

The accession of Turkey into the EU:

Reasons for the slow progress



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2013



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Agricultural Economics and Rural Policy

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Acknowledgements

This research was conducted as a Master thesis as part of my graduation for the study Management, Economics and Consumer Studies. My interest for the subject of European integration was sparked when I followed the course The Economics of European Integration: Agricultural, Rural and Regional Policy Analysis. Being an economics student I first considered a study into the economic effects of Turkish accession into the EU, but having interest in the political aspect as well I decided to go with a different approach by analyzing the entire situation and the reasons for why the process is still not completed.

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Summary

The aim of the research is to make a comprehensive and current overview of the Turkish accession process as it seems to be developing very slowly the past years. The research questions are determined to first paint the picture of the general form of EU accession, then explain Turkey's status in this process and finally determine what the reasons for the slow progress are. The questions are largely answered through literature research, and interviews were conducted with involved employees of all the parties in the Turkish accession process. These interviews provided insights that would not easily be found in literature, as well as inside views.

The general EU accession process is described in detail, starting from bilateral pre-accession ties through the application, candidate status, accession negotiations and the *acquis communautaire*, and finally the accession itself. Afterwards it is shown where Turkey is in this process. Accession negotiations with Turkey were opened in 2005 and so far one chapter has been closed, while twelve others are open. However no chapter can be closed until the Additional Protocol is implemented, meaning that Turkey must open its borders to Cyprus for trade.

To explain the positions of EU members towards a new candidate country the theory of public choice is used. This theory states that politicians will act self-interested when faced with a decision. In this case it means that the position of a country towards accession of a new Member State will depend on the implications of the accession for that country.

The possible effects of the positions of existing members are collected and put into four categories: economic effects, political effects, compatibility effects and miscellaneous effects. The effects are all explained individually and their weight is determined using the information gathered in the interviews, backed up by literature research.

The result is that the biggest factors that are slowing the process down are Turkey's bilateral relations (especially concerning Cyprus), political *acquis* issues such as human rights and freedom of press, and the EU's absorption capacity, mostly due to the fact that Turkish accession will cause all the existing members to lose influence in the EU because of its large population size. Another factor of interest is public opinion. It is not an important negative influence in the process, but it is stated to be a factor that has the potential to give a huge boost to the process. A favorable public opinion would provide the process with much support, which could be a motivator for politicians.

Finally some appendices containing background information are included. The appendices explain some concepts and situations in more detail than the text could provide. First there is a glossary for technical terms and abbreviations used throughout the thesis. Afterwards explanations on the EU's vote distribution mechanism, the Cyprus issue and the economic situation of Turkey will be provided. This background information will provide much-needed context for many of the issues raised during the research. The final appendix contains information on the interviews, including the relevance of the interviewees and the questions asked.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter will provide a general introduction to the research. First some background information will be given on the relationship between Turkey and the EU. Then the problem will be defined and the aim of the research will be explained. Finally the research questions will be named along with the methodology used to answer those questions.

1.1 Background and problem definition

To become a member of the EU, a country needs to fulfil a number of requirements. Importantly the country needs to meet the Copenhagen Requirements, which relate to the economic and political situation as well as its ability to meet the obligations of membership (EC, 2012a).

The country needs to adapt its administrative structures to make integration possible. EU legislation needs to be transposed into national legislation. However this is not enough. It needs to be implemented and enforced effectively, and for this, strong institutions are required. The EU must also be able to integrate new members in a way that policymaking is not hindered. Policy needs to be continuously developed and implemented, and the EU needs to be able to finance these policies.

Turkey applied for membership of the European Community, the predecessor of the European Union (EU), in 1987. The EU accepted this application in 1999 and official accession negotiations were opened in 2005. However in 2012, 25 years after the application, there is still no conclusion to the matter as there are several issues that prevent the application to really move forward. Although there are ideas about what some of these issues are, it is not clear what the true bottlenecks are as there are many factors that play a role in the process.

Turkey and the EU formed a Customs Union in 1995. However since this failed to provide the wanted effects (policy change to become more compatible with the EU) the EU decided to accept Turkey as a candidate country in Helsinki in December 1999. This did cause a major incentive for Turkish domestic policy change and as such was a turning point in the EU-Turkey relationship (Öniş, 2003).

It is interesting to look at the reasons for Turkey's persistence in trying to become an EU member. Despite many delays and disappointments Turkey continues to seek membership. Some movements have been made towards non-western countries, but so far have not dramatically shifted Turkey's foreign policy orientation. This can partly be explained by the political and economic volatility of neighbor countries such as Syria, Iraq and Iran. These countries are not stable partners due to their political and economic situations (Kirişci, 2009).

However there are also positive factors that can be pointed out. Camyar and Tagma (2010) argue that the integration with Europe in terms of political and economic connections, which started at the end of the Ottoman Empire, brought many positive returns for Turkey. Examples of this include increasing security and consolidation of the modernization process. This led to positive feedback, making it difficult for policymakers to reorient foreign policy away from Europe. With the rise of the EU as regional power, it became an integral part in the policy reforms that Turkey has undergone and

is undergoing. This broad perspective of Turkey-EU relations causes the accession process to have a strong foundation in Turkey.

Many of the EU's political leaders, including those of the UK and Spain have showed themselves advocates of Turkey's accession, while there are also countries that have been less positive, such as Germany and France. These nations have in the past advocated for cooperation in a different form, for example a privileged partnership (Içener, 2007).

The accession of Turkey into the EU could have many positive effects for all parties involved. Trade is expected to increase causing a positive effect on GDP in both Turkey and, albeit smaller, in the EU. EU membership could also cause reforms in Turkey such as lowering corruption, which would lead to a higher rating in the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, causing even more large gains for Turkish GDP (Lejour and de Mooij, 2005).

There is not much current information on this topic despite it being a potentially very important one. An internet search for scientific articles on the EU-Turkey relation shows that most of these were written between 5 and 15 years ago. Currently the Turkey issue is more or less frozen since there are other things to focus on such as the financial crisis, and because many of the chapters for negotiation are being blocked by EU members Cyprus and France (Barysch, 2010). It is interesting to see how far Turkey has come over the past 13 years and what causes the slow pace of the process.

1.2 Research objective and research questions

There are 35 chapters on which a candidate country needs to align its policy with the EU, ranging from environmental and energy policy to capital mobility and taxation. On top of this the Copenhagen criteria need to be met. It is not easy to see whether a country meets all the criteria. Therefore it will prove beneficial to do more research on what exactly needs to happen for a country to be allowed membership, or what the criteria are for fulfilling a chapter. This way a clearer picture can be provided for the accession process.

While Turkey complies with a good number of these chapters, there are still some issues that are blocking progress. This thesis will attempt to analyze the situation and give an overview of the most important problems.

The accession requirements will be examined, creating a clear overview of what a country needs to do to join the EU. Then the status of Turkey at the time of the start of the negotiations will be assessed and compared to the current situation to see how much progress has been made. The objective will be to see what the current status of the accession process is and to identify and examine the key factors in the process. Finally I will find out which factors are slowing down the process the most.

Something that would be helpful in analyzing the situation is a theoretical framework, a theory that can explain Turkey's accession process and current situation. In this research the theory of public choice will be used as a framework for the analysis of potential problem factors.

My research questions will be:

- What does the process of accession of a country into the EU look like?
- What is the current status of Turkey in this process?
- What are the factors that decide success in the accession process?
- What are the bottlenecks?

1.3 Methodological design

The first question will be answered through literature study. Since EU accession is an official process that all new Member States have to go through, all the information will be available in the literature. The site of the EU and if necessary additional documents will provide all the information needed, and this information will then be used to create a clear overview. Therefore the information provided in this chapter will be purely taken from the various EU sites and documents. A reference after the title of a section implies that all the information in that section stems from that one source. To find the status of Turkey documentation available through the EU site will be used to see how far Turkey has come officially. Scientific literature will be applied to the analysis for a broader view.

To complete the analysis with research question three and four, different sources will be needed. It could be hard to determine from just literature which of the problems are really important and which are perhaps easier to solve than they seem. To find information that is not easy to find in documents, for example about how to weight these problems interviews with key persons who were and are active in the accession negotiations will be used.

Chapter 2: EU accession¹

This chapter will be dedicated to describing the process of accession of a country into the EU. The process of accession of a country into the EU can roughly be divided into 4 stages. After going through all the stages the country may call itself a member of the EU. The following sections will examine these stages one by one, creating a complete overview of the process. The road of a country on the way to membership is explained going from pre-accession relations to the application for membership, candidate country status and opening of negotiations. The *acquis communautaire* and its chapters are explained and the criteria for chapter fulfillment are shown. After these negotiations are finished the country is an acceding state and will become a member. When the process is described in its general form, it will be easier to identify the progress that Turkey has made and what still needs to happen in order for the accession to be successful.

2.1 Pre-accession

The first stage is the preliminary application by the country to the European Council. After the submission the country will be known as an applicant country. However, before reaching this stage the country will already have a longer history of EU negotiations. To help the country reach the necessary goals to apply it is common that an Association Agreement is signed. This Agreement aims to assist the country in the first stages of aligning its policy with EU policy, making it possible for the country to become an applicant country and for real negotiations and reforms to start. This cannot be seen as a first stage of accession, as Association Agreements exist with a wide variety of countries, including many that are not eligible for membership geographically. For example such agreements exist between the EU and countries like Mexico and South Africa. However for potential members it is a way for pre-alignment with EU standards.

An instrument that is purely aimed at accession is the instrument for pre-accession assistance (IPA). IPA is a system that provides both financial and technical support to potential members. The assistance is available to both candidate countries and potential candidates, so the country does not need to have entered the process to be eligible. The main goal of the IPA is to stimulate a country's alignment with EU policy. The IPA funds can be provided in different ways, including infrastructural improvements, administrative cooperation, direct action by EU bodies or support for the implementation process. In exceptional cases budget support may also be provided. The funds are meant to bring the host country closer to EU membership by inducing reforms and increasing capacities, allowing candidate and potential candidate countries to take concrete actions on the areas that need it the most (EC, 2012b).

¹ On August 22, 2012, the European Commission overhauled their website, changing much of the original setup. Although facts were not changed, much was worded differently and categorized differently. As Chapter 2 was written before this date it is possible that some of the information that used to be on pages mentioned is now scattered across other pages.

