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Regent Campus

School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Languages

EVALUATION OF TURKEY'S CANDIDACY PROCESS PERIOD IN TERMS OF EUROPEANIZATION THEORY

Total Words: 11994

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in International Relations

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September 2015

Regent Campus

University of Westminster

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank to my beloved family for their support in all of my life.

My sincere thanks also go to Esil, Caner, Arif Cem, Mine, Melek, H. Özgül, Mr. Ship and Mrs. Greyhound for their companion. Also I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my close friend Ruşen, who lives in London, for her support and contribution.

I am also grateful to my colleagues Nihat, Tanseli, Bora, Tuğrul, Ahmet and especially Hüseyin Göktepe for their encouragement for getting my EU scholarship.

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Date: September 2015

MA Dissertation Title:

Evaluation Of Turkey's Candidacy Process Period In Terms Of Europeanization Theory

In confirm that the above-submitted dissertation is my own work and that all references/sources are duly acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to evaluate Turkey's candidacy process of EU in terms of Europeanization theory. Particularly top-down effect of Europeanization will contribute to the evaluation. Europeanization theory became an important theory for the candidate countries of EU. The potential effect of Europeanization during the post-Helsinki period in Turkey will be analysed. The main objective is to put forth the Europeanization effect in two periods of candidacy. The first period of candidacy of Turkey was between 1999 and 2005, and the second period was 2005 and 2015. The fields in which the varying levels of impacts of Europeanization were felt and the tensions emerged between the EU and Turkey are two important issues those held in the study. Response of Turkey to the tensions and the pressure of EU during the candidacy process and then developing different policies for membership negotiations of EU are important for evaluation. Europeanization in domestic politics, institutional, social and judicial life in Turkey determines the level of progress of Turkey in membership negotiations of the EU.

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CHAPTER I:

1- INTRODUCTION

European Union, as a supranational organization, has a different and unique integration model. It was set up after World War II on an economic basis. After a while it started to enlarge with new countries. United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark joined in the Community in 1973. Greece (1981) Portugal and Spain (1986) were the following members of the Community. The Community had a rapid transformation between 1986 and 1997. The Single European Act, Schengen Regulations, Maastricht Treaty, Copenhagen Summit and Amsterdam Treaty changed the frame of the Community (EU Commission website). The name of the community changed as the European Union. Central regulations became more important and had an influence on the member and candidate countries. The scholars, who were studying the EU's unique organisation, enlargement process, the impact of reciprocal transfer of the legislations and practices of Union and member/candidate countries, emerged new literature about approaches for this process. Europeanization was an approach started to be used by some scholars in 90's to explain the impacts of transferring the legislation and practices of Union and member/candidate countries reciprocally. Ladrech's study on French-EU relations was one of the first studies that mentioned the term "Europeanization". Bulmer and Burch mentioned the EU's impact on the substantial changes on British legislation and political interaction between the EU and the country (Bache, 2014, pp.46). Early studies tried to explain the interaction between member countries and the EU. However by 2000s, new scholars broadened the approach towards the interaction between EU and member/candidate countries. This two-way process is defined by different scholars. For instance Europeanization was defined as "the reform of domestic structures, institutions

and policies in order to meet the requirements of the systematic logic, political dynamics and administrative mechanisms of European integration" by Joseph (Joseph, 2006, pp.2). Börzel and Risse's findings were similar to Joseph and "Top-down and bottom-up perspectives were seen as converging process of the permanent interaction between the EU and national level" (Börzel, Risse, 2003). In other words, "Europeanization is often seen as a constant interaction between the national and the European levels" (Baç, 2009, pp19). Thus, Europeanization approach broadened to the use for the interaction process of EU and candidate countries in terms of candidacy period of negotiation process. Top-down and bottom-up affects are the two important perspectives of Europeanization to explain the interaction between the EU and member/candidate countries. Those perspectives gave an opportunity to understand and explain the candidacy period and process of candidate countries of EU. Besides, above mentioned perspectives give the opportunity to evaluate the EU's effect on candidate countries during the negotiation period.

As a candidate country of European Union, Turkey, has had one of the longest negotiation processes so far when compared to the other member and candidate countries. The first application of membership to EU, the name of which used to be European Economic Community (EEC), was in 1959. After negotiations between the EEC and Turkey, a three-stage plan was prepared and signed by EEC and Turkey. The three stages of the plan were the preparatory stage, the transitional stage and the final stage respectively (Ankara Agreement 2. article, 1964, pp.4). It was adopted with Ankara Agreement signed in 1963 between EEC and Turkey. Ankara agreement and Additional Protocol (signed in 1971) included the first two stages and they were mostly about promoting the balance and continuous links by means of economy between EEC and Turkey. Regulations about

customs and economic aids were some of the sample regulations. Those periods, which started in 1963 and ended in 1995, were significantly established with economic ties between the parties and finished with Customs Union Agreement. EEC's effect was limited to Turkey's institutional and legislative transformation. Relations between two parties between the 1963 and 1995 were unstable. Economic crisis, doubts about the benefits of membership, domestic political troubles, military coup in Turkey and the ambiguity about the final stage of period were the main facts of this instability (Baç, 2009, pp.19-21). However conditions and liabilities of the Ankara Agreement and Additional Protocol were fulfilled. During those periods EEC's effect on Turkey was limited because of EU's weak institutional power, economy based conditions of relations between the EU and Turkey and Turkey's internal problems. There had been severe changes in the institutionalisation and legislation of the EU between 1986 and 1997. After the rejection of the full membership application, Turkey froze the relations with the EU for a couple of years. The relations started again and Turkey's accession of customs union was decided in 1995. The second stage of the plan, which was mentioned in Ankara Treaty (1963), was accomplished by entering into force of Customs Union Decision in 1996 (Baç, 2009, pp.20). Copenhagen political criteria, which were adopted at/by Copenhagen Summit, and Maastricht criteria, which were announced in 1992, affected the candidateship process of Turkey. In this term, particularly after Customs Union, Europeanization effect had been more visible in the legislations and the institutional change (Tocci, 2009, pp.75). The announcement of Turkey as a candidate country at Helsinki Summit accelerated the Europeanization effect in terms of several reforms in institutional and legislative bases (Tocci, 2009, pp.75). Europeanization effect on Turkey's candidacy process can be evaluated in two different periods after Helsinki Summit. The first period that took place between the years 1999-2005 was named as "golden period" and the second period,

covering the years 2005-2015 was called as selective Europeanization period (Tekin and Güney, 2015, pp.244-249). The movement for full membership has undergone many changes after the starting point of membership negotiations in 2005.

This study aims to evaluate the candidacy period of Turkey for full membership of EU in terms of the process of Europeanization. Domestic legislative changes, relations with EU, transfers of acquis and transformation on domestic institutions of Turkey will be the main focus of this thesis. The basic concerns of this study are to put forward;

- The possible Europeanization effect during the candidacy period of Turkey from the perspective of EU
    - -to analyse the facts that accelerated the effect
    - -to spot the facts that slowed down the success of Europeanization effect

In this study, Turkey's candidacy process period in terms of Europeanization will be analysed and evaluated. There will be 6 chapters in this study.

The first chapter is allocated to methodology and an overall introduction to the study to give information about the topic, concerns and the scope of the study.

In the second chapter, a review of literature on the Europeanization and the history of Turkey's candidacy in terms of Europeanization process will be discussed. This will help to introduce the theoretical framework of the study. Different perspectives of the Europeanization theory will provide a possibility to get involved deeply into the theoretical framework. The theory itself and the different perspectives of it will contribute

to understand and evaluate the candidacy period and process of the candidate countries in terms of Europeanization. Particularly top-down perspective will be hold to analyse to transpose the EU acquis and Union's practices to the candidate country. Also, it will contribute to the assessment and understanding of the second and fourth chapters of this study, which are about Turkey's candidacy process period in terms of Europeanization. Comparisons of the level of Europeanization effect of the two periods are the core concerns. Europeanization effect and Turkey's response to this will be analysed and will be understood clearly by means of candidacy period between 2000 and 2015.

In the 3rd chapter Turkey's candidacy process will be discussed in terms of Europeanization between 2000 and 2015. Firstly, this chapter will provide a brief explanation of historical background of candidacy process of Turkey. Later on, it will provide information about the progress of the two periods mentioned above. The periods are between 2000- 2005 and 2005-2015. There are two reasons of selecting and separating this chapter in two terms. The first one is the declaration of Turkey's candidateship after Helsinki Summit by European Union in December 1999. Second reason is the announcement of launching the full membership negotiations of Turkey with Brussels Summit in 17 December 2004. The secondary sources and the European integration literature will be applied to evaluate the level of Europeanization effect for those two terms. Domestic policy changes, transposing the legislations of EU and regulations and practices of Turkey will be held to clarify the top-down effect of the Union. European Union's documents like progress reports, Turkey's National Programmes of adaptation of the acquis of EU, screening process, Turkey's Alignment Programme for Alignment with Acquis and peer reviewed articles will be the main sources for this chapter.

