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 Derneğİ-Diálog with Europe Association, İstanbul

June 2008 - November 2009
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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...
Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

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-

Supports: 61%
Against: 39%

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

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

Most Important Criteria for New Admissions (Two Answers)

- The applicant country's performance in the area of democracy and human rights: 60.6%
- The applicant country's possible contribution to Europe's economic development and welfare: 59.1%
- The applicant country's possible contribution to Europe's defence and security: 26.4%
- Cultural and religious differences between the applicant country and Europe: 21.5%
- Number of immigrants that way come from the applicant country to Europe: 20.5%
Most Suitable Time for Accepting New Countries

- From now till 2013: 26.9%
- Between 2014-2020: 38.2%
- Later than 2021: 11.0%
- Never: 14.6%

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
SUBJECTIVE LEVEL OF INFORMATION ABOUT TURKEY AND TURKISH PEOPLE
Subjective Information Level about Turkey
-Five Country Average-

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

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

Supports

- 53.6% Informed
- 45.8% Not Informed

Against

- 46.5% Informed
- 52.2% Not Informed
INTERACTIONS WITH TURKISH PEOPLE AND CULTURE
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%
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-
Correspondence Map: Knowledge

- Spain
  - Galatasaray
- Turkey
  - Istanbul
  - Troy
  - Ephesus
- Germany
  - Fatih Terim
- France
  - Ataturk
  - Orhan Pamuk
- UK
  - Hadise
  - Orhan Pamuk
- Poland
  - Tarkan
  - Antalya
  - Istanbul
Opinions about Turkish People
- Five Country Average -

- Having strong family ties: 46.5% Turkish People, 37.7% Both, 10.5% Country's People
- Respectful of the elderly people: 38.0% Turkish People, 40.5% Both, 12.8% Country's People
- Individualist: 7.6% Turkish People, 51.1% Both, 39.5% Country's People
- Respectful of the rights of others: 4.8% Turkish People, 46.5% Both, 37.3% Country's People
- Creative and imaginative: 4.2% Turkish People, 34.0% Both, 28.0% Country's People
- Tolerant: 3.8% Turkish People, 55.0% Both, 43.9% Country's People
- Rational: 3.4% Turkish People, 42.9% Both, 37.0% Country's People
- Peaceful and reasonable: 3.0% Turkish People, 13.5% Both, 30.6% Country's People
- Clean: 2.6% Turkish People, 35.7% Both, 30.7% Country's People
- Sexually free: 2.3% Turkish People, 15.9% Both, 69.3% Country's People

Turkish People | Both | Country's People
INFORMATION CHANNELS
ABOUT TURKEY AND TURKISH PEOPLE
Information Channels
-Five Country Average-

1. News and commentaries on the television and radio: 71.3%
2. News and commentaries in the newspapers and magazines: 55.9%
3. News and commentaries on the internet: 25.0%
4. Films and books: 12.0%
5. Textbooks and schoolbooks: 6.7%
6. Other: 1.9%
7. None of them: 5.2%

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
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 visit(s) to Turkey
- Textbooks and schoolbooks
- Films and books
- Your teachers
- Your parents
- Your religious leaders
- Muslim immigrants
- News and commentaries on the television and radio
- News and commentaries on the internet
- News and commentaries in the newspapers and magazines

Countries:
- France
- Germany
- Poland
- Spain
- UK

People:
- Turkish people you met before
- Turkish immigrants
- Muslim immigrants
- Your political leaders
- Your favourite intellectuals and opinion leaders
POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE FEELINGS ABOUT TURKEY
Opinions about Turkey
-Five Country Average-

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

- **France**: 65.5% Positive, 27.1% Negative, 7.5% DK/NA
- **Germany**: 60.0% Positive, 33.3% Negative, 6.7% DK/NA
- **Poland**: 78.3% Positive, 16.1% Negative, 5.6% DK/NA
- **Spain**: 77.0% Positive, 17.5% Negative, 5.5% DK/NA
- **UK**: 70.4% Positive, 23.1% Negative, 6.5% DK/NA

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

- **Supports**
  - Positive: 90.0%
  - Against: 48.2%
  - DK/NA: 6.8%

- **Against**
  - Positive: 44.3%
  - Negative: 7.5%
  - DK/NA: 6.8%

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
WHO IS FOR AND WHO IS AGAINST TURKEY’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU?
Position Regarding Turkey's Membership in the European Union
-Five Country Average-
Position Regarding Turkey's Membership in the European Union

