



Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey

Turkey & the European Union

Prisoners with a dilemma

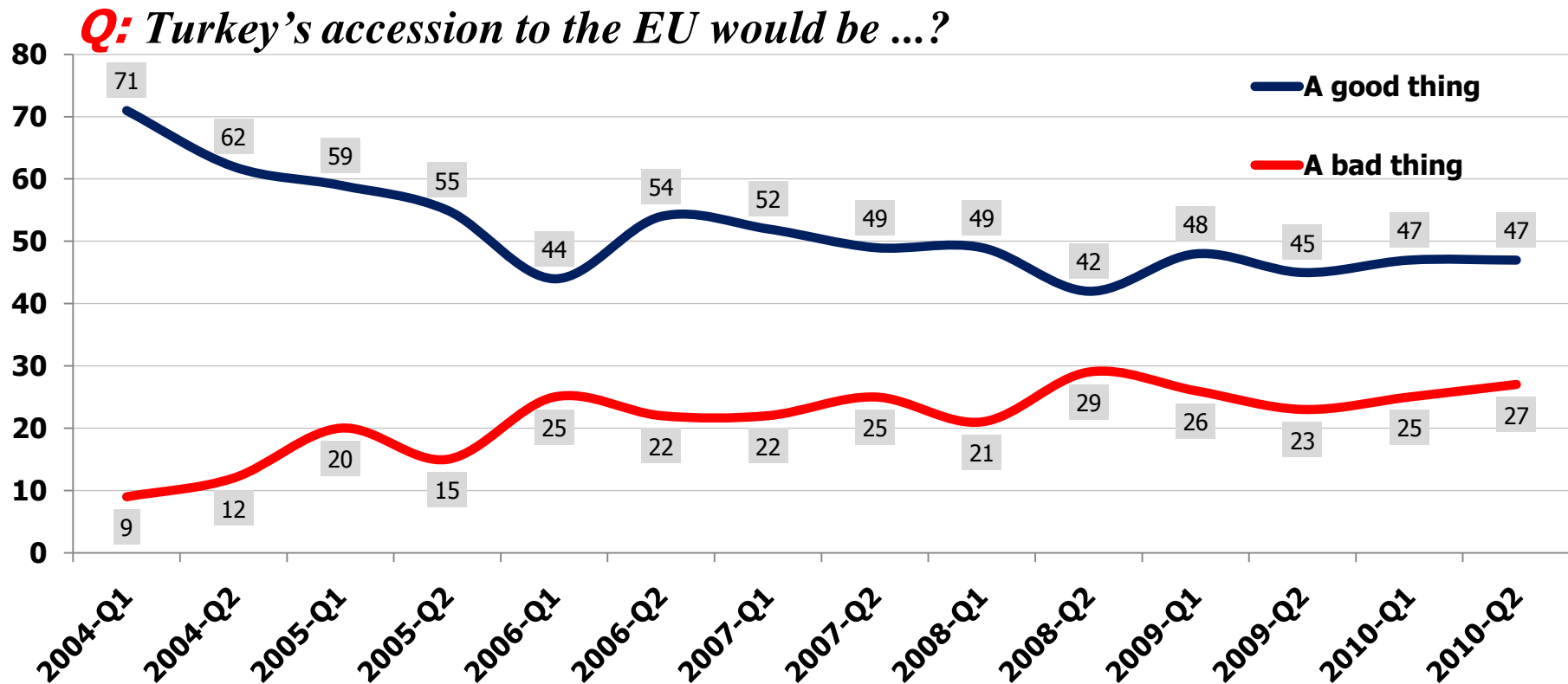
Ankara, 3 March 2011

An outline of the current Turkey-EU relations

- A growing anti-EU sentiment
- The persistent popularity of the EU
- Turkey's “concerned moderns” in favour of EU membership
- Turkey's AKP- and BDP-supporting regions in favour of EU membership
- Hostage to the Cyprus stalemate