Evaluations will be set forth about the candidacy process of Turkey with the findings from those sources.

Information society and media (chapter 10 of negotiation process) will be analysed in the 4th chapter. This chapter's both technical and legislative characteristics and its relations with complying with some fundamental rights are the main reasons of selecting this chapter as a case study. It involves media division in terms of broadcasting and freedom of expression issues and communication division as freedom of information and technical regulations in line with EU. To narrow down the topic by evaluation of the level of progress in this chapter will provide clear information about the effects of EU in information society and media sectors by means of Europeanization impact.

Last chapter, which is the conclusion chapter, will include the outcomes of the chapters 2, 3 and 4. All findings about the progress of Turkey in negotiation process will be highlighted in terms of Europeanization theory. The impact of Europeanization will be put forward in the fields of transposing the acquis, legislative activities and applications of legislations will be summarised.

1.1. Methodology

This study aims to evaluate the period of Turkey's candidacy process in terms of Europeanization theory. Europeanization is not an enlargement theory to explain the EU's given and future enlargement process. It was taken part in the studies very beginning of 90's. Those were explaining the approach as transferring the acquis and practices. This transfer was reciprocally between EU and member countries. However some scholars'

studies extended the Europeanization approach with the candidate countries, which were CEE (Central and Eastern European) countries. The tenets of the scholars were broadened from only horizontal effect to top-down and bottom-up effect of Europeanization. The influence of Europeanization on candidate CEE countries were tried to be explained mostly by top-down effect. For candidate countries bottom-up effect is extremely limited because of their candidacy position. Literature of the Europeanization effect was formed on the bases of theoretical frameworks of rational institutionalism and constructivist institutionalism theories (Sedelmeier, 2006, pp.11). Candidate and new member countries' process were evaluated by several scholars. Considering the literature of candidate countries in terms on Europeanization effect, it is seen that the scholars mostly evaluate the effect with regards to top-down effect. Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, Jacoby, Kelley, Hughes, Grabbe and Brusis are some of them (Bölükbaşı, Ertugal and Özçürümez, 2011, pp.85). All of those scholars have different mechanisms to explain the Europeanization effect in candidate countries. Choosing one or two of them has more benefits to evaluate the Turkey's candidacy process period in terms of Europeanization effect. Hence Grabbe's 5 mechanisms (Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, pp.312) and Börzel and Risse's approach are used for understanding the Europeanization effect (Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, pp.59-62). Qualitative method is being used for this study to put forth the effect of Europeanization in the process of Turkey. Secondary sources will be used to understand and explain the possible effect of Europeanization in Turkey's candidacy period. Text books, peer reviewed articles, journals, primary and secondary legislations, administrative documents, protocols and regular reports (both from the Turkey and EU sides), dissertations are the sources which are being used for this study.

To evaluate the effect of Europeanization the candidacy period of Turkey is divided to 2 periods. First period is between 1999 and 2005. Second period was 2005 and 2015. This is because the first period was recognize of Turkey as the candidate country of EU and the second term was start of negotiations between EU and Turkey. Feeling the effect of Europeanization in different fields and the impact of tensions between the EU and Turkey are other reasons for dividing the candidacy period into two parts.

Information society and media chapter is chosen as a case study for candidacy period. This negotiations chapter is chosen for its special conditions. It has links with technical and legal amendments, enjoying the fundamental rights and minority rights, freedom of information and expression fields. Also this chapter made tensions between EU and Turkey. It will contribute to understand the different levels of Europeanization of candidate country within two periods.

This study mostly lies on the secondary resources. There is a huge range of literature of Europeanization. Particularly during and after the candidacy periods of new member countries raised the studies on Europeanization. Scholars mostly studied on the CEE countries. The studies about the candidacy period of Turkey started to increase in the second period of candidacy process. Hence the transformation of Turkey during the candidacy period can be evaluated. However, the literature about the practices of the Europeanization effect, which are Turkey's implementations, has not enough sources to respond. Therefore, this situation conducts the study to the official documents of EU about the candidacy period of Turkey. Also they make much contribution to evaluate the effect of Europeanization by means of practices.

CHAPTER II:

2- LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Europeanization

Europeanization can be referred to the procedure in which a notionally non-European subject receives various European highlights. According to Risse et al. (2001) Europeanization is the rise and advancement at the European level of particular structures of administration, connected with political critical thinking that formalizes connections among the on-screen characters, and of arrangement systems gaining practical experience in the formation of definitive European rules. Radaelli defines the theory as "process of a) construction, b) diffusion and C) institutionalization of the formal and informal rules, procedures and paradigms, styles, way of doing things and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and then consolidated in making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies" (Bache, 2014, pp48). A different definition from the view of top-down perspective by Bache and Jordan is "the reorientation and reshaping of politics in the domestic arena in ways that reflect policies practices and preferences advanced through the EU system of governance" (Bache, 2015, pp.48). Two theories of Europeanization are discussed below;

2.1.1. Horizontal Europeanization Theory

According to Radaelli et al (2006), Europeanization covers both vertical procedures and horizontal dynamics, with the horizontal component originating from the hypothesis laid out over that states which can send out their local strategies through "transferring" them to the EU so as to have them "downloaded" somewhere else.

Confirmation to support this hypothesis appears to powerfully recommend that horizontal Europeanization is change driven by the financially wealthy, urbanized Western states, the vast majority of whom joined the EU at an opportune time, to force their own particular values and strategies on less rich, less urbanized Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) to serve their own advantage (Börzel, 2002). It is believed that these CEECs have joined the EU in the past or are currently joining, an example being the environmental policy.

Moreover, the ways that the expansion of institutional conventions to east European nations infers that Western nation see some point of interest in doing so. This has brought different reactions on the grounds that western governments control the assets CEECs wistfully require, and CEECs get to be administration takers (Haggard et al, 1997). This is done through level Europeanization which jumps out at a degree as a consequence of expectant adaption on the grounds that CEECs change their household arrangements and establishments with a specific end goal to get entrance to these assets.

In any case, even Europeanization does not just pressurize the poorest, less industrialized states to acknowledge residential changes; the Qualified Majority Voting framework used to pass the larger part of choices in the Council of Ministers concedes all the more Europeanizing energy to the biggest states in light of the fact that votes are allotted in view of populace size. This would clarify why France was so resolved as to have the same number of votes as Germany with the goal that France held equivalent influence in choosing what turned into the EU arrangements to be downloaded, while smaller states have less impact and are more prone to embrace strategies favoured by the bigger and more compelling states.

All the same, the EU is a complex political framework thus even where it may give the idea that member states have significant impact to face their own approaches through horizontal Europeanization, the impact of 'top-down' Europeanization is constantly present. Thus, the EU as a self-ruling body will conform the transferred strategies and breaking point the weight powerful member states can apply to more susceptible states.

2.1.2. Europeanization As A Two-Way Process Theory

This theory clarifies Europeanization as the consequence of a bidirectional procedure where member states shape EU arrangements and foundations by transferring their own particular approaches and establishments to the European level. Thereafter, they adjust to results made at the EU level by downloading EU strategies and organizations into the household domain (Quaglia et al, 2007). This suggests that it is a combination of the top-down Europeanization hypothesis and a more conventional viewpoint in which local elements were investigated for their effect on global performing artists, arrangements and foundations (Mair, 2004). Accordingly, from the begin the hypothesis that Europeanization is a two-way process joins the majority of the handiness of the top-down hypothesis and develops it with new bits of knowledge.

The similar kind of origination of Europeanization is particularly valuable in representing a neorealist perspective of universal relations in which global associations are said to compel and subsequently impact the activities of states. This is because, it would take after that member conditions of the EU which would look to breaking point the limitations forced on them by the EU, although getting a charge out of the advantages of participation and saving the degree to which they are allowed to seek after their national hobby. The

two-way process of Europeanization is an aggressive theory in which officials of member states expect to minimize the expenses of executing, or downloading European standards and principles to their residential voting demographics whilst looking to amplify their impact in shaping arrangements at the European level (Borzel, 2002).

The two-way process hypothesis additionally serves to clarify the point made before, that CEE Countries have a powerful urge to join the EU. It does not withstand passing up a major opportunity for the advantages enrolment, from outside the EU non-individuals endure on the grounds that member states exchange with one another a great deal more than they exchange with whatever is left of the world and arrangement multilaterally with one another considerably more than with whatever is left of the world (Wallace, 2000). Likewise, non-individuals cannot give an impact to the EU approaches that occasionally influence their own local frameworks. Example, how the examined suggestion of a carbon duty on non-EU individuals will without a doubt influence on their exchange, as are on a few occasions under more weight to affect household change than individuals. This does mean, in any case, that in a collateral way states have the capacity to transfer their residential arrangements so they will be downloaded, in fact in a changed structure, to other EU members, and it is in clarifying this procedure of member states affecting household change of one another through the EU that the horizontal hypothesis of Europeanization is helpful.

