Problems of Europeanization and European Perceptions of Turkey as a Future Member State

CENTRAL FINANCE AND CONTRACTS UNIT
Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue Between EU and Turkey
Universities Grant Scheme
CFCU-TR 0604.01/03

Project Coordinator:
Bogazici University, Centre for European Studies

Partners:
Autonomous University of Madrid
University of Granada
Avrupa ile Diyalog Derneği-Dialect with Europe Association, İstanbul

June 2008 - November 2009
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
European Perceptions of Turkey as a Future Member State

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom

Field Work: August-September, 2009

Sample Size: 5000+ respondents
MAIN VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH EUROPEAN IDENTITY...
Values Associated with the European Identity (Two Answers)

- Democracy and Human rights: 43.3%
- Economic development and social welfare: 42.2%
- Tolerance for different points of view and ways of life: 21.0%
- Equality between men and women: 20.6%
- Protection of the environment: 19.6%
- Diversity and Multiculturalism: 16.4%
- Scientific and technological progress: 15.4%
- Christianity: 6.3%
- Secularism: 4.1%
- Greek and Roman Civilization: 2.5%
FUTURE ENLARGEMENTS OF THE EU: WHO TO TAKE IN AND WHEN?
Opinion about the Future Enlargement
-Five Country Average-

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

Opinions about the Future Enlargement

France: 45% Supports, 53% Against
Germany: 54% Supports, 41% Against
Poland: 85% Supports, 11% Against
Spain: 78% Supports, 18% Against
UK: 50% Supports, 46% Against
Most Important Criteria for New Admissions (Two Answers)

The applicant country's performance in the area of democracy and human rights

The applicant country's possible contribution to Europe's economic development and welfare

The applicant country's possible contribution to Europe's defence and security

Cultural and religious differences between the applicant country and Europe

Number of immigrants that way come from the applicant country to Europe

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
From now till 2013: 26.9%

Between 2014-2020: 38.2%

Later than 2021: 11.0%

Never: 14.6%
SUBJECTIVE LEVEL OF INFORMATION ABOUT TURKEY AND TURKISH PEOPLE
Subjective Information Level about Turkey
-Five Country Average-

- 50% Informed
- 49% Not Informed
- 1% DK/NA

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Subjective Information Level about Turkey and Attitudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Supports</th>
<th>Against</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informed</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Informed</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interactions with Turks, Turkey and Turkish Culture

- Have you ever met a Turk? 71.4%
- Have you ever tasted Turkish food/cuisine? 69.1%
- Have you ever listened to Turkish music? 58.8%
- Have you ever had any Turkish friends? 29.1%
- Have you ever been to Turkey? 27.1%
- Have you ever read a literary work written by a Turk? 16.5%

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Interactions with Turks, Turkey and Turkish Culture

Have you ever met a Turk?
Have you ever tasted Turkish food/cuisine?
Have you ever listened to Turkish music?
Have you ever had any Turkish friends?
Have you ever been to Turkey?
Have you ever read a literary work written by a Turk?
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

Familiarity with Turkey -Five Country Average-

- Istanbul: 91.1%
- Troy: 70.0%
- Galatasaray: 50.6%
- Antalya: 48.3%
- Ataturk: 40.0%
- Ephesus: 33.4%
- Tarkan: 23.4%
- Recep Tayyip Erdogan: 22.4%
- Hadise: 13.9%
- Yachar Kemal: 13.5%
- Fatih Terim: 12.2%
- Orhan Pamuk: 11.5%
- Nazim Hikmet Ran: 8.2%
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Opinions about Turkish People
- Five Country Average -

Having strong family ties
Respectful of the elderly people
Individualist
Respectful of the rights of others
Creative and imaginative
Tolerant
Rational
Peaceful and reasonable
Clean
Sexually free

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Turkish People</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Country's People</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having strong family ties</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respectful of the elderly</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Individualist</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respectful of the rights</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Creative and imaginative</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
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<td>Tolerant</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
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<td>Rational</td>
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<td>Peaceful and reasonable</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clean</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexually free</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>69.3%</td>
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</table>
INFORMATION CHANNELS
ABOUT TURKEY AND TURKISH PEOPLE
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

