Survey on Turkish Elites’ Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy and Greek-Turkish Relations

Dimitrios Triantaphyllou
14 December 2016
In this research, Turkish elites are grouped within six categories as follows:

- **Businessmen**: Members of TUSIAD, TOBB, MUSIAD, and TUSKON
- **Journalists**: Diplomatic correspondents, senior editors, commentators in major dailies, TV and radio stations as well as news websites
- **Diplomats**: Directorate heads, deputy heads and senior Embassy staff as well as retired ambassadors
- **Military**: Officers ranking brigadier general and higher as well as retired senior officers
- **Politicians**: Members of the Committee on National Defence; the Committee on Foreign Affairs; the Committee on EU harmonization; and the Committee on Security and Intelligence of related ministries
- **Academics/Think-tanks representatives**: IR and politics faculty members as well as representatives from think-tanks
The questionnaire was hosted by **Infakto Research Workshop**.

**First Launch:** 2 March 2016 *(eight weeks)*

**Second Launch:** 17 November 2016 *(four weeks)*

**Research Team:** Dimitrios Triantaphyllou *(Project Manager)* & Cihan Dizdaroğlu *(Project Assistant)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PEOPLE</th>
<th>RESPONSES</th>
<th>RESPONSE RATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academics/think-tank</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>32,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomats</td>
<td>196</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>143</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The first survey focused on **National Role and Foreign Policy: A Descriptive Study of Greek Elites’ Perceptions towards Turkey**

Conducted by **Dimitrios Triantaphyllou & Kostas Ifantis** for the **Hellenic Observatory**, part of the European Institute at the London School of Economics.

**Dates:** 1 October 2013-17 November 2014 (the survey was conducted in 2014)

The questionnaire was hosted by **Kapa Research** (Athens)
## ABOUT THE GREEK SURVEY (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PEOPLE</th>
<th>RESPONSES</th>
<th>RESPONSE RATE</th>
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<td>Academics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Press</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diplomats</td>
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<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey Results | 14 December 2016

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Three Sets of Questions

- Turkey’s position in the world, its influence on the regional developments and/or global politics (Q 1-13)
- Greece’s foreign policy, its internal affairs, and its role in world politics (Q 14-25)
- Greek-Turkish Relations (Q 26-41)
Q2: Do you believe that Turkish foreign policy can influence international politics?

- **Yes**
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 15.2%
  - Military: 21.2%
  - Other: 20.5%
  - Total: 67.7%

- **Rather Yes**
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 8.1%
  - Military: 6.1%
  - Other: 5.1%
  - Total: 60.6%

- **Rather No**
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 9.1%
  - Military: 6.1%
  - Other: 5.1%
  - Total: 20.5%

- **No**
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 9.1%
  - Military: 12.1%
  - Other: 5.1%
  - Total: 26.3%
Q3: Turkey can influence international politics with the quality of its ideas and its commitment to International Law

- Totally agree: 41%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 17.9%
  - Military: 12.1%
  - Other: 8.1%

- Rather agree: 39.4%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 29.3%
  - Military: 23.1%
  - Other: 13.1%

- Neither agree, nor disagree: 18.2%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 12.8%
  - Military: 12.1%
  - Other: 13.1%

- Rather disagree: 20.5%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 24.2%
  - Military: 20.5%
  - Other: 15.2%

- Totally disagree: 22.2%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 20.5%
  - Military: 20.5%
  - Other: 15.2%

3 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q4: *Turkey can influence international politics because of its memberships in several international organizations*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Academics/Think-tanks</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totally agree</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather agree</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree, nor disagree</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather disagree</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally disagree</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q5: *Turkey meets the international obligations* deriving from its participation in the UN, NATO, and other organizations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Academics/Think-tanks</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totally agree</td>
<td>33,3%</td>
<td>15,4%</td>
<td>17,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather agree</td>
<td>45,5%</td>
<td>36,4%</td>
<td>30,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree, nor disagree</td>
<td>10,3%</td>
<td>6,1%</td>
<td>16,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather disagree</td>
<td>20,5%</td>
<td>20,2%</td>
<td>6,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally disagree</td>
<td>17,9%</td>
<td>3,0%</td>
<td>6,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/No opinion</td>
<td>5,1%</td>
<td>6,1%</td>
<td>4,0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57% agree that Turkey meets its international obligations.
Q6: To what degree do you believe that global concerns (Afghanistan, Syria, sub-Saharan Africa, Ukraine, international terrorism, global warming, etc.) concern Turkish foreign policy?

