

Topic/Significance:

Turkey, formerly a part of the Ottoman Empire, has been trying to become a part of Europe for well over half a century. Initially, it was turned down for socio-economic and political reasons, such as human rights issues and the lack of a true democracy.¹ However, after many years and numerous setbacks, Turkey reached the early 21st century with impressive, monumental reforms that almost completely comply with the EU criteria. Turkey's good progress was rewarded by being granted EU candidacy in 2004.² However, nearly four years later, no progress has been achieved. It seems that the tides have changed within the EU, whose political leaders were once very supportive, and it also seems that there has been a shift in opposition from socio-economic and political reasons to cultural reasons³. Some factors within this cultural opposition involve issues such as religion, concerning the Islam majority within Turkey and the fears of how the admission of a Muslim majority country into the EU would change Europe. Another factor that some use to argue against Turkey's EU accession is that only a small portion of Turkey is actually geographically "inside" Europe. There has also been the question of the "European Identity" and where Turkey fits within it. All of these issues of opposition have come to the forefront of the debate on Turkey's EU accession only in recent years.⁴ This thesis aims to analyze the reasons for this shift.

Turkey's quest to become a part of Europe began after the War of Liberation that occurred from 1919-1923, with Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) rising as the leader. He radically transformed Turkish society from a remnant of the Ottoman Empire, the former "Sick man of Europe," to a Westernized nation and society.⁵ The quest continued with Turkey's attempt to become a part of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959, after joining NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1952. It gained some trading privileges with the EEC with the signing of the Ankara Agreement in 1963.⁶ It again applied for membership in the European Community in 1987, but was refused on the grounds of significant economic, social, and political shortcomings. With the fall of the Soviet Union and the prospective entrance of the former Soviet-bloc countries in the early 1990's, Turkey's entrance was put on a backburner. In 1993, the newly renamed European Union (EU) met at a summit at Copenhagen at which three conditions for

¹ Carkoglu, Ali, and Barry Rubin. *Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Policies, Economic Integration, and International Dynamics*. Frank Cass and Co, Ltd. Portland, Oregon – 2003. P. 149-150.

² Kosebalaban, Hasan. "The Permanent 'Other?' Turkey and the Question of European Identity." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 18:4. 2007. Mediterranean Affairs. ProjectMuse. 8 September 2008.

³ Hurd, Elizabeth. "Negotiating Europe: the politics of religion and the prospects for Turkish accession." *Review of International Studies*. 32. 2006. *British International Studies Association*. Pp. 401-418. Also, see Gole, Nilufer. "Europe – an identity or a project?" 15 December 2005. www.signandsight.com.

⁴ Duzgit, Senem Aydin. "Seeking Kant in the EU's Relations with Turkey." *TESEV Publications*. 1 December 2006. www.tesev.org.tr. 18 October 2008. Also see Gole, Nilufer. "Europe – an identity or a project?" 15 December 2005. www.signandsight.com.

⁵ Kramer, Heinz. *A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States*. The Brookings Institute, 2000. P. 24-36.

⁶ Tarifa, Fatos and Benjamin Adams. "Who's the Sick Man of Europe? A Wavering EU Should Let Turkey In." *Mediterranean Quarterly*. 18:1. 2007. Mediterranean Affairs. ProjectMuse. 8 September 2008.

entrance to the EU were agreed upon: any country hoping to become a part of the EU must have a strong market economy, a stable democracy, and the capability to take on the conditions of the *Acquis Communautaire*, the EU's 80,000 page legislative body that outlines criteria for becoming a member of the EU⁷. After many reforms were made from within Turkey in order to comply with the Copenhagen Criteria, it was granted candidate status in 2004, with negotiations for membership set to begin in 2005.⁸

