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The Role of EU and NATO Conditionality on Developing Democracies: A Georgian Case Study

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement  
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in International Relations from  
The College of William and Mary

by

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Accepted for \_\_\_\_\_  
(Honors, High Honors, Highest Honors)

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1 May 2017

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# The Role of EU and NATO Conditionality on Developing Democracies: A Georgian Case Study

Carolyn A. De Roster

*Abstract: This thesis evaluates the effect of EU and NATO conditionality on institutional change in the Republic of Georgia. It hypothesizes that as developing democracies undergo prolonged accession processes with the EU and/or NATO, citizens are more likely to become disillusioned with the accession process. Disillusionment among citizens allows for the election anti-Western, non-democratic candidates and political parties to power, who, once elected, are able to institute non-democratic reforms that reverse institutional democratization. This thesis tests this theory using a mixed qualitative and quantitative analysis of Georgia, and draws parallels with the theory-building case of Turkey. Overall, the thesis finds preliminary support for the proposed theory in Georgian public opinion surveys, Georgian parliamentary party representation, and comparisons of institutional change in Georgia and Turkey.*

## **Introduction**

The Republic of Georgia has had a relatively short, but critical democratic history. The Rose Revolution in 2003 helped transform Georgia into a democracy, and since then, Georgia has built relationships with the EU and NATO in hopes of deepening its relations with the West. These relationships with the West have in part shaped Georgia's foreign and domestic policy, as it seeks EU and NATO membership. It is in this context that this paper examines the role of EU and NATO conditionality on developing democracies, using Georgia as the primary case study.

### *The Rose Revolution and Georgia's Democratic History*

Georgia's prospects for democracy followed the Rose Revolution. Prior to the Rose Revolution, Georgia was neither democratic, nor was it a classical dictatorship. Rather, it was a mixed regime with democratic and authoritarian elements. Georgia's combination of democratic and authoritarian elements created internal political dynamics that allowed for a democratic

revolution in 2003.<sup>1</sup> Georgia's shift towards its present democratic system was the product of a revolution, not a transition. Where both a democratic revolution and democratic transition refer to distinct changes in political regime from non-democratic to more democratic, a revolution involves a bottom-up process, while a transition typically involves bargaining among elites.<sup>2</sup>

Under Shevardnadze, Georgia officially recognized democracy in its constitutional framework. The constitution outlined an independent parliament from the executive branch, the freedom of political parties, and the right of media and civil society organization to be active in the political process. However, Shevardnadze and other elites assumed that there were still enough measures that could be used to prevent a change of government through elections, thus ensuring the continuity of Shevardnadze's rule.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately, Shevardnadze's government was a managed democracy in which the leadership tolerated pluralism, but in a limited form. The system allowed for a number of interests to be represented, but ensured that key decisions were made by a small group of elites.<sup>4</sup>

Despite Shevardnadze's assumption that his managed democracy would ensure his power, there were enough democratic freedoms to engage citizens and allow alternative political actors to mobilize public support against the regime. When the government sought to take away power from independent political actors, protests began to emerge. These actions served as a precursor to the Rose Revolution.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nodia, "The Dynamics and Sustainability of the Rose Revolution," *Democratisation in the European Neighbourhood*, ed. Michael Emerson (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2005): 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 42.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 42.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Shevardnadze tried to limit Georgia's most popular television outlet, Rustavi-2, by sending in security forces. Popular backlash to the raid led to mass protests that forced Shevardnadze's cabinet to resign. Ibid, 43.

In November 2003, thousands of protestors demonstrated in Georgia's capital, Tbilisi, demanding free and fair elections. The protests came in response to Shevardnadze's attempt to seat an illegally elected parliament.<sup>6</sup> The Rose Revolution was able to happen because of a few key forces that existed in the pre-Revolution environment. First, civil society organizations were already active and had an impact on government and society by the time the parliamentary elections occurred. Second, Georgia had a free and independent media. The media, with the help of NGOs, had become powerful enough by 2003 that it was able to help initiate, cover, and maintain public support for the Rose Revolution. Third, state authority under Shevardnadze was waning leading up to the revolution, and Georgia was verging on become a fragile if not failing state. Lastly, Georgian national identity allowed for citizens to unite under a single cause during the revolution. The unity of the revolution provided the organizational capacity for it to ultimately be successful.<sup>7</sup>

Mikheil Saakashvili led the Rose Revolution, paving the way for him to become Georgia's president following the movement.<sup>8</sup> Despite Saakashvili's association with the democratic Rose Revolution, his government was highly criticized. Following the revolution, Saakashvili changed Georgia's system from a separation of powers to a presidential system with a weak parliament in the constitution. Such a system is common in semi-authoritarian post-Soviet regimes, and generally limits democratic development.<sup>9</sup> Not only did these changes to the constitution consolidate power under the president, but they were also rushed through parliament within two weeks of Saakashvili taking office, leaving little time for a debate in the public.<sup>10</sup> Saakashvili's

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<sup>6</sup> Lincoln A. Mitchell, "Democracy in Georgia Since the Rose Revolution," *East European Democratization*, (Fall 2006): 669.

<sup>7</sup> James V. Wertsch, "Georgia as a Laboratory for Democracy," *Demokratizatsiya*, (2006): 520-521.

<sup>8</sup> Mitchell, 669.

<sup>9</sup> Nodia, 44.

<sup>10</sup> Mitchell, 672.

government also did not distinguish between the ruling party, the United National Movement (UNM), and the government itself. The lack of a distinction left a sense that support for the ruling party was a prerequisite for any political position in Georgia.<sup>11</sup> Other criticisms of Saakashvili's government include the fact that judges rarely contradicted prosecutors, the opposition became extremely weak, the media became less independent, and NGOs became less assertive. Often, Saakashvili justified these actions as a means of fighting corruption.<sup>12</sup>

At the time, it appeared that Saakashvili's government consisted of demagogues who were able to use popular discontent against Shevardnadze as a means of securing their own power. Furthermore, Saakashvili's government appeared to learn from Shevardnadze's mistake of allowing democratic freedoms. The new government realized the danger that democratic freedoms posed to the stability of the ruling class.<sup>13</sup> Other assessments concluded that the Rose Revolution was part of a cycle of non-constitutional transfer of power in Georgia. At the time, it seemed that Georgia was becoming a state in which every leader would become accused of authoritarianism, which would lead to a revolution, and the rise of a new leader who would recreate a similar authoritarian system in their own style.<sup>14</sup>

Ultimately, Saakashvili's government is recognized for its ability to engage in state-building in Georgia.<sup>15</sup> The prior government, under Shevardnadze, presided over a weak state in which there was limited state authority and questionable territorial integrity.<sup>16</sup> Under Saakashvili, however, the government was able to incorporate the Adjara region into Georgia's official territory.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 672-673.

<sup>12</sup> Nodia, 44.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 44-45.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 47.

<sup>16</sup> Though Shevardnadze's government could be considered more democratic, it is not possible for democratic institutions to exist without a functional state and some basic consensus as to whose state it is. Ibid, 46.

Additionally, the government was able to drastically increase public revenues, begin paying salaries to public servants, manage corruption in the police force, and launch public infrastructure projects. Collectively, these initiatives laid the foundations for the modern Georgian state.<sup>17</sup>

Regardless of the flaws of the Saakashvili government, Georgia's leadership under Saakashvili was strongly pro-Western after the Rose Revolution.<sup>18</sup> Saakashvili himself was educated in the United States, and many cabinet members, members of parliament, and key political leaders were at least partially educated in the West.<sup>19</sup> Some of these Western-educated leaders had return to Georgia from the West specifically to aid the state reconstruction process once Saakashvili had become president.<sup>20</sup>

Though Saakashvili had largely consolidated power in the executive branch, thereby creating more of a presidential rather than democratic system, the October 2012 parliamentary elections brought an opposition collation, the Georgian Dream, into power. Later, when the candidate for the Georgian Dream party, Georgy Margvelashvili, won the presidential election in 2013, there was a peaceful transfer of power from Saakashvili's UNM party to the Georgian Dream party for the first time in Georgia's modern history.<sup>21</sup> The peaceful transfer of power from Saakashvili to Margvelashvili was also accompanied by a return to the parliamentary system, in which power would shift away from the president towards the prime minister. The successful

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 47.

<sup>18</sup> During the Rose Revolution itself many Georgian citizens waved American flags as they called for the resignation of Shevardnadze. Following the resignation of Shevardnadze, a billboard was put in Georgia's capital, Tbilisi, with the words "Thank you U.S.A." on it. Georgians largely see democracy as a Western idea, but unlike many countries, Georgia does not have a negative perception of the West or democracy. There is little ideological competition to Western democracy in Georgia, and there is little nostalgia for the Soviet Union as there is in other post-Soviet republics.

Mitchell, 671.

<sup>19</sup> Saakashvili was a Muskie Fellow at Columbia University.

Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> "Georgia's Election: The End of Saakashvili's Reign," *The Economist*, 2 November 2013

<<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21588949-georgia-elects-new-less-powerful-president-end-saakashvilis-reign>> (accessed 13 February 2017).



transfer of power ultimately represented the transformation of Georgia into a young, but functioning democracy.<sup>22</sup>

Under Georgia's democratic system, the new generation of Georgians are more Westernized and more confident about Westernizing the country. This generation believes that Georgia is an inherently Western country, and that the country should be modernized to meet at least the standards of Westernization of Central and Eastern European post-communist countries.<sup>23</sup>

### *Georgia's Relationship to Western Institutions*

Georgia has been seeking North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) membership as well as increased cooperation with the European Union (EU) since gaining independence from the Soviet Union. With regards to NATO, Georgia has taken a number of steps to increase its cooperation. Beginning, in 1992, Georgia became a member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC). Two years later, Georgia joined NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP), and engaged in numerous NATO programs, which culminated in the launch of high-level regular political consultations with the NATO International Agency in 2001. In 2002, Georgia formally announced its aspirations to join NATO.<sup>24</sup>

In 2009, Georgia was integrated in the European Eastern Partnership (EaP), a section of the EU's European Neighborhood Policy (ENP).<sup>25</sup> The ENP, and by extension the EaP, were developed as an alternative strategy to European enlargement, as a way to build good relationships

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Nodia, 49-50.

<sup>24</sup> Maia Edilashvili, "Washington's Changed Tone and Georgia's NATO Hopes," *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review* 23, (2010): 57-59.

<sup>25</sup> The EaP focused specifically on six states total: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. Daniel Silander and Martin Nilsson, "Democratization Without Enlargement? The European Neighbourhood Policy on Post-Communist Transitions," *Contemporary Politics* 19, no. 4 (2013): 441.

with neighboring European states. Through building relationships with neighboring states, the EaP sought to advance democracy in partner states, thus having a positive effect on the EU.<sup>26</sup>

Since the launch of the ENP, however, there have been few signs of democratic progress in the electoral processes, national democratic governance, the media, the judicial framework, and on corruption in ENP states. Some states have even shown a reverse democratic transition rather than democratization.<sup>27</sup> Ultimately, since gaining independence from the Soviet Union, Georgia has advanced its cooperation with both NATO and the EU, but progress towards complete democratic consolidation has been limited.

Since the Rose Revolution, Georgia has continued to make democratic reforms, but democracy-related issues such as building democratic institutions, ensuring government accountability, and cultivating a strong civil society have been met with a mixed track record.<sup>28</sup> Often, Georgia's modernization has involved changing external features of national governmental, but avoiding the need for deeper institutional reforms. This pattern of external modernization allows practices such as informal decision making and fluid leadership roles among elites to continue.<sup>29</sup> Thus, there are still many facets of democracy that need to be developed in Georgia's democratization process.

### *Studying Institutional Change in Georgia*

This paper seeks to investigate the effect of the EU and NATO accession processes on institutional change in developing democracies, using the Republic of Georgia as a real-time case

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Nations in Transit analysis for five ENP states in the east suggests that democratic progress has halted or reversed since introduction into the ENP.

Ibid, 448-449.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Shalva Dzebisashvili, "Conditionality and Compliance: The Shaky Dimensions of NATO Influence (The Georgian Case)," *The Quarterly Journal*, (Spring 2014): 21.

study. Georgia serves as an excellent case study, as it is a developing democracy seeking both EU and NATO membership. Due to Georgia's potential to change its currently friendly position towards the West, such a study is useful in examining the future tendencies of both post-Soviet states and developing democracies as a whole.

This paper is separated into seven sections. The first section examines the existing literature on the topic of EU and NATO conditionality and its effect on institutional change. The second section of the paper examines existing theories of institutional change, and proposes an alternative theory based on perceived gaps in the literature. The third section outlines a theory-building case, Turkey, which serves as an example of a developing democracy that is in a similar position to Georgia, but that is further along its accession process. The fourth section presents three hypotheses that this study tests regarding the effect of the EU and NATO accession processes on institutional change in Georgia. The fifth section outlines the methodology and research design of the study. The sixth section provides a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach to analyzing the Georgian case. This section is separated into three parts, each of which present evidence to support the proposed alternative theory. The final section is the conclusion, and summarizes the study, provides implications of the results, and outlines potential areas for further research.

## **Literature Review**

Existing literature on the role of the EU and NATO accession process in institutional change in developing democracies can be divided into three main arguments. First, there are cultural explanations that argue that the pre-existing culture of a potential member state affects whether or not the state will institute reforms necessary for accession. Second, there are institutional explanations that describe how historical legacies shape institutions that predispose

candidate states to either institute or fail to institute democratic reforms. Lastly, there are credibility explanations that argue the perceived credibility of an accession offer affects whether or not a given candidate state will fully pursue the democratic reforms necessary for accession.

### *The Role of Culture*

Under the literature covering cultural explanations for the success or failure of political conditionality, the general argument is that countries with more favorable, or similar, cultures to that of the West are more likely to institute democratic reforms in response to the EU and NATO accession processes.<sup>30</sup> Literature surrounding the idea of culture as a factor in the success of democratic institutional change largely focuses on comparing the case of Turkey in its quest for EU accession against the case of the EU's expansion into Eastern Europe. The former is considered a failure in institutional change, while the latter has largely been considered a success.

Turkey has been officially recognized as a viable EU candidate since 1999, and a negotiating country since 2005. Prior to being recognized as a viable candidate, Turkey awaited recognition since applying to the EU in 1962.<sup>31</sup> Despite transformations in politics, economics, and foreign policy, negotiations have stalled, and Turkey continues to be a candidate country due to shortcomings in fulfilling the necessary political criteria regarding the stability of institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect and protection of minorities, each of which lie at the core of the EU.<sup>32</sup> It has been observed that Turkey's ruling party, the AKP, has been reluctant to enact necessary reform packages. A key perspective on this issue is the idea

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<sup>30</sup> Frank Schimmelfennig and Hanno Scholtz, "Legacies and Leverage: EU Political Conditionality and Democracy Promotion in Historical Perspective," *Europe-Asia Studies* 62, no. 3 (May 2010): 457-458.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Emerson, Senem Aydin, Gergana Noutcheva, Nathalie Tocci, Marius Vahl, and Richard Youngs, "The Reluctant Debutante: The EU as a Promoter of Democracy in its Neighbourhood," *Democratisation in the European Neighbourhood*, ed. Michael Emerson (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2005): 186-187.