2.1.3. Top-Down And Bottom-Up Effects Of Europeanization

In this part it is focused and discussed both top-down and bottom- up effect of Europeanization. Researchers gave examination of more extensive points of view of

Europeanization but emphasized top-down due to its clarity as far as illustrative force and determination of circumstances and end results. The second type of Europeanization consolidates bottom-up Europeanization and is taking into account conceptualizations (Börzel, 2002). In most occurrences, these conceptualizations stress the making of the EU policymaking structures, which outskirt meanings of European mix, instead of unmistakably outline household up-stacking.

The level of achievement in regards to bottom-up will focus the level of progress in connection to top-down. It could be contended that if there has been no anomaly at the residential level if change has neglected to happen and Europeanization has not occurred. This is the point at which it is essential to research base up parts of Europeanization and recognizes the levels of accomplishment in part bottom-up. In the event that part states have campaigned successfully and had their viewpoints included in EU approach, nonconformist will be constrained and resulting local change will be insignificant. This does not imply that Europeanization has not occurred, but rather that bottom-up was powerful and top-down minimized. The figure indicates the main independent variables of Europeanization process in new member and candidate states.

Table 1: Main independent variables of Europeanzation concept

	Rationalist institutionalism	Sociological/constructivist institutionalism
EU strategy	Conditionality	Socialisation
Facilitating international factors		
	• clarity of EU demand • credibility of conditionality • sizeable rewards and power asymmetry • monitoring capacity	• identification with EU • legitimacy of EU demands
Domestic facilitating factors		
polity dimension	• liberal democratic governments • high quality of political competition at moment of regime change • dominance of liberal ethnic policy preferences in parliament	• positive normative resonance with domestic rules • transnational (epistemic) networks
policy dimension	• low actor density/number of veto players • internationalisation of policy sector • absence of institutional legacies	

Source: Ulrich Sedelmeier, U. (2006). Europeanization in new member and candidate states, *Living Reviews in European Governance*, 1. Pp.11

Top-down effect is generally held with the institutionalist theory by scholars. Rationalist and constructivist institutionalism are the approach of institutionalist theory. Cowls, Börzel, Risse, Grabbe, Goetz, Radaelli, Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier are some of important scholars who are using the institutionalist theory (Sedelmeier, 2006, pp.9-12). They try to examine the effects of EU to the domestic transformation of member/candidate countries. Fit-misfit, pressure of EU, mechanisms of Europeanization are the arguments of those scholars (Bolukbası, Ertugal, Özçürümez, 2011, pp.82-85).

In reality, the impact of top-down Europeanization is not to be underestimated as it is to a great degree helpful in underlining the critical impact the EU has in impelling changes in residential governmental issues where part states have not appropriated outer weights for change. This demonstrates most basic where the EU is growing its skill to new arrangement zones. For instance, it has been noticed that 'an effect can be identified in the spaces of wellbeing and social consideration, territories which have generally been untouched by EU intercession (Quaglia et al, 2007) and additionally centre regions customarily connected with state sway: a solitary coin; European resistance; and interior security and citizenship (Wallace, 2000). Then, Europeanization grabs where neo-functionalist studies left, and neo-functionalism estimates that collaboration between part states and the EU in one arrangement territory inexorably prompts overflow to participation in neighbouring approach regions (Jensen, 2007). For example, although neo-functionalism may clarify why EU skill reached out into vitality arrangement from natural strategy, 'top-down' Europeanization adds to this seeing by deciding how this expansion brings about extra weight on individual part states to impact residential transformation. Europeanization may have been utilized, then, to foresee the battle Germany had started, the second exchanging time of the EU's Carbon Trading Scheme (Stumm, 2008) despite the fact that Germany is considered to have the biggest degrees of fit in the middle of national and European ecological approach. (Knill and Lenschow, 1998)

The top-down clarification of Europeanization has additionally demonstrated amazingly valuable in clarifying the tremendous weight of changes to residential governmental issues and organizations applied by the EU on the CEE's, the majority of whom have as of late joined the EU or are looking to join. The desire of most CEECs to join the EU,

consolidated with the high volume and intervention of the principles added to participation; permit the EU an exceptional impact in rebuilding local establishments and the whole scope of open arrangements in the CEECs (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2005)

2.2. Turkey's Candidate Negotiation Process

The EU-Turkey relationship has been viewed by academics, as well as from a rationalist perspective as a relationship that has led to significant reforms across the country key sectors, as a result of the Europeanization theory, which largely embraces the external democracy promotion framework. From a rationalist perspective, the conditional nature of accession negotiations has mostly been marked by features of Europeanization (Balkir, 2010, pp.27). Norms and values that were evidenced generating transformative impact in Turkey are strongly defined by European societies; through the EU directive approach.

Turkey involvement with the EU increasingly entailed massive transformations of the Turkey's initial systems of operation and governance. The country, was aligned to conform to the political, bureaucratic as well as civil societal reforms that were in line with particular European norms, political as well as institutional frameworks (Zaras,2013, pp.13). Turkey has undergone significant economic, democratic transformations, which to a large extent has been forced by EU-Turkey relationship; through what is popularly termed as conditionality strategy. When the accession negotiation process began between Turkey and the EU, it has been revealed that Turkey went ahead to introduce several significant political reforms (Ugur and Canefe, 2004, pp.16). These key changes have widely been considered as part of the Turkey's Europeanization process. For instance,

immediately the process of negotiation to accession to EU begun, Turkey had to make some significant legal reforms.

In October 2001, under the given coalition government which was headed by Bulent Ecevit, the Turkish Grand National Assembly approved over 34 constitutional amendments, which mostly focused on the area of human rights (Ertugal and Dobre, 2011, pp.46). Later, in 2003, there was significant modification in the laws touching on the penal code as well as Anti-terrorism; that were previously being adopted and used by the former Turkish governments to restrict human, cultural as well as political rights. These reforms, that begun immediately Turkey had initiated negotiations with the EU to ascend to the EU, has been said to be as a result of the powerful tools that are applied by the EU, in what is termed as Europeanization, in an attempt to shape the institutions as well as political structures to non-members before they are allowed to join the European Union (Ertugal and Dobre, 2011, pp.33). So, the political reforms, reforms on human rights as well as cultural rights in Turkey; has been progressively taking place in Turkey since 2001, due to the conditionality approach of the country leadership by the EU. In fact, when the negotiations between Turkey and EU begun; the EU found a rare prospect to enforce its outset of progress and transformation through compliance which has been legitimated around a common identity based on the liberal norms of capitalist democracy.

Europeanization does not only deal on the process of change and development, but also dwells on the context, whereby the European actors renegotiate European norms, policies as well as institutions. This is what has been happening in Turkey all through since it started the negotiation process with the EU. According to the Europeanization, one of the essential norms that the union hold dear is the rights and freedoms of all extended parties

including the media and civil societies (Grigoriadis, 2008, pp.28). So, with the negotiation process, Turkey was required to carry a complete change in its policies to change the way it used to handle as well as treat media. The key aim as to why the EU requested for this amendment was to enhance the media freedom in Turkey so as to match the required EU standards (Loewendahl and Ertugal, 2005, pp.70). With this directive, Turkey went ahead and initiated very critical amendments, which came to be popularly known as the seven harmonization packages that were passed between 2001 and 2003. With the directive to enhance media freedom from the EU; Turkey went ahead and made a complete amendment on the broadcasting policies, a process that saw a complete lifting of the ban on the broadcasting and education languages other than Turkish.

Another key reform process that widely coincided with the initiation of Turkey's EU accession process was the massive amendment of laws touching on political parties, enhanced freedom as judicial reforms (Nas, 2012, pp.18). According to EU policies, any member country, that wish to have any hope of acquiring membership to the EU, has to comply with the most common procedures that are well documented and accepted across the EU establishment (Loewendahl and Ertugal,2005, pp.73). For instance, the EU recognizes the importance of enhanced democracy; where citizens are guarded against any unwarranted torture from the present government, as well as cultural flexibility, where people are allowed to embrace different cultures, as long as they are within the law. Initially, before Turkey began its negotiation process, some of these issues were openly being ignored by the government of the day.

