# THE BEST POLICY FOR EUROPEAN UNION & TURKEY RELATIONSHIP: ANALYTIC NETWORK PROCESS APPROACH

Ebru P. Alikalfa

Mujgan S. Ozdemir

eayas@ogu.edu.tr

mujgano@ogu.edu.tr

Industrial Engineering Department
Osmangazi University
Bademlik Campus, 26030 Eskisehir-Turkey

Keywords: European Union, Turkey, Analytic Network Process, complex decision making

Summary: This study aims at determining the best policy for the relationship between the European Union and Turkey with the Analytic Network Process (ANP). Three alternatives: Membership, Non-Membership and Private Status are evaluated in terms of the Benefits, Opportunities, Costs and Risks for each sideTwo models are constructed for European Union and Turkey sides. Developing control criteria, and sub criteria for each of the BOCR, performing pair wise comparisons, and prioritizing them constituted the third stage. Then decision networks are developed and their priorities are synthesized. Benefits, Opportunities, Costs, and Risks (BOCR) merits are rated with respect to personal strategic criteria. Finally the results of two models are discussed and interpreted.

## 1. Introduction

To evaluate the situation between Turkey and EU, one must look at the history of that relationship. The relations between Turkey and the EU go back in time a long way. While relations can probably be traced to earlier years, the conclusion in 1963 of the Association Agreement is generally taken as the point of departure. (Demirok, 2001)

In March 1995 the EU signed a Customs union agreement with Turkey; in December 1995. If the Customs Union's success was evident in the ensuing increase in free trade in manufactured goods between Turkey and the European Union, it was also clear that further changes would be required to make EU regulations applicable to Turkey, and that these changes ultimately depended on Turkey's accession to the EU--full membership was necessary to permit financial assistance and the negotiation of mutual preferences.(Dodd, 2000)

The Helsinki European Council held on 10-11 December 1999 produced a breakthrough in Turkey-EU relations. At Helsinki, Turkey was officially recognized without any precondition as a candidate state on equal footing with the other candidate states. While recognizing Turkey's candidate status, the Presidency Conclusions of the Helsinki European Council endorsed the proposals of the Commission made on 13 October 1999. Thus, Turkey, like other candidate states, reaped the benefits from a pre-accession strategy to stimulate and support its reforms. (Turkey and European Integration, 2002)

The 2002 European Commission Regular Report makes a detailed analysis of Turkey's progress in the preaccession strategy over the past twelve months. The Report shows that Turkey has moved forward in the three major areas covered by the Accession Partnership: the political, economic and acquis criteria established by the Copenhagen European Council in 1993. Turkey has made noticeable progress towards meeting the Copenhagen political criteria. However, Turkey does not fully meet the political, economic or acquis criteria. These criteria for Turkey are assessed below. Through constitutional reform, and a series of legislative packages, Turkey has addressed several of the key priorities specified in the Accession Partnership.In the light of the considerable progress made in recent years and of the remaining areas requiring further attention, Turkey is encouraged to pursue the reform process to strengthen democracy and the protection of human rights, in law and in practice. This should enable Turkey to tackle the remaining obstacles to full compliance with the political criteria. With respect to the economic criteria, Turkey has made progress in the functioning of its market economy, which should improve its capacity to cope with competitive pressure, but is still undergoing the consequences of recession and financial crises. With respect to the acquis criteria, Turkey has made progress in aligning legislation in the areas covered by the customs union and a number of other sectors, such as banking, telecommunications, energy and agriculture. The financial sector has been restructured and administrative capacity in this field has been streamlined. In most other areas there remain major differences between the *acquis* and Turkish legislation. (Towards the Enlarged Union, 2002)

The Union encourages Turkey to pursue energetically its reform process. If the European Council in December 2004, on the basis of a report and a recommendation from the Commission, decides that Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria, the European Union will open accession negotiations with Turkey without delay. (Presidency Conclusions, Copenhagen European Council, 2002)

Turkey seems to be committed to EU membership, but the real question remains whether the European Union want s Turkey. Research on "Turkey-EU agenda 2002," carried out by the Turkish-European Foundation in February, confirmed that 68 percent of the Turkish public supported the goal of EU entry. (Ciftci, 2002) However, Turkey cannot enjoy the opportunities and advantages normally offered to EU member Customs Union countries because of its status. Meanwhile, Turkey continues to spend effort to comply with the community acquiesce. This involves legislative changes as well as structural changes in the physical and social infrastructure including those in the bureaucratic system.In this time interval, some decisions need to be taken immediately for the benefit of the two sides. For Turkey, there will be considerable economic, political and social disadvantages during the waiting process.

