

February 2019

Methodological Appendix

for FEUTURE Online Paper No. 28

“Narratives of a Contested Relationship:
Unravelling the Debates in the EU and
Turkey”

Ebru Ece Özbey

Hanna-Lisa Hauge



1. Introduction

This is the methodological appendix for the narrative analysis conducted by the researchers from the University of Cologne (UzK) and Middle East Technical University (METU) within the scope of the ongoing research project, which is entitled “*The Future of EU-Turkey Relations: Mapping Dynamics and Testing Scenarios*” (FEUTURE) and funded by the European Union’s Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme. The appendix is designed to provide comprehensive information on the operationalization of the qualitative research that was carried out for the FEUTURE Online Paper No. 28 “*Narratives of a Contested Relationship: Unravelling the Debates in the EU and Turkey*” published in February 2019.

The following sections present details on the selected actors, data sampling and collection, code-book and variables, and overall time span of the research. While the bulk of this appendix is limited to the practical guidance on methodological procedures followed by the researchers, more information on the researchers’ approach to the concept of narrative in general as well as the literature review on narrative analysis method shall be found in the final paper on the project website at: <http://www.feuture.uni-koeln.de/de/publications/feuture-online-paper-series/>

The research group for this study consisted of 5 researchers (2 from University of Cologne and 3 from METU) working in two different teams for the European and Turkish narratives and on two different papers. In the first (working) paper “*Mapping milestones and periods of past EU-Turkey relations*”¹, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels and Hanna-Lisa Hauge from the University of Cologne and Prof. Dr. Atila Eralp and Nurdan Selay Bedir from METU elaborated the historical context of FEUTURE’s analysis of contemporary drivers of the EU-Turkey relations by mapping the milestones and periods in which the debate on the EU-Turkey relations is embedded and outlining some initial considerations on possible interpretations and narratives. On the basis of this working paper, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels and Hanna-Lisa Hauge from UzK and Prof. Dr. Atila Eralp and Ebru Ece Özbey from METU undertook the qualitative research on the governmental and institutional documents from Turkey and the EU, aiming to identify, (re)construct, and comparatively analyze the predominant narratives from both sides, extrapolate and better understand the particular and shared elements, and provide insights into possible future narratives and scenarios. In addition, Betül Sakınır generously contributed to the collection of the EU sources and the editing of both papers.

¹ Available at <http://ukoeln.de/I2G45>



2. Overview

Table A. 1: Overview of FEUTURE's Narrative Analysis

| | Turkey | EU |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| Actors | <p>Individuals: President of the Republic of Turkey, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of European Union Affairs</p> <p>Institutions: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry for European Union Affairs, Economic Development Foundation</p> | <p>Individuals: Commissioners, Commission President, President of the European Council, President of the European Parliament</p> <p>Institutions: European Commission, European Parliament, European Council</p> |
| Time Span of Research | 1959-2016 | 1959-2016 |
| Time Span of Data Collection | 1958-2017 | 1958-2017 |
| Data Sources | <p>Governmental and ministerial documents on EU-Turkey relations (from both digital and physical archives):</p> <p>Speeches, statements, and presentations by Presidents</p> <p>Speeches, statements, and presentations by Prime Ministers</p> <p>Speeches, statements, and presentations by Ministries of Foreign Affairs and EU Affairs</p> <p>Documents issued by the Economic Development Foundation</p> | <p>Institutional documents on the EU-Turkey relations from both digital and physical archives (of the European Parliament in Luxembourg and of the European Commission in Brussels):</p> <p>Speeches by EU leaders</p> <p>European Parliament resolutions and parliamentary debates</p> <p>European Council conclusions and statements</p> <p>European Commission communications, reports, statements, and press releases</p> |
| Total Number of Documents | 144 | 138 |
| Language(s) of Documents | Turkish English | German English |
| Data Analysis Tool | MAXQDA (Version 12, VERBI GmbH, Berlin/Germany) | MAXQDA (Version 12, VERBI GmbH, Berlin/Germany) |
| Data Collection Period | May 2016-December 2017 | May 2016-December 2017 |

Source: Researchers' elaborations

3. Milestones

For this study, the researchers' primary goal was to systematically and comparatively analyse a comprehensive set of official documents by various actors and institutions from Turkey and the EU since the beginning of institutionalised relations to complement to the wider research conducted under the FEUTURE project.