2.2 Applicant state

From the strong bonds between the country and the EU, eventually the country will put in an official application for full membership of the EU. The EU will allow any European country that fulfills the requirements to apply for membership (TEU, 1992) and thus become an applicant country. But before accepting the application there are some issues that the EU needs to look at.

An issue that is instrumental in the accession process is the so-called absorption capacity of the EU. It is important for the EU that the addition of the new member will not cause difficulties in implementing or intensifying policies and institutions. Therefore the country needs to be able to abide by the common policies so as not to harm the EU's capacity for effective action. Finally the accession needs to be supported by public opinion in both the applicant state and the Member States. Impact studies will be carried out by the European Commission not only at this point but at all stages of the accession process to ensure that no problems will arise in this respect (EU, 2007).

Once the application is in, the European Council will ask the European Commission for an opinion on whether or not to accept the application. Taking this non-binding advice into consideration, the Council will then make the decision, with the consent of the European Parliament (TEU, 1992). If the application is accepted, the country will from that point on be known as a candidate country.

2.3 Candidate country

The candidate country status means that the application has been accepted, and the second stage has been entered. Accession negotiations will now be opened once the Council unanimously agrees on a negotiating mandate.

The negotiations will be primarily focused on the candidate country fulfilling all the requirements for EU membership. On top of the requirements set in Article 49 of the Maastricht Treaty, there is an additional set of criteria. This set is called the Copenhagen criteria (EC, 2012a).

The original Copenhagen Criteria, created at the European Council meeting in Copenhagen of 1993, are as follows:

- stability of the institutions safeguarding democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities;
- existence of a viable market economy, the ability to respond to the pressure of competition and market forces within the EU;
- the ability to assume the obligations of membership, in particular adherence to the objectives of political, economic and monetary union.

At the Council meeting in Madrid of 1995 a fourth criterion was added (EU, 2007):

- having created conditions for integration by adapting their administrative structures.

The third criterion was also modified in 1995 to clarify the obligations of membership that have to be fulfilled, by adding the fact that these obligations stem from the laws and policies of the EU.

The Copenhagen criteria describe the ability of a country to adapt to EU membership in political, economic and legislative terms. The fourth criterion proves to be a factor that clarifies the above three. Of course, it is not easy to determine whether or not a country has 'the ability to assume the obligations of membership' or 'stability of the institutions safeguarding democracy'. Therefore, using the fourth criterion a negotiation framework can be created. This framework, proposed by the Commission and established by the Council, forms the basis for the upcoming accession negotiations. It contains the principles and procedures of the negotiations, the specific conditions and requirements the country needs to fulfill, the progress a country has made based on the negotiations and the final conclusion. To join the EU a candidate country has to be able to adopt all EU legislation. This collection of EU legislation is called the *acquis communautaire*, or the community *acquis*.

2.4 Accession negotiations

The *acquis* has been divided into 35 main chapters of different policy areas that the EU has control over. Due to its nature it is subject to change as the legislation of the EU changes. However once negotiations are opened, that set of chapters will be valid for the duration of the negotiations with that country. The content of the *acquis* includes all agreements, principles, positions, resolutions et cetera that the candidate country needs to comply with. It is non-negotiable. Therefore the negotiations are not negotiations in the classical give-and-take sense, but rather they are aimed at finding arrangements and solutions to help the country bring their institutions and policies up to EU standards.

A short summary of each of the 35 chapters is available on the EC website (EC, 2012c). A more detailed description of the chapters as well as the requirements for alignment with each of the chapters are collected in the 'Guide to the Main administrative structures required for implementing the *acquis*'. This is a non-binding guidance document containing all the institutions, structures, legislation et cetera a country needs to implement for alignment with the *acquis*.

The first chapter of the *acquis* deals with the principle of *free movement of goods*. All goods must be allowed to be traded freely from any part of the Union to another, with the notable exception of goods that form a threat to public health or the environment.

Freedom of movement for workers implies that the citizens of the EU need to have residence rights everywhere, meaning that all EU citizens can live anywhere they want within the EU.

To comply with the chapter on *right of establishment and freedom to provide services*, any person or company (so-called economic operators) should be allowed to establish themselves economically in any part of the EU, as well as provide services in any other country. On top of this there needs to be a common system that allows for generalization of professional qualifications such as diplomas, to make it easier for economic operators to establish themselves in another country.

Free movement of capital means that the candidate country needs to lift all restrictions on capital movement. This includes not only capital movement within the EU, but also that between the host country and any third country.

The *acquis* demands that *public procurement* follows the principles of free movement of persons, goods, capital and services, transparency, non-discrimination and equality of treatment. For this purpose legislation needs to be implemented and enforced.

Rules need to be set up on *company law* regarding formation, registration, merger and division.

Intellectual property law needs to be upheld. Rules with regard to protection of copyright, trademarks and designs need to be harmonized with EU regulations.

There is also legislature on *competition policy*. The main goal is to ensure that anti-competitive behavior does not happen by investigating both mergers and distorting state aid.

Furthermore *financial services* need to be monitored with rules for authorization, operation and supervision of institutes such as banks and insurance companies.

Another point of attention is that of *information society and media*. Telecommunications services and networks need to be universally available, which requires specific rules for each part of the sector. Also free movement of television broadcasts needs to be established. The regulatory framework for broadcasting needs to be transparent and effective.

The Common Agricultural Policy is one of the EU's most important policies. Therefore the *agriculture and rural development* chapter aims to create the conditions needed for its implementation.

Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy needs to be adapted in such a way that risks to human and animal health are minimized, and hygiene and safety standards are upheld.

The candidate country needs to be prepared to adapt the EU's common *fisheries* policy, containing among other things market policy, resource management and inspection and control.

All transport services should be encouraged to be safe, efficient and environmentally friendly through *transport policy*. Sufficient standards should be implemented.

Energy supply needs to be regulated. Competitiveness, security of supplies and the environment need to be protected.

The *acquis* on *taxation* is mainly concerned with the value-added tax. However, direct taxation is also addressed. Through intra-community assistance and co-operation the internal market is provided with an environment aimed at smooth functioning and preventing tax evasion.

Independence of central banks policies and alignment with the prerequisites for adaptation of the euro are the most important points on *economic and monetary policy*. Member States are also subject to the Stability and Growth Pact and should coordinate economic policies to avoid opposing effects and to increase synergies.

Statistics need to be gathered in a way that is impartial, reliable and transparent. This has to be achieved mostly through compliance with regulations.

To fulfill the chapter on *social policy and employment* standards on labor law and equality, health and safety at work need to be implemented. The country must also participate in EU dialogue and policy processes.

Competitiveness needs to be enhanced by creating a favorable environment for business creation and growth. For this purpose *enterprise and industrial policy* needs to be aligned with EU principles.

The *Trans-European networks* policy consists of policy on the areas of transport, telecommunications and energy. These Trans-European Networks need to be encouraged and not hindered.

A framework and regulations need to be implemented on *regional policy and coordination of structural instruments*. They will serve the purpose of effective EU legislation implementation.

The chapter of *judiciary and fundamental rights* aims to ensure integrity of the judiciary system. It is also important that the law is upheld in the country in an impartial way and that fair trials are available for all.

In the chapter of *justice, freedom and security* rules are imposed that relate to terrorism and organized crime, and the country is told that an efficient and strong administrative structure as well as policy organization is imperative.

In the area of *science and research* the country needs to be prepared for participation in the EU's Framework Programmes. Implementation capacity for this purpose needs to be available.

National policies on *education and culture* should be converged and integrated, and resources and tools for implementation of cultural programs need to be made available.

The EU also demands preventive action for *environment* preservation, as well as promotion of sustainable development. Environmental standards on many areas such as water, air and waste need to be upheld.

Safety of consumer goods and consumer rights need to be protected. The country will need to create administrative and enforcement structures on new regulations on *consumer and health protection*.

A *customs union* needs to be created, meaning that external tariffs and quotas need to be aligned with EU standards and internal tariffs and quotas abolished.

EU legislation needs to be abided by in the area of *external relations*. This includes humanitarian aid and development policy.

Legally binding agreements on *foreign, security and defence policy* need to be respected. Countries need to be able to take part in EU actions and align with EU statements.

Financial control needs to be effective and transparent. The system should control the entire public sector. Also an independent external audit organization needs to be set up to monitor and assess the control systems.

The country will need to contribute financially to the EU budget. The correct calculation, collection and payment of this contribution need to be ensured in the *financial and budgetary provisions* chapter.

Adaptations are required for the country to be adequately represented in EU *institutions*. The necessary bodies and mechanisms need to be created so that the country can contribute to the European Parliament, Council, Commission and Court of Justice. Correct functioning of decision-making procedures such as voting needs to be ensured too.

Finally there is a chapter reserved for *other issues* that are not covered under other chapters. This chapter is dealt with at the end of the negotiations and as of now does not cover any issues yet.

The size and contents of the *acquis* reflect the profound level of integration currently achieved by the EU, and with that the responsibility of candidate countries to be ready for this integration. A system exists in which economic integration is sorted into five levels, ranging from a Free Trade Agreement to a Political Union (Baldwin and Wyplosz, 2012). Each level comprises the previous level while adding additional elements. The EU is currently (partly) at the level of an Economic Union. If further integration is desired the only remaining step is to form a Political Union, meaning that policy is set centrally and there is a common government.

2.5 Fulfilling the chapters²

The candidate countries receive documents containing all the information on the chapters, including the contents, goals and means to achieve those goals. To ensure that the candidate country does not simply fulfill the chapters with non-functioning paper tigers, the documentation also contains standards that the undertaken measures need to meet. For example, when a new organization needs to be set up for safeguarding and overseeing a certain activity, the EU demands that this organization is qualified, independent and efficient. Only if this is the case will the measure be accepted as valid.

To make the negotiations more structured for the candidate country and to improve incentives to undertake measures, the EU provides benchmarks within each chapter. A benchmark is a measurable action that has been performed that is linked to fulfillment of the chapter. Examples of benchmarks include implementing legislation or creation of a valid administrative or judicial body. Once all the benchmarks have been fulfilled the country is deemed to have sufficiently aligned its policy with the EU *acquis*, and the relevant chapter can be closed. However, this is not a definitive status. If the country no longer satisfies the conditions a chapter can be reopened.

