

**“EUROPE” IN TURKISH PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSES: AN
EXAMINATION OF THE VIEWS AND PREFERENCES OF MAIN TURKISH
POLITICAL PARTIES ON EUROPE BETWEEN JUNE 2013 AND JUNE 2015**

by
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ABSTRACT

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Turkey-EU relations have been covered in many different aspects, but a detailed examination of the views and preferences of Turkish domestic political parties on Europe stands as a gap in the literature, especially for the period after 2013. This thesis analyzes and describes the political views and preferences of main Turkish political parties on Europe for the period June 2013-June 2015 with reference to the liberal theory of international relations. The deliberations in the Turkish Parliament is chosen as the data sources for the views and preferences of different political groups. The commonalities and the differences between the stances are clarified and discussed in detail with a six-fold classification along with their positive and negative orientations. The articulation of Turkish views and preferences and the interpretation of the data yields significant results which contribute to the discussion on the Turkey-EU relations and the relevance of European institutions and values in Turkey.

ÖZET

TÜRK PARLEMANTERLERİN SÖYLEMLERİNDE “AVRUPA”: TÜRK SİYASİ PARTİLERİNİN HAZİRAN 2013 TEMMUZ 2015 ARASINDA AVRUPA HAKKINDAKİ GÖRÜŞ VE TERCİHLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME

EMİRHAN ÖZKAN

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupalılaşıma, uluslararası ilişkilerin liberal teorisi, söylem analizi, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, Türkiye-AB ilişkileri

Türkiye-AB ilişkileri birçok açıdan incelenmesine karşın, Türk siyasal partilerinin özellikle 2013 yılı sonrası dönemde Avrupa hakkındaki görüş ve tercihlerinin detaylı bir incelemesi literatürde boşluk olarak durmaktadır. Bu tez, ana Türk siyasal partilerin Haziran 2013 ile Haziran 2015 arasında Avrupa hakkındaki görüş ve tercihlerini uluslararası ilişkilerin liberal teorisine referansla analiz ve tasvir etmektedir. Siyasal partilerin görüş ve tercihlerine dair bilgi Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi tutanakları incelenerek elde edilmiştir. Siyasal partilerin duruşları arasındaki benzerlik ve farklılıklar betimlenmiş ve altı aşamalı bir sınıflandırmaya ve olumlu ile olumsuz yönelimlerine göre detaylıca tartışılmıştır. Türk siyasal partilerinin görüş ve tercihlerinin tasviri ve yorumlanması Türkiye-AB ilişkileri ile Avrupa kurum ve değerlerinin Türkiye'deki önemi hakkındaki tartışmalara önemli bir katkı sunmaktadır.

to my wife and my family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party
CHP	Republican People's Party
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
HSYK	High Council of Judges and Prosecutors
HDP	Peoples' Democratic Party
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
TAF	Turkish Armed Forces
TGNA	Turkish Grand National Assembly
UN	United Nations

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND ARGUMENTATION

1.1. The Research Question and the Relevance of the Study

Turkey-EU relations have traditionally had a varied, unstable nature. Turkey's relations with the EU never followed a steady course; instead, they witnessed many periods in which these relations have improved, and the hopes for further integration or the prospects of accession to the EU have flourished, and also the contentious times where both parties questioned each other's willingness for partnership. The period from June 2013 to June 2015 is special since this period witnessed both the deterioration of Turkey's relations with the EU due to the controversial practices in Turkey such as the disproportionate use of police force in Gezi Events or the erosion of judicial independence and the freedom of expression (Özbudun 2014), and the significant developments in Turkey-EU relations such as the Readmission Agreement (Aka and Özkural 2015).

On June 2013, non-violent protesters in Turkey, composed mostly by educated, non-political, middle-class young people, opposed the cutting of trees in Gezi Park with the intention of building a shopping mall there (Bilgiç and Kafkaslı 2013). The response of law enforcement officers was disproportionately excessive, leading to the ascension of the tension and the evolution of peaceful protests to violent clashes (Hürriyet Daily News 2013). The European Union did not stay silent to these developments, which occur in a country negotiating for full accession to the bloc. European Parliament adopted a resolution criticizing the excessive use of force and the violation of the right to assembly, the practices incompatible with a pluralist democratic society (European Parliament 2013). European Commission criticized the disproportionate use of force and the detentions of the protestors with allegations of membership to a terrorist organization in 2013 Progress Report (European Commission 2013b). Moreover, according to Saatçioğlu, the government's treatment in the Gezi Events marked a normative break

from the EU's liberal values and also encouraged the EU to re-evaluate its ties with Turkey regarding normative and democratic principles (Saatçioğlu 2015). While the tension between Turkey and the EU arising from Gezi Events did not abate, another crisis erupted in December 2013, when a corruption case is opened against the AKP government. Since the government framed the investigation as a judicial coup, it prioritized the change of the structure of the judiciary over the investigation of the alleged corruption. As a result, the ruling AKP passed a series of laws aiming to change the structure of the judiciary, specifically the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK). The new laws resulted in a significant increase in the influence of the executive branch over the judicial body and a critical reversal for the independence of the judiciary since the government became a crucial player in the appointment of the judicial officers and even the proceedings of the investigations conducted by public prosecutors (Müftüler-Baç 2016). European Commission responded with criticisms and expressed its "serious concerns as regards judicial independence and impartiality, separation of powers and the rule of law (European Commission 2014). The government's acts towards revising the independence of the judiciary did not stop there. In December 2014, the structure of the Court of Cassation and the Council of the State had also been changed, further enabling the interference of the executive branch on the judicial body. Then, the government proceeded in its crackdown by changing the Code of Criminal Procedure and increased the authority of law enforcement agents critically, by changing the legal basis for police searches from concrete evidence to reasonable doubt and giving them the right for the confiscation of the properties and eavesdropping (Saatçioğlu 2016). 2015 Progress Report on Turkey noted the effects of this change and argued that the judges and prosecutors are under strong political pressure. Also, in the same report, to define the freedoms of expression and assembly, the Commission used the term "significant backsliding." (European Commission 2015). As all of these developments are incompatible with the 23rd chapter of EU acquis, on Judiciary and Fundamental Rights, Saatçioğlu defines this process as part of "de-Europeanization," the departure from European values and norms (2016).

In contrast to this contentious picture, during this period, the ministers, and the MPs repeatedly declared the Turkish accession to the EU as a strategic goal and expressed their support. In December 2013, Egemen Bağış, then the minister of the European Union, declared the full support of AKP for the EU accession talks (TBMM 2013f, December

13). On December 2014, Volkan Bozkır, then the minister of the EU, defined the full accession to the EU as a strategic aim several times, which is also repeated by AKP MP Galip Ensarioğlu. In total, both MPs used the word “Europe” forty-six times (TBMM 2014f, December 13). Their support for the accession was not merely limited to verbal declarations. MPs in Turkish Parliament stressed the importance of the compatibility of Turkish law and regulations to the EU acquis several times, during this period. For instance, Mehmet Erdoğan, an MP from AKP, defended the change in the e-commerce law with reference to the necessity to be compatible with the EU acquis. As part of the same discussion, Mehmet Ali Susam, from CHP, reiterated the same necessity, but give credit for the change to the acquis by claiming it is owed to the EU regulations (TBMM 2014h, October 23). In another discussion, CHP representative Aykan Erdemir criticizes the existing Protection of Personal Data Law due to its incompatibility to the EU acquis (TBMM 2015b, January 14). Furthermore, the times that Turkey is criticized over its backslide into authoritarianism coincides with the period Turkey and the European Union have established significant cooperation on the migrant crisis: The Readmission Agreement. The European Union and Turkey signed the agreement on 16 December 2013, which entered into force on 1 October 2014. The agreement sets an arrangement in which Turkey will accept the third-party nationals entered to the EU illegally via Turkey and the EU will provide support for the financial needs of the refugees, the border security of Turkey and recognize the right of visa-free travel to Turkish citizens. This agreement marks a significant development and has the potential to ameliorate the relations between Turkey and the EU (Kirişçi 2014). In addition, 2013 is also the year the EU has opened another chapter, 22nd Chapter on Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments, for the negotiation after a prolonged stalemate in the accession talks (European Commission 2013a). To sum up, despite the deterioration of Turkey-EU relations due to the controversial practices in Turkey, there were improvements or the positive signals favoring improvements in some other policy areas including economy, foreign policy, and even accession talks. How can we explain these two seemingly contrasting observed trends? This thesis built over the assumptions of liberal theory of international relations, articulated by Andrew Moravcsik (1992, 1997) and seeks the answer to this issue with an empirical analysis of the views and preferences of the leading domestic actors in Turkey during the period between June 2013 and June 2015. By doing so, the thesis aims to contribute to the understanding of Turkey-EU relations for this particular period.

The thesis does not contribute only to the literature on Turkey-EU relations. The findings of the study are also relevant for the literature on the Europeanization or de-Europeanization in Turkish politics. As a candidate country to the EU, the impact of the negotiation process on Turkish politics attracted a significant degree of academic interest. The term Europeanization denotes “the emergence and the development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated with political problem-solving that formalizes the interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative rules.” (Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse 2001). In other words, Europeanization implies a process of institution-building at the European level and assumes its impact upon the member states (Börzel and Risse 2000). However, an alternative approach criticized this outlook by defining it as a top-down model and presented an alternative bottom-up model, reversing the causal link of the former and prioritizing the agenda of the domestic actors on the transfer of European rules and institutions to the domestic setting (Alpan and Diez 2014). According to Bölükbaşı, Ertugal, and Özçürümez, in the literature on the Europeanization in Turkish politics, the top-down model is dominant (2010). As a response to this dominance and in parallel with the overall development of Europeanization literature, certain studies stressed the necessity to examine the domestic choice for change in Turkish politics (Yılmaz 2012) and even go beyond the top-down and the bottom-up research designs (Alpan and Diez 2014). Moreover, as Turkish democracy deteriorates especially after 2013, the very idea of Europeanization became a point of doubt. Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber (2016) described these developments in Turkey with the term de-Europeanization and defined it as “the loss or weakening of the EU/Europe as a normative/political context and as a reference point in a domestic setting and national public debates.” As noted above, the relevance of Europe is not straightforward though. The domestic actors in Turkey violate some European norms and institutions in specific areas like democratization whereas the same actors may defend the transfer of the European rules in other areas like economy. Besides, the different actors may stress different aspects of the same area; thus, the inclusion of the opposition parties in the analysis of the thesis is important. In this respect, the thesis is also helpful to articulate the relevance of European norms and institutions in Turkish domestic context; thus, the thesis contributes the literature on Europeanization in Turkey as well.

While the assumptions of the thesis are closer to what Yılmaz (2012) calls domestic choice for change, presuming the independence of the domestic actors and recognizing that the actors may use the EU norms and institutions selectively, the empirical findings of this thesis contributes to all approaches in Europeanization to some extent, by providing the relevance of European norms and institutions for Turkish domestic actors. In other words, this thesis is an answer to the need in the existing literature with a more detailed, actor-oriented analysis (Thatcher 2006). The broader examination of domestic preferences, especially in particular issue areas like democratization, judicial reform, or minority right became subject to the studies (see Aydın-Düzgit and Çarkoğlu 2009; Müftüler-Baç 2016; Yılmaz 2012 among others); however, the detailed description of Turkish views and preferences for the period between June 2013 and June 2015 is still absent in the literature. Though the research is contributive regarding empirical results, it follows a theoretical tradition, and it is built on the assumptions of liberal theory of international relations (Moravcsik 1997).

In this framework, the thesis seeks to answer the following question: what are the views and preferences of principal political parties in Turkey regarding Europe for the period between June 2013 and June 2015? To articulate how this question is raised in relation to the liberal theory of international relations, the chapter follows with the articulation of the liberal theory in reference to Andrew Moravcsik's formulation, the presentation of the development of the research question step by step, and the research design of the study. The second chapter is dedicated to the review of Europeanization literature with a focus on the top-down and the bottom-up research models in both the literature in general and in Turkey-EU relations in particular. With the third chapter, the historical background of the relations between Turkey and the European Union will be provided in general lines in order to contextualize the empirical analysis. In other words, before the presentation of the data, how the relations between Turkey and the EU has evolved from the beginning to the post-2013 period will be summarized as a historical context. Then, the thesis follows with the analysis of the findings in fourth and fifth chapters. While the fourth chapter involves a rather general description of the main tendencies in the Turkish domestic setting, the fifth chapter provides a detailed analysis of each main political party as well as for each issue category.

1.2. Basic Principles of Liberal Theory of International Relations

This thesis is founded on the main principles of liberal theory of international relations and, hence, the preferences of the domestic actors are the focal point. The main assumptions can be summarized as follows: the domestic actors are the primary actors, who represent themselves through political institutions and the strategic communication between the political institutions results in the formation of the state preferences. The international politics is an outcome of the interactions of the state preferences. Thus, if the preferences of different states are compatible, the cooperation will prevail. Otherwise, the conflict or a different form of exchange relations will emerge among the states. (Moravcsik 1992; 1997). As it is implied until now in parallel with this theory, the main claim of the thesis is that “Turkish domestic preferences are crucial to understanding the Turkey-EU relations and these preferences should not be confined to the ruling party’s choices; thus, a more comprehensive analysis involving the perspectives of all main political groups is a necessity”. The following part is an articulation of how the thesis’s argument is reached from the liberal assumptions in detail.

1.3. Building an Argument with Liberal Theory of IR

The distinction between the liberal and realist perspectives in international relations lies in their approach to the state. Realist view considers the domestic politics as a black box and takes the structure of the international system, which is the result of the distribution of capabilities in the world, as the primary determinant of the state behavior (Mearsheimer 2001; Waltz 1979). Neoclassical realist approach gives the domestic politics an explanatory value, yet still defines the capabilities and powers as the most crucial determinant of the state behavior (Schweller 2003). Liberal view, on the other hand, gives considerable importance to domestic politics and evaluates the state preferences as a result of domestic processes.¹ Moreover, liberal theory of international relations puts the state preferences in the very center of its analysis and sees all the international politics as derivative of them. In sum, the liberal view reverses the realist

¹ It is important to note here that what the thesis calls liberal view or liberal theory specially refers to the liberal international relations theory as articulated by Andrew Moravcsik (1992; 1997).

view and prioritizes the variation in the ends over the variation in the capabilities (Moravcsik 1992; 1997). As Baldwin (2016) rightly pointed out, we cannot claim A is powerful over B's actions, if we do not know what B otherwise would do. Thus, even to assess the influence of the EU, we should have knowledge of Turkish preferences as well. Moreover, the positive contribution of knowledge on B's preferences is not limited to the evaluation of A's power. According to liberal theory of international relations, the interaction of the state preferences causes the configuration of the international politics. If states' preferences are compatible with each other; the likelihood of the cooperation between them increases. If their preferences are directly opposite, then the conflict is more probable. If the result of the preference interactions is in between full compatibility and direct opposition, then an exchange of concession may be an option, depending on the degree of interest conversion (Moravcsik 1992; 1997). Thus, the knowledge on Turkish preferences would be an essential contribution to assess the direction of Turkish-EU relations for two main reasons. First, for the analyzes prioritizing the effect of European Union on Turkish domestic politics, the knowledge on the domestic preferences in Turkey will enable to assess the influence of the EU more clearly since the power of an actor could only be understood with the information on the subject over which power is imposed. For instance, to assess the normative power of Europe, its capacity to influence the normative framework in an external country (Manners 2002; 2006), the views in this country concerning the European norms and values should be known beforehand. Secondly, for the studies stressing the role of the domestic actors' preferences as the primary building block of international relations, the knowledge on Turkish domestic preferences is indispensable to understand the relations between Turkey and the European Union. For these studies, the follow-up research on the preferences of the domestic actors in the European setting is a necessity as well. Considering all these reasons, Turkish preferences are in the very center of this analysis.

The Europeanization models also give a significant role to the preferences of the domestic political actors to explain the effect of European norms and institutions on the domestic setting, which further supports the importance given to the domestic preferences in this thesis. For instance, Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2004) explain the process of Europeanization over the credibility of the EU and the political costs for the domestic actors. The higher the credibility of the EU, that is the stronger the linkage between the reform process and the accession outcome, the more probable the success of the

Europeanization process. However, the effect of the EU does not solely base on its credibility and influence. The domestic conditions play a vital role in the mediation of this influence. If the change arising from the Europeanization is very costly for a domestic actor, the less likely this actor will opt for the change. On the other hand, Europeanization may be a facilitator for the change in the redistribution of the resources in the domestic policy, thus may lead to the change in the cost-benefit calculations by benefiting a specific group whereas harming the interests of another (Börzel and Risse 2000). Apart from basic utility calculations with focus on specific rewards, these models also include the preferences of the into the equilibrium since the inclination of an actor may change the balance as well. For instance, a political party which has authoritative inclinations may find the democratization process costly (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2004) and favor the status quo as a result. In this manner, in addition to the liberal theory of international relations, also the important models in the Europeanization literature support the importance of the preferences of the domestic actors for the relation between a member or a candidate country, and the EU.

The primacy of domestic societal groups is the hallmark of liberal theory of international relations. In this view, different social groups seek their material or non-material interests through a specific form of collective action. Based on the compatibility of their goals, they prefer to cooperate or conflict. In most cases, a particular amalgam of cooperation or the conflict emerges as the different groups converge in specific forms of the institution and then the resulting higher institutions compete (Moravcsik 1997). In today's modern politics, the political parties are the most common political organization which function for interest aggregation. In addition, the social groups may not seek to realize their interest only through political parties and may prefer to establish intermediate solutions as well, like lobbies, interest groups, or unions. However, in the end, the political parties act as the highest institutional representation of interests (Almond and Powell 1966). That is why the thesis operationalizes the articulation of the interests of different political groups or movements in Turkey through the statements of leading political parties or its members. Though certain factors may influence the degree of representation like the size of the parties or competitiveness of the system, the political parties remain the vital institutions of the representation of the interests (Almond and Powell 1966). Thus, the examination of the general formation of Turkish views and

preferences on the EU through the political parties is a result of the assumption on the primacy of societal actors and the significance of political parties as interest aggregators.

Bringing the two assumptions together, the liberal theory of international relations does not see the states as unitary actors unlike realists do firmly (Legro and Moravcsik 1999). Furthermore, it does not view the states as actors at all; instead, it conceptualizes the state preferences as a result of the interaction of the domestic societal groups. The states have no autonomous quality; instead, they act merely as a representative. At this point, what Moravcsik call transmission belts, the representative institutions through which the societal groups translate their preferences into state policy, become crucial (Moravcsik 1997). A crucial “transmission belt” for foreign policy is obviously executive branch. The political parties realize their goals and preferences when they hold office, and the government of a state is the highest office for which they compete. Yet, focusing on the executive branch would result in the blindness to the domestic developments and the broader formation of domestic preferences. According to Putnam (1988), “a more adequate account of the domestic determinants of foreign policy ... must stress politics: parties, social classes, interest groups ... not simply executive officials and institutional arrangements.” In order not to fall into this limited scope, another crucial transmission belt is the subject of this thesis: the parliament. The parliaments do not merely include the representative of the ruling party, but also the representatives of the opposition parties. In this respect, the parliaments become the venues in which all the political parties having a meaningful representative power have a voice. For this reason, the parliament is a more suitable platform than the government to assess the preferences of domestic political groups in a given society since it rooms different groups than the ruling political party too. The choice of parliamentary deliberations to assess the political perceptions has already been established in the literature (Ilie 2010; Van Dijk 2003). In parallel, this thesis assumes that the deliberations in Turkish Parliament could represent the preferences of leading political parties in Turkey on the European Union.

Consequently, deriving from the liberal principles, this thesis investigates the domestic preferences of main political parties in Turkey concerning Europe and the EU by analyzing the deliberations in Turkish Parliament. By doing so, reaching to evaluation and the summary of the views and preferences of the domestic political groups in Turkey on Europe and the European Union for the period between June 2013 and June 2015 is intended. This investigation will fill an important gap in the literature and contribute to

the literature on Turkey-EU relations and Europeanization in Turkey. However, it is important to note that this study is not the first in terms of using the Turkish parliamentarians' views to comment on its relations with Europe. The prior studies, on the other hand, either focused on the interviews as data source (see McLaren and Müftüler-Baç 2003) or focused on certain issue areas in a time frame like the foreign policy of the European Union (see Müftüler-Baç and Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm 2015), or rather focused on the European Parliamentarians' view on Turkey (see Aydın-Düzgit 2015). Those who adapted to very similar time-based approaches to the deliberations in Turkish Parliament did not cover the period from 2013 onwards (Parslow 2006; Tanıyıcı 2010).

Before the design of the study is explained, it should be noted that the thesis does not argue that the domestic political preferences have the highest explanatory power in understanding Turkey-EU relations. Understanding this complex relation necessitates a broader analysis including, but not limited to, the decision-making at the EU institutions, the domestic preferences of European countries, the developments in the world politics, and the effects of the international system. Such an in-depth outlook is beyond the limits of this research. Nevertheless, the results of this thesis are not merely “supplement” for other alternative explanations as well, like realist accounts. This thesis has a theoretical foundation, and the arguments and evaluations are based on the explained main assumptions. The results of the thesis could be combined for further analysis, but this does not mean it holds a secondary position with regards to rivaling explanations.

1.4. Research Design

After the articulation of the main theoretical tenets behind the argument of this thesis, this part moves and articulates the operationalization of them by lying down the essential features of the research design. The thesis analyzes the preferences of main political parties through the examination of the deliberations in Turkish Parliament from June 2013 to June 2015, stretching a 25-months period. This examination will be a result of a contextual analysis of the statements, discussions, or declarations found in the parliamentary transcripts published by TGNA Minutes Journal (TBMM Tutanak Dergisi) after a keyword search of the terms “Europe,” “the European Union,” and “the EU.”

The main political parties in this thesis refer to any political party that has enough seats to create parliamentary groups in TGNA. As a result, by leading political parties this thesis refers to Justice and Development Party (AKP), Republican People's Party (CHP), Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), and People's Democratic Party (HDP)² and excludes the views of independent MPs. Table 1 summarizes the votes and the seats of each political party. Considering the total percentage of votes gained by the four political party which is more than 95% of the total number of votes, Turkish Parliament is sufficiently representative, increasing the reliability of the findings.

Table 1. Percentage of votes in 2011 elections and the number of seats allocated for each main political party

Name of the Party	Percentage of Votes in 2011 Elections	Number of Seats in Parliament
AKP – Justice and Development Party	49,83 %	327
CHP – Republican People's Party	25,98 %	135
MHP – Nationalist Action Party	13,01 %	53
HDP – People's Democratic Party ³	6,57 %	35
Other Parties	4,61 %	0

Source: YSK (Supreme Electoral Council of Turkey) 2011

The research covers the period from June 2013 to June 2015; therefore, the Turkish Parliament's composition following the June 2015 and November 2015 elections are not included in the above table. This period is chosen because of the following reasons. First, it covers the period when Turkish slide into authoritarianism became more apparent (Özbudun 2014) and when the influence of the European institutions is still weak in Turkish domestic politics. In this period, domestic actors' preferences became more important. As a symbolic starting point of this period, the analysis begins with the month Gezi events had happened, June 2013. Its end also marks the new elections and the

² HDP is officially established in October 15, 2012, and the MPs from Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) transferred to this newly-established political party. However it was an incremental process, and there are times after June 2013 both BDP and HDP have MPs in TGNA. Since both parties represent more or less same political base, for simplicity HDP is referred to cover Kurdish-led socialist movement during the thesis.

³ MPs from HDP participated in 2011 elections as independent candidates. All thirty-five independent candidates entered into Turkish Parliament in 2011 were from the list Labor, Democracy, and Freedom Bloc, backed by BDP, which later became HDP.

changes in the Turkish Parliament. By keeping the limits of the research with a specific period of parliament, the actors' stability is ensured since the subject of the analysis has evolved after the elections in June 2015 and November 2015, and the new parliament formation began after November 2015 elections did not end as the research of thesis is conducted.

The data source chosen for the determination of the views and preferences of domestic actors in Turkey is the deliberations in the Turkish Parliament. The thesis aims to reach a detailed portrayal of the views and preferences with the examination of the parliamentary deliberations since the discussion in the parliament requires more arduous task of conveying the intended message through discussion with the competing views. The analysis assumes that the views of MPs represent the views of their own parties. In addition, to detect the relevant discussions, a keyword search for three words is conducted: "Europe," "the European Union," and "the EU."⁴ Before a detailed examination of them to detect the views and preferences, the irrelevant texts are sorted out, such as the bureaucratic proceedings concerning the EU. To help the reader to understand the empirical findings better, it is necessary to clarify the intention behind the choice of the keywords in detail.

The reason behind the choice of the words "the European Union" and "the EU" for the search is simple. This search yields important results in terms of the parliamentarians' articulation of the EU and its institutions. Because MPs use these words interchangeably to refer to the EU, both terms are used to search their views on the EU and converged them under the same category. However, not all the results of the search are relevant and even meaningful; thus, the data is cleaned by removing the results concerning the bureaucratic titles such as the minister of the EU, and the official procedures like the roll-call for the EU Harmonization Commission. In addition, the results including the wrong attributions to the EU is removed such as the importance of Turkey's membership to the Council of the European Union from the early times, which actually refers to the Council of Europe.

