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AN ANALYSIS OF THE EU'S SOFT POWER AND THE EU – TURKEY RELATIONS THROUGH METAPHORS

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ABSTRACT

The major high and low tides characterize EU-Turkey relations. On the one hand, democratic reforms in Turkey within the last decades have been largely credited to the EU. On the other hand, the "never-ending" accession process, the accusations against the Turkish government of blackmailing the Union with the refugees, the full membership of Greek Cypriots as the full representative of the whole island have created havoc in the relations. Hence, this study aims at finding out how these variations affect the soft power of the EU. Accordingly, based on a review of the literature, the paper gives a detailed account of the recent issues and challenges in the relations. Besides, a case study was conducted at a foundation university in the Black Sea region of Turkey to give a glimpse of the perceptions of university students about the EU-Turkey relations through metaphors. The study concludes that Turkey should retain its democratic gains, whereas the EU should fix the inconsistencies in its policies not to repeat the missteps of the past to reinstate its soft power.

Keywords: *European Union, Soft power, Turkish accession, University students*

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ'NİN YUMUŞAK GÜCÜNÜN VE AB-TÜRKİYE İLİŞKİLERİNİN METAFORLAR ARACILIĞIYLA ANALİZİ

ÖZET

AB - Türkiye ilişkilerini büyük gelgitler şekillendirmektedir. Bir taraftan, Türkiye'deki demokratik reformlarda AB'nin rolüne büyük önem atfedilirken, diğer taraftan Türkiye'nin hiç bitmeyen AB'ye katılım süreci, göçmenler konusunda Türk hükümetine AB tarafından yapılan şantaj suçlamaları, Kıbrıs Rumlarının BM planını reddeden taraf olmalarına karşın tüm adayı temsilen AB'ye kabul edilmesi ilişkilere hasar vermektedir. Bu çalışma, bu keskin değişimlerin AB'nin yumuşak gücü üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Buna uygun olarak, ilgili literatür üzerinden, ilişkiler üzerindeki zorluklar ve açmazların detaylı bir incelemesi yapılmıştır. Buna ilaveten, Karadeniz'deki bir vakıf üniversitesinin öğrencileriyle yapılan vaka çalışmasıyla metaforlar üzerinden üniversite öğrencilerinin ilişkilere yönelik algıları ortaya konmuştur. Çalışmada, Türkiye'nin demokratik kazanımlarını koruması, AB'nin ise yumuşak gücünü koruyabilmek adına geçmişteki hatalarını tekrarlamadan daha tutarlı politikalar üretmesi gerektiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

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1. Introduction

The history of EU - Turkey relations may be categorized into three phases. The first phase begins with the application of Turkey for the Association agreement and ends with the military coup of 1980 in Turkey. After the coup, the relations were frozen for several years. The second phase begins with Turkey's EU membership application in 1987 and ends in 1997 with the Luxembourg Summit, where Turkey was excluded from the EU enlargement towards Eastern European countries. Later, with the Helsinki Summit in 1999, the third phase begins, and the EU grants Turkey an official candidate status by paving the way for accession negotiations based on the Copenhagen criteria (Kalkan, 2016; Ulusoy, 2011).

On the other hand, for Macmillan (2016), in this lengthy relationship, which still could not result in membership, discourse and identity issues are the key factors. For her, Turkey's membership does not solely depend on the successful implementation of the Copenhagen criteria but also on the perceptions of European elites along with the European public opinion and the views of member states' national leaders. Likewise, in a study about the public support for Turkish membership in the EU, De Vreese et al. (2008, p. 519) found that a right-wing ideological outlook and anti-immigration attitudes have a strong and negative influence on support for Turkish accession among Dutch citizens.

Today, the accession issue does not seem on the agenda of the Union. As of 2016, out of the 35 chapters for Turkish accession, only the Research Chapter has been completed, and the EU blocked eight chapters in 2006 (Özkanca, 2016). Furthermore, other issues such as the immigrants' influx in the aftermath of Syria civil war, Brexit, the rise of ultra-nationalist parties within Europe, the 15 July abortive coup in Turkey, and the COVID-19 pandemic harming the EU's solidarity have made the accession more complicated and in some ways less predictable. Therefore, this paper analyzes the challenges in the relations, and discusses their effects on the soft power of the EU based on the relevant literature. Moreover, the study examines the perceptions of bachelor's and master's degree students on the EU-Turkey relations through metaphors. University students taking courses on the EU were considered as the universe of the study to be able to make a robust analysis without having information asymmetry because Turkish society has limited information on the functioning of the EU (Kodaman et al. 2008; Oran et al. 2010).

