The European Union's Role in Turkey's Social Transformation

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Abstract

The goal of this study is to examine the role of the European Union in recent political, economic, social, and legal changes in Turkey. The study first covers progress in Turkey after the establishment of the customs union, and then analyses Europeanisation and soft power concepts in light of the role of the EU during this time.

The establishment of the customs union in 1996 symbolizes an important turning point in Turkey's alignment with the European Union and subsequent social change. Legislative alignment first became significant after the customs union, and gained momentum after the 1999 Helsinki summit. Turkey has changed considerably as a result of the reforms, following alignment laws that were put in place in accordance with the Coppenhagen criteria. The resulting social change has been further enhanced by foreign investments in Turkey, industrial manufacturing that met the European standards, and a burgeoning foreign trade volume. The emphasis on human rights, a constitutional state, and legislative alignment of the economy altogether have had a significant impact. Membership talks for the ascension to the European Union have had a deep influence on Turkey, and they have contributed to the process of Turkey's becoming a political and economic force in the region.

Keywords

Turkey-EU relations, Customs union, Change in Turkey, Ascension talks, Soft power

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Introduction

The aim of this study was to examine the role of the EU in the social change of Turkey. The changes taking place in Turkey from the proclamation of the Republic to today, in addition to internal factors; also the external developments in the world have been influential , especially the West has affected Turkey deeply. This effect has reflected as the adoption of Western -based institutions and legal systems in the first years of the Republic and after the Second World War and a close relationship with the United States in one hand, the participation to the international organizations such as the Council of Europe and NATO on the other, have opened the door to change in Turkey. However, main functions of an international organization in this area were undertaken by the European Union. Turkey is striving to join the EU more than 50 years. In this context, the obligations arising from the EU relations, reward and punishment mechanism, triggered by the potential political and regulatory compliance, have affected Turkey deeply in economic and social areas. The level of orientation and influence on Turkey has not been with the any of the other external actors as with the EU.

Bilateral relations between Turkey and the EU, after a long period of ups and downs, have reached a new stage with the start of accession negotiations on October 3, 2005. Projected progress in the negotiations has not been achieved despite more than a decade has passed. There are reasons for the blockage in the negotiations; stemming from the EU, the international political system and Turkey. The Cyprus problem is one of the factors that hinder the progress of the negotiations. Likewise, political and economic developments occurring in the global levels, are affecting Turkey - EU relations, directly or indirectly. On the other hand, the rejection of the EU constitution, problems of the adaptation of the former communist countries participating as full members and financial difficulties in the Euro Zone also needs to be mentioned as the problems arisen from the EU side. Despite the deadlock in the negotiations for full membership, Turkey continues to fulfill its commitment to the National Program. In other words, even if full membership negotiations have stalled; Turkey's compliance with the EU acquis is going on and the EU's changing / converting effect on Turkey is still in tact.

Within this general framework, the study will be discussed under four main titles. In the first part; the historical background of Turkey's connection with the EU will be discussed. In the second part; the political weight of the EU as a regional integration movement, its soft power status in the international arena and also Europeanization concept will be examined. In the third part; the developments experienced in the period leading up to the Helsinki Summit when Turkey's nomination was declared will be discussed. In the last part; the social, administrative and legal changes that Turkey has gone through with the EU influence during its candidacy and negotiation process will be examined.

1. Historical Background of Turkey's Connection with the EU

Since the beginning of the Republic of Turkey, the external factors triggering the social change; has been the West connection. Republic of Turkey has been inspired by the western organizations in the West and accepted the European states as the "contemporary civilization", and aimed to catch their level and go forward. Since, Turkey used its fundamental choice in the favor of the West; this has affected its internal political structure, public order, the economic life and foreign policy in profound ways. West, implicitly or explicitly has been perceived as a model in the key areas such as the re-construction of the state and the re-organization of the economic order have been guided by the Western model

Turkish Penal Code was adapted and adopted from Italy, the Turkish Commercial Code from Germany, Law and Criminal Procedure Law from Switzerland and Germany respectively (Bozkurt 1991:1-6).

