a big territory. The EU-15's economic expectation from the newcomers is quite minor when we compare it with the expectation of Central and Eastern European countries from the European Union. The less developed region gains more, when an economically well developed region integrates with an economically less developed region. That's why the newcomers of the EU feel themselves more European when we compare them with the western European countries. The EU-15 is well developed and when it is economically considered the newcomers will be a liability for them. The Eastern Europe wants to be as developed as the West and they hope to get a fair fund for their countries. With the increase of the members in the EU, there will be more conflicts and more different views on different agendas.

EU wants to influence the global agenda by both increasing its supranational powers and the sense of European identity. No one can deny the importance of Christianity on the EU's identity formation. When the major European party families are considered from the 1950s on, Christian Democratic parties in continental Europe were at the forefront of European integration. Europeanness has always been a

---

[279] François Leotard quoted in Dilwar, http://www.turkishweekly.net/comments.php?id=1493
[280] Lord Tebbit qouted in Dilwar, http://www.turkishweekly.net/comments.php?id=1493

constitutive component of post WWII Christian Democratic ideology originating from the inter-war period.[281]

The dominant identity among the EU members is still national identity. National identity is composed of the unity in religion, common language, geography and common race. Besides the trust to the EU fluctuates due to the members but it is not really high.[282] What can hold this union together? As the number of the members increase in the union, it will be harder to keep the EU members together. To maintain solidarity among its members, the EU has to strengthen its identity by highlighting the similar cultural values and has to start deepening processes for further harmonization by using European symbols.

As the EU wants to increase its role on the world politics, instead of becoming a Christian club they should make more emphasise on the universal values like democratization, human rights, freedom. The EU should increase the level of interacting between the members by exchange programs, education system in order to create European consciousness to reach a more effective supranational authority.

---

[281] Risse, http://www.nd.edu/~nanovic/events/risse.pdf
[282] Kona, accessed from http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECT OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY ON TURKEY – EU RELATIONS

1. The cultural interaction between the Turks and Europe: How does Europe perceive Turks throughout history?

"Even If we burn all Korans, even if we destroy all mosques in the eyes of the Europeans we are still Ottomans; Ottomans, Muslim.Dark and dangerous hostile mass."[283] Although this is a strong allegation it can be said that there is a tendency in the perception of the European people that Turks are culturally and historically different from Europeans. In this part of the thesis, "the reason why there is a common belief among Europeans that Turkey and Europe are different in the cultural aspect" is questioned. What is the difference between Turks and European people in the cultural aspect? Is cultural difference effective in Turkey – EU relations?

Europe has always constructed its identity against its others. Throughout history, Islam, Turks, the USA, Soviet Union, fascism, socialism have been Europe's others. Fascism and socialism are not the phobias of today because fascism collapsed with WWII and socialism collapsed with the fall of the Soviet Union. As it was mentioned before, the USA and Europe have different visions on different political issues. The USA is a more war like country when compared to Europe, besides the USA has been a hegemon since the end of WWII. It can be argued that starting from the Crusades and with the effect of the Ottoman Empire, Islam and Turks have been standing as the most consequential others of Europe.

In this chapter, the relationship between the European Union and Turkey is analyzed. While analyzing the process, the features which affect the relation of Turkey with Europe are highlighted. Another important subject to be analyzed is the perception of Turkish identity from the Europeans' perspective. Who are the Turks? Why is Turkey stuck between Asia and Europe? Turkey has been knocking on the door of the EU since 1959. Throughout the thesis, it has been underlined that Turks and Islam have affected the formation of the European identity; because starting

---

[283] Cemil Meriç quoted in Yurdusev, p. 17

from the Crusades, Europe has always defined Turks and Islam as its other. Can the European Union accept its other as its member? Can it be possible? Can a structure unite with its contradiction?

European identity is still an abstract description. It is not widely used by the citizens of Europe. If you ask someone living in Europe what his identity is, he will surely say he is Spanish, Italian or French. Being European comes later because it is not a widespread definition in the whole continent. This can easily be seen in the opinion polls on the European identity and the European Union. When the results of the surveys are considered, it can be observed that there is an increase in the sense of the European identity and belonging in the countries which have economic expectation from the EU.[284]

Eurobarameter has been evaluating the public opinion in the EU member states since 1973. They issued the national reports of the EU-25 on the public opinion in the EU in spring 2007. In this report, it evaluated public opinions in the new member countries. The results show that national identity is very strong in these countries. For example, 97% of respondents claim that they feel attached to Poland. 65% of respondents said that they feel attached to the EU. The proportion of Poles who feel attached to the European Union is lower when the nationalistic feelings are considered but despite this, 65% is one of the highest proportions in the whole EU. The percentage of citizens who feel attached to the EU is lowest in Finland (30%), the Netherlands (32%) and the United Kingdom (34%).[285] The Netherlands was one of the members of the Founding Six and has been a member of the EU since its foundation. United Kingdom had the accession in 1973 and Finland became a member of the EU in 1995. Poland had the accession in 2004. It is intereting to notice that there is approximately 30% between Poland and the old members' sense of belonging to the EU. The members of the EU-15 are powerful counties and their expectations from the EU are lower, when the expectations of the newcomers are considered. The CEEC members will be benefiting from the aids and funds of the EU because they have to harmonize with the west Europe. Therefore it can be said that there is a correlation between the sense of belonging to the EU and economic

---

[284] Yurdusev, p. 56
[285] "Eurobarameter, Public Opinion in the European Union – Poland", (Summer 2007), accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb67/eb67_pl_exec.pdf, on November 26, 2007

expectations. Therefore the EU started to transform to a cultural project after the application of the Central and Eastern countries to the EU.

At the beginning of the establishment of the European Community, the first priority of the members was to develop economically and identity was not of an issue. When the economic gaps between the EC members were covered, the importance of cultural values and sense of belonging to the union began to arise. Economic values can hold a union together to one step. There have to be more values to hold a union together.

European identity began to rise after the collapse of Russia. The reason of the EU-15 to accept the twelve new members with the 2004 and 2007 enlargements can be explained in certain aspects. When the geographical facts are considered, with the acceptance of the new members the EU became the widest organization in the world. The last two enlargements made the EU territorially a powerful organization. By accepting the newcomers, the EU-15 wants to create a kinship between the new members. The CEEC members were not as developed as the EU – 15 and they were trying to remove the traces of their closed economy and the effects of socialism. The Soviet Union had been one of the most important others of Europe and the CEEC members used to be Soviet Union's satellite before the end of the Cold war. The EU aimed to protect the CEEC members from the influence of Russia by creating common cultural identity. When the issue is analyzed by the new members it can be said that their first aim was to reconstruct their economy and to catch up with Western Europe and secondly they aim to become a part of a union which has been identifying itself with the terms "democracy" and "cradle of civilization".

Identity is a social fact. You do not need to define the identity of a person living alone in the jungle. Identity has two basic principles; the one who is giving the identity and the other who is gaining the identity.[286] The formation of othering contributes to the construction of a cultural identity. Right from the start, communities identify themselves by describing the differences from its other. It can be argued that othering has a specific role in the formation of identity.

---

[286] Yurdusev, p. 18

The effect of the Ottoman Empire in the formation of the European identity can not be denied. Why was the Ottoman Empire a big threat for Europe? How did Europe used to perceive Turks and how do they perceive Turkish identity today? Are they still under the influence of the prejudices about the Turks?

If you ask a high school boy in Europe or the USA who the Turks are, he will probably answer: "They wear long dressing gowns, speak Arabic and have lots of wives".[287] This is a common cliché and it is hard to struggle against. Throughout history, Turks have difficulty in expressing themselves to Europe and failed to maintain a stable and smooth relationship with the West. Since the beginning, the relationship between Turkey and Europe has always been ambiguous.

What is the origin of the Turks? It is mentioned in the Chinese annals from the first millennium before Christ that the ancestors of modern Turks were from Central Asia. By successive waves, they migrated from the south where they founded several empires. Turks founded the Seljuk in the 11th century, Ottomans in the 13th century or Great Moguls in the 16th century.[288] Today, Turks can be found from the plains of Siberia to the mountains of the Balkans, in Chinese Turkistan, in the north of India, in the Caucasus, in Iran, in Iraq and, of course, in Turkey.[289] Although Turks had founded many big empires, this thesis is limited with the Ottoman Empire and the Turks of the Turkish Republic.

The word "Turk" has first pronounced in the Crusades in 1190. Turkey was used as the other of Europe. Until 19th century the descent characteristic of Turks was their religion. Ottomans are perceived not as a Turkish empire but as an Islamic empire. Turks and Islam are so united that there is an idiom like Christian Arab but there is not an idiom like Christian Turk.[290] Islam is one of the most important components of Turkish identity. Turks are converted to Islam during their settling in the Middle East and started to dominate big part of the Arabian-Moslem world. Occident soon met with one of the most prestigious Empires in the world.[291] It was founded by the Turks in the 13th century and became one of the most threatening other of Europe. After its foundation, Ottoman Empire spread to Europe and had

---

[287] http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4 , accessed on October 17, 2007
[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Yurdusev, p. 60
[291] http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007

become a hegemon for many centuries.[292] The existence of the Ottoman Empire in the east contributed to the formation of the European identity because Europe had to unify against its Eastern border.[293]

Turks founded many great empires throughout history. Because of their threatening power and militaristic capability, Turks quickly became the subject of a rich literature in the near and the Middle East. Some people do not hesitate to see in Turks the mythical peoples of Gog and Magog, evoked in the holy texts; the Bible: Ezekiel, XXXVIII; the New Testament: Apocalypse, XX, 8; the Koran: XVIII, 94.[294] The hatred against the Turks can also be observed in the treaties of the 16th and 17th centuries: Turks have been featured as the common enemy of the Christianity. It can be seen in the works of law jurists including Grotious.[295] The formation of nation states after the 15th century and the unification of Europe after reformation movement were the results of this Turkish threat. With the end of the Inebahtı War, the hegemony of the Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean Sea was over. Delanty claims that after this war the usage of the terms barbarian and infidel began to be used widely in Europe. When the regulations for French ambassadors were considered, it can be seen that the first priority of France was to protect the holy lands and Catholic Christians. Their secondary aim was to develop trade and politics. These regulations kept its importance until the end of the 18th century.[296]

Many philosophers including Kant and Rousseau based the formation of universal peace projects and European unification against the Turkish threat. In those centuries the general idea of the kings and the politicians on the European peace and unity was to struggle against the Turkish threat. According to Sir Charles Eliot, the reason why Turks could not be assimilated just like Hungarians or Finns or Bulgarians because they met Islam before they met with the Europeans.[297] Turks were perceived as the biggest danger that Europe has ever experienced. The Elizabeth era historian Richard Knolles describes the Turks as the terror of their period.[298]

---

[292] Yurdusev, p. 61
[293] Yurdusev, p. 63
[294] http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007
[295] Yurdusev, p. 63
[296] Ibid, p. 64
[297] Charles Eliot quoted in Yurdusev, p. 66
[298] Richard Knolles quoted in Yurdusev, p. 66

Turks had great militaristic capabilities and as the military power of the Turks increased the Occidental authors began to write more about the Turks. From the 17th century, when the Ottoman decline begins, anti-Turkish outbursts from the most famous authors are observed. Diderot once wrote:

> "Let us not go live there, my friend! Ô the evil country! There is a big wild animal that devours all the other wild animals around it; and they, like the first one, devour all those that approach them, and so closer and closer; it is a country where everything is devourer and devoured."[299]

