EUROPEANISATION, EU ENLARGEMENT
AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY:
DEVELOPING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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Abstract

This paper is setting the conceptual framework for the study of the EU effect on the Turkish-Cypriot Community. Preliminary hypothesis is that the prospects of EU membership for the Turkish-Cypriots as part of a United Cyprus Republic have had an important impact on the community while the post-accession period holds also great potential for the Union’s effect. Towards testing this hypothesis, Europeanisation theory is deployed. The importance of the case study lays in the fact that the community, as an internationally unrecognised state, fails outside the categories of states that have been at the core of the Europeanisation debate up to now. Furthermore, it is suggested that this unique international status of the community offers some interesting insights into the EU effect not only in the domestic matters, but also in the external projection of entities similar to the Turkish-Cypriot Community case.
Introduction

In May 2004, Cyprus was welcomed to the EU as a divided island after reunification of the two Cypriot communities, the Greek-Cypriot (GC) and Turkish-Cypriot (TC), before accession, failed. Accession was negotiated and signed by the GC-led Republic of Cyprus (RoC), the only internationally recognised administration in the island. The TC community (TCc), a self-declared state since 1983 under the name of Turkish-Cypriot Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC), was absent from preparation and is also practically absent from the state that enjoys EU membership. Despite that, preliminary evidence suggests that the EU accession have had a remarkable impact on the TCc. The anticipation of EU membership (as a part of a united Cyprus) as well as the community’s relation to the EU in the post-accession period suggests a noteworthy EU impact on the area. The conceptual contextualisation of this effect is the main aim of this paper.

Studying the EU effect on the TCc, we will make use of the Europeanisation theory. The theory is concerned with the impact of EU integration on the domestic matters of a country. The Europeanisation literature has focused mainly on existing EU members or candidate states. Although the TCc can be roughly categorised as an enlargement-driven Europeanisation case, the complexity of preparations and accession of Cyprus makes it a rather unique example for the study of the EU effect. Most of all, the uniqueness of the community as a case study relies on its limited recognition in the international field: the community has not been recognised as state by any international actor (except by Turkey), something which has major implications for the TC international presence. In this context, the study aspires to offer a valuable insight into the concept of Europeanisation in cases where the EU’s influence is not channelled through ‘traditional’ enlargement conditionality or membership. In addition, the special international position in which the TCc find itself into, can offer some interesting findings regarding similar entities of the international system and the EU effect on their external projection, thus extending the scope for the study of Europeanisation beyond its current preoccupation with the domestic matters of existing or aspiring EU member states.

This paper aims at the conceptual unpacking of the study of Europeanisation in the TCc case. Rather than arguing for the actual EU effect on the community and providing empirical information and research findings, this paper has set itself a modest aim: namely the contextualisation of this case study into the Europeanisation literature and the production of testable hypotheses. Towards that aim, the first part of this work will look at the concept of Europeanisation, as this has been developed in relation to member, candidate and third states. The second part will identify the gaps in the study of Europeanisation in relation to the external projection of third parties and the relevance of the present case study in this context; the next session will introduce the main testable hypotheses with regard to EU effect on: a) institutions b) domestic distribution of power, c) ideas and identity and d) the external projection of the community. Finally, the last part of this paper will argue for the added value of the present work to the debate on Europeanisation.
Europeanisation

The Classic Paradigm: Europeanisation of Member States

The attempts to define Europeanisation have been characterised by significant variety and controversy. Cowles et al. (2001, 3) define Europeanisation as

‘The emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance’.

On the other hand, Wallace (2000, 370) provides a more extended conceptualisation of the phenomenon defining it as

‘The development and sustaining of systematic European arrangements to manage cross-border connections, such that a European dimension becomes an embedded feature which frames politics and policy within the European states’.

Similarly, Buller and Gamble (2002, 17) also refer to the impact European models have on national domestic structures but address Europeanisation as a ‘situation’ paying greater attention to the final outcome of the procedure. On the other hand, Borzel (1999, 574) addresses Europeanisation as a process whereby domestic policy gradually becomes subject to the EU policy making. Similarly, Ladrech (1994, 69) approaches Europeanisation as a

‘Process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making’.

Radaelli (2000, 4) builds on that and defines Europeanisation more broadly as a

‘Process of (a) construction (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies’.

