

## **THESIS**

### **Title :**

“The Influence of European Commission’s Youth in Action Programme on Turkish Youth Regarding Their Perception and Approach Towards the European Union”

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## **Introduction**

One policy field that has become much more prominent in the European Union over last few years is the so-called Youth Policy. It can be said that this is a justifiable claim as can be inferred from the recent speeches of many politicians or eurocrats and the actions taken on the issue by the European and International Institutions alike. The fact that various European Institutions such as The Commission, The Committee of Regions, The Parliament and the others partook in devising and implementing such relatively-new initiatives as Youth Employment Action, Erasmus for Young Entrepreneurs, European Youth Week and Youth on the Move (that is planned to take over the present Youth in Action in 2013) reveals to us that the priority of the Youth Policy has escalated on the EU agenda compared to prior decades. The reasons for this are observed to be two-fold.

First of all, in the wake of the recent economical crisis in some of the European Union member states the unemployment rate has been observed to have skyrocketed to reach the highest in the country's history in some cases (i.e. Spain). Evidently, in such times of crisis and unemployment the young people, being the least experienced and specialized, are naturally always the first to be forced out of the labour force, or to be prevented from entering it in the first place<sup>1</sup>. This, in many countries, has led to a mistrust and scepticism to both the national governments and the EU in young people's eyes. Since all the EU countries function with a single common market as if it is the same country, the national governments and the European Institutions mostly are blamed equally for any bad trend in the economy. Obviously the EU realizes the necessity to find a way to overcome this problem and make sure the young people are empowered, supported and helped enough to get involved in the labour force again. Thus such instruments and media are put into practice in order to try and break the vicious circle of youth unemployment.

On the other hand, some similar schemes had already been running for a while and they have proved to be very successful in terms of reaching out to the

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<sup>1</sup> Eurostat EU Youth Report 2009, p97 (Youth People not in Education, Employment or Training)

youth. Obviously the European Institutions preferred to keep them and even made more funds and promotion available for the Voluntary Organisations<sup>2</sup> in order to use them as a bridge between the EU and the youth. One such example is the so-called ‘Youth in Action’ Programme (which took over the former ‘Youth’ Programme that ran between 2000-2007 and which will be taken over by ‘Youth on the Move’ from 2013 onwards) from which millions of young people benefited through the projects (funded by EU grants) made available to them. This programme is the main reflection and the application of the theory of EU’s Youth Policy and will be dealt with in detail as the main focus of this research in the next chapters.

This paper is going to deal with whether or not the European Commission’s Youth in Action Programme has an influence on the Turkish young people regarding their perception of and perspective towards the European Union in general, and if so, in what ways and to what extent. This topic has been chosen by the researcher primarily for the latter of the previously-mentioned reasons. It was viewed to be of critical importance to make an impact analysis about this increasingly popular programme scheme run by the European Commission, namely “Youth in Action” (formerly “Youth” and future “Youth on the Move”) on the Turkish young people who participated in them in order to understand if and how they comply with the overall aims and objectives set by the Commission, and to what degree. It has also been thought that since the programme is constantly being updated and subjected to changes according to the latest and newly-emerging needs, interests, aims and objectives of the European Institutions and the European Community; the data gathered as part of this research could provide invaluable advice to the parties involved in the ongoing amendment process. Another reason in this topic being chosen is the apparent need to achieve a comparison between the Turkish youngsters who have benefited from at least one of the opportunities created by the Youth in Action Programme and those who have not in terms of their understanding of and stance towards the European Institutions. Through this comparison that will be based on an extensive survey carried out by the researcher is aimed to find out if there can be found any direct or inverse proportionality between Turkey’s accession process and the level of euroscepticism in Turkish youth.

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<sup>2</sup> Communication from the Commission on:  
Promoting the Role of Voluntary Organizations and Foundations in Europe, p. 17

## **Part A: What is the Youth in Action Programme?**

It is, in fact, quite a complex and detailed programme. However, we can use this broadest definition provided by the Programme Guide for a start: “Youth in Action is the Programme the European Union has set up for young people. It aims to inspire a sense of active European citizenship, solidarity and tolerance among young Europeans and to involve them in shaping the Union's future. It promotes mobility within and beyond the EU's borders, non-formal learning and intercultural dialogue, and encourages the employability and inclusion of all young people, regardless of their educational, social and cultural background...”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the Youth in Action Programme is based on these four pillars, and when the national or the central authorities evaluate the thousands of project applications they receive, they are obliged to take into account the relevant criteria when deciding whether or not to fund them. It basically is a medium through which the European Union funds several different types of projects organized by and for young people in a range of countries not only limited to the member states but also extending to the EFTA and candidate countries as well.

### ➤ **How and Why Did It Start?**

The European Parliament and the Council co-decided (Decision No. 1719/2006/EC of 15 November 2006<sup>4</sup>) on the launch of the Youth in Action Programme for the period 2007 to 2013 as the reflection of EU's legal framework to support non-formal learning activities for young people. It is the modified continuation of the former Youth Programme, taking into account the interim evaluation in 2003 with two important additions to it: employability and participation dimensions. These dimensions are also in line with the Council's resolution on European Cooperation in the youth field: “cross-sectoral approach to youth issues with a view not only to create more and equal opportunities for all young people in education and labour market but also promoting the active engagement, social inclusion and solidarity of all young people<sup>5</sup>”.

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<sup>3</sup> European Commission Youth in Action Programme Guide, p. 1

<sup>4</sup> EUR-Lex Official Journal L 327 of 24 November 2006, p.30

<sup>5</sup> EUR-Lex Official Journal C 311 of 19 December 2009, p. 1

➤ **What is the General Management Structure?**

The general administration and implementation of the Youth in Action Programme is under the responsibility of the Commission; particularly that of the Directorate-General for Education and Culture (DG-EAC) with the help of Education and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA). “The DG-EAC manages the overall budget and sets priorities, targets and criteria for the Programme on an ongoing basis whereas the EACEA is responsible for the implementation of the centralised Actions of the Youth in Action Programme. It is in charge of the complete life cycle of these projects, from analysing the grant request to monitoring projects on the spot. It is also responsible for launching the specific calls for proposals<sup>6</sup>.” DG-EAC is also responsible for the supervision and coordination of the so-called National Agencies, which are the national implementing partners of the EU in the Programme Countries. Shortly, the DG-EAC is the main responsible governing body of the programme which deals with the general framework and overall agenda of it while EACEA only works on the day-to-day management of the programme under the conditions set by the DG-EAC. National Agencies, on the other hand, are the national bodies (usually acting under another government body) that are authorised to run the programme in their countries locally; i.e. receiving, evaluating and funding the project applications as well as coordinating and inspecting their implementations. And

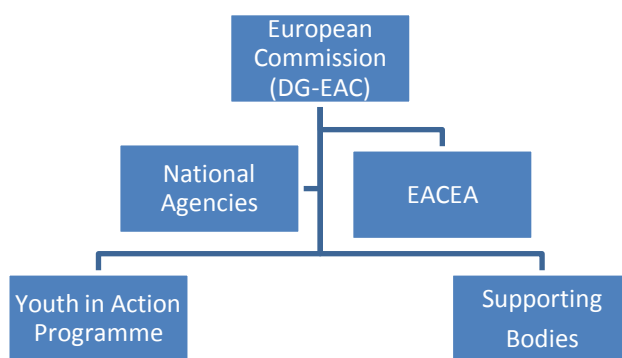


Figure 1: Management Structure of YiA

finally there are several of what is called the supporting bodies for the Youth in Action Programme such as Source for Advanced Learning and Training Opportunities (SALTO) and the Eurodesk Network or the

Euro-Med Youth Platform which are all supportive initiatives or institutions aiming to ensure the stability, sustainability and increased quality in the YiA.

<sup>6</sup> European Commission Youth in Action Programme Guide, p. 13

### ✓ **Budget and Finance**

After the project applications submitted to the National Agencies (or, in some exceptional cases to the Executive Agency in Brussels directly) are evaluated and decided whether or not they will receive funding, the successful applicant institutions or persons receive the granted sum from the same institutions in a given time. This funding is covered from a common ‘pool’, contributed to by all the 33 participating countries. Each year, the governments of all the Programme Countries transfer a certain amount of money (depending on the number of young people in their country) to this common pool, which then becomes available to any applicant from any Programme Country. Thus, there may well be some national agencies that receive much less than what their government had put in the pool whereas some others that receive a lot more than that theirs did. This depends on many criteria such as the number of applications received, the quality of the projects proposed and the relevance of the applications to the EU’s permanent and annual priorities as defined by the DG-EAC. The overall budget for Youth in Action Programme was defined as 887 million Euros for the seven years (2007-2013) that it is foreseen to run.

#### ➤ **What kind of Projects (or ‘Actions’) are offered?**

There are 5 different types of so-called ‘Action’s (project types) available in the Youth in Action Programme, also including some sub-actions as follows:

- Action 1 (Youth for Europe)
  - Action 1.1 : Youth Exchanges
  - Action 1.2 : Youth Initiatives
  - Action 1.3 : Youth Democracy Projects
- Action 2 (European Voluntary Service)
- Action 3 (Youth in the World)
  - Action 3.1 : Cooperation with Neighbouring Countries of the EU
  - Action 3.2 : Cooperation with Other Countries of the World
- Action 4 (Youth Support Systems)
  - Actions 4.3 : Training and Networking of Those Active in Youth Work
- Action 5 (Support for Cooperation in Youth Field)
  - Action 5.1 : Meetings of Young People and Decision-Makers
  - Action 5.2 : Support to Bring About Better Knowledge of Youth Field
  - Action 5.3 : Co-operation with International Organizations

➤ **Objectives, Priorities and Features of YiA:**

Since we are going to analyze whether or not the main objectives of the Programme are fully achieved in Turkey, it is crucial to familiarize ourselves with the objectives, priorities and features of this programme. The general objectives of the Youth in Action Programme are to<sup>7</sup>:

- promote young people's active citizenship in general and their European citizenship in particular
- develop solidarity and promote tolerance among young people, in particular in order to foster social cohesion in the European Union
- foster mutual understanding between young people in different countries
- contribute to developing the quality of support systems for youth activities and the capabilities of civil society organisations in the youth field
- promote European cooperation in the youth field

In this respect, the Youth in Action has a multi-dimensional basis called 'permanent priorities' that has to be reflected in each and every project within its framework on European Citizenship, Participation of Young People, Cultural Diversity and Inclusion of Young People with Fewer Opportunities. On top of these principles, the EU defines a few 'annual priorities' that change every year according to the needs and agenda of the EU for a given year. Three annual priorities for 2011 that support our view presented in the introduction about EU's intention to use the YiA as a bridge to reach out to the youngsters are: European Year of Volunteering, Creativity and Entrepreneurship, and Youth Unemployment.

The YiA also has introduced or popularized some special features that have become strongly intertwined, inseparable parts of it such as Non-Formal Learning (Participation in NFL activities is higher in Youth with a tertiary level of education compared to their peers with lower level which receives harsh criticism<sup>8</sup>), Youthpass, Visibility of the YiA, Anti-Discrimination, Gender Equality and Multilingualism. Most of these features are the EU's efforts to make sure the YiA is practically open to all (especially for the poor because as the World Report of UN states: "...poverty remains a major barrier to schooling..."<sup>9</sup>) and officially recognized by as many people and institutions as possible.

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<sup>7</sup> European Commission Youth in Action Programme Guide, p. 4

<sup>8</sup> Youth in Europe: A Statistical Portrait, p.99

<sup>9</sup> UN World Youth Report, p. 14

## **Part B: The Turkish Case**

### **➤ When and How Did They Initiate in Turkey?**

Turkey has gained the right to officially participate in the YiA as a Programme Country in 2004, when a National Agency (NA) to administrate the Programme in the country and to provide the necessary coordination with Brussels was founded to operate under the State Planning Organization (Original: ‘Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı’) which is a unit functioning under the Prime Ministry. Thus, the National Agency of Turkey (or ‘The Directorate General for EU Youth and Education Programs’ as its official Turkish name translates) started to function as a legal governmental body under the Prime Ministry, however indirectly, unlike some of their counterparts in Europe which are completely autonomous non-governmental organisations.

Information on the foundation and working principles of the National Agency is relevant to our research as this very profound establishment logic (as opposed to Youth Councils, Youth Parliaments<sup>10</sup> or the European Youth Forum<sup>11</sup>) has, over the years, attracted a lot of criticism in many ways. To name some of these, the NA was blamed by some for being politicized or biased in their decisions and fund-management while by others for proving insufficient to reach as many young people as possible in a fast and efficient enough way because of the time-consuming procedures or spatial limitations caused by the bureaucracy and formality in its nature. We will also be dealing with these questions in the next chapters.

Having evolved through the years since its foundation, the NA currently operates with a structure including the following units: the Presidency, Legal Counsellor’s Office, Auditor’s Office, Lifelong Learning Programme, Youth in Action Programme, DG Support Units, DG Human Resources and Administration, DG Budget and Finance, DG Programmes Logistics, DG Information Technologies, DG Public Relations. There are currently 13 employees in the Youth in Action Unit (excluding the secretariat) consisting of 8 Responsible Officers specialized in sub-actions, 3 Coordinators and 2 Office

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<sup>10</sup> EU Youth Report 2009, p.44-45 (3.1.7 Youth Councils, 3.1.8 Youth Parliaments)

<sup>11</sup> European Report: Recent Developments in Youth Policy Field on European Level, p.17



Clerks. These are the people responsible for management of the whole Programme. Their tasks include but are not limited to: its nation-wide advertisement, organizing necessary trainings, being the point of contact for any questions from within or outside Turkey, announcing the call for applications to receiving them, carrying out the evaluation process through a so-called ‘independent external assessors’ system, providing funding to the approved applicants, inspecting and coordinating the implementation of the projects, receiving the final reports and so on.

✓ **How Are the Grants Distributed?**

Naturally the Turkish Agency follows a very strict procedure and refers to a list of criteria when deciding which project applications are eligible for funding and which ones are not. These criteria can be categorized in two sections: pre-application eligibility and post-application relevance. The first one includes all the conditions (usually technical ones such as filling in the forms, including the necessary documents and signatures and alike) any applicant has to fulfil before one of the five pre-defined deadlines in order to be accepted for evaluation for a grant whereas the latter is the evaluation of the quality and applicability of the proposed project as well as its relevance to the annual and permanent priorities. As the website of the NA clearly states: “...*all the information regarding an application appropriately submitted before a deadline is registered in a software called Youthlink and assigned a project number. The projects that arrive later than the deadlines are not taken into consideration. The project applications are subjected to a pre-evaluation called eligibility check. Those that pass the pre-evaluation are then taken into the quality assessment. The quality assessment is done by at least two independent external assessors for every project. The Evaluation Committee calculates the averages given by the assessors and make a list according to the points the applications received to make a final decision.*<sup>12</sup>” The same website also provides for the applicants a document with the list of criteria they look for in these evaluation phases. The quality control is made by

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<sup>12</sup>(<http://www.ua.gov.tr/index.cfm?action=detay&yayinID=6736529D3AB65C0F7A6E019826146E61F11EA>)

the external assessors (who are chosen from various jobs and classes of the society who have no relevance whatsoever with the NA or the applicant) through checking the following main headings: the relevance of the project to the annual and permanent priorities, the quality of the project design, the quality of the project's content and methodology, the accessibility of the project, the profile of the participants and partners and the evaluation summary of the assessor. Thus, the NA aims at making sure the evaluation process is completely transparent and providing support for the applicant as to what they should expect or do while submitting an application.

