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# FROM UNIVERSALISM TO REGIONALISM: EUROPEANIZATION AND ITS REFLECTIONS UPON TURKEY

### Cemile ARIKOĞLU ÜNDÜCÜ\*

#### **ABSTRACT**

Europeanization is a new concept in literature that has found its meaning with the political, economic and social inclusion of Central Eastern European (post-communist) countries in the process of European integration in 2004. The European Union (EU) through transferring its own values, norms and policies to member countries in the process of enlargement, has become a tool for establishing a new European identity. Establishing a European identity is crucial in establishling a common future within the context of Europeanization. Thus, European identity should be established based on values such as human rights, democracy, peace, freedom and diversity even though it cannot be built on factors such as a common religion, history, culture and geography. Europe, through adopting these values, constitutes its self-definition and functions as an umbrella for different identities.

The driving force of Europeanization is the principle of conditionality, concrete basis of which has been formed with Copenhagen Criteria and acquis communitaire. However, for the principle of conditionality to be maintained, socialization is needed. That is to say, internalization of norms is crucial.

Europeanization is a process of cultural transformation; what it stands for is a new identity, policy change, administrative innovation and modernization. Europeanization transforms the structure of nation-state together with meanings attached to it. It highlights European identity instead of national identities.

In this study, the concept of Europeanization and the efforts for establishing a European identity in which democratic values are addressed independently from state will be analyzed. The study primarily seeks answers to the questions "What's Europe?", "Who is European?" in the fields of geography, history, culture and politics. Secondly, European integration and European identity are analyzed within an historical perspective, and the subjects of European citizenship and European constitution that are popularly discussed in Europe are tried to be clarified.

In order to avoid conceptual confusions in terms of Turkish modernization, the concepts of Modernization-Westernization and Europeanization are classified. Then, the concept of Europeanization is analyzed and its driving force in practice, "the principle of conditionality" is explained under the titles of "Acquis Communautaire", "Copenhagen Criteria" and "Socialization" which are significant in terms of both Turkey and Europe. Finally, Turkey's perception of the concept of Europeanization and the EU vision and politics about Turkey are analyzed.

Key Words: Europeanization, European identity, Nation-state, Westernization, Turkey

#### Introduction

After the disintegration of Soviets and the dispersion of the countries of Central Eastern Europe, European Union that was in the economical form at the beginning; as taking the perspective of economical unification and the factor of energy incorporated the countries that were disintegrated from the East Block and wanted to fasten the social unification of itself. The subject of "Identity" that is one of the most important

<sup>\*</sup> Asst. Prof. Dr. Trakya University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Public Administration Department, Politics and Social Sciences. Edirne / Turkey

arguments that will be make the political unification and generalize it; is being argued in Union and the term keeps its ambiguity. There are two different forms on the critics of the identity of Europe in Europe. The first dimension of argue is focused on the viewpoint that identity is established on common religion, culture, geography and history and the idea that countries like Turkey might give harm to identity of Europe. This perspective is Euro-centric and it is supported in Union by conservatives.

At the second dimension; If the identity of Europe can not be established upon these common values, a common future can be established upon the universal values as human rights, democracy, freedom, the equality of man and woman, peace and pluralism. Although this perspective is accepted by liberals and leftists, it seems much far away from being realist.

Europeanization is likely to be close to the second perspective because of the development of E.U. In this research as examined by both perspectives the subject of Europeanization is studied not only about politics but also the technical meanings of it.

## "What is Europe?"

The question of "What is Europe?" is another variation of the question of "Where does Europe begins and ends?" that is generally used by Cardinal Josepf Glemp at the meetings of Synod of European Bishops(1). Why is not Siberia whose population is formed by Europeans accepted as Europe if a definition is done with geography for Europe? Is the geography of Urals that is at Russia a certain border to the east of Europe? Where is the border of Atlantic Ocean accepted? Why is Malta in Europe despite having all features of three continents? How much is the Mediterranean accepted as European despite having borders to three continents?(2) When the border of Europe of Middle Age was accepted as the river of Don, Urals became the border in 18<sup>th</sup> century. And at the middle of Europe, a political border was drawn at the era of Cold War. The invitation of Berlusconi, Russia to the membership of E.U. which was in 2003 has enlarged the term of "border". When all of these questions are taken into vision, with a geographical definition that Europe is a continent it is confronted that Europe is a term that can not be confined.

