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IS THE IDEA OF A UNITED EUROPE IN THE 21st CENTURY, A DREAM?

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ABSTRACT

European Economic Community (EEC), formed with a strategic purpose after the Second World War, has recently evolved into a different place regarding its function and scope, confronted with the problems of the 21st century. Against the United States claiming herself as the uni-centered hegemon after the Cold War, Europe being devoid of Common Security Policy, has experienced serious problems during the enlargement process and become distant from the idea of United Europe. As for the members of the European Union, together with the technological advancements, increasing influence of global corporations, redefined concept of power, Asian countries having recently appeared on the international stage and the member of European Community prioritising national concerns together with the reflection of the problems of the global economic crisis, the idea of European Union has turned into a cumbersome structure compelled to renew itself. When the sui generis legal framework, decision-making mechanism, national and supranational institutions, economic, political and social priorities are analysed, does EU produce alternative solutions to the problems of the 21st century? In this paper, the problems of the 21st century are listed and whether or not the EU will be competent enough to reestablish its structure within the newly created multi-centered global order will be discussed.

Key Words: European Union, problems of the 21st century, economic, political

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21.YÜZYILDA ‘BİRLEŞİK AVRUPA’ GİTTİKÇE BİR RÜYAYA MI DÖNÜŞÜYOR?

ÖZ

İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası stratejik amaçlı kurulan Avrupa Ekonomik Topluluğu (AET) bugün işlevi, kapsamı ve öncelikleri itibariyle bambaşka bir yere evrilmiş ve 21. yüzyılda yepyeni problemlerle karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Soğuk Savaş sonrası kendini tek merkezli hegemon ilan eden Amerika’ya karşı, ortak güvenlik politikası olmayan Avrupa, genişleme sürecinde daha ciddi sorunlar yaşamaya başlamış ve yeni katılan ülkelerin ekonomik, siyasi ve kültürel farklılıklarından dolayı hedeflediği Avrupa Birleşik Devletleri hayalinden gittikçe uzaklaşmıştır. Teknolojik gelişmeler, global şirketlerin varlığı, değişen güç kavramı, Asya’da parlayan yeni güçler ve üye ülkelerin birlikten çok ulusal kaygılarının öncelik kazanması, yaşanan küresel ekonomik krizin de yansımalarıyla üyesi olan ülkeler için bir güç ve itibar kaynağı olmaktan çıkıp; kendini yenilemek ve güncellemek zorunda olan hantal bir yapıya dönüşmüştür. Kendine özgü (sui generis) hukuksal çerçevesi, karar alma mekanizması, ulusal ve uluslar üstü kurumları, ekonomik, siyasi ve sosyal öncelikleri incelendiğinde; 21. yüzyılın kendine has sorunlarına alternatif çözüm üretebiliyor mu? Bu bildiride 21. Yüzyılda AB’nin karşılaştığı ana sorunlar sıralanmakta, küresel düzlemde oluşan çok merkezli uluslararası düzen içinde AB’nin kendi varlığını yeniden üretip üretemeyeceği tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Birliği, 21. Yüzyılın problemleri, ekonomik, siyasi

1. INTRODUCTION

The European Union has been transforming into a different structure within the sphere of evolving international relations. There are contrasting views about the future of the European Union one of which claims that it endeavours to survive due to the changing roles of the countries in the European Union and the changing roles of the outsiders, and their interactions. The fluctuating global economics and its repercussions on the European Union urged to take precautions and update the policies adopted so far. The economic crisis experienced worldwide had a spillover effect starting from Greece and spreading to other geographically close countries made it more difficult to resolve.

All throughout history, having a geographical proximity, Europe aimed to integrate national economies and dream of monetary union, however, there has been resistance from the member countries and resulted in failure. Founded among the six members having so much common aimed to increase the wealth of the members, after enlargement, evolved into a different entity composed of differences in language, culture, ethnicity, religion and level of economic sufficiency. Hence, it became much more challenging to create common policies among them. Considering the internal Dynamics, the European Union is prone to social, economic and political crisis especially when intermingled with the external dynamics.