Turkey, choosing West as the fundamental ground, has taken new steps to strengthen the West connection after the Second World War. The membership to the Council of Europe and NATO designated as the turning points in this context. However, the main organizations which played a dominant role in changing Turkey have been the EEC (EU) that increasingly has led Turkey's modernization and Europeanization since the 1963 Ankara Agreement. Until the 1990s, the relations with the EEC have been limited to the matters basically relating to free movement of workers and trade; after the Customs Union the harmonization of legislation have accelerated the change in Turkey. In the new era, EU relations within this extended

range, especially in efforts to comply with the Copenhagen criteria , has opened the door to developments which can be described as a revolution (Dagi 2001). The European Union has become the sole actor directing political reforms in Turkey. Today, the European Union offices locate in all Ministries and Municipalities and the EU chairs operate in the departments of the universities

Even though, problems have been experienced with the EU-Turkey relations, in the nomination process and during the negotiations for various reasons, it was stated by the competent authorities that Turkey will continue in this new direction and take no step backwards. President Erdogan emphasized the following points in his speeches many times:

"We make Copenhagen criteria turn to Ankara criteria; we will continue on our way."

As Dağı states, the human rights and democratic principles have affected Turkey-EU relations since 1980. As a result of the EU's efforts, the human rights and the democratization in Turkey are not only viewed from the perspective of the state and security. Similarly, criticism about democracy and human rights from the EU is no longer just perceived as "interference in internal affairs" but taken as raising standards with widespread acceptance. Even before the adoption of the Copenhagen Criteria, Turkey has been warned dozens of times by the EU in these matters and will be subsequently forced to make binding legal regulations.

2. The Concept of Soft Power and Europeanization

As a research seeks to identify the impact of EU as an external actor on Turkey in various fields, the concepts of Europeanization and soft power will be emphasized. The concept of Europeanization is a term used to measure how well the member states and candidate states harmonize their systems to the EU system. Previously, this concept was used to determine the levels of compliance of the member states with the *acquis communautaire* in the first pillar of the Maastricht Treaty (1992).

After 2004, Europeanization has been a method used to determine the economic transformation and socio-political impact on EU candidate states (Baç and Gürsoy 2010: 4045-406). Concept also provides a measurement of the impact of EU norms in the foreign policy of the candidate states. Does

the candidate country focus more to the elements of power or economic and diplomatic means to achieve foreign policy goals? According to EU norms, to resolve a dispute, diplomatic and economic means that is the basic method of *"carrot and stick"* should be used instead. Likewise, the foreign policy decision-making process should have a democratic way to represent the whole community.

Matters concerning the normative dimension of Europeanization have been briefly introduced by the Copenhagen Criteria. Accordingly, the basic principles are based on democracy, human rights, and institutional structures to protect the rule of law and minority rights. Already these criteria, including the concept of Europeanization refers to a specific management structure at European level. In this study, Europeanization concept is used in terms of indicating the transformations in Turkey created by European institutions and policies in the economic, administrative, political and social fields.

From more general perspective, Europeanization concept can be also possibly explained as the activities to adapt to the *acquis communautaire* by the member and candidate states. Europeanization is a result for member states in terms of *pacta sund servanda* or commitment to comply with treaty obligations whereas, for candidate countries has been a reward or punishment method to encourage to Europeanization. EU influencing candidate states without using hard power; indicates the normative power of the EU from another perspective. The EU penetrates with soft power instruments and transforms surrounding countries without the use of exclusive power. EU, today, reach its goals using methods of persuasion, coercion and encouragement without the use of weapons and violence

States and international organizations sometimes use hard (brute force) power and sometimes soft (light) power factors in order to achieve their goals in the international political system. The concept of Soft Power is briefly defined as the capacity to have a say on a person or community and to be effective without resorting to the use of force. Compared to the brute force, there is also the consent of the affected parties in the concept of Soft Power. The concept of soft power was used by Joseph Nye in 1990 for the first time. The definition of the concept was made in the book titled "*Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power"* (Nye 1990). Accordingly,

soft power is the ability of an agent to make its addressee accept its demands by cooperating or using its attractiveness without resorting to economic and military power. And the author named his new book published in 2004 Soft Power (Nye 2004).