As to the scope and limitations of the study, the research was conducted at a foundation University in Turkey with a small sample size due to the nature of qualitative studies. An in-depth analysis was prioritized rather than generalization. Besides, the research is limited to EU-Turkey relations.

The sections of the paper are as follows: (1) A synopsis of soft power and related concepts; (2) The milestones of the EU-Turkey relations, and membership criteria; (3) The Rise and Fall of the EU's soft power ; (4) findings of the case study; (5) conclusion.

2. Soft Power, Credibility and Contextual Intelligence

For Nye (1990, 2004, 2008, 2011), soft power is the capability of convincing others to change their preferences. He also maintains that soft power is grounded on credibility. If governments spread misinformation or they become manipulative, they lose their credibility. When their credibility is in question, it is not easy to restore it.

According to Nye (2008; 2014), contextual intelligence is another vital concept concerning soft power as it is more complicated than hard power. For him, contextual intelligence is a fundamental characteristic of today's leadership to avail of the benefits of soft power resources. Leaders with contextual intelligence have both an ability to make a distinction of tendencies in the face of intricacy when trying to shape affairs. Thus, they can shrewdly adjust their attitude to their followers' needs. Nye (2014, p. 121) likens leaders with contextual intelligence to surfers as they can judge and adjust to new waves and then ride them to success.

3. The EU – Turkey Relations

3.1 Milestones of EU-Turkey Relations

The relations between Turkey and the EU date back to 1959, when Turkey applied for associate membership to the then European Economic Community (EEC). After Turkey's application, the EEC and Turkey signed the Ankara Treaty in 1963, which gave Turkey a full-membership perspective. The Treaty stipulated a gradual establishment of a customs union and, ultimately, a move toward full membership in three stages (Brljavac, 2011; Kibaroglu & Caglar, 2008; Sözen, 2004).

The Article 28 of the Ankara Treaty, also known as the Turkish Association Agreement, stated: "As soon as the operation of this Agreement has advanced far enough to justify envisaging full acceptance of Turkey of the obligations arising out of the Treaty establishing the Community, the Contracting Parties shall examine the possibility of the accession of Turkey to the Community" (Baç, 2004, p. 31). However, the conditions of the Treaty were not fully implemented, and following the coup d'état of 1980 in Turkey, the relations were suspended. In addition, an atmosphere of military intervention removed the EU from the agenda of Turkey for several years (Korkusuz, 2012). In the meanwhile, Greece, which signed a similar Association agreement in 1961, became a full member in 1981.

In 1987, Turkey applied to the EU (then the European Community) for membership. Two years later, the Commission recognized the eligibility of Turkey for membership but rejected the application and stated that neither the EC nor Turkey were ready. Instead, it recommended a Customs Union with Turkey, as anticipated in the 1963 Association Agreement. Accordingly, the Customs Union was launched at the end of 1995 and became operational in 1996. However, the EU excluded Turkey from its enlargement process at the Luxembourg Summit of 1997 (Antonucci & Manzocchi, 2006; Baç, 2004; Sözen, 2004).

Two years later, at the Helsinki Summit in 1999, Turkey officially gained EU membership candidate status. The EU Commission recommended for accession negotiations with Turkey in October 2004. Consequently, the European Council decided to begin negotiations based on 35 chapters in 2005 (ABNTDT, 2017, p. 55 – 61; Baç, 2004; Brljavac, 2011; Kalkan, 2016, p. 25 - 40).

3.2 Membership Criteria

After the Helsinki summit of 1999, Turkey was assured that the membership negotiations would depend upon the fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria (Schimmelfennig et al. 2003). In the meanwhile, ten countries−Eight Central and Eastern European countries plus Cyprus(Greek Cypriots) and Malta− became EU members on 1 May 2004. Romania and Bulgaria became a member in 2007. Later, Croatia gained membership status in 2013. Therefore, as of 2017, the EU has 28 members before Brexit. However, the opening of a new chapter (policy field) with Turkey does not seem imminent.