<sup>32</sup> Sinem Akgul Acikmese, "EU Conditionality and Desecuritization Nexus in Turkey," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 13, no. 3 (2013): 311-312, Emerson et. al., 186-187.

that Turkey's religious and cultural traditions are fundamentally different from "European values" and secular liberals.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, there is a shared wisdom that the main reason for European objections to Turkish entry into the EU are Turkey's cultural and religious differences from Europe.<sup>34</sup>

In contrast, some scholars consider Eastern enlargement of the EU as one of the EU's greatest foreign policy successes. The "Europeanization" of Eastern Europe involved the transfer for EU norms and rules to candidate countries in Central and Eastern European post-communist countries.<sup>35</sup> Europeanization includes, in addition to democratization, the convergence of modern European norms and values through the interaction of the legally binding norms of the EU for democracy and human rights, the transformation of interests of enterprises and individuals as a result of increasing integration, and the transformation of values and identities in society.<sup>36</sup> To an extent, Europeanization overlaps with democratization, as Europeanization is generally perceived as the penetration of the EU into national politics and decision-making.<sup>37</sup> The success of the EU's enlargement into Eastern and Central Europe is largely attributed to the demand for EU membership in these European countries. Because Eastern and Central European countries were seen as initially more European, the national political leaders had greater incentives to push for reforms that would align with the EU's requirements for institutional change.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ali Rahigh-Aghsan, "Turkey's EU Quest and Political Cleavages under AKP," *Canadian Center of Science and Education* 3, no. 1 (June 2011): 48-49.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Arista Maria Cirtautas and Frank Schimmelfennig, "Europeanisation Before and After Accession: Conditionality, Legacies, and Compliance," *Europe-Asia Studies* 62, no. 3 (2010): 422.

<sup>36</sup> Emerson et. al., 175.

<sup>37</sup> Alina Mungiu-Pippidy, "EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress," *Democratisation in the European Neighbourhood*, ed. Michael Emerson (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2005): 16.

<sup>38</sup> Bernard Steunenbergh and Antoaneta Dimitrova, "Compliance in the EU Enlargement Process: The Limits of Conditionality," *European Integration online Papers* 11 (2007): 2-3.

Ultimately, the role of culture in determining the success of Western political conditionality is tied to the idea that states more culturally similar to Western institutions are more likely to result in more successful accession processes and accompanying institutional change.

### *The Role of Institutional and Historical Legacies*

A number of authors have produced important literature regarding the effect of institutional legacies on the success of the EU accession process in shaping institutional change. While underlying cultural dispositions play a role in democratization prospects, the effectiveness of Western political conditionality is also dependent on institutional and historical legacies.<sup>39</sup> Legacies are broadly defined as “the inherited aspects of the past relevant to the present.”<sup>40</sup> Ultimately, these historical legacies have an impact on present political institutions and attitudes that in turn affect a candidate state’s level of democratic development.<sup>41</sup>

Some authors find that “EU political conditionality is highly relevant and effective under two conditions: (1) that the target countries obtained a membership perspective, and (2) that they had developed into hybrid regimes or illiberal democracies in the transition between autocracy and democracy”.<sup>42</sup> Under this view, it is assumed that the historical legacy of Western civilization makes it easier for the EU to succeed in offering membership, as such candidate states are already more closely European.

Thus, to the extent that some states have historical and/or institutional legacies that are more closely tied to democracy, it may be easier for these states to transition to a more democratic system. This transition to democratic institutions is seen as easier in states that have more Western

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<sup>39</sup> Schimmelfennig and Scholtz, 444.

<sup>40</sup> Cirtautas and Schimmelfennig, 426.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Schimmelfennig and Scholtz, 457.

historical and institutional legacies because democratic values and practices are more deeply entrenched in the government and society.

### *The Role of Western Credibility*

The perceived credibility of an offer to join Western institutions shapes a candidate country's perceptions of whether or not reforms are worth the expected benefits of membership. When accession negotiations between the EU and the candidate country begin, there is an expectation that the applicant country will, at some unknown point in time, be able to receive membership status once it has fulfilled the necessary conditions for membership. Under such a system, the perceived benefits of membership must not only be sufficiently enticing, but elites must be credibly convinced that at some point in time the country will join the Union; otherwise, there are few incentives to continue with domestic political changes.<sup>43</sup>

Prior studies have found that the credible prospect of accession to the EU after the institution of democratic reforms has been the most effective of the EU's strategies.<sup>44</sup> Both the size and the credibility of tangible, material incentives that the EU provides contribute to the success of institutional change through the accession process.<sup>45</sup> While it is highly beneficial if there are favorable political conditions in the candidate country, credibility of accession post-reformation remains the foundation for an EU offer of accession.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Steunenberg and Dimitrova, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Schimmelfennig and Scholtz, 443.

<sup>45</sup> Cirtautas and Schimmelfennig, 426., 422.

<sup>46</sup> Schimmelfennig and Scholtz, 443.

## Theory of Institutional Change

Existing theories regarding the impact of the EU and NATO on institutional change focus on the ability of the EU and NATO to appeal to prospective countries due to the attractiveness of the benefits that come with EU and/or NATO membership. There are additional theories and studies that examine the differences between EU and NATO conditionality, means through which the EU and NATO effect change in developing democracies outside of the formal accession process, and the successes and failures of each Western organization in effecting institutional change. This study summarizes these existing theories, but ultimately proposes an alternative theory of institutional change. The alternative theory proposed is based on the idea of “accession fatigue,” and the theory outlines how accession fatigue may lead to a reversal of pro-democratic institutional change.

### *Existing Theory of Institutional Change*

The EU and NATO both use a system of political conditionality to affect positive democratic change in developing democracies. Under the principle of political conditionality, institutions such as the EU and NATO offer candidate states the prospect of membership in return for domestic reforms. The success of political conditionality operates under the strategy of “reinforcement by reward,” in which the financial assistance, institutional association, and/or membership is anticipated to provide economic and political benefits that exceed the costs of making domestic reforms.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Steunenberg and Dimitrova, 4; Rainer Schweickert, Inna Melnykovska, Ansgar Belke, and Ingo Bordon, “Prospective NATO or EU Membership and Institutional Change in Transition Countries,” *Economics of Transition* 19, no. 4 (2011): 669. Schimmelfennig and Scholtz, 443.



Such a process of institutional influence can be divided into two phases. In the first phase, international institutions convince elite reformers in developing democracies of the desirability and credibility of accession.<sup>48</sup> Socialization implies that institutions do not use a forceful policy, but instead engage neighbors through personal and institutional contacts and joint activities.<sup>49</sup> In the second phase, the institution empowers domestic reformers to overcome opposition forces through the provision of rewards for compliance.<sup>50</sup> The conditionality process implies that the institution provides economic, political, and/or strategic incentives on the condition that political and economic objectives are met.<sup>51</sup> Taken collectively, these two phases can be considered as a mix of socializing and conditional forces that work together to stimulate institutional change in developing democracies.<sup>52</sup> While both the EU and NATO use the same underlying idea of “reinforcement by reward” to gain institutional influence, the EU and NATO focus on different incentives to drive changes.

### *European Union Conditionality and Institutional Change*

For the EU, the reward of the Common Market, which is intrinsically tied the EU’s shared values of democracy and human rights, rule of law, governance, collective security, market economy principles, and sustainable development, maximizes institutional influence over domestic reforms.<sup>53</sup> The EU’s set of norms, values, and institutions is connected not only to the

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<sup>48</sup> Rachel A. Epstein, “NATO Enlargement and the Spread of Democracy: Evidence and Expectations,” *Security Studies* 14, no. 1 (2005): 68;

Emerson et. al., 175.

<sup>49</sup> Pippidy, “EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress,” 17;

Emerson et. al., 175.

<sup>50</sup> Epstein, 68;

Emerson et. al., 175.

<sup>51</sup> Pippidy, “EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress,” 17;

Emerson et. al., 175.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Silander and Nilsson, 447.

“The EU's single market is the largest in the world, serving 500 million citizens and generating 23% of world GDP.”

idea of democratization, but also “Europeanization”. While democratization and Europeanization are overlapping categories, they are not synonymous.<sup>54</sup> Democratization and political transformation are part of a process in which countries must achieve free elections to be considered generally democratic, but generally require additional changes to be considered fully-fledged liberal democracies. Such improvements include the expansion of civil liberties, the rule of law, independent judiciaries, accountable institutions, a pluralistic civil society, and civilian control over the military.<sup>55</sup> Europeanization embraces democratization, but also includes the norms and values pertaining to the rule of law and human rights that are commonly seen throughout Europe.<sup>56</sup>

The Copenhagen Criteria for accession to the EU demand the fulfillment of political, legal, and economic demands, with democracy and the rule of law being considered paramount.<sup>57</sup> The EU specifies that “membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities”.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, applicant countries must accept all treaties, valid EU legislation, EU Court verdicts, and “soft law,” also known as the *acquis communautaire*, in full.<sup>59</sup> Countries are invited to join once they have certifiably fulfilled the Copenhagen Criteria.<sup>60</sup> New members

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“EU Enlargement Strategy,” *European Commission*, 11 October 2015, <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2015/20151110\\_strategy\\_paper\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2015/20151110_strategy_paper_en.pdf)> (accessed 2 October 2016);

Pipidy, “EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress,” 15.

The desirability of EU membership has been reinforced by the success of EU enlargement to the East that has been credited with making a significant contribution to economic recovery, peace and stability, and democratization throughout post-Soviet Eastern and Central Europe.

Schimmelfennig and Scholtz, 443.

<sup>54</sup> Emerson et. al., 169.

<sup>55</sup> Pipidy, “EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress,” 16.

<sup>56</sup> Emerson et. al., 174-175.

<sup>57</sup> Schweickert, et. al., 668;

Emerson et. al., 214.

<sup>58</sup> European Council, Presidency Conclusions of the Copenhagen European Council, 21-22 June 1993, SN 180/1/93, REV1, 1993 <file:///C:/Users/Jessica/Downloads/72921.pdf> (accessed 2 October 2016).

<sup>59</sup> Pipidy, “EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress,” 18.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 16.

are integrated in the EU's institutional framework on a basis of limited adaptation, with the promise of a fundamental review following enlargement.<sup>61</sup> The EU accession process has fostered institution building in Eastern and Central European states seeking EU membership by delivering political incentives for elites, fostering shifts in the domestic balance of power, and adopting better democratic governance.<sup>62</sup> Studies regarding the rapid accession of Eastern European countries to the EU in 2004 and 2007 exemplify the EU's position as an attractive center of democracy, able to influence the domestic politics of other states.<sup>63</sup>

Asymmetric bargaining power further aides the EU conditionality process. Enlargement of the EU rests on converging interests between existing and potential members. Existing member states promote accession because they foresee long-term economic and geopolitical benefits from accession such as the expansion of commercial activities and the stabilization of neighboring countries. Potential EU member states participate in the accession process because they seek the benefits of the EU's Common Market, inclusion into Western institutions, and the stabilization of their democratic and capitalist systems. The benefits of EU membership are magnified when these potential states consider the "costs of exclusion" from the Common Market and Western institutions. Thus, countries seeking accession into the EU are in a weaker bargaining position. While both the existing EU member states and the candidate states will benefit from enlargement, the candidate states will benefit more from membership. Because of these asymmetric bargaining conditions, candidate states must make concessions in order to achieve membership status.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>62</sup> Schweickert, et. al., 669-670.

<sup>63</sup> Pippidy, "EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress," 15.

<sup>64</sup> Andrew Moravcsik and Anna Milada Vachudova, "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement," *CES Working Paper*, no. 97 (2003): 3.

Collectively, EU ideas of democratization and Europeanization, the Copenhagen Criteria, and asymmetric bargaining demonstrate how the EU promotes democracy through a combination of social power, political conditionality, and significant political and economic incentives. While Georgia has not achieved official negotiating status with the EU, the Georgian government has explicitly made Euro-Atlantic integration the country's top foreign policy priority, as outlined in Georgia's Government Communication Strategy on Georgia's Membership to the EU and NATO for 2017 to 2020. The Communication Strategy outlines a series of steps that the government seeks to take in order to maximize support for Georgia's integration with the EU and NATO both among its domestic population and its international partners.<sup>65</sup> The fact that Georgia has passed such a document that outlines the government's clear intentions to join the EU and NATO is critical in applying the logic of the EU accession process to Georgia. Since Georgia has an official government position that asserts Georgia's intentions to join the EU, it can be argued that the logic of the EU conditionality and accession process may be applied to Georgia's process of institutional change. Thus, going forward, it is likely that Georgia will likely try and adapt to the EU, regardless of whether or not the EU officially recognizes Georgia as a candidate state.

### *European Union External Governance*

The EU further practices institutional influence through external governance.<sup>66</sup> External governance occurs when parts of the *acquis communautaire* are extended to non-member states.<sup>67</sup> The EU's accession process and external governance initiatives all share the same foundations

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<sup>65</sup> Agenda.ge, "Georgia Adopts Communication Strategy for the EU, NATO Membership," *Agenda.ge*, 13 April 2017, < <http://agenda.ge/news/77708/eng> > (accessed 2 May 2017);

"The Government of Georgia adopted Communication Strategy on Georgia's Membership to the EU and NATO for 2017-2020," *Office of the State Minister of Georgia on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration*, 13 April 2017, <<http://eu-nato.gov.ge/en/news/7079>> (accessed 2 May 2017).

<sup>66</sup> Sandra Lavenex and Frank Schimmelfennig, "EU Rules Beyond EU Borders: Theorizing External Governance in European Politics," *Journal of European Public Policy* 16, no. 6 (2009): 791.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, 796.

regarding EU norms, values, and standards, but each varies in the intensity of their conditionality and incentives for compliance.<sup>68</sup> However, EU enlargement will likely cease to be the EU's primary form of effecting institutional change. First, the 2004 and 2007 EU enlargement have decreased the number of potential new member states. Second, the large size of the 2004 and 2007 enlargements triggered internal EU debates regarding the new member states' fitness for membership. Third, remaining candidate states face significant challenges in meeting the necessary conditions for accession. Lastly, some countries, such as Norway and Switzerland, meet the EU accession criteria but face domestic opposition to joining the EU. Thus, EU enlargement will likely become a less prominent mechanism of institutional change, and external governance will take precedence.<sup>69</sup>

EU external governance takes three main forms – hierarchy, networks, and the market. Hierarchical governance uses formalized relationships to create enforceable rules. The EU uses quasi-hierarchical systems to influence non-member states, as it cannot have a fully hierarchical effect on states outside the Union. These quasi-hierarchical forms include the European Economic Area (EEA) and the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), as both include rules, formal procedures, and monitoring mechanisms that are characteristic of a hierarchical system.<sup>70</sup> A network system includes relationships in which actors are relatively equal and use mutual agreements to achieve policy solutions. In the EU, networks are successful in providing influence through socialization and communication.<sup>71</sup> The market is another form of external governance in

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<sup>68</sup> The EU's economic policies are designed for states for whom accession is a long term goal, such as the Western Balkan states. The ENP is designed for Mediterranean and former Soviet states that are considered neighbors of the EU.

Emerson et. al., 176;

Lavenex and Schimmelfennig, 792.

<sup>69</sup> Lavenex and Schimmelfennig, 793.

<sup>70</sup> Emerson et. al., 176;

Lavenex and Schimmelfennig, 797.