What does the concept of soft power include? All kinds of activities aiming at changing the policies of the state to be influenced without using any physical force are included in the concept. The activities of international non-governmental organizations (NGO) and professional organizations such as conferences, excursions, panels, language training and giving academic support to opinion leaders of the targeted countries are Soft Power activities. The promotion/propaganda activities of diplomatic missions and cultural centres which are operating in a country, their activities aiming at influencing and directing the public and the efforts to create visibility and image in the mass media are within the same category. In this context, the primary purposes of the soft power are the media, universities, civil society organizations and the business world. The essential objective in the use of soft power is to establish influence (Kroening vd 2010: 412-431)

The question to be asked at this point is that: Is the integration movement in Western Europe a soft power? It is a fact that the movement named European Union after the Maastricht Treaty has realized remarkable developments from beginning until today. There are two main trends of the European Union. The first is deepening in terms of the expansion of the cooperation areas, and the other is the increasing the number of members, that is widening. The European Union has been defined as an "economic giant, political dwarf" in the international political system since the mid-1980s (Dinan 2003: 508-526). The European Union has engaged in activities that would strengthen its military power position over the course of time. The process initiated on the basis of the consensus that France and the UK arrived in St. Malo negotiations and the activities of the creation of Rapid Reaction Force should be considered in this context (Dover 2007: 237-251).

However, that the member states could not consensus on the devolution of authority in the fields of political and military integration does not mean that the EU does not have weight power of sanction in the international arena. Today, the EU can affect the international political system and the

states directly and deeply both through the common external trade policy and through the activities undertaken by the initiative of the Commission and the country which is the Term President.

Candidate countries are required to fulfill some obligations such as; Copenhagen Criteria, development aid, neighborhood policy instruments, human rights and democracy texts that also raised impacts on the states. All candidate states remain under EU`s pressure in these areas. The EU has also used its soft power effectively in its relations with Turkey, so the customs union, and obligations to fulfill for Turkey during the negotiations period and the implications of the Turkish government against these demands have raised the level of Europeanization of Turkey. As a result of the EU effect, Turkey has experienced economic, political, legal and social changes unforeseen beforehand.

3. From Ankara Agreement to the Customs Union: Introducing the EU to Turkey's Agenda

The Ankara Agreement which was signed on September 12th 1963 and its Additional Protocol constitute the basic documents of the relations between the two parties (Ankara Agreement, webb; Katma Protokol/Additional Protocol, webb). The ultimate target of the partnership established at the Ankara Agreement is full membership and it is implicitly stated in Article 28: "When the functioning of the Agreement show that all the obligations arising out of the Agreement establishing the Community could be undertaken by Turkey, the Contracting Parties examine the possibility of the Turkey's accession to the Community."

Obligations were imposed on both in the partnership relations, Turkey's gradual establishment of a customs union with the EEC, providing free movement of goods, services, capital and persons were ensured and scheduled with the Additional Protocol. However, the political developments in the international arena prevented Turkey to fulfil its obligations on time and adequately (Tocci 2005). The 1973 Arab-Israeli conflict, the following oil embargo of the Arab members of OPEC, and the political and economic problems that arose after Turkey's interventions to Cyprus caused a setback in Turkey-EU relations in terms of work towards customs reduction and integration the common customs tariff (Karluk 2002: 468-470). Turkey

suspended the tariff reduction schedule on the basis of Article 60 of the Additional Protocol on the second half of 1970s.