The terms like "despotic" and "tyrannical" are begun to be used with the administration of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. Montesquieu identifies Turks as the scapegoat charged with the sins of the West. According to him, the Ottoman regime was able to survive during centuries because of the power of its army and the cruelty of pressures applied to the dominated populations.[300] Actually, it is a well known fact that far from being Islamized or Turkified by force, people under Ottoman administration lived in relative autonomy and could freely practice their religions and languages. Ottomans were one of the greatest empires in the history and in fact, did not show assimilative tendency.[301]

The Ottoman Empire used to show respect to the rights of Muslims and non-Muslims during its reign. The sultan, Fâtih Sultan Mehmed widened his conquests and reached to the borders of Rumelia and reached to the lands of Serbia. Serbia had to decide between Hungarian and the Ottoman rule. Serbs were Orthodox and Hungarians were Catholic. The sectarian wars in Hungary had lasted more than three centuries. Hungarian Emperor Jan Hunyad wanted to conquest Serbia. The King of Serbia George Brankovic sent a delegation to the Emperor of Hungary and asked "What would be the liberties for Serbian orthodox if Hungarians beat the Ottoman Empire?" Jan Hunyad said that he would construct Catholic churches all around Serbia and would demolish the Orthodox churches." He sent another delegation to the sultan of the Ottoman Empire and asked the same question. Fatih Sultan Mehmed said that he would construct a church near each mosque. As a result of the answers,

---

[299] Diderot quoted in http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007

[300] Montesquieu quoted in http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007

[301] http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007

Serbian King decided to comply with the rule of the Ottoman Empire.[302]

Although there were many examples for the complaisance of the Ottoman Empire throughout history, many philosophers and political thinkers verbalized their hatred to the Ottoman Empire. Voltaire did not hide his hatred and racism for Turks whom he qualified as "tyrants of the women and enemies of arts"[303] In a violent poem dedicated to Prince Eugène (who defeated the Ottomans in 1716) he writes:

"Chase the Moslems
Break soon the barrier
Make the impertinent circumcised bite the dust
And full of a warrior passion,
Trampling their turbans,
Finish with this mission
In the palace of the Ottomans."[304]

Voltaire even blames Turks for being destroyers of the antique patrimony of the "Christian Empire of the East". He went even further and wrote:

"I do not love a people who were only a destroyer and who are the enemy of arts. I restrict myself to wish very fervently that the Turkish barbarians be chased away immediately out of the country of Xenophon, Socrates, Plato, Sophocles and Euripides. If we wanted, it could be done soon; but seven crusades of superstition had been undertaken and a crusade of honor will never take place. We know almost no city built by them; they let decay the most beautiful establishments of the Antiquity, they reign over ruins"[305]

Since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, it can be observed that a barbaric, despotic and tyranical image had been set for the Turks. It is an image filled with resentment, biases, fears and it can be claimed that this image is still affecting today's Europe. As it is mentioned before, Ottoman Empire had played a key role in the construction of the modern European identity. Lord Acton once said "Modern history starts with the conquests of the Ottomans." It is natural for the Ottoman

---

[302] Ahmed Akgündüz, "Osmanlı Devletinde ve Çağdaşı olan Diğer Devletlerde İnsana ve Hukuka Saygı", accessed from http://www.osmanli.org.tr/yazi-2-97.html, on October 17, 2007

[303] Voltaire quoted in http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007

[304] Prince Eugene quoted in http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007

[305] Voltaire quoted in http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007

Empire to become Europe's other for centuries because even in the 20th century 20% of the European lands were under the rule of the Ottomans.[306]

At the very beginning of the 19th century there was an interesting definition of Turks in a textbook of geography:

> "The Turks are generally tall, strong and robust. They are an idle, cruel and ignorant people. They like to smoke."[307]

> "The Indolent Turkish does not know the excitement of our societies; it rests softly on the pillows of his sofa, smokes tobacco of Syria, warms up with the Mocha coffee, watches dancing slaves, some grains of opium transport him to heavens accompanied by immortal beauties."[308]

In 1918, an important lampoon literature, essentially inspired by Greek and Armenian interests, was born. It grants an important place to the hatred of Turks and to racism expressed in the rawest way. The image of Turks in the West in a sense reached its ultimate phase after war. Here are a few examples of what one could read during this period:

> "The Occidental mentality, which naturally tends to consider and to understand things according to the data of its own environment, when speaking about Turks and Turkey imagines that it speaks about a special race, about a human family consisting of individuals having an origin, a language, a history, customs, common traditions, in brief, that it speaks about a homogeneous nation having a homeland which would be Turkey. Well, it's not true at all, it has never been that and it can never be."[309]

> "...The Turks heartily enjoyed themselves with the most despicable pleasures; they wallow in the prostitution, the pederasty, the debauchery and the incest, give themselves to all sorts of sadistic monstrousness."[310]According to Rousseau, Turks are the barbarians who have defeated the sophisticated and civilized Arabs."[311]

In the 20th century, with the fall of the Ottoman Empire, and the chaos provoked by the occupation of Anatolia by the allied troops distracted and shocked the Turks, so much that they only managed to survive and tried to save their lands. They have no time to change the prejudices conveyed by Europe. With the

---

[306] Lord Acton quoted in Yurdusev, p. 61
[307] http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007
[308] Ibid.
[309] http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007
[310] Ibid.
[311] Rousseau quoted in Yurdusev, p. 67

foundation of the modern Turkey, Turks showed their will to become better integrated into the Occidental world but the image of the Turks still remains negative in Europe.[312]

In the 1950s, after two catastrophic wars, Europe was badly in need of manpower as a result of the demand from the West; some of the Turks began to immigrate to Europe. They are mostly modest farmers. They are not well educated and they didn't know the language of their host country. They hoped to earn money and wanted to return to their homelands as soon as possible. The dreams of the immigrants to return rapidly to their homelands quickly turned into an illusion. Settling down in host countries became permanent. By common reflex, they stayed grouped together, without opening up to the world.[313] The isolation from host country's cultural values and language led to an increase in negative opinions toward the Turks because these people refused to be a part of host countries' culture. As a result of this cynical influences right from the Crusades and because of the dominant Christianity norms in the European identity and the descent Islamic norms in the Turkish identity, Europeans and Turks have tendency to identify with each other negatively.[314] Naturally there are some exceptions. During the decline of the Ottoman Empire especially before its collapse and also during the establishment of Turkey the admiration to the West Europe was inevitable. This admiration can be seen in the institutional reforms of the late Ottoman era. In the 19th century, many western laws and practices were adopted.[315] Although the Ottoman Empire has always been in contact with Western civilization since its establishment, during the rise of its rulership the Ottomans viewed their own Islamic civilization superior to the West. As a result, the West could not be taken as a model in that time as Europe was not superior to the Ottomans.[316]

The first attempts for westernization came into the Empire in the 18th century. In this period, the decline of the Ottoman Empire started. As a result of the Austrian and Russian defeats, two treaties were signed; the treaties of Carlowitz in 1699 and Passarowitz in 1718. As a result of these defeats, Ottoman political elite began to search for the reasons of the decline. High ranking statesmen were sent to the

---

[312] http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007
[313] http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4, accessed on October 17, 2007
[314] Yurdusev, p. 60
[315] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.36
[316] Ibid.

European capitals to make a study on the civilization and education and to report it to the empire. The effect of these changes in the militaristic and industrial area began to spread to cultural and social life. French manners and lifestyles began to appear among the upper classes.[317]

Mahmut II ruled the Ottoman Empire during 1808-1839. He embarked a series of reforms and these reforms inspired the Turkish reformers of the 19th and 20th centuries. He implemented reforms in the army, the central bureaucracy, taxation, education and communication. During the decline of the Ottoman Empire the sympathy to the West grew because they believed that the only way to save the empire was to adopt European style reforms.[318] Therefore it can not be said that Ottoman Empire had always been affected from Europe negatively. In some periods the Ottoman Empire were inspired by the West.

During the establishment of Turkey, Ataturk was also inspired by the western civilization. Many social scientists in the west viewed Turkey as one of the most successful models of a universally defined modernization process. The establishment of a secular nation state under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923 depicted the transition of a traditional society to a modern one.[319] For Turkish modernizers, modernization means western civilization and they were affected mostly by France and Britain.[320]

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Independence War resulted in a Turkish victory, the arguments over oriental and western civilizations resurfaced. According to Ataturk, culture and civilization were not separable.[321] Ataturk made strict reforms in order to back up Turkey to the level of civilization which meant European civilization. Beyond debate, Ottoman Empire was Islamic; after the foundation of Turkey, Ataturk had to stand against the Muslim concept of political identity which had been the legitimate basis of the Ottoman Empire. Westernization process constitutes the scientific basis of Turkish revolution.[322] He banned the Arabic script that tied Turkey up to the Orient. Ataturk wanted Turkey to be a part of the

---

[317] Ibid., p. 37
[318] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.38
[319] Ibid., p.35
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid., p. 45
[322] Ibid., p.46

western civilization and he made language reform in order to depart from the Ottoman and Islamic past.[323]

Today, it can be said that many Turkish citizens feel offense and anger to the union; because Turkey has been waiting at the backyard of the EU since 1959. Many Turks lost its passion to become a EU membership because they believe the EU have problems on Turkey's cultural values. The membership process of Turkey has been an endless story and in the most opportunist scenario it will take two decades for Turkey to become a member.

2. A Glance to the Present Relationship between Turkey and the EU

As it was mentioned in the previous chapters of the thesis, philosophers and important political leaders of Europe have tendency to identify European heritage with ancient Greece, Roman Empire and Christian values.

Europe identified Turks and Islam negatively due to the past experiences they had; Crusades, the Ottoman Empire, immigration of Turks to Europe after WWII, the rise of the fundamental Islam after September 11, 2001. The road to Europe has always been a tough debate for Turkey. After WWII, the relationship between Turkey and Europe proceeded on the axis of the European Union.

During postwar period the Unites States gave up its isolationist policy and decided to lead the chaotic situation in Europe. After WWII, there was a bipolar structure in the world between the Soviet Union and the United States. They were representing two camps. Europe was also divided into east and west. Eastern Europe was under the influence of the Soviet Union. In order to keep socialism away from Western Europe, the United States decided to aid Europe through the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. It can be argued that the United States played a key role in the reconstruction of Western Europe.

