

EU ENLARGEMENT: TURKISH ACCESSION AND IDENTITY

Muhammad Jave Zulkarnaen

javezulkarnaen@gmail.com

Postgraduate Program in the study of European and International Affairs in
Turkish German University in Istanbul
Turkey

ABSTRACT

Turkey is one of the most important countries for the EU because it has a strategic position in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and even the Middle East. The good relationship between Turkey and the EU is based on history such as war, diplomacy, trade, art, cuisine, to culture. For centuries, the relationship between the two marked the deep economic, cultural, artistic, and social cooperation between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. At the same time, conflict and competition create an identity perception among EU countries towards Turkey. This paper attempts to explain the identity of Turkey and the European Union and to determine whether the identity as cultural or political affected the Turkish application to be a member of the European Union.

Keywords: *Enlargement, European Union, Turkey, Identity, Culture*

A. INTRODUCTION

The argument about how important the geopolitical position of a country is in the international arena can be explained by the boundaries that surround the country. The strategic position where these boundaries are the linkages of cultural, economic, security, scientific and religious relations is very important for the country. . What is the country's position in the event of a war between the powers of other countries. These exposures invite us to think and understand the position of a country in the global political arena.

One of the interesting things that has become a study of the geopolitical policies of a country in Eurasia is the emergence of the term Turkey Dilemma Trap. In short, the Turkey Dilemma is the fear of the West in facing trans-national thoughts such as terrorism, fundamentalism and on the other hand, the concern of the East towards Turkey which is considered secular. This paper tries to see Turkey from the aspect of the country's geopolitical policies amidst a global dilemma.

B. CONCEPT

The enlargement process is one of the EU's policy agenda in order to improve the European integration process. Since 2004, EU membership has grown from 15 members to 27 members (Archick 2012, 1). Meanwhile, the EU has transformed from the exclusive Western European organization to the center of gravity of European regional organizations that directs the close link between domestic policy making and transnational policy in the region (Schimmelfennig

2002, 1). Countries that have joined the EU in general try to integrate policies in terms of economics, law and politics towards EU institutional policies. Today, the EU is renowned as a regional organization with trade blocs, and the largest single market application in the world (Krok et.al 2007, 336).

According to Schimmelfennig (2002), enlargement is "a process of gradual and formal horizontal institutionalization of organizational rules and norms". While Krok et. al (2007) further describes there are several enlargement processes occurring in Europe. First, it was called the first enlargement when the UK, Ireland and Denmark joined the EEC in the 1970s. This enlargement process generates a number of institutional and policy developments regionally as set out in the EMS or European Monetary System. Secondly, the Southern enlargement relates to the second enlargement when Greece joined in 1981 and the third enlargement when Spain and Portugal joined in 1986.

The three new members of the EU are strong promoting of the regional development and agricultural policy or CAP. Following the second enlargement process, EU members adopted the Single European Act in 1986. Third, the institutional restructuring, or mini enlargement, occurred in 1990 when five East German regions integrated with the Republic of Germany and initiated the EEC institutional change into the EU with the signing of the EU agreement in Maastricht in 1992. This agreement includes the establishment of a single currency, EU citizenship and the role of the EU in the formation of foreign policy (Krok et al 2007, 370).

In 1995, three neutral countries namely Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU with a less complicated accession process. Furthermore, the fifth enlargement was marked by the improvement of the enlargement process through the compilation of the Copenhagen Criterion in 1993 as a requirement to be followed by states to join the EU (Krok et.al 2007, 372).

In addition, full integration of 10 new members still needs to be done. Bulgaria and Romania are on the verge of acceptance as a new member of the European Union. Turkey and Croatia are at the beginning of the accession process with much to do before they join. The EU will deal with member states in terms of economic and social development, and strive to integrate each one at the same level. Enlargement at the same time also causes immigrant issues from EU member states that want to move to member states, which have better conditions (Zeff and Pirro 2006, 5).