- Too much/much: 76.2%
- Somewhat: 15.1%
- Little/minimally: 8.7%
Q7: In your opinion, do the Turkish citizens **support a more active foreign policy that is not limited to the ‘traditional’** (Greek-Turkish relations, Cyprus issue, controversy between Turkey and Armenia about the events of 1915, etc.) foreign policy issues?
Q8: Have principles of Turkish foreign policy and the influence of the country been influenced due to the Arab Spring and to what degree?

- Too much: 71.5%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 42.4%
  - Military: 36.4%
  - Other: 35.9%
- Much: 46.2%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 21.2%
  - Military: 30.3%
  - Other: 30.3%
- Somewhat: 10.3%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 24.2%
  - Military: 30.3%
- A little: 9.1%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 5.1%
- Minimally/Not at all: 2.6%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 2.0%
  - Military: 2.0%
  - Other: 2.6%

3 per cent of the military officers stated that they have no opinion.
Q9: **Distancing from** the West and moving towards the Muslim world

- Totally/Rather Agree: 79.1%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 11.6%
- Totally/Rather Disagree: 6.4%

3% of the respondents in both questions stated that they have no opinion.

Q10: The **bridge** role between the West and the Muslim world

- Totally/Rather Agree: 58.1%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 26.7%
- Totally/Rather Disagree: 12.8%
Q14: Greece is a **strategic partner of the US**

- **45.9%** Totally/Rather Agree
- **30.2%** Neither agree, nor disagree
- **20.3%** Totally/Rather Disagree

3.5 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.

Q16: Even though Greece is a small nation, it **can influence international politics**

- **45.9%** Totally/Rather Agree
- **38.4%** Neither agree, nor disagree
- **11.6%** Totally/Rather Disagree

4.1 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
GREECE’S FOREIGN POLICY (2)

Q15: Greece is an important EU member state

- Totally/Rather Agree: 47.7%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 12.8%
- Totally/Rather Disagree: 36.0%

3.5 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.

Q17: Greece can influence international politics because it is a member of the EU and NATO

- Totally/Rather Agree: 66.3%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 8.7%
- Totally/Rather Disagree: 22.7%

2.3 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q18: The economic crisis in Greece has impacted its foreign policy.

- Totally/Rather Agree: 84%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 11%
- Totally/Rather Disagree: 5%

Q19: Has the prestige and the influence of the country been influenced due to the economic crisis and what degree?

- Too Much/Much: 92%
- Somewhat: 5%
- Little/Minimally: 3%

2.9 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q20: Does Greece have any alternatives other than the EU?

- Yes: 7.1% (76.9% Academics/Think-tanks), 15.2% (63.6% Military), 2.6% (7.1% Other)
- Rather Yes: 7.1% (12.8% Academics/Think-tanks), 6.1% (6.1% Military), 12.8% (7.1% Other)
- Rather No: 12.1% (7.7% Academics/Think-tanks), 12.1% (7.7% Military), 7.7% (7.7% Other)
- No: 63.6% (1.7% Academics/Think-tanks), 72.7% (1.7% Military), 76.9% (1.7% Other)

1.7 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q11: Turkey can play an active role in reducing the EU's energy dependence

- Totally agree: 21.2%
- Rather agree: 39.4%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 15.2%
- Rather disagree: 6.1%
- Totally disagree: 8.1%

Q22: Greece can play an active role in reducing the EU's energy dependence

- Yes: 52.5%
- Rather Yes: 43.6%
- Rather No: 18.2%
- No: 23.1%

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Q12: Turkey is playing an active role in the resolution of the refugee crisis?

- Totally agree: 57%
- Rather agree: 43.4%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 17.2%
- Rather disagree: 12.1%
- Totally disagree: 8.1%

Q21: Greece is playing an active role in the resolution of the refugee crisis?