The analysis focuses on the following questions and aims to determine the best strategy for both sides:

- What will Turkey contribute to the European Union?
- What will be the enhancement that Turkey will bring to the European Union?
- What will be the advantages that Turkey will derive, being part of the European Union?

The Analytic Network Process (ANP) with dependence and feedback is a general framework for a detailed analysis of societal, governmental and corporate decisions that is available today to the decision-maker. It allows both interaction and feedback within clusters of elements (inner dependence) and between clusters (outer dependence). Such feedback best captures the complex effects of interplay in human society, especially when risk and uncertainty are involved. Within the ANP networks of influence one includes all the factors and criteria, tangible and intangible that have bearing on making a best decision. The ANP deals with Benefits, Opportunities, Costs, and Risks (BOCR) separately and then combines them into a single overall answer (Saaty, 1996).

### 2. Description of the European Union Model

A Benefits, Opportunities, Costs and Risks model is developed as mentioned before.

### 2.1 Top-level Network and the Criteria

Figure 1 shows the ANP Main Top level structure.



Figure 1. The ANP Main Top-level Structure

To capture the complexity and ambiguities surrounding the relations between Turkey and EU over time, attention ought to be focused on distinct spheres of analysis involving the economic, political and social dimensions. Each BOCR merit has three control criteria: Economic, political, and social. The subcriteria under these three components are described below.

## a- Benefits

Economic Benefits

- Agricultural Sufficiency (Turkey and the World 2010-2020, 2002)
- Economic Center: Turkey is the largest market in the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus. Located at the crossroads between Europe, Eurasia and the Middle East, Turkey links these markets
- Increasing Trade
- Valuable Natural Resources(Turkey and the World 2010-2020, 2002)

Young and Dynamic Population: The demographic advantages of a young and dynamic Turkish population and the economic attractiveness of an unsaturated market of 65 million potential consumers. Turkey has a large and dynamic market.

# Political Benefits

- Crucial part of Europe's defenses: As a longstanding NATO member, Turkey has been a loyal and willing partner in Europe's defense. (Turkey belongs in Europe, 2002)
- Drug and human trafficking: Drug and human trafficking can be better tackled if Turkey is included in the joint consultative mechanisms of the Union.
- Geostrategic importance (Önal, 2000)
- Importance as an energy terminal: Turkey will be an energy terminal, not just for Europe, but for other regions as well. Further, it is already evident that during the coming years, the abundant oil and natural gas reserves of the Caspian Sea region will be tapped and marketed to the world. The development of this sector will prove that Turkey is and will remain the safest and most economic route for trade in Caspian energy resources.
- Regional stability and security: Resolving regional conflicts (Kuniholm, 2000). The incorporation of Turkey into the European Union will help stabilize the situation in a large and potentially volatile region extending from the Balkans to the Caucasus.
- Unauthorized migration: Unauthorized migration can be better tackled if Turkey is included in the joint consultative mechanisms of the Union
- Reduce polarity between Northern Mediterranean and south.

## Social Benefits

- Connecting Islam and West: Turkey is the tie that could bind Islam and the West. (Turkey belongs in Europe, 2002)An EU that is open to Turkey should send a message to the troubled Muslim world of today: the West does not consider Islam and democracy incompatible as long as Islam does not.
- Cultural wealth: What Turkey can contribute to EU is a historical experience of a different kind; a dimension
  that only a country which for centuries was the representative of a huge geography and a genuine culture can
  provide.
- Historical Experience: Turkish society offers Europe a blend of centuries of experience and accomplishment combined with the principles of openness, pluralism, and cosmopolitanism.