The second chosen word reveals the broader understanding of European integration: Europe. The results of the search do not merely include the EU institutions but also includes other European institutions of which Turkey is a member such as the

⁴ During the search, I used their Turkish counterparts: Avrupa, Avrupa Birliği, AB

European Court of Human Rights or the Council of Europe. As Kaliber (2014) has argued, Europeanization should not be confined to EU-ization, and the analysis concerning the influence or relevance of Europe should include other European institutions as well. The inclusion of other European institutions does not necessarily mean to recognize the EU as a less influential organization. The EU remains the most effective institution empowering the European norms and values through reward and punishment mechanisms (Müftüler-Baç and Gürsoy 2010). However, having other European institutions in an analysis of Europeanization yields more inclusive results. The thesis also shares the same outlook. In this framework, the results of this category would contribute to the understanding of Turkish political parties' views on Europe. Again, the results irrelevant for the discussion are eliminated such as the geographical attributions to the European continent or the statistical comparisons made by the parliamentarians such as Turkey's rank in Europe in a given subject.

To sum up, the thesis uses general keyword research to create two clusters. The first cluster includes the discussions on the European Union and reached through the keyword search of "European Union" and "EU." The second cluster includes the deliberations on Europe in general.

To analyze these clusters, each discussion is coded and categorized according to their content. These categories are accession, human rights and democratization, policy adaptation, economy, foreign policy, politics in Europe, identity, and culture. Accession category includes any statement having a favorable or unfavorable view towards the EU accession process of Turkey. Human rights and democratization category include any statement that refers to EU norms, regulations, and *acquis* to discuss the status of human rights and the democratization process in Turkey. It should be noted that the social rights such as worker rights are included in this category as well. Policy adaptation category is very inclusive and includes any statement that refers to the EU policies and *acquis* in the discussions of Turkish domestic law, regulations, and public policies, from health to education, from environment to public security. In economy category, any statement discussing Turkey's economic relations with the European Union, including Customs Union, and the discussions on the re-structuring Turkish economy with reference to Europe is covered. The foreign policy category includes any discussion about Turkey's relations with Europe as well as the impact of the European Union's and European countries' foreign policies on Turkish interests. The category of politics in Europe covers

any discussion related with the political developments in European countries, from the rise of right-wing nationalism to the rise of the left in individual countries, to the treatment towards Turks in individual European countries. In the identity category, statements about the European values, norms, and identity is covered. Lastly, the culture category refers to any cultural and scientific exchange between Turkey and European countries, and any reference to the cultural and scientific practices in Europe. The summary of this codification and its coverage can be found in the following Table 2.

Table 2. Summary of categories employed in the research of the thesis

Category	Code	Coverage
Accession	Access	Turkey's EU accession process and its compatibility with Turkish interests
Economy	Econ	the adaptation to requirements of the European markets; the economic policies of the EU and the European countries; Turkey's trade relations with European economies and the EU
Foreign Policy	Foreign	Turkey's relations with European countries and the EU; the foreign policy of the EU and European countries; the impact of their foreign policies on Turkish interests
Human Rights and Democratization	Democ	the Council of Europe decisions; European Convention of Human Rights; European Court of Human Rights; the EU acquis; the EU decisions; the democratization process in Turkey; the status of human rights in Turkey
Policy Adaptation	Policy	the adaptation to the EU acquis in the domestic laws, regulations, and public policies; the references to the policy practices in European countries and the EU regulations
Politics in Europe	Political	the domestic political developments in European countries; the political practices in European countries
Identity	Identity	European identity; European norms and values
Culture	Cult	the cultural and scientific exchange between Turkey and Europe; the cultural and scientific practices in Europe

In addition, the results are divided in terms of positive and negative orientations. Each statement which takes Europe, its norms, institutions, and EU acquis as a reference to be reached or emulated is coded as a positive view. On the other hand, each statement which criticizes Europe, its norms, policies, and EU acquis and argues for their incompatibility to Turkish interests is coded as negative view. It is important to note that

the collection of the data does not involve any interpretation towards the content of the discussions. The expressions of the MPs are not evaluated on the basis of their coherence or compatibility with the practice. It would be helpful here to exemplify positive and negative references in order to clarify the content of these orientations in the thesis. For instance, HDP MP Erol Dora criticized the proposed changes in HSYK and argues that the law is incompatible with both the decisions of the European Union and the Council of Europe (TBMM 2014b, Jan 22). This type of criticisms is counted as positive reference to the European institutions since the decision taken by them is referenced in order to defend a political position. On the other hand, for same law, AKP MP Yılmaz Tunç argued that it is in line with norms of the European Union (TBMM 2014a, Jan 21). Again, this reference is counted as positive reference too, since the MP attempted to validate its position by referencing to the EU. Thesis does not discuss whether the law is compatible with the EU's norms or decisions; rather, it takes the words of the members of parliament into considerations simply by looking at whether or not they frame European institutions and values as a reference point to be emulated or to be rejected. For example, MHP representative Bülent Belen openly argues that the Customs Union with the European Union harms Turkish economy and Turkey should leave it, especially if the EU enters into a special economic arrangement with the USA, referring to Trans-Pacific Partnership (TBMM 2013f, Dec 13). This statement is coded as a negative reference since the Customs Union with the EU is presented as a harmful arrangement for Turkish economic interests. Again, the thesis has no stance or evaluation towards the accuracy of the argument.

In conclusion, in this chapter, the basic premises of liberal theory of international relations are presented, and the argument of the thesis is built step by step in reference to these premises. The main query of the thesis is reached, the domestic views and preferences in Turkey from June 2013 to June 2015, and its operationalization through the detailed analysis of the parliamentary discussions of main political parties in TGNA is explained.

As a follow-up, the second chapter reviews the literature in Europeanization in general lines and relates the contributions of this thesis to discussions on the Europeanization. To contextualize the empirical findings of this research, the third chapter describes and summarizes the historical background. Then, the fourth chapter portrays the general trends in the views and preferences of Turkish political parties by

using the cluster and grouping according to the eight categories which have been described in this chapter. After the demonstrations of the general patterns, a more detailed examination of each political party's views in relation to the two clusters and eight categories are provided in the fifth chapter.

CHAPTER 2

EUROPEANIZATION AND TURKEY

The first chapter has put the question, its relevance, and its operationalization forward. The analysis of the views and preferences of major political parties in Turkish Parliament would contribute to the literature on Turkish-EU relations as well as on Europeanization in Turkey. In order to clarify where this thesis stands in the literature, the second chapter is dedicated to the review of Europeanization literature in general, and the Europeanization literature in Turkey in particular.

2.1. A Short Review of Europeanization: Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up Designs

The research design of the thesis shares the liberal assumption that the preferences of the domestic actors are the primary building block of international politics (Moravcsik 1997). The status of the views and preferences of the domestic political parties, on the other hand, does not always holds the very central role in the studies on Europeanization studies, though they become part of the explanation in one way or another. The literature on Europeanization mostly follows two research designs: top-down model prioritizing the effect of European norms and institutions, and bottom-up model highlighting the demands of the domestic actors. Though the assumptions of this thesis are closer to bottom-up model than the top-down model, the findings of the research are helpful for both approaches. To articulate how the thesis relates and contributes to the existing studies, and also differs in certain aspects, a short review of the literature on Europeanization and a brief discussion on some common premises would be helpful.

The academic inquiry to the Europeanization has begun with analyses of the adaptation of the EU members to the *acquis communautaire*, and of the changes in their

domestic politics under the influence of the EU (see Falkner et al. 2005 and Héritier et al. 2001 as examples). As the European Union has enlarged to Central and Eastern Europe, the impact of the EU in the newly acceding countries and the candidates raised new questions and led the enlargement of Europeanization literature as well (see Grabbe 2006 and, Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2004 as examples; see Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005 for a review). Later, the potential members of the EU became a subject of inquiry, especially West Balkans (see Elbasani 2014; Noutcheva and Aydın-Düzgit 2012). Although the literature lacks a commonly-agreed definition of Europeanization, certain trends can be observed in alternative definitions, and in each approach, the importance of the domestic preferences varies.

Olsen (2002) calls the variance in the definitions of the concept as the many of faces of Europeanization and points out to their differences. According to Olsen, what is changing in the definitions of Europeanization are “(i) the territorial reach of a system of governance, (ii) the development of institutions at the European level, (iii) the penetration of national systems of the governance to a European political center, (iv) the exportation of the political organization beyond the European territory, and (v) the degree to which Europe is becoming a stronger entity”. Usually, each definition is delimited for the purposes of an article or book chapter (Olsen 2002). The drawing of the boundaries of such a contested concept is beyond the scope of this thesis; moreover, the thesis does not choose and defend any specific definition of Europeanization either. Nonetheless, it is the purpose of this chapter to show the general discussions in the Europeanization literature and to point out how the findings of the study can be contributing to those discussions.

A relatively more quoted definition of Europeanization defines it as “the emergence and the development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated with political problem-solving that formalizes interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative rules.” (Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse 2001). This definition implies that the Europeanization is very broad in its scope and includes both the European, national and even sub-national levels. On the other hand, the primacy of the institution-building at the European level is noteworthy as the focus of the definition is on the development of common rules and institutions at the European level, with the participation of the national and sub-national actors. Olsen (2002) argues that the best theoretical frame which captures the dynamics of the institution-building at the European

level is the purposeful choice of the actors in national and sub-national level. This choice may be relatively independent as the Moravcsik's conceptualization of liberal theory of international relations suggests or may be a constrained choice in an institutional setting (Olsen 2002). In both scenarios, the choices of the domestic actors became a primary factor that enables the emergence of new institutions at the European level.

Another strand of Europeanization discussions reverses the focus of the former approach and stresses the impact of the European institutions at the domestic level. According to Olsen, this is the most commonly used variant of Europeanization, which enabled its further sophistication (2002). In parallel to this view, Ladrech defines Europeanization as "a process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making (1994)." Unlike the Cowles et al.'s conceptualization of Europeanization, Ladrech recognizes the European institutions as the independent variable and the domestic politics as the dependent variable. The author recognizes "the continuing validity of national politics" and conceptualizes the national politics with an autonomous character responding to both sub-national and supranational influences (Ladrech 1994). In this conceptualization, the explanatory power of the domestic preferences declines, in comparison with Cowles et al.'s model, since the domestic actors act as response agents in this model, to the external and internal pressures. Nonetheless, having the knowledge on the preferences of the domestic actors could be helpful for the analyses based on this conceptualization since it will contribute to the evaluation of the impact of the European institutions.

The external incentives model is a good illustration of the formulation of Europeanization highlighting the domestic impact of European institutions. The model explains the effect of European institutions by assuming the actors are the utility-maximizers, and the EU is the provider of the external incentives. Accordingly, the EU reinforces the compliance to its rules and institutions by providing rewards and costs on the member states as well as the candidate countries. As the EU conditionality changes the calculations in the domestic equilibrium, the political groups seeking advantage on the implementation of EU rules and regulations favor change whereas the other groups benefit from the status quo resists. When the benefits from such changes exceed the costs associated with it, the state prefers to adopt the EU rules (Börzel and Risse 2000; Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2004). Similar to Ladrech's argument, the external

incentive model limits the autonomy of the preference formation to the external incentives or limitations given by the EU as well as the power equilibrium in the domestic politics. Nonetheless, the preferences have an explanatory value in this model, though definitely not as the primary factor; and thus, having the knowledge on the preferences of domestic actors would yield significant contributions to the studies using this model either.

These two approaches can be considered as the two poles in the discussions in Europeanization. While a strand of Europeanization literature focuses on the effects of the already-established European institutions on the domestic politics, another alternative branch underlies the importance of the preferences of the domestic actors on the formation of European rules and institutions. However, there is a degree of variance in each approach. The studies following these two strands do not employ the same conceptualization altogether. For instance, Radaelli's definition of Europeanization does not include the stress on the organizations Ladrech has; instead, it includes the identities and other cognitive aspects of politics. In addition, his definition excludes any reference to the lawmaking; yet refers explicitly to public policies. Hence, Radaelli sees Europeanization as "process of construction, diffusion, and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy, paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies (Radaelli 2003)." The definitions of Europeanization made by Ladrech and Radaelli are not different regarding the position of the European institutions and the domestic agents in their causal link. Their difference arises in the scope of the concept, on what Europeanization includes.

These two strands of Europeanization results in two different research designs: top-down and bottom-up research designs. Top-down research models present the EU policies as exogenous variables and begin the chain of causality between them. Under the adaptational pressure, the effect of Europeanization goes through domestic mediating factors and results in a change in the domestic system (Börzel and Risse 2003). Though the explanation for the process of this change varies from rationalist explanations to sociological outlook, the EU preserves its hierarchical position, and the member or candidate countries are assumed to adopt them after a specific process. In other words, this view conceptualizes the domestic actors as responders to the EU pressures, rather than the agents having an independent set of preferences in relation to the EU. In such

explanations, the domestic politics came to the spotlight when a problem is observed in the implementation, and the preferences of actors are presented only if they are relevant for the discussion of the EU influence (Alpan and Diez 2014). For instance, Dimitrova (2012) argues for the need to analyze domestic preferences to understand the process and success of Europeanization, but this need concerns mostly if the political groups opt for the EU membership. Once they choose the European track, the EU conditionality shapes the process. In such top-down analyzes, domestic factors include domestic adjustment costs, veto players, and so forth and they recognize only a limited degree of autonomy to domestic actors. The assumed direct causal link from the EU to the domestic level stays as the main feature of such designs.

In contrast to the top-down research design, the bottom-up approach examines the domestic politics as a more autonomous arena, yet this approach also fell short to treat the domestic actors as entirely independent. In bottom-up explanations, the examination begins at domestic level and then how they react the EU acquis is evaluated (Bölükbaşı, Ertugal, and Özçürümez 2010). In essence, the bottom-up research design is not different from the top-down model in the sense that both see the eventual transfer of the EU rules and institutions as the primary target to be reached and the domestic actors as the implementers of this goal. Neither of the models recognizes a full autonomy of the domestic actors and the possibility of non-European goals.

Radaelli and Pasquier (2006) summarize the biases in both approaches by identifying two common problems observed in Europeanization literature. The first problem is “prejudging the impact of the EU on domestic politics and policy,” which is very close to what has been presented as the bias of top-down models. The second problem is the literature “assumes that if some domestic changes look similar to those proposed by Brussels, this must be an instance of Europeanization.” Again, this bias is what has been pointed out as the problem of bottom-up approaches.

To erase the defined biases, it is necessary to go beyond the top-down and bottom-up models in Europeanization (Alpan and Diez 2014) and the research should explain the domestic choice for the change (Yılmaz 2012). In parallel, the domestic actors should be treated as independent agents who have their agendas and are not obliged to follow an absolute path. It does not necessarily mean that European pressure should be ignored or discarded in the analyses; instead, the domestic actors’ preferences and strategies should

have a greater significance in the studies in addition to the already established European effect. In this framework, the domestic political groups are formulated as the opportunity-seeking agents. That is, the domestic groups value the signals and incentives coming from the European institutions in line with their interests in domestic levels (Hix and Goetz 2000). In this view, the political parties may not adopt some European policies while they pursue others; and this is not a problem regarding the explanation since no pre-judgment exists concerning the preferences of the actors. This perspective enables to describe and explain a more extensive set of actions, including anti-Europe policies or mixed stances towards Europe in different policy areas.

The theoretical approach of this thesis enables it to go beyond these top-down and bottom-up research designs. Though the liberal theory of international relations is closer to the bottom-up model, the empirical finding concerning the domestic views and preferences is contributive for both of these approaches. Nonetheless, the actor-based approach of the thesis is particularly useful for the analysis for Turkish case from 2013 onwards since Turkish stance towards the EU has a mixed nature, which supports the improvement of the relations in some instances like the economy, whereas it violates the EU norms and institutions in others like democratization and human rights. The following two sub-chapters are dedicated to the articulation of this empirical relevance.

2.2. Europeanization in Turkey-EU Studies

In Turkey, Europeanization has attracted extensive academic attention only after the 1999 Helsinki Summit, in which the European Council grants Turkey a candidate status (Müftüler-Baç 2003). Turkish academia has also demonstrated a similar inclination with overall Europeanization research trend and showed great interest in top-down research agenda, especially in the early phases (Bölükbaşı, Ertugal, Özçürümez 2010). That is, they have taken the impact of the EU as an independent variable, and then followed its influence in the domestic politics of Turkey. Turkish scholars adopted a somewhat normative or legalist approach to Europeanization of Turkish politics (Müftüler-Baç 2003). In addition, the impact of the EU conditionality, especially Copenhagen criteria,⁵

⁵ Copenhagen Criteria refers to the rules to which the candidate countries are expected follow to be eligible for full membership. The articles of the criteria is specified in the European Council meeting held in Copenhagen on June 1993.

on Turkish democratization process attracted particular attention (see Aydın and Keyman 2004; Müftüler-Baç 2005 as examples). The studies with a more detailed examination of domestic politics' change under the influence of the EU has followed. In this framework, the evolution of specific policy areas is examined in terms of Europeanization, from minority rights to social policy, from environmental policies to foreign policy (see Nas and Özer 2012 for a review). Similar to the bias explained in the Europeanization literature in general, these studies on the Europeanization of Turkish politics and policies also recognized a privileged position to the influence of the European Union and approached the domestic politics as a dependent variable.

Some studies, on the other hand, pointed out the agendas of domestic actors as an essential factor to explain the democratization and Europeanization of Turkish politics. Öniş (2010) argues that the EU accession is used by the political parties to promote their agendas in domestic politics, primarily to consolidate their powers for the political center. Kalaycıoğlu (2011), on the other hand, makes a distinction on when the preferences of domestic actors became a vital factor to explain Turkey-EU relations and points the period after 2004 as the start line. Still, he also argues that the EU became relevant or influential in Turkish politics as long as the domestic agenda supports it. In addition, the importance of the EU vis-à-vis domestic politics showed itself in anchor vs. trigger discussions in Turkey-EU relations (Tocci 2005; Uğur 1999). Tocci (2005) detects certain limitations on the focus on the EU conditionality and concludes that the process of Europeanization is driven by “endogenous” factors, though she also stresses the EU-related pressures.

In all these studies, similar to the pattern in Europeanization research in general, the authors either did not recognize a full autonomy of the domestic actors or do not present a detailed examination of domestic preferences. In order to fill this gap, the thesis demonstrates the preferences of domestic actors in Turkish setting with reference to the parliamentary discussions. This analysis will be a significant empirical contribution to the debate on Turkey-EU relations. Yet, the significance of this study is more than a simple empirical addition to the literature. This thesis also responds to the puzzle emerged in Turkish case after 2004, where Turkey has continued to adopt the EU *acquis* in some policy areas even though the EU conditionality has weakened. The following subchapter will further elaborate this point.

2.3. The Turkish Puzzle

Top-down research designs and the prioritization of the influence of the EU on the changes in domestic politics are not criticized merely because of a bias removal. A more critical factor is to reach greater parsimony, to explain a broader set of behavior, especially in the Turkish case. A significant challenge to the analyzes assigning primacy to the influence of the EU arose when they were not able to explain the observed trend emerged after 2004 in Turkey. Since then, the EU conditionality has weakened, but Turkey has implemented some reforms regardless, though selectively. Since 2013, AKP's drift to authoritarianism did not obstruct it or other parties to pursue some EU-related policies. Actor-based approaches proved to be more successful in covering these new trends as well as the behavior of AKP after 2004. Because the thesis assumes the preferences of the domestic actors has the prime role in explaining the behavior of the states and sees the influence of the EU in a secondary position, AKP's seemingly contrasting positions does not cause a theoretical problem. The assumptions of the thesis explains both the AKP's support for the implementation of the democratic reforms in reference to the EU norms and institutions after 2004 despite the decreased EU credibility and its cooperation with the EU in the migrant crisis in 2014 while it moves away from the democratic principles with reference to the preferences of the views and preferences of Turkey. In both events, the ruling party's preferences have a more determining effect than the EU's incentives, which is mostly absent. Though the analysis of the thesis is limited to the period from June 2013 to June 2015, the puzzle emerged after 2004 in Turkish case demonstrates the further relevance of the thesis and its theoretical premises; moreover, the examined 25-months period is a continuation of this trend emerged after 2004. Thus, in this subchapter, this puzzle will be explained to demonstrate the further relevance of this thesis and its theoretical premises.

The EU influence on the domestic politics through EU conditionality can be attributed to three mechanisms: the determination of the rules set as conditions for rewards, the size and the pace of the rewards, and the credibility of the threats and the rewards (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005). Any meaningful increase in each factor results in the growth of the EU influence as well, or any significant decrease results in the weakening. During the accession process to the EU, the fundamental rules for the candidate countries are the Copenhagen criteria. The Copenhagen criteria specify the

conditions to be a member state of the European Union, which can be summarized as the commitment to the democracy, the rule of law, human rights, market economy, economic development, and the protection of the minorities (Council of the European Union 1993). Typically, the credible EU signals should establish a causal link between the reform process and the accession outcome and exclude any references to criteria other than the ones specified in the 1993 Copenhagen Summit. For Turkey, this causal link has blurred as the European Commission reports increasingly referred to additional and non-political criteria, resulting in the decrease of the EU conditionality on Turkey, especially after 2004 (Saatçioğlu 2010).

In the first few years of 2000s, the European Commission and the European Council stated that the membership conditions for Turkey is no different from other candidate countries and are solely based on the Copenhagen political criteria (European Commission 2002; Council of the European Union 2002; European Commission 2003). For instance, the Presidency Conclusion of the European Summit held in Brussels on 24 and 25 October 2002 openly invites Turkey to “take further concrete steps in the direction of implementation, which will advance Turkey's accession in accordance with the same principles and criteria as are applied to the other candidate States (Council of the European Union 2002).” The reports published by the European Commission and the European Council suggested Turkey could be a member of the EU once it delivers the necessary reforms. However, starting from 2014, the inclusion of the non-political criteria, in addition to the Copenhagen criteria in the reports of the European Commission contradicted with the previous promises. The claims of absorption capacity, the stress on the open-ended nature of the accession negotiations, the need for good neighborly relations, and the possible population pressure of Turkey in case it accedes to the European Union appear in the decisions of the European Council and the European Commission, in addition to the political criteria. Even cultural differences are presented as a challenge, and it is implied that the inclusion of Turkey is different from other phases of enlargement (Council of the European Union 2004; European Commission 2004a; 2004b; 2004c). In addition to these extra non-political criteria added to the Turkish accession process, the tensions arising from the foreign relations also affected the accession process, which is again added another criterion, the good neighborly relations, which is not part of the Copenhagen criteria. Since the Republic of Cyprus has accessed the European Union without a meaningful solution to the Cyprus issue, it created yet

another significant obstacle for Turkish accession. The European Commission and the Council referred to this problem many times as a substantial barrier for Turkish membership (Council of the European Union 2006; 2008; 2010; European Commission 2006; 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2010). The rhetorical changes in the European Union and increasing reference to the non-political factors resulted in a dramatic drop in the EU's credibility (Saatçioğlu 2010). Substantial policy repercussions by the European Union followed such rhetorical changes as the EU has suspended the negotiations in eight chapters due to the Cyprus issue (Council of the European Union 2006). In addition to the stalemate arising from the EU's stance on the Cyprus issue, Turkish accession to the EU became a focal point in domestic politics at certain key European countries like France and Germany, and the privileged partnership, a specific form of special status, is suggested instead of full membership. The combination of these two developments caused the policymakers in Turkey to see the EU as an unreliable partner and aided in the rise of Euroscepticism in Turkey (Öniş 2007). Consequently, the conditionality of the EU has lost its influence after 2005 (Noutcheva and Aydın-Düzgit 2012; Saatçioğlu 2010). In parallel, anti-European sentiments in Turkey made the implementation of the EU demands costlier and less likely for the policymakers (Çarkoğlu and Kentmen 2011; Öniş 2007; Patton 2007). The following slow-down in the EU reform process in Turkey was not surprising after these developments.

Despite this discouragement in both domestic and international level, concerning the audience costs and the EU conditionality, Turkey has resumed reforms in specific policy areas with reference to Europe. The reforms in the judicial system, the military, and the minority rights can be considered in this framework (Aydın-Düzgit and Çarkoğlu 2008; Gürsoy 2011; Yılmaz 2012; Yılmaz and Soyaltın 2012). This puzzle, the continuation of the reforms despite the lack of the influence of the EU conditionality validates the stance of the actor-based bottom-up approaches by creating a semi-natural critical experiment. If the reforms continue in the absence of a presumed cause, then the attribution of a causal link would be misleading. A more parsimonious explanation is necessary to cover all the empirical findings if a critical experiment fails the rival explanation (Lave and March 1993). Moreover, Turkey also followed an idiosyncratic path and chose specific policy areas to adapt while disregarding others. This trend, too, can be better explained with an actor-based approach as the domestic actors' agenda highly influence the process and they are assumed to seek policies in their group's interest (Hix and Goetz 2000).

Therefore, the examination of the domestic politics is necessary to explain Turkey-EU relations in a more encompassing manner with its greater parsimony of the empirical patterns.

After the first chapter introduced the relevance of the study, this chapter further detailed where the contributions of the thesis stand in Europeanization literature as well as the literature on Turkish-EU relations. After the main definitions of Europeanization is presented and the relevant top-down and bottom-up research designs are summarized and evaluated, the promises of the theoretical stance of the thesis become clearer. An actor-based explanation, treating the domestic actors' preferences as an independent variable, is necessary to understand Turkish-EU relations since the influence capacity of the EU on Turkey, the EU conditionality, has weakened and the relevance and the effect of the choices of the domestic actors increased. The thesis does not only contribute empirically to the existing literature on Europeanization and Turkish-EU relations; it also built on a more parsimonious framework to make sense of Turkish behavior on selectively pursuing specific Europeanization tracks while disregarding others.