- Totally agree: 12%
- Rather agree: 6.1%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 14.1%
- Rather disagree: 17.9%
- Totally disagree: 8.1%
Q13: Turkey is a **constructive player** in the resolution of the Cyprus issue?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Academics/Think-tanks</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totally agree</td>
<td>15,2%</td>
<td>20,5%</td>
<td>36,4%</td>
<td>52,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather agree</td>
<td>21,2%</td>
<td>35,4%</td>
<td>33,3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree, nor disagree</td>
<td>9,1%</td>
<td>15,4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather disagree</td>
<td>15,2%</td>
<td>20,2%</td>
<td></td>
<td>26,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally disagree</td>
<td>5,1%</td>
<td>12,1%</td>
<td>12,8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q25: Greece is **obstructing** the resolution of the Cyprus issue?

- **Yes**
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 30.8%
  - Military: 57.6%
  - Other: 28.3%

- **Rather Yes**
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 36.4%
  - Military: 41.4%
  - Other: 33.3%

- **Rather No**
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 17.9%
  - Military: 23.2%
  - Other: 5.1%

- **No**
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 17.9%
  - Military: 24.4%
  - Other: 5.1%

2.9 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.

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THE CYPRUS ISSUE (3)

According to Turkish elites, the roles in the resolution of the Cyprus issue are considered as follows,

**TURKISH ELITES**

- Supportive:
  - Rather/Totally agree: 52.3%
  - Neither agree, nor disagree: 17.4%
  - Rather/Totally disagree: 26.7%

**GREEK ELITES**

- Obstacle:
  - Affirmative: 72.7%
  - Negative: 24.4%
Q26: Do you agree with the **rapprochement strategy** Turkey is implementing towards Greece since 1999?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinions</th>
<th>Academics/Think-tanks</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totally agree</td>
<td>15,2%</td>
<td>63,6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather agree</td>
<td>28,3%</td>
<td>63,6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree, nor disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather disagree</td>
<td>3,0%</td>
<td>2,6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally disagree</td>
<td>1,0%</td>
<td>2,6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q26: Do you agree with the rapprochement strategy Greece is implementing towards Turkey since 1999?

- **Totally agree**: 63.5%
- **Rather agree**: 60.0%
- **Neither agree, nor disagree**: 53.8%
- **Rather disagree**: 28.9%
- **Totally disagree**: 31.1%

**Groups**:
- Academic
- Businessman
- Journalist
- Politician
- Military officer
- Diplomat
Support for the rapprochement strategy

**TURKISH ELITES**

- Rather/Totally Agree: 89.0%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 1.7%
- Rather/Totally Disagree: 4.6%

**GREEK ELITES**

- Rather/Totally agree: 63.5%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 25.5%
- Rather/Totally disagree: 11.0%
**GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS (3) TURKISH ELITES**

**Q27: Greece is steadily supporting Turkey’s accession to the EU**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Academics/Think-tanks</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totally agree</td>
<td>2,0%</td>
<td>3,0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather agree</td>
<td>3,0%</td>
<td>25,3%</td>
<td>35,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree, nor disagree</td>
<td>3,0%</td>
<td>21,2%</td>
<td>5,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather disagree</td>
<td>18,2%</td>
<td>27,3%</td>
<td>30,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally disagree</td>
<td>30,3%</td>
<td>25,6%</td>
<td>54,5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.

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Greece should continue steadily supporting Turkey’s accession to the EU?

- Totally agree: 32.5%
- Rather agree: 36.7%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 22.5%
- Rather disagree: 38.5%
- Totally disagree: 31.1%

Poll results for Greek elites:

- **Academic**
- **Businessman**
- **Journalist**
- **Politician**
- **Military**
- **Diplomat**

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Support for the Turkey’s accession to the EU

**TURKISH ELITES**
- Rather/Totally Agree: 56.4%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 14.0%
- Rather/Totally Disagree: 25.0%

**GREEK ELITES**
- Rather/Totally agree: 36.1%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 12.3%
- Rather/Totally disagree: 51.6%
Q28: Greece’s membership in the EU constitutes a threat for Turkey’s accession

- **Totally agree**: 14.1% Academics/Think-tanks, 7.7% Military, 39.4% Other
- **Rather agree**: 32.3% Academics/Think-tanks, 39.4% Military, 30.8% Other
- **Neither agree, nor disagree**: 16.2% Academics/Think-tanks, 12.8% Military, 9.1% Other
- **Rather disagree**: 23.2% Academics/Think-tanks, 30.8% Military, 6.1% Other
- **Totally disagree**: 31.4% Academics/Think-tanks, 15.4% Military, 11.1% Other

4.1 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q15: Greece is an **important EU member state**