Turkey's accession into the EU is significant for several reasons. Turkey has a very strategic location in the world, with one side sharing a border with Iran, Iraq, and Syria, and the other sharing a border with Greece and Bulgaria. Turkey also has a rich cultural heritage that dates back to the Roman Empire when Constantinople (now Istanbul) became the capitol, as well as the survival of nearly one thousand years as a part of the Ottoman Empire. Its location, the fact that it is a predominantly Muslim country, and the fact that its accession into the EU would prove to the world that it is possible for a predominantly Muslim country to be a democracy and be in harmony with the West make Turkey a very strategic country to have on the Western side, which is the main reason that countries such as the United States are so much in favor of its membership in the EU.⁹ European countries such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Finland, and Sweden, as well as the former Soviet-bloc countries that joined the EU in 2004 are also in favor of Turkey becoming an official member of the EU. However, slightly more than half of Western Europeans are opposed to Turkey's EU accession, according to a poll taken from May 9 to June 14, 2005 by Eurobarometer, which found that over 52% of EU citizens were against seeing Turkey become a member of the European Union.¹⁰

Within Turkey, which has a secular government, the most prevalent opinion is favorable towards integration into the EU. The AKP (Justice and Development Party), led by Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan, is popular because of its active pursuits of joining the EU. Some Islamist groups and parties, such as the Welfare party, as well as Islamist thinkers such as Ali Bulac are also surprisingly in favor of continuing Westernization within Turkey and eventual membership in the EU. They see it as a chance for two civilizations to merge together, a sort of "reconciliation of civilizations."¹¹ However, after repeated letdowns and failures to meet EU criteria, there is a growing faction within Turkey, notably the National Secularists, which is opposed to its gaining membership in the EU.¹²

The issue of Turkey's EU accession is a very controversial one. It transverses a broad spectrum of issues, beginning with socio-economic and political shortcomings that significantly distance it from its European counterparts, and extending all the way to

⁷ Taras, Ray. *Europe Old and New*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Plymouth, UK, 2009.

⁸ Kosebalaban, p. 103

⁹ Martin, Lenore and Dimitris Keridis. *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*. MIT Press. Cambridge, 2004. P. 84-85. Tarifa and Adams, p. 63

¹⁰ *Standard Eurobarometer* 63 (spring 2005): 29, europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb63.4_en_first.pdf.

¹¹ Kosebalaban, p. 95

¹² Aydin, Cemil. "Between Occidentalism and the Global Left: Islamist Critiques of the West in Turkey." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*. Vol. 26, No. 3, 2006. Duke University Press. [ProjectMuse](http://ProjectMuse.org). 8 September 2008.

cultural oppositions that seem to have only recently become major issues in the debate. This thesis aims to examine the reasons for this shift in opposition.

Research Question:

Turkey's quest to officially belong to "Europe" began long before Ataturk came to power.¹³ However, it is Ataturk to whom most of the Westernizations within Turkey are attributed. When Turkey first attempted to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959, it waited four years before signing the Ankara Agreement in 1963. From that point on, joining "Europe" was a driving force within Turkey to reform its government, society, and economy in order to fit with the European standards. After many years of promises and setbacks, Turkey arrived in the 1990's eager to finish this process of Westernization that had begun so many years before. It held the support of French President Jacques Chirac and German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. However, by the time it was granted official EU candidate status in 2004, it seems that the attitudes and opinions of large numbers of French and Germans, as well as their newly elected political leaders, had shifted, and they began to oppose Turkey not on the basis of socio-economic and political shortcomings, but on cultural differences. It seems that the European societies have experienced a change in opinion that started slowly in the 1990's and culminated in the announcement of Turkey's candidacy in 2004.¹⁴ What has caused this change in attitude from economic/political opposition to opposition based on cultural differences?

Firstly, it is important to understand the reasons for opposition to Turkey's EU accession. Initially, oppositions fit under the category of socio-economic and political. Turkey's poor economy has traditionally been a major reason for EU opposition. However, in recent years, Turkey's government has implemented multiple reforms in efforts to strengthen its economy so that it could be strong in relation to its European counterparts.¹⁵ Traditionally, the military has played a strong role in Turkey's government in order to make sure that religion and government remain separate and has had to step in on several occasions throughout the years.¹⁶ The EU does not like the idea of the military having such a powerful influence but the current administration in Turkey has made considerable strides in containing the military in recent years.¹⁷ The main human rights issues that the EU has been opposed to are women's rights, the treatment of

¹³ Karpaz, Kemal H. "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol 3, No 3. July 1972. p. 243-281.

