

**TURKISH THINK TANKS AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS
THE EU: SCEPTIC OR SUPPORTIVE?**

by
İREM NART

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**TURKISH THINK TANKS AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS
THE EU: SCEPTIC OR SUPPORTIVE?**

Approved by:

Prof. Senem Aydın-Düzgit
(Thesis Supervisor)

Asst. Prof. Damla Cihangir-Tetik

Prof. Meltem Müftüler-Baç

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ABSTRACT

TURKISH THINK TANKS AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE EU: SCEPTIC OR SUPPORTIVE?

İREM NART

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Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Senem AYDIN DÜZGİT

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Even though Euroscepticism has been an existed concept since the establishment of the EU, in recent years its visibility increased both in member and candidate states. The thesis examines the think tanks, which are actors that usually are not involved in the literature, by looking from the perception of Euroscepticism. In this thesis, 160 publications of the selected think tanks and 6 face-to-face interviews that are conducted with those think tanks are used. In line with the typology of Taggart and Szczerbiak, these discourses are surveyed and classified as hard Eurosceptic, soft Eurosceptic and supportive discourses depending on their features.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'DEKİ DÜŞÜNCE KURULUŞLARININ AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ'NE KARŞI TUTUMLARI: ŞÜPHECİ VEYA DESTEKLEYİCİ?

İREM NART

AVRUPA ÇALIŞMALARI YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, AĞUSTOS 2020

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Şüpheciliği, Düşünce Kuruluşları, Avrupa Birliği,
Türkiye

Avrupa Şüpheciliği Avrupa Birliği'nin kurulduğu ilk yıllardan bu yana var olan bir olgu olsa da son zamanlarda görünürlüğünü hem üye ülkeler hem de aday ülkelere artırmıştır. Tez, Avrupa Şüpheciliğine farklı bir noktadan bakarak literatürde çalışma alanına çok dahil edilmeyen aktörler olan düşünce kuruluşlarını Avrupa Şüpheciliği temelinde incelemektedir. Tezde, seçilen altı adet düşünce kuruluşlarının 160 adet yayını ve düşünce kuruluşları ile yapılan 6 adet yüz yüze mülakatlardan faydalanılmıştır. Bu kaynaklardan elde edilen söylemler ise Taggart ve Szczerbiak tipolojisine göre incelenmiş ve türlerine göre sert Avrupa Şüpheciliği, yumuşak Avrupa Şüpheciliği ve destekleyici söylemler şeklinde sınıflandırılmıştır.

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Aileme...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADD Association of Kemalist Thought	9
AKP Justice and Development Party of Economic and Social Affairs.....	5
ANAP Motherland Party	5
AVIM Center for Eurasian Studies	30
BILGESAM Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies	30
CDA Critical Discourse Analysis	7
CHP Republican People's Party	5
CSOs Civil Society Organizations.....	4
DSP Democratic Left Party	5
DYP True Path Party	5
EC European Commission	3
ECSC The European Coal and Steel Community	25
EDAM Centre for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies	39
EEC European Economic Community	1
EP European Parliament	32
EU European Union	1
IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation.....	40
IKV Economic Development Foundation.....	9
IMF International Monetary Fund.....	2
INSAMER Humanitarian and Social Research Center	30

MHP Nationalist Movement Party	5
MÜSİAD Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association	8
SAM Center for Strategic Research.....	38
SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research.....	30
TEPAV The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey	30
TESEV Economic and Social Studies Foundation.....	9
TISK Confederation of Employer Associations of Turkey.....	9
TTs Think Thanks	8
TÜSİAD Businessmen’s Association	9
UNDP United Nations Development Program.....	36

1. INTRODUCTION

“The EU is dead. Long live Europe” (Marlowe 2019) . Nowadays, the European Union (EU) represents disappointments rather than dreams. During the recent years of European integration, which set out for the purpose of constituting an economic union in order to achieve peace among its members, the EU has created a separatist and sceptic group within itself (Aras and Tezcan 2015, 3). Particularly during the past few years, Eurosceptic movements have been drawing attention in many of the EU member states. A concept that has never been forgotten and has gained increasing popularity during the last few years; the concept of Euroscepticism is becoming increasingly debated in the literature.

Euroscepticism has emerged as a rising phenomenon in recent years (FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin 2017) and has been influenced by economic, social and political changes. The discussions within the EU regarding some issues such as the common market, transferring of sovereignty, the 2005 constitutional referendum, and the 2008 financial crisis have led the EU populations to question their trust towards the EU. These issues, which did not only affect the member states but also the candidate countries, have made it inevitable for Turkey to be influenced by the transition and the troubles that the EU has been facing.

Indeed, the negotiation process with Turkey has also been proceeding towards a different direction than that of other candidate countries. Due to its ups and downs, the process of Turkey’s accession negotiation is one of the most challenging accession processes in EU history. In 1963, Turkey signed an association agreement which is also known as the Ankara Agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC). Having struggled with many issues such as the Cyprus issue, military takeover, political instabilities in the upcoming period, Turkey has dealt with many internal political problems and as a result, could not have the opportunity to develop its relations with the EU. Towards the end of the 1980s by which Turkey partially overcame its political problems, Turkey included the issue of membership to the Union back in its agenda and made its official application for full membership to the EU on April 14, 1987. However, the EU did not accept the application because

of the political and economic instabilities in Turkey. The report that was prepared in response to Turkey's application in 1989 remarked that Turkey's economic, social and political standards were not sufficient to initiate the negotiation process. The emphasis made in this response report by the EU was that the rate of growth in Turkey was significantly lower than that of the average of its member states and it was claimed that Turkey has a non-functioning democracy because of reasons such as violation of human rights, torture, and military interventions.

Some of the global and national changes that happened in the 1990s, however, rendered Turkey's prospects of accession to the EU possible. For instance, the crises in the Balkans and Kosovo demonstrated the need for Turkey. Similarly, the changes in the Greek and German governments that were then more affirmative towards Turkey's accession to the EU improved the relations between Turkey and Greece and the change in the international system resulted in the acceptance of Turkey as a candidate country during the Helsinki Summit (Eralp 2009). To address the issue from the Turkish perspective, the economic crisis of the year 2001 in Turkey reminded the country of its dependency on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the EU again. Those in favor of the membership to the EU were of the opinion that membership would benefit the Turkish economy and reinforce economic relations. The trading and political elite that were affected by this crisis, as well as the civil society therefore further supported this process of accession. In the light of all these developments, Turkey's goal of accessing the EU became more real when the official negotiations began between Turkey and the EU in 2005. However, the initially tense relations due to Cyprus' accession to the EU in the year 2004 were maintained in a fashion where these relations declined day by day due to the transitions that both Turkey and the EU underwent. The issue of absorption capacity was the most important one among all the problems faced by the EU during this period. The rejection of the Constitutional Treaty by the Netherlands and France was also a sign that there were internal problems present within the EU (Ökten-Sipahioğlu 2017).

The internal politics in Turkey itself also constituted a major barrier preventing the Turkey-EU relations from getting deeper amid these crises that the EU was dealing with (Aydın-Düzgüt and Tocci 2015). Even though AKP (Justice and Development Party) which secured its place in the domestic politics through another triumph of high numbers of votes it received, drew attention with legal regulations that it implemented to enhance human rights, indeed, it began to lessen the steps towards democratization following the 2007 triumph.

The statement made by the EU noting that the negotiations with Turkey would

be open-ended, the leaders of the EU member states discussing the possibility of granting “privileged partnership” to Turkey instead of full-accession, as well as the European Council deciding to suspend negotiations with Turkey on eight chapters in 2006 made Turkey question whether the EU was actually willing to grant Turkey full-accession to the Union (Goff-Taylor 2017). Upon the worsening practices of democracy and human rights in Turkey in addition to all these problems, the relations between Turkey and the EU took yet another turn of decline where there was a loss of mutual trust. Turkey’s disregard for the criticism of the EU concerning the Gezi Park Protests in 2013 and the corruption scandals, increasing violations of human rights, as well as the press being suppressed in Turkey were among the factors that caused the EU-Turkey relations to worsen. Today, it is obvious that the same criticism is still being forwarded to Turkey by the EU. Indeed, the Turkey 2019 Report by the European Commission (EC) includes such criticism as follows, “Fundamental rights have been considerably curtailed under the state of emergency and pursuant to the decrees and legislation adopted during and after it, the new presidential system has removed many of the checks and balances that existed previously and has weakened the role of the Parliament, and restrictions are being imposed on the media” (European Commission 2019b).

In this context, as a natural reflection of the developments occurring on both sides, the European dream started to turn into increasing Euroscepticism in the Turkish case. It is observed that the dominant opinion about the EU has recently been more sceptic and critical of the Union in terms of both political leaders and the public opinion (Şenyuva 2019). As the discourse of the policymakers and the public opinion polls concerning the negotiation process have changed in time, the levels of scepticism and criticism have worsened. The “hope and motivation” that were present at the start of the negotiation process were replaced by disappointment (Yaka 2016), which then manifested itself in the results of public opinion polls. The rate of public support for EU-membership has been declining particularly in the last two decades (Çarkoğlu and Kentmen 2011). For instance, while the rate of public support for membership was 74% in 2004, it was found to be 48.4% in 2017 (Şenyuva 2019).

Standing for the state of being against European integration as meant by its widest description, “Euroscepticism has been a frequently studied topic for academics since the second half of the 1990s” (Aras and Tezcan 2015, 3). The literature in Turkey addresses Euroscepticism at different levels of investigation and has been developing considerably during the recent years. While the current literature focuses to some extent on understanding the change that has been going on in how the EU is perceived by the public since the early 2000s and the reasons of this change, majority

of this current literature actually investigates the changes observed in the attitudes of political parties and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

Studies on public opinion concerning Euroscepticism question the changes that have been seen in the public and the causes of these changes. Perhaps one of the most prominent works on public opinion and causes of Euroscepticism was conducted by Şenyuva (2009) who analyzed the basic tendencies in the attitudes towards the EU by looking into the results of Eurobarometer surveys between 2001 and 2008. This study concluded that a serious loss of trust and support in the Turkish public was observed between 2001 and 2008. He found that among the main factors leading to the loss of such a huge volume of trust was the fact that the Turkish public is quite sensitive about any kind of developments that happen in EU-Turkey relations (Şenyuva 2009). Another factor that was found to shape public opinion was the identity issue. According to Şenyuva, identity is one of the most crucial factors that affect the general attitudes of the Turkish public. Some scholars, however, have claimed that the underlying reasons for the distrustful attitude exhibited by the Turkish public are history related. For instance, according to Yılmaz (2011), the dominant factor behind Turkish Euroscepticism is the Sevres Syndrome, which relates to the perception that the EU intends to divide and rule Turkey, and that this opinion has been highly effective in shaping the public attitude towards the EU. By looking at four different sources of data that collected between 2001-2009, they explored the research question of to what extent “economic considerations, support for democracy, attachment to national identity and religiosity” have been effective in determining the attitude towards the EU among the Turkish public (Çarkoğlu and Kentmen 2011). The study concluded that support for democracy has a positive effect on determining the public attitude towards the EU while economic considerations and attachment to national identity have a negative effect and religiosity does not have a significant impact on affecting public opinion. They also concluded that especially those who believed that the accession would have a positive impact on themselves or Turkey’s national economic circumstances were more inclined to support accession to the Union. Similarly, the study by Arikan (2012) also highlights the greater impact that is posed on public opinion on the EU by material and cultural threats, symbolic politics and group interests rather than the utilitarian approach. According to Yaka (2016), weakening confidence especially in the EU, Turkey’s growing proximity to the Middle East in parallel with its policy to prove itself as a regional power, as well as the issue of cultural and identity problems are among the most important factors that have affected the Turkish public opinion about the EU.

Among the other actors that are studied in relation to the issue of Euroscepticism

are political parties. The studies which have focused on Euroscepticism in terms of political parties have investigated political parties both in terms of their discourses and their party policies. Though such studies have more recently focused mainly on three main political parties, other studies that have investigated the EU policies of other political parties including Democratic Left Party (DSP), Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and Motherland Party (ANAP) that had been in power until the 2002 elections were included in the literature particularly following the initiation of the negotiations. For instance, analyzing the attitudes of the political parties during the first years of the negotiation talks, Eylemer and Taş (2007) have argued that there was indeed a division between the political parties in terms of whether they were pro-EU or Eurosceptic. According to that study, ANAP and True Path Party (DYP) were supportive of the EU and demonstrated a reformist attitude. During this period, MHP did not directly reject membership to the EU; however, it was the leader of the nationalist opponents. According to them, both the division between the political parties and the tensions in the relations between the EU and Turkey fed into the Eurosceptic feelings in those years. Making an emphasis on the 2002's triple coalition in the government consisting of centre-right pro-EU ANAP, the centre-right nationalist MHP and pro-EU centre-left DSP, Taraktas (2008) underlines that there has been a division between national sovereignty and liberalization on the issue of accession to the EU. According to Avcı's (2003) classification of the then political parties in accordance with the Taggart and Szczesbiak typology, MHP is of both rigid and soft Euroscepticism characteristic although it does not actually fit into the rigid Eurosceptic group while ANAP and DSP exhibit soft Eurosceptic characteristics.

Recently, and particularly since the early 2010s, there have been an increasing number of studies that focus on Euroscepticism based on three political parties. Gülmez (2013) who conducted studies on Euroscepticism at the level of political parties, takes three parties -AKP, CHP (Republican People's Party) and MHP and tries to explain the reasons of rising Euroscepticism after 2002 through the policies of these parties. While doing so, Gülmez (2013) tries to find out the domestic reasons for the Eurosceptic approach exhibited by the political parties and claims that Turkey is essentially a distinctive case among all the other candidate countries. Studying the Euroscepticism observed in the attitudes of AKP, CHP and MHP, Ermağan (2011) states that the Euroscepticism in these parties are caused by different factors. Naming CHP as the "yes, but" party which exhibits a soft Eurosceptic attitude, Ermağan maintains that the Euroscepticism is caused by the Islamist, conservative and nationalist ideas in AKP and by the pan-Turanism idea in MHP.

Aras (2014) examines Euroscepticism at the political party level between 1999 and

2014 and he also conducts his study focusing on the three mainstream parties. He (2015) indicates that Euroscepticism has been getting stronger in AKP whereas it has been getting weaker in CHP. In addition, he applies Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart's division of hard and soft Euroscepticism to the political parties in Turkey and classifies AKP and CHP as soft sceptic parties and MHP as a hard sceptic party. Moreover, analyzing Euroscepticism at the level of political parties, the study by Yilmaz (2011) indicates that, in centre-left parties, there exists a soft sceptic attitude whereas in nationalist and Islamist parties there exists a hard sceptic attitude.

The study by Balkır and Eylemer (2016) which studies the changes in the election discourses of AKP, CHP and MHP during the 2002, 2007 and 2011 election years is an important one in the literature since it conducts discourse analysis on Euroscepticism. Investigating the discourse change based on Habermas' pragmatic, ethical and moral typology, Balkır and Eylemer (2016) identify important conclusions concerning the EU discourses of the political parties. The study concludes that the right based EU approach embraced by AKP in 2002 then evolved into a more pragmatic dimension in 2007 and was executed in the perspective of "logic of interest". However, it is detected that the AKP has adopted more of a mediator role in its EU policies after 2010 and while doing this, the party did not act on the basis of a sense of belonging to the EU. There were, however, more obvious changes in the CHP's EU discourse over the years (Balkır and Eylemer 2016). Unfolding as an approach that is mostly based on the cost of the accession process particularly during the years following 2002, CHP's attitude towards the EU became more nationalist and Eurosceptic. Making note of the presence of a Eurosceptic and nationalist approach within CHP especially until the year 2010, Balkır and Eylemer (2016) found out that CHP adopted a more liberal, benefit-oriented and right-based logic attitude in 2011. However, as for MHP, a national and Eurosceptic stance that was shaped by a logic of interest and which had always been against an identity of belonging to the EU was present during all these three periods. This EU policy adopted by MHP was different from the one of the periods between 1999-2002. A coalition partner following the 1999 elections, MHP perceived EU-membership as a "state policy" and thought that it stood for more than a simple cost-benefit analysis during this period (Avcı 2011). However, as already expressed by Balkır and Eylemer (2016), MHP exhibited a more Eurosceptic and nationalist stance following the 2002 elections.

Similar to the study by Eylemer and Balkır, Başkan and Gümrükçü (2012) investigate party-based Euroscepticism based on a comparative analysis of 16 parties competing in the 2011 general elections, 15 parties competing in the 2007 general elections and 18 parties competing in the 2002 general elections in terms of their party programs and election manifestos. The Euroscepticism-based classification of

the political parties in this study is divided into periods of Euroenthusiasm, Eurorejectionism and Euroscepticism according to Kopecky and Mudde's typology.

AKP, as the political actor which has been the one single party in power since 2002 and the one which has steered Turkey's EU policy mostly by itself is also the main political party which is being studied when speaking of Euroscepticism today. The radical changes that this political party has gone through especially since the year when it came to power make AKP the frequently studied subject. Describing this transformation as a transition to passive activism, Avcı (2011) analyzes the impact of this transformation on the policy actions while also reviewing the EU policy embraced by AKP. According to Avcı, AKP has its "Euroenthusiasm and reforms limited" although it has yet to quit on its EU objective, and only exhibits verbal commitment for accessing the EU.

One of the important studies on the AKP's changing stance towards the EU was conducted by Aydın-Düzgit (2016) from a critically constructivist perspective. The study uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) method to analyze the speeches by Erdoğan during the pre- and post-election periods while also criticizing how Europe and the EU are being structured by the then prime minister in his discourses. This analysis (2016) concludes that the references made by Erdoğan are mostly for the Middle East and North Africa while the references for Europe and the EU stay limited (Aydın-Düzgit 2016). Firstly, it is observed that the EU is structured as the "unwanted intruder in the domestic affairs" in the relevant discourse. Secondly, it is seen that the discourse employed by Erdoğan describes Europe/the EU "discriminatory by nature". The relevant study also reveals that the EU/Europe is described as an entity inferior to Turkey both in political and economic terms in Erdoğan's discourse (Aydın-Düzgit 2016).

Studying Euroscepticism at the political party level, Alpan conducts a study similar to the one by Aydın-Düzgit where she analyzes AKP's discourses pertaining to two different periods and explains its Europe-related discourse by making use of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (Alpan 2016). Describing itself as a conservative democratic party after the elections in 2002, she argues that the AKP employed discourses which have highlighted the benefits to be introduced by accessing the EU for the alliance of civilizations. In 2007, the AKP discourse seems to take a turn with an emphasis on stability and national sovereignty. Starting with this period, the EU is increasingly described as a "resented guardian" (Alpan 2016) which does not appreciate Turkey's efforts enough. This is when the discourses concerning the EU begin to be more hostile and marginalizing (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016). The pro-Europe stance which was observed during the first years of its ruling is

seen to change into one that is very critical of the EU (Aras and Tezcan 2015). Especially after 2005, the fact that the Cyprus issue was not resolved, coupled with the barriers Turkey faced during the negotiation process as well as with the party having no concern for legitimacy led AKP to exhibit a different stance towards the EU (Aras and Tezcan 2015). Hence the pro-EU stance which was dominant in AKP's policies during the period between 2002-2005 was replaced by a stance of soft Euroscepticism during the period following 2005, which became more obvious during the period following 2010.

As seen in the above-mentioned studies, the transition process which the political parties have gone through in years regarding their views on Europe was mainly studied from the perspective of Euroscepticism and classified according to various typologies. The two main typologies employed in these studies are Kopecky & Mudde and Taggart & Szczerbak typologies. In other studies where the political parties are not classified using any typology, discourse analysis and content analysis are employed to investigate the changes in their stances towards the EU.

Among the fields where Euroscepticism is studied is also the literature studies which investigate the attitudes exhibited by CSOs, including although in a limited fashion TTs. Although it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between CSOs and TTs especially in the Turkish context, CSOs are the "institutions that are created by individuals organizing on a voluntary basis to realize their common objectives" while TTs are the "institutions created generally with researchers/scientists that raise awareness of popular issues in the public" (Özgüzel and Çetintürk 2016, 65) as well as with those individuals that are highly equipped and knowledgeable in a specific field (Gül and Yemen 2016). It is therefore important to comprehend and analyze these actors' stance towards the EU since they are capable of informing and steering the community.

CSOs are actors which can be highly effective in making sure that the perspective of full-accession to the EU is incorporated intensively into the Turkish and EU media (Ünalp Çepel 2006). That is why the impact introduced by these actors onto the EU accession process has been a study topic for the studies which have been being conducted since the start of the negotiation process. Among such works is a study which focuses on the periodical transitions that the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (MÜSİAD) has gone through in terms of its stance toward the EU (Ermağan 2012). This study concluded that the Association was strictly against the EU especially during the period preceding 2000, which then transformed into a state where it exhibited a conditional pro-EU stance during the period following 2000. Having employed an anti-Western and anti-EU discourse

throughout this period -especially until the mid-1990s, MÜSİAD started exhibiting a pro-EU stance during the following decade (Önis and Türem 2001).

Another study which investigates the stances of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) towards the EU is the one by Cicioğlu (2013) which analyzes the EU policies adopted by nine NGOs operating in Turkey within the last decade. The study intends to analyze the EU policies adopted by the NGOs selected. The study (2013) concludes that especially IKV (Economic Development Foundation) and TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation) were supportive of Turkey's accession to the EU and that the accession to the EU was a priority of foreign affairs for all of the NGOs except for ADD (Association of Kemalist Thought). A study by Zihnioğlu (2019) which is similar to the one by Cicioğlu investigates the attitudes and roles of the European Movement 2002, Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSIAD), IKV and TISK (Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations) in Turkey's accession process.

As it can be understood from the above-mentioned studies, there are numerous studies on the civil society organizations' attitudes towards the EU. However, there are only a handful of studies which have been conducted concerning Turkish think-tanks' attitudes towards the EU. There is not even one single study focusing on Euroscepticism only from the viewpoint of Turkish think-tanks where existing studies mostly focus on analyzing the European think-tanks' opinions. Among such studies is the one which was conducted by the Jacques Delors Institute in 2018. This study included 149 think-tanks from 25 countries to make a classification based on what they are doing in relation to the EU and what attitudes they are exhibiting towards the EU. For example, the think-tanks in France, Finland, Spain and Italy were classified as the ones which generally adopt a pro-EU stance while the think-tanks in Belgium, Ireland and Greece are found to exhibit a more neutral stance (Boucher and Hobbs 2004). 68% of the selected think-tanks were found to adopt a neutral stance while over 30% of them were found to carry a pro-EU stance. The study found only one single think-tank which held an anti-European stance. Unlike this study by the Jacques Delors Institute, the study by Pautz and Plehwe (2014) found that there are various ideologies embraced by the various think-tanks in the EU. This study claims that there exists a significant polarization especially between the think-tanks and that such polarization can be divided into those that are in favour of an ever closer union and those that are in favour of an economic union (Pautz and Plehwe 2014). These studies analyzing think tanks based on Euroscepticism did not cover think tanks in Turkey and they only elaborated on the European based institutions.

As it can be comprehended from the discussion above, political parties and public opinion have become the main focal point of the studies with regards to Euroscepticism in Turkey, where TTs have been neglected as a field of study.

Three years ago, my internship at a think tank under the European Studies desk for two months gave me the impression that think tanks were more effective, specialized and active in European matters than many other actors. In particular, some think tanks working on Europe and the EU produce very important outputs for these issues with their conferences, research reports and articles that they publish. However, despite these important outputs, the attitudes of think tanks towards Europe and the EU are not examined thoroughly, especially in developing countries such as Turkey, where the effects of think tanks are relatively limited.

The few existing studies concerning the attitudes exhibited by Turkish think-tanks towards the EU focus mainly on the activities of such institutions and often group them together with NGOs. Due to the fact that these studies that are limited in number were made a long time ago, they do not incorporate the effects of the changes taking place in both Turkey and the EU over time.

Besides, there does not exist one single study which investigates think-tanks' attitudes solely based on an in-depth analysis of think-tanks. For this reason, I argue that looking at Euroscepticism in Turkey from the perspective of TTs can introduce a new point of view for the literature. In this context, the present study is intended to fill the existing gap and to contribute to the literature on Turkish TTs and their attitudes towards the EU by examining six selected TTs and their views on Europe and the EU. In order to actualize this, discourses produced by the think tanks will be surveyed and these discourses will be evaluated with the selected typology.

The second chapter addresses the history of Turkey-EU relations, followed by how Euroscepticism has been perceived by the political party leaders and the public opinion during this period, as well as how it has transformed.

The third chapter explains the theoretical and methodological foundations of the thesis. It firstly addresses the different descriptions and types of Euroscepticism in the literature. Then, the methodology employed in the present thesis and how the data analysis was conducted will be outlined in detail. More specifically, Taggart and Szczerbiak's typology of Euroscepticism which has been referred to herein will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

The fourth chapter presents a conceptual discussion of how think-tanks can be defined, as well as provide a historical discussion of how think-tanks emerged in Turkey. Following these, the think-tanks chosen for analysis, the reasons behind these choices

and a description of their research profile and functions are presented.

The fifth chapter of the thesis will include an analysis of the attitudes of the TTs from the perspective of Euroscepticism. Taggart and Szczerbiak's typology will be applied to Turkish TTs and there will be an assessment on the basis of their attitudes towards the EU in this analysis section. This analysis will be carried out by making use of both the results of the interviews held with the selected TTs and their publications after 2016. Thus, the discourses of the selected think tanks will be surveyed to understand the attitudes of these think tanks towards the EU.

The last chapter, on the other hand, will present an elaborative discussion of the findings in an attempt to assess the aforementioned think tanks.

2. EUROSCEPTICISM IN TURKEY

2.1 A Glance at Turkey-EU Relations

“Turkey could join the EU in the year 3000 on current progress” (National 2016).¹ Although this statement seems exaggerated, recent developments show that Turkey’s membership to the EU does not seem possible in the foreseeable future and progress in accession negotiations for full membership is not on the table for Turkey. The EU and Turkey have had a bumpy relationship for many years and this process has not yet led to a successful conclusion. Although the process began with Turkey’s application to the EEC in 1959, the interaction between Europeans and Turks is not new. With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, Turkey started to follow a policy advocating closer relations with Europe. Especially during the Cold War, Turkey adopted a western-oriented policy and since then, Turkey has been at a quite important position for Western states in political, military and geostrategic terms.

During the Cold War years, Turkey took its place in the Western bloc against the Soviet Union. Joining first the Council of Europe, which was founded in 1949, Turkey then joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This way, Turkey showed that it was connected to the Western block not only in political but also in military terms (Müftüler-Baç 1996). In 1959, Turkey applied to join the EEC and on September 12, 1963, it signed the Ankara Agreement which “constitutes the legal basis for Turkey’s eligibility for EU membership” (Müftüler-Baç 2016, 61). Even though this Agreement did not promise candidacy to Turkey, it aimed to strengthen the Turkish economy. Next, Turkey and the Community started negotiations upon Turkey’s demand and on November 23, 1970, the Additional Protocol was signed (Müftüler-Baç 1997).

¹David Cameron’s statement to a British tv channel in 2016 is taken as a reference.

Coming into force in 1973, this Additional Protocol ensured that the obligations started to be mutually implemented. The Additional Protocol did not only determine economic aid to Turkey but also stated that Turkey's customs duties should gradually be abolished. Despite these positive developments, both global and national events in the 1970s created important problems in the relationship during those years. While the collapse of the Bretton Woods system and the oil crisis had adverse economic effects across the entire world, Turkey's Cyprus issue and political as well as economic instabilities constituted additional problems for Turkey. Süleyman Demirel, who was the Prime Minister of Turkey at that time, stated that "We are needy of even 70 cents" (Milliyet 2010) which clearly demonstrated the economic situation of Turkey in 1977. When the military coup of September 12, 1980, was added to these developments, the Community suspended the relations until the political and social situation in Turkey normalized. In this context, the 1980 military coup distanced Turkey from democratic values. Betterment of the bilateral relations was only possible after the second half of the 1980s when Turgut Özal, who advocated liberal economic policies, became the prime minister. Looking at Turkey's political atmosphere in those years, supportive declarations made by both left-wing and right-wing parties drew attention to EC membership. Particularly the suspension of political and social rights during this period caused different political parties to support the membership process.

