

THE DISTINCT PERSPECTIVES ON TURKEY ACCESSION TO EUROPEAN UNION: A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH

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Abstract

The process of Turkey's accession into full membership in European Union has gone through an endlessly problematic matter. Both parties have strong distinction in history, identity, and attitude which hamper the process to be finalized. In the eye of constructivism, the concept of 'Itself' and 'the Other' is utilized to explain the phenomenon on this prolonging accession case regarding Turkey and European Union. On one hand, Turkey see itself as the most secular and democratic country among any other Muslim countries in the world and while seeing European Union as 'Christian community, Turkey is interested to join in by the means of that Turkey can be a role model of developed country who still cherish their national identity and cultures also religious norms and values in it. On the other hand, the Europeans see Turkey incompatible to the identity of most European countries. Turkey is considered to be still under the scrutiny of conservative Muslims who oppose the idea of getting into EU. Turkish democracy and human rights are also considered to be in slow pace following many repressive orders by its political elites over the years. EU also see themselves, which represented by European countries, as a Union who strive for the freedom of individual and the government free from particular dogmas which sometimes grip a country in becoming developed. Turkey is mainly seen to be 'too different' from other European countries and if Turkey is ever to be accepted in the EU, ergo it will threaten and endanger the fundamental identity of European Union.

Key words: Turkey, European Union, Constructivism, Enlargement, History, Identity, and Attitude.

Throughout the history, the relations between Turkey and EU have always been complicated yet still interesting to be brought upon discussion. Their relations could be traced back into the mighty times of Ottoman Empire where Turkey firstly managed to get in contact with European countries. Turkey is an integral part of Europe's history, because through times Turkey and European countries were in relation in any kinds of circumstances such as war, diplomacy, art, commerce, cuisine and/or even inter-marriage.

Introduction to the Problems

The initiatives of Turkey-EU relations date way back 1963 where Turkey signed the agreement of European Economic Community. Since the event took place, Turkey had been trying to enroll as exclusive and permanent member of the EU. However, on its way today to become permanent member of the EU, Turkey is on another edge of the table. Turkey is unlikely to join the EU due to the failure of accession talks and the absence of democratic support from consisting members of the EU. The hardship which is currently being undertaken by Turkey to joining EU is becoming more complicated as Turkey fails to cooperate with the EU terms of dealing with its principle and regulation. It is believed that myriad of issues in terms of human rights leading to the rule of law is not compatible with the EU.

In the eye of constructivist on this case, it seeks to explain that norms and values are the foundation to analyze certain objectives, in which case, Turkey. Implicit in the discussion is often the fact that Turkey is, though officially secular, a Muslim country, and that the current EU members are built upon a Christian foundation. The debate is therefore often about how different Turkey is from the current members, and that these differences are not easily reconciled (Svensson, 2007). The relations between EU and Turkey has its ups and down on the process. That is, the project of the integration has been intense, complex, and at

the same time engaging. The political situation in Turkey has, in a way, slowed down the accession talks for Turkey to become permanent member. The recent referendum to expand Erdogan's authority has managed to create skepticism towards the continuation of the negotiation talks.

In the analysis, the writer mainly utilizes one of the International Relations theories to be taken into account. One of which used here is "constructivism theory". Alexander Wendt once said that "500 British nuclear weapons are less threatening to the United States than 5 North Korean Nuclear Weapons". By definition, constructivism is the view that the manner in which the material world shapes and is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretations of the material world. (Adler, 2005). Other scholars such as Nicholas Onuf, Alexander Wendt, Friedrich Kratochwil, John Gerard Ruggie and Peter Katzenstein agreed on stating that constructivism is a "social theory of international politics" that emphasizes the social construction of world affairs as opposed to the claim of (neo)realists that international politics is shaped by the rational-choice behaviour/decisions of egoist actors who pursue their interests by making utilitarian calculations to maximize their benefits and minimize their losses, hence the materiality of international structures.

According to most constructivists, identity constitutes socially shared beliefs while culture is defined as socially shared knowledge", "knowledge", according to Wendt, in turn defined as "any belief an actor takes to be true'. Turkey and the EU both share distinguished beliefs. Turkey considers itself as secular and modern country while most of EU society believes that Turkey is a repressive country with extreme Islamist majority. Islamist majority voices, the repressive order upon Cyprus and Kurdish which violates the notion of human right, and also immigration policy have put Turkey not as much as democratic Turkey in the view of European Union. Norm is defined as an accepted standard of behavior among a group of actors or the principle behavior of actors. Value is what shapes and internalize someone's

behavior. On this case, both Turkey and the EU have shown different behavior towards each other in the process of accession. Religious values and conservative Muslim in Turkey have threatened the existence of 'Christian Community in Europe. If Turkey gets into Europe, the clashed values will cause possibly unpredicted conflicts.