✓ **Monitoring and Inspection**

Since the Commission, through the NAs, gives out all this money as a grant (not a loan) intended for only the disadvantaged people/institutions in need, they have also developed a built-in system in order to prevent fraud and ensure the grants are received only by those who deserve it the most. The relevant set of rules and procedures, as every other detail about the general running and administration of the National Agencies, are listed in detail in a special document that the Commission published for the use of NAs. This is a legal publication called "Guide for National Agencies Implementing the Youth in Action Programme<sup>13</sup>" and The Turkish National Agency also follows this very strict and standardized protocol in checks of the grant beneficiaries. In this regard, as the researcher have been informed in an informal interview with one of the Turkish National Agency Staff, the so-called 'primary controls' undertaken on a regular basis by the Turkish NA are as follows:

- Analysis of final reports;
- Desk check of supporting material submitted by beneficiaries at final report stage;
- On the spot check during the implementation of a supported activity;
- On the spot check (audit) undertaken upon completion of a supported activity;
- Systems audit of recurrent beneficiaries.

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## **Part C: Survey & Results**

### **➤ Online Survey**

The researcher has carried out an online survey for the Turkish youth in order to determine whether or not there is a difference between the young people who have participated in at least one project within the framework of Youth in Action Programme and those who have not in terms of perceiving the EU-TR relations. The basic aim was, as previously mentioned in the introduction, to find out the influence (if any) of the YiA on the level of euroscepticism in Turkish youth. A secondary desired outcome of the survey was to maintain a general overlook on what the Turkish participants think about how the YiA Programme is run by the Turkish National Agency and compare this to the Commission's above-mentioned terms and conditions. The questions in the survey, some requiring text-answers and some multiple-choice ones, answered by 105 people were as follows:

1. Your Name & Surname (text answer)
2. Your Gender (text answer)
3. Your Age (text answer)
4. Your Level of Education
  - Primary/High School
  - Vocational High School
  - Bachelor Degree
  - Master Degree
  - Doctorate
5. You Live in a
  - Village / Countryside
  - Town / Suburb
  - City Centre
  - Metropolitan
6. Your E-Mail Address (text answer)
7. Do You Want Turkey in the EU?
  - Yes
  - No
8. Do You Think Turkey will Join the EU?
  - Yes, soon
  - Yes, but in a long while
  - No, probably not

9. Considering the TR-EU Relations:
- EU needs Turkey more
  - Turkey needs EU more
  - They both need each other equally
  - Neither needs the other
10. What do you think of the EU-TR negotiations? (text answer)
11. What kind of social changes might Turkey's accession cause? (text answer)
12. What kind of economical changes might Turkey's accession cause? (text answer)
13. What kind of political changes might Turkey's accession cause? (text answer)
14. The EU has recently been on a path to ever-closer and ever-deeper centralization and governance process which means more and more policies are taken at the European level. In your opinion this is:
- A positive approach to the benefit of all
  - A potential threat to sovereign decision-making mechanisms
15. In terms of identity, you feel like a:
- Turkish Citizen
  - European Citizen
  - A Primarily Turkish European Citizen
  - A Primarily European Turkish Citizen
  - Other
16. Have you ever heard of the European Commission's Youth in Action Programme? If yes, have you ever participated in such a project and how many times?
- No, I've never heard of it
  - I've heard but never participated
  - Yes, 1-3 times
  - Yes, 4-5 times
  - Yes, 6+ times
17. Has your participation in these projects changed your perception and perspective towards the EU and its citizens? In what ways? (text answer)
18. In your opinion, were the projects you've attended related to one of the following priorities of the Programme?
- European Citizenship
  - Active Participation of Youth
  - Cultural Diversity
  - Inclusion of Youth with Fewer Opportunities
19. What do you think about the Turkish NA's management, involvement and inspection over the Programme? Do you think there is an aspect that could be better? (text answer)

The survey consisted of 3 main parts: the first 6 questions being the personal information, the second part including questions from 7 to 15 were about the surveyees' opinions on the EU, and the last 4 questions were thoughts and reflections of the participants on the YiA and the Turkish NA. The answers of the participants reveal the need to categorize the surveyees into three groups. Firstly, the Pro-EU: those who are supportive or optimistic towards Turkey's accession into the EU and willing to keep the negotiations process, second, the Anti-EU: those who are eurosceptical and against Turkey's accession into the EU, also pessimistic about the negotiations process and third, the Undecided/Neutral: those who either have not made up their minds or have mixed conflicting thoughts on the matter. We are now going to analyze the answers to each question included in the second and third parts, and see how they co-relate with each other. The answers of the first part are not disclosed due to confidentiality purposes as promised in the binding disclaimer at the beginning of the survey. Some text-based answers might have been summarized or shortened to the essentials during translation by the researcher in order to avoid unnecessary or unrelated details.

✓ *Questions 7 & 8 & 9*

Since these questions are very connected to each other, it is deemed appropriate to evaluate their results together in comparison. The seventh question (Do You Want Turkey to Join the EU?) is the most important and straightforward question of the survey and 66 participants answered 'yes' to this, while 39 of them chose to say 'no'. Thus, we seem to have a first figure of 62.86% Pro-EU with a 37.14% Anti-EU at the beginning. However, as the questions start to get complicated and require more details, we are going to see that this is not an accurate figure. For instance, there is a contrast even between this question and the next one. The eighth question (Do You Think Turkey will Become a Full Member?) received only a 10.48% of Pro-EU Optimists (11 people) who have chosen the option 'Yes, soon' whereas a majority of 54.29% represented by 57 people have chosen 'Probably not' while the remaining 35.24% (37 people) have answered 'Yes, but in a long while'. This implies a direct contrast between what the young people wish to see and what they think will actually see as almost 2/3

of them would like to see Turkey join the EU, whereas an overwhelming 90% thinks it is not likely to happen soon, if at all. The level of optimism rises again in the ninth question (Considering the EU-TR Relations in terms of needing each other) which was answered by 40% (42 people) with ‘They both need each other equally’ as opposed to 17% who thinks ‘neither side needs the other’ (18 people). On the other hand, while almost 22% think the EU needs Turkey more (23 people), almost the same amount, 21%, thinks vice versa: ‘Turkey needs EU more’ (22 people). A total figure of just over 60% believes in the mutual benefit or the necessity of keeping strong bonds for EU and Turkey while the remaining 40% would prefer not to have any bonds at all, or see it as a one-way road to the benefit of the EU.

**Q7: Do You Want Turkey in the EU?**

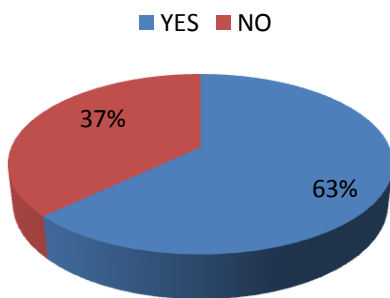


Chart 1: Question 7

**Q8: Do You Think Turkey Will Become a Full Member?**

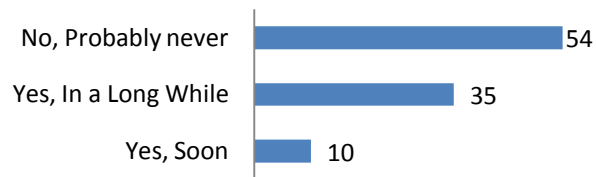


Chart 2: Question 8

**Q9: Considering EU-TR Relations...**

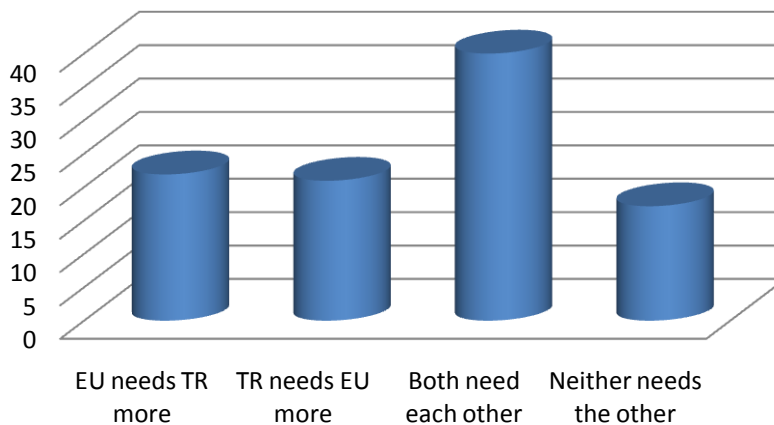


Chart 3: Question 9

✓ **Question 10**

This question aimed at finding out what the Turkish young people think about the current situation regarding the accession negotiations between Turkey and the EU. It reveals some striking results. A great majority, regardless of their answer to the 7<sup>th</sup> question, finds the EU's treatment towards Turkey unfair and many mention a double-standard, whichever side they are on. There are, however, also plenty surveyees who believe Turkey receives what it deserves. The categorized answers are as follows:

<b><u>Pro-EU</u></b>
The process is at a stalemate. I find our current position more profitable. Besides, I don't think that we, as the Turkish society, could make a good use of it if we became a full member. I would hesitate to see this happening without a pre-examination first.
I believe that due to the sociological and economical conditions Turkey is in, the negotiations work very slowly and there is a big need for change.
I do not believe that Turkey shows a developing trend in terms of achieving a positive result in the negotiations
I believe that Turkey will become a full member once the attempts to increase awareness and tolerance in the EU due to the dense population in Turkey end in success and when Turkey becomes fully compatible. I hope that the negotiations between TR-EU gain speed especially after the economical crisis as Turkey could be of great contribution to the Union.
Turkey's situation is like 'saying amen to an impossible prayer' (Turkish proverb). I believe there is not enough time till the world sees Turkey complies with all the necessary conditions and reaches the potential of a European Country.
One of the criteria that the EU expects from the member states is about the promotion of democracy, rule of law and respect for minorities. I don't believe we provide the first condition when hundreds of people are arrested for nothing in Turkey and await trial for months, even years. Another criterion is the functioning market economy –what the current government makes of this is to privatize every institution they hold and if that's really what the EU means it seems like there won't be any institutions in the hands of the Turkish state by 2014. Personally, I'm pessimistic about our membership. I don't find the current government sincere in EU policies, I believe they only care about doing whatever it takes to rule out the army and run the country completely free of pressure.

<p>It is important in terms of improving the social standards</p>
<p>However unlikely Turkey's accession seems as a Muslim country, both sides depend on each other for economical interests. For this reason I believe, no matter how the process evolves, that Turkey will become a member.</p>
<p>A process that is slowed down by political reasons which could easily be overcome by mutual political will.</p>
<p>Turkey is subjected to various compatibility tests in many areas, just like every other country. This is an advantage for Turkey in terms of gaining speed among the developing countries. However, since the social, economical and technological structure of Turkey is completely different than that of the EU, I believe in the necessity of creating such a process wherein the interests of Turkish citizens and government are carefully considered in defining the criteria asked for compatibility.</p>
<p>I think the process is too delayed by Turkey.</p>
<p>Both sides are working for their own interest but Erdogan's recent denial and ignoring policy towards EU endangers the negotiations. Besides I find it ridiculous to see a prime minister doing what the diplomats should do. I think Erdogan thinks he is in an Arab Union.</p>
<p>Generally speaking, I believe that Turkey fails to suffice in the EU-Harmonization policies and that the process will last for a long time.</p>
<p>There is a longing for 50 years like that between two lovers. There is constantly a barrier yet the two sides will work together to solve it.</p>
<p>It is natural that the process takes this long. After all, they possess two different identities, so adaptation will require some time.</p>
<p>The political work in Turkey is insufficient. Actually since the work done is not reflected on the social base, it looks like an insufficiency. The notion of social state in EU countries is quite dominant whereas it only applies at some times in Turkey (i.e. Government's economical and material support in pre-election times)</p>
<p>There are still many more barriers that Turkey has to jump over. The government should first solve the chaos within the country and work on the promises they gave and failed to keep.</p>



<u>Anti-EU</u>
I believe that the EU is stalling Turkey in this process. In order to prevent a strong reaction, they put Turkey through such a prolonged period.
I believe, considering the political terms, that the long-running negotiations between EU and Turkey are a policy to stall us, and that this is to the benefit of the national governments.
Turkey does not need the EU and they prolong the negotiations unnecessarily.
I believe it is a process wherein the EU continuously dictates new conditions on Turkey.
I believe that Turkey dedicates a lot of efforts in entering the EU but its demands are constantly postponed and subjected to more and more conditions
I believe they constantly keep Turkey waiting.
It's a never ending process.
I believe they just run a stalling policy. Because I think Turkey is much more developed than many European countries but the process is prolonged because of religious reasons. The thought of a society with a great Muslim majority must be scary for them.
I see it as a big con, aimed at preventing Turkey's further development.
This issue has extended for too long already. EU is in constant search of another barrier for us. But I think we're nearly at the end of the road. I don't believe the EU, who even accepted Greece, has much more to say anymore. On the other hand, the EU is a common market, meaning it is a unit or an organisation in which the services and capital move freely. Personally I find such a unity irrational. Furthermore, what's expected from the states to join this organisation makes no sense at all. After all, it's not like we're going to execute the Italian, German or English nationals according to our own constitution. Each country does that within itself. Thus the constant changes that we're asked to undergo should be stopped at once. Besides, if the EU really didn't want us, they would have ended the negotiations far sooner, but they need us too.
I think that it's stretched too far and that the negotiations shouldn't go slow due to this, especially considering the last 10 countries that joined and the double standards applied for Croatia. Turkey doesn't deserve much of this treatment.
The negotiations between EU-TR are shaped solely on the EU's wishes and benefits. Many Turkish people are not aware of this process, as otherwise would not be a desirable situation for the government. The issue is intentionally kept