With that motivation, Turkey applied for full membership to the EC on April 17, 1987, but the result was not as Turkey expected. After two and half years from the application, on December 18, 1989, the European Commission stated in its resolution that Turkey was not ready for membership and Turkey needed economic, political and social development. In addition, the Commission underlined that it could not accept a new member until its internal integration was completed. This negative decision of the EC inflicted a huge disappointment on the majority of the public who were eager to become a member of the Community. Nonetheless, the customs union assumed an important task by being the connection point to continue the relations and by entering into force in 1996, it started the economic integration process in bilateral relations. Therefore, this agreement provided a basis to move the relationship one step forward. However, when the candidate status was not granted to Turkey while it was granted to other countries in the Luksembourg Summit gathered in 1997, criticisms against the Union commenced increasing (Öniş 2000). As a matter of fact, Portugal and Spain, which were similar to Turkey in terms of economic and political development, were accepted as members by the Union in 1986. This development led the Turkish public to believe that identity was an important factor when it came to membership to the EU (Öniş 2001).

On the other hand, the justifiability of the reasons purported by the EC can be clearly seen looking at the political developments during this period. Indeed, several indicative political events took place during this period including the increase of political Islam, the Susurluk accident which showed the relationship between the state and the mafia, the increasing role of military in politics and the threat of radicalism were just a few of these events (Müftüler-Baç 1998, 246). Only two years later, in 1999, Turkey took an important step in the Helsinki Summit and was granted the official candidate status. Although Turkey was recognized as a candidate country in 1999, negotiations did not start immediately. The EC adopted first the Accession Partnership with Turkey in 2001. The negotiations were officially launched in 2005 after the progress report prepared in 2004 stated that Turkey sufficiently fulfilled the political requirements of the Copenhagen criteria. However, it was stated in the Negotiating Framework that there was no guarantee that the process would result with membership.

Although the period between 2002-2005 was described as “the golden age” (Öniş 2000) regarding the relations between Turkey and the EU, the course of relations changed predominantly after 2005 and entered into a new dimension. The negotiations for the EU accession have had to halt to the fact that Turkey had to sign the Additional Protocol that extends the scope to include countries such as Cyprus, as well as due to the difficulties in opening chapters and Turkey’s distancing itself from democratic values.

In fact, although the relations between the EU and Turkey continued to some extent, changes have been observed in the public opinion and Turkish people’s perception as well as confidence in the EU over time (Çarkoğlu and Kentmen 2011; Şenyuva 2019; Yaka 2016; Yılmaz 2011). Various debates over Turkey’s membership as well as cultural arguments against Turkish accession in the EU have augmented the sceptic approach of the Turkish society towards the EU (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016).

Indeed, studies point out that Turkish public support for full membership to the EU was quite high at the beginning of the negotiation talks. For instance, according to the 2004 fall Eurobarometer results, 62% of the Turkish public stated that “the EU is a good thing” (European Commission 2004b). Similarly, according to the spring Eurobarometer results in 2004, the proportion of people who stated that ‘the EU is a good thing’ was 71% (European Commission 2004a). After the problems that occurred following the initiation of the negotiation process, this percentage started to decrease. For instance, according to the survey that was conducted by Eurobarometer in March and April 2005, while the trust of the Turkish public towards the Union was 50% in fall 2005 (European Commission 2005), it decreased to 35%

in spring 2006 (European Commission 2006). Hence, Turkish people increasingly started to believe that the EU was an unreliable partner. Although it is normal to have decreased public opinion support for a typical candidate country in the negotiation process, it was distinctive that such a decrease took place at the very beginning for Turkey (Çarkoğlu and Kentmen 2011). Furthermore, it can clearly be observed that this decrease in public support is a continued phenomenon today. According to the Eurobarometer 2017 spring results, for instance, the proportion of people who believed that the EU is a good thing was only 47%. Looking particularly at the most recent Eurobarometer results, the rate of those who believe that EU membership is “a good thing” was measured as 27% in 2019 fall (European Commission 2019a). This change in public opinion will be further elaborated in the next section on the basis of both Eurobarometer data and other studies conducted by survey companies.

From this perspective, it can be observed that this increase in Euroscepticism does not only demonstrate itself in public opinion polls but also in leaders’ discourses. In this regard, both political party elites and the public were disturbed by the unjust treatment against Turkey especially after 2005 (Alpan 2016). While political elites can be supportive actors in the Europeanization path, they can also be effective actors regarding the de-Europeanization process (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016). As a matter of fact, the post-2005 period was one when de-Europeanization (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016) was clearly seen in Turkish politics. Initially having positive discourses about the EU, political leaders have grown into actors criticizing the EU and from time to time indicating that the negotiation process should be suspended. For example, while AKP coming into rule by winning the 2002 elections drew attention with its pro-Western discourse after the election victory, it demonstrated an attitude distanced from the EU both in its policies and discourses after 2005 (Alpan 2016; Aras and Tezcan 2015; Avcı 2011; Aydın-Düzgit 2016; Balkır and Eylemer 2016). Changes in the AKP’s EU policies started to be observed as a consequence of the changing global and national agendas (Marcou 2013). Similarly, this change was observed not only in the ruling party but also in the opposition parties of Turkey. For instance, a more Eurosceptic attitude has also been observed in MHP particularly after the 2002 elections (Balkır and Eylemer 2016; Gülmez 2013).

Considering the fact that political leaders’ discourses and public opinion surveys are often parallel to each other in the Turkish case, a thorough analysis of both public opinion and political discourses, as well as the underlying reasons, is critical in comprehending the various dimensions of Euroscepticism which exist in Turkey.

2.2 Public Opinion and Political Discourses

Euroscepticism is a strong attitude and feeling that showed itself even in the establishment phase of the EU. Contrary to what is happening today, in the first years of its formation, the EU was perceived as an important opportunity by the countries that left the war with major losses due to the opportunities it provided. Although the pledges of democracy and human rights made by the EU became attractive for other states, in time this community started to lose its appeal due to the structural and global problems it encountered and began to be questioned by the countries. In fact, this questioning towards the Union have been directed not only by the member countries but also by the candidate countries.

Within this scope, even though Turkey had been willing to join the Union for years, in the following years, it began to lose its interest due to the uncertainty in the negotiation process and the problems that were experienced. This shift of attitude towards the EU commenced demonstrating itself both at the level of elites and the level of public.

Public opinion can be defined as a society's general attitudes or beliefs. By the end of the Cold War and after the emergence of non-state actors, "the concept of public opinion has begun to be taken into consideration and analyzed more in IR" (Yazgan and Aktas 2012, 2). Public opinion can be easily affected by the political agenda and is highly prone to the manipulation of actors. In this context, political parties and party leaders are very effective actors in directing and shaping public opinion. In relations between the EU and Turkey, Turkish public opinion for membership more or less goes hand in hand with the political developments and leaders' discourses regarding the EU. Therefore, understanding the changes in discourses and public opinion is important in understanding Euroscepticism in Turkey.

In this part of the thesis, changing policies as well as the discourses of political leaders and Turkey's public opinion towards the EU will be discussed starting from 2002 through the lens of Euroscepticism. To understand the origins of the changes in Euroscepticism in Turkey, analyzing different periods in the negotiation process would be helpful.

In the history of relations, one can always find a political leader who was against the idea of full membership. To start with an example, Necmettin Erbakan who was the founder of the National Vision Movement (Milli Görüş Hareketi), was one of those politicians rejecting full membership. He drew attention with his criticism

towards the EU in the 1970s and 80s. In those years and in his book “Milli Görüş” (1975), he alleged that the Common Market was a Catholic union. Similarly, in an interview he described the EU as a “Christian Club”, by adding that “the EU is a Christian Union. The Christian Union has never brought happiness to humanity. It doesn’t know pureness, justice and right. It is not possible to find happiness by following such a community. Because it is already falling down. There is no family, society or economy. For that reason, what a great misery to insist on being a member of such a union” (Milli Gazete 2009).² As it can be understood from Erbakan’s statements, the National Vision Movement was one of the most intense political movements which criticized the EU in the past years. However, especially during the developments after February 28, Erbakan’s rhetoric started to become more positive towards the Union.

AKP was established by breaking away from the ‘National Vision’ in 2001. In the 2002 elections, which took place after Turkey received the candidate status, AKP came to power with 34.2% of the votes (Fisher 2002). It had a different attitude towards the EU since the party’s establishment. In its first years, AKP seemed quite positive and decisive in its policies regarding the EU and this attitude was clearly observed in the party’s election declarations. In the election bulletin of 2002, policies regarding the EU were expressed as follows: “our party considers Turkey’s full membership to the EU as a natural result of our modernization process. The realization of the economic and political provisions of the EU criteria is an important step towards the modernization of the state and society. It is inevitable to implement these criteria, irrespective of being a member of the EU” (AK Party 2002).³

Departing from this thought, AKP was observed to make certain legal regulations in this period. For instance, the Turkish Civil Code, which entered into force in 2002, introduced regulations that emphasize the equality of women in social life and eliminate gender-based discrimination (Müftüler-Baç 2005). Although such steps were taken by the ruling party to gain more permanent ground in domestic policy, the legal regulations in this process took Turkey a step forward in becoming a democratic state of law in the path towards the EU. In parallel to these developments, the party representatives’ positive statements about the EU in these years drew attention. Similarly, this positive atmosphere was also seen in public polls.

²The original Turkish quotation is “Avrupa Birliği bir Hristiyan Birliğidir. Hristiyan Birliği hiçbir zaman insanlığa saadet getirmemiştir ve getirmez. Temizlik hak ve adalet nedir bilmez. Böyle bir topluluğun arkasına düşerek saadet bulmak mümkün değildir. Çünkü kendisi zaten çöküyor. Aile, toplum, ekonomi kalmamıştır. Bundan dolayıdır ki, böyle bir birliğin içine girmekte ısrar etmek ne büyük bir bedbahtlıktır”.

³The original Turkish quotation is “Partimiz, ülkemizin Avrupa Birliği’ne tam üyeliğini, modernleşme sürecimizin doğal sonucu olarak görmektedir. AB kriterlerinin ekonomik ve siyasi hükümlerinin hayata geçirilmesi, devlet ve toplum olarak birlikte çağdaşlaşmamız yönünde atılacak önemli bir adımdır. Bu kriterlerin, Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinden bağımsız olarak düşünüldüğünde bile hayata geçirilmesi kaçınılmazdır”.

To understand and evaluate Turkish public opinion towards the EU, systematic and reliable studies started to be conducted in the early 2000s (Şenyuva 2019). Thus, Eurobarometer studies started in 2001 to measure the Turkish public opinion's attitude towards the EU. As a matter of fact, analysis of Eurobarometer study results presents us a detailed map of Turkish attitudes towards the EU (Yaka 2016). Besides the Eurobarometer, cross-national surveys such as the Transatlantic Trends Survey, PEW Global surveys and surveys of certain universities also started to explore Turkish public opinion in this field (Şenyuva 2019).

According to the first Eurobarometer results in 2001, the ratio of the public expressing that Turkey's membership would be a "good" thing was 58% (Yaka 2016, 159). So much so that in spring 2003, public support for Turkey's membership to the Union was 67% (Yaka 2016). At this point, it was seen that the reforms and statements which were made by the leaders were supported by the public in the membership process. As a result of the legal reforms and regulations, the EU initiated an official negotiation process with Turkey in October 2005. This decision was met with great satisfaction by both the Turkish public and leaders.

The reaction of the public to the starting of the negotiation process was also very favourable. Indeed, it is seen in the research carried out in these years that Turkish people were very willing to join the Union. For instance, according to the Transatlantic Trends Survey, public support for membership was 74% in 2004. Similarly, for Eurobarometer results, it was 71% in the same year (Uğur 2010). These rates in Turkey-EU relations have been the highest public support so far and "these figures have never been reached again" (Şenyuva 2019, 6). In the subsequent years of the negotiation process, public support has started to decline. At this point, it would not be wrong to utter that the support in Turkish public opinion towards EU membership is variable and sensitive towards political events. As a matter of fact, when we look at the post-2005 period, we see that the positive atmosphere in public opinion has started to change with the effect of the developments in the EU and Turkey. Particularly from 2005 onwards, Euroscepticism present in political party attitudes drew attention and Turkey started to produce discourses advocating the suspension of bilateral relations (Keyman and Aydın-Düzgit 2013). At the level of public opinion, on the other hand, there emerged a trend called "delusional Euroscepticism" (Keyman and Aydın-Düzgit 2013) exaggerating Turkey's global power.

In the period when the attitudes had shifted, one of the key developments was Cyprus' membership to the EU in 2004. This decision was highly criticized, especially by political leaders in Turkey. Erdoğan showed his reaction by stating that "now I am asking: Among the criteria for EU membership, there is a condition

called ‘not to have a border problem’. Although Cyprus has a border problem, how did it become a member?” (Hürriyet 2004).⁴ Again, in these years, leaders such as German leader Angela Merkel and French leader Nicolas Sarkozy offered a privileged partnership to Turkey instead of full membership and that proposal constituted another issue which affected the process. Similarly, Austrian Prime Minister Wolfgang Schüssel exhibited attitudes advocating alternative models of engagement instead of Turkey’s full membership to the EU. During this period, criticisms against Turkey’s candidacy were particularly shaped on the basis of cultural difference and identity (Aydın 2006).

In addition to these criticisms, one of the biggest problems hindering the negotiations between Turkey and the EU was the stipulation that Turkey needed to sign the Additional Protocol to start the negotiations. With this Protocol signed on July 29, 2005, the customs union was expanded to include new EU member countries as well. In light of these discussions, accession negotiations started between Turkey and the EU on October 3, 2005. Yet, the negotiation text was in a problematic structure due to certain expressions. As a matter of fact, although the common goal in the negotiation text was stated to be membership, the text also underlined the EU’s absorption capacity and that the negotiations were an open-ended process, the results of which could not be guaranteed in advance (Erhan and Akdemir 2016). Article 5 of the Negotiation Framework Document underscores that the negotiations can be suspended in case Turkey violates certain principles regarding fundamental rights and freedoms (AB Başkanlığı 2005). Similarly, it is stated in Article 23 that Turkey will be bonded to European structures with the strongest ties possible in case it is determined that Turkey does not fulfil the conditions of membership (AB Başkanlığı 2005) indicating an alternative option such as privileged partnership. On the other hand, in the negotiation framework of Croatia, which started negotiations on the same day with Turkey, there is not any expression presenting an alternative option such as a privileged partnership and there is not any reference to the EU’s absorption capacity either (Aydın 2006).

Since 2005, there have been multiple negative developments in the relations between Turkey and the EU. While some of these developments have been due to Turkey’s own internal problems, some others have stemmed from the attitudes of EU members. For instance, an issue was the failure to open negotiations on eight chapters in 2006. Due to Turkey’s refusal to open land and seaports to Cyprus, European Union Council suspended the negotiations in eight chapters on December

⁴The original Turkish quotation is “Şimdi ben soruyorum: AB üyelik koşulları içerisinde ‘sınır sorunu olmamak’ diye bir koşul var. Kıbrıs sınır sorunu olduğu halde, sorunu çözmediği halde, nasıl AB üyesi yapıldı”.

14 – 15, 2006 and stated that not any chapter would be temporarily closed in case Turkey failed to fulfil its obligations within the scope of the Partnership Agreement Additional Protocol (AB Türkiye 2020).

From the perspective of Turkey, on the other hand, certain political developments affected the attitudes of political parties and the public opinion towards the EU during this period. For instance, the European Court of Human Rights’ decision regarding Leyla Şahin — the decision that prohibition to education with headscarf at universities is not a human rights violation — caused extensive criticism from the EU.⁵ In the same years, statements which were made by Sarkozy and Merkel towards Turkey’s accession process were quite remarkable. In 2007, during his election campaign, Sarkozy declared that he would end the negotiation process with Turkey (DW 2007).

However, in this period, as it is indicated in the AKP’s election manifesto that was published in 2007, the Turkish authorities did not give up on the aim of full membership to the EU. In the meantime, public support to the EU in the first half of 2006 was measured as 44% in Turkey (Şenyuva 2019). Therefore, the effects of the mentioned developments on public support cannot be ignored. It is noteworthy that the public support was measured as 70% in 2001, therefore there had been a huge decrease over the last five years. This situation can clearly be observed from the results of public opinion polls. As it can be understood from the table below, a serious decline was observed in the percentage of people, who indicated that Turkey’s membership would be a “good” thing.

As an impact of these developments, the percentage of people who stated that EU membership would be a “good” thing for Turkey was 49% between the 2007-2008 period, whereas it was 42% according to the 2008 fall period results (Şenyuva 2019). Similarly, in the first half of 2009, public support for Turkey’s EU membership stood at 48% (European Commision 2009).

Another discussion especially in those years concerned French leader Sarkozy’s and German leader Merkel’s unfavourable statements on Turkey’s membership. During the debates that were held in the EP in 2009, two leaders stated that they were against Turkey’s full membership. In those years, there was another debate with regards to Turkey’s foreign policy concerning whether it was going through an “axis shift” toward Eurasia or not. In 2010, politicians from AKP were stating that there

⁵Leyla Şahin, a student at Istanbul University Faculty of Medicine, attended the classes by wearing a headscarf and she received disciplinary punishment. She took the decision to the ECHR. However, the court stated that the decision was justifiable.

Table 2.1 The Change in Public Opinion between 2004 and 2007

Public Opinion Results/ Eurobarometer	Turkey's member- ship would be a “good” thing	Turkey's member- ship would be a “bad” thing
Autumn 2004	62%	12%
Spring 2004	71%	9%
Autumn 2005	55%	15%
Spring 2005	59%	20%
Autumn 2006	54%	22%
Spring 2006	44%	25%
Autumn 2007	49%	25%
Spring 2007	52%	22%

Source: Standart Eurobarometer / European Commission

was not an axis shift in their policies. Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Foreign Minister at the time was responding to these debates by saying that “if you notice, when Turkey becomes more active in the surrounding regions, especially these kinds of debates are always initialized. We perceive these debates as gloating, subjective and cyclical assessments” (Cumhuriyet 2010).⁶

Similarly, Bülent Arınç, who was Vice Prime Minister in those years, stated that there was no change in foreign policy and added that “the development of our economy and increase in our trade are in favour of Turkey. Therefore, it cannot be referred to as an axis shift. Turkey’s path is towards Europe. Integrating with the EU and becoming a full member of the EU are goals of 60 years. Having good relations with other countries while moving towards the EU does not imply an axis shift” (Milliyet 2010).⁷

In response to these debates, Erdoğan, on the other hand, implied that the EU was a Christian Union. During the same years, Eurosceptic rhetoric was being constituted

⁶The original Turkish quotation is “Dikkat ederseniz, Türkiye ne zaman çevre bölgelerinde aktif hale gelmişse, etki gücü artmışsa, bu tür tartışmalar özellikle başlatılmıştır. Biz bunları iyi niyetten, objektiflikten yoksun, konjonktürel değerlendirmeler olarak görüyoruz”.

⁷The original Turkish quotation is “Ekonomimizin gelişmesi ticaretimizin artması Türkiye’nin lehinedir. Bundan dolayı bir eksen kaymasından bahsedilemez. Türkiye’nin rotası Avrupa’ya yöneliktir. AB ile bütünleşmek AB’nin tam üyesi olma hedefi 60 yıllık bir hedeftir. AB yolunda ilerlerken başka ülkelerle iyi ilişkiler kurmanın eksen kayması ile hiçbir ilgisi yoktur”.

again in the discourse of Erdoğan who stated that “they have detained us for 50 years. Still, they are stalling. If you are not a Christian Club, you must accept us. The only thing to prove that you are not a Christian Club is to accept Turkey which is a Muslim state as a member of the EU. But you are too extreme to tolerate this” (NTV 2010).⁸

In parallel with these developments and discourses, the percentage of Turkish citizens who believed that Turkey joining the EU would be a “good” thing in 2010, the year when public support was measured the lowest, was recorded as 38% by the Transatlantic Trends Survey (Şenyuva 2019). According to the Eurobarometer results, the percentage of those who believed that EU membership would be a “good” thing was 47% in 2010 (European Commission 2010). In 2011, the Turkish public had a small majority in support of membership, only 41% of respondents thought that membership would be a “good” thing” (European Commission 2011). Even so, Prime Minister Erdoğan at times made positive statements about the EU in that period. For instance, he stated that “since we believe in the purpose and success of the EU, we do not give up our aim, which is membership. We believe that obstructions which are caused by political problems in the negotiation process are not beneficial for either of the sides” (T24 2012).⁹

In the research conducted by Kadir Has University in 2012 with 1000 people in various Turkish provinces via face-to-face interviews, the rate of those supporting Turkey’s EU membership was at 50%, while the ratio of those who believed that Turkey could not be a member to the EU was 66% (KHAS Haberler 2013). According to the Eurobarometer results, the percentage of Turkish citizens who believed that Turkey joining the EU would be a “good” thing was 20% in November 2013 (Şenyuva 2019). In those years the role of Erdoğan’s statements and criticisms in shaping public opinion, could not be ignored. Erdoğan stated that Turkey did not receive enough support from the EU members against the Gezi protests in 2013. He made very trenchant and critical discourses on the EU in this process:

“Is this your understanding of democracy and freedom? Is the issue related to the Gezi Park? Be sure, we will explain all of them with documents in time. You will see. It is a coordinated process both at

⁸The original Turkish quotation is “50 yıl bizi oyaladılar. Hala oyalıyorlar, onu da söyleyeyim. Eğer siz Hristiyan Kulübü değilseniz, üye yapmaya mecbursunuz. Zira sizin Hristiyan Kulübü olmadığınızı ifade edebilecek tek şey, halkı Müslüman ülke olarak Türkiye’nin burada olmasıdır. Ama buna bile tahammül edemeyecek kadar aşırıyız”

⁹The original Turkish quotation is “AB’nin amacına ve başarısına inandığımız için üyelik hedefinden vazgeçemedik. Müzakere sürecinde siyasi saiklerden kaynaklı tıkanıklığın fayda getirmediğini ve üyeliğimizin her iki tarafın da faydasına olduğunun görülmesi gerektiğine inanıyoruz”

home and in abroad, we have its documents. We will introduce this traitor organization to our public” (Hurriyet 2013).¹⁰

Similarly, in response to the EP’s draft, which criticized the Turkish government’s policy and attitudes towards the activists in Gezi protests, Erdoğan stated that “yesterday, in the EP, someone came out and said something about it. My relevant ministers also had the necessary discussions. I don’t recognize the EP’s decision about us” (Milliyet 2013).¹¹

Especially after the Gezi protests, bilateral relations worsened further. The government claimed that Turkey was not supported by the EU during Gezi protests. During that time, alternative Unions to the EU were also discussed in the context of Turkey’s domestic politics. Especially in those years, Bahçeli’s proposal on the “Turkish Union” drew attention. Leader of the MHP, Bahçeli, argued that “the negotiations between the EU and Turkey lost their charm. The Turkish Nation will draw its own path as the President said. Supporting the Shanghai Cooperation Organization against the EU is a classic tactic (. . .). Neither the EU nor Shanghai. We support the Turkish Union” (Hurriyet 2016).¹² The lack of progress in negotiations was frequently criticized by Turkey.

Other incidents continued to have a negative impact on the relations since then. For instance, the resolution on the “100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide” was adopted in the EP, and statements which defended that Ankara should admit the genocide were widely circulated. One year later, the July 15 coup attempt was one of the most significant developments in the recent relations between Turkey and the EU. On the one hand, Turkish authorities complained that during and after the coup attempt, the EU member states were not supportive. On the other hand, the EU criticized the arrests, prosecutions and dismissals which occurred after the failed coup attempt in Turkey. In parallel with these problematic developments, in fall 2016 survey results, the percentage of Turkish citizens who believed that Turkey joining the EU would be a “good” thing declined to 28% and the rate of people who defined Turkey’s EU membership as a “bad” thing reached 39% (Şenyuva 2019). We

¹⁰The original Turkish quotation is “Sizin demokrasi anlayışınız, sizin özgürlük anlayışınız bu mu? Olayın özü Gezi Parkı mı? Bunları size belgelerle daha sonra açıklayacağız. Bu iş dışarıda ve içerde koordineli olarak yürüyen bir süreçtir. Bu ihanet şebekesini milletimize tanıtaçız.”

¹¹The original Turkish quotation is “Dün Avrupa Birliği Parlamentosu’nda birileri çıkıp bir şeyler söylemişler. İlgili bakanlarım da gerekli görüşmeleri yaparlar. AB Parlamentosu’nun bizimle ilgili kararı ben tanımıyorum.”

¹²The original Turkish quotation is “AB ile müzakerelerin ne tadı ne tuzu kalmıştır. Türk Milleti Cumhurbaşkanının söylediği gibi kendi yolunu çizecektir. AB karşısına Şanghay İş Birliği Örgütü’nü çıkarmak klasik bir taktiktir. AB’ye muhtaç olmadığımız gibi Şanghay meraklısı da değiliz. Ne Avrupa Birliği ne Şanghay İş birliği. Biz diyoruz ki sonuna kadar Türk Birliği.”

see that this rate increased slightly in the past couple of years.

Table 2.2 The Change in Public Opinion between 2014 and 2019

Public Opinion Results/ Eurobarometer	Turkey's member- ship would be a "good" thing	Turkey's member- ship would be a "bad" thing
Spring 2014	38%	33%
Autumn 2014	28%	39%
Spring 2015	33%	40%
Autumn 2015	37%	24%
Spring 2016	39%	26%
Autumn 2016	28%	39%
Spring 2017	41%	25%
Autumn 2017	47%	24%
Spring 2018	29%	29%
Autumn 2018	35%	28%
Spring 2019	50%	23%
Autumn 2019	27%	25%

Source: Standart Eurobarometer / European Commission

Eurobarometer results show that although there seem to be slight increases at certain points, public opinion support has never reached the percentage before 2005.

The problematic continuation of the negotiations, tensions in the relations and negative discourses of political leaders with regard to the Union are some of the reasons that have affected public opinion. Indeed, the results show that in times of increasing criticism against the EU by political leaders, the percentage of Turkish people who believe that Turkey joining the EU would be a "good" thing has decreased.

This chapter has provided a brief background of EU-Turkey relations and a survey of public opinion and political elites' approaches towards the Union to contextualise the analysis on the Turkish think tanks' attitudes towards the Union. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical and methodological foundations of the thesis in addition to explaining how the selected typology will be used in the analysis.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

After discussing the conceptual origins of Euroscepticism, this chapter will address the definition of Euroscepticism which will be used as the conceptual foundation of the thesis. Detailed information will also be provided in this chapter concerning the methodology of the thesis and how the collected data will be analyzed.

3.1 Origins of Euroscepticism

The idea that any claim should be considered with doubt and every bit of information should be inspected carefully is defined as skepticism (Milardović 2009). This notion has derived from the Ancient-Greek word of ‘skepteshia’ and means observing and inspecting (Ulaş et al. 2002). In a way, “it is an attitude of having doubt as to the truth of something” (Oxford Dictionary 2020) and “a disposition to incredulity” (Merriam-Webster 2020). Scepticism claims that, “none of our beliefs is certain, that none of our beliefs is justified, that none of our beliefs is reasonable, that none of our beliefs is more reasonable than its denial” (Cohen 1999). It is, therefore, an idea that opposes dogmatic beliefs which claim that information can exist with absolute accuracy. It is a way of thinking that exists in every period of history, from Thales to Protagoras, Protagoras to Pyrrhonora and Renaissance to the present time. The belief that information is open to criticism and investigation has gained itself a potent spot not just in philosophy but also in other fields. The concept of scepticism is, therefore, a frequently-employed term in political science as well. As far as unification under the same roof is concerned, the sceptic attitudes towards the EU which prevailed within the European states started to be called “Euroscepticism”.

