

**THE ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
WITHIN EUROPEAN UNION NETWORK**

*Serkan GÜZEL**

Abstract:

This paper examines Republic of Turkey's relationships with Western world in general, and with EU in special. Putting forth the relationship between EU and Republic of Turkey in a clear manner, underlying factors of Republic of Turkey's accession to the EU has been discussed in accordance with the main problem of Republic of Turkey, including overpopulation and unemployment rate. However, it is essential for EU to consider geostrategical position of Republic of Turkey bringing Europe and Asia continent together and taking place amidst Caucasus and therefore Turkish nations. After all, if Republic of Turkey's full membership will not materialize, Republic of Turkey should seek another unions to join or form a new one. In any case, EU like Republic of Turkey is well aware of that the reasons of Republic of Turkey's efforts in joining to the EU greatly depend on Republic of Turkey's westernization policy.

Key words: Republic of Turkey, Geostrategy, EU, European Turks.

INTRODUCTION

Industrial revolution is estimated as a main instrument of modernization process by many sociologists. As known, one of the most important outcome of the industrial revolution is liberalism in which the importance of money and the role of political power increase. Although the political economy of nations could easily restricted with national borders especially in the beginning period of the liberalism, the same is not possible in the later periods. In fact, the later period of liberalism has urged nations to interact with each other. However, interaction process within these new world system is necessary not only to obtain word resources but to form some organizations in order to take the advantages of the new world order. So, global network in which international organizations take place such as NATO, UN, EU, OECD, f.g. has been emerged. Eventually, nations divide into distinct categories such as well developed, developing, and least developed with respect to its development levels in this global network. With taken the advantages of liberalism in time or in the later period of

* Assoc. Prof. Dr., Pamukkale University Faculty of Science and Arts Department of Sociology - Denizli/Turkey sguzel@pau.edu.tr

industrialization process, some nations have found an opportunity to take control over other nations which have never taken the advantages of liberalism. Moreover, well developed nations which play significant role in these international organizations have begun to collaborate with each other in order to increase their development level by benefiting from the least developed and still developing nations. On the contrary, least developed nations have neither power nor opportunity to form an effective international organizations. Unlike least developed nations, developing nations have privileged position in this global network. That's to say, this kind of nations have been exploited by most developed nations, on one hand; have exploited the least developed nations, on the other hand. With respect to its position taking place between most developed and least developed nations, developing nations are estimated as a most advantaged ones in this global network by numerous social scientist.

Nations sustaining its development level have benefited from this global network rather than others especially in agriculture, industry, technology, information etc. even if international organizations were mostly shaped by developed nations. In fact, there are considerable nations which have still been developing by benefiting from these international organizations. However, several developing nations which have never taken the advantages of these international organizations, including Republic of Turkey, could not be easily neglected. Putting forth the function of Republic of Turkey in this global network in a clear manner, this paper consisting of three main part is prepared. The forming process of EU as a considerable economic and political bloc and Republic of Turkey trying to become western for nearly about two centuries will be evaluated with respect to some sociological approaches examining the past, present and the future of the world capitalism, including Mill's "sociological imagination", Wallerstein's "world system", and Fukuyama's "end of the history" in the first part. The changing process through Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey in relation to obstacles issued by EU against Republic of Turkey will be discussed in detail in the second part. And position of Turks in Europe functioning as a mirror of overpopulation and high unemployment rate as well as possible influences of geostrategical position of Republic of Turkey over EU will be highlighted.

1.SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Political and economic institutional arrangements are timely subjects for sociological study. As political and economic institutions are the main seats of power and influence in most modern societies, sociological theorists always have viewed politics, and their interaction as crucial variables for macrosociology. Furthermore, sociologists are beginning to pay more

attention to social structure of a global scale as it becomes increasingly obvious that global networks linking nations on a macro scale with respect to nations' geopolitical, economic, and cultural relationships have become a major form of social organization in the twenty-first century. And in this global network some nations are likely to direct and some are likely to be directed (Alix, 1995, p. 477-480; Watson, 1995, p. 82-89). That's why, several social scientists put great effort into determining the differences and the functions of this global network. Comparing most developed nations which have taken the advantages of the industrial revolution in time with developing and least developed nations trying to reach industrialization level, definite differences between them become clear. That's to say, today's well developed nations concerned not only with increasing its national production level but also with exporting their national products to developing countries in order to meet their increasing domestic demands, especially during Industrial Revolution. That's why, least developed and developing nations have become more and more dependent on developed nations day by day (Güzel, 2005).

Despite many theories stressing the characteristics, differences, functions and influences of this global network, three theories such as "sociological imagination", "world system theory" and "end of the history" have been appreciated within restriction of this paper. The first represents some kind of strategy that can help you sort out the multiple circumstances that could be responsible for social experiences, life choices, and life chances. Although Mills (2000) develop this theory in order to explain some personal differences in society, it is so useful as to adapt to global network to determine the roles of nations. With measuring three types of circumstances such as biographical, historical, and societal, Mills's theory suggests that political and economic position of nations are greatly depend upon their life chances and life choices in this global network. From this point of view, sociological imagination unveiled that the power of the nations in these global network is not independent from their biological, historical, and societal backgrounds. As seen, his theory directs our attention to individual's position in society as well as to political and economic position of the nations.