# **b- Opportunities**

### Economic Opportunities

- Young and educated workforce: In fact, if Turkey became a member, the EU's overall population would simply decline at a slower rate than it otherwise would. Moreover, Europe's economy, especially its burdened social-security and pension systems, will soon require new sources of labor, which Turkish accession could provide.
- Access to potential markets

# Political Opportunities

- Model for Islam countries
- "Achieving Grande Europe": Integrating a secular but predominantly Islamic country in an ensemble where Judeo-Christian values form the common frame of reference for the majority of citizens, however much they live in a secular environment, is a huge challenge in itself. It will be showen that "Grande Europe" as a future world power will be able to integrate countries with different cultural roots but sharing common values. (Candar, 2001)

# Social Opportunities

- Reduce cultural tensions: This will help reduce existing cultural tensions for Muslim groups and communities living in Europe.
- Free flow of information

## c- Costs

# Economic Costs

- Finance from Community's budget and regional funds
- Free mobility of Labor: More than 50% of the labor force in Turkey was employed in agriculture, and the Community was concerned about the access of Turkish labor to the EC labor market at a time when unemployment was a problem. (EC Commission, 1989 and Kahraman, 2000)
- Population size: EU's ability to absorb a country of Turkey's size and level of development in terms of the burden imposed on the Community's budget and regional funds.

#### Political Costs

- Having Majority of Votes: EU laws themselves are increasingly made by majority vote; if Turkey joins the EU it would have the largest number of votes in its legislative bodies--the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament. (Charlemagne: Too big for Europe?, 2002)
- Geographic Criteria about Europe's boundaries: Another point is that 95% of Turkey's land mass is actually in Asia. Once geographic criteria for membership are blurred, how will the EU ever define its boundaries? . (Charlemagne: Too big for Europe?, 2002)
- Role of Military in Politics: The consequent role being played by the military in Turkish politics. (Eralp, 2001)

#### Social Costs

- Ethnic conflicts
- Free mobility of people: Turkish people will be free to move to Western Europe as they please.
- Islamic Culture
- Religional Conflicts
- Turkey's demographic size: The biggest single anxiety is over Turkey's size. On current demographic trends, by 2020 Turkey (now 67m-strong) may have more people than Germany (now 82m-strong but shrinking). That would make Turkey the largest country in a union which is already considerable more than a mere free-trade area, though it is yet to evolve into the Eurosceptics' dreaded super-state. (Charlemagne: Too big for Europe?, 2002)

#### d- Risks

#### Economic Risks

- Cheap Turkish Labor: The fear of being swamped by cheap Turkish labor. (Holbrooke, R, 2002)
- Unstable economy

### Political Risks

- Adaptation of EU laws
- Disagreements between Turkey and its neighbours: Turkey sees itself as having few friends in its surrounding regions. Among bordering and nearby states, Greece, Russia, Armenia, Iran, Iraq and Syria are all hostile or potentially hostile. This sense of regional isolation helps bind Turkey to another "lonely state" in the region.
- Worries about Turkey's credentials

# Social Risks

- Deformation of Christian identity
- Population size

The 39 criteria were prioritized by pairwise comparisons and 12 of them with the highest priority constitute the majority and selected to have subnets of actors and their influences developed. These are, *Young and Dynamic Population, Geostrategic Importance, Connecting Islam and West, Finance from Community's Budget and Regional Funds, Free Mobility of Labor, Population Size, Geographic Criteria about Europe's Boundaries, Access to Potential Markets, "Achieving Grande Europe", Unstable Economy and Worries about Turkey's Credentials.* Determining these criteria is also supposed to be helpful for EU and Turkey to show them the critical factors to consider while giving their decisions. The criteria are shown in Table 1 with their priorities. Although global priority values were obtained after evaluating Benefits, Opportunities, Costs, and Risks by using strategic criteria, to keep the paper within a reasonable size the global priorities coloumn was also added to Table 1.

