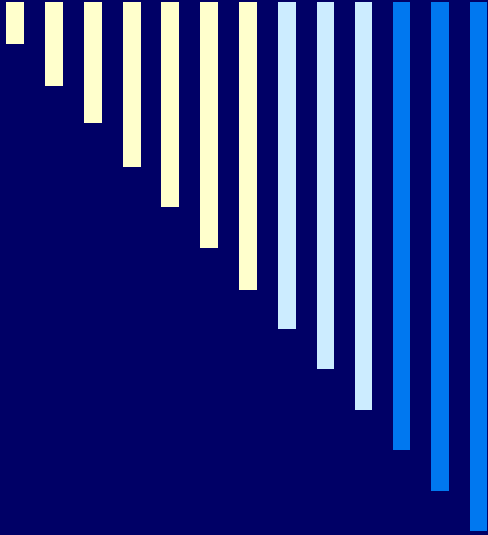



EUROSKEPTICISM IN TURKEY

*DOUBTS, ANXIETIES AND FEARS
OF THE TURKISH PUBLIC
CONCERNING EUROPE AND
THE EUROPEAN UNION*

Open Society Institute
Boğaziçi University Research Fund
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Field Survey Conducted By: Infakto Research Workshop

Consultants: Dr. Emre Erdoğan, Güçlü Atılgan

Methodological Remarks

- Field Survey Conducted: 17 October-10 November, 2003
- Sample Structure: A nationally distributed, multi-layered, random sample of 2123 people, age 18 and above.
- Interviewees were selected from 17 provinces and the three big metropolitan areas (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir).
- 68 percent of the interviews were conducted in the urban areas and 32% in the rural areas.

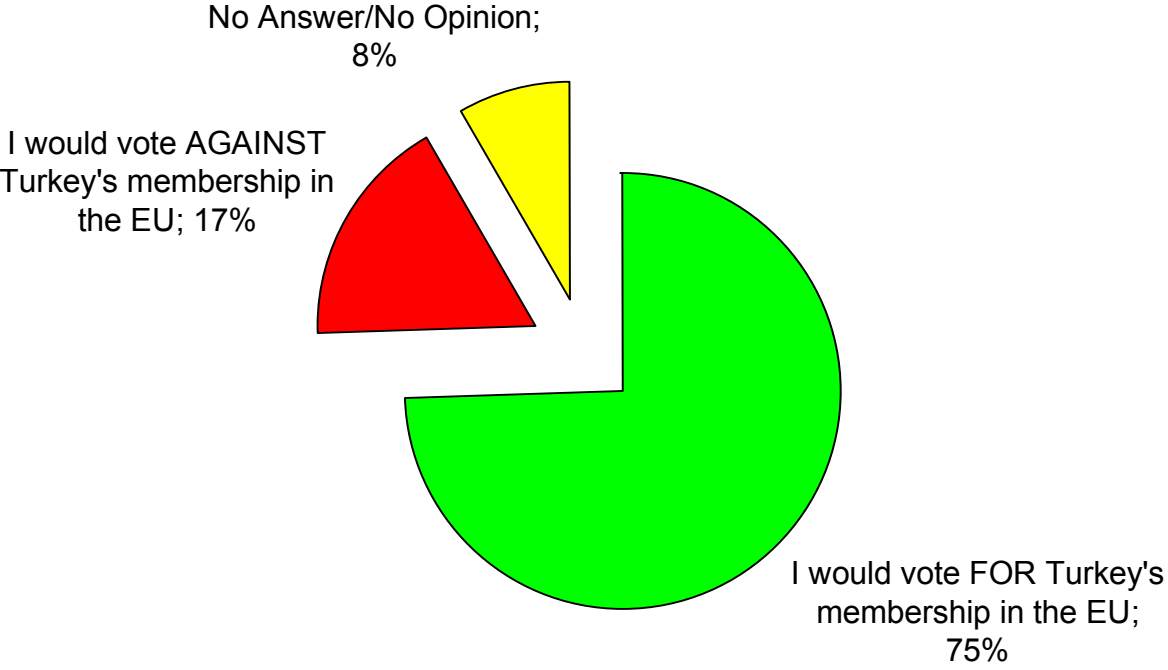
Regional and Provincial Distribution of the Interviewees

REGION	PROVINCE	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS
MEDITERRANEAN	ANTALYA	137
	ADANA	125
	KAHRAMANMARAŞ	48
EASTERN ANATOLIA	ERZURUM	98
	MALATYA	86
AEGEAN	DENİZLİ	169
	AFYON	27
SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA	DİYARBAKIR	143
	GAZİANTEP	47
CENTRAL ANATOLIA	KONYA	138
	NİĞDE	86
	ÇANKIRI	58
BLACK SEA	SAMSUN	69
	KASTAMONU	68
	TRABZON	46
MARMARA	BURSA	166
	TEKİRDAĞ	82
İSTANBUL	İSTANBUL	301
ANKARA	ANKARA	131
İZMİR	İZMİR	98

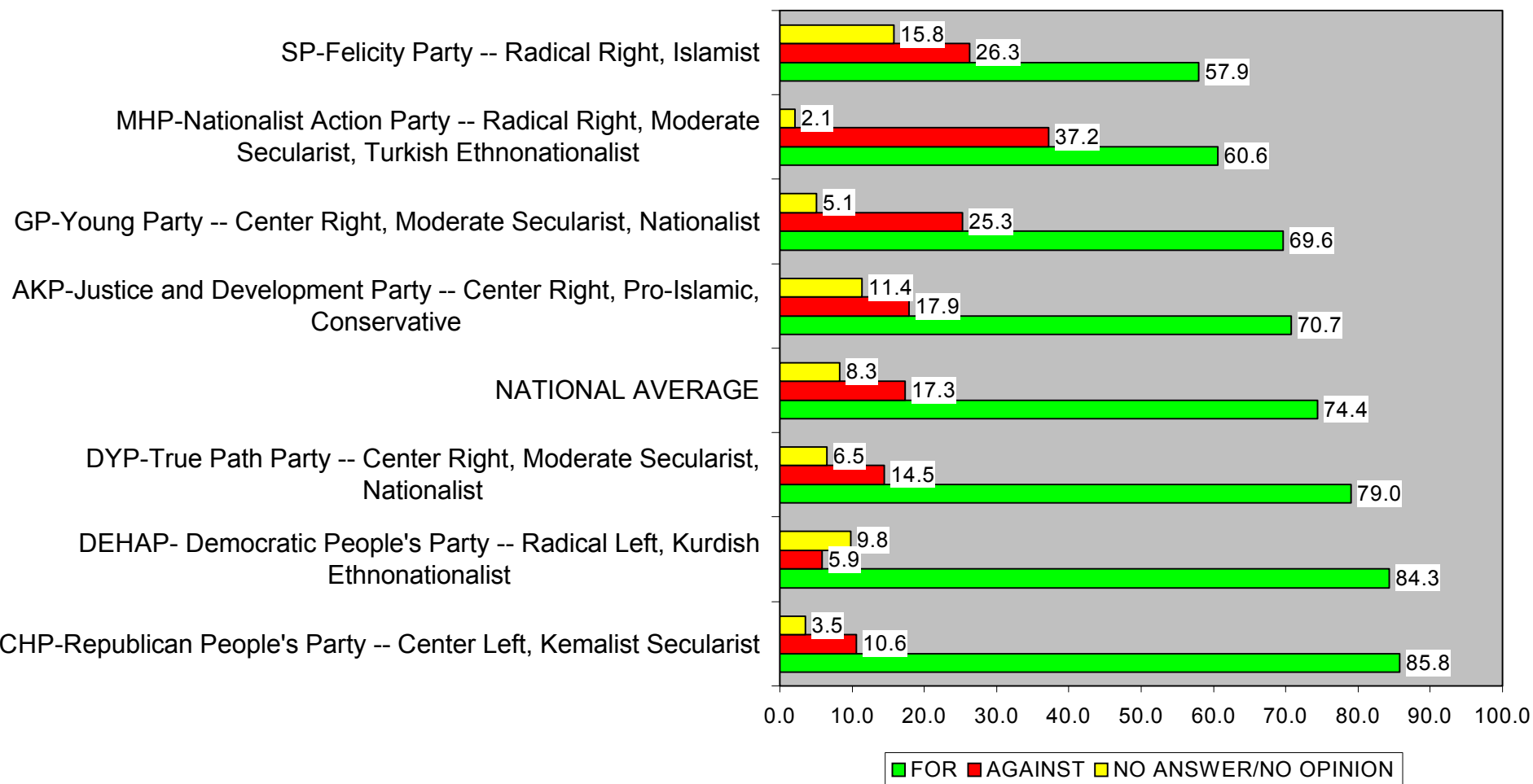


SECTION 1
**GENERAL ATTITUDES
TOWARDS TURKEY'S
MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU**

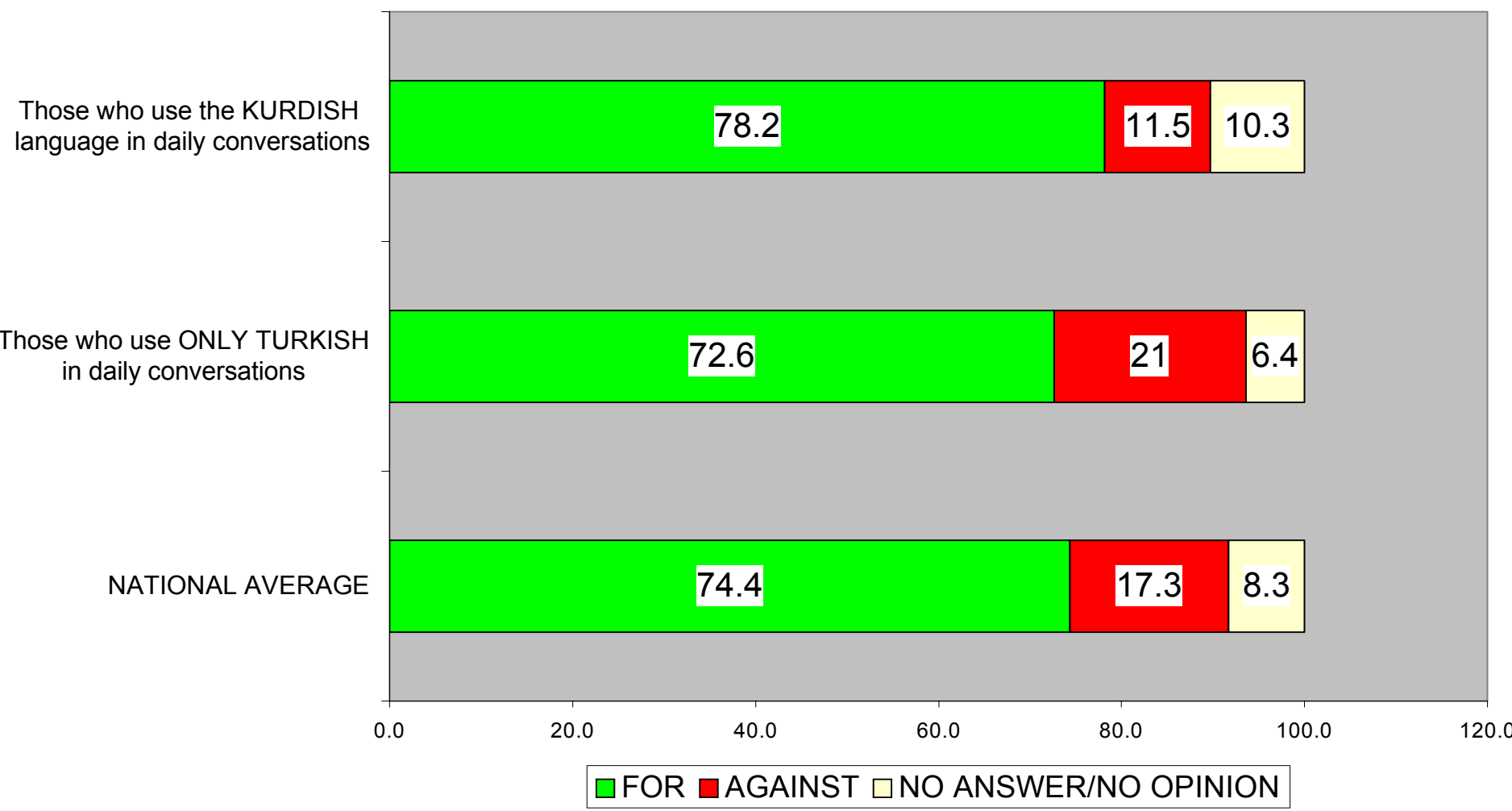
If there were to be a referendum on Turkey's membership in the EU today, would you vote for or against it?