The changing borders of the enlarged European Union created new patterns of relationships and the need to form new policies to monitor the neighbourhood such as The Neighbourhood Policy having its own strategies, tactics and instruments. It has also its challenges since membership is not promised to these neighbouring countries. Moreover, there is an ongoing debate whether these countries fall in the realm of the European identity or not. For many, Ukraine is not perceived in the part of Europe and is not ratified to be part of the European Union. However, the changing borders created the necessity to tailor the policies in compliance with the changing needs and characteristics of these countries and foresee the potential threats that the EU is likely to tackle with. The concessions to be given to these neighbouring countries may bear some problems. The immigration is one of these problems especially Germany, France and Netherlands suffer from this since some of the new members have organic link with these senior members and these countries regard this accession as an opportunity for the betterment of their citizens. These people belonging to the new member states with excessive labor force and limited employment potential would rather go to the industrialised European countries with high probability of finding job and scarce labour force. That means a new threat for the target country immigrated to. The increasing population stemming from immigration will compel the country to invest in health, education and security. In addition, to retain the level of development, there will be the urgent need to increase production to satisfy the needs of the newcomers.

The more diversified the interests are, the less likely it is to form a 'United Europe'. This is not a recent project. The continent Europe has always been a place where there is conflict of interest for different reasons: political, economic, social, religious. There are so many challenges that the EU can come across in coming years: There are no idealist leaders dreaming of a United Europe, the resurrection of nationalistic values is another big obstacle for the unification, there is the lack of confidence towards the supranational organs of the EU and the recent failures of the EU policies and last but not the least since the young generation have not been exposed to a world war with its severe consequences, they do not believe in the need to unite Europe to preserve peace.

The name of the crisis may change in accordance with the changes in the regimes, conjuncture, however, there has always been the need to commonalize the interests and prevent those countries from fighting with each other. It has been founded as the original six countries shaping the fate of the continent. Rome Treaties, Treaty of Paris were the founding treaties forming European Coal and Steel Community, European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community aiming to shake the conflicting interests of these original six countries in a melting pot so that there will not be a world war again. In other words, European Economic Community came into existence as a remedy to preserve peace, yet causing some new problems as a consequence of widening and deepening.

Countries who have been fighting with each other have the indept bias of hatred for each other due to the wars of their ancestors existed for centuries. Leaders dreaming United Europe has already been aware of the fact that it is not likely to expect the citizens of different European countries each with a distinctive history, cultural heritage, values, economic, social and political interests to forget their nationalistic memories, unite and live in peace and order. Hence the project has long been solely an economic integration that could not go beyond. Adoption of an opinion, changing attitudes require to pass through some stages which takes time.

From the structural perspective, European Union is a regional integration that has to establish international relations with the other actors in the international arena such as the countries, regions, international organisations, in order to be the part of the solution that should be laid out against global threats such as global warming, money laundering, smuggling, existence of nuclear weapons of destructions, Middle Eastern peace process, asylum and refugee issues. Her being devoid of a Common Foreign Policy has always been an impediment against the strengthening of A European Identity. To be a strong global actor having the initiative of decision-making role in the world affairs, she must have its own institutions, legal framework, common policies etc. Though it has its own institutions such as European Commission, European Parliament, European Council and Court of Justice of the European Union whose missions are to sustain the steering mechanism of the Union and provide the balance of power for the sake of the member countries which is rather too difficult to achieve. The founding treaties of the EU have been the legal framework to regulate the relations and retain the 'rule of law'. However, it has been created initially for the six founding countries to benefit which was a win-win game enlarged into 27 countries that are not harmonious regarding their economic, political, social development, cultural, historical and religious backgrounds seeming to be challenging to create commonalities between. Moreover, the win-win game has turned out to be a non-zero game which creates headache for the member countries who are expected to sacrifice for the others.

As for the economic perspective, the EU integration project has aimed to deepen the economic integration starting from the free trade area to customs union, common market and then economic union and integration where the final stage also necessitated the formation of common policies such as common trade policy, common agricultural policy, common currency, common foreign and security policy etc. The deeper the relationship was, the more the countries were urged to transfer their sovereignty to the Union. Yet, they expected more from the EU. The countries involve in the European Economic Community were entirely different from the 27 countries of the Union today. In the founding treaties, the main function of the integration has been prioritised as the promotion of peace and economic recovery and also by transferring the sovereignty, member countries are restricted to make national decisions implicitly preventing these countries from suffering from the severe consequences of another world war.