The countries of Helen and The Roman Empire not only were the continent of Europe that we know on map at our time but also were carrying the feature that combines the soil that surround Mediterranean and that expand over all this geography. The idea of Europe of these countries did not come true and could not reach beyond the dimension of geography.

However the development of Islam and Islamic countries that happened in 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries soon with the event that Mediterranean has become a Muslim lake a new perspective that accepts Mediterranean as a border line and that convert these areas into three continents was held. Hereby Europe was headed to north and become a land country (3). The west that disconnected with The East became self-centered and the mains of hostility between East and West occurred at that time. The ambiguity of geographic and politic borders of Europe causes confusion on the definitions of Europe. Although a continent is defined by the borders of a shore of itself, thanks to The Atlantic, North Pole and Mediterranean the east border of Europe is not certain at the time when the east, north and south of Europe is becoming certain. In real, it might not be possible to say that Europe is a continent. Because, Europe is a part that reaches the west of Asia. Although there is not a clear answer to the question where Europe ends and where Asia launches, over 2000 years Europe is at a different place than Asia (4).

The second root of Europe is the being of a Europe that is not geographically The West. With the expansion of Christianity over Slavs via the effect of The East Roman Empire that headed to north after the expansion of Islam , the target was the creation of a world with the combination of Greek and Roman cultures. Moscow that took over the heritage of Byzantine founded a world that is different than the Latin-West culture as announcing its Third Roman (5).

According to Edgar Morin; to take Europe as a measure to define itself may entrap us into enjoyable idealizations or self- praise. Placing the vintage-points of Europe into the output center of universal mind will cause to appear a wrong understanding (6). Madariaga that splits Europe from "the other" underlines the idea that the willpower is fed by Christianity and is shaped by Socratic perspective while it is give support to the superiority of Europe in the field of willpower and intelligence (7). Notwithstanding the common ideas that Europe and the identity of Europe is made similar with the identity of Christian or that explains the core of Europe with Christianity are widely accepted, Christianity was not born in Europe and not until 16<sup>th</sup> century it was completely under control. The thing that confine Christianity into Europe was the Arabic conquests that came from The East. At first the situation that formed Europe was this Arabic conquest and then was the fight

that Europe has continued against Arabs. The enlargement Islam into The East and the ownership of Mediterranean by Muslims forced Europe to reach ocean from west and this oversea move was one of the most important factors that created the history of Europe and the identity of Europe. Hereby the phenomenon of modernization and the secular opinion that came with itself broke the links between Europe and Christianity. Europe that is exactly known with Christianity is The Middle Age Europe (8). In modern Europe, Christianity has not evaporated, it has lost its old importance.

Despite having a place at history, the idea of Europe is not enough to explain the term. The mark of Europe on map is known but it is hard to define it as culturally and physically. The different points of Europeans are much more than the compromises.<sup>1</sup>

The lack of a common history, the use of different languages on the continent, having different social values, the differences between their perspectives, the wars that occurred between them, defining their identities and citizenship generally and rarely drawn common points are all the causes of difference (9). Europe is a mosaic with these features and has a complex structureWhat makes Europe" Europe" is these contradictions and the quality that combines these contradictions (10).

## **European Integration and The Identity of Europe**

Europe has never been unified. The conflicts, wars and separations made a heritage to Europe. In different times at past, a large part of Europe had to live together unwontedly. At fist Romans targeted the opinion that a large geography must be under a unique governance. But, it was just an opinion. After Romanians, it was targeted that the people of Europe was going to be one-part under the peace of Christianity and I mean Church. The era that was named as The empire of Holy Rome-Germen could not be successful. (11) Napoleon and Hitler who founded tremendous empires and dreamed about unifying Europe under a regime failed reaching their targets. The common point that the works on unification that talked about before is that they were basically planted on pressure and violence. On the other hand at the new international system that occurred after 1945( Cold-War Era), Europe that was desperate after World War II. was trying to stabilize its new position that was around common benefits, targets and values in the world. The idea that to leave Nationalism for local benefits was becoming to be popular around Europeans.