<p>out of the agenda. People have no idea what will change between non-membership and membership status.</p>
<p>I think Turkey sacrifices a lot in the name of joining the EU. Yet I should add that our country is in such a good condition that we don't need to join the EU.</p>
<p>I see it as a Christian Club and for this reason I think of the process as a waste of time, just like the French President.</p>
<p>It's all just politics. These countries care about nothing but the requirements of the politics. It's only the pseudo-benefits of the countries based on the perspectives of pseudo-VIP governments that is taken into consideration. Apart from this, I don't believe in the existence of a future planned together. Sadly, this is the truth for me.</p>
<p>Turkey will soon become a more developed country than the EU. In terms of life standards, we are in much better condition compared to many EU member states. I cannot see any reasons why the EU shouldn't let us in however I believe that the situation will soon turn to our interest and it's going to be us who asks whether or not we would like to join.</p>
<p>It will be better for our country if the EU imperialism gets the hell out of our face. An EU that demands us to get rid of our important cultural elements that hold our nation together such as the national anthem, Turkish flag and so on through projects like Erasmus and that bombs innocent countries in order to provide high standards to their own countries will do no good for our country.</p>
<p>While there is no relation between the guilty-conscious politics played at the moment and the negotiations, the recent economical crisis has brought about some changes in the power balance. The new role assigned to Turkey is to be an equilibrium in the middle east while EU remains undisclosed. Particularly thanks to the current Hungarian presidency, the relationship will look more stable and secure for a while but I do not expect any improvement or progress in the near future.</p>
<p>In the period following the approval of Turkey's membership application and the commencing of the negotiations, Turkey has tried to improve its standards in many ways within the framework of EU-Harmonization. The reformations that were done on the negotiational issues in order to integrate with the union and minimize the differences have been so internalized that even in the case of a withdrawal/rejection of application, they will continue. On the other hand, I believe the supranational structure of the EU surpasses the nation sovereignty and weakens the governments' decision-making mechanisms. I believe the national interests should not be disregarded in the name of EU Membership.</p>
<p>It's not the right way to go.</p>

<p>There are different attitudes and approaches in the EU regarding Turkey's membership. I believe even the positive ones are quite conditional and won't bring about a strong result. Turkey's Muslim structure and east-west synthesis is not suitable to the EU mentality and the EU is aware of this.</p>
<p>I believe it's a stalling policy. One country seems to approve while the other does not just so they can make us do what they want.</p>
<p>The membership negotiation that goes back to 1959 and gained momentum with our gaining candidacy after the Helsinki summit could not progress in a healthy way due to political attitudes and balances in both sides. I don't believe it was a healthy process particularly because of the facts that Turkey was turned into the back garden of the EU, that the laws and decisions taken for harmonization were not digested by the society and historical factors like coups and so on.</p>
<p>Due to some interests, they neither approve our application nor reject it. They try to maximize their gains by lingering the process.</p>
<p>It's in vain. It would be better for us to focus on a middle-east project because the European Countries will have an approach based more on exploitation and usage rather than help and support.</p>
<p>I think that it's unnecessarily prolonged.</p>
<p>It's an unnecessarily extended process. I believe that there is a big political game since countries in worse condition than Turkey were accepted or granted candidate status. Turkey is not an insignificant country in the new world order. Our underground resources and geopolitical importance are still protected and we are the world's favourite. I think the reason why we are subjected to so many plans, projects and theories or the fact that we are spoken of so much is because we are in better than them. We do not need the EU. We are happy like this. The dictations coming in the name of EU-Harmonization are not good for our country. Each culture has a lifestyle. This won't go further than degenerating us and I think the new governments will join a different union, maybe even create one.</p>
<p>We are about to give up on everything, materialistic and non-materialistic, that we acquired with our own efforts over a long time. We are being taken advantage of. Everyone should realize this truth at once.</p>
<p>I think Turkey is fooling himself.</p>
<p>The process does not look bright due to the negative opinions of the current leaders of big countries. Besides, both in the customs union and some other agreements, Turkey suffered a negative discrimination and is clearly prevented from entering the EU.</p>

<p>I think that the candidacy is extended too long by the EU, and that this causes a decline in faith and will among the Turkish society, and that a union with other countries would be more meaningful at this point.</p>
<p>A very badly-managed process by both sides.</p>
<p>The steps taken in this period, which is not likely to end soon, should be thoroughly thought-out and we should avoid making decisions just because the EU wants so. It is not right to follow the issue only from the media, we should also take into consideration the findings of scientists who research on this matter.</p>
<p>The interest and support is too weak in the Turkish nation. I think there is not a positive opinion about the Turks in the Europeans either. This has to do both with the past and the present. Cooperation between Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), political parties and public administration is almost non-existent.</p>
<p>Nothing but a stalling policy.</p>
<p>I see the fact that the negotiations take far longer than that of any other member state as an evidence of the EU's will to keep Turkey waiting for a long while.</p>
<p>The process is extremely slow. There are far too many chapters that Turkey has to complete but I also think the EU is not being transparent and fair towards Turkey.</p>
<p>The fear of including an unstable economy like Turkey in the EU where there is already a capitalist existential crisis (the one in P.I.G.S.) coupled with EU's concern about Turkey's big and cheap labour force always result in a dead end for the negotiations which create a vicious circle for which both sides keep blaming each other. Surely, we should also consider the isolation complex in Turkey and Islamophobia in Europe.</p>
<p>Generally negative. The negotiations have been at a halt for too long. There are 18 chapters that will only open after the 13 is completed and the last chapter may not even be opened at all.</p>
<p>I think the EU will play with Turkey for a long while.</p>
<p>I believe it's painfully slow and not at all efficient.</p>
<p>The EU membership negotiations are of dictating quality. Their wishes will never end. It is normal for different countries to have social differences and to live accordingly. Turkey's EU membership is almost impossible due to these orders.</p>

<p>EU follows a ‘stalling while getting its own interests’ tactic. They do not openly refuse us but the leading countries declare their lack of will to do accept us. I think integration is way too behind the EU agenda, since they are deep in their own troubles.</p>
<p>To me, the prolonging of the negotiations is a method of stalling.</p>
<p>I believe it is unnecessary.</p>
<p>I see negative aspects. The process is not positive.</p>
<p>The process is like a never-ending game. Although Turkey has been an attractive country due to its important location, the reason they won’t let us in is because it’s a Muslim country.</p>
<p>That the EU is not sincere.</p>
<p>I believe that Turkey is taken in by the EU like a kid.</p>
<p>Looks like it’ll last for another 40 years.</p>
<p>The negotiations process is used as a bureaucracy method. The reason that it has taken so long is that there are some interest relations that we cannot see as the common men.</p>
<p>The EU neither keeps Turkey out of the agenda nor takes a step towards full accession by stalling it as long as possible. Everything is shaped just the way the EU wants.</p>
<p>I don’t think there’s an efficient progress. I believe the given hopes are misleading.</p>
<p>Sounds meaningless to me. I sense the danger is near.</p>
<p>We are just a market for big partners.</p>
<p>This is political stuff.</p>
<p>I think Turkey is underdeveloped regarding the EU standards but since the EU defines the standards I believe it’s impossible to have a mutually objective process. I believe the EU Membership is just a fancy name for turning the so-called 3rd World Countries into cheap labour force, goods and production. In addition to economical aspirations, I believe the EU also aims to impose a global single culture and make them dependent under the name of multiculturalism.</p>

The EU stalls AKP, which then stalls Turkey.
Waste of time, we're spending time on a tree that won't blossom.
This lingering deems us wrong even when we are right. Everything takes too long. The political parties, both in Europe and in Turkey, use this situation to get more votes.
An EU that wants to tie our hands and a Turkey that strives and wants.
Although the EU has financial interests in Turkey, they refuse to accept it as a member. They extend the candidacy period and receive their own benefits while giving false hopes to Turkey and stalling them. With the same reason Turkey keeps making new legislations under the name "EU Harmonization" through which the EU is able to get even more out of Turkey.
I believe that the EU is stalling Turkey and that we won't enter the EU. It is my conviction that Turkish government is also aware of this yet they keep giving false hopes to the society.
I find them far from functional. I think neither side understands, or even tries to do so, the other side during the negotiations.
<b><u>Undecided / Neutral / No Comment</u></b>
Recently, there has been some relatively positive improvements between Turkey and EU. However, the prejudices on some issues cannot be overcome which unfortunately causes hard-to-solve problems.
The process of signing the full membership contract is a low possibility one, due to the lingering negotiations and the prejudices particularly in some member states. Yet, in terms of the reforms realized in the meantime, it is a beneficial period for our country.
The process followed in the negotiations has been in complete contrast with those followed in the states who became members before. The EU consistently refused to apply the same procedures that they applied to the other member states before due to religious and historical reasons. The process will surely result in Turkey's accession but time will tell whether the EU needs Turkey or not.
We should look up to them in terms of development however not accept a membership that would serve only to their needs. I mean we should progress in the way they point and pass them quickly.
It is obvious that a process that has been going on for many decades is not likely to end soon, or to end in our benefit. Turkey cannot comply with many of the EU's criteria due to its location, hundreds of years of history, religion and the fact that it's a developing state. But I believe we will be given some privileges

<p>thanks to our strategically important location. Before all, Turkey is not a country on the European continent. Despite this, the fact that we entered the EU-harmonization process legally, economically and socially is a key excuse for the development of Turkey.</p>
<p>Positive, yet slow and tedious</p>
<p>Sometimes I cannot help but think they are mocking us but part of me thinks we are worth being mocked indeed, so I really do not know.</p>
<p>I believe that the process consists only of Turkey's compliance with the Union rather than a negotiation. In addition to positive, civilized regulations, the Turkish government also is forced to take some dishonourable steps back.</p>
<p>I think it will be a tough process.</p>
<p>It's a long-standing process that recently gained momentum thanks to Turkey's efforts. I think it's a good thing that standards and conditions are raised higher in some fields thanks to the negotiations but I feel they are insufficient. Similarly, I don't think the reports of the EU are unbiased, they are written with a focus on negativities. I believe the pre-accession economical support is a good opportunity for Turkey to catch the European standards in some fields but they are used for wrong purposes and not in a transparent way.</p>
<p>The efforts to harmonize with the EU criteria are going forward, albeit not as fast as it used to be. There are some counter-criteria that Turkey proposes and this causes a disagreement.</p>
<p>Turkey tends so much to see itself sufficient however it clearly is not. The EU extends the period because they don't have a certain opinion about Turkey. It will take such a long time to legislate and implement in all of the 35 chapters. Some policy fields, such as agriculture, will influence the process both by being implemented and by being avoided.</p>
<p>I believe it will be long and tough, albeit successful.</p>
<p>I believe the process will take a long while due to some serious concerns like migration in the EU against Turkey, however I find Turkey's efforts to join very beneficial.</p>
<p>Looking at the structure and history of the EU, Turkey's accession sounds like nothing but a dream. However, the new regulations and legislations brought about in this period helps Turkey develop in many fields such as democracy and human rights.</p>
<p>Mutual interest conflict</p>

<p>The EU received much more than it gave. Turkish politicians overlooked this and suppressed the rebelling intellectuals when the society has no idea what was going on. At least the membership process will be completed, I still haven't lost hope on this.</p>
<p>Both sides are right in their claims. Europe's criteria are not fully implemented while the always-demanding look of the EU triggers a scepticism in Turkish people. As the process is extended while some countries in worse condition than Turkey are allowed in, the disturbance and rejection in public eye is increasing. Consequently, it has taken much more than it should have and both sides are equally to blame for this.</p>
<p>A tough period.</p>
<p>Turkey should definitely strive for membership but not make any sacrifices from its own values.</p>
<p>They will eventually let us in. They're only prolonging the process because they are afraid of our big population.</p>
<p>I don't find it constructive that the EU always comes up with new dictations in the negotiations process. There might be some steps that Turkey has to take in terms of EU standardization, however, I believe the EU intentionally ignores Turkey's positive steps towards economical development and political stability.</p>

### Q10: Opinion about Negotiations

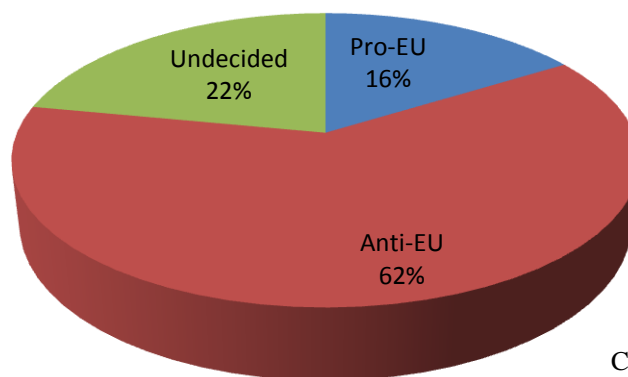


Chart 4: Question 10

As we can see in the answers of many surveyees, many Turkish young people seem quite pessimistic and unsatisfied about how the process of negotiations is run. Even the number of those confused and unsure about the process is higher than that of the supporters. Needless to say, the fact that the candidacy period has taken so long resulted in some sort of an accession fatigue leading to a decline in optimism, faith and will in the membership prospect.