The USA wanted Europe to recover economically and politically because she did not want the Soviet Union to influence Western Europe. Additionally the USA wanted to make trade with Europe. Turkey remained neutral until 1945. After WWII,

---

[323] Ibid., p.49

neutrality was no longer a feasible option and the government turned to a firm identification with the west as a cornerstone of its policy.[324]

Central and Eastern European States were influenced by Soviet Union. The USA wanted to protect Western Europe from the effects of socialism and wanted to encumber the influence of Soviet Union. In order to protect West Europe, the USA decided to aid sixteen European countries including Turkey in order to help them rebuild a new social order. After WWII, there were a bipolar structure as the Soviet Union and the USA. Therefore Turkey rose as a strategically important ally for both West Europe and the USA. In 1952, Turkey became a member of the NATO. The influence of the Soviet Union on East Europe and the effect of the USA on West Europe figured the new economic and political map of Europe.[325] The hostile relation between the Soviet Union and the USA affected the relations of West and East Europe on the cultural aspect. East Europe is affected by the rules of socialism while west Europe is affected by liberalism and free trade. Turkey succeeded in being the strategic militaristic part of the Europe but still trying to be a member of the political and cultural part.[326]

Approximately for fifty years being a member of the European Union is one of the core foreign policies of Turkey. Of all the countries at the periphery of the EU, the question of inclusion or exclusion presents Turkey with the greatest problems concerning identity.[327] Turkey-EU relations has been a deadlock for many years because the membership of Turkey is not an economic issue, it has important cultural dimensions. There are cultural differences between Turkey-EU with respect to religion and historical background. Turkey neither share Christian cultural tradition nor does it belong to the Arab Islamic culture.[328]

Since the beginning of its establishment Turkey has a desire to become a part of the European system. Turkey wanted to share a common destiny with the west.[329] The endless road of Turkey on the way to the EU started with the Greek application to the EU in 1959. The Greek application for associate membership of the EC in

---

[324] Wendy Asbeek Brusse, Richard T. Griffiths, "Good intentions and Hidden Motives : Turkey – EU Relations in a Historical Perspective" ed. Richard T. Griffiths and Durmuş Özdemir, *Turkey and the EU Enlargement*, p.16
[325] Brusse and Griffiths.,p.17
[326] Atila Eralp, "Soğuk Savaştan Günümüze Türkiye Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri", *Türkiye ve Avrupa Batılılaşma Kalkınma ve Demokrasi*, ed. Atila Eralp, (Ankara: İmge Kitapevi, 1997),p. 90
[327] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.68
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid., p.69

1959 threatened to isolate Turkey politically and prompted the Turkish government to follow suit less than a month later. One of the strongest reasons for Turkey to apply for the membership of the EC is the probability of Greece to use the advantage of the EU membership against Turkey.[330]

The membership of one of the two rivals would contribute to destabilizing the precarious equilibrium in the Eastern Mediterranean. Secondly both Greece and Turkey had weak and underdeveloped political and economic systems. Because of some democratic problems both countries experienced political periodic interventions. In Turkey, there was a military seizure of power in 1960 and Premier Menderes and his minister of foreign affairs and finance were all executed. The EEC criticized them for the poor functioning of democracy and the rule of law in both countries. In 1963, the Treaty of Ankara was signed and Article 28 of the Treaty stipulated that the contracting parties will examine the possibility of Turkey's association to the Community.[331] For Turkish leaders the Ankara Agreement was the beginning of a new era in Turkish-European relations and confirmed Turkey's place in the world as a European state.[332] The Treaty anticipated a five year preparatory phase followed immediately by a twelve year transition period during which the customs union would come about and Turkish economic policy would converge towards that of the EEC.[333]

It can be said that, the rivalry with Greece played an important role in the relations between the EEC and Turkey during 1960–1970.The mutual antagonism between Greece and Turkey would itself aggravate the inherent tensions in the EEC's political attitudes towards them. The developments in the relationship of both Greece and Turkey with the EEC ran almost parallel until the beginning of 1970s.[334] One year after the fall of the colonel's regime in 1974, the Greek government submitted a new application for membership. Although Turkey and Greece were rivals, the EC executives acted in good faith towards the countries.[335]

As the EC executives acted in good faith, there was no doubt among policy makers in Brussels and national leaders in Ankara that Turkey would soon be

---

[330] Eralp, p. 91
[331] Brusse and Griffiths, p.18
[332] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.69
[333] Brusse and Griffiths, p.19
[334] Ibid., p.18
[335] Eralp, p. 92

considered for full membership. In the 1960s, the EC was not a cultural project, it first started as an economic project and European identity was not an important issue.

"Turkey is part of Europe. That is the deepest meaning of this project." said the president of the EEC on the occasion of the agreement of Association between the EEC and Turkey in 1963. He added that there has been nothing comparable in the history of influence of European culture and politics and indeed they felt an essential relationship with the most modern events in Europe.[336] How different is the optimism of the EEC who foresaw Turkey as one day becoming a full member from the rejection pronounced by the President of the European Union Convention Valery Gishard d'Estaing, who dogmatically declared that Turkey was not part of Europe and its entry would mean the end of the European Union.[337] Today, Turkey qualifies as the longest standing candidate of the EU.

The 1970s were the years of depression in the world due to the economic and social problems. The problems in the international monetary system, the increase in the price of oil were the results of these crises. The crises shocked Europe more when compared to the USA.[338] With the increase in the economic problems, the USA and Europe decided to soften the relationship with the USSR. With the relaxation in the polarization, the rigid administrative structure in the USSR decreased. These events in the international arena affected the relationship between Turkey and the West. Europe began to reduce military expenses in its politics and started to give importance to economic and democratic issues.[339]

The Additional Protocol that regulated the customs union was signed in 1971. Industrialists protested the protocol and claimed that it would negatively affect the trade. Mutual relations between the EC and Turkey stagnated throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Turkey and the EC had to deal with the negative consequences of two successive oil crises; one is in 1973 and the other is in 1979. The Cyprus question and the negative consequences of the oil crises cooled the relations between Turkey and the EC. The EC became much more protectionist in the 1970s and 1980s because of the crisis in the textile and agricultural sector and rising unemployment.[340] Because of rising unemployment, member states became restrictive in opening their

---

[336] Claus Leggewie, "Turkey's EU Membership as a Litmus Test of European Self-Confidence", *What Holds Europe Together?*, ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), p. 147
[337] Valery Gishard d'Estaing quoted in Leggewie., p. 147
[338] Eralp, p. 93
[339] Ibid., p. 94
[340] Brusse and Griffiths, p.20

labor markets for foreign workers especially outside the Community.[341]As a result of these problems and the difficulty in the harmonization of the Customs Union agenda, Turkey wanted five additional years from the EC and that resulted in the cooling of the relationship between the EC and Turkey. This was the point where Turkey and Greece's paths separated.[342]

The community developed its trade relations with its Mediterranean partners. It is interesting to observe the similarities between Turkey, Greece and Spain. All three countries can geographically be considered as Mediterranean countries. They have modest climates and lively people. All three countries had some democratic problems in their history. After WWII, Greece was on the verge of bankruptcy.[343] In Spain, Franco cooperated with the Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy during WWII so Spain neither took the Marshall Aid nor could it benefit from the Truman Doctrine. European countries did not want Spain to have the aids. Although Europeans excluded Spain in those days, the USA contributed to the construction of Spain.[344] Spain has an important geographical location in terms of commerce and sea lane. The USA used to believe that the interests of the USA can be protected by Franco and that contributed to Franco's political career for 30 years.[345]

Western Europe contributed to the economy of its southern neighbors by sending tourists and demanding supply labor. Europeans started to use the low waged South Europeans and with the high living standards, they began to spend their money in the Mediterranean beaches.[346] The period of 1974-80 was the time of consequential events. The economic system started to sink, and the USA soon realized that she can not control the world economy as she liked. The Vietnam defeat, Middle East problem and Cyprus issue, Iran revolution and Afghanistan defeat of the Soviet Union were the reflections of this collapse.[347]

During this train of events in the world, Turkey was also in a chaotic position. In 1980, a military coup occurred in Turkey and the relationship between the EC and

---

[341] Ibid.
[342] Eralp, p. 96
[343] M. Fatih Tayfur, "Yunanistan ve İspanya'nın Avrupalılaşma Serüveni ve Türkiye: İki Nikah, Bir Cenaze", *Türkiye ve Avrupa Batılılaşma Kalkınma ve Demokrasi*, ed. Atila Eralp, (Ankara: İmge Kitapevi, 1997),p. 181
[344] Ibid., p. 190
[345] Ibid., p. 191
[346] Ibid., p. 194,
[347] Tayfur, p. 206,

Turkey became even worse.[348] It took three years for Turkey to establish a civilan authority. The new government was established in November 1983. Turkey experienced three military coups in its history so it can be said that there is something uncivilized in Turkish political structure. Turkey has still experiencing some problems while the functioning of democracy. Because of these shortcomings in the democratization process of the EU, the EU has some doubts on the way to Turkey's membership.[349]

In addition to the economic problems of the 1970s political problems were also added. A military coup was a big stroke for democracy in Turkey. During the application of Greece, Portuguese and Spain, the EC proposed democracy as the inseparable part of the accession.[350] With the accession of Greece in 1981, the influence of Greece on "Turkey – EC relationship" becomes inevitable.[351] When Greece was accepted as a member of the EC, the issue of membership for Turkey became consequential. As Gunaydin newspaper once argued:

> "Greeks have become Europeans as we remained Asians. We are getting farther and farther from the date we had expected to achieve membership. We can not set foot in the Common market countries without a visa. The Western powers themselves admit that the West is trying to sever us from Europe and turn us into a Middle Eastern country.[352]"

After the acceptance of Greece as a member, the Community decided to light up its trade relations with the Mediterranean trading partners; Greece, Spain and Portugal and they all applied for full membership. In 1980, the negotiations started for a possible revision of Ankara Treaty but the EC knew that there was no possibility that Turkey could fulfill all the obligations associated with the EC membership.[353] The military seizure in 1980 cooled the relationship between Turkey and the EU. The reestablishment of order by the army resulted with the dissolution of parties and trade unions. The relationship between the EC and Turkey remained restrained even after the restoration of democracy in 1983 until the submission of a

---

[348] Eralp, p. 98
[349] Işık Gürleyen, *"Impact of EU Political Conditionality on Democratization: Turkey",* (Siena: Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaiining the Degree of Doctor of the University of Siena, 2005), p. 26
[350] Eralp, p. 101
[351] Ibid., p. 102
[352] Günaydın quoted in Bozdağlıoğlu, p.76
[353] Brusse and Griffiths, p.21

new application for the EU membership in April 1987. The Commission had directed all their resources to making a success on the European agenda of completing the internal market and increasing the EC's institutional capacity by so called European Act. Turkey was economically an unstable country and when was economically considered Turkish membership would place a disproportionate strain on EC expenditures including agricultural and structural policies that they had already increased following the southern expansion.[354] If one thing is certain that is the European Union of the 21st century is a clearly different organization from the European Economic Community on whose door Turkey knocked in 1959. By the 21st century the Cold War was over and the world was confronting random acts of brutalized violence from terrorist groups that borrow their legitimacy from religious extremism.[355]

With the end of the Cold War in 1989, they aim to unify Europe and tried to remove the division of the continent as east and west. A new topic was put on the agenda; being European. With the unification of Germany and the collapse of Soviet Union, new issues began to rise as a hot debate. Human rights and democracy assumed more central position in constructing a European identity. Besides cultural values such as characteristics, values, opinions, attitudes and historical commonalities began to be important for European Union. Stressing of these values resulted with the isolation of Turkey from the EU.[356] The framework of this process affected the relations between Turkey and Europe.[357] As it is mentioned above, the reapplication of Turkey for full membership in 1987 was not exactly an appropriate time for the EC because they had already accepted three members and that was the time to close the economic gaps of the new Mediterranean members. The European Commssion noted its opinion in 1989 and detailed the problems of Turkey as the state of democracy, the persistance of disputes with Greece, the lack of a viable solution to the Cyprus problem, relative economic backwardness, the Kurdish question and problems related to human rights.[358] As a result the EU declared that Turkey was not eligible for the membership of the EC in the short term period.[359]

---

[354] Brusse and Griffiths, p.23
[355] Brusse and Griffiths, p.14
[356] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.79
[357] Eralp, p.7
[358] Meltem Müftüler Bac, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", p.22
[359] Eralp, p. 105

Besides these teoubles it can be said that there are also cultural and historical difference between Turkey and the EU. According to Europe, Turkey is different from them with respect to their history and religion. In 1988, Prof.Dr. Korkut Boratav argued the impossibility of Turkey's full membership in the EU: "Turkey's approach to Europe is not healthy and often carries schizophrenic characteristics. The EU's rejection will contribute to the development of fascist and fundamentalist ideologies in Turkey. Therefore it would have been better if Turkey had never made this application."[360]