There were two main targets of the unification of Europe: to provide peace and welfare. The first of these targets was materialized especially by Germany and France. But the target of welfare was not the issue. According to Hoffmann, Jean Monnet who was one of the founders of modern-day E.U. leave the coverage and shape intentionally ambiguous (12). At the beginning of process, unification occurred as economical oriented, Common Market and integration institutionalized firstly as The European Community of Economy and secondly as European Community. At this time it was unable to talk about the identity of Europe. The identity case for Europe that was living through the bloody wars that caused by religion, cult and nationalism was too repulsive and in the position that would be able to cause putting an end to the unification before it started.

The becoming a current issue of the identity that was being inside of E.U. was at the Luxemburg Summit on December, 1997. But the plot was not a new and targeted issue for this Summit. Firstly the integration of Europe was stabilized by The Rome Treaty that was the original starting and afterwards with The Single European Act the member countries targeted the opening of borders to labor, capital, and properties. These economical enterprises turned to asocial unification movement with the Treaty of E.U. at Maastricht in 1992. Meanwhile the improvements on four fields were targeted: economical and financial union, common foreign policy and security policy, justice and internal affairs and the citizenship of Europe (13).

The common currency "Euro" that is the result of the regime of economical and monetary unity has applied to the form of the identity of Europe. Euro has an emotional and psychological impact among young generations. Traveling without Identity Card inside the continent and no money exchange inside the countries of Europe are the proof of the importance of Euro. However the economic disaster that occurred firstly in U.S.A. and then all over the world made the European economy worse after 2008. After 2010 the expectations on the payment of the burden of the countries that economically collapsed like Greece, Spain inside of Union have raised the anxiety about the future of Euro. Because there is still the example that England is a member of E.U. but it protects its national currency (14).

Common Foreign Policy and the Security Policy that is the second base of unification can not be successful because of the different viewpoints and benefits of European countries on foreign policy. (Ex: The Iraq invasion of U.S.A. in 2003) Foreign policy is an element of sovereignty of a country. But E.U is not a nation-state and also not a federation and confederation. In Europe the idea of nation-state and nationalism is still

strong. Another problem is the lacking of security. Union has not got a powerful and stable army. In the meaning of security, NATO and U.S.A. have rights to give orders. Although E.U. is tied with corporations and reasons, the dimension of nation is inadequate.

The identity is a social term. The definition of it is the existing of others. The identity needs "the other". If "the other" is a treat or accepted as a treat, it makes identity more strong. The beginning of "the other" is via the mechanism of projection (reflection). The mechanism of reflection (projection) is one of the defense mechanisms of someone which is used psychologically. With this mechanism a person pours his/ her dark sides over the other one (15). In this way, goods and bad ones or civilized and barbarian occur. At first The West turned its bad sides to Islam and Ottoman Empire (especially Turks), colonies and to communist ideology after World War II and today to Islam again with the lost treat on it. The long period that in Europe, the human rights, the law state, democratic values have been formed with bloody fights and revolutions that continued long years has been forgotten and it has been believed that western people adopted and applied these values because of the civilized nature of them. Therefore, the lack of universal values of non-western people was said as a reason that they had an uncivilized nature (16). The main theme of the mechanism of Projection; at Reform Age it was equality, at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Constitution Era it was "liberty", in Cold War Era at 1975 Helsinki-CSCE (Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europa) it was" human rights", and today it has been "democracy ( multiplicity, minority rights, multiculturalism)". The concrete mechanism that occurred with Holocaust that was operated on Jewish people after World War 1 is used against immigrants and foreigners that have different religions and cultures in today's Europe (17).