Fulfilling all benchmarks means the conditions for a chapter have been met, but it does not mean the country is completely in line with EU legislation. However it does mean that the means to implement it are present and that progress towards that goal is being made. A chapter can be closed before the country fully aligns itself with the EU legislation; in this case transitional measures will be agreed upon that will assure that the country does complete alignment before the accession date.

One of the most important principles of accession negotiations is that when a country causes what is perceived as a serious and persistent violation of EU principles the negotiations may be suspended. The Commission will send a recommendation to the Council, either on its own initiative or at the request of at least one third of the Member States. The Council will then discuss the matter with the

² Information in this section taken from EU (2007)

candidate country and follow through on the recommendation if it is supported by a qualified majority. The amount of countries needed for a qualified majority varies: if the initiative came from the Commission, 14 countries are needed. If not, 18. Furthermore 255 of the 345 voting weights and a majority of at least 62% of EU population represented is needed (TR, 2004). This means the majority needs to be large both in number of countries, in voting weights of those countries and in population size of those countries.³

2.6 Acceding state⁴

Once all the chapters are closed and the negotiations on the chapters are over, an Accession Treaty is created between the existing Member States and the candidate country. The Council decides when to conclude the process after receiving the opinion of the Commission and the assent of the Parliament. The Accession Treaty contains the results of the negotiations. It includes the progress made by the candidate country towards fulfilling the chapters of the acquis through adaptation of institutions and treaties, the conditions for accession and the transitional measures for areas where it is needed, and the accession date.

Once the Accession Treaty is signed the country becomes known as an acceding state. An acceding state has extra privileges compared to a candidate country, but is not quite a member state yet. For example acceding states are allowed to voice their opinion on EU agencies and bodies and comment on communications, recommendations or initiatives. However they are not allowed to vote yet, so their comments will only have an advisory role.

Between the date of the signing of the treaty and the accession date the treaty will be ratified by the acceding state and each member state individually. The acceding country uses the time to make the necessary changes in the areas that are still lacking, as the Commission supervises. When the accession date is reached and the acceding country has held up their commitments, the treaty will come into force and the country will join the EU.

2.7 Conclusion

The process of EU accession takes a country through 4 stages: applicant state, candidate country, opening of the negotiations, acceding state.

Before a country puts in an official EU membership application, normally a strong bilateral relationship with the EU already exists. This is usually shown in an Association Agreement. In cases where accession is a possibility in the future, the EU will already help the country in preparing for a

³ See appendix II

⁴ Information taken from EU (2007)

potential membership. For this purpose the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance is also used. After the country applies the first stage is entered and the country becomes an applicant state.

The European Council then decides whether the country fulfills the preliminary requirements sufficiently, taking into account an opinion of the Commission and assent of the Parliament. If the decision is a positive one, the country will enter the second stage and become a candidate country.

The Council now needs to set up a negotiating mandate. After this mandate is agreed upon the negotiations can begin, and the country will enter the third and longest stage. The mandate contains the goals of the negotiations, which are country-specific goals to help fulfill the requirements. These requirements include the Copenhagen Criteria and the alignment with the *acquis communautaire*. In this stage there is much talking and planning on how the country can align itself with EU policy and legislation.

The country has to show progress and fulfill benchmarks for negotiating chapters to be closed. Once all the chapters are closed an Accession Treaty can be created containing the results of the negotiations and the accession date. This is again done by the Council with the assistance of an opinion by the Commission and with the assent of the Parliament. When this treaty is signed the country enters the final stage before membership: acceding state.

All EU members need to individually ratify the Accession Treaty now, which will happen between the date of the signing and the agreed upon accession date. The country now has to fulfill promises made in the treaty and reach the goals that were set. If all goes well the treaty will come into force on the accession date and the country will be a member of the EU.

Chapter 3: Turkey's status

This chapter will give an overview of the current status of the accession negotiations. The current status will be compared to the initial status. This way a comparison can be made and the amount of progress that has been made can be identified, as well as determining what still needs to happen. The overview will start with the history of Turkey's accession process up to the current day. Then the status of the process will then be detailed. Finally the progress that has been made since the start of the process will be investigated.

3.1 The history of the accession process

Official EU-Turkey relations started in 1959, when Turkey applied for an Association Agreement with the European Economic Community. In 1963 the Ankara Association Agreement was signed. This agreement contained intentions of market liberalization and cooperation and was the predecessor of the Customs Union that would come into effect much later.

In 1970 and 1977 Financial Protocols were signed to accompany this agreement. However in 1980 the Community froze its relations with Turkey after a military coup d'état took place in the country. When a civilian government was restored in 1983, relations slowly began to normalize (EC, 1998).

In 1987 Turkey applied for full membership of the Community, becoming an applicant country. Before this application was accepted the Association Agreement was finalized with the creation of a Customs Union in 1995. The successor of the Community, the European Union, accepted Turkey's application in the Luxembourg Council of 1997 and accepted Turkey as eligible to join the EU. In 1999 Turkey was officially named a candidate country.

The next step, the opening of the accession negotiations, was a complicated process. In 2002 the decision of whether or not to open the negotiations was postponed, with the EU stating that negotiations would be opened if Turkey was deemed to fulfill the political part of the Copenhagen Criteria, which required stability of the institutions safeguarding democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities. This was concretized in six pieces of legislation that Turkey had to adopt (EC, 2005).

In December 2004 the EU decided that Turkey sufficiently fulfilled the criteria and set the date for the opening of accession negotiations to 3 October 2005. The negotiating framework was set up and negotiations were formally opened.

3.2 The current situation

As of 2012 twelve of the 35 chapters are opened: Free Movement of Capital, Company Law, Intellectual Property Law, Information Society and Media, Food Safety, Veterinary & Phytosanitary

Policy, Taxation, Statistics, Enterprise & Industrial Policy, Trans-European Networks, Environment, Consumer & Health Protection, and Financial Control. One chapter has been opened and closed: Science and Research. Therefore the accession process seems to have run adrift in this stage.

Many of the unopened chapters have been frozen by the EU. One of the causes for this was the much-publicized refusal of Turkey to open its ports for trade with Cyprus. In December 2006, after a long discussion and a string of plans that were never approved, an agreement could not be reached on the issue. Turkey was willing to open some ports in exchange for less isolation of Northern Cyprus, but the officially-recognized Cyprus blocked this (Independent, 2006). As a punishment for not opening its ports to EU member Cyprus the EU decided to freeze negotiations on 8 chapters, as well as preventing any other chapter from being closed. This means that even if Turkey aligns its legislation with a certain chapter, it will not be closed until this issue is resolved (EC, 2012d).⁵

Cyprus also continues to block a number of chapters as a result of the dispute over Northern Cyprus. Six chapters are currently frozen due to Cypriot veto actions.

Furthermore five chapters are being unilaterally blocked by France. The French president at that time, Nicolas Sarkozy, is opposed to Turkish membership of the EU on grounds that he does not see Turkey as a European state. He does not want Turkey to receive more than a privileged partnership. Therefore the EU founding member used its veto-right on negotiations on chapters that it felt are chapters that separate privileged partnership status with full member status (Idiz, 2010).

3.3 Progress made

The fact that the 12 countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 all applied later than Turkey shows that this process is a slow one. However since its application Turkey has made much progress in moving towards EU membership. The process has been progressing slowly but surely for the past 25 years.

To revisit the stage model presented in the previous chapter: Turkey is now in the third stage. The application was filed and accepted, candidate status was gained and accession negotiations were opened. When the current stage is passed and an Accession Treaty is created this means almost certain accession.

Although negotiations are currently moving at a very slow pace, Turkey has made progress in the alignment process. Compared to the outcomes of the screening at the beginning of the negotiations Turkey has moved significantly closer to alignment with the acquis on many of the chapters (EC, 2005 and 2011).

Despite the fact that many chapters are frozen and none can be closed, progress is continually being made in the alignment of Turkey with the acquis. The slow pace of the negotiations does not directly affect Turkey's ability to reform and align itself, although it does hinder political will. Progress reports

⁵ See appendix III

are still being made yearly, and 2011's report shows that progress towards alignment is also continuously being made.

The fact that no chapters can be closed while the Cyprus issue is not resolved causes a distorted image of progress. Currently only one chapter is closed, which could lead someone to think that the alignment process is still in its very early stages. A good example of the distortion is the conclusion on the chapter Enterprise and Industrial Policy in the 2011 progress report. The report states that there is a sufficient level of alignment in this area (EC, 2011). However the chapter cannot be closed for the aforementioned reasons. This means that more progress has been made than the number of closed chapters would suggest.

3.4 Conclusion

The relationship between the then European Economic Community and Turkey officially started in 1959, with an Association Agreement being signed in 1963. However it took 25 years after that for Turkey to apply for membership, and 12 more for the EU to accept this application. Negotiations were officially opened in 2005 and since that time 12 chapters have been opened and one has been opened and closed.

Negotiations are moving slowly because many of the unopened chapters are frozen by the EU. France and Cyprus are both unilaterally blocking a number of chapters using their veto right on negotiations. On top of that the EU decided to freeze 8 chapters and prevent any other chapter from being closed until Turkey agrees to open its ports to Cyprus for trade. However Turkey does not officially recognize Cyprus as a country, wanting more rights for the Northern part of the island.

All in all much progress has been made over the past 25 years. Turkey has risen from applicant country status to candidate country and negotiations have been opened. Progress is slow but continuous, as even with many of the chapters frozen and the inability to close any chapter Turkey continues to align itself with the acquis. However until the blockades on the chapters are lifted the process cannot officially move forward.

Chapter 4: Key factors

With the general EU accession process and the current status of Turkey in that process identified, the last step is to look for explanations for the slow progress. This chapter will first explain the public choice theory that will be used as a framework to analyze the process, and then use that theory to identify factors that can play a role. These factors will then be categorized and investigated in terms of their relevance and importance for this situation. The categories the factors fall in are economic, political, compatibility and miscellaneous factors. Using all the information gathered through this analysis an overview will be created of factors that are slowing down the process.

4.1 Theoretical framework

When searching for a theoretical framework to help explain the EU accession process, it is important to remember it is a governance issue. The decisions are made by political entities and as such it is interesting to look at political theories for the framework.

It is difficult to explain politics in a theory. The reason is that it involves human behavior relating to many different areas, and so theories from different fields are needed to explain each aspect. It can be argued that, as economic motivation tends to be one of the most important drivers of human behavior, that economic theory can be very important to political science. There are political theories that are based on economic principles, such as the spatial theory of voting and the collective choice paradoxes (Mitchell & Munger, 1991).