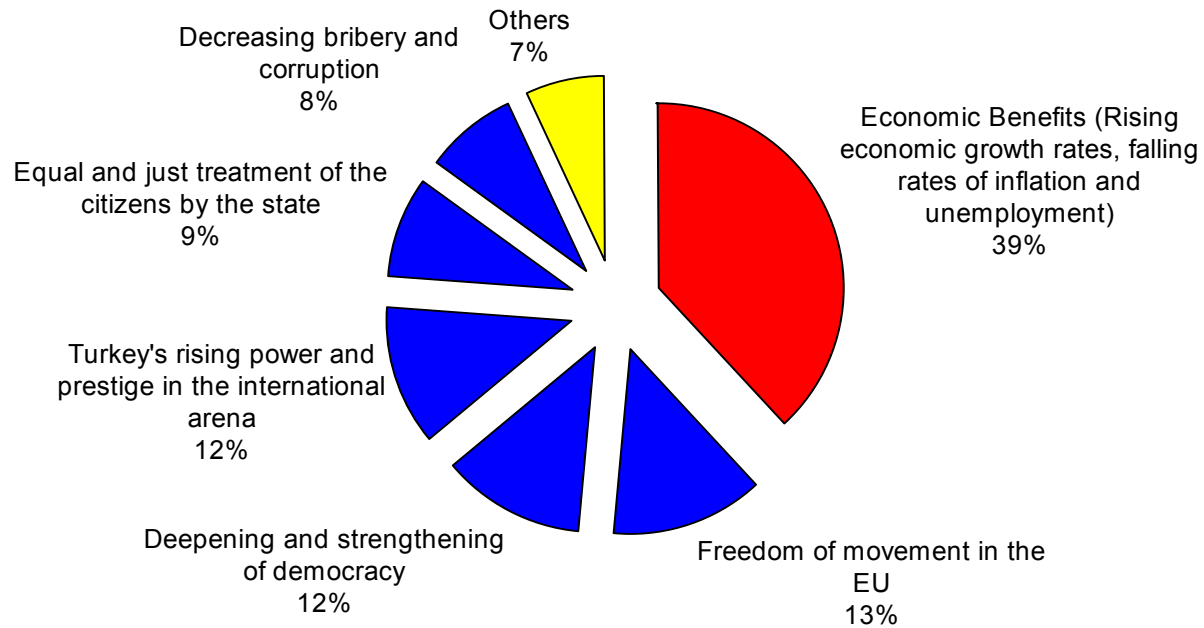
If there were to be a referendum today on Turkey's membership in the EU, would you vote for or against it? (Party voters in the November 2002 elections)



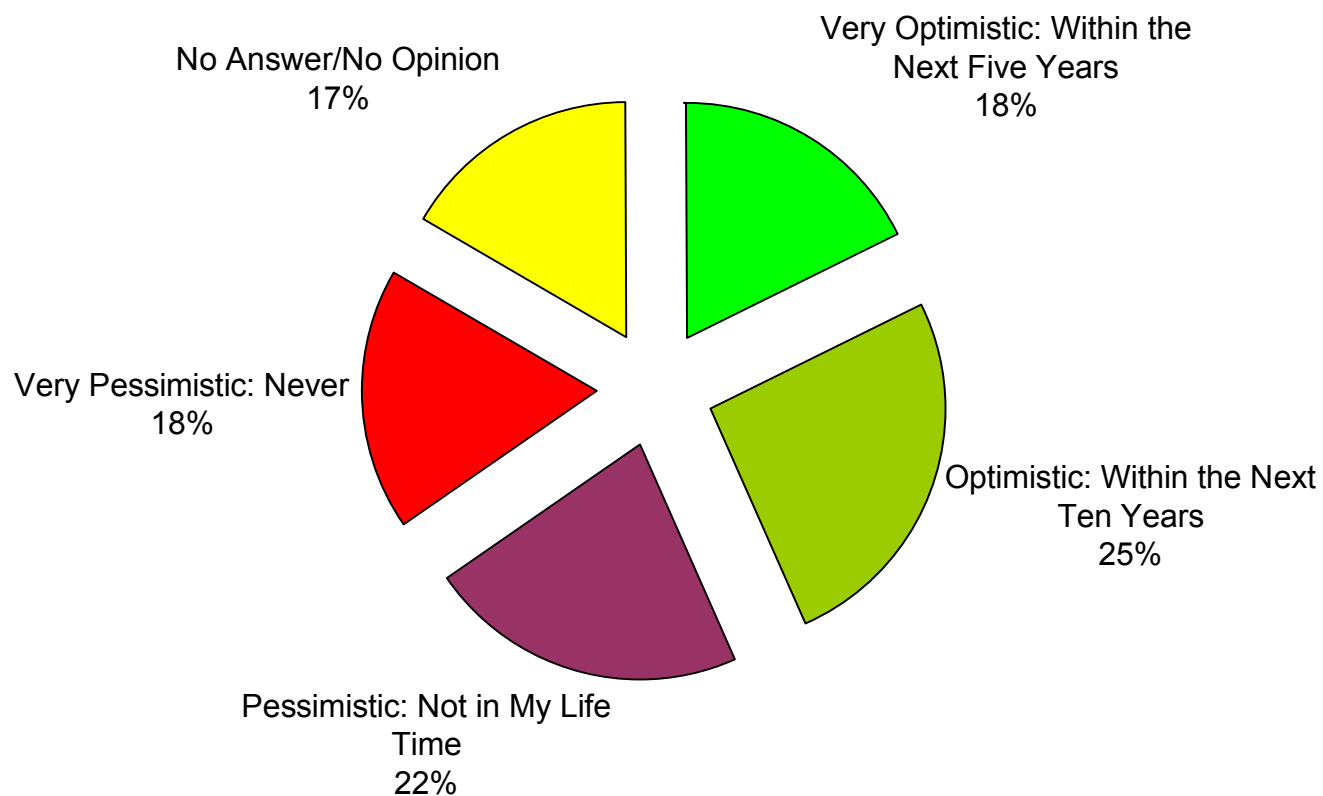
If there were to be a referendum on Turkey's membership in the EU today, would you vote for or against it? (Kurdish and Turkish Speakers)



What do you think would be Turkey's most important benefit of becoming a member of the EU?



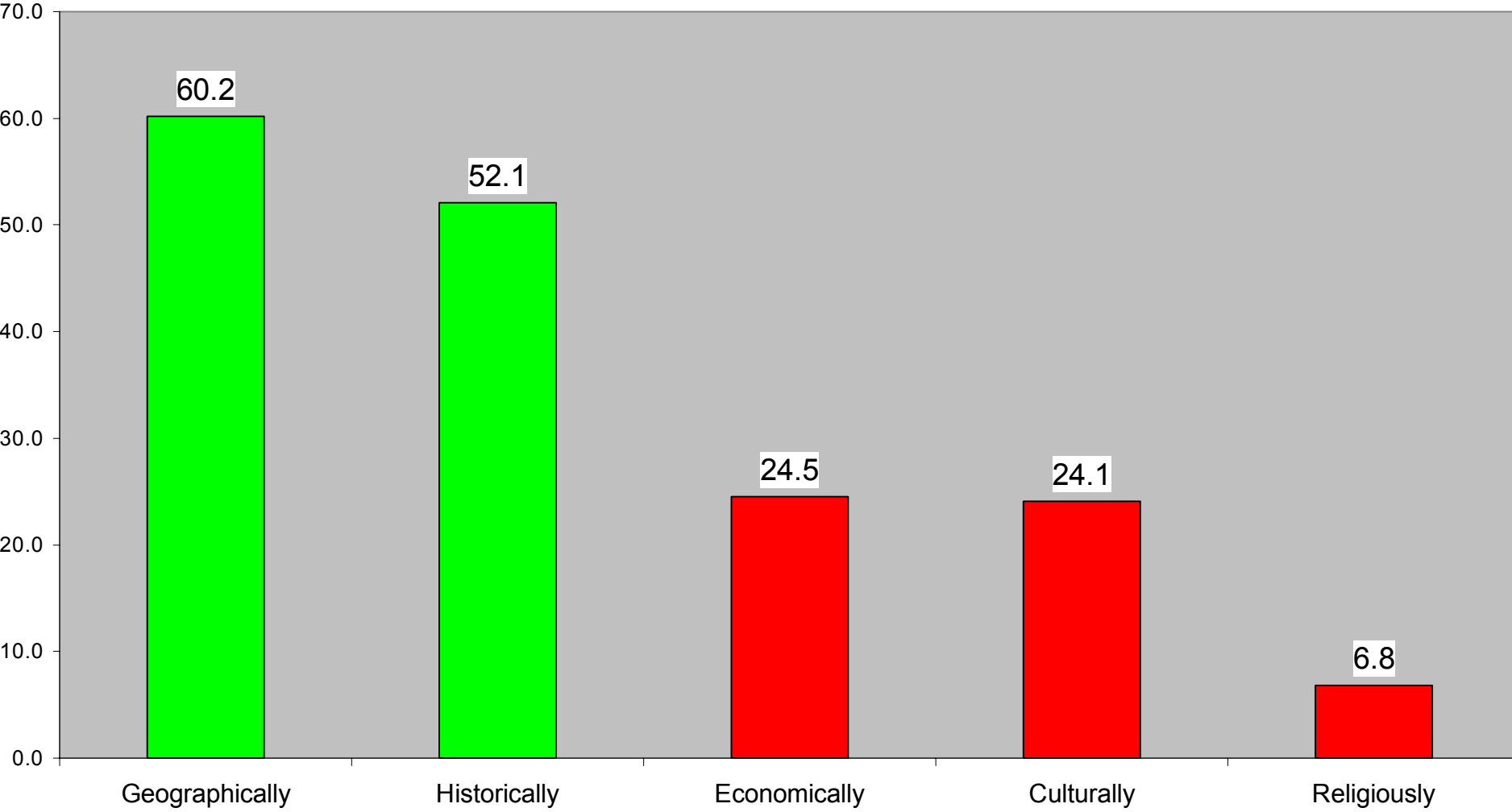
When do you think Turkey could become a member of the EU?