The second put forward that political and economic world system has operated primarily as a product of world capitalism for nearly about five hundred years. Wallerstein (1998) expressed that nations could distinguish into three definite categories with regard to its developing level such as "First World", "Second World", and "Third World" in this system. First World consists of most highly industrialized nations, including U.S., Japan, Canada, Germany, England and France etc.; Second world includes still industrializing nations such as China, Russia, Brazil, Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan e.g.; and Third World consists of least industrialized ones, for

instance African and Southeast Asian nations. World system theory highlights that economic, political, and cultural exploitation by the First World hindered the economic development of the Second World. In other words, Second World and Third World are coerced into expanding their economic, social and cultural resources on producing goods for the populations of First World. As seen, last two category have become dependent on the first both economically and politically. Eventually, interdependence process between nations is inevitable today.

With defining the stages (the past and the future) of world capitalism, Fukuyama (1999) suggests the “end of history” thesis. His thesis make sense of the collapse of the authoritarian states in central and eastern and in Latin America especially in the late twentieth century. He sees two forces behind this development such as economic and political forces. Economic forces play role in emergence of “single market” all around the world. The formation of single market has eliminated the differences of nations’ own products. Political forces urged people or nations to build supremacy over others. Indeed, Western style democracy, estimated as a last form of the world system, make considerable contribution to these economic and political forces. That’s why, Fukuyama emphasizes the ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government. Particularly, had not this economic development coincided with political change in British history, then the industrial revolution might not have occurred or might have developed in a quite different form.

2. EUROPEAN UNION

EU, an effective economic and political block, has several features which could not be explained easily as it supposed. Today, these features of union have also been confirmed by several kind of nations. However, it should be kept in the mind that EU’s effective role in world system has escalated, especially after the collapse process of Soviet Union. In fact, the collapse of Eastern block led by Soviet Union has definitely changed general view of whole Europe. That is, when Soviet Union became an effective actor in world system after WWII, Western European nations, including France and Germany, came across instable economy. In this way, several Western core nations such as West Germany, France, Italy, Netherland, Belgium, and Luxemburg have signed three agreement playing crucial role in forming powerfull Europe in 1951s to provide stability and peace in Europe, to prevent the effective role of the Soviet Union, and not to experience the hardships of WW II again. The first is named “Coal and Steel Agreement”, the second is “The Europe Economic Community”, and the last is “Atomic Energy Agreement”. Though middle and eastern European nations confused after collapse of Eastern block, their changing economic and political

systems and the impact of world capitalism have forced them to join to the EU. As middle and eastern European nations became well aware of the importance of Europe Economic Community, integration tendencies in Europe have increased since the second half of the 1980s. This enlargement process has accelerated the forming process of EU. Enlargement process of EU, on the other hand, has brought some problem, most of which are closely related with the middle and eastern European nations. Because middle and eastern European nations could not easily eliminated the effects of former Soviet Union. But, it is important for EU, holding up to 350 million population, to make this kind of nations full membership in order to create big Europe. This enlargement approach has been appreciated by opinion makers as a positive policy in point of both providing the stability of whole continent and in point of the future of the EU. When the formation of big Europe realize completely, then EU will become most effective and powerfull bloc in the world in 21.st century with respect to holding high quality of labor force, prosperity, using high technology, current financial market, expansion of economy, industrial big companies, militarial security system. If the specializing process of Japan in international investment, U.S. in economic production and consumption, and Russia in armament taken into account, it could be easily seen that EU combines all of these characteristics in its structure (Kocaoğlu vd., 1995, p. 10-13; Erol, 1994, p. 45).

Delors (1996, p. 41-45) pointed out that EU functions as a development model with respect to is cooperation mechanism between individual and society, on one hand; and between individual and market actors, on the other hand. That's why, every nation which would like to join to this adventure should fulfill accurate prerequisites such as establishing open economy, respect to human rights and passing through pluralist democracy. In relation to this point, he draws attention to some nations which suppose EU as a more stable and powerfull organization than it is seen. However, EU has several debates in itself and these debates could not be easily ignored. That's why, it is must for union to rearrange itself in order to receive other nations left far away from Europe for nearly about half century. So, Delors expresses that our priority tasks to cope with is not easy as it is expected. If we can't solve our expansion problem, then our union model which bases upon competition, cooperation and solidarity will move in a doubtfull manner. That is, notable gaps will appear, and therefore whole union will run into serious political and social crisis. Indeed, the fundamental reason of my fear about our union is that while our family relationships decrease, while we are still come across different cultures, how can we receive other nations, some of which have different backgrounds, how can we protect the solidary of our community and how can we spread our values depending on piece and tolerance? Do you believe that only economic

