TURKEY'S INTEGRATION WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION – THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY VERSUS TURKISH SELF-CONFIDENCE

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Abstract. The sense of identity across the European Union (EU) has become an increasingly controversial and often discussed issue over the past decade. Nowadays, growing number of analysts argue that the progress of the European integration project will be impeded by the lack of such an identity.[1] Questions regarding the nature of European identity, especially the search for a new European identity, its relations with other identities, and a possible loss of national identities, are frequently asked in the context of the EU enlargement. These questions are discussed and different views exist in EU member states. Although initiated especially by opponents of EU integration, they are also becoming burning issues in the candidate countries. Often, public opinion in these countries fears that their national identities will be lost or, at least, substantially weakened with their full integration into the EU.[2] There are many debates on the notion of the unity of the European civilization. In this context, Turkish integration with the European Union is the most challenging issue. Its Muslim population could change the concept of European identity. In this paper, we would like to analyze the concept of European identity, the perspective of the integration of Turkey into the EU, and its ideological dimension. It is also important to analyze the phenomenon of the Euroskepticism in Turkey in this context.

Key words: European identity, Turkey, Euroskepticism

THE CONCEPT OF THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY

The degree to which a European identity can be said to exist or to be emerging is a problem of considerable importance, from both a policy-making perspective

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[1] A. Maurits van der Veen, I. S. Lustick, *The Emergence of a European Identity: an Agent – Based Modeling Approach*, Pennsylvania 2001, p. 1.

[2] M. Žagar, *Enlargement – in search for European identity*, <http://inv.academia.edu/MitjaZagar%C5%BDagar/Papers/587645/Enlargement_In_search_for_European_identity> (access: 12.09. 2011).

and an academic perspective. Policy-makers are interested in creating policies to promote a European identity. Analysts would like to be able to measure how strong this identity is across different demographic groups in order to help explain the successes or failures of particular initiatives associated with future European integration.[3]

European identity has been conceptualized in many ways. As a starting point for analysis, this divergence of definitions entails clashes between different schools that seek to explain the concept of European identity. The notions of collective identity and multiple collective identities is a base for every concept of European identity. In Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper's categorization of collective identity, European collective identity "falls under the group membership heading".[4] Juan Diez Medrano clarifies the notion of multiple collective identities as a "multitude of group identities that can exist in two structural positions to one another: horizontal (not exclusionary, coexisting) and vertical (mutually exclusive)".[5] Although some scientists claim that the relationship between European identity and national identities is horizontal, others provide evidence that it may be vertical.[6] Regardless of their precise structural correlation, scholars agree that the two collective identities influence one another.[7]

Some academics focus specifically on the formation of a European identity on a socio-political level.[8] Michael Bruter investigated attitudes towards the separate civic and cultural components of a European identity, finding that "European identity does not automatically translate into support for EU integration but is linked to mainly civic ideas about the EU".[9] "Specific concepts of the nation and collective identities, that emerged in each country, are associated with specific modes of integrating immigrants and integrating Europe as well as integrating the

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[3] A. Maurits van der Veen, I. S. Lustick, *The Emergence of a European Identity: an Agent – Based Modeling Approach…,* p. 3.

[4] R. Brubaker, F. Cooper, *Beyond 'Identity',* "Theory and Society" 2000, vol. 29, no. 1, p. 47.

[5] J. Diez Medrano, *Unpacking European Identity*, "CEVIPOF Working Papers" 2008, no. 7, p. 19, <http://www.cevipof.msh-paris.fr/rencontres/smnr/sociopo/20082009/20081204-DiezMedrano.pdf> (access: 12.09.2011).

[6] R. K. Herrmann, vol. Risse, M. B. Brewer, *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* Oxford, 2004; M. Deflem, F. C. Pampel, *The Myth of Postnational Identity: Popular Support for European Unification*, "Social Forces" 1996, no. 1, p. 43.