The results of this research will not be meaningful without a historical context; thus, the third chapter describes and summarizes the general historical development of Turkish-European relations, from 1945 to up until 2017. Without claiming an exhaustive summary of all developments in Turkish-EU relations, the following chapter is intended to contextualize the data which will be presented in fourth and fifth chapters.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After the motivations and then the theoretical framework of the thesis is summarized in the previous chapters, the background information related with the Turkey-EU relations is a necessity to understand the results which will be presented in the following chapters. Certain phases of the relations with Europe is still subject to discussions domestically, such as the Customs Union Agreement with the EU. Moreover, the context that the deliberations are conducted in the parliament, the period starting with 2013, is important for their evaluations and the assessment of their relevance as well. This chapter, however, does not aim to present an exhaustive summary of Turkish-EU relations; rather, the target of the chapter is to provide the general trends in the development of Turkish-EU relations in order to contextualize the empirical findings which will be presented in the fourth and fifth chapters. The weakening of the conditionality, and the increasing relevance of the preferences of the domestic political actors are the main fault lines in the chapter's narrative.

The chapter analyzes the historical development of Turkish-European relations in four periods. The first period covers a large time interval, from 1945 to 1999. This period is important as it is the foundation upon which the contemporary relations has built up. It begins in post-WWII setting and continues until the time Turkey became more than a partner neighbor, that is a candidate country. The second period begins with the candidacy decision of Helsinki Summit for Turkey and continues until the time when EU conditionality began to weaken. The third period covers the times when the EU conditionality is weak, yet Turkey conducts certain reforms in selected areas, from 2004 to 2013. The last period marks the years Turkey's slide into authoritarianism became more apparent and its orientation to the West is questioned.

3.1. Old Times, 1945-1999

Turkey was an important member of Western bloc in post-WWII era. In February 1945, Turkey joined to World War II in the side of Allies. In 1947, Turkey was among the European countries receiving Marshall aids from the US, which subsequently resulted in its membership to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which later became Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), as a founding member in 1948. In 1949, Turkey was one of three countries invited to become a founding member of the Council of Europe after its establishment treaty is signed in London. In 1952, Turkey has joined to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) along with Greece. As all these developments suggest, in post-WWII years, Turkey had a significant place in Western bloc in terms of politics, economics, and security (Oran 2010a).

Even though Turkey eagerly participated in the other European projects, such as OEEC or the Council of Europe, it was rather cautious towards newly emerging European Economic Community (Müftüler-Baç 1997; Oran 2010b). On the other hand, Turkey was interested in European integration efforts because of its strategic aim to be included in Cold War institutional arrangements (Müftüler-Baç 1997), its desire to overcome economic difficulties, and its competition with Greece (Oran 2010b). In this framework, Turkey has applied to EEC on 31 July 1959 for an associate membership and the Ankara Agreement, formally Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey, was signed on 12 September 1963. This agreement established more sophisticated economic relations between Turkey and the EEC. Moreover, it set up a three-phased customs unions plan, and acknowledged the final goal of full membership in Article 28 (Council of the European Communities 1992). In addition to the slowness of the application of the transition phases, planned as around twenty-five years (Oran 2010b), the tumultuous domestic politics of Turkey did not help to the process either. In 1978, Turkey revoked the self-protection clause of Ankara Agreement and froze the Association unilaterally. After 1980 coup d'état in Turkey, the European Community decided to freeze its political relations with Turkey and freeze the Ankara Agreement. In addition, the European Parliament declared it would not renew the European members of the Joint Parliamentary Commission. This deadlock resumed until the Association Council of Turkey and the EEC meets in September 1986 (Erdemli 2003).

In 1987, Turkey finally applied for full membership to the EEC, but the Commission stated that both Turkey and the EEC is not ready for this enlargement since the EEC was in the way of transformation into a single market. In addition, the tension between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus issue was presented as a challenge. Moreover, the gap between the Turkish and European economy was shown as a sign for the necessity of the establishment of a customs union with Turkey before its full membership (European Commission 1989). The agreement for a customs union was reached in 1996, though only for industrial products. Still, this agreement marked a closer economic and political relations between the EC and a non-member state. Though the nature of the agreement was mostly economic, the EC conditioned its finalization to certain democratic improvements in Turkey, such as changes in anti-terrorism law (Balkır 1998). The impact of European institutions would be felt more deeply in incoming years.

This general summary of the period from 1945 until 1999 suggests that Turkey has given a vital significance to the Western, European institutions in the Cold War years and the relations between Turkey and the EC has improved in a great extent. Nevertheless, the slow-pacing of the membership period had its signals even in these beginnings, which became clearer when Turkish experiences is compared with Greece, Spain, and Portugal (Öniş 2007).

3.2. Good Times, 1999-2004

In 1999, the European Council met in Helsinki and made a very significant decision, as they recognized Turkey as a candidate country for the EU (Council of the European Union 1999). As Turkey become part of the enlargement process, the influence of the EU has increased on Turkish domestic politics (Noutcheva and Aydın-Düzgit 2012). In this period, important steps for the democratization of Turkish politics is taken; yet, mostly because of political reasons, a significant political stalemate began to take shape in 2004 between Turkey and the European Union, due to conflicting signals from the EU and the Cyprus issue.

The European Council's decision in its Helsinki Summit to recognize Turkey as "a candidate state destined to join the Union" (Council of the European Union 1999) is a major turning point in Turkey's relations with the European Union. Unlike the

conclusions at the former summit in Luxembourg, where Turkey is the only applicant country not counted among the states for which accession talks will be held along with Eastern European countries and Cyprus (Council of the European Union 1997), in two years, the European Council declared Turkey's accession will be "on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate states." This emphasis on the equal treatment is crucial because the EU will not keep this promise and non-political criteria will be referred in Turkey's accession negotiations, which will deteriorate the EU's influence on Turkish domestic politics significantly (Saatçioğlu 2010).

Helsinki decision accelerated the reform process in Turkey in both political and economic areas in order to meet the requirements of Copenhagen criteria. These reforms cover a rather large set of policy areas from the extension of citizenship rights to elimination of human rights violations including the freedom of expression, the freedom of association, and the prevention of torture. The reforms have aimed at the creation of a liberal, pluralist political order and strong regulatory state on economics (Öniş 2003). In 2001, Turkey declared the National Program for the Adaptation of the Acquis and set a large reform program targeting to meet the Copenhagen criteria, which was revised in 2003. The constitutional changes and the harmonization packages, the changes in law to meet the acquis, followed these decisions rapidly. Öniş (2003) describes early 2000s as a period of profound and momentous change in Turkish history. The harmonization efforts that began with the coalition governments continued after the AKP came to power as well and continued until mid-2000s (Kubicek 2011; Müftüler-Baç 2005). As a positive response to these changes, the European Council declared that the negotiations with Turkey will begin without delay if the Council decides that Turkey fulfills the Copenhagen criteria in 2004 (Council of the European Union 2003). In 2004, the European Commission recommended the start of the negotiations on 3 October 2005 (Council of the European Union 2005).

During all these changes, the EU institutions continued their emphasis that Turkey will be treated equally with other candidate countries, and its accession conditions are only based on the Copenhagen political criteria (European Commission 2002; Council of the European Union 2002; European Commission 2003). Of course, this emphasis is in very parallel with the EU's credibility and its influence on the domestic politics in Turkey. The match between the preferences of the domestic actors and the EU's demands marks

a strong fit in this period (see Börzel and Risse 2000; 2003). As these signals evolved into a different direction in 2004, it marked the end of the ideal match.

3.3. Times without Conditionality, 2004-2013

Starting in 2004, the European institutions began to add new, non-political references for the evaluation of Turkey's accessions prospects to the EU. This new trend decreased the EU credibility in the domestic politics of Turkey. Nevertheless, certain reforms are made in Turkey with reference to the accession to the EU or the *acquis*, mostly due to the preferences of domestic actors.

The Commission reports and the European Council presidential conclusions refers to non-political criteria in addition to the already-agreed-upon Copenhagen criteria in 2004 onwards. These references include the concerns for the EU's capacity to absorb new members, the need for good neighborly relations, the size of Turkish population and its effects on the EU in case it becomes a full member, and even the challenges arising out of the cultural differences. In addition, the stress on the open-ended nature of the negotiations became yet another pattern in these documents (Council of the European Union 2004; European Commission 2004a; 2004b; 2004c).

Furthermore, the domestic developments in key members of the EU, France and Germany, affected the negotiation process negatively, since the newly incoming leaders in each country questioned the European credentials of Turkey (Öniş 2010). In addition, the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU without any solution the impasse in the island led to yet another barrier for Turkish accession efforts. The European Commission and the European Council underlined this issue several times a significant obstacle for Turkish membership (Council of the European Union 2006; 2008; 2010; European Commission 2006; 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2010). These tensions led to important results for the negotiations. In 2006, the EU has suspended the negotiations in eight chapters because of the impasse on the Cyprus issue (Council of the European Union 2006). The six additional chapters are blocked by the Republic of Cyprus itself as a protest to Turkey's refusal to recognize it as the representative of the island and to open its ports (Tocci 2010).

As a result of these developments, the EU credibility and the conditionality has dropped significantly in the view of Turkey (Noutcheva and Aydın-Düzgit 2012; Saatçiođlu 2010). Yet, despite the slowdown on the reforms (Kubicek 2011), the reforms in certain policy areas has resumed with reference to Europe, which could be described as the Turkish Puzzle. The reforms in the judicial system (Müftüler-Baç 2016), in the minority rights (Yılmaz 2012), in the position of the military (Gürsoy 2011), in the fight against the corruption (Yılmaz and Soyaltın 2012) can be counted among those policy areas.

In conclusion, the rising impact of the Europe in the former period is shaken after 2004 and the influence of the European institutions has decreased in an important degree. However, though slowly, the reforms have continued in certain policy areas. This motivation for the change may be attributed to the domestic preferences of the actors and their competition, specifically between ruling party and the secular opposition (Kalaycıođlu 2011; Öniş 2007; 2010).

3.4. Hard Times, after 2013

The weakening of the EU conditionality on Turkey turned to be almost non-existent phenomena in period after 2013 since the deterioration of the democracy in Turkey detriment its relations with the European Union as well.

Though the establishment of AKP hegemony in Turkey through its struggles with judicial and military establishment brought important democratic achievements until mid-2010s, it turned to be a pro-status quo party after. Moreover, it undermined the democratic consolidation through its governance based on securitization, otherization, and polarization, which led to vital damages to the freedoms of expression, assembly, and information in Turkey (Keyman and Gümüşçü 2014). The internal political struggles worsened the scene, and the freedoms are restricted increasingly along with weakening judicial independence and the democracy. Gezi Park events in 2013 marked this deterioration trend as the ruling party responded the peaceful, non-political protesters with disproportionate police violence and deepened the polarization in the country (Özbudun 2014).

Unsurprisingly, this deterioration has affected Turkey's relations with the EU and other European institutions very negatively. In response to the Turkey's harsh human right violations during the Gezi events, Germany has blocked the start of the talks between Turkey and the EU (Dombey et al 2013). Though the relations have seemed to be improving in certain issue areas such as the migration and the refugees (Crisp 2016), the continuous deterioration of the freedoms in Turkey did not help much for the amelioration of the relations. In opposite, as response to the increasingly dependent judiciary in Turkey and other undemocratic practices in Turkey after 15 July coup d'état attempt, the Council of Europe decided to put Turkey in the watchlist to monitor its falling democracy (Rankin 2017). Moreover, the European Parliament recommended the suspension of the accession talks with Turkey on July 2017 (Toksabay and Karadeniz 2017). As Turkey's relations with the European Union deteriorated, the orientation of Turkey towards Europe is questioned and alternative approaches to the Europeanization has been developed such as de-Europeanization (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016).

The thesis analyzes the beginnings of these tumultuous times, from June 2013 to June 2015, and questions the relevance of the Europe and the European Union in the deliberation in the Turkish parliament. As explained before, the choice of the beginning date is based on the importance of 2013 for the deteriorating democratic standards in Turkey symbolized with Gezi. It ends in June 2015 because new elections were held in this date and the composition of the parliament has changed after. The thesis aims to portray the preferences of main political parties concerning Europe and the European Union in these volatile times. In the next chapters, the results of the research will be presented.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL PATTERNS OF THE DELIBERATIONS IN TURKISH PARLIAMENT CONCERNING EUROPE

With this chapter, the presentation of the empirical findings will begin after its theoretical assumptions and argumentation are explained in the second chapter, its relevance is summarized in the second chapter, and its historical and contextual background is described in the third chapter. Considering the complexity of the empirical data, the presentation is divided into two. As a first step, this chapter sums up the general trends in the views and the preferences of Turkish political parties, without specifying the individual sets. In the following chapter, the preferences of the main political parties will be defined in detail and compared. In this framework, this chapter is dedicated to the demonstration of the general patterns of the views and preferences of main Turkish political parties on Europe as well as the European Union.

In this chapter, firstly, the frequency of the discussions on Europe and its volume is discussed. Then, Pareto distribution of the deliberation issues is evaluated according to the eight categories articulated in the first chapter, and to their positive and negative orientations. Based on these results, the articulation the main agenda topics and contextualization of the discussions on the relevant categories will follow. The same blueprint is intended to be applied to the discussions on the European Union; however, because the results on the EU did not demonstrate any significantly different pattern, its results are not discussed separately.

4.1. Discussions on Europe in TGNA from June 2013 to June 2015

The positive references to Europe in Turkish parliamentarians' deliberations stays mostly dominant from June 2013 to June 2015, though along with a constant share of negative references. Below, in Figure 1 and 2, the solid line represents the positive views towards Europe whereas the dashed line represents the negative views. As Figure 1 indicates, the change in positive views and negative views follows mostly a similar trajectory: they tend to increase or decrease at the same time interval. Moreover, the general formation of the views towards Europe at TGNA is almost always favorable, with a significant exception in June 2014, in which the negative views surpass the positive ones one and only time. Overall, the Turkish preferences are mostly positive, as 79,51% of all the uses of Europe in this period has a positive connotation, which also suggests a considerable 20,49% negativity rate. These patterns will be more meaningful when they are examined with the context of the deliberations; so that the analysis of the peak times follows in reference to the deliberation topics of the month and also the common themes discussed across the months.

Figure 1. Frequency of the positive and negative references to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

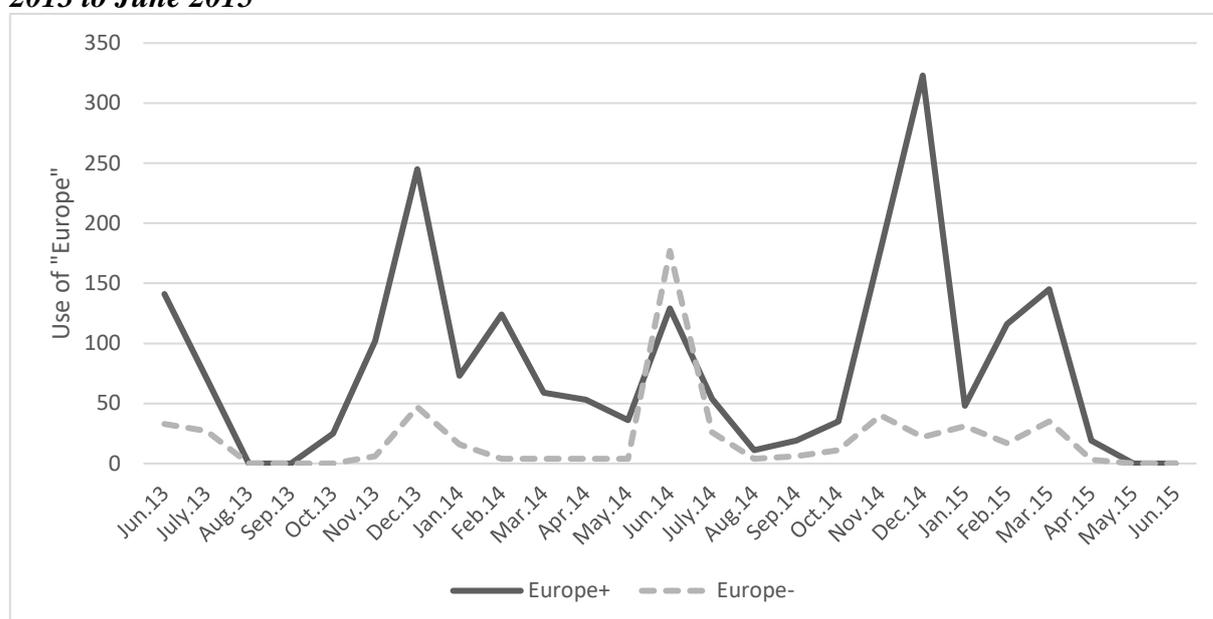
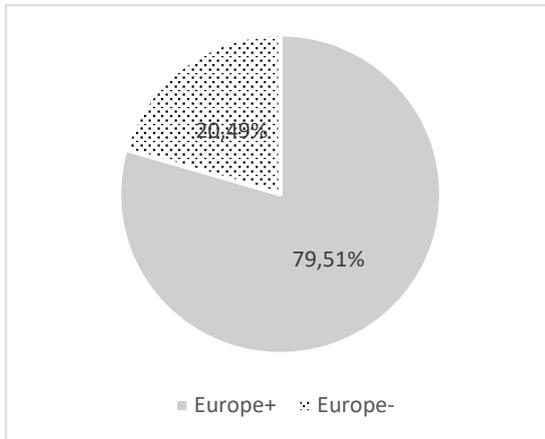


Figure 2. Volume of the positive and negative views on Europe, in percentages



On June 2013, the discussions on human rights and democratization dominated the deliberations, with 88 out of total 141 uses of Europe on this month referring to the level of democracy in Turkey. This is a response to Gezi events and the deliberations on this month revolved around human rights abuses and the level of democratization in Turkey, including the

right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the use of disproportionate force by the law enforcement agents. In the following months, the volume of discussions on Europe, that is the use of the word Europe, declined until it began to rise on October 2013, and considerably increase on November 2013 and December 2013. The rise on November 2013 owed to the spikes in the discussions on the economy and democratization, and this trend is not merely a response to a particular event. Instead, the discussions on the human rights and democratization on November 2013 were distributed on a fairly wide set of events including the conditions of the prisons, the detention practices, the headscarf issue, the right to assemble, the right to live, and the conditions of the subcontracted workers. The deliberations on the economy in this month, on the other hand, concentrated on the law of consumer rights and public procurement law. The dramatic increase in December 2013 is thanks to the annual central budget talks for 2014, which composes the evaluation of every institution and under the executive branch and their budgets in order to obtain the approval of the parliament. Again, the discussions on the human rights and democratization take the leading share, 91 out of 292, yet this time the deliberation on the accession process has an approximately similar portion, 78 out of 292, which are followed by the categories economy, foreign policy, and the politics in Europe. As the trend declines in January 2014, February 2014 sees another spike, again in terms of democratization, mostly due to the new law changing the structure of High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK), which puts the judicial independence in jeopardy significantly (Özbudun 2015). In all of these debates, the EU, European institutions, and norms have found their place as a reference point to legitimize the stances of each political

party, though mostly used by the opposition parties, which will be further elaborated in the fifth chapter.

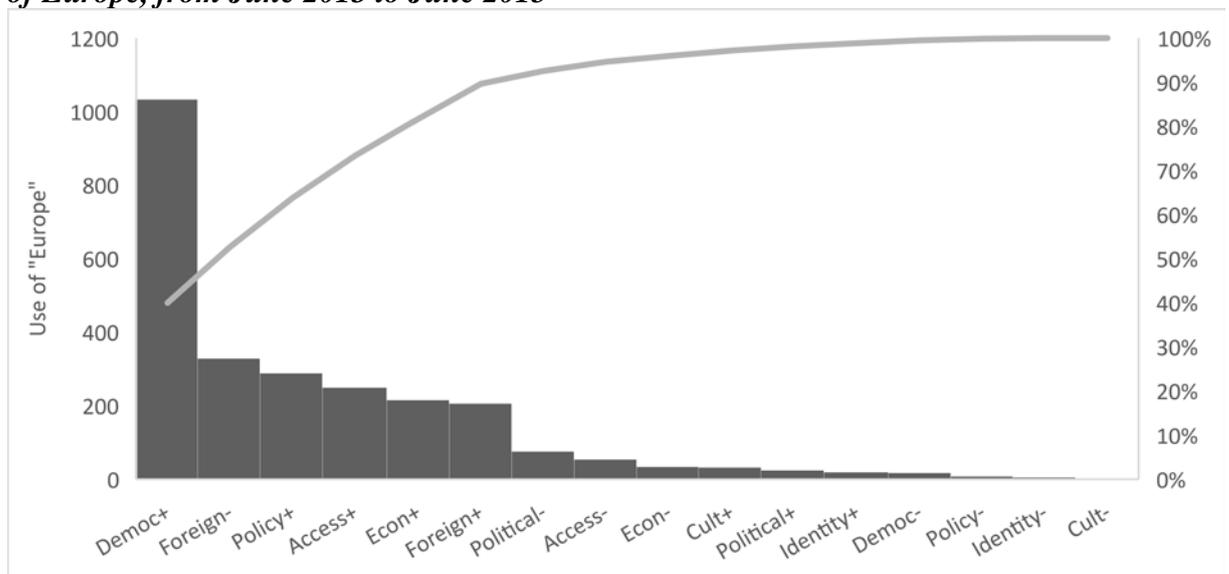
In June 2014, for the first and only time during the examined period, the intensity of the negative views had overpassed that of positive views. This sudden and peculiar change in the overall trend emerged due to the discussions on the ratification of the Readmission Agreement between Turkey and the EU, concerning the illegal immigrants flocked to Europe. The agreement establishes an arrangement in which Turkey will accept the third-party nationals entered to the EU illegally via Turkey and the EU will provide support for the financial needs of the refugees, the border security of Turkey and recognize the right of visa-free travel to Turkish citizens (Kirişçi 2014). All of the opposition parties strongly rejected the agreement on the grounds of unfair treatment to Turkey. Faruk Loğoğlu from CHP argued that the EU treats Turkey with double-standard and presents the financial support and visa-free travel to Turkish citizens as if it is not obliged already under the treaties signed between Turkey and the EU, specifically Ankara Agreement (TBMM 2014e, Jun 19). Similarly, Lütfü Türkkan, an MP from MHP, claimed that Europe has imposed the agreement on Turkey and the EU does not treat Turkey as an equal partner (TBMM 2014e, Jun 19). HDP representative Erol Dora move forward and criticized the EU by arguing that it follow a security-oriented foreign policy instead of a humanitarian one (TBMM 2014e, Jun 19). Interestingly, even though the representatives of the ruling party described the EU as an unreliable partner and claimed that it does not act in line with humanitarian goals, they favored the agreement. For instance, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, the minister of foreign affairs, criticized the EU by claiming that the EU left human-oriented focus and also that the EU applies double-standard to Turkey on conditioning the visa to another agreement, though it is already promised in Ankara Agreement (TBMM 2014f, Jun 24). This month marks the only time that all main political parties shared the same orientation in any category; and the fact that they merged on an unfavorable position rather than a favorable one resulted in this negative peak.

Though the discussions on Europe followed a low profile up until November 2014, it reached the record high number during this period on November 2014 and then peaked on December 2014. The rise on November 2014 is mostly because of the foreign policy discussion of the EU around the authorization of Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) to support the EU-led operations in Africa, referring to the UN-mandated, EU-led operations in Mali and the Republic of Central Africa (CNN Türk 2014), and the democratization

discussions due to another change in the structure of High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK), the supreme disciplinary body regulating the judicial officials. The highest frequency on the use of Europe during the studied period is reached on December 2014, again during the annual central budget talks, which roomed the discussions on the accession period of Turkey, the backslide of Turkish democracy, the various human rights violations across the country, and the need for economic cooperation with Europe especially for the re-structuring Turkish economy. Following this peak point, the frequency of the discussions decreased in the following months, with the exception of March 2015, where the democratization discussions again flourished as a response to the controversial enforcement law known as domestic security bill, which increases the authority of law enforcement agents dramatically and raised the concerns of significant human rights violations (Hürriyet Daily News 2015).

As all the major discussion agendas Europe is referred suggests that Europe's primary relevance for Turkey is human rights and democratization, and the topics like economy and the accession process attract significant attention as well. On the other hand, the preferences for the foreign relations with the EU seems as a significant challenge for the relations between Turkey and Europe. Nevertheless, although the analysis of general trends through peak points is helpful, all the discussion data should be analyzed to detect the most important and relevant discussion categories and the perceptions of the actors as well. For this reason, the Pareto chart in Figure 3 would be very helpful.

Figure 3. Pareto chart describing the distribution of the categories in the discussion of Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015



The Figure 3 demonstrates that the biggest volume in the deliberations in Turkish Parliament belongs to the human rights and democratization category. The apparent dominance of the category suggests Europe's first and foremost role in Turkish politics is being a reference point for human rights and democratization. This finding implies the presence of significantly positive reception for the normative power Europe in the domestic politics of Turkey (see Manners 2002; 2006).⁶ As the chart suggests, in terms of policy adaptation, economy, and the accession to the EU, the positive orientation is stronger than the negative one. Nevertheless, the negative view towards Europe in foreign relations stands as a significant block among positive perceptions, as the total volume of the negative perceptions stands in the second place among all sixteen sub-categories. Another significant result we can reach from the chart is that the discussions on the democratization, foreign policy, economy, policy adaptation, accession to the EU, and the politics in Europe covers almost all the discussions, and the relevance of the identity and culture seems almost non-existent for the deliberations in TGNA. Based on this finding, the perceptions on the identity and culture will not be articulated in this analysis; instead, the major six categories for which the main political parties refer with a higher interest will be on the focus.

