A COMPARISON OF THE VIEW POINT OF TURKISH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND POLISH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE CONTEXT OF CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS (ADAM MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY AND CUMHURIYET UNIVERSITY HAVE BEEN TAKEN AS MODELS)

MEDENİYETLER ÇATIŞMASI BAĞLAMINDA TÜRK ÜNİVERSİTE ÖĞRENCİLERİ İLE POLONYALI ÜNİVERSİTE ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ'NE BAKIŞLARININ KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI (ADAM MİCKİEWİCZ ÜNİVERSİTESİ VE CUMHURİYET ÜNİVERSİTESİ ÖRNEĞİNDE)

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Abstract

Subjects such as clash of civilizations, East-West opposition and Islam-Christianity opposition are still the current topics in scientific environments and publications, in the media and in the discourses of politicians. Islamophobia has extensively been on the front burner and has been expanding in the West, after the September 11 incidents. This study aims at comparing the view points Poland's university students who live in a country which is a member of the European union, is a part of the Western civilization and is a Christian society with the view points of Turkish students whose country has been struggling to be a member of the European Union, carry the cultural and identity heritage acquired from the Ottoman Empire and in this aspect is a part of the Eastern civilization, while being an Islamic society despite the fact that Turkey has entered a period of Westernization (even this period is the main indication of the fact that Turkey is different from the West and that it is a society outside the Western civilization) and determining the marks of the clash of civilizations, East-West opposition, Islam-Christianity opposition and Islamophobia through the various differences in the view points of the two countries' youth towards the European Union. The survey was given to the students of both universities by speaking to them face to face and as a random sampling. 411 surveys were given to the Adam Mickiewicz University students and 439 surveys were given to Cumhuriyet University students, making a total of 850 surveys. The surveys were changed into tables as the data was evaluated with the SPSS analysis program. The hypothesis of the study is: It is expected that the view points of the two university youth, who do have different cultural and religious structures, towards the European Union to be different as well. The differences of the view points of Turkish and Polish youth towards Turkey's candidacy to the European Union is expected to carry the marks of clash of civilizations, East-West opposition, Islam-Christianity opposition and Islamophobia. Result of the study: It has been established that a majority of the Turkish students have a negative view of the EU and that they do not support Turkey's membership to the EU. There are two main reasons why they do not support Turkey's membership. The first reason is that, they see the EU as a different structure religiously and culturally. Secondly, they do not trust the EU, since Turkey's membership process to the EU has been continuing for over fifty years. It has also been established that Polish students have a positive view of the EU; they are happy with Poland's membership to the EU, but a significant number are indecisive about the membership. It has been observed that the youth of Poland who is already a member of the EU and Turkey who has been keeping its candidacy status have different points of view about the EU. While the Polish students have a positive view towards the EU, Turkish students have a negative point of view. As a result, the study has proved the hypothesis: Turkish students view the European Union rather as a Christian and imperialist construct and associate Poland's becoming a member of the European Union before Turkey to Poland being a Christian country. However, while Polish students who have positive views on the EU support Turkey's membership to the European Union in terms of the development of human rights and democracy, they also worry that, if Turkey does become a member, cultural conflicts may arise and Islam may spread.

Key Words: Clash of civilizations, Islamophobia European Union, Polish university students, Turkish university students

Öz

Medeniyetler çatışması, Doğu-Batı karşıtlığı, İslam-Hıristiyan karşıtlığı tartışmaları bilimsel ortam ve yayımlarda, medyada ve siyasilerin söylemlerinde güncelliğini korumaktadır. Batı'da İslamofobi özellikle 11 Eylül olayından sonra gündemde fazlasıyla yer almakta ve gittikçe yayılmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Avrupa Birliği üyesi olan, Batı medeniyeti içerisinde yer alan ve Hıristiyan bir toplum olan Polonya'nın üniversite gençliği ile yarım asırdır Avrupa Birliği'ne üye olma çabasını gösteren, her ne kadar son yüz yıldır batılılaşma sürecinde girmiş olsa da (ki bu süreç bile Türkiye'nin Batı'dan farklı olduğunun ve Batı-dışı bir toplum olduğunun en temel göstergesidir), Osmanlı'dan aldığı kültürel ve kimlik mirasını taşıyan ve bu yönüyle Doğu medeniyeti içerisinde yer alan, aynı zamanda İslam toplumu olan Türkiye'nin üniversite gençliğinin Avrupa Birliğine bakış açılarını karşılaştırmayı ve gençlerin bakış açılarındaki farklılıklarda medeniyetler çatışmasının, Doğu-Batı karşıtlığının, İslam-Hıristiyan karşıtlığının ve İslamofobinin izlerini tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırmada karşılaştırmalı yöntem kullanıldı. Her iki üniversite öğrencisine tesadüfî örneklem tekniği ile yüz yüze görüşülerek Adam Mickiewicz Üniversitesi Öğrencilerine 411, Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi Öğrencilerine 439 toplamda 850 anket uygulandı. Anketler SPSS analiz programı ile değerlendirildi.. Çalışmanın hipotezi,: farklı kültürel ve dinsel yapıya sahip olan her iki üniversite gençliğinin Avrupa Birliği'ne bakış açılarının farklı olacağı beklenmektedir. Türk ve Polish öğrencilerin Polonya'nın Avrupa Birliği'ne üyeliği ve Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne adaylığına bakışlarındaki farklılıklarda medeniyetler çatışmasının Doğu-Batı karşıtlığının, İslam-Hıristiyan karşıtlığının ve İslamofobinin izlerinin olacağı düşünülmektedir. Türk öğrencilerinin çoğunluğunun AB'ne olumsuz baktıkları ve Türkiye'nin AB'ne üyeliğini desteklemedikleri tespit edildi. Olumsuz tavırlarının ardında temelde iki neden yatmaktadır. Birincisi, AB'ni dinsel ve kültürel yönden farklı bir yapılanma olarak görmekte. İkincisi, Türkiye'nin AB'ne üyelik sürecinin elli yılı aşkın bir süredir devam ediyor olması nedeniyle AB'ne güven duymamalarıdır. Polonyalı öğrencilerin AB'ne olumlu baktıkları AB'ne üye olmaktan memnun oldukları, dikkat çekici oranlarda da kararsız oldukları tespit edildi. Haliz hazırda AB'ne üye olan Polonya ve uzun süredir üyelik statüsünde olan Türkiye üniversite gençlerinin AB'ne bakış açılarının farklı olduğu gözlendi. Türk öğrenciler Avrupa Birliği'ni daha çok Hıristiyan ve emparyalist bir yapılanma olarak görmekte olup, Polonya'nın Türkiye'den önce Avrupa Birliği'ne üye olarak kabul edilmesini de Hıristiyan bir ülke olmasına bağlamaktadır. Öte yandan AB'ne olumlu bakan Polonyalı öğrenciler insan hakları ve demokrasinin gelişmesi açısından Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliğine üyeliğini desteklerken, Türkiye'nin üye olması durumunda da kültürel çatışmanın olacağı ve İslamiyetin yayılacağı kaygısını taşımaktadırlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Medeniyetler çatışması, İslam fobisi, Avrupa Birliği, Polonyalı üniversite gençliği, Türk üniversite gençliği,