Turkey lies between Asia and Europe, therefore she has a unique geographical position and it contributed Turkey to become a part of Europe as a security alliance. During the Cold War Turkey was strategically important because it was a buffer state between the Soviet Union and Europe. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the strategical importance of Turkey declined.[361] 1970s were the years of economic crises and economic difficulties of the states negatively affected the relations between the EU and Turkey. In 1990s economic difficulties were replaced by the identity problems and the relationship between Turkey and the EU began to be dominated by cultural factors. Therefore any attempt to analyze Turkey-EU relations in this period should take cultural factors into consideration.[362]

One of the landmarks in Turkey –EU relationship was the Luxembourg Summit because the expansion of the EU was discussed and the EU finally took its decision in 1997. It was decided to open up negotiations with Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Slovenia and the Czech Republic. A second group of six countries including Bulgaria and Romania received the formal status of candidate membership but were not considered yet ready for the opening of membership negotiations.[363]

In 1997 after the decisions taken in the Luxembourg summit, Turkey decided to suspend all political dialogue with the EU. The European Council decided to grant Turkey a candidate status. European objections to Turkish membership can be grouped under four main headings: economic factors, the Kurdish problem, the Greek veto and the Cyprus problem, the state of Turkish democracy and human rights.[364] The EU requested Turkey to find a solution to the Cyprus question, wanted

---

[360] Korkut Boratav quoted in Eralp, p. 105
[361] Eralp, p.105
[362] Ibid., p.92
[363] Brusse and Griffiths, p.26
[364] Meltem Müftüler Bac, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", p.24

to improve its human rights record and to ameliorate conditions in Kurdish areas. The Turkish minister of foreign affairs Tansu Çiller threatened to block the NATO membership of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic unless Turkey was also given the status of candidate member of the EU. For the first time, Turkish political leaders stressed that Turkey should get used to the idea of living without Europe. The former Prime minister of Turkey, Mesut Yılmaz said in 1998: "We must get rid of the idea of being a member of the EU and mind our own business."[365] Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit said: "There are other countries in the world such as the USA, Japan and China whose economies are highly developed even though they are not members of any economic union. Without having any kind of inferiority complex Turkey should maintain its relations with Europe."[366] Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz even went further and accused the EU of trying to be a Christian club under the leadership of Germany. He said: "Chancellor Kohl said the EU is a Christian project that does not include Turkey. Germany is trying hard for Eastern Europeans' membership because they are still pursuing Hitler's policy and warned if Europeans do not review their decision in six months we will withdraw our application for full membership."[367]

The EU evaluated Turkey's candidacy in 1999 according to the Copenhagen criteria. These reports stated that: "Recent developments confirm that although the basic features of a democratic system exists in Turkey it stil does not meet the Copenhagen political criteria. There are serious shortcomings in terms of human rights and protection for minorities. "[368] In 2001 the European Council of Ministers and Turkey agreed for the adoption of the acquis.[369]

The end of the Cold War, the unification of Germany and the application for the membership of ten countries from Central and Eastern European Countries, Cyprus and Malta triggered European identity issues. Additionally human rights and democracy assumed a more central position in constructing a European identity. This appeared explicitly in the famous Copenhagen Criteria for the membership.

---

[365] Mesut Yılmaz quoted in Bozdağlıoğlu, p.81

[366] Bülent Ecevit quoted in Bozdağlıoğlu, p.81
[367] Mesut Yılmaz quoted in Bozdağlıoğlu, p.82
[368] Meltem Müftüler Bac, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", p.24
[369]Brusse and Griffiths, p.26

Candidate countries have to guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.[370]

The European Union member states reached an agreement on the "starting of negotiation talks on Turkey's accession to the Union" on October 3, 2005. After the decision to start the negotiations with Turkey, former French President Jacques Chirac told the press that he did not see any reason to deny Ankara's EU membership but he advised Turkey to embrace European values. Chirac added that Turkey will need to complete its cultural revolution in order to be fully accepted into Europe. This was a sentence signaling that cultural issues were far from settled.[371] France always followed a deliberate policy against Turkey's EU accession. France believes Turkey and Europe is culturally different from each other therefore before the accession to the EU, France suggests Turkey to realize its cultural revolution.

The EU states have different visions on the membership of Turkey. Great Britain is favoring the idea of Turkey's integration with the union. Italy maintains a similar position, although some of its government politicians speak against Ankara's accession. Vienna had called for a "privileged partnership" to be awarded to Ankara rather than full EU membership. France, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Belgium all have bemusing stances on the issue. Especially, the 2004 eastward enlargement led to the changing of the European institutional structure. With the accession in 2004 and 2007, twelve new members had been accepted to the European Union.[372] As a result of the last two enlargements, European Union became 27 members and newly added members also become entitled to act on Turkey's accession.

How do European people perceive Turkey today? Is there an exact perception for the Turks? Is it even possible to speak of a common European public perception of Turkey? As it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it can be said that Turks have negative image on Europeans' minds due to their historical experiences. At present, it can be said that it is still the same due to the news given on the media. In the international media, news on Turkey are generally about catastrophes like earthquakes, bombings, bird flu and violation on human rights. This type of news

---

[370] Ibid., p.24

[371] Chirac quoted in Federico Bordonaro, "Turkey's Accession Divides the EU", accessed from http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=377&language_id=1 , on September 27, 2007

[372] Eralp, p. 110,

generally results in negative identification on ordinary European citizens. Besides, political Islam rise in Turkey is also a popular topic for European media.

Islam and Turks have been Europe's others for centuries and large majority of Turks are Muslim. Since September 11, there is a comeback against Islam in Europe because many people are afraid of fundamentalist Islamic movement. At present, people have a general tendency to associate terrorist attacks with Islam. Especially after September 11, Islam has been aggravated in much of the world media. In this regard recent public opinion polls indicate that Islam is one of the main reasons for rejecting Turkish membership in the Union.[373]

A survey was done by the European Commission in 1976 in the nine member states and people were asked whether there are other countries that they would have wished to see entering the European community. 50% of those said Switzerland, 44% percent Spain, 39% Austria, but only 10% said Turkey. According to the analyst, the low percent for Turkey's accession could be because of the geographical and cultural distance between Turkey and Europe.[374]

Another survey was launched in 2002 questioning the accession of Turkey. This survey showed that Western public knows a little more about Turkey, but Turkey still received the lowest support among all EU candidates: Forty-seven percent of those questioned in the existing 15 member states were against Turkish accession and only 31 percent in favor.[375]

In the Eurobarometer survey of 2006, 52% of Europeans saw the accession of Turkey as mainly in the interest of the country itself. 20% saw a mutual interest to both the EU and Turkey for its entry in the European Union. While 56% of Europeans were in favor of Croatia's accession, between 48% approved of the accession of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, or the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and 39% favored Turkey's accession; 48 percent opposed it, even if it complied with all the conditions set by the EU.[376] It is interesting to see that since 1976, there is not a major change on the European people's mind about Turkey's accession to the union.

---

[373]Alain Servantie, "European Public Opinion on Turkey - Opinion Polls: Eurobarameter and Other Studies accessed from http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=261&Itemid=31 , on November 27, 2007
[374] Ibid.
[375]Ibid.
[376] Ibid.

In some of the countries like Lithuania and Malta, Roman Catholic Church plays a major role in government politics. This is one of the strongest reasons why they are not enthusiastic about Turkey's accession. Besides, opposition to Turkey's accession exists in some of the countries with the highest percentage of Turkish immigrants. The 2006 Eurobarometer survey showed strong opposition, in Belgium, although politicians mainly expressed their support for accession. In some countries public opinion is divided. In Denmark, recent polls have indicated increased opposition to Turkey's accession.[377]

According to the 2000 surveys in France, 49% of the French were against the accession of Turkey. In 2002 the percentage of the opponents rose to 61% in France and in 2006, 76% of young people were against the accession of Turkey to the EU. Also in Germany there is a rise in the opponents for the accession of Turkey to the EU. Even if Turkey met all the criteria for its EU accession and migrant workers did not move to other EU countries, 40 percent would still oppose the country's EU membership. Austria is the country with one of the highest degree of public resistance against the opening of accession negotiations with Turkey, which reaches 60–70 percent according to opinion polls. According to a survey, 74 percent of people polled stated that they do not really consider Turkey as a European country.[378] Most of the Austrians think that the cultural difference between Turkey and the EU is too significant. The main reason for this can be seen as the Islamic character of Turkey.[379] Although Turkey is a secular state since its establishment, people have doubts on its future.

In this conflictual area, it can be said that the EU still have problems to digest the idea of Turkey's membership. Firstly, the European Union citizens perceive Turkey as an Islamic country, 99% of Turkish citizens are Muslim. Demographically Turkey can be defined negatively because if Turkey has the accession to the EU, projection forecasts state that it will be the EU's most populated country in 2015-2020. It can be said that the accession of Turkey can result with the disorder in political dimension.[380]

---

[377]Alain Servantie, http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=261&Itemid=31 , on November 27, 2007
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid.
[380] Ibid.

Leading policymakers such as France's Nicolas Sarkozy and Germany's Angela Merkel are eager to use the public's anti-Turkish feelings in order to gain votes; this strategy has increased following the terrorist attacks in London and Madrid and exacerbated by mass immigration issues.[381] French President Sarkozy met with the head of the European Commission Barrosso in Brussels and said, "I still have the idea that Turkey has no place in Europe."[382] He said, he still share the same idea that Turkey has no place in Europe because Turkey is an Asian country.

Why do not political leaders such as Merkel or Sarkozy want Turkey's accession to the EU? As it is mentioned before 99% of Turkish citizens are Muslim. In 1950 there were only 800.000 Muslims in Europe. In the years 2000, it reached to 12.5 million and every year approximately 850.000 Muslim emigrants are immigrating to the continent of Europe. In the 1950s, Europeans began to discover Muslim origin workers. Muslim workers immigrated to Europe, therefore Muslim and immigrant started to be used as synonymous. Especially during the economical crises the immigrants were perceived as scapegoat. This threat was not perceived only as economical but also cultural.[383] Especially after September 11 terror attacks, the content of the exclusion towards Muslims started to become cultural.[384]

The catastrophe of September 11 is one of the landmarks in the relationship between Christians and Muslims. A survey was made by European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia in order to identify the threat of increasing racism especially to the Islamic community. This survey was realized in 2001 over 15 member EU states.[385] There seems to be an increase in attacks against Muslims in the countries like Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark and the reason for this could be the terrorist bombing in the USA.[386] After the attack, verbal insults towards Muslim have been reported in nearly all EU members. Terror attacks of the fundamentalist terrorists negatively affected the politics toward Muslims. The verbal attacks reported included direct verbal attacks or harassment and abuse graffiti on the walls, also of Islamic buildings. In some countries also physical attacks occurred:[387]

---

[381] Ibid.

[382] Sarkozy quoted in http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/408886.asp?cp1=1 , accessed on September 10, 2007

[383] Erdenir, p. 194

[384] Ibid., p. 195

[385]"Anti-Islamic Reactions within the European Union after the recent acts of terror against the USA" http://fra.europa.eu/fra/material/pub/anti-islam/Report-041001.pdf, accessed on November 26, 2007

[386] Ibid.

[387] Ibid.

"Denmark:
- a Danish woman tried to set her Turkish neighbour's apartment on fire
- a drunken young man was caught outside a Mosque ready to throw his homemade Molotov cocktails
- another pizza place, owned by two Afghanis, was attacked in a rural area by someone throwing bottles filled with gasoline through the windows
- a 44-year-old man attacked Iraqi immigrant with his German Shepherd

The Netherlands:
- Attacks on mosques at the Hague (written hate speech on the walls) and Vlissingen (broken windows)
- An Islamic school in Nijmegen was set on fire
- An attempt to set fire to a mosque in Zwolle
- Stones were thrown through the windows of the SHIP - the Islamic Platform in The Hague.