¹⁴ Hurd, Elizabeth. "Negotiating Europe: the politics of religion and the prospects for Turkish accession." *Review of International Studies*. 32. 2006. *British International Studies Association*. Pp. 401-418. Also, see Gole, Nilufer. "Europe – an identity or a project?" 15 December 2005. www.signandsight.com.

¹⁵ Gordon, Philip and Omer Taspinar. "Turkey's European Quest: The EU's Decision on Turkish Accession." *U.S.-Europe Analysis Series*. The Brookings Institution September 2004. 1 October 2008. p. 3. Tarifa and Adams, p. 65

¹⁶ Gordon and Taspinar, p. 2

¹⁷ Schuck, Nathalie. "French leader: Turkey and Europe aren't ready for each other." *Associated Press Worldstream*. 14 October 2004. LexisNexis. 30 September 2008.

political prisoners, and the death penalty. All of these areas have been dealt with, and the death penalty has even been abolished in recent years.¹⁸

The Cypriot Issue and the recognition of Armenian Genocide have also been very controversial amongst both Europeans and Turks in recent years. The EU island nation of Cyprus is half occupied by Turkey, while the other half is in possession of the Republic of Cyprus, which is heavily influenced by Greece. This occupation has caused much conflict between Turkey and Greece, and the EU has told Turkey that it cannot be accepted into the EU if it is in conflict with an EU nation.¹⁹ The Armenian Genocide allegedly occurred from 1915-1918 and involved the killing of hundreds of thousands of Armenian Christians. Its actual existence has never been fully determined and Turkey refuses to recognize its existence. Many EU countries, such as France, have made their opposition to Turkey's EU accession based on its recognition of the Armenian Genocide very apparent.²⁰

However, during the late 1990's and early 2000's, other oppositions to Turkey's EU accession began to arise that seemed to fall more under the category of cultural differences. The fact that the citizens of Turkey are predominantly Muslim has become one of the main reasons for opposition against Turkey's EU accession within Europe. Europeans do not like the idea of large numbers of Muslim immigrants being able to move freely throughout the EU, fearing job losses and increased violence. The growing presence of Muslim immigrants within Europe has greatly influenced Europeans' perceptions towards Turkey.²¹ Europeans have also begun to point out that Turkey as a whole is not even geographically a part of Europe, thus raising the question of what exactly the boundaries of Europe are.²² The possibility of a predominantly Muslim country becoming a part of the EU has raised concerns about what exactly the European identity is. Many Europeans believe that Europe shares a common Christian heritage, and do not see how Turkey fits within that.²³ All of these socio-economic, political, and cultural arguments against Turkey's membership have arisen as a result of different pressures and occurrences that have taken place within Europe during the past several years.

Reasons for the shift in opposition from socio-economic and political reasons to cultural reasons within France are a good indicator of the way in which they have shifted on a European-wide level. Some of these reasons are political leader/party changes, such as the shift from Chirac to Sarkozy in France; the public opinion throughout this time period and how it shaped the policies and actions of the leaders and leading political parties; how the impact of the conflicts between the Middle East and the West (ex. 9/11 and the War in Iraq) on the opinions of the Europeans towards Turkey; the fact that Turkey is starting to meet the socio-economic/political criteria, which seems to have

¹⁸ Gordon and Taspinar, p.3

¹⁹ Kosebalaban, p. 103

²⁰ Gole, p. 4. Boland, Vincent. "Doubts over Turkish Justice Cast Shadow on EU Accession Talks," *Financial Times*. 26 September 2005.