But how does Europeanisation matter? The mechanisms of Europeanisation have been at the core of the related literature. Perhaps the most concrete approach to the ways through which Europeanisation takes places is the work of Knill and Lemkuhl (2002). According to them, the impact of EU integration on national policies and politics can take place through a) specific measures forcing the member states to institutional adaptation, b) alteration of domestic opportunities structure and finally c) through alteration of domestic actors’ expectations and beliefs.
The first mechanism, ‘Europeanisation by institutional compliance’, refers to the adaptational pressures to members to comply with the EU norms and patterns. ‘Goodness of fit’ has been one of the most debatable topics within Europeanisation discussion (Borzel & Risse 2000; Cowles et al. 2001; Radaelli 2000; Featherstone & Radaelli 2003) and refers to this first mechanism. The concept basically refers to the degree of compatibility between EU and national policies and the effect of this relation on the final product of Europeanisation. For Cowles et al. (2001), the biggest the difference between EU and national policies, the biggest the adaptational pressure on the national structures is. Borzel and Risse (2000) propose the presence of misfit as the necessary condition for adaptational pressures to emerge and consequent change in domestic policies to take place. Additionally to this, Heritier (2001, 9) underlines the reform capacity of each member state as an additional factor for the development of adaptational pressures. For example, policies informed by the EU level can be more easily adopted at the domestic level where decision making based on cooperation can safeguard that divergent individual interests will not be allowed to veto a particular policy. But ‘goodness of fit’ can not explain everything. For example, Bulmer and Radaelli (2004, 9) draw attention to cases where there are no pre-existing policies similar to the ones that EU calls for. In that case the ‘goodness of fit’ theory can not be successfully applied. In cases where there are no domestic policies prior to the ones EU demands action for the research can not be based on the ‘goodness of fit’ thesis to draw conclusions as no comparison between EU and national policies is possible.

Moving to the second mechanism, the effect on ‘domestic opportunities structure’ mainly refers to the redistribution of domestic power in which Europeanisation results. EU integration creates a new environment where often power, influence and preferences are reaffirmed be the new state of affairs thus drastically impacting on the dynamics of the national actors’ opportunities. Thus, Borzel and Risse (2000) pay attention to the mediating factors which allow domestic actors to make use of the new EU opportunities; the availability of multiple veto points along with existing institutions through which the actors can channel their power are the main reinforcing variables. Fischer et al. (2002) additionally argue that in order for facilitating factors such as veto points and institutions to mater research has to draw attention upon the actors’ strategies and their preference within those strategies of them to use those facilitating factors. Hix and Goetz (2001, 12) refer to this mechanism by making a point about ‘nested’ games; nested games are related to the participation of actors both in EU and national level procedures and the advantages which this interrelation offers. In this context, a form of action which can be regarded as not that favorable at the domestic level can be more advantageous at the EU level serving thus the interests of the actor. For the authors the new opportunities stemming from the EU integration can be three-typed. First there is the opportunity for actors to pursue a particular aim at the EU level which was difficult to be achieved domestically. On the other hand, there is the opportunity to veto a particular policy through the EU arrangements (this applies particularly to domestically weak actors) and finally, there is a variety of other advantages related to the EU environment, such as easier access to information, which can be highly contributing in gaining advantages at the domestic arena. For example, the new EU environment offers new career opportunities to many
domestic actors who can benefit from a considerable advantage in terms of information and access to particular policy remits (Connolly 2008, 10).

Finally, the last mechanism which Knill and Lehmkuhl introduce, relates to the change of domestic beliefs and expectations. Despite being the most indirect of them three, it is perhaps the most important mechanism with regard to its extended effect. That aspect of the concept is widely known as ‘cognitive’ or ‘framing’ Europeanisation and Knill and Lehmkuhl themselves pay great attention to this feature of integration which is considered as the basis of Europeanisation. The mechanism is mostly related to what Radaelli (2000) refers to as ‘ways of doing things’, such as patterns of behavior, practices, beliefs and values diffused mainly informally at the EU level. Finally, the cognitive effect of EU integration can go as deep as the very societies of states related to the EU and affect the very identities of people. Diez et al. (2005) argue for a separate form of Europeanisation, what they call ‘societal Europeanisation’ or ‘Europeanisation of identities’ which is related to the EU impact on the construction of system of meanings and collective understandings. Indeed, as EU integration develops national sovereignty is being eroded by EU to some extend and consequently national identities are changing in response to the new developments (Risse 2001).