Information Channels
-Five Country Average-

- News and commentaries on the television and radio: 71.3%
- News and commentaries in the newspapers and magazines: 55.9%
- News and commentaries on the internet: 25.0%
- Films and books: 12.0%
- Textbooks and schoolbooks: 6.7%
- Other: 1.9%
- None of them: 5.2%
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

Information Channels -Five Country Average-

- Your political leaders: 30.7%
- Your favourite intellectuals and opinion leaders: 22.1%
- Your teachers: 18.0%
- Your parents: 12.5%
- Your religious leaders: 7.0%
- Other: 11.9%
- None of them: 34.1%
- Don't know / No answer: 3.9%
Information Channels
-Five Country Average-

- Turkish people you met before: 37.0%
- Turkish immigrants in the UK and other European countries: 31.8%
- Muslim immigrants in the UK and other European countries: 19.2%
- Your visit(s) to Turkey: 18.9%
- Other: 3.2%
- None of them: 31.1%
Correspondence Map: Information Channels

- Your favourite intellectuals and opinion leaders
- Your political leaders
- Your parents
- Films and books
- News and commentaries on the television and radio
- News and commentaries on the internet
- News and commentaries in the newspapers and magazines
- Turkish people you met before
- Turkish immigrants
- Your teachers
- Muslim immigrants
- Your religious leaders
- Textbooks and schoolbooks
- Your visit(s) to Turkey

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE FEELINGS ABOUT TURKEY

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

19.11.2009
Opinions about Turkey
-Five Country Average-

- 68% Positive
- 25% Negative
- 7% DK/NA
Opinions about Turkey

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<th>Country</th>
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<th>Negative</th>
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<tr>
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<td>65.5%</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>78.3%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>77.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

Opinions about Turkey and Attitudes

- **Supports**: 90.0% Positive, 6.8% Negative, 3.2% DK/NA
- **Against**: 48.2% Positive, 44.3% Negative, 7.5% DK/NA
WHO IS FOR AND WHO IS AGAINST TURKEY’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU?
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Position Regarding Turkey's Membership in the European Union

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
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<th>DK/NA</th>
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<td>45.2%</td>
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<td>4.0%</td>
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<tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
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<th>40-54</th>
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<th>65 and more</th>
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<td>8.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>65 and more</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
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<td>56.2%</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Lycee</th>
<th>Tertiary</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
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<td>48.0%</td>
<td>55.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supports | Against | DK/NA
MAJOR FACTORS BEHIND BEING FOR OR AGAINST TURKEY’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU
Influential Factors on the Attitudes Towards Turkey
-Five Country Average-

Mostly economic factors: 40%
Mostly political factors: 26%
Mostly cultural factors: 27%
Don't know / No answer: 7%
Influential Factors on the Attitudes Towards Turkey

### Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

**France**
- Mostly economic factors: 21.0%
- Mostly political factors: 27.7%
- Mostly cultural factors: 47.4%
- Don't know / No answer: 4.00%

**Germany**
- Mostly economic factors: 30.1%
- Mostly political factors: 29.7%
- Mostly cultural factors: 33.1%
- Don't know / No answer: 7.10%

**Poland**
- Mostly economic factors: 32.2%
- Mostly political factors: 16.7%
- Mostly cultural factors: 45.4%
- Don't know / No answer: 5.80%

**Spain**
- Mostly economic factors: 22.0%
- Mostly political factors: 26.1%
- Mostly cultural factors: 45.9%
- Don't know / No answer: 6.00%

**UK**
- Mostly economic factors: 28.9%
- Mostly political factors: 24.9%
- Mostly cultural factors: 35.9%
- Don't know / No answer: 10.30%
Influential Factors on the Attitudes Towards Turkey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Mostly economic factors</th>
<th>Mostly political factors</th>
<th>Mostly cultural factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
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<td>40-54</td>
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<td>39.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and more</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
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<td>39.3%</td>
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<td>Lycee</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
EUROPEAN PUBLICS’ REACTIONS TO GENERAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF OR AGAINST TURKEY’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU
Culturally speaking, Turkey is a Muslim country and not compatible with the common Christian roots (38.9%).