**Table 1. Criteria and Priorities** 

Merits	Criteria	Subcriteria	Local Priorities	Global Priorities
		Agricultural Sufficiency	0,114	0,015
	Economic	Economic Center	0,186	0,024
	(0.412)	Increasing Trade	0,163	0,021
		Valuable Natural Resources	0,186	0,024
Benefits		Young and Dynamic Population	0,349	0,046
(0.322)		Crucial part of Europe's defenses	0,192	0,020
	Political	Drug and human trafficking	0,044	0,004
	(0.327)	Geostrategic Importance	0,311	0,032
		Importance as an energy terminal	0,106	0,011
		Regional Stability & Security	0,068	0,007
		Unauthorized migration	0,158	0,016
		Reduce polarity between Northern Mediterranean and south	0,118	0,012
	Social	Connecting Islam and West	0.412	0,034
	(0.259)	Cultural wealth	0.327	0,027
	, ,	Historical Experience	0.259	0,021
	Economic	Young and educated workforce	0.333	0,020
0	(0.40)	Access to potential markets	0.666	0,041
Opportunities (0.156)	Political	Model for Islam countries	0.25	0,015
	(0.40)	"Achieving Grande Europe"	0.75	0,046
	Social	Reduce cultural tensions	0.666	0,020
	(0.20)	Free flow of information	0.333	0,010
Costs (0.365)	Economic (0.493)	Finance from Community's budget and regional funds	0,387	0,069
	(0.493)	Free mobility of Labour	0,169	0,030
		Population size	0,443	0,079
	Political (0.310)	Geographic Criteria about Europe's boundaries	0.348	0,039
		Having Majority of Votes	0.483	0,054
		Role of Military in Politics	0.167	0,018
		Ethnic conflicts	0.057	0,004
	Social	Free mobility of people	0.342	0,024
	(0.195)	Islamic Culture	0.088	0,006
		Religional Conflicts	0.102	0,007
		Turkey's demographic size	0.409	0,029
Risks	Economic	Cheap Turkish Labor	0.25	0,012
	(0.322)	Unstable economy	0.75	0,037
		Adaptation of EU laws	0.25	0,020
	Political (0.539)	Disagreements between Turkey and its neighbours	0.25	0,020
(0.157)		Worries about Turkey's credentials	0.50	0,041
		Deformation of Christian identity	0.20	0,004
	Social (0.139)	Population size	0.80	0,017

# 2.2 Networks

Clusters in the decision networks are constructed according to influencing groups and issues related to them. These clusters are: EU Administration, Trade Union Confederations, Public Opinion, Business Organizations, EU Security, Economic, Political, Social Advantages (disadvantages) and Secularity. A sample subnet for the Young and Dynamic Population criterion is given in Figure 3.

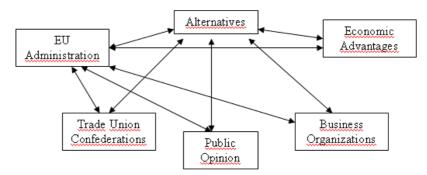


Figure 2. Decision Network under the Criteria Young and Dynamic Population

Alternatives are determined as: Membership of Turkey in a short time, Non-membership of Turkey and giving Turkey a private status by considering the benefits of both sides. The alternatives were selected to be acceptable to both parties.

#### 2.3 BOCR Merit Evaluation

Four strategic criteria as Economic, Human Well-being, Politics and Security are developed to evaluate the BOCR merits in both models. Human Well-Being has the highest priority of 0.33. Figure 3 shows strategic criteria with their priorities.

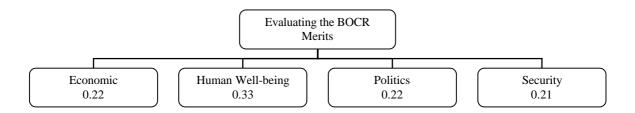


Figure 3. Strategic Criteria for Rating BOCR Merits

Four intensities are used as very high, high, medium and low to evaluate each BOCR by using the strategic criteria. The same BOCR weights were obtained for both models. The results are given in Table 2. These priorities are then used in the main top level structure to obtain overall synthesized results.

**Table 2. Priority Ratings for the Merits** 

Very High (0.482), High (0.271), Medium (0.156), Low (0.088)

	Economic	Human Well-being	Politics	Security	Priorities	
Benefits	High	Very High	High	High	0.322	
Opportunities	Medium	Medium	Low	High	0.156	
Costs	High	Very High	High	Very High	0.365	
Risks	Medium	Medium	Low	High	0.157	

### 2.4 Results for EU Model

After doing pairwise comparisons and entering judgments including all clusters and nodes, the priorities for the elements in each network are determined. Three types of formula are used to analyze the merits. First of all subtractive formula is used. This formula leads us through a pessimistic way and for EU side, Private Status alternative becomes the most important one. Membership alternative takes the second priority with this formula. Then, we used probabilistic additive formula with BOCR rating values to obtain the overall results for EU. Since the high cost and high risk alternatives have the highest priorities, using the formula one minus the value coming up from the subnet changes the highest priorities from most costly (risky) to least costly (risky) and adding is appropriate. The results are remarkable and they indicate that Membership and private status take the highest priority with overall priority of 0.409, so both of them are acceptable and considerable. Non-Membership gets the second priority. Also, we used additive formula to analyze the previous situation. As the inverses of Costs and Risks are used in additive formula, Membership option takes the first priority and Non-membership takes the second priority. However, the value of the Non-membership alternative is close to that of Private Status as can be seen in