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was founded in 1951 by the Paris Treaty, and this treaty was deemed as a chance for permanent peace by the countries that survived the World War II. However, as the Community expanded

and deepened, the problems that unfolded in time caused sceptical attitudes to be exhibited by the member states, thereby resulting in widespread Eurosceptic disputes. The root of the term, Euroscepticism which means approaching the idea of European integration with scepticism (Hooghe and Marks 2007) are centered in Britain (quoted in Aras 2014, 9). Ironically, the concept was first introduced in 1986 to describe British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's attitudes concerning European integration (Aras 2014).

Yet, Euroscepticism is not a recent phenomenon (Ultan and Örnek 2015); on the contrary, the origin of Euroscepticism is as old as the EU itself; it has been observed within the member states since the inception of the EU. For instance, in 1954, De Gaulle and members of the Socialist Party in France rejected the Pleven Plan which advocated a unified European army and hence exhibited a Eurosceptic attitude. As EU integration become increasingly more complex after the 1980s, the concept of Euroscepticism appeared in the literature with different definitions starting from the 1990s. The term started to gain more popularity especially during the period following the Maastricht Treaty (1992). Following the treaty, signed in the city of Maastricht of Netherlands, the discussions on citizens' remaining in the background in the decision-making process started to be made. With the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty by Netherlands and France in 2005, these discussions, indeed, strengthened the claims suggesting that the institutions of the Union were democracy deficit. Since then, this concept has been frequently used to describe the criticisms targeting the EU (Aras and Tezcan 2015). Many studies of Euroscepticism focusing on the Central and Eastern European countries were conducted in the late 1990s (Neumayer 2008) and especially in the early 2000s, where "the spread of Euroscepticism at the level of political parties contributed to the changes in some academic approaches" (Leconte 2015, 250).

The term "Euroscepticism" is vague and has no common and certain definition (Vasilopoulou 2009, 4). For that reason, in the literature, one can come across many different definitions of Euroscepticism. Taggart broadly defines Euroscepticism as "the idea of a contingent or qualified opposition as well as incorporating outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration" (Taggart 1998, 366). Being the first in-depth study which investigates the concept, Taggart's definition of Euroscepticism is thus highly important (Vasilopoulou 2009). Taggart's definition of Euroscepticism is also significant for covering candidate countries along with the EU member states (Küçükural 2005). Besides Taggart's definition, there are other scholars who tried to define the concept.

According to Hooge and Marks, "Euroscepticism refers to scepticism about Europe

or European integration” (Hooghe and Marks 2007, 120). This is also defined as a general negative perspective towards the EU. While Hix claims that “Euroscepticism is a little more than a set of preferences by citizens, parties and interest groups about institutional design in Europe” (Hix 2007, 131), Dinan (2005) claims that it is an idea which supports “opposition of more integration” (quoted in Aras 2014, 14).

3.2 Taggart and Szczerbiak Typology

Various studies in the literature regarding Euroscepticism contributed to the formation of different types of Euroscepticism. These studies contributed to the formation of different types of Euroscepticism while also introducing different definitions for the concept. One of these Euroscepticism types is the one chosen as the basic typology in the thesis to survey the discourses of think tanks: The Taggart and Szczerbiak typology. In this study, the soft and hard Euroscepticism differentiation introduced by Taggart and Szczerbiak has been chosen as the main typology to survey the discourses of the TTs in Turkey.

There are a few reasons for choosing this typology. The Taggart and Szczerbiak typology is very important for its effect on the other typologies in literature. In a sense, although it is an initial typology, it is defined as a simple Euroscepticism categorization rather than a complicated distinction. Other typologies, — for instance, Kopecky and Mudde’s typology — are based on interpreting the ideology behind Euroscepticism, while Taggart and Szczerbiak prefer a simpler categorization. Moreover, the Taggart and Szczerbiak typology will be useful for the Turkish case since it used not only for member states but also candidate countries.

Another reason for choosing this typology is that it has been used not only on political parties but also on different working groups in recent years. For instance, this typology was utilized in the study conducted on civil society by John Fitzgibbon as well and it expanded its scope by working on other areas different from political parties. By this means, the fact that this typology has started to be used for different working groups has been a source of motivation to apply the typology on the think tanks in Turkey.

Taggart and Szczerbiak typology identified two different forms of Euroscepticism, namely hard and soft Euroscepticism, especially in the Western and Central European countries. They define hard Euroscepticism as follows:

“Where there is a principled opposition to the EU and European integration and therefore can be seen in parties who think that their countries should withdraw from membership, or whose policies towards the EU are tantamount to being opposed to the whole project of European integration as it is currently conceived” (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2008, 2).

While hard Euroscepticism refers to disintegration from the EU for member countries, it is also a type of Euroscepticism that advocates the idea of finalizing the negotiation process for candidate countries (Aras 2014, 50). It is an objection to European integrity in both economic and political terms. That is why hard Eurosceptics reject becoming a member of the EU or staying as a member (Canveren and Durakçay 2017). On the other hand, this type of Euroscepticism “is the embodiment of negative values” (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2004, 3). In this way, hard Euroscepticism can show itself as defining the EU as communist/conservative/socialist/populist by attributing “marginal/extreme/negative” features to it and criticizing the EU values (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2004).

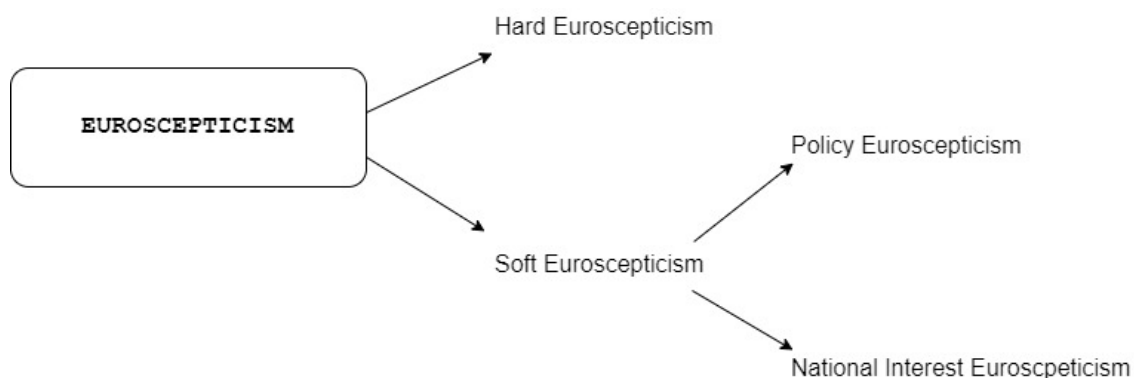
On the contrary, soft Euroscepticism is defined as follows:

“Where there is not a principled objection to the European integration or EU membership but where concerns on one (or a number) of policy areas leads to the expression of qualified opposition to the EU, or where there is a sense that ‘national interest’ is currently at odds with the EU trajectory” (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2008, 2).

Unlike hard Euroscepticism, soft Euroscepticism does not oppose all of the policies of the Union, instead advocates rejecting only some of them, and is therefore, a state of ‘conditional acceptance’. Within the soft Euroscepticism, the ideas of European integration and the EU membership are not rejected as a principle.

Even though the boundaries of hard Euroscepticism are sharper, soft Euroscepticism is more inclusive. Taggart and Szczerbiak divide soft Euroscepticism into two forms namely policy Euroscepticism and national interest Euroscepticism (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2004, 4). Policy Euroscepticism means “being opposed to deepening of the Union, or a certain policy of the EU”(Aras 2014, 51). Policy Euroscepticism refers to opposition to certain areas of EU’s policies. Differently from hard Euroscepticism, policy Euroscepticism is objection only to EU policies, but not to the EU values.

Figure 3.1 Types of Euroscepticism (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2002)



Another type of soft Euroscepticism, national interest Euroscepticism includes defending national interests of the member or candidate state against the EU and this form of Euroscepticism is seen in the candidate countries where national interests and the EU norms conflict (Aras 2014, 2). A sensitivity towards the national interests exists in the national interest Euroscepticism and it foregrounds the national interests of the country in the discussions related to the EU. Such type of a soft Euroscepticism is especially observed to be intensive in candidate countries. These countries act more cautiously regarding sacrificing their own interests in the process of negotiations. Indeed, these countries tend to act according to their own interests particularly in the EU debates. Nevertheless, this type of Eurosceptics consider that their national interests and EU's aims are not common (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2002b, 4).

National interest Euroscepticism presents itself in the form of an attitude which defends the country's national interests in the EU-related discussions while policy Euroscepticism is a sceptic attitude towards the deepening political and economic integration of Europe or any of the existing policy fields in the EU (Aras 2014). National interest Euroscepticism therefore "encompasses those who actually feel sympathetic towards the deepening European integration, but who also feel the need to employ 'national interest Eurosceptic' discourses to shore up their domestic political support base" (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2002b, 4).

In light of all this information, the chapter on methodology elaborates in detail on how the discourses of think tanks will be surveyed.

3.3 Methodology

There are different methods used in the studies which focus on Euroscepticism. For instance, in their study where Euroscepticism is studied at the level of public opinion, Çarkoğlu and Kentmen (2011) employed cross-temporal and cross-sectional data analysis methods to investigate how the public opinion about the EU has been affected by identity, religion, support for democracy, and economy. Studying the attitudes and policies of the CSOs towards the EU, Cicioğlu (2013) used the semi-structured interview method. Alpan (2016) used discourse analysis in her study on Euroscepticism while Aydın-Düzgit (2016) employed critical discourse analysis to investigate the changing attitudes of the AKP through its election speeches.

Based on the theoretical framework of Euroscepticism defined by Taggart, Euroscepticism as “the idea of a contingent or qualified opposition as well as incorporating outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration” (Taggart 1998, 366), this study uses to analyze the publications of the six selected think-tanks and the interviews held with their representatives about the EU, thereby intending to understand their attitudes toward the EU.

The study surveys the discourses produced by following six think tanks on the EU and Europe: Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA), Humanitarian and Social Research Center (INSAMER), Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies (BILGESAM), Economic Development Foundation (IKV), Center for Eurasian Studies (AVİM) and the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV). By this means, the study will survey the discourses of these six think tanks via the Taggart and Szczerbiak typology and assess the attitudes of the think tanks towards the EU accordingly.

Discourse helps us identify the existing attitudes towards a policy, a political development or a case while also helping us unearth the underlying messages. The language which forms a discourse composes of complex systems that affect and shape societies (Yemenici 1995). Any kind of “information, power and ideology expressed in a language gains meaning only with a discourse” (as cited in Gölcü, Enes, and Karadeniz 2019, 227). Because “anything verbalized is not solely a simple syntax but has its own spirit beyond the content its entails” (Çelik and Ekşi 2008, 101). Discourse is “a meta-action” (Çelik and Ekşi 2008, 100) and is closely related to social life (as cited in Çelik and Ekşi 2008, 100). According to Wodak, discourse is not only a way of expression but it (discourse) “points at the dialectical relation between social structures” (Doyuran 2018, 304). The analyzed discourses

can be both written and verbal sources. For instance “official statements, notifications, communiqués, parliamentary discussions, diplomatic documents, interviews, newspapers are some of such sources (Aydın-Düzgit and Rumelili 2018, 16).

In terms of data, this study will make use of publications released by think tanks on Europe and the EU between 2016-2019 and in-depth qualitative interviews with members of TTs. Then, the discourses found in both the interviews and the publications will be surveyed according to the Taggart and Szczerbiak typology.

2016 was chosen as the start of the period that was to be covered as part of the data collection for analysis. There are several factors affecting the decision to choose the year 2016 as the starting year for this thesis. The year 2016 attracts attention as a year of many of both national and international developments. Refugee influx and regional issues such as Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean concerning Turkey continued. As of the 2000s, the Eastern Mediterranean, which has been an area of struggle as many countries’ interests intersected, has come the agenda with the tender of Southern Cyprus to seek natural gas in the region.

The year 2016 can be also considered as a turning point in EU-Turkey relations. Having been maintained with ups and downs until 2016, the relations reached a deadlock in 2016.

During this period, there had been certain developments that affected Turkey’s relations with the EU. As a result of the civil war that broke out in Syria in 2011, Turkey and the EU made an agreement to prevent irregular migration of millions of refugees fleeing the country. On March 18, 2016, the refugee agreement was signed, and although Turkey kept its promises given in the 2016 summit, there has not been any development regarding the EU accession negotiations, visa freedom and updating the Customs Union.

Following the agreement made in March, Turkey’s domestic politics have changed after the attempted coup in July 2016 in a way that caused regression effect in Turkey’s relations with the EU and loss of the advancements in bilateral relations so far.

First of all, the policies which Turkey adopted subsequent to the coup attempt of July 2016 in Turkey was heavily criticized by the EU. As Çiğdem Nas notes, during this period, “the first reaction from the EU was to condemn the coup attempt; however, the comprehensive measures taken, thousands of people being arrested, dismissals from work, as well as universities and newspapers being shut down all worried the EU, and the emphasis made on democracy and rule of law dominated the discourse” (Nas 2016b, 1). In response to the discussions circulating about

reinstating death penalty especially for those that attempted the coup, Mogherini noted that “a country reinstating death penalty cannot be an EU member state (quoted in Nas 2016*b*, 4). Similarly, following the state of emergency declared in Turkey after the coup attempt, some EU leaders made statements advocating the suspension of the EU-accession negotiations with Turkey (Nas 2016*c*). For example, Austrian Prime Minister Christian Kern said that he would have talks with other EU member states and leaders to terminate the negotiations with Turkey because of the country’s democratic and economic deficits.

Criticism of the EU towards Turkey has led to changes in Turkish public opinion regarding the EU. This critical attitude of the EU regarding the coup attempt has caused both the Turkish government and Turkish people to raise their Eurosceptic feelings that had been present for some time (Kakışım and Erdoğan 2018). At this point (Şenyuva 2019) also draws attention to the fact that there have been breaking points in the categories “A good thing, A bad thing, “Don’t Know” or “Neither good nor bad” measuring the public opinion towards the EU. Similarly, Çiğdem Nas notes that Turkish people’s EU perception has become worse after the EU remained insensitive to Turkey’s problems following July 15 and draws attention that there has been a perception in the public opinion that the EU supports terrorism (TRT Haber 2017).

A few months after the coup attempt, in November 2016, the European Parliament (EP) voted on the resolution to suspend talks with Turkey, which was a first in the history of the Parliament, and therefore, the EU-Turkey relations reached another deadlock. In the progress report published in November 2016, it was mentioned that economic criteria were not fulfilled in addition to the political criteria. In the 2015 report, on the other hand, regression was mentioned in three areas, while regression was stated in six basic areas in 2016. Turkey was particularly criticized for independence of the judiciary, freedom of speech, the prevention of torture and ill-treatment, and freedom of association and assembly. All these developments in 2016 have rendered it as an important year in terms of the EU-Turkey relations.

The data to be analyzed herein includes the think-tanks’ publications and the interviews held with their representatives. These two types of resources i.e. written and verbal data allow us to compare to see whether the discourse of a think-tank has changed over time. The publications produced by a think-tank are important since they reflect the most up-to-date attitude of that specific think-tank and its criticism and comments concerning developments. These texts are relatively reliable since they are published on official channels and are accessible.

As for the in-depth interviews, they were preferred because interviewing is a method

in which language is delivered in its most powerful and purest form. Additionally, in-depth interviews allow researchers to be flexible with elaborating on the answers they get in response to the questions they have asked and to inspect the gestures, facial expressions and intonation of the representatives during the interviews. Interviews were conducted with at least one person from each TT, who is either a senior executive or a researcher at one of the TTs. Audios of the interviews were recorded with the approval of the interviewees. The voice records of the interviews were transcribed and then included in the present thesis upon the approval of the interviewees. The original versions of the excerpts are additionally given in footnotes since the interviews were held in Turkish. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1 hour on average. In-depth interviews were held between May 2019-June 2019. The analysis includes in total of 6 interviews and 160 publications.

Data includes 54 publications by SETA, 19 publications by INSAMER, 11 publications by BILGESAM, 24 publications by IKV, 20 publications by TEPAV and 32 publications by AVIM.

Table 3.1 Number of Think-Tank Publications Analyzed

TTs	Number of the Publications Analyzed
SETA	54
INSAMER	19
BILGESAM	11
AVIM	32
TEPAV	20
IKV	24
TOTAL	160

All of these publications consist of the publications produced by think tanks about the EU and Europe. Thus, the data obtained in a total of 160 publications and six interviews will be evaluated according to the Taggart and Szczerbiak typology. Below are some implications that will determine the types of discourse according to the typology chosen. All of these implications were derived based on the definitions of hard Euroscepticism and soft Euroscepticism in the Taggart and Szczerbiak typology. However, a third category was needed to determine the non-Eurosceptic attitude in think tanks, and this was formed as the “Supportive Discourses” cate-

gory.

Table 3.2 Categories of discourses and their implications

Category	Implication for discourse
Hard	Rejecting EU membership Advocating termination of the negotiation process Defining the EU and Europe as too communist/conservative/socialist/populist by attributing “marginal/extreme/negative” values
Soft	Criticism against the process of Turkey’s negotiations with the EU Critical discourses against EU policies Defending the Turkish national interests against the EU
Supportive	Advocacy for EU membership Advocating the continuation of the EU negotiation process Attributing positive features to the EU and Europe

The above table will help us evaluate discourses as Eurosceptic or supportive. For instance, according to Taggart and Szczerbak’s typology, supporting the termination of the negotiation process and attributing negative values to the EU are examples of Hard Euroscepticism. Thus, such a discourse in the data analyzed will be evaluated as Hard Eurosceptic discourse. Or defending the national interests of Turkey against the EU will be considered as a soft Eurosceptic discourse. Not included in these categories, discourses which support the negotiation process, attribute positive values to the EU and Europe –contrary to Euroscepticism implications- will be considered as Supportive Discourses.

The next chapter will discuss the development of TTs in the Turkish context and describe in-depth the selected TTs for the analysis.

4. THINK -TANKS AS POLICY ACTORS

In modern political systems, main actors of policy-making are governments. These policy makers might need consultation in policy-making as they are not fully informed in some cases. As a result of this need, in recent years, governments have started to work with CSOs which have increasingly been involved in the policy-making processes (Vas 2012). CSOs incorporate a wide community established to meet this need including voluntary organizations, non-state organizations, unions, trade association and think tanks.

In general terms, think tanks also, identified as a model of CSOs, are non-profit institutions that conduct analyses, publications and sometimes offer consulting services. These institutions act as bridges between the governments and the academic world (Zariç 2012).

TTs have increased their influence and become helpful actors for governments in recent decades. These institutions assist the governments not only by different perspectives they bring about as solutions on national problems but also on regional and international problems. They attract attention with their “sui generis” structures (Hauck 2017) in the policy-making process.

With regards to their “sui generis” feature, Wallace claims that TTs act as a soft power “in shaping political agendas and forming the language of discussions in society” (Wallace 1998, 224). As required by these roles, TTs pick a field for themselves and start publishing in that field. The areas that they specialize in might be global problems as well as regional or national problems or topics.

In Turkey, TTs have become actors that have been increasing in numbers, especially in the last 20 years. However, the number of think tanks are rather low compared to other countries (Özgüzel and Çetintürk 2016). For instance, this number is 1,872 in the USA, 2,219 in Europe whereas the number is only 48 in Turkey (McGann 2019). On top of that, this number is even less when it comes to the think tanks that study Europe and the EU.

The fact that the number of think tanks is inadequate for a developed modern country stands out. One of the reasons for this is that civil society conscious and the civil society culture have not yet developed enough in Turkey (Zihnioğlu 2013). Besides, organizational and technical capacity problem, resources and sustainability in financial terms are leading problems of the civil society organizations. As a civil society model, think-tanks do not have a substantial impact on the policy-making process in Turkey and one of the main reasons of this situation is that the political culture settled in Turkey hinders the impact to be imposed onto the decision-making process by these actors. State-centric politics in Turkey and legal regulations that prevent think tanks from improving confront us as the reasons (Keyman 2010). Likewise, many of the think tanks in Turkey have difficulty in resource, capacity, gaining public trust and increasing their visibility compared to the think tanks in Europe and America (Outzen and Schwing 2016).

Although their impact on politics is questionable ve they have many problems, it is an undeniable fact that they are involved in and contribute to the discourse on Europe/the EU in Turkey, which is why analyzing the attitudes of TTs towards Europe/the EU and examining how they handle the integration process is important. In the next part of this chapter, firstly the historical background of the growth of TTs in the world and in Turkey will be discussed, which will be followed by a discussion of the selection grounds for TTs in this study, as well as a general survey of their areas of expertise and their publications.

4.1 Definition and Organization of Think-Tanks

TTs are organizations that greatly vary based on their size, research fields, expertise and impact. This variance is also quite clear in how think-tanks are defined. As their numbers increased over time, different approaches have been adopted concerning their roles and definitions. For instance, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines TTs as “institutions that do regular research about any public policy-related topics and institutions that build bridges between information and government in modern democracies” (Andjelković and UNDP 2003, 6). The definitions included in the literature are mostly of the kind that refers to the autonomy of these organizations. For instance, Rich defines TTs as “non-profit political organizations that aim to have an influence on the policy-making process based on their expertise” (Rich 2004). Similar to Rich, James defines TTs as “institutions

that attempt to affect the public policies and that do interdisciplinary researches” (as cited in Bağcı and Aydın 2009, 61) while Weaver and McGann define them “non-governmental, not-for-profit research organisations with substantial organisational autonomy from government and from societal interests such as firms, interest groups, and political parties” (as cited in Pautz 2011).

Initially used to refer to the places where military strategies were developed during the World War II “to characterize the safe spaces” the concept of think-tank was then used to refer to such institutes as the Rand Corporation, which was founded by the US Air Forces, after the war ended Bağcı and Aydın 2009, 60. During the following years, it was used to refer to independent research institutions which focused on current political, economic, and social issues.

There are actually four important stages that resulted in increased a number of and increased influence of TTs. The first-wave think-tanks include the ones that were founded before World War II. Though few in number, the think-tanks of this period that were defined as “universities without students” by Abelson operated only in the US and some of the European countries (Bağcı and Aydın 2009). The second-wave of think-tanks coincides with the period between World War II and the 1970s, and this period is when the number of TTs increased especially in OECD countries. These TTs mostly conducted security-oriented studies which focused on national issues and regional instabilities.

The third wave of the think tanks corresponds to the 1970s when gradually the scope of studies of the governments expanded, countries embraced democratic regime, civil society began to take more roles. Furthermore, with the governments adopting the principle of transparent governance, think-tanks became more visible and were able to undertake more roles (Boucher and Hobbs 2004). The last stage of the historical development of TTs is the supra-national period that coincides with the time when think-tanks gained a character which extended beyond nations. Today, think-tanks conduct joint projects with many researchers from multiple countries and are effective in various places in the world. In the same way, as a result of their transnational character, they now operate in other countries.

4.2 Think-Tanks in Turkey

The genesis of TTs corresponds to the 1960s in Turkey (Bağcı and Aydın 2009). The political developments which occurred during this period were effective on the formation stage of the thinks-tanks in Turkey. While there are many reasons for the TTs to emerge during this period in the case of Turkey, Stone and Garnett argue that constitutional changes were associated with this situation. According to this argument, the 1961 constitution was an inclusive and liberal one, facilitating an appropriate environment for think-tanks to develop and improve. As a result of this free environment, Nejat Eczacıbaşı founded a think-tank named “The Conference Delegation” in 1961. According to Bağcı and Aydın, the 1963 Association Agreement with the EEC was another factor which resulted in increasing number of TTs during this period because of the need for organizations operating in the field of EU-Turkey relations. In response to this need for such organizations, “Economic Development Foundation”, otherwise known as IKV, was established in Turkey.

However, the 1980 Turkish coup d’état halted the progress within these organizations. Though it posed a restrictive impact both on the political parties and the civil society in terms of their political and social rights, these institutions then picked up where they left off to continue improving in the political environment that was subsequently improved in the following years. Some of the think-tanks that are still operating in Turkey were founded during this period. One of them is the state-based SAM, which was created by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Another one is TESEV which was “founded by economic and social actors to conduct research on economic and foreign policy issues” (Bağcı and Aydın 2009, 91).

In Turkey, Turkish TTs organize seminars and conferences and publish analyzes, reports and books to inform the public. Particularly over the recent years, even they did not reach the required level, they have started to be more influential in the decision-making processes with their recommendations and with the certain policy issues that they are addressing (Köseoğlu and Köktaş 2017).

TTs in Turkey have not only contributed to interstate cooperation but also, but they have also become experts in certain fields by publishing new research. Indeed, they added Europe to their field of research after the negotiation process started between Turkey and the EU. Especially in recent decades, the EU accession process has become a field that was often addressed and analyzed by TTs. On the one hand, TTs have contributed to the literature through the publications they produce. On the other hand, they have also intended to make the process steadier by presenting

alternative options and solutions to the government.

However, when it comes to understanding their attitudes towards the EU, we see that it is an understudied field. To remedy this gap, six different TTs which produce publications in the field of EU and specialize on the relations between Turkey and the EU are examined in this study.

4.3 Selected TTs

TTs that are included in this thesis were determined in the light of Abelson's definition of TTs. Abelson defines TTs as "institutes whose main aims include influencing the public and public policies and institutes that are both non-profit and prone to objective research" (Abelson 2002). Many of the TTs in Turkey define themselves as "independent, non-profit institutions" and in that regard, they coincide with Abelson's definition. Hence his definition represents the TTs in Turkey better than other definitions. For instance, the way Weaver and McGann define TTs as independent from the state does not apply to the Center for Strategic Research (SAM) which operates in Ankara and functions under the tutelage of the Foreign Ministry. Considering the structures and domains of the TTs, Abelson's definition, thus, seems to be the most appropriate one for the TTs in Turkey.

There have been some limitations in the selection of think-tanks to be studied as part of the current study. Firstly, since there 48 think tanks in Turkey (McGann 2019), the criterion of "conducting studies on Europe/the EU" has therefore been applied while selecting the think-tanks to be studied. Secondly, it was also important to identify those with a high number of publications on these issues to make sure that various publications have been reviewed and that the conclusion to be drawn from the present thesis study is thus objective and reliable. All of the selected think-tanks are therefore those which produce publications regularly on the issues concerning the EU and Europe.

In the selection phase, TÜSİAD which is a business organization that itself as an NGO was therefore excluded from the study. Moreover, though listed as the best 20th Think Tank in the category of Defense and National Security in the 2018 Global Go to Think Tank Index Report, since the Centre for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM) does not produce regular publications about the EU and Europe, it was not included in this study.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the selected think-tanks in accordance with these criteria were SETA, INSAMER, AVIM, BILGESAM, TEPAV and IKV.

SETA is a pro-government think-tank although it is not organically affiliated with the government. It is ranked 34th among the Best Think Tanks with a Political Party Affiliation according to the 2018 Global Go to Think Tank Index Report. It also produces various up-to-date publications on Europe and the EU on a frequent basis. Among the issues addressed in its publications are the EU's structural problems such as Islamophobia and the refugee crisis, as well as Turkey's accession process, recent issues regarding the decisions of the European Parliament, elections in the member states, and rising right-populist parties. The EU directorate also "conducts extensive research on the socio-political developments and the foreign policies in some of the EU countries such as Germany, France, and the UK" (SETA 2020). It has been active since 2006 and has offices in Ankara, Istanbul, Washington D.C., Berlin and Cairo. A face-to-face interview was held on May 30, 2019, with this think-tank represented by the Director of European Studies Enes Bayraklı (Brussels Coordinator & Director of European Studies, SETA). Noting that SETA is the biggest think tank of Turkey, Bayraklı also mentions that the institution's purpose is "to enlighten the public with regards to the current problems of Turkey while also producing publications and holding events in order to make suggestions for policymakers" (In-depth Interview May 30, 2019).