4.1.1. Human Rights and Democratization

The human rights and democratization theme is the strongest among other topics in the discussions on Europe at TGNA. As Figure 4 and 5 indicate, the reference to Europe in democratization discussions is heavily positive, 98,32% of all the references. Only negative references to Europe are made on 13 June 2013, in the discussions of Gezi Events, by the MPs from AKP and MHP on the grounds that Europe cannot be a reference point to evaluate the level of human rights and democracy in Turkey. For instance, Egemen Bağış, then the minister of the EU, criticizes the European Parliament's decision criticizing the disproportionate use of police force during the Gezi Events by claiming that the EP has no authority to judge the level of democracy in Turkey (TBMM 2013a, Jun 13). For the remaining period, in any discussion of democratization, European

⁶ It does not necessarily mean Turkey is in the way of democratization during the period between June 2013 and June 2015. In fact, the opposite is true, as explained in third chapter of this thesis. Nevertheless, this data still suggest the significant relevance of Europe for the human rights and democratization in Turkish domestic setting.

institutions served as a reference point to evaluate the democracy in Turkey. For instance, Hasip Kaplan, an MP from HDP, criticized the internet bans in Turkey on the grounds that they violate the European Convention for Human Rights (TBMM 2014c, Feb 5).

The frequency trend of democratization follows a similar trajectory with the overall frequency of the use of the term Europe, analyzed before. It is expected since the democratization has the undoubtedly biggest volume among all categories in the discussions and can influence the general trajectory. Still, it is useful here to remember the discussion topics in order to understand the context of the discussions.

As long as the parliament convenes, the MPs refer to Europe to criticize or justify a practice in Turkey in terms of democratization. Yet, in certain times, the relevance of Europe in democratization discussions rises significantly. Gezi Events is the main reason for the rise on June 2013, and the civil and political rights are mainly discussed in the parliament with reference to European conventions, the reports of the Council of Europe, and the EU documents. On November 2013, the various issues were addressed from the improper detention practices to the headscarf issue, from the right to assemble to the conditions of the workers. Similarly, a variety of issues are discussed on December 2013 as well, due to the annual central budget talks, and the independence of the judiciary is in the focal point of the discussions. On February 2014, the concerns around the judicial independence led to another concentration of discussions on the level of democracy in Turkey because of the law proposed to change the structure of High Council of Judges and Prosecutors, increasing the influence of the executive branch over the decisions and

Figure 4. Frequency of democratization discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

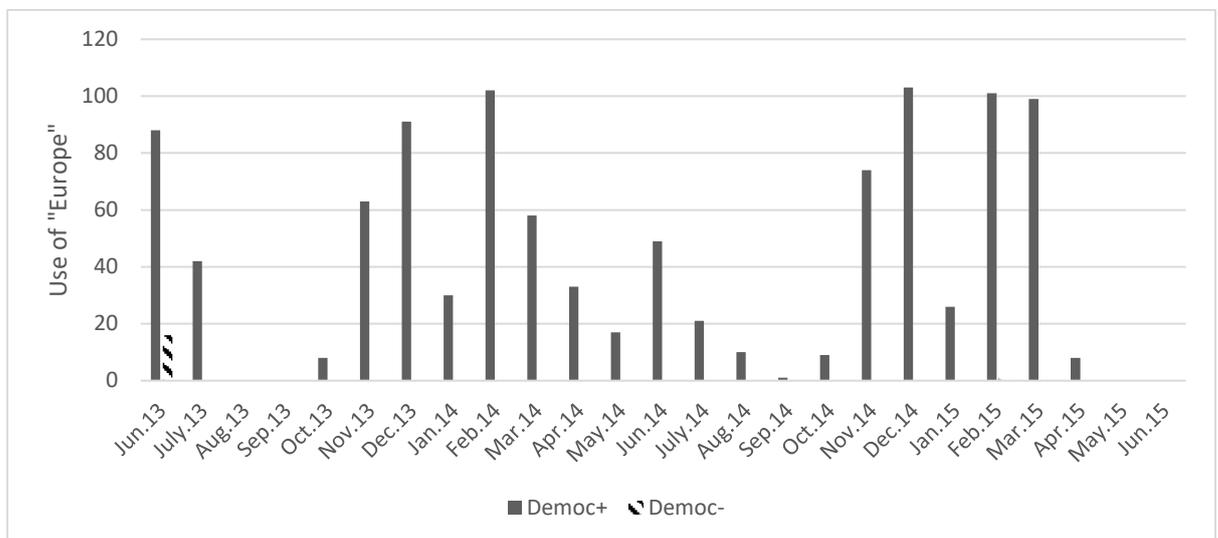
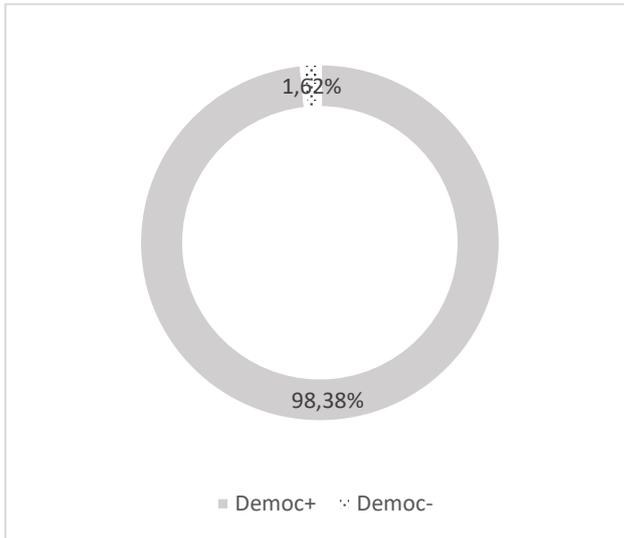


Figure 5. Volume of democratization discussions in relation to Europe, in percentages



structure of HSYK (Özbudun 2015). The same issue also caused another spike in November 2014.

December 2014 is a good illustration of the scope of human rights and democracy discussions at TGNA. From political rights to social rights, from the independence of the judiciary to the independence of the media, and from the localization of the

government to the domestic violence against women, a wide set of events is discussed in this interval. After a short decline at the beginning of 2015, the controversial domestic security bill, enhancing the powers of law enforcement agents and the executive officials disproportionately (Hürriyet Daily News 2005), resulted in the high volume of discussion on February and March 2015.

All of these discussion topics indicate that the relevance of the European institutions and norms in Turkish political deliberation is still very high. However, except the annual budgetary talks, most of the increases in the volumes of discussion on the human rights and democratization happened because of the controversial acts and laws made by the government in the beginning. Hence, the high volume of the democracy discussion does not mean Turkey is in the way of democracy; instead, it could be interpreted as the opposite. Nevertheless, this data demonstrates the hegemonic position of European conventions and institutions as a major reference point for all political parties, as each one legitimized its criticism or justification for an issue over European institutions and practices. On the other hand, the appealing to Europe on human rights and democratization happens with varying degrees for each political party, and each of them has a different agenda as they focus on the different aspects of democratization discussions. The elaboration of these positions will be the subject of the fifth chapter.

4.1.2. Foreign Policy

According to Figure 2, foreign policy comes as the second most popular theme in the discussions related with Europe at TGNA. It is also one of the two themes whose total orientation is negative. In this subchapter, the general patterns of this theme will be presented considering Figure 6 and 7, and the data collected for this thesis.

Turkish MPs' view towards the relations with the EU, as Figure 7 clearly shows, is significantly negative. With the exception of December 2013, November 2014 and December 2014, the negative tone is dominant over the positive views in all the remaining months. The criticism towards the EU or European countries as an outsider having plans for Turkey and the Middle East, which conflicts with the interests of Turkey is commonly shared by all political parties, though content and the ideological tone differs from party to party. For instance, HDP representative İdris Baluken criticized the European foreign policy because of their imperialist intervention to the Middle East and the resulting surge of terrorist activities in the region (TBMM 2015a, Jan 6). On the other hand, MHP MP Özcan Yeniçeri also criticize European foreign policy on the Middle East, but with completely different framing. According to Yeniçeri, European powers intended to create divisions among the Muslims in the region and even argues that Europe is in the war with Islam (TBMM 2013e, Jul 7). It is also very common for all political parties to blame each other for the collusion with European powers to the detriment of Turkey's interests. Another strong theme is that Europe does not treat Turkey as an equal partner in its relations. Nevertheless, it is also widespread for all political parties to support

Figure 6. Frequency of foreign policy discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

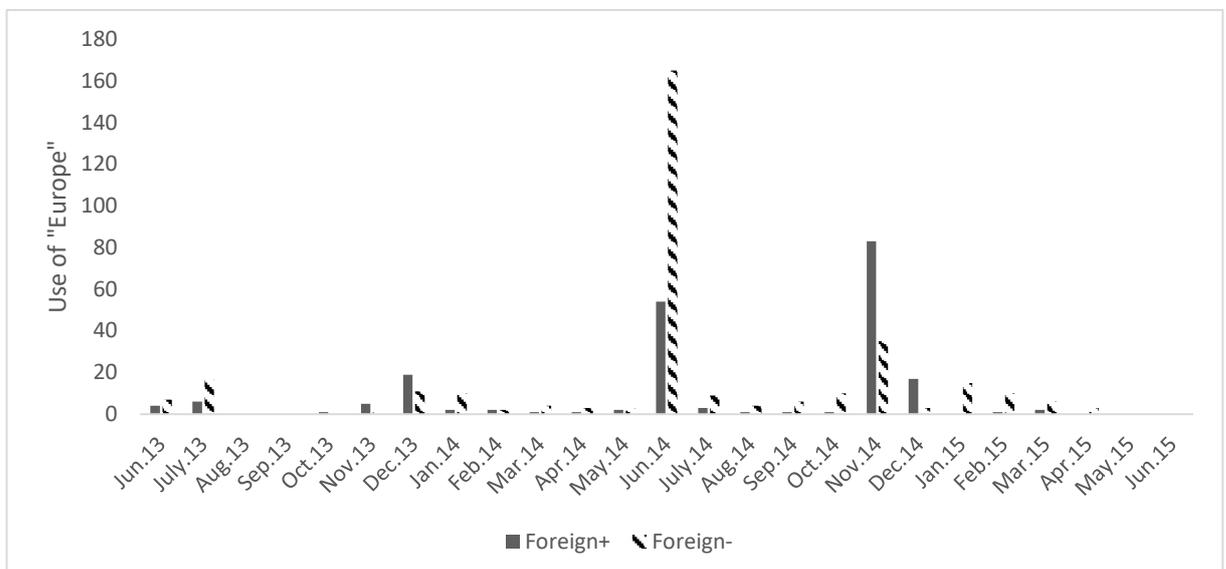
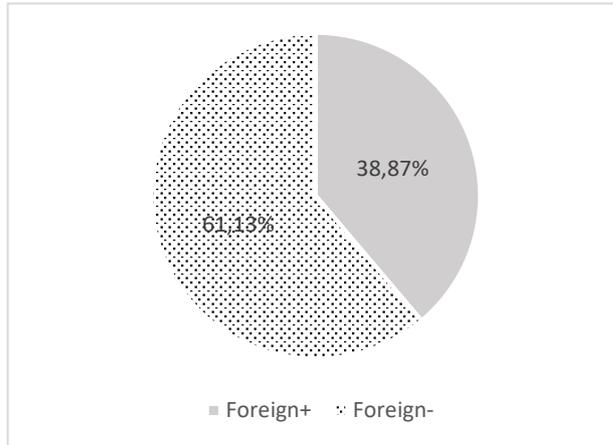


Figure 7. Volume of foreign policy discussions in relation to Europe, in percentages



collaborative efforts with European countries or the EU and criticize if the government fails to do so. For instance, CHP representative Erdal Aksünger express discontent over the weakening relations with the EU (TBMM 2014d, Apr 22), whereas HDP MP Hasip Kaplan criticizes the government because it allowed the deterioration in

the relations with Europe (TBMM 2014k, Dec 19). Again, the discussion topics will be summarized in this chapter and detailed in the following.

With the exceptions of June and November 2014, the foreign policy discussions rarely a response to a particular event. Instead, specific issues are repeatedly raised. Major themes among those are the EU's role on the Cyprus issue, European support for PKK, the EU's or European countries' plans on the Middle East, energy cooperation with Europe, security relations with Europe, the Readmission Agreement, the foreign policies of the EU towards certain regions such as Palestine, East Turkistan, or Egypt. Except the energy cooperation with the EU, in all of these themes, the negative tone dominates the discussions and Europe is blamed either for its involvement or indifference. For its involvement in Egypt, it attracts criticisms. AKP MP Volkan Bozkır argues that the EU has recognized the coup d'état in Egypt and criticizes it for this reason (TBMM 2013d, Jul 6). On the other hand, for MHP representative Reşat Doğru, the EU deserves to be blamed for its indifference towards the human rights violations in East Turkistan (TBMM 2013c, Jul 3). Especially the Readmission Agreement attracts specifically negative comments, and interestingly, from all political parties. Its dramatic effect on the negative hike in June 2014 is noteworthy. All parties accuse the European Union over its treatment to the refugees and portray it as an imperialist, unreliable actor (TBMM 2014e, Jun 19; 2014f Jun 24). The tone and the content of the criticism vary from party to party; yet, still, the negative comments dominate all the discussions. Only certain cooperation prospects in security and energy draw a positive interest from Turkish MPs; and even on those, the negative attitude could be stronger than expected, like the discussions on November 2014 related with the authorization of Turkish Armed Forces for the security task forces of the

EU in Africa. For the rest of the issues, Turkish political parties exhibit a particularly critical attitude towards the foreign policy of the EU and Europe.

4.1.3. Policy Adaptation

The accession to the EU involves an arduous task of implementing a very large, detailed *acquis communautaire* spanning very different policy areas from economy to social policy, from public procurement regulations to fisheries, from the environment to education (see European Commission 2016 for detailed coverage). The implementation of this legal framework is very demanding for newly-acceding countries, but in the long run, both the EU and the acceding countries benefit from this process in terms of economy and democracy (Moravscik and Vachudova 2003). An important question here is if the acceding country's actors prefer the implementation of this *acquis*. The answer to this question for Turkey is a clear yes for the period under examination.⁷ Approximately 97% of the discussions on the policy adaptation is positive and consider the EU regulations and European practices as a reference to change Turkish policies and political practices of their interest.

Figure 8 demonstrates that there are only two instances in which the negative view has been put forward, though still significantly less frequent than the positive views: June 2013 and November 2014. On the former, the minister of urbanization has argued that the European environment regulations are not appropriate for Turkey to adapt, and Turkey has its own conditions, even better policies than Europe (TBMM 2013b, June 25). Another critical evaluation emerges on November 2014, from CHP MP Ömer Süha Aldan, over the argument that Turkey should not implement every judicial adaptation to the EU and criticizes the arbitration practices in Turkey (TBMM 2014i, November 20). In all the rest of the discussion, the EU laws, regulations, and the practices in European countries has always been referred as a positive reference to criticize and replace Turkish laws and practices or to justify a policy based on its compatibility with the EU laws.

⁷ The EU *acquis* covers economy, foreign relations, and the fundamental rights as well. The classification of this thesis, however, separates the adaptation to the economy, foreign relations, and democratization as separate categories and includes the policy changes in the rest of the areas under the category of policy adaptation.

Figure 8. Frequency of policy adaptation discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

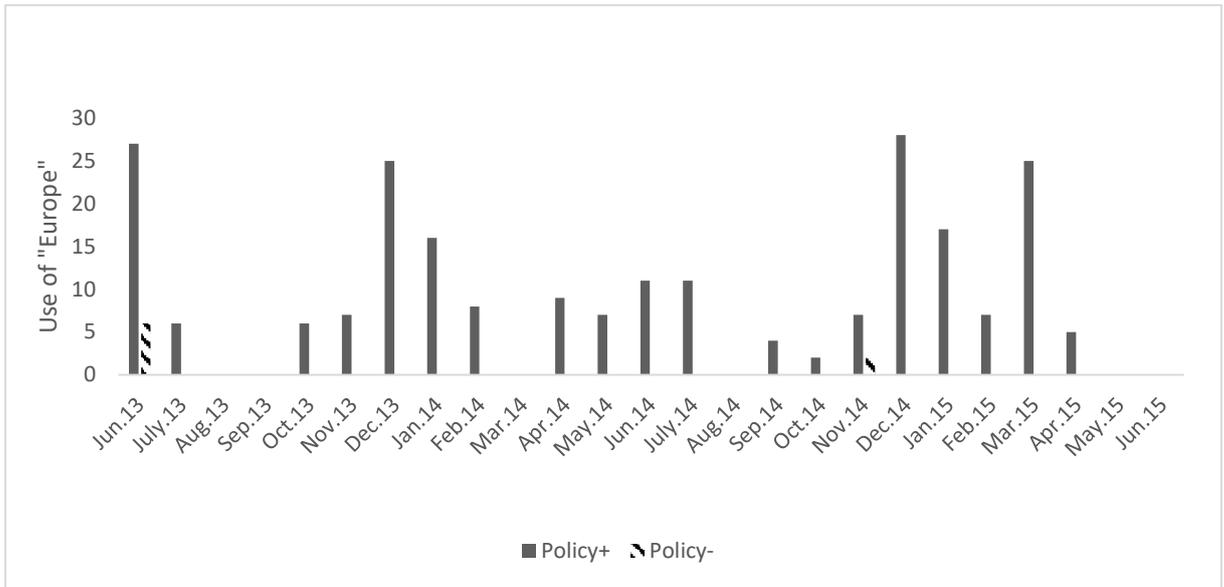
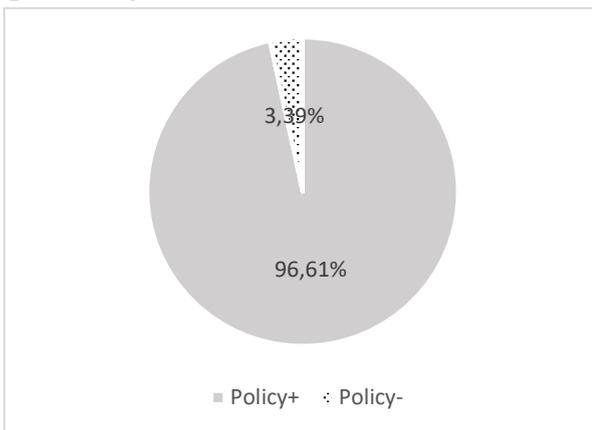


Figure 9. Volume of policy adaptation discussions in relation to Europe, in percentages



The themes in the policy adaptation discussion span in a variety of issues; yet in certain months, a specific policy area became the focal point of the discussions. On June 2013, under the influence of Gezi Events, a significant portion of the discussions, 13 out of 33 is about the environmental regulations in

Turkey. On January 2015, 13 of 17 references in the policy adaptation discussion is about the shopping malls regulations in the EU during the deliberations over the Law Regulating Retail Trade. These months, however, are exceptional for the dispersion pattern for policy adaptation category, in which no single discussion point dominates the deliberations. The issue variance, in parallel, is vast for the policy adaptation discussions which makes it hard to categorize under specific headings. However, using more general labels, the following topics can be counted as significant themes: education policies, energy regulations, environmental regulations, fight against corruption, fiscal policies, judicial regulations, local municipality regulations, public health policies, public security policies, socioeconomic policies, transportation regulations, urban planning, and

workplace safety. Each political party, however, emphasize some of these issues, or some parts of these issues and disregard others. This point will be elaborated in the next chapter.

4.1.4. Accession to the EU

For a candidate country to the EU, the commitment to the membership is a crucial factor. For Turkey, even though the process has been slowed dramatically, this did not bring a clear, corollary result as a negative preference formation for Turkish political parties. Since the data of the thesis does not cover a wide range of time to test the change in the preferences, analysis of the change in the stress for the EU membership cannot be provided. Nevertheless, the data of the period from June 2013 to June 2015 indicates that the accession to the EU is still a largely supported political goal, though with reservations. As Figure 10 demonstrates, approximately 82% of the references to the accession to the EU is made on favorable terms. The membership discussions are largely confined to the annual central budget discussions, as the peaks on December 2013, and December 2014 proves in Figure 11. Only in July 2013, the negative tone is dominant over the positive tone. For the rest of the months, the positive references for the accession are in a clear majority. Moreover, the positive pattern in the accession discussion in contrast with the foreign policy discussions, For the rest of the months, the positive references for the

Figure 10. Frequency of accession discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

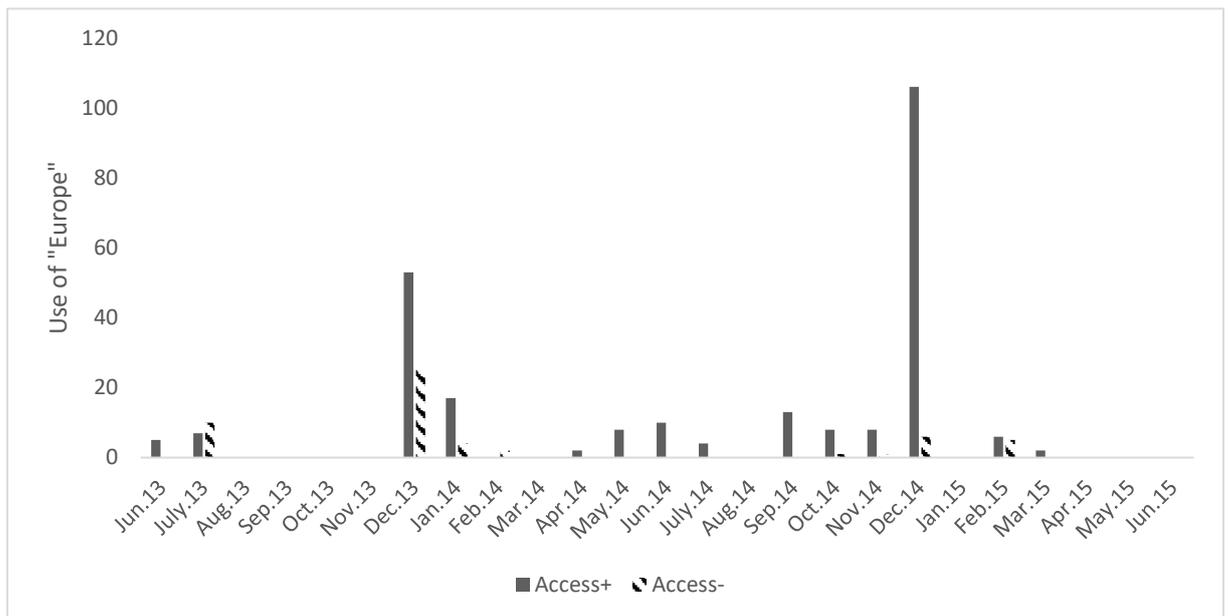
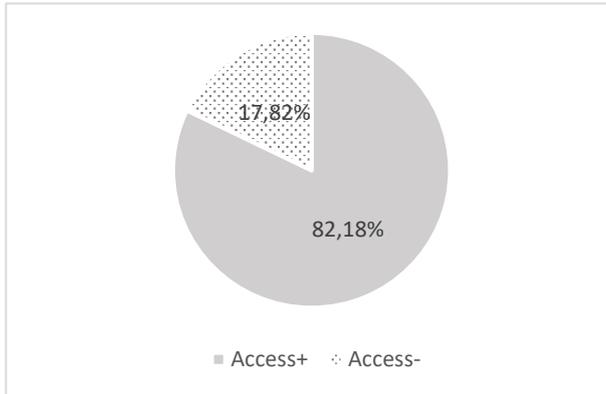


Figure 11. Volume of accession discussions in relation to Europe, in percentages



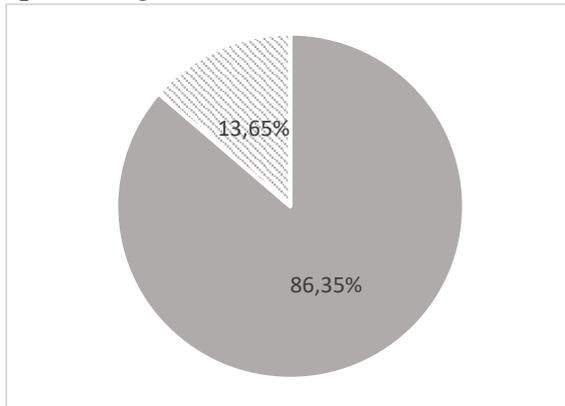
accession are in a clear majority. Moreover, the positive pattern in the accession discussion in contrast with the foreign policy discussions, in which the negative tone is dominant for most of the period. On June 2014, when the negative comments against Europe on the foreign policy rocketed, the

discussion on the accession stays unaffected. This means that the preferences of Turkish political parties for the relations with Europe are moving independently from the goal of membership to the EU. Lastly, it is noteworthy that the accession to the EU is not debated in relation to any discussion topic; rather, it is held and discussed on its own without being part of any other agenda.

4.1.5. Economy

Economy acted as the most important driving force behind the European integration from the very beginning and continued to be so for each phase, mainly thanks to the pressures from the economic and political interest groups. (Moravcsik 1998). The candidate countries usually apply for the membership with the aims of economic flourishing and development, whereas the member countries welcome new applications for mostly economic reasons as well (Moravcsik and Vachudova 2003). Turkish domestic preferences do not conflict with this picture. As Figure 12 summarizes, about 86% of all references in economy discussions hold a favorable position for the economic relations with Europe and the EU, with a presence of a fair share of criticism.

