Workshop 13


directed by

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Workshop abstract

This workshop is intended to provide a forum to discuss the social, political, economic and institutional changes which have been taking place in the Eastern Mediterranean, namely Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, under the impact of the complex and multidimensional processes of transformation which may be labelled Europeanization and problematised as a form of internationalisation of specific policy regimes. One of the fundamental concerns of the workshop will be to discuss the impact of Europeanization on both the state structures and the societal actors in different national contexts of the region. It will also aim to widen the debate on Europeanization by problematizing the question of enlargement and by bringing in “new” issue areas such as modes and problems of governance and competitiveness. These will, in turn, bring into light the question of rights those of social and economic ones in particular, as a fundamental premise of the democratic form of the state that is aimed at.

Such a comparative framework will allow the discussion of what the Europeanisation literature refers as ‘the misfit’ between European and domestic processes, policies and institutions which, in turn, provides societal and/or political actors with new opportunities and constraints in the pursuit of their interests. At the same time, it will provide an opportunity to explore the significance of the specific
‘mechanisms’ of Europeanisation such as the transmission of policy discourses which will, in turn, shed light about the ways in which different interests are structured and the ways in which the generation of norms and rules play a part in the construction of hegemonic discourses. The sessions of the workshop will be planned so as to bring together participants working on different aspects of these processes of transformation in the three countries of the region, namely, Turkey, Greece and Cyprus. No doubt, there will be contributions by specialists residing within the region as well as outside it.

**Workshop description**

This workshop is intended to provide a forum to discuss the social, political, economic and institutional changes which have been taking place in the Eastern Mediterranean, namely Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, under the impact of the complex and multidimensional processes of transformation which may be labelled *Europeanisation*, to borrow a trendy terminology from the institutionalist literature on European integration. While it is a term which has been generally used in regards to the existing members of the European Union (EU), it is as pertinent to the new and prospective members of the EU, which are faced with the dual tasks of political and economic development and adjustment to a rapidly changing international environment. As this process is essentially epitomized by the ‘widening range of extra-territorial or transnational factors’ that now assume a strategic significance in states’ domestic policy, it could thus be problematised as a form of internationalisation of specific policy regimes, as the key players in policy regimes increasingly tend to include those outside the region as sources of policy ideas, policy design and implementation.

Europeanization as part of internationalisation and/or transnationalisation follows a straightforward rationale. Within the broader process of internationalisation of policy regimes, there is a need to articulate the ways in which the EU emerges as a key player, which changes the rules and the structures of policy making in the region for member states as well as for others aspiring to be full members, i.e., as a nodal point in the organisation of the institutional framework and rules for varying modes of governance involving a wide range of interests. Europeanization will therefore gain saliency on the basis of its ‘top-down’ effects on member states and candidate countries, with a particular emphasis on state transformation, or lack of it, as a result of this process. On the basis of a longitudinal analytical and comparative framework, the workshop will set out to problematize the effects of the EU ‘when Europe hits home’. Within such a framework, it will be possible to bring into consideration alternative conceptualisations of Europeanization as a particular manifestation of the transnationalisation of the processes of state as well as class formation on the one hand, and as a norm-driven process of institutional change and/or empowerment of civil society actors on the other.

For what is involved is ultimately a process of generating shared norms, routine practices, and formalised rules and procedures, whilst there is also the need to confront the problems stemming from the conflicting perceptions of interest. While the norm-driven as well as the interest-based modes of explanation which dominate the relevant literature on the recent round of EU’s enlargement are to be given due regard, the adoption of a more critical perspective would be desirable for the following reasons. Firstly, the relevant literature also entails a certain degree of scepticism about the validity of the dominant modes of explanation in accounting for the process of Europeanization, to the extent that norm- and interest-based explanations are perceived as mutually exclusive alternatives. But, more fundamentally, the development of a critical perspective will be apposite since the dominant
perspectives are not necessarily powerful in probing the ways in which different interests are structured and the ways in which the generation of norms and rules plays a part in the construction of hegemonic discourses.