**Exporting Europeanisation: Enlargement and Beyond**

Despite that Europeanisation initially focused on EU member states, the impact of EU can be tracked down well beyond its borders. In the post-Maastricht era, the Union constitutes a major international actor. Through a system of different relations and linkages, the EU manages to exert a noteworthy influence on countries outside the EU environment. Within this framework, one of the most illuminative examples of exporting Europeanisation is that of the enlargement-driven Europeanisation. During nineties the Union embarked upon its biggest enlargement ever, admitting eight Central East European Countries (CEEC) along with Malta and Cyprus on 2004 and Bulgaria and Romania on 2007. The accession process involved a paramount conditionality regarding the reforms needed to be made before accession. At the same time, the interaction of the candidate countries with the Union and its actors was highly important. To this context, Europeanisation holds a key role within the enlargement process.

Enlargement-driven Europeanisation seems to share the same basic mechanisms with the Europeanisation as a process at the EU members’ level. The adaptational pressure on the candidate countries to successfully absorb the EU law was immense. In order to accede, candidates had to adopt the entire body of EU law. That also demanded the development of institutions capable to safeguard the effective implementation of this law. For this purpose, the Union developed a thorough program of financial and technical assistance while regular reports on the progress of each candidate country monitored the process. The new EU environment affected also domestic opportunity structures by reaffirming interests, power and positions and creating ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ (Papadimitriou & Phinnemore 2004, 622). Finally, the prospects of being European had a remarkable cognitive and ideational effect; the cognitive impact can be observed both at domestic actors formally participating in the accession procedure through negotiations,
preparations etc. and single citizens of each acceding country. In some cases, ideational change was also evident in the alteration of political competition and the electoral behavior. For example, in Slovakia, during the accession period, the elections were based upon the capacity of political parties to conduct negotiations successfully (Harris 2004, 194).

But due to the nature of the accession procedure and the influential role of conditionality, the power of Europeanisation in the context of enlargement is much more profound. First of all, the post-communist character of the candidate states has been underlined as a central reason for the success of reforms and consequently the success of Europeanisation. In contrast to what happens with existing EU member states, the enlargement-driven Europeanisation did not struggle with stable existing institutions which could be potentially difficult to be modified. The weak structures of CEEC allowed a co-evolution of integration and national institutions (Goetz 2001, 1041). Lipert et al. (2001, 981) argue that the relative underdevelopment of the candidate countries was consequently accompanied by a lack of expertise and knowledge regarding the institutions and the procedures demanded; thus the countries themselves sought the advice of EU on reforms. Even more, those reforms which the EU called for were needed to be done anyway and as Grabbe (1999, 29) argues the CEEC had no other alternatives for their democratic transition except from the European and the means enlargement offered. Besides, the post-communist transformation process of the candidates played an important role also in the ideational aspect of Europeanisation. Under the slogan ‘return to Europe’ for many countries Europeanisation simply meant westernisation and stability greatly influencing the public discourse regarding national and ethnic identity and related concepts (Harris 2004). In this context, Europeanisation helped to transform the countries and bring some rather far-reaching reforms which would not have been possible without the promise of EU membership.