- Totally/Rather Agree: 47.7%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 12.8%
- Totally/Rather Disagree: 36.0%

Q17: Greece **can influence international politics** because it is a member of the EU and NATO

- Totally/Rather Agree: 66.3%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 22.7%
- Totally/Rather Disagree: 8.7%
Q29: Turkey can trust Greece

- **Totally agree**: 28%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 2.6%
  - Military: 3.0%
  - Other: 5.1%

- **Rather agree**: 28.3%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 20.5%
  - Military: 15.2%

- **Neither agree, nor disagree**: 35.9%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 12.1%
  - Military: 12.1%

- **Rather disagree**: 23.2%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 17.9%
  - Military: 12.1%

- **Totally disagree**: 48.5%
  - Academics/Think-tanks: 20.5%
  - Military: 12.1%

4.7 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS (7)

GREEK ELITES

Greece can trust Turkey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Level</th>
<th>Academic</th>
<th>Businessman</th>
<th>Journalist</th>
<th>Politician</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Diplomat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totally agree</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
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<td>Rather agree</td>
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<td>10.0</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree, nor disagree</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather disagree</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totally disagree</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totally disagree: 71.1%
Rather disagree: 65.3%
Neither agree, nor disagree: 40.0%
Rather agree: 22.6%
Totally agree: 11.4%
Survey Results | 14 December 2016

TURKISH ELITES

- Rather/Totally Agree: 40.7%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 28.0%
- Rather/Totally Disagree: 26.7%

GREEK ELITES

- Rather/Totally agree: 65.3%
- Neither agree, nor disagree: 23.3%
- Rather/Totally disagree: 11.4%
### GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS (8)

**Q30: An improvement in Greece’s economy is in Turkey’s interest**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Turkish Elites</th>
<th>Greek Elites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totally agree</td>
<td>18,2%</td>
<td>38,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather agree</td>
<td>24,2%</td>
<td>46,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree, nor disagree</td>
<td>8,1%</td>
<td>18,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather disagree</td>
<td>2,6%</td>
<td>12,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally disagree</td>
<td>0,0%</td>
<td>18,2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Survey Results | 14 December 2016**

**Turkey’s vast economic growth is in Greece’s interest**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Turkish Elites</th>
<th>Greek Elites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totally agree</td>
<td>18,8%</td>
<td>37,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather agree</td>
<td>4,4%</td>
<td>24,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree, nor disagree</td>
<td>10,0%</td>
<td>18,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather disagree</td>
<td>13,2%</td>
<td>16,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally disagree</td>
<td>12,0%</td>
<td>46,7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Academics/Think-tanks**
- **Military**
- **Other**

- **Academic**
- **Businessman**
- **Politician**
- **Military**
- **Journalist**
- **Diplomat**
Q31: Economic crisis in Greece constitutes a threat for Turkey

- **Turkish Elites**
  - Totally/Rather Agree: 44.8%
  - Neither agree, nor disagree: 26.2%
  - Totally/Rather Disagree: 24.4%

- **Greek Elites**
  - Totally/rather agree: 61%
  - Neither agree, nor disagree: 14%
  - Totally/rather disagree: 25%

4.1 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q32: How would you evaluate the current state of Turkish-Greek relations?

- Good/rather good: 42.4%
- Neither good, nor bad: 41.9%
- Bad/rather bad: 12.8%

How would you characterize the current state of Greek-Turkish relations?

- Good/rather good: 34.7%
- Neither good nor bad: 47%
- Bad/rather bad: 17.8%

2.9 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Q33: How important is the resolution of the Cyprus issue for the improvement of bilateral relations?

**Greek Elites**
- Extremely important: 21%
- Very important: 52.3%
- Rather important: 27%
- Not at all important: 2%
- Little or not at all important: 2%

**Turkish Elites**
- Extremely important: 44%
- Very important: 32.6%
- Rather important: 11.0%
- Not at all important: 6%
- Little or not at all important: 2%

2.9 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS (12)

TURKISH ELITES

Q34: Do you think there would be any crisis between Greece and Turkey within the next five years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Academics/Think-tanks</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely likely</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very likely</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
<td>35.9%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather improbable</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>51.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improbable</td>
<td>51.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
How likely do you consider **any crisis** between Greece and Turkey within **the next five years**?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How Likely</th>
<th>Academic</th>
<th>Businessman</th>
<th>Journalist</th>
<th>Politician</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Diplomat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely likely</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very likely</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather improbable</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improbable</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Academic**