In 2005, several EU member states experienced racial-based incidents targeting immigrants and naturalized citizens, and illustrated the dilemma of EU immigration and citizenship initiated in the Schengen Treaty (Borzel 2002, 21). France faces riots and car burnings over the next few days about the issue of the immigrants. It also explains that the growing EU borders are causing insecurity, and the resulting issues include crime, human trafficking, smuggling, and even terrorism. The EU began to consider foreign policy for the entire EU. The establishment of a common security policy for EU citizens is a major component of the EU enlargement issue (Borzel 2002, 23).

Theoretically, the debate over the integration and enlargement of the European Union is dominated by two competing paradigms. The

Intergovernmentalist Approach considers that member states and governments are the main agents driving the integration, and policymaking of the EU to protect the geopolitical interests and economic concerns of their peoples (Moravcsik 1991).

In contrast, the Neofunctionalism Approach views the vital role of domestic actors such as business associations, trade unions and pressing regions for further enlargement and integration to promote, economic, political, and supranational actors, in particular the European Commission and the European Court of Justice seeking to increase the strength of the EU over their members (Hooghe and Marks, 2001).

In terms of the impact of the EU's enlargement, there are three main approaches. The first study focused on the consequences of European integration for the autonomy and authority of member states. If the intergovernmentalist approach has the correct assumption that member governments are controlled by European integration, while supranational institutions do little to their independence, and the power of Member States will not be challenged. In contrast, European integration should increase the control of national governments over domestic affairs because, eliminating domestic problems into the European regional arena (Milward 1992).

Proponents of the neofunctionalist or supranationalist suggesting the contrary that the EU provides members with independent channels that ensure political access and impact at the European level (Sandholtz 1996).

C. METHODS

This scientific work is based on the results of library research. Library research is a type of research that is used in collecting information and data online in-depth through various literatures, books, notes, magazines, other references, as well as the results of previous studies relevant, to get answers and theoretical basis regarding the problem to be studied.

Library research can simultaneously utilize sources literature for research data sources, without doing Field Research. Sources of data collected are in the form of information or empirical data sourced from books, journals, research reports and other literature that support this research theme. Reading literature sources is a hunting activity that requires involvement active and critical readers in order to get maximum results; In reading the source research, the reader must delve deeply into the reading material that will be possible find new ideas related to research titles.

D. EXPLANATION

a. Turkey and the Accession Efforts to the European Union

The prospect of full membership of Turkey to the EU is actually seen in the 1963 Association Agreement between Turkey and the European Union which at that time was called the European Economic Community or EEC. In 1987, Turkey submit an official request for full membership, but was rejected by the European Commission in 1989 on the reasons that Turkey had a democratic crisis within his country, whereas democracy is one of the main points of be a member of the European Union (Tocci 2014, 2).

Nevertheless, Turkey's entrance to the EU is not closed at all. The European Commission's opinion on the Turkish membership application in 1989 confirms that Turkey is not like Morocco that also registered membership in 1987. Turkey has qualified to become a member of the European Union as a whole. In 1996, the prospect of Turkey's EU membership grew brighter when Turkey entered the EU custom union and marked the beginning of a higher level of economic integration as well as be a precursor to full EU membership. But in 1997, the European Council in Luxembourg emphasize that Turkey still does not fulfill the standards for the European Union (Tocci 2014, 2).

In December 1999, the Council of Europe in Helsinki formally made Turkey a candidate for EU membership. However, the EU did not open accession negotiations as did to the EU to other countries at that time, such as Central and Eastern European countries, Cyprus, and Malta. The argument is that in order to open accession negotiations, Turkey must fulfill the Copenhagen Criteria for membership and make progress in resolving issues with Cyprus as well as bilateral conflicts with Greece (Tocci 2014, 3).