In contextualizing to our analysis, I borrow the concept of 'Itself' and the 'Other' from Bulac which should be taken into account. It can be examined from two main points; (a) how Turks identify themselves and see Europeans; and (b) how Europeans see Turks and identify themselves which manifested on the idea of constructivism in terms of history, identity, and attitude which are substantially fundamental on this analysis. Hence, it weighs up the notion to keep on postponing the agenda to Turkey's accession (Svensson, 2007). In addition to that, the political situation in Turkey is not in its best interest to simplify the issue. So far the discussion has concerned the effect structure has on individual actors, which of course is the most pertinent and definitely the most obvious aspect of agency-structure discussions. However, in applying a constructivist approach to European enlargement, we need to discuss the converse effect as well (Svensson, 2007). Arguably, including Turkey in the EU would be considered a major political event, and, following Koslowski and Kratochwil, we need therefore to take into account also how discursive changes affect politics: 'fundamental change in the international system occurs when actors, through their practices, change the rules and norms constitutive of international interaction'. Such a change in rules and norms also has the potential of affecting the actors themselves and hence also their identities. The relevant aspects of change in rules and norms will therefore be scrutinized in this paper. (Svensson, 2007).

History between Turkey and European to European Union

Within such long history between Turkey and European Union, we have to analyze the historical perspective of Turkey's foreign policy towards EU. In retrospect, myriad of phenomenon have flooded the continuity of EU-Turkey relationship ranging earlier from ottoman era until in the modern time which is Turkey's application of membership. It is of substantial matters to talk about as it will lead our analysis to a more comprehensive approach to understand the dynamic influence of Turkey's accession into EU which is shaped from Turkey's identity and characteristic as a country. The Ottoman Empire was superior compared to small kingdoms in Europe. It was signed by the expansion of Constantinople. The Ottoman army was the largest in Europe, its navy ruled the shipping lanes of the eastern Mediterranean, and its capital Istanbul was five times the size of Paris. Its resources seemed limitless, and its capacity to sweep aside opposition in the name of Islam gave the Turkish Empire an awesome presence (Woodward, 2001). After taking control of Constantinople, they renamed it to Istanbul in 1453 and they also took over Black Sea and main routes to the Balkans up to the driving route in the eastern part of Adriatic sea.

The truth is that such portrayals of Ottoman expansion to the West not only a privilege a single aspect of rich and varied world, but also could describe virtually any state in early modern Europe. Did the early modern Hapsburg state, the French state, or the English state somehow not live for war? Were the sherrifs of England not also both policemen and soldiers? Were Peter the Hermit, who led a group of peasants against seasoned delis, others who led Christian children on suicidal crusades, and numerous Christian extremists not just as fanatically committed to their faith as were frenzied Ottoman soldiers? Bayezid I may or may not have proclaimed "For this was I born, to bear arms (Goffman, 2002). It was evident that there was strong and powerful engagements in the early times of Ottoman empire and that the

form of engagement at this era is a war. Suleyman ‘the Magnificent’ showed Europe that power from middle-east was rising and is starting to threaten Europe.

The existence of most famous Holy Roman Empire at particular era was at the same time to that of Ottoman Empire. It is described that more or less, the Ottoman Empire had given huge impact to the Unity of Roman Empire, its location in the Western part of Europe started to be threatened by Ottoman expansion in the eastern part of Europe towards more civilized part which is the West. The Ottoman were intent on a holy war against Christianity and the Western Empire looked to Charles V to counter them, but his political commitments consistently distracted him and forced him to confine his efforts to stemming the Turkish advance in North Africa (Woodward, 2001). The engagements of Ottoman Empire towards the Holy Roman Empire had strong religious sentiments in it. Charles V, who was considered ‘the Most Catholic King’, took the threats coming from very seriously. Historians viewed that the wars of Europe states with the Turks played an important role for the development of the ‘military revolution’ of western states. There were some important differences between European and Turkish military developments. One lay in the line of fortifications built by several Christian towns in the 1520s which were modeled on the trace Italienne: these were earthen ramparts, low-walled bastions, and strategically located cannons which could repel the main Turkish assaults whether human or artillery. A second important difference was that European armies placed more emphasis on drill and discipline, on practicing defensive infantry formations of squares of pikes and arquebusiers, and of combining infantry, artillery, and cavalry, confident that they could repel a Turkish cavalry and infantry attack. Third, the Turkish navy never developed the flexibility in ship design or strategy achieved by its European counterparts (Goffman, 2002). This has proven again that the influence of Ottoman Empire to that of Europe encompassed up to their military revolution. The Turks had made Europe to be more creative and innovative in advancing their military aspect.