integration is sufficient to provide peace and security for all nations in union? No, further integration is required. This means political integration should be achieved after economic integration. Because, only economic and political united Europe might protect and sustain the existence of our union and therefore whole Europe. In the mean time, solutions on unemployment which is today's most important problem of EU should not be neglected. As a matter of fact, current industrial policy of EU has unveiled the inadequacy of solving unemployment problem. Several findings points out that unemployment rate in EU has raised to 10,5 %. This means there are 18 million unemeployed in Europe. In this way, three industrial policy must be applied to cope with unemployment problem: Above all, modern industrial units which may create new jobs in the near future have to be supported; secondly, the competition capacity of current industrial units must be protected and maintined; and finally, small and large scale business enterprises have to be improved (Morgil, 1994, p. 24-25). All of these indicators have revealed that duties of Republic of Turkey to fulfill is not easy. While unemployment rate is still fundamental problem of EU, how can Republic of Turkey having overpopulation and high unemployment rate join to union?

3. FORMATION PROCESS OF CONTEMPORARY REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

New civilization based on a new individual, societal, cultural, political, economic and technological characteristics has emerged in Europe in late period of 19th century. When Ottoman Empire became aware of the impacts of this new civilization in "Lale period"¹, it had began to expand towards non-western world; in special towards America Continent on one hand; towards eastern part of Europe and Russia on the other hand. However, this new civilization triggered the collapse process of Ottoman Empire (Berkes, 1975, p. 21). In fact, Western civilization encourage several regions governed by Ottoman Empire to become independent. All of these developments revealed the undoubtful achievement of Western civilization not only to Ottoman Empire but to the whole non-western world. In this way, many social sciences, incuding sociology, began to examine the characteristics of this new civilization with assistance of some scientific approaches and concepts. One of the main characteristics of this approaches is assuming non-western civilizations to become western in time (Tuna, 1999, p. 138-139).

¹ "Lale period" is a specific period which is fairly different from the policy of Ottoman Empire. In special, expansion of impire and appreciation of world affairs, political economy of impire and daily issues was neglected, and nearly almost part of the society inclined to entertainment. However, this period accelarated the effects of western civilization on Ottoman Empire. In other words, western civilization claimed the life of Ottoman Empire by benefited from this period.

While these social scientists was examining the characteristics of Western civilization, they (un)consciously ignored the role of economic, political, societal and cultural structure of Otoman Empire leaving it behind the contemporary world. As Inalcik expressed that the political and societal order of the Ottoman Empire was not appropriate to turn into capitalist production system. So, economic structure of empire become more and more powerless and dependent to the well industrialized western nations day by day (Kongar, 2000, p. 348). In spite of this powerless economic order, social scientists those who evaluated general view of young republic highlighted that any nation will be able to reach to the level of contemporary world only if establish its sovereignty which is the milestone of nation and sustain it by contribution of science and technology. As Berkes states, neither a nation will develop nor will reach to modernization level unless it establish an independent political and economic order (Berkes, 1975, p. 186). That's why, Atatürk's revolutions aimed to form an independence policial order and western style society. Although Atatürk had changed the political order of the empire, societal and economic structure remained as it was even after National Struggle. However, the world events have forced Republic of Turkey to the Western civilization. Kongar determined these world affairs as WW I, Soviet Revolution, invasion of Anatolia, WW II, forming process of U.N, the role of Truman doctrine and therefore Marshall aid programme, Cyprus crisis, labor force demands of European nations from non-western world. In other words, political economy and societal structure of the Republic of Turkey could not be explained without taken these effects of world affairs into account. Moreover, today's development process of Republic of Turkey is also closely linked with these world affairs. With all of these effects of the world events, Republic of Turkey's political economy and societal structure has become more and more integrated into Europe day by day whereas western European nations have ignored this reality (Kongar, 2000, p. 351, p. 509-510).

Okyar put forward that economic, political, and societal structure taken over from Ottoman Empire forced political economy of Republic of Turkey towards liberalism. To fulfill economic breakthrough, to make societal change, Mustafa Kemal decided to organize an economic congress, named "İzmir İktisat Kongresi". This congress is appreciated as an important turning point of the new republic even by today's social scientists. However, it is comprehended in this congress for the first time that there were not any entrepreneur, industrialist and merchant f.g. class those who could fulfill capital accumulation process. Owing to that reason, "devletçilik" which meant some kind of state controlled economic policy were decided as a national economic development model. State controlled economic policy in 1930s was not accepted only because of the pressure of the World economic crisis but because of reaching to the national economic development level.

Yet, Turkish style state controlled economic policy is different and interesting: It is definitely different both from pure capitalism and from pure socialism; in other words, it reflects as a synthesis of these two system, and convenient to the Atatürk's general tendencies. Even if the main target of this kind of economic policy was supporting and protecting public sector to materialize national economic breakthrough, all political economy turned into supporting private sector in time (Kongar, 2000, p. 353).