The sessions of the workshop will be planned so as to bring together participants working on different aspects of these processes of transformation in the three countries of the region, namely, Turkey, Greece and Cyprus. No doubt, there will be contributions by specialists residing within the region as well as outside it. However, it is hoped that not only a better understanding of the processes in question will be facilitated as a result of the individual contributions to be made, but also the discussion of various aspects in a comparative manner will reveal the contested nature of these processes as well as the adequacy or the inadequacy of the methodologies employed in relation to the objects of inquiry chosen. Moreover, the workshop as a whole is expected to contribute to the relevant literature by highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the different theoretical perspectives in regards to Europeanisation, as they will be tested in analysing the process in rather varying historical conjunctures. The selection of the countries in the Eastern Mediterranean is especially pertinent for such a theoretical evaluation since every one of them has experienced rather different levels and degrees of Europeanisation as a result of their differential incorporation into the process of European integration. In particular, the comparison of different ‘mechanisms’ involved in different historical conjunctures such as the conditionalities of pre-accession and accession as well as the requirements of membership will be of interest not only for enhancing our understanding of the processes of change experienced by the countries of the region, but also contribute to the theoretical advancement of the literature concerned.

One of the fundamental concerns of the workshop will be to discuss the impact of Europeanisation on both the state structures and the societal actors in different national contexts of the region. While the so-called multi-level governance approach tries to move the analysis of European integration beyond the dichotomy between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism, it is pertinent to query the extent to which the adoption of the multilevel governance approach of the EU could enhance the capacities of states to project their influence by mobilising knowledge and power resources from various societal actors. For the strategic capacities of the states – to reorganise themselves and perform new functions, in particular, in guiding and/or facilitating the process of Europeanisation - would function as a principle of explanation for the institutionalist approaches. Hence the emphasis on the need to reform the state so as to make it a key agent of reform. In that context, the workshop will focus on the Europeanization of the state apparatus and the reform process linked to that. It will seek to enhance our understanding of the extent and methods through which Europeanization affects state capacities in certain policy fields. These will relate primarily to public administration, social policy (understood in a broad sense to incorporate state interaction with business and organised labour) as well as the issues pertaining to the conceptual categories of citizenship and identity. While particular emphasis will be placed on certain policy areas as applicable to some case studies more than others, the unifying theme of the workshop pertains to the need of conceptualising state reform as part and parcel of Europeanisation.

On the other hand, the explanatory value of the governance approach for accounting the role played by the societal actors in shaping the process of European integration and/or accession negotiations remains to be tested. In this regard, it is imperative to explore in different national contexts of the Eastern Mediterranean whether the turn to governance is to further the processes of democratisation or to be part of a complex power struggle to continue the processes of social, economic and political
exclusion, that is, to preclude popular-democratic control over decision-making processes at different scales, and/or continue socialising risks in favour of private capital.

Hence, there is a need to widen the debate on Europeanization by problematizing the question of enlargement and by bringing in “new” issue areas such as modes and problems of governance as experienced by public and private bodies. It is also essential to bring into light the question of rights as a fundamental premise of the democratic form of the state that is aimed at. Put differently, there is a need to unveil the changing conception of democracy and/or democratisation over a period of time, as there seems to be a shift in the ways in which the priorities are determined to define political and economic coordinates of a democratic order while the EU itself undergoes significant transformations. In particular, there is a need to highlight the relationship between the political, civil and social rights as envisaged by the Copenhagen criteria for new members and candidate countries as well as its potential implications for the member countries which have not been subjected to such criteria as part of their own accession.

This, in turn, is closely related to the analysis of what can be called the politics of Europeanization in the Eastern Mediterranean, as it moulds the ways in which political parties and other forms of interest representation - business associations and trade unions, in particular - undergo significant changes in their outlook, if not, in their institutional structures. The focus on the changing modalities of state-civil society relations so as to explain the dynamics of the process of transformation as well as the nature of political regimes should also entail attempts to come to terms with the changing role of the military in particular historical contexts as a political actor. But it also necessitates an analysis not only of the changing patterns of democratic legitimization and identity formation, but also the extent to which the states of the region attempt to reconcile imperatives of the reforms with securing political legitimacy and social cohesion.