✓ **Question 11**

This question, the first of a trilogy dealing with possible changes that the participants think are likely to come about in different walks of life (in order: social, economical and political) revealed a great interest mainly in the visa free-travel among other things in case of Turkey’s accession. Some also fear discrimination once Turkey enters the EU since the figures show young Europeans could be quite xenophobic<sup>14</sup>. The most common social expectations of Turkish young people if Turkey joins the EU seem to be: visa-free regime, mutually increased tolerance, intercultural and interreligious exchange between both sides, improved life quality and service standards. Many participants seem partially satisfied with the changes brought about by the process yet they are quite hesitant and sceptical about a full membership. These surveyees are categorized in the ‘Anti’ section since they do not show a complete devotion or enthusiasm like those in the first group. Categorized answers are as follows:

<b><u>Pro-EU</u></b>
I think it will be beneficial for working people and students in terms of socially. International journeys, education or business that is done will be beneficial for both sides. But, I think this process will take some time.
In my opinion every nation has its own culture, lifestyle and values. Diversity doesn’t always mean “difficulty”. I believe there is nothing that cannot be beaten by mutual tolerance.
I think both nations will get the chance to know each other and get over their prejudices. In terms of society, I think people will be more tolerant
Much as the EU membership is not very important for me, I believe abolishment of visas will build up a growing bond among youth thanks to cultural interactions.
I think if Turkey gets a full membership, current communication will be more efficient. The EU is already familiar with Turkish culture, so with full membership there will be healthier communication.
I think we will have better standards. There may be a bond between Turkey and

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<sup>14</sup> EU Youth Report 2009, p. 80

<p>other the EU countries. This bond may lead a way to our university students.</p>
<p>There will be more cultural interactions.</p>
<p>I believe current conditions in Turkey such as literacy rate, individual freedom, social awareness, and justice equality will change in a positive way. The EU's labour market will be cheaper and structure of Turkish culture will affect the EU and may be change it.</p>
<p>Mutual affairs will grow stronger in terms of society.</p>
<p>Thanks to Turkey's superior geography, I think the EU is positive about Turkey. Abolishing visas will help both sides in terms of tourism. There will be improvement in work insurance.</p>
<p>I think when Turkey enters; the EU will be in giving position. Even though we are not a full member, yet, we have been benefiting from the EU projects such as Erasmus, the EU Youth Projects, Leonardo Da Vinci and alike. for seven years. These projects helped university students to gain experience and new horizons. Personally I would like to thank the EU for all the changes that it has done on me as a person who joined the previously mentioned projects. I think it's different for the EU countries. I see the EU as a teacher who sets goals for its potential student. I think Turkey's perspective on minorities has changed thanks to the EU. Thus our "tolerance process" will make its way.</p>
<p>I think it will be positive. They will fulfil each other's needs.</p>
<p>I haven't thought of the subject nor study, but my opinion on this subject would be: visa-free travel will affect Turkey in a positive way and there will be a youth integration, and mutual employment, and investment opportunity. Our country is in need of social development</p>
<p>I think it will be easier for us to go to other countries.</p>
<p>Positive changes in social life will be inevitable</p>
<p>There will be positive reflections of Turkey's development and democratization on social life. For EU, it will start a period in which intercultural communication will be re-questioned.</p>
<p>On Turkey's side, the EU criteria will have a positive impact and if successful, it will basically mean some development in the urban-rural imbalance.</p>
<p>The lack of qualified youth in the EU will be met by Turkish surplus. The unemployed young Turks will be able to work in the EU. I also think the social security standards in Turkey will increase.</p>

<p>EU will increase its cultural diversity while Turkey will increase its service standards as well as citizenship culture.</p>
<p>Create new social areas for both sides because they are very different cultures.</p>
<p>Catching the EU standards is a big social advantage for Turkey</p>
<p>I believe there has been an increased awareness in Turkey regarding education and sivil society even during the negotiations. I believe it is overrated that Turkey contains different cultures and religions. After all we know that one of the main goals of the EU is to create a common European identity through sytnhesizing these differences. Evidently, I believe Turkey's rich cultural mosaic could be a contribution to the EU.</p>
<p>Social development, awareness and civil society could be increased</p>
<p>I think it could have a good social impact on Turkey if visa-free travel is allowed yet it is a dilemma how the several European countries would be affected by this.</p>
<p>Turks will be able to attend any activity in Europe whenever they want such as festivals, olympics and alike. Not much will change for the Europeans since they are free to come to Turkey any way. I hope with the EU membership all kinds of discrimination acts currently happening in Turkey will come to an end. Through the free travel possibility, the barriers for youth in terms of education, work and accommodation will be abolished.</p>
<p>The EU-TR hostility and prejudices will seriously diminish.</p>
<p>Less prejudices, more getting to know each other between countries.</p>
<p>Maybe Turkey might implement some elements of a social state whereas I think there won't be any contribution to the EU.</p>
<p>I believe that EU's concerns about multiculturalism can be overcome by the right policies. As for Turkey, it won't bring as profound changes as is expected.</p>
<p>Many improvements were made in the constitution regarding human rights and social rights but more could be done. Turkish lifestyle will change even more rapidly than it has been doing since the 1980s.</p>
<p>The privileges, coming closer of the nations, getting to know each other and sorting out the problems from the past will help make them all more tolerant.</p>
<p>A lifestyle with high human rights will be enabled for Turkey whereas an increased intercultural exchange will occur in the EU.</p>
<p>Both sides will become more open to learning with less prejudices.</p>

Not much will change. Social interaction already exists. But prejudice against other religions might be abolished and level of education in Turkey will increase.
Lifestyles of people could be more mobile.
It's already very easy to enter Turkey so it will only make it easier for Turks to travel abroad.
Free travel and civil society dialogue will be enabled.
We might learn the civilisation while they sincerity.
It's an opportunity to break the mutual prejudices. It will be good for Turkey to witness the Western Civilisation at first hand while the EU finds out the distance Turkey has travelled so far.
Standards will increase.
Through reforms, Turkey will be at the centre of Europe which will be a great benefit for us socially.
We'll get to know more people.
I think the only good social difference will be the Schengen visa. Thanks to free travel, people will have more opportunities for social and cultural exchange.
Mingling of the Western culture with that of the Middle East will help Turkey copy the civilised aspects of Europe. The EU will reach a more democratic environment with more religious diversity.
I believe several wrongdoings will be detected and corrected. New horizons will open before people's eyes and help them develop.
A more comfortable atmosphere will be possible in Turkey. Not much will change in EU.
Travelling abroad will be easier for Turks. The synthesis of the two cultures will result in the creation of a post-culture.
<b><u>Anti-EU / Hesitant</u></b>
The young educated population and cheap labour force will put a lot of EU countries in trouble. Besides, many problems stemming from religious and cultural reasons might emerge. These might be less for the educated class while more prominent in the already-prejudiced ones.
It will be a great contribution for them whereas none for us.

No visas means free travel. Turkey might have to contribute lots to the social funds and the multi-polar decisions will hinder our sovereign will.
Personally I do not want Turkey in the EU. I don't think any social or economical contributions will be possible in case of the membership. It's obvious that they will accept us when we become what they want us to be, but this will completely change our identity.
There should be social connections with the EU without joining it. Cooperation in many fields, particularly cultural activities, could be strengthened.
I believe such a crowded nation could be a threat for the EU. Turkey's accession could be a good step for realizing the social state concept.
I believe we are socially and culturally very different. I believe it will be difficult for both sides.
Turkey has many groups of people: an educated group who knows how to live in a community, an uneducated group who is yet compatible with communal living, and an incompatible one. Since the first set of migrations was by the last group, there is a prejudice in the EU towards the Turks. Since the European countries are culturally closer to each other, Turkey will be the most difficult to integrate. If visa-free travel is made possible, I think there might be a brain-drain.
Turks will rush to Europe to find jobs, education and for touristic purposes. I think it'll change the mentality and lifestyle of the Turkish people. I believe it will have a negative outcome for the EU.
I think it'll only have a social effect. Turks will be able to freely visit all those places they admire in pictures. Yet they will harass and disturb the Europeans. If this is what is meant by social cohesion, I believe there will be a huge one. On the other hand, of course some of our citizens will act properly in the situation.
There may be a total chaos. Even if the government is ready for membership, I don't think we are ready as society.
Nothing ever changes in this country unless it has to.
There will be no change for the EU, but Turkey will suffer from assimilation.
Since EU needs the Turkish young population it will be to their benefit. As for Turkey, I believe there will be a huge brain-drain.
Turkey's culture has deep roots and doesn't have much in common with the EU culture. I think this will be a problem.
I think Turkey will go under a positive communication process in terms of society. So even if she got full membership, she won't accept it.

<p>Turkey might show some cultural development. The only thing the EU can get from Turks is their awesome wits(!) and surely food.</p>
<p>I don't think the Turkish people will get used to the EU quickly. The primary reason for this is the cultural differences, in my opinion. But in the long run, I think Turkish people will change their perspective of the society and diversify their social life alternatives. Plus, I believe several cultural activities that are unique to Turkey such as Karavat-Hacigoz (a shadow puppet show) will be admired in the EU.</p>
<p>EU will take advantage of Turkey, Middle East will fall apart from Turkey.</p>
<p>It might be beneficial for Turkey. If only Turkey would put as much effort on educating her own citizens and let them speak their minds freely, and citizens would be able to discuss. At the same time if the Turkish were aware of their own culture and has come to terms with it, I would say our so-called potential membership is good for Turkey in terms of society. I believe it won't be good for Turkey or the EU.</p>
<p>I hope we don't join. Since the dawn of time, the only reason for people to live together has always been power and interest.</p>
<p>No doubt it will add to the level of globalisation. I also have concerns about the cultural exchange leading to degeneration.</p>
<p>EU member states are in fact not at all stranger to Turkish culture. Labour force migrating to the EU since 1950s unfortunately could still not integrate to the local cultures and badly influenced the opinions of Europeans on Turkish people. Even the people of the highest level of socio-culture who go to Europe face discrimination today. Unfortunately I do not believe these prejudices will be broken even in case of membership.</p>
<p>I believe Turkey will provide a different power within the EU thanks to its population and cultural nature.</p>
<p>Turkish society is further than ever from the EU society since the early 20th century. If Turkey joins the EU, now or in the future, the EU community will experience a serious crisis.</p>
<p>Probably Turkish people will forget their customs and traditions, its family structure will be shaken and we'll be turned into an Arab state. The EU will probably treat us the same way they do towards the Turks who went to Germany before and discriminate. It is likely that we also will be like those citizens of ours abroad.</p>
<p>Culture shock for Turkey. Not much will change for the EU.</p>
<p>There will be an exchange for Turkish rich and the EU poor, that's all.</p>

<p>Turkish youth are already a bunch of wannabes so a membership will erase all their remaining values and turn us into an unsuccessful society.</p>
<p>The young educated population and cheap labour force will out a lot of EU countries in trouble. Besides, many problems stemming from religious and cultural reasons might emerge. These might be less for the educated class while more prominent in the already-prejudiced ones.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Undecided / Neutral / No Comment</u></b></p>
<p>There won't be any difference for the EU whereas a lot will change in Turkey.</p>
<p>When visa-free travel and diploma synchronisation occurs, the social balance for the young and educated Turks will change.</p>
<p>I think it won't bring too much change for either side.</p>
<p>I can say that the Turkish young population, particularly that of males, will decrease.</p>
<p>On Turkey's side I think people in Turkey will be more informed on cultural events, but on the EU's side I don't think there will be much of a change</p>
<p>EU is an aging society. Besides, their cultures are dying since birth rate is in decline. We should also keep in mind the Muslim population within the EU. Consequently, it's obvious that many things will change in the EU soon. Turkey's inclusion will change a lot in terms of young population and culture. Yet I believe Turkey's impact on the EU will be more than that of EU on Turkey.</p>
<p>No doubt there will be a social initiative for Turkey. It could prove useful in changing the negative prejudice that is stuck onto us in the international arena. But I believe the process could go even worse for the witty Turkish people.</p>
<p>It might bring employment and revenue to Turkey. For EU, it's an extra burden.</p>
<p>I don't think there will be changes in the EU socially. But it will be great opportunity for Turkish especially university students.</p>
<p>I think there will be changes both in Turkey and the EU, albeit more in Turkey.</p>
<p>Even though I haven't thought about it in the EU's view, I believe it will be a great help to the Turkish, especially to the youth and pensioners with good income, in terms of finding better jobs and expand their horizon. These may happen only if Turkey gets membership just like the other countries. I'm afraid the EU citizens' view on Turkish people will be an obstacle even when Turkey gets accepted.</p>

<p>I believe it will bring a lot of social differences with it. Because we will have to live with a society with a different culture. It will even be reflected in cuisines, sightseeing, hobbies and so on.</p>
<p>The important question is, in case of Turkey's accession, what will our citizens that so far had nothing to do with the EU do about this? Will they try to get to know the Europeans and integrate or stand against them and keep calling them names purely based on religious differences?</p>
<p>For EU it's a step outside the Christian circle which is important. Depending on the conditions of the membership, there might be a big migration. While it has several advantages for Turkey, a quick transition without being digested can cause many problems.</p>
<p>I guess in case of membership, there wouldn't be much of a difference in Turkey socially but if free travel rights are given, the EU would never be the same again.</p>
<p>Our young population will influence the European one.</p>
<p>For Turkey, life standards and quality will be improved. Level of education and culture will increase. In case of visa-free travel, young population will decrease in the country. For the EU; it will be hard to get used to the Turks. The quality of the Union will decrease.</p>
<p>In short notice, no big differences will come about in both sides.</p>
<p>Probably migration will increase. Plus touristic activities by the well-off people will increase.</p>
<p>More kebab for Europe, more democratization for Turkey.</p>
<p>I believe the Turkish nation won't be able to contribute much to the European social life unless they could completely realize the modernization process within themselves first. This is also important in terms of removing the prejudice of the EU citizens about Turkish people.</p>
<p>See: Q10</p>
<p>I don't think there will be a big change but of course people will relocate.</p>
<p>Turkish people will rush to Europe and scatter all around</p>
<p>I believe it won't have a big impact on EU but for us social status and roles will change faster</p>
<p>Could be devastating for Europe since they're sick of the Turkish immigrants. For Turkey it surely is a happy thing that we implement the requirements of social state. Increase in the income, social and cultural development are some possible advantages.</p>



### Q11: Possible Social Changes after Membership

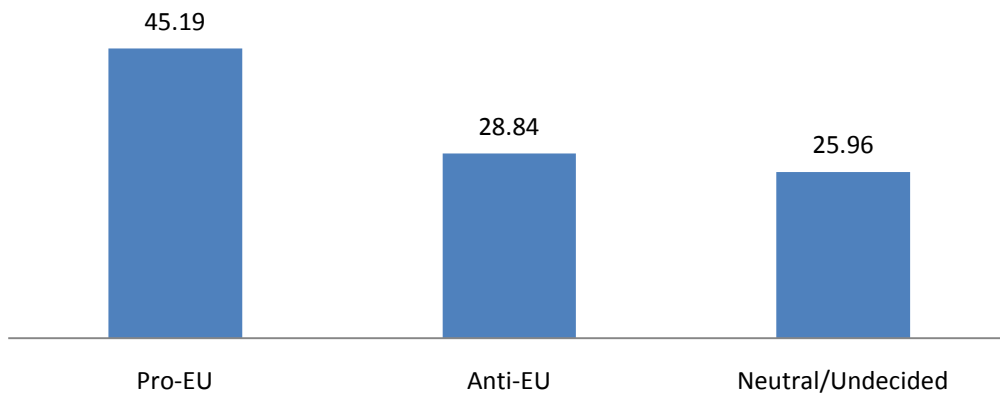


Chart 5: Question 11

Interestingly, despite the fact that most of the young Turks are highly critical of the EU's behaviour towards Turkey during the negotiations (as we saw in Q10), only a minority of just under 30% shows strict opposition to the prospect of membership regarding social life. The majority is happy about the possible improvements in free travel, service standards and life quality in Turkey whereas about a quarter of them possesses conflicting thoughts or simply have neutral observations rather than any negative or positive comment.

#### ✓ Question 12:

The second question of this trilogy dealing with the predictions of Turkish young people after a possible membership is about the changes in economies of either side. Many of the answers seem to include financial concerns for after Turkey's adoption of the Euro and fear that it might end up like Greece. There is also a widespread belief that Turkey will provide cheaper labour force for the EU yet some find this a good thing while some view it as bad. On the other hand, several young people thought the Gross Domestic Product per capita of Turkey will increase in case of membership. Categorized answers are as follows:

**Pro-EU**

The Turkish unemployed people would provide a cheap labour force for Europe while multinational corporations take the chances in Turkey and reach more clients.