The European Commission is mandated to monitor progress in Turkey's domestic performance and to draw up the Accession Partnership document for Turkey as well as, recommends aspects needed for Turkish reform. The EU is also stepping up and adjusting financial aid to Turkey, directing aid to provide more explicit support for Turkey's reforms. At the end of 2001, the acceleration of Turkey's reform momentum, especially after the silent revolution in Turkey led to the Copenhagen European Council in December 2002, concluding that it would negotiate its accession with Turkey in December 2004 (Tocci 2014, 3).

After the start of accession negotiations in 2005, the momentum in Turkey's accession process began to disappear. Turkish accession negotiations are slow and stalled. At the same time, several vetoes by the Council of Europe, France and the Republic of Cyprus caused the process of accession to be slower (Tocci 2014, 4).

For all EU candidates before Turkey, the accession process always culminates in full membership. However, in the case of Turkey the road to membership is full of obstacles thereby making the final destination uncertain.

b. Difference of Identity between European Union and Turkey

Turkey's attempt made the EU examine the boundaries of universality and an understanding of their identity. Whether the EU is formed based on cosmopolitanism ideas formulated by Immanuel Kant? Or is the EU nothing more than a collection of countries with similar backgrounds located between the Urals and the Atlantic? These are two conceptions that certainly different from the EU if viewed from the side of identity and culture.

The EU can be seen as an attempt to create European identity up to a certain point. Thus, Turkey's attempt to become a member of the European Union presents a challenge in the European Union, because it concerns with the background of the identity of EU members. At a pragmatic level, the arguments of Turkish opposition to join the EU cover a wide range of themes, from economy to demography to political issues such as democratization and human rights. Turkey is considered as countries that are "too big, too poor and too different" (Verney 2007; Redmond 2007). However, in 2001, the argument was less relevant, Turkey

had undergone reform and went well in meeting the criteria of Copenhagen (Müftüler Bac 2005).

It is possible to identify for an understanding of the EU's own identity as a country with a strong historical background of Catholicism, as well as a process of secularism that makes it difficult for many European countries to embrace Turkey into the EU. Casanova argues that the European tradition which is oriented towards the Renaissance era and condensed with the idea of secularism still greatly influences the mindset that secularism signifies progress and modernity while religion is a sign of stagnation (Casanova 2003).

The problem is Turkey did not pass through Christianity in the era of mid-century Christendom and also passed the Renaissance era. Thus, Turkey does not have a secularism mindset that most are owned by EU members. Not surprisingly, Turkey's attempts to become a member of the European Union have proven to be controversial, which is predominantly Muslim. Turkey is considered as "the other" or foreigner for other EU member states. Countries that support Turkey to join that need a rethinking of European secularist ideas. According to Samuel Huntington that is very important elements in the civilization of the host must always accept change and new identity as a new key for a country in a civilization, (Huntington 2003, 129).

The EU's uncertainty about Turkey can be seen from the uncertainty or acceptance of identity or what kind of civilization the EU wants to address; what is cosmopolitan based identity based on Kantian, or one based on shared culture? Furthermore, there is a historical similarity in EU members beginning with the era of Ancient Greece, Christendom until the Renaissance turned out to have more impact than a history that was unconsciously the main ideas of Western civilization, political culture and Western lifestyle in Europe. This is also called the European cultural identity or cultural identity of European society. Therefore, Europe also has what is called a shared history or historical similarity among its countries (Barysch 2007: 132).

The Criteria of Copenhagen writes that European identity consists of several main criteria, namely the guaranteeing of democracy, the supremacy of law, human rights and respect and protection of minorities through the government respectively. Then, economic criteria that drive open market economies function, capacity to protect with competitive market pressures and must demonstrate commitment to perform membership obligations, including adherence to EU economic and monetary economic goals. Actually, it is not the identity of Europe itself. However, it is just an instrument used to characterize European countries and shaped by norms. European Union dominated by democracy, human rights, rule of law, minority protection and market economy may be seen as a political union without definitive cultural characteristics (Barysch 2007, 133).