Table 3. Overall Results bB+oO-cC-rR, bB+oO+c(1-C)+r(1-R) and bB+oO+c(1/C)+r(1/R)

Alternatives	Benefits (Norm.) (0.322)	Opportunities (Norm.) (0.156)	Costs (Norm.) (0.365)	Risks (Norm.) (0.157)	bB+oO- cC-rR	bB+oO+c(1- C)+r(1-R) (Norm.)	bB+oO+c(1/C)+r(1/R) (Norm.)
Membership	0.125	0.230	0.070	0.062	0.04	0.409	0.735
Non-	0.130	0.104	0.477	0.260	-0.156	0.181	0.134
Membership							
Private	0.743	0.665	0.448	0.677	0.07	0.409	0.131
status							

## 3. Description of the Turkey Model

### 3.1 Top-level Network

Top level network has the benefits, opportunities, costs, and risks control criteria. The same strategic criteria and rating intensities are used to evaluate the BOCR merits. These priorities are then used in the main top level structure to synthesize the results as it is in the previous model.

**Table 4. Priority Ratings for the Merits: Benefits, Opportunities, Costs and Risks** Very High (0.482), High (0.271), Medium (0.156), Low (0.088)

	Economic Human Well-being		Politics	Security	Priorities
Benefits	Very High	Very High	Very High	High	0.366
Opportunities	Medium	Medium	Medium	High	0.152
Costs	Very High	High	Very High	High	0.307
Risks	High	Medium	Medium	High	0.173

# 3.2 Criteria

All subnets under each of the four BOCR merits are composed of three criteria: Economic, political, and social. The criteria are described briefly below.

### a- Benefits

# Economic Benefits

Controlling unrecorded economy; Economic competitiveness (Reach an economic competitiveness in external markets); Expansion of trade; Finance from regional and structural funds (EU structural funds, which facilitate economic improvements, would help Turkey modernize its infrastructure, while accession itself would bring increased trade and foreign investment, enhancing the prospects of narrowing the gap); Free movement of capital; Free movement of goods; Investments (Membership will stimulate investment and the transfer of technology from the EU to Turkey)( Turkey and European Integration, 2002); Privatization; Stability in income distribution; Tax reform (Kuniholm, 2001); Technology transfer .

# Political Benefits

Majority in parliament (Charlemagne: Too big for Europe?, 2002); Progress in democracy (EU membership will powerfully assist political reforms and the deepening and consolidation of Turkish liberal democracy); Reduce overdependence on the US (Önal,2000); Strategic and political status (Strategic and political status will be more important); Strong government.

## Social Benefits

Adaptation standarts of EU; Arrangements in human rights; Arrangements in minority rights; Arrangements in rule of law; Domestic stability (Achieving sustainable domestic stability); Educational benefits; Environmental arrangements; Free movement of people.

# **b- Opportunities**

Economic Opportunities

Trade opportunities; Straightened economy.

## Political Opportunities

EU's political experiences (Turkey will have the opportunity to benefit from the experience and techniques of its European partners to complete its 200 year old westernization project); Political credits.

## Social Opportunities

Cultural and social union; Educational opportunities.

#### c- Costs

Economic Costs

Allocation of money to budget and regional funds; Compensation for minorities; Costs for applications of EU standarts.

## Political Costs

Minorities (Political compensations for minorities); Compensation regarding borders; Relationships with other (e.g. Muslim) countries.

#### Social Costs

Cultural degeneracy; Deformation of Islamic identity; Ethnic conflicts; Religional Conflicts.

## d- Risks

Economic Risks

Economic dependency; Lack of competitiveness.

### Political Risks

Future of EU (Risks about deepening process of EU (Park, 2000); Conflicts upon enlargement between countries (And now let's have another look, 2002).

### Social Risks

Deformation of national identity; Raising social tensions (EU adaptation laws could heighten social tension and raise concerns about the state's cohesion (Katik, 2001).