²¹ Hurd, p. 402, Savage, Timothy. "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing." *The Washington Quarterly*. Summer 2004. [ProjectMUSE](#). 14 October 2008.

²² Liotta, P.H. "Imagining Europe: Symbolic Geography and the Future." *Mediterranean Quarterly*. Summer 2005. [ProjectMUSE](#). 14 October 2008.

²³ Rumelili, p. 44. Gole, p. 2. Hurd, p. 407-8

caused Europeans to have embraced the cultural arguments against Turkey; and identity politics, which have forced Europeans to question exactly what it is to be European in relation to Turkey and how Turkey could or could not fit within that identity.²⁴ In order to analyze and understand these reasons, the examination of the factors that have influenced them is necessary. Also, a deep understanding of the debate as a whole is necessary.

During his administration as French President in the 1990's, Jacques Chirac was very supportive of Turkey's gaining EU membership. He was very supportive of an EU decision to open a customs union with Turkey in 1995, and stated several times that he believed Turkey to be a part of Europe and reassured it with France's support.²⁵ German chancellor Gerhard Schroeder also pledged his and Germany's support of Turkey after his election in 1998.²⁶ By 2002, Turkey had made good progress and it began to come closer to receiving EU candidate status. However, as it began to become apparent that Turkey was gaining momentum, some Europeans began to shift away from positions of support. Former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing seemed to cultivate this shift of opinion by his statement to *Le Monde* that Turkey was not a European country and that inviting it to become a part of the "elite" club would mean the "end of Europe."²⁷ Public opinion polls conducted by Eurobarometer in the spring of 2002 also support this claim because they indicated that a large amount (47%) of Europeans were against Turkey's accession, while only 31% were in favor.²⁸ French President Jacques Chirac also began to waver in his once firm stance in support of Turkey's accession, which was exemplified in his statement that Turkey could only join the EU if it met the Copenhagen Criteria, which he made during a meeting with the future Turkish Prime Minister and leader of the Justice and Development Party Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Paris.²⁹

In 2004, after Turkey passed a European Commission Report that determined its eligibility to proceed with negotiations, it was granted official candidate status. Dissent had continued to build from within Europe, with French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy as well as the leader of Chirac's ruling party, the Union for a Popular Movement Party had spoken out against Turkey, stating that it was not a part of Europe and calling for a halt in negotiations.³⁰ Sarkozy's well-known opposition to Turkey's EU accession became a part of his campaign platform when he successfully ran for President of France in 2007. German Chancellor Schroeder was defeated by Angela Merkel, leader of the

²⁴ Hurd, p. 407

²⁵ "Chirac says Turkey should not be discouraged from joining the EU." *Agence France Presse*. 11 July 1995. *LexisNexis*. J.D. Williams Library, Oxford, MS. 29 September 2008.

²⁶ "Schroeder pledges good relations with Turkey." *Associated Press Worldstream*. 29 October 1998. *LexisNexis*. J.D. Williams Library, Oxford, MS. 1 October 2008.

²⁷ "Ex-French President Snubs Turks on Union Bid." *The New York Times*. 9 November 2002. *LexisNexis*. J.D. Williams Library, Oxford, MS 1 October 2008.

²⁸ Carkoglu, p. 201 and the 1998 European Commission Report on Turkey

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries/turkey/key_documents_en.htm

²⁹ "French President meets Turkish ruling party member." *Xinhua General News Service*. 27 November 2002. *LexisNexis*. 29 November 2008.

³⁰ "France: EU Enlargement Should Be Halted." *Associated Press Online*. 27 June 2005. *LexisNexis*. 30 September 2008. Also, "Chirac's ruling party opposes Turkey's bid for talks to join the EU." *AFX European Focus*. 7 April 2004. *LexisNexis*. 30 September 2008.

