Turkey’s Accession to the European Union Political and Economic Challenges

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Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK) lend insight into the influence of, among others, structural economic transformations and political interests, and examine the direction of causality between female employment and childcare (Chapters 5 and 6). A final chapter reflects on the overall lessons of the book for scholarly knowledge of the politics of active social policies (Chapter 8).

There are three aspects of The Origins of Active Social Policy that stand out as particularly important contributions. First, in terms of methodology, rather than adhering to either the qualitative or quantitative camp, Bonoli is forthcoming about the inherent limitations of comparative social policy research in assessing causality. This decision to use triangulation and therefore combine methods is not entirely unheard of but nevertheless remains a refreshing choice in a research area that continues to be defined by research that falls into one of the two camps. Moreover, as Bonoli makes his way through the analyses, he often takes time to reflect back on the methodology and how subsequent findings shape what we can and cannot know about the politics of active social policy. As a result of the methodological choices and the perspective of the author, the analysis is both conceptually rich and analytically rigorous.

Second, through the case studies in Chapters 5 and 6, Bonoli illuminates how the motivations of politicians to enact active social policy do not derive in any simple way from the traditional left–right ideological dimension nor from the strength of women’s representation, the more widely recognised determinant of childcare expansion. Although other quantitative analyses (though not necessarily those here) may find systematic effects for these two central causal factors, average effects may not be representative of any particular case or explain much variation.

Third, Bonoli develops his idea of ‘affordable credit-claiming’, by which he means opportunities to gain votes for expansionary reforms. Credit-claiming, he argues, involves win–win situations by satisfying the interests of a broad clientele and applies to many active social policy reforms because higher income voters benefit from the effects on labour supply even though they are not generally participants themselves. Indeed, Bonoli contends that active labour market policies benefit the middle classes more than programme participants, an insight which calls for a thorough rethinking of existing assumptions.

In light of its ambitions, a few aspects of the analysis remain somewhat brief. The quantitative chapter is relatively underdeveloped and does not go very far in modelling the complex causality discussed in the theoretical chapter or the case studies. The case studies are also well done but nevertheless leave open questions about the explanations for reforms where existing theory falls short. These inherent space-related limitations aside, The Origins of Active Social Policy offers a thought-provoking study of active social policy and an inspiring model for how to approach a research project in comparative social policy.

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Turkey’s Accession to the European Union Political and Economic Challenges
Edited by Belgin Akçay and Bahri Yilmaz

Turkey’s relationship with the European Union dates back to 1959, when Ankara submitted its first application to the then European Economic Community. Despite its early accession to the key European and Western organisations, such as the OECD, NATO, and the Council of Europe, Turkey’s path towards European integration has been char-
acterised by continuous ups and downs and marked by diplomatic ambivalence and a lack of trust. Lasting 54 years, Ankara’s accession process emerges as by far the longest, and most uncertain and chaotic one, thereby marking the exceptionality of the Turkish case.

Starting from this exceptionality, Akçay and Yilmaz’s edited volume *Turkey’s Accession to the European Union* has the ambition to shed light on the specificity of the Turkish case and to assess the developments over time of the process, adopting a multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary perspective. In the words of the editors, “the book aims to provide a timely overview of some of the most important issues and debates in the changing context of domestic politics and foreign policy in Turkey, and the likely implications of these changes and developments for EU–Turkey relations” (p. x).

Acknowledging the need for a ‘more interdisciplinary approach to studying Turkey–EU relations within the wider international political and economic context’ (p. x), the volume covers three distinct, although highly intertwined, thematic areas. The first part discusses the developments over time in Ankara’s accession process and discusses the degree of Europeanisation achieved by Turkey in terms of politics and policies with a specific focus on the case of EU Human Rights Conditionality (Chapter 3). The second part analyses Ankara’s accession process and the related EU conditionality in terms of EU–Turkey economic relations. Worth mentioning are the chapters on the adoption of the economic *acquis communautaire* (Chapter 4) and on the related political constraints and obligations (Chapter 5) as well as the case studies on trade (Chapter 6) and agricultural policy (Chapter 8). The third part of the volume focuses on cases related to the foreign policy dimension (Chapters. 11–13) and the compatibility between Ankara’s regional power ambitions and its European aspirations (Chapter 10).