Sweden:
- in Mölndal, Gothenburg, a Iranian born taxi driver was assaulted and beaten up by people who called him a »bloody terrorist.

United Kingdom:
- a 28-year-old Afghan minicab driver was seriously assaulted and left paralysed from the neck down by three men who, according to police, referred to the attacks in New York
- another Afghan man was assaulted in Dover and has received serious injuries
- a 19-year-old Asian woman in Swindon was beaten around the head by two men with a baseball bat prior to which one was reportedly heard to say 'here's a Muslim'
- in the north east of England a 20-year-old Bangladeshi man suffered a broken jaw after being beaten by a gang of youths"

It can be said that there is a rise in the discrimination and violence against Muslims in Europe. In Belgium, a fanatic murdered a pregnant Muslim au pair, shortly before; he had shot a Turkish woman wearing a Muslim headscarf.[388] According to the report announced in the Netherlands Parliament, for 30 years Holland had been trying to integrate the emigrants to the Holland society and added that their efforts were in vain.[389] They announced that there is a sub-culture in Holland and it is increasing with marriages from their own group. They underlined the importance of taking precautions against this threat immediately. Spain and Portuguese used to follow a temperate policy when compared to their northern

---

[388] "2007 Hate Crime Survey – Companion Survey on Islamophobia", http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/discrimination/reports.asp?country=&id=27&misc1=survey-islamophobia#exec, accessed on December 5, 2007
[389] Erdenir, p. 195

neighbors but after the terror attacks and bombing in 2004 in Madrid, they decided to perceive Islam and migration more seriously.[390]

More than nine out of 10 white Britons declared that they have no Muslim friends. The details of the poll were given by the Guardian newspaper; it is stated that 94% of white people say most of their friends are of the same race.[391] As a result of the European's stance toward Muslims after the terror attacks, Muslims started to give importance to their religion more seriously. The image which is pictured by the radical Islamists affects the image of Muslims negatively. As a result of hostile events Islam and Civilization are going on a polarization period.[392] Debates on the poor integration of some groups of Muslims in EU member states, the growing assertiveness of second generation Muslims and the worldwide rise of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism have all placed Muslims and Islam in an increasingly controversial position. The attacks on September 11, 2001 dramatically changed the social and political climate and awoke dormant feelings of deep unease.[393]

September 11, 2001 was one of the milestones between the relations of Muslim and Christians. Both Europe and the USA became uneasy against Muslims after this terror attack. Besides many Christians began to be afraid of fundamentalist Islamic movement.This type of fundamentalist Islamic acts complicates the relationship between Turkey and the EU. Terrorist attacks like September 11, 2001 marked the relations between the EU and Turkey in the negative way because the EU is irritated by the Muslims. Besides, various attacks had been realized to the people from different religion in Turkey such as the bombing in two synagogues in 2003, the assassination of a clergyman in Trabzon in 2006 and the kidnapping of a priest in Mardin in 2007. This type of news negatively affects the image of Turks and Turkey in Europe.

It would not be easy to underestimate such fears of Islam. The fear is not only in EU member states but also in Turkey. Popular Islam has continued to be an important issue of controversy in Turkish politics. Evidence for this can be found in the countless headscarf incidents in the country. Today, a new Turkish constitution is on the agenda and according to the draft constitution; turban will be legalized in the

---

[390] Ibid.
[391] "Most British Whites Have No Ethnic Friends", http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2004-07/19/article03.shtml, accessed on December 5, 2007
[392] Erdenir, p.196
[393] Brusse and Griffiths, p.70

universities and in public institutions. Both students studying in the universities and the staff working in the public institutions will be able to wear turban. The supporters of the constitution claim that it should be a legal right to decide to wear or not to wear it.

As it is well known, starting from 1923, there is a strict secularism in Turkey but if this constitution is ratified, probably there will be some doubts on Turkey's secular identity. Ankara claims that by realizing this new constitution and they aim to make Turkey more democratic; but realizing turban in the public area, will harm the Kemalist principles. Brussels is announcing that Turkey is going through an isolation period. Last opinion polls showed us that the Turkish people have also lost the flame of enthusiasm about membership of the EU. Only 40% of the people in the survey believe membership of the EU will be good for Turkey. In 2006 the percentage was 54%. Only 26% of the Turkish people announced that they believe one day Turkey will be a member of the EU.[394]

The relationship between Turkey and Europe has never been stable and smooth. Since the beginning process of the negotiations the EU has been advising Turkey to realize the reforms that the EU requested but since that time Turkey has taken very short steps on the way to membership.

> "The Austrian press - Die Presse commented that "Turkey is becoming more isolated from the EU each day. Turkish government is turning its back on the EU. The hope for Turkey to realize the reforms that the EU requested is failed."[395] French Press – AFP also added that "Sarkozy refreshed that Turkey has no place in Europe and added that he has hopes one day Turkey will have a real partnership with Europe."[396] Le Monde: Republic of Turkey is founded on October 29, 1923. Some people are dreaming to become a member of the EU in the centenary anniversary of the foundation of Turkey. This is naturally a long time later but is it something impossible? If one day Turkey becomes an EU member everybody knows it will not take less than 15 years. Unfortunately since the starting point of negotiation period there are not many improvements in the relationship of Turkey and the EU. Many Europeans believe they are different from the Turks with respect to their culture and history."[397] Greece Media - Alpha TV: The

---

[394] "Dış Basında Türkiye – AB İlişkileri" accessed from
http://www.byegm.gov.tr/yayinlarimiz/avrupabirligi/avrupa.htm , on September 27, 2007
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid.
[397] Ibid.

constraints against the membership of Turkey. Cyprus issue, PKK and Turban."[398]

The European Commission announced the progress report of 2007 for the candidate members in November 2007. Rehn held a press meeting and said; "The tough days for Turkey is over. During the political crises in the elections, democracy won. This new acceleration should be used in order to improve the fundamental rights of the citizens and to realize the reforms that the European Commission expected."[399] On the other side, Europe-Mediterranean Ministers of Foreign Affairs held their 9th meeting. During the convention, Sarkozy, the president of France, proposed Turkey to become a member of Mediterranean Union but Benita Ferraro Waldner who is responsible for the foreign affairs of the Commission declared that there is no any other alternative to Turkey's European Union membership.[400]

Although it is declared by the EU authorities that Turkey is a candidate for the European Union and there is no any other partnership an alternative, the road of Turkey to the EU is still in conclusive. There are important agendas for Turkey such as the progress of human rights, opening its port to the Cyprus, the Kurdish question, or the ascent of Islam. These issues are waiting to be solved. Can Europe be reconciled with Turkey? Many European politicians have adopted a wait and see attitude towards this issue. A handful of people can openly questioned whether a Muslim country such as Turkey can fit into the EU that is inspired by Judeo-Christian values.[401]

History created an image on Europeans' mind of the Terrible Turk who under the Ottoman Empire ruled large parts of the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and the Holy Land and finally was driven back into the Asia Minor during the 19th century. The collective European memory was that of the barbarian Turks who had not only ruled Southeastern Europe and the Balkans for centuries but had also carried the banner of Islam to the heartland of the Christian civilization.[402] Therefore, it can be said that Turks represents the other of Europe for centuries. This is not the only point. Europe stays cold to the accession of Turkey because Turkey is a troublesome country with her crowded population, Anatolian coloring of its

---

[398] http://www.byegm.gov.tr/yayinlarimiz/avrupabirligi/avrupa.htm
[399] http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=238104, on November 7, 2007
[400] Ibid.
[401] Brusse and Griffiths, p.69
[402] Stone, p.186

democracy and conflicts with its neighbors [403]

Turkey does not fit to any neat geographical categories. Turkey is not in the middle of Europe. It is a Mediterranean country yet its black sea shores are just as long. To its west lie the Balkans to the northeast is located Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia and beyond what used to be the Soviet Union. Turkey has a unique geographical position which leads to questioning of its Europeanness. Turkey is a large country with greater geographical area than France and Germany.[404] Because of this unique geographical location Turkey can never be a totally European or a totally Asian country. There are cultural differences between the people in Turkey in terms of the living styles, education, economic gaps. West lives with industry, technology while the east lives with traditions, lack of job opportunities and terrorism. Many soldiers wore the crown in this country after 1990 because of the terror attacks in the East and today the situation is even more problematic. Many things are happening in Turkey, top agenda is changing every day. Today, it can be said that there is still a secular construction in Turkey but many people afraid whether this secularism can be vanished.

There was a strict relationship between religion and politics in the Ottoman Empire. For seven centuries Ottoman Empire was a big hegemon on an important part of Europe. With the fall of the Ottoman Empire after WWI, Ataturk succeeded to construct a modern way of living and accomplished to distinguish the religion and state affairs from each other.

Although Turkey has kept her secular identity since her establishment at present there are some doubts on Turkey's secular identity. Today, it can be said that Islamist movement in Turkey is more powerful than ever. Former Minister of Justice Cemil Çiçek declared in 2004 that due to the will of the Turkish citizens they would like to count adultery as a crime. There is not such an application in the European Union on adultery issue as it is perceived as a part of the private life.

According to the Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Commioner for Agriculture sent a document to the European Commission presenting his concerns on Turkey's membership.   He said that in the case of Turkey's membership, the European Union has to back up Turkey for more than 11 billion euro. He added that Turkey can be influenced by the radical Islamic movement. According to Reuter,

---

[403] Leggewie, p. 150
[404] Stone, p.184

Belgium's Foreign Minister Karel De Gucht once said that Turkish so called adultery law is not overlapping with Turkey's EU membership. He added that the draft law of Turkey to sentence someone for three years because of adultery is not coinciding with European values.[405] As a result adultery law was put off to an ambiguous time.

At present, it can be said that Islamist movement in Turkey is more powerful than ever. Therefore, some of the people in Turkey are using personal rights and democracy on their own benefit. A bus traveling from Samsun to Istanbul on September 2, 2007 stopped at a mosque when passengers insisted on saying their daily prayers. Similar demands are heard all over Turkey, says Milliyet newspaper. In another incident, a 28-year-old divorcee who was wearing a knee-length tunic and leggings was detained by Istanbul police for "indecent exposure" as she stood with a fellow fisherman on the Galata Bridge; she faces charges of resisting the authorities. Many restaurants that once served customers during the Ramadan fast no longer do so.[406]

Turkey's secularists feel cornered. Ataturk's republic, some say, is becoming "another Iran". Their fears have grown since the Justice and Development (AKP) party's election victory in July 2007.[407]

The Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan has said that the headscarf ban should be scrapped in universities. A new constitution is planned to be come into effect in order to replace the existing one written after the military coup of 1980. Is Turkey becoming an Islamic country? The five year performance of the AKP suggest not. Mr Erdogan did once try to outlaw adultery, and some AKP mayors attempted to create alcohol-free zones but such efforts were soon dropped. Even feminists concede that some of the most radical improvements in the lot of women since Ataturk were introduced by the AK Party.[408]

---

[405] Karel De Gucht quoted in
http://www.byegm.gov.tr/yayinlarimiz/avrupabirligi/2004/09/13x09x04.htm
[406] "Turkey and Islam", accessed from
http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story_id=9867269 , on October 1, 2007
[407] Ibid.
[408] Ibid.

Unfortunately, Turkey is going on a polarization and there is a blatant difference between the Turkish people today. Even some of the columnists in the newspapers are questioning secularism and advise the opponents of turban to be more democratic and more tolerable. Today because of this extremist and threatening situation in Turkey many people are uncomfortable on the issue. What is the strategy of AK Party? On one side, they claim that they are regulating the laws in order to harmonize with the acquis on the other side citizens of Turkey are polarizing as the people who are for the idea of wearing turban and the people who strictly against wearing turban. A decade ago things were different but today people are going on extremism on both sides and people became discontented and hostile. It is interesting to observe backtrack to the past on the people's behavior.