Christian Democratic Union, in 2005, who had also placed her opposition to Turkey in her campaign platform.³¹

It seems that with the elections of Merkel in 2005 and Sarkozy in 2007 as heads of their respective nations came a change in the momentum of Turkish EU accession. Both leaders seem to reflect the opinions of their citizens, but the question that arises goes much deeper than the events during the time period that can be contributed to this change in attitude. It marks the shift from practical, agreement-based reasons for Turkish opposition such as the economy and political discontinuities to controversial statements and positions emphasizing cultural differences.

Some scholars, such as Elizabeth Shakman Hurd and Nilufer Gole have suggested that there seems to have been a shift in the discussion of Turkey's EU membership from socio-economic/political issues to cultural ones during the late 1990's and early 2000's, emerging with the announcement of Turkey's candidacy to the EU.³² Why has this shift occurred? This thesis aims to examine the reasons for the shift in position, exploring these reasons and examining both sides of the argument.

Methodology:

In order to understand the reasons for the shift in the type of opposition to Turkey's EU accession, it is necessary to look at the time period during which this shift has taken place. From Turkey's first attempts at becoming an official part of Europe in 1959 all the way to the 1990's, the main reasons given as to why Turkey could not become a part of Europe fall under the category of socio-economic and political discontinuities, such as Turkey's economy, the role of the military in Turkey's government, human rights issues, the Cypriot issue, and the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

France, a very influential country in the EU, has gone from being in favor of Turkey's EU accession to being against it, and is thus a good example of a country in which a shift in opinion has taken place. Thus, France will be used as a part of the analysis, by monitoring the shift of opinion towards opposition within France, and then through the application of it towards Europe as a whole.

Jacques Chirac, who was the President of France from the mid-1990's until 2007, when Nicolas Sarkozy took his place, was very public in his supportive stance towards Turkey throughout his years in office.³³ It is necessary to examine Chirac's policies and statements concerning Turkey throughout his years in office. It is also necessary to take into consideration the political scenery during his years in office, in order to determine how much of an effect it had on Chirac's statements and policies towards Turkey during that time. Another important influence on the public opinion is the media, therefore it is

³¹ "Germany's Merkel raises new doubts over Turkey's EU membership." [Agence France Presse](#). 19 July 2005. [LexisNexis](#). 30 September 2008. Also, "New German Chancellor makes first official trip to Paris, stressing close ties." [Associated Press Worldwide](#). 23 November 2005. [LexisNexis](#). 30 September 2008.

³² Hurd, Elizabeth. "Negotiating Europe: the politics of religion and the prospects for Turkish accession." *Review of International Studies*. 32. 2006. *British International Studies Association*. Pp. 401-418. Also, see Gole, Nilufer. "Europe – an identity or a project?" 15 December 2005. www.signandsight.com.

³³ "Turkey must take part in EU enlargement conference: Chirac." [Agence France Presse](#). 19 February 1998. [LexisNexis](#). J.D. Williams Library, Oxford, MS. 1 October 2008.

necessary to examine the positive views and opinions towards Turkey that were being circulated in the French and international media on both the Left and Right sides. Editorials and articles from the conservative French newspaper *Le Figaro* will be useful in this analysis as well as editorials and articles from *Le Monde*, the liberal French newspaper. Other news sources that give views of the situation from the outside, such as the *New York Times* and the *BBC* will be used as well.

In order to be able to understand the full spectrum, it is necessary to understand the side that was in opposition to Turkey's EU accession during Chirac's years in office. Any political leaders who began to rise in opposition to Chirac's policy of support towards Turkey, such as Nicolas Sarkozy, the then Minister of the Interior, as well as the leader of Chirac's ruling party will need to be identified and examined.³⁴ The media that was vocal in being opposed to Turkey's EU accession will also be important in understanding what influenced a shift to take place.

It is evident that there were definitely two schools of thought concerning the Turkey/EU debate during this time, both being influenced by political leaders and the media. It is necessary to understand these two sides in order to see how they influenced the French public opinion towards Turkey.