Figure 12. Volume of economy discussions in relation to Europe, in percentages

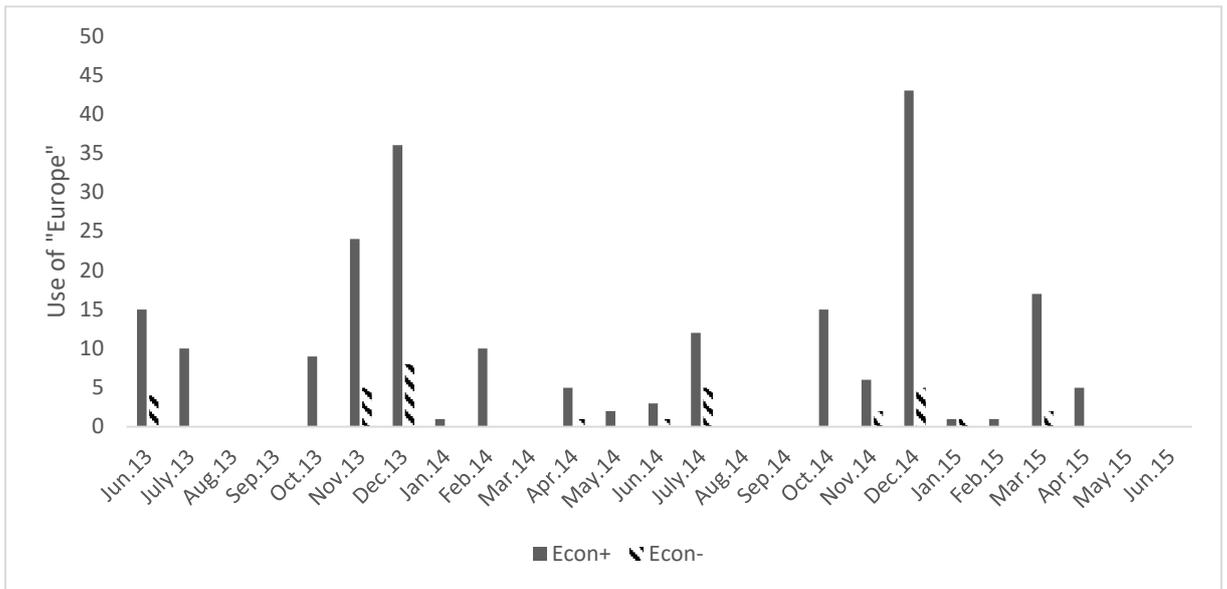


The adaptation to the European economy and its requirements is the most common agenda during the economy discussions. The discussions on the electronic money, the adaptation to the EU fiscal rules and regulations, the compatibility of Turkish products to European standards, the consumer rights,

the compatibility of Turkish financial market to European rules, and even the need to be prepared for the effects of Common Agricultural Policy when Turkey becomes a member can be counted for the adaptation agenda. Another significant theme for the economy discussions is the need to re-structure the Turkish economy. The debates on the innovative industry, the support for the small and medium-sized enterprises, the subsidies for the farmers, fisheries, and industrial areas, the inclusion of women into the economy, the energy production, and the organization of vocations in the economy is made with reference to European rules and practices. Of course, the economic relations with European countries and the EU is also a significant topic for Turkish MPs. Especially the trade relations with the EU and the inclusion of Turkey to Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiations are repeatedly risen, though their positive or negative tone may vary. In addition, the Customs Union Agreement with the EU is also discussed very often, mostly in negative connotations.

Similar to the accession debates, the economy discussions are not much affected by the external agendas; they are discussed within their own dynamics usually. The peak points in frequency of the deliberations on the economy are the result of the evaluations of the economic practices during the annual central budget discussions.

Figure 13. Frequency of economy discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

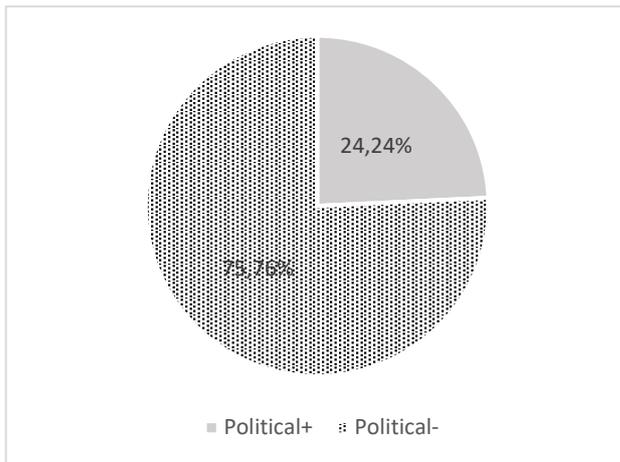


4.1.6. Politics in Europe

In a globalized world order, the influence of the developments within a nation does not stop its borders. For the relations between Turkey and the European countries, this is particularly important because of their common political, economic, and social complex interactions. Though the volume of the discussions on the political development in Europe is not as high as democratization or the foreign policy of the European countries, it has still an important place.

The debates on the political developments show a particularly negative tone towards Europe. Together with the debates on the foreign policy of the EU and European countries, these two debate clusters shape the negative tone towards Europe as both demonstrate a heavily negative orientation.

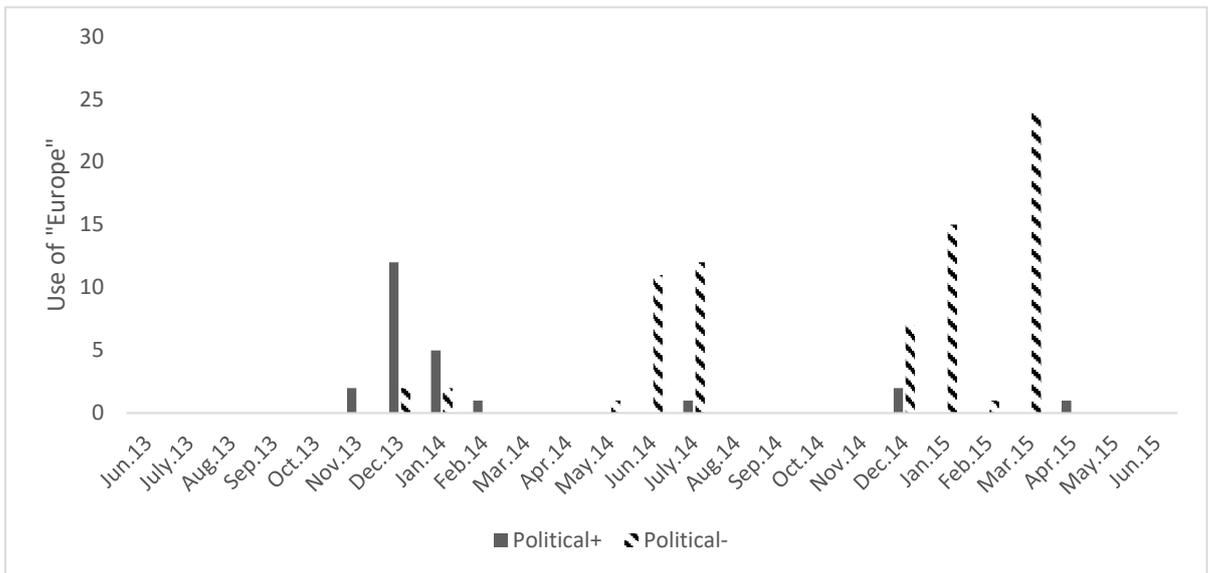
Figure 14. Volume of discussions on politics on Europe, in percentages



Only in four months, the positive view is prevalent over the negative views: November 2013, December 2013, January 2014, and February 2014. In all of those, the positive comments are made for the fight against corruption, the political culture which holds the office-holders accountable and the further integration

efforts in Europe. On the other hands, Turkish MPs have more criticism than praise for the political development in Europe. Main criticism points are related to the status of Turks in Europe and discrimination towards them, the rise of the far-right in key European countries, Islamophobia and xenophobia in Europe. These factors are behind every major peak in Figure 15. The support that PKK or Armenian lobby gets in some European countries or institutions attracts a particularly negative reaction as well.

Figure 15. Frequency of discussions on politics in Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015



4.1.7. Conclusions for the Discussions on Europe

Considering the weight of the discussions summarized in Figure 2, the general points of discussions and the trends in six categories of deliberation are analyzed: human rights and democratization, foreign policy, policy adaptation, accession to the EU, economy, and the politics in Europe. The chapter reached the conclusion that European norms and institutions hold a particularly dominant positive reference point for the discussions on the human rights and democratization, and policy adaptation. In economy and accession to the EU deliberations, a relatively minor objections rate persists, but the significant majority of the comments has a positive connotation. On the negative side of the coin, the foreign policy of the European countries and the EU, and the political developments in European countries stand as a source of vital friction points. To sum up, this analysis of general trends yields that Turkish political parties almost unanimously favor the transfer the democratic norms and public policies from Europe, favor the economic relations with Europe and want to be member of the EU, yet has critical negativity towards the goals of the European countries and the European Union on foreign policy and the political developments in Europe. However, the thesis has no anthropomorphized portrayal of Turkey as a single, rational actor. As explained in the second chapter, based on principles of the liberal theory of international relations, the thesis assumes that the preferences of the domestic actors are critical, and thus it covers the deliberations in TGNA to detect these preferences. To reach this goal, all of these discussion points will be examined in detail in the following chapter. Before doing so, however, the evaluation results of the comparison between the findings reached through the use of Europe and the European Union should be discussed.

4.2. Discussions on the European Union in TGNA from June 2013 to June 2015

The difference between the results of the keyword searches “Europe” and “European Union” and EU” is caused by two reasons. First, the keyword search for “Europe” already includes the results for the European Union but excludes the references which only use the abbreviation “EU.” Any discussion that calls the Union over its abbreviation is excluded from the first results. Secondly, the keyword search for “European Union and EU” does not include any discussion referencing other European

institutions such as the Council of Europe. Despite these differences, there is no clear change between the patterns between the two datasets. When compared with the Figure 1, the Figure 16 does not show any clear change on the general patterns, except the drop on February 2014, which is result of the fact that discussion of the Domestic Security Bill and Law of Military Judges is mostly over the conventions of the Council of Europe and does involve only a few mentions of the EU. In terms of positive and negative orientations, there is no significant change except the politics category, whose negative tones sharply increase in the absence of positive comments for “Europe.” Figure 17 demonstrates the positive, and negative percentages for each category. Overall, however, the orientation for each category stays in the same direction. In most of the categories, the negative tone has increased slightly, between 0,08% and 4,99%. Only in the policy adaptation, the positive orientation increased, though again slightly, with 2,65%. The general patterns for each category have similar characteristics as well, again except February 2014 on democratization category. To avoid the replication of the same comments, the graphic summaries of each category is presented in Appendix 1, together with the graphs of Europe.

Figure 16. Frequency of the positive and negative references to the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015

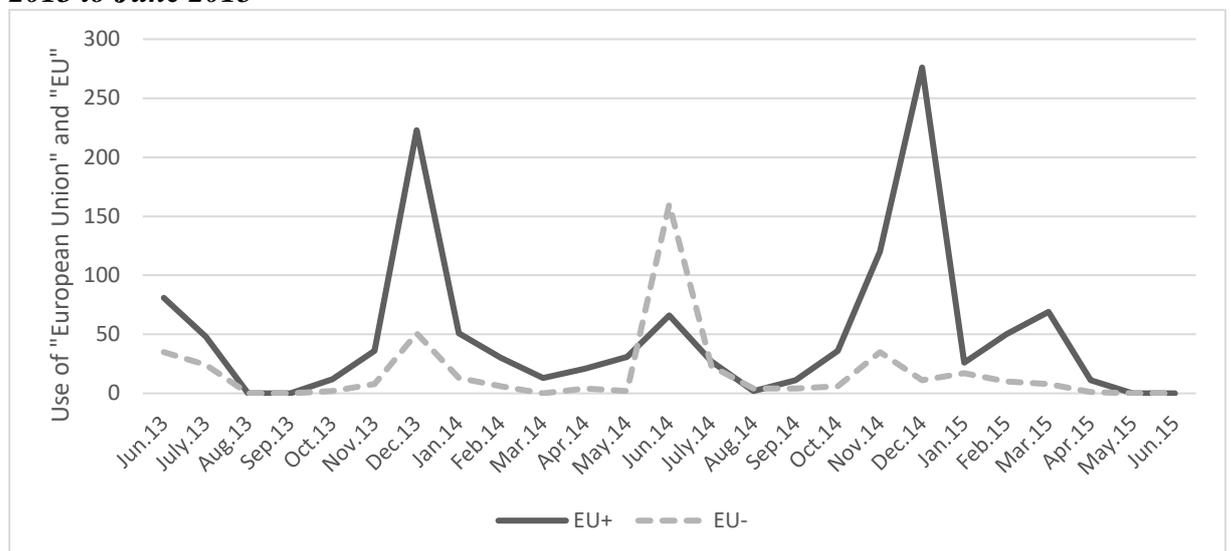


Table 3. Comparison between the positive-negative orientation results for the keyword searches “Europe” and “European Union and EU” in percentages

Category codes	The results for “Europe” in percentages		The results for “European Union and EU” in percentages	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
General	79,51%	20,49%	74,52%	25,48%
Democ	98,38%	1,62%	98,30%	1,70%
Foreign	38,87%	61,13%	38,39%	61,61%
Policy	96,61%	3,39%	99,26%	0,74%
Access	82,18%	17,82%	80,56%	19,44%
Economy	86,35%	13,65%	79,03%	20,97%
Politics	24,24%	75,76%	9,52%	90,48%

There is, however, a sharp drop in the volume of the deliberations. The number of mention of Europe from June 2013 to June 2015 in Turkish Parliament is 2523, whereas it is 1664 for European Union. Most of this drop is caused by the change in the volume of democratization discussions. It is because of the exclusion of other European institutions such as the European Court of Human Rights and the Council of Europe from the results. For the summary of the changes in the volumes, see Figure 18.

Table 4. Comparison between the number of reference results for the keyword searches “Europe” and “European Union and EU”

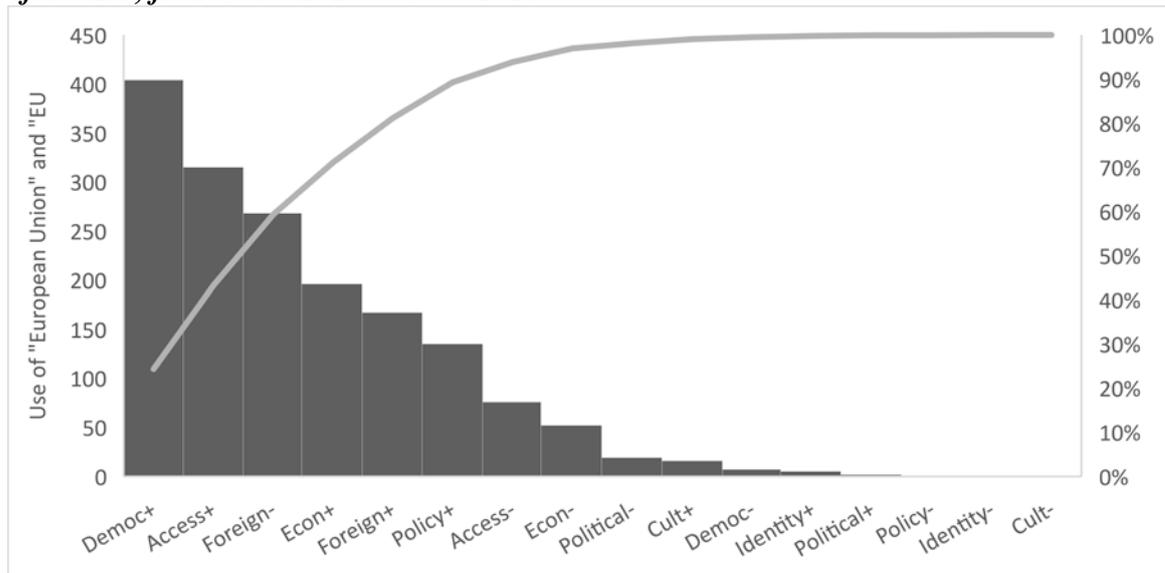
Category codes	The results for “Europe” in percentages		The results for “European Union and EU” in percentages	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
General	2006	517	1240	424
Democ	1033	17	404	7
Foreign	206	324	167	268
Policy	228	8	135	1
Access	249	54	315	76
Economy	215	34	196	52
Politics	24	75	2	19

Even though the patterns of the data remained same, the drop in the volume of the discussions resulted in an important change in the order of the categories in the Pareto chart. As Figure 19 indicates, the dramatic leading position of the category of the human rights and democratization has changed, yet still, it stays in the first place. Then comes the positive views towards accession, which pushed the negative views on the foreign policy of the EU to the third place. In addition, the relative position of the positive views

on the economy also increased and surpassed the positive views on the foreign policy and the policy adaptation.

Based on these results, it could be argued that the importance of European institutions such as ECHR or the Council of Europe is equally important as a reference point for democratization discussions of Turkish political parties. On the other hand, the EU itself is still very influential in terms of its relevance on the democratization discussions. The decrease in the position of the criticism of the foreign policy may be attributed to seeing the European nation-states, rather than the EU, as a responsible and effective actor in the foreign policy. The increase in the position of the economy and the accession categories is also noteworthy. The significant decrease in the volume of the politics category is expected since the criticisms are related with the internal developments of European states, rather than the EU in general.

Figure 17. Pareto chart describing the distribution of the categories in the discussion of the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015



4.3. Conclusions

Taking all these analyzes together, the chapter finishes with the conclusions that European institutions and the EU are very influential in the democratization discussions in Turkey. Particularly, the EU is seen as a very vital reference for the policy transfer for Turkish political parties. For the discussions on the economy and the accession, though the majority of the references are positive, an important share of criticism also persists.

This negativity significantly increases and culminates in the discussion on the foreign policy of European countries and the political developments in Europe. The general picture, then, seems like the following: Turkish political parties seek the democratic norm and policy transfer from Europe, and favor the cooperation in economy, which may be the very reason behind the support for Turkish accession to the EU. However, the same parties do not favor European policies on the international scenes and the political developments in those countries. In parallel, the major problem could be sought in the political and international factors, rather than economic, policy-oriented, or ideational factors. Nevertheless, all of these results have a meaning only when the positions of the political parties are clarified, and their weights in the discussions are understood. In the next chapter, the positions of each political parties in all these categories are elaborated for this reason.

CHAPTER 5

THE VIEWS AND PREFERENCES OF EACH POLITICAL PARTY

In the previous chapter, the general trends of the preferences of the main political parties are presented. The frequency of the references to Europe and the EU, the main discussion topics, and the weight of the issue categories are clarified. This picture, however, needs to be complemented with the detailed examination of the views and preferences of the parties and their positive or negative orientations in each issue category. By doing so, the aim of the thesis would be reached, that is the detailed evaluation of the views and preferences of each political party from June 2013 to June 2015 regarding Europe.

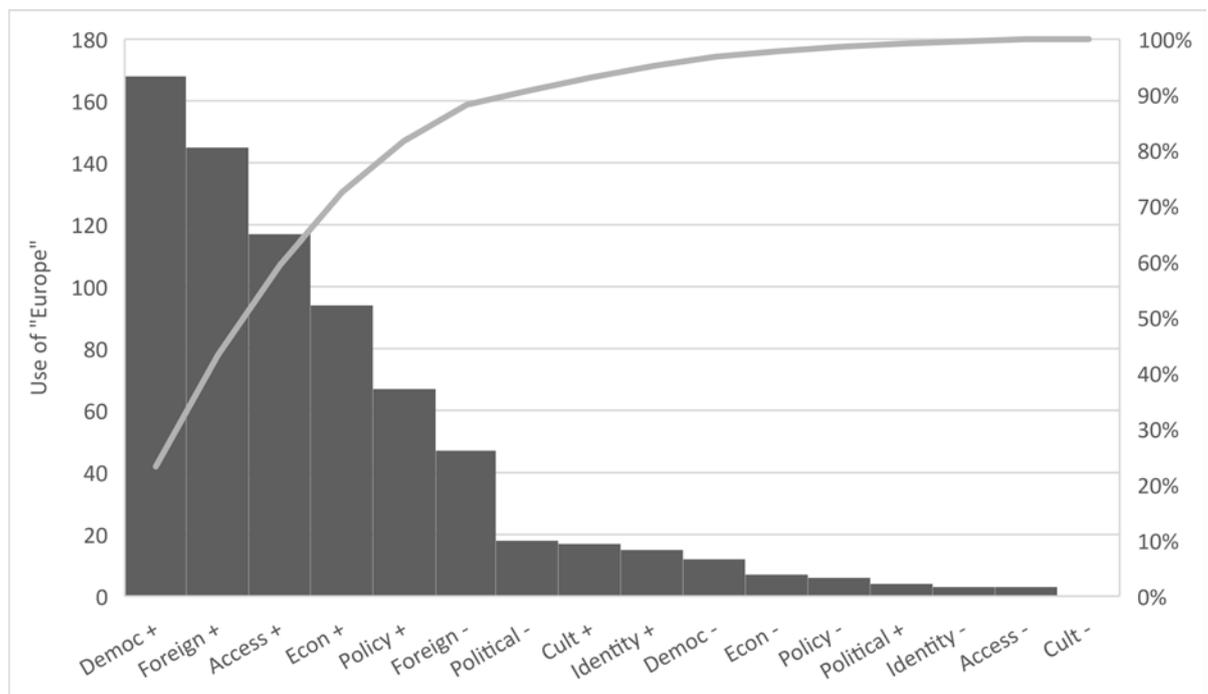
5.1. The Distribution of Discussion Categories for Each Political Party

Following a similar blueprint which is applied to the general trends in the previous chapter, the distribution of discussion categories for each political party is essential to understand the orientations of perceptions towards Europe and its content. Hence, in this subchapter, the Pareto distribution of the references to Europe will be analyzed for each political party with an aim to portray the relevance of Europe for different political agendas. Then, in the following parts, the main discussion points and arguments of the main political parties will be clarified for each discussion category.

Figure 20 demonstrates that the positive references to Europe for the democratization discussions have the highest weight in the words of AKP's representatives, with approximate 25%. The positive use of Europe in foreign policy and accession categories follows it respectively. Though with decreasing shares, the MPs from AKP made positive references in economy and policy adaptation discussions as

well. The negative references to Europe are dominant over the positive ones only in the discussions on the politics in Europe. The figure also shows that, for AKP, the primary relevance of Europe is the democratization and human rights, foreign policy, accession process to the EU, economy, policy adaptation and lastly politics in Europe, since their total percentage is above 95%. However, for AKP, most the positive uses of Europe in democratization discussions have mostly defensive connotation. In other words, AKP

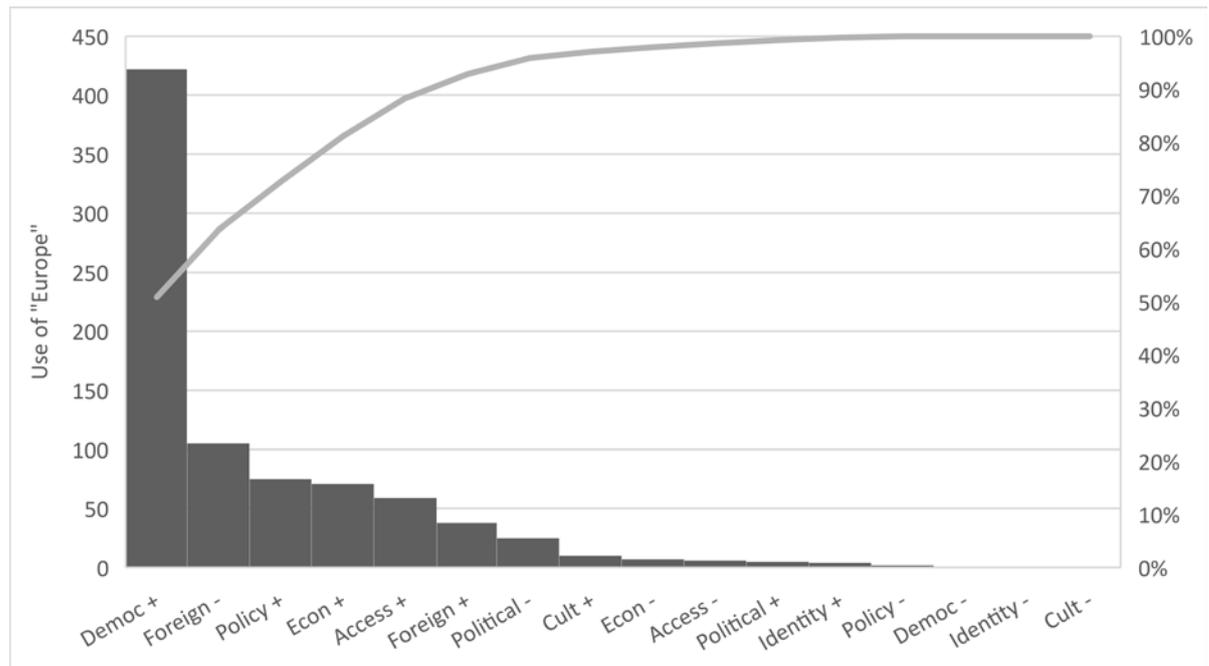
Figure 18. Pareto chart describing the distribution of the categories in AKP's discussion of Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015



refers to European institutions and values mostly to claim that the existing political arrangements in Turkey are democratic and in line with European standards. Thus, the positive mentions to European institutions and values are more likely related with the controversial and undemocratic practices of the AKP government in this period, rather than with a progressive agenda on the democratization of Turkey. Moreover, the gap between the accession and the policy adaptation categories are also meaningful. Though AKP representatives declared the accession to the EU as a strategic goal several times, the very content of the accession process, which is the adaptation of the EU acquis, comes after the foreign and economic relations with the EU in terms of their weights in the deliberations. In addition, AKP is one of the two parties which expressed negative views on the policy adaptation. Considering these patterns, it follows that AKP's main points of

interest in relations with Europe are the foreign and economic relations. AKP MPs defend the practices of the government in the face of the criticism from the opposition with reference to the European institutions; however, they rarely make progressive mentions. In parallel to the general trends, the main criticism of AKP MPs towards Europe is mostly related to foreign relations and the political developments in Europe.