Why is Turkey stuck between occident and orient? Turkey can never be a pure European or an Asian country because it is a bridge between two continents and it can be said that its one side is oriental and its other side is occidental. In Turkey, The Bosporus is said to be the landmark between Europe and Anatolia; the European and non-European sides. On one side you are Oriental on the other side you are Occidental. In addition to being an Oriental and European, you are an Ottoman and a Turk, and a Muslim.[409]

Since 1923, secularism is an inseparable part of Turkish identity. Ataturk declared that "the West has always been prejudiced against the Turks…but we Turks have always moved towards the West…In order to be a civilized nation there is no alternative."[410]

At present, there are some doubts and concerns on Turkey's secular identity. The AKP government is realizing the reforms that the EU requested and emphasizes their determination on the way to the EU membership. In contradiction with this the government is also making some Islamic emphasis such as the efforts to legalize turban in the universities. They declare that they wanted to legalize turban in public areas because they want democracy for all. Therefore Turkish secularists feel cornered and have some concerns on the future of Turkey.

---

[409] Banu Helvacioğlu, "Europe in Turkish discourse: How does one conceive of oneself?", *Boundaries of Europe?*, ed. Rikard Larsson, (Holland: Ord & Form AB, 1998), p.48
[410] Atatürk quoted in Genç, p. 91

Olli Rehn who is the member of the European Commission, responsible for enlargement said that the secularism is the mainstay of the membership process between the EU and Turkey. He said that he believes the new constitution of Turkey will both be secular and harmonized with the principles of the EU.[411]When the relationship between the EU and Turkey is examined it can be said that cultural issues hinder the development of a closer interaction between Turkey and Europe. Many in Europe believe that in a cultural and historical perspective the Turks are not really Europeans and that Turkey is not integral part of Europe. This perspective goes back to the Middle Ages which was mentioned in the previous chapters. During the course of European identity creation the Turk and the Ottoman Empire were assigned the role of the other which was the definition of the non-European.[412]

In the minds of many Europeans, the Turks are Muslims are different from the Europeans with respect to their values; attitudes and behavior patterns. The most important concern of the Europeans was Turkey's Muslim identity. The EU would encounter serious problems if they accept a large Muslim state. The most explicit statement was that of Wilfred Maartens a former Prime Minister of Belgium who said "Turkey is not a candidate to become a member of European Union short term or long term."[413]

EU founders desired a political union among states that shared similar cultures ideals and institutions. Jacques Delors argued that "the maintenance of regional cultural homogeneity is crucial to Europe's ability to play a concerted global role. Its unity must be based on a cultural project."[414] Analyzed from the cultural viewpoint the opposition of Turkey's application by the EU is not based on economic factors.[415] The cultural values that hold the EU together negatively affect the relationship between the EU and Turkey. Turkey is the country of contradiction. Turkey can be defined as oriental in some ways and occidental in some others. One of the strongest reasons of her sophisticated identity is her geographical location which lies as a bridge between Asia and Europe. Although 99% of its citizens are Muslim, Turkey is the only example of a secular and Muslim country. In these

---

[411] Olli Rehn quoted in http://www.haberler.com/haberf.asp?haber=1018245 , accessed on October, 5, 2007
[412] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.93
[413] Wilfred Maartens quoted in Bozdaglıoğlu., p.94
[414] Bozdağlıoğlu, p.92
[415] Ibid.

discrepancies it is natural for Turkey to falter but Turkey has to carry on her reforms on the way to Westernization. Westernization does not mean to follow Europe without questioning. Turkey has to follow the universal values like democracy, human rights and freedom of thought in order to live with harmony.

Turkey has to stay secular because when Turkey becomes Islamic then the isolation between the West and Turkey is inevitable. It would contribute to the arguments of Christian Democrats in Europe. The rule of law, democracy and human rights are the consequential part of the European identity but Christianity is also indispensable for the major part of the Europe. Today, the population of Muslims in Europe is rapidly increasing. With the accession of Turkey to the EU approximately more than a hundred million Muslims will be living as the EU citizens and this is the deepest fear of the European Union. It is figured throughout the thesis that European identity has been constructed against Turks, Ottomans and Islam. It can be said that accepting Turkey as an EU member is against their identity formation.

CONCLUSION

The European Union is the most consequential organization in the world as the member states willingly hand over some of their authority to this supranational organization. Since the establishment of the European Community, many giant steps have been taken on the way to solidarity and harmony among the EU members. When the European Community was founded, the primary goal of the member states was economic success. The European Community transformed into the European Union as the economic success is realized. The accomplishments of the community were soon perceived by the European states and one by one they decided to apply for the EC membership in order to become a part of this organization. At present, the European Union has twenty seven member states. As the number of the member states increase it becomes harder to hold the union together. In order to unite these members a common spirit and harmony should be created. Nationalist feelings of the EU citizens are still high. A common spirit should be maintained by education and by rainforcing the sense of belonging to the EU citizens. Using Eurozone is also one of the most important cultural values because using the same money helps the citizens to feel more European than before.

Therefore, identity and cultural values arise as the emerging values of today because the European Union is transforming into a cultural project. It is hard to explain the EU with one theory because all theories are falsifiable. As this thesis deals with the cultural values that hold the EU together, the theory of constructivism is used in order to explain the present situation in the EU. The enlargements in 2004 and 2007 can best be explained with the theory of constructivism because currently the EU is not only an economic organization but also a cultural project.

Starting from the 1990s, concepts like culture, norms, and identity issues became popular. "What holds the EU together?" is the core question of the thesis. European Union members share some historical and common cultural values. These values affected the formation of the European identity. Europe is not the name of a geographical land. As T.S. Eliot wrote in 1947, "a new unity can only grow on the old roots: the Christian faith and the classical languages which Europe inherits in

common." Europe is deeply rooted in Latin Christendom, humanist values and liberal democracy.[416]

Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire affected the formation of European identity, but it is interesting to note that neither ancient Greeks nor Romans had a strong sense of European identity. Europe was nothing more than a continent in those days. Greece was equal to Europe and the Roman Empire was equal to the world.[417] Europe identifies itself as the cradle of civilization and democracy. First direct democracy was experienced in the ancient Greece, in the lands of Europe. Therefore they are proud of Greek philosophers and political thinkers. The most important contributions of the Roman Empire to Europe were the Roman law and the official recognition of Christianity as their state religion. When Roman Empire accepted Christianity, Europe became Christian. With the spread of Christianity and its acceptance as the official religion the myth of the ancient Greece was united with Christianity and since then Europe started to gain a cultural meaning.[418] Identity can be defined as a sense of belongingness and solidarity but it can also be defined as an "opposition to another". When someone says "we are different from them", the definite characteristic of the group is not what its members have in common but in what separates them from the other groups.[419] The other is generally represented as negative.

Throughout history Europe has many otherings like Islam, Turks, the Ottoman Empire and the Soviet Union. As my thesis deals with the contradiction between Turkey and the European Union and the cultural values that holds the EU together, Turks, Islam and the Ottoman Empire were analyzed as Europe's other. The birth and the rise of Islam is one of the landmarks in the European cultural identity. The rise of Islam resulted with the Crusades. The supporters of this movement the Crusaders were convinced that they had a religious obligation to take up the cross in order to recapture the Holy Land; the land in which Jesus had lived and taught from the infidel Muslim in order to expedite the return of the Christ.[420] Christianity is one of the milestones that marked the formation of the European identity. Although during the Renaissance and Reform periods, the effect of Christianity decreased it

---

[416] T.S. Eliot quoted in Delanty, p.2
[417] Yurdusev, p.32
[418] Ibid.
[419] Delanty, p.5
[420] Goddard, p.84

can still be said that it is one of the most important factors that the twenty seven EU members have in common.

Europe had experienced two bloody wars until the first half of the 20th century. The unification of the EU members started in 1950s and it is still an ongoing process with ups and downs. When the present situation of the EU is considered it can be said that the EU is a supranational organization with a big territorial hegemony.

With the end of the Cold War, the CEEC members decided to apply for the membership of the EU and the EU-15 embraced the newcomers. The economic prospect of this integration can be discussed but the political elites of the EU presented the last two enlargements as "a return to Europe". West and East Europe were divided with concrete lines after WWII. West Europe reconstructed itself with the help of the EU and the East Europe became the satellite of the Soviet Union. The relations between West Europe and the USA maintained due to the rules of win- win game while the relations with the Soviet Union and Europe continued on the zero sum game. With the enlargements in 2004 and 2007, West Europe accepted East Europe, although they had been the ex satellites of the Soviet Union during the Cold War period.

As mentioned above, East and West Europe experienced different economies and life styles after WWII. When East and West Europe are considered in the cultural aspect they are all Christian and this is a common characteristic for the member states, religion is effective to unite to one aspect, there needs to have more common cultural values to hold a union together. In order to create a common spirit among the members, European symbols are created. The European Union has a flag, anthem and coins just like states. In order to create a harmony and solidarity in the EU, these symbols should be supported by education programs like Erasmus.

As it is mentioned before, Europe has many others throughout history like Islam, Turks, the Soviet Union, fascism and socialism. Fascism and socialism are not threats anymore as fascism collapsed with the WWII and socialism collapsed with the end of the Cold War. Throughout the thesis Islam, Turks and the Ottoman Empire are analyzed as Europe's other.

Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world. Among every four humans in the world one of them is Muslim. Muslims have increased by over 235% in the fifty years to nearly 1.6 billion Christians have increased by only 47%, Hinduism

117% and Buddhism by 63%.Islam is the second largest religious group in France, Germany and Britain.[421]

In the following fifty years the population of Muslims in Europe will surely increase to a considerable amount and Christians can be disturbed from the rise in the Muslim EU citizens when the legal rights and voting issues are considered. For many years Europe identifies itself as the cradle of civilization and Christendom and defines Islam as its other. According to Huntington "we know who we are only we know who we are against."[422] Huntington is a political scientist best known for the article and the book as "the Clash of Civilizations and the remaking of world order", which posit that post Cold War conflict would most frequently and violently occur because of cultural rather than ideological differences.

As the Muslim population in Europe increases the clash of civilizations will be more effective. Although many political thinkers criticized Huntington for his concrete vision on the conflict of civilizations after September 11, 2001 many people agreed that his visions were accurate.Unfortunately, the fundamentalist Islamic actions are increasing on a dramatic scale. Especially the September 11, 2001 marked the relations between the Muslims and the Christians. In addition to this most of the terrorist actions are realized by extremist Islamic organizations. That's why Europe has a tendency to perceive Muslims as a threat.

Besides, the European Union will experience a tough period because they have to maintain solidarity and harmony among its members. Therefore some politicians think that the EU has to stop widening and has to start the deepening process in order to hold the union together and to create a common spirit. In order to accomplish the target they embraced the newcomers and created some EU symbols and more cultural values.

Turkey has never been a front runner during the relations with the EU. She has first applied to become a member of the EU in 1959 and since that time Turkey still waits at the back door of the EU. What diversifies Turkey from the Central and Eastern European Countries? Why did the EU accept CEEC members although they have applied after 1990s, while staying frosty to the accession of Turkey to the EU? What diversifies Europe from Turkey?