**Businessman**

**Journalist**

**Politician**

**Military**

**Diplomat**

**Total**: 47%
Q41: Which of the following is the most likely cause for a ‘hot’ crisis?

- **Academics/Think-tanks**
  - Refugee: 11.1%
  - Thrace: 17.2%
  - Energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean: 19.2%
  - Aegean (Delimitation, EEZ etc.): 47.5%

- **Military**
  - Refugee: 3.0%
  - Thrace: 15.2%
  - Energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean: 27.3%
  - Aegean (Delimitation, EEZ etc.): 39.4%

- **Other**
  - Refugee: 7.7%
  - Thrace: 10.3%
  - Energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean: 17.9%
  - Aegean (Delimitation, EEZ etc.): 56.4%

6.4 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no opinion.
Which of the following is the most likely cause for a ‘hot’ crisis?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>An internal crisis in Turkey</th>
<th>Cyprus</th>
<th>Thrace</th>
<th>Aegean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>24,5</td>
<td>3,8</td>
<td>3,8</td>
<td>67,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>26,7</td>
<td>6,7</td>
<td>6,7</td>
<td>60,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>30,0</td>
<td>7,5</td>
<td></td>
<td>62,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>28,0</td>
<td>16,0</td>
<td>8,0</td>
<td>48,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>31,1</td>
<td>11,1</td>
<td></td>
<td>57,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomat</td>
<td>38,5</td>
<td>7,7</td>
<td>3,8</td>
<td>50,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to another survey on “the Public Perceptions of the Turkish Foreign Policy” conducted by Kadir Has University in 2015.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Cyprus dispute</td>
<td>31,0</td>
<td>29,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border problems</td>
<td>27,5</td>
<td>21,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militarization of the Aegean islands</td>
<td>12,1</td>
<td>21,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical problems</td>
<td>4,5</td>
<td>5,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political relations</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>2,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial enmity</td>
<td>1,9</td>
<td>1,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic problems</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Islands dispute</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>2,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems regarding minorities</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>7,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Is there a problem between Turkey and Greece?

2015: 53,5% Yes, 46,5% No
2013: 49,4% Yes, 50,6% No
How to explain the greater **reticence of the Turkish Elites to respond to survey**? Political climate in country? Need for different approach to reach out to them?

The two surveys were conducted at slightly different times (between 16 to 25 months difference) yet they are almost parallel. But no questions about the refugee issue in Greek Elite Survey; no distinction between Aegean and Eastern Med in Greek Survey, reflecting the Greek approach; no questions regarding who is constructive or not regarding Cyprus?
Low levels of trust

Strong support for the rapprochement process

Overwhelming importance of Cyprus issue for both sides for the resolution of bilateral issues

Potential of the energy issue as an area of cooperation (according to Turkish Elites) (Q. 11, 22)

Potential of refugee crisis to be a disruptive factor in Turkish-Greek relations (according to Turkish Elites)

Potential of internal crisis in Turkey to be a disruptive factor in Greek-Turkish relations (according to Greek Elites)
Suspicion among Turkish Elites regarding **Greek membership in EU** and Greek support to Turkey’s accession bid (Q. 27-28)

In fact, almost direct correlation between the perceived role of **Greece in the EU** (Q.14-20) and its lack of alternatives and Turkey’s need for a greater international role and distancing from West (Q. 6-10)

Also, regarding the resolution of the **Cyprus issue**, Turkish Elites perceive Turkey to be a constructive player (52,3%) while Greece is not (72,7%).
If there were to be a **crisis** between the two countries, **the main reasons** for Turkish Elites are (similar to Greek Elites):

→ The Aegean disputes (delimitation, EEZ etc.)
→ Newly discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean
→ The Cyprus issue

Both Turkish and Greek consider that **Greek-Turkish relations** are predominantly neither good, nor bad (41.9% - 47%) while a minority on both sides consider them to be bad or rather bad (12.8% - 17.8%)

This encapsulates the **Cold Peace** the two countries have been experiencing since 1999 – not rapprochement, some potential interdependence, unwillingness or inability to resolve outstanding issues, resolution of Cyprus as trigger.
Thank you…