Popular Resistance, Leadership Attitudes, and Turkish Accession to the European Union

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Research Questions

• What keeps Turkey from being admitted to the European Union?

• Is it cultural and religious difference from the other EU members?
Theories that help to explain why the EU expands

Rationalist approach:
• It says that EU actors determine membership based on “cost-benefit calculations”
• Primarily, there are the monetary costs in which the EU will have to manage.
• What effects will the new member’s market economy have on existing member states?
• Will this new country need financial assistance once it is accepted?
• They must determine potential effects of the country’s cultural and socio-economic heterogeneity

Sociological Approach:
• EU enlargement “is largely shaped by social identities, norms and values”
• According to researchers general cultural values, moral responsibility, strong possession of liberal democratic values and kinships are all necessary factors in granting accession
• these factors a “community” or “cultural match” which must be shared between the applicant and the members.

Attempts at Accession

*1963 – Turkey signed a European association agreement
  Usually seen as a “prelude to membership”
  Turkey has worked very hard to gain acceptance

*1987 – Turkey formally applied for EU membership
  This application has remained active yet untouched
  Yet, the EU admitted 8 more countries in the 1990s

*1996 – Formation of EU-Turkey customs union

*1997 – Luxembourg European Council summit
  Acknowledged Turkey’s candidacy
  But accepted 11 others

*1999– Finally recognized as a candidate

*Before joining, new members must bring their legislation in line with
  EU legislation.
  Lot of work to guarantee laws are consistent with EU law
  Turkey needed to:
  1. Establish a market economy
  2. Reform human rights laws
  3. Make further progress on democratic governance
1990s
* Turkey’s economy was in a poor state as 1 U.S dollar was worth 107,000 Turkish lira.
* The “soft coup” that cast out the mildly Islamist party caused much instability throughout the country.

Today
* They have made reforms that satisfy the Copenhagen criteria and separated government from military.
* Tightened fiscal policy and took control of inflation. Repaired the weaknesses in banks and satisfied past debts.
* Achievements in spending more on education than defense.
* Creation of legislation to protect the disabled and children, as well as made improvements on health systems and social security.
* Exercise better social policy in the areas of human rights and non-governmental organizations.
Hypotheses

1. If the EU were to accept Turkey, the economic benefits would outweigh the political costs.

2. The more nationalistic a person (in a current EU member state) is, the more likely they are to be against Turkey’s accession.

3. If a person is born in a EU country, they are more likely to be against Turkey’s accession.
Research Design
Cost-Benefit Calculations
*Will admitting the Turkey benefit current EU members or not? If it does, then it would be rational to admit Turkey.
*If admitting the Turkey is economically beneficial, but Turkey is not admitted, then what else explains the delay in Turkey’s entry into the EU?
*This part of the paper draws on studies by Angsar Belke and Gordon Platt, who have assessed the economic effects of regional economic integration on Turkey and the EU.

Eurobarometer: opinion polls in France & Germany
*Is there a relationship between nationalism and attitudes towards Turkey’s accession to the EU?
*Test cases are France and Germany – both have political actors and citizens who are most notoriously against Turkey’s accession.
*Crosstabulation of two questions to determine whether nationalism affects attitudes towards Turkey’s accession:
   1. Respondent’s attitude towards Turkey’s accession
   2. Respondent’s nationalistic feeling about own country
Benefits:

* Advanced trade integration.
* Turkey has many undeveloped, modern sectors that could be successful once expanded.
* The area of the EU would increase by 20% and its population by almost 16%.
* The European Union could become an international actor—increase efforts to promote regional stability and continue efforts to fight terrorism.
* Would promote integration of Muslims to create constructive identities of cultural groups.

Costs:

* Turkey would be a net recipient of major EU funds and resources.
* Due to its size, Turkey would gain many seats of representation and become the most powerful member state.
* The European Union would directly be “exposed” to the unstable Middle East.
* Increased emigration into other EU member states might lead to loss of jobs for European citizens.

Results

* Cost
* Benefit
* Calculations
## Level of Nationalism for France

### Results Of Public Opinions Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In favor of Turkey’s EU membership</th>
<th>Against Turkey’s EU membership</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>To a great Extent</strong></td>
<td>Count: 129</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of EU membership favoring Turkey: 69.7%</td>
<td>81.3%</td>
<td>79.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Somewhat</strong></td>
<td>Count: 43</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of EU membership favoring Turkey: 23.2%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not really</strong></td>
<td>Count: 10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of EU membership favoring Turkey: 5.4%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not at all</strong></td>
<td>Count: 3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of EU membership favoring Turkey: 1.6%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>Count: 185</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>937</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusions

*I discovered that Turkey’s economic sector would be a great benefit to the EU and that the costs are marginal.
   Turkey’s economic sector is ideal for European integration.

*The main political cost: Turkey would be a powerful member.
   Turkey would also be a positive bridge to the Middle East.

*There is some significance between nationalism and attitudes about Turkey’s accession.

*However, negative attitudes in the largest two EU states make it politically difficult to incorporate Turkey into the EU.
*What is the quality that makes Turkey unfavorable? It isn’t economic doubt, and it really isn’t a question of them being “un-European” enough.

*What is it about Germany that causes the majority to disregard Turkey as a potential EU member? Although both France and Germany have lots of Turkish emigrants, Germany is perceived as being extremely discontented with the thought of Turkey’s accession. What is the cause of this?

*Could it be the question of Islam, which could not be properly tested for as no questions regarded religion in the Eurobarometer, be the main cause for the rejection?