The identity of Europe and being a European had no meaning at old Greek and Rome. Old Greek combines Europe and Asia, Rome combines all the world in itself. The social and cultural meaning of Europe begins with the modern times. The battle between Christianity-Islam has a big role in the reveal of this meaning. Hereby the perspective of Euro-centric has its roots there (18).

It seems impossible that the identity of Europe will stay on common geography, history, language, religion and ethnic originality. The foundation of Europe which can not be confined in a common geography and whose history is known with fights and separations on the common religion Christianity might cause new critics. The acceptance of Christianity as a common religion at Europe caused the problem that which of these; Orthodoxy, Evangelicalism or Catholicism was going to be the dominant. The history of Europe was know with the bloody wars that caused the separation of cults.

Europe has no a common language. Latin that was the unifying language until 16<sup>th</sup> century and in a small period French changed the roles with Latin. The development of national languages hindered the use of common language (19). The technological developments today, being U.S.A. a global power have made English not only in use in Europe but also over the world.

Europe does not come from a common ethnic root. The thesis that the common race is Arian were abandoned because it was suspicious. Hungarians, Finnish people, Bulgarians and Slavs that have been living in Europe for thousand years are not Arians. The ethnical community is not a combination for the identity of Europe (20). It is hard that the identity of Europe can be founded on the common history.

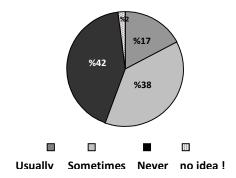
In the formation of the identity of Europe, nation-state has been an important factor. Besides this the important improvements like Renaissance, Reform, Enlightenment, the over-sea expansion of Europe over Atlantic has given contribution to being a European. Being a European has transformed itself into a civilization and the criterions of this civilization are humanism, laicism, democracy, enlightenment, industrialization and rationality (21).

Although E.U. is a institutional movement of unification, it is not based on asocial ground that totally internalizes the being of European. The Union is a shelter that have many different groups and societies inside. The nation-states and national identities have continued. The arguments that have been used by E.U. to create an new identity of Europe are the Constitution of Europe and citizenship of Europe.

Although the term of citizenship and the mention of their rights got the shape before nation-states, the occurrence of them is parallel to the occurrence of nation-states and citizenship determines the role of a member of nation-state (22). The principal of the citizenship of Europe is an innovation that targets the creation of an institution that is out and up from nation-state. To keep Union steady, besides the economical unification, it is urgent that the social and cultural features must combine Europeans. With the Maastricht Treaty, based on the seventeenth item of The Treaty of The European Union, it was tried that as the principle of the citizenship of Union was released to build an upper identity.

However it is the national citizenship that has been adopted and accepted at inner side of nations of Europe. The citizens of Europe can travel inside of the borders of Europe without confinement, join local elections in the fence of criterions that are formed by a member country, use "euro" in each country that uses "euro" as fund and join to elections of European Parliament as elector or as member via channels of Union. All these conveniences create the charm on the citizenship of Europe as an upper identity.

Do you think yourself as a European besides your own national identity?



Source: Standart Eurobarometer 64, Soru: 39, 2006

The Constitution of Europe was accepted as an important step that was about the creation of an identity because of containment at the meaning of all European countries and citizens. The acceptance of Constitution empowered the judicial character of E.U. and it was going to create the ability of one-sided movement especially at foreign policy. However there was a big debate throughout the steps from forming the Constitution, negotiation of it and approval. The Constitution that began to having a form in 2003was going to include all Union Configuration Agreements that were made from the beginning. Related with The Constitution and its articles, there were many dissidences and disagreements among member countries. The refusal of The Constitution on the public elections of France and Holland put an end of these disagreements. As changing some articles of The Constitution (especially about sovereignty) there was an agreement on a Reform Treaty like other Union Treaties. The outline of Constitution that got name as Lisbon Treaty at the end of Lisbon Summit on October, 2007 was signed by member countries. At Treaty some signs that images a government like Anthem, flag were abandoned and taken as reference of old Union Treaties it was attributed. For giving so much right to speak to big countries about defense, internal affairs and justice Ireland wanted to make referendum (23). At the end of referendum, the people of Ireland refused the agreement for the complexity of text and for giving the identity of Ireland too much space (24). It was worrying for Europe that was the "home for democracy" that the agreement was only exhibited to referendum only in Ireland. With a high potential of worrying about negative results for next referendums the project of E.U. has been gaining speed in apposition of lacking public and abstracting public.