One of the political theories with economic roots is the theory of public choice. Public choice assumes that in principle, people act to fulfill their own needs. This causes voters, bureaucrats and politicians to act in their own interest (Tullock, 2008). The theory started out with attempts by public finance specialists to explain public expenditure in a theory, but expanded to its current form with utility functions for individuals which lead to certain voting preferences. To make these preferences geared towards them, politicians attempt to maximize votes and bargain with bureaucrats over the conditions of their term (Peacock, 1994).

In public choice theory the assumption is made that, when faced with a choice, citizens want to choose the best decision. In cases with a clear cut right or wrong decision, such as with determining the guilt of a person, citizens will choose the right decision based on the information they receive. However when choosing a government things are less clear, as opinions may differ over which party would be the best suitable to run the country. This means that there will be no universal 'right choice'. The outcome of this is that parties will compete not only on how good they would be at increasing the country's welfare, but also on how that welfare is defined (Mueller, 2008). This will cause the actions as described earlier, where politicians will attempt to maximize votes by speaking to the wishes of the electorate.

The relevance of the public choice theory to the Turkish accession process and accession in general is that, as it is a political process, the attitudes and actions of political leaders have a large influence on

it. According to the public choice theory politicians will attempt to maximize their votes. In many EU countries public opinion generally opposes Turkish membership (Ruiz-Jiménez & Torreblanca, 2007). Therefore it is not unreasonable to think that it is possible that the opinions of some leaders on this issue are influenced. In this case that would mean that political leaders are against Turkish membership, in order to gain votes from an electorate that largely shares this opinion.

This links in directly with the possible importance of public opinion on the accession process. If it is true to any degree that politicians act in a vote-maximizing way, then a positive or negative public opinion can hugely influence the process. However the theory is not limited to vote maximization. The theory suggests that politicians act self-interested, and although gaining votes is one of their main goals it is certainly not the only one. Taking public choice theory as an explanatory framework for the accession process, the rest of the chapter will focus on finding factors that are relevant to the political decision-making process.

There are many factors that can influence the decision-making process of a politician. The possible factors will now be identified and explained. Afterwards they will be applied to the Turkish process to see which ones are important for this case. The end result will be a comprehensive overview of factors that may induce the presence or lack of political will.

The first step to identifying important factors is looking at the official requirements for accession. A factor that naturally plays a role in the political process is the decision itself and its implications. As explained before, a country needs to fulfill the Copenhagen Criteria to be allowed to join the EU. These criteria mainly relate to the economic and political situation in a country. The economy needs to be strong enough for the country to be able to assume the responsibilities that come with EU membership, and the political situation needs to be stable, democratic and just. This means that the first two factors that are of importance in an accession process are the economic and the political situation of the country. Furthermore the compatibility of the aspiring member and the EU is important. Accession has many implications for both parties, and EU regulations state that accession can only happen when the EU itself is ready for it.

There are also financial, political and compatibility-related non-requirement factors that may prove to play a role. Finally there are some miscellaneous issues that do not fit into any of the aforementioned categories but can still play a very important role. All these factors are collected in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 - Factors of influence

Economic	Budget allocation	Market contributions	Lobby
Political	Acquis issues	Security	Foreign policy
Compatibility	Absorption capacity	Culture	European identity
Other	Bilateral issues	Public opinion	Credibility

These factors will be detailed in the following sections, and their importance will be investigated. While it is possible to theorize over the importance of factors, theory cannot give an accurate depiction of the situation as there are many things to consider. To get a better insight into the importance interviews were conducted. Apart from the criteria EU accession is mainly a political

process. Therefore interviewing members of the involved parties is a good way of discovering which factors really have the most influence on the opinion-forming process.

Finally a comprehensive overview will be created with the possible influences on the political process explained and ranked according to importance. This overview will be the key to identifying the most important reasons for the slow pace of the process.

4.2 Economics ⁶

The entrance of a new member into the EU has many economic consequences, and economic reasons are one of the most common and important motivators in many decision-making processes. In this case these effects are magnified by the fact that Turkey is a large country, certainly by European standards. If it were to join the EU today it would be the second largest country by inhabitants and the sixth largest by GDP (Eurostat, 2012). The economic consequences of this enlargement will affect all countries and because of that influence politicians in their decision-making.

Budget Allocation

Historically Turkey has had a large agricultural sector, but over the past years its economic importance has been dropping significantly. Agricultural production is rising fast but as a share of total GDP it is declining, and the employment figures are down to less than 25% of the total workforce (TR, 2010). Agricultural expenses traditionally take up a large amount of EU budget expenditure, although this share is also declining. In the budget of 2012 40.8% of total funds was spent on agriculture, where for example in 2007 this was still 48.3% (EC, 2012e).

These numbers show the declining importance of agriculture in the economy, although they also show that in absolute terms it is still a very important sector. The fact that still 40% of EU funds goes to mainly agricultural ends means that a lot of money is involved, which automatically has many consequences. Self-interestedness can cause negative attitudes towards redistribution of funds that is not in some countries' favor. Member States that are currently receiving large amounts of these funds might oppose the membership of a new country that will take some of their money away.

This possible effect is exacerbated by the distribution of the rest of the budget. The EU dedicates a large percentage of its total budget to sustainable growth. This money is reserved for the poorer regions of the EU and aimed at leveling the differences in welfare and development between regions. The money is spent on two goals: the improvement of competitiveness between regions and cohesion policies. While 40.8% of the funds went to agriculture in 2012, another 45.9% of the €147.2 billion budget was assigned to these development policies (EC, 2012e).

Turkey's GDP growth rates in 2010 and 2011 have been 9.5% and 8.5% respectively, and projections say that Turkish GDP will continue to grow fast in the coming years, especially when compared to growth in the Euro Area (World Bank, 2012). As the Turkish accession process will go on for many

⁶ See appendix IV

more years this means that the existing gap in economic development will be smaller by the time the process is completed.

However despite Turkey's promising economic situation and fast growth, it is still a relatively poor country. There are very big differences in intra-regional welfare caused by a traditionally centralized strategy with not much focus on regional development (Ertugal, 2005). The western regions are significantly more developed than the eastern regions of the country (Celebioglu and Dall'erba, 2010). This makes the underdeveloped regions very eligible for EU regional development funds.

Given these facts Turkey will be a net recipient of the EU budget. However if Turkey's economic growth continues as projected this effect will decrease as Turkey's budget contributions automatically grow larger. Budget contributions are comprised of percentages of customs duties on imports from outside the EU, VAT revenues and GNI, with the latter providing the highest share (EC, 2012g). Taking into account that Turkey's economy has been growing steadily over the past years and is expected to continue to grow, the ratio of the EU's revenues from Turkey to its expenditures on Turkey should increase continuously.

Despite the positive outlooks there will be initial costs and they will not outweigh the contributions financially. This means that there is potential for self-interested behavior. The countries who are currently the largest recipients of the funds might not want another relatively poor country to join, as the new member would take away some of their funds. While this is a possibility it would be a short-sighted view. Certainly Turkey would receive funds in the beginning but the long term predictions show that over time this negative balance will decrease, and if the growth Turkey is experiencing keeps up it might even become a net contributor. Regardless, this is an issue that could potentially determine the views of some Member States.

Market Contributions

The effects of Turkey's accession will not be the same for each individual member state. This provides a new possible reason for differences of opinion. Some countries will have more economic benefits when Turkey joins. Examples of this could be a country that trades a lot with Turkey or one that does not receive much of the development funds. Such a country might be more open to Turkish membership.

Aside from the financial impact the accession of Turkey would also bring with it demographic changes. While Western European countries have aging populations with more people over 65 years of age than under 15, Turkey has a significantly younger population with over half the total population being under 30 (US, 2012). This means that in case of accession the Turkish population can become an important asset to the workforces of the aging Western European countries. Turkey's higher education levels are rising and there will be high demand for young and skilled workers that can partially be met with migration from Turkey (TR, 2004).

Lobby

In the case of Turkish accession to the EU the market would expand with many new potential consumers and employees. With this in mind individual firms within the EU stand to gain much. There will also be firms that have to deal with increased competition from Turkish firms, but the larger amount of firms will enjoy the benefits of Turkish accession. Indeed there seems to be interest

from the business sector (Janssen Groesbeek, 2005). This means that there is incentive for lobbying from the business sector to allow Turkey into the EU. These lobbies might be directed at national governments or the EU itself, as there is evidence that lobbying to the EU can be an effective tool (Coen and Richardson, 2009). A study into the Dutch decision-making process at the time of the opening of EU negotiations with Turkey details a pro-Turkey lobby that came from the business sector (Drost, 2012). This shows that lobbying is a potentially important factor in the political decision-making process of deciding an official view on Turkish accession. Politicians may be extra sensitive to the lobby from the business sector considering that many of them will only stay in politics for a period of time, and will require other jobs after their political terms are over. When that time comes their chances of a high position in the business sector may be heightened if they were more open to the interests of the sector during their terms.

Conclusion

There are many economic implications involved with accession, especially in this case considering Turkey's size. There will be both costs and benefits which will definitely play a role in the forming of opinions by politicians. Costs will mainly come from EU budget expenditure that will go to Turkey, which should only affect poorer countries as the wealthy countries do not receive a large share of the funds so they do not have much to lose. Economic benefits include increased trade and a large young population. A country-specific cost benefit analysis could determine whether economic reasons will be a positive or negative motivation, and to what extent. This may also be affected by lobbying from the business sector, which overall has much to gain from Turkish accession.

4.3 Political situation

The political situation of a country is a crucial issue in the accession process. The country needs to align its policy with EU guidelines and this means that standards on issues like democratic rule, corruption, human rights, and freedom of speech need to be up to par. These factors are included in the *acquis* which is a binding condition that needs to be fulfilled. This means that compliance with EU standards on these political issues is an absolute necessity. Apart from the *acquis*-related aspects there are also other political factors that may play a role.

Acquis issues

Political standards are very important in the EU. Enlargement is considered a strategy to improve the political situations in adjacent countries by offering them membership in return, and this strategy is considered the EU's most successful foreign policy (Schimmelfennig, 2008). This strategy shows how much these issues mean to the political leaders within the EU, as they are willing to offer accession as a motivator to improve these political conditions.