The referred period comprised nearly 60 years, which made the manual coding of the documents a challenging and time-consuming task – especially when taking FEUTURE's ambitious and complex research design with multiple thematic dimensions into account. The researchers attempted to tackle this issue by limiting the number of selected years and documents in a way that would render a narrative analysis of a relatively long time span possible, as well as the identification of the main elements and track of the specific patterns of continuity and change throughout the history of the relations.

Based on the detailed literature review completed in the first (working) paper (Hauge et al., 2016), the researchers chose a number of milestones from both the European and Turkish perspectives as points of orientation for the selection of documents. These milestones referred to the years in which critical decisions or developments that have resulted in direct or indirect changes and shifts in the EU-Turkey relations, and therefore in the narratives of the parties, took place. In the end, 13 milestones were identified. Moreover, the years before and after each milestone were also included in the sampling in order to be able to address the potential variances that are mentioned above. Ultimately, the study covered a total number of 36 years (due to some overlap between years) out of nearly 60 (Table A. 2).

Table A. 2: Milestones and Descriptions

| Milestone | Definition |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1958 <u>1959</u> 1960 | Turkish application for the associate membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) |
| 1962 <u>1963</u> 1964 | Signature of Ankara Agreement: Association Agreement between Turkey and EEC is signed |
| 1969 <u>1970</u> 1971 | Additional Protocol and 2 nd Financial Protocol to the Association Agreement are signed |
| 1973 <u>1974</u> 1975 | Sampson Coup & Turkish intervention in Cyprus |
| 1979 <u>1980</u> 1981 | Military coup in Turkey |
| 1986 <u>1987</u> 1988 | Turkey's membership application to the EU (and rejection in 1989) |
| 1988 <u>1989</u> 1990 | End of the Cold War & collapse of the Soviet Union |
| 1995 <u>1996</u> 1997 | Customs Union between Turkey and EU comes into force |
| 1998 <u>1999</u> 2000 | Helsinki Summit of the European Council grants candidacy status to Turkey |
| 2003 <u>2004</u> 2005 | Cyprus becomes an EU member |
| 2004 <u>2005</u> 2006 | Turkish accession negotiations begin |
| 2011 <u>2012</u> 2013 | Launch of Positive Agenda & Turkey freezes relations with EU during the Presidency of Cyprus |
| 2015 <u>2016</u> 2017 | EU-Turkey Summit (Migration Deal) & Military coup attempt in Turkey |

Source: Researchers' elaborations



4. Data Selection and Collection

The documents for the selected years were collected by the research teams at METU and the University of Cologne from both digital and physical archives of the Turkish and European institutions. All the documents then were digitalized to be coded using the MAXQDA software, resulting in a unique and comprehensive data set.

4.1. Data Selection and Collection for the EU

The selection represents the focus of the analysis on the official position of the EU and totals a number of 138 text documents. It focused on certain types of documents from the European Parliament, European Council and European Commission-

The European Parliament's (EP) resolutions were considered particularly relevant as they are the result of often lively debates among the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and in some way reflect the consensus reached at EU level. Resolutions assumedly represent the result of the debates held in the EP and constitute to a certain degree a political compromise and a result of political deliberations. At the same time, the European Parliament is considered a crucial actor due to the fact that it represents the citizens of the Member States. In total, 222 EP resolutions mentioning Turkey were identified for the period between 1960 and 2017 (Source: The European Parliament Archive in Luxembourg for 1960-1998, the digital archive of the EP for 1999-2017). Out of these, 47 resolutions were analysed with the MaxQDA software on the basis of the identified milestones. If there were many resolutions for a certain year, the selection was based on the topic covered, thereby putting a focus on those resolutions which referred to the EU-Turkey relationship in general or to the events on the basis of which the milestones have been selected. In addition, eight selected European Parliament debates were included in the analysis, which helped the researchers to fully grasp the political context of certain resolutions.

As the institution defining the EU's overall political direction, the European Council represents a central actor for EU-Turkey relations. In total, the researchers identified 50 European Council (Presidency) Conclusions mentioning Turkey between 1974 and 2017, out of which 35 conclusions were selected for the study based on the selection of milestones. These documents cover the time frame 1990-2017. In addition, two central statements by the European Council in the context of the EU-Turkey deal were analysed (statements from 29.11.2015 and 18.03.2016).