Under these circumstances, a remarkable progress could not be achieved in Turkey-EEC relations during the 1970s. In addition to the frequent government changes, political instability and ideological conflict, no consensus on joining the EEC could be reached between the political parties. And as a result of all these factors, Turkey fell behind Greece in the EEC journey and could not apply for full membership. Later, an period began with the 1980 military coup, Turkey-EEC relations were frozen until the second half of the 1980s (Karluk 2002: 470-471). Turkey's application for membership under the Turgut Özal government on April 14th 1987 was aiming at rerouting the relations to the goal of full membership. However, this application remained inconclusive due to the EU's internal problems and its priority on focusing on Eastern Europe.

Turkey - EU relations have experienced ups and downs until Turkey was declared as a candidate in 1999. During this period, political instability and economic problems have been the main domestic factors that prevented the relations to move to a more advanced stage. In international arena; Turkey has left behind since the competition with Greece, the Cyprus issue and the attention given to the Central and Eastern European countries after the end of the Cold War have prevailed. However, the customs union that has entered into force in 1996, and the harmonization of the acquis in the related fields, have kept Turkey's full membership target alive.

In 1990s, the EU's soft power influence has been felt significantly over Turkey. Another development reinforcing this effect; has been the adoption of the right of individual application to the European Court of Human Rights (Börzel and Soyaltın 2012). Turkey has never abandoned its EU bid even when it established a close relationship with the newly founded Turkic States in 1990s. Matutes Package has been important for revitalizing the relations between EU and Turkey in the middle of the 1990s. The plans prepared by famous Spanish parliamentarian; Abel Matutes, required the establishment of customs union with Turkey in order to put the relations between the EU and Turkey in track again (Baç 2008: 84).

The customs union between Turkey and the EU was established on March 6, 1995. Following that milestone Turkey's foreign trade with the EU increased in proportion and variety and an increase was observed in foreign direct investments which remained around one billion dollars per year until then (Kapusuz 2006:121-138). The most important advantage of the Customs Union on the Turkish economy is that; in the new period, EU standards were used in the industrial production in Turkey, and therefore, Turkish products started to get attention and to be demanded not only in the EU market but all over the world.

Since the late 1990s, Turkey began to sell goods not only to Europe but also to almost every region in the world (Kirişçi 2009). Another notable development in the new era is the replacing of the security prioritized foreign policies to the policies accommodating and emphasizing cooperation and compromise that would benefit both sides. In the second half of the 1990s, Turkey was diversifying their relations on the one hand; it has not given up the EU goal on the other. Agenda 2000 report which had no mention of Turkey's candidacy and the exclusion of Turkey at the EU`s Luxembourg summit in 1997 were however, disappointing.

While the candidate status was recognized for the successor states of the former Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact and Yugoslavia and Malta and Cyprus in the Summit Final Declaration, only the statement of "eligible for full membership" was used for Turkey. Reacting to this decision, Turkey froze the political ties with the EU unilaterally. However, that situation did not lead to a disruption in the Customs Union mechanisms. Another paradox experienced during this period is that: The European Union published progress reports for the first time in 1998 on Turkey although Turkey din not have an official candidate status. After this date, the progresses Turkey made in terms of the Copenhagen criteria and other liabilities required for membership were analysed in these reports published periodically (Baç 2002: 83).

Turkey, in the 1990s, has continued its Europeanization within the impact of the EU's soft power. Helsinki Summit in December 1997 had represented a crucial turning point. The declaration of the candidate status of Turkey and the start of negotiations shortly after; have leaded the increase in foreign investment , as well as the prestige in the regions so called the hinterland of

Turkey such as the Middle East, the Balkans and the Central Asia. Within the start of negotiations in 2005; the foreign capital entering Turkey, has reached half the level of the foreign capital inflows in fifty years (Zucconi 2006: 104).