Nowadays, EU maintains a vast net of international relations beyond membership or enlargement framework. European Neighbor Policy (ENP) has marked a new era of EU policy where acquis communautaire are once again exported based on what Lavenex (2004, 694) calls ‘selective extension’ but preclusion of membership, meaning the widening and deepening of mutual relations however without offering a full EU membership or a promise of it. In a similar logic, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EUROMED) aims at political, economical and cultural cooperation between the EU and the countries included in the partnership. Additionally, EU has been maintaining significantly close relations with the countries of European Economic Area (EEA) which lay in a position of quasi-membership. Finally, the Union has also been in a close relation to the African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries where linkages have been developed through multiple trade and economic/political assistance agreements. The multiple modes of EU’s involvement mentioned above result in a great EU impact on the domestic matters of the third parts related. In this context, series of research works have referred to the impact of EU in third parts (Christiasen et al. 2000; Fischer et al. 2002; Olsen 2002; Wallace 2000; Lavenex & Ucarer 2004; Lavenex 2008) channeled through several modes of interaction and observed in domestic remits, again, varying from institutions to power correlations and identities.
After being under every empire known in the Mediterranean world, Cyprus gained its independence from the British in 1960. Only three years later, the failure of the two communities of the island to cooperate under a common state led to the gradual retirement of TCs from the administration which was left to GCs to monopolise it and the physical and administrative division of the communities. This division became most apparent after the 1974 war when the ‘patron’ (and guarantor alongside Greece and UK) country of the TCc Turkey invaded and occupied 1/3 of Cyprus in the name of the TC protection against the Greek intentions to unite the island with Greece. Since then, Cyprus has been divided into two different zones. The south GC part which had gradually assumed monopolisation of the internationally recognised RoC, and the north part in which TCs progressively established their own administration. The final stage of the TC administration has been the self-declared Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC), established in 1983. Up to now, the entity has not been recognised as a state by any international organization (including EU) or state except by Turkey. Since the division, numerous attempts to resolve the dispute and reunify the two communities under a federal state have been failed. The most recent effort, the UN proposed Annan plan (2004), aimed at the establishment of a federal republic which will then accede to the EU. Despite the TC approval of the plan, reunification failed due to the GC rejection and Cyprus acceded to EU divided.

This turbulent history of Cyprus makes the TCc a unique case of Europeanisation. While the entire island of Cyprus has entered EU, accession practically refers to the GC part. The EU law can not be applied in the north as the (GC led) government of the RoC can not exercise effective control over the north territories in which the TCc lives (Accession Treaty 2003, Protocol 10). Similarly, EU negotiated accession with the (internationally recognised) RoC; TCs had no participation in the negotiations or preparations for membership. Therefore, TCc is not practically part of an EU member state and had never been a candidate. At the same time can not be regarded as a third part given that the accession treaty considers the north as an EU territory and its inhabitants as EU citizens. It can be argued that given the increased official interaction with Brussels in the post-accession era, the TCc can be roughly categorized as an enlargement-driven case (based on the fact that the rationale behind this interaction is that TCs need to be prepared in the event of a future reunification which will mean the full implementation of EU law on the whole island of Cyprus). However, the possibility of a failure of reunification in the foreseeable future makes the situation much more challenging. In this case, the community will be still regarded an EU territory where though EU law would not be fully applied. In that case, an interaction based on the aforementioned ‘beyond the EU borders’ examples, where enhanced cooperation is pursued yet away from any membership framework, could be anticipated. Most of all, the TCc retains its uniqueness as a case of an internationally unrecognised entity.

Studying the EU effect on a third part, Europeanisation has been a classic theory of EU integration. However, Europeanisation has been rather preoccupied with the EU effect on
the domestic scene of third parts. In this context, examples have been researched with particular focus on the internal function. EU’s extended involvement in the states that resulted out of the fail of communism attracted the interest of EU theorists. Therefore, cases of problematic internal performance have been subjects to EU theories and indeed that of Europeanisation, especially in the context of the latest 2004-07 enlargement which has been already reviewed; CEEC and their democratic transition process coupled with the preparations for EU membership, unveiled the power and the challenges for the EU impact on the domestic arena of an internally weak third part. At the same time both the present candidate countries and the ENP participants have also gained some attention with regards to problematic domestic performance and the opportunities or limitations this offers for the EU impact (Jones & Emerson 2005; Kelley 2006; Emerson et al. 2007; Lippert 2007; Lavenex 2008). Despite that the internal situation of a wide range of examples from Balkans or the so-called EU’s neighbours has offered a good ground for the exploration of EU effect on domestic scene, the full international legitimacy of those cases has left no room for the research on the EU impact on external projection.