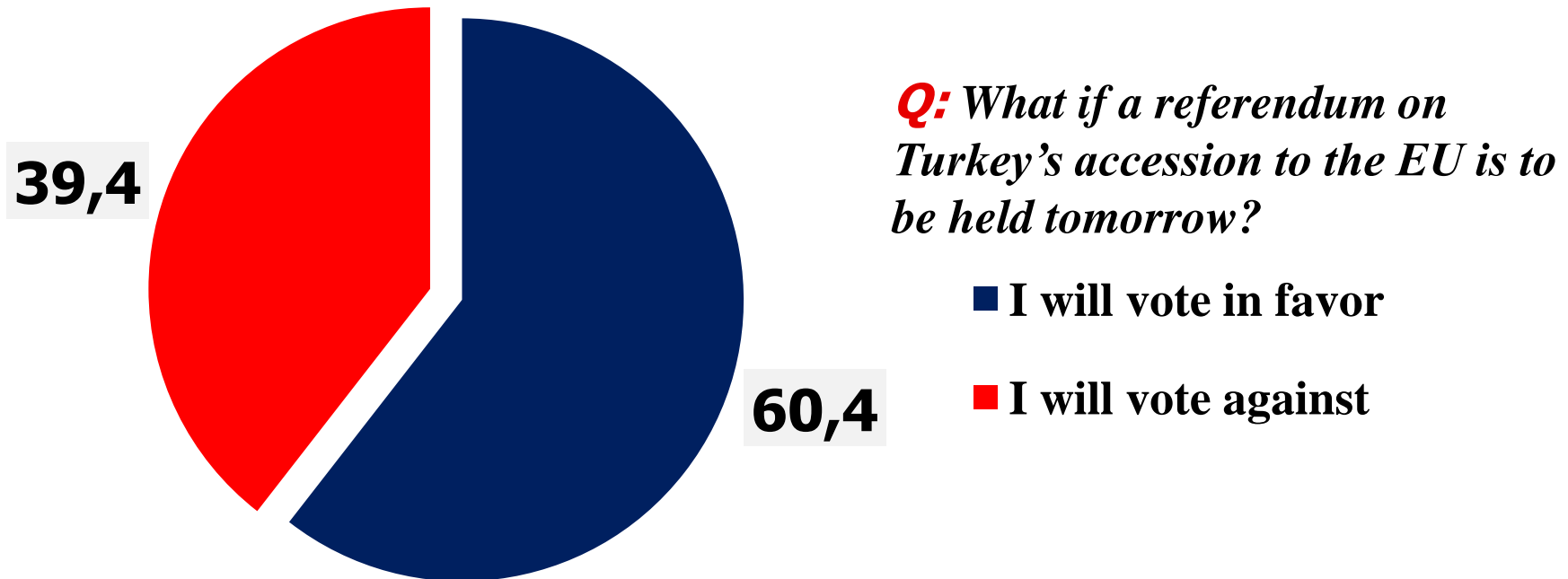
What the polls say (1)

■ Decreasing support & a growing anti-EU sentiment



What the polls say (2)

- EU membership is still popular
- Decreasing support & growing anti-EU sentiment related with the frustration of the people