However, as the negotiations progressed, the EU representatives pressured the government to make more changes in regard to enhanced freedom, democracy as well as

cultural liberty; so as to match with the EU set standards and norms (Noutcheva and Aydin-Düzgit ,2012, pp.61). While Turkey was actively adjusting its political system to the EU standards back in 2004, ten of the key EU members concluded their accession negotiation in 2002. In its Copenhagen summit, the European Commission's Progress Report of 6th October 2004, to the European Council recommended the opening of Turkey accession negotiations, citing the progressive political as well as legal reforms in the country (Nas, 2012, pp.20). However, the Commission was swift to note that the negotiations could be abruptly suspended in case of any halt in political reforms. With such statement from the council, Turkey put more effort in adoption of various key democratization packages in an attempt to meet the political aspects of the Copenhagen criteria; based on the hope the EU will start accession negotiations with Turkey. This caused the Turkish government to carry what was then called as the fourth and fifth package amendments; where the country went ahead and amended the law on political parties, to enhance creation of more political parties, so as to give room for competitive politics, it also amended laws; which saw passing of new legislation that advocated for increased penalties for torture crimes, as well as also went ahead to expand the freedom of association and also allowed for retrials of cases contrary to ECHR judgments (Sümer and Burcu,2007, pp.59). These two packages, to a large extent enhanced the civilianization of what was previously military-dominated National Security Council. The amendment also extended cultural, religious as well as linguistic rights as per the standards set by the EU.

Later, Turkey went ahead and carried further constitutional amendments; where it was reported that it amended ten articles in May 2004. These further amendments enshrined the abolition of capital punishments, reinforced gender equality as well as brought to an

end the infamous state security courts (Ertugal and Dobre, 2011, pp.56). These key reforms that occurred since 2001 strongly relate to Europeanization theory. The reforms that were evidenced in Turkey since 2001 directly coincided with the initiation of the Turkey-EU accession process (Ugur and Canefe, 2004, pp.23). In Turkey, the steps towards the democratic reforms and changes began earlier before December 1999 Helsinki European Council, which allowed Turkey-EU candidacy. However, analyst have found out that until 2001, when the negotiations begun, reforms in Turkey has greatly been insincere and unprepared. The reforms, before the negotiation for EU candidacy, commenced, did not to any extent represent fully-fledged as well as committed programs of democratic transformation (Noutcheva and Aydin-Düzgit, 2012, pp.63). So, given the link between the political reforms and relations with EU, the process of change in Turkey has mostly been linked with Europeanization of Turkey; which is a directly enacted process of Europeanization theory.

Europeanization concept that involves adoption of European norms, practices as well as institutions by a country that intended to achieve endorsement to acquire EU candidacy is apparent in Turkey's case. Since 2001 to 2014, Turkey has adopted various constitutional reforms that were all triggered by the aim of meeting the EU directives (Sümer and Burcu, 2007, pp.67). For instance, one critical evidence that clearly manifests the Europeanization of Turkey journey to EU accession is the constitutional reforms that took place from May 2004 onwards, where the country initiated a new phase of reforms, aimed at ensuring it meets the Copenhagen Criteria. With the stipulations of Copenhagen criteria, Turkey went ahead and made several key changes that touched on abolishment of the state security courts, thus giving constitutional protection to the freedom of the press, and most importantly, giving priority to the international treaties that were ratified

by the Turkish Parliament over the Constitution Court, Article 90 of Turkey's constitution (Balkir, 2010, pp.75). This last phase adjustment and reforms were very crucial in Turkey's adaptation to EU norms, in terms of the priority of supranational over national authority.

From the above reforms, that begun in 2001, when the negations of Turkey accession to EU , it is evident that Turkey's journey to democracy as well as rule of law was significantly triggered by Europeanization theory, where the representatives from EU put on more pressure to Turkey leaders during the process of negotiations. To a large extent, before ratifying the Turkey candidacy to EU, European key members have substantially advocated as well as directed for more reforms on all corners, including political, cultural, economic as well as judicial institutions. All these institutions have been forced to embrace the EU norms, policies as well as laws. This, clearly validate the statement that the evident reforms in Turkey today, are as a result of Europeanization; which was enforced during the Turkey negotiation process to EU accession.

CHAPTER III:

3- TURKEY'S MEMBERSHIP NEGOTIATION PROCESS WITH THE EU (2000-2005 AND 2005-2015)

Scholars started to use Europeanization as a concept at the beginning of 1990s. However the literature mostly assessed member countries' progress and the interaction between the EU and its member countries. As Grabbe stated, Europeanization is not a theory about enlargement. It examines the impacts of the enlargement process of the EU (Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, pp. 310-311). This approach was extended to candidate countries with the CEE's (Central and Eastern Europe) membership process. The applicants' process and progress was included in the scope of Europeanization studies. The top-down effect in particular took an important place in these studies. The influence of the EU during the candidacy process and interaction between the EU and candidates was explained using this view (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2007, pp.88-101). Turkey, as an applicant country, was not greatly affected by the EU until the announcement of its candidacy. Turkey's application for membership was held to be an economic integration process until the late 1990s. Hence integration was studied by the field of integration theories and was limited to the field of law and economics because of the customs union and the ambiguity of the membership process. Therefore, there were limited studies for Turkey-EU relations for this period (1959-1997) in terms of Europeanization. However, a clearer candidacy route map, such as the Maastricht and Copenhagen criteria and specified negotiation chapters, along with new studies, contributed to evaluating the Europeanization effect in Turkey's candidacy period (Tekin and Güney, 2015, pp.69).

Turkey's candidacy process for the EU started with the declaration of Helsinki Summit in 1999. However Turkey's application for membership to the EU dates back to 1959.

The EEC (the European Economic Community as the EU was named at the time) and Turkey's relations were based on economic relations and relations were unstable during the period between 1959 and 1995. In the early years of the period a plan for the stages of EEC membership was accepted and signed between the parties. The plan revealed the three stages of membership process for Turkey and organised the responsibilities for both sides. Three stages were announced with the Ankara Treaty, which was signed in 1963 and entered into force 1964. The stages of the membership process plan included preparatory stage, transitional stage and final stage. This was the guide for Turkey's membership process. The preparatory stage came to an end in 1972. Next, the transitional stage started with an Additional Protocol, which was mostly about the legislation regulating the custom tariffs and free movement of national persons between the EEC and Turkey. This stage was limited to 22 years (Ministry of EU of Turkey). Turkey's approach to this process was shaped by views of westernisation and also economic benefits. Due to the conditions, the effects of the EEC on Turkey were limited in this period. In fact, relations between two sides were frozen 2 times owing to the Eurosceptic approach of the Turkish government (1978) and military coup in Turkey (1980) (Baç, 2005, pp.18-19).

On the other hand there have been huge changes in the institutional and legislative structure in EU. First of all the enlargement process ran for the period between 1957 and 1995 and the Community became a Union with 15 member countries by 1995. The Single European Act (SEA) was signed and announced in 1986, and a Schengen regulation over borders of member countries was signed in 1985. The most significant change occurred with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The institutional structures and the name of the Community were changed to the European Union. New criteria and rules were brought in by the Maastricht and Copenhagen Summit for the existing and potential candidate

countries (Bache, 2014, 154-157). It can be seen that Community became more centralised in terms policy and regulations with this progression. Regulations of Union became more important and started to have more impact on member countries and candidate countries. From the Europeanization approach, the top-down effect of EU was particularly limited during this period for Turkey. The progress in custom regulations and development aids were the most significant fields of relations between the two parties. Uncertainty of the candidacy period and negotiations of the candidacy process became clearer with the Maastricht and Copenhagen Summits (Tocci, 2005, pp.74-75).

Secondary sources are the most significant sources to evaluate the impact of Europeanization in Turkey's candidacy period especially the top-down tenets of the Europeanization. Documents of the European Union (such as progress reports, Turkey's National Programmes of adaptation of the acquis of the EU, screening process of Turkey's Alignment Programme for Alignment with Acquis, Council Decisions, Enlargement Strategy Papers), legislations of Turkey and peer reviewed articles are some of these sources. While evaluating the candidacy progress, "goodness of fit" will be considered as a measure of compliance level. Evaluating the misfit and fit of candidate country is important to ascertain the impact of Europeanization. Difference in the parties' acquis and practices may cause tension or reduce the tension in the progress and may illustrate the level of pressure for compliance (Risse, Cowles, Caporaso, 20001, pp.2-7). Developments and changes in Turkey in the first period (between 1999 and 2005) can be evaluated with the Europeanization mechanisms model. This gives provides a chance to evaluate the candidacy process in terms of the Europeanization approach. However Grabbe's 5 mechanisms contribute to measuring the degree of the influence of Europeanization in candidate countries. These 5 mechanisms are gate keeping, models,

money, benchmarking and monitoring, advice and twinning (Featherstone and Radaelli 2002, pp.7). This tenet will contribute to evaluate the candidacy period of Turkey in terms of the Europeanization approach. Turkey's candidacy period will be analysed in two different time periods. The first period will be between 1999 and 2005. This period starts with the announcement of Turkey's formal candidate country status in the Helsinki Summit. The reason for choosing the second period from 2005 is that this was the beginning of the membership negotiations between Turkey and the EU. Yazgan's table (Table 2), which she produced from Smith, (2000), Börzel (2003) and Miskimmon's (2007) reviews will help to evaluate the effect of Europeanization in the candidacy period. The table 2 shows the effect of Europeanization by means of top-down and bottom-up dimensions (Yazgan, 2012, pp.131). The figure shows the Europeanization in terms of effect indicators:

Table 2: Bottom-up and Top-down dimensions

effect indicators	effect on member/candidate countries (top-down dimension)	effect of member countries to EU (bottom-up dimension)
institutional adaptation	bureocratic reorganisation (clashes /cooperations , changes of power distribution among institutions	institutional effect
political harmonisation	view of decision makers about EU/elite socialization/changes in discourse	influencing the policies and making the agenda
	public support	
	changes in interests	
	changes in identity	
mechanisms	socialisation, conditionality, adaptation pressure	
enabling factors	Governments view of EU (coalition or single party government, willing of member of EU), reconciliation among national actors and political culture about europenisation	
	perception of parties about each other (negotiation and communication platforms , reliability)	

Source: Yazgan, Hatice (2012) Anadolu University Journal of Social Sciences, 2012, vol. 12, issue 4, page 131

3.1. Candidacy Process Between 1999 and 2005

Turkey and EU relations moved to another stage in 1999. Formal candidate country status was announced at the Helsinki Summit in December 1999. Thus the EU supplied a strong incentive for Turkey to engage reforms which were essential for the membership of the EU. Turkey's Europeanization process jumped to another phase with this development (Yılmaz, 2014, pp. 303). Before this, the EU prepared 2 progress reports about Turkey's condition of candidacy (MoEU, 2015)[1]. These reports gave a push for Turkey's Europeanization. An accession partnership document was prepared by the Commission for Turkey and it was adopted in 2000. Turkey prepared and submitted a programme, which was termed as National Programme, in March 2000. This programme determined

[1] Ministry of Euroepan Affairs of Turkey

a roadmap for the responsibilities and the objectives of Turkey in their candidacy process (Baç, 2005, pp.20-21). This term's main emphasis was the political criteria of the EU. Turkey's candidacy process was based on mostly legal changes and political reforms in this period. As seen in the Commission's report, some significant issues must be regulated in terms of domestic policy and administrative structure. According to the progress reports of 1998 and 1999, developments in individual's rights, the constitution, a functional market economy and legislative changes were the issues to improve in terms of candidacy process (MoEU, 2015). Hence the first two progress reports stressed the misfit between Copenhagen political criteria of the EU and Turkey (Tekin and Güney, 2006, pp.35). Announcement of candidacy status of Turkey in the Helsinki Summit had strong effect on the Europeanization of Turkey. Legislative harmonisation packages were enacted to move closer to the acquis of EU and the Copenhagen criteria. After acknowledging the candidacy of Turkey, the reforms were focused on legal areas and constitutional amendments. The aim was to strengthen human rights and democracy. Harmonization packages were the most important tools for this process. 9 harmonisation packages and a new penal code were enacted and entered into force in this period (Baç, 2005, pp.23). Due to the legal developments, it can be inferred that Europeanization was mostly felt in the legal framework of the country.

These amendments gave more space to citizens in terms of enjoying fundamental rights. For instance freedoms of association, freedom of expression and speech, minority rights, civil-military relations are some of significant rights. These harmonisation packages were widely prioritised for the membership aims of Turkey (Yılmaz, 2014, pp.305). In the first 3 years the coalition government enacted the legislations (1999-2002), after the general elections of 2002, government changed. A single party government took rule. Despite this

change, the new government continued the reforms in the period from 2002 to 2005. Europeanization continued in the new government's ruling term. There was strong support for the EU reforms and amendments (Yılmaz, 2015,pp.4). There were positive developments at the Europeanization of civil society too. As one of the important parts of Europeanization in Turkey, civil societies' activities were supported by the EU with some support programmes to strengthen them. Further, some prominent civil society associations became more effective and influential in the countries' positive transformation. TOBB (Union of the Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Maritime Trade and Stock Exchanges of Turkey), TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association), IKV (Economic Development Foundation), TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation) and TISK (Confederation of the Employers' Unions of Turkey) were the most powerful associations for pro-EU support. The Civil society and Development Programme provided the economic and technical assistance from EU (Yılmaz, 2014, pp.305-307). Having considered the approach of Grabbe (Grabbe, 2001, pp.1020-1024), according to the "gate-keeping mechanism", there were significant Europeanization effects in this period. Several norms and stages of the candidacy process, which were determined by the EU in Copenhagen and Maastricht, should be transferred by the candidate country. Human rights, economic development and democracy are the fundamental conditions of the membership. New legislations and reforms were enacted and new institutions were established in Turkey between 1999 and 2005. The fundamental legislative activities, which are termed "harmonization packages", several new laws and secondary regulations are shown in the table 3.

Table 3: Judicial reforms of Turkey

Date	Type	Major Changes
3 October 2001	1st Constitutional Package	34 Amendments to the 1982 Constitution.
November 2001	New Civil Code	Gender equality in marriage.
February/March 2002	2nd Constitutional Package	Constitutional amendments.
2 August 2002	3rd Constitutional Package	Abolish death penalty/revised anti-terror law, allowed broadcasting in languages other than Turkish.
3 December 2002	4th Constitutional Package	Operationalize previous reforms/revise Penal Code for torture.
4 December 2002	5th Constitutional Package	Retrial of all cases decided in State Security courts.
May 2003	6th Constitutional Package	Adopt Protocol 6 of the ECHR, convert all death sentences to life imprisonment/repeal Article 8 of Anti-Terror Law.
July 2003	7th Constitutional Package	Revise the National Security Council.
7 May 2004	8th Constitutional Package	Ten amendments of the Constitution, freedom of press, and gave priority to supranational treaties over domestic law, abolish State Security courts.
24 June 2004	9th Constitutional Package	Change Article 46 of the Penal code, revise the Higher Education Board and the Censure Board.
25–26 September 2004	New Turkish Penal Code	Revise laws on violence against women and children/change the penalties for various offences and redefine offences.

Source: Müftüler Baç, M. (2005) "Turkey's Political Reforms and the Impact of the European Union, South European Society and Politics", pp.23

Harmonisation packages and other legislative activities influenced the Europeanization process by strengthening the democracy and rule of law in Turkey. Particularly, changes in the justice structure and the civil-military relations had fundamental importance by means of the Europeanization effect. Creating compatible legislations between Turkish laws and EU acquis sped up the Europeanization effect. Excluding military members from some of the state institutions for instance the High Education Board, Radio and Television Supreme Council and diminishing the power of the National Security Council in politics were some of the important examples. On the other hand abolishing the state security courts from the judiciary system, renewal of trial, permitting privatization, arbitration of contracts of public services prerogative, annulment of death penalties, pre-trial periods, annulment of prohibition of languages by law, precedence of international agreements, precedence of international agreements on domestic laws (including the constitution), hardening the prohibition of political parties, changes in anti-terror laws (Tekin and Güney, 2015, pp.36-39), broadening the freedom of information and expression via the

harmonisation packages and new Turkish Penalty Code were further significant changes (Baç, 2005, pp.24-29). These changes indicate that the impact of Europeanization was seen mostly in the judicial life in Turkey. Legislation efforts of Turkey between1999 and 2005 show the high level of misfit of Turkey and European understanding and rules. Nevertheless mediating factors diminished the burden of pressure of misfit. Strong support of powerful associations like TUSIAD and IKV and high levels of public support for EU membership (about 70 %) were examples of the mediating impacts for this diminish (Börzel and Soyaltın, 2012, pp.13-14). The Helsinki and Post-Helsinki process governments of Turkey (between 1997 and 2005) considered the transformation of Turkey's legal and institutional structure. It didn't have an importance whether the governments were coalition or single party. This made the Europeanization effect salient on the country's transformation and there was quite successful Europeanization in the legal transformation.

"Aid and technical assistance (money)" is the second mechanism of Grabbe's to analyse the effect of Europeanization in the candidacy period (Featherstone, K. and Radaelli, 2003, pp.312). Aid and technical assistance is important for the candidate country to improve the downloading of EU models. They support and accelerate the Europeanization of the country. The aim of the aid and the assistance is to contribute to the improvement of the institutional capacity of the candidate country (Featherstone, K. and Radaelli, 2003, pp.314). Turkey obtained significant benefit from the aid programmes of the EU. For instance, MIPD (Multi-annual Indicative Planning Document provided € 150 million for 2000-2002), MEDA (Euro-Mediterranean partnership programme provided €127 million per year (CFCU website, 2015)), and TAIEX (Technical Assistance and Information Exchange instrument) were the most important financial aids for Turkey. Some of the

institutions, which were set up between 1999 and 2005, for using and monitoring the aids and technical assistance were the National Fiscal Aid Coordinator, Committee of Fiscal Coordination, Joint Monitoring Committee, Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU) (MoEU, 2015). Europeanization had significant effects in this term. Expert missions, study visits, workshop projects' (EU Taiex website, 2015) and finance were the main fields of effect. The table 4 shows the number and the budget of financial aid and technical assistance from the EU. It can be seen that the aid budget rose sharply. Therefore aid and technical assistance were used as encouraging incentives by the two parties in the candidacy process.