After the end of Ottoman Empire reign, the new Republican Parliament took control in 1922. It transformed the nation into Republic of Turkey. This form of government began their journey by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as its first President. He is very well-known for his dedication towards secularism and modernism in Turkey that until nowadays have become the foundation of cultural and social life in Turkey. The ideology of Kemalism is a non-stop, dynamic, and forward-looking idealism for Turkey. Actually, it was Mustafa Kemal's formula for Turkey to continuously adapt itself to advanced civilization levels; but anyone who wants to use this ideology must be used and renewed forever, because Mustafa Kemal's goal of reaching a contemporary modern level is an endless process. On August 1945, the Grand National Assembly launched The UN Charter, however the debate over the measure during the summer brought about Turkey's first major post-war in domestic scope conflict. A proposal was entered by former Prime Minister Bayar, Adnan Menderes, and two additional CHP deputies calling for changes in Turkish law to assure the domestic application of the liberties and rights to which the government had ostensibly subscribed by accepting the principles of the UN Charter. (Chapin, 1995) When the proposal was disallowed, its four proponents left the CHP and resigned their seats in the assembly. However at that certain time, the proposal was disallowed resulting in four proponents walked out of the CHP and resigned their seats before the assembly.

AKP Party or *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (Justice and Development Party) came to power in 2002. There was a dichotomy of concern in Turkey's foreign affairs when this party came to power. It created a sphere of the space of the self (domestic) and the space of the other (international). The boundaries between inside (self) and outside (other) are drawn according to this identity. (Aslan, 2012) That is, it has to be grounded on the basis of a *political project* which fills the empty place of nation in the domestic realm. The AK Party, as a hegemonic political force, came to the scene with a specific political project –

“conservative-democracy.” (Aslan, 2012) The foundation of AK Party foreign policy was to that of in line with EU agenda, however that view was shifted from 2007 onwards quite significantly. While the object of their attentions was the European Union, the endless and unresolved Cyprus situations got in the way of Turkey entering the permanent membership in the EU. A number of the leading members of the party had previously been prominent within the Welfare Party, a more explicitly Islamist Party, that headed a coalition government in the mid of 1990s. (Robins, 2007).

Turkey’s Perception towards European Union

On this chapter, the perception of Turkey will be analyzed deeply and comprehensively. I try to gather some of the academic essays regarding to the distinctive nature of history, identity, and attitude from Turkey that is perceived by European countries which most of them represent the majority voice in the European Union. I have briefly described the relations by history between Turkey and Europe in terms of socio-politics. Each of the occasions on the historical timeline underwent a dynamic process of engagements and adjustments. Most of the time, both sides put the underlying basis of their arguments on their differences which become the main key factor of the distinctive perspective on this writings. In the process of membership accession, it is also known as clashed of identities and that reminds us of Samuel P. Huntington description of clash civilizations. Identity is a central notion in constructivist analyses of European enlargement. The idea is that the more two countries identify with one another, the more likely they are to ‘pursue horizontal institutionalization’, in Frank Schimmelfennig’s and Ulf Sedelmeier words (Svensson, 2007) The notion of perceiving other’s identity that change our behavior are talked in the context of states hereby between the relation of Turkey as a state and European Union as a collective

states and that their distinctive identity in the process. A description of the European Self and Other in constructivist terms is different from the axiomatic essentialist descriptions rationalists have to depend on (Svensson, 2007). As aforementioned, constructivists claim that the actor's identities and preferences are endogenously given, which means that they are social constructions emanating from the political process and its actors (Svensson, 2007). In this process, the identities that are the result merely more or less arbitrarily defined, and referred to by convention. Accordingly, identity can be, and sometimes is, changed (Svensson, 2007).