<sup>71</sup> Lavenex and Schimmelfennig, 798.

which there is networked co-ordination through the EU's Single Market. The influence of the market has been extended to non-member states through the EEA and its full transfer of Single Market legislation.<sup>72</sup> The differing forms of EU external governance allow the EU to influence non-member states to introduce institutional change as they require adherence to specific rules in hierarchical systems, socialize non-member states in network systems, and ensure firms interested in operating within the EU adhere to EU rules.<sup>73</sup> Collectively these mechanisms allow the EU to provide a model for other states who may perceive EU institutions as the appropriate solution for their own problems.<sup>74</sup>

Due to the EU's external governance, EU rules and custom still influence Georgia, and can have an effect on institutional change. A significant example of EU external governance on Georgia has been the institution of the Action Plan on Visa Liberalization (VLAP) between the EU and Georgia. The VLAP proposed visa-free travel for short stays in the EU for Georgian nationals holding biometric passports provided the government meet key VLAP benchmarks. The VLAP has four key benchmarks: document security; migration and integrated border management; public order and security; and external relations and fundamental rights.<sup>75</sup> The combination of these VLAP requirements is a part of the EU's external governance through a hierarchical system that includes rules and monitoring to ensure the completion of visa liberalization. Georgia received visa liberalization through the VLAP process in 2016.<sup>76</sup> Thus, it can be argued that the logic of EU

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 799.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ruth Levush, "European Union/Georgia: Negotiations on Visa-Free Travel," *Library of Congress*, 11 November 2016 <<http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/european-union-georgia-negotiations-on-visa-free-travel/>> (accessed 2 May 2017).

<sup>76</sup> Eszter Zalan, "Georgia Gets Green Light for EU Visa-Free Travel," *EUObserver*, 5 October 2016, <<https://euobserver.com/justice/135372>> (accessed 2 May 2017).

external governance can be applied to Georgia regardless of Georgia's lack of an official negotiating country status with the EU.

### *NATO Conditionality and Institutional Change*

NATO's institutional influence comes from the promise of security and stability that members receive from Article V of the Alliance. Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty stipulates that an attack on one member state is an attack on all member states. When Article V is triggered, NATO responds with collective military force. The promise of a collective NATO response thus serves as a deterrent against powers who may seek to invade NATO member states.<sup>77</sup> The appeal of NATO's collective security promise is particularly enticing to states who feel vulnerable to larger powers. In order to join NATO, however, states must meet basic requirements of democracy in their state electoral laws, constitution, and election monitoring; states must also have civilian control over the military, which is assumed to support democratic rule.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, states who fail to remain democratic after joining NATO risk losing their signatory status of the North Atlantic Treaty. The potential loss of Article 5 protections incentivizes states to remain democratic following accession.<sup>79</sup>

The spread and defense of democracy has been one of the four key principles of NATO and its enlargement policy. The spread of democracy in the context of NATO offers additional benefits such as higher levels of trade, a reduced probability of violence, and a reduced likelihood of domestic human rights abuses. There are three main mechanisms through which NATO spreads

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<sup>77</sup> *The North Atlantic Treaty*, 4 April 1949, <[http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_17120.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm)> (accessed 2 October 2016).

<sup>78</sup> NATO has a requirement for democracy for member states, which was declared in 1995. Dan Reiter, "Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 52.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

democracy. First, NATO requires that states make democratic reforms for membership. The adoption of these reforms is verified through the inspection of a state's electoral laws, constitution, and electoral process. Second, NATO membership can be used to ensure new members remain democratic, as any member that reverts to authoritarian rule may be ejected from the alliance. Third, NATO membership could nurture democracy through the development of civil-military relations. A potential threat to democracy is military intervention in domestic politics, specifically through coup d'états. Developing civil-military relations ensures civil supremacy over the military, thus reducing potential risks to democracy.<sup>80</sup> The requirements of NATO for states to institute democratic reforms, to remain democratic once accepted, and to ensure civil-military relations creates a form of conditionality that incites institutional change in candidate and member states alike.

Georgia has a particularly vested interest in becoming a member of NATO due to its prior history of war with Russia in 2008. In 2008, Russia invaded the Georgian territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in response to the pro-Western policies of then-president Mikheil Saakashvili.<sup>81</sup> Abkhazia and South Ossetia are now Russian-occupied frozen conflicts.<sup>82</sup> If

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<sup>80</sup> Reiter, 54-55.

<sup>81</sup> Recently, Russia has begun increasingly moving in on the Georgian territory of South Ossetia. In 2015, Russia began establishing a boundary between Russia and Georgia using green border signs that cuts through South Ossetia. Additionally, Russian border guards have become increasingly present. South Ossetia is already heavily financed and defended by Russia; its frontiers are guarded by Russia's border service, it has three Russian military bases with several thousand troops, and with little economic activity, it is dependent on Russian financial support for its survival. The "borderization" of a formerly vague administrative boundary suggests increasing pressure from the Russian government on the breakaway region. Furthermore, the leader of South Ossetia, Leonid Tibilov, has said he plans on holding a referendum similar to the one held in Crimea in 2014 regarding whether to request annexation. Andrew Higgins, "In Russia's 'Frozen Zone,' a Creeping Border with Georgia," *The New York Times*, October 23, 2016, <[https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/24/world/europe/in-russias-frozen-zone-a-creeping-border-with-georgia.html?smid=fb-nytimes&smtyp=cur&\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/24/world/europe/in-russias-frozen-zone-a-creeping-border-with-georgia.html?smid=fb-nytimes&smtyp=cur&_r=0)> (accessed 12 April 2017); Larry Diamond, "Russia and the Threat to Liberal Democracy," *The Atlantic*, December 9, 2016, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/12/russia-liberal-democracy/510011/>> (accessed 12 April 2017).

<sup>82</sup> Russia's frozen conflicts refer to quasi-independent territories under Russian influence and control. These areas are unrecognized by the international community, but are generally supported by Moscow. Regions included in the list of "frozen conflicts" are Transnistria in Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan, and South Ossetia and



Georgia were included in NATO, Article V of the Alliance would be triggered in the case of a future Russian invasion, which would protect Georgia against its major international security threat. Thus, for Georgia, NATO membership is a key foreign policy objective.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, Georgia has already contributed more to NATO military operations than most long-time Alliance members and met general requirements that would be included in a Membership Action Plan, such as a functioning democratic system of government, an open society, and a market-based economy. Collectively, these measures demonstrate Georgia's commitment to NATO, despite not formally being a part of the Alliance.<sup>84</sup> At the same time, however, Georgia represents a liability to NATO. Russia perceives NATO as a direct counter to Russia's military and Russian interests. Thus, expanding NATO into a former Soviet Republic such as Georgia could provoke Russia, forcing NATO to trigger Article V.<sup>85</sup> Regardless, Georgia's strong security-driven desire to join NATO supports the fact that NATO conditionality applies to Georgia's process of institutional change. Furthermore, Georgia's existing steps towards making institutional changes consistent with NATO requirements provides further evidence for the fact that NATO conditionality can influence Georgia's process of institutional change.

Both the EU and NATO thus offer significant benefits to membership in exchange for domestic reforms. In the former, the benefits are largely economic, while in the latter the benefits

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Abkhazia in the Republic of Georgia. Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea and support for the separatist territories of Luhansk and Donetsk in Ukraine are a potential new set of frozen conflicts. Russia creates frozen conflicts as a means of increasing Russian leverage in its near abroad. Because frozen conflicts are territorial and legal "grey zone," they pose a security risk to the post-Cold War order.

Agnia Grigas, "Frozen Conflicts: A Tool Kit for US Policymakers," *The Atlantic Council*, July 2016.

<sup>83</sup> Agenda.ge, "Georgia Adopts Communication Strategy for the EU, NATO Membership."

<sup>84</sup> Robert E. Hamilton, "Georgia's NATO Aspirations: Rhetoric and Reality," *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 8 July 2016 <<http://www.fpri.org/article/2016/07/georgias-nato-aspirations-rhetoric-reality/>> (accessed 2 May 2017).

<sup>85</sup> Peter Zwack, "Russia's Contradictory Relationship with the West," *PRISM* 6, no. 1 (2016), <<http://cco.ndu.edu/Publications/PRISM/PRISM-Volume-6-no-2/Article/840779/russias-contradictory-relationship-with-the-west/>> (accessed 2 May 2017);

James Goldgeier, "Promises Made, Promises Broken? What Yeltsin Was Told About NATO in 1993 and Why It Matters," *War on the Rocks*, July 12, 2016 <<https://warontherocks.com/2016/07/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters/>> (accessed 2 May 2017).

are largely militarily and strategic. While these benefits to and incentives for membership differ, the idea of using benefits as a reward in exchange for reform is a common means of fostering institutional change in both the EU and NATO. Because there is some cooperation between the EU and NATO regarding membership, resulting economic and security-related benefits increase the benefits of institutional reforms for potential candidate states of both organizations.<sup>86</sup> In the case of Georgia, there are a number of factors that suggest Georgia would adhere to EU and NATO conditionality processes, despite not currently undergoing a formal accession process.

### *The Successes and Failures of EU and NATO Conditionality*

The enlargement process of the EU has been considered strong in its legal and institutional capacity, whereas the EU's EEA and ENP demonstrate a set of divergent preferences, ambiguities, and institutional cleavages.<sup>87</sup> While the ENP invites interested states to converge on EU norms, values, and standards, it fails to specify the meaning of its ideals. In response, many neighboring states have declared their long-term ambitions to join the EU, despite a lack of acknowledgement from the EU that these ambitions will be recognized. Beyond a lack of acknowledgement, there is evidence of growing resistance to EU enlargement among current EU members.<sup>88</sup> Some existing EU member states have seen a decline in the popularity of enlargement among voters. Voters against additional enlargement associate the addition of new member states with rising illegal immigration, international crime, and unemployment.<sup>89</sup> At the same time, applicant countries who have continuously received criticisms from the EU are facing a rise in Euroscepticism from their domestic populations. While these applicant countries have already made reforms, they must make

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<sup>86</sup> Schweickert, et. al., 669-670.

<sup>87</sup> Emerson et. al., 225.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 225-226.

<sup>89</sup> Moravcsik and Vachudova, 13-14.

additional concessions to enter the final phase of negotiations. These potential member states are faced with increasing pressures from the population against making these final concessions.<sup>90</sup> Ultimately, the domestic power of candidate governments and their ability to influence policies determine the effectiveness of conditionality.<sup>91</sup>

Studies regarding the EU and NATO accession processes demonstrate that the institutional changes in new member states are not deeply entrenched.<sup>92</sup> In some cases this leads to the phenomenon of European “backsliding” in which states, once achieving EU and/or NATO membership, regress in their democratic values and practices.<sup>93</sup> In multiple cases, EU enlargement does not necessarily affect the quality of democracy in accession countries. While civil society tends to progress the most during the accession process, it is not directly related to enlargement. Media tends to regress and electoral processes remain relatively stagnant. Governance and judicial reform, which are directly related to the enlargement process, show definitive improvements in official government documents. However, in practice these developments are “modest to nil.”<sup>94</sup> The problem of quality institutional change arises from the fact that EU-driven reforms are pushed by domestic elites in accession-seeking countries. The pace of institutional change tends to slow down after accession negotiations begin, as elites feel as though they have accomplished the necessary reforms. As a result, there are surface-level reforms that fail to truly effect change in states seeking EU membership. These states later display democratic backsliding.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 17-18.

<sup>91</sup> Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, (2004) “Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 11 no. 4 (2004): 675-676.

<sup>92</sup> Alina Mungiu-Pippidy, “When Europeanization Meets Transformation,” *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Post-Communist World*, eds. Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 59-81.

<sup>93</sup> Nancy Bermeo, “On Democratic Backsliding,” *Journal of Democracy* 27, no. 1 (January 2016): 5.

<sup>94</sup> Pippidy, “EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress,” 22.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, 34.

The idea of democratic backsliding refers to a situation in which a state enacts the necessary reforms to gain entry into the EU, but then proceeds to erode these reforms once becoming a member state.<sup>96</sup> Some Eastern European countries that joined the EU, namely Bulgaria and Romania, exemplify the phenomenon of democratic backsliding. Significant changes occurred in these countries in 2007 in the areas of corruption, legislation, and state building. After the EU's conditionality process ended, however, elite behavior in Bulgaria and Romania changed. Prior to 2007, elites in Bulgaria and Romania considered political restraint necessary with regards to their relation to the EU. However, after 2007, this restraint was no longer deemed necessary, and elites instituted legislative reforms that deteriorated the rule of law and other democratic institutions. The changing elite dynamics resulted in an exacerbated corruption problem, the subversion of stable normative frameworks, and an abandonment of state-building efforts.<sup>97</sup> Thus, while the EU was able to initially create institutional change in these cases, it was unable to create lasting institutional and democratic change.

Some studies have found a positive effect of NATO on democratization and institutional change in transitional countries. In candidate countries with a NATO Membership Action Plan (MAP), there is strong evidence that the NATO conditionality process has a positive impact on institutional change. Through one of its criteria for membership, NATO requires countries to commit to the rule of law and human right, the democratic control of armed forces, and the peaceful settlement of conflicts. NATO is able to offer a significant incentive to institutional development through its regional security promise. Thus, NATO offers security incentives that differ from the economic ones of the EU.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Bermeo, 5.

<sup>97</sup> Venelin I. Ganev, "Post-Accession Hooliganism: Democratic Governance in Bulgaria and Romania after 2007," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 27, no. 1 (February 2013): 26-44.

<sup>98</sup> Schweickert, et. al., 667-692.

However, alternative analyses of the effect of NATO on institutional change find little to no evidence of a positive impact of NATO conditionality on institutional change. In examining cases of existing NATO members, as well as the accession of new members following the Cold War, NATO conditionality fails to demonstrate a positive impact on institutions. With regards to Turkey, an existing NATO member, NATO has been considered a destabilizing force. Turkey has experienced three breakdowns of democracy since 1952 – in 1960, 1971, and 1980. In each case, the breakdown in democracy has been attributed to military interventions that have been spurred by perceived civilian misgovernance of the military. As mentioned above, civilian control over the military is a necessary condition for NATO membership.<sup>99</sup>

Another means through which NATO is assumed to affect institutional is through the potential threat of ejection from the Alliance in the case of non-democratic change, and accompanying loss of the NATO security promise. However, NATO has never sanctioned, much less ejected, a member state for institutional change, despite that fact that it has had opportunities to exercise this right. Both Greece and Turkey experienced reversions to autocracy as NATO members, and Portugal was a member as a dictatorship. The non-democratic memberships of Greece, Turkey, and Portugal demonstrate that security concerns can be prioritized over liberal interests.<sup>100</sup> The membership of these countries in NATO despite a lack of democratic governance indicates that NATO does not necessarily have a positive institutional effect on member states. Furthermore, it may be the case that NATO is wary of ejecting member states, as this would hamper NATO's credibility and lessen the organization's ability to attract new members.

With regards to external governance and non-conditional forms of Western influence, relations with non-candidate and non-member states do not necessarily seek to promote democracy

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<sup>99</sup> Reiter, 54-55.