The goal of full membership to the European Union was directly reflected in Turkey's foreign relations. The dialogue and cooperation with Armenia and Greece, Turkey's mediator role in regional conflicts, the Africa initiative, the relations with third countries to be carried out according to the win-win principle; have formed the gains of the new era for Turkey. Turkey had even changed its arguments for Cyprus issue and used its influence on the Turkish side over the adoption of the Annan Plan for Cyprus.

Ideologically opponent political parties in 1990s have reached a consensus on EU membership. The EU´s modifying effect on Turkey with the Customs Union has accelerated after the 1999 Helsinki summit. Efforts to comply with the Copenhagen criteria and the legislative changes in the following years have triggered the revolutionary changes. Indeed, Turkey's elites; including the military, have seen the EU process as the new method of modernization (Tocci 2005: 75).

4. Period of Candidacy and Accession Negotiations: Turkey's Gaining Self-Confidence

It is obvious that the European integration as it had begun as a peace project; provides political stability and economic development to its member states. The allocation of resources to economic development has made the EU become a welfare society. These developments in the Western Europe have attracted the surrounding countries for EU membership. One of the countries that EU created dynamism; has been Turkey, especially the Europeanization of Turkey has been accelerated during the nomination and the negotiation periods to the EU.

Immediately after the customs union, the legislative changes in many areas have been raised. Some changes caused by the membership of the Council of Europe in this period have also contributed to Turkey's Europeanization and the process of EU .The recognition of the right for to individual application to the European Court of Human Rights for Turkish citizens in the mid-1980s, the termination of the duties of the military members serving in the

State Security Court on grounds of being incompatible with the judicial independence in 1999 were followed by many other reforms (Özcan 2001: 87-96).

Starting full membership negotiations with the EU was a top priority of the Turkish governments coming to power since the beginning of the 2000s. What needs be done for this purpose was to ensure legislative alignment in the areas mentioned within the framework of the Copenhagen Criteria. Radical amendments were made in the constitution and fundamental laws both during the term of the three-party coalition government and the successive AKP governments after the elections of 2002. 34 articles of the Constitution, most of them related to the issues of human rights, were amended in October 2001 (Official Journal, 17 October 2001). Then, harmonization packages were adopted one after another in the period of 2001-2003, changes were made in many areas especially in the articles of the Turkish Penal Code and the Anti-Terror Law which restrict human rights, political and cultural rights. The official name of the legal regulations known as Harmonization Package is the Law on Amending Various Laws. Acceptance dates and item numbers of these amendments are as follows: 6 February 2002, Law number: 4744, 26 March 2002, Law number: 4748, August 2002, Law number: 4771, 2 January 2002, Law number: 4778, 23 January 2003, Law number: 4793, 19 June and 15 July 2003, Law number: 4928, 30 July 2003, Law number: 4963. The freedom of expression and organization was arranged in the first two reform packages. With the third package adopted on August 3, 2002, death penalty was abolished and it was accepted that education and publications in languages other than Turkish can be done (Tocci 2005).

With the fourth and fifth harmonization packages, revisions were made on the Political Parties Law, the penalties for crimes of torture were increased and the limits of the freedom of press and organization were revised in the light of the ECHR decisions. And in the packages adopted in July 2003, the provisions limiting the freedom of thought and organization were redefined, the National Security Council was given a civil appearance, cultural and religious rights were extended in addition to lingual rights. Some articles of the Constitution were amended with the 8th Harmonization Package adopted in May 2004. The prohibition of the death penalty was included

in the Constitution with these amendments, the provisions that constitute contradiction to gender equality were revised, military were taken out of the Higher Education Council, State Security Courts were abolished and their jurisdiction was transferred to the criminal courts (Karakaya and Özhabeş 2013: 7-36).

These reforms were performed one after another, kicked off during the three-party coalition government and continued during the period of the AKP government. Ministries and educational institutions across the country concentrated on the alignment process in order to adapt the legislative changes to implementation. The amendments and implementation failures made were strictly controlled by Progress Reports which were published by the European Commission every year.