A way through which group membership influences opinion information is through symbolic concerns surrounding group status, as considered by social identity theory (Arikan, 2012). This perspective stated that group identity is the source of individual self-esteem. Therefore, people are motivated to achieve a positive identity by differentiating their group positively from others. On contextual matters, identity politics plays a crucial role in attitudes concerning the EU. In some multivariate models, national identity emerges as a key explanatory variable concerning rejection of Turkey's membership. Yet, given the rise in nationalist sentiments in the discussion of Turkey's relations with the EU, especially in the post-Brussels summit period, we can hypothesize that stronger national attachments are an important factor generating opposition to the EU in Turkey (Arikan, 2012). Political identity is a common thing in the realm of politics. However, the difference on the identity somewhat put barriers on the process to unite ergo political identity is not a tool to create an advance relations especially with a worldly union like EU.

As Cautres and Monceau note, identification with Europe in Turkey appears to be much weaker than in Europe as a whole. According to a 2007 Eurobarometer survey, for instance, 96 percent of Turkish respondents said that they felt attached to their country, 94 percent to their town or village and only 25 percent to the EU (MacMillan, 2013). As Yilmaz

argues, Euroscepticism from EU member states, Abusara argues that Turkish Eurosceptics are more likely to be poorly educated, right wing, belong to a low or middle-income group and be potential losers from accession (MacMillan, 2013). He also argues that a majority of the Turkish population is most concerned about the effects of EU membership in the area of culture, in terms of the weakening of national or religious values, while issues such as the constriction of national independence, the breakup of national unity and the violation of the secular social and political order were considered much less important (MacMillan, 2013). It is without doubts to say that there is a dynamic and shifting of identity throughout the history of Turkey's accession into the EU. The maneuver by Turkey's elites and its political figures based on its culture and identity play an important role to shape the public opinion. The Westernization project was attacked both from the Right and the Left, Islamist and ultra nationalist parties saw it as a threat to traditional and religious values. An ideologue of the newly emerging Islamic world view approached the issue in the following way: "Considering the fact that the ultimate aim of the Common Market is to construct a Union of European States, should we let Turkey become a province in this Union? Since it will be a Union of Christian States, the inclusion of an Islamic-Turkish State can never be accepted" (Nas, 2001). The firm statement made by the Islamist groups made Turkey had a stance ground upon their position amidst their membership in the Union. One of the leading intellectual in Turkey who stood as unique among others drew attention to the fundamental impossibility of Turkey's being accepted into Europe: "Even if we burn all the Korans, run down all mosques, we are Ottomans in the eye of the European; Ottoman meaning Islam. A dark, dangerous, hostile crowd" (Nas, 2001). Islam have always been perceived in a negative way in European countries, meanwhile on the other hand, Turkey's identity as a country is highly adhered to Islam. Although Turkey is a secular country, Islamic ideology and teaching have gone hand-in-hand throughout the country's history. Thus, the existence of Turkey as a country cannot

be simply separated from the notions of Islamic country. It is also known for its strong history to the Ottomans whereas we know that the Empire once had a long-last history to the European countries. Those elements of Turkish identity that contrasted most with Europe, namely, religion and traditional and religious culture became more pronounced. Together with the integration of the periphery to mainstream politics, a schism developed between defenders of the official doctrine and those vying for traditional and religious values. Reaction to Europeanization in private and public life became more visible leading to a questioning of official views. A process of reconciliation of traditional culture with Europeanization also started that would make it possible to integrate with Europe while maintaining cultural particularities (Nas, 2001). Eventually, those notions of identity that was driven by their agents of structures in such institutions will always say that the accession of Turkey to European Union will never become as ideal as it is expected. The clash of two different identities might construct the society life in Turkey and that influence of modernization process is never widely accepted.

Erdogan once said that “Islam is a religion. Secularism is just a style of management”. The idea to analyze norms derived from the country’s political ideology, which on this case, secularism. Secularism is a notion to divide religious teachings from political matter or in a state declared to be neutral on matters of belief, from the imposition by government of religion or religious practices upon its people. However, it is assumed that secularism in Turkey is considerably flawed because study says that Islam and secular democracy are not inevitably incompatible. Indonesia, for example, after Indonesians in 1998 broke the autocratic grip of former president Soeharto, participatory democracy did not easily take root, beset by repeated separatist and religious violence (Bonner, 2005). Turkey and Indonesia have quite a lot of thing in common. Both have Muslims as their majority of voice and at the same time are struggling towards the betterment of democracy.