2. APPLYING THE INTERNATIONAL THEORIES INTO THE IDEA OF 'INTEGRATED EUROPE'

Considering the international relations theories which help us comprehend how the international systems operate and see how the countries perceive each other and the world, the European Union is also required to be examined. From the realistic approach, where the nations are the unit of analysis who aim to increase their national interests and have the passion to compete and hold the legitimate authority which is totally contrary to the idea of Integrated Europe. China and Russia today can be given as the best examples of realism in their foreign policies. The relationship between Russia and Syria is one that has raised eyebrows in Europe and around the world; despite the bloody civil war in Syria and the international community's pleas for intervention-Russia has maintained strategic relations with the government of Bashar Al-Assad in order to protect Russian interests in the region and likewise, China continues its diplomatic and economic association with North Korea in spite of the latter's dismal human rights record and aggressive nuclear testing (Allison, 2013, ss. 799-803).

As for liberalism, which has also international pillar, which argues that the present global system is competent to bring about a peaceful world order which can only be provided only if international cooperation is encouraged. Its roots goes back to the concept of 'Perpetual Peace' by Immanuel Kant. "Kant's hundreds of years old essay is considered in light of its enduring impact on peace studies" (Perrothet, 2009, s: 4). The international institutions that are created after the second world war such as United Nations aiming to create an ever-lasting peace in a new world order since the world entirely had suffered from the pain of the two bloody world wars. European Union in the 1950 was idealised inspired from the Perpetual Peace in European continent. Liberalism believes that using direct force and implementation of hard security brings negative consequences more than its advantages. They prefer the use of economic, political and social power cooperatively preserving the interests of all the countries that are involved in the cooperation. Joseph Nye defines two different forms of power, power in general is defined as 'the ability to affect others to get the outcomes one prefers, and that can be accomplished by coercion, payment, or attraction and persuasion whereas soft power is the ability to obtain preferred outcomes by attraction rather than coercion or payment (Nye, 2017, ss. 1-3). Liberals would rather use consensual, reward and referent power which is believed to result in perpetual peace. The founding fathers of the Integrated Europe also were inspired from Kant's idealised concept of Perpetual Peace seeming to be getting more and more impossible to achieve which will be discussed later.

Another international theory, 'constructivism' is a more recent theory emerged after the end of the Cold War, when the traditional IR theories are regarded to be insufficient to justify the current world system. The idea underlining constructivism is that not the pursuit of material interests but the nation's belief systems, historical, cultural and social explain the foreign policy efforts today (Klotz and Lynch, 2014). The premises of the Constructivist theory can be well-adjusted to the recent efforts of the European Union to lay out the policies of rapprochement. Not the governments but the public should be persuaded for the creation of Federal State of Europe. However, the referendum for the European Constitution revealed that the public was not ready to integrate or call themselves as 'European' rather than 'French, German or Italian'. Another important application of the theory is the attempt of the European Institutions to cooperate with the non-governmental organisations to adopt new policies providing further integration. Business Europe, European Union Coordination for Civil Society Organisations. These type of non-state actors have a remarkable mission to carry out lobby activities which eases the process of adoption by using consensual power. As an

example, progress reports to monitor the development of the candidate countries are prepared according to the reports of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch which are the international organisations carrying out the mission of promoting human rights and making them conformed by all the countries regardless of the level of development. Thus they are the catalysts of the EU decision-making. Another recent policy of EU which is European Neighbourhood Policy is created with the proactive approach of Confederation of Business Europe.

Another international theory which is worth mentioning to understand the European Union from an entirely different perspective is the Neo-Gramscian theory (Burnham, 1991, p. 74). Neo-Gramscianism is a critical theory studying international relations (IR) and the global political economy (GPE) that explores the interface of ideas, institutions and material capabilities as they shape the specific contours of the state formation.

The theory is laid out by Antonio Gramsci which analyzes the social forces and their interrelation with the state and the way they retain the world order. The word 'hegemony' is so crucial in defining world order. Although realism defines hegemony as the hegemony of the states on one another, Gramscian theory defines hegemony as a combination of consent and coercion not merely exercised by the states but mostly by civil society as well. (Howson and Smith, 2008). Gramsci mentions the hegemonic project to be formed for the maintenance of world order. Applying Gramscian theory into EU, EU may be regarded as a hegemonic project where the consent is necessarily taken. Today people's unwillingness to be in the EU with high unemployment and inflation rates, the heterogeneous features of the EU member countries prevent people from giving their confirmation for the endurance of the EU. Brexit is the most remarkable example for this reluctance. Gramsci argues that a social class emerges as hegemonic not only by coercing others but rather by establishing consent among subordinate classes (Cox, 1983, p.164). That is very lately understood by the Eurocrats and they started to conduct Europeanwide surveys to measure the consent of the citizens towards the EU policies. Demographically and psychographically, the survey results differ a lot where the necessary measures should be taken and the policies should be tailored accordingly to get the consent of the people that is to say, the decisions can not be made on the table but on the streets of the European countries.