Source: TEPAV Survey, 2011

Other facets of TEPAV 2011 survey

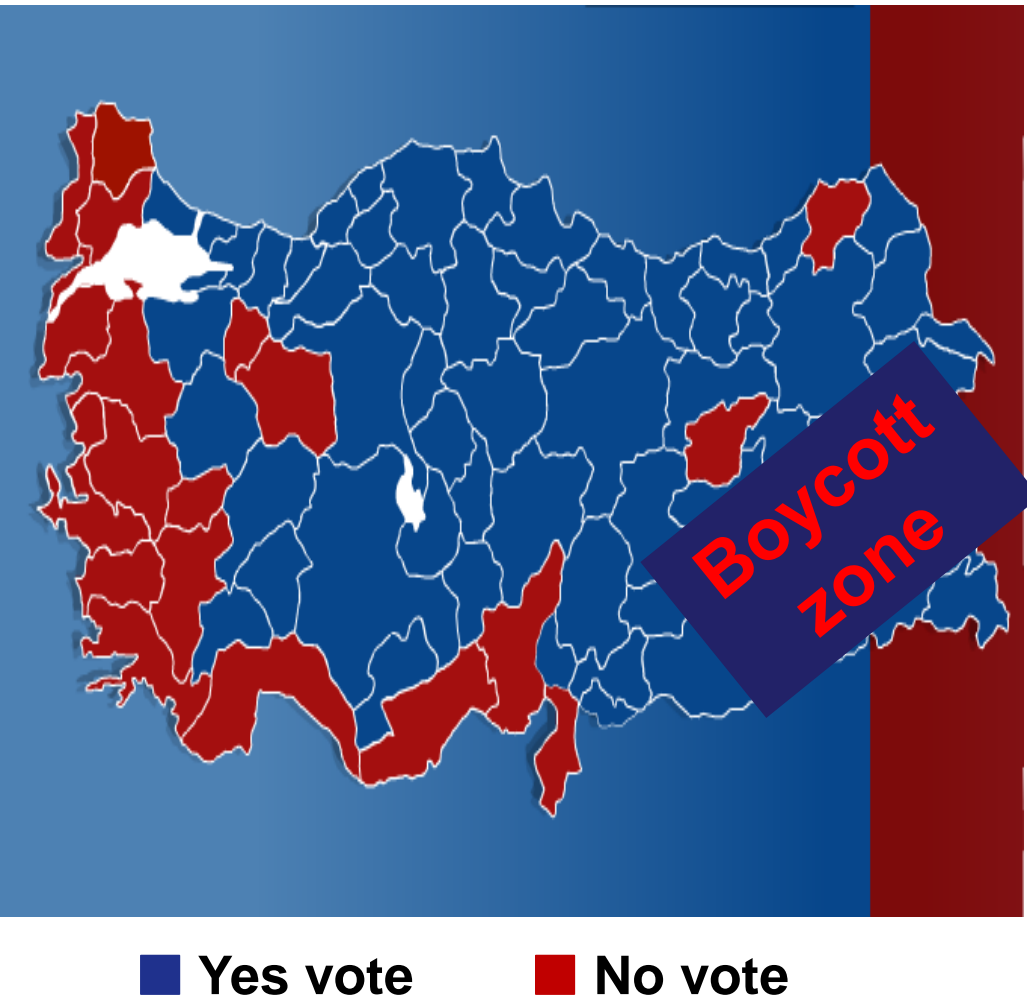
THOSE IN FAVOUR OF EU ACCESSION

- ❖ 64 % of **women** > 57.6 % of **men**
- ❖ 65.3 % of those aged **27 or younger**
- ❖ **Education:**

Elementary;	<u>60.7 %</u>
Secondary;	<u>62.3 %</u>
Higher education;	<u>54.7 %</u>
- ❖ **Region:**

Metropolitan;	<u>56.3 %</u>
Urban;	<u>62.3 %</u>
Rural;	<u>62.8 %</u>

“How many Turkeys?” debate: Results of the 2010 constitutional referendum



- Those casting votes with similar concerns (concerns about lifestyle, political affiliation, etc.)
 - ➔ **Urban** (mostly Western & newly emerging centers in Anatolia)**Concerned Moderns**
 - ➔ **Rural** (Central Anatolia & Eastern provinces)
- Those casting votes with a different rationale: the Kurdish problem
 - ➔ **Southeastern Anatolia**

Support for EU membership throughout Turkey

Q: *What if a referendum on Turkey's accession to the EU is to be held tomorrow?*

	AKP- DOMINATED REGIONS	COASTAL REGIONS (Concerned moderns)	BDP- DOMINATED REGIONS	TOTAL
I will vote <u>in favour of</u> Turkey's accession to the EU	60.4	54.9	89.5	60.6
I will vote <u>against</u> Turkey's accession to the EU	39.6	45.1	10.5	39.4
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The degree of EU support among political parties, 2011 results

- **68.9 %** of **AKP** supporters
- **56.5 %** of **CHP** supporters
- **42.3 %** of **MHP** supporters
- **80.4 %** of **BDP** supporters

IN FAVOUR OF EU MEMBERSHIP

 However...