[7] See: K. Eder, W. Spohn, *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,* Hants, 2005; T. Risse, *A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities*, [in:] *Europeanization and Domestic Change: Transforming Europe*, ed. M. Green Cowles, J. Caporaso, vol. Risse, New York, 2001, pp. 198 – 216.

[8] M. Thiel, *European Identity and the Challenge of Enlargement*, "Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series" 2005, vol. 5, no. 31.

[9] M. Bruter, *Civic and Cultural Components of a European Identity: A Pilot Model of Measurement of Citizens' Levels of European Identity*, [in:] *Transnational identities,* ed. T. Risse, R. Herrmann, M. Brewer, New York, 2004, pp. 186–213.

country into Europe".[10] The identity of Europeans, which for the sake of a working definition should be regarded here as a cultural or political European collective identity, is obviously a very complex and abstract phenomenon.[11] It is important to find in this context common identity factors such as history, religion, politics and economics. The societies of EU member states are able to tolerate intra-European cultural diversity but still want to maintain their own national culture and values. "European integration is going to open up a new gap between the mobile elite of people moving toward a European identity and the less mobile people sticking to national solidarity".[12] There are many factors that may be conducive to the evolution of a sense of European identity: "some have existed for years, others are side effects of past EU policies, others still are only now emerging as a result of EU initiatives specifically directed at promoting a sense of Europeanness".[13]

Some researchers have argued that there is a common European history and culture that all Europeans share and whose particular contents and facts help provide a shared consciousness.[14] Historical and political processes in throughout European history, but especially in the past two centuries, resulted also in European identities. For example, the division of the Roman Empire defined the border that became the dividing line between western (Catholic and Protestant) and eastern (Orthodox) Christianity. The Ottoman conquests defined the Islamic cultural and religious circles in Europe. These religious divisions, the existence of great European empires, changes to their borders, the formation of new states, wars, social, economic and political developments, were all factors that contributed to the shaping and reshaping of European identities.

Improving our ability to communicate in a shared language (or languages) might also help overcome some of these problems. In this respect, David Laitin has suggested that "in the not-too-distant future everyone will learn a regional language, a national language (if different) and English".[15] In other words, the language can be argued to be shared both too broadly – many former British colonies speak English too – or not broadly enough: most Europeans speak it only as a second language.[16] Once we look beyond history, culture, and language, we enter the domain that is more likely to be affected by the European integration process, itself. The most important among these is the free movement of people across European borders, since the 1985 and 1990 Schengen accords. As more

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[10] M. Cowles, G., Caporaso, vol. Risse, *Transforming Europe. Europeanization and Domestic Change*, Ithaca, 2001, p. 3.

[11] M. Thiel, *European Identity and the Challenge of Enlargement…*

[12] R. Muench, *Nation and Citizenship in the Global Age*, New York, 2001, pp. 136–185; D. Dunkerley, *Changing Europe: Identities, Nations and Citizens*, New York, 2002, p. 1.

[13] A. Maurits van der Veen, I. S. Lustick, *The Emergence of a European Identity: an Agent – Based Modeling Approach…*, p. 3.

[14] *Ibidem*, p. 3.

[15] *Ibidem*, p. 4.

[16] *Ibidem*.

and more people interact on a day-to-day basis with their fellow Europeans from other member states, we might expect that a sense of a shared community will become stronger.[17]

We can say that many European identities exist; these are shaped by the existing diversities in Europe. However, these European identities share several common elements that allow for the formation of a kind of common European identity. Such European identity would have to be a complex, inclusive and plural one. In addition, European identities would also have to accommodate the many local, regional, ethnic, national, religious identities that exist in Europe. A common European identity can exist only simultaneously with local identities present in Europe. These multi-layered identities are not just simple sums of single identities, but rather represent new qualities with characteristics of their own (the synergy effect).