France:
- Positive: 34.3%
- Negative: 61.7%
- DK/NA: 4.0%

Germany:
- Positive: 39.5%
- Negative: 57.6%
- DK/NA: 3.0%

Poland:
- Positive: 56.7%
- Negative: 34.2%
- DK/NA: 9.1%

Spain:
- Positive: 61.8%
- Negative: 31.9%
- DK/NA: 6.3%

UK:
- Positive: 51.0%
- Negative: 37.4%
- DK/NA: 11.6%

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom.
Position Regarding Turkey's Membership in the European Union

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Supports</th>
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<th>DK/NA</th>
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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: 27%
- Mostly cultural factors: 26%
- Don’t know / No answer: 7%

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Influential Factors on the Attitudes Towards Turkey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<td>Poland</td>
<td>32,2%</td>
<td>16,7%</td>
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Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
### Influential Factors on the Attitudes Towards Turkey

#### Gender

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#### Age

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<td>29,3%</td>
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#### Education

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19.11.2009

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

Influential Factors on the Attitudes Towards Turkey

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19.11.2009
EUROPEAN PUBLICS’ REACTIONS TO GENERAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF OR AGAINST TURKEY’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU
Arguments Against Turkish Full Membership

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%

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
Arguments Against Turkish Full Membership

France: 36.8% Culturally speaking, Turkey is a Muslim country...not compatible with the common Christian roots

Germany: 40.7% Geographically speaking, Turkey is not located on the European continent

Poland: 45.6% Historically speaking, Turkey does not share a common history with Europe

Spain: 46.5% None of them is convincing

UK: 29.0%
Arguments Against Turkish Full Membership and Basic Demographics

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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
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- Culturally speaking, Turkey is a Muslim country and 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
Arguments Against Turkish Full Membership and Attitudes

Geographically speaking, Turkey is not located on the European continent
Historically speaking, Turkey does not share a common history with Europe
Culturally speaking, Turkey is a Muslim country and not compatible with the common Christian roots
None of them is convincing
All of them are convincing

Supports

13.7%  8.1%  27.1%  47.3%  0.5%

Against

15.8%  8.8%  51.3%  14.3%  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

Agree: 42%
Disagree: 50%

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

Agree: 43%
Disagree: 54%

Turkey's powerful military will contribute to the EU security

Agree: 47%
Disagree: 34%

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

Agree: 59%
Disagree: 46%

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

Agree; 33%

Disagree; 36%

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

Agree; 46%

Disagree; 27%

Millions of Turkish people will immigrate to European countries

Agree; 57%

Disagree; 46%

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

Agree; 59%

Disagree; 39%

Turkey’s deficiencies in the area of democracy make it incompatible with the EU

Agree; 66%

Disagree; 44%
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-

- Agree: 58%
- Disagree: 38%
- DK/NA: 4%
"...it would be unfair to breach the contract now and stop the membership negotiations with Turkey"

Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom
"...it would be unfair to breach the contract now and stop the membership negotiations with Turkey"
and Basic Demographics

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Male</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>59,1%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>64,6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
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<td>Agree</td>
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<td>61,3%</td>
<td>34,4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>4,4%</td>
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0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Agree  Disagree  DK/NA
"...it would be unfair to breach the contract now and stop the membership negotiations with Turkey"

and Attitudes

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**Supports**

- Agree: 81.3%
- Against: 15.7%
- DK/NA: 2.9%

**Against**

- Agree: 35.4%
- Against: 60.4%
- DK/NA: 4.2%

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

52% Yes
41% No
7% DK/NA

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

If a Referendum about Turkey's Full Membership

- **France**: 30.8% Yes, 64.4% No, 4.8% DK/NA
- **Germany**: 34.3% Yes, 62.0% No, 3.8% DK/NA
- **Poland**: 54.1% Yes, 38.8% No, 7.1% DK/NA
- **Spain**: 53.2% Yes, 34.3% No, 12.5% DK/NA
- **UK**: 44.9% Yes, 46.3% No, 8.8% DK/NA

Date: 19.11.2009

Slide 53
### If a Referendum about Turkey's Full Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>42.7%</th>
<th>51.9%</th>
<th>5.3%</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<th>51.7%</th>
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<td>Graduate</td>
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<td>42.8%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
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Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom

19.11.2009