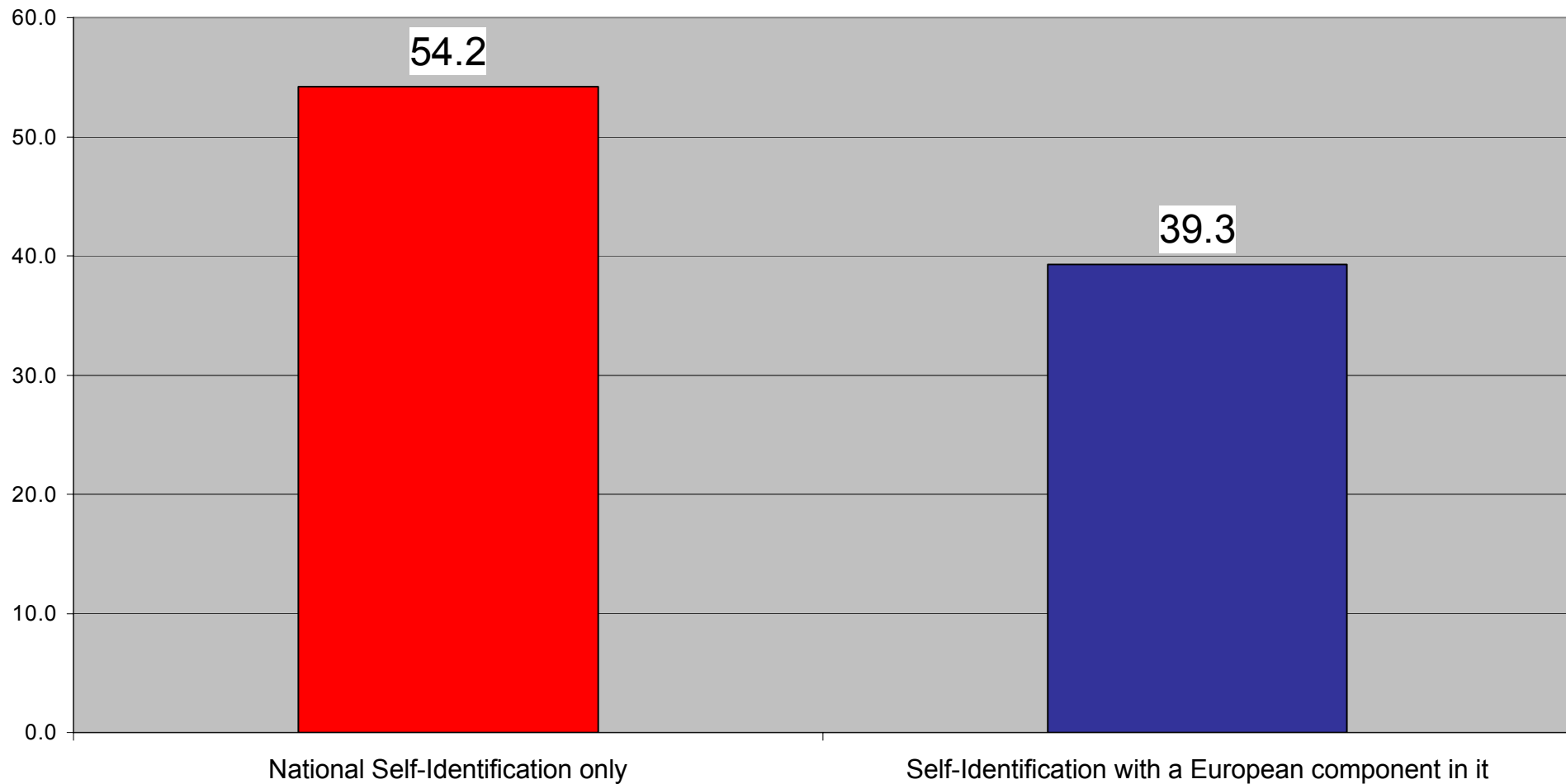


SECTION 2
**THE INTERPLAY OF
NATIONAL-LOCAL AND
EUROPEAN IDENTITIES**

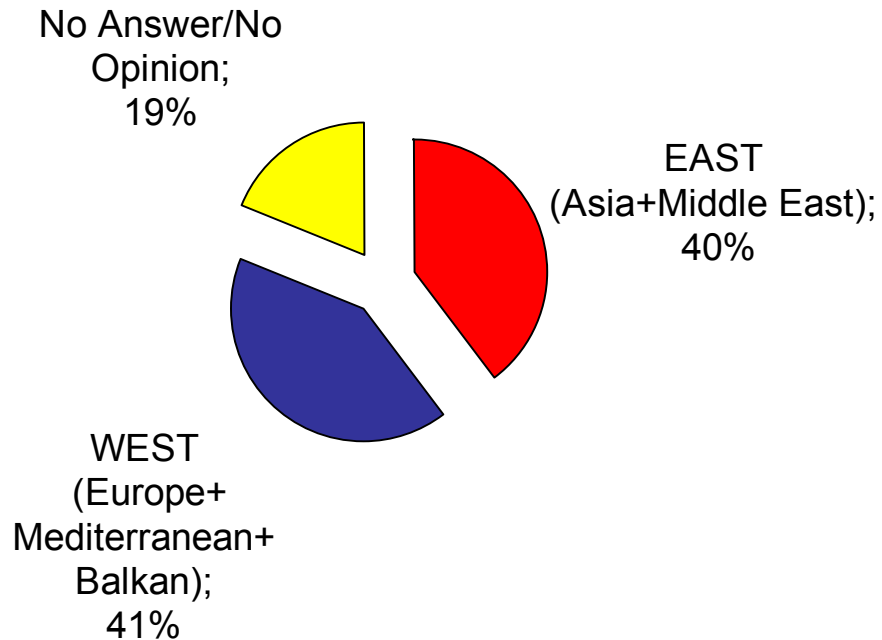
Turkey IS a part of Europe...



When you think of the near future, which of the following self-identifications do you think will be most appropriate for you?



As a citizen of Turkey, which of the following regions of the world do you feel you most belong to?





SECTION 3

BASIC TYPES OF ANXIETY CONCERNING EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

**EXCLUSION ANXIETY: BEING EXCLUDED, AVOIDED, PUT OFF BY
THE EUROPEANS**

**HISTORICAL ANXIETY: STEMMING FROM THE HISTORICAL
MEMORY (THE TANZIMAT AND SEVRES SYNDROMES)**

**SOVEREIGNTY ANXIETY: LOSING NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND
SOVEREIGNTY**

RELIGIOUS ANXIETY: IS THE EU A “CHRISTIAN CLUB”?

**SEPARATISM ANXIETY: THR RISK OF THE BREAKDOWN OF
NATIONAL UNITY**

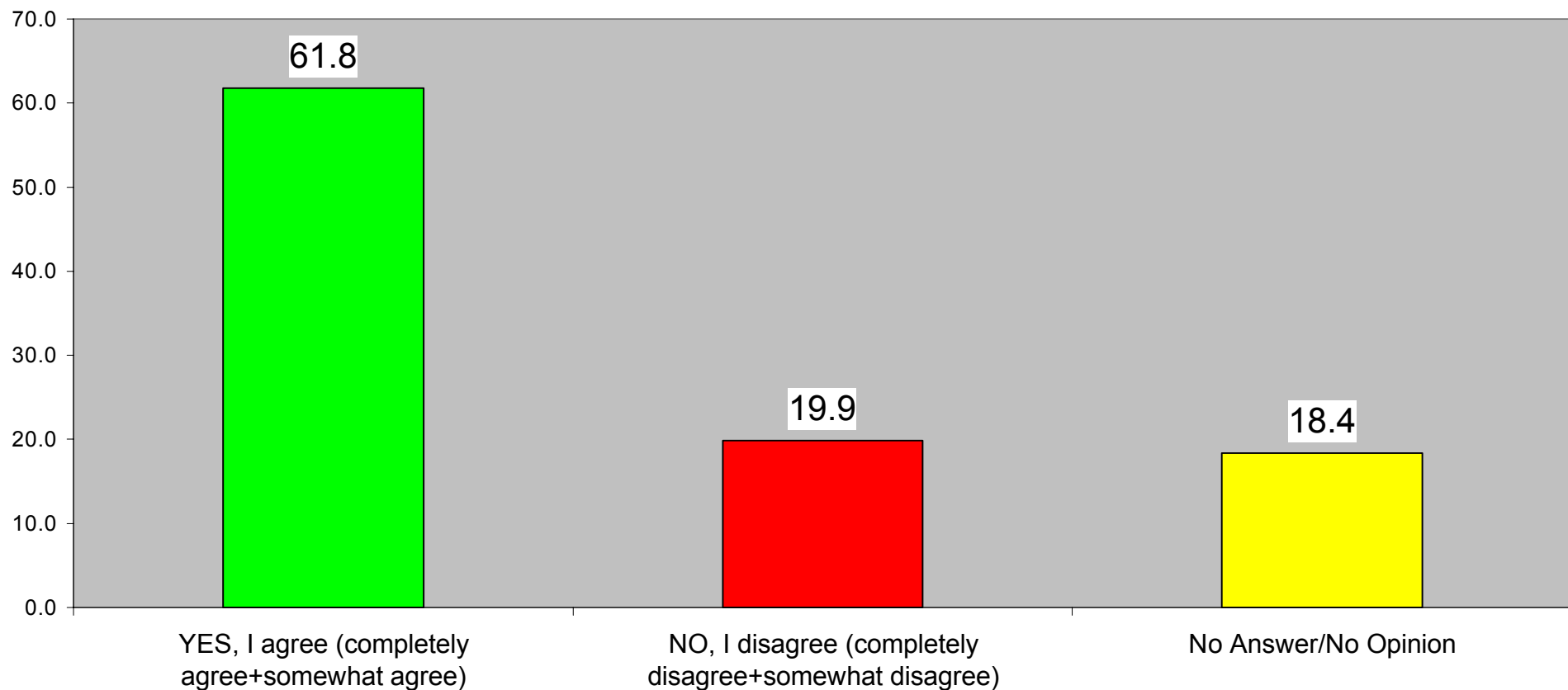
MORAL ANXIETY: EROSION OF TRADITIONAL VALUES



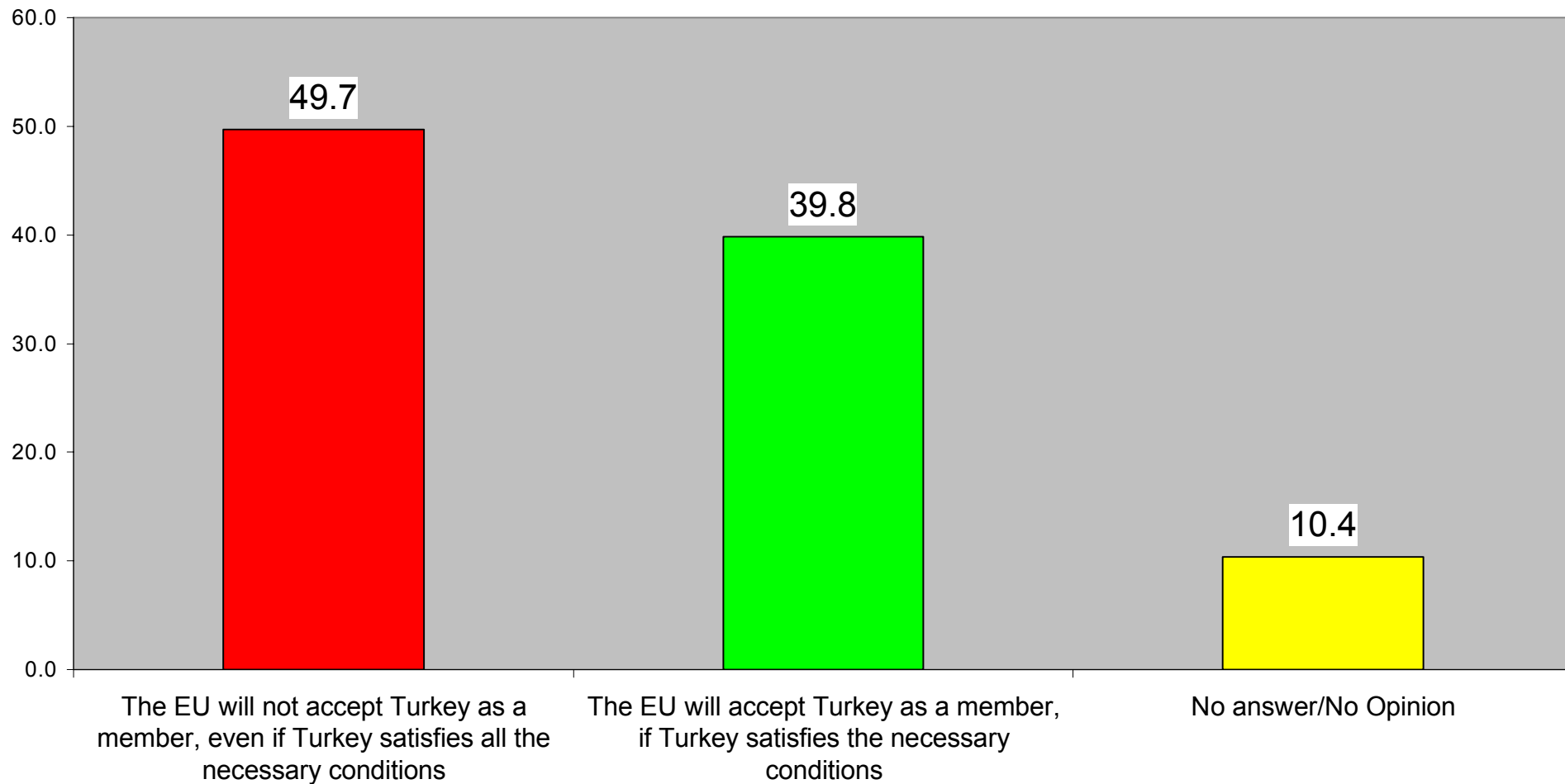
SECTION 3A

**EXCLUSION ANXIETY:
BEING EXCLUDED, AVOIDED,
PUT OFF BY THE EUROPEANS**

Some people say that the EU has treated Turkey with double standards, by imposing on Turkey conditions that she has not imposed on the other candidate countries. Do you agree with this view?