One of characteristics of identities is that they define borders that delimit a certain identity from others. These borders can be territorial, but they also can be social borders that define specific the social niches of certain entities. Borders might play different roles.[18] They not only divide different entities, but can also enable their links, communication, coexistence and cooperation. Ethno – cultural borders may or may not overlap with state borders: we can identify symbolic borders in most European states that more or less separate human communities on ethnic or cultural criteria.[19] Alongside the concept of border, nationalism, racism, intolerance or rejection of neighbors has long developed. It becomes more complicated, when we have a problem with increasing migration into the EU. Immigrants living within the European Union and preserving their own identity create a world that "refuses integration".[20] Globalization showed more explicitly the difference between the northern and southern hemispheres and there is now a problem of extensive influx of legal and illegal migrants from politically unstable, economically underdeveloped states to the rich and opulent West.[21] Nowadays, the European continent is an attractive place for migrants from the Far East, Central Asia and the Middle East. Migration movements aimed towards Europe have become a major source of concern within the EU. The growing uncontrollable migration and human trade imported many legal, social and civilization problems into EU states.[22] There is a sort of gap around each Islamic community as compared to the rest of the society. This gap often turns into an internal and external border at

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[17] *Ibidem*.

[18] F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries,* Oslo, 1969, p. 22.

[19] M. M. de Batos Tavares Ribeiro, *Europe of Cultural Unity and Diversity*, "Eurolimes" 2010, no. 9, p. 157; S. Laciner, M. Ozcan, I. Bal, *European Union with Turkey. The Possible Impact of Turkey's Membership on the European Union,* Ankara 2005, p. 160.

[20] M. M. de Batos Tavares Ribeiro, *Europe of Cultural Unity and Diversity…*, p. 157.

[21] S. Laciner, M. Ozcan, I. Bal, *European Union with Turkey. The Possible Impact of Turkey's Membership on the European Union…*, p. 131.

[22] *Ibidem*, p. 87.

the same time.[23] In such a situation we have more borders within the EU – which delimit different civilizations and religions. It is an untoward phenomenon in the process of seeking a common European identity. For years, EU institutions and member states have been engaged in a difficult struggle to solve those problems.

A geographical definition of Europe describes it as the territory between the Atlantic Coast of Portugal to the West and the Ural Mountains to the East and between the Scandinavian Peninsula to the North and the European Mediterranean coast to the South. However, the Southeastern border of Europe is not that obvious (Turkey and Ukraine). This geographical definition creates traditional divisions of the continent. There are Western Europe, Central Europe, Northern Europe (Scandinavia), Southern Europe (Mediterranean), Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Historical and political divisions make every definition of Europe even more complex and complicated.[24] Considering the geographical definition, Europeans are all those who live in this territory. But do they all feel European? We could assume that inhabitants of this territory share at least some elements of a common identity. This identity might be very weak, but people living in these states can say that they are Europeans. However, their ethnic and national identities usually override this common identity.[25]

THE CIVILIZATION DIMENSION
OF THE TURKISH INTEGRATION WITH THE EU

The case of Turkey is the most challenging one in this analysis. The civilization dimension of Turkish integration into the EU is the most controversial issue. Even if it were to fulfill all of the Copenhagen criteria of EU membership, it could not change its Muslim identity. It is important to underline that there is a "logic of inherent identity" inside the EU that sees Turkey as outside the European family of nations, because it does not share Europe's Christian past, Greco-Roman tradition, and Enlightenment process.[26] In the eyes of Europeans who tend to define EU identity from this particular perspective, "Turkey is not European by birth and, therefore, Turkey's achievements alongside the accession negotiations would not suffice for accession".[27]

Historically and geographically, Turks lived on lands that were a part of Europe. The Ottomans were once in full controlled of the Balkans, surrounded the

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[23] M. Brie, *European Culture between Diversity and unity*, "Annale Universitatii din Oradea" 2010, no. 2, p. 83.

[24] M. Heffernan, *The Meaning of Europe: Geography and Geopolitics*, London–New York, Sydney, 1998, p. 38.