Another think-tank that is examined within the scope of the thesis is INSAMER. INSAMER is an institution conducting research on fundamental humanitarian, political, and social issues. It focuses on Europe and the EU by analyzing the existing problems from the perspective of human rights. INSAMER states its mission as "to ease human suffering by conducting practice-based research and producing knowledge that provides guidance to researchers and policy-makers and extending humanitarian relief, enhancing humanitarian diplomacy and advancing the human rights" (INSAMER 2020). It was founded by Ahmet Emin Dağ in 2013 within the structure of the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH) (In-depth Interview May 22, 2019). Within the scope of the current thesis, a face-to-face interview was held with Selim Vatandaş, who is one of the Research Assistants in INSAMER (May 22, 2019). However, this think tank attracts attention with its increasing analysis on Europe and the EU, especially in recent years.

AVIM is another think tank which is examined within the scope of the thesis. AVIM is an institution which operates under the umbrella of Türkmeneli Cooperation and Cultural Foundation and defines itself as "an independent and non-profit think tank" like the other TTs (AVIM 2020). The purpose of AVIM is "to provide in-depth

analysis and perspective on the political matters existing in important regions for Turkey and to produce solutions for struggles that Turkey faces at the global level” (AVIM 2020). Since 2009, the Ankara-based institution AVIM operates by holding both national and international conferences concerning the political developments in Eurasia and by producing publications on relevant issues. Within the scope of the present thesis, an interview was held with Hazel Çağan Elbir (Research Assistant) whose research fields are the EU, Turkey-US Relations, Caucasus, Propaganda Studies and Terrorism (In-depth Interview, June 10, 2019).

The other think tank examined within the scope of the thesis is IKV. IKV defines itself as an organization that works to highlight its think-tank identity (IKV 2020). Although this think tank was founded on November 26, 1965, to support the business world, it draws attention with its informative role undertaken in EU-Turkey relations.

As a think-tank which tackles EU-Turkey relations in a manner focusing on every aspect and every stage of the issue, IKV also carries out effective activities both at home and abroad and conducts analyses on how the process has been proceeding (IKV 2020). Indeed, it would be fair to claim that this think tank is the one which instantly comes into mind instantly when the EU is the main topic in Turkey. IKV takes on crucial roles in the negotiation process with the EU. Since 1965, pursuing Turkey’s relations with the EU and focusing on the possible gains and advocating Turkey’s theses in Europe have been some of the main purposes of IKV (In-depth interview, June 13, 2019). It carries out those functions by conducting joint activities with its stakeholders such as the Ministry of Economy, the Directorate for EU Affairs, IPC and TEPAV. IKV is also a think-tank which proposes solutions to improve EU-Turkey relations. For example, it gathered various think-tanks following the Copenhagen Summit, thereby pioneering the activities that would support Turkey’s negotiation process with the EU. A face-to-face interview was conducted with Çiğdem Nas (Secretary-General) as part of the current study.

Another think tank examined herein this study is BILGESAM. Since its inception in 2008, this institution has been “conducting research on Turkey’s national and global problems, its foreign policy, its policies with the neighbour countries, and explains its main purpose as coming up with political proposals in the direction of Turkey’s national interests for developing regionally and globally” (Bilgesam 2020). In that regard, it aims to analyze the policies towards Turkey in an environment in which the status quo is questioned in the international relations and to foresee the potential developments while also coming up with the suitable policies that would render these potential developments viable (In-depth interview, June 13, 2019). Within the scope

of the current study, an interview was held with Sibel Karabel, a Research Fellow at BILGESAM.

TEPAV is the final think-tank analyzed in this thesis. It ranked third in Europe in 2012 in the Think Tank of the Year Awards by Prospect Magazine. This institution, which has been operating in Ankara since 2004, identifies its main objectives as conducting political analyses and contributing to the policy-making process. TEPAV was initially established “to carry out research especially in the field of the economy but then it started to produce publications on foreign policy and governance in the context of foreign policy and public administration as well” (TEPAV 2020). Within the scope of the thesis, a face-to-face online interview was held with Nilgün Arısan Eralp (Director of EU Studies Center) (In-depth interview, June 20, 2019).

Table 4.1 Selected TTs: Status, Activities, Missions Statements, Specializations

	INSAMER (2013)	SETA (2006)	IKV (1965)	TEPAV (2004)	AVIM (2009)	BILGESAM (2008)
Type of TTs according to their official statement	part of the IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation	non-profit research institute	non-governmental research organization	established by businessman, bureaucrat and academician	independent, non-profit think tank	independent
Activities	publishing articles, reports, organizing seminars and workshops	making policy recommendations	organizing seminars and publishing articles, reports	reports, publications, notes	publishing books and reports, organizing conferences and workshops	analyses, report, books, and journals
Mission Statement	providing information to policy makers by conducting research	generating information and informing policy-makers	informing the public and cooperating among companies	contributing to policy making	providing comprehensive and in-depth information to policy makers	making policy recommendations in line with national interests
Specialisations	humanitarian, political and social issues	national, regional, and international issues	TR-EU relations	economy and foreign policy	Eurasian region especially the Balkans and the Caucasus	Turkey’s political, economic and security issues

As it can be observed above, each of the selected TTs conduct regular EU/Europe-related research and/or activities from different perspectives. By examining the responses given to the interview questions along with the publications (analyses and e-bulletins)- prepared by these institutions, their attitudes towards the EU are evaluated, to which the next chapter turns. In the following chapter by applying the typology, 160 publications of these think-tanks and 6 interviews will be surveyed.

5. ANALYSIS OF TURKISH THINK TANKS' ATTITUDES ON EUROPE AND THE EU

This chapter surveys the discourses of the selected think tanks concerning Europe and the EU between 2016-2019. As already mentioned in the methodology section, the year 2016 is a year in which significant developments occurred in the relations between the EU and Turkey. While Turkey faced heightened criticism from the EU particularly on the basis of human rights following the coup attempt in 2016, Turkey also criticized the EU and its member states for the inadequate support it offered for Turkey. During these years when the relations between the EU and Turkey were problematic and highly sensitive, the attitudes towards the EU and Europe have frequently been studied in the literature at the levels of political parties and public opinion.

However, the literature still lacked the kind of studies which focused on the EU- and Europe-related attitudes of think tanks that produce a significant volume of publications, although their effect on policy makers are highly questionable. To compensate for such studies to some extent, the present study therefore intends to survey the discourses of the six selected think tanks towards the EU and Europe and to analyze these attitudes within the theoretical framework of Euroscepticism. The publications of these think tanks and the in-depth interviews with their representatives constituted the main data for this analysis.

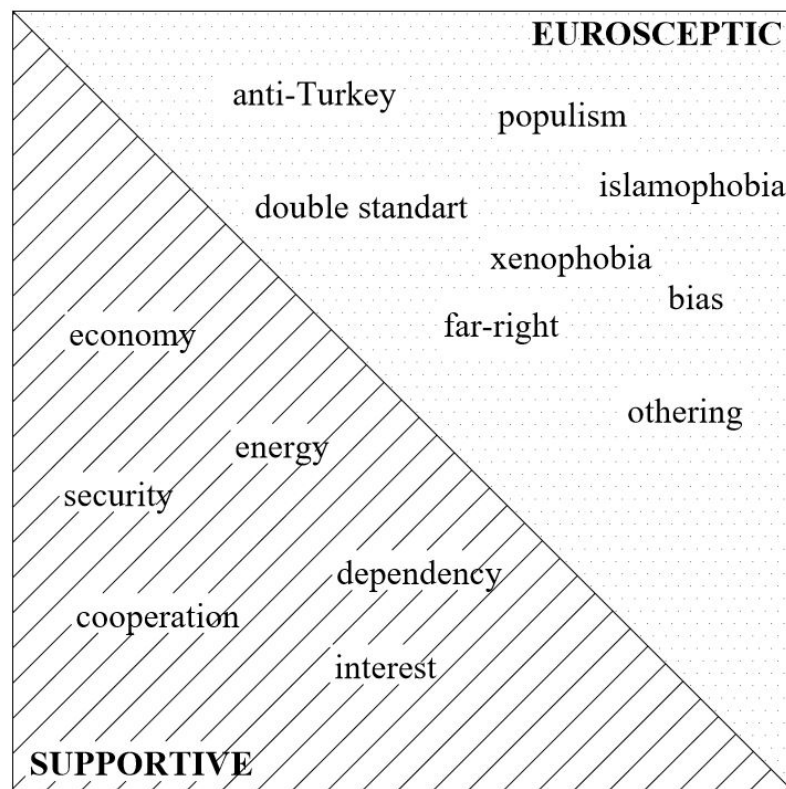
5.1 Hard Eurosceptic Discourses

As a result of surveying the discourses of the think tanks based on the Taggart and Szczerbiak typology, the discourse of “rejecting EU membership” and “advocating termination of the negotiation process” as one of the implications of hard Euroscepticism was not found in any of the think tanks. All of the think tanks supported the

negotiation process and advocated continuing the negotiations and this discourse will be discussed further under the title of supportive discourses. However, as an indicator of hard Euroscepticism, discourses attributing “marginal/extreme/negative features/values to the EU and Europe were encountered.

The first discourse considered as hard Eurosceptic within the think tanks has been the one that identifies Europe as Islamophobic and as discriminatory. This hard Eurosceptic discourse is mostly found in SETA, INSAMER, AVIM and BILGESAM. These think tanks constructed Europe as an “Islamophobic and discriminatory” actor in their discourses and the intensity of such discourses remained the same throughout the years 2016-2019 that were included in the analysis.

Figure 5.1 Dominant words which are detected in the publications (Compiled by author) ¹



The attacks targeting the Muslim populations in Europe, as well as the reactions from the European leaders towards the developments occurring in Turkey, seem

¹For instance, in 160 publications, the word ‘Islamophobia’ is counted 143 times at SETA, 32 times at INSAMER, 19 times at AVIM, 2 times at TEPAV and 1 time at IKV; the word ‘populism’ is counted 52 times at SETA, 17 times at INSAMER and AVIM, 5 times at TEPAV, 10 times at IKV and 7 times at BILGESAM; the word ‘double standart’ is counted 11 times at SETA and 5 times at AVIM; the word ‘bias’ is counted 1 time at IKV, 7 times at SETA and INSAMER, 5 times at AVIM; the word ‘far-right’ is counted 212 times at SETA, 37 times at INSAMER, 102 times at AVIM, 23 times at TEPAV and 5 times at IKV. For instance, in 160 publications the word ‘interest’ is counted 13 times at SETA, 11 times at INSAMER, 1 time at IKV; the word ‘cooperation’ is counted 54 times at SETA, 3 times at INSAMER and 10 times at IKV.

to be quite influential in the emergence of this discourse. For instance, defining the reaction of Europe to Turkey's coup attempt in 2016 as unsatisfactory and exemplary of an Islamophobic attitude, Europe is associated with Islamophobia, as in the following:

“During the first few hours of the coup attempt, they disseminated the publications and discourses which constituted a justifying ground for the coup attempt. The main factor present in the common discourse of the Western public opinion was the manipulation that this coup would reinforce Erdoğan. Such an attitude which ignores the fact that the Turkish public risk their lives just for the sake of defending their own rights as a political actor is clearly Islamophobic. They compared the Muslim Turkish society which fought against the coup attempt saying Allahu Akbar with their lives at stake to the ISIS militias who massacred people of all beliefs, ages, and genders in the most violent way, and considered these two equals.”² (Bayraklı 2016c)

“It is clearly seen that, in the case of the coup attempt in Turkey, the leading actors of the European politics and media acted the same way as they did in the similar cases of the coups in Egypt and Algeria, and followed a hesitant policy focusing on who will be next in power after the coup instead of opposing the coup decisively. The late publications published by the politicians in the European countries to “support the legitimate government” is not enough to obscure the extent to which the anti-Erdoğan attitudes have reached in the Western countries.”³ (İnat 2016)

²The original Turkish quotation is “‘Darbenin ilk saatlerinde darbeye meşruiyet sağlayan yayınları ve söylemleri yaydılar. Batı kamuoyunda yaygınlaşan söylemlerde başlıca unsur, bu darbenin Erdoğan’ı güçlendireceği ile ilgili manipülasyon oldu. Hatta Ortadoğu halklarının komplo teorilerine çok fazla meylettigini iddia ederek aşağılayan aydınlanmış Batı entelijansiyasının ve medyasının bir kısmı bu darbenin Erdoğan tarafından planlandığı gibi bir deli saçmasına kendilerini inandırdılar. Türk halkının siyasi bir aktör olarak kendi hakkını hukukunu korumak için canını ortaya koymuş olmasını görmezden gelen böyle bir tavrın İslamofobik olduğu apaçıktır. Darbe girişimi sırasında tekbir getirerek ölüme yürüyen Müslüman Türk halkını; Müslüman, gayri Müslim, çocuk, yaşlı, kadın demeden herkesi en vahşi bir biçimde katleden İŞİD militanlarını ile bir tuttular.”

³The original Turkish quotation is “‘Darbenin ilk saatlerinde darbeye meşruiyet sağlayan yayınları ve söylemleri yaydılar. Batı kamuoyunda yaygınlaşan söylemlerde başlıca unsur, bu darbenin Erdoğan’ı güçlendireceği ile ilgili manipülasyon oldu. Hatta Ortadoğu halklarının komplo teorilerine çok fazla meylettigini iddia ederek aşağılayan aydınlanmış Batı entelijansiyasının ve medyasının bir kısmı bu darbenin Erdoğan tarafından planlandığı gibi bir deli saçmasına kendilerini inandırdılar. Türk halkının siyasi bir aktör olarak kendi hakkını hukukunu korumak için canını ortaya koymuş olmasını görmezden gelen böyle bir tavrın İslamofobik olduğu apaçıktır. Darbe girişimi sırasında tekbir getirerek ölüme yürüyen Müslüman Türk halkını; Müslüman, gayri Müslim, çocuk, yaşlı, kadın demeden herkesi en vahşi bir biçimde katleden İŞİD militanlarını ile bir tuttular.”

In this excerpts which were published after the coup attempt, it is noted that the European countries actually wished that the coup attempt was successful in the case of Turkey. The second excerpt refers to the anti-Erdoğan attitudes in Europe and defines European policies as “hesitant”. These discourses which formed against Europe following the coup attempt on a basis where Europe is defined Islamophobic have remained well after the coup attempt. They have been used to criticize Europe for its discriminatory policies towards Muslims:

“The Islamophobic and xenophobic perspective which seriously hinders the co-existence of different cultures, religions, and ethnicities in a socially peaceful space has been escalating in all aspects of life including education, employment, media, politics, law, and internet in France, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, and many more European countries [...]The Western countries that have been hesitant in admitting refugees to their territories and caused delays in this process are of the opinion that the Muslim -coded as “the other”, “the outsider” and “the dangerous” in their historical memories- threaten European civilization and intend to terminate it.”⁴ (Bakır 2017).

“A striking aspect of discrimination is that the common values and the European identity are set solely by this narrowly-grouped community and only within this narrow community that defines these values as the “European values”. It is therefore possible to see the outcomes of such a subjective approach in the racist and religious discrimination that is gradually becoming more evident and also in extremism which is escalating.”⁵ (Kılıç 2018).

As highlighted in the excerpts above, it is underlined that the Muslims are being exposed to escalating discrimination in parallel with the Islamophobia present in Eu-

⁴The original Turkish quotation is “Farklı kültürlerin, dinlerin ve etnik kökenlerin toplumsal barış içerisinde bir arada yaşamasının önüne ciddi engeller çıkaran İslamofobi ve yabancı düşmanlığına ilişkin anlayış, Fransa’dan Almanya’ya, İngiltere’den Hollanda’ya ve daha pek çok Avrupa ülkesinde eğitimden istihdama, medyadan siyasete, adalet sisteminden internete kadar her alanda yükselişe geçmiştir [...] Mültecilerin ülkelerine kabulünde çekimser davranan ve bu süreci çok ağırdan alan Batılı devletler, tarihsel hafızalarına “öteki”, “yabancı” ve “tehlikeli” olarak kodladıkları Müslümanların Avrupa medeniyetini tehdit ettiğine ve onu yok etmeye çalıştığına inanmaktadır.”

⁵The original Turkish quotation is “Ayrılcılığın dikkat çeken bir yönü, ortak değerlerin ve Avrupa kimliğinin, bu dar gruplaşma tarafından “Avrupa değerleri” tanımlanmasıyla kendilerince belirlenmesi olmaktadır. Bu subjektif yaklaşımın bir sonucunu, AB ülkelerinde günümüzde giderek belirginleşmeye başlayan, ırkçı ve dinci ayrımcılıkta ve yükselen aşırılıkta görmek mümkündür.”

rope. It is maintained that this attitude stems from some tags that were produced and placed in their memories against the Muslims and that the Europeans define Muslims as “the other”, “the outsider”, and “the dangerous”. Referring to the ongoing tradition to create a group of the other in European history (Ateşoğlu Güney 2017), these think tanks maintain that Europe has moved away from secular values due to the policies it followed during the recent years and that it foregrounded only the Christian values and thus became a discriminatory/marginalizing actor (Elbir 2019b). These think tanks underline that, in addition to Europe’s marginalizing and discriminatory attitudes, this marginalization has furthermore been converting into a norm over the recent years, which is also a policy supported by the political authorities (Boyraz, Güngörmez, and Kavukçu 2019), while also frequently highlighting that measures have not been taken by the elite to eliminate such policies.

In reaction to the law which introduced a burqa ban in Austria in 2017 prohibiting wearing burqa in public and in streets, such Eurosceptic discourses as the ones below have emerged to point out to Europe’s Islamophobic and discriminatory attitudes:

“These bans are basically the result of the Islamophobic discourse that is dominating Western politics. This anti-Islam language justifies such double standards by means of constantly demonizing and marginalizing Muslims.”⁶ (Bayraklı 2017b).

“Muslims are perceived both as the outer and the inner enemies. There is a wide acceptance among European society that the Muslims do not have equal rights with them. Marginalizing and discriminatory treatment and demonizing the Muslims go hand in hand. Such a setting with feelings of deep insecurity and hostility facilitates the ground for physical attacks and political limitations targeting the Muslims and furthermore renders them normal and justifiable.”⁷ (Bayraklı and Hafez 2017).

It can be observed in the above quotations that hard Eurosceptic discourses are

⁶The original Turkish quotation is “Bu yasaklar aslında temel itibariyle İslamofobik bir söylemin batı siyasetine hâkim olmasının bir sonucudur. İslam düşmanı bu dil Müslümanları sürekli şeytanlaştırarak ve ötekileştirerek bu tarz çifte standart uygulamaları meşru hale getirmektedir.”

⁷The original Turkish quotation is “müslümanlar hem içeride hem de dışarıdaki düşman olarak görülüyorlar. Batı toplumlarında müslümanların kendileri ile eşit haklara sahip vatandaşlar olmadıklarına dair geniş bir kabul var. Ötekileştirme ve ayırıcı muameleyle tabi tutmak, müslümanların ‘şeytanlaştırılması’ ile beraber yürüyor. Böylesine derin bir güvensizlik ve düşmanlık ortamı müslümanlara yönelik fiziksel saldırılar ve siyasi kısıtlamaların yapılmasına olanak sağlamakla kalmayıp normalleştirerek savunulur kılıyor.”

formulated by attributing negative values to Europe. They present a description of Europe as an actor which “has double standards towards the Muslims”, “demonizes and marginalizes the Muslims” while also expressing that Europe is Islamophobic at every opportunity. The discourse of “Europe has double standards” in the first excerpt has been identified as the primary discourse which SETA and AVİM mostly resort to while discussing Islamic liberties and the accession process, which will be addressed below.

According to all think tanks this marginalizing attitude of Europe is frequently encountered in Europe’s policies towards Turkey as well. At this point, Ateşoğlu Güney (2017) from BILGESAM claims that the main ground on which the escalating far-right and xenophobia in Europe has been based on is anti-Muslim/Islam attitude fed by Islamophobia; while the current version of this definition has been updated as “Turk(ey)/Turkish/Turkey-originating” phobia.

A similar reference to the marginalizing aspect of Europe is also present in the excerpt below:

“In discriminating against the Other, the West has coded the East with an intentionally exaggerated perception of “the other” and as the culturally worthless. According to this perspective, the West is innovative while the East is the imitator and uneducated; the West is disciplined while the East is idle. Today, this exaggerated fiction is still maintained in its most violent form covertly or explicitly in various cases.”⁸ (Bakır 2018b).

As already seen in the excerpt above, the West marginalizes the East by referring to the tags used by the West to describe the East. While doing so, the nomination strategy is employed to create an in-group/out-group and form the binary division between the West/Them - the East/Us.

The second identifiable hard Eurosceptic discourse is the one which attributes negative values to Europe in both moral and social terms. This hard Eurosceptic discourse has only been seen in INSAMER. In this think tank, there is a hard Eurosceptic discourse which maintains that Europe is in a state of “social and moral” crisis and that the concept of the family has been in a sharp decline in Western

⁸The original Turkish quotation is “Batı kendisi ve diğerleri arasında yaptığı bu ayırmada Doğu’yu kasıtlı olarak oluşturulmuş mübalağalı bir “öteki” anlayışıyla ve kültürel bakımdan değersiz olarak kodlamıştır. Bu bakış açısına göre; Batı yenilikçi, Doğu taklitçi ve cahil, Batı disiplinli, Doğu ise tembeldir. Bugün bu mübalağalı kurgu, kimi zaman açıkça çoğunlukla üstü örtülü biçimde en şiddetli şekilde devam ettirilmektedir”.

societies (Kahraman 2017).

These discourses of INSAMER also stems from the description of Europe as a civilization that does not match with the Eastern Civilization due to European lifestyle. It makes distinctions between Western societies/Eastern societies and Western Civilization/Eastern Civilization in making these criticisms:

“Despite the progress, it has made in terms of information and technology, the West is in a deep mental, moral and social crisis. Beyond the damage that this state of crisis caused for the Other in Europe, it has already affected all aspects of life in Europe including its health, nutrition, environment, social relations, and economy. One of the most important crises that the West is facing is social breakdown. Having managed to keep its traditional family structure intact until the early 1960s, the Western countries are going through a phase where the concept of family is about to go extinct. Almost half of 100 children are born to unmarried parents in Europe, and there is also an increasing rate of divorce in Western societies where extramarital relationships are also encouraged through popular culture and the media apparatus.”⁹ (Bakır 2018b).

“The breakdown in family structure has not happened in a short period of time and there are multiple factors resulting in this breakdown. Among the main causes of this breakdown is the concept of independence which has been incorporated into the definition of individual freedom and that knows no boundaries, as well as alienation from religion, loss of the sacred and divine essence of families, and normalization of homosexuality. [...]Moreover, realistic works that would be influential on the society should be initiated to truly teach children and the youth the values of the Islamic civilization instead of the values of the so-called “European civilization”.¹⁰ (Kahraman 2017).

⁹The original Turkish quotation is “Bilgi ve teknolojik alanda ilerlemeler kaydeden Batı, zihinsel, ahlaki ve manevi boyutları olan derin bir bunalım içindedir. Bu bunalım hâli sadece Batı’nın ötekilerine zarar vermekle kalmayıp, onun sağlık, beslenme, çevre, toplumsal ilişkiler, ekonomi gibi hayatının her alanına sirayet etmiştir. Batı’nın içinde bulunduğu en önemli krizlerden biri de sosyal yapıdaki bozulmadır. 1960’ların başlarına kadar bir şekilde geleneksel aile yapısını korumuş olan Batılı ülkelerde, bugün aile kurumunun neredeyse yok olmaya başladığı gözlenmektedir. Avrupa’da neredeyse her 100 çocuğun yarısı gayri meşru olarak dünyaya gelmekte, boşanma oranlarında büyük artışlar yaşanan Batı toplumlarında, evlilik dışı birliktelikler, popüler kültür ve medya organlarının etkisiyle yaygınlaştırılmaktadır.”

¹⁰The original Turkish quotation is “Aile yapısının çökmesi kısa sürede meydana gelen bir olay değildir ve tek

The excerpts above use both negative and critical discourses to describe European societies as in a state of deep crisis which has mental, moral and social dimensions while also explicitly referring to the significance of family structure.

In this discourse which attributes “Western values” to Europe, Turkey is associated with Eastern societies. In the second excerpt, this is further reflected in the contrast established between Western Civilization and the Islamic Civilization, where the Western civilization is described in a different way than the Eastern civilization. By comparing the two, this excerpt clearly indicates that the Western Civilization and the Eastern Civilization are being described as two different civilizations in terms of their values. Europe is criticized on a values-based ground while also being constructed with an identity which is separate from Eastern societies in moral terms.

Such Eurosceptic discourses targeting Europe are indicators of the hard Euroscepticism that is present in INSAMER. However, unlike the other think tanks, INSAMER constructs two separate European identities in its discourses. The first of these identities is the civilizational discourse which attributes negative values to Europe on the basis of its lifestyle and family structure, as already mentioned above. The second discourse detected in INSAMER is the one that claims Europe and Turkey resemble to one and other in many respects ranging from clothing style to lifestyle by attributing positive traits to Europe. This discourse will be handled under the Supportive discourses heading.

As noted above, hard Euroscepticism in the Turkish think tanks are observed to draw mainly from two discourses where negative values are used for defining Europe. The first of such hard Eurosceptic discourses describes Europe as an Islamophobic and discriminatory actor while the second one presents a description of Europe associated with negative values particularly in terms of its lifestyle. The first of these two hard Eurosceptic discourses was observed to be present intensively, INSAMER, AVIM, and BILGESAM while the second one was present only in INSAMER.

bir nedeni de bulunmamaktadır. Bu çöküşün başlıca sebepleri arasında, bireysel özgürlük tanımı içerisine yerleştirilen ve hiçbir sınır tanımayan serbestlik anlayışı, dinden uzaklaşma, aile kavramının özündeki kutsallık ve ulviyetin yitirilmiş olması ve homoseksüelliğin normal olarak algılanması gelmektedir. [...] Ayrıca, çocuklara ve gençlere eğitim yoluyla sözde “Batı medeniyetinin” değerleri yerine İslam medeniyeti değerlerinin doğru bir şekilde öğretilmesi için topluma etki edecek gerçekçi çalışmalar başlatılmalıdır.”

5.2 Soft Eurosceptic Discourses

When the typology of Taggart and Szczerbiak is taken as the basis, the discourses such as “criticism against the process of Turkey’s negotiations with the EU, critical discourses against EU policies, defending the Turkish national interests against the EU are acknowledged as the indicators of soft Euroscepticism.

Unlike hard Euroscepticism, soft Euroscepticism does not utterly reject European integration in its criticisms against it (Aras 2014). Therefore the discourses that do not advocate withdrawal from membership while also being critical of the negotiation process are considered as indicators of soft Euroscepticism.

The analysis found that all TTs exhibited discourses which do not support the termination of the negotiations but point out to the existing problems of the negotiation process. At this point, it is seen that AVIM and INSAMER criticize the negotiation process on the grounds of varying reasons.

The main discourse concerning the EU in this respect is that, unlike the policies which the EU implements towards other candidate countries, its policy towards Turkey’s accession to the EU is biased:

“The EU has just damaged its relations with Turkey because of its biased and opposing attitudes towards Turkey’s accession to the EU. However, the commercial relations between Turkey and the EU have progressed to a certain point. There are certain responsibilities which should be satisfied by the two parties; however, it is obvious that there is an issue of bias against Turkey which the EU needs to overcome. Kati Piri, the EU Reporter on Turkey, has expressed a few times that the EU was not being fair towards Turkey.”¹¹ (In-depth Interview, AVIM, June 10, 2019).

These criticisms refer to the attitude of the EU towards Turkey as the reason why the negotiation process has stumbled. The statements encountered in the relevant analysis such as “it is obvious that the EU forgets about its obligations towards

¹¹The original Turkish quotation is “AB Türkiye’ye önyargılı yaklaşarak ve Türkiye’nin AB üyeliğine karşı çıkarak Türkiye ile ilişkilerine yalnızca darbe vurmuş olur. Ancak ticari ilişkilerde Türkiye –AB ilişkileri belli bir noktaya taşınmıştır. Her iki tarafın da yerine getirmesi gereken sorumluluklar vardır ama AB’nin Türkiye’ye yönelik yıkması gereken bir önyargı sorunu olduğu açıktır. Keza AB Türkiye raportörü Kati Piri Türkiye’ye karşı dürüst olmadıklarını birkaç kez dile getirmiştir.”