A neglected dimension of the debate on enlargement, perceived as a tool of Europeanisation, has been that of competitiveness. Yet, this is not to be treated as a purely economic phenomenon, since it is closely related with the question of rights, those of social and economic ones in particular. For an adherence, albeit rhetorical, to a policy stance which identifies competitiveness as a substantive purpose of the states concerned carries the potential risk of subordinating social policy to the demands of flexibility, as policy-makers tend to focus on supply-side aspects of international competitiveness. Hence the relative neglect of social policy as an integral part of the process of Europeanisation: its impact upon the transformations that the Eastern Mediterranean countries have been experiencing in their respective domains are to be brought under scrutiny. This relative neglect on the part of the EU stems not simply from a lack of emphasis on social conditionality as distinct from economic and political conditionality in terms of accession criteria, but at least partly from the fact that the increase in the transfer of powers upwards to the EU level for the existing members is least marked in the areas of social and industrial policy. In other words, the implications of the emergence of a so-called multi-tiered system of social policy within the EU have to be discussed for the member states as well as for others aspiring to be full members. Such an exercise would facilitate one of the workshop’s primary aims, that is to say, to draw parallels between the accession processes of existing member states (Greece, Cyprus) and candidate countries (Turkey). This entails the application of ‘policy learning’ so as to formulate arguments for one group of states (members) applicable to another (candidates). This will allow us, at least partially, to overcome the perennial problem of comparing member states with candidate countries. The diverse dynamics entailed in the two groups of states need not be an obstacle for the development of fruitful debates regarding the potential implications and transformations entailed in membership, provided the starting points of comparison predate
accession for all states involved. In addition, due regard has to be given to the plurality of different domestic factors at play during the integration process. Doing so will also permit the overcoming of the second set of problems related to the nature of such a comparative approach, namely the different timing of accession. Without extrapolating from past experiences into the future of candidate countries, the workshop will provide a platform for the amalgamation of accumulated experience and on the basis of a longitudinal approach.

Moreover, there is a need to question whether, or to what extent, various social forces involved in promoting or resisting the transformation process are consciously concerned with an explicit project to construct a competition state in the context of the EU membership and/or accession to full membership. Put differently, the extent to which socio-economic actors are to be perceived as being instrumental to an expansionary integration logic, while promoting a particular process of transformation and/or resisting it. It is more likely that it involves a trial-and-error search process, that is, attempts to mobilize support behind alternative modes of integration and/or accumulation strategies which, in turn, function as alternative hegemonic projects, mediated through discourses which assume the need for change in the so-called path-dependent forms of state.

In the case of Greece, which is said to have, to a great extent, succeeded in internalizing the European system of governance, there is a need to test the proposition that it can serve as a “model” of “DOs” and “DON’Ts” for the new members and for candidate countries. A dynamic of this sort can prove to be particularly useful to the extent that the Greek political scene has been dominated for over a decade by cross-party adherents of the country’s further modernization, often understood as the decisive step towards socio-economic convergence with the traditional core of the European Union. What is more, modernization and Europeanization have tended to overlap and/or be used synthetically to denote the same ambition, that is, the desirability of a mode of development that will take into account the transformed geopolitical and economic realities of the Eastern Mediterranean. The accumulation of this process, to the extent that it can be testable at this moment in time, can provide helpful insights to both Turkey and Cyprus on their way to the EU (Turkey) or in anticipation of their full integration to its structures (Northern Cyprus). It would therefore be particularly pertinent to examine the ways in which the challenge of Europeanization can be said to have transformed key policy areas in Greece. Public administration and social welfare are some of the areas where policy lessons for Turkey and Cyprus can be potentially drawn.

While the protracted saga of Turkey’s quest for EU membership provides an interesting case for exploring the opportunities and implications of the EU expansion for the prospective members on critical issues such as the changing contours of political democracy, democratic rights and liberties and international cooperation in the context of changing modalities of state-civil society relations. Thereby, it may be possible to assess the extent to which the EU functions as a structural feature of the domestic transformation in Turkey. Such a perspective will also contribute to an increased understanding of specific issue areas related to the process of European integration and enlargement with reference to the EU *acquis* and the candidature of a country such as Turkey. Last but not least, the ideological significance attributed to the prospective membership in the Turkish context as part of an attempt to overcome a particular political and economic crisis that the country has been engulfed in at the turn of the millennium is to be underlined.

In the case of Cyprus, the continued existence of two communities under different political structures puts the process of Europeanization into a predicament, as it appears to complicate the resolution of a historical conflict as well as to raise new expectations on the part of those societal actors who are
increasingly disenchanted with the existing state of affairs. The analysis of the changing contours of the Turkish-Cypriot polity provides an interesting case in this regard, no doubt to be complemented by an analysis of the accession process of the republic of Cyprus to the EU. An analysis of the prospective political and institutional structure entailed in the so-called Annan Plan(s) would also be worth pursuing to develop an assessment of the proposed regimes of citizenship and property, and accompanying regime of civil and political rights envisaged, in terms of their compatibility with the norms and practices of the process of Europeanization. In particular, it would be worth assessing the extent to which the Cypriot Republic’s accession to the EU has altered the perceptions of policy-makers regarding the understanding of citizenship in an enlarged Europe and the possible consequences of that on the process of dialogue with their Turkish Cypriot counterparts.