3. WHERE IS EUROPE GOING TODAY?

People, living in the European continent, have been living together for hundreds of years due to physical proximity having different national identities. Despite this closeness in distance, since they are under different nationalities, they have been in conflict for centuries for their national benefits. There are two different tendencies appearing concurrently, on one hand there are nationalistic movements, on the other hand there are attempts to consolidate their power and sources which may seem to be mutually exclusive. After the collapse of Soviet Union, newly created post-communist countries struggle to create a sense of belongingness apart from Russia. The collapse of Czechoslovakia split the country into two : Slovakia and Czech Republic and the collapse of Yugoslavia brought about Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia. When there is the trend towards fission on one side, there is fusion on the other side. European Union aims to create a deeper and wider integration of the countries so that it is thought that common identity will overcome the hundred years of hatred towards each other.

Some permanent factors such as history, geography, national identity and culture are observed to be more influential than the temporary factors like political, economics, social and military.

When European Union enlarges, these permanent and temporary factors and their interactions with each other will be harder to harmonise due to the fact that the newcomers are so diversified regarding their both permanent and temporary features. The changing structure of the EU requires to restructure their mechanisms and create more scope wide policies. Common Foreign Policy is getting more and more urgent to form in order to create unity in diversity. So far, European Union has failed to bring about an institutionalised common foreign policy and implement it. Since EU member states do not equally realize the threat stemming from enlargement, foreign politics and security due to their different national concerns (Heywood, 2014, p. 589).

Another problem arising from enlargement is that the newly established states have economic, social and political problems within themselves. Some of them are populated with educational, health and security problems. In the former EU members, old and low populated profile had been a problem. However, population may be regarded as a threat for some and opportunity for the others. In developed countries young population is the labour force contributing to the production while it is regarded as a burden in the developing countries since they get from their economic share and slow down the development. This is the reason why the increasing population of the EU with the developing countries is a problem to tackle with.

The fifth enlargement specifically had repercussions on today's EU politics, help to analyse the changing dynamics of the EU. Chronologically, after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union, there was a new era in the international relationship specifically within the European Union. Malta and Greek Cypriot applied for membership (1990), the partnership agreements were completed with Central and Eastern European countries (1990-1996), the EU ratified the membership of the enlargement and identified the Copenhagen criteria(1993), the strategy for preaccession was ratified in Essen(1994), in Luxembourg Summit, the enlargement process was launched excluding Turkey, the start of the partnership accession negotiations with Hungary, Poland, Estonia, Slovenia and Czech Republic and Greek Cypriot and the relaunch of the negotiations with Malta which had been suspended before. On the 1st of May, 2004, the first wave of the fifth enlargement ended in the membership of Poland, Hungary, Malta, Greek Cypriot, Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovenia and Latvia and the second wave of the fifth enlargement was completed with the membership of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 (Thomson, 2009, p. 761). The collapse of the communist countries compelled the EU to embed those countries into the European structure not to risk potential threats. However, it was entirely different from the previous enlargement processes which led to ambiguities about the future of Europe and the perception of enlargement seemed to be mutually exclusive with deepening. For a union to accept new members, there should be common grounds to start with but during the fifth enlargement, EU member countries did not have conciliation which may be regarded as the breakthrough for the future of the EU. In general the logic behind European Integration is to minimise the problems and deficiencies deriving from nation-state system. The current member states imposed sanctions to the newcomers with the fifth enlargement to adapt to the EU. The fifth enlargement created diversified opinions both within the old members and the newcomers. For some, the new members are required to integrate into the Union in order to unite Europe but it was clear that it would be far from the idealised European in 1950s.

Moreover, EU member states feel that their national interests are guaranteed by using their right to veto regarding the issues related with enlargement, politics and security which is one of the most crucial impediment against further integration. Especially after the 2008 recession and its severe consequences in some of the EU countries like Greece, Portugal and Spain, the

lesson inferred was very clear: countries should individually protect their national interests since their priorities differ so the member states had the tendency to preserve their national interests priorily. On the one hand, it is really urgent to show commitment to the values of the EU, create common policies and take common measures against the global threat in order to reveal out the full potential of the EU and on the other hand the national interests should be protected more within the unity which seems to be too difficult to create.