The accession criteria−i.e. Copenhagen criteria−are the central conditions, which must be satisfied by all candidates in order to become a member state. These conditions encompass the existence of a functioning market economy, the stability of institutions promising democracy, human rights, the rule of law, protection of minorities and the institutional capacity. However, even if a candidate country meets the said criteria, the EU reserves the right to accept based on its capacity to absorb (European Commission, 2017b).

3.3 Credibility and Membership

On the credibility issue, in a critical study regarding the EU's soft power, Afionis and Stringer (2013) argued that the EU's most significant soft power resources are its vigorous policies on environmental problems along with its value-based foreign policy. Nonetheless, they call the EU a 'soft imperialist' hiding its self-interested objectives behind the normative rhetoric. The EU's foreign environmental policymaking, for example, is restricted by its unwillingness to sacrifice its vital domestic interests for a normative agenda. This unwillingness causes a credibility problem for the EU.

On the other hand, The Enlargement Process has been emphasized as one of the EU's most vital soft power resources by many high-level EU officials. Among them, Eniko Landaburu, the former Director-General for Enlargement, argued that enlargement is an illustrative example of "soft power Europe" (Dirdala, 2013, p. 125). Likewise, Eren (2014) claimed that the EU enlargement policy is a crucial soft power instrument for the EU and paves the way for its transformative impact on the neighboring regions and countries including Turkey. However, it is not wrong to say that the Turkish accession issue should be handled differently. On this issue, Lagendijk, former co-head of joint EU-Turkey Parliament Commission, and Wiersma (2009) underlined the

significance of Turkish political experience and membership process for Europe's other neighboring countries with a Muslim population majority. They claimed that people in countries such as Marocco and Egypt carefully observe the experience of Justice and Development Party (AKP) and its transformation as a "post-Islamist" party. They added that the Turkish accession is the warranty of secular-democracy in Turkey.

Nevertheless, some scholars argued that things are not as smooth as they seem. For example, Schimmelfennig et al. (2003), maintained that the list of political conditions is long and the EU has used the membership as a carrot to dissuade Turkey from taking any political initiatives conflicting with the union's interests. Moreover, Macmillan (2010, p. 448) argued that the EU's conservative politicians suggest a cultural vision of EU identity to take Turkey out of the regular sphere of enlargement politics by the open-ended negotiations and a so-called "Privileged Partnership" rather than full membership. On the same issue, Yılmaz (2014, p. 64), claimed that open-ended negotiations and 'Privileged Partnership' arguments bother the Turkish public.

4. The Rise and Fall of the EU's Soft Power

4.1 The Rise: Democratic Achievements Credited to the EU

In 2001, concerning the civil-military relations and democratization in Turkey, the number of National Security Council's civil members increased with an amendment in the 118th article of the 1982 Constitution. Besides, with the passing of the 7th reform package in the National Assembly, the structure, functions and mission of Council changed. As a result, for example, the council ceased to have its members in the Higher Commission of the Radio and Television, thus lost its control power over media.

As part of the same reform package, the amendment in the 160th article of the Constitution gave additional rights to the National Assembly on the control and supervision of military expenditures. Furthermore, the share of the said expenditures in the GDP has drastically shrunk—from 10.5 per cent in 1997 to 3.1 per cent in 2015—partly thanks to continuous calls from the EU in the progress reports.

Regarding the judiciary, the foremost reform was the closure of the State Security Courts in 2004, which was regarded as a stumbling block for establishing a healthy democratic climate in the country. Furthermore, the amendment in the Act no. 5918 paved the way for the military personnel involved in ordinary crimes to be tried in the civil courts. In the 2003-2004 period, the legal basis mainly used for the ban of political parties was abolished in order to comply with the EU criteria. Thus, the dissolution of political parties has become a more difficult process (Kalkan, 2017).

4.2 The Fall: Political Crisis Exacerbated by the EU

The accession issue of Turkey to the European Union is unique in many ways. Even if the relations between EU and Turkey date back to 1959 when Turkey applied for the Association Agreement with the EU−then the European Economic Community (EEC)−the longstanding relationship could not result in accession (Kalkan, 2016; Macmillan, 2010).