[25] M. Žagar, *Enlargement – in search for European identity…*

[26] H. T. Oguzlu, *Turkey and the European Union: Europeanization Without Membership*, "Turkish Studies" 2012, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 230–241.

[27] *Ibidem*, pp. 230–241.

Black Sea, and established dominance in the Mediterranean.[28] The Turks have played a special role in the formation of European identity, and Christian Europe has mostly defined itself against the Turkish threat.[29] The Ottoman Empire was always an important part of the European balance of power, and the Sultans considered themselves as Europeans. The Turks regarded their future lying not in Central Asia or the Middle East, but in Europe.

The most important aim of Turkish foreign policy in the new post – Cold War international system was to play a role as mediator between Eastern and Western civilizations (Europe and Asia) as a state situated at the crossroads of continents and cultures. According to Joseph S. Nye, we can distinguish the "soft" and "hard" power of the state in international relations.[30] Nowadays Turkey becomes a soft power. It is a very attractive partner for its neighbors from the Caucasus and Central Asia in a cultural, economic, and political sense. It can be a model for undeveloped newly independent Muslim states. Turkish democratic and economic reforms or its moderate Islam could serve as an alternative to instability and fundamentalism. Prime Minister Demirel declared in 1992 that "Turkey is committed to be a model of democracy, rule of law, tolerance, respect for human rights and economic liberties."[31] Such a role can make Turkey an important partner for the EU in stabilizing international relations and a cultural dialog between civilizations.

Turkey, due to its historical and geopolitical circumstances, is greatly affected by the paradoxes of globalization that are the key elements of the new international system. Turkey finds itself in a complex position in the western community of nations in a political and ideological sense.[32] On the other hand, it is set apart from the West by features such as socio-political evolution and the level of economic development. It is also predominantly a Muslim and secular state with a democratic tradition.[33]

New challenges and dangers changed the status of Turkey from a "flank state" to a "front state".[34] Turkey's importance increased after the Cold War, especially with the prospect of integration with the EU. Nowadays, Turkey's Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi – AKP) government is becoming much more active in surrounding regions.[35] According to the

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[28] S. Laciner, *Possible Impacts of Turkey's Full Membership to EU's Foreign Policy…*, p. 16.

[29] *Ibidem*, p. 17.

[30] See also: J. S. Nye, *The Decline of America's Soft Power*, "Foreign Affairs" 2004, vol. 83, no. 3.; A. Gałganek, *Zmiana w globalnym systemie międzynarodowym. Supercykle i wojna hegemoniczna*, Poznań 1992, p. 13.

[31] I. Bal, *Turkey's Relations with the West and the Turkic Republics: The Rise and Fall of the "Turkish Model"*, Hampshire, 2000, p. 81.

[32] S. Bilgin, *Turkey's changing security discourses: The challenge of globalization*, "European Journal of Political Research" 2005, no. 44, p. 11.

[33] *Ibidem*, p. 11.

[34] "Sabah", 30.04.1993.

[35] See: A. Rabasa, F. S. Larrabee, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, Santa Monica 2008.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Europe should consult with Turkey on Central Asia and the Caucasus because it is very important there. Hence Turkey is redrawing its diplomatic strategy in the region with a clear goal: become the indispensable nation for Western interests in Central Asia.[36] One of the significant creators of the Turkish foreign policy in the 21st century is the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahmet Davutoğlu. According to his vision, Turkey plays a leading role in neighboring regions and in international relations.[37] It is emphasized that Turkey has historical and cultural foundations to play such a role. The zero problem with neighboring countries policy and good neighborhood policy, which is similar to the EU's Neighborhood Policy (ENP), are the basic elements of Davutoğlu's vision.[38] Nowadays, Turkey started go act according to its identity as a "central country", leaving behind the Turgut Özal's rhetoric of a "bridge country".[39]