Introduction

This study has two intertwined theoretical levels. The first level is the European Union. It is Poland's European Union membership and Turkey's membership process. The second level is the East-West opposition, Islam-Christianity opposition and Islamophobia which has developed within this opposition, within the context of the clash of civilizations. The purpose of the study is to identify the marks of the first level on the second level through an applied study. That is to say, the main objective is to portray the reflections of the clash of civilizations in the view points of the two countries' youth on the European Union through giving a survey to Polish and Turkish university youth. Therefore, it is a good idea to firstly handle the two levels within the context of the study.

European Union

The EU has been expanding through the political and economic criteria it has determined ever since the date of its foundation. During the above mentioned expansion period, while the membership of Poland has taken place in a short period of time, Turkey has been a candidate since 1959. Although, Poland and Turkey have applied for membership under similar circumstances, the reason why Poland's membership has taken such a short time to be accepted is due to the EU's Western Europe policy. One of the countries which have rapidly undergone this process is Poland.

With the collapse of the socialist system in 1989, a period of reform and transition towards democracy period began in Poland. "The Polish case is interesting in terms of highlighting the way in which relatively favorable domestic and external circumstances can interact and help to produce a virtuous cycle of democratization and reform over a short period of time" (Öniş, 2004:1). During this process, Poland has very rapidly entered a period of social, political and economic change. Thus, the membership process of Poland has been successfully completed in 2004.

The still not concluded membership process of Turkey to the EU consists of a fifty year period. In fact, this process has begun with the provision which appears in 1856 Paris pact and states that 'The Ottoman State will be a part of the European nations and its territorial integrity and independence will be under the common guarantee of the European nations'. In 1868, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs has stated to Cemil Pasha that "Turkey by being a part of the Paris Pact has been accepted into the European Union. This has been an advantage Greece did not have" (Davison,1988:852). Ever since that day, it has been argued whether Turkey will become a member of the European Union.

When the membership process of Turkey was extended, the EU-Turkish relations have been defined as "… the cantankerous relationship between Turkey and the EU countries". The relationship in question is resembled to an old game described as the following (Buzan and Diez, 1999:42):

- Apparent promises of full membership to Turkey by the European Union;

- Strong commitment to, and expectation of, eventual membership by Turkey;

- Slow implementation of the commitments by both sides.

As Buzan and Diez have stated, "After decades of standing in the queue, Turkey is the only country with current membership application against which the EU door has been slammed shut" (1999:42). However, Turkey which has a different cultural, historical and

geographical status serves as a bridge between Eastern and Western cultures, the Islam and Christian world, developed and developing countries, the poor and the rich (southern and northern) countries, and capitalist and those countries which have been governed by central plan (Ertuna, 2005:5).

The problems which arose during Turkey's candidacy period to the EU are of more political and cultural characteristic than economical. The results obtained from this paper also support this argument. "For Turkey, the problem of Europeanness is what to do with the Turkic and Islamic underpinnings of the national culture" (Buzan and Diez, 1999:49). In addition, the most persistent problem between Turkey and the EU is the human rights issue. However, Turkey has gone through major developments concerning this issue in the past ten years (Barchard, 1998:30). In October, 2004, with the Development Report of the Commission, it has been legally accepted by the EU that Turkey has met the Copenhagen political criteria. "In general, it can be observed that Turkey has taken major steps towards democratization from the time it was announced as a candidate, to the year 2006 during which the negotiations legally started" (Erdal and Çolakoğlu, 2007 :96).

As internal and external factors accelerated Poland's membership process to the EU, the same factors have not worked for the benefit of Turkey. So much so that, "Strong elite commitment to reform supported by mass mobilization of support from below played a crucial role in this respect. Furthermore, the EU facilitated smooth transformation in the Polish case by providing unambiguous and definitive signals on the path to full membership. Clearly, the interactions of domestic and external forces have helped to produce a virtuous circle in the Polish setting. In contrast, both the domestic political environment of Turkey and the signals provided by the EU were much less favorable from the Turkish point of view. Powerful elements within the Turkish state lacked the kind of deep commitment to EU membership, based on an inherent suspicion that the kind of reforms demanded by EU would contribute towards the disintegration of the Turkish membership a strong possibility" (Öniş, 2004:29). In fact, while Turkey has not received full external support, its internal processes have not been forceful and rapid enough to guarantee membership. One of the most significant factors in the EU membership process is the civil society.

"Civil society has been developing in Turkey during the 1990s but clearly, its power and influence was not comparable to the scale of civil society mobilization in Poland" (Öniş, 2004:30). According to Öniş, "The EU has been far more receptive, in part for cultural and historical reasons, to the idea of Polish membership. With its Christian population as well as its geographical proximity and Western European core, Poland appeared to be a natural candidate for EU membership in sharp contrast to Turkey which appeared to be on the margins of Europe with considerable doubts concerning its true European identity. Consequently, the powerful, if not definitive signals provided by the EU, including the scale of material assistance provided on the road to membership, has performed an instrumental role in the acceleration of the reform process in Poland over the course of the 1990s" (2004:4).

As Önis states above, due to cultural and historical reasons, EU has been closer to Poland's membership and this has also been reflected in the results of this study. It is observed that, the cultural differences are reflected in the view points of both universities' youth in relation to the EU. The European Commission Director Jose Manuel Barroso[*] has also given

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[*] José Manuel Barroso is president of the European Commission, the European Union's top official.

utterance to the reality in question. Barroso has stated in a meeting in Brussels that, cultural differences are one of the greatest obstacles to Turkey's EU membership (Milliyet, 2010).

A comparative membership process of Poland and candidacy of Turkey to EU has been given above. The views of both countries' politicians, EU negotiators and intellectuals have been frequently at the top of the agenda and being transmitted by the media organs. However, studies as to the views of both countries' university youth, who are the future of their countries on this issue, are quite limited. This study has been realized in order to contribute to this study area. The study aims at presenting how students of both universities look at the EU process and the reasons behind the differences in their view points. The study has focused on the historical sociological and cultural anthropological areas, which emphasize the importance of forming a background for sociological studies and has been realized in a comparative manner.