Turkey while busy with mentioning solely Turkey’s obligations” (In-depth Interview, AVIM, June 10, 2019) and “the discriminatory approach of the EU has been officially confirmed in the case of Turkey” (Kılıç 2018) can be considered as soft Eurosceptic discourses. In other similar statements pointing out to the promises that were not fulfilled by the EU in the case of Turkey’s accession, the soft Eurosceptic discourses are expressed as follows:

“Considering all these obstacles created against Turkey in the process of its full-accession to the Union, it can be claimed that the EU was not loyal to the commitments it made for Turkey. Under the light of the above-mentioned facts, it is not surprising at all for the Turkish public to detach from an inconsistent and discriminatory community that has double standards within itself.” ¹² (Elbir 2018a).

In the quotation above, the fact that the EU follows a discriminative policy against Turkey is underlined. These statements, therefore, maintain that, unlike its attitudes towards other countries, the EU has been implementing a discriminatory policy towards Turkey. This perspective claims that the EU will not follow a fair policy in the case of the negotiation process with Turkey even though Turkey fulfils all of its responsibilities. In parallel to Elbir’s claims, Teoman Tulun (Analyst, AVIM) states that although “Turkey is highly qualified in democracy both in legal and traditional terms, the EU does not make a fair assessment of Turkey’s democracy” (Tulun 2019a). Especially the reluctance of the EU to set a definite date for Turkey’s accession to the Union and the infeasibility of accession without first resolving the existing problem in Cyprus are considered as the indications of the double standards which the Union applies over Turkey (Elbir 2018a). It is also underlined that these policies encountered in the negotiation process with Turkey are conveyed through an insulting, biased and inconsistent attitude towards Turkey.

For instance, Tulun gives the example of the European Parliament’s decision which recommended the suspension of negotiations with Turkey. According to Tulun, the decision is “a clear indication of the discriminatory and biased attitude of the EU over Turkey” and of “the frustration created among the Turkish people and therefore their being distanced from the EU” (Tulun 2019a). Especially the reluctance of the EU to set a definite date for Turkey’s accession to the Union and the infeasibility of

¹²The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye’nin AB tam üyeliği konusunda önüne çıkarılan tüm bu engeller göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, AB’nin Türkiye’ye taahhütlerine sadık olduğunu söylemek mümkün değildir. Yukarıdaki hususlar ışığında Türk kamuoyu, kendi içinde tutarlı olmayan, kendisini duvarlar içine kapayan, Avrupa içinde tek taraflı ayrımcılık yapan bir topluluktan kopmalar olmasını pek de şaşırtıcı bulmamaktadır.”

accession without first resolving the existing problem in Cyprus are considered as the indications of the double standards which the Union applies over Turkey (Elbir 2018a). It is also underlined that these policies encountered in the negotiation process with Turkey are conveyed through an insulting, biased and inconsistent attitude towards Turkey:

“Countries have feelings too. Countries should not be insulted either. Europe has often insulted some countries, particularly third world countries. The EU authorities and EU members should not cross the line to an extent where a country or a candidate country is exposed to their top-down discourses. There is such a risk. The countries facing insults go into turmoil.” ¹³(In-depth Interview, INSAMER, May 22, 2019).

Here the EU is criticized for trying to reform Turkey, in a top-down fashion and using insulting discourses. Such criticisms targeting the EU claim that the negotiation process and the relations have stopped functioning and no longer progress because of the EU itself.

As already noted, the membership discourses of all of the think tanks have a common point of view that “supports the EU membership” though they have discourses that criticize the negotiation process. For these discourses that support the EU membership, a separate chapter under the heading of supportive discourses will be included.

Moreover, the fact that think tanks’ discourses in the analysis are the pessimistic opinions about the future of the negotiation process is detected. The discourse analysis detected pessimistic discourses in all of the think tanks with respect to the future of for EU membership:

“I am not of the opinion that the EU-Turkey relations will turn out to progress surprisingly well. The EU will oppose Turkey’s accession to the Union for another long term during which Turkey will resist and sometimes pretend to say its final words or some other times the EU will be deemed as the inevitable; however, it is not really possible to say

¹³The original Turkish quotation is “Ülkelerin de duyguları var. Bir ülkeyi aşağılamamak gerekir. Avrupa bunu çok yaptı özellikle 3. Dünya ülkelerine. AB yetkililerinin, AB üyelerinin haddini asıp bir başka üyeye ya da aday ülkeye karşı yukarıdan aşağı söylem üretmemesi gerekir, aşağılamaması lazım. Böyle bir risk var. Aşağılanma ile karşı karşıya kalan ülke turmoil olur.”

“Turkey’s EU membership is on the horizon”.¹⁴ (In-depth Interview, AVIM, June 10, 2019)

“There is almost a dozen problems that need to be resolved between Turkey and the EU. But the critically important one is the negotiations. The negotiation process that started in 2005 has actually stopped working. Despite a negotiation process of 13 years, there seems to be no light at the end of the tunnel, it has yet to appear.”¹⁵ (Ülger 2019).

AVIM and BILGESAM exhibit a relatively more pessimistic attitude compared to other think tanks. They especially point out that the steps that should have been taken bilaterally have not been taken and that there is not any solution-oriented approaches for the process. Compared to AVIM and BILGESAM, the discourses of SETA and INSAMER claim that the negotiation process will be revitalized only upon some global changes in the long term, not necessarily in the short term:

“The actors and dynamics should change. There is a need for a crisis that will connect the two parties with one another. Crises allow the two parties to get closer. There should be a macro drift. Once an international crisis happens, a re-deal would then be feasible.”¹⁶ (In-depth Interview, INSAMER, May 22, 2019).

“There might be huge global changes tomorrow, for example, China gets so strong. In response to this change, the Western block might need to join their forces together. Turkey’s membership could then be brought up again on the agenda and its membership could be inevitable for the EU in military and economic terms. We should therefore address it with long-

¹⁴The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye – AB ilişkilerinde çok şaşırtıcı gelişmeler yaşanacağı kanaatinde değilim. Uzun bir süre daha AB, Türkiye’nin üyeliğine karşı çıkacak, Türkiye direnecek, bazen Türkiye de rest çekecek, bazen AB olmadan olmaz denilecek ama “ufukta Türkiye’nin AB üyeliği var” demek çok da mümkün görünmemektedir.”

¹⁵The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye ile AB arasında çözüm bekleyen bir düzineye yakın sorun var. Ama hayati ehemmiyet taşıyan husus müzakereler. Gerçekten de 2005 yılında başlayan müzakere süreci fiilen tıkanmış durumda. Üzerinden 13 yıl geçmiş olmasına rağmen tünelin ucunda bir aydınlık yok, ışık hâlâ gözükmüş değil.

¹⁶The original Turkish quotation is “Aktörlerin, dinamiklerin değişmesi lazım. Her iki tarafı birbirine bağlayacak kriz lazım. Krizler iki tarafı yakınlaştırır. Makro bir savrulma olmalı. Ne zamanki bir uluslararası kriz olur o zaman kartlar yeniden dağıtılır.”

term considerations. Tomorrow, we might see greater dramatic changes and, all of a sudden, Turkey and the EU may get closer and all of the processes accelerate.”¹⁷ (In-depth interview, SETA, May 30, 2019).

These think tanks’ discourses maintain that substantial global change needs to occur during the negotiation process for the two parties to come closer and for the negotiations to be resumed on a more objective ground. These two think tanks maintain that otherwise the relations do not harbor any possibility to improve in the short term. IKV and TEPAV highlight particularly the importance of Turkey’s role in managing the negotiation process in a more positive setting and claim that the process might improve only with the constructive steps to be taken by Turkey with a commitment to the process:

“The relations do not seem to overcome the odds. There are, on the other hand, mutual needs. It is not reasonable to leave these mutual needs unfulfilled. They need to be addressed to an extent. The two parties should gather to do something and sort out a plan to make an agreement based on their mutual interests. At this point, either Turkey will take a step towards the EU or the EU will need to loosen its criteria for Turkey.”¹⁸ (In-depth interview, IKV, June 13, 2019).

“I do not project any short-term changes. There is one single requirement for the relations to progress positively; Turkey should make progress in democracy, rule of law, and fundamental rights. The presidential system in the case of Turkey needs changes. The lack of surveillance mechanisms in this system in Turkey is completely against EU principles. Turkey should be the one to take the first step for a solution.”¹⁹ (In-depth

¹⁷The original Turkish quotation is “Yarın küresel ölçekte dengeler çok değişir, örneğin Çin çok güçlenir. Bunun karşısında batı bloğu tekrardan safları sıklaştırmak zorunda kalır. O zaman Türkiye’nin üyeliği tekrar gündeme gelir ve AB açısından mecburi olur, askerî, ekonomik açıdan. Dolayısıyla uzun vadede düşünmek lazım. Yarın daha büyük dramatik gelişmeler olur bir anda Türkiye ve Avrupa Birliği çok yaklaşır, bütün süreçler hızlanır.”

¹⁸The original Turkish quotation is “İlişkiler çok düzlüğe çıkacak gibi gözüküyor. Ama öte yandan da karşılık ihtiyaçlar var. İlişkileri bu durumda bırakmak mantıklı değil, bir şekilde ele almak gerekiyor. İki tarafın bir araya gelip bir şey yapması gerekecek, bir plan üzerinde karşılıklı çıkar ekseninde yeni bir anlaşma. Burada da Türkiye’nin ya adım atması gerekecek ya da AB’nin Türkiye’ye yönelik daha kriterlerini gevşetmesi gerekecek.”

¹⁹The original Turkish quotation is “Kısa vadede hiçbir değişiklik öngörmüyorum. İlişkilerin olumlu seyretmesinin de tek bir koşulu var; Türkiye’de demokrasi, hukukun üstünlüğü ve temel haklar konusunda ilerleme olması. Türkiye’ye özgü başkanlık yönetiminde değişiklik gerekiyor. Şu an da hiçbir denetleme mekanizmasında olmaması, AB ilkelerine tamamen ters. Çözümü Türkiye’nin başlatması gerekir”.

interview, TEPAV, June 20, 2019).

As it can be comprehended from the above excerpts, in all think tanks have produced critical discourses on the negotiation process. This discourse maintains a strong argument pointing out to the EU's discriminatory and biased policy towards Turkey throughout the negotiation process. Think tanks' have claimed that Turkey's accession to the EU will not be realized in the near future.

5.2.1 Critical Discourses Against EU Policies

Another indicator of soft Euroscepticism based on the chosen typology, is the existence of critical discourses directed towards EU policies. As a result of the analysis, the existence of Eurosceptic discourses were identified in all the selected think tanks originating from various topics related to the EU and Europe. While some of these discourses are commonly existent in many think tanks, criticisms regarding certain issues are determined to exist only in certain think tanks. For instance, different from other think tanks, SETA embraces critical discourses oriented towards the policies of the EU and European countries towards Gulenists, while it is seen that the foundation also has a quite extensive literature on this issue.²⁰ As a result of the analysis, the policy areas predominantly forming Eurosceptic discourses in think tanks are as follows; increasing Islamophobia in Europe, criticisms against certain European Parliament decisions/reports, EU policies regarding the Cyprus issue, policies of the EU and Europe towards terrorist organizations. Discourses on these four issues constitute the main topics of the soft Eurosceptic discourses in the think tanks between 2016 and 2019.

Among these, all four the criticisms oriented towards the EP decisions/reports were seen at SETA, TEPAV, AVIM and IKV.²¹

The first traces of Eurosceptic discourses built by think tanks around the European Parliament can be found in the reactions to the advisory jurisdiction of the EP in 2016 calling for temporary suspension of the negotiations with Turkey as “a natural consequence of populist and extreme right politics” (Bayraklı and Güngörmez 2016)

²⁰See, for instance, the publications written by Kemal İnat on August 1, 2016; Enes Bayraklı, Kemal İNAT, Kazım Keskin, and Zeliha Eliaçık on May 3, 2018

²¹See, for instance, the publications written by Duran (2016) on November 25, 2016; Yalçın (2016) on November 28, 2016; and publications written by AVIM analysts 2017/56 on June 13, 2017.

as well as other discourses referred to as symbolic and political messages (Zeytinoğlu 2016).

Table 5.1 Number of publications that include soft Eurosceptic discourse with regards to EU policies

TTs	Criticisms of the EP	Islamophobia and Populism Criticism	Policies towards Terrorist Organizations	The Cyprus Issue
SETA	8	27	7	2
INSAMER	-	8	-	1
IKV	3	5	1	4
TEPAV	2	-	-	3
BILGESAM	-	2	1	1
AVIM	3	14	-	3
TOTAL	16	56	9	14

Source: Compiled by author

In recent times, however, the EP has been criticized with the claim that it has turned into an institution critical of Turkey with an impact on the tensions in Turkey-EU relations and in slowing down in the reforms in Turkey as well as strengthening populist trends rising in the EU (Şahin 2018).

Similarly, the European Parliament provided a recommendation to the European Commission in 2017 regarding the suspension of the membership negotiations with Turkey which attracted the following response from AVIM:

“It seems that some members of the EP try to damage not only Turkey’s proposition regarding EU membership but also Turkey-EU relations. It is seen that these EP members take decisions based on historical and cultural prejudices instead of looking at the bigger picture. This last move by the European Parliament may generally cause a great damage to EU-Turkey relations. The Parliament’s decision is prominently different from a well-meant critical approach aiming to provide Turkey with recommendations and improve the relations between Turkey and the EU. Including such expressions and additions, the act of the Parliament is

damaging its own plausibility and reputation.”²²(AVIM 2017).

As it can be observed from the citation above, the EP is criticized for not following an objective attitude in Turkey-EU relations. Criticisms of the EP’s attitude towards Turkey has been observed in a continuous manner in think tanks over the years. As a matter of fact, “2018 Turkey Report” which criticised Turkey in terms of rule of law, fundamental rights and freedom of expression, prepared by Kati Piri in March 2019 forms the most up-to-date basis of the think tanks’ criticisms of regarding the EP. For instance, SETA refers to the EP decision in 2019 as “contrary to constructive expectations, [it is] an irrational decision resulting from biased evaluations and directions, which will serve populism and not benefit the EU institutions” (Ayvaz 2019).

As it can fairly be observed, the EP’s decisions regarding Turkey are also tackled by SETA with critical discourses based on populism and Islamophobia. With this aspect, SETA comes to the forefront as a think tank criticizing the EU and Europe based intensively on Islamophobia. The fact that the European Parliament indicated its opposition to Hagia Sophia’s being turned into a mosque is interpreted by AVIM based on Islamophobia the same way as SETA as follows:

“As is known to everyone, Islamophobia, Turcophobia and fanaticism are generally increasing in Europe. In fact, the increase has come to such a level that populist parties have taken their place in 12 European Union governments. Under these circumstances, the European Parliament should have taken a more balanced decision that is not aggravating angers and contributing to improve peace, stability and security in Europe. It seems that it is time for the European Parliament to question itself for its irresponsible act that may play a role in instigating xenophobia, racism and hate crime as well as triggering terrorist attacks.”²³ (Tulun 2019b).

²²The original Turkish quotation is “Öyle görünüyor ki, bazı AP milletvekillerinin tercih ettiği yörünge, sadece Türkiye’nin AB üyelik önerisine değil, genel olarak Türkiye-AB ilişkilerine zarar vermeye çalışmaktır. Bu AP milletvekillerinin, daha büyük resme bakmak yerine, tarihi ve kültürel tarafsızlığa dayalı kararlar aldıkları görülmektedir. Avrupa Parlamentosunun bu son hareketi, genel olarak AB-Türkiye ilişkisine oldukça zarar verebilir. Parlamentonun kararı, Türkiye’ye tavsiyelerde bulunan ve Türkiye ile AB arasındaki ilişkileri geliştirmeyi amaçlayan iyi niyetli eleştirel yaklaşımdan belirgin bir şekilde farklıdır. Bu gibi ifade ve eklemeler içeren Parlamento kararı kendi inandırıcılığını ve saygınlığını azaltmaktadır.”

²³The original Turkish quotation is “Herkesçe bilindiği üzere İslam düşmanlığı, Türk düşmanlığı ve fanatizm Avrupa’da genel olarak artıyor. Aslında, artış öyle bir düzeye geldi ki, popülist partiler 12 Avrupa Birliği hükümetinde yer alıyorlar. Bu koşullar altında, Avrupa Parlamentosu’nun daha dengeli ve kızgınlıkları artırmayan, Avrupa’da barış, istikrar ve güvenlik ortamının daha da geliştirilmesine katkıda bulunan bir karar alması gerekirdi. Avrupa Parlamentosu’nun yabancı düşmanlığını, ırkçılığı ve nefret suçunu körükleyen ve terör saldırısının tetiklenmesinde rol oynayabilecek sorumsuz davranışı için kendisini sorgulamasının zamanı gelmiş görünmektedir.”

“It poses a stance in almost every paragraph clearly showing its biased, discriminative and libellous attitude not only against the government but also Turkish people. The European Parliament has not surprised us with its latest decision. It ignored the decision of the European Court of Justice and continued to show its prejudiced, reckless and biased attitude towards Turkey and the Turks. We will sustain our decisiveness to reveal the truth.”²⁴ (Tulun 2019c).

As it can be understood from the above excerpts, the critical discourses formulated by SETA and AVIM based on EP decisions include references to populism and rising Islamophobia in European politics. Although the relevant EP decision is advisory, it is stated that the decision supports certain populist parties in the EU, while this decision is conspicuously referred to as “biased, populist and political” as well as serving populism in general. In these explanations forming Eurosceptic discourses, it is claimed that populism, far radical right and racism have long been dominant in both Western and global politics (Bayraklı 2019). Criticisms of this Islamophobic attitude of the EP are formed on the basis of not only the decisions regarding Turkey but also EP elections.²⁵ For instance, while the increasing votes of right-wing parties were remarkable in the last EP elections, it was uttered that these parties could act together in certain policies such as xenophobia, refugee crisis and Islamophobia, thus it was argued that the possible unification of right-wing parties against the EU posed a great instability threat against Europe as a whole (İnat 2019).

It needs to be noted that such criticisms of SETA and AVIM towards the EP are in a different form than in TEPAV and IKV. Contrary to the Eurosceptic discourses towards the EP built on the basis of Islamophobia at SETA and AVIM, while the EP decisions are also criticized at TEPAV and IKV, they advocate that more constructive steps should be taken in Turkey in order to prevent such decisions:

“As is often uttered by officials nowadays, if Turkey still sees EU membership as a strategic target, it should thoroughly scrutinize the reports of the European Parliament, which has been growing in weight in the EU decision-making mechanism. Instead of ignoring such reports, it should

²⁴The original Turkish quotation is “Hemen her paragrafında yalnızca hükümete karşı değil, aynı zamanda Türkiye halkına karşı önyargılı, ayrımcı ve tahkir edici tutumunu açıkça gösteren bir duruş ortaya koyuyor. Avrupa Parlamentosu en son kararıyla bizi şaşırtmamıştır. Avrupa Adalet Divanı kararını görmezden gelmiş ve Türkiye’ye ve Türklere karşı önyargılı, pervasızca taraflı tutumunu göstermeye devam etmiştir. Bizler, gerçeklerin ortaya çıkması konusundaki kararlılığımızı koruyacağız.”

²⁵See, for instance, the publications written by Elbir (AVIM) on June 12, 2019 and; Boyraz, Güngörmez, and Kavukçu (SETA) on May 24, 2019.

inform the respective authorities about the deficiencies and mistakes in these reports, and thus Turkey should never give up on dialogue that is necessary for every healthy relationship. By responding to these reports much more objectively and rationally, Turkey can continue this dialogue.”²⁶ (Arısan Eralp 2017a).

“Against these developments, we should not strengthen the hands of the anti-Turkish circles in the EU and continue our EU policy and rapidly put into practice the reforms that will be to the benefit of Turkey.”²⁷ (Zeytinoglu 2019b).

Hence they advocate taking steps to prevent the relevant EP decisions instead of solely criticizing them or declaring them null and void. Hence, contrary to SETA and AVIM, IKV and TEPAV draw attention to the fact that there is a need to regard the EP decisions as an opportunity to revive the relations instead of being contented only with criticism. From this perspective, it would be more correct to utter that their criticisms towards the EP are bidirectional.

Another topic around which Eurosceptic discourses are formed in think tanks concerns Islamophobia and rising populism in Europe. In this thesis, it is determined that such Eurosceptic discourses are predominantly produced at SETA, INSAMER and AVIM (Table 5.1.).

Such Eurosceptic discourses can easily be found in the below expressions:

“The European Union, which has assumed the mission of giving development and civilization lessons, must first change its own mentality. This mentality that is not showing tolerance to foreigners showed itself in Namibia in 1904, in Hitler’s rule and the Srebrenica massacre. The basis of these actions is xenophobia. No matter how calls are made in Europe in order not to experience similar massacres and genocides, xenophobia

²⁶The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye, resmi ağızlardan bu günlerde sık sık dile getirildiği gibi AB üyeliğini hala stratejik bir hedef olarak değerlendiriyorsa, AB’nin karar alma mekanizmasında ağırlığı git gide artan Avrupa Parlamentosu’nun raporlarını yok hükmünde saymak yerine söz konusu raporları ciddi bir incelemeden geçirmeli, raporların eksik ve yanlışlıklarını tespit ederek nedenleri ile birlikte karşı tarafa iletmeli ve böylece sağlıklı her ilişki için gerekli olan diyalogdan vazgeçmemelidir. Türkiye bu rapora çok daha nesnel ve rasyonel bir tepki vererek bu diyalogu devam ettirebilir.”

²⁷The original Turkish quotation is “Bu gelişmelere karşı AB politikamızı devam ettirerek ve Türkiye’nin de yararına olan reformları hızla uygulamaya koyarak, AB içindeki Türkiye karşıtlarının eline koz vermemeliyiz”.

is getting more and more violent in the same Europe every day.”²⁸ (Elbir 2018b).

“At the point reached today, Europe is criticizing other countries in line with its own interests and marginalizing people by discriminating against their religion, language, etc. in contradiction with the basic principles of human rights. The fact that anti-Muslim and anti-refugee demonstrations are increasing year by year, effective solutions are not sought to fight racist and xenophobic attacks and that sufficient conditions are not provided at hospitals including basic health care increase the gravity of the situation.”²⁹(Gökçe 2017).

As it can be observed in the first citation, the EU is criticized for failing to produce an effective policy to prevent xenophobia and is stated to have a xenophobic mentality. In the next citation, on the other hand, it is pointed out that Europe’s increasingly widespread anti-Muslim mindset has gradually spread in all areas. As a result of this mindset, it is also pointed out to the fact that anti-Muslim policies have become widespread in every area:

“Europe regards the existence of Muslims with surprise and often anger, while being disturbed by the idea of living together with Muslims and Europe causes spread of even bigger fear by bringing into the forefront the possible threat for their society’s intelligentsia, authors, artists and women.”³⁰(Elbir 2019b).

These TTs especially emphasize that this hostility has been gradually increasing

²⁸The original Turkish quotation is “Gelişmişlik ve medeniyet dersi vermeyi kendine misyon edinmiş Avrupa Birliği’nin öncelikle kendi kafa yapısında değişiklik yapması gerekmektedir. Yabancılar hoşgörü göstermeyen bu kafa yapısı, 1904’te Namibya’da, Hitler’in iktidarında, Srebrenitsa soykırımında da kendini göstermiştir. Bu eylemlerin temeli yabancı düşmanlığıdır. Avrupa’da benzer katliamların, soykırımların tekrar yaşanmaması için her ne kadar çağrıda bulunulsa da yabancı düşmanlığı yine aynı Avrupa’da her geçen gün daha da fazla şiddetlenmektedir. Durumun endişe verici noktalara vardığı görülmektedir.”

²⁹The original Turkish quotation is “Avrupa bugün geline noktada kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda diğer ülkeleri eleştirmekte, insan haklarının temel prensiplerine aykırı olarak din, dil vb. ayrımlarla insanları ötekileştirmektedir. Müslüman ve mülteci karşıtı gösterilerin yıldan yıla artıyor oluşu, ırkçı ve yabancı düşmanı saldırılara karşı etkin çözüm yolları aranmaması, hapishanelerde temel sağlık hizmetleri de dâhil olmak üzere yeterli koşulların sağlanmaması yaşanan durumun vahametini daha da arttırmaktadır.”

³⁰The original Turkish quotation is “Avrupa, Müslümanların varlığını şaşkınlık ve çoğu zaman öfke ile karşılamakta Müslümanlarla birlikte yaşama düşüncesinden rahatsızlık duymakta, toplumlarında aydın, yazar, sanatçı ve kadınlar için tehdit oluşturabilme ihtimalini öne çıkararak bu düşüncenin daha da korku salmasına neden olmaktadır.”

as the right-wing parties become more effective in politics. According to them, the rise of extreme-right movements strengthened “discriminatory, exclusionary and degrading mentality” (Elbir 2017) while the increasing xenophobia makes this situation even more irreversible (Elbir 2017). Ömer Engin Lütem (Founder and Honorary President of AVIM/Ambassador) underlines that xenophobia and anti-Muslim movements have risen along with the parallel increase in the vote shares of certain nationalist parties in Europe (Lütem 2017), while all these developments constitute a threat that might eliminate all of the achievements of Europe in the last 70 years (Zeytinoglu 2018a). At SETA, where Eurosceptic discourses are intensively produced in this regard, it is particularly attention-grabbing that these criticisms were constantly made between 2016 and 2019. For instance, while these discourses in 2016 referred to the fact that Europe was about to surrender to the extreme right-wing populism wave (Bayraklı 2016b), recent Eurosceptic discourses in the same think tank regarding the increasing effectiveness of right-wing parties in the EU countries are formed as follows:

“Some Western governments that claim to be fair and libertarian must listen to the voice of their Muslim citizens and respect their rights as much as other citizens. The last elections across the EU made it clear that populist and far-right parties have become an established element of the political system.”³¹ (Kavukçu 2019).

In addition, it is also observed that this think tank associates almost every subject with Islamophobia and produces quite dense Eurosceptic discourses in this regard. Similar to SETA, we see the continuity of the critical discourses in this direction in AVIM as well. Eurosceptic discourses of both AVIM and SETA towards Europe and the EU continued to be created intensely on the subject of Islamophobia between 2016 and 2019.³² Furthermore, it is seen that all think tanks except TEPAV have articulated Eurosceptic discourses around this subject.

Another issue addressed in the discourses of think tanks is the Cyprus issue. In this regard, Eurosceptic discourses have been identified in all think tanks, both in

³¹The original Turkish quotation is “Adil ve özgürlükçü olduklarını iddia eden bazı Batılı hükümetlerin Müslüman vatandaşlarının sesine kulak vermesi ve haklarına en az diğer vatandaşlar kadar saygı duyması gerekiyor. AB genelinde gerçekleşen son seçimler, popülist ve aşırı sağ partilerin siyasi sistemin yerleşik bir unsuru haline geldiğini açıkça gösterdi.”

³²See, for instance, publications written by Elbir (AVIM) on December 22, 2017; December 17, 2018; February 26, 2019; March 11, 2019, Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun (AVIM) February 11, 2019, and Bayraklı (SETA) on December 8, 2016; May 7, 2018, and Bakır (SETA) December 2016 and September 8, 2019

their publications and interviews.³³ Nevertheless, Eurosceptic discourses built on the basis of this issue are particularly noteworthy at AVİM, TEPAV and İKV.

