

REFERENCES

- Angelis Emma De, Karamouzi Eirini, “Enlargement and the historical origins of the European community’s democratic identity, 1961–1978”, *Contemporary European History*, 25(3), 2016, p. 439-458.
- Anka Haber, “Nacho Sanchez Amor: Türkiye’deki çoğulcu demokrasiyi koruyamıyoruz”, <https://ankahaber.net/haber/nacho-sanchez-amor-turkiye-deki-cogulcu-demokrasiyi-koruyamiyoruz-36c8bde5> (June 25, 2026).
- Arı Tayyar, “Orientation of Turkish Foreign Policy: Disengagement from or Re-engagement to the West”, In *Inter-state and Intra-state Conflicts in Global Politics: From Eurasia to China*, Lexington Books, New York, 2021, p. 3-16.
- Arman Murat Necip, “Genişleme, Enerji, Kimlik ve Siyaset”, In 50 Soruda Türkiye-AB İlişkileri, Altınbaş Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2022.
- Arman Murat Necip, “The effects of the de-Europeanisation of Türkiye on Turkish foreign policy”, In *Democracy, Opposition, and Europeanisation and its Reversal in Turkey*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2024.
- Aschmann Birgit, “The reliable ally. Germany supports Spain’s European integration efforts, 1957-1967”, *Journal of European Integration History*, 7(1), 2001, p. 37-51.
- Bieber Florian, “Authoritarianism in the Western Balkans”, In *Democratic Backsliding in the Western Balkans*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2018, p. 1-19.
- Bilgin Pinar, “Security dimension: a clash of security cultures? Differences between Turkey and the European Union revisited”, In *Fifty Years of EU-Turkey Relations*, Routledge, London, 2010.
- Börzel Tanja A., Frank Schimmelfennig, “Coming together or drifting apart? The EU’s political integration capacity in Eastern Europe”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(2), 2017, p. 278-296.
- Çakmak Gizem Alioğlu, Durmaz Mustafa Furkan, “Navigating ideals and interests: an analysis of European Union-Türkiye ties and the role of European values”, *Global Discourse*, 16(1), 2026, p. 2-22.
- Checkel Jeffrey T., “Why comply? Social learning and European identity change”, *International Organization*, 55(3), 2001, p. 553-588.
- Deutsch Karl Wolfgang, “Security communities”, In *International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory*, Free Press, New York, 1961, p. 98-105.
- DW, “Alman hükümeti Türkiye’ye Eurofighter satışını engelledi”, <https://www.dw.com/tr/alman-h%C3%BCK%C3%BCmeti-t%C3%BCrkiyeye-eurofighter-sat%C4%B1%C5%9F%C4%B1n%C4%B1-engelledi/a-72280614> (April 2, 2026).
- Economist Intelligence, “Democracy index 2024”, <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2024/> (March 27, 2026).
- Eralp Atila, Torun Zerrin, “Europe as seen from Turkey: From a strategic goal to an instrumental partnership?”, *Perspectives: Central European Review of International Affairs*, 20(2), 2012, p. 83-102.
- EUR-Lex, “Accession criteria (Copenhagen criteria)”, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum:accession_criteria_copenhagen (April 11, 2026).
- Euronews, “Erdoğan pushes for EU-Turkey upgrade after meeting von der Leyen to discuss Syria”, <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2024/12/17/erdogan-pushes-for-eu-tur>

key-upgrade-after-meeting-von-der-leyen-to-discuss-syria (February 8, 2026).

- European Commission, “Türkiye 2025 report”, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52025SC0756> (April 21, 2026).
- European Commission, “Positive EU-Turkey agenda launched in Ankara”, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/memo_12_359 (June 26, 2026).
- European Council, “Türkiye”, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/turkiye/> (April 21, 2026).
- European Parliament, “Resolution of 13 March 2019 on the state of EU-Turkey relations”, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2019-0200_EN.html (April 7, 2026).
- European Parliament, “Resolution of 19 May 2021 on the state of EU-Turkey political, economic and trade relations”, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-05-19_EN.html (April 7, 2026).
- European Parliament, “Resolution of 24 November 2016 on EU-Turkey relations”, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2016-0450_EN.html (April 7, 2026).
- European Parliament, “European Parliament resolution of 17 June 2026 on the 2025 Commission report on Türkiye (2025/2256(INI))”, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-10-2026-0215_EN.html (June 26, 2026).
- European Stability Initiative (ESI), “Visa roadmap scorecard – Turkey”, <https://www.esi-web.org/visa-roadmap-scorecard-turkey> (April 21, 2026).
- Featherstone Kevin, Radaelli Claudio Maria, *The politics of Europeanization*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003.
- Kutlay Mustafa, Öniş Ziya, “Turkish foreign policy in a post-western order: Strategic autonomy or new forms of dependence?”, *International Affairs*, 97(4), 2021, p. 1085–1104.
- Lavenex Sandra, Schimmelfennig Frank, “EU democracy promotion in the neighbourhood: From leverage to governance?”, *Democratization*, 18(4), 2019, p. 885–909.
- Martin Natalie, “From Containment to realpolitik and back again: A realist constructivist analysis of Turkey–EU relations and the migration issue”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57(6), 2019, p. 1349–1365.
- Müftüler-Baç Meltem, “Turkey’s political reforms and the impact of the European Union”, *South European Society and Politics*, 10(1), 2005, p. 17–31.
- New Union Post, “Erdoğan wants to link military power to EU accession”, <https://newunionpost.eu/2025/04/11/erdogan-turkiye-military-eu-accession/> (February 3, 2026).
- New Union Post, “EU-Türkiye relations are “moving forward” only on migration”, <https://newunionpost.eu/2024/12/17/eu-turkiye-migration-syria-erdogan/> (March 12, 2026).
- Official Journal of the European Union, “2020/2092 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 December 2020: On a general regime of conditionality for the protection of the Union budget”, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32020R2092> (April 7, 2026).
- Official Journal of the European Union, “Regulation (EU) 2021/1529 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 September 2021 establishing the instrument for pre-accession assistance (IPA III)”, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32021R1529> (April 21, 2026).
- Ovacık Gamze, Ineli-Ciger Meltem, Ulusoy Orçun, “Taking stock of the EU-Turkey statement in 2024”, *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 26(2), 2024, p. 154-178.

