

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	11
Summary	13
Chapter 1 – Introduction	15
1.1 General Introduction	15
1.2 Importance of the project	16
1.3 Themes and Problems under Investigation	18
Chapter 2 – Realism vs. Functionalism, EU Enlargements and Absorption Capacity Terms of Reference/Aims/ Objectives/and Literature Review	21
2.1 Aims and Objectives	21
2.2 Research Questions	21
2.3 Literature Review and Theoretical Approach	22
2.3.1 The EU: A ‘Sui Generis Organisation’	23
2.3.2 Classical Realism, National Interest and ‘Power Games’	24
2.3.3 Structural Realism and Changes in the International System	26
2.3.4 Functionalism, Neo- Functionalism, Integration and Common Interest	27
2.3.5 Cohesion Policy in the EU	29
2.3.6 Absorption capacity	32
2.4 Conclusions and EU Cohesion	33
Chapter 3 – Research Methodology	35
3.1 Introduction	35
3.2 Rationale for Research Approach	35
3.2.1 Scope of the Project	39
3.3 Methodological Design and Research Procedures	41
3.4 Rationale for Selection and Application of Data Collection Techniques	43
3.4.1 Qualitative approach	43
3.4.2 Secondary Sources	47

3.4.3 Quantitative Approach	48
3.4.3.1 Pre-Testing the Survey Instrument	50
3.4.3.2 Pilot Study	52
3.4.3.3 Questionnaire Rating Scale	53
3.4.3.4 Population and Sampling Frame	55
3.5 Data Analysis	56
3.6 Ethical Considerations	57
3.7 Research Limitations	57

#### Chapter 4 – From Kemalism to Europeanism

Documentary Evaluation of Turkish Accession to the EU	59
4.1 Introduction	59
4.2 Euro-Turkish Relations	61
4.3 European Streams of Thought	62
4.4 The Stance of European Citizens	65
4.5 Turkish Republic and the Principles of Ataturk	81
4.6 Turkish Political System and the European Union	83
4.6.1 Turkish Economic Background	84
4.6.2 The Evaluation of the EU	85
4.6.3 Black Holes	87
4.7 Cohesion Policy, Turkey and the EU	90
4.7.1 The Lion's Share	96
4.8 The Turkish Army in the System	98
4.8.1 The Role of the Army in the Economic System	100
4.8.2 The Black Box, the Army and the AKP	101
4.8.2.1 The Delphic Sword	103
4.8.2.2 The Beacon of a Moderate Islam	104
4.8.2.3 Risks and Human Rights	104
4.9 Turkey in the European Security and Defence Policy	109
4.9.1 Traditional Power	109
4.9.2 US, NATO and ESDP (CSDP)	110
4.10 The Institutional Power of Turkey in the EU	116
4.11 Conclusion	124

#### Chapter 5 – Redistribution of Power and Structural Changes

Survey Findings and Analysis	127
5.1 Introduction	127
5.2 The Role of the US	129
5.2.1 Interests and American 'wedges'	132
5.2.2 Defence Deficit, Soviet Syndrome and Babylon State	137

5.3	Negative Reasons	140
5.4	Leading Countries and Power-Sharing	144
5.5	Positive Reasons	147
5.6	Turkish Contribution to the EU and the Strengthening of the EU	
	Position in the Global System	150
5.7	Redistribution of Power	154
5.8	Structural Changes	156
5.9	The Cohesion of the EU	159
5.9.1	The Threat	159
5.9.2	National Interests and Balance of Power	161
5.9.3	The Role of the US and Conflicting Interests	162
5.9.4	Double Structural Changes	162
5.10	Democracy and Human Rights	163
5.10.1	Political Rights	163
5.10.2	Women's Rights	164
5.10.3	Religious Rights	164
5.10.4	Minority Rights	164
5.10.5	Freedom of expression	164
5.10.6	Corruption	165
5.10.7	Turkish Army	167
5.10.8	'Democratic Deficit'	168
5.11	The Reforms	169
5.12	Variables	173
5.13	The Next Step	175

#### Chapter 6 – Nine Scenarios and a Model on EU Cohesion

	Recommendations and Conclusions	177
6.1	Introduction	177
6.2	Theories and Justifications	178
6.3	Variables and Model of EU Cohesion	179
6.3.1	The Main Pillars of EU Cohesion	184
6.4	Recommendations	186
6.4.1	First Scenario: Negative	186
6.4.2	Second Scenario: Positive	188
6.4.3	Third Scenario: The Two Capitals of the EU and the Historical Circle	190
6.4.4	Fourth Scenario: Worst Case Scenario and Crisis	191
6.4.5	Fifth Scenario: Democracy in Relation to the Turkish Accession to the EU	194

6.4.6	Sixth Scenario: the EU Institutions and Turkish Accession to the EU	196
6.4.7	Seventh Scenario: Cohesion Policy and Turkish Accession to the EU	197
6.4.8	Eighth Scenario: Economy and Turkish Accession to the EU	199
6.4.9	Ninth Scenario: Society and Turkish Accession to the EU	200
6.5	Conclusions	201
6.5.1	The Model of the EU Cohesion	201
6.5.2	The Third Road and Unpredictable Development	204
6.5.3	Epilogue	207
	Bibliography	209
	References	213
	List of Visual Representations	233
	List of Appendices	237
	Appendices	239