As a result of the positive atmosphere created by all these changes, the public support for EU membership rose over 70% at the beginning of the 2000s in Turkey and three out of four people supported Turkey's EU accession. However, on the EU side it was not easy to overcome the deadlocks at the meetings made in order to open negotiations with Turkey and the expectation of the start of full membership negotiations at the end of 2004 was extended to a future date. As a result, the system was blocked after a short time, although the opening up of full membership negotiations on 3 October 2005 created excitement at the beginning. The provisions included in Negotiation Framework Document, especially the possible delays to be created by the introduction the unanimity rule for all member states in opening and closing of the negotiation chapters; and finally the association of 8 vital negotiation chapters with the Cyprus issue in 2006 created a big disappointment (Kramer 2006: 24-31).

Today, Turkey's EU accession does not create excitement in the country as used to do. The confidence in the EU began to decline in the EU member states, too. However, needs to be emphasized that that although the full membership negotiations are blocked, this is not the end of legislative alignment. Turkey proceeds with giant steps even in the areas that negotiating chapters haven't been opened yet and gets ahead (Togan 2012).

The most important point is that the tides in the relations with the EU and eventually the legislative alignment implemented increased the confidence

of Turkey. Turkey has demonstrated an economic performance at a level that kept up with the Maastricht criteria however it was not a member to the EU (Akçay 2008: 11-38). While Turkey received around 1 billion US dollar of foreign investment annually until the establishment of the Customs Union, that figure increased tremendously with announcement of Turkey's candidacy and the start of negotiations after the Customs Union. When negotiations for full membership started in 2005, foreign direct investment inflows rose to $ 8.535 billion, and it reached 17 639 billion USD in 2006, 19 137 billion USD in 2007. The inflows slowed down with the impact of the global economic crisis, it was 14.733 billion in 2008 and in 2009 it amounted to 6.398 billion US dollars (Erçınar and Karagöl 2013)

Despite all the problems, the effect of the EU process on Turkey's socio-economic development is more apparent. While Turkey's GNP during the period of 2001 crisis was 200 billion US dollars, that figure increased over 800 billion dollars by 2013. The per capita income which is exceeding 10 thousand dollars should be evaluated in the same context. The contribution of the EU process to the increase in industrial production capacity and manufacturing of industrial products in European standards is reflected on Turkey's foreign trade and its export figures reached over 100 billion dollars. Moreover, no decline was experienced even after the financial crisis erupted in 2008, and Turkey began to get into the African, Latin American and the Far East markets that it could not be involved until then (Altıntaş and Korkmaz 2011)

Achievement of Western standards in fundamental rights and freedom almost all areas of life gradually implemented by means of legislative alignment. Transfer of the European obligation named as *Acquis Communautaire* is provided by the National Programme, which is the means of arrangements in Turkish legislation for harmonization with EU obligation. Despite having shortcomings in this aspect, the fundamental framework of Turkey was subject to a thorough revision by taking the West as a model. Considering all these aspects, naming the EU process as the most comprehensive modernization and economic development of Turkey throughout the history of the Republic should not be seen as exaggeration.

As the results of the EU reforms; Turkey's Europeanization is reflected not only in the areas of law and economics but also in the foreign policy. Turkey;

giving more importance to the diplomacy in its relations with its neighbours, increasing the number of foreign missions, limiting the military's role in foreign policy decision -making process; have been remarkable progress. Turkey`s elected as a temporary member to the UN Security Council, acted as a mediator in disputes between states, participated in humanitarian activities are some examples reflected in the foreign policy by Europenization (Baç and Gürsoy 2010).

As a whole, the EU's impact on Turkey has triggered the transformation and the change of Turkey. As Öniş has stated; the effects of changes in the EU accession period, have carried the classical modernization of Turkey that based on secularism and democracy to a very advanced level (2004: 28-29).