They are formed on the basis of the idea that the EU hindered Turkey-EU relations by accepting Cyprus to the union with its border issue and that this is the reason for why the relations are on setback today. In this context, one of the reasons for the criticism of the EU is the allegation that the EU failed to act objectively towards Turkey with regard to the Cyprus issue. In this regard, Sibel Karabel supports this insight by arguing that the EU has not followed an objective policy in the Cyprus issue (In-depth interview, BİLGESAM, June 13, 2019). Consequently, the Cyprus issue has alienated enthusiastic people in Turkey from the negotiation process (In-depth interview, İKV, June 13, 2019) and paved the way for decreased trust in the EU (Arısan Eralp 2017b). Another criticism of the EU regarding the same issue, on the other hand, is built by certain Eurosceptic discourses arguing that the Cyprus issue is put in front of Turkey as an obstacle in the negotiation process:

“They undermined the negotiation process by accepting Southern Cyprus. Therefore, we started the negotiations in 2005, and then they unjustly pressed against Turkey regarding the Cyprus issue, although the Turkish side accepted the solution. I’m making a lot of concessions in Cyprus. So, there is no guarantee as to what I will get for it. Therefore, it is not possible to accept that kind of a negotiation process. I think that point is where the negotiation process is blocked.”³⁴(In-depth interview, SETA, May 30, 2019)

“The acceptance of the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus to the Union although it did not deserve and was not eligible for membership is indicative of the efforts to hinder Turkey.”³⁵ (Kılıç 2018).

³³For instance, publications by Şahin (İKV) in June 2017 and February 2018; Arısan and Eralp (TEPAV) in November 2019; İnat (SETA) on December 12, 2018; Ünalp Çepel (BİLGESAM) in 2017.

³⁴The original Turkish quotation is “Güney Kıbrıs’ı alarak süreci öldürdüler. Dolayısıyla 2005’te müzakerelere başladık akabinde Kıbrıs meselesi üzerinden hemen TR ye haksızca yüklenildi, Türk tarafı çözümü kabul etmiş olmasına rağmen. Kıbrıs’ta bir sürü tavizler vereceğim. Ee, peki bunun karşısında ne alacağım bunun garantisi yok. Dolayısıyla o tarz bir müzakere sürecinin Türkiye’nin kabul etmesi mümkün değil. Müzakere sürecinin tıkanıp yer de orası bence.”

³⁵The original Turkish quotation is “Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi’nin hakketmediği ve Birliğin kendi kurallarına göre dahi ehil olmadığı halde üyeliğe alınması Türkiye’nin önünün kesilmesi çabasının göstergesi olmuştur”

As it can be seen in the above citations, one of the most important problems in the negotiation process is seen as the Cyprus issue. It is often drawn attention to the fact that the policies implemented towards Turkey are not fair. Indeed, these discourses remind us of the Eurosceptic discourses revealed in membership discussions based on the argument that there is a discriminative attitude towards Turkey. This discriminatory aspect of the EU is highlighted when it comes to the Cyprus issue, while certain TTs claim that the EU was not just towards Turkey.

On the other hand, it is also argued by IKV and TEPAV that Turkey would make significant progress towards EU membership process via settling this issue:

“After the Cyprus issue is resolved, the chapters that are under blockage will be automatically opened and a new page will be opened in the accession negotiations process. It will be possible to integrate the dialogue mechanisms in areas of interest such as energy and foreign policy, which are run independently due to the deadlock in the negotiation process.”³⁶ (Zeytinoglu 2017c).

Hence, the resolution of the Cyprus issue by the EU is deemed as an important step for Turkey’s future regarding EU membership. By this way, “the settlement of the Cyprus dispute could help revitalize the stagnant Turkey-EU negotiations” (Arısan and Eralp 2016). In this regard, it is underscored that the necessary step should predominantly be taken by the EU and that there is an urgent need for a more solution-oriented policy generation:

“Considering the fact that 14 of the 35 chapters in accession negotiations had been opened and all of them were temporarily closed in connection with the Cyprus dispute and that Turkey was hindered by an EU Council decision as well as the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus and this situation negatively affects not only Turkey but also the vital interests of the EU such as energy and security, it reveals as an obligation that the EU must revise its position in this regard.”³⁷ (Şahin 2018).

³⁶The original Turkish quotation is “Kıbrıs meselesinin çözümlenmesiyle blokaj altında olan fasıllar otomatikman serbest kalacak, katılım müzakereleri sürecinde yeni bir sayfa açılacaktır. Müzakerelerdeki tıkanıklık nedeniyle enerji ve dış politika gibi müşterek çıkar alanlarında müzakere sürecinden bağımsız şekilde yürütülen diyalog mekanizmalarının da sürece entegre edilmesi mümkün olacaktır.”

³⁷The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye’nin katılım müzakereleri sürecinde 35 fasıldan 14’ünün açılmasının ve tamamının geçici olarak dahi kapatılmasının Kıbrıs meselesiyle bağlantılı olarak AB Konseyi kararı ve GKRY tarafından engellendiği ve bu durumun yalnızca Türkiye’yi değil, AB’nin enerji ve güvenlik gibi hayati çıkarlarını da olumsuz etkilediği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, AB’nin bu konudaki pozisyon-

“There have been serious disagreements between and major mistakes by both sides. With all due respect to its internal solidarity principle, the EU should come up with constructive proposals rather than imposing sanctions on Turkey whose counterproductive nature is obvious.”³⁸ (Arısan Eralp 2019).

It is observed that the Eurosceptic discourses around this topic are shaped on the basis of two important criticisms: the fact that the EU does not treat Turkey fairly and that the union put forward the Cyprus issue as an obstacle in the negotiation process. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that TEPAV and IKV preferred a milder attitude offering solution proposals rather than accusing the EU as done by other think tanks.

Another policy area around which Eurosceptic discourses of think tanks are formulated concern the attitudes of the EU and European states towards terrorist organizations. Eurosceptic discourses around this issue have been identified in BILGE-SAM, IKV and SETA (Table 5.1.).

These discourses are particularly shaped by the argument that Turkey is left alone in its fight against terrorist organizations and that other European actors have been unhelpful in its fight against terrorist organizations. While these criticisms were initially directed against organizations such as PKK/PYD, they started to take shape more intensively towards FETO especially after the coup attempt in Turkey. As a matter of fact, bilateral relations further eroded due to the fact that the persons held responsible for the attempted coup continued their activities in the EU countries and several problems were experienced regarding the extradition of those who are accused. As of this period, the discourses arguing that Turkey is left alone started to take shape in the criticisms of Turkish think tanks of the EU and European states. Eurosceptic discourses based on this issue are particularly observed in SETA. Furthermore, it is determined that SETA is the only think tank that directly and intensely criticizes the EU’s policies towards FETO.

The first of these criticisms is the discourse that Turkey is left alone in its fight after the attempted coup:

“Turkey is alone in its fight against the terrorist organizations that target the country. It is not only alone, but some countries that claim to be

onunu da revize etmesi bir zorunluluk olarak karşımıza çıkıyor.”

³⁸The original text is in English.

our allies side with terrorist organizations. Therefore, Turkey has to take care of itself and undertake policies that will help stand on its own feet despite the West.”³⁹(Bayraklı 2017*a*).

“We are disappointed by the fact that representatives of EU institutions and leaders of the EU member states do not visit Turkey and they do not establish sufficient contact with our President and Prime Minister.”⁴⁰(Zeytinoglu 2016).

From this perspective, both IKV and SETA argue that the European reactions against the coup have been inadequate. It would be fair to claim that SETA’s discourses are shaped in a more strict wording than those of IKV.

Stating that the EU’s response to the July 15 coup attempt was not sufficient, Zeytinoglu, President of IKV, further argues that “the EU leaders were not fully aware of the effects of the coup attempt” (Zeytinoglu 2017*b*). He points out to the fact that a series of measures taken by Turkey after the attempted coup created discomfort in the EU and noted that the EU leaders were critical of Turkey in their discourses.

When it was understood that FETO members fled to Europe after the coup attempt, particularly SETA started to produce critical discourses oriented towards the FETO policies of European states, arguing that PYD, PKK and FETO were not viewed as terrorist organizations by the EU, which overlooked the free movements of these organizations within Europe. Therefore, Eurosceptic discourses produced by SETA on this issue are based on the criticism that the EU is inadequate against terrorist organizations and allows members of terrorist organizations to move freely in EU countries:

“The fact that the EU demanded Turkey to change its counter-terrorism methods and did not initiate an effective struggle against the PKK’s activities in Europe has caused deterioration in the relations. The rela-

³⁹The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye kendisini hedef alan terör örgütlerine karşı olan mücadelesinde yalnızdır. Sadece yalnız da değildir, aynı zamanda müttefikimiz olduğunu iddia eden bazı ülkeler terör örgütlerinin yanında yer almaktadır. Dolayısıyla Türkiye kendi başının çaresine bakacak, ayakları üzerinde duracak politikaları batıya rağmen hayata geçirmek durumundadır.”

⁴⁰The original Turkish quotation is “AB kurum temsilcilerinin ve AB üyesi devlet liderlerinin Türkiye’yi ziyaret etmemesi, Cumhurbaşkanı ve Başbakan ile yeterli teması kuramaları bizleri hayal kırıklığına uğratmıştır.”

tions between the two actors are negatively affected by the fact that the EU countries have granted the right to asylum for the FETO members fleeing abroad after the attempted coup of July 15, the EU countries have supported PYD, the Syrian extension of PKK by not regarding it as a terrorist organization, Turkey is not supported in its demand for a safe zone in Syria, and that Turkey is criticized for its struggle against PKK while attacks of the sympathizers of this terrorist organization in Europe are permitted. As a result of all these developments, Turkey has not received any support from the EU in its fight against the terrorist organization and has felt alone.”⁴¹ (Bayraklı and Güngörmez 2016).

“One of the basic rules of politics can be found in the maxim that goes, “My enemy’s enemy is my friend”. Although this rule is not always applicable as is the case when multiple actors are hostile to each other, many states determine their policies according to this rule. This is exactly the same logic behind the act of certain European states that embraced FETO due to their belief that Turkey’s progress is against their national interests and therefore, bear enmity against Turkey’s elected government overtly or covertly.”⁴² (Bayraklı 2017c).

The critical discourses in the two excerpts above consist of certain themes. The first of these themes is that Europe’s policy towards FETO and PKK is seen as a reason affecting membership. While doing this, Europe is depicted as an actor “shutting eyes to” terrorist organizations in reference to the criticisms of the EU oriented towards Turkey’s human rights violations, while Turkey is defined as an actor left alone in its fight against terrorist organizations, being devoid of any support from Europe. The title of the second excerpt above, “Is Turkey’s Enemy, FETO, a Friend of Europe?” gives a clue regarding the way how SETA reads Europe’s policy toward

⁴¹The original Turkish quotation is “AB’nin Türkiye’nin terörle mücadele yöntemlerini değiştirmesini talep etmesi ve Avrupa’da PKK’nın faaliyetleriyle etkili bir mücadele ortaya koymaması ilişkilerin bozulmasına sebep olmuştur. 15 Temmuz darbe girişiminin ardından yurt dışına kaçan FETÖ üyelerine AB ülkeleri tarafından sığınma hakkı sağlanması, AB ülkelerinin PKK’nın Suriye uzantısı PYD’yi terör örgütü olarak görmeyerek desteklemesi, Türkiye’nin Suriye’de güvenli bölge talebine destek verilmemesi ve PKK ile mücadelesi eleştirilerek Avrupa’daki örgüt sempaticianlarının saldırılarına göz yumulması iki aktör arasındaki ilişkilere olumsuz etki etmiştir. Tüm bu gelişmelerin neticesinde Türkiye terör örgütleriyle mücadelesinde AB’nin desteğini görememiş ve kendini yalnız hissetmiştir.”

⁴²The original Turkish quotation is “Siyasetin en temel kurallarından biri “Düşmanımın düşmanı dostumdur” özdeyişinde ifadesini bulmuştur. Birden çok aktörün birbirine düşmanlık beslediği durumlarda olduğu gibi bu kural her zaman geçerli olmasa da birçok devlet politikasını bu kurala göre belirlemektedir. Türkiye’nin gidişatının milli çıkarlarına aykırı olduğunu düşünen ve bundan dolayı Türkiye’nin seçilmiş iktidarına karşı açıktan ya da örtülü düşmanlık besleyen bazı Avrupa devletlerinin FETÖ’ye kucak açmasının arka planında tam da bu mantık bulunmaktadır.”

FETO. Moreover, the perception of EU policy based on the idea that ‘my enemy’s enemy is my friend’ includes an implication that there is a relationship of animosity between the EU and Turkey.

The policies of the EU regarding other terrorist organizations are also a subject of criticism. It is observed that Eurosceptic discourses in this direction stand out in BILGESAM and again, SETA. The field research conducted in 12 EU member states under the title “Structuring of PKK in Europe” by SETA in March 2019 shows the powerful and extensive structure of the PKK in member states (Bayraklı, Yalçın, and Yeşiltaş 2019). This organization and others are allegedly supported by the EU member states:

“It is not coincidence that the PKK’s activities in Europe are particularly supported by the actors and countries that do not abstain from declaring that they are against Turkey’s EU membership process. In brief, Turkey’s membership process is attempted to be sabotaged by the hands of the PKK despite the fact that the country has been kept waiting at the door of the EU for 50 years and its achievements are trying to be destroyed.”⁴³ (Güngörmez 2016).

Similarly, Zengin from BILGESAM underlines how the European media talks about the members of the organization as “banned Kurdish workers” or “rebel Kurds” as if they are supporting the members of the organization (Zengin 2016b). In addition, Zengin also states that the EU has not shown the expected fair attitude in the negotiation process and claims that what needs to be done is mutual political cooperation in combating terrorism (Zengin 2016a).

As a consequence, critical discourses, which form a pillar of the Eurosceptic discourses produced by think tanks with regard to the EU and Europe, are based on four fundamental criticisms that are elaborated above. As demonstrated by means of exemplary discourses, these four main areas of criticism concern, increasing Islamophobia in Europe, criticisms against certain European Parliament decisions/reports, EU policies regarding the Cyprus issue, policies of the EU and Europe towards terrorist organizations.

Another indicator regarding soft Euroscepticism reveals itself in discourses which

⁴³The original Turkish quotation is “Avrupa’daki PKK faaliyetlerinin özellikle Türkiye’nin AB üyelik sürecine karşı olduğunu beyan etmekten çekinmeyen aktörler ve ülkeler tarafından desteklenmesi bu bakımdan tesadüf değildir. Özetle, 50 yıldır AB kapısında bekletilen Türkiye’nin PKK eliyle üyelik süreci sabote edilmeye ve elde edilen kazanımlar yok edilmeye çalışılmaktadır.”

“defend(ing) national interests of the member or candidate state against the EU”. These Eurosceptic discourses are elaborated below.

5.2.2 National Interest Euroscepticism as a Type of Soft Euroscepticism

As a type of soft Euroscepticism, national interest Euroscepticism generally means defending a country’s national interests in discussions about the EU (Aras 2014). This is a type of Euroscepticism that can be observed both in member states and candidates that are in the process of accession. Since candidate countries have to sacrifice their national interests to some extent for a certain period of time, national-interest Euroscepticism finds a stronger ground particularly among candidate countries than others (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2002*a*). While analyzing soft Euroscepticism in the thesis, interviews were conducted to understand whether such Euroscepticism exists in think tanks where participants were asked the question, “to what extent is the national interest of Turkey important during the accession process?”. Since there is no direct discourse on the importance of national interest in the publications analyzed, in this part quotations from interview answers are stated.

As a result of the answers obtained, Eurosceptic discourses clearly indicating national interest Euroscepticism were found in 3 of the 6 tanks that were interviewed. These think tanks are SETA, AVIM and BILGESAM. Moreover, it is seen that the intensity of discourses defending national interests in these three think tanks has been different from each other, whereas in TEPAV and IKV, not any mention of this type of Euroscepticism has been found in the interviews or in their publications.

Sibel Karabel from BILGESAM underscored national interests by saying, “It is extremely important. When it comes to the institutional functioning of the EU, intergovernmental and transnational organizational schemes come to the forefront. Here, there is an exchange between national interests and the transnational corporate structure” (In-depth interview, BILGESAM, June 13, 2019). Hazel Çağan Erbil from AVIM, on the other hand, replied by saying, “Giving up on national interests is not an option for a state. It is not even disputable”, drawing attention to the importance of national interests (In-depth Interview, AVIM, June 10, 2019). In SETA, similar to AVIM, it is often underlined that national interests are an important factor shaping relations in every topic both in the negotiation process and in general international politics:

“It is entirely dependent on international interests. In other words, international relations are shaped on the basis of national interests. Thus, it is always national interest that defines inter-state relations and leads to war or peace. Therefore, Turkey’s national interest is also at the heart of the EU. Since it was believed that Turkey’s national interest was to enter the EU, Turkish decision-makers initiated this process. When it was thought that this process was to disadvantage of Turkey, the process was slowed down and then accelerated again. Hence, national interest is exactly the focal point.”⁴⁴ (In-depth interview, SETA, May 30, 2019).

As it can be observed in the citation above, it is underlined that policies should be set in the direction of whatever the national interest requires especially in relations with the EU and it is argued that EU policies should be followed on the axis of national interests. Therefore, if national interests require leaving the negotiation process, it is highlighted that this route is also possible (In-depth interview, SETA, May 30, 2019). In the light of the above insights, it would be correct to consider these Eurosceptic discourses of these three think tanks as national interest Euroscepticism. Unlike these think tanks, however, a completely different discourse about national interest has been found in INSAMER. As a matter of fact, while national interests are expressed in the interview with the other three think tanks as “critically important and indispensable,” the discourses of national interests are often used by right populism and are seen as very problematic discourses at INSAMER:

“Member states should partially curb their national interests when it comes to the international level of interests. National interests may seem positive in the short term; however, cooperation will definitely deliver positive results in the long term. The discourse of national interest should not be sacrificed to populism. Neither Turkey nor Hungary, Poland and Italy should do so.”⁴⁵ (In-depth interview, INSAMER, May 22, 2019).

⁴⁴The original Turkish quotation is “Tamamen ulusal çıkara bağlı. Yani uluslararası ilişkiler ulusal çıkarlar temelinde şekillenen ilişkilerdir. Yani devletlerarası ilişkileri belirleyen, devam ettiren, savaş çıkaran barışa yol açan hep ulusal çıkardır. Dolayısıyla AB’nin temelinde de Türkiye’nin ulusal çıkarı vardır. Türkiye’nin ulusal çıkarı AB ye girmek olduğunu düşündüğü için karar alıcılar bu süreci başlatmıştır. Bu süreçinde Türkiye’ye zarar verildiği düşünüldüğü için yavaşlamıştır, tekrar hızlanmıştır. Dolayısıyla ulusal çıkar tam odak noktasındadır.”

⁴⁵The original Turkish quotation is “Üye devletler ulusal çıkarlarını uluslararası çıkarlar nezdinde kısmen törpülemeliler. Kısa vadede ulusal çıkar olumlu görünebilir ancak uzun vadede iş birliği pozitif sonuçlar getirir. Ulusal çıkar söylemini popülizme kurban etmemeli. Türkiye de etmemeli, Macaristan, Polonya ve İtalya da.”

As stated in the excerpt above, INSAMER emphasizes international interests rather than national interests and considers the discourse of national interests to be quite dangerous. At this point, it is argued that cooperation in international relations will deliver more positive results in the long term than prioritizing national interests which are exploited by populist politics.

5.3 Supportive Discourses

Thus far, the discourses of think tanks have been categorized and examined on the basis of Euroscepticism. However, there are also supportive discourses that are detected in the analysis that do not reflect any type of Euroscepticism in think tanks and in many ways express a positive attitude towards the EU and Europe. For instance, it is observed that all of the think tanks support the negotiation process and it is determined that they attribute positive values to the EU and Europe in many respects.

The first type of supportive discourses in the think tanks is the one that supports the continuation of the negotiation process. The second type of the supportive discourses identified in think tanks is the discourse that emphasizes the areas of cooperation between the EU and Turkey and examines bilateral relations from the perspective of rational interests and mutual interdependence. The third type of discourse evaluated in the supportive discourse category consists of discourses that attribute positive values to the EU. The fourth type of discourse that is considered supportive, consists of arguments that define Turkey as part of Europe in many aspects.

All of the think tanks -with no exception- are strongly convinced that the termination of the negotiation process would have negative results both for Turkey and the EU. Despite the criticism targeting the negotiation process in various aspects, the think tanks have emphasized both during the interviews and in their publications that the negotiations should be maintained:

“I do not think that this would be of benefit to Turkey’s interests. The negotiation process should continue. The Europeans do not have the courage to terminate this process either. This thing will continue, this blockage will not cease to exist. Both of the parties are of the opinion

that this would cost them politically and economically. Both of the parties are willing to keep going with this game.”⁴⁶ (In-depth interview, SETA, May 30, 2019).

As already highlighted in the excerpt above, the termination of the negotiation process would cost both Turkey and the EU both economically and politically. This excerpt emphasizes that such a decision would be against Turkey’s interests while also noting that the Europeans are not courageous enough to make such decision, thereby concluding that the termination of the negotiations might affect Europe in a more severe way than it could Turkey.

Along with this opinion claiming that for the most part, Europe would be the one to suffer from the adverse effects of terminating the negotiations, there also exist other opinions maintaining that the termination of the negotiation process would harm Turkey more than the EU:

“Terminating the negotiation process should not be an option. Because the EU process is a motivation and it does not matter whether accessing the Union is achieved or not. What really matters is the platform that you are in rather than the membership itself. The EU is currently producing discourses for the main values of the international system. The discourse of quitting the accession process is to Turkey’s disadvantage. The public opinion should be sought with a referendum if quitting the process is being considered as an option. But I do not think that Turkey would do such a thing.”⁴⁷ (In-depth Interview, INSAMER, May 22, 2019).

The excerpt above underlines that the process of Turkey’s accession to the EU is considered as a motivation and the continuation of the process would be highly beneficial for Turkey. What is particularly emphasized in this respect is the steps to be taken by Turkey. For instance, Çiğdem Nas from IKV claims that terminating

⁴⁶The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye’nin böyle bir şeyden çıkarının olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Müzakerelere süreci devam etmeli. Avrupalıların da böyle bir şey yapmaya cesareti yok zaten. Dolayısıyla bu şey devam edecektir, tıkanmışlık devam edecek. İki taraf da bunu yaptığı takdirde politik, ekonomik bir bedeli olacağını düşünüyor. İki taraf da bu oyunu sürdürme taraftarı.”

⁴⁷The original Turkish quotation is “Süreçten ayrılma gibi bir seçenek düşünülmemeli. Çünkü AB süreci bir motivasyon, üyelik gerçekleşse de gerçekleşmese de önemli değil. Üyelik değil bulunduğunuz platform önemli. AB şu an uluslararası sistemin temel değerlerine söylem üretiyor. Üyelik sürecinden ayrılma söylemi Türkiye’ye kaybettirir. Referandum eğer üyelikten çıkılacaksa sorulmalı halka. Ama Türkiye’nin bunu yapacağını düşünmüyorum.”

the negotiation process would be a mistake: “Let’s not quit it but we should do what is necessary; otherwise, it will have no meaning, and it will just continue as a relationship on paper.” (In-depth interview, IKV, June 13, 2019)

Similarly, Zeytinoglu, Chairman of IKV, highlights that, “when the new Europe emerges, let’s make the necessary preparations to take part in this Europe”, that the “revitalization of the process is also critical for stability and development” (Zeytinoglu 2017a) and that we should “do our homework and accelerate the convergence process with the EU.” can be seen as indicators of membership discourses of IKV towards the EU (Zeytinoglu 2019b).

The continuation of the negotiation process is supported by think tanks on different grounds. For instance, Arisan-Eralp states that membership is for the benefit of Turkey to increase its international prestige and to establish more comfortable relations both in political and economic platforms (In-depth interview, TEPAV, June 20, 2019). According to Arisan-Eralp, the biggest gains of becoming a part of the Union are democracy, human rights, rule of law and reform in terms of fundamental rights (In-depth interview, June 20, 2019). Also, this membership may help this bilateral relation detach itself from the current order and help Turkey gain more respect in the international arena (In-depth interview, June 20, 2019). Similarly, Onuralp Aydın (Researcher, TEPAV) underlines the mutually beneficial relationship between the two actors especially in the fields of economy and energy as well as in the refugee and security issues while also suggesting that the continuation of the relations in a positive environment would benefit the two actors (Aydın 2016). Especially, membership of Turkey to the Union on Turkey’s side would solve such problems as the chronic current account deficit, low internal savings and increased high-tech production (Aydın 2016).

The necessity of continuing the negotiation process to achieve full accession is additionally underlined by IKV:

“Turkey is already a partner of the EU based on the Partnership Act of 1963. The only objective to be achieved by Turkey is full accession from now on. There is no alternate to it. In many issues that the EU needs Turkey ranging from the fight against terrorism to foreign policy, from trade to energy, the ideal partnership can be actualized in full membership perspective. If the perspective of full accession disappears, Turkey would then have a different perspective of and attitude towards

the EU.”⁴⁸ (Zeytinoğlu 2018b).

Similarly, Sibel Karabel emphasizes that the negotiation process should continue with the persistence on full accession and Turkey should keep its membership perspective and should use it as a crucial argument on the negotiation table (In-depth interview, BILGESAM, June 13, 2019). The saying that Erbil indicated during the interview stating ‘no doubt that the membership to the European Union would have countless benefits for Turkey’ is evaluated as supportive discourse.

As mentioned above, the second type of supportive discourse present in think tanks is the discourse that draws attention to the areas of cooperation between the EU and Turkey from the perspective of rational interests and mutual interdependence. As a matter of fact, it is found in this thesis that although there are both hard and soft Eurosceptic discourses in think tanks of Turkey, there are also discourses that advocate continuing the bilateral relations and drawing attention to some areas of cooperation despite all the criticism directed at the EU and Europe. In this context, think tanks produce supportive discourses that advocate mutual cooperation especially in three key areas, namely economy, security and energy.

Out of the 160 publications by think tanks, 77 contain supportive discourses drawing attention to and encouraging cooperation in these areas.

The first area of cooperation that constitutes supportive discourses in think tanks is “security”. Although supportive discourses defending cooperation in the field of security are particularly observed in SETA, IKV and TEPAV (Table 5.3.), security is also portrayed by other think tanks as one of the important areas of cooperation between Turkey and the EU. In these supportive discourses of think tanks, it is noted that cooperation between the EU and Turkey in this field is considered vital for the security of the two actors.

It is possible to utter that the cooperation discourses in this field were produced more intensively between 2016 and 2017 especially depending on the developments in the region. Such discourses in the field of security are formed by noting the importance of cooperation especially in areas affecting the security of the region, such as migration and counter-terrorism:

⁴⁸The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye 1963 Ortaklık Anlaşması esasında zaten AB’nin ortağıdır. Türkiye için bu saatten sonra yegâne hedef tam üyeliktir. Alternatifi yoktur. Terörle mücadeleden, dış politikaya, ticaretten, enerjiye kadar, AB’nin Türkiye’ye ihtiyaç duyduğu birçok konuda en ideal ortaklık tam üyelik perspektifinde gerçekleşebilir. Tam üyelik perspektifi ortadan kalkarsa, Türkiye’nin AB’ye bakışı ve yaklaşımı da farklı olur”.

Table 5.2 Number of publications by think tanks regarding areas of cooperation

TTs	Security	Economy	Energy
SETA	10	9	3
INSAMER	2	2	-
AVİM	3	1	-
BILGESAM	1	-	-
TEPAV	10	8	2
IKV	11	9	6
TOTAL	37	29	11

Source: Compiled by author

“The civil war in Turkey’s southern neighbour Syria, the possibility of chaos spreading to Turkey with terrorist attacks and probable direct impact of this on Europe has increased the mutual need of Europe and Turkey for each other in the field of counter-terrorism.”⁴⁹(Zengin 2016a).

“EU leaders and institutions know that Turkey is indispensable for European security. Europe cannot afford to lose Turkey. Just as the EU process is important for us, it is important for the EU to maintain close cooperation with Turkey. In this respect, it would be in the best interests of both us and our European friends to accelerate our relations with the EU by maintaining the accession framework.”⁵⁰ (Zeytinoğlu 2017a).