Interestingly enough, Europeanisation has left external projection out of discussion even when researching entities with similar to the TCc problems of international presence. The EU’s neighbourhood provides a good range of examples highly relevant to the question of external projection: Caucasus with the ‘frozen conflicts’ of South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh along with Balkan cases of Kosovo and Transnistria are all paradigms largely relevant both to the example of the TCc and to the question of external projection. Notwithstanding that, the research on those cases tends to pay no attention on EU’s effect on the external image of the particular entities. Instead, in a similar way to the bibliography on Cyprus, there is a good deal of works on the aforementioned examples based on EU’s role in conflict resolution (Emerson et al. 2001; Coppieters, et al. 2003; Coppieters 2004; Popescu 2007; German 2007). At the same time, even when Europeanisation theory is used to analyse those examples, there is reference to the Europeanisation of conflicts (Coppieters 2004) or to Europeanisation of the domestic matters of the internationally recognised country related to the conflict (Emerson 2003) and how can this potentially impact on the conflict or the region (Popescu 2007) or as a state building tool (Papadimitriou et al. 2007). Finally, two more cases should be mentioned. Firstly, EU’s involvement in the Palestinian territories have indeed attracted research interest but again widely preoccupied with conflict resolution analysis (Tocci 2007, Brynen 2008, Yacobi & Newman 2008). Secondly, research on the EU’s relation with the case of Taiwan, an example often compared to that of the TCc, has been limited and most of the times economy-focused (Ash 2002; Megin 2002; Cabestan 2006; Schucher 2007) as a result of the EU’s economic nature of cooperation with the entity.

In this context, the TCc adds a totally new dimension to the study of Europeanisation. This time, it is not the internal but the external weakness of the third part which is posited to be affected by the EU factor. Interestingly enough, TCc despite isolated and downplayed by the international community, retains some rather basic characteristics of a properly functioning state. TC internal scene has been far more stable than previous cases of enlargement; having started an independent life more than forty years ago, the community has managed (with the help of Turkey) to develop strong institutions and
maintain rather balanced social relations. Nothing at the TCc reminds of the situation at the CEEC following the fall of communism or still the current situation in a number of aforementioned cases. Despite that, TCc is not internationally recognised as independent state by no country except Turkey with important results in its stance on the international system. This unique position of the community offers a good departing point for the exploration of the EU impact on entities with limited external projection such as the TCc. Finally, before moving to develop some hypotheses with regard to EU’s effect on the community, some clarifications are needed: The term ‘external projection’ adopted in this work does not refer to the international recognition or not of the community as an independent state or legal administrator of Cyprus north territories. This work is trying to stay out of any discussion on the legal status of the community. Instead, by ‘external projection’ is meant the way the community is seen in the international system in general, and the way this impacts on its international presence. In this context the external projection element will be tested mainly by reference to the TC international relations and the prevailing narratives about the community worldwide without attributing any legal effect to any of those. Our research and analysis of the TC external projection will refrain from any suggestions of legal consequences for the community’s international status. In the next session, the testing hypotheses related to the TCc case will be introduced.

The Europeanisation of the Turkish-Cypriot Community: Developing Some Preliminary Hypotheses

In recent years, the TCc has undergone sweeping changes. Shortly before Cyprus accession to the EU, TCs favored with their vote the reconciliation camp and thus, for the first time in history, the community saw a pro-solution towards the Cyprus issue government. Soon enough, the leader of the pro-solution coalition, Mehmet Ali Talat, became the second president of the community, succeeding the long standing hard-liner Rauf Denktash. Most of all, TCs became the first part to ever vote ‘yes’ in a resolution plan in the post-1974 era. As a result of this stance, the EU and other actors of the international arena has taken some steps towards the end of isolation of the community. Besides, for the EU, the assistance to the TCc is also rationalised in the context of an eventual TC participation in a common EU state along with the GCs. All those developments raise interesting questions concerning the EU’s effect in the area. The EU’s impact will be tracked in a) Institutions, b) Domestic power distribution, c) Ideas and finally d) external projection.

Impacting Institutions

The day after the referenda on the Annan Plan meant to be significant for the EU-TCc relations. The TC positive vote on the reunification of the island and EU membership put the community under a totally different perspective; TCs stopped being regarded as the responsible side for the political impasse in Cyprus and the decrease of their isolation was declared an aim of the EU. On top of that, as a result of the failure of reunification due to
the GC negative vote, TC territories were excluded from the application of the EU law; considering though that still no part involved in the problem abandoned commitment to the solution, EU deemed that TCc should started preparing for the eventual application of *acquis* in the north in face of a reunification. Given that, in the post-accession era, financial and technical assistance coupled with a wide range of interaction between the two sides is underway as a response to the above two demands. Firstly, Green Line Regulation (European Council 2005) has been set as a framework for the crossing of goods and persons through the line that separates the two communities\(^1\). The regulation asks for trade based on EU standards and calls processes and actors at the local level to comply with the EU norm. Perhaps the biggest EU involvement in the community comes through the aid regulation (European Council 2006) which aims at social, economic and infrastructure development, reconciliation promotion (with particular importance given to the civil society), the increase of interaction with the EU and the preparation for the introduction and implementation of EU law in case of a reunification. Finally EU’s interaction with north Cyprus is suggested to be completed with the Direct Trade Regulation (European Commission 2004), framework for actual inclusion of TCs in the common market, still waiting for approval due to the strong opposition from the GC government.