Such a comparative framework will thus allow the discussion of what the Europeanisation literature refers as ‘the misfit’ between European and domestic processes, policies and institutions which, in turn, provides societal and/or political actors with new opportunities and constraints in the pursuit of their interests. At the same time, it will provide an opportunity to explore the significance of the specific ‘mechanisms’ of Europeanisation such as the transmission of policy discourses which will, in turn, shed light about the ways in which different interests are structured and the ways in which the generation of norms and rules play a part in the construction of hegemonic discourses.

On the basis of the above, the workshop’s priorities and main aims can be reflected in a set of questions that inform its purpose, and aim at problematising both the cognitive and empirical aspects of Europeanization with regard to politics, polity and policies. The questions that will reflect the main themes, without necessarily being exhaustive, can be summed as following:

1. To what extent is the question of ‘Europeanisation of what’ conditioned by the question of ‘Europeanisation when’? That is to say, the time-frames within which the processes of accession and/or membership take place are worthy of comparison so as to illuminate the domains where the effects of Europeanization are supposed to materialize.
2. To what extent is the process of state reform not only conducive to a more efficient decision-making process but also compatible with processes of democratisation?
3. How and to what extent do states in the region combine state reform with efforts to retain and/or enhance their political legitimacy vis-a-vis civil society?
4. How and to what extent do states in the region combine state reform with an attempt to maintain and enhance economic, social and territorial cohesion?
5. How should the notion of competitiveness be interpreted today, and how does it relate to the question of social and economic rights?
6. Is it possible to speak of the Europeanisation of domestic groups (businessmen associations, trade-unions, NGOs, etc)? If so, will it be possible to differentiate between the processes which are transmitted through the EU channels and through involvement in other international and/or European organizations and contacts?

While the contributions that will be made in this workshop will indicate the insights that can be derived from the rich and varied experiences of the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean in the context of the process of Europeanization, the advantages of preserving institutional diversity - possible evolutionary and adaptive benefits – might also be revealed. No less significantly, they will provide an informed basis to evaluate the enhancement of Europeanization across an increasingly interconnected set of policy areas – thereby giving the EU the means to steer national policy and
endow it with greater coherence. This, in turn, has significant practical and theoretical implications, as it paves the ground for a new articulation between the economic and the political on a different scale rather than merely a national one.

**Directors’ individual paper abstracts**

**The Process of Europeanization in Turkey**

Atila Eralp

Turkey’s application to the European Community for full membership in April 1987 and the response of the Community triggered a reassessment of Turkey’s Europeanness both in Europe and Turkey and resulted in the rise of anti-European feelings in Turkey. The changes in the post-Cold War climate and the decisions of the Luxembourg Summit reinforced these feelings. In this climate, the issue of full membership for Turkey became a contentious one in the present enlargement process of the Union. This paper argues, however, that this problematic situation was neither to the advantage of the European Union nor to Turkey. It focuses on the decisions of the Helsinki European Council meeting of 1999 and shows how the Helsinki Summit provided a turning point in the long-lasting Turkey-EU relationship. It examines the more inclusionary approach of the EU in the last five years and argues that there is a close linkage between the incentive of membership and the reform initiatives in Turkey. The paper aims to show how the reform process in Turkey is turning from a more general project of Westernization to a more concrete project of Europeanization where core debates revolve around the process of democratization. It concludes by looking at the internal debates and tensions in Turkey regarding the process of Europeanization and examines how governmental and societal actors “internalize” the process of Europeanization.


Dimitri Sotiropoulos

The process of “Europeanization”, that is, the emergence and development of distinct political, legal and social institutions aiming at reforming domestic structures, entails the socialization of political elites and society at large in the new forms of European governance. The success of this process depends on the degree of internalization of European norms and values which could shape attitudes and approaches.

Greece, Turkey and Cyprus have different levels and degrees of Europeanization which have transformed the dynamics of state-society relations as well as the nature of political regimes. In Greece Europeanization has accelerated in the last few years. The country has, to a great extent, succeeded in internalizing the European system of governance. This, in turn has led to changes both in its domestic and foreign policy behavior. In this sense Greece can serve as a “model” of “DOs” and “DON’Ts” for the new members and for candidate countries.
On the other end, Turkey is facing the challenges of Europeanization in its efforts to join the Union. Hence, one has to examine both the adoption as well as the implementation of the acquis and study the domestic debates emerging from this process. Finally, Cyprus as a new member-state has entered the main phase of adopting and implementing the European norms and laws. Both the political elite and society have to adjust to this new state of affairs. At the same time, the case of Cyprus is unique due to the perpetuation of its political problem which complicates the Europeanization process.

A comparative examination of these three special case studies will help researchers extract important conclusions about the benefits and problems of Europeanization as well as about the requirements for successful socialization and internalization of European norms and values.