## **Modernization-Contemporaneousness-Westernization**

Modernization started with the collapse of feudal system and it embraces the progress of the appearance of bourgeoisie and rise of it, industrialization, the expansion of mechanisms that were going to give support to political attendance of the masses. The factors like the phenomenon of urbanization , the rising of literacy, the forms of modern day political parties, the rationalization of authority and the development of mass communication technology are formations of the process of modernization. The appealing of modernization is parallel to capitalism (25). The decay of traditional form, the release of market, the expansion of the production of materials, the domination of salaried labor and the new angle of technology are the factors that make the way of capitalism easy. This situation is a measure that not to be modern according to West. The industrialized nations are the developed societies. The difference between more developed-less developed takes its roots from that.

The starting point of the process of modernization is Europe and it affects all the world via capitalism. It has been explained as non western societies took the same line with western societies to change their less-

developed positions (26). However the societies that took West as an example for themselves and started their process of modernization could not get the same results with West and the process of Reform took new problems with itself. According to some people the steps that climbed throughout modernization were the tools for West to colonization (27).

Despite being a term that defines a route geographically, The West carries a different meaning inside. This meaning qualifies a universal civilization that not only attached with some specific countries but also shows a continuous progress (28). Westernization is a process that occurs as adaptation of foundations and values of West but a process whose scientific part is more distinguished. For being a broad term that enlarges itself from material processes and symbols to the world of sensations and ideas, Modernization is inside of Westernization. Hans Kohn accepted Westernization as Europeanization of the East. Westernization defines the political, social, economical and intellectual transformation process of Asian and North African countries (29).

The idea that The West must be taken an example started with the Era of Mahmut the Second and Era of Reform in 19<sup>th</sup> century and this process has continued with some qualification changes until today. At first our relationship with The West was going through with wars and conquests, the defeats in wars and the losses of Ottoman land from the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> century and additionally the development that occurred in Europe changed the path of events. While the causes of defeat and recession were being argued throughout The Empire, the deterioration of governing and the military superiority of The West were some of the reasons (30).

The innovations that began mainly on military and diplomatic areas have been expanded over law, education, administration and politics and social life until today. But while Ottoman reforms were generally shaped by the pressure of The West, the addition of new foundations over old ones without any change caused chaos between the mechanism of government. As building walls against change, these forms that from Ottoman until now have been the biggest obstacles in front of Westernization.

With a sharp turn, The Westernization of Republic accepted the area of The Western Civilization (31). While the new foundations of West were being taken, the old ones were abandoned. While it was being argued that whether the new founded government was the tail of Ottoman Empire or not (32), the 1923 when Republic was founded was a milestone.

At the point of Political Regime: From Monarchy to Republic

The Quality of Government: From Islamic State to Secular State

The valuation of Society: From Community to Nation

At the point of Economy: From Liberal understanding- at firs Liberal- after 1930 the politics of Statism.

In 1922, Arnold Toynbee who visited Turkey-Greece front told that Turks were at war with the flags of Western idealism in their hands against The West (33). "The Westernization of Republic has become real to The Nation of Turkey not for West it was made against The West (34)."

The unaccepted and criticized side of reforms that were form Ottoman to Republic is that the project of modernization has been arranged by elite managers who are in government from head to nails (35). Some use it as a defense that not only these innovations are not adapted by society but also alienate society to themselves and make it "the other" (36). The main thesis of this view is that the western civilizations keeps Christianity inside and Western and non-western societies are not on the same line.