In this context, it is suggested that this increased interaction with EU is potentially having an important impact on the institutional scene of the community. The considerable difference of the TC domestic structures to the EU paradigm leaves room to assume that adaptational pressures will emerge large. The potentially restricted reform capacity of the community poses challenges on the EU’s impact on the institutional scene. All those will be investigated and working hypothesis is that


- **Interaction with EU is leading to substantial institutional change in the TCc**

In order to test that, we will look at the community’s institutional scene for changes that might have been informed by the EU factor. Community institutions related to the *acquis* preparation along with the structures related to the wider EU-TCc interaction will be investigated by use of literature review, official document analysis and elite interviews.

*Impacting Ideas*

Another part which our research will be focused on is the ideas both of actors participating in the EU interaction and the wider TC society and their identity expressions. The TC identity started to be developed during the British rule when the

\(^1\) It has to be made clear that the regulation does not imply that the Green Line which separates the two communities is an EU border as the whole of Cyprus is regarded as EU territory. Practically, the regulation seeks to establish better conditions for the TC exports on the GC part and it is a foreword to the Direct Trade Regulation which has been proposed as a measure to facilitate trade between TCc and the rest EU member states.
colonial practices of ‘divide and rule’ did not allow the emergence of a common Cypriot identity for the Muslim and Christian communities of the island. The two groups developed different narratives based on the Greek and Turkish nationalism which found room to impact on them. The national identities formed were, exactly as in the main lands, conflictual by conception and based on the demonised ‘other’. The GC ‘other’ being considerable stronger in many areas (economy, population, education) resulted in the formation of a highly reactive and defensive TC identity with a considerable sense of victimisation; TCs, consequently, felt the need of a protection, a need which was met by Turkey’s support (both narrative and material) which came to counter the ‘motherland’ of the GCs, Greece. This dependence strengthened the ‘Turkish’ element even more; main component of the TC identity was ‘Turkishness’, instead of ‘Cypriotness’. This highly Turkish-centred identity was politically translated into wide rejectionism towards the solution of the Cyprus problem.

Shortly before Cyprus EU accession, TC massively abandoned rejectionism and support to Denktash. The hard-line regime of more than twenty years was challenged by wide scale public opposition to finally loose power as, for the first time in the history, a reconciliation leadership was elected. Most importantly, TCs voted in favour of the UN proposed reunification of the island. This remarkable change, seen through the EU potential lens, leaves room to explore the emergence of a ‘societal Europeanisation’ and suggest as a preliminary hypothesis that

- The linkage between the Cyprus problem and EU membership resulted in the expression of a TC identity where ‘Turkishness’ is increasingly mediated through overlapping ‘Cypriot’ and ‘European’ elements

At the same time, the post-accession era is also interesting with regard to the effect on ideas, though in a slightly different way. The increased interaction of domestic actors with the EU (through the institutional arrangements mentioned earlier) leaves space to posit that the cognitive effect of EU seems to be present quite in line with what Knill and Lemkuhl’s second mechanism suggests. Both European Commission’s and EU parliament’s involvement in TCc currently pays attention at the better understanding of the EU laws, norms and practices. Finally, preliminary evidence shows that the active presence of TC actors in Brussels environment (as a result of mainly lobbying needs) has also a great deal to contribute to the EU’s cognitive effect. In this context, working hypotheses also include that

2 Vural and Rustemli (2006) when referring to the term ‘Cypriotness’ argue that one of its prevailing meanings is that both GCs and TCs see Cyprus as the motherland instead of ‘Turkishness’ or ‘Greekness’ that the Turkish or Greek origin is stressed; that is the conceptualisation this work will follow when using this terminology.
In light of increased interaction between the EU and Turkish Cypriot elites in the post access era, the cognitive impact of the EU on domestic actors has intensified.