There have been some other recent developments deepening the problems within the EU. The EU's decision to create a constitution was a considerable step towards the formation of Federal States of Europe. The decision taken in 2001 Laeken Summit, under the presidency of the ex president of France Valery Giscard d'Estain a committee was assigned to design an institutional reform draft (Magnette and Kalypso, 2004, p. 389). This committee was composed of representatives of national parliaments and members of the European Parliament and European Commission and Eurocrats with expertise revealing that the supranationality, nationality and internationality have been considered to finalise the best Constitution reflecting the priorities of the European citizens. EU Constitution first of all being called as the 'constitution' was a big step for creating an integrated identity. In the beginning, this would be an agreement but a radical agreement which may frighten the public so the adjectives given to this unity was sensitively created. The terms 'state' or 'federal' were avoided, instead they used the term 'European Society' which will regulate the institutional structure and operational procedures.

According to the 'adoption' process which aims to show the gradual steps of the adoption of an idea, the process should be done step by step. The first thing is to raise awareness, next to arouse interest, third to make people try and forth evaluate their trial and then confirm or reject. Although it may be a very beneficial document, people may react if they feel that they are forced to confirm (Manning et al., p. 330). There are some principles to speed up the adoption: When the idea mitigates the uncertainties, there is relative advantage, it arises interest it is compatible to the needs of the people, it eases the lives of the people. The constitution should be displayed in such a way that people will be persuaded to adopt it. As mentioned above, EU realised the importance of the consent of the citizens to deepen the integration so civil societies, international business associations all cooperated to pace up the adoption process. Since the proposed mechanism for the decision-making was too complicated, it did not reduce the ambiguities and too complicated to understand, in the referendum people react. Moreover there was not organic communication with the public and it was a supranational bureaucratic decision and was devoid of democratic legitimacy, people worried about the results. Though there was no mention of the state, it was going to create a corporate entity with its own European flag, anthem, money and citizenship (Göral, 2010). European Constitution was a very big, radical step towards integration and was feasible on paper, however, even two of the founding states objected to the Constitution. Although France was one of the most influential state in the formation of Integrated Europe, the French citizens said no to the Constitution in the referendum which created frustration among the European societies. That was the beginning of the crisis within the EU.

That disappointment compelled the EU decision makers to lay out some alternative strategies for smoother transitions. Together with the accession of Bulgaria and Romania who are the eastern bloc countries, the number of the member states became 27 which was a springboard in the enlargement perspective. The more precise statements of the Constitution was decided to be removed and replaced with an agreement and in 19th of October, the Reform Treaty was agreed in Lizbon. According to the Lisbon Treaty, the international decision making was underlined and the supranationality was reduced by increasing the number of the members of

the European Parliament and decreasing the number of commissioners in the European Commission and the commissioners will be selected on the basis of rotation. After these revisions had been made, Ireland was persuaded to go to referendum once again and the newly designed provisions were ratified in Ireland. However, this was not a conciliation, this time Czechoslovakia announced its reluctance to confirm the Lisbon Treaty. By giving some concessions it was ratified in Czechoslovakia and the treaty entered into force in 1st December, 2009.

European Union today is more than an international organization but less than a federation that is the reason why it is sui generis. It has been more than sixty years to dream a United Europe. Yet, it should not be forgotten that the world is changing rapidly regarding both political, economic, technological, social, psychological sub and supra systems where the EU is compelled to create a mechanism that dynamically renews itself. The pattern of relationship among the states is fluctuating remarkably. The ideology of the political powers in the states, global economic crisis, the events that are experienced beyond the borders of the EU like the USA elections are so much influential on the future of Europe. European integration process is a success to some extent at least proving the fact that there have been no destructive wars in the European continent since 1957. Yet, the changing world order with its more globalized threats, crisis and conflicts, it is claimed that Europe lacks the necessary power, potential and preconditions to compete in the world arena especially when the dream of Federal States of Europe was considered.

In today's globalised world, 'Retaining Global Peace and Order' is almost impossible due to the unjust and imbalanced economic system, climate changes and environmental problems, global energy security and the existence and spreading threat of nuclear weapon of destruction, global immigration and terrorism are the potential risks of conflict. The regional conflicts can also lead to a threat for global peace and order. During the Post Cold War period, the world transformed into a more fragile place. Global peace and order have been more intermingled with the regional peace and order which makes the balance more precarious. It is possible to say that the world has become more polarized with respect to economic, political, ethnic, religious and regional considerations which is an indicator of deeper interdependence.