It will take many years for Turkey to become a member of the European Union. The accession process is very long and often problematic. The specific geopolitical position between dangerous and unstable regions forces Turkey to concentrate on security and military issues rather than the internal reforms that are necessary for integration to the EU. The Turkish prospect of being a member of the Union depends on the political will of all EU states. As a result, the main problems of accession are those connected with the unsolved division of Cyprus, the Kurdish issue, and too slow process of political and economic transformation in Turkey, itself. Another important problem is that Turkey has a different cultural and civilization identity. On the other hand, the accession of such a large Muslim state to the EU could rebut the Samuel Huntington paradigm about the clash of civilizations. It could be a basis to create a new paradigm about the alliance of civilizations. According to the Turkish intellectual Recep Senturk, "civilization can not survive without opening for other civilizations. Closing borders and limiting the contacts is never a good strategy in the moral and intellectual sense".[40]

TURKISH SELF-CONFIDENCE AND EUROSKEPTICISM

Euroskepticism has been growing in Turkey in recent years.[41] It has been articulated by nationalist, Islamist, and left-wing opposition groups on various grounds ranging from the "rise of the European threat against Turkish sover-

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[36] *Turkey stakes a Central Asian claim,* <http://www.atimep.com/atimes/Central_Asia/IE1 2Ag01.html> (access: 13.09.2010).

[37] B. Aras, *Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy*, "SETA Policy Brief" 2009, no. 32, p. 4.

[38] B. Aras, *Turkish Policy toward Central Asia*, "SETA Policy Brief" 2008, no. 12, p. 3.

[39] *Ibidem*, p. 4.

[40] *Islam dla Zachodu i z Zachodem*, „Znak" 2011, no. 669, p. 16.

[41] G. Sadik, *New Wave in Turkish-EU Relations: Politicizing Euroskepticism or Exploring Turkey's Eurasian Options?*, "Ortadogu Analiz" 2013, no. 51, pp. 79–85.

eignty to depicting the European Union (EU) as a 'Christian-Club' with a double-standard attitude toward Turkey".[42] While Turkey has come closer to the EU institutionally, it has simultaneously become estranged from the EU mentally and psychologically. Many recent opinion polls reveal that the degree of Euroskepticism in Turkey has been on the rise.[43] According to Eurobarometer surveys of Turkish attitudes, public support for EU-membership has declined dramatically in Turkey from up to 80 percent shortly before the start of accession talks in October 2005, to 42 percent in 2010 (see also the figure 1).[44] Simultaneously, the number of Turkish people who think that Turkey should develop closer and more cordial relations with the Middle Eastern countries has increased.[45]

Fig. 1. Support for Turkish integration with the EU
Source: <http://www.economist.com/node/17276372> (access: 12.09.2011).

There are two main reasons behind increasing Turkish anti-EU sentiments. The first is related with the long-standing opposition against Turkey inside the EU. Turco-sceptics in Europe regularly utter their principled opposition to Turkey's EU accession. As a consequence, the support rate for EU membership in Turkey has declined.[46] The opponents of Turkish integration into the

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[42] *Ibidem*, pp. 79–85.

[43] H. T. Oguzlu, *Turkey and the European Union: Europeanization Without Membership*, "Turkish Studies" 2012, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 230–241.

[44] Eurobarometr, "National Report Executive Summary Turkey" 2010, no. 74.

[45] H. T. Oguzlu, *op. cit.,* pp. 230–241.

[46] A. Burgin, *Ongoing opposition in the West, new options in the East: is Turkey's EU accession process reversible?,* "Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies" 2010, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 418–435.