It is seen that the term of Contemporaneousness has been used instead of Modernization and Westernization. The tern that has the meaning of getting up with the age and change according to itself, has been understood negatively by religious people. In his work whose name is The Contemporaneousness in Turkey, Niyazi Berkes accepts the term of contemporaneousness as the same with the term Secularism. He qualified contemporaneousness as not only the rescue from religion but also the rescue from sacred tradition. He defines that behind every contemporaneousness term a religious acceptance flood becomes (37).

## The Term of Europeanization

The term of Europeanization, is a new term for the literature of the science of Politics. The works on Europeanization had a small movement place by countries that were members to E.U. for a long time. However in literature the subject of Europeanization is not just with the member countries. The Europeanization of the

member countries of E.U. has gained speed at last years. In this way Europeanization has become bidirectional. While the effects of member countries to E.U. politics and unification at the internal understanding were being criticized, at the extroverted understanding the membership processes of Middle and East Europe countries were under microscope. The application of acquis communautaire by these countries, the forming of political and economical criterion created the fence of the analysis of the Europeanization of the member countries (38).

The term of Europeanization is a progress that affects national foundations, actors, politics and values from the perspective of history, politics and culture.

For Börzel and Risse, Europeanization, is the transformation process that caused by the unification of Europe at the applications of national foundational statue and national politics. Europeanization is the occurrence and development of different forms and levels of governing at the statue of Europe. For the solutions of political problems, it is the expansion of a web of politics that is master at creating the European rules that have power to enforcement. Hereby Europeanization shapes national laws, applications and politics (39).

In another expression, Europeanization is a hierarchical process in which the shaping of politics and swings have happened with the becoming of economical and political dynamics, national politics and decisions of E.U. as a part of organizational logic. Europeanization is a mechanism and process that supports the building of European foundations that can cause national changes (40).

In the definition of Radaelli, besides politics and foundations; beliefs, identities and statements are included to the term. Europeanization is a group of processes where the political, social and economical dynamics of E.U has become a part of the logic that holds national statements, identities, forms and public politics at its hand (41). The shaping of identities, values and norms to the politics of expansion and the term of Europeanization is the main supporter of the understanding of publicity. This approach explains the expansion of E.U. at Middle and East Europe with the idea of "Back to the Europe" in the fence of "one of us" according to E.U (42).

In his work whose name is "The Many Faces of Europeanization", Johan P. Olsen says that besides being popular there are too many definitions from different perspectives of it in many papers and books. Because the term is brand new like a premature baby and it is still being argued and broad enough not to be understood (43).

For this reason Olsen, by classifying the europeanization definitions according to their common fields, opened the way to the sistematic depictions.

- Europeanization as the alteration on European Borders
- Europeanization as the emerging of the Europe scale associations.
- Europeanization as the perspective of influence of the national politics by European Associations.
- Europeanization as the exportation of the European Associations. Our study focuses on this topic of Europeanization. From this aspect Europeanization includes exportatin of European its life stye, its language, its political principles, its associations' values and identitites. However it is not possible to argue about Europeanization of the values and identities without the institutional and administrational Europeanization.
- Europeanization as a political consolidation (44). Europeanization is not political consolidation but without the European consolidation Europeanization is not possible. Europeanization, is the next step of political consolidation.

As can be seen above definitions, with Europeanization, an impression is constituted on the politics, implementations and procedures of member countries. The degree of this impression to turn to repression is going to change in proportion to country's disparity to European norms. The degree of the disparity is low on the basis of member countries (45). For the applicant countries Europeanization operates as single-sided and from top to bottom. The period when Europeanization's single sided effect reaches maximum is the participating period, namely the negotiation process. Europeanization is a process. This process is built by conditionality and socialization.

## **Conditionality Prencible and Socialization**

On the basis of the Europeanization lies disparity. This disparity modifies the disparity between the applicant country and EU degree norms and rules. The degree of the disparity is to increase the degree of the

Europeanization (46). Europeanization process creates the compliance restraint for the alteration of national associations and structures. The veto points that show resistance to alteration and the support points that wants the alteration, influences the Europeanization process. While veto points are shaped by military structure, nationalist and a part of the media, the support points are shaped by non-governmental organizations, political parties, universities and the other part of the media (47).