Figure 19. Pareto chart describing the distribution of the categories in CHP's discussion of Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015



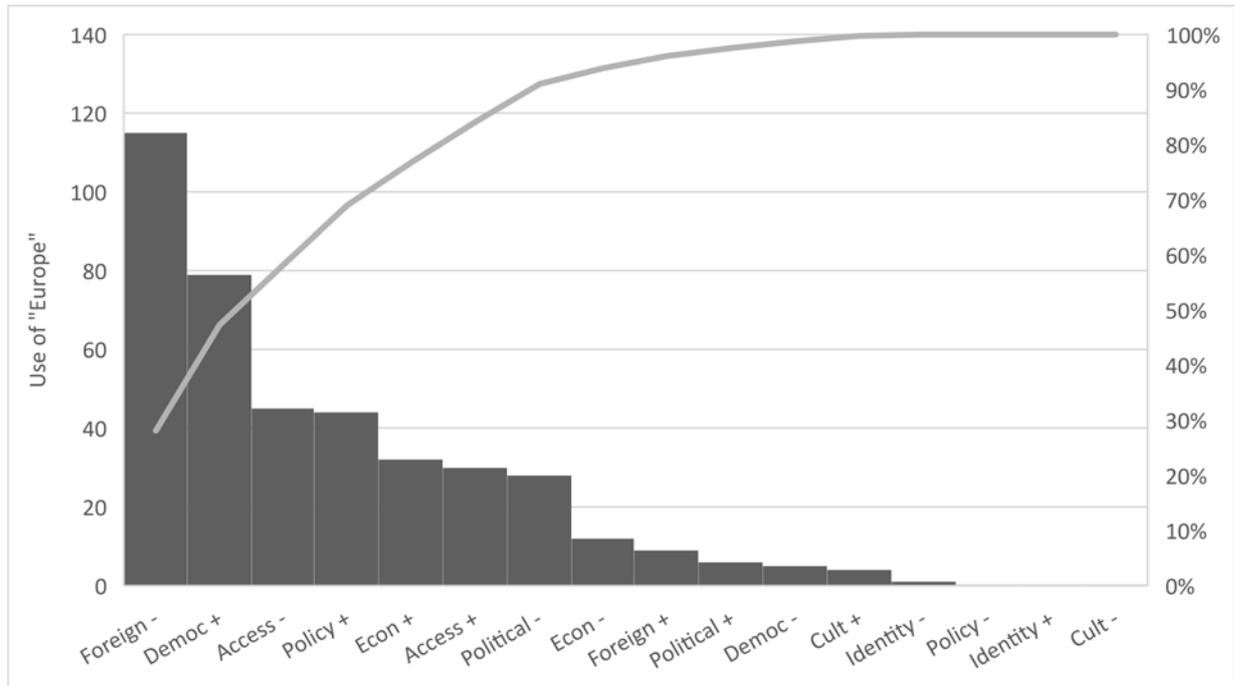
CHP's main focus is on the democratization discussions for the period from June 2013 to June 2015, as Figure 21 suggests, with a dramatic volume of references, two times of AKP. More than half of the references to Europe by CHP MPs are done in relation to human rights and democratization, mostly as a criticism of the government's practices. Also, CHP representatives made no single mention of Europe in negative tones during the democratization discussions. For the following foreign relations category, though, the negative use is dominant over the positive ones. The MPs from CHP made positive references to Europe in policy adaptation, economic relations, accession to the EU, culture, and identity. Similar to AKP, the relevance of Europe for CHP agenda revolves around democratization, foreign relations, policy adaptation, economic relations, accession process, and the political developments in Europe, as their total percentage is approximately 98% of all mentions of Europe by CHP representatives. CHP differs from AKP in three respects. First, the references to European institutions and values are done

mostly in a progressive manner. Second, CHP's criticism of Europe is not limited to European politics; it also criticizes the relations with the European Union and European countries, and stress that the relations are mostly built on unequal treatment. Third, CHP particularly stresses on the policy adaptation, in addition to its support for Turkish accession to the EU. Considering all these trends, CHP's agenda related with EU is mostly about the democratization of Turkish politics and criticism towards the AKP government's practices; and this agenda supports the economic relation, the accession process, and the adaptation to the EU. Yet, the same party disfavors treatment of the EU and European countries towards Turkey and has important discontents about the political developments in Europe.

The Pareto distribution of MHP's use of Europe in parliamentary deliberations differs from other parties significantly due to its different distribution order and the dominant orientation in key categories. Figure 22 illustrates that the share of criticism to the EU and European countries in foreign relations has a leading position among other categories and its main orientation is critically negative since about 30% of all references to Europe are about the foreign relations and only 2% of them is positive. Though the positive references in terms of democratization and human rights come second in terms of its weight; it is also crucial that MHP made negative references to Europe in those discussions, similar to AKP. Crucially, MHP's approach to the accession process is dominated by negative comments. Yet, the difference between positive and negative comments on the process is not significant since the number of positive mentions is 30, whereas the negative references are 45. Still, the fact that the negative use of Europe in the foreign relations and accession categories have a considerable weight among other categories is important to map the MHP's overall view towards Europe. In the deliberations on the policy adaptation and the economic relations, however, MHP favors the relations with Europe and takes its practices and conventions as references to be implemented in Turkey. Lastly, MHP also has a negative outlook towards the political developments in Europe, mostly due to its concern for the Turkish minorities living in Europe. Overall, considering all these trends, MHP's stance towards the EU and Europe has significant negative elements, unlike any other political party. It does not favor the level of foreign relations with Europe, as well as the accession process to the EU. In addition, it criticizes European countries over their treatment of Turkish minorities living there. On the other hand, MHP is open to the contributions from Europe on the

democratization process in Turkey, the policy adaptation to the EU, and lastly to the economic relations with Europe, though with a certain critical reservation for each category.

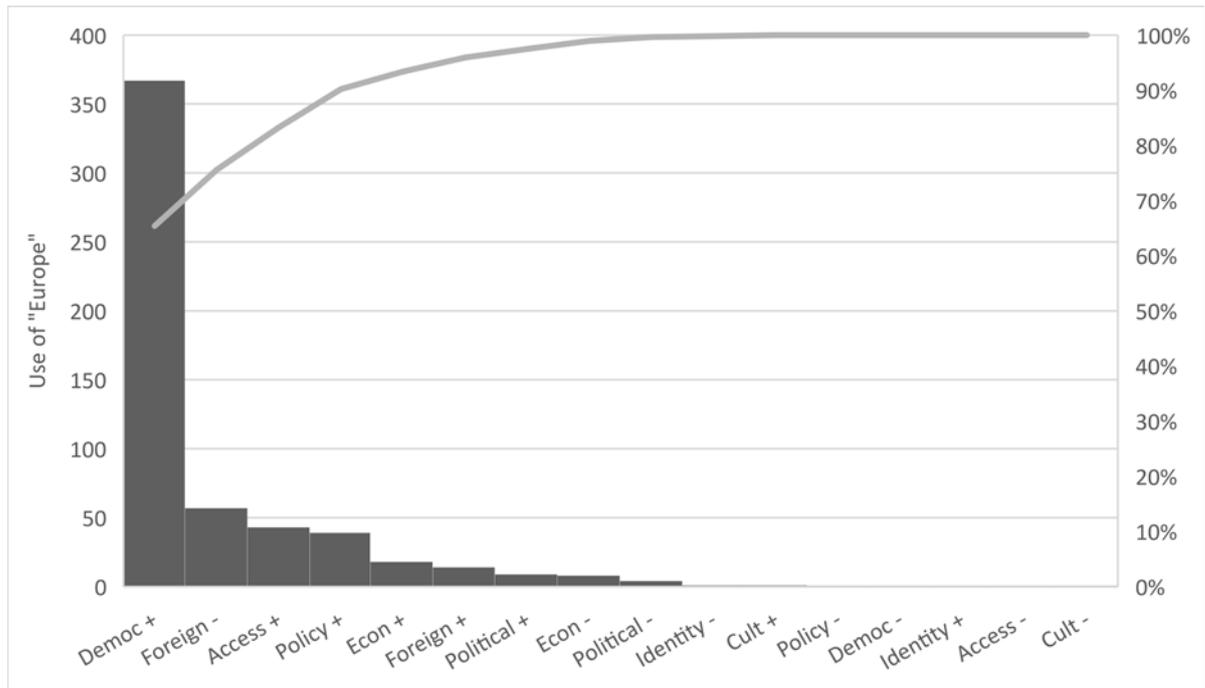
Figure 20. Pareto chart describing the distribution of the categories in MHP's discussion of Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015



Among all political parties, HDP differs with its major share allocated for the democratization discussions during the parliamentary deliberations. Figure 23 suggests that the share of democratization category among others for the use of Europe in parliamentary deliberations is about 65%. All these mentions criticize the practices of the Turkish government on various grounds, for different time periods. All the remaining categories have a minor relevance; however, only with the addition of the foreign relations, accession, policy adaptation, economy, and political developments categories the total share come closer to hundred percent. Among those, only in the foreign relations category, HDP representatives put a mostly negative view forward and criticize European governments by claiming they have imperialist plans on the Middle-East (TBMM 2015a, Jan 6). In the other categories, HDP MPs held a favorable position towards Europe and supported the accession process. In addition, among all political parties, HDP is the only party which makes mostly positive references to the political developments in Europe. All in all, these trends suggest that Europe's relevance for HDP is mostly related to the

democratization in Turkey. Though HDP holds an unfavorable position in foreign relations against European countries, it supports the policy adaptation, the economic relations, and the accession process to the European Union. HDP is the only political party which has a positive view of the political developments in Europe.

Figure 21. Pareto chart describing the distribution of the categories in HDP's discussion of Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015



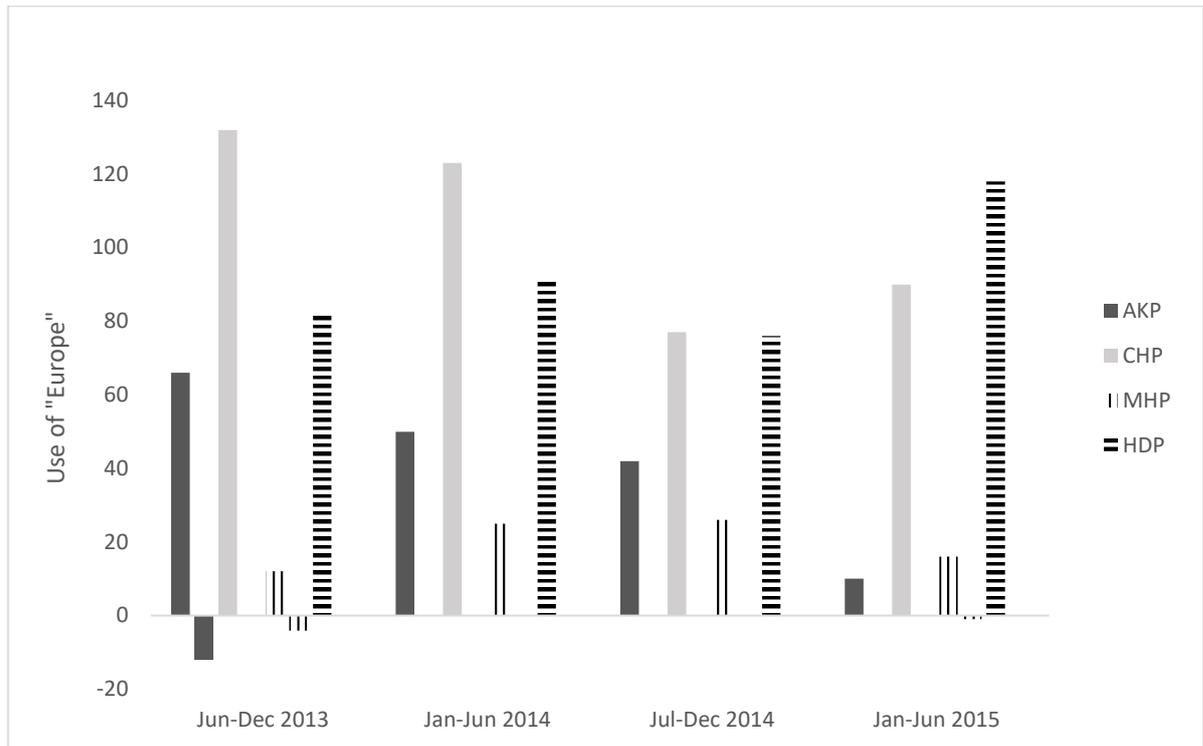
In this subchapter, the main tendencies of each political party are clarified, and what they have stressed in the discussions is elaborated. By using the six-fold categorization on the contents of the deliberations, the views of each political party are presented in general terms. In the following subchapter, each category will be analyzed with greater detail, and the views and the preferences of each political party will be elaborated further.

5.2. The Views of Main Political Parties on Democratization and Human Rights

As indicated before, the period between June 2013 and June 2015 marks Turkey's backsliding into authoritarian government. As a result of this context, the democratization and human rights are hotly debated in Turkish Parliament. However, as Figure 24

demonstrates, these discussions are dominated by two political parties: CHP and HDP. AKP comes in the third position regarding the number of references to Europe, whereas MHP is in the last position. In addition, AKP and MHP are the only political parties which refer to Europe in a negative tone in the discussions of democratization and human rights.

Figure 22. Views of each political party on Europe in discussions of democratization and human rights, from June 2013 to June 2015

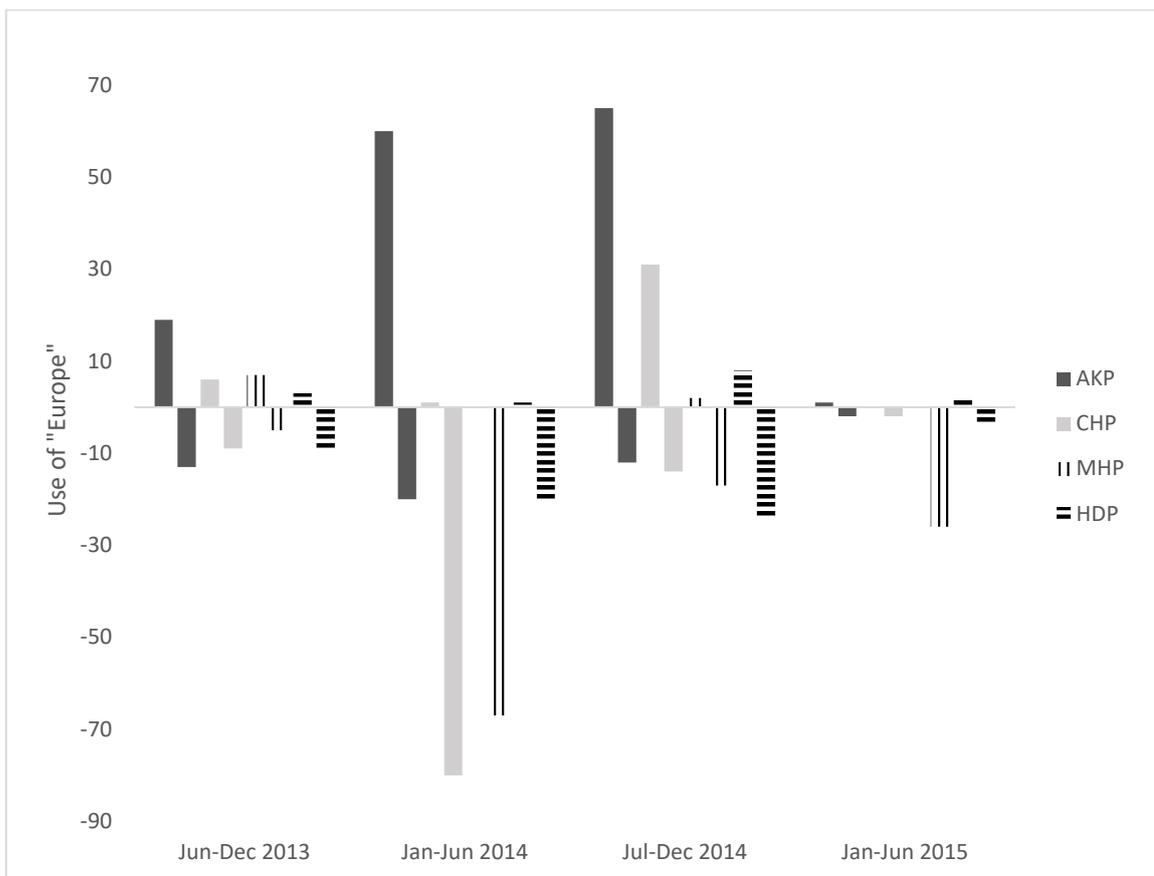


The agendas of the political parties differ as well. CHP's main focus in the democratization discussions is the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, the human right violations done by the government, the freedom of expression, the social rights, and the freedom of assembly. All of these concerns also raised by HDP as well; also, HDP particularly interested in the conditions of the prisons and the right of self-governance in local administrations. MHP's references also include the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law; in addition, MHP brings the social rights and especially the rights of the disabled people to the discussions. For the discussions on the democratization, AKP holds a defensive position most often, as the representatives from AKP argues that the status quo in Turkey and the practices of the government is already democratic and in line with the European norms and institutions. For instance, according to Faruk Çelik, an MP from AKP and the Minister of Work and the Social Security, the social rights of the workers, and especially the mining workers are in the line with European standards (TBMM 2014g, Jul 16).

5.3. The Views of Main Political Parties on Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is one of the two areas the negative orientation dominates over the positive views. Figure 25 summarizes which political parties contribute to this negativity most. CHP and MHP are the most vocal critics of Europe and the European Union in the realm of the international relations. CHP's position, on the other hand, is rather mixed since it also refers to Europe in positive terms many times. In contrast, MHP rarely supports Europe in international relations and represent a visibly anti-Europe stance. AKP is the only party whose the number of positive references exceeds the negative ones; however, AKP MPs criticize Europe many times as well, even call the EU as an unreliable partner. Still, in the end, AKP tends to favor the cooperation with the EU and European countries in foreign relations most among political parties in TGNA.

Figure 23. Views of each political party on Europe in discussions of foreign policy, from June 2013 to June 2015



All political parties criticize the EU's involvement in the Middle East. All political parties argue Europe intervenes in the region with ill-intentions plans, and they do not frame the interests of Turkey along with Europe in the region. Each political party, on the other hand, sees a different problem. AKP, for instances, criticizes the European recognition of the coup d'état happened in Egypt. CHP and MHP, in contrast, frames the activities of Europe in the Middle East as part of an imperialist project. HDP criticizes the plans of Europeans for the region it calls Kurdistan.

Another significant criticism of Europe is related to its treatment towards Turkey. Especially CHP and MHP argues that Europe does not treat Turkey as an equal partner. This criticism has been raised especially during the discussion of the Readmission Agreement. Even AKP claims that Europe applies double-standard to Turkey in their relations. In addition, AKP, CHP, and MHP criticize the EU due to its role in the Cyprus issue ad its alleged support for PKK. Furthermore, the political parties raise certain crisis areas to the agenda of TGNA several times and criticize European countries either for their involvement or non-involvement. MHP repeatedly brings the issue of East Turkistan, the northwestern part of China where a significant number of Uighur Turks live, and criticize European countries because of their silence. In another instance, AKP blames European countries due to their silence to the Palestinian issue and for their recognition of the coup d'état happened in Egypt.

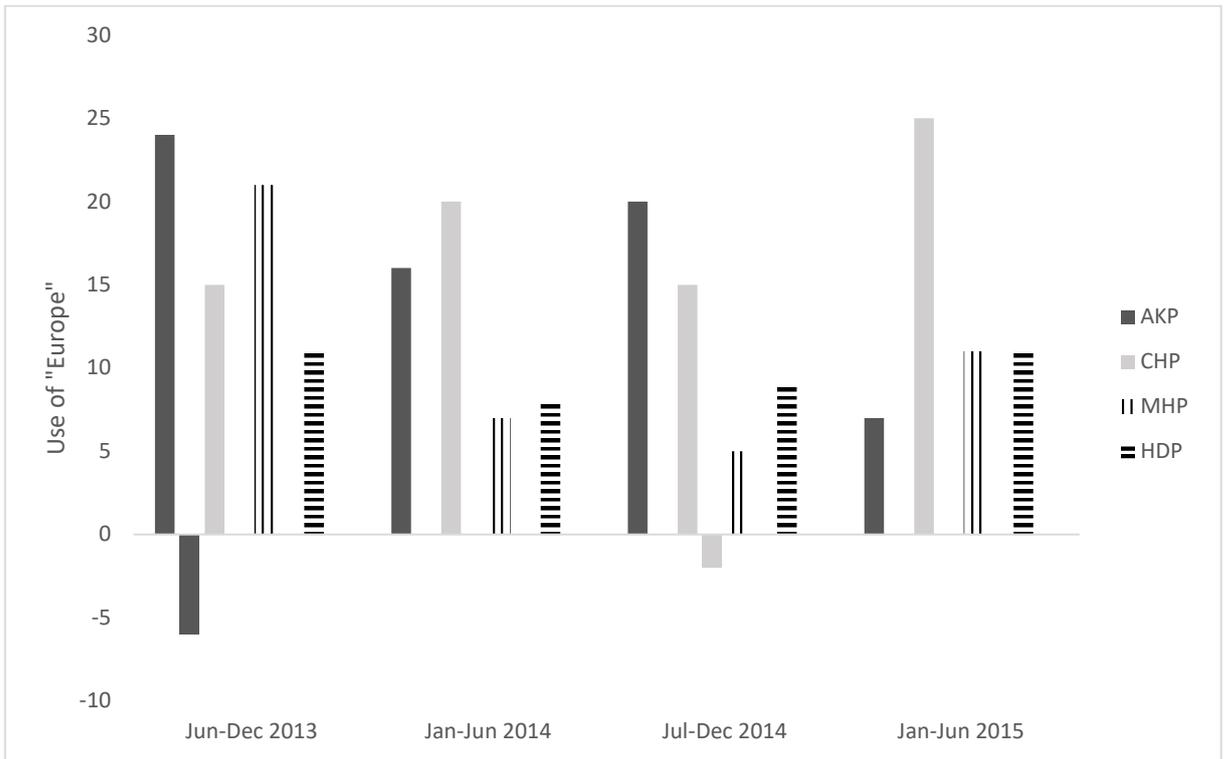
Despite all these criticisms, Turkish political parties favor the cooperation with Europe. The opposition parties always criticize the government if the relations between Turkey and the EU sours. In addition, the cooperation on the energy is also supported by all political parties. The cooperation on the security, too, is supported by AKP, CHP, and MHP; yet, in specific issues, like the EU-led operations in Republic of Central Africa and Mali, the criticism towards the imperialist goals of the EU became more influential.

5.4. The Views of Main Political Parties on the Policy Adaptation

The policy adaptation towards Europe is a commonly-shared priority for all political parties in TGNA. There are only two instances in which an MP expressed negative views on policy issue on Europe. On the first one, Erdoğan Bayraktar, then the minister of urbanization, has argued that the European environment regulations are not

appropriate for Turkey to adapt, and Turkey has its own conditions, even better policies than Europe (TBMM 2013b, June 25). On the second instance, Ömer Süha Aldan from CHP, criticizes blind transfer of arbitration practices from Europe, and argues that Turkey should not implement every judicial adaptation to the EU and criticizes the arbitration practices in Turkey (TBMM 2014i, November 20). For all the remaining the deliberation in TGNA about the policy adaptation to the EU, the EU laws, regulations, and the practices in European countries always been referred positively.

