

KİTAP İNCELEMESİ – BOOK REVIEW

TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

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The book “Turkey and European Union” focuses on definitive assessments of different dimensions in Turkey-EU relations. Aydın-Duzgit and her co-author Tocci evaluate longstanding economic, societal, cultural and political connections between both sides by unpacking historical complexity of Turkey’s tortuous path in EU accession process. Originally, the authors offer three analytical lenses for a better understanding of this complexity. In the basis of these three perspectives, Turkey can be viewed as an enlargement country, an EU neighbour or a global partner. In addition to Turkey’s these specific roles to assess the “actorness” in the area of European politics, the relationship has been influenced by five thematic issues including *economics, migration/mobility, security, democracy/human rights* and *culture/identity*. Aydın-Duzgit and Tocci’s main argument is that these main pillars that make up the EU-Turkey relationships affect the process based on whether EU’s member states and their people see Turkey as an enlargement, neighbourhood or global country. In order to exhibit different European approaches towards Turkey’s bid for EU membership, their analysis aim to find out to what extent Europe’s political, economic and civil societies attribute weight to five relevant components. In this most recent book in the field, by making use of three analytical perspectives on five thematic issues, they provide a clearer picture of big political puzzle of Turkey-EU relations.

In this context, the book is structured in ten chapters. From a historical perspective, the first one represents the ebbs and flows in the interaction

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between EU and Turkey from the signature of the Association Agreement in 1963 to the 2010s. The historical account of Turkey's tortuous path to Europe is divided into three periods. First period began with Turkey's application for association to the European Economic Community and remained during the Cold War. The end of the Cold War in the 1990s launched new international order and second period in the relationships which triggered both sides to redefine their identities and interests in changing circumstances. After this revision process, first five years in the 2000s demonstrated rising optimism for Turkey's Europeanisation with the waves of reforms after Helsinki European Council decision on Turkey's candidacy in 1999. Despite the fact that the accession negotiations started, stagnation dominated relationships in the post-2005 period. Growing mistrust between the two sides has caused to reinforce "anti-Turks" in Europe and "anti European" in Turkey since 2005.

On this historical background of the relationships, Chapter 2 reveals Turkey's position as an *enlargement country* by highlighting contested arguments about which reasons lie behind the long and inconclusive membership process which has gone on more than a half century. The writers point out that the "objective" complications such as Turkey's size, level of development and the problems of its political system are not enough helpful in explaining the longevity and problematic nature of the country's accession process. Thus, subjective considerations should be taken into account in understanding multi-faceted nature of the European debates on Turkey. With the departure from this assumption, the chapter shows that depending on whether enlargement is viewed as a foreign policy issue or a domestic issue, member states' approaches on Turkey demonstrates diversity in supporting or rejecting Turkey's membership. In particular, the foreign policy lens tends to lead to a positive bias on Turkey. Turkey receives support from member states around four themes: Turkey's contribution to EU's economy, internal market and its competitiveness in the global world; European energy security as a key energy transit country and possible energy hub in future; straightening the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy in neighbouring regions; promoting transformation, modernisation and democratisation at the periphery of Europe. On the other hand, when enlargement is seen as a domestic issue, this lens tends to have negative effect, in other words arguments intensively underline the possible costs of Turkey's EU membership. Aydın-Duzgit and Tocci point out that negative argument arise in three dimensions. First of all, according to the institutional debate, Turkey would imperil deeper and successful integration and internal consensus in Europe. Second, Turkey's voting rights and representation in

EU institutions due to its size would change balance of power in decision making in Europe and it would bring costs far more than benefits for the founding fathers of the Union, like Germany and France. Third, Turkey's cultural difference does not fit in Union's common spirit. When enlargement is viewed as an internal issue, a second source of concern appears in related with European public opinion. The inability of European elites to engage their publics with the issues over enlargement, in particular positive contributions of Turkey's membership in the EU creates fault lines between two sides. Third source of concern is based on a more sophisticated and cultural argument against Turkey's accession which claims with the membership of a large Islamic country, the Union's cultural and political European identity would be at stake. In addition, EU enlargement with Turkey generates a matter of migration concern and populist public hysteria over Turkish immigration into Europe. Several member states see Turkey's large and young demography as a threat rather than as an opportunity. Fifth concern about Turkey's accession in the EU focuses on the EU budget around serious questions such as how Turkey's membership influences the distribution of EU funds and how the structure of economic sectors changes. Lastly, the authors note that there are two member states deeply concerned about closer relationships between Turkey and the EU due to this would appear challenging results for their national interests and security: Greece and Cyprus.

Besides being viewed as a *candidate country* in Europe, Turkey has always had a role of being a strategic neighbour. The Chapter 3 of the book highlights this dimension of Turkey-EU relations. In the post-Cold War era, Turkey's peace-making efforts and growing diplomatic activism in a troubled neighbourhood, including the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, have confirmed that Turkey has adapted some of the norms and principles of European foreign policy. On one hand the evolution of Turkey's foreign policy is a sign of the country's strategic value to the EU; on the other hand opponents of Turkey's full membership evaluate it as the reorientation of Turkish foreign policy and the confirmation of non-European vocation under the AKP government in the 2000s. Furthermore, through the final lens of EU enlargement, the Chapter 4 outlines Turkey's *global profile*. In the 2000s Turkey has deepened its relations not just with its regional actors, but also with the key global actors such as the US, Russia, China, Brazil and African countries. However, European discussions on Turkey's global role have been polarized by several views. For instance, Turkey's close relationship with the US is seen differently by 'Europeanists' and 'Atlanticists' in Europe. Aydin-Duzgit and

Tocci refer to Turkey's interest in other regions is perceived as a proof of country's non-Europeanness.