Clash of civilizations: East-West opposition, Islam-Christianity opposition, Islamophobia

The East-West problem/conflict is an issue that has long been on the agenda. However, it has gained the attention of a wider circle with Huntington's article titled "The Clash of Civilizations". According to Huntington's thesis, the determining factors of international conflict are not political and economic ideologies, but civilizations and that; the 21st century will be marked with a religion based clash of civilizations. Huntington puts especially the Chinese and Islam civilizations against the West (Huntington, 1993).

According to Baykan Sezer, upon the collapse of the Soviet system, the West's putting the issue on the agenda with its own hands is an expected event. Baykan contends that, this conflict is determinant and the basic characteristics the civilizations have gained are the products of this conflict. (Sezer 2005, 47). Fort his reason, Huntington's particular thesis's reflections can be seen in the domestic and foreign policies of many European countries. We are currently witnessing the rise of in particular the extreme right, which feeds from nationalism, racism and Islamophobia. In Europe, the rise of the extreme right which is based on nationalistic and immigration opposed policies receive increasing support from the youth. According to Demos' research (2011), the participants of the survey have answered the question "What was the factor which led you to tend towards extreme right parties?" as Islam and immigration. (BBC Turkish 7 November 2011). The Nationalism-Racism wave which was born in Europe and spread to the world has been on the rise once again in Europe in the recent years. "The racists' viewing Islam as the greatest threat in their countries may lead to Muslims becoming the new Jews in Europe in the future" (Şenel, 2005). Xenophobia and Islamophobia in the discourses and actions of politicians in Europe is gradually gaining speed. According to Özkırımlı, politics which is especially based on extreme right and Islamophobia in an environment of economic crisis, will gain even more strength and that, today's Europe reminds one of many aspects of Europe in the 1930's (2012).

The number of Muslims living in Europe has been increasing everyday. Each year around 1 million immigrants mostly from the Muslim countries are flowing into Europe. Birth rates of European Muslims are more than three times of those of non-Muslim Europeans. It is estimated that Muslims will comprise at least 20 percent of Europe's population in 2050. This would be the outcome of not only the increase in Muslim population but also the decline in general European population" (Erdenir, 2005). "Europe's non-European communities of migrant origin – Indonesian, Pakistani (Punjabis, Kashmiris and Pathans), Bangladeshi, Indian, Turkish, Kurdish, Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, Jamaican, Trinidadian, Surinamese, Antillean/Aruba, Ugandan, Kenyan, etc. – are ethnically, culturally, religiously, politically and linguistically diverse. But September 11 and the subsequent war on terror allowed ill-defined

anxieties about 'Islamism' to recategorise minority ethnic exclusion and disadvantage as the problems of the Muslim 'underclass'. Thus, the diverse problems of communities of different national and ethnic origin were collapsed into the problem of integrating a category of migrants characterized by their religion (and a supposed common culture). In much the same way that the presence of people of a different colour was once constructed as a social problem, the presence of people of a different culture and religion has become ipso facto problematic." (Fekete, 2008, 9). The fear (Fekete, 2008, 23) which is also being voiced by the media (Larsson, 2005), politicians and intellectuals is being legitimized in a way and becomes a part of actual actions as well. "Muslims all over Europe are suffering from a growing degree of perceived or real discrimination, violence and Islamophobia since 9/11" (Larsson, 2005:40).

Europe's Islamophobia map shows that France, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Germany (the Neo-Nazi attacks), Greece, Denmark, Holland and England are the leading countries. In terms of the context of this study, Poland's condition is more important for us. Although, the number of Muslims and Muslim immigrant is quite low, Reactions against Islam have also been observed in Poland as well.. "The European Values Survey of 2000 showed that the anti-Muslim sentiment among Poles is much stronger than amongst other European nations where Muslims make up significantly larger groups within the total populations" (Pedziwiatr, 2010:89) In terms of religion, Poland is a very homogenous country which is subject to the Roman Catholic Church and 96 % of its citizens are Catholic. The number of Muslims living in Poland is quite low when compared to other countries. Although this religious minority makes up only around 0.06% of the entire Polish population (circa 38 million), it is one which is viewed by the public with a great deal of suspicion (Pedziwiatr, 2010:89).

According to Petziwiatr, the most important reason of this suspicion is the media. "A careful analysis of the Polish media reports reveals a very strong tendency to standardize and simplify opinions in such a way that they fit into existing stereotypes. Thus, instead of providing the public with balanced and highly informative reports, the mainstream Polish media appear instead to be reinforcing anti-Muslim prejudices and thus contribute to the creation of a new folk devil (Petziwiatr: 89). Petziwiatr suggests that, there was censorship during the Communist regime in Poland, since there were no magazines, newspapers and the press with the birth of the private media, the markets have become competitive and the news had to be sharper and catchier. The Polish media focuses on the Muslim world, thus serves to strengthen the Muslim "other" perception. The writer even views the current situation the same as what has been done to the Jews. Polish Media "unbalanced reporting and misinformation it has been contributing to a rise in the levels of anti-Muslim sentiment of Polish society" (Petziwiatr: 90). The writer even views the current situation the same as what has been done to the Jews. "Fear of Muslims and Islam among the Polish population stems primarily from ignorance and misinformation [which] has led to the construction of the 'other' in the form of a new 'folk devil' such as was done in the past to the Jews" (Petziwiatr:90). "The Polish media depiction of Muslims as a personification of evil has been exaggerated mainly by stressing their inclination towards violence and aggressiveness. (Petziwiatr:92).

According to the results of the survey given to determine the view points of both university youth on the EU, Polish and Turkish university youth has significant differences in their views. Among these differences in their view points, it has been determined that the East-West opposition, Muslim-Christian opposition and being a member of the EU have been influential. Although, both Polish and Turkish youth are university students, it has determined that they receive the majority of their knowledge about the EU from the media, rather than

articles, books symposiums, etc and thus, they are directed by the media. At the conclusion of the study, we have presented certain suggestions about removing the East-West, Islam-Christianity oppositions and which could be beneficial to the EU policies.

Method

In this paper, a comparative method has been used. In the model of Adam Mickiewicz University and Cumhuriyet University, the Polish and Turkish university students' views the EU have been compared. With the random sampling method, the Adam Mickiewicz University students were given 411, and the Cumhuriyet University students were given 439 surveys, making a total of 850 surveys. The surveys have been done face to face. The surveys were evaluated by the SPSS analysis programme. The obtained data were then turned into tables and compared through a descriptive analysis of the statistical data. In the light of the data obtained from the surveys, a comparison has been made between the attitudes of both universities' youth towards the EU; their views on their country's membership and candidacy processes and views towards each other. The study attempts to determine the marks of the West-East opposition, Islam-Christianity opposition and Islamophobia within the clash of civilizations in both university youth's view points on the EU and the differences between their view points.