The European Commission is the third EU institution that was selected for this study. As the institution that manages the enlargement and the accession negotiations particularly, it is an important actor for the EU-Turkey relations. The enlargement strategies, as well as composite papers published by the Commission, were identified as suitable and relevant sources because they include summaries of the progress reports on Turkey and at the same time contain paragraphs on the general context of enlargement. Thus, they contribute to understanding the context in which Turkish accession is negotiated, although they have to be interpreted in the context of the formalised accession process. In total, 15 of these enlargement strategies and reports were analysed based on the selected milestones. Another central document represents the Commission's Opinion on Turkey's membership application of 1989. Further, central Commission statements such as

on the Positive Agenda (2012) and the EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan (2015) were included in the data set along with several press releases which account for years before Turkey became accession candidate, i.e. before yearly reports were issued by the Commission. Overall, 24 documents published by the European Commission were coded.

Like parliamentary debates, speeches are very helpful as a complementary source and means of triangulation as they have a less formalized language and allow the speakers to tell comprehensive stories. In total, 18 Speeches were coded (mostly by Commissioners but also by European Council presidents and one by the EP president). Due to the limited availability of speeches, the selection was not based as strictly on the milestones years as in the case of the above-mentioned documents.

Thus, some of the documents were analysed even if they were not published in a milestone year, for example also in cases when they were referenced to within other sources, indicating the high relevance of these particular documents. It also has to be noted that the number of sources for the 1960s and 1970s is smaller when compared with the later decades (1980s-present) due to the limited availability of sources in different archives. The authors are aware of the implications for the explanatory power of the results for this time period.

4.2. Data Selection and Collection for Turkey

For the Turkish side, the data selection primarily relied on the President's opening remarks at the beginning of legislative year and the Prime Minister's presentations of government program and budget bill for each selected year since these documents are found to be comprehensive in terms of references to the relations with third countries and institutions; domestic, regional, and global developments; and economic and social strategies and policy proposals of the government of the time. However, for the earlier years of the relationship (especially during the National Assembly, the Senate, and the National Security Council), the said documents were not published on a regular basis. Therefore, when the documents were unattainable for a selected year, similar documents for the same actors were collected from the closest years and were included in the dataset.

Furthermore, in order to be able to include the most critical documents from other years, all speeches that were given by the Prime Ministers at the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for the selected time period (1959-2017) were browsed. The speeches, which included the keywords (such as Europe, European Union, European Community, European Integration, Customs Union) were inspected in detail and, if found particularly important, included in the dataset.

Particular attention was given to speeches and statements of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as a long-standing, influential political actor in the contemporary Turkish politics and political narratives in Turkey. Similar browsing technique was carried out among the documents that were publicly shared on the official website of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey (www.tccb.gov.tr) for President Erdoğan's term to grasp a better understanding of his influence over and input into the prevailing Turkish narratives.

For the documents that are directly on the EU-Turkey relations, the selection was limited with the documents that were shared as "Main Documents" on the official website of the Ministry for EU



Affairs (www.ab.gov.tr). Here, all documents apart from the ones that were prepared by the European actors or the ones with entirely technical, formal or legal content (such as agreements, protocols, decisions) were included in the data selection.

Finally, following an archival work at the Istanbul Office and consultation session with the Secretary-General Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem NAS, the most relevant documents that were issued by the Economic Development Foundation (EDF, or “IKV” in Turkish), as the oldest non-governmental institution with an aim “to inform Turkish business world and Turkish public about European integration and Turkey-EU relations” (IKV, n.a), were collected in order to reflect the non-governmental/business aspect in the Turkish narratives.

5. Variables

Aiming to scrutinize a wide range of actors in two discrete sides of a relationship for a moderately long time period, the dataset for this study consists of a collection of textual documents with different natures and from different sources and phases. In order to facilitate data discovery and ensure the usability of the data (i.e. to enable faster searches, make comparisons among documents and through time, and create reports) in such a collection, it is crucial to describe and classify all the information on the selected documents. This process is essential in the way it transforms a number of files, actors, dates, and values that are simply meaningless by themselves for the research into an orderable, comparable, revisable set of data.

In that sense, variables can be understood as categories or schemes through which descriptive details on the data are organized and stored. For this study, the researchers created a group of variables compatible with the focus and objective of the research (Table A. 3). Through these variables, they generated metadata, which has made combining and comparing empirical research findings possible.