On the issue of Turkey's relations with the EU, which of the following opinions is closest to yours?

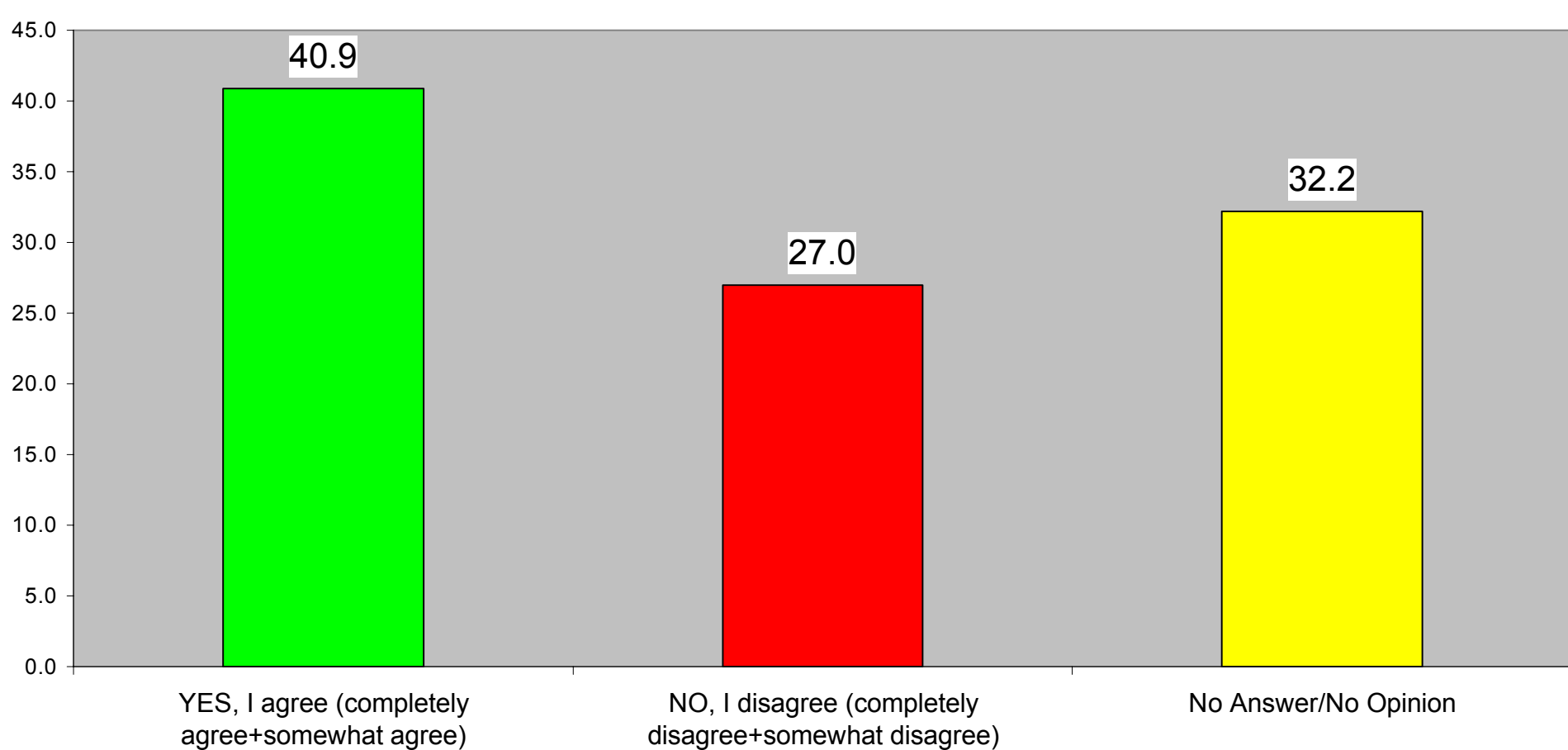




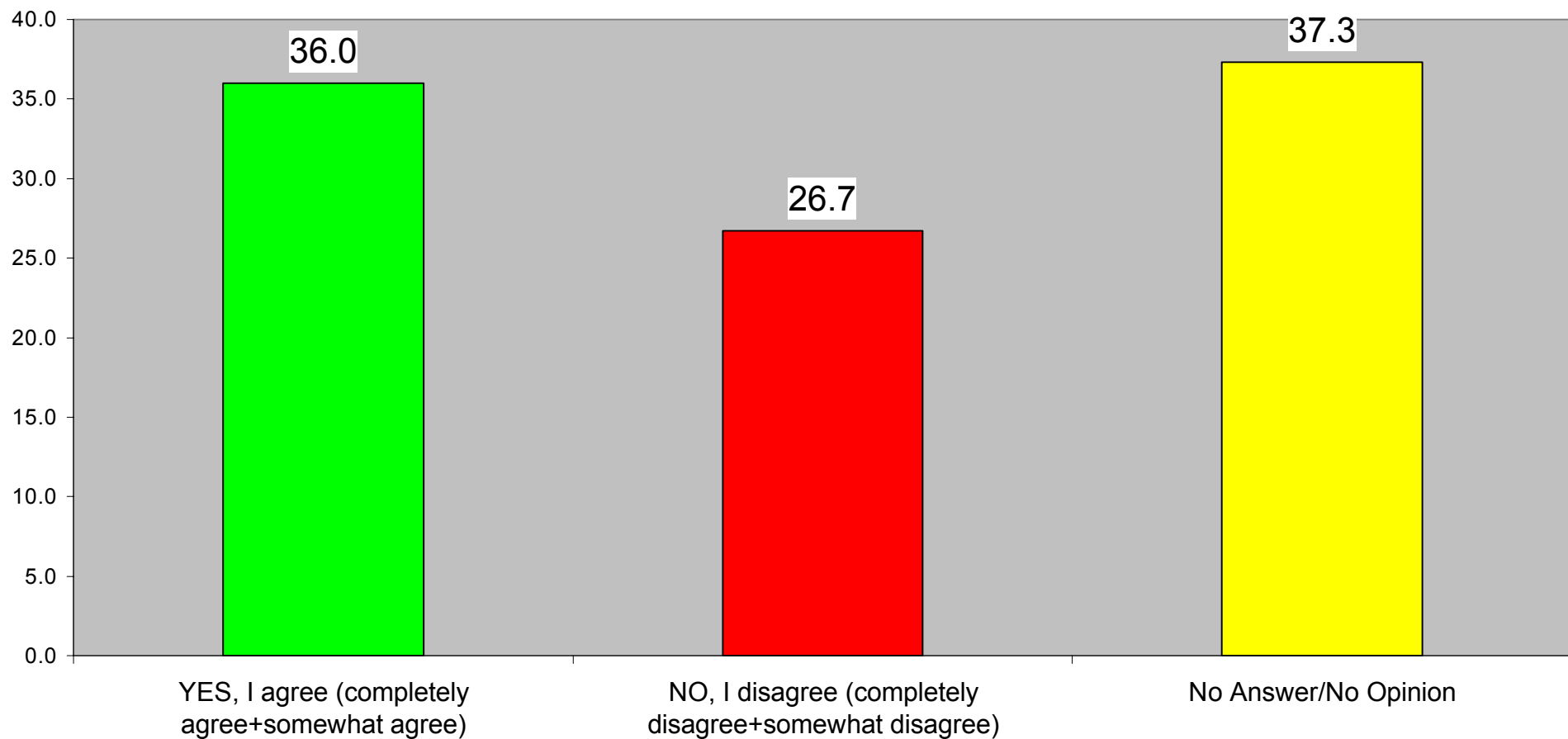
SECTION 3B

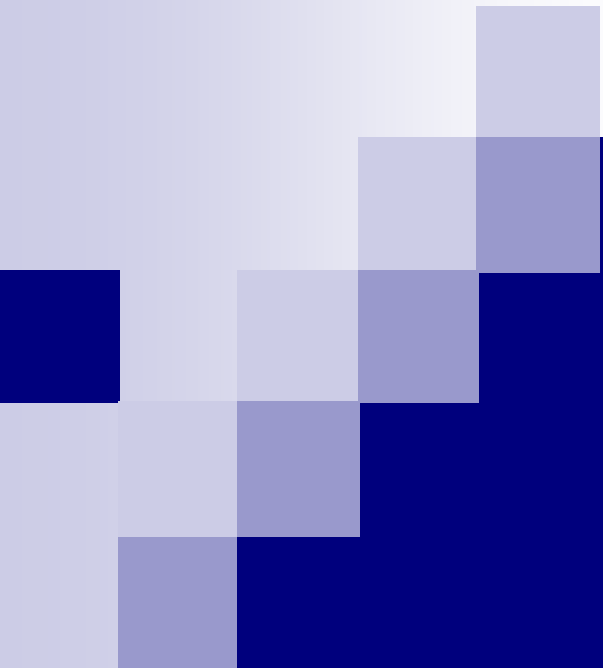
HISTORICAL ANXIETIES: STEMMING FROM THE HISTORICAL MEMORY, THE TANZIMAT AND SEVRES SYNDROMES

Some people say that the conditions that the EU has imposed on Turkey are no different from the **CAPITULATIONS of the Ottoman era. Do you agree with this view?**