Since all the tables would take up too much space, only five of those have been used in the paper and the rest were given as commentary.

The survey questions presented to the students have been prepared in view of the testing of the hypothesis. The hypothesis of the study is: The view points of both university youth on the European Union, which have different cultural and religious structures, are expected to be different. It is believed that the difference in the view points of Turkish and Polish students on Poland's membership to the European Union and Turkey's candidacy to the European Union will reflect the marks of the East-West opposition, Islam-Christianity opposition and Islamophobia within the context of the clash of civilizations.

.Research Data and Evaluations

A Comparison of the students' understanding of the EU

In this section of the paper, the attitudes of the students of both universities towards the perception of the EU and the EU were dealt with.

Table 1: Shows the students' views on what kind of an organization UE is.

	Adam Mickiewicz University (%)	Cumhuriyet University (%)
Project of economic unity	74.9	20.7
Political project of democracy	3.6	14.1
Religious- Christian community	.2	27.6
Militarist project	.5	.9
Community of shared history and culture	3.9	1.4
Project of civilization	8.8	.7
Project for peace	4.1	2.1
An imperialist institution	2.7	26.7
Other	1.2	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Polish and Turkish students have a very different standpoint (Table 1). While 74,9 % of the Polish students state that the EU is an economical organization, 27,6 % of the Turkish students state that it is a Christian organization; 26,7 % state that it is an imperialist organization and 20,7 % state that it is an economical union. In terms of the EU, three main discourses become apparent: Political force discourse, economical discourse and pacifist humanity discourse (Tekeli, 2004: 9-10). The European Union is primarily an economical organization. When it was first founded, it was called European Economical Society and aimed at creating a common economic market. However, the Turkish students see the union rather like a Christian and imperialist organization rather than an economic organization.

The reasons why Turkish youth put forward the religious differences which is a significant part of the EU culture and the imperialist dimension may be listed as follows:

1.   Turkey as a Muslim country has been in candidate status and its membership to the EU has not been finalized.

2.   Certain political leaders and intellectuals have been emphasizing the Christian structure of the EU. What is more, some EU leaders have been underlining the religious and cultural aspects and have been stating negative views about Turkey's membership to the EU. The recent statement made by Van Rompuy, which has drawn great attention in the Turkish media, is striking: "The new President of the EU is Van Rompuy, the President of Belgium. The Belgian leader advocates that Christianity is the basic value of Europe and that Turkey has no place in Europe" (Rotahaber, 2011).

Table 2: Shows to what extent the students have positive or negative views on the EU.

	Adam Mickiewicz University (%)	Cumhuriyet University (%)
Very positive	10.0	4.1
Positive	51.1	13.7
Both positive and negative	33.6	31.7
Negative	1.7	29.2
Very negative	1.2	20.3
I do not know	2.4	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0

While 60 % of the Polish students have a positive view about the EU and 2.9 % have a negative view, 17.8 % of the Turkish students have a positive view and 49.5 % have a negative view about the EU (Table 2). Poland being a member of the EU and Turkey having been a candidate for a long time explains the discrepancies of the students' views. The attitudes of the Turkish students are in parallel with the table 1 above.

Students of both universities tend to think that the EU flag represents the "EU member countries". However, as 24.8 % of the Turkish students have replied as "Apostles of Jesus

Christ", this ratio among the Polish students is only 3.9 %. As Poland is one of the most religious countries in Europe, it is interesting that this percentage is low.

While, 54,9 % of the Turkish students agree with the comment that "The EU will disintegrate and cease to exist one day", the percentage concerning this statement is as low as 16 % among the Polish students. It is an important factor that the Polish students live under the umbrella of the EU. The Turkish students have not developed any kind of belief towards the EU, since their country is not an EU member and a fifty year period of candidacy process is still continuing. Therefore, it is easier for the Turkish students to state that a union their country is not a part of will end one day.

To the question "What does the EU mean to personally?" Polish students respectively give these answers: "More job opportunities", "Cultural diversity", "Freedom of action" and "A better future". The Turkish students answer the same question as follows: "Exploitation", "Demise of cultural identity", "Higher human rights' standards", "Corruption". Although the EU carries more positive meanings for Polish students, with the exception of an answer such as "Higher human rights' standards", it is obvious that the EU has negative connotations. There is a very apparent East-West opposition at this point as well. For the Western Polish youth, while the EU carries positive characteristics in individual terms, for a majority of Turkish students, it carries negative meanings, such as the EU being a medium of exploitation and cultural corruption. For the Turkish students, a positive characteristic of the EU is the increase in the human rights standard. In the light of these data, it is interesting to note that, they are viewing the EU in the East-West axis. That is, while Polish students view the EU in more individual terms, taking themselves as the basis ("More job opportunities", Cultural diversity", "Freedom of action" and "A better future"), Turkish students view it in more general terms, taking the society as the basis ("Exploitation", "Demise of cultural identity", "Higher human rights' standards", "Corruption"). It can be observed very clearly that, the "individualism" of the West comes face to face with the "socialism" of the East.

The EU member countries share common cultural values and the most prominent of these values is Christianity. What the Polish students mean by cultural differences is the cultural diversity within Europe which has a common religious, cultural and historical past. In the common ground, they are expressing that they have a rich cultural presence. Therefore, they are happy with this rich cultural presence. However, the EU for the Turkish youth signifies cultural corruption, deterioration and loss of cultural identity. The reason is that, the Turkish youth's cultural accumulation is quite different from the youth in Europe as they their background is made up of the Ottoman Empire and Islam. If case Turkey becomes a member, it will have to head towards new decisions and activities as a result of its integration with the EU and this will result in "a culture void" and give way to "cultural deterioration". This the main concern of the Turkish youth. However, as Kongar has stated, Turkey has taken steps towards modernization with the reforms of Atatürk and has carried the Western values and the cultural elements of the modern world to the Ottoman and Islam culture that have glided from the past. Turkey in its modernization period has accepted secular, democratic and social constitutional state model. Kongar thinks that Turkey in this aspect is a source of cultural richness for the EU (Kongar, 2001). Despite this modernization period, it has been observed that the Turkish youth have certain concerns as to cultural deterioration and the loss of cultural identity. If it is taken into consideration that the Turkish modernization has not yet completed even a hundred years, it may be possible to say that the Islamic and Ottoman cultural accumulation is still dominant over the Turkish youth. It is a sociologically and anthropologically known fact that the changes in the mentality of nations change much later compared to the materialistic changes.