Union suggests that Turkey's membership will damage "European-ness".[47] They state that Turkey belongs to the East and Islam, not Europe. In 1997, Hans van Mierlo, the former foreign minister of Holland stated that "the problem is the huge Muslim state. Do we want it in Europe?".[48] This is a very important argument for other European officials, who officially declared that Turkey is not prepared for EU membership due to legal, social, and economic factors. The EU's ambivalent approach toward Turkey's accession is exemplified by growing discussion of a privileged partnership option. Another factor that fueled Euroskepticism in Turkey is that the French and Austrian governments announced that they would put the question of Turkey's eventual membership to a public vote.[49] From the Turkish point of view, the real obstacle to Turkey's integration to the EU is a different cultural identity. In 1992, president Turgut Özal stated, that „the human rights issue is an artificial reason of keeping out Turkey, the real reason is that we are Muslims and they are Christians".[50] Another argument of Turco-sceptics to justify the rejection of Turkey is the EU's limited absorption capacity. The absorption capacity is part of the negotiating agenda but is not further specified. Instead of blaming Turkey for not fulfilling the membership criteria, some Turco-sceptics try to find the obstacle within the EU.[51] The ratification problems of the Constitutional Treaty after the negative referendums in France and the Netherlands in 2005 and the rejection of the Lisbon Treaty in the Irish referendum in 2008 make this argument significant in European public discourse. The "privileged partnership" concept, introduced by the German Christian Democratic parties, is mainly justified on the grounds of the limited absorption capacity of the European Union. "Our goal is a privileged partnership, since Europe must not be overstretched', Edmund Stoiber, then CSU chairman, declared.[52] Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel also emphasized their preference for a privileged partnership for Turkey rather than full EU membership, "arguing that any misguided expansion might endanger its operational effectiveness".[53]

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[47] S. Laciner, *Possible Impacts of Turkey's Full Membership to EU's Foreign Policy*, [in:] *European Union with Turkey. The possible Impact of Turkey's Membership on The European Union*, ed. S. Laciner, M. Ozcan, I. Bal, Ankara 2005, p. 15.

[48] F. S. Larrabee, I. O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*, Santa Monica 2003, p. 60.

[49] H. T. Oguzlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–241.

[50] S. P. Huntington, *Zderzenie Cywilizacji i Nowy Kształt Ładu Światowego*, Warszawa 1998, p. 210.

[51] A. Burgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 418–435.

[52] *Ibidem*, pp. 418–435.

[53] *Merkel and Sarkozy call for privileged partnership angers Turkey*, "Eurasia Daily Monitor" 2009, no. 6(92).
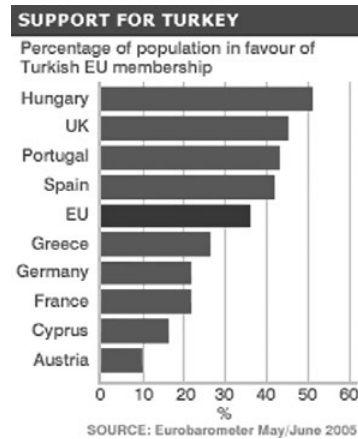
SUPPORT FOR TURKEY

Percentage of population in favour of
Turkish EU membership

Hungary	
UK	
Portugal	
Spain	
EU	
Greece	
Germany	
France	
Cyprus	
Austria	

0   10   20   30   40   50   60
%

SOURCE: Eurobarometer May/June 2005

Fig. 2. Support for Turkish EU accession in EU population
Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4303550.stm> (access:12.09.2011).

Growing Turkish self-confidence is a second reason for increasing anti-EU sentiments among Turks.[54] Turkey's accession negotiations with the EU started in October 2005. The screening process lasted nearly one year. Since then, Turks have been disappointed with the uncertain EU accession procedure. Moreover, there were many actions by some EU-countries to sabotage the accession negotiations and Turkish claims about EU double-standards make Turkey's accession impossible. Six chapters were suspended in December 2006 due to Turkey's refusal to let ships and aircraft from the Republic of Cyprus use Turkish ports and airports. In December 2009, the Greek Cypriot government announced that it would unilaterally "veto some additional chapters if Turkey's intransigent behavior on this issue continued".[55] France declared that it would not let negotiations on five chapters be opened as they directly concern the free circulation of goods and people.[56] There are 35 chapters that must be successfully negotiated by any candidate state as a condition for membership, only 13 have been opened for Turkey; 17 have been blocked and four have not yet been opened – only one is provisionally closed, on science and research.[57] No chapters have been opened since June 2010. As the position of Turkey's opponents in Europe has improved and the prospect of membership becomes increasingly remote, Turkish enthusiasm for the accession process is undermined.[58] In 2011, when the Transatlantic Trends survey asked Turks "with whom Turkey should act in closest cooperation on international matters", the largest group among respondents replied that "Tur-