<sup>100</sup> Reiter, 56-67.

or bring about democratic change. External governance instead promotes norms of democratic change and establishes institutional order in its neighborhood.<sup>101</sup> Literature regarding the EU's ENP and NATO's PfP suggests a destabilizing effect of Western institutions on pro-Western sentiments. After the enlargement of the EU, the ENP was developed as an alternative strategy to enlargement to build good relationships with states surrounding the EU. However, since the launch of the ENP, there have been few signs of democratic progress in numerous areas. The lack of success of the ENP is linked to the fact that the ENP has divided Europe between EU member states and non-EU member states, thus distancing developing democracies from the EU.<sup>102</sup> NATO's PfP has had a similar effect. Empirically, inclusion in NATO did not promote democracy among members following the Cold War. The PfP's conditionality regarding civilian control of the military has had unexpected adverse effects on strengthening the civilian hold on the military, as PfP programs focus on building the military rather than civilian expertise. This focus on military expertise contributes to the sentiment among the military that a relative lack of civilian knowledge makes civilian oversight unnecessary, which in turn undermines civilian control of the military. Thus, the lack of success in the PfP may be attributed to the failures of the program to create long-term solutions for changes to military policy.<sup>103</sup>

### *An Alternative Theory of Institutional Change*

This study argues that that the role of EU and NATO conditionality may actually have counter-intuitive effects on institutional change in developing democracies. As mentioned above, the initiation of negotiations implies that the bargaining institution will provide the economic, political, and/or strategic benefits of membership once the developing democracy meets the

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<sup>101</sup> Lavenex and Schimmelfennig, 808.

<sup>102</sup> Silander and Nilsson, 448-456.

<sup>103</sup> Reiter, 59-67.

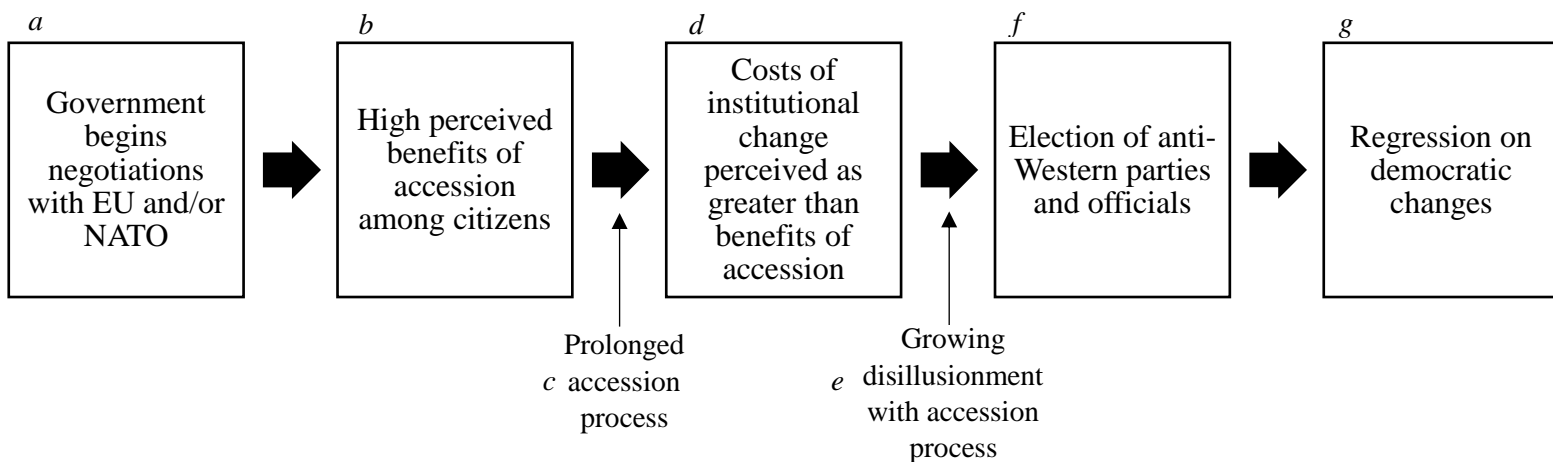
necessary political and economic objectives.<sup>104</sup> However, in cases where the conditionality process is drawn out, support for joining the EU and/or NATO may decline among citizens of the developing democracy as citizens experience “accession fatigue”. Accession fatigue refers to a process in which citizens of a developing democracy tolerate numerous political and economic reforms with the expectation that they will be granted the benefits of accession. Regardless of if the reforms meet the full requirements for accession, the perception that reforms have been made without the extension of membership (or other reward) may drive citizens in developing democracies away from favoring the accession process.

Furthermore, because developing democracies increasingly delegate power to the electorate as part of their reform process, their leaders become increasingly accountable to their citizens. If citizens become disillusioned with the EU and/or NATO accession processes, there will be opportunities for anti-Western parties and representatives to gain political power through elections. As these anti-Western politicians gain power, they will be able to reverse the trend of democratic institutional change. In this way, the EU and NATO accession processes may have counter-productive effects on institutional change in developing democracies. Figure 1 below illustrates the process through which accession fatigue would occur and drive institutional change.

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<sup>104</sup> Pippidy, “EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress,” 17; Emerson et. al., 175.

**Figure 1**



Parts *a* and *b* of Figure 1 outline that the government of the developing democracy begins its negotiation process with the EU and/or NATO, and that citizens support the government in its negotiations due to the perceived benefits of accession. This occurs because once accession negotiations between a Western institution and the candidate country begin, there is an expectation that the applicant country will eventually receive the benefits of membership.<sup>105</sup> Parts *c* and *d* of Figure 1 assert that as citizens face a prolonged accession process, the costs of accession will be seen as greater than the benefits of accession. This occurs because the expectation that the applicant state will receive the benefits of membership is not met in a timely manner. Thus, citizens perceive the costs of accession to be larger than the costs from making institutional changes. It is the lack of perceived credibility that lessens incentives to continue with domestic political changes.<sup>106</sup>

Sections *e* and *f* of Figure 1 outline that citizens will elect more anti-Western officials because they perceive the costs of accession to be too high. This occurs as citizens are no longer willing to endure the costs of the accession process, and would prefer abstaining from the process.

<sup>105</sup> Steunenberg and Dimitrova, 6.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.



Citizens then elect the elites that will refrain from engaging the accession process. The final section, section *g*, of Figure 1 states that the anti-Western elites will halt and reverse democratic institutional changes in the country, which then leads to a regression on democratic values.

Ultimately, this alternative theory of institutional change is based on two ideas. First, it rests on the idea that the benefits of the accession process must be both enticing and credible enough that the government is willing to undergo the costs of making institutional changes. Second, it is based on the idea that the electorate has a role in shaping political decision-making in developing democracies. If the electorate begins to perceive the costs of accession as higher than the benefits of accession, then these citizens will no longer see the potential for accession as credible, and they will elect anti-Western elites who engage in democratic backsliding.

### **Theory-Building Case: Turkey**

Turkey serves as a motivating case for understanding the effect of the EU and NATO accession process on developing democracies, as it has had a prolonged EU accession process. The prospect of accession was embedded in the 1963 Association Agreement between Turkey and the EU's precursor, the European Economic Community (EEC).<sup>107</sup> In 1987, Turkey applied for full membership to the EEC, but the European Commission rejected the request on the grounds that Turkey had grave democratic deficiencies.<sup>108</sup> In 1999, however, Turkey was granted candidacy status with the EU.<sup>109</sup> In 2005, Turkey had "sufficiently" progressed in its reforms to be

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<sup>107</sup> Nathalie Tocci, "Turkey and the European Union: A Journey in the Unknown," *Center for the United States and Europe at Brookings*, Turkey Project Policy Paper no. 5 (November 2014) <<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Turkey-and-the-European-Union.pdf>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

granted negotiating country status.<sup>110</sup> While Turkey achieved negotiating status in 2005, it also stalled in its democratic progress.<sup>111</sup>

### *Turkey's Relationship with the EU*

Prior to Turkey, candidates for EU accession have achieved full membership status. In fact, Turkey represents the only case of an accession process that has lasted over a decade. Considering that Turkey applied for European Community membership in 1987, Turkey has been in some form of an accession process with the EU for three decades. Unlike other candidate countries, Turkey's membership is not likely in the foreseeable future. Furthermore, changes in the EU itself have brought cleavages to the EU. These cleavages have narrowed the EU's attention to the enlargement process, which means enlargement of any kind is unlikely in the near future.<sup>112</sup>

Support for EU membership among Turkish citizens has declined significantly as the accession process has continued to be drawn out. In 2004, support for EU membership among Turkish citizens peaked at 73 percent. Since 2007, however, support for EU membership has hovered between 38 and 48 percent.<sup>113</sup> The loss of public support for Turkish membership in the EU has been largely attributed to the fact that citizens are increasingly convinced that Turkey faces a double-standard for accession, and that this double-standard is unattainable.<sup>114</sup>

Turkey has shown a distinct trend towards democratic backsliding, and statements from President Erdogan demonstrate a prevailing political belief that the EU offer of accession lacks credibility. In 2016, the Commissioner for European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement

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<sup>110</sup> Tocci, "Turkey and the European Union"; Emerson et. al., 186-187.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Independent Commission on Turkey, *Turkey in the EU: The Imperative for Change*, Third Report, (Istanbul: Open Society, 2014), <[http://www.independentcommissiononturkey.org/report\\_2014.html](http://www.independentcommissiononturkey.org/report_2014.html)> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>114</sup> Tocci, "Turkey and the European Union".

Negotiations stated that “[The European Commission is] gravely concerned about the degradation of the rule of law and democracy unfolding in the aftermath of the failed coup attempt.” Turkey has demonstrated backsliding in numerous areas necessary for accession, most importantly fundamental rights and democratic institutions. Following the attempted coup in July 2016, Turkey declared a state of emergency under which far-reaching measures curtailing fundamental rights were taken. The Turkish government violated fundamental rights such as the prohibition of torture and ill-treatment, and the allotment of procedural rights for those accused of being involved in the coup. Discrimination and hostility towards vulnerable groups based on sexual orientation or gender identity also remains a serious concern for the European Commission.<sup>115</sup>

In terms of Turkey’s democratic institutions, the July 2016 coup was a direct attack on democratically elected institutions, which must be embedded in political culture for full democratization to be in place. Despite the severity of the threat to the Turkish state of democracy, the scale and nature of Erdogan’s measures to reduce the effects of the coup demonstrated evidence of Turkey’s democratic backsliding.<sup>116</sup> Turkey’s democratic backsliding ultimately suggests that the Turkish government sees few incentives to continue with domestic political changes.<sup>117</sup>

Erdogan has demonstrated his belief that the EU’s accession offer is not credible in his public statements that threaten that Turkey will cease EU accession negotiations. In 2016, Erdogan suggested that Turkey could join the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a regional security bloc to fight threats posed by radical Islam and drug trafficking, instead of the EU. The SCO is comprised of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, and it

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<sup>115</sup> European Commission Press Release, “2016 Enlargement Package: Credible Enlargement Process Key to Driving Transformation and Anchoring Stability in Southeast Europe,” *European Commission*, Brussels, 9 November 2016, <[http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-16-3613\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-3613_en.htm)> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Steunenbergh and Dimitrova, 6.

does not include conditions on political institutions for membership.<sup>118</sup> Most recently, in 2017, Erdogan suggested that he may call for a referendum on whether Turkey should continue its accession talks with the EU. According to Erdogan, “Turkey has waited at the door (of the EU) for 54 years” without an offer for membership.<sup>119</sup> Based on Erdogan’s growing distance from the EU, and his apparent willingness to cease negotiations, there is an implied sense that Turkish elites do not see EU accession as a credible outcome of negotiations. The already and low, and continuously declining, support for EU membership among Turkish citizens, which has existed since 2007, empowers these elites.

Despite transformations in politics, economics, and foreign policy, Turkey continues to fail to fulfill the Copenhagen political criteria. Specifically, Turkey’s shortfalls lie in its stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, its rule of law, its human rights record, and its respect and protection of minorities. Because each of these issues lie at the core of the EU’s conditionality mechanisms, Turkey has been unable to meet the minimum requirements for EU membership, and the country’s ruling party, the AKP, has been reluctant to enact reform packages that would meet the Copenhagen criteria.<sup>120</sup> Thus, Turkey’s prolonged accession process has resulted in backsliding and increased anti-EU rhetoric.

The fact that Turkey has demonstrated a decline in public support for the EU over time supports the alternative theory proposed in this paper, as it shows that citizens may suffer from accession fatigue. Additionally, the fact that elites in Turkey have similarly adopted a negative

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<sup>118</sup> Daren Butler and Nick Tatterstal, “Fed Up with EU, Erdogan Says Turkey Could Join Shanghai Bloc,” *Reuters*, ed. Keith Weir, 20 November 2016 <[http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-turkey-europe-erdogan-idUKKBN13F0CS?utm\\_campaign=Daily+Fringe+&utm\\_source=hs\\_email&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=37934894&\\_hsenc=p2ANqtz-\\_2ZHY2wydcvZw4RcExFTv1e3vFy3VGm3m81cYwLmiaEc7TtAX-BjHc73z5wy5zbxX0iOBO5EVvX3xDwQejyY6I7XP7HQ&\\_hsmi=37934894](http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-turkey-europe-erdogan-idUKKBN13F0CS?utm_campaign=Daily+Fringe+&utm_source=hs_email&utm_medium=email&utm_content=37934894&_hsenc=p2ANqtz-_2ZHY2wydcvZw4RcExFTv1e3vFy3VGm3m81cYwLmiaEc7TtAX-BjHc73z5wy5zbxX0iOBO5EVvX3xDwQejyY6I7XP7HQ&_hsmi=37934894)> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>119</sup> EUObserver, “Turkey Might Hold Referendum on EU Membership,” *EUObserver*, 27 March 2017, <<https://euobserver.com/tickers/137381>> (accessed 27 March 2017).

<sup>120</sup> Acikmese, 311-312;  
Emerson et. al., 186-187.

view towards the EU accession process provides support for the alternative theory of institutional change proposed in this paper, as it shows that anti-Western actors may gain power in the political process as citizens experience accession fatigue. Given Erdogan's statements and the ruling party's unwillingness to institute reforms, it is also clear that democratic backsliding is occurring in Turkey as a result of these factors.

### *The Application of the Turkish Case to Georgia*

Turkey and Georgia are comparable cases given the length of negotiations and deliberations each state has had with the EU and/or NATO, and both democracies are incomplete in their democratic transition. Like Turkey, Georgia is currently undergoing what it perceives as an extended EU and NATO accession process, as it is part of both the European Union's ENP and NATO's PfP.<sup>121</sup> Georgia has been a part of the EaP since 2009, and it formally announced its aspirations to join NATO in 2002.<sup>122</sup>

Georgia has serious deficiencies in the areas of democracy building, military readiness, and its settling of territorial disputes with its neighbors. Even though Georgia has made considerable progress in democratic reforms since its Rose Revolution, the changes are still not comparable to Europe's political democracy.<sup>123</sup> Both Georgia and Turkey also share similar characteristics in areas that play a role in the success or failure of accession – the role of culture, institutional and historical legacies, and credibility of the accession offer.

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<sup>121</sup> Silander and Nilsson, 448-456;  
Dan Reiter, 41-67.

<sup>122</sup> "Georgia-EU Cooperation," *Office of the State Minister of Georgia on European & Euro-Atlantic Integration*, 2009-2017, <<http://www.eu-nato.gov.ge/en/eu/cooperation>> (accessed 7 April 2017); Edilashvili, 57-59.

<sup>123</sup> Zdeněk Křiz and Zinaida Shevchuck, "Georgian Readiness for NATO Membership after Russian-Georgian Armed Conflict," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44 (2011): 89-97.