As the years went on and Turkey's reforms moved it closer to complying with the Copenhagen Criteria, it seems that opinions towards Turkey's EU accession had soured. As the list of socio-economic/political shortcomings was starting to get shorter, cultural reasons such as questions of whether Turkey was even geographically a part of Europe, issues with the fact that Turkey is predominantly Muslim, and issues concerning the European identity began to arise and come to the forefront. The election of Nicolas Sarkozy as the President of France in 2007, whose campaign platform included keeping Turkey out of the EU, represented that popular opinion towards Turkey was beginning to change within France.

In order to understand the changed opinion within France during this time, it is important to examine Sarkozy's rise to the Presidency, and his policies towards Turkey's EU accession. It is also important to examine the political scenery during this time both in France and globally, because that will have greatly influenced the opinions and position of Sarkozy.

The statements and opinions of the media both within France and globally are also necessary to examine in order to understand its influence on the shift in opposition. Examinations and analyses of the Left and Right sides of the media that are both in favor of and against Turkey's EU accession during the early 21st Century will be key to understanding the reasons behind this shift.

The ever-growing Muslim presence within Europe is an issue that has become more and more controversial over the years. It will be necessary to explore this issue and determine how it affects the overall European perception of Muslims, which in turn affects their position concerning Turkey's EU accession. Many scholarly articles have been written on the subject of Muslims in Europe; however, there must be a focus on

³⁴ "France: EU Enlargement Should Be Halted." [Associated Press Online](#). 27 June 2005. [LexisNexis](#). 30 September 2008. Also, "Chirac's ruling party opposes Turkey's bid for talks to join the EU." [AFX European Focus](#). 7 April 2004. [LexisNexis](#). 30 September 2008.

those that give insight on how Muslims are shaping the European mindset concerning Islam and Turkey.

Surveys conducted within Europe throughout the 1990's and early 2000's are also important in order to gauge the shift in public opinion that took place during that time. Surveys that include reasons for support and opposition are important because they give insight on the reasons behind the public shift in opinion.

The European identity and how it affects Europeans' perceptions towards Muslims as the "others" from which they derive their identity, and how this perception affects their attitudes towards Turkey will also be useful in the analysis of the reasons for the shift in opposition.

Literature Review:

Much has been written on the subject of Turkey's integration into the European Union. There are scholars who have written on the side of Europe, on the side of Turkey, from the inside of Europe and the inside of Turkey, and from the outside looking in.

In order to have a broad view of the situation with the relations between Europe and Muslim nations, it is necessary to be familiar with Edward Said's book *Orientalism*. *Orientalism* is the point from which the negative connotations associated with the Orient are first found. Said argues that Europeans created the romance, intrigue, and danger associated with the Orient in order to define it as the "other" from which Europeans could distinguish and thus define themselves. This is useful because it is the starting point from which Europeans began to see Muslims as the "other" from which they define their identity. It gives a basis behind the stereotypical European opinion of Muslims, which is also influenced by Muslim immigrants and is translated into a view either for or against Turkey's EU accession.

There have been several articles published by scholars who write in support of Turkey's EU accession, such as Nilufer Gole, Talip Kucukcan, and Omer Taspinar. They write that economic and political problems will dissolve over time and that the addition of Islam as another accepted religion in Europe will make it more culturally diverse, in refutation to the opposition of Turkey's EU accession on the basis of religion.

In Nilufer Gole's article "Europe – an identity or a project?" the concept of a "shift" in European opinions on the Turkey issue from purely economical and political reasons to cultural ones is identified and discussed, and it is this article that was the inspiration for the research question for this thesis. It is relevant to the thesis for obvious reasons, notably the fact that Gole is a Turkish scholar and writer, and has written numerous articles and books on the subject of Turkey, Islam, and the European Union. In the article, she discusses the need for Europe to have an "other" in order to define its identity, as well as all of the reforms that Turkey has made in compliance with the European Union criteria, but still maintains that it is the shift in opinion that has kept Turkey from reaching its goal.