---

[421]http://www.islamicweb.com/begin/results.htm, accessed on December 25, 2007
[422] Huntington quoted in Bozdağlıoğlu, p.14

After 1990s, with the application of the CEEC members to become member of the EU, kinship syndrome and identity issues became consequential. Europe perceives Turks and Islam as its other and the formation of othering contributed to the construction of European identity inevitably. The word "Turk" has first been pronounced in the Crusades in 1190. Turkey was used as the other of Europe. Until 19th century the descent characteristic of the Turks was their religion. Ottomans are perceived not as a Turkish empire but as an Islamic empire.[423]

The spread of the Ottoman Empire to the west had been a threat for Europe for centuries. As Europe could not enlarge to the east because of the Ottoman hegemony in the east, European states implemented colonialism as a policy. Due to the past experiences Europe had, they have a tendency to associate Islam and the Ottoman Empire with Turkey. Turkey is a unique example of a secular country which has 99% of Turkish citizens as Muslim. Turkey started its westernization process since 1923 but at present, it can be said that Islamist movement in Turkey is more powerful than ever. It can be said that, Turkey is having difficulties with the Islamists because of its geographical location. Turkey is a bridge between Asia and Europe and Turkey is culturally confused between the Occidental and Oriental culture. Europe perceives the Ottoman Empire as the ancestors of the Turks. In the Ottomans religion and politics were interrelated.

When the Ottoman Empire collapsed, Turkey was established and since 1923, she succeeded to keep her secularism as a governmental policy. Therefore Turkey and the EU still are having negotiations on the membership. Turkey has to stay secular in order to continue her westernization process. Turkey's secular identity has been affected negatively in these days and Turkey's secularists are worrying because of the possibility to become an Islamic country.If Turkey becomes an Islamic country then the cultural gap between the EU and Turkey will irreparable. France is the forefather of secularism in Europe and she is one of the strongest engines of the EU. French president Sarkozy declares constantly that Turkey can never be a part of the European Union. It is thought provoking to see his heedless speeches because Turkey and the EU are having a negotiation period at present.

---

[423] Yurdusev, p.60

Although the European Union defines itself with the rule of law, democracy and human rights they are tied to their Christian roots. Their involvement to their Christian heritage can be seen in the discourses of several politicians and philosophers. In 1946, Churchill gave a speech at Zurich University and that speech influenced the shape of postwar Europe. He began this speech with refrain common to all the postwar integrationists, he said;

> "Europe must unite before war destroys the continent, its glorious civilizations and perhaps much of the rest of the world." He called specifically for a United States of Europe led by Germany and France but he didn't outline a detailed program for achieving unity. Churchill seems to exclude Britain from his grand European project reflecting an ambiguity toward Europe that remains strong in Britain today.[424] He said, "I wish to speak about the tragedy of Europe. This noble continent is the home of all the great parent races of the western world. It is the fountain of Christian world and Christian ethics. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and glory. We, British have our Commonwealth of Nations. These do not weaken on the contrary they strengthen. The first step in the recreation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany."[425]

Margaret Thatcher served as Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990. She outlined her views in 1988 in a speech. She placed Britain firmly in Europe but rejected the notion that Europe meant the absorption of Britain and all the other member states into a single European super-state.[426] Thatcher said;

> "I want to start by disposing some myths about my country, Britain and its relationship with Europe. To do that, I must say something about the identity of Europe itself. Europe is not the creation of the Treaty of Rome. We, British are as much heirs to the legacy of European culture as any other nation. Our links to the rest of Europe have been the dominant factor in our history. For three hundred years we were part of the Roman Empire and our maps still trace the straight lines of the roads the Romans built. We, British have in a special way contributed to Europe. Over the centuries we have fought to prevent Europe falling under the dominance of a single power.[427]

---

[424]Winston S. Churchill,. "The Tragedy of Europe" , *The European Union : Readings on the Theory and Practice of Eurpopean Integration*,ed. F. Nelsen Brent, Alexander C-G. Stubb, (London: Lyne Rienner Publishers, 1998), p.7

[425]Ibid., p.8

[426]Margaret Thatcher, "A Family of Nations", *The European Union : Readings on the Theory and Practice of Eurpopean Integration*,ed. F. Nelsen Brent, Alexander C-G. Stubb, (London: Lyne Rienner Publishers, 1998), p.49

[427] Ibid., p.53

It can be said that Christianity has always been influential in the destiny of Europe. Crusades, the medieval era, the role of the Christian democrats have effected the construction of the European Union and European identity but as some European leaders mentioned above Christianity can not be the only factor that unite twenty-seven members. In order to create a European soul, the European Union has to refer more to the universal values.

Turkey and Europe are differentiated when the cultural values and religious values are considered. Throughout the thesis, it is argued that there are many historical and religious identity problems between the EU and Turkey. Since the crusades Turks and the Europeans had cultural contradictions. One of the strongest aspects that divide EU from Turkey is their religion.

Europe can be defined as the cradle of democracy, respect for human rights, and equality for each citizen but the thesis deals with the cultural identification of Europe. Secularism is the offspring of French Revolution. Europe has been influenced from Ancient Greece, Roman Empire, the crusading mentality, Christianity, Renaissance, Reformation. The rise of Islam and Ottoman Empire can be defined as the milestones in the formation of European identity. The European cultural heritage affected many of the political leaders in Europe and the traces of Europe's common values can be seen in the leaders' discourses. Germany and France can be named as the engines of the EU because the EU started with the decision of pooling coal and steel resources of France and Germany. Leading political thinkers like Sarkozy and Merkel declare their ideas on Turkey's membership to the EU, besides Austria had even objected to the starting of the negotiation process between Turkey and the EU. Although the EU is a secular supranational authority it can be said that the impact of European common culture can not be denied.

In a survey conducted among the members of the European parliament Turks were found to be the least desirable immigrants in the EU. The leaders of the EU countries will not publicly admit that their reservations are related to the Turkey's Europeannness or religion but remarks such as that of the CDU representatives show that Turkey's identity is a serious concern. Former German chancellor Kohl admits that "Turkish membership in the EU is not possible."[428] Questions about Turkey's identity are directly related to the concept of Euroepan identity. In the post war

---

[428] Meltem Müftüler Bac, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", p.25

period European identity has become a focal point for analyzing European politics. European uncertain boundaries increase the importance of historical, racial, ethnic and cultural factors in constructing a self and other.[429] Turkey seems to be confronted with a cultural arrogance and cultural hatred from some quarters in Europe because as the other, it can never be assimilated into the European culture.[430]

Due to the many conflicts and cultural clashes between the EU and Turkey, Turkey has to prove its secularism because an Islamic structure can never be a part of the EU. This is against their identification.

---

[429] Meltem Müftüler Bac, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", p.25
[430] Meltem Müftüler Bac, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", p.28

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akgündüz, Ahmed, "Osmanlı Devletinde ve Çağdaşı olan Diğer Devletlerde İnsana ve Hukuka Saygı", accessed from http://www.osmanli.org.tr/yazi-2-97.html, on October 17, 2007

_____. "Anti-Islamic Reactions within the European Union after the recent acts of terror against the USA" http://fra.europa.eu/fra/material/pub/anti-islam/Report-041001.pdf, accessed on November 26, 2007

Amato, Giuliano, "Building Europe", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, (Hungary: CEU Press 2006), pp. 106-112

Anastasakis, Othon "The Europeanization of the Balkans", *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Volume XII, Issue 1, (Summer/Fall 2005), pp. 77-88

Bac , Meltem Müftüler, "Through the Looking Glass : Turkey in Europe", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.1, (Spring 2000), pp.21-35

Baldwin, David A., ed., *Neorealism and Realism: The Contemporary Debate*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993)

Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Bauböck, Rainer, "Intersecting and Overlapping European Cultures", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp.112-117

Biedenkoph, Kurt, "United in diversity: What holds Europe together?", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp. 13-30

Biedenkoph, Kurt, Geremek, Bronislaw, Michalski, Krzysztof and Rocard, Michel, "What holds Europe together?", ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, *What holds Europe together?* , (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp. 93-103

Bordonaro, Federico, "Turkey's Accession Divides the EU", accessed from http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=377&language_id=1 , on September 27, 2007

Bozdağlıoğlu, Yücel, *Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity: A Constructivist Approach*, (New York: Routledge, 2003)

Böckenförde, Ernst-Wolfgang, "Conditions for European Solidarity", What holds Europe together?, ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp 30-42

Brusse, Wendy Asbeek, Griffiths, Richard T., "Good intentions and Hidden Motives : Turkey – EU Relations in a Historical Perspective" ed. Richard T. Griffiths and Durmuş Özdemir, *Turkey and the EU Enlargement*, pp.13-27

"Can Merkel's Integration summit deliver more than just promises?" accessed from http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,493407,00.html , on August 20, 2007

Caporaso, James A., "The Possibilities of a European Identity", *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Volume XII, Issue I, (Summer / Fall 2005), pp. 66-75

Casanova, Jose, "Religion, European Secular Identities and European Integration", Religion *in the New Europe*, ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary : CEU Press, 2006), pp.23-45

Checkel, Jeffrey T., "Social Constructivism in Global and European Politics", *Advanced Research on the Europeanization of the Nation State Working Papers*, accessed from http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/wp03_15.pdf on May 14, 2007

Christiansen, Thomas, Jorgensen, Knud Erik and Weiner, Antje, "The Social Construction of Europe", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4, (Special Issue 1999), pp.528-544

_____., "Chronology of the Fifth Enlargement in Detail", http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/FCO_BEU_5th%20Enlargement%20Chronology%20Detail,0.pdf, accessed on August 6, 2007

Churchill, Winston S., "The Tragedy of Europe" , *The European Union : Readings on the Theory and Practice of Eurpopean Integration*,ed. F. Nelsen Brent, Alexander C-G. Stubb, (London: Lyne Rienner Publishers, 1998), pp.7-11

Dawson, Christopher *The Making of Europe : An Introduction to the History of European Unity*, (Washington D. C. : The Catholic University Press, 2003)

Delanty, Gerard, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, (Eastbourne: Antony Rowe Ltd., 2002)

_____., "Designing the Euro Banknotes and Coins", http://www.ecb.int/bc/faqbc/design/html/index.en.html#q1, accessed on August 8, 2007

_____.,Dış Basında Türkiye – AB İlişkileri" accessed from http://www.byegm.gov.tr/yayinlarimiz/avrupabirligi/avrupa.htm , on September 27, 2007

Dilwar, Hussain, "Europe and Islam: Mutual Experiences and the Future", *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, (July 11, 2005) , accessed from , http://www.turkishweekly.net/comments.php?id=1493 on August 20, 2007

"Do God and Christianity have a place in the European Constitution?", accessed from http://www.religioustolerance.org/const_eu.htm, on August 10, 2007

Dunne, Denise and Tonra, Ben, "A European Cultural Identity – Myth, Reality or Aspiration?" accessed from, http://72.14.221.104/search?q=cache:9RS2rFueo0YJ:www.ucd.ie/dei/about/staff_pa pers/ben_tonra_european_cultural_identity_1997.doc+European+Identity+%2B+me aning&hl=tr&gl=tr&ct=clnk&cd=4, on June 6, 2007

Ebenstein, William and Ebenstein, Alan O., *Great Political Thinkers Plato to the Present*, (California: Harcourt Brace, 5th ed., 1990)

"Education and Training 2010, Diverse Systems and Shared Goals", http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/et_2010_en.html, accessed on August 9, 2007

 "Education and Training, Frequently Asked Questions", accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/faq_en.html, on August 9, 2007

Eralp Attila, "Soğuk Savaştan Günümüze Türkiye Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri", *Türkiye ve Avrupa Batılılaşma Kalkınma ve Demokrasi*, ed. Atila Eralp, (Ankara: İmge Kitapevi, 1997), pp 86-119

_____.,"Eurobarameter, Public Opinion in the European Union – Poland", (Summer 2007), accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb67/eb67_pl_exec.pdf, on November 26, 2007