Cultural factors play a critical role in determining the success of Western political conditionality. States that are more culturally similar to the West are more likely to see a successful accession processes, as these states are more like to meet the necessary democratization criteria. There is evidence to support that both Turkey and Georgia are perceived as culturally distant from Europe and the West despite both countries' desires to join their respective Western organizations. Turkey's religious and cultural traditions are seen as fundamentally different from "European values," which has been cited as a reason for which Turkey has not been accepted into the EU.<sup>124</sup> Relative to Turkey, Georgia's cultural history is more similar to that of Europe and the West, yet Georgia is still perceived as culturally different from Europe.<sup>125</sup> Despite Georgia's long-standing cultural similarities to the West, Georgia lies at the crossroads of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and

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<sup>124</sup> Perceived cultural differences are one the main reasons for the lack of popular European support for Turkish membership in the EU. In a 2006 Eurobarometer survey, 61 percent of EU citizens stated that cultural differences between Turkey and the EU were "too significant" for accession to occur. Furthermore, in countries where popular support for Turkey's accession was the lowest, the perception of significant cultural differences was particularly high.

Antonia Ruiz Jimenez, "Tackling Turkey's Image Problem in the European Union," *The Washington Institute, Policy Watch* 1967, 30 April 2008, <<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/tackling-turkeys-image-problem-in-the-european-union>> (accessed 7 April 2017);

Ali Rahigh-Aghsan, "Turkey's EU Quest and Political Cleavages under AKP," *Canadian Center of Science and Education* 3, no. 1 (June 2011): 48-49.

<sup>125</sup> Georgia's religious and cultural origins, as well as its developmental trends are characteristic of Western European traditions. During the 4<sup>th</sup> through 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, a variety of religious, philosophical, historical and artistic creations were translated into Georgian in cultural centers. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, educational works represented a trend towards religious secularism characteristic of Western European states. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, progressive Georgian thinkers who were educated by Western European intellectuals brought their innovative developments to Georgia. Georgia thus only became separated from the West during the Soviet Era, but its cultural affiliation to Western Europe remains part of the Georgian national identity.

Darudan Labuchidze, "European Values and Georgia (In Light of Merab Mamardashvili's View)," *European Scientific Journal* 2, (November 2014): 99-100;

In the case of Georgia, the Georgian public opinion has changed in its understanding of how Georgia is perceived by the governments and citizens of EU member states. In 2011, 41 percent Georgia's population reported believing that a majority of EU member states would favor Georgian membership in the EU. By 2015, only 32 percent of respondents believed that a majority of EU state would support Georgian membership in the EU. In the same year, the share of those answering that EU member states would not favor Georgian membership doubled relative to 2011. Importantly, almost 50 percent of the population cannot answer this question. Similarly, in 2015, 18 percent of respondents answered that, in their opinion, a majority of European citizens wouldn't like Georgia to enter the EU, compared to only 11 percent in 2011.

CRRC, "How the EU Sees Georgia: The Georgian Population's Perceptions," *CRRC*, 25 April 2016, <<http://crcc-caucasus.blogspot.com/2016/04/how-eu-sees-georgia-georgian.html>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

Central Asia, spanning Europe and Central Eurasia. Georgia's position thus distances it from Europe and the West, and makes it seem more culturally dissimilar.<sup>126</sup> Due to the perceived cultural differences among EU member states of both Turkey and Georgia, Turkey serves as a viable theory-building case for this study.

Regarding institutional and historical legacies, both Turkey and Georgia are relatively recent democratizing states that do not have longstanding democratic histories. While Turkey had continuous free and fair multi-party elections since 1946, from 1960 to 1997 its senior military command disposed of four governments. The General Staff, which presides over Turkey's armed forces, oversaw anti-democratic constitutional changes during this time, including a 1982 constitution that focused on protecting the government rather than ensuring civil rights. In 1997, the military forced Turkey's first Islamist-led government out when the prime minister refused to implement policies that undermined freedom of expression, weakened the independence of the press, and criminalized thought. When Erdogan's Justice and Development Party, the AKP, came to power in 2002, it reduced the role of the military in politics, promised personal freedoms to Turkish citizens, and made it harder to close political parties and ban politicians. However, over the past decade Erdogan has used the bureaucracy to undermine political opponents and establish state security courts, which his government previously abolished.<sup>127</sup> Because Turkey's democratic traditions have been disrupted numerous times since 1960, Turkey's modern history is not characteristic of a state with a strong institutional legacy of democracy.

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<sup>126</sup> Sertif Demir, "Is End of a Dream? Reassessing the NATO Enlargement Policy toward the Black Sea and Caucuses Region," *Karadeniz Arastirmalari* 46 (2015): 1-22.

<sup>127</sup> Steven A. Cook, "Five Myths about Turkey," *The Washington Post*, 17 March 2017, <[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-turkey/2017/03/17/0bfa9206-0546-11e7-ad5b-d22680e18d10\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.201ad237b640](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-turkey/2017/03/17/0bfa9206-0546-11e7-ad5b-d22680e18d10_story.html?utm_term=.201ad237b640)> (accessed 7 April 2017).

Similarly, Georgia's democratic legacy is also a relatively recent phenomenon. Prior to the 2003 Rose Revolution, Georgia was a mixed regime, with some elements of democracy and authoritarianism. Moreover, Georgia's transition to a democratic system was distinctly the product of a drastic revolution led by a Western-educated politician, which indicates that Georgia's democratic institutions are not a product of historical legacy, but rather the adoption of Western political practices.<sup>128</sup> Thus, the Turkish EU accession case can be applied to the Georgian case for EU and NATO accession on the basis of comparable institutional and historical legacies.

Regarding the role of Western credibility, it is clear that Erdogan is not credibly convinced that Turkey will at some point join the EU. As described in the theory-building section, Turkey has demonstrated democratic backsliding, and Turkish public opinion as well as Erdogan's statements suggest that Turkey is becoming disillusioned with the accession process in the absence of a credible accession offer.<sup>129</sup>

For Georgia, the case for a lack of Western credibility of EU and NATO accession is based on Georgia's political position and security status. Because Georgia is still considered part of Russia's "near abroad," it would be a vulnerable EU and/or NATO member. Georgia is in a precarious political situation due to its armed conflict with Russia during the 2008 Georgian-Russian War, its disputed territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and the fact that Russia considers Georgia to be in its sphere of influence. Thus, the extension of the EU and NATO into the region would have implications for the West in terms of security commitments.<sup>130</sup> Because of Georgia's vulnerable security status, offers of EU and NATO accession may not necessarily be

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<sup>128</sup> Nodia, 38.

<sup>129</sup> Steunenber and Dimitrova, 6.

<sup>130</sup> Agnia Grigas, "Frozen Conflicts: A Toolkit for U.S. Policymakers."

Larry Diamond, "Russia and the Threat to Liberal Democracy";

Zdeněk Kříž and Zinaida Shevchuck, 89-97;

Gökhan Özkan, "Georgia's NATO Membership within Context of the Black Sea Dimension of "the New Great Game," *Karadeniz Arastirmalari*, 27 (2010): 1-22.



considered credible in the future, as Georgian politicians may grow to believe that Georgia's security status is too much of a limiting factor.

Both Turkey and Georgia face obstacles to accession given their cultural differences from Europe, their lack of a long-standing institutional democracy, and potential for a lack of a perceived credible accession offer. Because of these similarities, the factors that support the alternative theory of this paper from the Turkish case may also be apparent in Georgia. This study thus investigates three hypotheses that relate to the alternative theory of institutional change proposed in this study.

## **Hypotheses**

The study investigates three hypotheses. Each of these hypotheses corresponds to a section of the alternative theory. Taken together, these hypotheses explain the alternative theory of institutional change proposed earlier in this study. The three hypotheses are as follows:

**H1:** *There is a parabolic relationship between time and public support for the EU and/or NATO accession process.*

**H1(a):** *The change in public support for the EU and/or NATO accession process is particularly apparent among certain groups that previously were more inclined to support the EU and/or NATO accession process.*

**H2:** *Political parties and elites that are opposed to Western institutions will gain power as the electorate increasingly feels disillusioned with the EU and/or NATO accession process, while pro-Western parties and elites will gain power when the electorate is in favor of the EU and/or NATO accession process.*

**H3:** *As anti-Western elites and/or parties are elected, developing democracies will engage in democratic backsliding.*

Under H1, citizens become fatigued with institutional change when the “reward” of EU and/or NATO membership is not fulfilled. This hypothesis is tested with an analysis of changes in perceptions of the EU and NATO accession process among Georgian citizens in public opinion polls. The addition to H1, H1a, is tested using multiple linear regressions to analyze changes in perceptions of the EU and NATO accession process among particular groups of Georgian citizens.

Under H2, citizens who are disillusioned with the accession process will elect anti-Western officials who will cease to engage in EU and/or NATO accession. This hypothesis is tested with an examination of trends in support for anti-Western and pro-Western parties in Georgia.

Under H3, the process of democratic backsliding will occur as more anti-Western elites and/or political parties take office in the developing democracy. For this hypothesis to be true, the democratic backsliding would have to occur after the election of the anti-Western elites and/or parties. This hypothesis is tested through a comparison of institutional change in Georgia and Turkey over time.

## **Methodology, Research Design, and Data Description**

This study applies a mixed methods approach to understanding the role of EU and NATO conditionality on institutional change in the case of Georgia. There are three sections of mixed quantitative and qualitative analysis in this study.

The first section uses data from the Caucus Research Resource Center (CRRC) to gauge the Georgian public opinion towards EU and NATO membership. The data used comes from the CRRC’s Caucasus Barometer Survey, which is the CRRC’s annual household survey about social,

economic, and political issues in Georgia.<sup>131</sup> In this first section, the dependent variable is support for the EU and/or NATO accession process. The independent variable is the number of years passed in the accession process. This section also uses a series of multiple linear regression models to analyze changes in support for the EU and NATO accession process among specific segments of the Georgian population over time.

The second section of this paper uses data regarding the number of parliamentary seats won by various parties in Georgia in 2008, 2012, and 2016.<sup>132</sup> This section examines how changes in public opinion towards the EU and NATO accession processes coincide with the election of either pro-Western or anti-Western parties to the Georgian Parliament.

The third section of this paper compares institutional change in Georgia to the theory-building case, Turkey. This section will pull data from The Quality of Government (QoG) Institute. Specifically, this study uses the Liberal Democracy Index, as this measure is available for both countries. This measure also captures each country's level of democracy, as well as each country's commitment to liberal values, both of which are central to the EU and NATO accession processes.<sup>133</sup> This section compares institutional change in the two cases because Georgia is not

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<sup>131</sup> Caucus Research Resource Center, *Caucus Barometer: 2008 Regional*, 2008, distributed by Caucus Research Resource Center, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/downloads/>>; Caucus Research Resource Center, *Caucus Barometer: 2009 Regional*, 2009, distributed by Caucus Research Resource Center, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/downloads/>>; Caucus Research Resource Center, *Caucus Barometer: 2010 Regional*, 2010, distributed by Caucus Research Resource Center, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/downloads/>>; Caucus Research Resource Center, *Caucus Barometer: 2011 Regional*, 2011, distributed by Caucus Research Resource Center, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/downloads/>>; Caucus Research Resource Center, *Caucus Barometer: 2012 Regional*, 2012, distributed by Caucus Research Resource Center, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/downloads/>>; Caucus Research Resource Center, *Caucus Barometer: 2013 Regional*, 2013, distributed by Caucus Research Resource Center, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/downloads/>>; Caucus Research Resource Center, *Caucus Barometer: 2015 Regional*, 2015, distributed by Caucus Research Resource Center, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/downloads/>>

<sup>132</sup> "Parliamentary Elections," *Civil.ge*, April 2017, <<http://civil.ge/eng/category.php?id=32>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>133</sup> The Quality of Governance (QoG) institute was started in 2004, and seeks to define "good governance" or 'quality of government,' as well as provide data on corruption levels, legal systems, freedom of information, the

as far along in the process of the proposed theory of institutional change as Turkey is, and thus the impact of anti-Western parties and elites cannot be seen in Georgia in the same way it can be seen in Turkey.

## **Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of the Georgian Case**

This section is broken into three parts. The first section uses quantitative analysis to examine trends and changes in Georgian citizens' support for the EU and NATO accession process. The second session uses a mixed quantitative and qualitative analysis of popular support for and the election of anti-Western and pro-Western parties to parliament in the 2008, 2012, and 2016 parliamentary elections. Lastly, the third section compares institutional change in Turkey and Georgia over time since each country's accession process has begun.

### *Declining Popular Support for Joining the EU and NATO*

According to public opinion data from the CRRC, support for Georgia's membership in the EU and NATO has been declining since 2011 for the EU, and since 2010 for NATO. In 2011, support among Georgian's for EU membership was at 69 percent. By 2015, this public support declined to 42 percent. Meanwhile, the percentage of Georgians indifferent to membership has increased from 12 percent to 27 percent, and the percentage of Georgian citizens opposed to Georgia's membership in the EU has risen from 5 percent to 15 percent in the same time period.<sup>134</sup>

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quality of electoral systems, the constitutional structure, and survey based data on the perceptions people have in different countries of their government institutions. This data is available for most countries in the world across various time spans.

The Quality of Government Institute, "QoG Data Visualization Map, Liberal Democracy Index," *Quality of Government Institute*, 27 March 2017, <<http://qog.pol.gu.se/data/datavisualizationtool/map>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>134</sup> The question regarding support for EU membership specifically asked, "Please tell me to what extent would you support Georgia's membership in the European Union." Additionally, it is important to note that the question was

With regards to NATO membership, support for NATO membership peaked at 70 percent in 2010, but has since declined to 37 percent in 2015.<sup>135</sup> These trends can be seen in Figures 1 and 2 in Appendix A. Figure 1 shows trends in Georgian citizens' support for the EU accession, and Figure 2 shows trends for Georgian citizens' support for NATO accession. The declining support for EU and NATO membership among Georgian citizens clearly indicates the potential for "accession fatigue" in Georgia, supporting the basis of H1.

Tables 1 through 7, which can be found in Appendix A, analyze trends in EU and NATO support among Georgian citizens from 2008 through 2015 in greater detail. For each year of available Caucus Barometer data from the CRRC, a multiple linear regression (MLR) is used to examine the effects of various individual characteristics – including gender, age, education level, and settlement type (rural, urban, or the capital, Tbilisi) – on the predicted likelihood of support for Georgia's EU and/or NATO membership.

The available years are 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, and 2015. Gender is measured as a dummy variable, in which the variable MALE is represented with a 1 when the respondent is male, and with a 0 when the respondent is female. The variable AGE is a continuous variable, in

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originally measured on a 5-point scale, with responses including "Don't support at all," "Rather not support," "Equally support and don't support," "Rather support," and "Fully support." The question also included options for "Don't know" and "Refuse to answer." For the purposes of measuring support for the EU over time, the question was coded from a 5-point scale to a 3-point scale in which "Fully support" and "Rather support" constitute "Support," "Don't support at all" and "Rather not support" constitute "Don't support," and "Equally support and don't support" remains the middle value.