Since the inadequacy of the state controlled economy were understood, other economic policies highlighting the importance of foreign capital and aid began to discuss, especially after economic congress held in Izmir. This meant Atatürk's revolution was about to materialize in the societal structure for the first time, in particular. This process begun with "Truman's doctrine" in 1947s. Defining Republic of Turkey's national necessities, a group of U.S. experts came to Republic of Turkey and military agreement were signed between. As Gönlübol unveiled, one of the fundamental reason of Truman doctrine was that U.S. decided to help to Post War Europe by "Marshall aid programme". Though U.S. takes both geostrategical position of Republic of Turkey and Greece into account, Republic of Turkey's foreign aid issues always result in havoc for U.S. governments due to Greece, Armenian, and Kurd's lobbies, according to Poppe. One of the main indicator of these lobbies' effect is exclusion of Republic of Turkey from Marshall aid programme. Indeed, U.S. expressed that Republic of Turkey was not fairly affected by World War II and that its economy was adequate to need its own meets. However, Turkish government did not assess its position as it was suggested by U.S. Because of the importance in realizing national development target, Turkish government appealed to the U.S. to benefite from Marshall aid programme. Eventually, Republic of Turkey was admitted to the Marshall aid programme (Kongar, 2000, p. 458-463).

Turkish governments have maintained to experience this kind of difficulties in the later periods, including in joining to the NATO and UN as well as in negotiation process of EU. For instance, Turkish government appealed to NATO to be full membership as soon as Turkish troops were sent to Korea. But, U.S. invited republic of Turkey only as a military partnership instead of full membership. Accordingly, Republic of Turkey declared to U.S. that its demands about Korea would not meet or refuse unless its full membership was not approved. So, Republic of Turkey was invited to the NATO in the midst 1951s, and has become full membership in the first period of 1952s (Kongar, 2000, p. 460). Foreign aid programs, on the other hand, accelerated Republic of Turkey's industrialization level. That's to say, with assistance of this foreign aid programme, Turkish political economy altered and Republic of Turkey's relations with the western capitalistic nations began to develop. As Pamuk expressed,

railways were built even in several parts of our countryside as well as Anatolian provinces converted into agricultural commodity production center. However, these process which could not be definitely separated from U.S. hegemony represents an indicator for external pressures over political economy of Republic of Turkey. But, on the other hand, the political economy of Republic of Turkey has become more and more dependent both to foreign capital and to western international organizations (Pamuk, 1981, p. 1-21). As a matter of fact, Republic of Turkey is at the door of EU with its political economy taken over from Ottoman Empire and with the functions of its geostrategical position.

3.1. Relations of Republic of Turkey with EU

There is little disagreement among economists that economic integration and enhanced interdependence have been the inevitable consequences of trade and financial liberalization since the late 1970s. However, there remains substantial divergence of opinion on the nature and consequences of these increasing integration (Chandrasekhor, 2005, p. 2). Forming several international organizations facilitating the trade capacity of some nations, including European, Asian and Pacific nations, in different parts of the world is one of the most important outcome of this integration process. Taken these developments in the world system into account, it is so clear for Republic of Turkey to take place in two block at least. Otherwise, Republic of Turkey will leave alone in the world both economically and politically, and this will lead to serious problems throughout its development level. From this point of view, considerable reasons of Republic of Turkey to join to the EU is so clear. One of these reasons is that nearly about half of foreign trade capacity of Republic of Turkey rely on several European nations, and vice versa. In relation to first reason, the second is that great deal of Republic of Turkey's technology come from Europe. And the third is that there are approximately 2 million Turkish workers, some of whom own or run small and big scale enterprises live in Europe. Only if these reasons are adequate for Republic of Turkey to be full membership, EU claims further measurements or efforts (Erol, 1994, p. 45). As clearly seen, Republic of Turkey's joining to the EU heavily depends upon finding a comprehensive shared ground of two side. That is, relationship between Republic of Turkey and the EU could not be explained without taking this two aspect together.

Many Turkish governments have done their best to achieve westernization level. Indeed, through later period of Ottoman Empire to the present, many Turkish policy makers have made considerable concessions in order to be admitted to the several western rooted international organizations. One of the main indicator of these concessions is that Republic of Turkey's accession to the customs union as a passive member

and without receiving foreign economic aid owing to effective role of Greece government. Soysal, in charge of foreign ministry in time, has pointed out that European nations who aware of the certain will of Republic of Turkey's joining to the union focused on two main points, none of which is relevant to economic indicators such as establishing and preserving the independence of kurd government in South-eastern Republic of Turkey and putting an end current independence of the North Cyprus Turkish government. Although EU has smart leaders, scientists, economists, politicians, analysts, opinion makers e.g. those who may develop relations with Republic of Turkey, why do policy makers of EU pull and push Republic of Turkey, and why do they trying to show Republic of Turkey as a "marginal nation" (!) ? Indeed, anyone concerning with the world affairs could easily determine this reasons: Firstly, EU might propose that they'll be able to put all of their plans about region into motion as long as Republic of Turkey maintains to struggle with its inner problems and therefore instabilities. Secondly, EU does not want a powerful Republic of Turkey in the region. This policy of EU is still in effect today, according to Manisalı (Kongar, 2000, p. 469).