In Talip Kucukcan's article "Bridging the European Union and Turkey: The Turkish Diaspora in Europe," he argues in favor of Turkey's accession into the EU on the grounds that there is already a large number of Turkish people in Europe, and that because they understand both cultures, they would be a good bridge in order to connect Turkey with Europe. This article includes a number of statistics that will be useful in the

thesis, as well as addressing the cultural aspect of the European opposition to Europe. Kucukcan also highlights the point that the cultural reason for opposition is a new one, only becoming an issue when the economic and political reasons were growing thin. This article will be useful for the thesis in the fact that it addresses the research question directly, but also the statistics for a certain period of time during the 1990's will be useful as well.

A debate between scholars concerning Turkey's EU accession in Washington in 2005 titled "Does 'Muslim' Turkey Belong in 'Christian' Europe" shows the two opposing views. It features Omer Taspinar, Director of the Turkey Program at The Brookings Institution, Corrado Pirzio-Biroli, head of the Cabinet of former EU Commissioner Franz Fischer, and Jonathan Davidson, Senior Advisor for Political and Academic Affairs, European Commission Delegation to the US. All three of these men argue their sides in the issue, bringing up noteworthy points on both sides of the fence. It will be useful in that it adds to both sides of the argument, giving them depth.

Some articles have been written that tackle the European identity side of the debate on Turkey's EU accession. Hasan Kosebalaban, Bahar Rumelili, and Ray Hudson have all written articles that tackle the debate as to what it really is to be European.

An article written by Hasan Kosebalaban called "The Permanent 'Other'? Turkey and the Question of European Identity" gives a very interesting view of the "European" aspect of the issue: what is 'European' and how does Turkey fit into it? While attempting to answer this question, it goes through a detailed history of Turkey's attempts at EU membership as well as Turkey's government and its policies. It also shows the issue from a historical perspective and mentions the new concept of a "privileged partnership." This article was published in 2007, and written in the years following the commencement of accession negotiations between Turkey and the EU in 2005. It is relevant to the thesis research question in that it tackles the question of 'Defining Europe,' looking at how Turkey fits with Europe's identity. It also addresses the religion and cultural side of the issue, and will therefore also be important to the thesis in that respect.

In Bahar Rumelili's "Constructing identity and relating to difference: understanding the EU's mode of differentiation," a very dense but useful article on how Europe derives its identity from differing itself from a very definite other. He highlights three ways in which Europeans differ themselves: nature of difference, social distance, and the response of other. The article was published in 2004, when the cultural argument against Turkey was becoming a prominent one. He specifically references Turkey in the article. This article is important for the thesis in that it is a reference point from which the concept of Europe deriving its identity from a very definite 'other' can be derived, and will be a good basis of that discussion within the thesis.

The article "One Europe or Many? Reflections on Becoming European," published by Ray Hudson in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* in 2000, targets the questions 'What is it to be European?' and 'How do you define Europe?' It examines the events of the Twentieth Century that led to the creation of the European Union, and then explores the economic, political, and social implications. It is relevant to the part of the thesis in which the question of a definition of 'Europe' will be addressed, and contains many good quotes that will be useful.

As far as articles that directly address the research question, acknowledging a shift in the debate, Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, Ziya Onis, Fatos Tarifa and Benjamin

Adams, Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, and Senem Aydin Duzgit have all written articles that acknowledge the changes in the direction from which the opposition to Turkey's EU accession comes.

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd's article "Negotiating Europe: the politics of religion and the prospects for Turkish accession," examines the basis for the cultural argument against Turkey's EU accession. She references the religious aspect of the cultural opposition. She also references the concept of Europe needing an 'other' in order to define its identity, and cites Rumelili's article. She also discusses how Europe's laicism is a factor in the reason why Europe is so opposed to the Muslim factor of Turkey's identity. Her overall argument challenges the assumption that Turkey will be able to gain EU membership once all of the Copenhagen Criteria have been completed because of the cultural (read religious) divide within Europe, although it is important to note that she is not arguing in opposition to Turkey, she is simply stating her point of view on the matter. This rather long and detailed article will be very important in the overall theme of the thesis, offering multiple points that will contribute to arguments and points made throughout the thesis.