Caucus Research Resource Center, "Caucus Barometer Time-Series Dataset Georgia: EUSUPP," *Caucus Research Resource Center*, 2017, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/cb-ge/EUSUPP/>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>135</sup> The question regarding support for NATO membership specifically asked, "To what extent would you support Georgia's membership in NATO?" Additionally, it is important to note that the question was originally measured on a 5-point scale, with responses including "Don't support at all," "Rather not support," "Equally support and don't support," "Rather support," and "Fully support." The question also included options for "Don't know" and "Refuse to answer." For the purposes of measuring support for NATO over time, the question was coded from a 5-point scale to a 3-point scale in which "Fully support" and "Rather support" constitute "Support," "Don't support at all" and "Rather not support" constitute "Don't support," and "Equally support and don't support" remains the middle value. Caucus Research Resource Center, "Caucus Barometer Time-Series Dataset Georgia: NATOSUPP," *Caucus Research Resource Center*, 2017, <<http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/cb-ge/NATOSUPP/>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

which each respondent's age is recorded at the time of the survey. The EDU variable represents level of education, and it is measured on a scale of 1 to 8: 1 corresponds to "no primary education," 2 corresponds to "primary education (either complete or incomplete)," 3 corresponds to "incomplete secondary education," 4 corresponds to "completed secondary education," 5 corresponds to "secondary technical education," 6 corresponds to "incomplete higher education," 7 corresponds to "completed higher education (B.A., M.A., or Specialist degree)," and 8 corresponds to "post-graduate degree". The settlement type variable is divided into three dummy variables: RURAL, URBAN, and TBS. The RURAL variable represents those individuals that live in rural areas of Georgia, the URBAN variable represents those individuals that live in urban areas, and the TBS variable represents those individuals that live in the capital, Tbilisi. Tbilisi is separated from other urban settlement areas because it is significantly more urban than other urbanized areas of Georgia. The tables were created in R Studio, and the code used for organizing and manipulating the original CRRC datasets may be found in Appendix B.

Traditionally, age, education level, and settlement type are thought to be predictors of Georgians' likely support for EU and/or NATO membership. Age is thought to correspond with support for EU and NATO accession in that younger Georgians, who are typically more Western, are more likely to support democracy and institutional change than older Georgians who may be more sympathetic to Russia due to their ties to the Soviet Union. Education level is thought to correspond with support for the EU and NATO accession processes, as more educated individuals are more likely to recognize the benefits to making institutional changes both for the purpose of institutional development and for the associated rewards that come with accession. Lastly, settlement type is thought to be associated with support for the EU and NATO because more urban areas of Georgia, specifically the capital, are seen as significantly more Western and well-educated

than the rest of the country. Thus, citizens from the capital (and other urban areas) are more likely to support accession with Western institutions.

For each available year, age is a statistically significant predictor of Georgian citizens' likelihood of supporting the respective accession processes at the 99 percent level. The general pattern suggests that for each additional year older that a Georgian citizen is, they are slightly less likely to support EU and/or NATO accession. While this pattern holds true for each year of available data, the specific coefficient on age for 2015 shows a marked increase in the amount by which Georgian citizens are increasingly less likely to support EU and/or NATO accession as they grow older. In earlier years, the coefficient on age for support of EU and/or NATO accession hovered around -0.002 to -0.006. However, in 2015, this coefficient increased in magnitude to -0.008 for both accession processes. While the coefficient is still low in that it suggests that for each additional year in age a Georgian citizen will only be 0.8 percent less likely to support EU and/or NATO membership, this percentage compounds over generational time spans. As this percentage compounds, it means that generations of Georgian citizens will have more politically significant differences in their support of the EU and/or NATO accession process.

Furthermore, the fact that 2015 showed a larger change in the predicted decline in support for EU and/or NATO membership over time than in previous years points to two potential key changes among the Georgian population. First, the large decline suggests that over time, citizens who once supported the EU and/NATO accession process have since changed their opinions on the value of the EU and/or NATO as valuable partners to Georgia. Second, the larger decline suggests that the same Georgian citizens who may have participated in the Rose Revolution in 2003 may be drifting away from the pro-Western values they once had. If either or both of these trends are the case, there is support for the idea that a prolonged EU and/or NATO accession

process has counter-productive effects on demands for democratic change in developing democracies. As citizens see that domestic reforms do not necessarily result in the reward of EU and/or NATO membership, they may feel disillusioned with the process. This disillusionment has the potential to then manifest itself in the form of less pro-Western and less pro-democratic parties and officials.

Since 2009, education has consistently suggested that for each additional level of education, Georgian citizens are more likely to support EU and/or NATO accession. The coefficients on the education variable are positive and statistically significant for each year since 2009. Thus, support for joining the EU and NATO has generally been increasing among the educated population. However, in 2015, the coefficient on education decreased in magnitude from 0.079 to 0.053. This change suggests that each additional level of education attained predicts a 5.3 percent increase in likely support for EU accession, as opposed to the prior 7.9 percent increase in the likely support for EU accession. Regarding predicted support for NATO, the coefficient on education has been more stable over time, and does not show the same sudden decrease in predicted support for accession based on education. The stability of the predicted support for NATO accession based on educational attainment may be a product of the fact that Georgia's breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia pose a significant enough barrier to Georgia's NATO membership such that more highly educated citizens are more likely to recognize the improbability of Georgia being admitted into NATO, regardless of the amount of time Georgia spends awaiting membership.

The change in predicted support for the EU based on educational attainment is in line with the general fall in support for EU accession among Georgian citizens. Theoretically, more educated citizens should be more likely to support joining the EU because they recognize the benefits to



accession, and understand the necessary costs that must be imposed in the form of institutional reforms. However, the fact that likely support for the EU accession process is declining among educated Georgians suggests that even those who recognize the costs and benefits of joining the EU perceive the costs as exceedingly high for the potential benefits. This trend supports the idea that a prolonged accession process may lead to accession fatigue, as even citizens who understand the costs and time of the accession process become dissatisfied. These educated citizens may believe that Georgia has made sufficient reforms to earn some benefits of accession. Because the perceived reforms have been met with no reward, however, educated Georgians may increasingly perceive the EU accession process as being unjust. This dissatisfaction among educated Georgian similarly has the potential to allow for the rise of less pro-Western and pro-democratic parties, as citizens find alternative means of governance that are still satisfactory to their interests.

As previously mentioned, the lack of a large change in the coefficient on education for NATO support could be due to the fact that educated Georgians recognize that Georgia's internal territorial disputes and precarious relationship with Russia complicate Georgia's NATO prospects. Since Georgia's territorial disputes have not yet been resolved, it is likely that educated Georgians do not see the prolonged accession process as unjust since they have not made progress on a necessary factor for NATO accession. Thus, the data regarding predicted support for NATO accession among educated Georgians still reasonably falls in line with the theory proposed in this study.

Lastly, the coefficient for settlement type, particularly for Tbilisi, is inconsistently significant and changes direction over time with regards to both EU and NATO support. Because of the inconsistent significance and variation over time, settlement type is not as strong of a predictor of support for the EU and NATO accession processes as originally thought. While Tbilisi

is generally thought to be associated with more Western values and more educated citizens, the fact that the coefficient on Tbilisi does not vary consistently with other variables suggests otherwise. This variation instead likely suggests that Tbilisi itself varies too much in terms of its composition to independently predict changes in EU and/or NATO support.

Ultimately, this quantitative analysis of Georgia reveals that not only is support for the EU and NATO declining over time in a politically significant way, but that factors that typically predict higher support for the EU and NATO accession processes (such as being younger and having higher educational attainment) are also showing a declining trend of support for the EU and NATO accession processes. The fact that these trends are occurring provides support for H1a of this paper, which states that change in public support for the EU and/or NATO accession process is particularly apparent among certain groups that previously were more inclined to support the EU and/or NATO accession process.

#### *Anti-Western and Pro-Western Representation in Georgia's Parliament*

A further analysis of Georgia's 2008, 2012, and 2016 parliamentary elections reveals that there may be an increasing trend towards supporting more anti-Western parties. Georgia has a mixed parliamentary election system in which 73 lawmakers out of 150 are elected in 73 majoritarian, single-mandate constituencies. The other 77 seats are allocated proportionally among political parties and election blocs, and each party or bloc must achieve a clear 5 percent threshold for seats to be allocated.<sup>136</sup>

In 2008, the United National Movement (UNM) won 59.18 percent of the proportional vote, securing 119 seats in total with its majoritarian victories.<sup>137</sup> The UNM is Saakashvili's party,

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<sup>136</sup> Civil Georgia, "Parliamentary Elections," *Civil.ge*, April 2017, <<http://civil.ge/eng/category.php?id=32>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

which advocates for the rule of law, accountability, and transparency in government; favors greater integration with the West; and supports the development of a “free and democratic society”.<sup>138</sup> A Nine-Party Opposition Bloc won the second-largest share of the seats in parliament in 2008, with a 17.73 percent share of the proportional vote, securing 17 seats in total.<sup>139</sup> The opposition bloc represented an alternative democratic coalition to Saakashvili’s party that focused on balancing executive power with a strong parliament. However, the opposition bloc was still in favor of pursuing membership in the EU and NATO.<sup>140</sup> The other three parties to win seats in Georgia’s 2008 parliamentary elections, the Christian Democrats, the Georgian Labour Party, and the Party of Republicans, each also had pro-Western platforms.<sup>141</sup> While there is no data regarding popular support for EU and/or NATO accession for 2008, the fact that no pro-Russian or anti-Western party won a proportion of seats in the Georgian parliament suggests that Georgian citizens supported EU and NATO accession, and elected the corresponding pro-Western parties.

In 2012, two parties dominated Georgia’s parliamentary elections. The Georgian Dream party, which emerged from the 2008 nine-party coalition, won 54.97 percent of the proportional vote, which represents 44 parliament seats. It also won 41 majoritarian seats, securing a final total of 85 parliament seats.<sup>142</sup> The Georgian Dream Party, which represents the multi-party coalition, was created by billionaire Bidzina Ivanishvili, and since its creation has supported Georgia’s

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<sup>138</sup> United National Movement, “About Us,” *United National Movement*, 2017, <<http://www.unm.ge/ge/about-us/chven-shesaxe>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>139</sup> Civil Georgia, “Parliamentary Elections”.

<sup>140</sup> Civil Georgia, “New Opposition Alliance Set Up,” *Civil.ge*, 8 December 2008, <<http://www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=20094>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>141</sup> Christian Democratic Movement, “CDM Mission,” *Christian Democratic Movement*, 2013, <<https://web.archive.org/web/20131031150743/http://cdm.ge/index.php/ka/2013-10-01-13-53-34/2013-10-01-13-56-46>> (accessed 7 April 2017);

Georgian Labour Party, “About Us,” *Georgian Labour Party*, 2 July 2013, <<http://www.labour.ge/en/about-us/history>> (accessed 7 April 2017);

Georgian Parliamentary Faction, “Democratic Front Platform,” *Georgian Parliamentary Faction*, 2008, <[https://web.archive.org/web/20080828153820/http://www.parliament.ge/index.php?lang\\_id=GEO&sec\\_id=507](https://web.archive.org/web/20080828153820/http://www.parliament.ge/index.php?lang_id=GEO&sec_id=507)> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>142</sup> Civil Georgia, “Parliamentary Elections”.

continued integration with the EU and NATO.<sup>143</sup> The UNM won 40.34 percent of the proportional vote, earning the UNM 33 parliament seats. It also won 32 majoritarian districts, leaving the party with 65 seats in parliament.<sup>144</sup> While the Georgian Dream and UNM are political rivals, both parties have a pro-Western platform and support EU and NATO integration.<sup>145</sup> The Georgian Dream and UNM dominated the parliamentary elections in 2012 when popular support for EU and NATO accession were at or near their peak.<sup>146</sup> The fact that the parliamentary elections reflected strong public support for the EU and NATO in 2012 supports H2, as it shows how the role of the pro-Western electorate translated itself into a pro-Western Georgian parliament.

The 2016 parliamentary election was still dominated by largely pro-Western parties, however, a pro-Russian, Eurosceptic party managed to secure a small proportion of seats in parliament. The Georgian Dream Party won 48.68 percent of the proportional vote, which corresponds to 44 parliament seats. The party also won 23 majoritarian seats, for a total of 67 parliament seats.<sup>147</sup> The UNM won 27.11 percent of the proportional vote, which corresponds to 27 parliament seats. The UNM did not win any majoritarian districts, and thus came out of the parliamentary election with 27 total seats in parliament.<sup>148</sup> While the two pro-Western parties won a combined majority in parliament, the Alliance of Patriots of the Georgia-United Opposition won 5.01 percent of the vote, which allocated six seats to a pro-Russian party that strongly opposes

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<sup>143</sup> Civil Georgia, "Ivanishvili's Political Party Launched," *Civil.ge*, 21 April 2012, <<http://civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=24683>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>144</sup> Civil Georgia, "Parliamentary Elections".

<sup>145</sup> United National Movement, "About Us"; Civil Georgia, "Ivanishvili's Political Party Launched".

<sup>146</sup> In 2012, popular support for Georgia joining the EU was at its peak of 72 percent, and support for NATO was near its 2010-peak of 70 percent at 67 percent in 2012.

Caucus Research Resource Center, "Caucus Barometer Time-Series Dataset Georgia: EUSUPP"; Caucus Research Resource Center, "Caucus Barometer Time-Series Dataset Georgia: NATOSUPP".

<sup>147</sup> Civil Georgia, "Parliamentary Elections".

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

Georgia's NATO integration.<sup>149</sup> This pro-Russian party win comes at a time when popular support for Georgia's accession to the EU and NATO hit record lows in 2015. In 2015, popular support for Georgia joining the EU was at 42 percent, and popular support for Georgia joining NATO was at 37 percent.<sup>150</sup> The fact that a pro-Russian, anti-NATO party won seats in the 2016 parliamentary election also suggests that there is credibility to H2, which asserts that political parties and elites that are opposed to Western institutions will gain power as the electorate increasingly feels disillusioned with the Western system.

The fact that patterns of representation for pro-Western and anti-Western parties in parliament correspond to popular support for EU and NATO accession supports this paper's assertion that as the electorate becomes disillusioned with the EU and NATO due to a prolonged accession process, anti-Western parties have opportunities to seize power. These trends collectively support H2 of this paper. While anti-Western parties have yet to achieve a majority representation in Georgia, initial parliament trends, along with more long-term public opinion trends, suggest that in the future Georgia may drift away from the West's democratic values. This drift from democratic values may manifest itself in democratic backsliding, as has been seen in the case of Turkey.

### *Comparing Institutional Change in Georgia and Turkey*

The Liberal Democracy Index from the QoG Institute "emphasizes the importance of protecting individual and minority rights against the tyranny of the state and the tyranny of the majority. The liberal model takes a 'negative' view of political power insofar as it judges the

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<sup>149</sup> Civil Georgia, "Parliamentary Elections";

Margarita Antidze, "Pro-Russian Party Wins a Toe-Hold in Georgia's New Parliament," *Reuters*, 11 October 2016, <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-georgia-election-idUSKCN12B1XF>> (accessed 7 April 2017).