As well as these political and economic structure, some demographic characteristics of Republic of Turkey have confused EU. First of all, Republic of Turkey have overpopulation and high unemployment rate. In order to prevent the repercussions of these demographic characteristics of Republic of Turkey over union, EU put forward several pretext for Republic of Turkey such as nationalist command economy, GNP capacity, inflation rate, corruption policy, economic and political crisis, human rights and civil rights, Cyprus crisis and/or demanding political privilege of some South-eastern Anatolian communities or groups etc. even in negotiation process. Though there are notable events making these pretext clear, Cyprus problem represents special issue in relationship between Republic of Turkey and West. As a matter of fact, Cyprus problem has not been utilized as a solution instrument between two sides. Particularly, EU invited South Cyprus government to the EU as a representative of whole Cyprus. On the contrary, Republic of Turkey were excluded even from program schedule (Kongar, 2000, p. 470). After all, in 1995 EU expressed that they decided to start negotiations only with the Republic of South Cyprus government despite reducing the statute of Republic of North Cyprus from government to community. This discrimination means full membership of South Cyprus would be confirmed, not the North Cyprus'. As Cyprus crisis revealed that Republic of Turkey was left alone against Greece who is close ally of Western civilization. However, this political breaking point forced Republic of Turkey to review its general foreign policy in accordance with the Cyprus' position. This turning point, in the mean time, has definitely

effected Republic of Turkey's relations with EU (Kongar, 2000, p. 466; Demirer, 1995, p. 48).

Drawing our attention to the importance of Republic of Turkey and its relations with EU, Selçuk (2000, p. 121-123) put forward that Republic of Turkey has been trying to become modern, especially with its dynamic population and democratical principles for the beginning of the 21st century. If we suppose Republic of Turkey as a full membership today, it'll become the biggest nation with regard to its territorial capacity; and the second big nation with regard to its population rate. However, crescent will take place besides cross, and vice versa. Only these points have unveiled the effective role of Republic of Turkey in the union. In fact, taken the economic, political, and cultural characteristics into account, it become so clear that EU which has been restricted its borders with only European culture, including Greece, Rome and Cristianity, will be able to spread towards different cultures, on one hand; and different cultures will find an opportunity to take place in the union, on the other hand. That's to say, the doors of the Turkish and Muslim nations trying to become industrialize and representing a significant market to the EU will be able to be opened completely. So, we as Turks will leave an excellent Republic of Turkey to (our) next generations and we all together (Republic of Turkey and EU) will be able to build a morvellous world for whole next generations. However, if EU want to take all of these advantages, most of which stemmed from Republic of Turkey's geostrategical position², then European nations should cease their prejudice against Republic of Turkey. Once all of these realize, not only Republic of Turkey's EU relations will become in a clear manner but obstacles used as a pretext against Republic of Turkey will dissappear automatically. Or else, Republic of Turkey trying to achieve political and economic integration with Western civilization for nearly about two hundred years will be forced to form either a new union or join to other current ones. In any case, whether Republic of Turkey will be admitted to the EU or not, it is so obvious that the process of forming Turkish Union has been put into motion for 17 years. As Elekdag expressed, collapse of Soviet Union has attracted Turkish nations towards world political arena as well as has escalated Republic of Turkey's role in world affairs (Kongar, 2000, p. 463-469). Besides, EU should keep in the mind that any nation could not form powerfull union or develop it without political and cultural heritage. And this cultural accumulation is still potential in Turkish cultural surrounding today. If EU as

² According to Çakır "War Sociology" for the first time in Turkish literature in accordance with the approaches and assumptions of international relations put forward that geopolitics of a nation may be determinated as a nations' circle which represents the outcome of social, economic, poliical, militarial neighborhood relations. Even if he expresses that the nations and/or societies get thier power from geography and use this power in geopolitical relations, only political leader who govern the nation is not adequate to play effetive role in geopolitics. Besides leader factor, cultural similarities and adequacy of technology as an national power are required (Çakır, 2004).

well as U.S. do not take this Turkish cultural surrounding into account, then they will fail coming exams. Above all, EU and U.S. always need further cooperation with Republic of Turkey about Middle East issues.

3.2. Turks in Europe

The main reason attracting Turks to Europe is expansion of immigration opportunities. As Industrial Revolution had effected agricultural life, finding job became common problem in peasants' life. So, employment opportunities attracted peasants either to city centers of their countries' or to the well developed nations' labour markets (Güzel, 2005). Particularly, immigration has become widespread, after several least developed and developing nations have been sent its labour force to well developed nations since 1960s. As a matter of fact, numerous European nations have received great amount of immigrants in order to fill its labour force shortage since the midst of 1960s. Even if immigration decreased in the first half of 1980s, it began to raise again in the later period of 1980s in accordance with the improving economy of Europe and with the political changes in the middle and eastern Europe. This immigration process towards Western Europe could not be explained without the effects of Industrial Revolution and without the political economy of sending (developing and least developed) nations (Tosun, 1994, p. 27).