In the meanwhile, EU enlargement, which created a Union with 28 members before the Brexit, has changed the formation of the EU. In addition, the current rise of far-right parties in European politics and the growing xenophobia sparked by the coronavirus pandemic have potential to increase negative views on Turkey's membership.

In addition to Turkey's "never-ending" accession process, another problematic issue between the EU and Turkey-maybe the greatest blow to the EU's argument of being a humanitarian beacon- has been the recent refugee crisis. During the latest phase of the crisis in 2020, the scenes in which Greek patrol boats were trying to block the influx routes of the refugees by pushing and sinking their boats were on air and watched by millions on TVs. In the meanwhile, some of the EU authorities have accused the Turkish government of blackmailing the Union as if Turkey itself does not provide shelter to nearly four million refugees.

Moreover, the full membership of Greek Cypriots as the full representative of the whole island in 2004 even if they had overwhelmingly rejected the UN-backed Annan plan, has still political ramifications in the relations. On this issue, the former UK's foreign minister Straw (2017) writes as follows:

"In one of its worst strategic decisions ever, the European Union (sadly, with UK acquiescence) had agreed that Cyprus should join the EU on 1 May 2004, whether agreement had been reached with the Turkish Cypriots or not".

As to the implications, for example, in a recent study analyzing the problems on the Aegean sea between Turkey and Greece through Turkey's relations with the EU, Kalkan, (2020) argues that Turkey and Greece follow a security-oriented foreign policy toward the Aegean issue covering the delimitation of the territorial waters and national airspace, delimitation of exclusive economic zones, the use of flight information region (FIR), and demilitarization of the Greek islands in the Aegean Sea.

International agreements such as the 1923 Lausanne Peace Treaty, the 1923 Lausanne Convention on the Straits, and the 1947 Paris Treaty have indicated that these disputes—with the exception of the delimitation of the Aegean continental shelf—must be settled through negotiations between Greece and Turkey. Nonetheless, Greece insists on the settlement of problems through the International Court of Justice (ICJ). In the post-Helsinki period, Turkey's security-oriented foreign policy approach toward the Aegean issue had gradually lost its ground among the policymakers as a result of an open discussion climate in Turkish society, media and academic society. Hence, Turkey agreed to bring the issues to the ICJ if they remain unresolved after the bilateral negotiations.

Turkey had changed its traditional policies after the Helsinki Summit with the full membership prospect. However, it has reinstated its traditional policy due to the growing mistrust with the EU, which prevents the EU from playing a constructive role in the resolution of the issue through dialogue.

5. The Case of University Students in Turkey

Regarding the soft power of the EU, university students have traditionally been the most favorable segment of Turkish society, as the EU principles are thought to be more appealing to young people. Thus, this research aims to reveal the perceptions of university students about the EU-Turkey relations through metaphors. The study employed a phenomenological approach. Data were gathered from University students−both undergraduate and postgraduate−who take courses about the EU at a foundation university in the Black Sea region of Turkey to avoid information asymmetry to the greatest extent possible as they are supposed to be the most well-informed on the EU among university students.

Metaphors provide a starting point to describe daily cognitive structures and, to make it possible to reveal both collective and individual patterns of thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson, 2005; Schmitt, 2005). A metaphor takes place in mind before in language. In addition to being reflected in words, metaphors can be indicated with figures, pictures, and images in a figurative manner (Celik, 2016; Eppler, 2006).

In the phenomenological research, the aim is to examine a phenomenon as individuals experience it and to describe it without considering its psychological origin directly. Phenomenology necessitates a new way of looking at things for a more in-depth understanding (Güler et al. 2015; Martins, 2008; Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2008).

In the study, purposive sampling, which is a non-probability sampling method, was preferred as it is suitable for the phenomenological research in which participants are chosen based on their experiences. The sampling size for phenomenological research is generally between 5 and 25. However, it can be increased 5-fold according to the aim and problem of the study (Güler et al. 2015). Hence, in this study, the maximum sample size was limited to 75.

To be included in the study, participants had to take courses about the European Union in 2016-17 Spring semester in the Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences – Avrasya University in Trabzon. Three courses identified for the study were "EU and Local Governments", and "Economic Relations between Turkey and the EU" for Master's students, and "European Union" for Bachelor's students. It is supposed that the participants have a deeper understanding of EU-Turkey relations as they take relevant courses. That is the reason why they were chosen for the study.