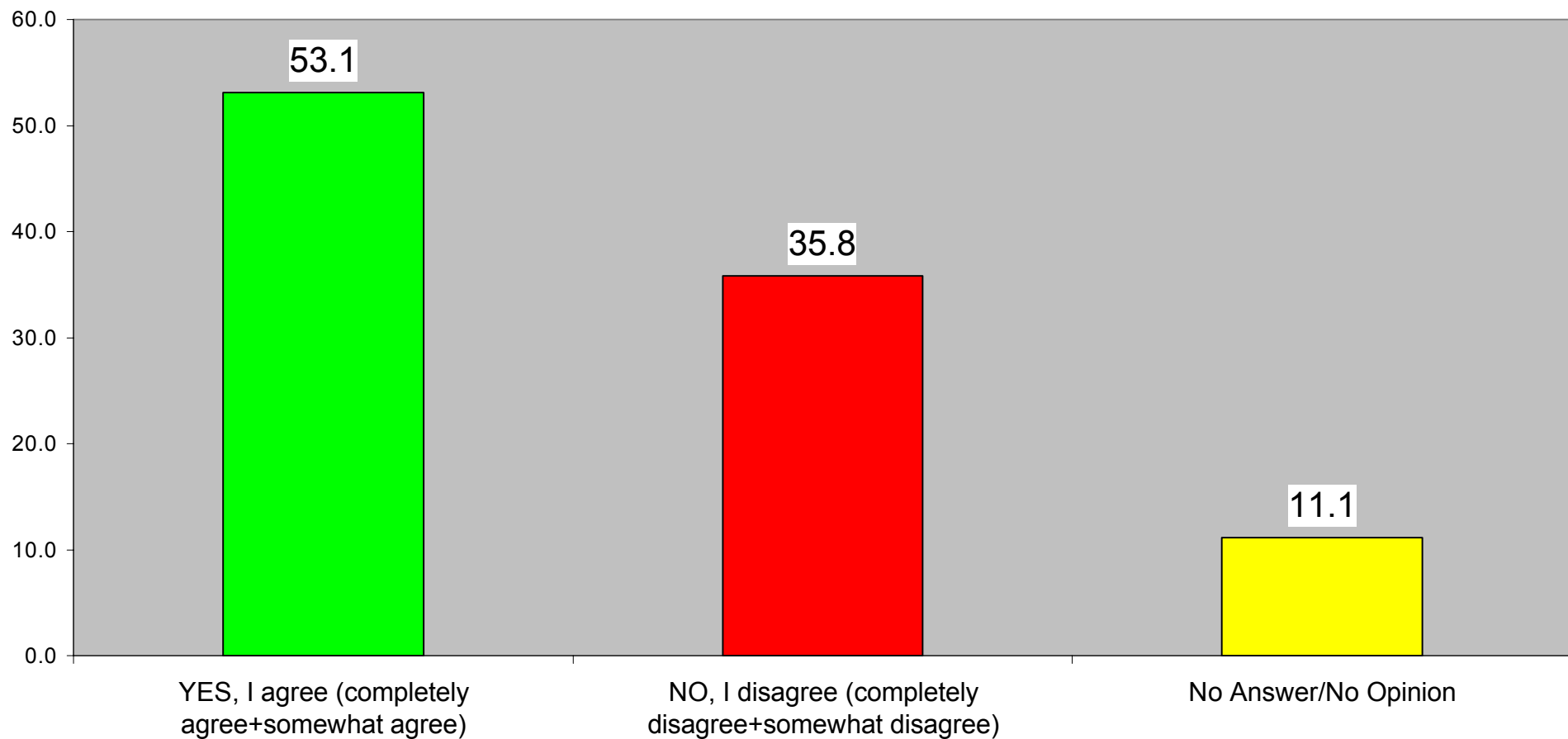
Some people say that the conditions that the EU has imposed on Turkey are no different from the terms of the SEVRES TREATY of the Ottoman era. Do you agree with this view?



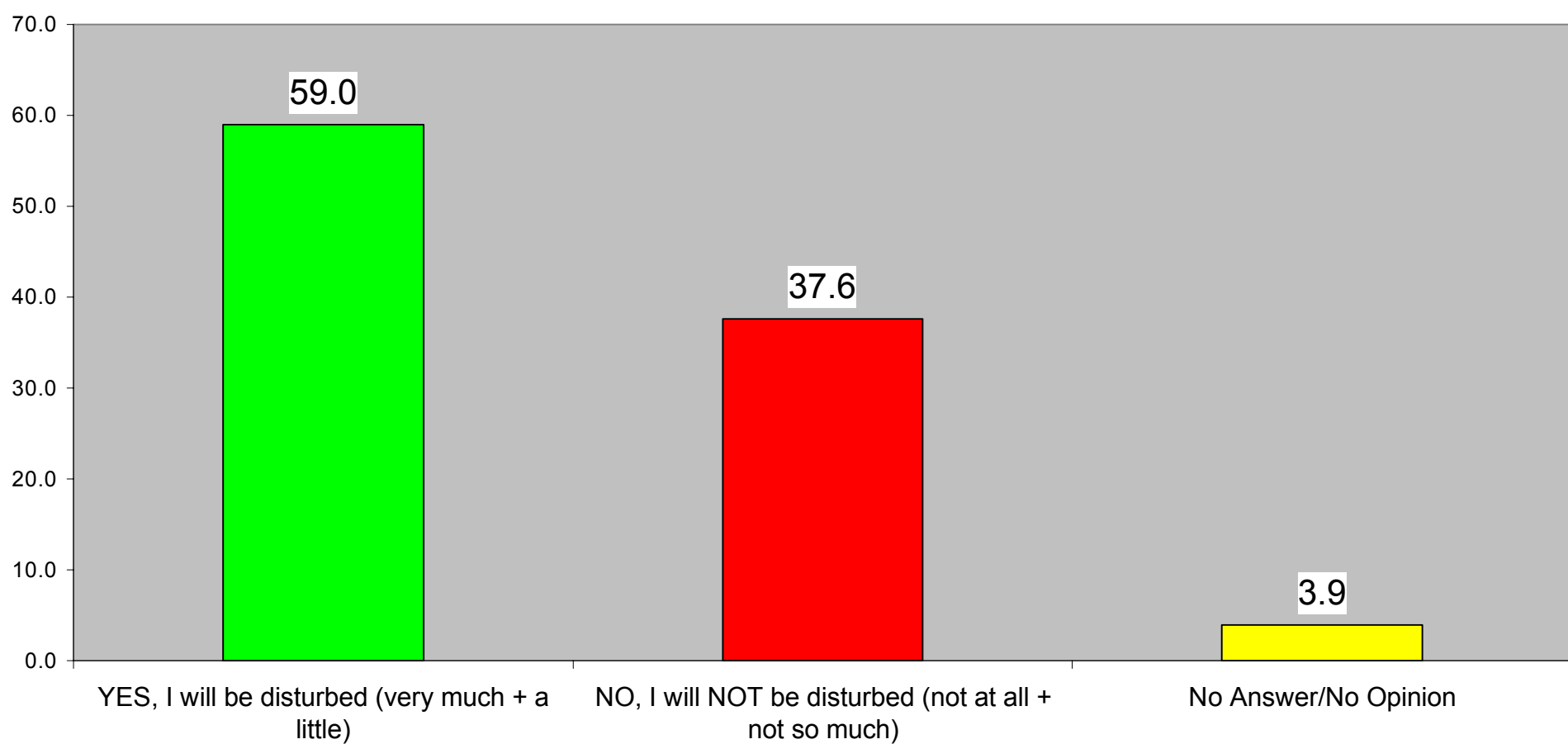


SECTION 3C
**SOVEREIGNTY ANXIETY:
THE WEAKENING OF THE
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND
SOVEREIGNTY**

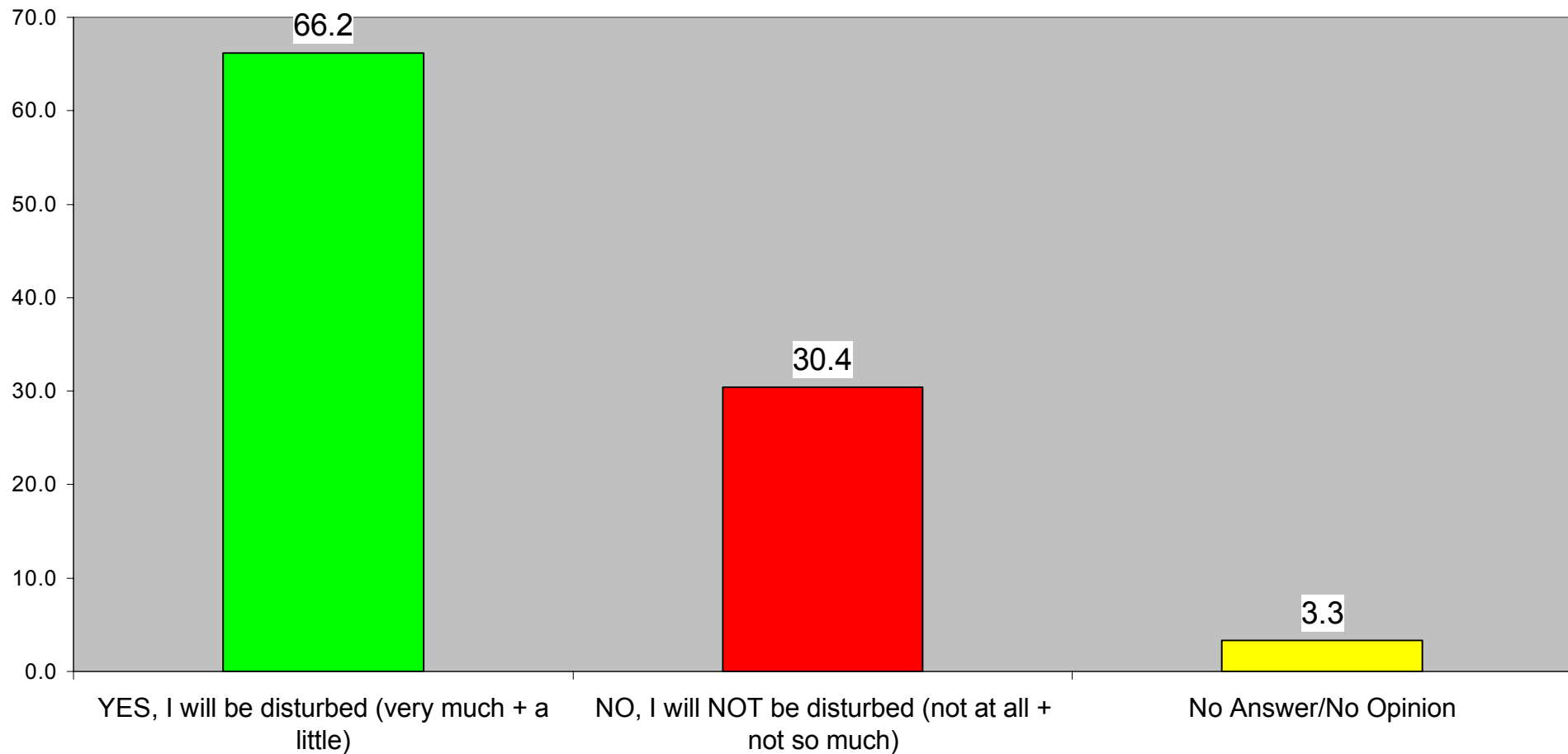
Some people say that if Turkey does everything the EU asks her to do, this will bring the Turkish state to an end. Do you agree with this view?



Will you feel disturbed if you see the EU flag hanging next to the Turkish flag in front of the schools, government buildings, and the like?