The article "Turkey, Europe, and Paradoxes of Identity: Perspectives on the International Context of Democratization," by Ziya Onis that was published in the *Mediterranean Quarterly* in 1999 is an article concerning the situation of European Union enlargement in relation to Turkey as well as to Eastern European countries. It gives both sides of the argument and examines the EU enlargement process. There is a section concerning European identity and how that is a new concept that has come about since Turkey has progressed so far in its quest for EU membership. There is also a section in which the economic and political implications of Turkey's EU accession are discussed as well as a section concerning Turkey's democracy and how it has evolved over the years in order to fit with Europe's standards. The article concludes with attempts at explaining why Turkey had not yet been accepted into the EU, still blaming the economic and political reasons. This article is useful for the thesis for several reasons. The first is that it was written in 1999, which was while Chirac and Schroeder's governments were still in favor of Turkey joining the EU, but also at the same time as the opposition to Turkey was growing from within Germany and France. Therefore, much of what was written reflects on these changing moods and the article directly coincides with the research question of the thesis. Also, the section concerning the economic and political issues gives a very in-depth look at the economic and political issues that the EU has against Turkey, and shows how those issues were in the process of being resolved at the time the article was written.

Fatos Tarifa and Benjamin Adams' article "Who's the Sick Man of Europe? A Wavering EU Should Let Turkey In," published in the *Mediterranean Quarterly* in 2007 argues the issue of Turkey's EU accession from Turkey's side. The scholars address the historical context, economic, human rights issues, democracy, geographical, and the Cypriot issue and attempt to refute each of these arguments. The article is concluded with possible outcomes predicted as well as with the assertion that the EU needs to stop creating issues to oppose Turkey with and instead welcome the cultural diversity that Europe likes to claim it possesses. This article is relevant to the thesis in that it gives an in-depth look at each issue raised in opposition to Turkey's EU accession and examines why the issue is irrelevant, also supplying other sources with which to investigate the

refutation further. The article also applies to the research question as a whole because it seems to recognize the existence of a shift from economic/political issues to cultural ones and uses the existence of the shift to refute all manners of opposition.

The article “Turkey’s Accession to the European Union: Debating the Most Difficult Enlargement Ever,” published by Ioannis N. Grigoriadis in the *SAIS Review* in 2006 is about the issues surrounding Turkey’s EU accession, specifically addressing two opinion groups that have formed as a result of the growing likelihood of Turkey’s EU accession. One group, the Euro-federalists, take political and cultural elements that constitute a common European heritage into account. The opposing group contends that the union of the EU should be based almost entirely upon economic unity as well as a portion of common European identity. The article also addresses the concept of a “Privileged Partnership,” citing that the popularization of this new concept is a part of the reason for the shift of opinion within Germany and France. Overall, the article goes along with the theme of the research question of the thesis, examining the factors that influenced the shift from opposing Turkey’s EU accession for political and economic reasons to opposing Turkey on the basis of cultural differences. The article cites specific reasons that have caused the shift within France, and these will be useful in the thesis.

In the TESEV publication “Seeking Kant in the EU’s Relations with Turkey,” by Senem Aydin Duzgit, the EU is accused of increasingly discriminatory practices against Turkey’s accession. The publication argues that there is a double standard when it comes to Turkey’s accession and that it goes against the ideals of the enlightenment. The article presents many different cases in which the EU has been inconsistent with its treatment of Turkey. The article directly acknowledges the shift from simply political/economic oppositions to Turkish accession to cultural oppositions, and references specific cases that prove the point. This article is directly related to the research question and also addresses all reasons for the shift in the type of opposition.

Much has been written on the subject of Turkey’s EU accession, and from many different perspectives. This is only a small portion of the literature that is available on the subject, however it is significant in that it relates to the thesis in so many specific ways.

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