For the operation of Europeanization, there needs to be negotiator actors and the settlement culture. Only in this way, by ensuring the politic and institutional culture, the way to socialization and learning can be opened.

In the Europeanization process, negotiation is single-sided and because the applicant countires cannot participate in EU decisionmaking, they are in the Europeanization's consumer position. Europeanization basic foundation conditionality princible and it stands to rule transmission. Conditionality mechanism forms basis with acquis communautaire and Copenhagen criteria.

Acquis Communautaire (The Community acquis): Defines the common structure of the applicant countries' rights and obligations which tie them to EU. Basicly, includes the Rome Pact and the other constitutive pacts. On the participating process, the participant countries are expected to adjust to acquis. The previous topic number was 31 for the expansion process but 35 topics are opened for Turkey and Croatia (48).

<u>Copenhagen Criteria</u>: are, In 1993 with the decision,taken at the Copenhagen summit,the criteria for the applicant countries' EU memberships.

**Political Criteria:** A stable institutional structure secured by the democrasy, supremacy of law,human rights and respect for the minorities' rights.

**Economic Criteria :** A well running market economy and the power to resist to EU market powers and competition repression.

**Accepting the Community Acquis :**Commitment to the EU's various political, economic and monetary aims (49).

**Absorption Capacity:** Constitutes the fourth stage of the Copenhagen criteria. The great expansion in 2004 and then the rejection of the EU constitution draft by France and Holland, brought this concept into the agenda. In 2006 the criteria are defined at the European council. Absorption capacity implies the institutional, political and financial capacity of EU for the next expansion (50). Turkey's membership brings a new dimension for the absorption capacity. Cultural and social absorption subject is being argued and this subject is associated with European identity (51).

Conditionality can not be sustained without the socialization. Socialization can be realized with the norm internalization (52). It firms the Europeanization's legiticimacy. Conditionality forms the EU's material way, socialization forms the EU's moral way. Structural alteration is intended to be short term with the conditionality and long term with the socialization.

## **Turkey and the Europeanization**

Without doupt Turkey is a part of the Europe. Madariaga inclines that though Turkey is deprieved of Socratic thinking system and Christianity, it still is a part of the Europe (53).Rome Treaty article 23 says: "Any European Government can apply to the Community to be a member" it he applications made firstly in 1963 with Ankara Treaty and then in 1987 for the full membership based on this article proves that Turkey is a European Government. We may see that Morocco's application is declined according to this article (54).

Europeanization, the reform process, is perceived as EU'ization by Turkey. Turkey is counted surely enough EU but it has some juristical deficincies. However Europeanization is not EU'ization.For example, European Convention on Human Rights is not a product of EU.Although Europeanization and EU corresponds,EU is a mean.Before the Europeanization, the EU'ization needs to be provided.

While the modernization is realized by the government, Europeanization is not about with government but the democracy. To established the democracy, civizilation needs to be aimed. If we consider the Europeanization's reflections in Turkey;

- Europeanization of the **political areas** is the easiest one for Turkey; legal arrangements can be handled easily
- Politic Europeanization seems to be more difficult aim. Especially human rights and democratisation efforts move slowly.
- Europeanization as community, goes with modernity and it is quite long time taking process (55)

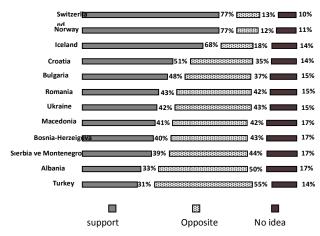
There are fundamental obstacles in front of the Turkey for the Europeanization and EU membership.If we line them;

**Cyprus problem**, withouth the solvation of the problem with Greek Cyprus Side in the Cyprus Island, Turkey is not going to be included to the Union. Turkey does not associate the Cyprus problem with EU.

**Importance of the Nation-state,** Participating to Union requires the hand over the huge part of the nation-state's power to the EU foundations and this situation weakens the nation-state. However the power of the nation-state is crucial for Turkey and Turkish citizens.