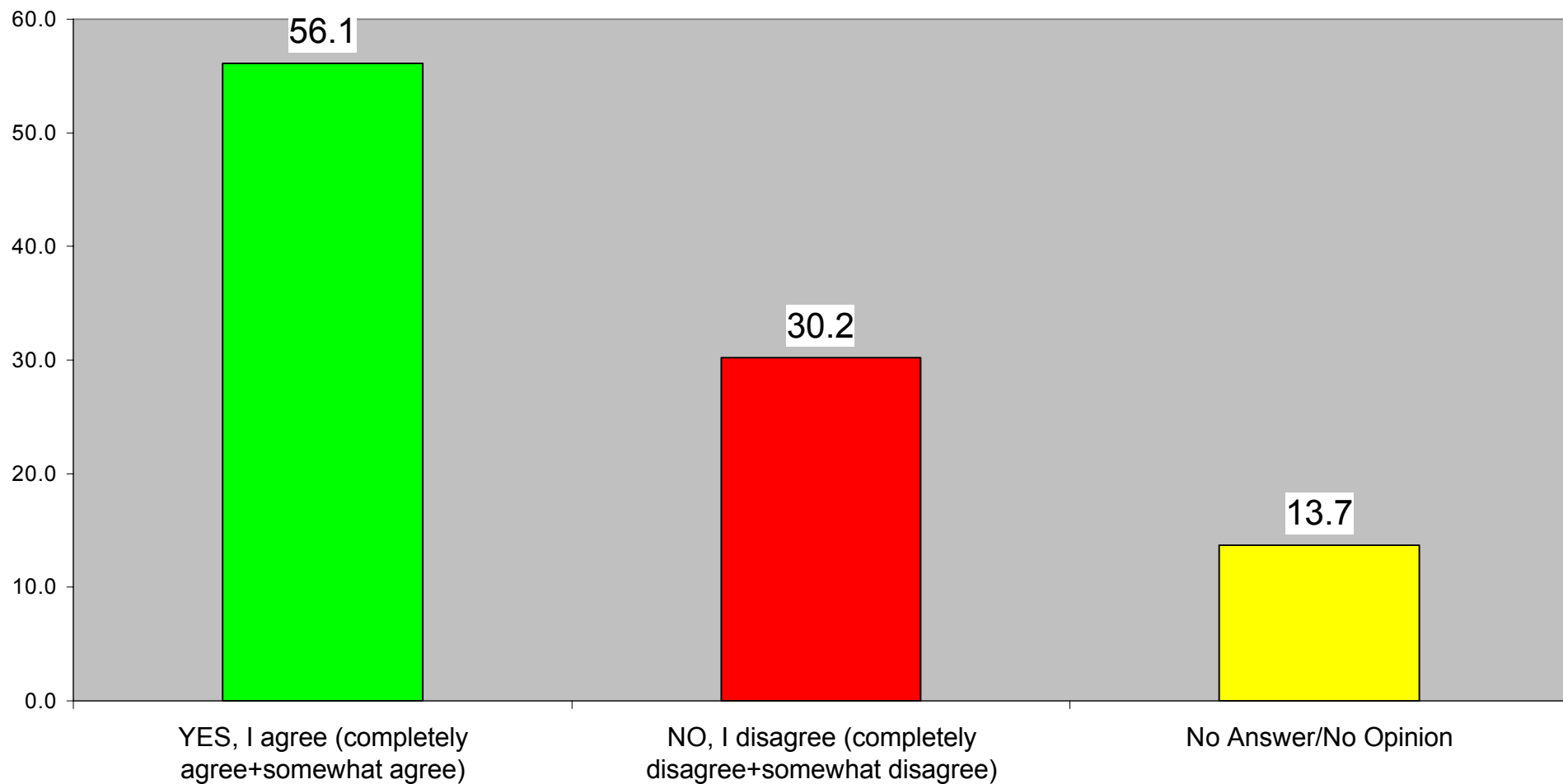
Will you feel disturbed if you hear the EU anthem being played beside the Turkish national anthem in the national days, commencement ceremonies of the schools, and the like?



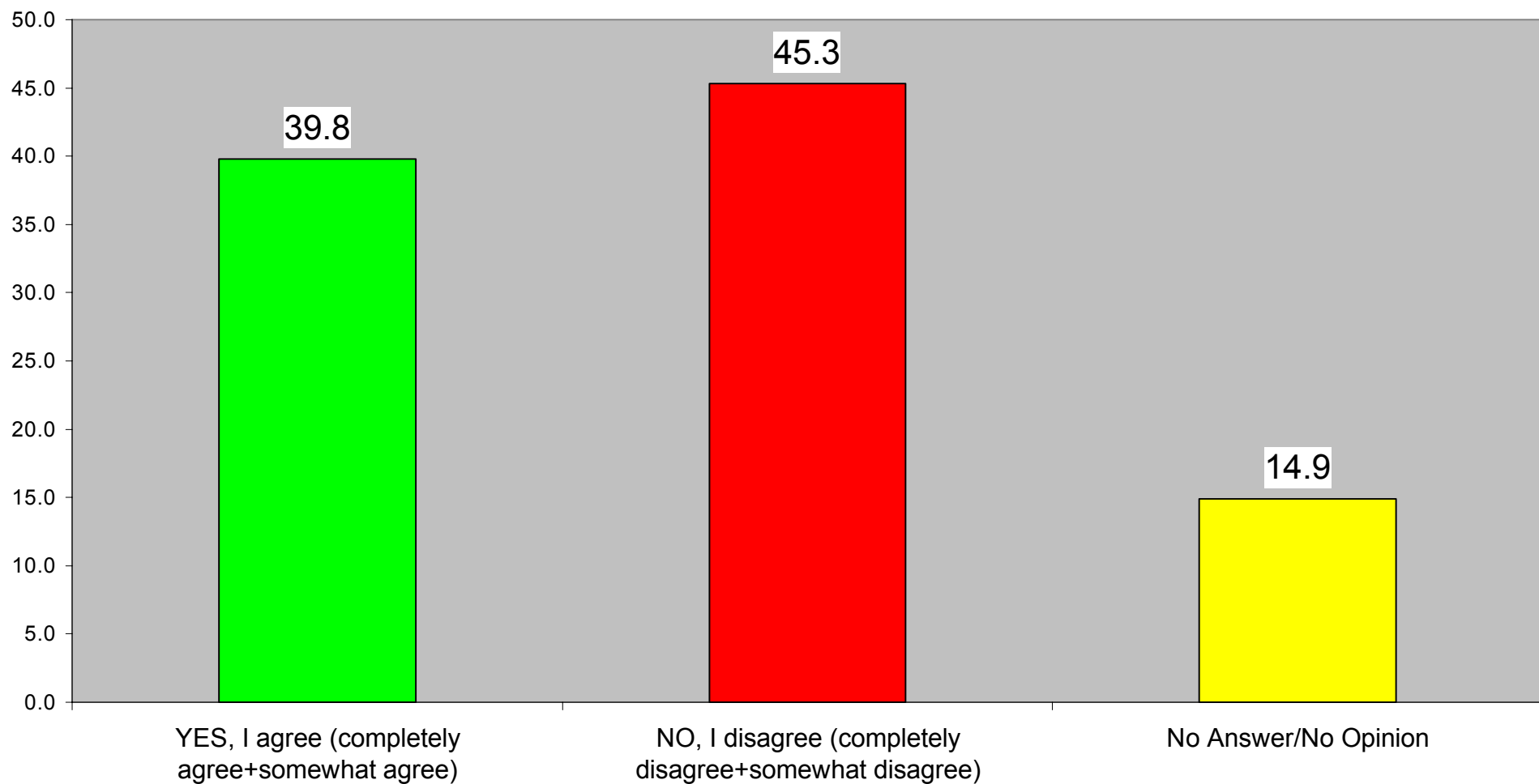


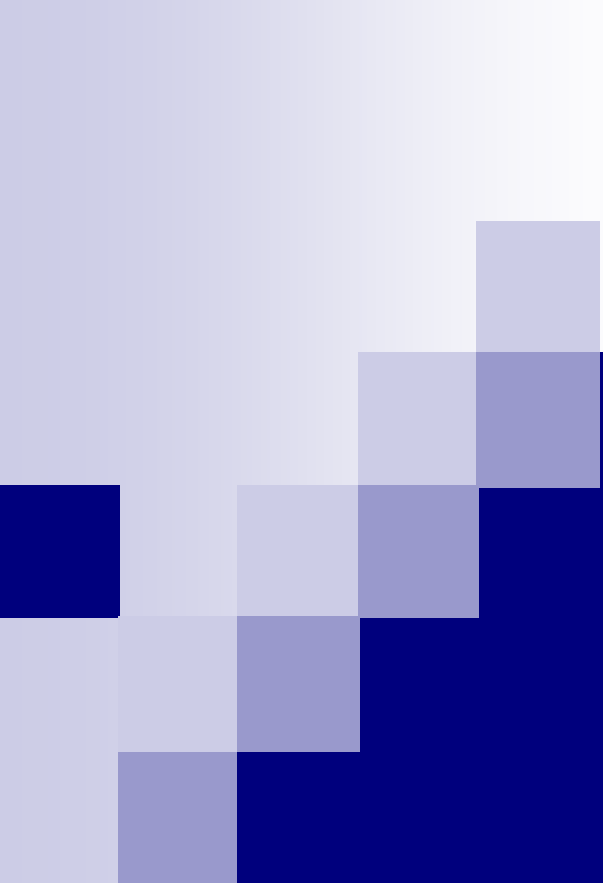
SECTION 3D
RELIGIOUS ANXIETY:
IS THE EU A “CHRISTIAN CLUB”?

Some people say the EU has been founded on Christian values. Do you agree with this view?



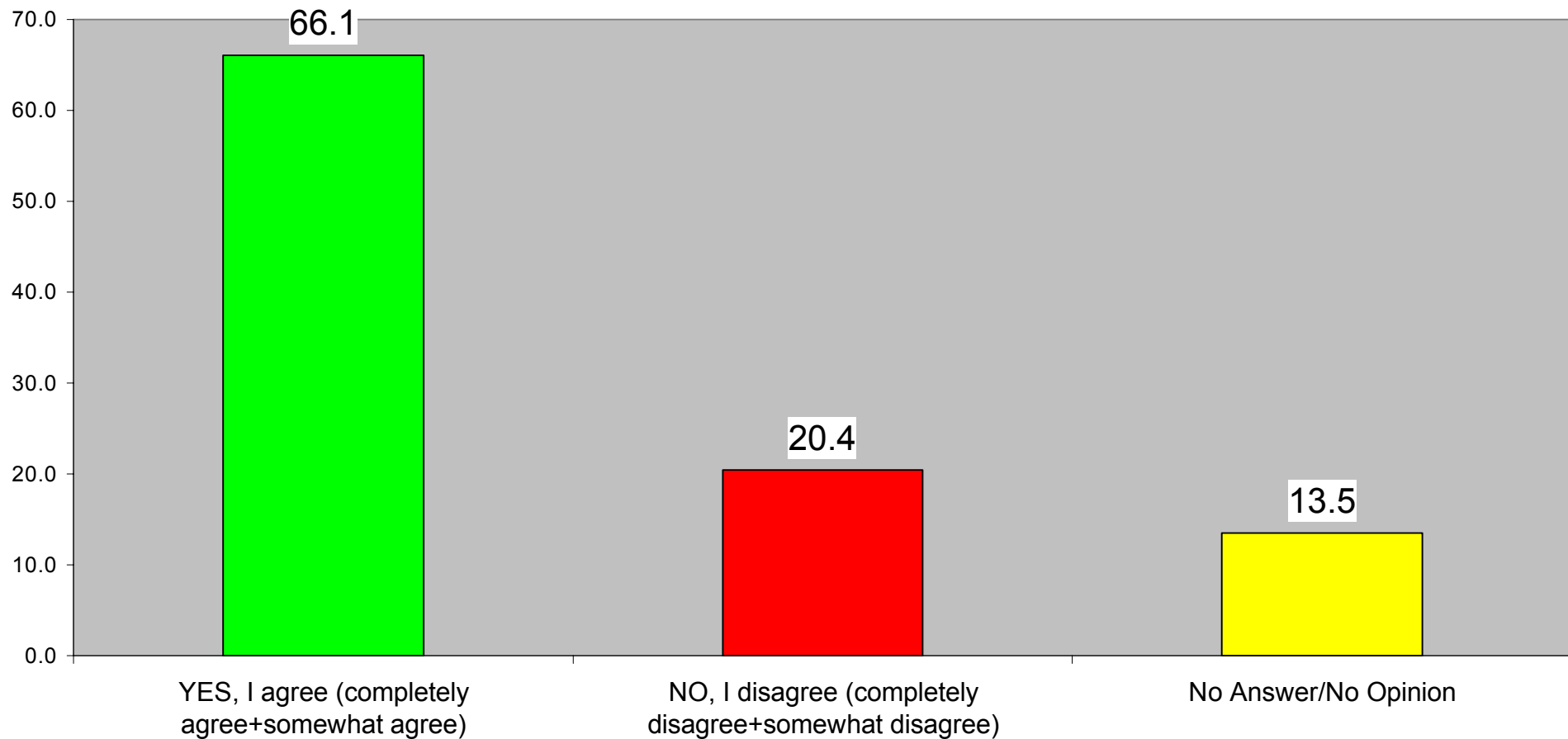
Some people say that the EU is a "Christian Club" with no place for a Muslim country like Turkey. Do you agree with this view?