HOWEVER,

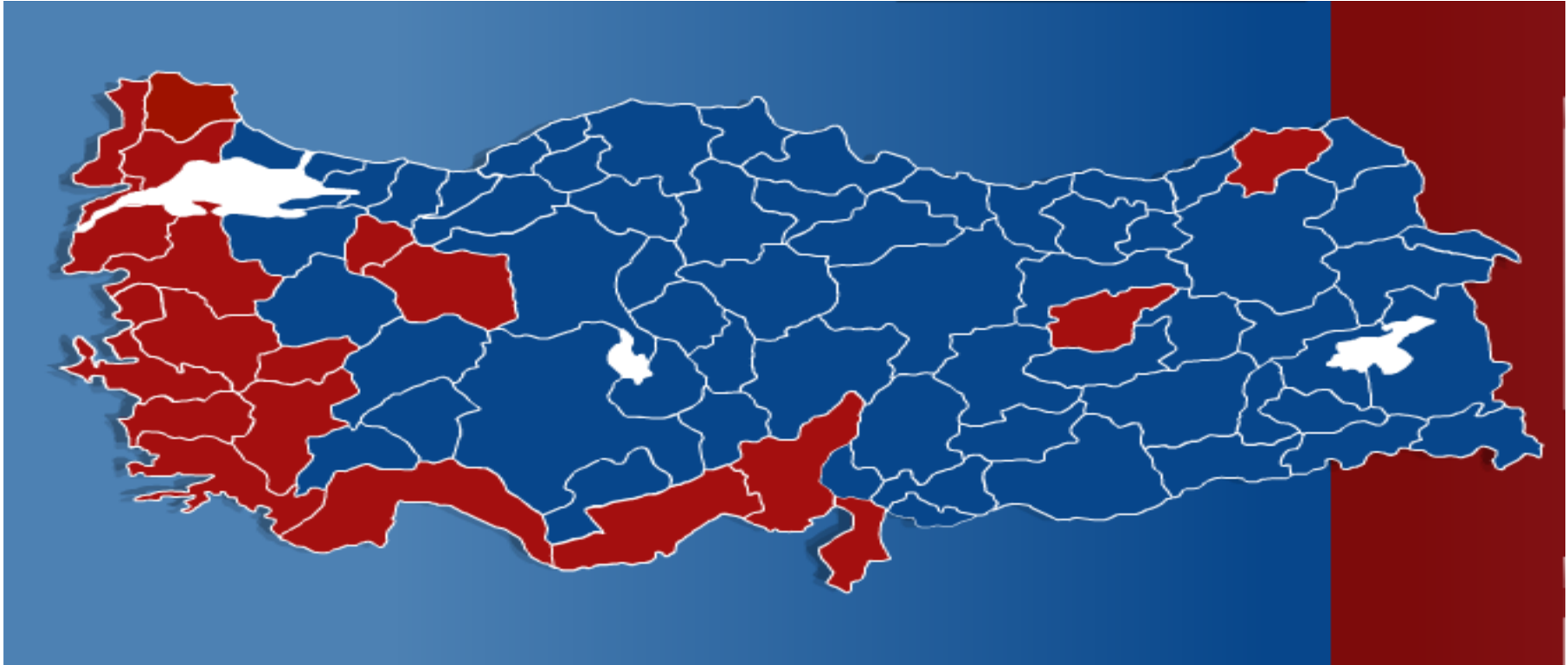
the November **2008** results of the same survey show that the general level of support for Turkey's EU accession was 65.4 %.