Table 4: Financial aids of EU to Turkey

Year	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**TOTAL**
Budget (million Euro)	126	144	250	300	500	1.320
Number of Project	18	28	38	35	45	164

Source: Minsitry for EU Affairs (MoEU) website: http://www.ab.gov.tr/index.php?p=5&l=1

Grabbe's "advice and twinning" mechanisms are about the use of aid programmes of EU and enhancing and adapting the candidate countries' administrative and democratic institutions in line with the EU. Turkey had 54 twinning projects between 2002 and 2005. 15 of the projects were concerned with justice and home affairs. This shows the most important Europeanization effect was in the field of justice and home affairs (MoEU, 2015). There was misfit between EU and Turkey in this field. Turkey had gaps with its

domestic regulations and the acquis and secondary regulation of EU. The number of projects doubled in three years as seen in the table 4.

The "benchmarking and monitoring" mechanism is a key mechanism to evaluate the progress of a candidate country. "Accession partnerships" and "regular reports" are the main sources of evaluation (Grabbe, 2001, pp.1022-1023). In particular, benchmarking is used as a significant driver for Europeanization (Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, pp.315). There were 2 progress reports (1 of them was prior to the official candidacy progress report, published in 1998) and 5 regular reports in the first period of official candidacy of Turkey. According to the first three reports, democracy, rule of law and human rights were problematic fields. Economic issues of Turkey were evaluated as sufficient but in need of development. Adoption of acquis was another criticism of the EU. With regards to the first two progress reports it can be said that the customs union and liberal market economy were two fields most affected by Europeanization between 1998 and 2001. However according to the regular reports of the EU Commission (EU enlargement website, 2015, the regular reports of the years 2002, 2003, 2004) new reforms and legislation in the field of justice and institutions (Baç, 2005, pp.23) made Turkey's legal and institutional capacity more in line with the EU's and its acquis.

The last mechanism of the Europeanization effect is the "models" from Grabbe's approach. Harmonisation of legislative issues, improvement of institutions and setting up new institutions in line with EU relations is the main function of this mechanism. Progress reports and regular reports are the main indicators of the level of Europeanization in transition of domestic legislation. They indicate the harmony between domestic legislations of the candidate country and acquis of the EU. There have been significant

changes in the domestic legislation and constitution of Turkey in the period between 1999 and 2005. 9 constitutional changes and the adoption of a new Civil Code and Penal Code shows the efforts Turkey has made towards harmonisation. Setting up the European Union Secretariat General of Turkey (ABGS), Internal Coordination and Harmonization Committee (IKUK) (Tekin and Güney, 2015, pp.55-57), excluding military members of Civilianisation of Higher Education Board (YOK) and Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTUK) and diminishing the influence of National Security Council (MGK) were some of the significant changes (Tocci, 2005, pp.74). The Turkish parliament enacted 261 different legislative laws between 2002 and 2004 (Baç, 2005, pp.28). Regular reports and progress reports became the main pressure for adaptation. Turkey, as a candidate country, made those legislative and institutional changes to speed up the transition of the structure of the state to harmonize it with the EU acquis. It must be highlighted that Europeanization in this period was mostly influenced on the democratisation process of Turkey. The focus was on broadening the democracy, human rights and political rights. EU pressure was effective in these fields.

3.2. Candidacy Process Between 2005 and 2015

Unlike the first period of EU-Turkey candidacy the effect of the Europeanization slowed down in the second term between 2005 and 2015 (Kaliber, 2014, pp40). Despite the start of the negotiation for membership of the EU at the Luxembourg Summit in October 2005, Europeanization in Turkey entered a different phase. Some of the causes were Cyprus' membership and recognition problems between Turkey, Greece and Cyprus; the EU's pressure about minority rights; the EU's pressure in terms of normalising relations with Armenia, increase of negative public opinion about the EU and Euro-scepticism among

the public and political parties; the long application process (since 1959); 13 new EU members, and putting into words of EU about privileged partnership choice for Turkey. Those causes affected the negotiations of the accession negotiation chapters. As Yılmaz said, it can be highlighted that this was a "selective Europeanization period" (Yılmaz, 2015, pp.5). In this sense the Europeanization effect will be evaluated narrower than in the first section concerning the period between 1999 and 2005. The reason for this is that the selective characteristics of the second period do not allow a comprehensive evaluation according to Grabbe's tenets.

In this period mechanisms of "aid and technical assistance (money)" continued contributing to the Europeanization process. Those contributions continued to be utilised for enhancing the institutional capacity of Turkey for membership. The Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) and Programme of Rural Development (IPARD) were the leading aids for Turkey. The table 5 indicates the level of aid between 2007 and 2013. It demonstrates the effective use of monetary funds by means of development of institutional capacity. Particularly, regional development and rural development aids were increasing sharply. This can be evaluated as a sign of significant Europeanization in those fields. Those fields are one of the most important policies in the EU.

Table 5: IPA Funds

COMPONENT	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	TOTAL
Transition Assistance and Institution Building	256,7	256,1	239,6	217,8	231,3	227,5	238,5	1.667,50
Cross-border Cooperation	2,1	2,9	3	3,1	5,1	2,2	2,2	20,6
Regional Development	167,5	173,8	182,7	238,1	293,4	356,1	366,9	1.778,40
Human Resources Development	50,2	52,9	55,6	63,4	77,6	83,2	91,2	474,1
Rural Development	20,7	53	85,5	131,3	172,5	187,4	204,2	854,6
TOTAL	**497,2**	**538,7**	**566,4**	**653,7**	**779,9**	**856,3**	**903**	**4.795,20**

Source: Ministry of EU of Turkey website; *million Euros, http://www.ab.gov.tr/index.php?p=5&l=2

Advice and twinning was a field of effective Europeanization during the first period between 1999 and 2005. However Turkey's twinning projects' contributions were weakened in the second term. Despite 54 twinning projects in the first period (in 3 years), there were 53 twinning projects of Turkey in the second period (in 13 years). Particularly it is significant that about 1/3 of the projects were concerned with justice and human rights. 74% of the projects were concerned with enhancing the capacity of justice, finance, agriculture and environment fields of country (MoEU, 2015).

The "Benchmarking and monitoring mechanism" was also a key mechanism in the second period. According to 2 accession partnership documents, which were published in 2006 and 2008, after 2005 there was a slowing down of the Europeanization effect. Despite the progress in the fields of democracy and rule of law, minorities, civil rights, political rights, regional issues (particularly related with Cyprus and Armenia issues) and privatization

were counted as problematic issues (EU Enlargement website, 2015). The fields of fundamental rights, freedom of express and information, Cyprus, minority rights, rising Euro-scepticism, the debate concerning privileged membership and political rights meant escalation of tension between the EU and Turkey (Yılmaz, 2015, pp.5-10).

Regarding to the "models mechanism", the democratization process of Turkey was weakened. Harmonisation of the acquis was slowed down and significant legislative reforms were not aimed at harmonization. They were mostly for domestic political goals (Yılmaz, 2015, pp.8). Reforms (including legislations of rule of law), military issues (inspection methods and military justice), human rights and minority rights, regional policies and freedom of association, were enacted in the second period. The figure 1 shows the constitutional and legal amendments (Noutcheva and Düzgit, 2012, pp.67).

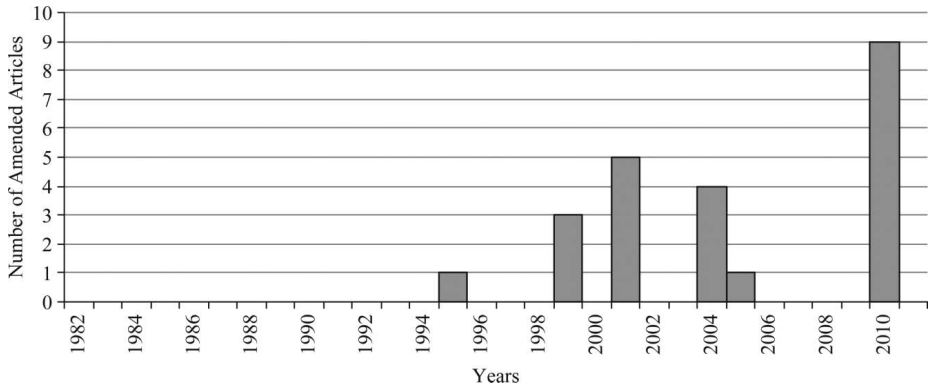


Figure 1: The constitutional and judicial reforms (Source: Noutcheva and Düzgit, 2012, pp.67)

During this term, selective Europeanization was in progress. Europeanization effectively remained limited in this period. This can be seen in the assessment of the negotiation chapters. The situation of the negotiations is as follows: 8 negotiation chapters remained unopened only because of the problem with Cyprus (IKV website, 2015), 11 chapters are to be opened and 14 chapters are opened (in progress). This can be seen as a limited

Europeanization effect in this period. The figure 1 shows the level of Europeanization by means of judicial reforms and amendments in constitution (Noutcheva and Düzgit, 2012, pp.67). Reshaping the General Secretariat of the EU to the Ministry of the European Union and affiliation of National Agency to the Ministry of EU were the most important institutional transformations in this term (MoEU, 2015). Despite progress in the negotiations, escalation of tension in the models mechanism mostly emerged in the issues of minority rights, freedom of association and neighbourhood policy.