Although underlying factors of immigration change as regards periods and generations, the main reason of every immigraton process is meeting individuals and their families needs. Indeed, immigration process from Republic of Turkey to the several well developed European nations is closely linked with the underlying factors of work life, including meeting individual's economic, physiological, social, and cultural needs (Güzel, 2007). Between late 1960's and early 1970's, about one million labour force from Republic of Turkey have emigrated to Germany and elsewhere in Europe due to several reeasons mentioned above. Although Turkish labour force going to Europe to be employed restricted their accommodation period only with earn living, several findings make clear that Turkish immigrants have extended their accommodation period in time (Tosun, 1994, p. 27). These findings, on the other hand, express that Turkish population in Europe has reached considerable amounts. In spite of the negative effects of oil crisis, erupted between 1970s and 1974s, over receiving nations, immigration to Europe from Republic of Turkey sustained. Hence, immigration process which began in the later period of 1960s, has reached crucial turning point nowadays; for example, Germany holds the greal deal of Turkish immigrants in Europe today. France, England, Netherland, Austria and Belgium take place after Germany, respectively. Furthermore, the rate of Turks in whole Europe is estimated to reach 3,5 in 2000, 4,5 million in 2010, 5,5 million in 2015, and 10 million in 2020. Taken

decreasing population of some European nations into account, it is so clear that Turkish population in Europe is more than some small European nations even today (Kongar, 2000, p. 505; Tosun, 1994, p. 28-32).

Most European governments like Germany which had predicted the effective position of Turkish immigrants took some measures. Particularly, several German governments have treated immigrants as a guest and allowed to use their language, religion and cultures in schools in order to send them back to their country in a short time. However, plans of several governments came out of control in time. One of the most important indicator of this uncontrolled situation is that second and third generation Turks do not want to turn back to their country unlike first generation. According to Şen and others, this changing situation has unveiled that Turkish workers' children neither have integrated into German society nor have socialized with regard to their own culture, merely. In fact, the impacts of German educational system as well as societal treats and cultural ghetto policy have made great amount of second and third generation Turks either nationalist or fundamentalist. This situation has confused not only German society but also European Turks. Furthermore, second and third generation is not familiar with Turkish culture; that is, this two generation is neither German nor Turk. That's why, notable social scientists have begun to conceptualize Turks in Europe as a "Turkish Minority" since the midst of 1990s. This conceptualization, on the other hand, has unveiled that European Turks have acquired minority status in several European nations with respect to their changing positions, roles, characteristics, and identities. In this sense, they represent a specific community, especially with its lifestyle and culture as well as inner problems. For example, Turks in Germany have also strong tendencies being "German citizen"³ and eager to benefit from the same economic and political opportunities offered to the Germans. So, it is inevitable to confirm that Turkish population in Europe will be able to reach extent to which taking position in economic and political systems by near future (Kongar, 2000, p. 505).

Most European nations holding Turkish labour force since the second half of 20th century, including Germany and France, set some obstacles against the potential immigrants in order to protect the whole European societal lifestyle from the immigrants'. However, today European nations have to deal with illegal immigrants coming from several African nations;

³ Turner treats citizenship as a particular case of social rights and indicate some of the tensions between social and human rights. He pointed out the concept of citizenship has traditionally been a fundamental topic of philosophy and politics. However, the concept of citizenship from sociological point of view, interested in institutions in society or give expression to the formal right and obligations of individuals as a members of a political community. Turner refers to this approach as "sociological" as its main concern is with the institutions of citizenship social identity, the nature of inequality and access to socio-economic resources. "Political" models of citizenship typically have a sharper focus on political rights, the state and the individual (Turner, 1999, p. 262-263).

this kind of immigration has different characteristics, and lead to serious problems especially in European societal lifestyles. As many resources reported, the Canary Island has become popular destination for Africans not only to avoid starvation in their country but to take the advantages of European labour markets. Yet, nearly about 6,000 African migrants died or gone missing on the sea journey to the Canary Island in 2006 owing to coming via small wooden and overcrowded boats. In a bid to stop this illegal immigration at source, patrol boats, planes and helicopters from Spain, Italy, Portugal and Finland are operating off the shores of Mauritania, Senegal and Cape Verde. Indeed, European nations begin to focus on this question today: "Is mass illegal migration into Europe good or bad for our continent?". Comparing the impacts of this illegal African immigrants with Turkish immigrants, it is easy to say that the former effects European society and lifestyle rather than the latter. Even if Turkish labour force those who take place legally in European labour markets has effects over European societal life style, they have not effected labour market prices unlike African illegal immigrants.⁴