Turkey has struggled with these issues in the past decades. While democratic rule has been implemented, physical integrity rights have improved and the influence of the military on state politics has decreased, there are still some areas in which Turkey needs to improve. These areas include corruption, human rights and freedom of speech (Mousseau, 2012).

The Justice and Development Party (AKP), the political party that formed a majority government in Turkey since 2002, can be credited with some of the reforms that were made. Apart from the economic prosperity, its main accomplishment is seen as the progress in civil-military relations, where the power of the military in politics was diminished. Overall alignment with EU political standards increased greatly, mainly in the AKP's first term in government (2002-2007). However, concerns have also been raised on the party's political standards, mainly in the field of freedom of expression (Aydın-Düzgit, 2012).

A comprehensive view on Turkey's current status on political criteria can be found in EU documentation. The *acquis communautaire* encompasses the EU's political standards, making sure that they are upheld by all EU members. This means that a good way to investigate Turkey's progress on the fulfillment of the political criteria is to look at progress reports. These reports are made yearly and contain a very detailed description of Turkey's progress towards fulfillment of the accession criteria. Therefore we will now look at the 2011 and 2012 progress reports of the European Commission on Turkey.

An important step that is in progress is the creation of a new Turkish constitution. The implementation of a new constitution is expected to have far-reaching positive consequences for issues such as the guarantee of democracy, human rights, freedom of speech and minority rights. The constitution will be the first constitution written under a democratic government and with use of a participatory process. While constitutional changes were made in 2010 without broad consultancy of stakeholders (EC, 2011), the new committee that was created to make the new constitution has held public consultations with many stakeholders, including the political parties that are not represented in the parliament. Civilian opinions were gathered through a website and the parliament even officially received representatives of non-Muslim minorities (EC, 2012).

The EU holds its political values and standards in high regard, as is reflected by the requirements for accession. This shows that the political situation of a country and the political aspects of accession are very important. Not only are high standards a necessity for fulfillment of the accession criteria, it also concerns issues that many people feel strongly about and politicians are no different. However it is difficult to assess the impact of this aspect on the views of governments. It is clear that it is an issue for many countries, but the nature of the accession criteria means that improvements will have to be made regardless of preference. This could cause an attitude of accepting Turkish accession under the condition that it meets all the requirements, as is the case for the Dutch government. The view of the Dutch is that human rights are very important, and this should definitely be improved. However once Turkey fulfills all requirements it should be allowed to join the EU (NL, 2012).

Security

One of the political aspects that does provide a positive motivator is security, which is a factor that might cause a more pro-Turkish accession view amongst politicians. Security reasons have played a large role in the campaign of the US to get Turkey into the EU (Öniş & Yılmaz, 2005). Moreover the fact that the Turkish population consists almost exclusively of Muslims would help boost the image of the objectivity and impartiality of the EU, as the Union would no longer appear to be a Western Christian community. This could play a role in the de-antagonization of the EU in extremist Muslim communities, lowering the threat of terrorism.

This effect could also be translated into stability within the EU itself. If the image of the EU becomes more accepting and understanding towards different cultures minorities within EU countries might feel more content or even experience a higher quality of life. Furthermore the continuation of the EU's most successful foreign policy, enlargement, will renew faith in the institution and its effectiveness.

Foreign policy

With Turkey as a member, the EU would experience a sizeable gain not only in military power and security but also in outward credibility. The size of Turkey means that the EU would automatically experience an increase in power and influence on the world stage. This effect is boosted by the mainly Muslim population and the unique role of Turkey as an actor in both the Western and the Middle-Eastern world. The inclusion of such a country in the EU has the potential to affect foreign relations dramatically, creating a new dimension in relations with for example Middle-Eastern and Northern African countries. In addition to this the integration of Turkey and the EU could be a stepping stone towards more mutual understanding between traditionally Christian and Muslim cultures, which could also potentially revolutionize foreign policy (TR, 2004).

Conclusion

Concluding it is fair to say that political aspects are a huge part of the accession process, and that Turkey has a way to go before its standards are up to the needed levels. However it is unlikely that these aspects have an impact beyond the accession criteria. Turkey will simply have to implement the reforms necessary to fulfill the criteria, and when it does the negative effects of political aspects on the views of politicians will likely erode, as Turkish standards on these issues will be up to par. Factors such as security and foreign policy are not negative factors but rather factors that if anything produce a positive effect on politician's views.

4.4 Compatibility

The accession of a country into the EU will have consequences for the new member as well as the existing members. There may be issues with compatibility between the EU and the new member, which can cause various problems. The differences in culture and the changes in EU systems that accession will bring are factors that have the potential to influence views.

European identity

Turkey is a country that is on the brink between Europe and Asia. Some would argue that it is not a European state, as for the most part it is geographically in Asia. However its focus has been on Europe for centuries, illustrated by the acceptance of Ottoman Turkey as a member of the 'Concert of Europe' in the 1856 Congress of Paris (Idiz, 2010). In more recent years this position has been solidified as Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe, the NATO and the OECD since before non-European countries were members.

Regardless of sentiment, in the case of Turkey the question of whether or not it is accepted as a European state has already been answered when the application was recognized. EU regulations state that only European countries can apply (TEU, 1992). Therefore the fact that Turkey has already passed the first few stages of accession means that, officially, this cannot be an issue anymore. Therefore EU compatibility cannot be seen as one of the technical problems of the process. However the sentiment that Turkey is not a European state may exist and it may influence some people's opinions. A famous example of this is former French President Nicolas Sarkozy, who proclaimed that Turkey is not a European state and therefore imposed a unilateral blockade on 5 *acquis* chapters he felt that were crucial for integration of Turkey with the EU (Idiz, 2010). It is quite possible that Sarkozy had other issues with Turkish membership and simply used the geographical argument as a cover. Still, it shows that the issue has the potential to affect the political process.

Culture

The same can be said for culture. It can potentially have the same effects on public opinion and possibly even personal opinions of political leaders. As long as cultural values of a candidate country do not conflict with accession criteria, cultural compatibility is not a prerequisite. However it could still be of indirect importance. The negative connotations attached to the Turkish culture and the Islam likely affect public opinion (PVV, 2012), as well as the opinions of politicians on the fringes. Culture can affect the political process this way, although the effect on politicians is likely limited to the fringes only (EU, 2012).

Absorption capacity

An issue that could be of importance is that of the EU's absorption capacity. Firstly the EU needs to be ready and focused for an enlargement. When there are other issues that are more pressing than enlargement it is likely that the process will be put on the back burner until the emergency is resolved. This cannot explain the slow progress on its own, but might definitely play a role given the economic crisis the EU has been in the past years.

As detailed before, the EU dedicates a large percentage of its total budget to sustainable growth and to agriculture. The size of Turkey means Turkish membership would have a huge impact on these systems. Turkey already receives much financial development aid in the form of pre-accession assistance. For the year 2012 alone €860 million has been allocated to Turkey (EC, 2012f). But while this is a lot of money, it is still a small amount when compared to the total EU budget reserved for development.

Absorption capacity is a technical issue that definitely needs attention and may cause a problem further on in the process. However it is unlikely to be an explanatory factor for the slow progress so far; it is almost never mentioned in discussions and it can be dealt with when Turkey and the EU successfully finish the *acquis* negotiations. The reason it would be better to deal with this when the time comes is that the financial and political situations of both the EU and Turkey may be completely different by the time negotiations are finished. Therefore it should be kept in mind for later.

Turkey would also be integrated into the decision-making bodies of the EU, the European Commission and the European Parliament. This means that there will be an extra country to take into account when making decisions, automatically making the decision-making process that much

slower. This may be either a negative or a positive influence on the political view of Member States, depending on the level of European integration that particular country is looking for.

Recalling the voting system in which Member States get assigned a number of votes that is largely correlated with population size, any new country joining will cause all the other countries to lose some influence. In the situation of Turkey this loss would be sizeable due to its huge amount of inhabitants for EU terms. If Turkey were to join the EU, it would probably gain 28-29 votes in the European Council and about 80 in the European Parliament. Germany, the UK, France and Italy all have 29 votes in the Council and the latter three have 78 in the Parliament, while Germany has 99 (TR, 2004).⁷ This means that Turkey would become one of the most influential countries in both bodies. Therefore a potential negative factor of Turkey's accession for any individual country is the loss of power and influence in the European Union.

Conclusion

The issues with the European identity and the culture are minor issues that may play a role but cannot be seen as the most important ones. Absorption capacity however is an issue that could definitely affect the political stances of some countries. The technical issues can be solved in the future, but the inevitable fact remains that other countries will lose influence in the EU if Turkey joins.

4.5 Other factors

There are many other factors that have the potential to influence political will. When all parties involved are working towards the same goal with high motivation success is a big possibility, while if there are conflicts of interest the process may be slowed down significantly. There are many other factors that can be combined with public choice theory to explain the views and opinions of political leaders, and these will also be dealt with. Examples are public opinion, credibility, and bilateral issues.

Public opinion

The public choice theory directly presents the first of these factors. It links political will to public opinion, as it assumes that politicians will follow the desires of the electorate in order to maximize votes. If this is the case, it could explain some of the negative views towards Turkish membership as a result of negative public opinion.

Public opinion is a broad subject, with many possible influences and motivations. Many of the aforementioned aspects can also affect public opinion. Easy examples are the compatibility, culture differences and the views on Islam. These issues may cause people not to want Turkey in the EU as they are different in these respects, and birds of a feather often flock together. Another motivator is the economic aspect. Although the benefits of the addition of Turkey's work force to the EU market were discussed earlier exist, on the short term there may be an image of 'foreigners taking our jobs'.

⁷ These calculations use the old voting mechanism as baseline. For more information see appendix II

In this way the immigration possibility can be a negative influence on public opinion. A possible counteract for this would be for Turkey to join the EU without the borders immediately being opened for migration, as has happened with Romania and Bulgaria. It is possible to keep restrictions for labor migrants for up to 7 years after accession (EC, 2012h).

Through the theory of public choice it can be argued that public opinion should play a big role in the process. However accession remains a governmental issue, so there is no direct impact. Public opinion also usually lags behind the opinions of governments somewhat due to a lack of information. This may cause public opinion to stay negative despite positive developments such as human rights with the new constitution. Therefore it is important to keep the public well-informed so that support is increased and the public can make a more informed decision. If the public is uninformed their opinions should not be used as a legitimate factor of influence in the political process, and the indirect effect of vote maximization is not seen as an important one (EU, 2012)(TR, 2012). However it can still play a role, illustrated by the announcement of a referendum on Turkey's accession in Austria (Redmond, 2007).