Table A. 3: Variables and Descriptions

| | Variable Short Name | Variable Type | Variable Definition |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|---|
| Document Variables | Doc_Title | String | Title of document |
| | Doc_Date | Date/Time | Date of publication for the document (DD/MM/YYYY) |
| | Doc_Collect | Date/Time | Date document is collected and inserted into the software (DD/MM/YYYY) |
| | Doc_Type | Integer | The type of document: 1 - Speech 2 - Report 3 - Statement 4 - Agreement 5 - Resolution 6 - Conclusion 7 - Documents issued by the Economic Development Foundation (IKV) 8 - Other |
| | Act_Name | String | The name of the actor or subject of the document |



| | | | |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| Coding Variables | Code_Date | Date/Time | Date the coding takes place (YYYY) |
| | Link_Scen | Integer | FEUTURE Scenario to which the coded segments within the document refer in general: 1 – Convergence 2 – Cooperation 3 – Conflict |

Source: Researchers' elaborations

6. Coding

Codes in qualitative research are also used to describe and classify the data but, unlike variables, they are usually applied to a specific part or portion of it. They are concepts or themes that symbolically attribute meaning (some more evocative than others) to certain segments. Codes help the researcher to condense the data. They serve as tools to capture and record the essence of data and create summative datum points from it.

Coding is an iterative, interpretative process, and the researcher is the one, who sets the agenda for and the driver of this process. The researcher is the data collection and data analysis instrument simultaneously because the research design (and therefore the coding design) is based on the researcher's ontological or epistemological orientations and theoretical background. Coding usually starts with development of a tentative codebook developed according to the researcher's existing knowledge and ensuing exploratory research. During the first round of coding, the researcher revises codes and categories to reach a sufficiently detailed, fine-grained codebook. In that sense, coding is an open and receptive procedure that takes both top-down and bottom-up approaches and can be claimed to be a part of the analysis itself. The process for this study was no different.

The first step the researchers took was to make a pathway a) between the FEUTURE's research design/questions to the codebook, and b) between the codebook and the narratives (Figure A. 1.). They initially created a provisional list of codes originated from the research questions and the key elements of the project, such as scenarios and thematic dimensions. Pursuant to an application of this codebook to a sample set of documents, in other words, in-depth reading and interpretation of some proportion of the text, they inductively made re-classification and re-arrangement of codes. Lastly, they started the main coding process with the finalized (and yet open and expandable) codebook which contains main codes and sub-codes, which further specify the main codes for Turkish and European actors separately (Table A. 4).