Economically speaking, it will be a better outcome for Turkey.

EU is in great financial distress. Turkey will comfort the EU with its growing economy in the long run.

I believe Turkish economy will recover and the EU won't feel any impact.

Since it will create new investments, it might help expand our economy and reduce unemployment.

European market will invest in our country and provide support. Turkey will contribute to the EU with its diverse and rich cultural market.

EU will employ cheap labour force while Turkey will receive more foreign currency thanks to the employees they hired.

Turkish entrepreneurs will open to Europe. In return, we will offer our resources which we cannot make good use of to Europe.

As job opportunities spread out to a bigger landscape, there can be huge new investments all around Turkey. We could make better use of our natural resources.

Probably Turkey will be a cheap production heaven like China for Europe but eventually an equilibrium will be found so this shouldn't be a problem.

Both sides will strengthen their economies, especially the EU.

Turkey became a big market and will become more open to new work fields with free travel agreements and Turkish labour force will be employed more in Europe.

GDP per capita will increase.

It could be beneficial for both sides.

I surely think it will be to our benefit if we become a full member.

It is obvious that Turkey will benefit from this act. This is why the EU has been keeping Turkey on hold for so long to get all the privileges they need from us in the meantime.

I definitely believe Turkey will bring dynamism to the EU. For Turkey, EU means economical stability.
Social injustice and unequal opportunities might be beaten.
Amount of import-export will increase and the EU can overcome the current crisis easier with fresh blood from Turkey.
EU will make use of Turkey's labour force and EU from our financial resources
Economically, both sides will benefit I believe.
I think it'll have many positive aspects for Turkey, but not for the EU. I believe there will be new employment opportunities particularly for us, the recent graduates.
I hope the GDP per capita in Turkey will increase. For the EU, since the population will increase, there will also be an economical advantage.
I believe Turkey's full potential that cannot now be fulfilled will be fulfilled in case of a membership. It will be for Turkey's benefit by empowering economy through scientific and technological progress.
EU economy probably won't go through major changes but for Turkey a probably development is due.
Turkey could bring in new markets to the EU as a gate towards Middle East. I believe it would bring wonderful new opportunities for Turkey through free flow of goods, capital and labour.
Turkey is a big market and it could gain advantages from the EU standards.
Turkey, in which the minimum wage is quite low, will be a cheap labour source for the EU. Since we will get more money from the EU funds, it will be more beneficial for Turkey.
Turkey will definitely face a better process because the EU has to support the less wealthy and developing countries. I also think they will support us in using our national resources better. There will also be foreign investments and so on. For the EU, the labour force will become more dynamic.
Considering the state of Turkish economy, we will be in a receiving position from the EU budget. Our economy will be influenced in a good way by joining the common market.
Honestly in the short term I don't think it will bring a lot of advantages. But in the long run, due to the mobility and employment opportunities elsewhere it will create a positive contribution.

<p>Turkey will support the EU in terms of young labour force. EU will support Turkey with the financial aid it provides.</p>
<p>Firstly GDP will increase in Turkey. Higher life standards will become possible through migration for work. For the EU they will receive a young working population to help them develop. I guess there will be positive aspects for import-export sector. The EU countries will also want to use underground and land-based resources in Turkey, too.</p>
<p>Turkey's national income will increase in the EU process through the new markets that will emerge. Parallel to this, the EU economy will also experience a development. Surely the competition between the national companies will also become fiercer.</p>
<p>Turkish Lira might gain value.</p>
<p>Wealth will increase in both sides</p>
<p>A migration from Turkey to Europe for work is likely. Besides touristic activities by the well-off people from both sides will increase and increase the foreign currency circulation.</p>
<p>Turkey's market power and production capacity will create new economical development centres.</p>
<p>Honestly, I don't think the EU expects or will have an economical development upon Turkey's accession yet it's different for Turkey. Surely there will be economical improvements.</p>
<p>Turkey will be advantageous in many ways.</p>
<p>If Turkey joins the EU, it will be to their economical benefit as in all the other fields. We shouldn't change our currency in case of a membership.</p>
<p>I believe the membership will bring in more advantages to the Turkish side rather than the EU considering the Turkish economy is already open to foreign investments.</p>
<p>It could bring about positive results for Turkey that aims at increasing the life standards whereas the EU will find raw material easier and cheaper.</p>
<p>I believe Turkey is extremely valuable for the EU. In addition to its strategic location available to all kinds of commercial transportation, it possesses a huge labour force. For this reason I believe Turkey will contribute significantly to the major investments in Europe. On the other hand, the diversity of goods and services in EU market will increase and EU's economical standardization will bring quality to Turkish life.</p>

<p>Tax costs will decrease significantly for Turkey. Positive improvements will occur in time and costs of trade based on import-export. In this sense, clearly beneficial. As for the EU, we are located strategically for them to open up to the wider world.</p>
<p>It will be positive for Turkey.</p>
<p>EU economy will grow even more with such a strong and stable economy like Turkey while Turkey's global recognition and prestige will increase.</p>
<p>Possible investments from these countries will be useful. Tax/customs abolishment will be beneficial for both sides.</p>
<p>Trade volume increases, economy improves. Turkey will be more developed which is what they are afraid of.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Anti-EU / Hesitant</u></b></p>
<p>I think transition to euro will be very tough while our economy is already instable.</p>
<p>We shall henceforth run the Turkish economy together, co-decide what to privatize first. To be more accurate, they would decide and we would obey and implement.</p>
<p>After an initial shock, it'll only help make the rich richer.</p>
<p>EU's customs barriers are too strict. While they purchase raw agricultural materials from us, they almost blockade buying processed and canned food. Surely there are some companies who successfully entered the EU market but it's very difficult to penetrate for the SMEs. On the other hand, EU –especially Germany- only uses Turkey for cheap labour.</p>
<p>With less taxes, cheaper products might infiltrate into our economy and this tough competition might lessen the market share of SMEs.</p>
<p>Turkey is very suitable for employment so I believe there will be a potential work force moving from the EU to Turkey. Turkish citizens will also turn to Europe due to unemployment. There might be a socio-economical chaos in case of the membership.</p>
<p>Turkish economy will become completely dependent. The interests of EU economies will be served even easier.</p>
<p>Since many of our resources that we cannot use at the moment will be used and processed only by them, it will be good for them. And it will only help the rich get richer in Turkey.</p>

<p>Not much will change except our currency will be euro.</p>
<p>The EU will develop by using Turkey while Turkey won't have any significant improvements in its economy. Besides, when we become a full member we will have to share our powers with them.</p>
<p>The economies of recent EU member states whose economies are about to collapse clearly show the situation. At least they could hang so far, Turkey won't be able to hold on for so long. Even many of the EU nationals regret having joined the EU since their purchasing power decreased by large after the Union and euro. For Europeans coming to Turkey, it's already very advantageous to do shopping however it is vice versa for the Turks abroad.</p>
<p>Problems related to customs, waste of time and work force, undeserved income and unfair trade will cause disadvantage, particularly for SMEs.</p>
<p>A membership under the capitalist system won't produce any different outcomes. There might be abundance for a short while. After that the balances will be re-found and bad days will come again.</p>
<p>I believe using the euro will at least triply worsen the already bad economical situation in Turkey.</p>
<p>I believe the EU will suffer a negative influence. Because Turkey has always been a critical country in terms of its population and ethnic structure. Besides, since it's such a huge country that is still developing, the loans we will borrow, thus eventually have to pay back with a high interest rate, will be directly proportional. Our level of income, taxes, currency parity, unemployment rate and more problems will cause a whole country hope for the better from the EU. The internal migration we are facing from the eastern part of Turkey to the western part will be repeated from all around Turkey to Europe. All the economical problems that we have will be moved to Europe with us. I hope we can integrate without being disrespectful.</p>
<p>It won't help us in any way considering we are the world's 16th biggest economy and a bigger one than that of 90% of the EU member states.</p>
<p>I don't think anything will change economically. Our sovereign debt, IMF, and even more budgets for tulips and gardening by our local municipalities.</p>
<p>It will only strengthen the consumption economy.</p>
<p>We will work and earn 10 whereas they will work us and earn 100</p>
<p>I don't think there will be significant differences in terms of mutual trade activities but I believe if we start using the euro instead of the lower-value lira, this might deter the foreign investors from investing here.</p>

I don't think Turkey will enjoy too much economical benefits. In fact, the level of dependence on abroad could increase.
It could mean cheap labour for the EU. Many big corporations could move their plants to Turkey like they did to Eastern Europe before. But EU's policies, particularly in agriculture, could mean starvation for the already-struggling Turkish farmers. If euro is adopted, Turkish people will have more financial difficulties. Besides, financial aid like that for Greece could come in handy.
Lira is going good, euro is in decline. Accession to EU will harm our economy in the long run while EU makes good use of our location.
<b><u>Undecided / Neutral / No Comment</u></b>
Economics is complicated, nothing can be predicted.
It might be negative for the EU to include a 70-million population, have a common currency, remove the customs barriers, and allow free travel yet this situation could invigorate Turkey's underdeveloped economy.
I don't think there will be a strong impact
Turkish youth will contribute endlessly to Europe's aging population. However, the entrance of European companies into our market might cause a too strong competition for our national companies and force them to go bankrupt.
Turkey's accession could only be possible in a scenario which will be beneficial for the EU. It's impossible otherwise. Turkey's economy is not so good at the moment and I can't figure out what it will be like in case of membership.
Economically, there's a risk for Turkey of becoming the current Greece but the EU will become stronger against the US with fresh blood from Turkey.
EU's problems caused by lack of young labour force will be minimized yet it's also obvious that Turkey will be a big burden for the EU.
I don't have enough technical information to handle the matter economically.
I believe this will depend on the country. It is for sure that some jobs will be more popular but things will take time to settle down. Economically speaking, there will be a huge difference between two sides.
I don't think there will be a big change for the EU because it already is easier for the European investors to invest in our country than for use to do so in the EU. But maybe some things may work easier compared to the past in Turkey.
?!..

I'm not sure but I'd like to see the life standards in Turkey increase.
The great regional differences in Turkey will be minimized with the help of international investment. However if we start using the euro when we become a full member, it might be devastating for Turkish economy. I don't think it will have much of an impact on the EU.
It won't matter for Turkey.
I'm not sure if it would be positive or negative for our country.
I don't have sufficient information to answer this question.
National GDP will decrease in Europe while it increases in Turkey
I don't think much will change for Turkey since we are already dependent on other countries but if we start using the euro, we might have the same purchasing power with Europe.
EU will surely benefit from the labour force of Turkey, plus the natural resources and opportunities in Turkey. In this sense, agricultural production in Turkey will positively affect the European economy. I do disagree with the common opinion that the EU will have a positive impact on Turkish economy due to the recent crisis in some EU member states.
I'm not sure about Turkey but the EU will win a lot from Turkey.
Such a great market as Turkey will contribute a lot to the EU. Turkey will gain some advantages in the first years in social, cultural and infrastructural fields. But generally speaking the EU standards and quotas will exhaust the Turkish economy, I believe.
As of now, we can already say that the economical barriers are removed. With the EU membership the cheap labour force will increase but so will do the need for qualified workers. The key is to carefully control the situation to keep a balance between these two points.
This won't matter at all since we're already each other's market with the Customs Union.
In terms of trade, it's obvious that Turkish industry and manufacturers will have serious problems. While the EU can greatly benefit from Turkey's accession, Turkey might learn the know-how and practicalities from the EU but a sudden increase in the trade volume shouldn't be expected.
More labour force for the EU.



See: Q10
Economy will probably improve. If we don't join any such unions, we will become dependent on other countries for technology anyway so we sort of have to become a member.
Surely mutual investment
We will have trade agreements with not only one specific county (i.e. Germany) but more and this will radically change the dynamics of our market.
I have no clue about this.

### Q12: Possible Economical Changes after Membership

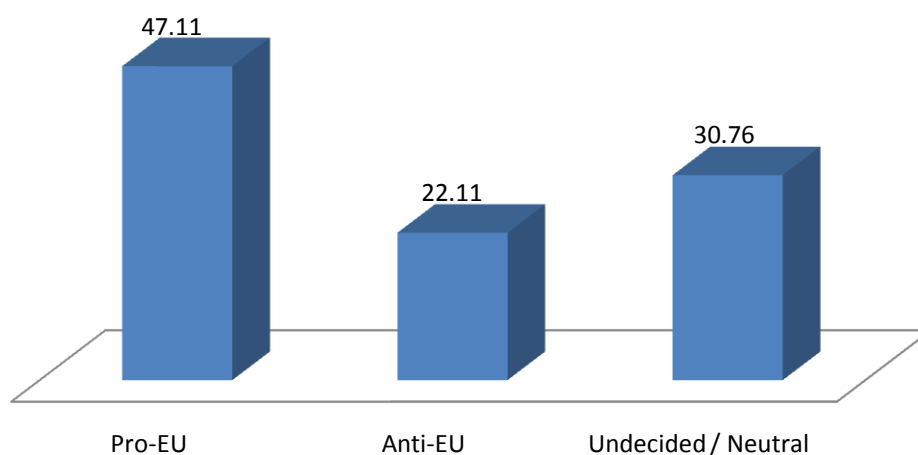


Chart 6: Question 12

The concerns of the Turkish young people about a brain-drain are not unfounded since Turkey has an increasing trend of unemployment<sup>15</sup> and a great income inequality<sup>16</sup> in the last decade. On the other hand, the youth unemployment rate in EU27 is more than double the rate of harmonized unemployment rate as it is<sup>17</sup>. Thus it might be a fake illusion for Turkish youth seek employment abroad.

<sup>15</sup> Pocketbook on Candidate and Potential Candidate Countries 2010 Edition, p.68-73

<sup>16</sup> Pocketbook on Candidate and Potential Candidate Countries 2010 Edition, p.49

<sup>17</sup> European Research on Youth, p. 17

✓ **Question 13**

Strikingly, Pro-EU category has the lowest participants in this question instead of the highest like in the previous two questions. Only 26 people gave supportive answers to be outnumbered by the 34 people writing against the process. The fact that most surveyees are the confused or those who have no idea (45 people) proves that the Turkish young people are either not quite interested in politics<sup>18</sup> or do not believe there will be any changes after an EU Membership.