The 46 criteria were prioritized by pairwise comparisons and 11 of them with the highest priority were selected. These are, Finance from Community's budget and regional funds, Investments, Majority in parliament, Allocation of money to budget and regional funds, Compensation for minorities, Minorities, Borders, Straightened economy, Cultural and social union, Economic dependency, Future of EU. To economize the effort, we used these criteria to put decision networks under.

Table 5. Criteria and Priorities

Merits	Criteria	Subcriteria	Local Priorities	Global Priorities
		Controlling unrecorded economy	0,054	0,011
		Economic competitiveness	0,073	0,015
		Expansion of trade	0,105	0,022
	Economic	Finance from regional and structural		
	(0.593)	funds	0,202	0,043
		Free movement of capital	0,053	0,011
		Free movement of goods	0,038	0,008
		Investments	0,156	0,033
		Privatization	0,035	0,007
D C		Stability in income distribution	0,115	0,024
Benefits		Tax reform	0,12	0,025
(0.366)		Technology transfer	0,043	0,009
		Majority in parliament	0.283	0,026
	Political	Progress in democracy	0.150	0,014
	(0.249)	Reduce overdependence on US	0.136	0,012
		Strategic and political status	0.214	0,020
		Strong government	0.170	0,015
		Adaptation standarts of EU	0.206	0,012
		Arrangements in human rights	0.207	0,012
		Arrangements in minority rights	0.03	0,002
	Social	Arrangements in rule of law	0.239	0,014
	(0.157)	Domestic stability	0.111	0,006
		Educational benefits	0.062	0,004
		Environmental arrangements	0.052	0,003
		Free movement of people	0.089	0,005
	Economic	Trade opportunities	0.25	0,019
Opportunities	(0.493)	Straightened economy	0.75	0,056
(0.152)	Political	EU's political experiences	0.25	0,007
. ,	(0.195)	Political credits	0.75	0,022
	Social	Cultural and social union	0.666	0,031
	(0.310)	Educational opportunities	0.333	0,016
		Allocation of money to budget and		- ,
	Economic	regional funds	0,556	0,068
	(0.40)	Compensation for minorities	0,322	0,039
Costs		Costs for applications of EU standarts	0,11	0,013
(0.307)	Political	Minorities	0.40	0,049
	(0.40)	Borders	0.40	0,049
	, ,	Relationships with other countries	0.20	0,025
		Cultural degeneracy	0.255	0,016
	Social	Deformation of Islamic identity	0.249	0,015
	(0.20)	Ethnic conflicts	0.203	0,012
		Religional Conflicts	0.291	0,018
	Economic	Economic dependency	0.75	0,052
	(0.40)	Lack of competitiveness	0.25	0,017
	Political	Future of EU	0.75	0,052
Risks	(0.40)	Conflicts upon enlargement	0.25	0,017
(0.173)	Social	Deformation of national identity	0.75	0,026
, ,	(0.20)	Raising social tensions	0.25	0,017

# 3.3 Networks

Clusters in decision networks are constructed according to influencing groups and issues related to them. These are: Turkish Government, Public Opinion, Media, Business Organizations, Trade Union Confederations, Security, Economic, Political, Social Advantages (disadvantages) and Military. Alternatives are determined as: Membership of Turkey in short time, Non-membership of Turkey and ceasing membership and giving Turkey a private status by considering its benefits.

# 3.4 Results for Turkey Model

According to Turkey ANP model, subtractive formula results show us that Membership is the best option. The other alternatives take negative priority and less preferable. The results obtained by using the probabilistic additive

formula show that Membership takes the highest priority. Also, Private Status is the second in preference and Non-membership takes the last priority. After synthesizing with the additive formula, results indicate the Membership alternative as the most appropriate option. On the other hand, Non-membership alternative takes the second priority and Private Status alternative takes the last priority.