Figure A. 1. Main components of the FEUTURE's coding approach

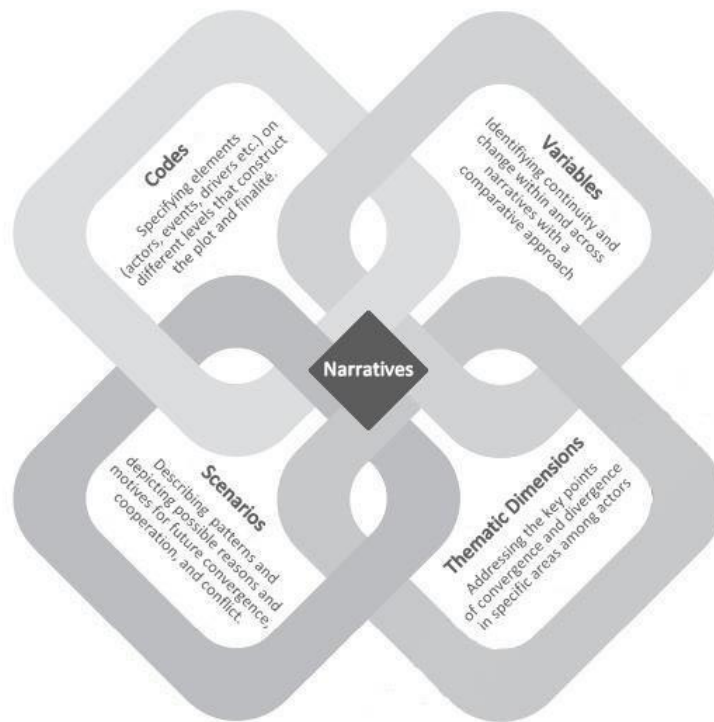
Source: Researchers' elaborations²

Table A. 4: Codes and Descriptions

| | Code Category | Description of Codes | Examples for Sub-Codes (i.e. Positive and Negative Drivers on Different Levels) |
|---------------------|------------------------|---|--|
| | Framework of Relations | Actors' perceptions of each other and manifested goals for the framework of relations | For the EU Side: Member, Candidate, Associate, Partner, Stranger, EU as an Anchor ... For the Turkish Side: European, Western, Anatolian, Neo-Ottoman, Eurasian, World Leader, Great Power, EU as an Ally, EU as an Opponent, EU as a Transformative Power... |
| Thematic Dimensions | Politics | Perceived political issues, developments, or actors that drive Turkey and EU towards or away from each other | Cyprus Issue, Kurdish Issue, Peace Process, Gezi Protest, Coup Attempt in Turkey, Armenian Issue, Rule of Law, Human Rights, New Constitution, End of the Cold War, Democratization in Turkey ... |
| | Economy | Perceived economic issues, developments, or actors that drive Turkey and EU towards or away from each other | Customs Union (and its modernization), Need for Economic Reforms, Financial Assistance, Globalization, Liberalization, TTIP ... |
| | Security | Perceived security-related issues, developments, or actors that drive Turkey and EU towards or away from each other | NATO, (Global and Regional) Terrorism, Armed Conflicts in the Neighborhood, Cold War/Bipolar International Order, Nuclear (Dis)Armament, Disputes on the Aegean Sea, Separatism in Turkey, Cross-Border Operations ... |

² This figure is inspired by a similar figure in Kim, J. H. (2015). *Understanding Narrative Inquiry: The Crafting and Analysis of Stories as Research*, Sage Publications.

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|---|
| | Energy & Climate | Perceived energy- and climate-related issues, developments, or actors that drive Turkey and EU towards or away from each other | Turkey as an Energy-Hub/ Corridor, Energy Community, Ukraine Crisis, Energy Dependency, Renewable Energy, Energy Diversification, Natural Gas and Oil Pipelines ... |
| | Migration | Perceived migration-related issues, developments, or actors that drive Turkey and EU towards or away from each other | Illegal Immigration, Visa Liberalization, Free Movement of Workers, Syrian Refugee Crisis, Turkey-EU Deal ... |
| | Identity & Culture | Perceived identity-related and cultural issues, developments, or actors that drive Turkey and EU towards or away from each other | Shared History, Historical Conflicts, Turkish Minorities in Europe ... |
| | Quotations & Highlights | Quotes with actor's critical statements or repeated expressions | |

Source: Researchers' elaborations

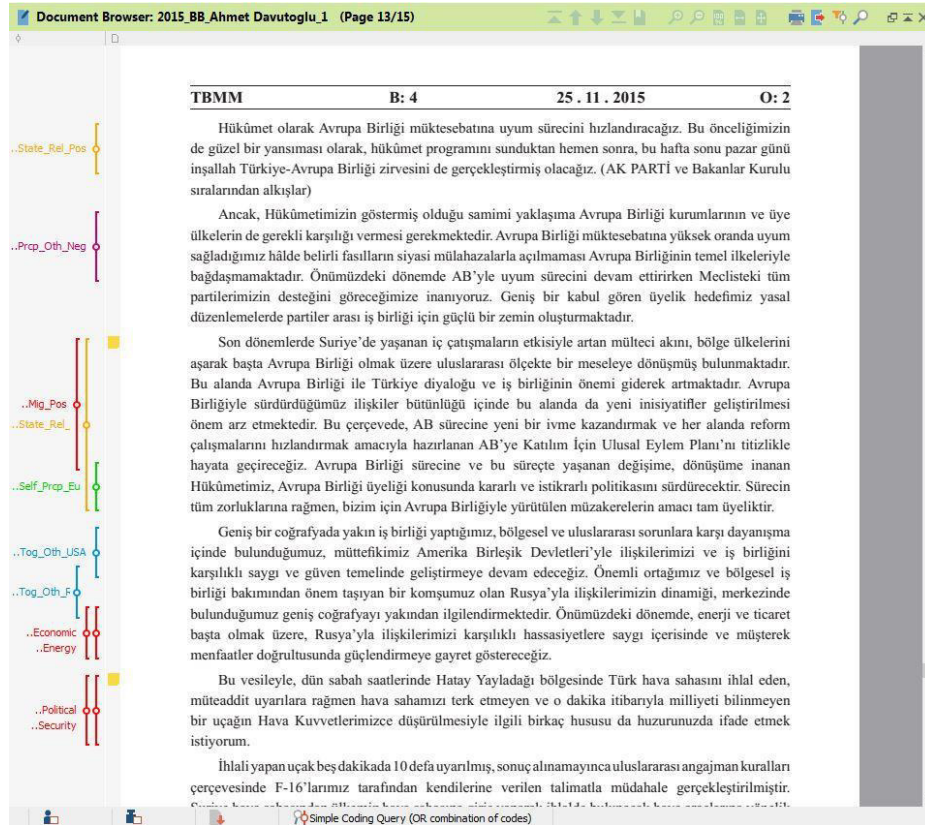
7. Data Analysis and Construction of Narratives