The data were gathered in classrooms. 46 volunteer undergraduate and 17 graduate participants were asked to complete the sheet beginning with "EU-Turkey relations are like…….because……." (AB-Türkiye ilişkileri……gibidir. Çünkü……..). They were given 10 minutes to complete their answer.

In the study, to increase the creativity, the participants were not asked to choose among readily-prepared metaphors.

16 papers−15 undergraduate and one graduate−were excluded from the analysis as they did not provide a metaphor or reasoning support for metaphor. Therefore, a total of 47 papers were analyzed. Then, metaphors were categorized under different themes, and direct quotes from study participants supported themes.

For increasing the validity and reliability of phenomenological research, the most common three ways are: (a) Double check of data; (b) Feedback from participants and; (c) Support of another researcher (Güler et al. 2015). Furthermore, Miles & Huberman (1994) argue that validating themes in data analysis is necessary. Hence, they recommend the involvement of an outside reviewer to check if the themes the researcher identified are consistent with the whole text (Alhojailan, 2012).

Accordingly, in this study: (a) Papers were read twice, slowly and clearly, and categories were double-checked; (b) Papers were read in the classroom, and the participants were asked to share their opinions regarding the metaphors and categories; (c) Data were read by a reviewer−a lecturer−to make a comparison of the categories. Then, frequency and percentage of differences among researchers were calculated. There was a consensus on 43 metaphors out of 47. This means a reliability of 91, 49 percent based on Miles & Huberman formula – i.e. reliability percentage = [agreement / (agreement + disagreement)] X 100).

6. Findings and Discussion

In the study, 47 participants' mental images related to the EU – Turkey relations were examined through metaphors. A total of 44 different metaphors were classified in 9 categories. 16 participants (34,04%) are graduate, and 31 participants (%65,96) are undergraduate students. 29 out of 47 are male, and 18 out of 47 are female. Nine graduate participants out of 16 (56,25%) are enrolled in a graduate program with thesis and 7 (43,75%) are enrolled in a non-thesis program.

Table 1 shows all the metaphors along with their frequency percentage. As seen in the table, conflict of interest category has the most metaphors−11 metaphors 23,4 %. On the other hand, system and dishonesty categories have the least metaphors−1 metaphor for each (2,13%).

Table 1. A Combined List of Metaphors

Categories	**Metaphors**	**f**	**%**
Uncertainty	Trabzon football club (Trabzonspor) / Ball of string (Yumak) / Gordion knot (Kördüğüm Olmuş ip) / Long and narrow path (Uzun Ince Bir Yol) / Sandglass (Kum Saati) / Endless story (Yılan Hikayesi) / Hugger-mugger (Arapsaçı)	7	14,89

Conflict of interest	Match (Maç) / Soccer match (Futbol Maçı) (2) / Politics (Siyaset) / Conflict of interest (Çıkar Çatışması)/ Mule's stubbornness (iki Keçi) / Wife and her sister in law (Gelingörümce) / Tug of war (İp çekme) / World War I (I. Dünya Savaşı) / Anlaşamayan karı-koca / Bride and mother-in-law (Gelin – Kaynana)	11	23,4
Dishonesty	Scorpion (Akrep)	1	2,13
Power Asymmetry	Neighing horse (Arpa isteyen at) / Grandfather and grandson (Dede-torun) / Father-child relationship (Baba – Çocuk ilişkisi) / Boss and employee relationship (Patron- işçi ilişkisi) / Colony (Sömürge) / Rummikub (Okey) / Mother and daughter (Anne – kız) / Big fish in a little pond (Büyük Balık- Küçük Balık)	8	17,02
Indispensability	Platonic love (Tek taraflı sevgi) / Mother-child relationship (Anne – Çocuk ilişkisi)	2	4,26
Futility	Co-sister-in-law (Elti) / Peace process in Turkey (Çözüm süreci) / Road Runner (Road Runner) / Tv-series (Diziler)/ Cancer (Kanser)/ Difficult Relationship (Zorla yürüyen ilişki) / Foot dragging (Yalan ve Oyalama)/ Dead-end street (Çıkmaz sokak) (2) / Firecracker(Kız Kaçıran) / Impossible love (imkansız Aşk)	11	23,4
Culture gap	Newcomer (Sınıfa Yeni Gelen) / Alienation (Marx'ın Yabancılaşma Kavramı) / Sectarian conflict (Dini Çatışma) / Black and white (Siyah – Beyaz)	4	8,51
System	Gearwheel (Çark)	1	2,13
Inequity	Trabzon football club (Trabzonspor) / Adopted child (Üvey-Evlat)	2	4,26
Total		47	100

In the study, the participant, who created "gearwheel" metaphor classified in system category explains: " EU-Turkey relations are like a gearwheel because both sides try to complete each other to sustain their relations".