As the above excerpts draw attention to, security cooperation between Turkey and the EU is perceived as crucial. It is particularly highlighted that Europe is in a position that it cannot give up on Turkey regarding the area of security and it is

⁴⁹The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye’nin güney komşusu Suriye’de yaşanan iç savaş, terör saldırılarıyla kaostan Türkiye’ye sıçrama ihtimali ve Avrupa’nın doğrudan bundan etkilenmesi Avrupa ile Türkiye’nin birbirine terörle mücadele anlamında ihtiyacı artırılmıştır.”

⁵⁰The original Turkish quotation is “AB liderleri ve kurumları Türkiye’nin Avrupa güvenliği açısından vazgeçilmez konumda olduğunu biliyor. Avrupa Türkiye’yi kaybetmeyi göze alamaz. Bizim için AB süreci nasıl önemliyse, AB için de Türkiye ile yakın iş birliğini korumak önemli. Bu açıdan katılım çerçevesini korumak suretiyle, AB ile ilişkilerimiz hızlandırmak hem bizim hem de Avrupalı dostlarımızın yararına olacaktır.”

expressed that “the dimensions of Turkey’s contribution to the security and stability of the EU are very large” (Zeytinoğlu 2019b). Therefore, the EU is promoted as a partner of Turkey in the field of security. Considering all these mutual needs, urgent issues such as terrorism and the refugee crisis that require security cooperation do not allow the relations between the EU and Turkey to be severed. It is often noted that there is an urging need to establish bilateral cooperation to fight against terrorism and cope with the issue of refugee influx, while specifically underlining that Turkey’s regional security and European security are interconnected:

“Looking at the bilateral relations from the perspective of regional security and fighting with the refugee and/or the migrant crisis, it is clear that closer cooperation is needed between Ankara and Brussels. Similarly, there are opportunities between the two sides in the field of energy.”

⁵¹ (Bayraklı and Güngörmez 2016).

“Given the EU’s counter-terrorism strategy and refugee policies, it is seen that Turkey has a vital role and position. Turkey’s cooperation is of strategic importance both in the prevention of terrorism and the pursuit of terrorists. Turkey’s refusal to cooperate, not showing enough attention would mean opening a large black hole in the EU’s security.”

⁵² (Sak 2017a).

As the above statements demonstrate, supportive discourses generally draw attention with arguments that the EU and Turkey should cooperate in the field of security, while there is a need for improving bilateral relations in this field. Furthermore, Turkey’s strategic importance is highlighted particularly on the basis of the refugee issue and terrorism.

From another perspective, it can be argued that the supportive discourses of think tanks advocating cooperation in the field of security differ from other areas of cooperation at some point. As will be explained later, think tanks shape their discourses regarding cooperation in the fields of economy and energy on the basis of mutual

⁵¹The original Turkish quotation is “İkili ilişkilere bölgesel güvenlik, mülteci ve/veya göçmen sorunu ile mücadele perspektiflerinden bakıldığında ise Ankara-Brüksel arasında daha sıkı bir iş birliğine ihtiyaç duyulduğu açıkça görülmektedir. Benzer şekilde enerji alanında iki taraf arasında fırsatlar bulunmaktadır.”

⁵²The original Turkish quotation is “AB’nin terörle mücadele stratejisi ve mülteci politikaları dikkate alındığında, Türkiye’nin hayati bir rol ve konuma sahip da olduğu görülür. Gerek terörizmin önlenmesi gerek teröristlerin takibi konularında Türkiye’nin iş birliği stratejik öneme sahip. Türkiye’nin iş birliğine yanaşmaması, yeterince ilgi göstermemesi AB güvenliğinde büyük bir kara deliğin açılması demektir.”

benefit and mutual interests between the EU and Turkey. When it comes to cooperation in the field of security, discourses differ slightly from those regarding economy and energy and put Turkey in a more important position. As a matter of fact, think tanks attribute Europe's security to Turkey's security in their discourses, noting Turkey's essential importance for European security.

Another area of cooperation pointed out by think tanks, for which supportive discourses are produced, is the economy.⁵³ The publications examined demonstrated that the most intense supportive discourses were produced in the field of the economy following security and that cooperation in this field was encouraged to a great extent. Except BILGESAM, the economy is observed to come to the foreground as an area of cooperation in the discourses of all the analyzed think tanks. The formulation of supportive discourses on this issue continued uninterruptedly between the years 2016 and 2019. Accordingly, several statements note that Turkey is an important market and route for Europe and Europe is a significant source for the growing Turkish economy (Bayraklı, Güngörmez, and Boyraz 2017).

During data analysis, "mutual interdependence" emerges as another significant area of cooperation. From this perspective, it is clearly understood that economic bonds render these two actors very important for each other regardless of the problems in bilateral relations. The construction of supportive discourses regarding the economy between 2016 and 2019 featured the depiction of the EU and Turkey as two actors economically dependent on each other:

"Although there are various structural and cyclical problems between the two actors, there are many areas and issues where they can implement cooperation mechanisms. It should be noted that the problems between the EU and Turkey are not insoluble. It is essential to make economy the locomotive of the relations between the two actors and resolve the current problems by dialogue based on the principle of mutual interdependence."⁵⁴ (Bayraklı, Güngörmez, and Boyraz 2017).

⁵³See for instance publications written by Sak (TEPAV) on May 30,2016; Özcan (TEPAV) on April 21, 2017; İnat (SETA) on November 23, and November 30, 2016; Bayraklı (SETA) on March 31, 2018; bulletin written by Zeytinoglu (IKV) in May 2017 and in May 2019.

⁵⁴The original Turkish quotation is "İki aktör arasında her ne kadar yapısal ve konjonktürel çeşitli sorunlar bulunsa da iş birliği mekanizmalarını hayata geçirebilecekleri birçok alan ve başlık bulunmaktadır. AB ile Türkiye arasındaki sorunların çözülemeyecek mahiyette olmadığına belirtilmesi gerekmektedir. Özellikle ekonominin iki aktör arasındaki ilişkilerin lokomotifine haline gelmesi ve mevcut sorunların karşılıklı bağımlılık ilkesi ekseninde diyalog kurularak çözülmesi gerekir."

“Turkey and the EU must make extra efforts in order to prevent the recent increasing polarization and tension between Turkey and the EU from spreading to economic relations and harming mutual economic interdependence. It is vital for Turkey and the EU to maintain their relations without interfering in each other’s internal affairs by setting out rational policies focused on interests, not on the axis of subordinate-upper relationship. Within the framework of mutual interdependence, the two parties need to rapidly implement cooperation mechanisms by reducing the conflict areas between them.”⁵⁵ (Bayraklı and Güngörmez 2016).

In both of the excerpts shown above, the economy is regarded as the locomotive of bilateral relations, an area that will connect the two actors and enhance the relations despite existing problems. As it is stated before, the emphasis on “mutual interdependence” by think tanks is especially a common theme when it comes to cooperation in the fields of economy and energy.

As one of the think tanks where Eurosceptic discourses directed towards the EU are intensively produced, SETA stands out with clear discourses advocating that rational policies should be followed in the economic relations with the EU. In this think tank, the EU-Turkey relations are defined as “a marriage of convenience based on economic and geostrategic interests rather than a love marriage” (Bayraklı 2016a) and it is argued that relations should advance on the basis of interests. Indeed, Enes Bayraklı mentioned during the interview that national interests are one of the fundamental factors determining the relations when it comes to the EU membership. Thus, according to this think tank, there is a relationship between the EU and Turkey that will progress to the extent that their interests overlap, rather than a type of relationship this is shaped by organic ties connecting the two actors. When it comes to the economy, it is noted that the continuity of relations is based on the parties’ economic interests.

Within the scope of economic discussions, think tanks mention the contribution of economic investments and developments in the customs union to the Turkish economy:

⁵⁵The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye ile AB arasında son dönemde artan kutuplaşma ve tansiyonun ekonomik ilişkilere sıçramaması ve karşılıklı ekonomik bağımlılığın zarar görmemesi hususunda aktörlerin ekstra bir çaba sarf etmesi gerekmektedir. Türkiye ve AB’nin ast-üst ilişkisi ekseninde değil çıkar odaklı rasyonel politikalar belirleyerek birbirlerinin işlerine karışmadan ilişkilerini sürdürmeleri elzemdir. Karşılıklı bağımlılık ilkesi çerçevesince iki tarafın çatışma alanlarını azaltarak iş birliği mekanizmalarını süratle hayata geçirmesi gerekmektedir.”

“The EU, on the other hand, has definitely been good for Turkey. In 1980, the country’s per capita income was about \$1,500, and increased to \$3,200 in 2002. Now, it has reached \$11,000. This would not have happened if we had not seen with the January 24 Decisions that we could prosper by opening to foreign countries. This would not have happened without the customs union with the EU. We should first put the case back in its place. The EU is very important for Turkey.”⁵⁶ (Sak 2017b).

“For Turkey, which actualizes 50% of its total exports to EU countries, the EU is the most important trade partner. Two of the five products Turkey trades in either comes from EU countries or are sent to EU countries. Moreover, more than 70% of foreign direct investments, which make up a large part of Turkey’s R&D investments, are also provided from EU member countries. In summary, the well-being of Turkey-EU relations determine the continuity of the mutual economic flow as well.”⁵⁷ (Vatandaş 2019).

In the two excerpts above, the EU’s impact on Turkey’s economy is noted by using the topos of numbers. Thereby, the economy takes its place in supportive discourses as a field of cooperation that creates strong ties in the EU-Turkey relations and provides an area of mutual benefit for both Turkey and the EU. In the first excerpt, economic gains brought by the EU process is mentioned, underlining the importance of the EU in Turkey’s economic development. In the second excerpt, as well, it is mentioned that the economy is considered an important factor in determining the direction of bilateral relations by noting the size of investments as well as exports and imports between Turkey and the EU.

Energy, like security and economy, is another area where think tanks envisage co-operation and supportive discourses are produced on this issue (Table 5.3.). The discourses for cooperation in the field of energy are predominantly produced by

⁵⁶The original Turkish quotation is “AB ise, Türkiye’ye kesinlikle iyi geldi. 1980 yılında memleketin kişi başına geliri 1500 dolar civarındaydı, 2002’de 3200 dolara çıktı. Şimdi ise 11 bin dolara ulaştı. 24 Ocak kararları ile dışa açılarak zenginleşebileceğimizi görmemiş olsaydık olmazdı. AB ile Gümrük Birliği olmasa olmazdı. Önce bir vakıayı yerine yerleştirelim. AB, Türkiye için çok önemlidir.”

⁵⁷The original Turkish quotation is “Toplam ihracatının yaklaşık %50’sini AB ülkelerine gerçekleştiren Türkiye için AB, en önemli ticari ortak konumunda yer alıyor. Türkiye’nin ticaretini yaptığı beş üründen ikisi AB ülkelerinden geliyor ya da AB ülkelerine gönderiliyor. Keza, Türkiye’deki AR-GE yatırımlarının büyük bir bölümünü oluşturan doğrudan yabancı yatırımların %70’ten fazlası da AB üyelerinden sağlanıyor. Özetle Türkiye- AB ilişkilerinin sıhhati, karşılıklı ekonomik akışın da selametini belirliyor.”

SETA, TEPAV and IKV.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, supportive discourses advocating cooperation in this field are less intensive than discourses regarding the economy and security. As in other areas of cooperation, the emphasis on “interdependence” also comes to the forefront in the field of energy. Supportive discourses in this field are particularly shaped by the fact that Turkey is in a significant position in terms of Europe’s energy supply and it is clearly underlined that the goals of both actors in this field are common:

“In this context, Turkey and the EU are foreign-dependent in terms of energy supplies and they have common goals in the long term regarding the security of energy supply, diversification of resources and renewable energy.”⁵⁹ (Bayraklı, Güngörmez, and Boyraz 2017).

“The European Union is a formation that we can never neglect as Turkey. We have almost half of our exports to the EU, to which we are a candidate for membership, and it remains an important social and economic model in addition to being an anchor for a governance system and reforms. Similarly, Turkey is an indispensable country and partner for the EU in different and strategic areas such as security, energy supply, migration management and counter-terrorism.”⁶⁰ (IKV 2017).

While it is underlined above that the EU is a “model” for Turkey in many areas, Turkey is also portrayed as an indispensable partner for the EU. Regarding the area of energy, it is explicitly indicated that cooperation in this field is formed within the framework of mutual interests and benefits. Indeed, the discourses in the field of energy are essentially shaped on the basis of energy security. Furthermore, supportive discourses for cooperation in this field consist of highlights that draw attention to the importance of Turkey both in energy transfer and energy security of Europe:

⁵⁸See for instance publications written by Enes Bayraklı and Oğuz Güngörmez (SETA) on December 8, 2016; Nilgün Arısan-Eralp (TEPAV) in 2017 and Onuralp Aydın (TEPAV) in 2016.

⁵⁹The original Turkish quotation is “Bu bağlamda enerji temini konusunda dışa bağımlılığı olan AB ve Türkiye’nin enerji arzının güvenliği, kaynakların çeşitlendirilmesi ve yenilenebilir enerji konularında uzun vadede ortak hedefleri bulunmaktadır.”

⁶⁰The original Turkish quotation is “Avrupa Birliği, Türkiye olarak bizlerin hiçbir zaman ihmal edemeyeceğimiz bir oluşum. İhracatımızın yarıya yakınına yaptığımız, üyeliğine aday olduğumuz AB, bir yönetim sistemi ve reform çıpası olmanın yanında, sosyal ve ekonomik bir model olarak da önemini koruyor. Türkiye de aynı şekilde AB için, güvenlik, enerji tedariki, göç yönetimi, terörle mücadele gibi farklı ve stratejik alanlarda vazgeçilmez bir ülke ve ortak.”

“The failure of energy transfer to Europe continuously via a safe route would bring along many crises. Departing from this point, Turkey is moving rapidly towards becoming a safe transit point or energy transfer hub to ensure Europe’s energy supply with its current position.”⁶¹ (Bayraklı, Güngörmez, and Boyraz 2017).

Similarly, it is mentioned that Turkey is a buffer zone for European energy security (In-depth Interview May 22, 2019). At this point, Turkey’s geostrategic location renders Turkey valuable for Europe in terms of Europe’s energy supply. While it is pointed out that Turkey’s role as a transit and transfer point becomes more permanent and more important for Europe’s energy supply, it is noted cooperation in the field of energy should never be ceased.

Third type of supportive discourse, is one that attributes positive values to the EU and Europe. As a matter of fact, it can be observed that some think tanks construct their supportive discourses in this regard particularly on the basis of the explicit positive values attributed to the EU. In such discourses, the EU is depicted as a guiding light for democracy, human rights and freedom – a guide to be taken as an example:

“It is first useful to remember that values such as democracy, human rights, freedoms, and the rule of law, which we call the EU values, are actually universal values, and that the alternative to these values would be authoritarianism, lawlessness, arbitrariness, oppression and fear. Thus, even if we observe significant deviations from the values in question even in the EU today, this does not change the fact that these values continue to be important and guiding.”⁶² (Nas 2019).

“Taking all criticisms into account, the EU is an example of a political and economic regional integration “based on peace within its borders”.

⁶¹The original Turkish quotation is “Enerjinin güvenli bir rota üzerinden kesintisiz olarak Avrupa’ya ulaştırılamaması birçok krizi beraberinde getirecektir. Bu noktadan hareketle Türkiye bugünkü konumu itibarıyla Avrupa’nın enerji arzının sağlanması için güvenli bir geçit (transit) ya da enerji aktarım merkezi (hub) olma yolunda hızla ilerlemektedir.”

⁶²The original Turkish quotation is “Öncelikle AB değerleri olarak adlandırdığımız demokrasi, insan hakları, özgürlükler, hukukun üstünlüğü gibi değerlerin aslında evrensel değerler olduğu ve bu değerlerin alternatifi otoriterlik, hukuksuzluk, keyfîlik, baskı ve korku olacağını hatırlamakta yarar var. Yani bugün AB içinde dahi söz konusu değerlerden önemli sapmalar gözlemliyoruz olsak da bu değerlerin bizatihi önemli ve yol gösterici olmaya devam ettiği gerçeğini değiştirmiyor.”

In another dimension, the EU is actually a whole of norms.”⁶³ (Vatandaş 2018).

The two excerpts above define the EU as an exemplary integration model in terms of values such as democracy, human rights, freedoms, the rule of law, and as a platform that allows expression of fundamental values such as peace, freedom, democracy and human rights (In-depth Interview, INSAMER, May 22, 2019). In light of this insight, although there are occasional deviations from these values, it is noted that these values constitute a guiding light. In the same vein, Arisan-Eralp from TEPAV argues that the biggest gain of Turkey from becoming a part of the Union would be human rights, the rule of law and reforms in terms of fundamental rights (In-depth interview, TEPAV, June 20, 2019). As a matter of fact, the EU is an entity that sets norms also for Turkey thanks to these values that it is endowed with.

Similarly, Selim Vatandaş from INSAMER described the EU as a “driving force”, “motivation” and “opportunity” for Turkey during the interview (In-depth Interview May 22, 2019) and continued his supportive discourse which drew attention to the importance of the EU to Turkey as follows:

“[...] The EU is a driving force for Turkey. At the same time, it is the declaration of unity. It is the platform for peace, freedom and human rights. If you are a candidate or even a member of this platform, you produce the same discourses that are at the center of the international system, and you are now one of the actors in the center. You can say I am here too.”⁶⁴ (In-depth Interview May 22, INSAMER, 2019).

As noted above, many positive values are attributed to the EU and supportive discourses are built using positive language instruments. On the one hand, the EU is defined as a driving force for Turkey’s development in many respects, and on the other hand, the importance of EU membership is noted in terms of Turkey’s entry into the international system. A similar discourse was found at TEPAV during the interview. Referring to the gains to be obtained by Turkey in the international area by EU membership, a representative from TEPAV stated that “membership

⁶³The original Turkish quotation is “AB, tüm eleştirileri de göz önünde bulundurmak kaydıyla, “kendi sınırları içinde barış merkezli”, siyasi ve ekonomik temelli, bölgesel bir bütünleşme örneğidir. AB bir diğer boyutuyla aslında normlar bütünüdür.”

⁶⁴The original Turkish quotation is “[...] AB bir itme Türkiye için. Birlik beyanı aynı zamanda. Barış hürriyet insan hakları platformu. Eğer bu platformun bir adayı iseniz hatta üyesi iseniz siz de uluslararası sistemin merkezinde olduğu söylemleri üretirsiniz siz de artık merkezdeki aktörlerden birisinizdir. Ben de buradayım diyebilirsiniz.”

is beneficial for Turkey to increase its international prestige and to establish better relations both in political and economic platforms, while this membership may also foster this two-sided relation to leave the current situation and help Turkey gain more respect in the international area” (In-depth interview, TEPAV, June 20, 2019).

In similar supportive discourses, the EU’s depiction as an entity setting norms for Turkey is uttered as follows:

“[...] The EU is still the one who sets the norms for Turkey in new fields such as artificial intelligence and internet technologies. While things can get very politicized and emotional on the one hand, we do not have that luxury on the other. It is necessary to follow the developments, new laws and new policies within the EU. We follow the EU model even for the plastics issue. The EU values are determining. Although not as much as it used to be, these values have been adopted by Turkish society in some way. Values such as sustainable development, gender equality, etc.”⁶⁵ (In-depth interview, IKV, June 13, 2019).

As the above citation shows, it is underlined that the EU sets norms for Turkey to take as examples in many areas. Noting that the EU values are determining in the simplest to the most complex issue from a broad perspective, these values are encouraged to be followed and practised.

The last type of supportive discourses, on the other hand, consists of the rhetoric that describes Turkey as part of Europe, despite the Eurosceptic discourses directed towards Europe as explained in previous chapters. These supportive discourses indicate that Turkey has similar characteristics with Europe in many respects, such as culture, history and economy, and that Turkey should not be considered separately from Europe:

“There is a geographical affinity between Turkey and the EU. In addition, more than fifty per cent of the trade volume is commercially dependent on EU members. It has a historical story for better or for worse. In the field of arts, there was a European effect on artworks, particularly after the 18th century. Even our style of clothing is European. In other words,

⁶⁵The original Turkish quotation is [...] “yeni alanlarda yapay zeka, internet teknolojileri AB, Türkiye için hala bir norm koyucu. Bir yandan işler bir anda çok siyasileşebiliyor duygusal olabiliyor ama öyle bir lüksümüz yok. AB içinde olan biteni yeni yasalar yeni politikaları takip etmek lazım. Plastik konusu bile AB modelini takip ediyoruz. AB değerleri belirleyici. Türkiye de eskisi kadar olmasa da bunlar artık bir şekilde Türkiye toplumuna girdi. Sürdürülebilir kalkınma, cinsiyet eşitliği...gibi.”

we are the same in structural terms. There is a histocompatibility. [...] Turks and Europeans are not culturally different. Iranians and Saudis are of course different from Europeans. But this is not Turkey. Clothing, discourses and stories are similar. There are Western-centered works in theatre and literary noveldom. We are not far away from each other; there may be sways, but these sways are also present in Europe. This does not indicate that there is a break in the long term. You cannot compare the culture of Iran to Europe in the same way that you compare Europe to Turkey within the framework of EU membership.”⁶⁶ (In-depth Interview, INSAMER, May 22, 2019).

In the above excerpt, it is uttered that Turkey has a structural bond with the EU in a wide range of areas from economy to arts and clothing style. While the existing ties of Turkey with European countries in trade are underlined, it is also stated that Europe and Turkey are similar in cultural terms, as well. This discourse found at INSAMER is clearly quite different from the Eurosceptic discourse analyzed in the beginning of the study and found in the same think tank. This hard Eurosceptic discourse was one which criticized Europe about lifestyle and considered it to be in a moral depression. However, the above-cited discourse demonstrates contrarily that Turkey in many ways is “European”.

Similar to INSAMER, it is stated in other think tanks that Turkey has been an integral part of Europe for many years. While these discourses refer to Turkey as part of Europe culturally, economically and socially, it is emphasized that this bond has a very old history:

“In both historical and geographical terms, Turkey has been very close to Europe. It has been close also in economic and cultural perspectives. Thus, Turkey is actually an integral part of Europe looking from the perspective of history and geography.” ⁶⁷ (In-depth interview, SETA, May 30, 2019).

⁶⁶The original Turkish quotation is ‘Türkiye ile AB arasında coğrafi yakınlık var. Ticari olarak da ticaret hacminin yüzde ellisinden fazlası AB üyeleri ile, ticari bağımlılık var. Tarihi olarak iyi kötü bir hikayesi var. Sanatsal olarak da mesela özellikle 18. yüzyıldan sonra eserlerde Avrupa etkisi var. Giyim tarzımız bile Avrupalı. Yani yapısal olarak da benzer. Doku uyumu var. [...] Türkler ve Avrupalılar kültürel olarak farklı değiller. İranlılar ve Avrupalılar, Suudi Arabistan tabi ki farklı. Ama Türkiye dediğinizde bu yok. Giyim, söylem, hikaye benzer. Tiyatroda batı merkezli eserler, edebiyat romancılık. Çok uzak değiliz, savrulmalar olabilir ama bu savrulma Avrupa içinde de var. Uzun vadede kopma olduğunu göstermiyor bu. İran’ın AB üyeliği çerçevesindeki kültür karşılaştırmasını Türkiye için yapamazsınız.”

⁶⁷The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye tarihsel olarak da coğrafi olarak da Avrupa ile çok yakın olan bir ülke, ekonomik açılardan kültürel açılardan. Dolayısıyla aslında Türkiye Avrupa’nın ayrılmaz bir parçası, tarihsel olarak, coğrafi olarak baktığımız zaman.”

“Turkey’s location, which has historical depth with Europe, its close economic relations with European countries and the process of Westernization going back to the Ottoman empire form the necessary basis for the continuation of Turkey-EU relations.”⁶⁸ (Nas 2016a).

The two citations above highlight the similarities between Turkey and Europe. These statements particularly emphasize the historical depth of Turkey’s connection to Europe. In this respect, Turkey does not only have similarities with Europe emerging in recent years, but also a history with deeper roots.

In the first excerpt given above, SETA – the think tank that produced the most intensive Eurosceptic discourses against Europe as elaborated in the first chapter of the study (Table 5.1.) – this time defines Turkey as an integral part of Europe with deep historical, geographical, economic and interestingly cultural bonds as opposed to the hard and soft Eurosceptic discourses scrutinized before. In this vein, it would be fair to utter that the two different depictions of Europe at INSAMER are also present at SETA.

As seen in this chapter, the selected think tanks have both soft and hard Eurosceptic discourses in addition to supportive discourses directed towards the EU and Europe on certain issues. These supportive discourses consist of phrases that are literally the opposite of Eurosceptic and particularly hard Eurosceptic discourses. The excerpts above show the presence of supportive discourses of think tanks in certain areas, even if they sometimes produce Eurosceptic discourses.

⁶⁸The original Turkish quotation is “Türkiye’nin Avrupa’da tarihi derinliği olan konumu, Avrupa ülkeleriyle yakın ekonomik ilişkileri ve Osmanlı’ya kadar geri giden Batılılaşma süreci, Türkiye-AB ilişkilerinin devamı için uygun zemini oluşturuyor.”

6. CONCLUSION

Even though the term Euroscepticism has been around for a long time, it has recently become a popular topic often discussed both in member and candidate countries due to the recent problems within the EU. This term has been particularly analyzed both at the public opinion and political parties' level in Turkey, whose negotiation process with the Union has been going on for over a decade. This thesis aimed at thoroughly comprehending Euroscepticism in Turkish think tanks, whose attitudes towards the Union are not well-known as they are often not studied.

The main motivation of this thesis study was to explore the attitudes of think tanks towards the EU due to the aforementioned gap and analyze the concept of Euroscepticism, which has recently been more popular and visible, on the basis of these actors. Addressing the negotiation process, the EU-Turkey relations and current problems in Europe, what were the attitudes of these think tanks towards the EU? What arguments did they use to form their supportive and Eurosceptic discourses towards the EU? Departing from these questions, this study aimed to understand the attitudes of think tanks on the basis of Euroscepticism.

Taggart and Szczerbiak typology, which constitutes one of the most basic sources in the literature on Euroscepticism, were used in the study to achieve this purpose. As a result of the analysis of 160 publications of the six selected think tanks regarding Europe and the EU between 2016 and 2019 – analyses and e-bulletins– and six in-depth interviews with representatives from these think tanks conducted in May 2019-June 2019, their main discourses about Europe and the EU were identified. These discourses were evaluated according to the chosen typology as to whether they are Eurosceptic or supportive. Three types of discourse were created on the basis of the typology: Hard Eurosceptic/ Soft Eurosceptic and Supportive Discourses, which were found to exist in the analysed think tanks.

Initially, traces of hard Euroscepticism were sought in think tank discourses. As a result of this analysis, it was observed that intensive hard Eurosceptic discourses were present at SETA, INSAMER, AVIM and BILGESAM. These Eurosceptic dis-

courses consist of statements that attributed negative values to Europe rather than discourses advocating the end of the negotiation process or rejecting EU membership as implications of hard Euroscepticism. The first type of these hard Eurosceptic discourses have argued that Europe is Islamophobic and discriminatory actor. These statements have referred to increasing violence against Muslims in Europe and rising votes of right-wing parties.

The second type of hard Eurosceptic discourses identified in think tanks consists of statements where the West is described as an actor who is socially and morally troubled, worsening and depressed. By attributing negative values to Europe, these discourses describe the West as a community that does not include Turkey as well as an increasingly corrupt community in terms of the values it contains. This hard Eurosceptic discourse was only detected in INSAMER during analysis.

Secondly, soft Eurosceptic discourses have been detected in think tanks in the form of criticism against the process of Turkey's negotiations with the EU, criticisms regarding the EU policies and defending the Turkish national interests against the EU. It was found that not all think tanks oppose EU membership, but that a pessimistic view of the negotiation process persists. There is also criticism in think tanks that the EU is implementing a discriminatory and biased policy towards Turkey in the negotiation process. Other areas around which soft Eurosceptic arguments were articulated critical discourses directed towards certain EU policies are Islamophobia in Europe, European Parliament decisions, EU policies regarding the Cyprus issue and the policies of the EU and Europe towards terrorist organizations. It was seen that, all think- tanks produced Eurosceptic discourses regarding the Cyprus issue.