<b><u>Pro-EU</u></b>
Clearly benefits are mutual but surely EU has more interests.
To change the conviction that the EU is a Christian union will help also to change its political image. Whichever government secures the membership of Turkey will guarantee to be re-elected in the next elections.
The EU will become a very powerful and politically more important union with Turkey because it's clear that Turkey is a growing power in the Middle East.
Relations will develop to the benefit of both sides.
All the countries have some political problems but there are more in Turkey. It's a tough time for Turkey. I believe after the accession the negative events will diminish and tolerance towards the differences will increase. The process will create change in political attitude which will increase the dialogue and cooperation.
I expect positive political improvements and abolishment of EU's current negative opinion about Turkey.
There will be a more democratic atmosphere.
We might stop discussing Turkey's peculiar problems in this way. An upper level language in dialogue might be created. Once people learn to live with 'the other', such a tense, aggressive politics scene would disappear in Turkey.
EU's inclusion of Turkey might be the first step on a long path in changing the common opinion in Middle East that it's a Christian club. As for Turkey, it will increase its prestige and power in the region and strengthen its position as the 'role model'.

<sup>18</sup> EU Youth Report 2009, p.45 (3.1.10 Youth Interest in Politics)

<p>Turkey will have a say on global issues.</p>
<p>EU will gain more prestige and closer relations with Middle East and Arab countries. EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy will be expanded and strengthened while securing the transportation of gas to the EU through Turkey. Turkey will have finally completed the westernization process that started with the foundation of Republic.</p>
<p>In a 'Turkey in EU' scenario, it is obvious that Turkey will play a crucial role in all the decision-making process, particularly with the introduction of the double majority voting.</p>
<p>EU has enough power and connections to maintain its dominant position. Turkey is an open market regardless of a membership prospect. Yet I believe it's a good thing that Turkey will implement the Human Rights laws of the EU.</p>
<p>I believe the principles of rule of law, human rights and democracy will be actually implemented, being saved from superficiality.</p>
<p>Turkey has a strategic location in Eurasia, and lately a regulatory role in the Middle East. Relations with Russia, Turkic states, and the muslim world pave the way for a Turkey-centric region. Turkey's accession is a must not only for Turkey but also for the EU due to its growing economy, stable politics and dominance in the region.</p>
<p>I believe we will be treated more respectfully due to our influence proportional to our population.</p>
<p>Democratization will gain importance through political processes.</p>
<p>Since the international relations will flourish, there will be a secured peace.</p>
<p>Politically, EU will have more power on their eastern and southern neighbours. EU's internal equilibrium will tumble down yet it might lead to positive reforms. I hope it will pave the way for a more democratic political scene in Turkey.</p>
<p>I don't know about the EU but Turkey will get rid of mono-government regime. Central authority will lose some of its power.</p>
<p>Turkish citizens might be able to visit Europe free of a visa, but still be discriminated. Democracy might actually be applied rather than remaining superficial. I hope Turkey's accession doesn't change EU's political attitude, after all we all know what we are like.</p>
<p>The biggest barrier before the political parties in Turkey is the question of ideological identity. In the EU membership process, it will be to their own benefit for our parties to step out of their identity circles and stand on a more democratic line.</p>

<p>Since Turkey's accession will mean the end of Cyprus and Armenian questions, it will solve some of the main problems.</p>
<p>Considering EU's structure, Turkey will be a new power centre.</p>
<p>Turkish politicians might adopt some of the EU models, particularly in terms of transparency and honesty in administration principles which would lead to a turning point in Turkish history.</p>
<p>Politically, Turkey possesses many advantages for the EU due to its location near the Arab and Caucasian world as well as its Muslim population. Turkey's reputation will be safer and more recognized.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Anti-EU / Hesitant</u></b></p>
<p>Both sides should be more tolerant. There are many religious and political differences.</p>
<p>We won't have any policies of our own. We will become dependent on them.</p>
<p>Constant mutual disagreements and conflicts will start.</p>
<p>For Turkey, joining the EU means totally losing its independence and that terror will never end.</p>
<p>For Turkey it'll only be a promotion from being a waiter to being the head-waiter but still a servant</p>
<p>Nothing will change for the EU. Turkey's dependence will increase.</p>
<p>I don't think Turkey can join the EU. I feel that EU's policies are not for preparing Turkey for membership but I believe an EU member Turkey with such a high population could maintain an efficient politics internationally.</p>
<p>The recent European Council report shows that Turkey is going backwards. Freedoms are hindered, capital grows one sided under the control of the politics and so on. Such a status quo country as Turkey would have a really tough time in harmonizing the EU policies.</p>
<p>Government will of course be based in Brussels.</p>
<p>Since Turkey follows a politics dependent on abroad, in case of accession, these political activities will become legitimized.</p>
<p>Turkey will never join the EU. Supposing it did, it will never have a free politics. They will influence Turkey's domestic and international relations more than ever.</p>

In addition to financial costs, the foundation for the division of the country will be strengthened.
I can say that politically we are stronger than the EU at the moment.
I believe our country is being used, even humiliated, thanks to the unskilful politicians and their interests.
Depends on what kind of a government will be representing us at the time. Of course there will be changes. There might also be an adaptation problem in short term.
Our advanced democracy will be perfected(!). If we join the EU, most of the antidemocratic policies towards Turkey will have to end, thus naturally advancing the EU democracy.
We live in a country where people hope the government changes for smarter people. Joining the EU will not affect us politically.
EU will take advantage of Turkey's geopolitical location while Turkey will let this happen for the sake of development.
I believe we will be run not by our own people but by those controlled by the other countries.
Europe might hate Turks a bit more.
There was a military coup about 30 years ago in our country. The then-president of the US had a declaration as: "our boys have done their job". I think it is much easier to build on a trap in 3 decades than eradicating it. Our country is full of people who keep their mouth shut for money.
EU will be influential also in the region whereas Turkey will not be able to make any sovereign decisions any more.
Turkey will have to think more carefully while EU will grow even stronger.
Turkey's accession will enable the politicians to cover all the interest conflicts they carry in the name of freeing and democratizing Turkey. EU already has too much say on the Turkish politics even without the membership. I believe it will be maximized once we join the Union.
Turkey will think it is the biggest achievement in its history but will be wrong. EU will make us pay for each advantage of the membership.
More political ridicule.
I don't believe it will be to our benefit politically because contextually Turkey

has a unique location and is a centre for Middle East
In any case, the EU will do everything to keep Turkey dependent on them.
Turkey is dominant in the region and more developed than its neighbours in terms of economy, industry, and defence. Joining the EU will be nothing but an extra burden and pressure for us.
To me, the most difficult element in the membership process is the political life. I think there will be problems in adopting the EU constitution. Besides, I think many EU countries will show a strong reaction to Turkey having the 2nd or the 3rd most number of seats in the Parliament.
I hope we get rid of this government system which imposes their own social rules on us. There won't be a change anyway.
Even the current politics in Turkey is meaningless to me so discussing what will happen afterwards is ridiculous.
Turkey is divided or on the verge of being divided while EU continues to grow and exploit.
I think they will try and interfere in Turkey's domestic politics, claiming the needs of ethnic minorities are not met as an excuse. They will try to make themselves more dominant.
<b><u>Undecided / Neutral / No Comment</u></b>
I can't quite figure out.
I'd like to state that I haven't thought over they subject enough to comment on it.
I think there won't be any political changes.
I don't have much of an idea.
Who knows?
I don't have enough information to handle the matter economically.
In case Turkey joins the EU, we will have closer relations with many EU member states which will lead to both positive and negative outcomes.

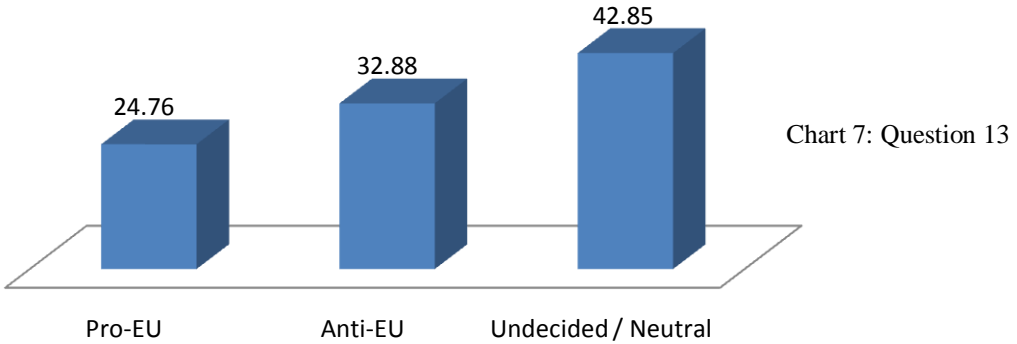
EU's Christian nature will be destroyed; it'll end like the United Nations.
Unpredictable changes
Turkish government is policy-wise not a pro-EU one. I hope for a better policy, aiming at benefiting from Europe, than burning the bridges with the west and collapse like Ottoman did. Although because of historical reasons our political relations with most European countries have been under the weather, there is no reason for them to remain so. I believe with the removal of borders, a lot of things will change for good.
I'm sorry I can't comment on this.
.
A political agenda seems too far away, no comment.
Same old same old.
No change will happen. Turks always do what they want to do.
Bureaucratic stalling might lessen a bit. I don't think the interest negotiations behind closed doors will change at all.
Above
The so-called 'mild-Islamic' approach in Turkey might cease to exist. For the EU it's a serious initiative. Process will have unpredictable results.
I have difficulty estimating any political changes on both sides in case of a membership.
I think it'll influence Turkey's decisions.
We will become the political country where heads of states go for vacation.
I don't think the degenerated political setting in Turkey is likely to change with any membership.
Turkey's representation will increase our prestige but I'm sure the EU will somehow lead us.
I don't think there will be any differences.
While it will help the democratization process move forward, the EU will be

unable to provide any solution for some of Turkey's long-standing problems such as terror and secularity.
I don't know.
I have no clue as to what kind of political changes might come about.
I don't think there will be a political change since the dominant class in Turkey is pro-EU. However, I believe the influence of the army on political matters will be minimized.
No change for the EU. In Turkey, people will be more aware politically and the politicians will have to play smarter to convince them.
Not much.
Turkey will re-evaluate its relations with USA. The EU will have declared they stopped being a Christian club.
Turkey will be a political bridge between the EU and the Middle East. Turkey's relations with the US will be harmed.
I believe Turkey will take on a compromising mediator role between the EU and Asia.
No intellectual guesses.
Globally more recognized but also more dependent Turkey.
EU will gain a strong partner but at the same time problems about border control will emerge after becoming neighbours with radical Muslim nations. Also, disagreements related to internal affairs and sovereignty are likely to emerge. Having a lot of seats in the European Parliament might bother some European countries but is a great opportunity for Turkey. Turkey's dynamics will help EU become a super power against the US.
Turkey might become federal but nothing will change for the EU.
I don't think much will change politically.
EU's conceited attitude towards Turkey in the last few years is harmful. It causes opposition, even racism and discrimination in many people against Europe. This is why neither side should put pressure on the other on sensitive domestic issues. Otherwise it's not an EU Membership, it's an EU Colony. This will surely cause disturbance and instability within Turkey. Once the free atmosphere is created, Turkey-EU partnership strengthens the region.



EU's politics will not change. They will assign a role for us and expect us to play it.
A positive reputation for the political party at the time of signing the membership. For the EU, there might be disagreements between the countries for and against Turkey's accession.
I really don't think anything will change about this.

**Q13: Possible Political Changes after Membership**



It is quite a meaningful observation that almost half of the Turkish youth believe that in case of a membership, their lives and countries will be effected in a good way both in terms of social and economical aspects whereas only less than a quarter of them feels the same way about political life. The general overview of the answers of this trilogy in terms of number of participants is:

**General Overview: Q11, 12, 13**

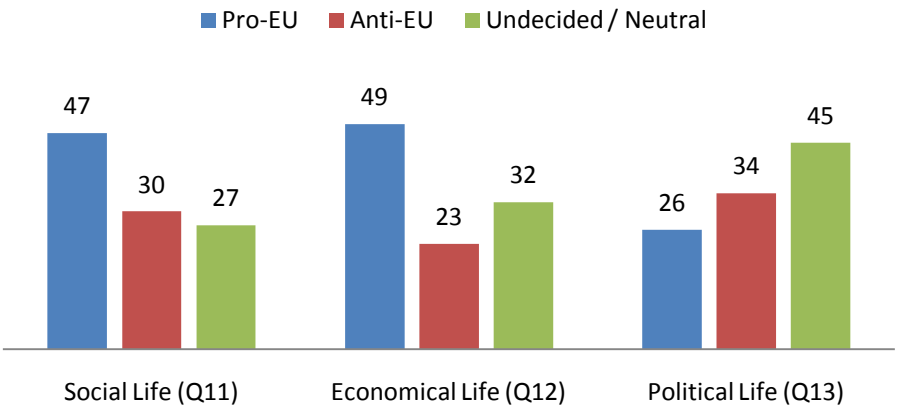


Chart 8: Questions 11&12&13

✓ **Question 14**

The reason why this question was included in the survey is the desire to see the Turkish youth's reaction to the system and running of the EU. Turkish people generally have a reputation for being over-sensitive about the issues related to nationality and freedom. Since the European Union is a collectively-run platform where sometimes a specific country might have to implement decisions that they are originally against, it is interpreted by many as a 'loss' rather than a 'transfer' of sovereignty. The most significant reflection of this system is the ever-closer governance and Europeanization. It is quite significant that an overwhelming majority of almost 80% of the Turkish young people believe that this could be a potential threat to the sovereign government of Turkey. It is a meaningful figure because it is even more than double the rate of those who have originally stated that they don't want to join the EU. This means that there is a big concern, even among those who support Turkey's accession, about losing national authority in case of EU membership. Clearly, since the Turkish people are used to being governed by one, highly centralized government, they might require a much longer time or a lot more efforts to get accustomed to the existence (and dictation) of a supranational authority than the citizens of Western countries which are mostly federal or at least have a less-centralized governance. This figure is yet another repetition of the concerns that the surveyees mentioned in the trilogy. It is easily detectable that there is a common fear among the Turkish young people about transferring partial or complete sovereignty to the EU, which is yet another barrier in front of Turkey's membership.

**Q14: Closer Governance is...**

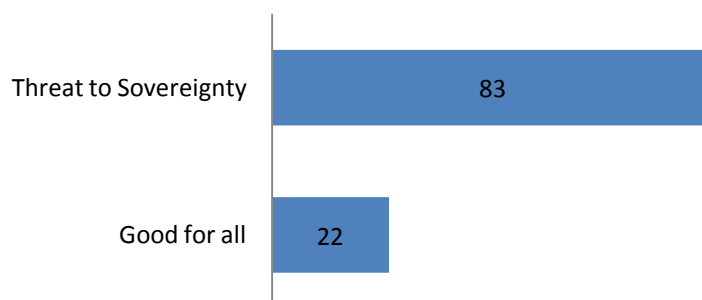


Chart 9: Question 14

✓ **Question 15**

This question aimed at finding out if and how many Turkish people already feel themselves European, or are open to do so in the future. Besides, since one of the main objectives of the YiA is to promote a European citizenship, it is important to analyze how successful it is in achieving this.