Figure 24. Views of each political party on Europe in discussions of policy adaptation to the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015



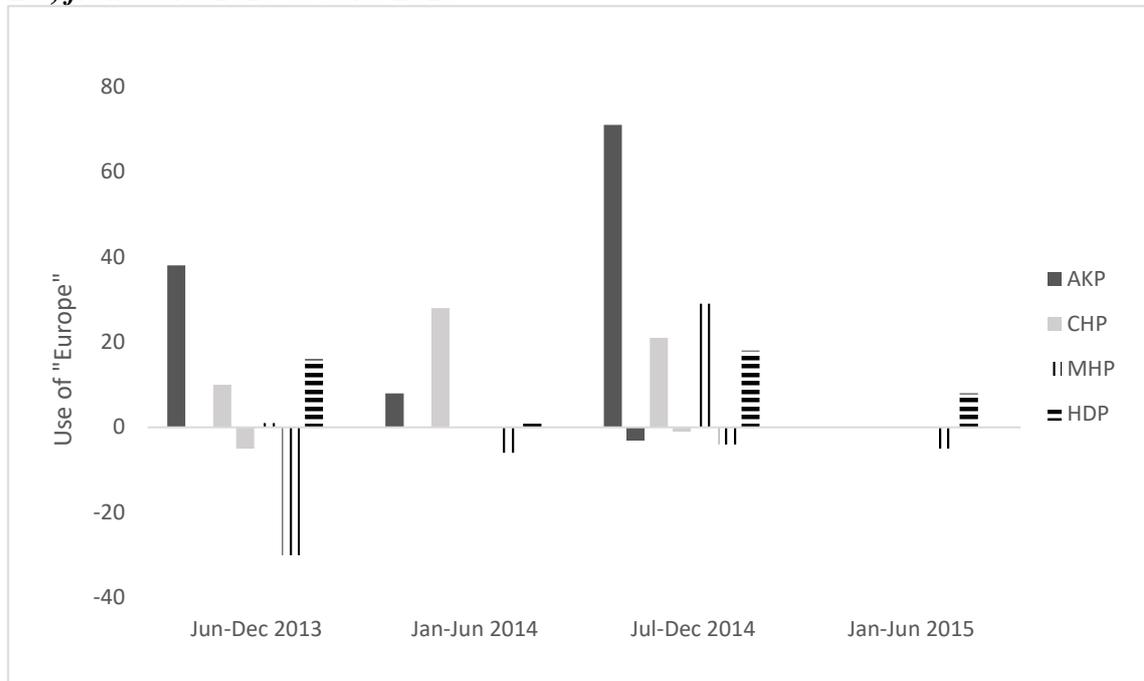
Most of the themes expressed in the former chapter, on the policy adaptation discussions, are not concentrated under a single political party; however, it is true for some of those. For instance, MHP brought the fight against the drug use in the schools to the agenda of TGNA several times. The environmental regulations, the energy regulations, especially those on the renewable energies, the urban planning, and the workplace safety are under the focus of CHP and HDP, particularly. In addition, HDP prioritizes the discussion on the local municipality regulations in Europe and defends for autonomous local governance. AKP, on the other hand, having the advantage of holding the executive branch, made many references in each theme, and expressed its intention to adopt the EU laws and regulations. Despite this advantage, it falls behind CHP regarding the use of the term Europe in the policy adaptation discussions

5.5. The Views of Main Political Parties on Accession to the EU

The discussion on the accession to EU is oriented in a positive direction for all the periods. Interestingly, AKP leads in the use of Europe in the positive reference to the accession to the EU. CHP and HDP follow it in terms of the volume of the discussions. MHP, on the other hand, differentiates from other political parties with its constant criticism towards the accession period. The MPs from MHP repeatedly argues that Turkey does not need the EU and alternative forms of cooperation may be established with other countries, implying for a union for Turkic states. In addition, the MHP representative stress that the EU will not accept Turkey to the Union; but, in the meantime, Turkish interests and values are under harm.

Most of the positive references to the accession to the EU by AKP MPs usually includes the declaration that the EU process has strategic importance for Turkey and AKP. However, CHP and HDP disagree with AKP and argues that the AKP government has shifted from the EU process. The most of the positive references of these parties came from their such criticisms of AKP.

Figure 25. Views of each political party on Europe in discussions of accession to the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015

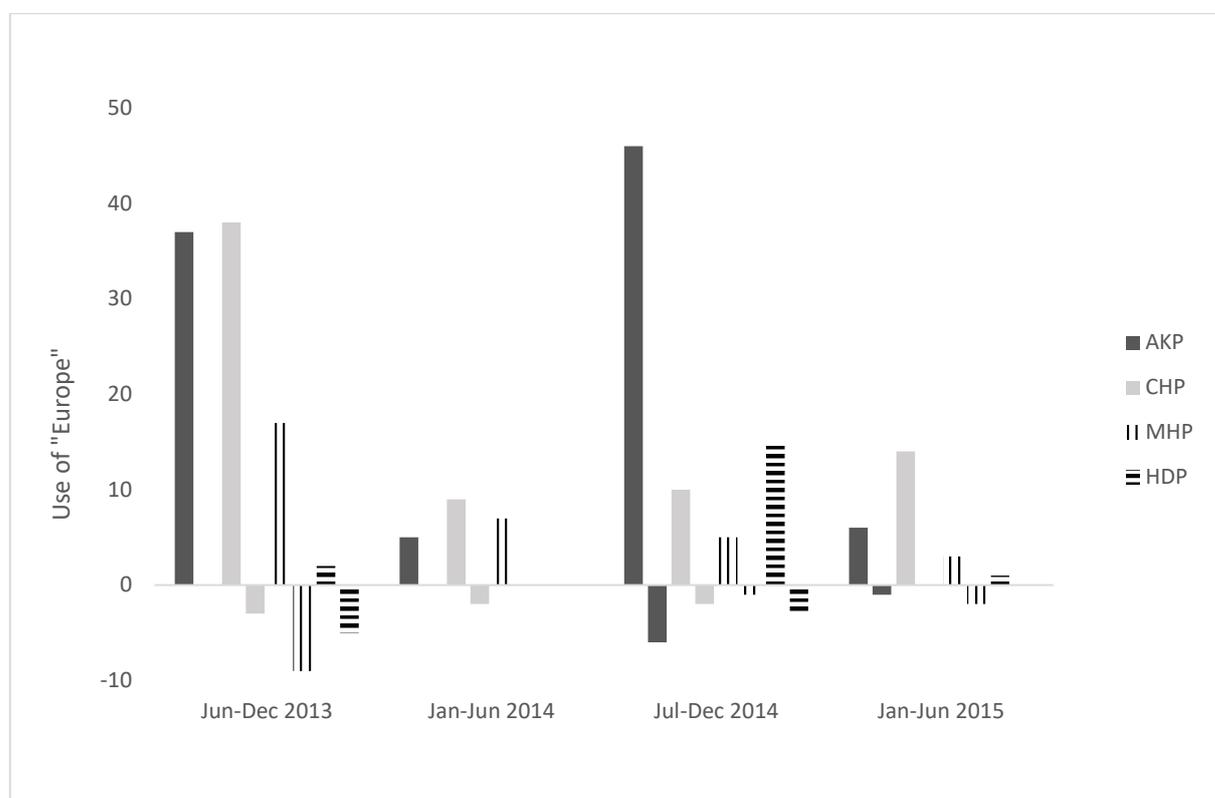


5.6. The Views of Main Political Parties on Economy

The views of the main political parties in TGNA on the economy is positive in overall. AKP leads the volume of positive references to the EU in economy discussions. CHP, MHP, and HDP follow it respectively.

In these discussions, AKP's primary focus is on the trade relations with Europe and the adaptation to European markets. CHP, MHP, and HDP share a common ground stressing the support for small and medium-sized enterprises and the subsidies for the farmers, fisheries. MHP sees European economic model to be followed, in terms of the organization of the economy; however, its statements exhibits protectionist inclinations, as the representatives of MHP claims the Customs Union with the EU harms Turkish economy. The negativity of AKP and CHP comes from their criticism of the quotes employed by the EU in its agricultural trade with Turkey. CHP also criticizes that Turkey is not part of Tans-Pacific Partnership negotiations.

Figure 26. Views of each political party on Europe in discussions of economy, from June 2013 to June 2015

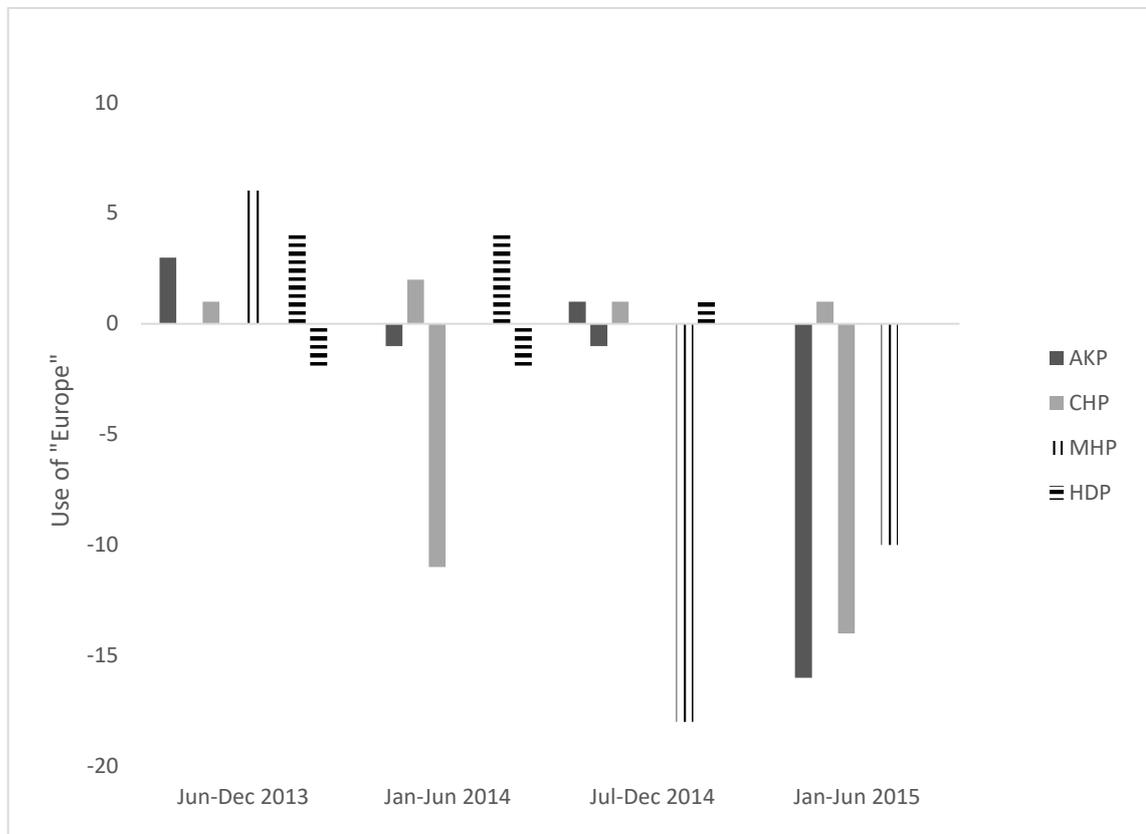


5.7. The Views of Main Political Parties on Politics in Europe

The deliberations of the politics in Europe is one of the two categories the negative orientations dominate the discussions, in addition to the foreign policy category.

The most of the positive references to the political development in Europe are done to praise the fight against corruption and the political culture which holds the office-holder accountable, and the support of some European circles for the cooperation between Turkey and Europe. The former two factors are reiterated by CHP and HDP many times, whereas the last one is highlighted by AKP. MHP, on the other, as the leading critic in this theme, repeatedly brought the status of Turks living in Europe and blamed Europe for the discrimination against Turkish minorities. In addition, MHP also alleges that PKK and Armenian lobby gets strong support from European countries. Moreover, the rise of the far-right in Europe became a subject of criticism for AKP, CHP, and HDP.

Figure 27. Views of each political party on Europe in discussions of the politics in Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015



5.8. Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to portray the positions of the main Turkish political parties on Europe concerning the six categories, whose general patterns are presented in the fourth chapter. The detailed picture of the views and preferences of the political parties helps to articulate the patterns described before.

The strongest theme in the deliberations in Turkish Parliament concerning Europe is the democratization and human rights. All parties make references to European institutions and values as an important legitimizing point to further their arguments. However, CHP and MHP's weight in the discussions is important. Approximately 75% of the all references to Europe regarding the democratization and human rights is made by these two parties. MHP's share does not go beyond 8%. AKP's references, on the other hand, is mostly defensive and lacks a progressive agenda. In this regard, the significant relevance of Europe in democratization discussions is mostly thanks to CHP and HDP. It is also important that all the opposition parties stress the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law in their discussions.

The views on the foreign policy is negative in overall direction; however, AKP's favorable references exceeds the negative uses. Most of the positive references to the foreign policy of European countries are made by AKP and CHP. HDP seems relatively uninterested to these discussions, whereas MHP has significant number of negative references to the Europe. All the political parties see Europe as an unreliable partner and criticize it in various ground. The criticism to the foreign policy towards the Middle East and the perception of unfair treatment towards Turkey by Europe are shared by all political parties. Turkish political parties, on the other hand, see many cooperation possibilities with Europe as well. The energy cooperation is supported by all political parties, whereas the security cooperation is back by AKP, CHP, and MHP.

Policy adaptation is almost unanimously favored by all political parties. The highest number of references to Europe in policy adaptation discussions belongs to CHP. AKP, HDP, and MHP follows it respectively. Nevertheless, very few issues are particularly stressed by a specific political party. The environmental regulations, the renewable energy policies, urban planning, and the workplace safety are the special interest areas of CHP and HDP. HDP also stresses the local municipality regulations in

Europe. MHP, on the other hand, is particularly interested in the fight against the drug use, during the discussions of Europe.

Despite their common interest in the policy adaptation, Turkish political parties are not unanimous when it comes to the Turkey's accession to the EU. MHP stands as a significant naysayer. MHP representatives voices many reservations for the accession process. All other parties, on the other hand, declares their support for the process.

Economy is another area for which all political parties shares common positive orientation yet differs in terms of their specific interests. AKP focuses on the trade relations with Europe and the adaptation to the European markets. CHP, MHP, and HDP make references to Europe for the support for small and medium-sized enterprises, and the subsidies for the farmers and fisheries. MHP's support for the economic relations is mixed though since it does not favor the Customs Union with the EU.

Lastly, all the main political parties in Turkish Parliament has an unfavorable view towards the political development in Europe. MHP is the main critic of the politics in Europe, due to its criticism to the status of Turks in Europe and its allegations that European countries backs PKK and Armenian lobby. AKP, CHP, and HDP's main focus is, on the other hand the rising far-right political movements in Europe.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis aims to describe and evaluate the preferences of main political parties in Turkey for the period from June 2013 to June 2015 by analyzing the parliamentary deliberations. The empirical findings of the thesis are relevant both for the literature on Turkey-EU relations and on Europeanization in Turkey. The results of the study demonstrate the views and preferences of main Turkish political parties on Europe and the relevance of Europe and the European Union in Turkish domestic setting.

The findings for the general patterns suggests that European institutions and the EU are very influential in the democratization and human rights discussions in Turkey. Especially CHP and HDP refers to the European norms and institutions to criticize the practices in Turkey. The EU is also seen as a significant reference for the policy adaptation. All political parties see the laws and regulations in Europe as examples which should be emulated to Turkish setting. The views towards Europe in the realm of economy and the accession process of Turkey is mostly positive; yet, there is an important degree of criticism to the accession process as well as improved economic relations with Europe, most of which comes from the MHP's representatives. The views in the foreign relations and the political developments in Europe is dominated by the unfavorable outlook, shared by all political parties.

All these finding can be narrating as the following: Turkish political parties, mostly the opposition, seek the democratic practices to be emulated to Turkey. All political parties share the common stance for the policy from Europe. The views of the political parties favor economic cooperation with the EU in economy, led by the ruling AKP. However, the political parties in Turkey have no favorable perception towards Europe in foreign policy and their domestic political developments. Thus, it can be concluded that the major problems between Turkey and the European Union is the

political and international problems, according to the main political parties in Turkey. The same parties are open for collaboration on economy, the policy transfer, and the norm transfer.

These results suggest that Europe is still very relevant for the political discussions in Turkey. In this sense, it is hard to call Turkey as a de-Europeanizing country especially when the opposition parties' views are also included in the analysis. The findings also imply that, for Turkey, the economic collaboration with Europe is the common agenda despite the numerous challenges in the foreign policy including a deep level of distrust to Europe, and the domestic politics of European countries such as the rise of the alt-right movements. Turkish political parties are also very receptive to the policy transfer from Europe. On the democratization, the opposition perceive Europe as an important reference point, but the low level of AKP's involvement in the discussions may be interpreted as an obstacle for further progress in this area. All in all, with a liberal theory perspective, the different schemes for the future of Turkish-EU relations may be drawn based on the views and the preferences of the domestic political actors in Turkey, especially in terms of economic cooperation and the policy transfer.

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TBMM. 2013d. *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi: 132. Birleşim, 6 Temmuz 2013 Cumartesi*. July 6. Ankara, Turkey.

TBMM. 2013e. *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi: 133. Birleşim, 7 Temmuz 2013 Pazar*. July 7. Ankara, Turkey.

TBMM. 2013f. *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi: 30. Birleşim, 13 Aralık 2013 Cuma*. December 13. Ankara, Turkey.

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TBMM. 2014b. *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi: 50. Birleşim, 22 Ocak 2014 Çarşamba*. January 22. Ankara, Turkey.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1a. Frequency of the positive and negative references to Europe from June 2013 to June 2015

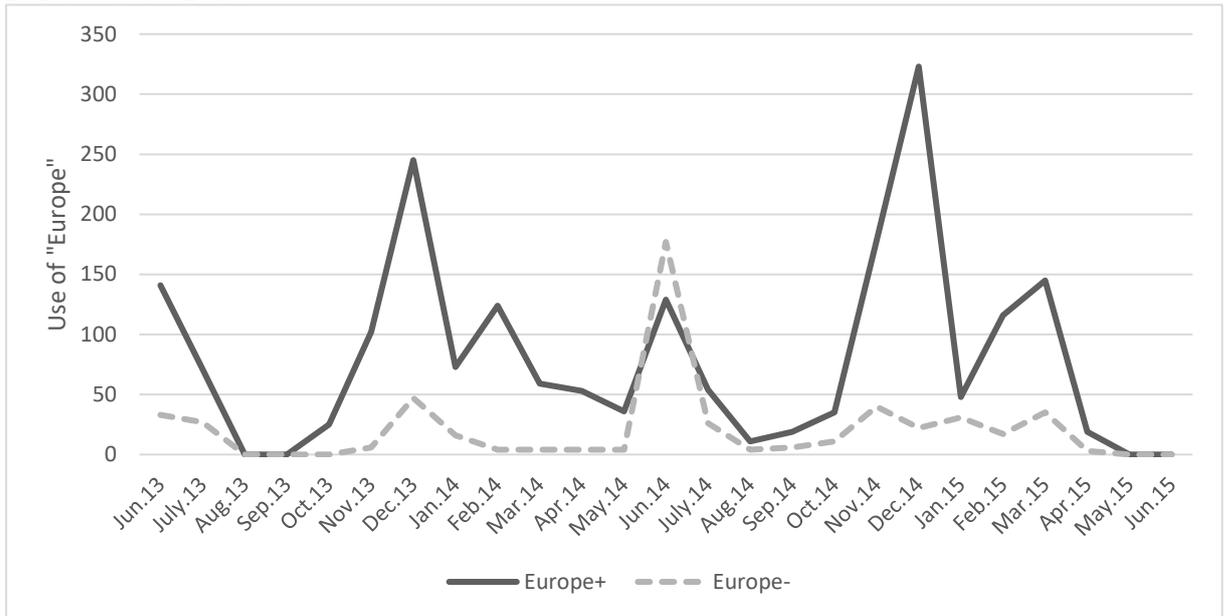


Figure 1b. Frequency of the positive and negative references to the EU from June 2013 to June 2015

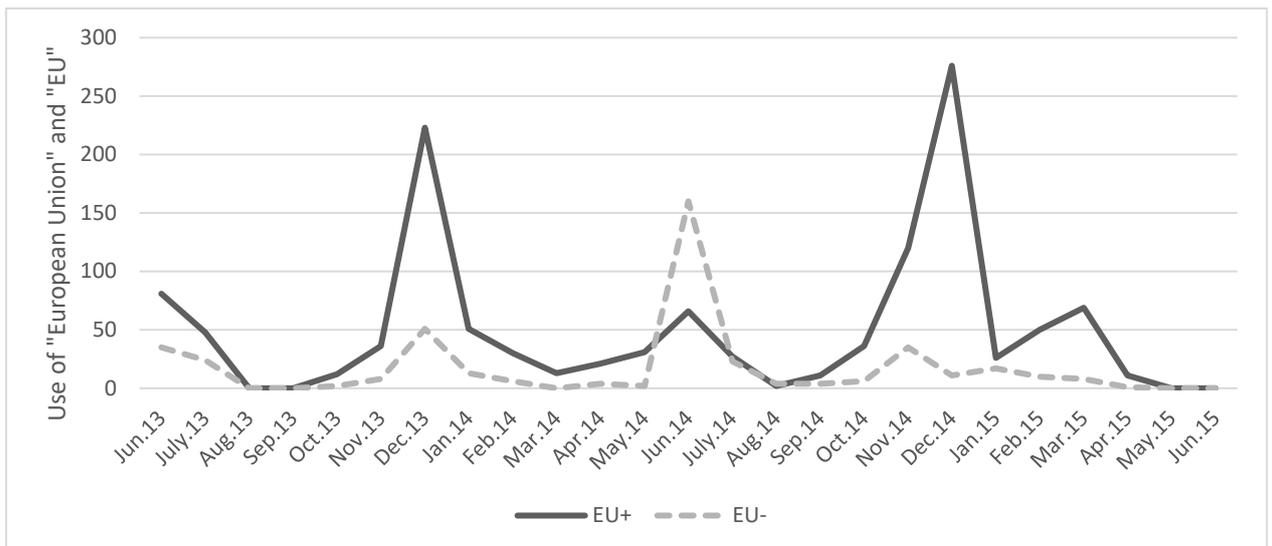


Figure 2a. Pareto chart describing the distribution of the categories in the discussion of Europe from June 2013 to June 2015

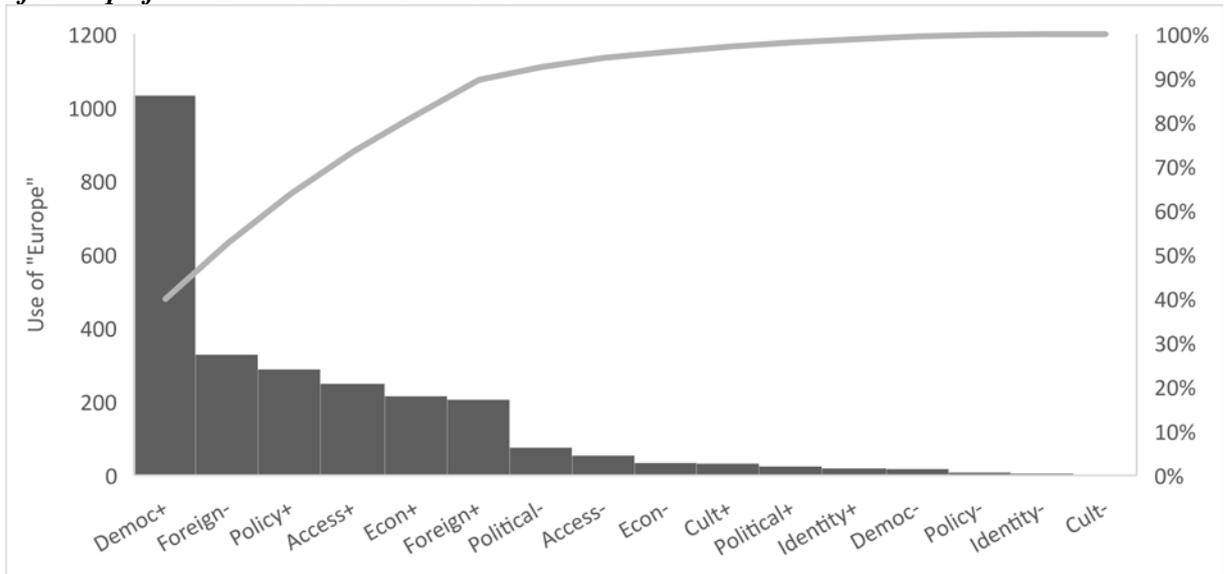


Figure 2b. Pareto chart describing the distribution of the categories in the discussion of the EU from June 2013 to June 2015

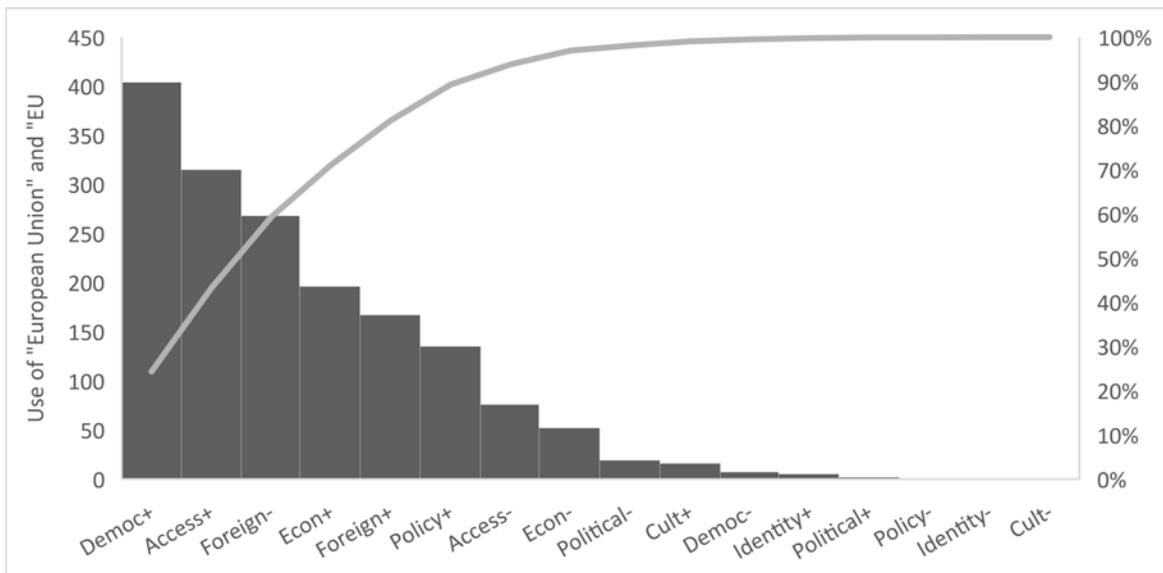


Figure 3a. Frequency of democratization discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