- Özgen Cenk, Yılmaz Eren Alper, Ozan Örmeci, “F-35 crisis: Will Turkish-US defense cooperation continue?”, *Middle East Policy*, 29(2), 2022, p. 85–97.
- Parlak Fatmanur, “Contested norms and shifting boundaries: Turkey and the EU in migration governance”, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 1(1), 2026, p. 1-17.
- Rahime Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm, *Conditionality, the EU and Turkey: From transformation to retrenchment*, Routledge, London, 2018.
- ReliefWeb, “The EU continues to provide much needed assistance to refugees and host communities in Türkiye”, <https://reliefweb.int/report/turkiye/eu-continues-provide-much-needed-assistance-refugees-and-host-communities-turkiye> (February 12, 2026).
- Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for EU Affairs. (2024). Current Situation in Accession Negotiations. https://www.ab.gov.tr/siteimages/birimler/kpb/mzakere_karti_ocak_2022.pdf (February 12, 2026).
- Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for EU Affairs, “The Visa Liberalization Dialogue”, https://www.ab.gov.tr/the-visa-liberation-dialogue_51819_en.html (April 2, 2026).
- Saatcioğlu Beken, “Rising illiberalism in the European periphery and the EU’s application of membership conditionality for democratic governance”, In *EU Good Governance Promotion in the Age of Democratic Decline*. Springer International Publishing, Cham, 2022, p. 49-70.
- Sasse Gwendolyn, “The European neighbourhood policy: Conditionality revisited for the EU’s Eastern neighbours”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(2), 2008, p. 295-316.
- Schimmelfennig Frank, “EU political conditionality after the 2004 enlargement: Consistency and effectiveness”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15(6), 2008, p. 912–929.
- Schimmelfennig Frank, Sedelmeier Ulrich, “Introduction: Conceptualizing the Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe”, In *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2005, p. 1-28.
- Sipahioğlu Buket Ökten, “Shifting from Europeanization to de-Europeanization in Turkey: How AKP instrumentalized EU negotiations”, *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, 48, 2017, p. 51–67.
- Stockholm Center for Freedom, “EP draft report says Turkey’s EU accession remains stalled over concerns on democracy, human rights”, <https://stockholmcf.org/ep-draft-report-says-turkeys-eu-accession-remains-stalled-over-concerns-on-democracy-human-rights/> (February 14, 2026).
- Thomas Daniel C., “Beyond identity: Membership norms and regional organization”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 23(1), 2017, p. 217-240.
- Turkish Minute, “EP rapporteur says visa-free travel for Turks depends on Ankara, criticizes ‘green passport’ workaround”, <https://www.turkishminute.com/2026/03/10/ep-rapporteur-says-visa-free-travel-for-turks-depends-on-ankara-criticizes-green-passport-workaround/> (February 10, 2026).
- Türkiye Today, “Schengen visa applications from Türkiye increase in 2024 as rejection rate declines”, <https://www.turkiyetoday.com/nation/schengen-visa-applications-from-turkiye-increase-in-2024-as-rejection-rate-declines-3201607> (March 8, 2026).
- V-Dem Institute, “Democracy report 2026: Unraveling the democratic era?”, https://www.v-dem.net/documents/75/V-Dem_Institute_Democracy_Report_2026_lowres.pdf (March 17, 2026).

- Von der Leyen Ursula, “Press statement by President von der Leyen with President of Türkiye Erdoğan”, https://enlargement.ec.europa.eu/news/press-statement-president-von-der-leyen-president-turkiye-erdogan-2024-12-17_en (March 18, 2026).
- Yetkin Report, “Türkiye can part ways with EU, if necessary: Erdoğan's move”, <https://yetkinreport.com/en/2023/09/16/erdogans-eu-move-turkiye-can-part-ways/> (March 22, 2026)