Having outlined three perspectives from which to view Turkey's place in the EU, the volume goes on to observe five actual contents of the relationships. The Chapter 5 traces the evolution of Turkey's economic performance and its effects in the broader EU-Turkey relations. As the authors argue depending on three lenses, namely seeing Turkey as an enlargement country, a neighbour, or a global actor, economic factors have changed perceptions of Turkey in the EU. When Turkey is viewed in the context of enlargement, arguments add weight to concerning Turkey's growth, rising productivity, growing labour force, rising trade levels and increasing FDI inflows. From the perspective of Turkey's role as a candidate country, Turkey's structural deficiencies, its significant inequalities, average income levels under EU average take attention as the problems. Unsurprisingly, budgetary issues, specifically the economic costs of Turkey's EU membership are discussed speculatively. By contrast, the perspective views Turkey as an EU neighbour gives the country an outstanding role in being a regional economic trade and energy hub. Emerging multi-polarity of the international system matters when Turkey is considered as a global actor. Turkey's deepening trade and investment ties with Africa, South America and China are great interests to European actors.

Security is discussed in the Chapter 6 as the second key component of EU-Turkey relations. In the context of three lenses, Turkey's enlargement country position potentially leads to its exclusion from the Common Security and Defence Policy. Beyond the enlargement discussion, as a neighbour or a global actor, 'security' matters in Turkey's relations with the Union. The post 9/11 context increased the interdependence between EU and Turkish security concerns regarding fighting against terrorism and organised crime. Turkey is an important country for NATO-EU cooperation and it is a transit country for EU energy security. Thus, it is noted in the book that on the grounds of security the European Commission and the External Action Service support Turkey's bid for EU membership. In addition, under the AKP government Turkey has acted unilaterally and privileged relations with Islamists parties without seeking alignment with the EU and the US. Turkey has drawn a portrait of an indispensable partner, in this manner its reliability has been questioned by the Western actors.

The Chapter 7 focuses on migration and mobility matters in Turkey-EU relations. The debate does not just include the issue of Turkish immigration into the EU post-membership or integration of EU-Turks into host EU member states, but also includes the question of the Syrian refugee crisis and

irregular migrants coming the EU zone through Turkey since 2011. That is to say the debates can be evaluated in these three sub-issues. The chapter argues that these issues matter most when Turkey is viewed as an enlargement country. Turkey's membership raises the prospect of liberation of the freedom to move, settle and work in EU countries for Turkish citizens. Turkey with its large, young and growing population is perceived as a threat in some European countries due to the fear of its possible influences on European cultural identity and also having to share social and economic welfare benefits. From the neighbourhood perspective, the relationship with Turkey in the policy areas of migration and mobility gain preponderance in the axis of Turkey's geographic position as a main transit country for irregular migrant, refugees and asylum seekers from the Southern neighbourhood of Europe which requires systematically management and control of growing instability. From the lens of global actor, these issues play a less important role in the relationship between two sides. In fact, the Syrian crisis has turned into a site of global conflict such as the consequences of refugee crisis. Turkey allowed the entry more than two million Syrians since June 2011. As opposed to many EU member states, Turkey has carried high responsibility and became the one of the most significant actors in global migration management. In addition, Turkey has harmonized its legislation and policies with these of the EU in these fields since 2013.

One of the most discussed themes in the EU and Turkey relations is democracy and human rights. The Chapter 8 explains to what extent this theme is important when Turkey is seen as an enlargement, neighbourhood or global country. Certainly, the democratic ebbs and flows in Turkey's political performance matter in recognizing Turkey as an enlargement country and a candidate for full membership. Moving beyond the lens of enlargement to the lenses of neighbourhood or global actor, the importance of Turkey's domestic political performance diminishes for the country's bid for EU membership. Conversely, other factors such as energy, security and trade relations matter in the multilateral relationships. Lastly, the Chapter 9 elaborates how the issues related with culture and identity among the most controversial aspects of the EU-Turkey relationships are seen differently from the enlargement, neighbourhood and global country perspectives on Turkey's roles in the broader European politics. The Union's enlargement produces questions about who should be included or excluded through separating and defining "us" and the "others" within the boundaries of the European continent, in particular in the borders of EU. Therefore, under the lens of enlargement Muslim Turkey's "different" culture, religion and history matter in the relationships with the EU. Besides the lens of enlargement,

Turkey is seen as a bridge between the EU and Muslim world from the perspective of neighbourhood and global actor.

In the conclusion chapter, the authors outline the main arguments of the book and offer three scenarios for the future of the EU-Turkey relationships. In the first scenario, on growing estrangement between Turkey and the EU would push Turkey to behaving like a 'lone wolf' in its international relations. This would also block a constructive relationship between the EU, the Middle East and Eurasia in terms of energy, security, culture, migration and mobility. In the second scenario, two sides would reach a new framework for cooperation and good relations without the accession process. A functional partnership would be deepened with a high level dialog and through institutionalized regular meetings on foreign and security matters. The final scenario is presented as the most desirable one for the authors. It foresees Turkey's full membership of the EU within a new governance model for the EU. A post-crisis EU would offer Turkey other policy domains, including security, energy and migration rather than the Euro-zone. Full membership would enable the country to consolidate its liberal democracy and entail resolutions of longstanding problems such as the Kurdish question and Cyprus question. This scenario would strengthen an inclusive definition of identity both in Turkey and Europe. Thus, a post-crisis EU would be more united and powerful.

In all, the volume is a valuable contribution to the literature on Turkey-EU relations by making definitive assessments of five thematic issues in Turkey-EU relations from three different perspectives. This multi-perspectivity provides a better understanding of historical complexity in longstanding relationships between two sides.