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[54] G. Sadik, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–85.
[55] H. T. Oguzlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–241.
[56] *Ibidem*, pp. 230–241.
[57] G. Sadik, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–85.
[58] H. T. Oguzlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–241.

key should act alone!".[59] Public opinion is shaped by the widespread perception that EU membership conditionality is not consistently applied and that Turkey is unfairly treated.[60] Turkey's emergence as a regional player has raised the question as to whether Ankara is moving away from its Western orientation in favor of the Muslim World. Moreover, Turkey has a very dynamic economy (see figure 3) in comparison with most European states. It is 17th largest economy in the world. Turks perceive themselves as very strong state or even a regional power. This can be interpreted as a clear signal of growing self-confidence among Turks. It can be expected that "the more Euroskepticism grows among Turks the more likely Turks will support assertive Turkish foreign policy in the years to come".[61]
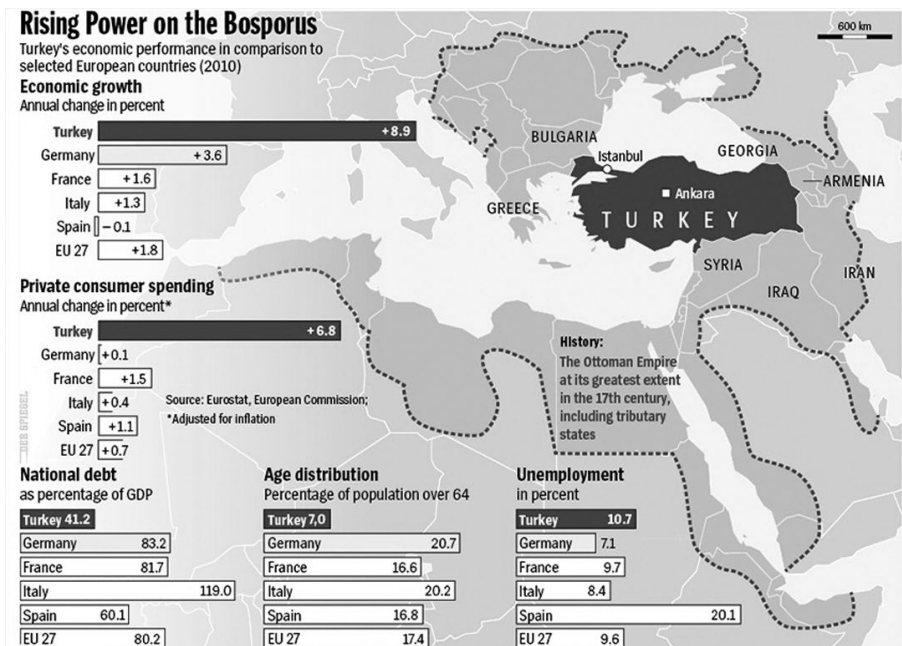

Fig. 3. Rising Power on the Bosporus
Source: <http://istanbulnotes.wordpress.com/2011/06/22/turkeys-economy-will-gdp-growth-hit-a-wall/>
(access: 12.09.2011).

Another important reason for Turkish Euroskepticism is that the EU suffers from a credibility problem in the eyes of Turkish leaders and the public opinion. Two particular factors appear to have caused this. The first concerns the

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[59] R. Putnam, *Diplomacy and domestic politics, the logic of two-level games*, "International Organization" 1988, no. 3, pp. 427–660.