The actual coding and analysis of documents were carried out with the help of MAXQDA, a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS).

One thing that should be noted about this software is that it does not relieve the researcher from the task of analysing the data by any means. To put it differently, it does not deconstruct or interpret the texts automatically, reduce the time spent on reading, or turn textual data into a statistical summary by itself without any input. Every tool that is used for and every step of data coding and analysis is the product and preference of the researcher. In the meantime, the software provides better access to an overview of data and facilitates coding/re-coding, excerpting, comparing, and reporting.

Figure A. 2 provides an example of a coded text passage from a Turkish document, the Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's presentation of the Government Programme in 2015, with several coded segments. The section on the left demonstrates the codes that are applied to each responding sentence(s). The codes are associated with different colours only to ease the reading and not for any other purpose. The middle section is the document browser, where the coded segments can be seen embedded to the documents (The other option is to retrieve and review them individually). Finally, the yellow "stickers" shown between these two sections are memos, with which the researchers record ideas, questions, and details about codes and attach them within the document.

Figure A. 2: Visualization of coding process



Source: Researchers' elaborations

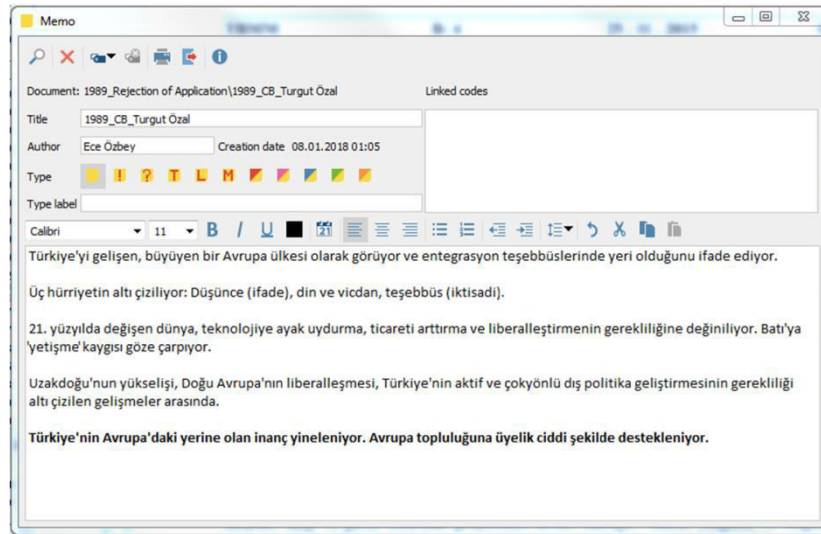
The Figure demonstrates two important points regarding the FEUTURE's coding approach. First, it can be seen that the codes overlap at some parts of the text. The reason for this is twofold. On the one hand, the coded segments tackle many issues at the same time, which makes it difficult to address the most relevant issue to be chosen over other(s). On the other hand, the code categories usually refer to different dimensions of the same subject, which naturally requires a combination of codes assigned to selected sentence(s). For instance, Mig_Pos_Syrian and State_Rel_Pos overlap in the example above because, in the paragraph, Davutoğlu talks about how the Syrian Refugee Crisis has stimulated the dialogue and cooperation between Turkey and the EU and gives examples of concrete steps that were taken by the actors and strengthened the relations. Second, although it is clearly seen in the figure, the coding unit differs for each segment. It is sometimes a quasi-sentence, sometimes a sentence, and sometimes a couple of sentences coded together. In many cases, a sentence can be expected to have one statement only but in others, i.e. sentences with no statement or several statements, might as well be possible depending on the focus on the codebook as it is shown here.