The participant, who created "Endless story" metaphor classified in uncertainty category, explains: " EU-Turkey relations are like an endless story because Turkey has been knocking on Europe's door for more than 50 years. Since 1959, around 20

countries have become EU member states. However, Turkey is still in the waiting room for the EU accession even if it began the accession process earlier than the others. Sometimes it gets closer to the target sometimes further. Therefore, the relations have a complicated history."

The findings are in parallel with the results of De Vreese et al. (2008, p. 523), who found that there is not a straightforward relationship between the support for the EU integration and political sophistication. Likewise, in our study, participants are not supportive of the EU processes even if they have a greater awareness of the qualities of the EU due to the relevant courses they take.

Even after more than five decades, the accession process of Turkey is still incomplete. However, both parties regard each other crucial and strategic in pursuing their interests. The relations have a significant effect not only on both sides but also, on a far larger scale. Nevertheless, the results of this study show that the perceptions of University students on EU-Turkey relations are overwhelmingly negative. It may be argued that this is an outcome of the long and complex accession process of Turkey, along with the recent chill in relations and socio-political discrepancies.

7. Concluding Remarks

Soft power is about the ability to attract and persuade other actors. However, some states have more difficulty to use their soft power due to lack of credibility, and contextual intelligence of policymakers. When we analyze the EU's soft power through its policies on Turkey, this study shows that the EU failed to correctly read the Turkish society's transformation. Unsurprisingly, Turkish people are generally frustrated by the length and complexity of the EU membership process. In addition, the new foreign policy of Turkey including closer ties with Russia and the alleged pursuit of a Neo-Ottoman foreign policy weakens the interest of the people for the EU. Besides, the voice of the people in Turkey acquainted with the EU's institutions, policies, and history has largely been disregarded. Hence, in the next 4th phase of EU-Turkey relations, students in Turkey and their views should be taken into consideration to avoid the recurrence of political crises and restore the EU's soft power.

For its part, the EU is in the search for a new strategy for the future. For example, in March 2017, a White Paper about the Future of Europe was presented by the EU Commission in the Rome Summit in order to find a way to create a vision for the Union's future. The said White Paper specifies the major challenges and opportunities for the EU in the next decade, and it puts forward five different scenarios for the Union's future (European Commission, 2017a). Undoubtedly, the evident corrosion of trust and solidarity among the member states caused by the handling of the Covid19 pandemic is another challenge for the union as well.

As previously discussed, some radical foreign policy changes of Turkey and democratic reforms within the country have been deeply dependent on the rise and fall of the EU's soft power, and growing mistrust among two sides. Nevertheless, whereas the policy changes are (maybe) temporary, constitutional reforms are for the

long term and hard to be reversed. Therefore, it is perhaps time for Turkey to pursue its own national interests while keeping the democratic achievements and dialog with the EU. On the other hand, each different EU strategy will have different consequences and effects on EU-Turkey relations and Turkey's membership prospects.

In the past, even though mainstream parties showed ups and downs in their policies towards Turkey's EU membership, the European far-right has always been very resolute in its denial of Turkey's membership (Balcı & Cicioğlu, 2020; Kaya, 2020). People who hold these views do not perceive Turkey as European and oppose Turkey's integration to the EU (Öner, 2014). However, the EU should not repeat the missteps of the past and the voice of Turkish society's different segments should be heard in the new era, which may be the 4th phase of the relations.

Finally, one should bear in mind that this study includes a qualitative case study, in which the generalization is not the primary objective., In the study, the participants were not asked to choose among readily-prepared metaphors not to limit their creativity. Thus, 44 different metaphors were created by 47 participants on the same phenomenon−i.e. EU-Turkey relations. Future research may employ mixed-method to generalize the results without sacrificing the in-depth quality aspect.

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