Conclusion

It is obvious that EU is a very important international actor and a soft power since it has completed the customs union and the common market that is still in the process of economic and monetary union and initiates defence and security cooperation to the limited extent. Today, the EU as an international organization is deeply affecting member states as well, candidate countries. Turkey was forced to accept European standards in the framework under the candidacy and the full membership relations. In this framework, the EU has been the most important external actor in democratization, economic development and the expansion of the limits of the fundamental rights and freedoms in Turkey. However some resistance is encountered time to time, EU`s pressure has moved the modernization / Westernization project that has long been established in Turkey to a very advanced stage. In spite of the some disagreements in the periods of bilateral relations, the truth is: Neither a state nor an international organization has an impact on Turkey that can be comparable to the EU; including the US.

The findings of the study under this framework are as follows: Firstly, Turkey demonstrated compliance with the modernization efforts that has begun during the Ottoman Empire continued through the Republic while establishing close relationship with the EU, in an effort to become a full member. Turkey considered the EU membership as the fastest and most reliable path to modernization. Europeanization, the Western model of organization and the EU standards are, despite the partial opposition,

accepted paradigm in Turkey. The problems emerging during the implementation phase of the obligations accepted by Turkey, drawbacks or deviations do not change the big picture. The idea that Turkey has reached its consensus on: the values represented by the EU carry vital importance for Turkey's modernization.

Secondly, closer relations with the EU have affected Turkey's legal system and gradually transfer of the application of EU`s *acquis* on economic, political and social areas were directly reflected. Starting with the customs union, the compliance to the *acquis* has expanded and continued to accelerate during the candidacy and in negotiation period. Initially, the compliance to the *acquis* involving issues related to trading goods, expanded regarding to the Copenhagen Criteria liabilities and also to the recent introduction of the *acquis communautaire* that gradually put into effect. During the negotiations which areas will be harmonized within the EU system, are determined by the timeline in the National Programme and as constructed is slowly transferred to the domestic law. The interesting point here, even in the chapters that are not open to negotiations, are in fact that Turkey has made progress in terms of compliance.

Thirdly, one of the major achievements of the EU-Turkey relations has also occurred in the area of democracy and human rights. The termination of the influence of armed forces on politics, the adoption of the minority rights, European Convention on Human Rights and other universal human rights texts prevailing domestic law in the Turkish legal system are very important steps. EU's carrot and stick method has leaded to the revolutionary developments in Turkey while forcing Turkey to transfer *acquis* to its domestic law. Today, Turkey has become equals with western European states in many areas. The implementation of the universal legal texts in the areas such as the increase in the number and in the effectiveness of the NGOs, the administrative control, the termination of the military 's mandate and the transparency, have contributed politically to Turkey's Europeanization .

Fourth, the EU's activities as a soft power have opened up a radical change in the economic sphere for Turkey and triggered its potential. Turkey, initially followed import substitution policy and then changed that in the early 1980s, had accepted the outward growth strategy. This basic choice

after the establishment of the Customs Union, has leaded to a rapid growth in the economics for Turkey. The increased foreign investment, the amount of exports and the change of its content and the exports to the third countries of Turkish industrial products with EU standards, have expanded Turkey`s foreign trade volume. As a result of the dynamism triggered by the EU process, Turkey has caught a few consecutive years of high growth figures that were resulted by increased revenues and GDP per capita. Hence, Turkey has climbed some ranks in the list of developed countries. It has also showed progress in areas such as health, transportation, infrastructure and urbanization in a way incomparable with the previous periods.

During the accession negotiations, blockages and delays have been experienced by various reasons between the EU and Turkey, though, compliance with the EU legislation in other words, Europeanization; continues. It is a fact that some areas are experiencing problems, and the compliance rate has fallen, EU membership does not cause much excitement today as it was before. However, as a result of the dynamism triggered by the EU, Turkey has adopted EU standards, even if accession as a full member is not viable, Turkey showed that it will proceed on the way to modernization. Today, Turkey has a liberal democracy where all opinions and ideas to be expressed freely that the only constraint is made upon an application of violence. As a result of the compliance with the EU laws; all kinds of ethnic, religious and cultural identity, have the opportunity to represent self-expression.