The European Union must lay out policies consistent with the institutions and the values that they are advocating. There were some tests to see the efficiency of the EU operational mechanisms which was a failure such as their stance in Iraq crisis in 1991 and dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1992 where the EU could use no initiative in the conflict resolution.

4. CONCLUSION

European Union has always been debated whether it is a success story or not. Since it has been unique in terms of its decision-making, operational mechanisms, legislation and institutions, it is not easy to appraise its performance. However, it was challenging to assemble those competing and fighting countries under the same roof. The primary concern was providing security and prevent war among these countries by promising to make all the states benefit from this unification. It was easier with the first six founding countries who were the wealthy countries having so many economic, political, cultural and social similarities. Together with the changing economic and political conjuncture, it became more and more difficult to harmonise the instruments and mechanisms to be applied to the EU structure.

The collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union, bombing of the twin towers in the USA, 2008 economic crisis, climate change, advancement in technology, the presidency elections in the United States, Brexit, refugees and migration issues all reinforced the cooperation among the states and act in unity. Regarding the refugees, it means an increase in population. As mentioned before, population growth is perceived differently with regard to the developmental level of a country. For the developed countries, it means labour force contributing to the production and development of a country, while it means burden on the shoulder in the developing countries since it slows down the development by decreasing the income per capita and necessitates huge amount of investment in health, education and employment. After the bombing of the twin towers, it was realised that the threat had been globalized. Moreover, there are other threats that are globalized such as the climate change, money laundering, terrorism, drug use etc. The global threats brought about the need to form transnational civil societies to tackle with the crises. The collapse of the Soviet Union bore the newly created states which had no attachment and identity. That was why the EU embraced these countries rather leave them alone as a potential threat for the future. There have been alternative policies to be embedded into the existing policies such as European Neighbourhood Policy to guarantee order in her periphery, however, due to its lack of membership promise, it was void ab initio. Moreover, the newly created pseudo membership for the post-communist countries did not bring about any advantage for these countries since the European Union was not an ideal for the countries bringing prosperity.

On the 23rd of June, 2016 the results of the referendum held in the United Kingdom, 51.89% of the citizens voted against EU membership and wanted to exit. As a result referring to the 50th article of the Lisbon Treaty, Britain gave up its membership in two years which would correspond to the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the European Union. On the 29th of March, 2019 United Kingdom left the EU and lost all her initiative in EU decision making. That was a turning point in the EU history since it was the first time a country changed their destiny to a different route from the EU which will soon have impacts on the other member of the EU. Although EU leaders assert that the Union of 27 countries will continue despite the Brexit, there is a very clearly known fact that UK was the bloc's second largest economy together with France and Germany within the Big Three which will create disturbance and lack of reliance towards the Union.

There are also other forthcoming problems due to the peripheral problems in the EU. Economic, financial and Euro crisis, political conflict in Ukraine and in the Arab world, refugee crisis, the anxiety of Mediterranean people about their future after the economic crisis. Also as listed in the report (Hilmer, 2016), corporate taxation, data protection, energy policy and refugee policy were the main concerns of Europe according to the survey conducted in European countries. The spill over effect of the 2008 economic crisis also gave damage to the image of the EU and EU's credibility in the eyes of the people living in the European continent has remarkably diminished. Now there is a question to be answered on the European streets: What kind of Europe? Multi-speed EU is the reality of the transformed profile of the EU, another important fact is that EU need dialogue at public level due to the fact that adoption of the United Europe can only be actualised by the consent of the people.

Changing sub and supra systems such as political, economic, technological, psychological and social factors compelled the Union to redefine itself where it was not as fast as it should be owing to its time-taking decision making, legislation and institutions. They were not responsive to the changes in the global environment which requires multi-layered interactions at individual, national, international and transnational levels. The disproportionate benefits from the common policies also brought about different perceptions in the realm of different

member states. Inadequacies in the mechanisms, ambiguities in the future of Europe and the countries' reluctance to concede for the European Union, emergence of global threats necessitating integrations beyond the regions and the increasing unlikelihood of creating commonalities among these diverging states and their different priorities and concerns led to a volatile international environment impeding an 'Idealized Europe'.

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