For this study, the researchers do not assign any weight to the codes, calculate numbers or percentages of coded segments, or make statistical comparisons. They are more interested in the fundamental elements of as well as the relational dynamics between Turkish and European narratives. They focus on the plot and the goal constructed for each narrative and tracing the patterns

of continuity and change in the perceptions and presentations of actors over time. Thus, the overlaps of the codes or changes in the code unit during the tagging procedure do not pose any problems for this particular analysis.

After the coding process is finished, the researchers make use of other applicable analytical tools CAQDAS provides such as coding query, logbooks (or journals of researcher's work), document memos, summary tables and so on (See, for example, Figure A. 3).

Figure A. 3: Visualization of the other tools



Source: Researchers' elaborations

As the next and final step, the researchers from University of Cologne and METU proceed by outlining the goal and plot of the narratives in a written "narrative" form, trying to capture the prevalent stories of the actors on both sides. In this process, and to enhance the consistency, they created a table (see the full paper) outlining the goal and plot of each narrative, as well as its link to the scenarios – along with a short description of the timing or relevance of the respective narrative in different phases of relations. That way, they ensured the comparability of the research and coding results from both sides, always in an effort to reflect the stories told in the EU and Turkey. It goes without saying that the narratives presented in the paper can only reflect a selection of the most relevant narratives, given the limited resources as well as resulting from the particular selection of sources. Thus, the authors do not assert that this research is capturing the full picture of the debates in EU and Turkey. Instead, they aimed at fostering the debates on the past and present narratives in EU and Turkey, on their historical foundations as well as on the dynamics between them.

ABOUT FEUTURE

FEUTURE sets out to explore fully different options for further EU-Turkey cooperation in the next decade, including analysis of the challenges and opportunities connected with further integration of Turkey with the EU.

To do so, FEUTURE applies a comprehensive research approach with the following three main objectives:

1. Mapping the dynamics of the EU-Turkey relationship in terms of their underlying historical narratives and thematic key drivers.
2. Testing and substantiating the most likely scenario(s) for the future and assessing the implications (challenges and opportunities) these may have on the EU and Turkey, as well as the neighborhood and the global scene.
3. Drawing policy recommendations for the EU and Turkey on the basis of a strong evidence-based foundation in the future trajectory of EU-Turkey relations.

FEUTURE is coordinated by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels, Director of the Centre for Turkey and European Union Studies at the University of Cologne and Dr. Nathalie Tocci, Director of Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome.

The FEUTURE consortium consists of 15 renowned universities and think tanks from the EU, Turkey and the neighborhood.

Coordination Office at University of Cologne:

Project Director: Dr. Funda Tekin

Project and Financial Manager: Darius Ribbe

Email: wessels@uni-koeln.de

Website: www.feuture.eu

 facebook.com/feuture.eu

 [@FEUTURE_EU](https://twitter.com/FEUTURE_EU)



This project has received funding from the *European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme* under grant agreement No 692976.

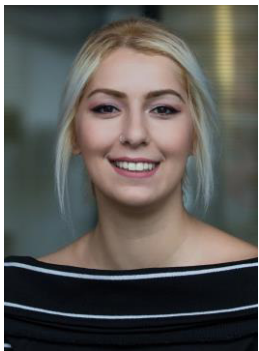
About the Authors



Hanna-Lisa Hauge

Research Associate, CETEUS, University of Cologne

Hanna-Lisa graduated with an M.A. in Political Science, Middle Eastern Studies and Educational Science from the University of Cologne. Her research focuses on the EU's relations with Turkey and the Mediterranean. In the FEUTURE project, she mainly contributes to the research on narratives of EU-Turkey relations. She was also FEUTURE's project and financial manager at the Coordination Office until November 2018.



Ebru Ece Özbey

Research Assistant, CES METU, Middle East Technical University

Ebru Ece Özbey is a Ph.D. student in International Relations and a research assistant at the JMCE Center for European Studies, Middle East Technical University. Her research interests include party positions, political representation and electoral competition in Europe, as well as European integration and the EU-Turkey relations. She is involved in FEUTURE's research within the context of the Turkish and European narratives on the EU-Turkey relations.



Disclaimer: This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