Credibility

A factor that could work both ways is that of credibility. Relating the concept to public choice, some leaders that have taken a stance against Turkish membership in their campaigns might feel that a change of heart would make them lose credibility and consequently votes. While this is a theoretical possibility, it is currently not relevant as there is no leader that was elected on a promise not to allow Turkey to join the EU. The only one to come close is France's Hollande, who has said Turkey will not join the EU under his first mandate (Fraser, 2012). However he does not shut the door completely, simply saying that conditions need to be met. On top of this it was already unlikely that Turkey would join the EU in the next 5 years so this can be disregarded.

The other side of the credibility issue is that the EU has said in the past that the objective of the negotiations is Turkish EU membership (EP, 2005). This means that although the EU is not forced to accept Turkey as a member, it is the objective of the negotiations and it should be worked towards. A saying that is much-used in this context is *pacta sunt servanda*: agreements must be upheld. The credibility of the EU would take a lot of damage should this promise be broken.

Bilateral issues

A very important factor is the bilateral relations of the candidate country and each of the EU members. The country does not need a good relationship with each member state, but if there is a conflict with one of the members this can prove to put a brake on the accession process. The membership of a new country has to be unanimously accepted by the current Member States (TEU, 1992), making bilateral relations a very important matter as this means that an individual country can theoretically halt the entire process.

Turkey has had some conflicts with neighboring countries, and some of these neighbors are also EU members. The relationship between Turkey and Greece goes back for hundreds of years and has proved a very tense one. However in recent times feelings of mutual sympathy and respect have increased and relations have improved to the point where Greece no longer forms a negative influence in Turkey's EU accession process (Evin, 2004).

A bilateral issue that has not yet been resolved is the issue between Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus. The EU wants Turkey to open its borders to Cyprus while Turkey wants a solution for the isolation of Northern Cyprus. As the EU feels that Turkey should take the first step while Turkey feels that it cannot do any more than it already has, a stalemate exists (EU, 2012)(TR, 2012).

The Cyprus issue is a good example of the importance of bilateral issues. As described before it has led to the European Commission freezing 8 chapters of the acquis and preventing any other chapter from being closed. Closing all the chapters is an absolute necessity for accession. Therefore due to the fact that this issue has not been solved in the 8 years since the Commission's decision this can be seen as one of the most important reasons for the slow progress.

Conclusion

Credibility likely has a positive influence in that EU members should keep the negotiations going and aim for Turkish membership. Public opinion is an indirect factor that can play a role but is not likely to influence the current process much. However it should still be addressed later on through information campaigns. The bilateral issue between Turkey and Cyprus is one of the most obvious and important factors that are slowing the process down. The resulting Commission decision means that solving this issue is a necessity for Turkey's accession process to move forward.

4.6 Importance

For a complete overview it is important to know which of the aforementioned factors are the most important ones. Any accession process will have potential positive and negative aspects, but not all of them have the power to slow the process down as much as has happened in this case. It is possible that by solving one or more of the most important issues a positive movement can be started that will lead to the solutions to all issues and ultimately the completion of the accession.

As stated before interviews were conducted to investigate the importance and effects of the factors that are slowing down the process.⁸ The people interviewed were employees at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Turkish Ministry of EU Affairs and the European Commission. All of them were directly involved in the Turkish accession process through their work and as such had inside information on the importance of the factors. There were some differences of opinion between the parties but overall there was some consensus on which factors were the most important.

The employees of the Dutch MFA found public opinion and culture to be aspects that play an indirect role in slowing down the process. They also named the absorption capacity as a potential issue but recognized that this can be solved. Of course the Cyprus issue is a necessity and solving it would provide a significant impulse to the process, but it is hard to foresee whether the other factors will be easily solved once this issue is solved. However the opinion of the Dutch government is clear: if Turkey fulfills the requirements it should be allowed membership of the EU.

⁸ See appendix V

The Turkish interviewee also recognized that the Cyprus issue needs to be resolved but did not think that would be enough to ensure a positive process. She saw the absorption capacity as the main reason for the lack of political will inside the EU. The EU is not ready for enlargement and Turkish accession will have many implications. However the absorption capacity issues can be solved. Public opinion can be used as an important factor in a positive sense: the launch of an information campaign can be used to create support for Turkish membership. Public opinion can change rapidly in a short period of time.

The interviews with the EU employees showed that they too recognize the importance of the Cyprus issue, although it might also be used as a justification for lack of political will. The absorption capacity, specifically the voting rights Turkey will have, are another big issue. Finally public opinion should be improved. People will always make up their own minds, but they should do so with as much information as possible available to them. A more favorable public opinion will ensure broader support.

Using the information gained from the interviews the factors in the process can now be ranked on importance in slowing down the process. Going back to the table presented earlier, adjusted for factor weights it would look like Table 4.2. Green represents a factor that works in a positive way, while yellow and orange depict negative factors in order of importance. Yellow factors cause little to no problems, while orange factors are common concerns that play a larger role in slowing down the process. Working on these aspects will likely speed up the process considerably.

Table 4.2 - Factors of influence, categorized by effect (positive/negative) and importance (high/low)

Economic	Budget allocation	Market contributions	Lobby
Political	Acquis issues	Security	Foreign policy
Compatibility	Absorption capacity	Culture	European identity
Other	Bilateral issues	Public opinion	Credibility

It shows that the issue with Cyprus is the most prevalent factor in explaining the slow progress of the process. The consequences of the issue, foremost the Commission decision, play a large role in hindering progress and the issue has to be resolved for the process to really move forward. Another issue that is often mentioned is the absorption capacity. As theory predicted many countries may have problems with the size of Turkey and all the implications attached to that. An aspect that was mentioned often was voting rights and the loss of influence all current Member States would experience.

Furthermore it is stressed that Turkey still has a lot of reforms to do in the field of political accession criteria. Progress is being made in these areas but more can be done. When Turkey does sufficiently live up to political standards the public needs to be informed. Public opinion is identified as an important aspect, but not because it is slowing down the process. It is not a significant slowing factor as not many politicians now campaign against Turkish membership. However it is definitely not a positive factor at the moment. Through positive reforms in Turkey and information campaigns informing the public about these reforms and about the benefits of Turkish membership public opinion can become more positive, creating support across the EU. This would be an important boost for the process.

4.7 Conclusion

Public choice is a theory that can be used to analyze the accession process. It relates the decision-making processes for politicians to self-interested behavior, which can be extrapolated to show that the attitude of a country is largely related to the effects of the decision on that country. The extent of the effects will also partly translate into the importance of the factor. In an attempt to provide a complete and exhaustive overview factors from four categories will be investigated: factors related to economics, politics, compatibility, and miscellaneous factors.

Economic factors may work in both ways. There will be costs related to Turkey's accession in terms of EU budget allocation, which will take some of the funds from other countries. This can create a problem for countries that are more dependent on these funds. However in the long term there are economic benefits to be had due to Turkey's young population and large market. These are benefits mostly for the business sector within the Western European countries, opening the way for lobbying.

In political terms there is still much progress to be made by Turkey, and given the importance EU members give to fundamental issues such as human rights and minority rights this is an issue that plays a big role. Turkey will need to improve in these aspects in accordance with the accession criteria; this should remove the negative view of Turkey in this respect and produce a more favorable view. In terms of security and foreign policy the EU stands to gain power and influence on the world stage. Therefore these factors are a positive influence.

Compatibility factors play a definite negative role in this process. The question of Turkey's European identity has already been answered but has proven to be cause for delay in the past through former French president Sarkozy. However currently it does not seem to play a large role anymore. Culture differences can affect the views of politicians on the fringes but are unlikely to influence mainstream political views. The most important compatibility issue is the EU's absorption capacity. Turkish membership would cause a power shift within the EU, taking away influence from existing members. Some countries will see this as a negative thing. Furthermore the current economic crisis has contributed to the process getting less attention the past years.

Finally some miscellaneous factors play important roles. The most obvious blockade in Turkey's path to accession is the issue with Cyprus. This issue will inevitably have to be solved for the process to move any further officially. Public opinion is a small negative factor at the moment, with low support being a poor motivator for politicians. The EU will need to keep the negotiations going to maintain credibility, so this is a definite positive factor.

The interviewees identified the Cyprus issue as the most important blockade. However solving this issue alone would not be enough. The loss of influence in EU voting systems plays a role, as well as the political criteria that the members hold in high regard and that need to be fulfilled. Although public opinion does not play a large negative role, it is still seen as an important factor. The reason for this is that a positive public opinion could be a great motivator for politicians and provide much support for Turkey's accession process. Therefore once the political conditions are improved the public should be provided with information on Turkey's progress and the benefits of Turkey's EU accession.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Conclusion

To join the EU a country needs to fulfill the accession criteria, which include being a European State, meeting the Copenhagen Criteria and alignment with all 35 chapters of the *acquis communautaire*. Turkey is currently at the stage of *acquis* negotiations. The negotiations were opened in 2005 and so far only one chapter has been closed officially. However this does not tell the whole story. Alignment with the *acquis* is closer than this, but no chapters can be closed while the Cyprus issue remains unsolved.

This makes the Cyprus issue the most obvious factor that is slowing down the process. However using the theory of public choice other factors can be identified in the fields of economics, politics and compatibility, along with miscellaneous factors. The theory shows that self-interested behavior is one of the most important determinants of political views. Turkey will have to fulfill the criteria needed to join the EU, and slow pace at fulfillment, particularly in solving the Cyprus issue, is the first explaining factor of the slow progress. However as the accession process is a political process which requires action and goodwill from all parties involved, the views of the Member States are also very important in determining the pace of the process. The final overview of factors that influence the political will of leaders, weighed for importance, is presented in the table below which is equal to Table 4.2.

Table - Factors of influence, categorized by effect (positive/negative) and importance (high/low)

Economic	Budget allocation	Market contributions	Lobby
Political	Acquis issues	Security	Foreign policy
Compatibility	Absorption capacity	Culture	European identity
Other	Bilateral issues	Public opinion	Credibility

Resolving the bilateral issue between Turkey and Cyprus will get rid of a large negative factor of political influence, not to mention the momentum it could create for the *acquis* negotiations. The same goes for the political *acquis* aspects which Turkey needs to align with, including the often-mentioned human rights. The alignment is not only an accession criterion but also a point of importance for EU members, and adherence to EU standards on these aspects will increase goodwill.