The endlessly prolonging process of the accession, for most part, is absolutely determined by the decision made by European representatives in the European Union. Copenhagen Criteria is the guideline for any European countries by the means of joining the union. After knowing that European Union is decisive in the process of accession, we can start to analyze the distinguished perspectives of both sides, on this case we will try to gather any comprehensive information on the reason why European Union appear to slow down the process of negotiation. It will also be analyzed how Turkey with their history, identity, and attitude are perceived by the European Union, in which drives the European Union to put most of the negotiation in talks as a form of decision-making process towards Turkey.

The uniquely European problem of identity has become a far larger issue today than it ever was in the past. Enlargement of the EU up to 28 members countries has created a crisis of identity. This has influenced a raising problem (religion and cultural) in the relation of Europe and Turkey's—accession has played a central role in the development of this debate (Mehmet & Tomasz, 2013). It is important to remember the more than 3 million Turks that already live within the borders of the EU. In the same way that the EU elite is helping to influence Europeans attitudes towards a European identity that this Turkish minority highlights the 'social fact of an ongoing process linking Turkish and European identities that significantly pre-dates the formal process of Turkey's accession to the EU (Mehmet & Tomasz, 2013). The idea that there is distinctive identity between Turkey and the EU has become the major problem related to the accession. The religion norms and cultural values play the most important role in setting the policy of the EU towards Turkey. Most of the analysis on identity and its culture are collective of essays which reflect Turkish perceptions and attitude of Itself as a country-- which it includes how they construct their own ideas of such democracy in a modernization process and also their dynamic governmental administration ideology—and also towards the European Union. The public voices, on this

case, are included to show how far the influences on the constructions of identity and their cultures.

Islamists oppose Turkey's membership of the European Union. They believe the EU intends to disrupt relations between Turkey and her geographical and historical partners such as the Turkic Republics, the Balkans and the Middle East (Gumus, 2016). They also think that EU membership will, through alienation and degeneration, threaten Turkish identity. For Islamists, religion is the main parameter which designates identity and the European Union is a "Christian Club" (İnaç, 2004, p.46). Islamists see westernisation as a threat to conventional and religious values. Zaim (1970) argues that since the aim of the Common Market is to construct a union of Europeans Christian States, why would the inclusion of an Islamic state such as Turkey ever be accepted? Ultimately, Islamists view European integration as an attempt to assimilate and degenerate the Islamic world (Gumus, 2016). Islam has stood, throughout the years as antagonist actors who blatantly refuse the influence of European Union in the country. Islam perceive the European Union as "Christian Community" which could threaten the existence of Islamic teachings and influences in Turkey.

European Union Views on Turkey's Accession

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Samuel Huntington on his famous books *The Clash of Civilizations* has argued that religion provides the best common means of historically distinguishing between European and the rest, which in particular refers to the Judeo-Christian tradition confronting Islam (Guibernau, 2011). This argument, however, seems to ignore that in the Middle Ages most intra-European wars had a religious character and that, by and large, such wars did not imply the existence of different civilizations within Europe, rather they consisted of wars between countries defending different and revise ‘versions’ of a religion which had a unique origin. It is precisely from this perspective that it seems plausible to point at religion as a key feature in constructing what we now term as an embryonic European norms and values (Guibernau, 2011). The distinctive religious community of norms and values will be analyzed comprehensively as a reference to European’s attitude towards Turkey. It is also possible to think of Islam as a ‘cultural threat’ to Europe, which McLaren defines as a perceived threat posed by other cultures, or antipathy towards other cultures stemming from nationalist attachments (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). She argues that antipathy within the EU towards the integration process relates to the fear of, or hostility towards, other cultures. Drawing on these conceptualizations of Islamophobia, and of whether Turkey’s EU membership has become the subject of Islamophobic discussion in Europe, this study proposes the ‘Islamic fundamentalist threat hypothesis’ (HI): ‘If Islamic fundamentalism is perceived as an important threat to Europe, then this will cause negative feelings towards Turkey’s accession to the EU (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). The Kurdish issue is one of the concerns to impede the process of the accession. The Kurdish issue and options for a solution were widely discussed; however, the 2009 democratic reforms opening aimed at addressing amongst others the Kurdish issue was not followed through. Erdogan’s government began secret talks with the leaders of Kurdistan

Workers' Party PKK leaders. Justice and Development Party (AKP), also made a number of overtures toward the Kurds, including bans on Kurdish-language TV station. The Justice and Development Party AKP actually did more for the Kurds than anyone up until now (Mehmet & Tomasz, 2013). Over the decades, Turkey succeeded in forging alliances with neighboring Iran, Syria, and Iraq to target Kurdish rebels operating in their respective territories. But Turkey's relations with all three governments have deteriorated sharply over the past several years, and the conflict threatens to spill across borders (Mehmet & Tomasz, 2013). Kurdish is a matter of ethnic conflict in Turkey and they demand separation from Turkey's country. The main concern here is human rights issue. Turkish governments have been known to cause myriad of casualties regarding to Kurdish issue. It appears to the Europeans community that Turkey is not in line with the EU in guaranteeing human rights.