While the EU signifies job opportunities, freedom and a better future for the Polish youth, the positive aspect of the EU for Turkish students signifies the advance of human rights standards.

A Comparison of the views of students' on their own country's membership/candidacy to the EU and on each other

In this section of the paper, how Polish students view Poland's membership and Turkey's candidacy to the EU and how Turkish students view Turkey's candidacy and Poland's membership to the EU has been determined and compared.

While 42.8 % of the Polish students have a positive view on Poland's membership, it is interesting that 50.6 % are 'indecisive'. The rate of the students with negative views 3.9 %., which is significantly low. More than half of the Turkish students, 53.1 % percent have negative views on Turkey's membership to the EU, while 23.6 % is positive. Since Turkish students have a negative view on the EU, it is not surprising to see that they think in the same manner about Turkey's membership. Although 50.6 % are indecisive, what is more interesting is that, 77. 4% of the Polish students answered the question "What do you think about Poland's situation after the EU membership?" as "Better". I think we may give the following explanation for this situation: While the Polish students accept that Poland's state has become better after its membership to the EU (it is impossible to refute this, since the EU has made great investments in Poland and developed Poland), the reason why the students are indecisive about the membership is that there is an elusiveness about what the benefits and damages the EU will bring to Poland in the long term. The same elusiveness is also apparent about the future of Poland as it can be seen from the paragraph below.

While 43.6 % of the Polish students are positive about Poland's future and 43.3 % are indecisive, it is possible to see that 43.3 % of the Turkish students are much more pessimistic. Therefore, it is possible to see that Turkish students who have negative views on the future of Turkey do not support Turkey's membership to the EU. There is a meaningful relationship between the views of the Turkish students concerning these two matters: Chi-square=43.468, P< 0,012. Taking this into consideration, we may suggest that the Turkish students do not expect the EU to positively contribute to Turkey's future. Despite this, 35,8 % of the Turkish students have stated that it would easier to find a job if Turkey became a member of the EU. In this respect, Turkish students' negative views on the future are thought to be related to the high rates of unemployment.

The Polish students were asked whether they were contended with the social, cultural, political and economic conditions of the EU and whether they find education, agriculture, science, economic innovation and social cohesion funds to be sufficient. The obtained data is shown in the following two tables.

Table 3: Students' views on whether they are happy living under the new conditions introduced by the EU membership?

	New Social Conditions %	New Cultural Conditions %	New Political Conditions %	New Economic Conditions %
Yes	43.8	68.4	37.5	65.0
Neither yes nor not	39.4	20.9	33.3	22.4
Not	10.7	4.1	24.9	9.8
I don't know	6.1	2.4	4.6	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Polish students in general are happy with the social, cultural, political, economic conditions made available by the EU (Table 3). However, once again it is interesting to note that about 20 to 40 % of them are indecisive. The indecisiveness which is dominant over the Polish students comes to the fore at this point. Polish students are by no means unhappy with the conditions, but they are still indecisive. Therefore, we may suggest that while negativity increases under political conditions, it is quite low in other circumstances.

Table 4: Students' views on whether they find sufficient opportunities to benefit from EU funds allocated to Poland in terms of education, agriculture, science, economic innovation and social cohesion.

	Education %	Agriculture %	Science %	Economic Innovation %	Social Cohesion %
Yes	30.9	38.2	30.0	39.4	32.9
Neither yes nor not	29.4	20.9	22.1	19.5	27.7
Not	42.3	30.1	35.7	29.5	25.5
I don't know	9.2	10.7	12.2	11.7	13.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Polish students are happy with the funds allocated to Poland in terms of education and science (Table 4). Although, the percentage is not very high in terms of the funds allocated to agriculture, economic innovation and social cohesion, it may still be said that they are happy about the allocated funds in general.

More than half of the Polish student's state "I am first a citizen of the EU, then a citizen of Poland". Polish students who say that they do not agree with the changing of their currency and Euro's coming into effect as the new currency, are also against the notion that "EU should become one country" with 71,5 %. Therefore, we may suggest that the Polish students prefer to be the citizens of a country that is united and to preserve their locality. Another explanation is that, Poland is a one of the new members of the EU. While the EU member countries take action together in many common policies, there each continues to carry their nation-state characteristic. The youth of Poland, which is an EU member, also spend

effort to preserve this characteristic of their country. The Polish students evaluate Turkey's membership/candidacy to the EU in this manner: It will benefit from the advantages of Turkey's geopolitical significance, The EU will clear away various prejudices, its borders will reach up to Asia, The EU will prove that it is a transnational union, It could be seen as an advantage for the EU to become a multicultural Union. About Turkey becoming a member, they state that cultural conflicts may arise, fewer funds may be allocated for East European countries and Islam may expand. It has been discussed how cultural differences determine Turkish students' point of view towards the EU in Table 1 and 2. We see the same situation with the Polish students. It is observed that the views of Polish students, who think that in case Turkey becomes a EU member, a cultural conflict will take place and Islam will spread, reflect cultural difference. However, they have also stated that they do support Turkey's EU membership for the development of women's and human rights.

Although 73,5 % of the Polish students state "I support further EU integration"; 66,2 % state "I support further EU enlargement"; 38,4 % state "I support the admission of Turkey to the EU". While the Polish students are in favor of expansion, this rate decreases by half on the issue of Turkey's membership to the EU. They support Ukraine's membership the most (68,7 %). It can be observed that, Polish students support the membership of Ukraine, which is closer to them in geographical, historical, cultural and religious terms, more than the membership of Turkey. The positive attitude of the Polish governments about Turkey's membership to the EU is sometimes displayed in the media. However, it cannot be said that they give strong support to this issue. According to Szymanski, Turkey's geographical situation, a low number of Turkish people living in Poland and the societies of both countries not being very close causes the Polish political elite to think that Turkey's membership to the EU will not provide any kind of direct benefit for Poland (2009, 139). Polish Ambassador Michalski states with emphasis that in Turkey's membership process to the EU, Turkey may benefit from the many valuable experiences of the Poland example. He adds that Poland has also had a difficult time in its own membership process, but never gave up. The Ambassador states that Poland membership success relied on the efforts of the professionals and negotiators who stood their ground. Therefore, Turkey may also be faced with similar problems in its membership process (Yılmaz, 2008). It is possible to see that Ambassador Michalski is using a diplomatic and moderate language in his comments.