Table 6. Overall Results bB+oO-cC-rR, bB+oO+c(1-C)+r(1-R) and bB+oO+c(1/C)+r(1/R)

Alternatives	Benefits (Norm.) (0.366)	Opportunities (Norm.) (0.152)	Costs (Norm.) (0.307)	Risks (Norm.) (0.173)	bB+oO- cC-rR	bB+oO+c(1- C)+r(1-R) (Norm.)	bB+oO+c(1/C)+r(1/R) (Norm.)
Membership	0.527	0.512	0.135	0.123	0.207	0.557	0.575
Non-	0.077	0.080	0.220	0.396	-0.095	0.194	0.272
Membership							
Private	0.395	0.407	0.643	0.479	-0.073	0.248	0.152
status							

# 4. Discussion and Interpretation of Results

To determine the best policy for EU and Turkey relationship two ANP models are constructed. Three different formulas are used as subtractive, probabilistic additive and additive to synthesize BOCR.

As alternatives are evaluated according to BOCR merits for EU, it can be seen that Private Status alternative comes into agenda on behalf of Benefits, Oppurtunities. Membership alternative is the most preferable one when we consider Costs and Risks in EU model. In the EU model Private Status alternative becomes a matter of primary importance with subtractive and probabilistic additive formulas. Membership alternative seems more suggestable according to additive formula.

On the other side in Turkey model, Membership is chosen mostly under Benefits, Oppurtunities, Costs and Risks . Also Membership alternative gets the best overall value under both formulas and becomes the best option.

Interpreting the results independently allowed us to analyze the sensitivity of both sides. It is risky to combine the results of two models by simply adding and subtracting BOCR values because Benefits or Opportunities for one side does not totally constitute Costs or Risks for the other. Further research will be concerned with conducting sensitivity analysis for the BOCR values of the two models and combining the results in a suitable way.

# 5. References

"And now let's have another look at the road map" (2002) Economist, Vol. 365, Issue 8304.

Candar, C. (2001) "The Crisis as Catharsis in European Union-Turkey Relations", Private View, Summer Issue, pp48-54

Ciftci, S. (2002), "Turkey And The European Union: Heading For A Break?", Center for Strategic and International Studies March CSIS 08.

"Charlemagne: Too big for Europe?" (2002) Economist, 00130613, Vol. 365, Issue 8299

Clement Dodd, "Turkey and the Cyprus Question," in Alan Makovsky and Sabri Sayari, eds., Turkey's New World: Changing Dynamics in Turkish Foreign Policy (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy: Washin gton, D.C., 2000), pp. 1 58-1 59; Heinz Kramer , A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States (Brookings: Washington, D.C., 2000), pp. 186-191.

Demirok, G. (2001) "How Could the Relations Between Turkey and the European Union be Improved?", Europa Institut der Universität Basel.

Eralp, A. (2001) "Turkey and the European Union in the Post-Cold War Era", in Makovsky and Sayari, p.177, Kramer, pp.192-196.

EC Commission (1989) "Opinion on Turkey's Request for Accession to the Community", SEC (89) 2290final, Brussels, Dec.18 and Kahraman, S. E., (Spring 2000), "Rethinking Turkey-European Relations", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.1, No.1, pp 1-20

Holbrooke, R (2002) "Turkey, Cyprus and the European Union", Washington Post, December 3

Katik, M. (2001) "Turkey Eyes European Union In Wave of Reforms", Eurasia Insight

Kuniholm B. (2000) "The Geopolitics of the Caspian Basin", Middle East Journal, Vol.54, No.4, Autumn 2000, pp.546-571

Kuniholm B. (2001) "Turkey's Accession to the European Union: Differences in European and American Attitudes, and the Challenges for Turkey", Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy Durham, North Carolina

Onal, Z. (2000) "An Awkward Partnership: Turkey's Relations with the European Union in Comparative-Historical Perspective", Koc University.

Park, B. (2000) "Turkey's European Union Candidacy: From Luxembourg to Helsinki — to Ankara?", International Studies Association

Presidency Conclusions (2002) Copenhagen European Council,, 12-13 December, pp:5

Saaty, T.L. (1996) The Analytic Network Process: Decision Making with Dependence and Feedback, RWS Publications, 4922 Ellsworth Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15213.

"Turkey and European Integration" (2002) Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs http://www.mfa.gov.tr

"Turkey and the World 2010-2020",(2002),Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs <a href="http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupe/eh/eh13/default.htm">http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupe/eh/eh13/default.htm</a>

"Turkey belongs in Europe", Economist, 00130613, 12/7/2002, Vol. 365, Issue 8302

"Towards the Enlarged Union" (2002) Strategy Paper and Report of the European Commission on the Progress Towards Accession by Each of the Candidate Countries, pp:30-31