Throughout the volume the tension between particularity and compatibility emerges as the narrative’s *leitmotiv*. In the closing chapter on the future of Turkey’s integration process Kahraman maintains that:

> [the EU’s] widening and deepening conflict are no longer separable from the cultural and identity conflict. … However, currently Turkey is increasingly perceived as a challenge by those who defend an essentialist reading of European identity and also by those who tend to support a more cosmopolitan Europe. (p. 331)

She normatively concludes that ‘the leading European and Turkish actors should accelerate their efforts … for cultivating a communicative and deliberative mode of understanding’ (p. 332).

On the whole, the volume represents a valuable attempt to penetrate the dynamics of Ankara’s long march towards the EU and to update the debate on Turkey’s EU membership. However, a number of shortcomings ought to be mentioned as they reduce the effectiveness of the book and limit its ambitions. As the reader goes through the sections of the book a somewhat chaotic chapter structure emerges. In particular, while the book is defined by the three abovementioned thematic parts, some chapters do not properly match this rigid division, as in the case of the contribution by Savaşan on human rights conditionality (Chapter 3), which would probably better fit into a separate section on Turkey’s internal policies. If we add to this the evident lack of a common chapter structure and the frequent repetition in different chapters of general information already sketched in the introductory chapter the reading experience might appear quite chaotic overall.

Despite a number of individually valuable chapters, on the whole the lack of a coherent conceptual framework strongly limits the explanatory potential of the work and makes the final result more descriptive than interpretative. This general impression is strengthened by the fact that the concluding chapter – strangely included in the sec-
ation on the foreign policy of Turkey – is not, on the whole, able to coherently synthesize a common message from the individual chapters and sections. It fails to determine an analytical twist and to harmoniously combine the contributions of the different authors into a multi-dimensional mosaic depicting Turkey’s EU accession process.

Conceptually, some chapters appear too normative in their arguments. At the same time, the authors do not properly justify the choice to limit their analysis of Turkey’s accession process to the realms of foreign policy and the economy, while ignoring other very relevant aspects.

Despite these deficiencies, the book is recommended to practitioners and policy experts as the different chapters provide a valuable account of Turkey’s reform process and of the changing context of EU–Turkey relations.

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Lobbying in the European Union: Interest Groups, Lobbying Coalitions, and Policy Change
By Heike Klüver

Questions about interest group influence and the effectiveness of lobbying are among the most important ones that can be addressed in contemporary politics. They are also among the most neglected. For this reason alone, Heike Klüver’s research monograph makes a most welcome contribution. Reviewing and integrating a considerable amount of literature on lobbying and EU politics, Klüver argues that the ability to provide relevant information and to mobilise citizens, as well as the control of economic resources, all increase the likelihood that a group’s lobbying efforts are met with success. Importantly, she conceptualises and analyses lobbying as a collective endeavour, so that her expectations about what makes lobbying successful refer to coalitions of lobbyists.

To investigate these arguments, Klüver develops a comprehensive and innovative empirical strategy. At its heart is a spatial conceptualisation of the policy positions of interest groups as well as of the main policy-making institutions of the EU – the European Commission, the Parliament and the Council of Ministers. These positions are determined by quantitative text analysis of online submissions made by interest groups in the context of the Commission’s public consultations on draft legislative proposals (for the positions of the EU institutions, official policy documents were coded in a similar fashion). Relating shifts in the positions of the policymakers to the positions of interest groups enables Klüver to determine which lobbyists were successful and which ones were not. The main determinants of lobbying success are measured partly on the basis of the consultation data and partly with the aid of an online survey. In total, Klüver coded almost 5,000 consultation documents submitted by almost 1,900 different interest groups as well as collecting survey data on over 700 of these organisations. Using sophisticated statistical analysis, she analyses the role of information, citizen support and economic clout, first for lobbying success at the policy formulation stage and, separately, for success at the decision-making stage of the legislative process. Klüver finds support for the expectation that each of the three factors identified in the literature increase a lobbying coalition’s likelihood of being successful. This finding holds for both stages of the EU policy process.

The book’s main strength is its thorough, rigorous and sophisticated empirical analysis of lobbying success. Klüver has been the first to apply computer-aided quantitative text analysis – a powerful technique that is by now an established tool for the