Hence, **A DECREASING SUPPORT**

65.4 % → 60.4 %

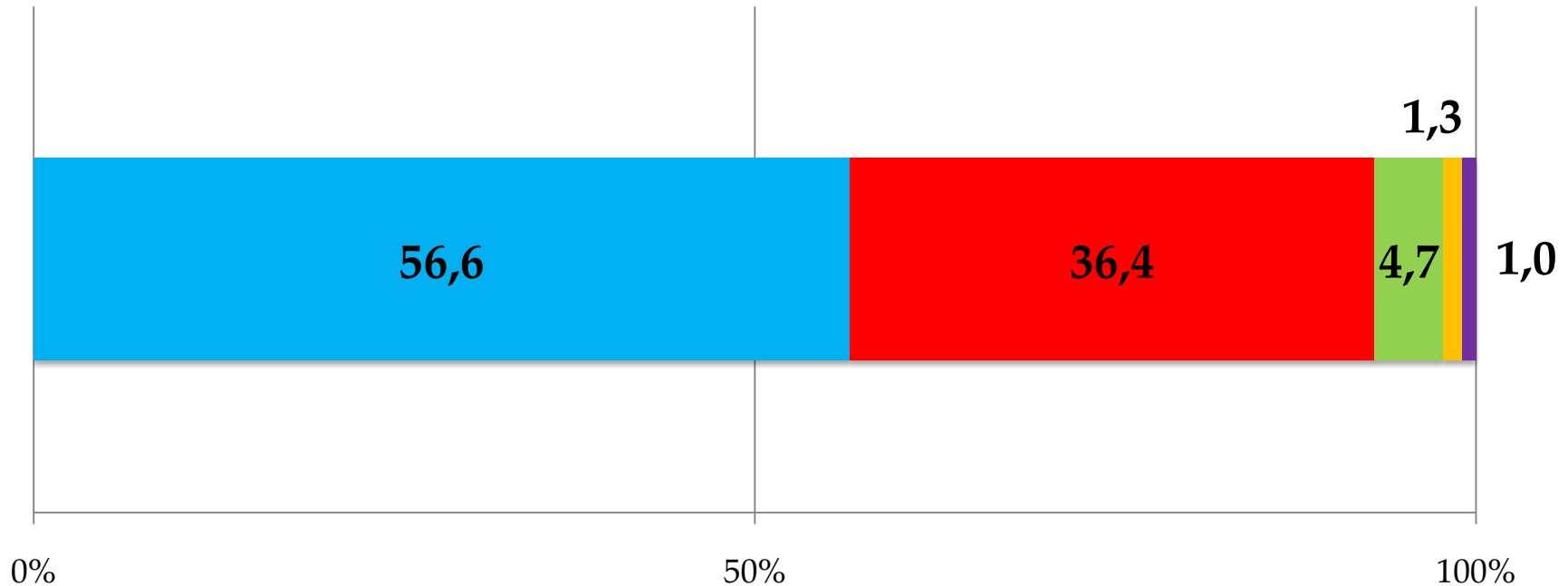
→ There is a fall in the level of support for EU membership among the supporters of each major political party, except BDP.

Concerned moderns?



- Concerned moderns (“No” votes in the 2010 constitutional referendum)

Concerned moderns' view on EU



Q: How will you vote in a referendum on Turkey's accession to the EU?



YES



NO



**UN-
DECIDED**



**NO
OPINION**



**NO
ANSWER**

YET, answers to the question of “**what would resolve your anxiety regarding Turkey’s future?**” reveal lack of faith in the transformative power of the EU:

Rank	Answer	# of respondents	Percentage
1	Current government must change	170	14,0
2	The problem of unemployment must be solved	95	8,4
3	The people must gain awareness	81	7,2
4	The government must be overthrown	66	5,8
.....			
22	We must keep away from outside powers / EU	13	1,1
.....			
29	We must enter EU / adopt EU norms	3	0,3
.....			
31	Election threshold must be lowered	2	0,2
33	Don’t know / No opinion	165	14,6

Hostage to the Cyprus stalemate

PRISONERS WITH A DILEMMA	TURKEY TAKES A LEAP OF FAITH (opening ports to Greek Cypriot traffic, etc.)	TURKEY BETRAYS THE EU PROCESS (playing the anti-EU card; putting the sole blame w.r.t. Cyprus on the EU)
EU TAKES A LEAP OF FAITH (promoting Turkish Cypriot direct trade, etc.)	TURKEY WINS EU WINS CYPRUS WINS	TURKEY WINS (BUT AT WHAT PRICE?) EU LOSES (TO WHAT EXTENT?) CYPRUS LOSES (FOR SURE)
EU BETRAYS TURKEY'S POTENTIAL (playing the anti-Turkey card; putting the sole blame w.r.t. Cyprus on Turkey)	EU WINS (BUT AT WHAT PRICE?) TURKEY LOSES (TO WHAT EXTENT?) CYPRUS LOSES (FOR SURE)	TURKEY LOSES EU LOSES CYPRUS LOSES