Geographically speaking, Turkey is not located on the European continent (14.6%).

Historically speaking, Turkey does not share a common history with Europe (8.4%).

None of them is convincing (30.7%).

All of them are convincing (4.9%).
Arguments Against Turkish Full Membership

- **France**: 36.8%
  - Culturally speaking, Turkey is a Muslim country a...not compatible with the common Christian roots
  - Geographically speaking, Turkey is not located on the European continent
  - Historically speaking, Turkey does not share a common history with Europe
  - None of them is convincing

- **Germany**: 40.7%
  - 11.5%
  - 7.2%
  - 29.5%

- **Poland**: 45.6%
  - 13.9%
  - 8.2%
  - 27.7%

- **Spain**: 46.5%
  - 11.3%
  - 6.2%
  - 29.4%

- **UK**: 29.0%
  - 13.9%
  - 7.7%
  - 44.0%

**Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom**

19.11.2009
### Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

**Arguments Against Turkish Full Membership and Basic Demographics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>18-24</th>
<th>25-39</th>
<th>40-54</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Culturally speaking, Turkey is a Muslim country a...not compatible with the common Christian roots
- Geographically speaking, Turkey is not located on the European continent
- Historically speaking, Turkey does not share a common history with Europe
- None of them is convincing
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

Arguments Against Turkish Full Membership and Attitudes

Position Regarding Turkey's EU Membership

Supports
- Geographically speaking, Turkey is not located on the European continent: 13.7%
- Historically speaking, Turkey does not share a common history with Europe: 8.1%
- Culturally speaking, Turkey is a Muslim country and not compatible with the common Christian roots: 27.1%
- None of them is convincing: 47.3%
- All of them are convincing: 0.5%

Against
- Geographically speaking, Turkey is not located on the European continent: 15.8%
- Historically speaking, Turkey does not share a common history with Europe: 8.8%
- Culturally speaking, Turkey is a Muslim country and not compatible with the common Christian roots: 51.3%
- None of them is convincing: 14.3%
- All of them are convincing: 8.4%
EUROPEAN PUBLICS’ REACTIONS TO SPECIFIC ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF OR AGAINST TURKEY’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU
Turkey's young population will strengthen the EU's labor force

Turkey's EU membership would help prevent a clash of civilizations

Turkey’s economic dynamism would increase the global competitive power of the EU

Turkey's powerful military will contribute to the EU security

Turkey would significantly increase the EU’s power in the Islamic and Turkic world

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Turkey will promote American interests in the EU

Turkey will be too powerful in the decision making process of the EU

Millions of Turkish people will immigrate to European countries

Turkey will be a big burden on the economic resources of the EU

Turkey’s deficiencies in the area of democracy make it incompatible with the EU
PACTA SUNT SERVANDA: HOW MORALLY BINDING ARE THE PRIOR EU DECISIONS TO MAKE TURKEY A MEMBER?
"...it would be unfair to breach the contract now and stop the membership negotiations with Turkey"

-Five Country Average-
"...it would be unfair to breach the contract now and stop the membership negotiations with Turkey"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>49.7%</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
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<td>Poland</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
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<td>Spain</td>
<td>69.8%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
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"...it would be unfair to breach the contract now and stop the membership negotiations with Turkey"
and Basic Demographics

<table>
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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
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<td>3.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
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<tr>
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<td>34.4%</td>
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"....it would be unfair to breach the contract now and stop the membership negotiations with Turkey"
and Attitudes

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<th>Supports</th>
<th>Agree</th>
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<th>DK/NA</th>
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FINAL DECISION
ON TURKEY’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
If a Referendum about Turkey's Full Membership
-Five Country Average-

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
If a Referendum about Turkey's Full Membership

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Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
If a Referendum about Turkey's Full Membership

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<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Lycee</th>
<th>Tertiary</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
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