Towards testing the first of the those two hypotheses we will concentrate on public attitudes and identity expressions within the community as those have been manifested mainly through political behavior (both electoral behavior and other forms of political expression such as participation initiatives, rallies); relevant literature and statistical documents (e.g. The EU barometer, opinion polls) will be reviewed to provide useful insights about the cognitive narratives that prevailed in the community the era under investigation. Given the close linkage of the Cyprus accession to the political problem resolution, research on the initiatives of reconciliation between the two communities (joint forums etc) will also help us test the specific hypothesis. Finally, interviews with actors that led or participated in the pro-solution campaign (e.g. civil society) will form a crucial part of our research. Interviews will also be the main tool by which the cognitive effect on actors participating in interaction with EU will be investigated.

**Impacting Power Distribution**

Domestic power also constitutes a part of our research; while focused on the political scene in the pre-accession era, our research will expand to include also distribution of other actor’s power (e.g. executive, civil society) in the post-accession era. With regards to political matters which have always been dominated by the Cyprus issue, TCc has a long history of political rejectionism. Since the first elections of 1976 and up to 2003 (with the exception of the 1994-96 period), the community has been ruled by the National Unity Party (Usual Biliki Partisi- UBP) founded by the hard-liner Denktash. The party has been defined by a centre-right ideology and a great amount of rejectionism with regard to the Cyprus problem while it had been enormously based on the charismatic personality of its leader, perhaps the most influential figure throughout the community’s entire history. In December 2003, TCs were called to vote for the seventh time in their history. The accession and solution negotiations being at their peak, the elections were judged upon the parties’ position with regard to resolution and EU membership. The pro-solution/ EU camp won the elections and a coalition government, led by the centre-left Republican Turkish Party-United Forces (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi- CTP-BG), replaced rejectionists. A year later, the leader of CTP-BG, Talat, succeeded Denktash in the presidential office.

Again, given the linkage between resolution and EU accession, we will try to test to what extend the EU factor has affected distribution of (mainly political in this phase) power at the domestic level. To this end, working hypothesis is that:

- The potential for EU membership resulted in a support of moderate political forces at expense of the rejectionist camp
But another actor, Turkey, looked to change its position towards the Cyprus issue. Turkey’s policy on Cyprus has for a long time been a largely intransigent one. In 2003, Justice and Development party- Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan replaced Bulent Ecevit in power opening a more reconciliational Cyprus strategy. Not long ago, Turkey had finally been recognised as a candidate country for EU membership with the resolution of the political problem attached to its conditionality (European Council 1999). To this end, there is enough room to link Turkey’s EU conditionality strategy and the TCC developments and suggest as another hypothesis that

- The implicit link between Turkish EU candidacy and progress in the unification talks in Cyprus has prompted Ankara to pursue a more conciliatory strategy in Cyprus, with apparent implications for the TCC political elite.

Finally, the post-accession era can hold also a good potential for the distribution of power between actors participating in the interaction with EU. In this case the effect is posited to go well beyond the political scene, affecting series of domestic actors based on the conceptualisation of Knill and Lemkhul about ‘change of domestic opportunities structure’. The participation of those actors both at domestic and EU level gives also an opportunity to test the ‘nested games’ thesis mentioned before. In this context, preliminary hypothesis is that

- In the post accession era, those segments of the TCC with substantial exposure to the EU has been considerably empowered vis a vis those with no access to such exposure.

In order to test the above hypotheses, our research will be concentrated on community’s political and administrative scene and civil society. The elections which took place around the time of accession will be studied in our effort to understand if and how the EU factor affected party competition; the formation of new parties, the decrease in the power of long-standing camps and the role of Turkey will shed light to potential EU-informed changes in the community’s political scenery. At the same time, the good range of literature existed will be coupled with elite interviews in our effort to unveil change in power correlations before and after accession.

**Impacting External Projection**

The TCC has long struggled being isolated and downplayed by the international community, including EU. After the failure of a common Cypriot state to be established in early sixties, marginalised by the GC majority, TCs left the administration to pursue an independent route which resulted in a variety of administrative formulas (developed

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3 For a good overview of Turkey’s Cyprus policy in the post-1974 era: Kazan, Isil.2002. ‘Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, Seen From Turkey’ in Diez, Thomas (ed.), *The European Union and Cyprus Conflict*, pp. 54-69, Manchester: Manchester University Press
mainly after the invasion of 1974) until 1983 when the TRNC was self-declared. On the other hand, GCs assumed monopolisation of the RoC, the only internationally recognised administration in the island. This left the TCs segregated from the rest of the world. The Turkish invasion and the consequent domination of the community by the hard-liners made international cooperation with the self-established state even more difficult. But things were about to change under the EU accession of Cyprus. The positive vote of the community on the reunification of the island (and consequent EU membership) along with the consequent closer TC relations with the EU keep an important potential for the alternation of the community’s external projection.