To be concluded; the EU, as a soft power, has affected Turkey deeply, in the legal, economic, political and social areas, directly and indirectly. The ancient modernization project of Turkey has been transferred to the implementation as a result of the tightening relations during the candidacy and the negotiation period and the EU has functioned as an external actor converted and changed Turkey and carried out Europeanization. It might be difficult for someone living in Turkey to grasp the progress experienced correctly. From an external perspective, the role of the EU in Turkey's structural transformation could be seen more clearly.

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Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Değişiminde Avrupa Birliği'nin Rolü

İrfan Kaya Ülger**

Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'de siyasal, ekonomik, sosyal ve hukuk alanlarında yaşadığı değişimde AB'nin rolünü incelemektir. Çalışmada öncelikle gümrük birliğinin kurulmasından günümüze Türkiye'de kaydedilen ilerleme ele alınmış, ardından Avrupalılaşma ve Yumuşak Güç kavramları esas alınarak, AB'nin bu süreçteki rolü sorgulanmıştır.

1996 yılında Türkiye ile AB arasında gümrük birliğinin kurulması, Türkiye'nin AB'ye uyumu ve toplumsal değişiminde çok önemli bir dönüm noktasını simgelemektedir. Mevzuat uyumu, kapsamlı olarak ilk kez, gümrük birliğinin kurulması döneminde gündeme gelmiş, 1999 Helsinki zirvesinden sonra hızlanmıştır. Özellikle Kopenhag Kriterlerine uyum için yapılan reformlar ve uyum yasaları, Türkiye'yi önemli ölçüde değiştirmiştir. Türkiye'ye yönelen yabancı sermaye yatırımlarının artması, Avrupa standartlarında sanayi malı üretimi, dış ticaretin hacmi ve bileşenlerinde görülen artış, toplumsal değişimi tetiklemiştir. İnsan hakları, hukuk devleti ve iktisadi alandaki mevzuat uyumu topyekûn ele alındığında görünen şudur: Adaylık ve tam üyelik müzakereleri döneminde ileri sürülen yükümlülükler Türkiye'yi derinden etkilemiş, siyasal ve ekonomik bakımdan bir bölgesel güç haline gelmesine katkı sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Türkiye-AB İlişkileri, Gümrük Birliği, Türkiye'nin değişimi, Katılım Müzakereleri, Yumuşak Güç

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Роль Евросоюза в социальных переменах в Турции

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Аннотоция

Целью этого исследования является Турция, ее политические, экономические,социальные и правовые условия, где идут изменения, чтобы таким образом исследовать роль ЕС (Европейского Союза). В исследовании в основном обсуждается прогресс Турции на сегодняшний день, установление таможенного союза, также, опираясь на концепцию «европезации» и новых энерго технологий, ставится вопрос о роли ЕС в этом процессе.

Установление таможенного союза между Турцией и ЕС в 1996, влияние ЕС на упорядочивание социальных перемен в Турции стало значимым поворотным моментом. Вопрос согласования законодательство, которое было удовлетворительным на первом этапе, был поднят во время установления Таможенного Союза, и был ускорен после саммита в Хельсинки в 1999 году. В особенности, Турция значительно изменила законадательную базу для ее соответствия Копенгагенским критериям. Возросшие иностранные инвестиции в Турцию, производство промышленных товаров по евро стандартам, рост обьема и ассортимента иностранной торговли ускорили социальные перемены. Права человека, юриспуденция, смягчение законодательства в сфере экономики-все это взятое вместе позволяют сделать вывод, что кандидатство и переговоры о полном членстве в ЕС значительно повлияли на Турцию, придав ей региональный вес, внесли большой вклад в политические и экономичиские условия.

Ключевые слова

Отношения Турции и ЕС, Таможенный Союз, изменения в Турции, переговоры, энергосбережение

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