Employment opportunities offered by well developed nations to developing nations not only influenced receiving nations but also sending nations. However, the effects of immigration process definitely differentiates with respect to sending and receiving nations. As the effects of immigration process on receiving nations has just been mentioned before, influences of immigration on sending nations will be discussed in this paragraph. Above all, European nations facilitated several hardships of Turkish economy in point of offering new employment opportunities to the Turkish labour force. In fact, remittances, the most important outcome of this immigration, eased domestic unemployment problem and increased foreign exchange rate in Republic of Turkey's economy. In fact, many economic crisis in Turkish political economy either prevented or sorted out by the contribution of these remittances (Kongar, 2000, p. 500-504). As Pamuk (1981, p. 18) pointed out, remittances was its peak in Turkish economy, especially between 1971s and 1975s; and this rate was equal to 5 % of GNP. If the amount of these remittances consisting of small amount of Turkish workers savings taken into account by European policy makers, they'll be able to mark the importance of Turk immigrants money escaped from their market. Different parts of the Republic of Turkey's westernization adventure picture reflects that Republic of Turkey has become a significant part of European continent not only with respect to its tendencies and life style but with regard to Turks living in Europe anymore (Kongar, 2000, p. 507). That's why, it is impossible for EU to ignore all of these realities. In any case, trying to prevent possible immigration process and forming their considerable amount

⁴ <http://news.bbc.co.uk>, 2006; <http://www.bbc.co.uk>, 2007; <http://nooneisillegal-montreal.blogspot.com>, 2007.

of national policy as regards position of Turks in Europe reveals that EU has still appreciated Republic of Turkey and European Turks as a danger to its societal and cultural future and therefore to whole union.

4. CONCLUSION

Results of this paper obtained in light of several sociological approaches could be divided into three distinctive categories in general. The first category includes general tendencies of Republic of Turkey's westernization policy, especially relations with EU. Second category consist of two main inner problem of Republic of Turkey such as overpopulation and high unemployment rate which prevents its full membership. And the last category contains geostrategical position of Republic of Turkey within the region. Taken these categories together, the picture of Republic of Turkey's western and therefore EU relations adventure seems as follow:

Though Ottoman Empire has made numerous reforms in economics and politics for nearly about two hundred years, today's western policy makers put forward that Republic of Turkey should put great effort into being western. In any case, today's Turkish politicians are well aware of than their predecessors that powerful national economy is the real indicator both in Westernization process and in joining to the EU. However, Republic of Turkey has two main inner problem such as overpopulation and high unemployment rate. In fact, there are considerable young population in Republic of Turkey who look for temporarily or permanent job to earn their living. This rate about unemployment is in support of the fear of several European nations about Republic of Turkey. According to European nations, if Republic of Turkey becomes full membership under these circumstances, specifically young unemployed labour force of Republic of Turkey will try to immigrate in order to take the advantages of the western nations' labour markets. Besides, there are nearly about 3 million Turks in Europe, some of whom own or run small and large scale business enterprises. That's why, EU set some obstacles, most of which are used as a pretext and irrelevant to economic issues such as Cyprus problem and/or demanding political privilege of some South-eastern Anatolian communities as well as nationalist command economy, intervention of army, GNP, inflation rate, curruption policy, economic and political crisis, human and civil rights e.g. Otherwise, overpopulation and therefore high unemployment rate which are today Republic of Turkey's domestic problem will be able to come fundamental problem of whole EU. But, on the other hand, when illegal immigration stemming from the high unemployment rate of African nations is compared with the current Turkish unemployment rate, then it could be seen that overpopulation and high unemployment rate will not prevent Republic of Turkey's full membership any more. In any case, Republic of Turkey has focused on joining to EU as a full membership not only as a privileged

partnership, depending on its current membership of several international organizations.

At least, peace in Europe is greatly depend upon geostrategical and geopolitical position of Republic of Turkey. Changes in Europe, in Balkhans, and in Middle-east as well as in Former Soviet Union have definitely escalated the role of Republic of Turkey in the region. As a matter of fact, arguments suggest that globalization process has triggered the political independence process of Turkish nations and has effected developing countries such as Republic of Republic of Turkey. Particularly, depending upon the heritage of old Turkish culture, Turkish cultural surrounding should be appreciated as a crucial opportunity to bring Republic of Turkey Turks those who have been trying to become capitalist for nearly about a century and Turkish Republics' Turks those who governed by socialism for a notable time together. This means Republic of Turkey play important role in the region like a gate of Europe to the Caucasus and to the inner Asia. Although some Balkan nations put forward that their region brings Europe and Republic of Turkey together, the importance of Republic of Turkey is more than Balkans for EU with respect to its geostrategical position functioning as a part of Europe and linking Middle East with Europe. Above all, if geostrategical positon of Republic of Turkey taking place among oil centers, Caucasus, and Balkans is considered, it is impossible for Republic of Turkey to isolate itself from the results of the affairs within its circle any more. In addition to its geostrategical position, Republic of Turkey represents a big market for EU as regards its increasing population, dynamic young and cheap labour force, labour-intensive technology, and consumer preferences. So, all of these characteristics of Republic of Turkey have unveiled that Republic of Turkey and EU should improve current economic, social, political relations both with each other and with inner Asia. If Republic of Turkey's full membership will not be confirmed or refused by the other members of union in spite of these efforts, then there remain no further reason for Republic of Turkey to insist on joining to the EU anymore. In any case, Republic of Turkey's insistence on joining to the EU could not be easily seperated from the will and efforts of Republic of Turkey's westernization struggle.