The Turkish students evaluate Turkey's membership to the EU in this manner:

Turkish students state that the reasons why the EU seems unwilling to accept Turkey as a member are as follows: Turkey is a Muslim country (39.9 %); the EU does not want Turkey to become stronger (18.5 %); due to historical hostility 10.5 %); Turkish culture is different from European culture (8.7%); the percentage of the unemployed and young population is high in Turkey (8.7 %); Turkey is not a developed country (6.2 %); there is no democracy and human rights (3.9 %); Turkey does not deserve to have a European identity (1.4 %) and due to geographical differences (0.2 %). Due to religious and cultural differences and historical hostility, they do not support the membership of Turkey to the EU and do not believe that the EU will accept Turkey as a member. It may be observed from these answers that while the Turkish students do not put forward economical reasons concerning Turkey's membership to the EU, they emphasize cultural, historical and religious factors. On the EU's policy towards Turkey, 51.5 % of the Turkish students state that "The EU will not accept Turkey as a member, but will stall Turkey by keeping it on the threshold"; 28.5 % state that the EU's aim during this process "is to make Turkey dependent on the EU; and 2.7 % of the

students state that the EU intends to "develop Turkish democracy and human rights". Once again, it is possible to suggest from the given answers that the Turkish students do not give much importance to the issue of democracy and human rights which the EU often brings to the agenda. At this point, it may be suggested that distrust towards the EU policies is evident.

A majority of the Turkish students (90,5 %) state that "the EU has not been fair and sincere towards Turkey". The students think that due to prolonged EU membership period and the significant investments done by the EU to other candidate countries, the EU has not been acting fairly on the membership issue. Although Turkey's relationship with the EU is much older than the rest of the candidate countries, the amount of the financial aid made to Turkey has been significantly low compared to the other countries which receive financial help. Central and Eastern European countries have received much more financial aid in ten years than the aid Turkey has received in a forty year period. In view of the loans allocated by the European Investment Bank for the development period, while Poland was received a loan of 4.908 million Euros, turkey has received 1.592 million Euros in the same period (Yıldız and Yardımcıoğlu, 2005:102-103). The EU's attitude in this aspect shows that, it is close to those countries which are similar to it in religious and cultural terms and that it supports them. This attitude in question in a way justifies the views of Turkish students.

81,4 % of the students think that "Turkey has been compromising its own values to be a member of the EU". The percentage of those who think that "we as a nation are not able to govern ourselves" is 70,4. The Turkish students think that as a part of the integration to Europe, Turkey has not been able to preserve its own identity and basic structure in the face of changing and developing conditions.. However, 42,2 % believe that "Turkey is not ready to be a member of the EU" and 59,2 % state that "Turkey should realize its own potential power and make the best of it". The students think that Turkey has a potential due to its young population, rich natural resources and geopolitical status and that should use this potential to both develop itself and to remain strong against the EU.

Although the pursuit for an alternative alliance is frequently on the agenda in Turkey by the opponents of the EU, 9.6 % of the students share the view that Turkey should form a union with the "Turkic nations", while 5.2 % state that Turkey should form a union with the "Muslim countries". Although the students do not have a positive view on the EU, they do not bring an alternative union proposal either.

When asked "When do you think Turkey will become a member of the EU?", 59.5 % of the students replied "Never"; 8.4 % replied "Within 5-10 years"; 13.7 % replied "Within 10-15 years" and 17.5 % replied "Within 15-20 years". The percentage of students who believe that Turkey will be a member of the EU in a short period of time is low. It is apparent that due to the prolonged candidacy status of Turkey, the majority of the students do not think that Turkey will one day become a member. One of the other reasons for the negative view of the EU is that the students do not believe that Turkey will ever be a member of the EU.

In case Turkey becomes a member of the EU, the Turkish students list the EU's benefits as follows: the EU will benefit from Turkey's geopolitical status; the EU will benefit from Turkey's membership economically; the EU will gain multiculturalism. If we take into consideration that the Polish students give Turkey's geopolitical status a priority as well, it is once again proved that Turkey geopolitical status keeps its importance in all historical eras. According to a majority of the Turkish students, "There is no reason why Turkey should be a member of the EU", a relatively low percentage who supports Turkey's membership believes that to have freedom of movement, a better life and as a solution to unemployment, Turkey should become a member of the EU.

One of the important indications of Islam-Christian opposition is that, the research data point out to Turkey, which has not been accepted as a member to the EU only because it is a Muslim country and that Poland has been accepted as a member since it is a Christian country. According to 63.1 % of the Turkish students, the reason why Poland has become a member despite the fact that it had applied for membership much later than Turkey is that it is "a Christian country". There is a parallelism the views of the Turkish students who think that the reason why Turkey has not yet become a member of the EU is due to its being a Muslim country and those who think that Poland has become a member before Turkey since it is a Christian country. Religious differences which is an important part of culture has also had a determinant quality in the students' point of view about Poland's membership.

33.1 % of the Polish students state that they have sufficient knowledge about the EU and EU-Poland affairs, while 41.6 % state that they do not have sufficient knowledge about the EU. 39.8 % of the Turkish students state that they have sufficient knowledge on the EU and EU-Turkey affairs, while 21.1. % state that they do not have sufficient knowledge. The number of those students who neither state "Yes" or "No" is quite high for both countries. Therefore, this group may be said to be informed about the EU, but does not see itself as having sufficient knowledge. It is interesting that although Poland is a member country, the percentage of Polish students who have less knowledge about the EU compared to the Turkish students is low. Another suggestion may be that the Turkish students think that they have sufficient knowledge.

When asked "Where have you acquired your knowledge about the EU and its member countries?" it is observed that students of both countries give similar replies. 63.3 % of the Polish students and 59 % of the Turkish students say that they have acquired knowledge about the EU from TV. Those who say that they have acquired knowledge about the EU from scientific researches are 24.1 % for the Polish students and 22.9 % for the Turkish students. It is noteworthy that students who are expected to do research and evaluate existing researches prefer to watch TV. Yet, it is a known fact that unique views and perspectives can be developed through the students' own researches and evaluations. If it is taken into consideration that the youth is informed by the media, it could also be suggested that it is guided by the media as well. It is possible that they are under the influence of the political attitude of the media the follow and the catchy news created to have more ratings and to be read more. So much so that, we had mentioned the anti-Islamist news created by the Polish media which aimed at showing Islam as a supporter of violence in order to be more attention grabbing and serve to spread Islamophobia at the beginning of our study.

The reflection of East-West differences to the study data are as follows: a high percentage of the Polish students (86.1 %) state that they have been to any EU member country, the percentage for the Turkish students is as low as 7.5 %. The low percentage among the Turkish students can be explained by factors such as the geographical distance of Turkey and no freedom of movement between the borders. In a way, the Turkish students are not able to develop a point of view about Europe and the EU since they do not have the means to travel to Europe freely. For this reason, it is quite possible that their point of view contains numerous.