**Q15: Identity**

■ Turkish ■ European ■ Turkish European ■ European Turkish ■ Other

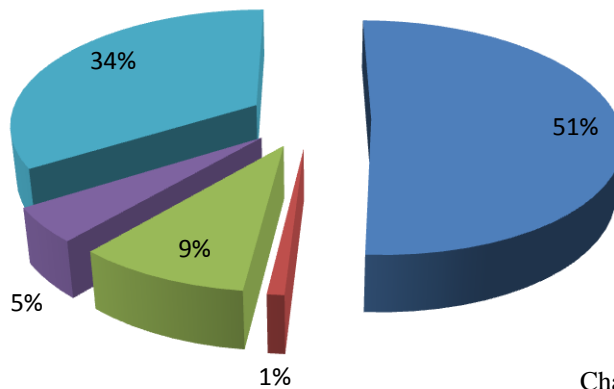


Chart 10: Question 15

In addition to the facts that only half feel at ease to state that they feel Turkish and less than 1% European, the results also reveal a very unexpected common conviction. Many of the surveyees who chose the ‘other’ option wrote down some answers which are quite open to interpretation:

World Citizen (13)
A Turkish World Citizen (4)
I don't feel like the citizen of any country (3)
Human (2)
A Turk who wants to be the national of a Europeanized Turkey (2)
I have no identity concept.

Thracian
I feel I would be more suitable for America
A Turkish citizen who is equally or more civilized than many Europeans
Obligatorily Turkish
A European-born Turkish with double nationalities
A European trapped in Turkey
Turkish in traditions, European in being open to change

When the answers of the surveyees who have participated in at least one project within the framework of YiA to this question are taken into consideration, it seems like the Programme does not have much of an influence on provoking a sense of European Identity in the young people as none of them chose the ‘European Citizen’ option in this question, and only two chose ‘A Primarily European Turkish’ with another seven who chose ‘A Primarily Turkish European’, thus amounting to a 19.14% who feels the element of Europeanization in at least one of the ways. The remaining 81% who have participated in the YiA Projects do not seem to have been influenced by it in terms of identity at all.

### Overview: Q15 & 16

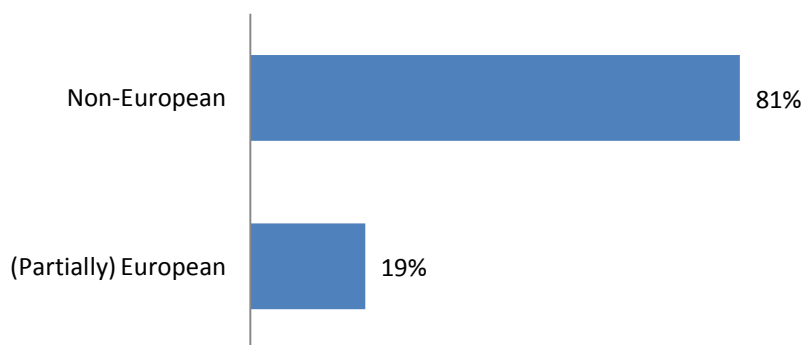


Chart 11: Questions 15&16

✓ **Question 16**

This is the main question in terms of achieving a sound diagnosis on whether or not there is a direct relation between participation in a YiA Project and having a European identity. The total number of surveyees who have chosen one of the following options: ‘Yes, 1-3 times’, ‘Yes, 4-5 times’ and ‘Yes, 6+ times’ is 47. Among these, 25 have chosen ‘Yes, 1-3 times’, 6 have chosen ‘Yes, 4-5 times’ and the remaining 16 have chosen ‘Yes, 6+ times’. Among the other 58 people, 74% have heard of the Programme, however not had the chance to participate in it, whereas the remaining 26% never even heard of it.

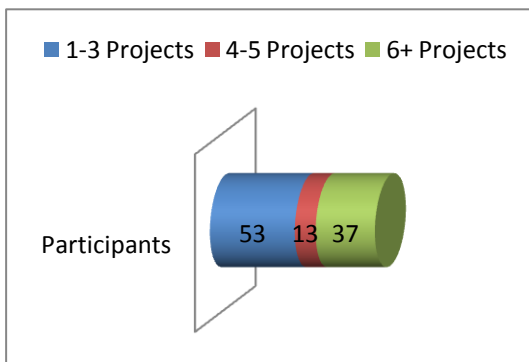


Chart 12: Questions 7 & 16

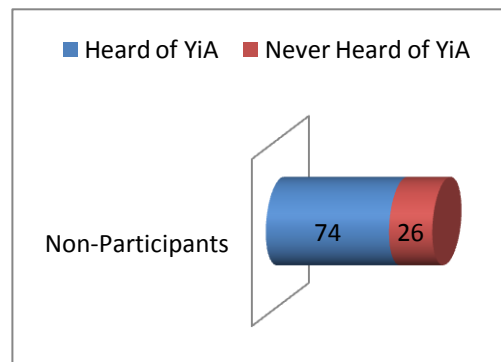


Chart 13: Questions 7 & 16

Among the forty-seven who participated, the rate of those who would like Turkey to join the EU is 63% while the remaining 37% is not supportive towards Turkey’s accession.

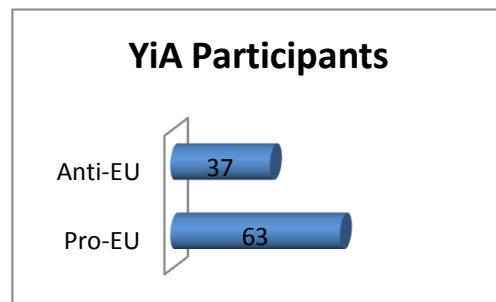


Chart 14: Questions 7 & 16

On the other hand, none of those who have participated in one or more YiA Projects have stated that they feel European. However, 7 of them feel like ‘A Primarily Turkish European’, 2 of them ‘A Primarily European Turkish’ and 22 of them only ‘Turkish’ while 16 chose ‘Other’.

Moreover, we can even go deeper and look at the level of Europeanization compared to the number of projects that the surveyees participated. 92% of inexperienced people, or those who have participated in only between 1 to 3 projects, have chosen ‘Turkish’ as their identities whereas ‘Primarily European Turkish’ and ‘Primarily Turkish European’ received 4% each. Among the relatively more experienced, those who have participated in 4 or 5 times, only 33% feel ‘Turkish’, 17% feels like a ‘Primarily European Turkish’ while the remaining 50% feels ‘Other’. The most experienced group, probably consisting of youth workers and trainers who have several experiences and a wide network within the YiA, has participated in at least 6 projects and feel 31% Turkish, 31% feel ‘Primarily Turkish European’, 31% feel ‘Other’ and 7% feel ‘A Primarily European Turkish’.

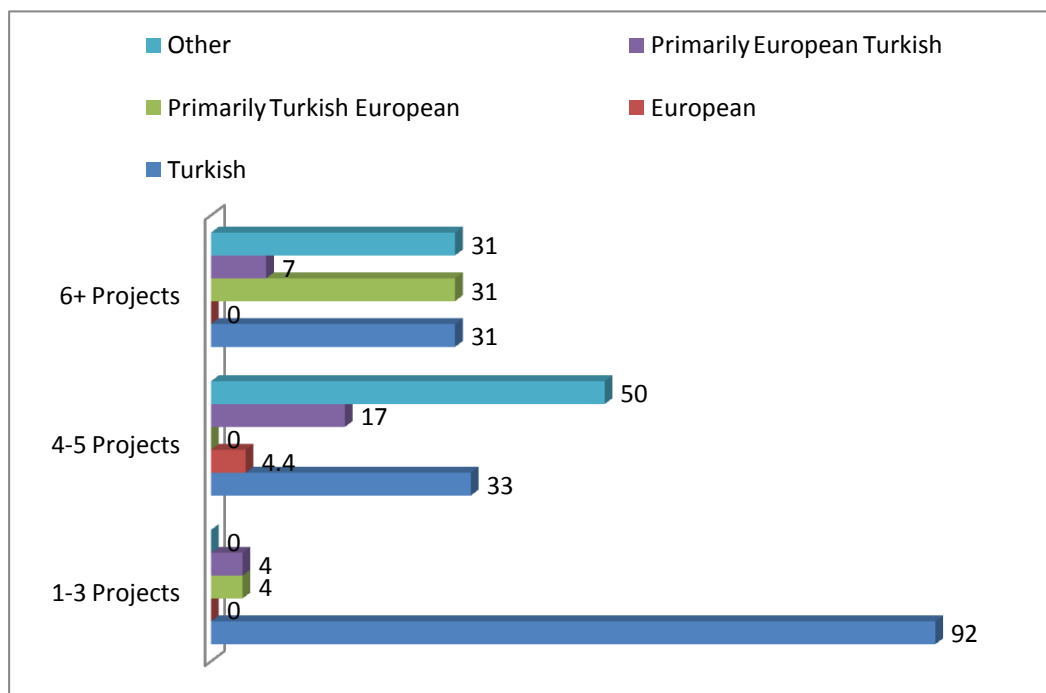


Chart 15: Questions 15&16

The rates about supporting Turkey's accession of those who have not participated in YiA is almost the same with the statistics of those who participated as 62% of them would like to see Turkey in the EU while 38% is reluctant to see this.

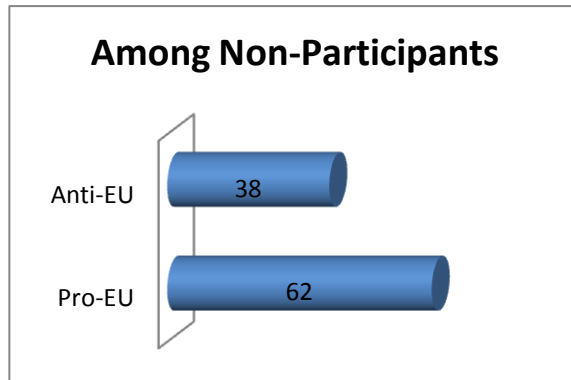


Chart 16: Questions 7&16

Furthermore, 73% of those who have never heard of the Programme feel 'Turkish' while 13% of them feel 'Other' and 6% feel 'Primarily Turkish European' and another 6% feel 'Primarily European Turkish'. Among the people who have heard of the programme but haven't participated in it, 2% feel 'European' and 48% feel 'Turkish' while 7% feel 'Primarily European Turkish' and 43% feel 'Other'.

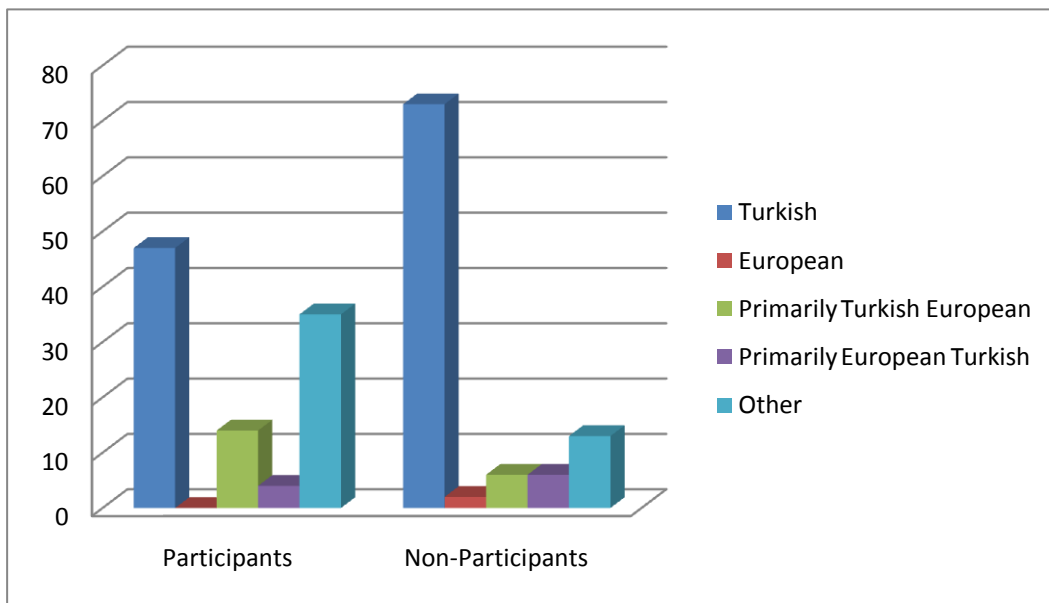


Chart 17: Questions 7&16

✓ **Question 17**

This question, coupled with the 19<sup>th</sup> one is aimed at measuring what the young people think about the experiences they have lived during their YiA venture, also to see if and how these experiences changed their opinion about the European countries and citizens. Once again, the results are categorized as:

<b><u>Pro-EU</u></b>
I saw the difference between developed and developing countries' citizens. The previous is much more intellectual, curious, and has better standards.
As a person who attended the EU projects such as Erasmus, both as a trainer and a participant, I can safely say that I changed my whole life in a very positive way. I think only curiosity is not enough. You need to put some effort on finding ways to satisfy your curiosity, you need to find the necessary mean to this path. Then you can see that the world is not so big and cultural differences are not so unbeatable, and horizon can expand as much as you want. Meeting people who eat different food, speak different languages, dance and get married makes you understand that we're not so different after all. Unfortunately, in Turkey we live in boundaries and we see everyone as "aliens", yet we're very hospitable. I think, we need to travel, and see more. I believe the EU would be glad to use our potential youth labour. Thus, being a full member will be good for both sides.
Yes, I travelled to some European countries and it helped me to get over some of my prejudices.
I have some friends from Europe and I can say it changed my view.
These projects and interactions of course help us to know the people that we alienated before and change our view positively.
Yes, sure thing. I got the chance to know myself and the identity that I gave to myself, and change it.
It helped me to see European citizenship and human rights.