In short, if positive factors stemming from its geostrategical position and negative factors coming from its demographic characteristics are taken into account, it become so clear that the responsibilities of Republic of Turkey to fulfill is not easy as it is expected. However, the most important reality to be demonstrated to the European nations is that Republic of Turkey does not consist of only politicians, South-eastern Anatolian groups and/or Cyprus problem; on the contrary, there are contemporary societal life which is outcome of our cultural heritage richness. Taken several parts of Republic of Turkey's Westernization picture together, I, myself, could not find

anything to put forward apart from sociological viewpoint. However, others may believe that there may be further issues to evaluate on contemporary Republic of Turkey and its EU relations. Then, we as a nation all together are ready to discuss these issues in humanitarian perspective. In any case, comparing different perspectives is more beneficial than staying faraway with prejudice. To relinquish all of these prejudice should be appreciated as a first step in building comprehensive humanistic perspective.

REFERENCES

- Alix, E. (1995). *Sociology: an Everyday Life Approach*. Minneapolis: West Publishing Company.
- Berkes, N. (1975). *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi.
- Canaries Migrant Death Toll Soars*. Retrieved December, 28, 2009 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6213495.stm>.
- Chandrasekhar, C. P. (2005). Economic Interdependence and Instability in the Global Economy. *The Turkish Social Association Conference*, 2-21.
- Çakir, M. (2004). *Savaş Sosyolojisi*. Ankara: Mars Matbaası.
- Delors, J. (1996). EU have to Renew itself in 1996. *New Forum*, 17 (322), 43-45.
- Demirer, M. A. (1995). Customs Union, EU, and Cyprus Issues of Turkey. *New Forum*, 16 (318), 47-48.
- Erol, I. (1994). Customs Union Decided to Establish Between Turkey and EU. *New Forum*, 16 (313), 45-46.
- Fukuyama, F. (1999). *End of the History and the Last Man*. İstanbul: Gün Yayınları.
- Güzel, S. (2005). A Process of Social Transformation: Industrial Revolution from a Sociological Perspective. *The Journal of Conservative Thought*, 2 (5), 189-198.
- Güzel, S. (2005). İşgücü Birikim Süreci: Fabrika İşçiliğinin Oluşumu. *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Dergisi*, VII (2), 291-303.
- Güzel, S. (2007). Everyday Life From the Perspective of Relationship Between Work Life an Out-work Life. "İş, Güç" *The Journal of Industrial Relations and Human Resources*, 9 (3), 99-120.
- Kocaoğlu et all. (1995). EU, WEU and the Impossible Full Membership Issue of Republic of Turkey in the New World Order. *New Forum*, 16 (314), 10-21.
- Kocaoğlu, M. (1996). Stabilization Factor in Confluence of Three Continent: Republic of Turkey. *New Forum*, 17 (321), 25-36.
- Kongar, E. (2000). *21. Yüzyılda Türkiye*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
- Migrant Land on Canary Island*. Retrieved May, 14, 2007 from <http://nooneisillegal-montreal.blogspot.com/2007/05/bbc-migrants-land-on-canary-islands.html>.
- Migrationspecial*. Retrieved July, 05, 2007 from http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/programmes/europetoday/news/story/2007/07/070705_migration_special.shtml.
- Mills, C. W. (2000). *Sociological Thought*. (Ü. Oskay, Trans.), İstanbul: Der Yayınları.

- Morgil, O. (1994). Sector Influence of Customs Union over Turkish Economy. *New Forum*, 16 (312), 23-28.
- Pamuk, Ş. (1981). *The Political Economy of Industrialization in Republic of Türkiye 1947-1980*.
- Selçuk, S. (2000). Republic of Türkiye at the Door: Problems and Possibilities in Republic of Türkiye's EU accession. *Diary of Turkey*, (59), 121-124.
- Stemming the Immigration Wave*. Retrieved September, 10, 2006 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5331896.stm>.
- Tosun, S. (1994). Turkish Population in Western Europe in 21st Century. *New Forum*, 16 (318), 27-32.
- Tuna, K. (1998) Western Expansion, Globalisation and the Last Morsels: National Ethic Issue. *National Cultures and Globalisation*, 137-144.
- Turner, B. S. (1999). *Classical Sociology*. London: Sage Publications.
- Wallerstein, I. (1998) *After Liberalism*, (E. Öz, Trans.), İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Watson, T. J. (1995). *Sociology, Work and Industry*. London: Kegan Paul Ltd.