To begin with, the TC positive vote on the reunification drastically changed the way the community was seen by international actors. For the first time, one of the two Cypriot communities actually reached the end of the reunification efforts and responded positively to a united EU Cyprus; to the surprise of many, it was the TC side which accepted the plan. In this context, series of actors displayed a will to reward the community for this stance by addressing its international multilevel isolation. EU immediately declared its will to support the community and put an end to its isolation. Series of other international actors, such as the US and UK, also sought the increase of the links with the community as a result of the TC stance on the Annan Plan. In this context, and again linking the reconciliation trend to the EU perceptive, working hypothesis is that

- **The EU-triggered consent of the TCs to the re-unification plan has led to the improvement of the community’s international image**

In addition to this, the increased interaction between EU and TCs in the post-accession era brings further issues in the discussion of international stance of the community. While, as in every case of enlargement, the EU’s effect in domestic matters is noteworthy, it is the impact on the external projection of the community that holds the importance here. By interacting with one of the world’s biggest powers, the community’s profile can be significantly enhanced. While the interaction, as EU is very keen to clarify, does not mean recognition of a TC state in any case, our hypothesis is that

- **The community’s interaction with EU has led to an alteration of its profile in the international scene**

In our effort to examine the hypotheses related to external projection our research focus will be the international image of the community in the post-accession era. The community’s international relations of any nature (political, economical, cultural and so on) will be investigated along with the prevailing narratives about the community in the international world. A combination of literature review, official or other documents (e.g. news reports) and elite interviews will form our main research base.
Conclusion: Extending the Scope of Europeanisation

The TCc represents a unique case for the study of Europeanisation. This paper had the modest aim of providing a conceptual framework and research questions rather than exploring the case study. Towards this aim, testing hypotheses about the EU’s ideational impact expressed through the reconciliation trend and the consequent redistribution of the political power were introduced. The post-accession era and the increasing links between EU and TCc provided us with working hypotheses regarding the effect on the behaviours, ideas as well as power correlations of the actors involved in the interaction with Brussels. Besides, this interaction brings the third mechanism, namely the one of adaptational pressures to institutions, into discussion as preliminary evidence suggests that the framework of interaction between the community and EU encourages hopes for an institutional EU effect quite in line with what EU enlargement research has suggested. Based on those hypotheses, the study of Europeanisation at the TCc paradigm is very interesting as, although largely an enlargement-case, the circumstances under which the effect has been taking place potentially offers some rather intriguing findings regarding the EU effect outside the traditional EU membership or candidacy framework. However, it is the unique status of the community as an unrecognised entity of the international system that holds the importance for the research of the concept of Europeanisation in cases of limited external projection and beyond the domestic scene. The investigate of the preliminary hypothesis that the EU effect and interaction with the community brings a new dimension to the debate.

In this context, the study of the TCc will offer some interesting results regarding the EU’s effect on the external projection of a third part and will contribute by that to the Europeanisation discussion. Until now, the debate on the EU effect has been monopolised by the ‘domestic’ aspect of a third part which weakness has been indeed proven crucial for the volume of EU impact. The study of the TCc paradigm will argue for the stimuli, challenges and limitations that external weakness provides for the EU effect. Researching the TC example this work aspires to offer valuable knowledge about the nature of EU’s effect on parts with limited external projection and address issues such: as the opportunities and constrains for EU effect a limited international projection offers; the ways through which this EU effect takes place and the multiple manifestations of this impact; the consequences that such an effect creates for the relationship between EU and the third part as well as the importance of such an impact for the EU’s normative power. By arguing for the EU effect on the external projection of TCc, this work bares the hope to contribute to the debate on EU’s effect by introducing a new element which will be proven useful tool towards researching similar cases and will also offer valuable additional insights for the nature of the phenomenon of Europeanisation.
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