An issue that may be lowering political will is the absorption capacity of the EU. The voting mechanisms are set up in such a way that Turkey would have many votes, which means that the current members would lose influence. This factor seems to play a role as it is often mentioned. Therefore it is something that should be kept in mind.

These three factors seem to encompass the main reasons for negative views of politicians. However another factor was often mentioned, although not being a significantly negative influence. This factor was public opinion. Although it is not actively slowing down the process, it is seen as a missed chance as a positive public opinion can greatly improve support and influence politicians. Therefore information campaigns about Turkey’s progress and the benefits of Turkish accession could prove to

be a useful tool in speeding up the process through the improvement of Turkey's image and the subsequently more favorable public opinion.

5.2 Discussion

The research attempted to find all the reasons explaining the opinions of politicians, but it is impossible to completely explain human behavior, much less so using generalizations. Therefore if the need arises to analyze and explain the views of specific countries such as Germany, France, and Cyprus research should be done for that specific country. This type of research could prove very valuable in speeding up the process through country-specific actions, as these countries are influential in the EU on the issue of Turkey's accession. Some factors may be more or less important to an individual country. Therefore actions that will be taken will need to adapt to the situation.

Another research that would be valuable is looking into the best way to inform the public. The importance of a positive public opinion has been shown. Research into the best tactic to show Turkey's progress and benefits to the public of EU countries can help in providing the people with as much information as possible, which will then hopefully lead to a more positive public opinion.

For this information campaign to be effective additional research on the benefits of Turkish accession would be helpful. The research could focus on impacts on both a governmental and a citizen level. With this overview of benefits which is recent and relevant the information campaign will have a better chance of success. For credibility reasons it might be good to have it performed by an independent third party.

Appendices

Appendix I: Glossary

Absorption capacity	The collective term for the ability of the EU and its members to deal with the effects of a new member joining the Union.
Acceding country	A country that has completed accession negotiations and has set an accession date.
Acquis communautaire	The combined legislation of the EU divided into 35 chapters. Fulfillment of these chapters is an accession criterion.
Additional protocol	Extension of the Ankara Agreement from 1970 stating that Turkey must open its borders to all EU members.
Ankara Agreement	First association agreement between the EU and Turkey, aiming towards economic cooperation. Dated 1963.
Applicant state	A country that has filed an application for EU membership.
Association agreement	Agreement of cooperation between the EU and a third party state.
Candidate country	A country that has seen its application accepted and may or may not have opened accession negotiations.
Chapter/acquis chapter	One of the 35 areas of the acquis in which policy needs to be aligned for accession.
EC	European Commission
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
Lisbon Treaty	2009 treaty that, among other things, contains the new voting mechanisms for the European Council and Parliament which will enter force in 2014.
Maastricht Treaty	See TEU
Negotiating framework	Framework containing principles and procedures of negotiations, as well as the requirements and the goal of the negotiations.
Public choice	The theory that in political matters self-interestedness determines behavior.
TEU	Treaty on European Union, or Maastricht Treaty. Contains ground rules for the workings of the EU. Dated 1992.

Appendix II: Vote distribution EU

All Member States have a number of votes in the European Council and the European Parliament. This number of votes is based partly on population size and partly on treaties. Currently votes in the Parliament are allocated according to population size, while Council votes are allocated more arbitrarily, through treaty agreements. Tables II.1 and II.2 contain the vote distribution as of 2007-2013 (EU, 2013a).

Table II.1 - Vote distribution European Council 2007-2013

	Votes
Germany, France, Italy, United Kingdom	29
Spain, Poland	27
Romania	14
Netherlands	13
Belgium, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Portugal	12
Austria, Bulgaria, Sweden	10
Denmark, Ireland, Lithuania, Slovakia, Finland	7
Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Luxembourg, Slovenia	4
Malta	3
Total	345

Table II.2 - Vote distribution European Parliament 2007-2013

	Votes
Germany	99
France, Italy, United Kingdom	78
Spain, Poland	54
Romania	35
Netherlands	27
Belgium, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Portugal	24
Sweden	19
Austria, Bulgaria	18
Denmark, Finland, Slovakia	14
Ireland, Lithuania	13
Latvia	9
Slovenia	7
Cyprus, Estonia, Luxembourg	6
Malta	5
Total	785

However the Treaty of Lisbon will amend the voting mechanism of the Council and Parliament from 2014 onwards. From this moment on the voting rights will be distributed according to population size

in both the European Council and the Parliament. The rules on what makes a majority will also be changed. A qualified majority will need to include at least 55% of the Member States and 65% of the population of the EU (EU, 2013b). Under the current rules only 62% of the population is needed and a majority of Member States, where the amount changes per policy region. However a minimum of 255 out of the 345 votes is also needed (EU, 2013a).

For the Turkish accession these new rules mean that, given Turkey's population size, it will be the second most influential country in both of these bodies. With the outlooks on population growth in Turkey and Germany (see also appendix 4) it is very possible that by 2020 Turkey would be have the largest population size in all of Europe, giving it the highest number of votes in these European bodies.

Appendix III: The Cyprus issue

Background⁹

Cyprus has a tumultuous history, first being occupied by the Ottoman Empire in 1571. In 1878, after the Russian War, the rule of the island was given over to Britain. After a time of conflict concerning the Greek and Turkish communities on the island, Cyprus declared independence in 1960. However this did not end the conflict. Tension over the rights of the Turkish minority of Cyprus' population was ended by a UN resolution in 1964.

In 1974 the situation escalated. President Makarios was removed from office by a Greek Cypriot coup d'état, resulting in a new president that had strong ties to the Greek government. In response Turkey intervened, marching its army into the northern part of Cyprus, where many of the Turkish Cypriots lived. This situation has remained unchanged until the present day, with the island divided into two parts. However the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is only officially recognized by Turkey, and has been placed under a trade embargo by the rest of the world. As a result TRNC is an economic weak region while the Greek side has experienced continuous growth. For this reason the government of TRNC is under much pressure to find a way to remove the trade embargo.

Annan Plan¹⁰

The most recent initiative to solve the issue has been the Annan Plan. Under the supervision of the UN, the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot governments negotiated on a solution to the issue. The Annan Plan contained reunification of the island under the name United Cyprus Republic in a federal structure, consisting of the Greek Cypriot State and the Turkish Cypriot State. These two states were to be politically equal, creating two equal communities that shared sovereignty and were together universally endorsed and recognized.

The plan was put to referenda by both the governments on 24 April 2004. While the Turkish Cypriots voted 65 percent in favor, the Greek Cypriots blocked the plan by voting it down with 76 percent. On 1 May 2004 the Republic of Cyprus (ROC), containing only the Greek Cypriot part of the island,

⁹ Information taken from Özel, 2003.

¹⁰ Information taken from Sözen and Özersay, 2007.

entered the European Union as a Member State. This gave the Greek Cypriots a strong position in the negotiations with the Turkish community, as Turkey is also in the process of becoming an EU member. The ROC has used its membership of the European Council to block regulations concerning the situation of the TRNC, aimed at fostering trade and financial assistance to aid its economic development. It can be argued that as a universally recognized state and EU member, the incentives for the ROC to come to a compromise on the issue are becoming smaller.

The Turkish view¹¹

Turkey feels like it has done much to try to solve the issue. There was much opposition for the Annan Plan in Turkey, yet the Turkish government supported the plan and persuaded the Turkish Cypriots to vote in favor of the referendum in 2004, in an attempt to finally settle the issue. However the Greek Cypriots rejected the plan and, in the eyes of the Turks, were then 'rewarded' with EU membership. Furthermore after the referendum the European Council stated:

"The Turkish Cypriot community has expressed their clear desire for a future within the European Union. The Council is determined to put an end to the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community and to facilitate the reunification of Cyprus by encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community."

However the isolation of Northern Cyprus continues. After these disappointments the Turkish government feels like it is not in the position to take such political risks again, as promises made by the other parties were not kept.

The present situation

These conflicting interests and views have led to the stalemate that currently exists. Neither party now wants to take the first step in solving the issue. The interviews showed that the EU and Dutch employees feel like Turkey has the key to the solution, but the Turkish employee felt like the Turkish government cannot take such a foreign policy risk as it has in the past anymore. The result is that this issue remains unsolved.

¹¹ Information taken from TR, 2012 (interview Turkish employee)

Appendix IV: Economy of Turkey

Demographics

Figures IV.1 through IV.4 contain data on the population of Turkey and other European countries. The figures confirm the fact that Turkey has a younger population with higher growth outlooks than the current EU Member States.