<sup>150</sup> Caucus Research Resource Center, "Caucus Barometer Time-Series Dataset Georgia: EUSUPP;" Caucus Research Resource Center, "Caucus Barometer Time-Series Dataset Georgia: NATOSUPP".

quality of democracy by the limits placed on government. This is achieved by constitutionally protected civil liberties, strong rule of law, an independent judiciary, and effective checks and balances that, together, limit the exercise of executive power. To make this a measure of liberal democracy, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account.”<sup>151</sup> Thus, the Liberal Democracy Index measures both democratic institutions in terms of the existence of electoral mechanisms, as well liberal values that are central to the EU and NATO accession processes in terms of presence of institutions that defend liberal values in the country being assessed. The Liberal Democracy Index ranges on a scale of 0 to 1, in which a low score corresponds to less liberal democracy, and a high score corresponds to a more liberal democracy.<sup>152</sup>

Using the QoG Data Visualization Map, the Liberal Democracy Index can be traced for both Georgia and Turkey from 1995 to 2015.<sup>153</sup> This study focuses on specific years for both countries that represent key turning points in their respective accession process.<sup>154</sup> In 1995, Turkey had a Liberal Democracy Index score of 0.40.<sup>155</sup> When Turkey achieved its EU candidacy status in 1999, its Liberal Democracy Index had increased to 0.44.<sup>156</sup> By 2005, when Turkey achieved its negotiating status with the EU, its Liberal Democracy Index had risen to 0.48.<sup>157</sup> Shortly after achieving negotiating status, however, Turkey’s Liberal Democracy Index began to decline, resulting in a fall from 0.48 in 2005 to 0.29 in 2016.<sup>158</sup> The fact that Turkey’s Liberal Democracy

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<sup>151</sup> Stefan Dahlberg, Sören Holmberg, Bo Rothstein, Anna Khomenko, and Richard Svensson, *The Quality of Government Basic Dataset*, version Jan17, 2017 (University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute) <<http://www.qog.pol.gu.se> doi:10.18157/QoGBasJan17>

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> The Quality of Government Institute, “QoG Data Visualization Map, Liberal Democracy Index”.

<sup>154</sup> For the purposes of this study, I focus on key years in Georgia’s accession process with the EU, since Turkey and Georgia share the EU accession process as a common factor.

<sup>155</sup> The Quality of Government Institute, “QoG Data Visualization Map, Liberal Democracy Index”.

<sup>156</sup> Tocci, “Turkey and the European Union”;

The Quality of Government Institute, “QoG Data Visualization Map, Liberal Democracy Index”.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> In 2006, its Liberal Democracy Index remained stable at 0.48, dropping to 0.47 in 2007, 0.43 in 2008, 0.42 in 2009, 0.41 in 2012, 0.33 in 2013, 0.31 in 2014, and 0.29 in 2015. Turkey’s Liberal Democracy Index fluctuated between 2009 and 2012, but ultimately remained between 0.41 and 0.43.

Index has fallen the most since it has entered an official, prolonged negotiation status with the EU supports H3 of this study, which hypothesizes that as anti-Western elites and/or parties are elected, developing democracies will engage in democratic backsliding.

From 1995 to 2002, Georgia was not considered a democracy, and its Liberal Democracy Index score varied from 0.19 to 0.23.<sup>159</sup> Even after the 2003 Rose Revolution, Georgia still had a low Liberal Democracy Index of 0.24.<sup>160</sup> However, by 2009, when Georgia was integrated in the EaP, its Liberal Democracy Index had increased from 0.24 in 2003, to 0.38 in 2009.<sup>161</sup> Since being incorporated into the EaP, Georgia's Liberal Democracy Index has risen to 0.54 in 2015.<sup>162</sup> This rise in Georgia's Liberal Democracy Index since being incorporated into the EaP is similar to the rise of Turkey's Liberal Democracy Index in 1999 and 2005.

The fact that Georgia's pattern of institutional change is similar to that of Turkey's suggests that Georgia may engage in democratic backsliding in the future if its accession processes are prolonged. Like Turkey, Georgia saw an increase in its development of liberal democracy shortly after entering into stronger, more-official relations with the EU. Because Georgia has not entered a formal negotiation process, and because its relationship with the EU has not been as long as Turkey's, Georgia is likely in an earlier stage of the alternative theory of institutional change proposed in this study. However, the Turkish case of institutional change supports the assertion of

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The Quality of Government Institute, "QoG Data Visualization Map, Liberal Democracy Index".

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> In 2004, Georgia's Liberal Democracy Index was 0.39, rising to 0.41 in 2005 and 0.42 in 2006. Its Liberal Democracy Index fell to 0.41 in 2007, 0.39 in 2008, and 0.38 in 2009. It is possible that Georgia was incorporated into the EaP due to its slight democratic regression between 2006 and 2008.

Silander and Nilsson, "Democratization Without Enlargement? The European Neighbourhood Policy on Post-Communist Transitions," *Contemporary Politics* 19, no. 4 (2013): 441-458;

The Quality of Government Institute, "QoG Data Visualization Map, Liberal Democracy Index".

<sup>162</sup> Georgia's Liberal Democracy Index rose to 0.39 in 2010, 0.45 in 2012, 0.54 in 2013, and 0.55 in 2014. Georgia's Liberal Democracy Index fell slightly from 2014 from 0.55 to 0.54.

The Quality of Government Institute, "QoG Data Visualization Map, Liberal Democracy Index".

H3 of this study regarding a reversal of institutional democratic development as anti-Western sentiments emerge in the general public and among the elites.

## **Conclusions**

This paper investigates the role of the EU and NATO on institutional change in the Republic of Georgia. The paper first outlines Georgia's democratic history and relationship with Western institutions. Then, it summarizes existing literature on what determines the success of EU and NATO, and examines existing theories of institutional change. The study proposes an alternative theory of institutional change in which accession fatigue may lead to the election of non-democratic officials who then institute anti-democratic reforms. In using Turkey as a theory building case, and in using a mixed qualitative and quantitative analysis of Georgia, this study finds a number of results that support the proposed hypotheses and alternative theory of institutional change.

### *Summary of Results*

Overall, this paper finds preliminary support for each of the original proposed hypotheses. Support for H1 is found in the fact that public opinion in both Turkey and Georgia has changed over time such that there is less public support for EU and/or NATO accession processes. Support for H2 is found in the fact that political elites in Turkey, namely Erdogan, have made more anti-Western statements in recent years, and the fact that a pro-Russian and anti-Western party gained seats in Georgia's 2016 Parliamentary elections. The rise in anti-Western elite sentiments in Turkey and the election of an anti-Western party in Georgia each coincide with rising levels of dissatisfaction in the public with the EU and/or NATO accession process. This pattern thus follows



the alternative theory of institutional change proposed in this study. Lastly, support for H3 is found in the fact that Turkey has demonstrated democratic backsliding since its accession process has become prolonged. Since it is still too early to determine the impact of the election of Georgia's anti-Western party to Parliament, there is no support for H3 in the Georgian case as of now. However, given the similarity of Turkey in Georgia in their cultural, institutional, and strategic factors, this study argues that it is possible for Georgia to follow the same pattern of institutional change as Turkey. Because Georgia's institutional change is still ongoing, future studies should continue to trace Georgia's democratic development, as this could provide further evidence to either support or refute H3 of this study.

#### *Areas for Further Study*

Because this study uses Georgia as a current case-study, further studies regarding Georgia's institutional change should focus on incorporating future developments in Georgia's political process into either the theoretical framework presented in this study or another theory of institutional change. Such studies would be able to determine whether or not Georgia's pattern of institutional change will in fact follow that of Turkey. Additionally, such studies would be valuable in determining what factors may make a developing democracy more or less resilient to democratic backsliding.

In the same vein, further studies could apply the alternative theory of institutional change proposed in this paper to other country cases. Applying the theoretical framework proposed in this paper to other cases would assist in determining the true plausibility of the theory. Furthermore, additional cases would likely be able to distinguish key factors that may affect how likely a developing democracy is to follow through on making institutional changes.

Other studies could further focus on determining the varying role that EU and NATO have in fostering institutional change both in Georgia and other developing democracies. While studies in the past have sought to investigate the successes and failures of the EU and NATO, recent developments in the stability of the EU and NATO may have an impact on the future ability of these organizations to affect institutional change in developing democracies. For example, the role of Britain's exit from the EU ("Brexit"), or the role of NATO's extension of membership to Montenegro could affect the future credibility of the EU and NATO, and thus influence these organizations' ability to effect institutional change. These studies would help in expanding the current literature regarding the use of the EU and NATO as agents of institutional change.

### *Policy Implications*

Presumably, the EU and NATO do not want to see Georgia drift away from democratic values in the same way that Turkey has, as a less democratic Georgia could potentially be seen as a destabilizing development. A less democratic Georgia would also mean that policies such as the ENP and PfP have failed in their goals of fostering more friendly relations between Europe and its neighbors.

While Georgia has yet to show democratic backsliding in its measures of institutional change, Georgia has also not had a three-decade long accession process with the EU in the same way that Turkey has.<sup>163</sup> However, to the extent that Georgia has shown an increase in its liberal democracy within a relatively short time frame, Georgia is following Turkey's pattern of institutional change.

Because the patterns of institutional change in Georgia are somewhat consistent with those of Turkey, and because Turkey and Georgia share numerous similarities in their cultural

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<sup>163</sup> Tocci, "Turkey and the European Union".

differences from the West, their short-lived democratic histories, and the lack of credibility of EU and NATO offers of accession, it is possible, if not likely, that Georgia will continue to follow Turkey's patterns of institutional change. If it is assumed that Georgia will continue to follow Turkey's path of institutional change, the EU and NATO would need to consider alternative policies to ensure Georgia's democratic institutional development. On one hand, it may be the case that either or both organizations should accelerate Georgia's desired path to membership in order to ensure accession fatigue does not result in a reversal of institutional change. On the other hand, it may be the case that the EU and NATO should abandon their negotiations and partnerships with Georgia, or at least make clear their intentions for whether or not Georgia will be incorporated into either organization, as these actions could lessen the potential for resentment toward these Western organizations among the Georgian population. Alternatively, if further studies find different patterns in Georgia's continued institutional development, then the current EU and NATO partnerships with Georgia may be sufficient.

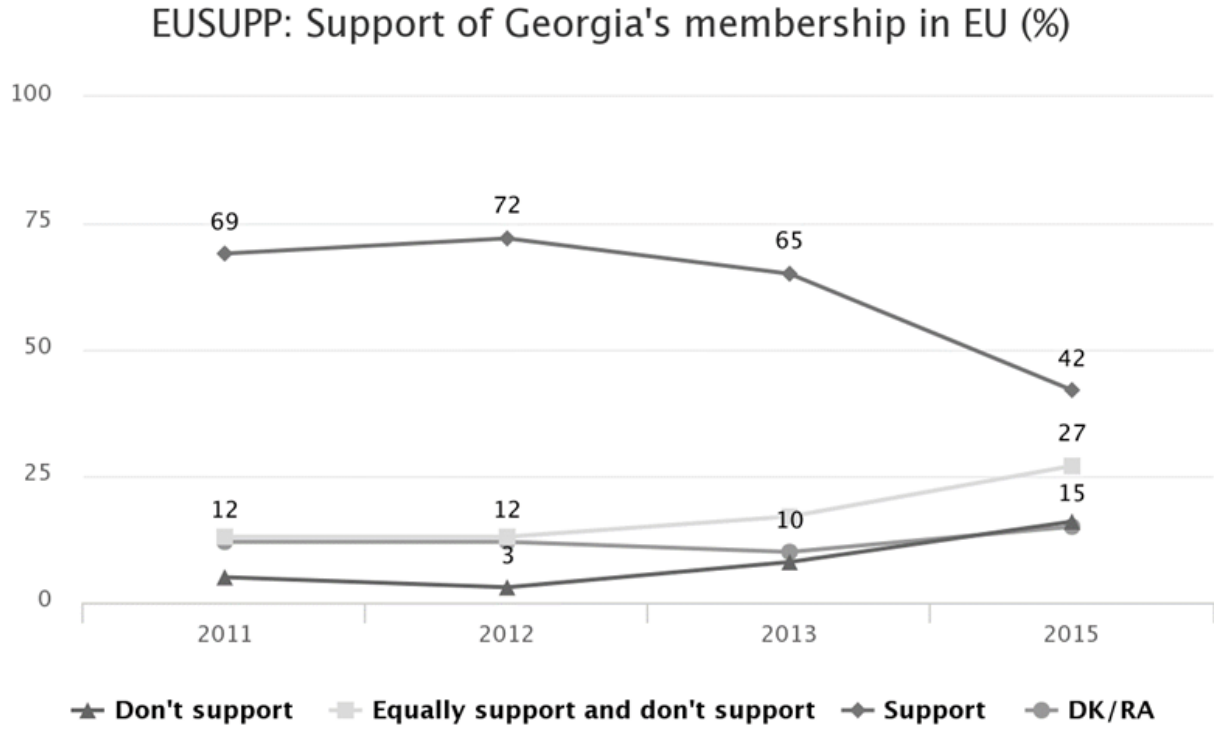
Any change in policies regarding Georgia's prospects for partnerships or membership with the EU and NATO will have to consider the role of Russia's foreign policy. Due to Georgia's prior conflict with Russia, Georgia's separatist territories, and Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, Georgia represents a unique case for the role of the EU and NATO in institutional change. Furthermore, Russia's annexation of Crimea may have played a role in the change of Georgian citizens' support for EU and/or NATO accession. Given that Russia used Ukraine's pro-Western policies as a pretext for the annexation of Crimea, Georgian citizens may have grown weary of allying with Western organizations for fear of triggering another conflict with Russia in the separatist territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. At the same time, it may be that because Georgia has already endured a Russian incursion of its territory in response to Georgia's pro-

Western policies that Georgia is not concerned with moving forward with pro-Western policies, as it has already been made clear to Russia that the Georgian government is pro-Western.

While these considerations certainly complicate the implications of the theoretical framework presented in this study, as well as the resulting policy implications, these considerations could also assist in better understanding the future role of the EU and NATO in Eurasia, as other Eurasian states may face similar obstacles in their EU and NATO relations.