Besides, soft Eurosceptic discourses advocating national interests were also found in certain think tanks. These discourses were specifically observed in SETA, AVİM and BILGESAM. These think tanks argue that national interests are the primary interests in the negotiation process and that policies towards the EU should take them primarily into account.

Unlike these Eurosceptic statements, the third type of discourse which was identified was supportive discourses that attribute positive values on Europe and draw attention to areas of mutual cooperation.

The first type of the supportive discourses identified in think tanks was the one that reinforces the continuation of the negotiation process. These supportive discourses are evident in every think tank.

The second type of supportive discourses emphasize the areas of cooperation between

Table 6.1 Discourses that are identified during the analysis

DISCOURSES	SETA	INSAMER	IKV	TEPAV	AVIM	BILGESAM
HARD EU-ROSCEPTIC DISCOURSES						
Islamophobic and discriminatory Europe	✓	✓			✓	✓
West is an actor that has social and moral issues		✓				
SOFT EU-ROSCEPTIC DISCOURSES						
Criticism regarding the negotiation process		✓			✓	
Pessimistic about the future of the negotiation process	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Islamophobia and populism criticism	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Criticisms of the EP	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Criticism of the EU's policy towards terrorist organizations	✓		✓			✓
Criticisms of EU's policy of Cyprus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
National-interest Euroscepticism	✓				✓	✓
SUPPORTIVE DISCOURSES	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Source: Compiled by author

the EU and Turkey and prioritizes the mutual interdependence in these areas. These discourses mainly consist of encouraging cooperation in the fields of economy, energy and security. The area for which cooperation is most intensely recommended is security across all of the think tanks under analysis. The third type of the supportive discourses uttered by think tanks is the one that defines Turkey as part of Europe in cultural, political, geographical and historical respects, in contrast to the hard Eurosceptic rhetoric towards Europe. According to this discourse, Turkey is an indispensable part of Europe by the nature of its ties. A fourth supportive discourse type identified in the think tanks, on the other hand, consists of several utterances that attribute positive values to the EU and describes it as “normative” and “an exemplary guide.”

In line with the analysis conducted, it can be seen that a think tank in Turkey can produce both Eurosceptic discourses and supportive discourses. For instance, while a think tank has a highly supportive discourse on the membership when it comes to the Cyprus problem, it can produce Eurosceptic discourse. INSAMER and SETA can be given as examples for this.

The second point that distracts attention is that especially Eurosceptic discourses are shaped differently by each think tank. For instance, SETA, AVİM, TEPAV and İKV produced soft Eurosceptic discourses that criticize European Parliament. However, while these discourses were formed in a more constructive way in TEPAV and İKV, the criticisms of SETA and AVİM have been harsher. Likewise, AVİM considers Cyprus problem as a political obstacle to prevent Turkey from becoming a member state, TEPAV and İKV also criticize this problem, however, they also consider this as an opportunity to revive the relations and they produce a more constructive opinion.

Another point that attracts attention in the analysis is that domestic political tensions and domestic political debates shape the discourses of Turkish think tanks. Especially, SETA's discourses and publications are in line with the agenda of the current government and it is in a position closer to the government.

Since the boundaries of soft Euroscepticism are vague, it is difficult to distinguish to some discourses depending on whether they are hard or soft Euroscepticism. Especially, the criticism towards Europe regarding Islamophobia exist with both hard and soft Eurosceptic discourses. Therefore, taking the typology as the reference point, while criticism towards this topic is considered soft Eurosceptic, discourses which attribute negative values to Europe and the EU are considered hard Eurosceptic. Likewise, even though discourses that suggest the EU is discriminatory and prejudiced against Turkey exist within the criticisms towards the negotiation process

since all think tanks support membership, these discourses were acknowledged as criticisms against the negotiation process and evaluated under the soft Eurosceptic discourses heading instead of hard Eurosceptic discourses.

TTs don't have a difference of opinion when it comes to the continuation of the negotiations. All the TTs that are included in this thesis support the continuation of the negotiations. However, each think tank has pessimistic expectations when it comes to the future of negotiations.

It was also seen that Euroscepticism in Turkey is somehow similar to Euroscepticism in other countries and it is noteworthy that the sense of unfairness, feeling of injustice is at the forefront regarding especially among the elite.

Analyzing a limited number of think tanks, this study should be considered as a starting point in understanding Euroscepticism from a different perspective. In this regard, this thesis was designed to investigate the ways in which think tanks shape their discourses towards the EU and Europe on the basis of Euroscepticism as well as their reasons. Thus, the aim of the study was to understand the attitudes of these organizations towards the EU by examining whether they are Eurosceptic or supportive by means of the discourses they produce, rather than describing think tanks only as hard/soft Eurosceptic.

Although other think tanks from both sides should also be analyzed in order to grasp a more in-depth and comprehensive understanding, I sincerely hope that this study will be a starting point and will contribute to the literature.

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APPENDIX A

Questions to Participants of TTs

- How do you explain the activities of the institution which you are the representative of?
- What kind of advantages and disadvantages do you think of becoming a full member of the EU for Turkey?
- What kind of strategy does your institution support for Turkey to follow towards membership to the EU? In that regard, would you consider the attitude of your institution towards the EU as completely opposed to the Union or would you consider the attitude of your institution as accepting the values of the Union but conditional opponent towards membership?
- Do you think that options such as breaking away from the membership process to the EU or taking the process to the referendum should be considered?
- To what extent do you think the national interests are important in the process of membership to the EU?
- Turkey has taken significant steps with the reforms that accepted between 2002 and 2005 in order to become a member of the Union. Now the same government draws a great attention by receding policies from the EU and discourses. How do you evaluate this policy shift of Turkey? Do you think that the EU has been making up excuses not to accept Turkey to the Union?
- Do you agree with the statement suggesting “The only reason why they do not accept Turkey is because we are Muslims” made by the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in February? Do you think that cultural, religious or political reasons affect the membership process?
- In the past couple of months, the European Parliament accepted the proposal of suspending the relations with Turkey. In the light of these improvements, do you consider that the EU has decided objectively and away from the politics?

- What are your insights on the future of the relations between Turkey and the EU?
- Is there anything else that you wish to add?

APPENDIX B

List of Participants

Think Tank	Participant
SETA	Enes Bayraklı
INSAMER	Selim Vatandaş
AVİM	Hazel Çağan Elbir
TEPAV	Nilgün Arısan Eralp
IKV	Çiğdem Nas
BILGESAM	Sibel Karabel

APPENDIX C

List of Publications | SETA

- **Publication Date | Publication Title | Author**
- 02.07.2016 | Avrupa'nın Çivisi Çıkmak Üzere | Enes Bayraklı
- 26.07.2016 | Darbe Karşısında Batı'nın İslamofobik Tutumu | Enes Bayraklı
- 01.08.2016 | FETÖ, Darbe ve Avrupa | Kemal İnat
- 01.10.2016 | Ne Vereyim "AB"ime | Enes Bayraklı
- 02.10.2016 | Avusturya'nın Türkofobik Politikaları Kazım Keskin
- 09.11.2016 | İlerleme Raporu ve Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri | Hacı M. Boyraz
- 19.11.2016 | Avrupa İle Nereye? | Burhanettin Duran
- 23.11.2016 | Avrupa Türkiye'yi Kayıp mı Ediyor? | Kemal İnat
- 25.11.2016 | AB'nin "İyi" Teröristleri | Oğuz Güngörmez
- 25.11.2016 | Avrupa Parlamentosunun Anlayamadığı | Burhanettin Duran
- 28.11.2016 | Yetkisiz ve Sorumsuz Avrupa Parlamentosu | Hasan B. Yalçın
- 30.11.2016 | AB ile Nasıl Yola Devam Etmeli? | Kemal İnat
- 02.12.2016 | Avusturya Seçimleri ve Avrupa'da Aşırı Sağın Domino Etkisi | Kazım Keskin
- 08.12.2016 | Avrupa Parlamentosu'nun Kararı ve Türkiye-AB İlişkilerinin Geleceği | Enes Bayraklı & Oğuz Güngörmez
- 08.12.2016 | Fransa'da İslamofobik Saldırıları 2015 Yılında Yüzde 500 Arttı | Enes Bayraklı
- 10.12.2016 | Avrupa'yı Dolaşan Faşizm Hayaleti | Enes Bayraklı
- 13.12.2016 | Terör ve Batı'nın Çifte İflası | Burhanettin Duran
- 03.03.2017 | Hollanda Parlamento Seçimleri ve Aşırı Sağın Yükselişi | Enes Bayraklı&Oğuz Güngörmez

- 13.03.2017 | Yeni Avrupa Faşizmi | Fahrettin Altun
- 18.03.2017 | Avrupa'nın Çok Boyutlu Krizleri | Nebi Miş
- 22.03.2017 | Batı'da Artan İslamofobi Karşısında Orta Doğu'nun Hâli | Kemal İnat
- 24.03.2017 | Avrupa'nın İlk Ödevi Yüzleşmek | İsmail Çağlar
- 03.04.2017 | 2016 Avrupa İslamofobi Raporu: Hollanda'da İslamofobi | Ineke Van Der Valk
- 03.04.2017 | İslamofobi: AB'nin Yeni Kriteri | Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez
- 19.04.2017 | Avrupa'nın Tavrı: Durmak Yok, Yıpratmaya Devam | Kemal İnat
- 22.04.2017 | Batı İle Nasıl Bir İlişki? | Kemal İnat
- 06.05.2017 | Türkiye Avrupa'yı İdare Etmeli | Fahrettin Altun
- 29.05.2017 | AB İle İlişkiler Rayına Oturur mu? | Ufuk Ulutaş
- 13.06.2017 | Avrupa Çifte Standartlar Enstitüsü | Enes Bayraklı
- 16.07.2017 | Türkiye'nin Düşmanı FETÖ Avrupa'nın Dostu mu? | Enes Bayraklı
- 04.10.2017 | Avrupa'da Burka, Nikab, Burkini Yasakları ve İslamofobi | Enes Bayraklı
- 19.12.2017 | Analiz: Türkiye-AB İlişkilerini Rasyonelleştirmek | Enes Bayraklı & Hacı Mehmet Boyraz & Oğuz Güngörmez
- 22.12.2017 | AB İle Tıkanan Süreç Nasıl Aşılır? | Enes Bayraklı
- 26.03.2018 | Varna Zirvesi ve Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri | Hacı Mehmet Boyraz
- 31.03.2018 | AB-Türkiye İlişkilerinde Jeopolitik Kaygılara Dönüş | Enes Bayraklı
- 03.04.2018 | İnfografik: Sayılarla Avrupa'da İslamofobi | SETA
- 25.04.2018 | Avrupa Konseyinin Skandal Kararı | Enes Bayraklı
- 03.05.2018 | Almanya'da FETÖ Yapılanması ve Almanya'nın FETÖ Politikası | Enes Bayraklı & Kemal İnat & Kazım Keskin & Zeliha Eliaçık
- 07.05.2018 | Avrupa'nın Yeni Günah Keçisi Müslümanlar | Enes Bayraklı

- 11.06.2018 | Avusturya’da Başörtüsü Yasası | Farıd Hafez
- 06.09.2018 | Avrupa Birliği ve Almanya’nın Türkiye ile Yakınlaşmasının Nedenleri |Enes Bayraklı
- 15.09.2018 | Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği Yakınlaşmasının Nedenleri: Mülteciler |Enes Bayraklı
- 27.11.2018 | Avrupa İstikrarsızlaşıyor | Enes Bayraklı
- 09.12.2018 | Avrupa Çökerken | Hasan Basri Yalçın
- 27.02.2019 Avrupa Birliği’nden Mısır’daki Baskı Rejimine Koşulsuz Destek | İsmail Numan Telci
- 28.02.2019 | Sisi’nin AB’si | Enes Bayraklı
- 16.03.2019 | Avrupa Parlamentosunun Türkiye Kararı | M.Erkut Ayvaz
- 24.05.2019 | Aşırı Sağ ve Brexit’in Gölgesinde 2019 Avrupa Parlamentosu Seçimleri | Furkan Onur Kavukçu&Oğuz Güngörmez&Hacı Mehmet Boyraz
- 01.06.2019 | Açık ve Net Siyaset Talebi: Avrupa Kutuplaşıyor mu? | Zeliha Eliaçık
- 11.06.2019 | Avrupa’da PKK Yapılanması | Enes Bayraklı&Hasan B.Yalçın&Murat Yeşiltaş
- 02.07.2019 | Siyasette Popülizm Dalgası | Enes Bayraklı
- 10.09.2019 | Belçika’da Müslümanlara Okul Yasası | Furkan Onur Kavukçu
- 08.10.2019 | Avusturya’da Değişmeyen Gündem: İslam Karşıtlığı | Kazım Keşkin
- 15.11.2019 | AB’nin Yeni Kör Düğümü: Avrupalı DEAŞ’lılar | Zeliha Eliaçık

APPENDIX D

List of Publications | INSAMER

- **Publication Date | Publication Title | Author**
- 26.01.2016 | Avrupa Ortadoğu'dan ne kadar uzak? | Yusuf Korkmaz
- 24.10.2016 | Avrupa'da Yükselen Sağ: Irkçılık, Zenofobi ve İslamofobia | Zülfiye Zeynep Bakır
- 09.08.2017 | Avrupa'da İnsan Hakkı İhlalleri | Sümeyye Gökçe
- 24.08.2017 | Yozlaşan Avrupa "Ailesi" | Metin Karaman
- 04.12.2017 | Avrupa ve Müslümanlar | Zülfiye Zeynep Bakır
- 24.01.2018 | Kıbrıs'ta AB Fonlarıyla Yükseltelen Türkiye Karşıtlığı | Burak Çalışkan
- 23.02.2018 | Avrupa'da Çokkültürlülüğün Çöküşü ve Müslümanlar | Zülfiye Zeynep Bakır
- 07.03.2018 | İslamofobi ve İslamohobi Arasında Batı | Emin Emin & Zülfiye Zeynep Bakır
- 27.07.2018 | İslamofobi, Zenofobi, Çok Kültürlülük ve Almanya | Zülfiye Zeynep Bakır
- 17.08.2018 | Avrupa Birliği "Değerleri" ve İnandırıclık Sorunu | Selim Vatandaş
- 09.11.2018 | Doğu-Batı Kavramları Üzerinden Batı'nın Krizlerini Anlamak | Zülfiye Zeynep Bakır
- 16.11.2018 | Avrupa Birliği'nin Polonya ve Macaristan Sancıları | Selim Vatandaş
- 12.12.2018 | "Brexit" kimin sınavı?: Birleşik Krallık ve Avrupa Birliği'nin Sancıları Üzerine | Selim Vatandaş
- 02.01.2019 | Avrupa Birliği Doğu'ya ne anlatır? | Selim Vatandaş
- 30.01.2019 | Avrupa'da Müslüman Nüfusun Yükselişi Üzerine | Selim Vatandaş

- 06.03.2019 | Ekonomik İş Birliği ve Türkiye-Almanya İlişkilerinin Geleceği | Selim Vatandaş
- 01.04.2019 | Bir Müzmin Seyrüsefer: Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği Hikâyesi Üzerine | Selim Vatandaş
- 31.05.2019 | 2019 Yılı Avrupa Parlamentosu Seçimleri ve Türkiye | Selim Vatandaş
- 15.07.2019 | Avrupa'da Müslümanlar: Göç Dalgaları, Yerleşikler ve Azınlık Bilinci Üzerine | Selim Vatandaş

APPENDIX E

List of Publications | AVIM

- **Publication Date | Publication Title | Author**
- 14.06.2016 | Avrupa'nın Aşırı Sağ Haritası: Zenofobi, İslamofobi ve Türkofobi | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 09.01.2017 | Kıbrıs'ta Çözüm mü? Kalıcı Barış mı? | Tugay Uluçevik
- 02.02.2017 | Avrupa'da Yükselen Milliyetçilik ve Ayakta Kalmaya Çalışan Sosyal Demokratlar | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 15.03.2017 | Madalyonun Diğer Yüzü | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 04.07.2017 | Kıbrıs Müzakere “Prangası” | Tugay Uluçevik
- 13.07.2017 | Avrupa Parlamentosunun Türkiye'nin Üyelik Sürecine Yönelik Kararı: Hangi Amaca Yönelik Yapılan Bir Öneri? | AVIM
- 22.12.2017 | Avrupa'nın Aşırı Sağ ile Sınavı: Avusturya | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 29.01.2018 | Avrupa, Avrupa Birliği ve Avrupa'nın Ayrışması | Alev Kılıç
- 06.03.2018 | Avrupa Birliği'nin Çifte Standartli Takvimi | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 27.05.2018 | Solingen'i Anmak: Aşırı Yabancı Düşmanlığının Batı Avrupa'da İnatçı Yükselişi | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 12.08.2018 | Mesut Özil'in Beyanati Almanya'daki Saklı Irkçılığı ve Bariz Ayrımcılığı Ortaya Çıkardı | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 27.09.2018 | Almanya İstihbaratı ve Aşırı Sağ | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 10.12.2018 | Yeni Çalışma Almanya'da Yabancı Düşmanlığının Yükseldiğini Gösteriyor | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 17.12.2018 | Avrupa'da Yabancı Düşmanlığı Konusunda Sunulabilecek Örneklerin Sayısı Artıyor | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 11.02.2019 | Batı Dünyasında Yükselen İslamofobi ve Türk-Ermeni Uyuşmazlığı | Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun
- 26.02.2019 | Avrupa'da Yükselen Aşırı Sağdan Nasibini Alan Yalnızca Yahudiler Değildir | Hazel Çağan Elbir

- 11.03.2019 | Avrupa Değerleri Yabancı Düşmanlığı Taraftarları Tarafından Sorgulanıyor | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 18.03.2019 | Avrupa Parlamentosu Kararı ve Christchurch'deki Terörist Saldırı | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 28.03.2019 | Avrupa Parlamentosu'nun Türkiye'ye Yönelik Yapıcı Olmayan Yaklaşımı | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 05.04.2019 | Kati Piri de Kabul Etti: “Kıbrıs Sorununa Çözüm Bulunmadan Kıbrıs'ın AB'ye Girmesine İzin Verilmesi... Büyük Bir Hata” | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 12.04.2019 | AP Türkiye Raportörü Piri Her Zaman Şüphe Duyulan Bir Hususu Doğruladı: “Türkiye Mükemmel Bir Demokrasi Olsaydı Bile Merkel Ve [...] Sarkozy Türkiye'yi AB'de İstemeyecekti” | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 03.05.2019 | Avrupa Ağzından Kaçırıyor: Avrupa Her Zaman Hristiyan | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 17.05.2019 | Avustralya'da Türklere Karşı Düşmanlık Tohumları mı Ekiliyor? | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 24.05.2019 | Avrupa Günü Kutlamaları-AB Sembolleri ve Türkiye | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 18.07.2019 | AB'nin Geç Kalmış ve Ben merkezci 2019 Orta Asya Stratejisi | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 29.08.2019 | Almanya'da Aşırı Sağ Şiddet ve Terör Artıyor: Nasyonal Sosyalist Yeraltı Terör Örgütü ve Sekiz Türk-Alman Vatandaşının Öldürülmesi | Teoman Ertuğrul Tulun
- 05.09.2019 | Avrupa İçin Tehlike Çanları Almanya Öncülüğünde Çalmaya Başladı | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 16.09.2019 | AB Değerleri Evrensel midir? | Selim Seçkin
- 24.09.2019 | Von Der Leyen'in “Avrupalı Yaşam Biçimi” Tanımı “Avrupa Değerleri”yle Ne Kadar Örtüşüyor? | AVİM
- 19.11.2019 | Göçmen Sorununu “Avrupalı Yaşam Biçiminin Geliştirilmesi” Olarak Tanımlamak Nasıl Bir Anlayış Yansıtmaktadır? | Hazel Çağan Elbir
- 26.11.2019 | AB'nin Türkiye Karşıtlığı Avrupa Komisyonu Üyelerini Seçerken Bile Unutulmuyor | Hazel Çağan Elbir

- 16.12.2019 | Brexit'in Türkiye –AB İlişkileri Konusunda Düşündürdükleri | Hazel Çağın Elbir

APPENDIX F

List of Publications | TEPAV

- **Publication Date | Publication Title | Author**
- 01.01.2016 | Göçmen Akını Avrupa'yı Neden Bu Kadar Rahatsız Ediyor? | Güven Sak
- Jan 2016 | Türkiye AB İlişkilerinde Yakınlaşmanın Getirisi 3 Milyar Değil 76.5 Milyar | Onuralp Aydın
- 03.03.2016 | Türkiye, Avrupa Birliği'ndeki Suriyeli Göçmenler Tartışmasının Neresinde Olmalıdır? | Güven Sak
- 11.03.2016 | Dört Soruda AB-Türkiye Müzakereleri | Timur Kaymaz
- 26.04.2016 | Avrupa Birliği'nin Türkiye Sevgisi | Nihat Ali Özca
- 02.05.2016 | Peki, Bu Kez Neden Derin Bir Coşku Hissetmiyoruz? | Güven Sak
- 09.05.2016 | Avrupa Birliği ile Vize Serbestisi Şimdi Daha Önemlidir | Güven Sak
- 24.05.2016 | Kazan-kazan' Çözüm Önerisi: 6 Milyarı Biz Verelim; Göçmenleri AB Alsın!| Serdar Sayan
- 30.05.2016 | Avrupa Birliği Olmadan Türkiye Zenginleşemez | Güven Sak
- Jun 2016 | Critical Juncture in Cyprus Negotiations | Nilgün Arısan and Atila Eralp
- 01.12.2016 | Avrupa Parlamentosu Ne Dedi? | Nilgün Arısan Eralp
- 30.01.2017 | Brexit, Türkiye İçin Nasıl Bir İmkan Olabilir? | Güven Sak
- 06.02.2017 | AB ile Gümrük Birliği'nde, Türkiye, Hala, Dersini Bilmiyor | Güven Sak
- 21.04.2017 | AB ile İlişkiler Nereye? | Nihat Ali Özcan
- 02.05.2017 | Quo vadis Turkey-EU relations? | Nilgün Arısan Eralp
- 23.06.2017 | AB'nin Yeni Kozu | Nihat Ali Özcan

- 07.06.2017 | AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ TÜRKİYE İÇİN NEDEN ÖNEMLİDİR? HUKUKİ AÇIDAN BİR DEĞERLENDİRME | LEVENT GÖNENÇ
- Jun 2017 | Avrupa Parlamentosu Raporu Nasıl Değerlendirilmeli? | Nilgün Arısan Eralp
- Jun 2019 | Avrupa Parlamentosu Seçimleri ve Türkiye | Nilgün Arısan Eralp
- Nov 2019 | The Parlous State of Turkey-EU Relations: Searching for a Bridge Over Troubled Waters | Nilgün Arısan Eralp

APPENDIX G

List of Publications | IKV

- **Publication Date | Publication Title | Author**
- Nov 2016 | AP'nin Müzakereleri Geçici Olarak Dondurma Kararı Amacına Hizmet Etmemektedir | Ayhan Zeytinoglu
- Nov 2016 | Türkiye'nin AB Hedefinde Sona mı Geliyoruz? | Cigdem Nas
- Dec 2016 | 2016'ya Veda Ederken Türkiye-AB İlişkileri | Cigdem Nas
- Mar 2017 | Çok Katmanlı AB'de Yerimizi Almalıyız | Ayhan Zeytinoglu
- Apr 2017 | Türkiye'siz Avrupa, Avrupa'sız Türkiye Olmaz | Ayhan Zeytinoglu
- May 2017 | AB ile Normalleşmeye Doğru: Diyalog ve Güven İlişkileri İki Taraf için de Daha Verimli Hale Getirir | Ayhan Zeytinoglu
- Jun 2017 | Türkiye-AB İlişkilerinde Detant Dönemi: Koşullar Değişmeden Sonuçlar Değişebilir mi? | Cigdem Nas
- Oct 2017 | AB Sürecini Canlandırmak İçin Hala Şansımız Var | Ayhan Zeytinoglu
- Dec 2017 | Yüksek Düzeyli Ekonomik Diyalog Toplantısı: Diyalogdan Derinleşmeye Doğru? | Cigdem Nas
- Feb 2018 | GKRY Seçimleri ve Kıbrıs Görüşmelerinin Geleceği | Yeliz Şahin
- Mar 2018 | Varna Zirvesi Sonuçlarını Olumlu Değerlendiriyoruz | Ayhan Zeytinoglu |
- May 2018 | Avrupa Gününde AB'nin Bir Barış Projesi Olduğunun Yeniden Hatırlatılmasına İhtiyaç Var | Ayhan Zeytinoglu
- 2017 | Crans-Montana'daki Kıbrıs Konferansı Sonuçsuz Geride Kalırken | Yeliz Şahin
- Aug 2018 | AB ile İlişkilerde Umutlar ve Gerçekler: Sonbaharda Sıcak Gündeme Doğru | Cigdem Nas
- Nov 2018 | Türkiye-AB Yüksek Düzeyli Siyasi Diyalog Toplantısının Ardından | Ahmet Ceran

- Jan 2019 | 2019’da Türkiye-AB İlişkilerini Belirleyecek Temel Parametreler | Çiğdem Nas
- Mar 2019 | Türkiye-AB Ortaklık Konseyi: Dört Yıl Aradan Sonra Yeniden | Çisel İleri
- Mar 2019 | 3 Yılın Ardından Türkiye-AB Bildirisi, Göç Yönetimi, Tartışılanlar ve Tartışılmayanlar | Ahmet Ceran
- Apr 2019 | Vize Serbestliği Meselesi Neydi, Ne Oldu? | Ahmet Ceran
- May 2019 | Türkiye AB’de Yerini Almalıdır | Ayhan Zeytinoglu
- Jun 2019 | Yargı Reformu Stratejisi’ne Türkiye-AB İlişkileri Perspektifinden Kısa Bir Bakış | Ahmet Ceran
- Sep 2019 | Türkiye-AB Vize Serbestliği Diyalogu’nun Harekete İhtiyacı Var! | Ahmet Ceran
- Nov 2019 | Türkiye ile Üyelik Sürecinin Bitirilmesi AB için de Olumsuz Olur | Ayhan Zeytinoglu
- Dec 2019 | 2019’da Türkiye-AB İlişkileri: Dip Noktadan Çıkış Mümkün mü? | Çiğdem Nas

APPENDIX H

List of Publications | BILGESAM

- **Publication Date | Publication Title | Author**
- 08.03.2016 | AB'ye Entegrasyon Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Terörle Mücadele Politikası | Can Zengin
- 31.03.2016 | Brexit: Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği'ndeki Geleceği mi? | Can Zengin
- 18.04.2016 | Avrupa Parlamentosu 2015 Türkiye Raporu Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme | Can Zengin
- 27.01.2017 | Kıbrıs'ta 2017'de Çözüm Olabilir Mi? | Dış Politika ve Savunma Araştırmaları Grubu
- 28.03.2017 | Öteki' Düşmanlığı AB'yi Dağılmaktan Kurtarabilir mi? | Nurşin Ateşoğlu Güney
- 09.11.2017 | Orta Avrupa'da Yükselen Radikal Sağ | Sibel Karabel
- 07.05.2018 | Kıbrıs için Akıcı yol: Refah ve Güvenlik | Mehmet Hasgüler
- 10.01.2019 | Türkiye-AB İlişkileri 2018 Yılında Nasıl Bir Seyir Takip Etti? | İrfan Kaya Ülger
- 15.02.2019 | Brexit, Ticaret Savaşları ve Gümrük Birliği | Aylin Ünver Noi
- 08.07.2019 | Düşünceler Savaşı'nın Gölgesinde Türkiye -AB ilişkileri | Sezgin Mercan
- 24.10.2019 | AB'de Ekonomik ve Siyasal Durgunluk Devam Ediyor / Full Speed | İrfan Kaya Ülger