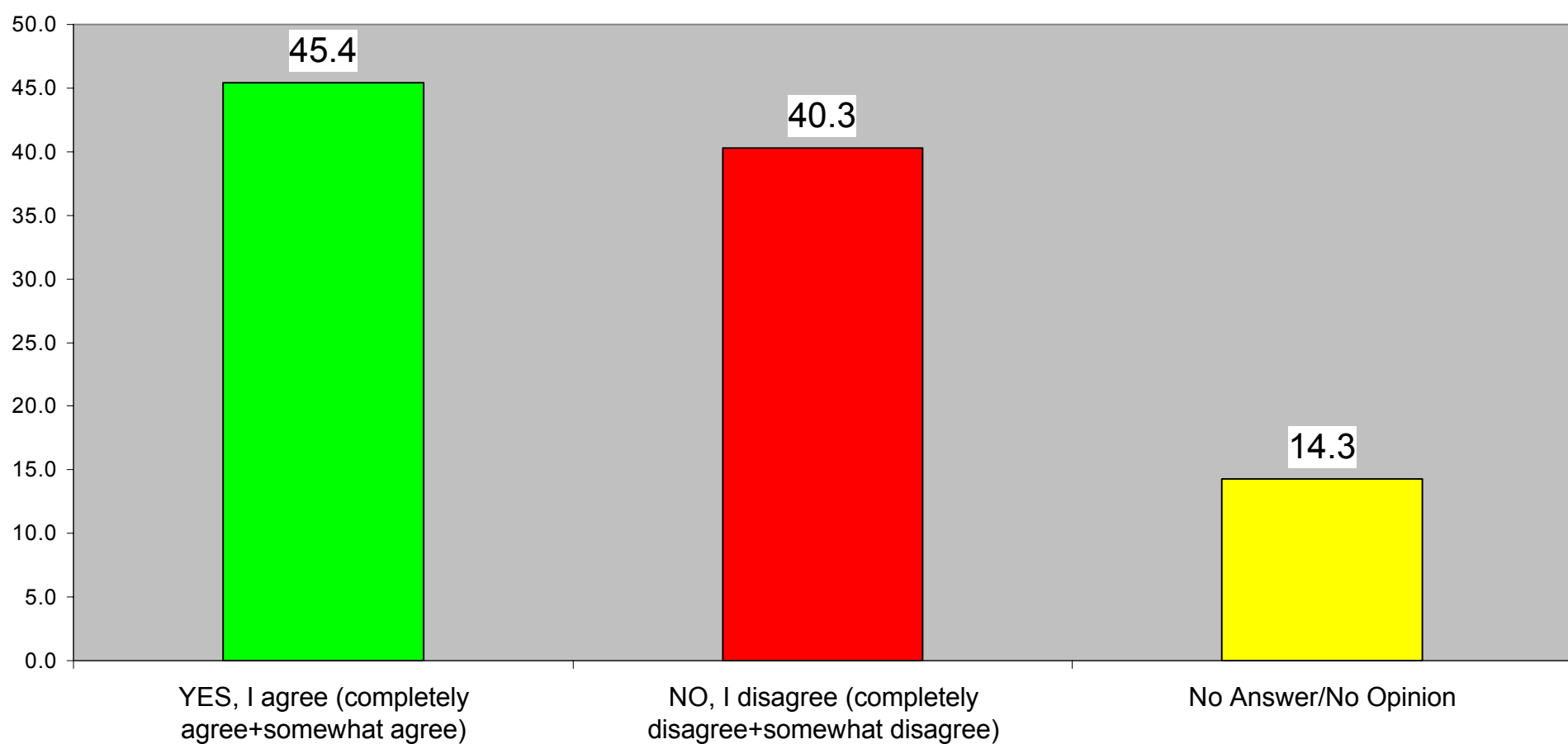


SECTION 3E
**SEPARATISM ANXIETY:
THE RISK OF THE BREAKDOWN
OF NATIONAL UNITY**

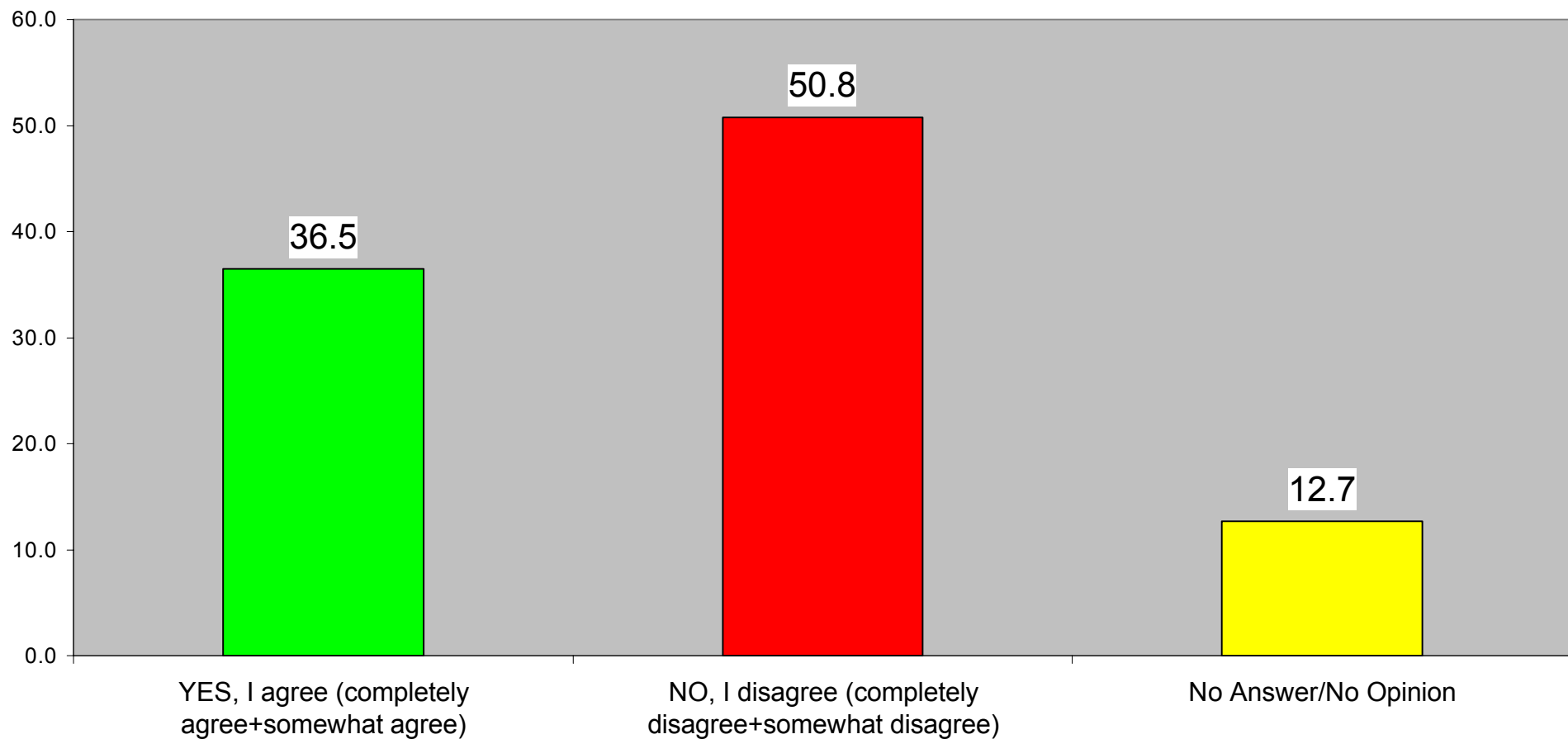
Some people say that the European countries supported the PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) and other ethnic separatist organizations in Turkey. Do you agree with this view?



Some people say that membership in the EU will bring along an increase in the number and strength of ethnic separatist organizations in Turkey. Do you agree with this view?



Some people say that membership in the EU will result in a division of Turkey along ethnic lines. Do you agree with this view?