_____., "European Motto in Varietate Corcordia", accessed form http://www.eurominority.org/version/eng/languages-motto.asp, on August 8, 2007

Erdenir, F. H. Burak, "Avrupa Kimliğinin Geleceği: Islamophobia?", *Avrupa Kimliğ Pan – Milliyetçilikten Post – Milliyetçiliğe*, (Ankara, 2004)

_____, "European Values and Identity", accessed from
http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/european-values-identity/article-154441, on
August 5, 2007

Field, Heather, "EU Cultural Policy and the Cration of a Common European
Identity", *Griffith University, Contemporary European Studies*, accessed from
http://www.eusanz.org/pdf/conf98/Field.pdf on August 28, 2007

Genç, Ezgi *The Role of Religious Identity in Turco-European Relations*,
(Ankara: A master thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of
Middle East Technical University, December 2004)

Geremek, Bronislaw, "Thinking about Europe as a Community" in *What
holds Europe together?*, ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp
5-13

Goddard, Hugh, *A History of Christian Muslim Relations*, (Chicago: Ivan R.
Dee, 2000)

Grabbe, Heather, "What hope for solidarity in the enlarged union?", *What
holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp.
42-54

Gürleyen, Işık, *"Impact of EU Political Conditionality on Democratization:
Turkey",* (Siena: Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaiining the
Degree of Doctor of the University of Siena, 2005)

"2007 Hate Crime Survey – Companion Survey on Islamophobia",
http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/discrimination/reports.asp?country=&id=27&misc1
=survey-islamophobia#exec, accessed on December 5, 2007

Held, Klaus, "The Origin of Europe with the Greek Discovery of the World",
Epoche, Volume 7, Issue 1, (2002), accessed from
http://www.pdcnet.org/pdf/held.pdf on July 18.2007

Helvacioğlu, Banu, "Europe in Turkish discourse: How does one conceive of oneself?", *Boundaries of Europe?*, ed. Rikard Larsson, (Holland: Ord & Form AB, 1998), pp.45-71

Huntington, Samuel P., "The Clash of Civilizations", *Foreign Affairs,* 72/3 (Summer 1993), pp.1-16

Hübner, Danuta, "Solidarity on Trial", *What holds Europe together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski,, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp. 126-131

Hülsse, Rainer. "The Discursive Construction of Identity and Difference – Turkey as Europe's Other?" accessed from http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/mannheim/w22/hulsse.pdf on July 27, 2007

_____., "Imagine: A European Identity", accessed from http://www.opendemocracy.net/content/articles/PDF/330.pdf, on August 9, 2007

_____., "Istanbul 2010", accessed from http://www.istanbul2010.org/?p=6&lang=eng, on August 10, 2007

Jervis, Robert, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma", *World Politics*, Vol.30, No: 2, (Jan. 1978), pp.167-214

Kona, Gamze Güngörmüş, "Avrupa Birliği Genişleme Süreci ve Sorunlar" accessed from http://gamzegungormuskona.blogspot.com/2007/08/avrupa-birlii-genileme-sreci-ve.html, on October 30, 2007

Keohane, Robert O., "Realism, Neorealism and the Study of World Politics" in *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert O. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp.1-27

Khan, Imran, "Old Leaders – New Slogans", accessed from
http://www.turkishweekly.net/comments.php?id=2686 on August 20, 2007

Krastev, Ivan, "Europe's Solidarity Deficit", *What holds Europe together?,*
ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp. 143-146

Lake, David A., "Beyond Anarchy, the Importance of Security Institutions",
International Security, Vol. 26, no:1, (Summer 2001), p.129-160

Leger, Daniele Hervieu, "The Role of Religion in Establishing Social
Cohesion", *Religion in the New Europe* ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU
Press, 2006), p. 45-65

Leggewie, Claus, "Turkey's EU Membership as a Litmus Test of European
Self-Confidence", *What Holds Europe Together?,* ed. Krzysztof Michalski,
(Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), pp. 146-151

Mastnak, Tomaz, "Islam and the Creation of European Identity", *Centre fo
the Study of Democracy*, CSD Perspectives, Number 4, (Autumn 1994), accessed
from http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/mat01/ on July 24, 2007

_____., "Meaning of Flag Design and Colors", accessed from
http://www.theodora.com/flags/meaning.html on August 6, 2007

Modood, Tariq "Muslims and European Integration ", *Religion in the New
Europe*, ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, (CEU Press, Hungary, 2006), pp.97-111

Monten, Jonathan, "Thucydides and Modern Realism", *International Studies
Quarterly*, Vol.50, (2006), p.15, accessed from http://www.blackwell-
synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2006.00390.x, on April 24, 2007

"Most British Whites Have No Ethnic Friends",
http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2004-07/19/article03.shtml, accessed on December 5, 2007

_____., "Muslims in Europe: Country Guide", accessed from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4385768.stm , on August 20, 2007,

Parekh, Bhikhu, "Is Islam a Threat to Europe's Multicultural Democracies?", *Religion in the New Europe*, ed. Michalski, Krzysztof, (CEU Press, Hungary, 2006), pp.111-122

"Q&A: The Lisbon Treaty", http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/6901353.stm, accessed on December 14, 2007

O'Brennan, John, "Re-Conceptualizing Europe: Social Constructivism and EU Enlargement", p.162, accessed from, http://www.unige.ch/ieug/B6__O'Brennan.pdf on June 5, 2007

Onis, Ziya, "Turkey, Europe, and Paradoxes of Identity: Perspectives on the International Context of Democratization", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, (Summer 1999), pp.107-122

Palabıyık, Mustafa Serdar, *Contributions of the Otoman Empire to the Construction of Modern Europe*, (Ankara: A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University, June 2005)

Piedrafita, Sonia and Torreblanca Jose I., "The Three Logics of EU Enlargement: Interests, Identities and Arguments", *Real Instituto Elcano*, No: 51, (2004), p.1, accessed from http://www.arena.uio.no/cidel/PiedrafitaTorreblanca_PE2005.pdf, on August 23, 2007

Risse, Thomas, "The Euro and Identty Politics in Europe", (University of Notre Dame: 2002), accessed from http://www.nd.edu/~nanovic/events/risse.pdf , on October 31, 2007

_____., "Roman Paganism – The Religion of Rome", accessed from http://www.roman-empire.net/religion/religion.html, on July 5, 2007

Ruggie, John Gerard, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge", *International Organization*, Vol: 52,No: 4, (Autumn 1998), pp.855-885

Savage, Timothy M., "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing", *The Washington Quarterly*, (Summer 2004), pp.25-50

Servantie, Alain, "European Public Opinion on Turkey - Opinion Polls: Eurobarameter and Other Studies accessed from http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=261&Itemid=31 , on November 27, 2007

Slomski , Wojciech, "The Philosophy of Culture and European Identity", *Speech presented at Forum Philosophicum Ignatianum*, (Cracovia-Krakow: August 2003), pp. 13-20

Smith, Steve, "Social Constructivism and European Studies: A Reflectivist Critique", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4 (Special Issue 1999), pp.682-691

Stone, Leonard. A, "Late Ottoman and Modern Perceptions of Europe: Continuity and Change", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.3, No.2, (Autumn 2002), pp. 181-199

Tayfur, M. Fatih, "Yunanistan ve İspanya'nın Avrupalılaşma Serüveni ve Türkiye: İki Nikah, Bir Cenaze", *Türkiye ve Avrupa Batılılaşma Kalkınma ve Demokrasi*, ed. Atila Eralp, (Ankara: İmge Kitapevi, 1997),pp. 177-239

Taylor, Charles, "Religion and European Integration", *Religion in the New Europe*, ed. Krzysztof Michalski, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2006), pp.1-23

Thatcher, Margaret, "A Family of Nations",*The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of Eurpopean Integration*, Brent F. Nelsen, Alexander C-G. Stubb ed., (London: Lyne Rienner Publishers, 1998), pp.49-54

_____., "The EU at a glance – The Symbols of the EU", accessed from http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/emblem/index_en.htm on August 5, 2007

_____., "The Leonardo da Vinci Program"accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/leonardo/index_en.html on August 9, 2007

_____., "The Tempus Program" accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/tempus/index_en.html, on August 9, 2007

Thies, Cameron G., "Are Two Theories Better than One? A Constructivist Model of the Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate*", International Political Science Review*, Vol 25, No 2, (2004), pp.159-183

Topper, Keith, "The Theory of International Politics? An Analysis of Neoreliast Theory", *Human Studies*, (University of South Carolina: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998), pp.157-175

Torreblanca, José Ignacio , "The Comité des Sages: a wise idea?" http://www.ecfr.eu/content/entry/commentary_committee_of_wise/, accessed on December 14, 2007

Trondal, Jarle, "Is There Any Social Constructivist-Institutionalist Divide? Unpacking Social Mechanisms Affecting Representational Roles Among EU Decision Makers", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8:1 , (February 2001), pp. 1-23

_____, "Turkey and Islam", accessed from http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story_id=9867269 ,on October 1, 2007

Urban, Anna "EU Enlargement, EU Identity, Culture and National Identity in the Eastern Regions", *European of Integration Studies*, Volume 2., Number 2, (2003), pp. 45-51

Ungureanu, Camil, "A Christian or a Laic Europe? Moving Beyond a False Dichotomy", *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, pp.6-34

Waltz, Kenneth N., "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power" in *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert A. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp.98-130

Waltz, Kenneth N., "Evaluating Theories", *American Political Science Review*, Vol 91, No: 4, (Dec 1997), pp. 913-916

Waltz, Kenneth N., "Political Structures" in *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert A. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp.70-97

Waltz, Kenneth N, "Reductionist and Systemic Theories", in *Neorealism and its Critics*, ed. Robert A. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 47-69

Wang, Yiwei, "The End of International Relations Theories", accessed from http://209.85.129.104/search?q=cache:QloHKATy1q0J:www.leeds.ac.uk/polis/englishschool/yiweiwang1.doc+Kantian+anarchy&hl=tr&ct=clnk&cd=6&gl=tr, on June 15, 2007

Wendt, Alexander, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization*, Vol:46, No:2, (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425

Wendt, Alexander, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State", *American Political Science Review*, Vol 88, No 2, (June 1994), pp. 384- 396

Wendt, Alexander, "Social Theory of International Politics", (Cambridge University Press: 1999), accessed from http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~goodrich/IRnotes/Week12/Wendt_summary.pdf , on June 12, 2007

Yurdusev, A. Nuri, "Avrupa Kimliğinin Oluşumu ve Türk Kimliği", *Türkiye ve Avrupa: Batılılaşma Kalkınma Demokrasi*, ed. Atila Eralp, (Ankara: İmge Yayınevi, 1997), pp.17-85

_____., http://www.eu2003.gr/en/cat/136/, accessed on August 4, 2007

_____., http://www.eu2003.gr/en/cat/139/, accessed on August 4, 2007

_____., "ValorisationDissemination and exploitation of innovative projects' result, accessed from http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/index_en.html, on August 9, 2007

_____., http://islamicweb.com/begin/results.htm, accessed on August 11, 2007

_____., http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article4 , accessed on October 17, 2007

_____., http://www.abu.nb.ca/Courses/GrPhil/Heraclitus.htm, accessed on December 13,2007

_____., http://www.haberler.com/haberf.asp?haber=1018245 , accessed on October, 5, 2007

_____.,http://www.islamicweb.com/begin/results.htm, accessed on December 25, 2007

_____., http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=238104, on November 7, 2007

_____., http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=261&Itemid=31 , accessed on November 27, 2007

_____., http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/408886.asp?cp1=1 , accessed on September 10, 2007

_____., http://www.stm.unipi.it/Clioh/tioe/Churchill.doc, accessed on December 13, 2007