The threat to Europe's cultural and religious identity that has nurtured Turcoscepticism lies at the heart of the problem for European political and bureaucratic elites as well. Former French President d'Estaing, for Example, claimed that Turkey is a different culture and that its membership would bring the EU project to an end (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). In Germany, the former chairman of the Christian Social Union, Edmund Stoiber, translated this into rejecting Turkey's accession. Like Huntington, who argued that 'the identification of Europe with Western Christendom provides a clear criterion for the admission of new members to the western organizations', Stoiber claimed that the EU's borders of shared values, culture and identity would be breached by Turkish membership (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). In contrast to d'Estaing's and Stoiber's Turcoscepticism, former UK Prime Minister suggested, more constructively, that Turkish membership would add to Europe's multicultural assest, and that the inclusion of a Muslim country would facilitate the rapprochement between Western and Eastern civilizations (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). It is implicitly known in the European society that the EU is divided into two strong blocs when it comes to Turkey's

accession to the European Union; Germany and France with their clear stance on opposing Turkey's accession which reflected always on their political agenda by whoever is in charge in both countries and UK with its full support towards Turkey's accession towards European Union. We all know the end of United Kingdom in 2016 with its most famous exit called 'Brexit' which no longer giving support to the status. A comparable norm-based dynamic was present in EU forums regarding the Turkish application, with supporters of the Turkish case (including the Commission) laying particular stress on the importance of bolstering Turkey's developing political democratization and liberalization – all the more so as the promotion of these values and practices increasingly became core aim of the EU's external political relations (Nugent, 2007). However, whatever the impact the 'furthering of democracy' arguments had in bringing it about – and arguably the political pressures noted above were of at least equal importance – from the late 1990s the unquestionable was a gradually increasing rhetorical commitment on the part of the EU towards the opening of accession negotiations with Turkey (Nugent, 2007). Apparently to analyze this prolonging accession, it is not sufficient to just weigh the cost and benefit because there are abstract matters such as history, identity, and attitude being taken into account in analyzing the discourse.

Since the late 1990, Turkey's EU membership bid has taken a significant place in the EU's political agenda and has become an issue of public opinion debate in relation to the perceived threat of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. The post-September-11 era has witnessed an increased tension in the Western world in terms of concerns over Islam and Muslims (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). The subsequent Madrid (March 2004) and London (July 2005) bombings contributed further to antagonism towards Muslims and the fear of radical Islam (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). Various incidents have publicly demonstrated European attitudes against Muslims, while at the same time further hindering Turkey's long-drawn-out accession process (Canan-Sokullu, 2011). European attitudes towards the Muslim world have

been reflected by the global Islamic threat in the post-Cold-War which have created reservoir hostility to Islam.

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The Kurdish issue is one of the concerns to impede the process of the accession. The Kurdish issue and options for a solution were widely discussed; however, the 2009 democratic reforms opening aimed at addressing amongst others the Kurdish issue was not followed through. Erdogan’s government began secret talks with the leaders of Kurdistan Workers’ Party PKK leaders. Justice and Development Party (AKP), also made a number of overtures toward the Kurds, including bans on Kurdish-language TV station. The Justice and Development Party AKP actually did more for the Kurds than anyone up until now (Mehmet & Tomasz, 2013). Over the decades, Turkey succeeded in forging alliances with neighboring Iran, Syria, and Iraq to target Kurdish rebels operating in their respective territories. But Turkey’s relations with all three governments have deteriorated sharply over the past several years, and the conflict threatens to spill across borders (Mehmet & Tomasz, 2013). Kurdish is a matter of ethnic conflict in Turkey and they demand separation from Turkey’s country. The main concern here is human rights issue. Turkish governments have been known to cause

myriad of casualties regarding to Kurdish issue. It appears to the Europeans community that Turkey is not in line with the EU in guaranteeing human rights.

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.

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