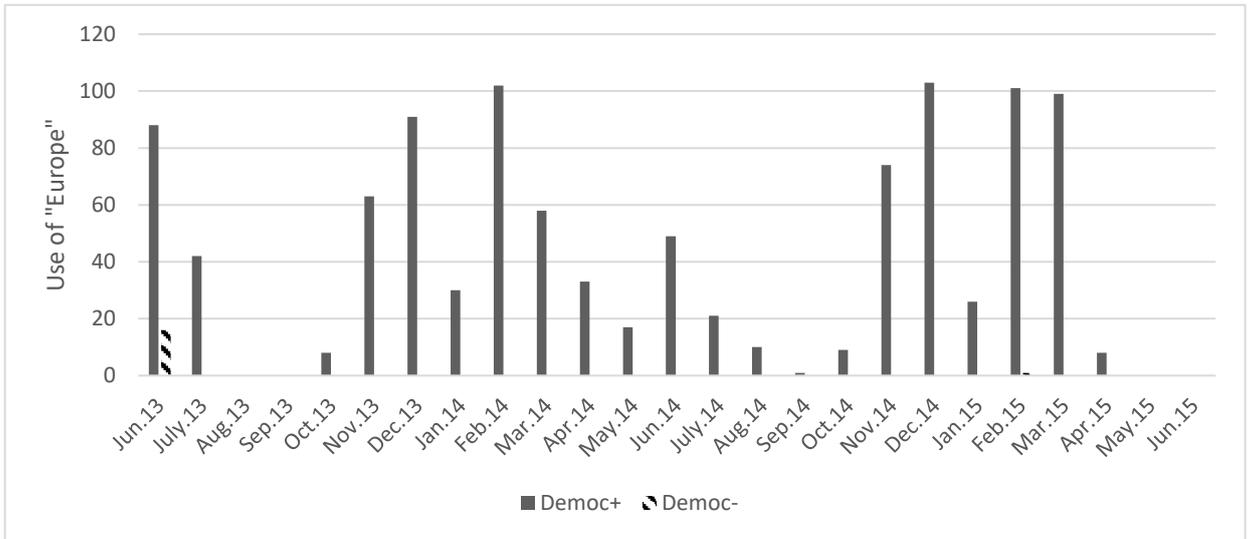


Figure 3b. Frequency of democratization discussions in relation to the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015

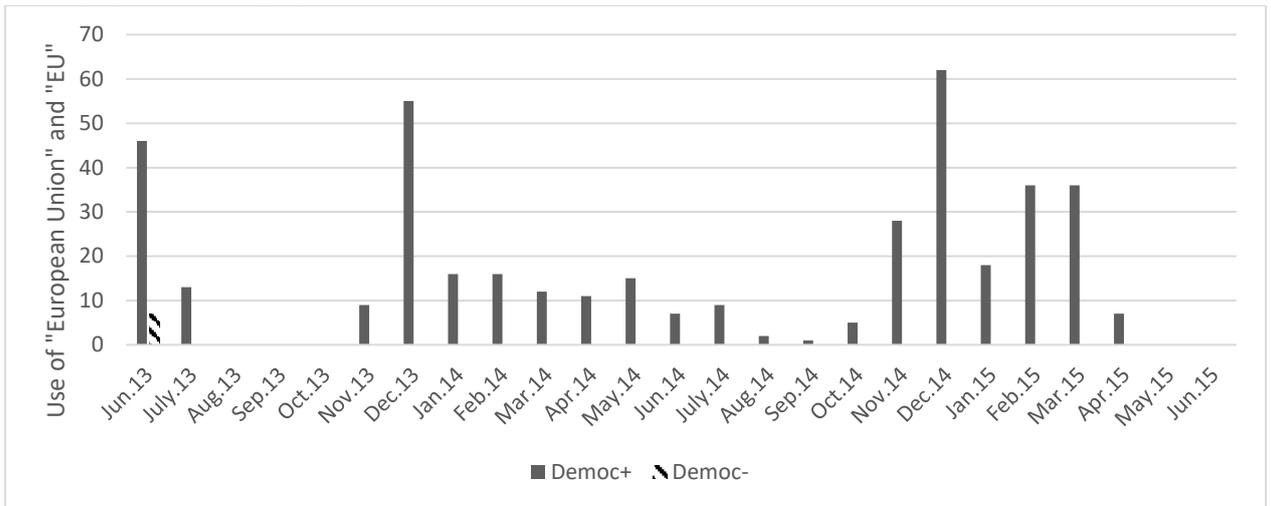


Figure 4a. Frequency of foreign policy discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

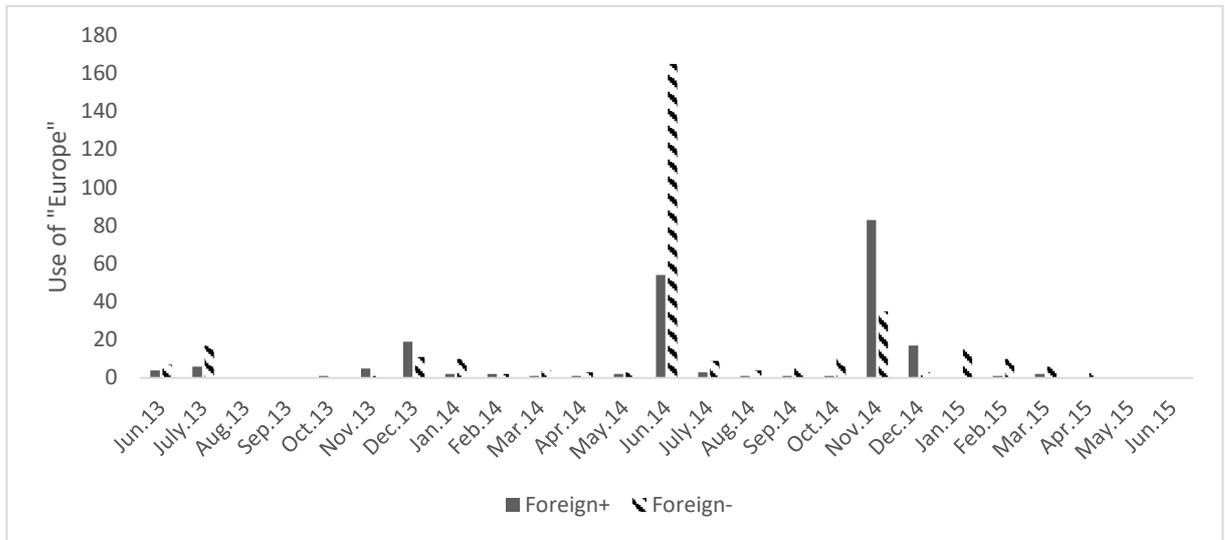


Figure 4b. Frequency of foreign policy discussions in relation to the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015

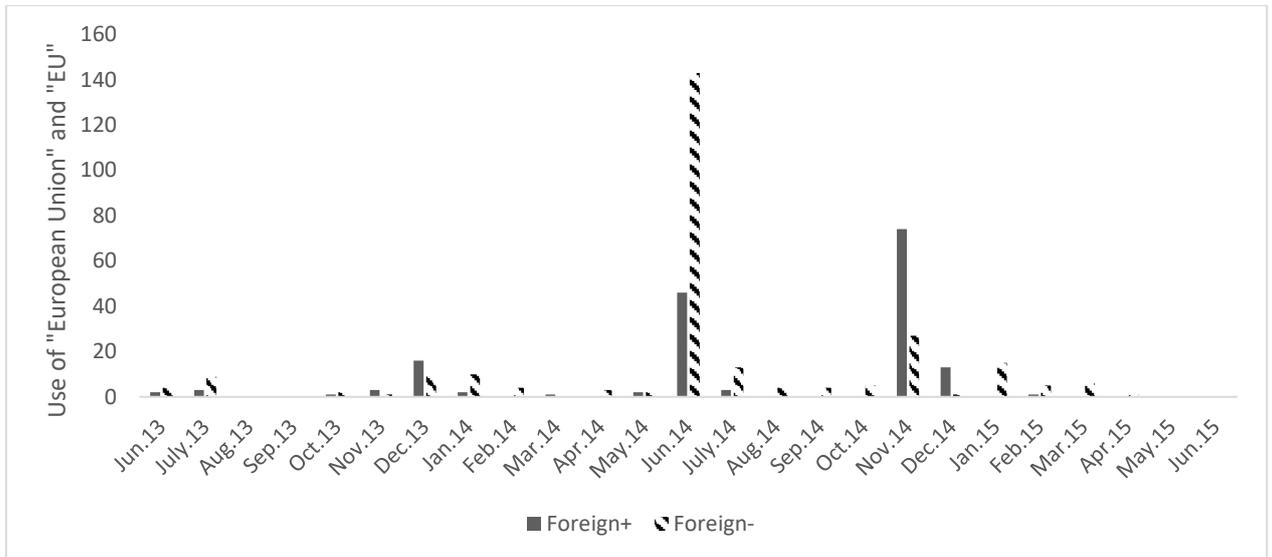


Figure 5a. Frequency of policy adaptation discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

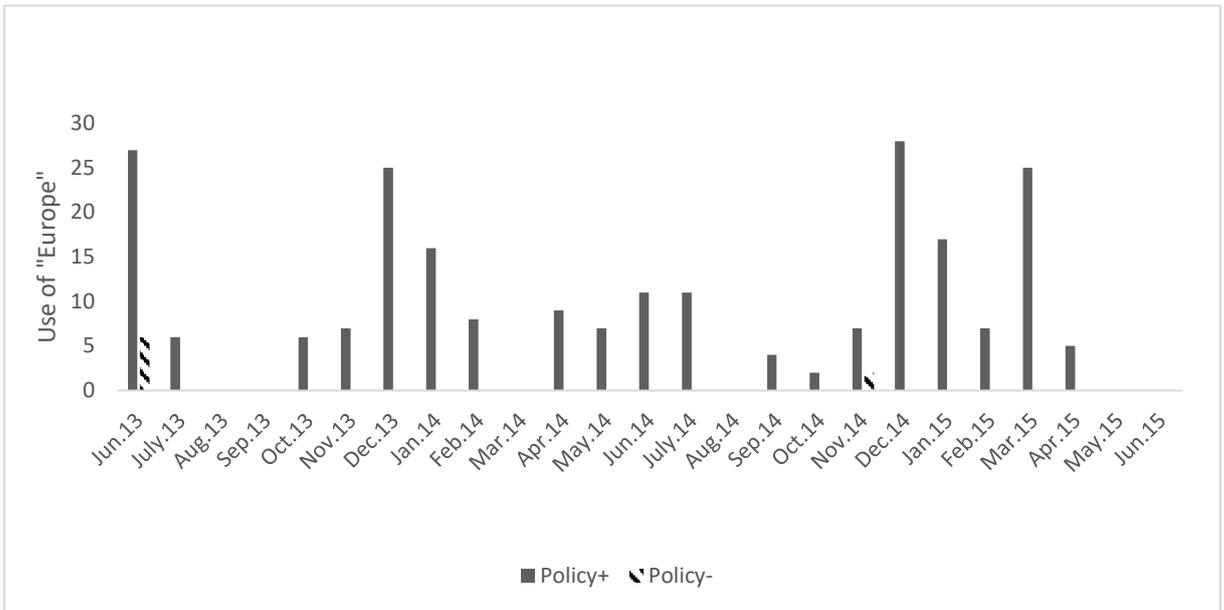


Figure 5b. Frequency of policy adaptation discussions in relation to the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015

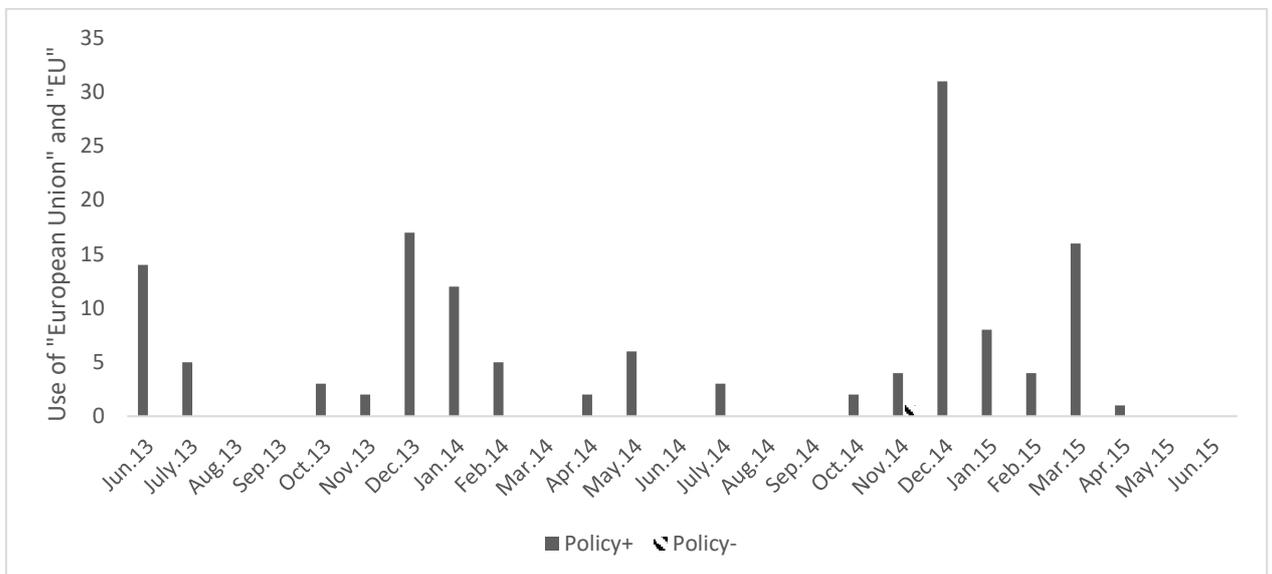


Figure 6a. Frequency of accession discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

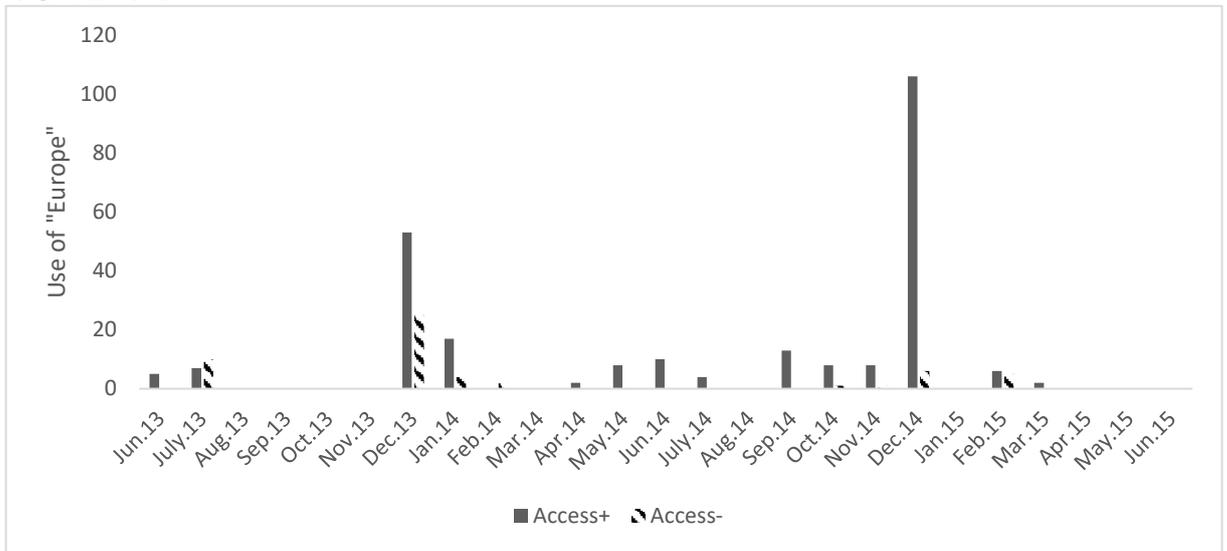


Figure 6b. Frequency of accession discussions in relation to the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015

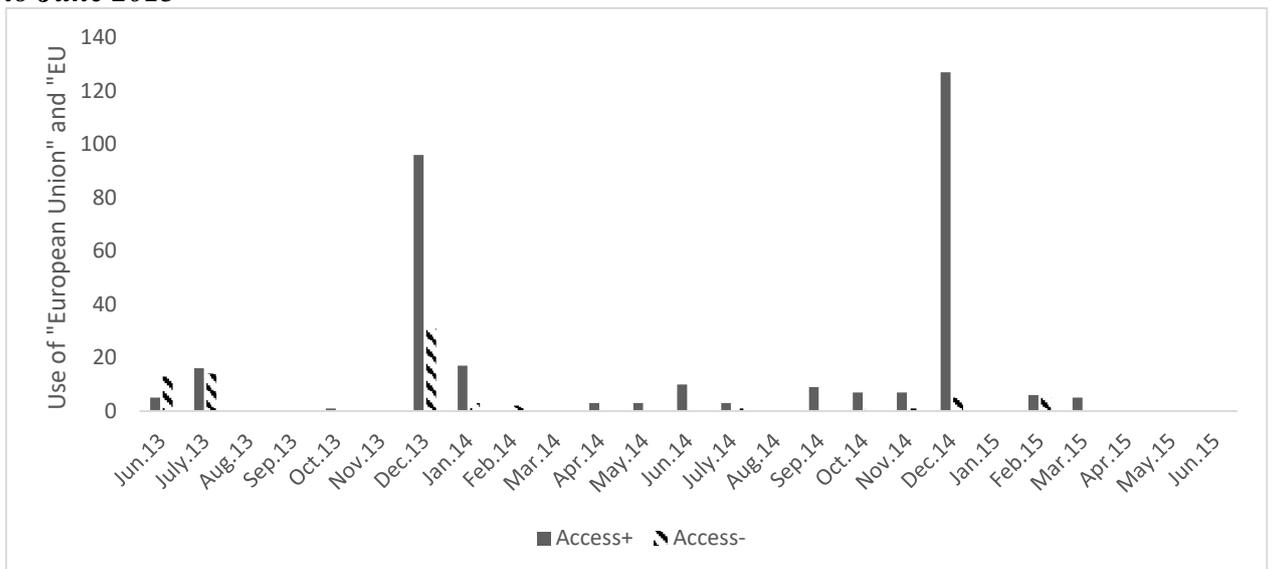


Figure 7a. Frequency of economy discussions in relation to Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

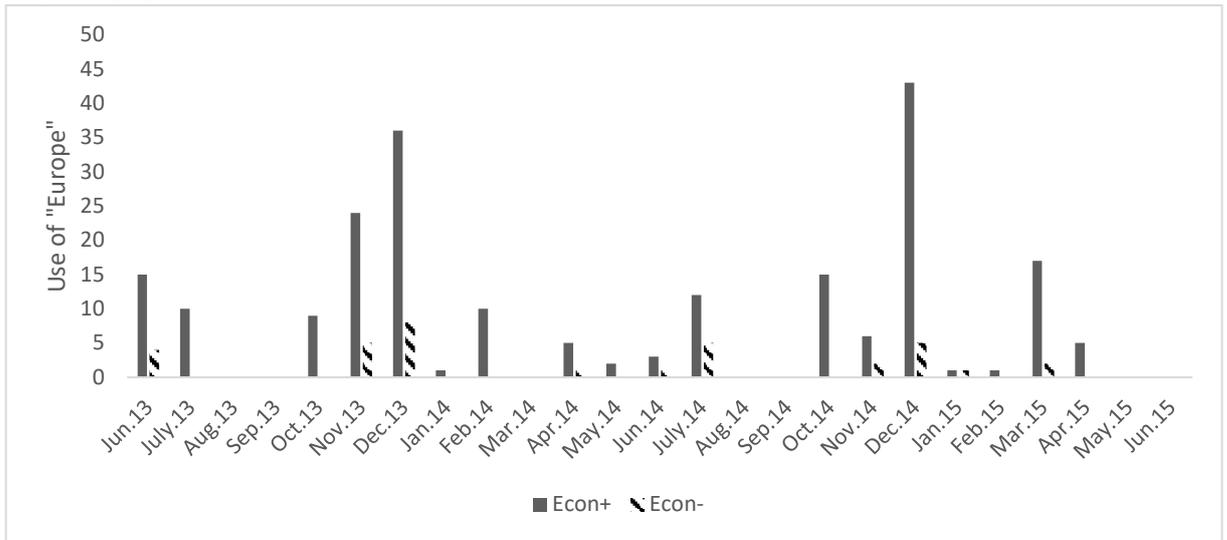


Figure 7b. Frequency of economy discussions in relation to the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015

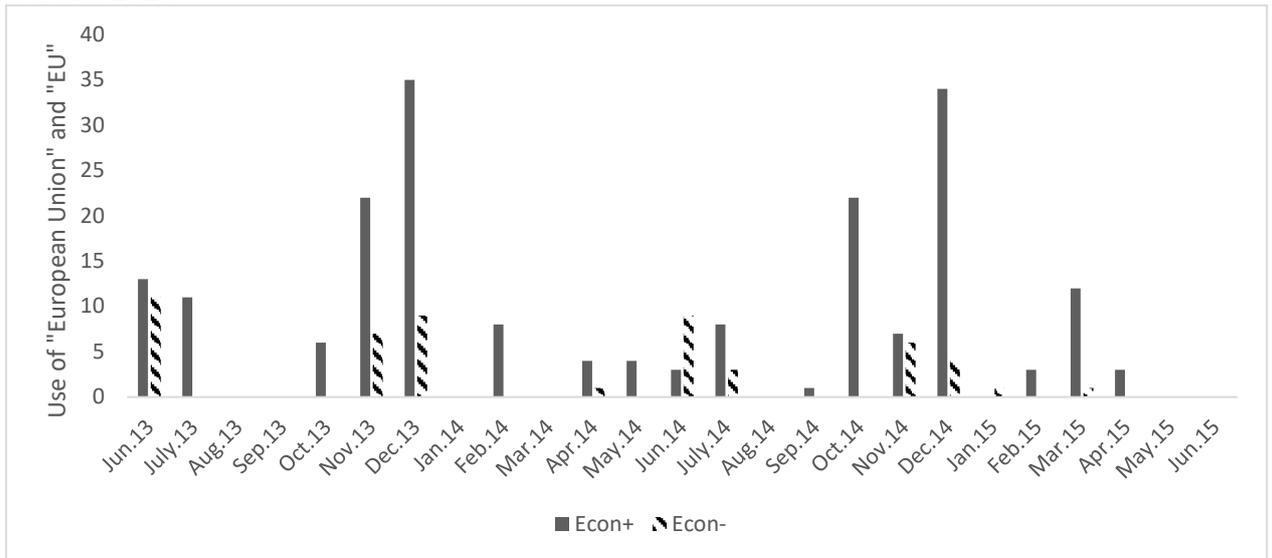


Figure 8a. Frequency of discussions on politics in Europe, from June 2013 to June 2015

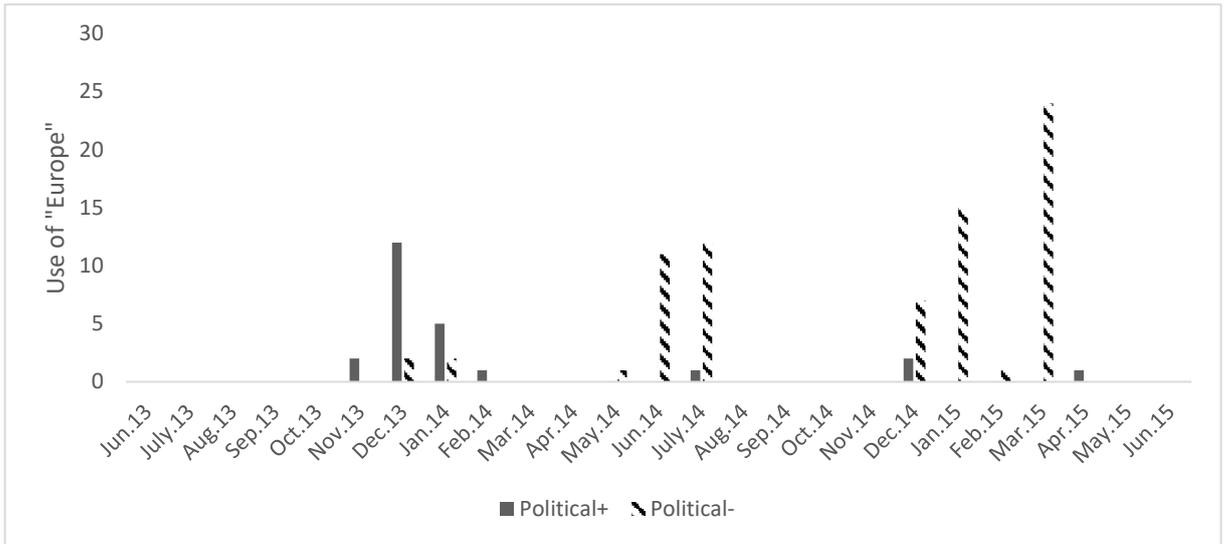


Figure 8b. Frequency of discussions on politics in the EU, from June 2013 to June 2015