Turkey has never been seriously considered by the EU even though Turkey is well on its way to fulfilling the Copenhagen Criteria. Until now, the development is running very slowly, even tend to stagnate. Therefore, it is the invisible cultural requirement that forms the basis of European cultural identity and that which Turkey has never had. Turkey has historically been a rival for Europeans for its military, physical closeness and religion as well as traditions

that are strong and competing with one another (Neumann 1998). According to the European community, Turkey is considered be a representative Islam states which at the time was considered a threat (Neumann 1998).

Although it has been occurred for a long time, the difference between Europe and Turkey has not faded because it is essentially a difference from the dichotomous idea between Islam and Christianity. Religion remains a significant difference between the EU and Turkey, because the roots of Christianity are also one of the factors shared by all 27 EU member states (Zentrum für Türkeistudien, 1992). This is why the European Union is an identity that is strictly Christian-minded. In 1648, the Treaty of Westphalia restricts the system of states and the sovereignty of the ruler for a particular territory and to end the religious wars (Pagden, 2002). Religion as one of the common denominators encourages the part of territories into separate states. If Europe is faced with issues relating to non-Christians that will allow a sense of unity between different parts of Europe (Strath, 2002).

c. Differences in the Concept of Secularism

Frail unity which relies on religion has also proven to be a force that divides and the failure of religion to consolidate Europe can explain why from the end of the Middle Ages the idea of European unity slowly replaced the concept of religion as a frame of reference for Europe. Growth of ideas of countries as a coherent cultural entity occurs and is increasingly articulated into a non-religious based unity; religion gradually undergoes a change of concept become modernity, civilization and religion is often associated with 'barbarians' (Delanty, 1995).

Then, came the idea of Western secularism based on the idea that secularization meant that a decline in the social significance of religion as well as individual beliefs and religious practices. Renaissance and secularism aimed at religion that trying to create ideas that secularism is closely related with the process of modernity being modern and progressive to non-religion. In other words, European society thinks they should not be religious (Casanova, 2003, p.9). Then show that religious identity forms a key component of EU cultural identity and an unwritten requirement for membership.

Turkish secularism on the other hand can be seen differently in two ways that are not Christian and the idea of Kemalism is a cultural revolution without social revolution (Anderson, 2008). In other words, there is no Renaissance experience similar to that of other countries in Europe which then pushes the question of whether Turkish secularism is really internalized and deep enough (Huntington, 2003).

E. CONCLUSION

From the explanation, it can be concluded that the problem of Turkish accession to the EU is identity and culture that is the differences conception of the formation of the common identity of the EU and Turkey. The identity of the European Union in general has a historical and cultural similarity based on the Christendom era and the feature of Christianity.

At the same time, there was a shift in culture and style of thought in Europe with the existence of the Renaissance era. It is characterized by a shift in mindset

that tends to be rational and skeptical of religious values. There was a historical similarity makes the EU conceptually unified in the Christendom-Renaissance identity.

Meanwhile, Turkey is an entity that geographically has a location relatively close to Europe, but in its development has a different style of identity and culture. By the background of religious rivalry and civilization with Europe, then called "sick man of Europe" and until this day, the feature still with the style of Islamic culture. So, Turkey is considered too different from other EU member states.

One of the factors of differing viewpoints of EU member states on seeing Turkey is not seen pragmatically in relation to accession to the EU. Turkey is not seen as a country with a big prospect for the EU in the future. However, they see Turkey as a new threat to EU identity and culture that has been formed for a long time.

However, Turkey's accession to the EU faces many obstacles, especially from other member countries who feel threatened with Turkey in Europe. Although Turkey fulfill the Copenhagen Criteria which is a requirement to become a member of the European Union, but in fact until now there is no clarity about the development of Turkey in its access to the European Union.

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