Figure IV.1 - Population Pyramid Turkey 2010

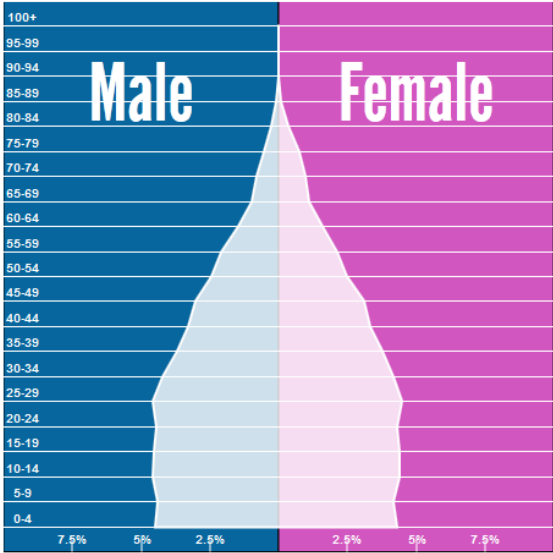


Figure IV.2 - Population Pyramid Europe 2010

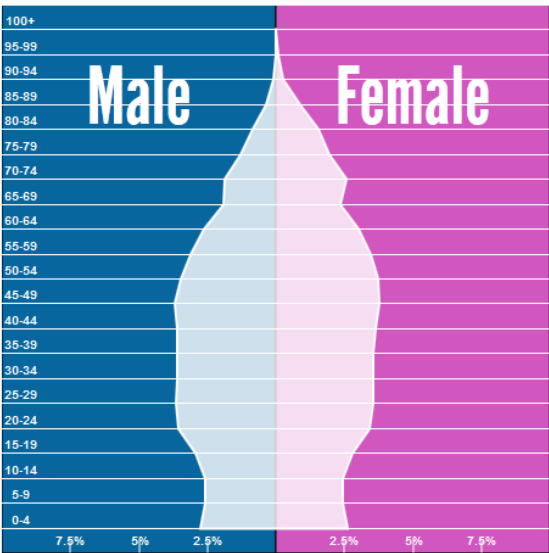
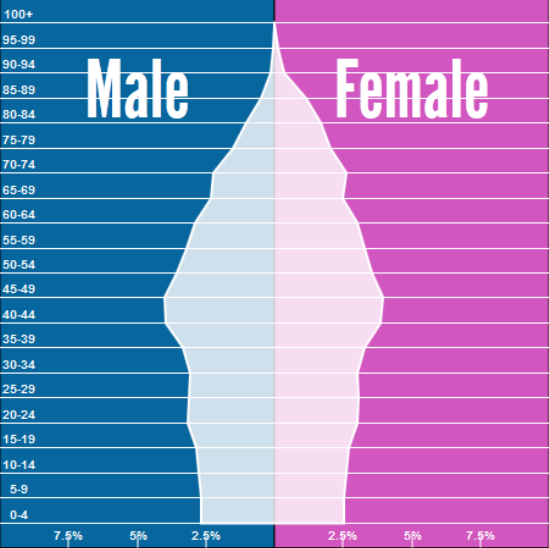
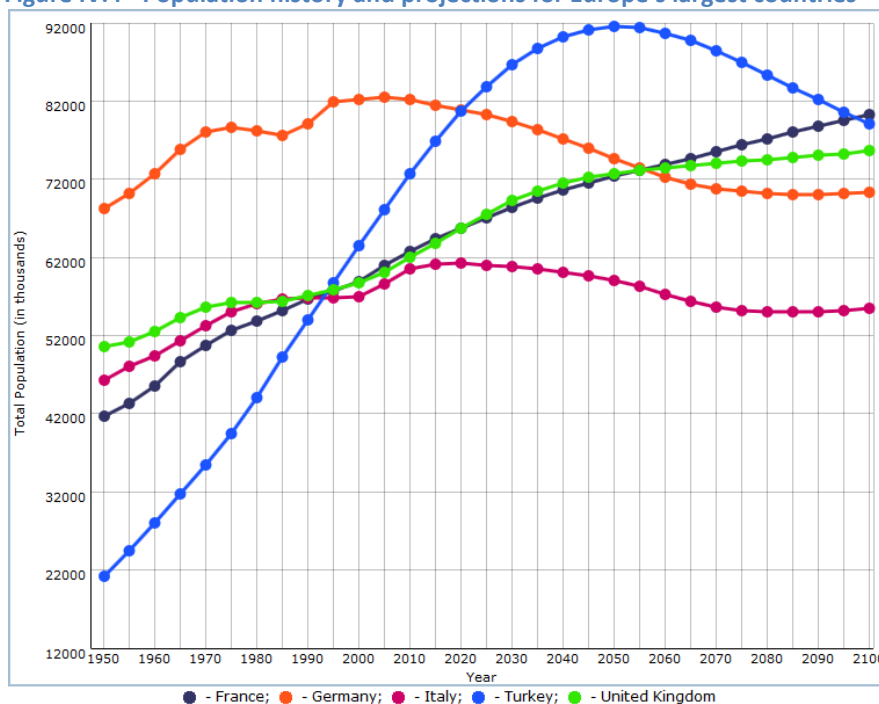


Figure IV.3 - Population Pyramid Western Europe 2010



source: <http://populationpyramid.net/> based on United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2011). World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision. Accessed on 27/01/2013

Figure IV.4 - Population history and projections for Europe's largest countries



Source: http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/JS-Charts/pop-tot_0.htm United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Population Division, Population Estimates and Projections Section. accessed on 27/01/2013

Economic development

Table IV.1 contains a choice of variables for the Turkish economy, showing the development of the economy from 2003 up to 2011. Table IV.2 contains some of the comparable figures for the EU, allowing for comparison of the two economies. The data supports some of the conclusions drawn in the text on the areas of agriculture, Turkish economic growth and Turkish convergence towards EU levels.

Table IV.1 – Selection of economic data Turkey

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
GNI per capita, PPP (current international \$)	8700	10090	11330	12780	13790	14890	14260	15680	16940
Agriculture, value added (% of GDP)	11.4	10.9	10.8	9.5	8.7	8.6	9.3	9.6	9.1
Rural population (% of total population)	34.0	33.6	33.2	32.4	31.7	31.0	30.2	29.5	28.6
Employment in agriculture (% of total employment)	33.9	34.0	29.5	27.3	23.5	23.7	22.9	23.7	
Employment in industry (% of total employment)	22.8	23.0	24.8	25.4	26.7	26.8	25.3	26.2	
Employment in services (% of total employment)	43.4	43.0	45.8	47.3	49.8	49.5	51.7	50.1	
Central government debt, total (% of GDP)				51.5	44.4	44.5	51.4	50.7	

GDP (bln US\$)	303	392	482	530	647	730	614	731	774
GDP growth (annual %)	5.3	9.4	8.4	6.9	4.7	0.7	-4.8	9.2	8.5
GDP per capita (US\$)	4567	5833	7088	7687	9246	10298	8554	10050	10524
GDP, PPP (bln international \$)	588	688	781	893	975	1067	1038	1151	1259
Imports of goods and services (bln US\$)	72	102	122	146	177	206	150	195	252
Exports of goods and services (bln US\$)	69	92	105	120	144	174	143	155	183
FDI, net inflows (bln US\$)	2	3	10	20	22	19	8	9	16
Unemployment, total (% of total labor force)	10.5	10.8	10.6	10.2	10.3	11.0	14.0	11.9	

Source: <http://databank.worldbank.org> World Bank, World Development Indicators. Accessed 27/01/2013

Table IV.2 –Selection of economic data EU

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
GNI per capita, PPP (current international \$)	24397	25663	26866	29038	30682	31842	30930	31667	32552
Agriculture, value added (% of GDP)	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5	
Rural population (% of total population)	27.8	27.6	27.3	27.1	26.9	26.7	26.5	26.2	26.0
Employment in agriculture (% of total employment)	6.7	6.2	6.1	5.8	5.6	5.1	5.1	5.1	
Employment in industry (% of total employment)	28.2	27.9	27.5	27.5	27.6	27.2	25.9	25.2	
Employment in services (% of total employment)	64.9	65.6	66.1	66.5	66.6	67.3	68.5	69.1	
Central government debt, total (% of GDP)	49.2	48.2	48.8	46.0	42.0	49.5	56.4	58.6	
GDP growth (annual %)	1.5	2.5	2.1	3.3	3.2	0.3	-4.3	2.2	1.5
GDP per capita (current US\$)	23388	26878	27975	29699	34187	36588	32584	32198	34892
Unemployment, total (% of total labor force)	9.0	9.1	8.9	8.2	7.1	6.9	8.9	9.6	

Source: <http://databank.worldbank.org> World Bank, World Development Indicators. Accessed 27/01/2013

Table IV.3 shows all EU members that Turkey exported over one billion US dollars worth of goods to in 2012. These countries are also large exporters to Turkey. These are the Member States that would probably gain most from the Turkish entry into the EU market.

Table IV.3 - Turkish import from and export to EU members, 2012

	Export (US\$)	Import (US\$)
Germany	13,132,322,423	21,399,672,372
United Kingdom	8,700,534,145	5,629,428,576
Italy	6,375,825,915	13,344,328,313

France	6,202,266,594	8,589,892,841
Spain	3,721,368,841	6,022,709,776
Netherlands	3,248,413,676	3,660,634,581
Romania	2,497,200,243	3,236,425,386
Belgium	2,368,000,179	3,690,315,164
Poland	1,854,446,886	3,058,078,023
Bulgaria	1,682,094,954	2,753,921,701
Greece	1,402,549,130	3,539,868,857
Sweden	1,187,118,635	2,135,409,098
Austria	1,001,111,696	1,634,276,919

Source: http://rapor.tuik.gov.tr/reports/rwservlet?disticaretb2=&report=IHT0151.RDF&p_kod=1&p_ulke1=-1&p_yil1=2012&p_kod1=1&p_kod2=4&p_dil=2&desformat=html&ENVID=disticaretEnv. Turkish Statistical Institute – Foreign Trade Statistics Database. Foreign Trade by Countries – Year 2012. Accessed on 11/02/2013

Appendix V: Interviews

Interviews were conducted with five people who work on the Turkey's accession process. For the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, two employees assigned to Turkish affairs were interviewed. They asked for their names not to be mentioned in the research. For the Turkish Ministry of EU Affairs Elif Kurşunlu, coordinator for accession policy, was interviewed. Finally for the EU two employees assigned to Turkey's accession were interviewed, and they also asked to remain anonymous.

The interviews were semi-structured, meaning that the standard list of questions was deviated from where necessary to keep the conversation flowing and to find the most interesting information. The important information gained from the interviews was processed into the thesis. The original set of questions was as follows.

- Things that are often mentioned as problems with Turkey joining the EU are for example human rights and freedom of press. These issues are covered in the *acquis communautaire*. Do you think these issues are the most important or do you think other issues that are not covered in the *acquis* are more important?
- If the blockades on chapters were removed, do you think Turkey would easily join the EU?
- Do you think solving the Cyprus issue would be enough to break the current stalemate? Or would that require extra effort since France is also blocking some chapters?
- In EU-regulations it is said that every single country needs to agree with any enlargement. Do you think it would be realistic for a single country to stop the whole process?

- Who do you think should take the first step in the current situation? The EU officially says that “The speed with which each country advances depends solely on its own progress towards our common goals.” Does this mean nothing will change unless Turkey takes the first step?
- What do you think the effect of political will is? If the major political leaders would speak out in favor of Turkey’s accession, how important would that be?
- How do you think political leaders could be moved to support Turkey?
- Some leaders are strongly opposed to Turkish membership. Do you think that once Turkey achieves all the goals, Turkey will be allowed to join?
- Do you think fear of Islam is an issue? Whether directly or indirectly (through politicians using the sentiment to win votes).
- Concluding: What do you see as the most important problem that is slowing down the process? How important are, respectively, the contents of the acquis (human rights etc.); the Cyprus issue; culture differences; public opinion; political will?

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