## CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

This paper has proven that if we trace and arrange to draw the conclusion from the process of the accession and Turkey-EU relation over times, we see that there is a dynamic of relations. Complex but sometimes it could not have gotten closer to unite Turkey and European Union. In the analogy of two loving partners but different in many ways, Turkey and EU just do not seem to match although they have their own interests of each other. For some fundamental and substantial reasons, Turkey and EU are still trying to comprehend what the causes and effects occurred after the accession get to be said as finished.

This paper which aimed at analyzing the two distinguished perspectives between Turkey and European Union to compare by constructivism theory has proven that the history, identity, and attitude of two parties are not compatible of each other. The concept of 'Itself' and 'The Other' has been proven right to analyze both parties in establishing their relations. They could have any other relations in terms of economy, security, immigrant policy, disaster diplomacy and whatnot but to blend into one identity in one Union is just too difficult to happen in any time soon. Speaking chronologically over times, Ottoman as the first Turkish ancestor to establish relations with European countries mostly went to war with the European. In fact Ottoman is considered as public enemy by European countries back then. As powerful as Ottoman is, it could expand to some of the Eastern Europe to establish influences over the areas. We may see now that many of the Turkey's descendants living spread in Europe. Once the fall of the Ottoman, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk led the reform and transformed the countries into more secular and modern countries. His effort was most likely opposed by conservative elites and Islamic groups who were the majority voice and still until these days. However, his effort to spread secularism and modernization in Turkey, which later called

'Kemalist', gained relatively massive sympathy from the Turkish society. They dreamed of an advanced Turkey as a country who could overrode the influences of European countries. However at the same time, it was an opportunity to engage with European influences and this was realized post-World War II after the era of Ataturk. In 1963, Turkey joined the European community in cooperation with Europe in economy and security aspects. When EU was established, Turkey was not automatically included. They needed to go through the process like any other countries before them. In 1987, first contact was made to become candidate for European Union member. In 1991, talks were continued in Helsinki Summit but until today there is no significant progress to get in with full membership. Although we all have acknowledged that Turkey's relation with European countries had been established in a long time ago.

Erdogan was elected President for a long period in Turkey and is the main actor behind Turkey's relations to European Union. Erdogan is perceived to be repressive and somewhat to the point of being a dictator by European Union, particularly following the latest coup in 2016. On the other hand, Erdogan stated that European Union is a Christian Community and said that when it comes to Turkey's accession into European Union, Turkey feels like being played as a country and that destroyed Turkey's national imagery. The relations between Erdogan as the one who is in charge in Turkey and European Union, particularly some of its elites like Juncker, Merkel, and Sarkozy, have relatively reflected the relationship of Turkey and the EU over the history. However under some circumstances, Erdogan senses the importance of joining into the EU would make Turkey more developed and open into a secular society which was the dream of Ataturk's administration post the reformation. It is said that Turkey could be the 'bridge' between two civilizations, namely, the East and the West to have a further relations in the future

According to Tocci, there are three possible scenarios related to the future of Turkey's accession into the EU. These scenarios are not meant to be accurate predictions of the future. Rather, they are meant to be terms of reference for an assessment of the future trajectory of relationship, and an assessment of whether Turkey and the EU are likely to tend more towards convergence or conflict (Tocci, 2014). Here are the following scenarios:

## **Competition**

A first scenario is that of a growing competition and conflict between Turkey and the EU. The EU would continue to pretend it is negotiating membership with Turkey. But even Turkey's supporters in the EU would lose faith in the process (Tocci, 2014). There are some others supporters of Turkey in Europe like Italy, Spain, and Portugal. But with the UK leaving the EU, it would be difficult for Turkey to get into the EU since UK is Turkey's first and foremost sponsor in the EU. *Cooperation* 

A second scenario would see the EU and Turkey reaching a new framework for cooperation based on respective complementary (Tocci, 2014). On this scenario, Turkey will not get into the EU as full member, however, they would be offered consensually acknowledged issue and that they would remain to be a 'good friend' after all. Convergence

This scenario foresees the European Union exiting its current crisis and refocusing on the enlargement process towards both the Balkans and Turkey and possibly other Eastern neighbors (Tocci, 2014).

Despite which scenarios will occur in the future, the relationship between Turkey and the EU will be determined by the leaders of both sides as decisive authority and how they deal with the distinction of history, identity, and attitude.

Many experts predict that Turkey's accession into the EU would never happen, especially with the leaving of United Kingdom in a couple years ago. However in UK case, the

growth of Eurosceptic has been increasing over the years making the country reluctant to continue engaging in the union. They were willing to struggle to have better economy on their own since the consequences of leaving the Union is economic instability. While in Turkey case, the Turcophile has been growing in European community. These may make the EU elite better informed about Turkey being a predominantly Muslim country yet having a secular state structure with longstanding aspirations to European values of liberalism, rights and democracy (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). It is clear to say that ideology play an important role to influence the decision whether Turkey's accession into the EU succeeded or not. It could also be the case that elites believe that, especially in the face of Islamic fundamentalism, it will be important to integrate Turkey into Europe, as Turcophile leaders such as Tony Blair have argued. The results challenge the tendency to view the European—citizens, politicians, and bureaucrats – as a monolithic entity. The findings provide strong confirmation that there is a clear divide between European public and elite opinion on EU enlargement to include Turkey (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). This difference have resulted in the reluctance of the EU decision-maker to continue progressing, opening negotiation talks on this case, in Turkey's accession into Europe.

It also shows that accession issue has become subject to Islamophobic tensions, radical movement, and antiimmigrationist sentiments which spread Turcoscepticism among EU citizens. These three issues have become clear to hamper the process of the accession with those three being difficult to overcome by Turkey's government over the years. The influence of Muslim conservatives who have clear stances to oppose the accession into the EU is perceived by the EU as a threat and regression of the process of the accession. Turkey is also face with Kurdish movements, Turkey is believed to violate the principle of human rights along the process. Fears about immigration create a negative climate towards Turkey, because once Turkey joins the EU, Turks would not be 'Euroimmigrants' but Euro-citizens. Such perceptions contribute to a skeptical and a phobic public opinion climate (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). However, more optimistically, there appears to have been a gradually declining trend of such opinion between 2006 and 2008. Even more optimistically, the EU elite reads Turkey's membership bid more positively, even though perceived threats are at stake (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). Future research may explore other approaches that can help explain the differences in public and elite opinions, such as utilitarian, right-based or identity-based calculations. It is interesting to predict the development and the progress of the relation between Turkey and European Union in the future and what scenarios will be taken into account regarding the accession. Both the EU and Turkey have been trying to negotiate upon the possibility of Turkey getting into the EU ever for now.