There is no united view in Europe for Turkey, Europe does not have a united view for the Turkey's membership. For example French parliament enacted a law about the Turkey's membership subject. According to law, a referandum will be established and this situation lowers the Turkey's chance In Germany, Christian Democrats decided to give s special statue for Turkey not a full membership. According to Barysch another country that does not want Turkey's full membership is Austira. They still imply the Ottoman's Vienne siege (56). In Europe all the books that are published about Turkey's membership is against the full membership idea (57). However there are some powers that want Turkey's fullmembership. One can not ignore the fact that there are a lot of essential working in Turkey for the EU membership.

How do you evaluate the process of expansion of E.U. related with the countries below ?



Source: Standart Eurobarometer 64, soru: 44, 2006

**EU** and Europeanization being an elite project, Europeanization is not only elite for Turkey it is also elite for Europe. he ones who think same as EU are together. There is curiosity and sympathy about the membership. Many applicant countries submitted referandum to their people. Turkey did not do it. In Turkish society there aren't much information about EU institutions, principles, advantages of the membership and the disadvantages of it. EU membership is evaluated as increased economic well-being. The views against Turkey's membership, Turkey-EU relationships, the dilemmas, new conditions in each step sometimes cause Turkish citizens not to participate in EU community. Recently, the attidutes toward Muslim world and the European economy increaed this unwilling. But in the Europeanization process, identity comes forwrad, the problem lies here for Turkey.

#### **Conclusion**

Günter Verheugen compared the EU as "magnet".EU previously, provided its attraction with full membership, later tried with reletions for applicant countries and Neighbour Politics. Emerson defined the Europeanization as "Gravity Model of Democratisation".With EU's conditionality and democratic openings it explains the democratisation of the applicant and member countries. EU does not make itself desirable with punishment and black mail, it achieves to stay friends by making long-term plans (58).However USA's Iraq model and the failures of government after the military coups in Latin America, decreased its prestige as a global actor.

While there are a lot of information about Europeanization, European institutions and politics, there are not much information on the basis of actors. With the Europeanization's from top to bottom method, many actors appear as veto or support points whereas new actors are composed of and they are commissioned. Europeanization process is not only proceeds with institutions and management but also with these actors. Actors are means that are going to ensure the civilzation and democracy. Europeanization's operating system has an impression which decrease the power of nation-state. If conditionality bases on single sided power relation, this impression hardens.

Turkey's EU membership and its Europeanization should be ensured with the social realities and benefit-cost evaluation. In the negotatipn process, the understading "what can we give" should be changed with "what can we take" between EU and Turkey relations. For example, EU gave to many applicant countries' people to travel to Europe without visa and the subvention support that common agriculture needs (59). Turkey, as an applicant country did not take advantage of these benefits.

West defends that they are upgraded to post-modern, next stage of the modern. Globalisation phenomen revealed the local from the universal. Its message "if you want to join politics and if you cant make it on a nationa scale, you can realize it on local" conveys the idea that one can easily contribute to national scale in doing so.It inclines their aim to be democratising on local. However the globalization moves faster with these little pieces and it gradually expands its population. What is ignored is that if the political culture is not realized with the free will on the national scale, same behaviours will too be seen on the local scale. The culture that is reflected to the national ,would be reflected to the local too. In Westernization while the values can be choosen, with the globalisation localised values will be an obligation. Globalization caused Turkey's to leave Westernization and to choose the Europeanization. While the Westernization is an ideal, an aim in modernization project, Europeanization provides an alternative identity. And they underline that they dont want the give this identity to everyone (60).

The obstacle that are seen in front of the Europeanization are neutralized in Turkey. Yet the Westernization came to Turkey with Turkish army, the institutionalisation is realized by the CHP (Republic Public Party). While the Europeanization acts as a tool to neutralize these institutions, as in Europe, it brought about an up-down identity argument by focusing to the diversities rather than national identity. What shoul not be ignored that today the nation-state and national identities still converve their importance and sometimes the nationalism rises.

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