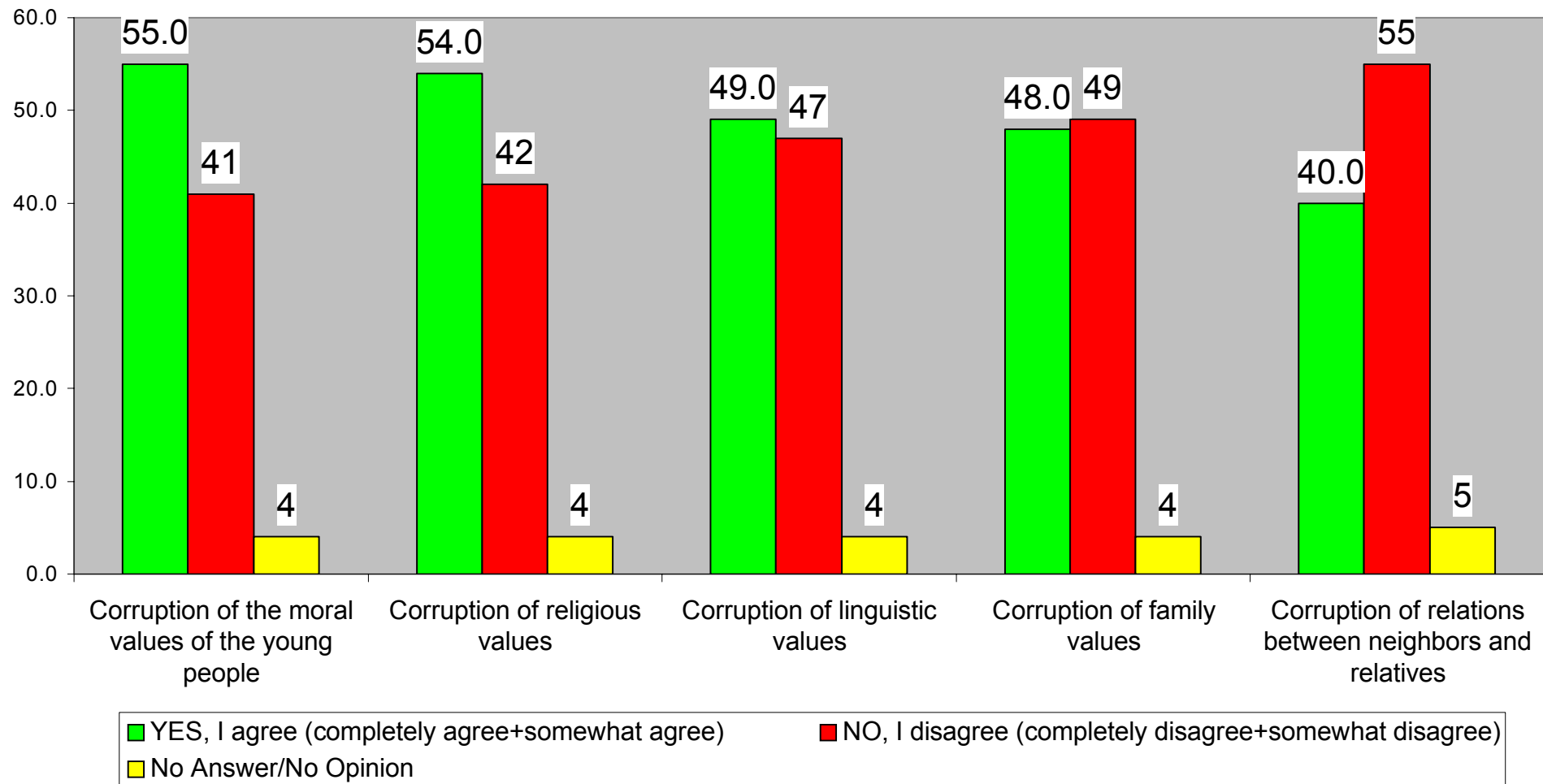




SECTION 3F

**MORAL ANXIETY: EROSION OF
TRADITIONAL VALUES**

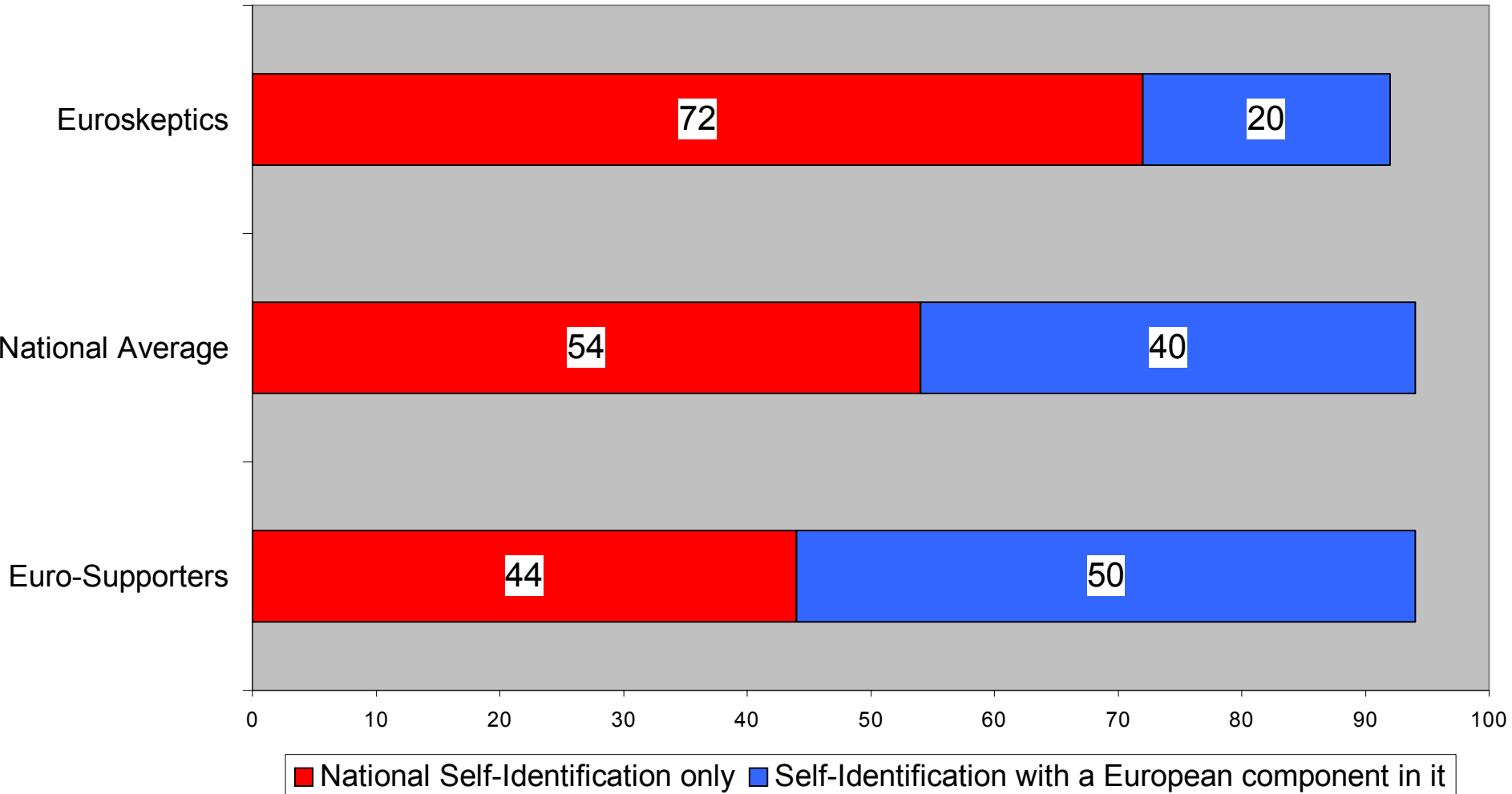
Some people say that closer relations with Europe will bring along a corruption of values in the following areas. Do you agree with this view?



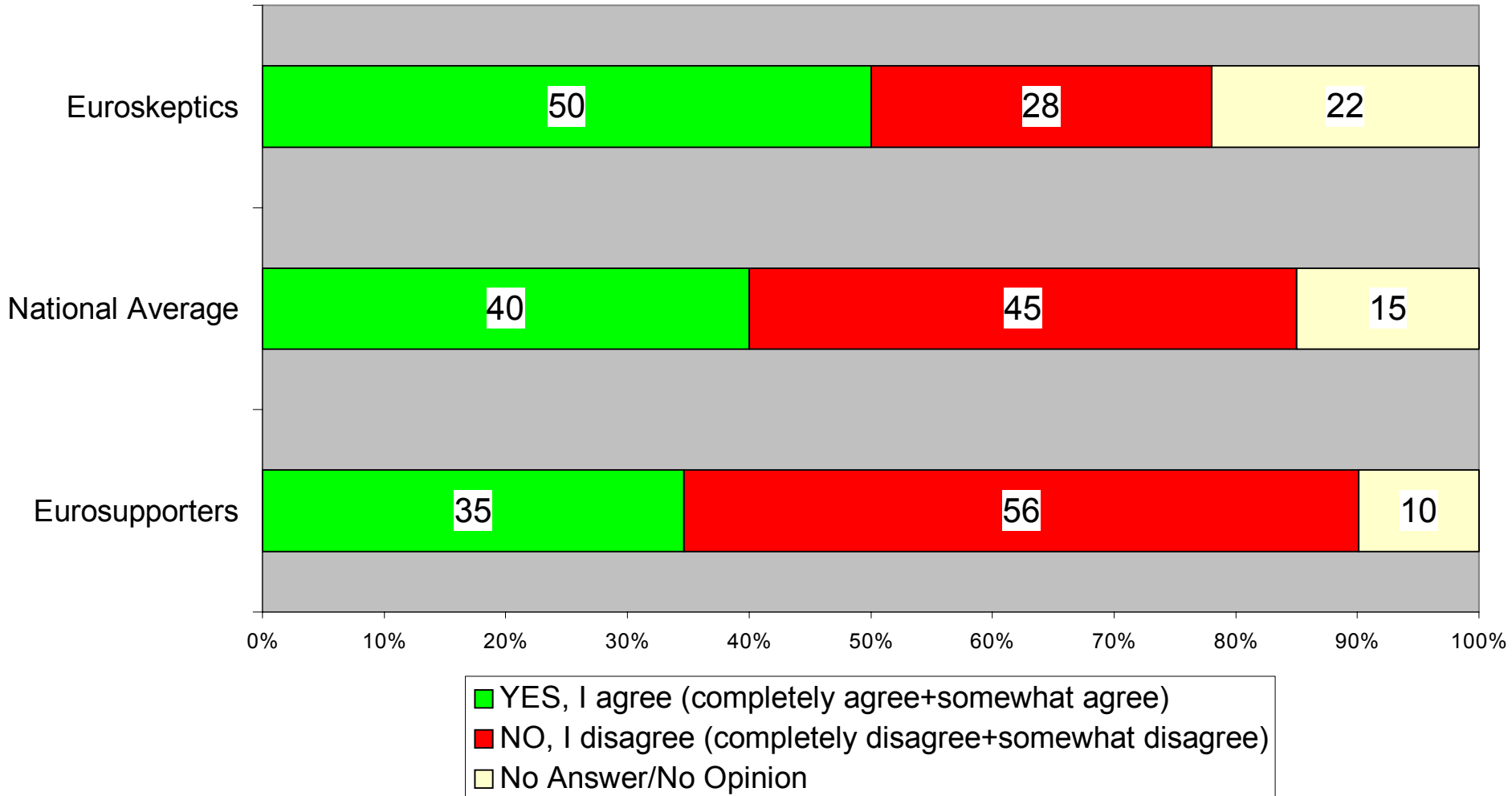


SECTION 4
**A PROFILE OF THE
EUROSKEPTICS**

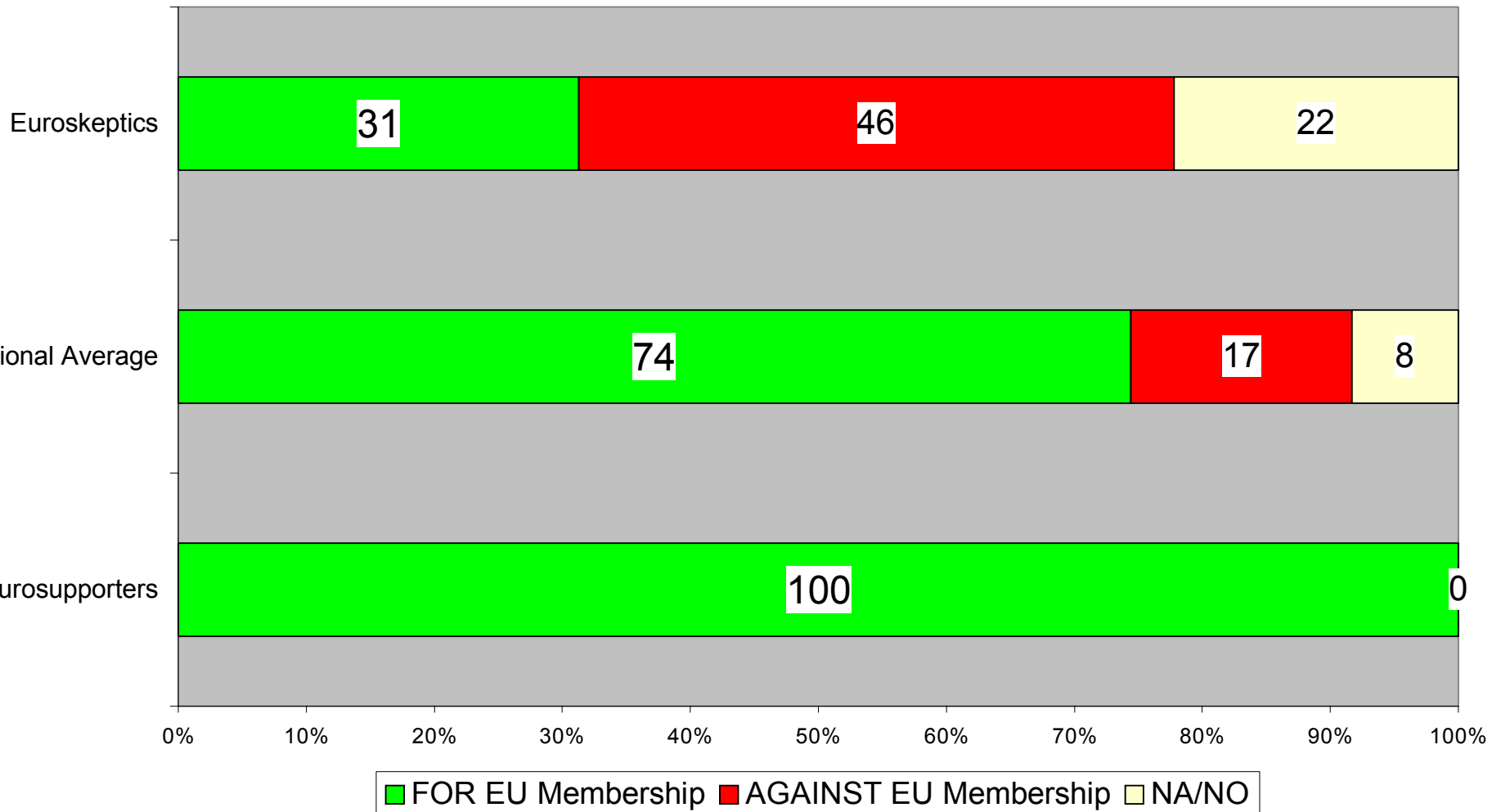
When you think of the near future, which of the following self-identifications do you think will be most appropriate for you?



Some people say that the EU is a "Christian Club" with no place for a Muslim country like Turkey. Do you agree with this view?



If there were to be a referendum on Turkey's membership in the EU today, would you vote for or against it?



Profiling the Euroskeptics in Turkey

- Women are more Euroskeptic than men
- Euroskepticism has no correlation with age
- Euroskepticism tends to decline with increasing levels of income (but it does not necessarily rise with decreasing income levels)
- Euroskepticism tends to rise with increasing religiosity, increasing nationalistic attitudes, increasing rural ways of life
- Highest levels of Euroskepticism are to be found among housewives, workers and peasants
- Speakers of “Turkish only” tend to be more Euroskeptic than speakers of Kurdish
- Euroskeptics comprise about 35% of the general population