A comparison of the students' political preferences and ideologies with their views on the EU

In this section of the paper, both universities' students' ideological attitudes and political preferences have been compared their views on the EU and the relationship between these have been explored.

Table 5: Students' replies on whether they would consider themselves a nationalist.

	Adam Mickiewicz University (%)	Cumhuriyet University (%)
Definitely yes	2.9	49.8
Rather yes	6.3	30.8
Neither yes nor not	26.0	8.4
Rather not	17.8	5.2
Definitely not	40.6	5.2
I don't know	6.3	0.5
Total	100.0	100. 0

When asked whether they would consider themselves nationalist, patriotic, traditionalist, modernist and individualistic as separate questions, the students replied as follows:

As it can be seen from Table 5, 80.6 % of the Turkish students state that they are "Nationalists", whereas only 9.2 % of the Polish students give the same reply. 94,1 % of the Turkish students state that they are "Patriotic", whereas 66,6 % of the Polish students consider themselves so. We may state that there are two main reasons why there is a great difference between the Nationalist and Patriotic rates in Turkish and Polish students. The first reason is the religious and historical differences; and the second reason is whether to be an EU member or not. So much so that, we may suggest that the rates of nationalism and patriotism in Turkish students who view the EU as a Christian and imperialist structure and that the EU has not been fair towards Turkey increase as a reaction against the Western perception. While living on the historical, cultural and religious European continent and under the wings of the EU can cause the nationalism and patriotism perceptions of the Polish students to be different from the Turkish students' perceptions.

While 61,3 % of the Turkish students state that they are "Traditionalists", 64,2 % of the Polish students says that they are so. 64,2 % of the Polish students and 65,8 % of the Turkish students state that they are "Modernists". It may be suggested that Turkish students have conflicting views on this subject, because the percentage of those who think of themselves as traditionalists is 61,3 % and as modernists is 65,8 %. In fact, a majority of the Turkish students go through this contradiction. On the one hand due to the existing traditional values ever since the beginning of the historical process and the acquisition of these values, primarily family during the process of socialization, on the other hand due to the modernization efforts of the last periods of the Ottoman Empire and the modernization project initiated by the state ever since the Reorganization (Tanzimat) Period, the Turkish youth has experienced both traditionalism and modernism simultaneously. Especially in the past 20 to 30 years, the globalization of culture through the mass communication tools (most of all the TV and the internet) has brought various new values and consumer habits that were internalized by the Turkish youth. When the young generation defines itself as "Modernist", what they mean is that they as consumers are spending more money on clothes apparel and making more use of technology, while they still have a traditionalist attitude and values concerning domestic affairs and gender roles. Therefore, Turkish youth stylistically may be defined as modernist and

traditionalist in terms of mentality. So much so that "individuality" which is one of the main parameters of modernism has not received much attention from the Turkish students. 73.5 % of the Polish students stated that they are "individualistic", while the percentage of the Turkish students who believe they are individualistic falls down to 26,5 %. It is meaningful that Turkish students who emphasize feelings of belonging such as nationalism, traditionalism and religiosity, do not feel as much "individualistic".

The Polish students' political preferences respectively are "Democrat", "Liberal" and "Conservative, while "Nationalist", "Social Democrat", "Conservative" and "Kemalist". Although "nationalist" takes the first place in Turkish students' preferences, "liberal" and "democrat" are the first two choices of the Polish students. As it is understood from these replies, the political preferences of the Polish students are more in line with the democratic and liberal policies of the EU. Therefore, their political preferences and positive views of the EU are also in harmony, whereas, the Turkish students' conservative and nationalistic feelings of belonging determine their negative views on the EU. It has been determined that there is a relationship between the nationalistic, traditionalist and modern attitude of the Turkish students and their negative views on the EU. There is a meaningful relationship between the nationalistic feelings and negative views of the students: Chi-square=51.878 $p<0,001$, as there is a meaningful relationship between the traditionalist feelings and negative views on the EU of the students: Chi-square=40.630, $p<0,025$. Likewise, there is a meaningful relationship between those who state that they are modernists and their negative views on the EU: Chi-square= 42.236, $p<0,017$. What is significant here is that those students who identify themselves as modernists also have negative views on the EU. As it has been explained above, the Turkish students are stylistically modernists. It has been determined that the Turkish students who have negative views on the EU do not support Turkey's membership to the EU. And there is a strong relationship between these two: Chi-square= 481.846 $P<0,000$.

As for religiosity, it can be seen that the youth of both countries are not very different from each other. Both Turkish and Polish university students predominantly state "I am a religious person but I don't obey all the commands of my religion" (44 % of the Polish students and 71,8 % of the Turkish students). Those who state "I am a very religious person" make up 18 % of the Polish and 14.4 % of the Turkish students. Therefore, Poland which is known to be the most religious cities in Europe shows a change in the attitude of youth toward religiosity. At this point, we see that Polish youth's religious attitude and views on Catholicism is an object of interest and an area of research.

It has been determined that those students who think that the EU is an imperialist and Christian organization, also have negative views on the EU. As for those students who think that the EU is an economical, democratic and civilized project, it has been determined that that they have a more positive attitude. There is a meaningful relationship between what kind of an organization the EU is and attitude towards the EU: Chi-square= 112.442, $P<0,001$. There is a meaningful relationship concerning the Polish students as well: Chi-square=145.403, $P<0,000$.

It is seen from the above data and tables that, Turkish and Polish university students' views on the EU are quite different from each other. In the differences in their view points, signs of East-West opposition, Islam-Christianity opposition and Islamophobia have been observed and that being a member of the EU is an important factor as well. Since Polish students benefit from the already existing opportunities of the EU under the wings of the EU and do not feel a religious-cultural difference in within this union, it has been observed that

they have a positive attitude towards the EU. Underneath the negative point of view of Turkish students towards the EU is the belief that Turkey and the EU are different from each other in historical, cultural and religious aspects and the fact that, this belief has been triggered by Turkey's not being accepted as a member to the EU for half a century.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In this paper, it has been determined that the Polish students have positive views on the EU; they are happy to be a member of the EU as a country and that a significantly high amount are indecisive. Although the Polish students are generally positive towards the EU, it is striking that they are indecisive (50,6 %) about Poland's membership to the EU. The reason for their indecisiveness could be that Poland is a very new member. Meanwhile, 42,2 % of the students support Poland's membership to the EU. It has to be indicated at this point that the percentage of students who have negative views on the EU is very low. It has been determined that 20 to 30 % of the Polish students are "neither happy, nor unhappy" about the social, cultural, political and economical conditions of the EU and the educational, cultural, scientific, social and economical funds allocated by the EU. Although there is a significant amount of indecisiveness along with a positive attitude towards the EU, a negative point of view almost does not exist Polish students think that, in case Turkey becomes a member, this will cause cultural clashes and Islam will spread. On the other hand, they believe that with Turkey's membership, human rights, especially women's rights and democracy will develop in Turkey.