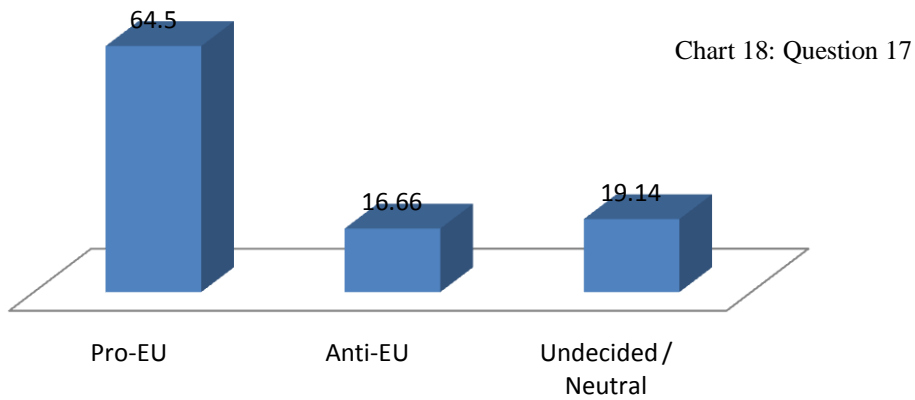


<p>Thanks to this programme I met a lot of new people from other countries and I got to know their culture better. I realized that we are more alike than different.</p>
<p>Yes, it definitely changed me. I started seeing the similarities not only the differences and I felt like a European.</p>
<p>Of course it affected me positively.</p>
<p>Yes, it changed me a lot. I got to know my country and Europe.</p>
<p>On one hand I got over some of my prejudices, on the other hand some of them became conviction.</p>
<p>It affected me in a positive way.</p>
<p>Of course it affected me. I had the chance to get over my prejudices and realize we're not so different. First I learned not to prejudicial, and then I started to see if you're at the same age, you become friends easily.</p>
<p>Yes it affected me. It helped me to really see and understand my own culture, and values.</p>
<p>Every time I attend one of the projects, a lot of people thanked us for introducing our culture to them. I believe that the idea of "Turkish culture" is arising just like "European culture" that we already know. The Europeans started to see the real Turkish culture other than the old one. Another thing I noticed is that there's not a clear "EU citizenship" but a country based citizenship. There may be a united citizenship in the future but all that is seen now is diversity.</p>
<p>I can say that it had a positive effect on me.</p>
<p>Yes it affected me positively and I affected other people.</p>
<p>I didn't have prejudices, yet it helped to get to know them better.</p>
<p>It helped me see how the EU youth see Turkey.</p>

As a Turkish citizen, I regret not being abroad before. I saw that the youth in the EU starts travelling very early and see more. I think, if we become a member of the EU, Turkish youth will have the same chance and expand their horizons.
After the project, I started seeing life more like a visionary.
All of my prejudices have changed.
Nothing has changed in my already positive thoughts.
I realized my prejudices and started to get over them.
I think there should be more of these programmes.
I can say that their lifestyle affected me a lot.
No it didn't affect me much, yet I support the idea of the EU projects.
It helped me understand the EU culture better and I understood that Turkey is not an EU country.
Being a part of these projects made me understand that there are actually no differences between us.
After I did EVS I understood that the EU is not just a union but united countries making decisions together.
<b><u>Anti-EU</u></b>
Yes, and I saw that the illusion of "great, developed" EU in our minds is wrong.
I joined some of the projects to see how they are and what they serve and it was obvious that they don't have good intentions.
On one hand I got over some of my prejudices, on the other hand some of them became conviction.

I am doing EVS right now in Germany, and I used to dream of living abroad. Now I say, one needs to see abroad before he decides to live in there. Staying in Europe, in another country made me realize that I belong to my country and my country is the only place that I can live happily.
I had negative thoughts and I still have them.
Before I went there, it had been very charming for me. But after I lived there, I had a lot of negative impression.
It was very charming for me before but after I went there I saw that their culture is very ordinary and they are not open to new ideas.
My fear of being exploited grew bigger.
<b><u>Undecided / Neutral / In-Between</u></b>
I can't say it changed my character, though I don't have a stiff prejudice. I believe I can change in time.
Partly. (2)
No it didn't change.
First of all people introduce their countries no matter where they are from, they don't say "I'm European" they say "I'm Polish"," I'm German" and so on. Another thing that I noticed is being a member of the EU is not enough to have prosperity in the country. The important matter is the subject country's regulations.
They were just like I thought.
I didn't live anything that changed my thoughts in a negative or positive way.
No. (2)

### Q17: Influence of YiA Experience



### ✓ Questions 18 & 19

These last two questions are aimed at providing detailed information about the content of the projects that the participants attended. The 18<sup>th</sup> one was about which of the permanent priorities the projects were relevant to while the last one sought practical advice for the Turkish National Agency from the active beneficiaries of the Programme. Apparently the most common project theme is Cultural Diversity whereas the Inclusion of Youth with fewer opportunities is the least popular one. The rates are as follows:

### Q18: Project Themes

- Cultural Diversity
- Active Youth Participation
- European Citizenship
- Inclusion of Disadvantaged Youth

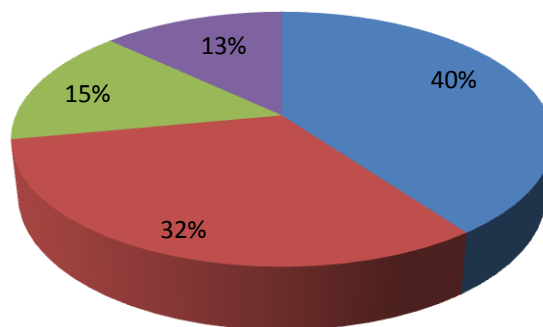


Chart 19: Question 18

As for the last question, as we can infer from the answers, Turkish National Agency has multiple reputations. Surely, since these answers are all based on personal and individual experience and interaction with the NA, none of them should be generalized. The sole purpose in collecting this information is to get a grip on what the current users of the Programme, Turkish Youth, think about the procedures they go through and the Programme they receive grants from. Below is the table containing what the youth has said regarding the Turkish NA:

The youth should be able to have better contact with the NAs of the countries they are going for projects.
I think NA should advertise more in order to be heard.
They could be more transparent and in the public eye. There could be an agent in every city that we can go and consult. They could be clearer on how they evaluate the projects.
I don't think the current situation is good, and there should be more innovations.
NA is rather new, yet it helped us on a lot of projects with their educational and motivational support. We signed a lot of projects together. I wish we had been more planned before we spent so much money on some other earlier project which I find unnecessary and because of them the EU started thinking twice before they gave us fund.
There is , but I don't have enough information
I believe it will be better in the future
Their work is positive but more people should be informed.
Even though I don't think they are perfectly successful I can say that they are better than any other agencies in Turkey. I think they could reach more youngsters who haven't heard of NA or these projects, and opportunities.
I always appreciate the NA for what they have done for Turkey and its youth. This is an agency where there's almost no hierarchy and with very successful management. I think everything is very positive in NA. Thank you
When I compare the number of organised projects and success rate I can say that NA is successful. But I think they can't get rid of classical bureaucracy.
I think the USA's or the EU's spy agencies like NA should be closed down.

I think because they belong to the government and they are monopoly, they are limiting. I think civil agencies should be reinforced. There are too many users, so I think there should be more agencies.
Supervision of the communication between volunteers and hosting companies. There should be multicultural youth meetings, intercultural trips and social activities.
I'm rather positive; I think there should reach more youngsters.
Honestly I don't know anything about NA's management but I think they could advertise more to motivate Turkish youth into the projects
I wish they could have been more helpful on our previous EU projects when we had problems. Also, I think the evaluation in Turkey is not enough, or properly done. Witnessing low quality and profit-based projects makes me disappointed.
I think there is supervision; the problem is the process of learning if there was something wrong with the project. This process can be shorter.
I think they work very well in every field.
I think there is not much advertising.
I think there are more young people in Turkey than in the EU. So, this leads an inequality among Turkish youth when Turkey receives the same amount of grant.
I think more people should get involved.
I think NA is very inadequate. Youth organizations have little or no involvement. Everything is carried by the government under covers. Still, NA is a youth-friendly organization.
I expect more transparent management.
Personally I'm happy with NA's projects. It's very impressive that one can easily access an expert and experts are very capable on their fields. Even my foreign friends who met some of NA workers think so.
Although NA has reached numerous youngsters throughout Turkey, I think they should be known more. Many young people joined the projects and went abroad but they think the university is giving the fond, because they don't know about NA and its function. So I believe they should advertise more.
I appreciate NA's work and effort. They can be better by helping youngsters come together with contact points. NA represents youth and in this aspect I don't think NA is evaluated fairly.

I think they should be more visible in the public eye.
They could work more effectively. I heard there are some issues.
Although NA is hosting many projects and programmes, most of the young people still don't know about EVS or YiA.
I think they should reach more people, many of the university students still don't know about the programmes.
I think the procedures could be easier for Turkish youngsters just like they are for the EU's.
They must stop working person-specific. They must not forget that this is not a political agency.
While I was doing my EVS they helped me a lot whenever I encountered a problem, thus I don't have any negative feelings towards management or the workers. Still, I believe they could be more prominent.
I think students should be informed more. The seminars are generally for specific students who have certain qualifications. I think there should be more seminars for all kinds of students.
They should be more transparent in the process of evaluation.
The only thing is they should advertise more.
I can suggest that they could be more popular where most of the youth are. Instead of forums, there can be simple social networks.
NA could be more transparent in the process of choosing the project and the students. They could be better in choosing the personnel and their qualifications so that they could be more accurate on the number of the students that is to be sent and the EU could be surer on the grant that is to be sent to the school.
I think they are very helpful and clear. Thanks to them I didn't encounter any problems during my stay. I think they are one of the best and most effective agencies in Turkey.
They could be fairer on evaluating the projects.
I think NA should inform young people on what can be done.
I think NA is a great institution that uses IT so effectively and gives numerous opportunities to young people.

I think the number of people who join these projects and programmes is getting bigger. Almost everyone I know has a project in mind. The problem is the quality of the projects and their evaluation. I think NA should be more effective when it comes to giving out money on a random project. Another thing is how Turkish youth see those projects in other words how they are exposed. Newspapers show EVS as an opportunity to go abroad but they don't mention about "voluntarism", which is actually main part of EVS: I think NA should educate or give information to the students on this, so they don't get the wrong impression of going abroad to have fun and meet new people, and not work

I think NA is so bad. They should be more objective and appeal to every kind of person.

I think NA should encourage more creative projects and categorize projects such as Turkey projects.

In addition to all the good things mentioned by the surveyees, there also seem to be a few points which are criticized and thought could be better such as: providing a better contact with the participants, more advertisement and visibility, more transparency in management and evaluation of project applications, closer supervision of the projects and the fact that it is a public body with exhausting bureaucratic procedures and with no involvement at all from the Youth NGOs.

### ➤ **Conclusions**

The results of the survey indicate the following about the relation between Youth in Action Programme and the perspective of Turkish youth towards the EU:

- A majority of the Turkish young people would like Turkey to join the EU (See: Chart 1). A majority of the Turkish young people who have participated in YiA Projects as well as a majority of the Turkish young people who have not participated in a YiA Project would like to see Turkey join the EU. (See: Charts 14, 16).
- A majority of the Turkish young people believe it is unlikely or impossible for Turkey to join the EU (See: Chart 2). A majority of the Turkish young people are not satisfied with how the negotiations have been run so far (See: Chart 4).
- Almost half of the Turkish young people believe that a possible EU Membership will bring about positive outcomes for their social and economical lives, however only a quarter feels the same way about political life. About a quarter or a third of them are strictly against the EU



Membership when it comes to social, political or economical outcomes. (See: Chart 8)

- A majority of the Turkish young people see the political Europeanization and closer governance as a potential threat to the sovereignty. (See: Chart 9)
- Less than 1% of all the Turkish young people feel themselves as purely European citizens, while 14% feels primarily (but not only) or secondarily European. This figure, however, rises to 19% for those who have participated in at least one type of YiA Projects. (See: Charts 10, 11)
- As the number of projects benefited from increases, the level of feeling Turkish is observed in decline while the element of Europeanization in the identity increases. (See: Chart 15)
- The level of EU-scepticism or opposition among those who have participated in a YiA Project is less than the level of EU-scepticism or opposition among those who have not. (See: Charts 16, 18)

These statistics show us that: there is almost no difference between those who have participated in YiA Projects and those who have not in terms of enthusiasm to see Turkey join the EU. However, the level of scepticism and opposition is less in those who have participated in YiA Projects than in those who have not. On the other hand, there is a significant difference between them in terms of identity and feeling European. Furthermore, there is a direct proportionality between the level of feeling European and the number of projects participated in. Thus, it is deductable that the Youth in Action Programme has a positive impact on the Turkish young people in terms of creating or promoting a sense of European citizenship. We can say that the Programme is successful in achieving this objective. These findings are also parallel to those maintained in the Commission's recent survey<sup>19</sup>. However, the surveyees do possess serious concerns as to what kind of changes the membership will bring about, be it on the social or economical aspects of life, or on the political and sovereignty-related issues. Thus, we can conclude that the YiA Programme does not have any improving influence on the Turkish youth's general perspective towards the European Union. These findings are also parallel to those maintained in the report that Turkish NA has subsidized to an independent think-tank<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Report of the 2011 Monitoring Survey on the Youth in Action Programme

<sup>20</sup> National Report an Implementation and Impact Assessment of the Youth Community Action Programme

The results of the survey indicate the following about the relation between the users of the Youth in Action Programme and the Turkish National Agency:

- The beneficiaries wish to see the following:
  - o Better contact with the participants
  - o Increased Advertisement and Visibility
  - o More transparency in evaluation of applications
  - o Closer supervision
  - o Less bureaucratic procedures
  - o More involvement opportunities for Youth NGOs

In order to be fair and give voice to each side of the matter, the researcher has contacted the Turkish National Agency in order to ask for their opinion on the criticism and held an informal interview with one of the chief officers. Here is what he has been informed:

Better Contact: Turkish National Agency works with the support of several local contact points of Eurodesk, which works only to present the Youth with more and better European opportunities and is represented by these local contact points. At the moment there are 75 of them in 49 cities and continuously increasing. Any young person can contact one of these agencies or directly the Turkish NA on any matter through the contact information available on our website.

Visibility: Statistically, Turkey is among the top 5 countries that most benefit from the opportunities of the YiA Programme and the Turkish NA even received an appraisal recently for the widespread promotion of Eurodesk and YiA. However, since Turkey is such a huge landscape, it is a hard task for us to reach out to every young person in the country. Nonetheless, we organize trainings, seminars, informative presentations as often and in many cities as possible.

Transparency: Turkish National Agency follows a very strict and transparent method in project evaluations. We have a pool of so-called ‘External Independent Assessors’ who are chosen from different but reputable walks of life, and have nothing to do with the NA and are not related to the applicant whose project they are evaluating. These assessors use a standardized evaluation form including

criteria set out by the Commission while evaluating the applications and each applicant, both accepted and rejected ones, receive a formal letter of statement including the reasons why the project was rejected if that is the case.

Closer Supervision: Due to the limited number of staff members and again the huge landscape, it is not always possible to do ‘on-the-spot checks’ all the time. However, I can assure you that we are very thorough with the evaluation of the final reports as well as the on-the-spot checks.

Bureaucracy and Involvement of NGOs: Since we are a public body operating under the supervision of a unit of the Prime Ministry, there are legal regulations that we have to follow in every step that we take. In order to overcome this, we have presented the Parliament with a proposal to increase our staff and efficiency. If this proposal is approved by the MPs, there will be less of such loss of time. This will also enable more participation and involvement from the NGOs working on youth field as the structure of the NA will be more open and flexible.

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