3.3. Findings (1999-2015)

In the first period of candidacy, there were remarkable changes in Turkey towards Europeanization as a candidate country. Europeanization effect was seen mostly in the judicial field by reforms. The harmonisation packages and adoption of a number of laws indicated Turkey's direction towards Europeanization (Baç, 2005, pp.28). Developments in fundamental rights, civil-military relations, and minority issues were the fields those influenced by the transformation. Despite the change of governments Europeanization effect remained at a high level during this period. High level of benefit of aids and technical assistance, a lot of twinning and reciprocal staff changing projects, progress reports and progress reports as a display of transformation, adopting acquis and transformation of institutional structure present the high level of Europeanization effect. It can be depicted that European Union was the leverage of Europeanization in this process. Furthermore the progress reports, scanning process, regular reports and accession partnership documents made the influence more systematised. It can be claimed that ruling elite, high level of public support and efforts of powerful associations and NGO's made the transformation easier. It was seen that misfit in the fields of justice,

institutional organisations, civil-military relations, fundamental rights and political rights diminished between EU and Turkey. Europeanization in this period mostly influenced the democratic issues in the country. Also the main focus of points of pressure was the democratic concerns of the country. It must be highlighted that there was limited influence of Europeanization on economic issues. This was because of customs union process, which started in 1963 and entered into force in 1995. The tensions, which emerged and increased in last two years of this period, caused some changes with the effect of Europeanization. The issues of recognition of Cyprus, minority rights, broadcasting and press laws and long years of position as candidate country emerged as fields of tension. Those were also the fields of pressure by EU. The trigger for the diminishing support of Turkish citizens for EU and the rise of eurosceptic thought was possibly caused by those tensions. This pressure fields and increased tension explains why the public eye has lost its enthusiasm for the Europeanization changes in Turkey.

Europeanization effect in the second term of the candidacy period entered into a different phase. Unlike the first period, in the second period, the effect was limited. New 13 member countries, recognition of Cyprus problem, pressure about minority rights, pressure of neighbourhood relations with Armenia, rapid decline of public support for EU, privileged partnership proposals for Turkey from some of member countries, rising euro-scepticism were possible impacts for negotiations between EU and Turkey. Those causes indicate the possible negative influence in Europeanization of Turkey. The figure 2 below indicates the support of Turkish citizens to the EU.

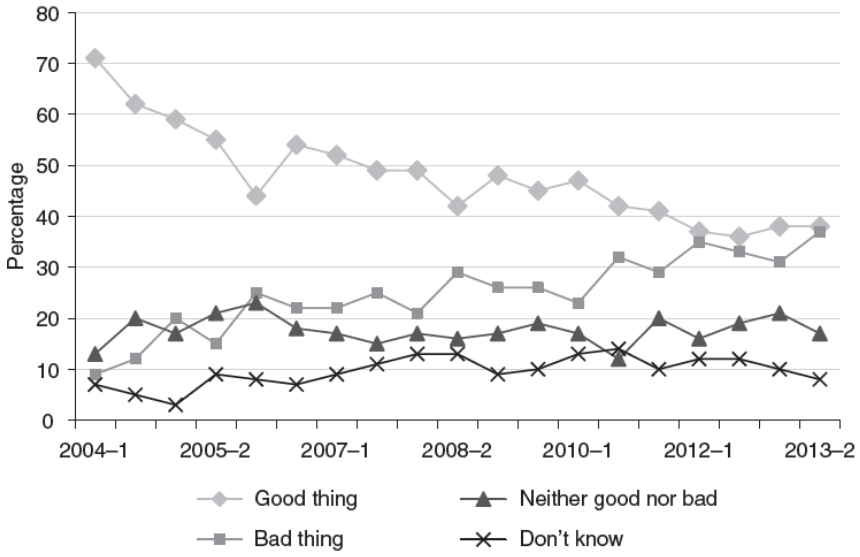


Figure 2: Public support for EU accession (Source: Tekin and Güney, 2015, pp 246)

Selective Europeanization period, entitled by Yılmaz, can be considered as a well-chosen title for this period (Yılmaz, 2015, pp.5). 8 negotiation chapters were blocked only by Cyprus Issue. Hence, this caused a slowdown of Europeanization effect in Turkey. In this period; minority rights, freedom of association and civil-military relations were the fields that were influenced by Europeanization most. Increasing amount of the aid and technical assistance, high level support of the associations and the NGO's intuitional reorganisations (like Ministry of EU) contributed to the process of Europeanization. However it can be stressed that, the significant constitutional changes which were adopted in this period cannot be deemed as Europeanization effect. Domestic legal reforms were mostly aimed at domestic political goals (Yılmaz, 2015, pp.12-13). The slowdown of the effect of Europeanization in judiciary field is clearly seen in the figure 3 below.

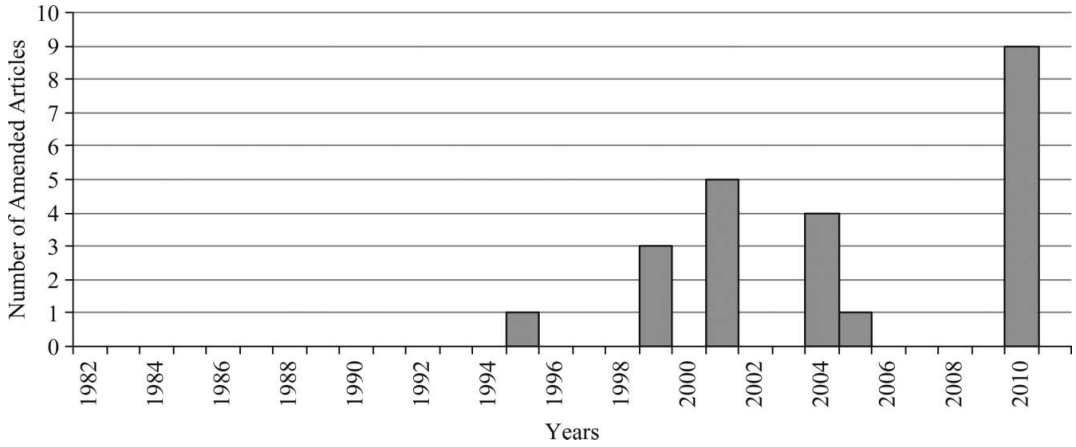


Figure 3: Constitutional and judicial reforms of Turkey (Source: Noutcheva and Düzgit, 2012, pp.67)

When comparing the second period of candidacy with the first period of candidacy, it can be easily observed that escalation of tension slowed the effect of Europeanization sharply during the second period. Hence, it can be claimed that selective Europeanization has been in progress of candidacy process of Turkey.

CHAPTER IV:

4- CASE STUDY: EFFECTS OF EUROPEANIZATION IN TURKEY'S NEGOTIATION PROCESS OF EU IN INFORMATION SOCIETY AND MEDIA SECTORS

Information society and media is one of the most important fields in the negotiation process of Turkey. It is the 10th Chapter of membership negotiations. This field has been chosen for its composition. Both of the sectors are involved in technical and legislative characteristics. Furthermore, enjoying fundamental rights, like freedom of expression and information, is another cause for selecting this field for study. In this chapter, information society and media sectors will be evaluated in terms of Europeanization effects during the post-Helsinki period (1999-2005) and the negotiation period (2005-2015). These fields will be mostly evaluated with the effect on institutions and legal changes.

Information society and media are important sectors for the EU. The EU's policy for those sectors has been always market-oriented, liberal and competitive. Enjoying fundamental rights is another aim of the EU. Acquis were enacted within the aims of achieving these policies (Graziano and Vink, 2007, pp.272-274). Several pieces of legislation were created as general rules for the EU member countries (EU Commission, 2015). According to the progress reports of first candidacy period, which was between 1999 and 2005, there were huge misfits between the acquis and the legal framework of Turkey concerning the information society and media sectors (EU Enlargement, 2015). The misfits of Turkey within media were related to freedom of expression in terms of human rights, institutional problems, European works, inconvenience of broadcasting law to EU acquis, broadcasting licence, media concentration and ownership problems (Sümer, 2007, pp.3).