It can be seen from the survey results that a majority of the Turkish students display a negative attitude towards the EU and that they do not support Turkey's membership. There are two main reasons why the Turkish students have a negative attitude towards the EU: First of all, the Turkish students perceive the EU through religious, nationalistic and traditional feelings of belonging and consider the union as a different formation in historical, religious and cultural terms. It is observed that the Turkish students view the EU especially as a religiously motivated "other". A high percentage of the students think that the EU is a Christian-religious formation; the EU flag represents "The Christ and his disciples"; although Poland had applied for membership much later than Turkey, it became a member sooner because it is a Christian country. Accordingly, they believe that the EU has not given Turkey membership because it is a Muslim country. Despite the EU's criticisms and expectations from Turkey on the issues of democracy and human rights, only 3,9 % of the Turkish students have stated that EU is reluctant to give Turkey membership due to the lack of human rights and democracy in Turkey. In the survey entitled "The European Perception towards Turkey and Turkey's Views on the Membership to the European Union", which was given to 5000 people, one of the interesting outcomes was as follows: "Turkey appears as a highly "culturised" case study. As a matter of fact, while Europeans show democracy and economical prosperity as the most valuable assets of the European identity and emphasize that the two main characteristics they look for in the future members are a country's democratic development and economical prosperity level, when it comes to Turkey they state that the reason why they deny membership and accept candidacy has both to do with "cultural" reasons. It should not be overlooked that these "cultural" reasons also contain "religion" issues" (Yılmaz and Erdoğan and Esteban, 2009). In another research conducted, it was observed that 55 % of the Turkish society thinks that the EU is based on Christian values (Yılmaz, 2009:9). The historical and cultural differences between Turkey and Europe become apparent at every turn.

The second reason why Turkish students have a negative view on the EU is that, Turkey's membership process has been going on for the past fifty years, even from the time of the 1856 Paris Pact. For this reason, the Turkish students have come to believe that Turkey will never be a member. Although Turkey has met most of the demands of the EU, it is still a

candidate. For this reason, the students think that the EU has been applying a double standard and that Turkey has been making too many compromises. In a public opinion research conducted in Turkey, almost 60 % of the people have stated that the EU has been stalling Turkey and applying double standards (Yılmaz, 2009:8). This situation is causing the Turkish youth to be indifferent towards the EU. Grossman[*] in a conference held in Turkey Robert College has emphasized the fact that there has been a decrease in the public opinion about the membership process to the EU. During the conference, he asked the audience "How important it is for you to be a member of the EU?" and received replies such as "We don't care; it's not an important issue for us". Grossman then stated that it is tragic to hear such comments in an institution like the Robert College and stated his belief that Turkey should show more support for its own membership to the EU (Cakırözer, 2009).

The public opinion surveys show that there is skepticism towards Europe in Turkey. This political and elite skepticism towards Europe has been apparent in the form of Tanzimat (Reorganization) and Sevres Syndromes[1] (Yılmaz, 2009.49). According to Yılmaz, this skepticism towards the EU has been formed by members of an organization which is skeptic towards the EU and tries to politicize people in this aspect; by following such an organization or a party; by showing allegiance to that party and by adopting the policies of that party. In other words, it means going through a process which we call politicization (Yılmaz, 2009:9). It is true that the Turkish students are also influenced by the discourses they feel close to (nationalist, conservative, socialist, etc.) and by the discourses of those political parties about the EU, which they feel close to and support.

While the EU membership has been a matter of preference and a process for Turkey, Poland has already become a member. Therefore, it has been observed in the study that being a member of the EU and not being a member of the EU has certainly created different points of views about the EU membership. For this reason, it is quite expected for the students of both countries to have different views. At the same time, it has been observed in this study that cultural differences have been determinant in the views o the both countries' youths towards the EU. The proposed hypothesis has been proved to be right in the study.

Recommendations:

1. Especially to remove the religious point of view and in order to prevent Islamophobia cross cultural dialogues have to be initiated. The Erasmus Student Exchange Program has a significant role in this cause. In a research conducted on the Erasmus students, although the Turkish students reflect their feeling of belonging, they also stated that they were able to do away with their prejudice towards the European culture and the UE member

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[*] Marc Grossman (born September 23, 1951) is the United States Special Envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan. He served as United States Ambassador to Turkey, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

[1] *Tanzimat (***Reorganization Period) Syndrome**: This is a syndrome about the minority rights. During the Reorganization Period, after the demands of the West in terms of minority rights from the Ottoman, The Ottoman gave the minorities a series of rights and liberties. However, the minorities have not been faithful to the state and tried to divide the Ottoman with their newly acquired rights.

Sevres Syndrome: This is the belief that there are still enemies who want to divide the country just like the time the Ottoman made the Sevres Pact with the victors of the war in 1920, after World War I.

countries (Mutlu and Alacahan and Erdil, 2010). The Turkish students should be given the chance to get to know the EU member countries. The same opportunity should also be given to the youth of EU member countries. New programs which will initiate cross cultural dialogues and destroy prejudices should be developed. Through these programs, the EU may be able to initiate its main belief, which it defines as "the union of diversities" and cultural differences may be transformed into cultural prosperity within the EU. "The European Union is certainly not a society, but an institution of several states that represent different societies. Therefore, one cannot speak of a culture in the strict sense of the concept" (Endruweit, 1998:2). For the artistic activities which will bring prosperity, the necessary resources should be provided. At this point, both the EU and Turkey have a lot to do.

2. The politicians, diplomats and religious men also have a great responsibility. The EU officials and representatives should take care not to use phrases which emphasize cultural differences and otherization. For instance, Papa Benedictus XVI's words directed towards the Islam religion had caused a great reaction in Turkey. French President Nicolas Sarkozy's negative views and attitudes towards Turkey have also been triggering prejudices and disrupt the integration process.

3. One of the main tools which feed negative views is the media. As stated before, the students who have taken the survey have stated that they learn about the EU from TV programs. Therefore, it is suggested that the students' negative views are also triggered by the media. For this reason, more scientific activities (conferences, symposiums, research projects, etc.) about the EU to educate the university students should be organized. The students should be enlightened about the EU and the EU should be included in the curricula as a course.

4. All the channels which reflect skepticism towards the EU should be closed down. For this purpose, the young generation should be educated to show skepticism towards political parties and their discourses. At this point, a great responsibility falls on behalf of families and university teachers.

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