[60] B. Saatcioglu, *How closely does the European Union's membership conditionality reflect the Copenhagen criteria? Insights from Turkey*, "Turkish Studies" 2009, no. 10(4), pp. 559–576.

[61] G. Sadik, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–85.

EU's failure to meet its promises with respect to the amelioration of the status of northern Cyprus in the wake of the Annan Plan.[62] The second factor concerns the latest institutional and economic crisis sweeping through Europe. It appears to have led Turkish leaders to believe that Turkey would not gain too much from EU membership.[63]

CONCLUSION

We can conclude that cultural pluralism, cultural diversity, and multicultural-ism are very important values in Europe, especially in the process of enlargement of the EU. Simultaneously, the cultural cohesion of the Europe is one of the key factors which makes the EU a strong global player. The European area is a place of cultural mixture, of interculturality as an expression at local, regional or national levels. This makes it possible that "hybrid cultures" may appear to assimilate ide-as, values or images to their own specific cultural format.[64] The European cultural identity is seen as a "house with many rooms".[65] The term "culture of cultures" is a good way to describe the phenomenon of the European cultural identity. "The existence of national cultural areas does not exclude the existence of a common European area".[66]

Continued enlargement, particularly of countries with different religious and ethnic or cultural backgrounds, will lead to a weakening of the common reference points of European identity. It will probably cut down the meaning of the cultural dimension of European integration. In the state – centric European Union, the common European identity cannot replace regional or state identity. It could be probable in the future, that the EU will become a federal structure, but at the moment this is still the "science fiction" vision.

The accession of Turkey can be stopped in two ways: either the EU ends the accession talks or Turkey voluntarily gives up its membership ambitions.[67] The EU can make Turkey wait forever in an uncertain EU-accession process. According to Turkish Minister for EU Affairs Egemen Bağış, however, while "Turkey needs Europe, but Europe needs Turkey more".[68] Therefore, "Turkey's EU-accession might indeed be the only chance to prove that the EU has finally become a truly multicultural and global actor".[69]

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[62] H. T. Oguzlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–241.

[63] *Ibidem*, pp. 230–241.

[64] M. Brie, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[65] *Ibidem*, p. 90.

[66] *Ibidem*.

[67] A. Burgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 418–435.

[68] *Turkish minister warms to the EU*, January 16, 2013, <http://www.su.se/english/soci-ety-andbusiness/turkish-minister-warms-to-the-eu-1.119480>.

[69] G. Sadik, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–85.

INTEGRACJA TURCJI Z UNIĄ EUROPEJSKĄ – EUROPEJSKA TOŻSAMOŚĆ CZY
TURECKA „PEWNOŚĆ SIEBIE"

Streszczenie. Kwestia tożsamości kulturowo-cywilizacyjnej Unii Europejskiej staje się problemem dyskusyjnym, zwłaszcza w kontekście procesu rozszerzenia tej struktury. Zjawisko to analizowane jest często w kontekście rozwoju integracji i konieczności poszukiwania nowej tożsamości europejskiej. Występują też obawy, czy w procesie integracji nie dojdzie do osłabienia, a nawet zatracenia tożsamości narodowych.

Wydaje się, że w tym kontekście problem integracji Turcji z Unią Europejską będzie największym wyzwaniem. Nawet jeśli państwo to spełni wszystkie merytoryczne kryteria członkostwa, nie zmieni to faktu, iż należy ono do odmiennego kręgu kulturowo-cywilizacyjnego. Nasuwa się więc pytanie, jaki będzie wkład muzułmańskiej Turcji w kreowanie wspólnej europejskiej tożsamości? Celem niniejszego opracowania jest przedstawienie koncepcji tożsamości europejskiej w obliczu perspektywy rozszerzenia o Turcję. Chcemy również w tym kontekście uwzględnić analizę stosunku społeczeństwa Turcji do kwestii integracji europejskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: tożsamość europejska, Turcja, eurosceptycyzm