These gaps were also stressed also in the National Programmes of 2001 and 2003 (MoEU, 2015). However, from the ongoing negotiations and progress reports it is easy to say that misfits in media mainly continued in the first period. Turkey responded with some new regulations relating to these gaps. The new regulations in the media sector were concerned with broadcasting in languages other than Turkish, selection method of members of broadcasting regulatory body. Despite the new regulations the misfit could not be closed. Europeanization remained limited in the media sector. Despite the change of the laws the public TV station did not start broadcasting in languages other than Turkish for 2 years. The representative member of National Security Council in the regulatory body was excluded and the authority to select all of the members of the broadcasting regulatory board was assigned to the parliament (Tocci, 2005, pp.74).

Europeanization affected information society sector by means of institutions. The acquis were transposed to the domestic legislations and a regulatory body was established for this sector. Legislation was enacted to attempt to comply with the EU's acquis. These legislations were "Framework Directives" of EU for authorisation, access, universal services, privacy and frame directives in the telecommunication sector were adopted in 2002. The liberal and competitive telecommunications sector, secondary regulations, customer rights, and postal services were the areas of misfits for the information society sector. It can be highlighted that Europeanization in this sector remained limited, similar to the media sector. This was clearly seen in the progress reports of the EU. In particular, broadcasting in languages other than Turkish, the privatisation of Turk Telecom and liberalisation of the telecommunications sector emerged as great tensions. The cost of compliance (Tocci, 2005, pp.74) and domestic politics were also causes of tensions. Public opinion about minority rights and privatisation and the opposition parties' manners

emerged as a new tension between the EU and Turkey (Cumhuriyet, 2014). It can be inferred that, the tensions and the drawbacks of politicians caused the limited Europeanization during this period. Despite the commitments of Turkey, which took place in the National Programmes of 2001 and 2003, and insufficient efforts for transposing the acquis and implementations illustrate this situation. A high level of compliance was exercised in this period in terms of institutional harmonisation but there was a limited level of compliance in terms of transposing the acquis and implementation.

The selective Europeanization process, which was mentioned in chapter III, slowed down the effect of Europeanization in the second term. The information society and media sector was one of the fields in second period that experienced progress in terms of Europeanization. In the second period, between 2005 and 2015, some of the misfits were abolished with certain legislation and institutional changes. For the media division there was a significant Europeanization effect in the media sector and regulations in the media sector. Radio and television broadcasts in languages and dialects other than Turkish started with the public broadcaster. However it had some limitations in terms of hours and days. The public broadcaster started in 2004 with these limitations on the broadcasts (Sümer, 2007, pp.156). All the limitations were revoked by the Radio and Television Supreme Council, which is the regulatory body of broadcasting, with a secondary regulation in 2009 (Tekin and Güney, 2015, pp.183). With this regulation, one of the misfits between the EU and Turkey was revoked and freedom of expression was broadened in the media. However, the most significant Europeanization effect in the legal basis of the media sector was the new broadcasting law of 2011 (Yılmaz, 2015, pp.9). This act transposed the EU's acquis of media legislations through the domestic legislation of Turkey. Therefore misfits and tensions were substantially revoked. As seen in the

progress reports of Turkey the media sector's legislations were very close to the EU (EU progress reports, 2011-2014). Despite some tensions, the Europeanization effect was highly seen in the media sector.

According to the progress reports of Turkey, which were published by the EU between 2005 and 2015, there was progress in the information society sector. The Europeanization effect was seen in the legal, institutional and structural fields. New secondary regulations were adopted and implemented in line with the EU acquis, which were mainly relevant to the Framework Directives of the EU (MoEU, 2015). Telecommunication and Communication Institutions were established to supervise the Internet environment in 2006. In the liberalisation and privatisation of the telecommunication sector there was progress. Despite complying with the legal regulations, implementations of regulators remain limited in terms of freedom of information and expression. Competition in the telecommunication and information sector could not be formed and particularly, certain restrictions in the freedom of access and freedom of expression and information in the Internet environment resulted in tension between the EU and Turkey. It can clearly be said that pressure from EU on these issues created criticism and tension between the membership negotiating parties. The Europeanization effect remained limited in the information society sector. It is clearly seen that changes in the regulations of the sector Europeanised but the implementations and the sector structure are not affected enough.

CHAPTER V:

5- CONCLUSION

The term Europeanization dates back to the early 1990s. However it was concerned with member countries of the EU. Then the scope of the term was broadened from member states to member and candidate states with the CEE candidate countries. Interaction between the EU and the member and candidate countries was evaluated with the Europeanization effect. Horizontal, top-down and bottom-up approaches were the approaches to explain the effect of Europeanization. Evaluation of the candidate countries was mostly based on the top-down approach. This evaluation was because the candidate countries were out of the decision making process of the EU and had weakness in terms of legal structures and overall development. The top-down effect of EU had much pressure power over the candidate countries. In this study, as a candidate country from 1999, the candidacy process of Turkey was evaluated in terms of Europeanization theory. Qualitative research methods were used to ascertain the outcomes of Europeanization.

During the research it was realised that the Europeanization effect was different in the two periods of candidacy of Turkey. While this effect was mostly present in the field of judicial regulations during the first period, in the second period its effect remained limited. In the first period, the motivations for the legal reforms were seen as launching the membership negotiations and eliminating the judicial, political and institutional misfits between the Turkey and EU. The aim of Turkey was to meet the Copenhagen criteria. Due to those conditions, the European effect was high in the judicial field. Freedoms of association, freedom of expression and speech, minority rights, and civil-military relations were the basic pressure fields of the EU. Remarkable Europeanization was observed in the first period of candidacy of Turkey. However, pressure from the EU was the cause of tensions between Turkey and the EU. Pressure on neighbourhood policy, the long application process, minority rights, the issue of Cyprus and privileged

partnership arguments escalated the Euro-scepticism among the public, and political parties became possible drivers of the tensions. It can be highlighted that effect of Europeanization was strongly felt in all fields in the first period, particularly in the field of enhancing democracy and transposing the acquis. However, nationalist scepticism also emerged against EU, as a response to pressure, and the cost of compliance with the EU and these aspects changed the direction of Europeanization in the second term of candidacy.

Despite the high level in the first period, which was named the "golden period", Europeanization remained limited in the second period. Potential causes can be seen as the tensions of the first period, ambiguity of the membership negotiation process, the high level of pressure concerning the issue of Cyprus and neighbourhood policy, limited progress in the EU negotiation chapters and domestic political goals. Due to those developments, a new era of Europeanization emerged- the selective Europeanization period. In the second period, Turkey responded to most pressure from EU and tensions with selective Europeanization. Priority was given in some fields like minority rights, economic reforms, civil-military relations, constitutional changes by Turkish side. However constitutional changes can be clearly deemed as domestic goals. Despite the commitments of National Programmes of Turkey, weak progress in the negotiation chapters explains this slowdown.

In the information society and media fields there was high level of Europeanization in the first period of candidacy. Reorganisation of the regulatory body of broadcasting, and establishing an independent regulatory body (Information and Communications Institution) of the information and communication sectors was the effect of

Europeanization in institutional transformation field. Transposition of the acquis in the information and communication sector was important and increased the pace of Europeanization in the sector. The pressures of the EU on this sector were concerned with legislation, privatisation and the functioning liberal market. In the first period most of the legislation was transposed to domestic regulations and attempts were made to reduce the misfits by Turkey. On the media side the institutional structure was reorganised and some legislations adopted in line with the EU acquis. The legislations were mostly concerned with minority rights in the broadcasting sector. The tensions of the first period affected these sectors. Selective Europeanization influenced the information society and media policy in the second period. Particularly the establishment of the Telecommunication and Communication Institution was a fine example of Europeanization in institutional transformation. However the law concerning regulation of information sector can be accepted as de-Europeanization. Furthermore, close interpretation of the legal arrangements came in for criticism as misfit and tension.

Limited and selective Europeanization effect was seen in the media sector. The misfit in the legal base of Turkey was planned to be revoked with new broadcasting laws and secondary regulations. Pressure and tension on ownership, broadcasting in languages other than Turkish and other issues concerning the broadcasting sector were reduced with the legislation. However, limited progress in freedom of expression and information remained as a tension in this field.

The first period can be evaluated as having a high level of Europeanization. Despite the weakened Europeanization, in the second period's selective progress of Europeanization has been continuing. When comparing the two periods, strong Europeanization gave way

to selective and weak Europeanization. Response of Turkey against the tensions, pressure and domestic politic developments and goals emerged as possible causes for the weak Europeanization in the second term.

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