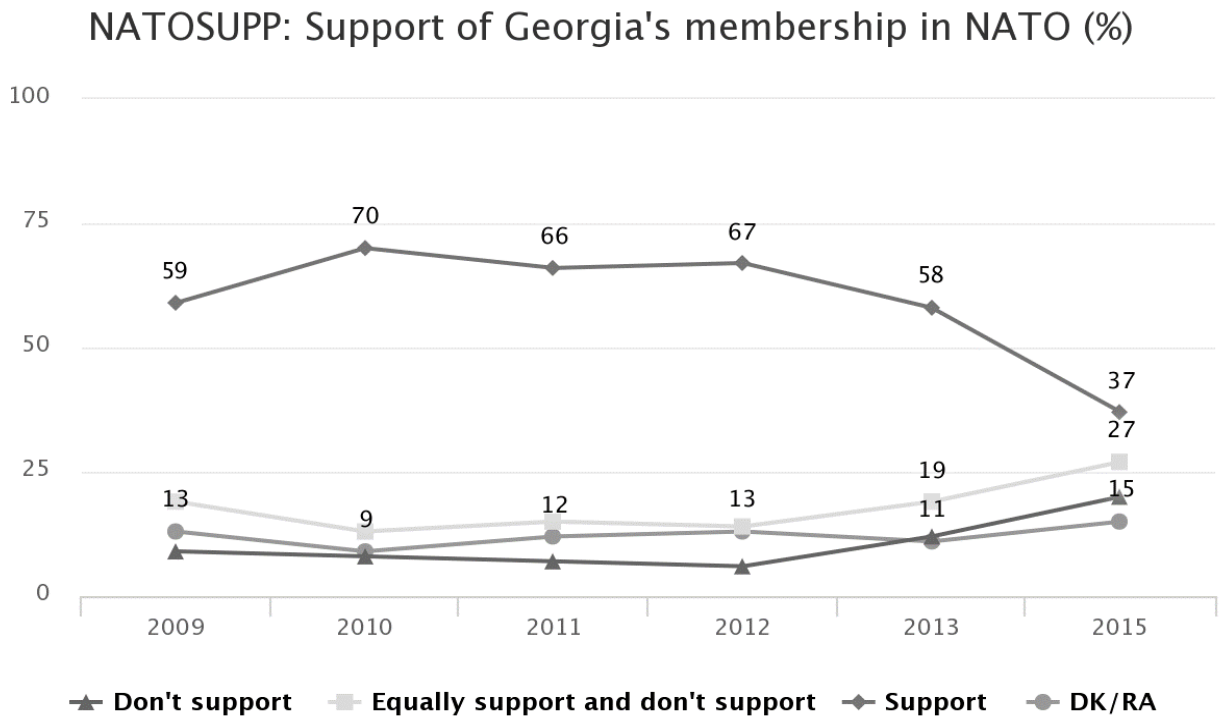
## Appendix A

Figure 1



Caucasus Barometer time-series dataset Georgia  
Retrieved from <http://caucasusbarometer.org/>

Figure 2



Caucasus Barometer time-series dataset Georgia  
Retrieved from <http://caucasusbarometer.org/>

Table 1

Table 1: NATO and EU Support in 2015

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	NATOSUPP (1)	EUSUPP (2)
MALE	-0.107** (0.043)	-0.094** (0.041)
AGE	-0.008*** (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.001)
EDU	0.059*** (0.015)	0.053*** (0.015)
RURAL	-0.011 (0.051)	0.030 (0.048)
TBS	0.100* (0.051)	0.049 (0.049)
Constant	3.155*** (0.108)	3.409*** (0.103)
Observations	3,407	3,486
R <sup>2</sup>	0.025	0.022
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.024	0.021
Residual Std. Error	1.200 (df = 3401)	1.161 (df = 3480)
F Statistic	17.435*** (df = 5; 3401)	15.804*** (df = 5; 3480)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 2

Table 2: NATO and EU Support in 2013

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	NATOSUPP (1)	EUSUPP (2)
MALE	-0.013 (0.036)	-0.039 (0.035)
AGE	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
EDU	0.063*** (0.013)	0.079*** (0.012)
RURAL	-0.028 (0.043)	-0.049 (0.041)
TBS	-0.099** (0.045)	-0.035 (0.043)
Constant	3.191*** (0.087)	3.303*** (0.083)
Observations	4,958	5,129
R <sup>2</sup>	0.007	0.011
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.006	0.010
Residual Std. Error	1.250 (df = 4952)	1.216 (df = 5123)
F Statistic	7.428*** (df = 5; 4952)	11.637*** (df = 5; 5123)

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01



Table 3

Table 3: NATO and EU Support in 2012

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	NATOSUPP	EUSUPP
	(1)	(2)
MALE	-0.095*** (0.033)	-0.036 (0.029)
AGE	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)
EDU	0.052*** (0.012)	0.079*** (0.010)
RURAL	-0.060 (0.039)	-0.038 (0.034)
TBS	-0.076* (0.042)	-0.172*** (0.037)
Constant	3.562*** (0.081)	3.649*** (0.072)
Observations	5,519	5,690
R <sup>2</sup>	0.008	0.014
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.007	0.013
Residual Std. Error	1.222 (df = 5513)	1.090 (df = 5684)
F Statistic	8.765*** (df = 5; 5513)	16.177*** (df = 5; 5684)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 4

Table 4: NATO and EU Suppot in 2011

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	NATOSUPP	EUSUPP
	(1)	(2)
MALE	-0.082** (0.035)	-0.002 (0.030)
AGE	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)
EDU	0.053*** (0.012)	0.061*** (0.011)
RURAL	-0.027 (0.044)	0.029 (0.038)
TBS	-0.118*** (0.042)	-0.117*** (0.036)
Constant	3.566*** (0.090)	3.734*** (0.076)
Observations	5,089	5,247
R <sup>2</sup>	0.008	0.009
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.007	0.008
Residual Std. Error	1.245 (df = 5083)	1.079 (df = 5241)
F Statistic	7.805*** (df = 5; 5083)	9.098*** (df = 5; 5241)

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 5

Table 5: NATO Support in 2010

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	NATOSUPP
MALE	-0.070** (0.033)
AGE	-0.004*** (0.001)
EDU	0.032*** (0.012)
RURAL	0.045 (0.039)
TBS	-0.504*** (0.044)
Constant	3.767*** (0.083)
Observations	5,025
R <sup>2</sup>	0.038
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.037
Residual Std. Error	1.175 (df = 5019)
F Statistic	39.140*** (df = 5; 5019)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 6

Table 6: NATO Support in 2009

<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
NATOSUPP	
MALE	0.037 (0.037)
AGE	-0.006*** (0.001)
EDU	0.041*** (0.014)
RURAL	0.024 (0.045)
TBS	0.044 (0.049)
Constant	3.406*** (0.094)
Observations	4,641
R <sup>2</sup>	0.011
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.010
Residual Std. Error	1.261 (df = 4635)
F Statistic	9.943*** (df = 5; 4635)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 7

Table 7: NATO Support in 2008

<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
NATOSUPP	
MALE	-0.001 (0.038)
AGE	-0.006*** (0.001)
EDU	-0.017 (0.011)
RURAL	0.067 (0.045)
TBS	0.034 (0.045)
Constant	3.931*** (0.089)
Observations	4,647
R <sup>2</sup>	0.008
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.007
Residual Std. Error	1.258 (df = 4641)
F Statistic	7.097*** (df = 5; 4641)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

## Appendix B

```
install.packages("foreign")
```

```
library(foreign)
```

```
# Extract data re: NATO and EU support from Caucus Barometer survey for each year
```

```
CRRC2015ge <- read.dta("[insert location of data on computer here]")
```

```
EUandNATO2015 <- subset(CRRC2015ge, country=Georgia, select=c(ID, SEX, AGE,  
RESPEDU, STRATUM, NATOSUPP, EUSUPP, TRUSTEU))
```

```
View(EUandNATO2015)
```

```
CRRC2013ge <- read.dta("[insert location of data on computer here]")
```

```
EUandNATO2013 <- subset(CRRC2013ge, country=Georgia, select=c(ID, RESPSEX,  
RESPAGE, RESPEDU, STRATUM, NATOSUPP, EUSUPP, TRUSTEU))
```

```
View(EUandNATO2013)
```

```
CRRC2012ge <- read.dta("[insert location of data on computer here]")
```

```
EUandNATO2012 <- subset (CRRC2012ge, country=Georgia, select=c(ID, RESPSEX,  
RESPAGE, RESPEDU, STRATUM, NATOSUPP, EUSUPP, TRUSTEU))
```

```
View(EUandNATO2012)
```

```
CRRC2011ge <- read.dta("[insert location of data on computer here]")
```

```
EUandNATO2011 <- subset (CRRC2011ge, country=Georgia, select=c(ID, RESPSEX, AGE,  
RESPEDU, STRATUM, NATOSUPP, EUSUPP, TRUSTEU))
```

```
View(EUandNATO2011)
```

```
CRRC2010ge <- read.dta("[insert location of data on computer here]")
```

```
EUandNATO2010 <- subset (CRRC2010ge, country=Georgia, select=c(ID, RESPSEX,  
RESPAGE, RESPEDU, STRATUM, NATOSUPP, TRUSTEU))
```

```
View(EUandNATO2010)
```

```

CRRC2009ge <- read.dta("[insert location of data on computer here]")

EUandNATO2009 <- subset (CRRC2009ge, country=Georgia, select=c(ID, RESPSEX,
RESPAGE, RESPEDU, STRATUM, NATOSUPP, TRUSTEU))

View(EUandNATO2009)

CRRC2008ge <- read.dta("[insert location of data on computer here]")

EUandNATO2008 <- subset (CRRC2008ge, country=Georgia, select=c(ID, RESPSEX,
RESPAGE, RESPEDU, STRATUM, NATOSUPP, TRUSTEU))

View(EUandNATO2008)

# Rename columns

names(EUandNATO2015) <- c("ID", "MALE", "AGE", "EDU", "STRATUM", "NATOSUPP",
"EUSUPP", "TRUSTEU")

names(EUandNATO2013) <- c("ID", "MALE", "AGE", "EDU", "STRATUM", "NATOSUPP",
"EUSUPP", "TRUSTEU")

names(EUandNATO2012) <- c("ID", "MALE", "AGE", "EDU", "STRATUM", "NATOSUPP",
"EUSUPP", "TRUSTEU")

names(EUandNATO2011) <- c("ID", "MALE", "AGE", "EDU", "STRATUM", "NATOSUPP",
"EUSUPP", "TRUSTEU")

names(EUandNATO2010) <- c("ID", "MALE", "AGE", "EDU", "STRATUM", "NATOSUPP",
"TRUSTEU")

names(EUandNATO2009) <- c("ID", "MALE", "AGE", "EDU", "STRATUM", "NATOSUPP",
"TRUSTEU")

names(EUandNATO2008) <- c("ID", "MALE", "AGE", "EDU", "STRATUM", "NATOSUPP",
"TRUSTEU")

# Add columns for STRATUM

EUandNATO2015$RURAL <- NA

EUandNATO2015$URBAN <- NA

```

```
EUandNATO2015$TBS <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2013$RURAL <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2013$URBAN <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2013$TBS <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2012$RURAL <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2012$URBAN <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2012$TBS <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2011$RURAL <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2011$URBAN <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2011$TBS <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2010$RURAL <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2010$URBAN <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2010$TBS <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2009$RURAL <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2009$URBAN <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2009$TBS <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2008$RURAL <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2008$URBAN <- NA
```

```
EUandNATO2008$TBS <- NA
```

```
# Recode categorical data, 2015 data
```

```
EUandNATO2015[,2] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,2] == "Male", 1,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,2] == "Female", 0, ""))
```



```
EUandNATO2015[,4] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,4] == "No primary education", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,4] == "Primary education (either complete or incomplete)", 2,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,4] == "Incomplete secondary education", 3,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,4] == "Completed secondary education", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,4] == "Secondary technical education", 5,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,4] == "Incomplete higher education", 6, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,4]
== "Completed higher education (BA, MA, or Specialist degree)", 7,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,4] == "Post-graduate degree", 8, "))))))
```

```
EUandNATO2015[,5] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,5] == "Rural", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,5] == "Urban", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,5] == "Capital", 3, ")))
```

```
EUandNATO2015[,6] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,6] == "Don't support at all", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,6] == "Rather not support", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,6] ==
"Partially support, partially don't support", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,6] == "Rather support",
4, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,6] == "Fully support", 5, "))))
```

```
EUandNATO2015[,7] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,7] == "Don't support at all", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,7] == "Rather not support", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,7] ==
"Partially support, partially don't support", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,7] == "Rather support",
4, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,7] == "Fully support", 5, "))))
```

```
EUandNATO2015[,8] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,8] == "Fully distrust", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,8] == "Rather distrust", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,8] == "Neither
trust not distrust", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,8] == "Rather trust", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2015[,7] == "Fully trust ", 5, "))))
```

```
EUandNATO2015$RURAL[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==1]<-1
```

```
EUandNATO2015$RURAL[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==2]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2015$RURAL[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==3]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2015$URBAN[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==1]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2015$URBAN[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==2]<-1
```

```
EUandNATO2015$URBAN[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==3]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2015$TBS[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==1]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2015$TBS[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==2]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2015$TBS[EUandNATO2015$STRATUM==3]<-1
```

```
# Recode categorical data, 2013 data
```

```

EUandNATO2013[,2] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,2] == "Male", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,2] == "Female", 0, ""))

EUandNATO2013[,4] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,4] == "No primary education", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,4] == "Primary education (either complete or incomplete)", 2,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,4] == "Incomplete secondary education", 3,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,4] == "Completed secondary education", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,4] == "Secondary technical education", 5,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,4] == "Incomplete higher education", 6, ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,4]
== "Completed higher education (BA, MA, or Specialist degree)", 7,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,4] == "Post-graduate degree", 8, "")))))))))

EUandNATO2013[,5] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,5] == "Rural", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,5] == "Urban", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,5] == "Capital", 3, ""))

EUandNATO2013[,6] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,6] == "Don't support at all", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,6] == "Rather not support", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,6] ==
"Equally support and don't support", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,6] == "Rather support", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,6] == "Fully support", 5, ""))))

EUandNATO2013[,7] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,7] == "Don't support at all", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,7] == "Rather not support", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,7] ==
"Equally support and don't support", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,7] == "Rather support", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,7] == "Fully support", 5, ""))))

EUandNATO2013[,8] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,8] == "Fully distrust", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,8] == "Somewhat distrust", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,8] ==
"Neither trust not distrust", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,8] == "Somewhat trust", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2013[,7] == "Fully trust", 5, ""))))

EUandNATO2013$RURAL[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==1]<-1
EUandNATO2013$RURAL[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==2]<-0
EUandNATO2013$RURAL[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==3]<-0
EUandNATO2013$URBAN[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==1]<-0
EUandNATO2013$URBAN[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==2]<-1
EUandNATO2013$URBAN[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==3]<-0
EUandNATO2013$TBS[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==1]<-0
EUandNATO2013$TBS[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==2]<-0
EUandNATO2013$TBS[EUandNATO2013$STRATUM==3]<-1

```

```
# Recode categorical data,2012 data
```

```
EUandNATO2012[,2] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,2] == "Male", 1,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,2] == "Female", 0, ""))
```

```
EUandNATO2012[,4] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,4] == "No primary education", 1,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,4] == "Primary education", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,4] ==  
"Incomplete secondary education", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,4] == "Completed secondary  
education", 4, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,4] == "Secondary technical education", 5,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,4] == "Incomplete higher education", 6, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,4]  
== "Completed higher education", 7, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,4] == "Post-graduate degree", 8,  
""))))))))
```

```
EUandNATO2012[,5] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,5] == "Rural", 1,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,5] == "Urban", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,5] == "Capital", 3, ""))
```

```
EUandNATO2012[,6] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,6] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,6]  
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,6] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,6] == "4", 4,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,6] == "5", 5, ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2012[,7] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,7] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,7]  
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,7] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,7] == "4", 4,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,7] == "5", 5, ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2012[,8] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,8] == "Fully distrust", 1,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,8] == "Somewhat distrust", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,8] ==  
"Neither trust nor distrust", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,8] == "Somewhat trust", 4,  
ifelse(EUandNATO2012[,7] == "Fully trust", 5, ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2012$RURAL[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==1]<-1
```

```
EUandNATO2012$RURAL[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==2]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2012$RURAL[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==3]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2012$URBAN[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==1]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2012$URBAN[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==2]<-1
```

```
EUandNATO2012$URBAN[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==3]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2012$TBS[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==1]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2012$TBS[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==2]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2012$TBS[EUandNATO2012$STRATUM==3]<-1
```

```
# Recode categorical data, 2011 data
```

```

EUandNATO2011[,2] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,2] == "Male", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,2] == "Female", 0, ""))

EUandNATO2011[,4] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,4] == "No primary education", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,4] == "Primary education", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,4] ==
"Incomplete secondary education", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,4] == "Completed secondary
education", 4, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,4] == "Secondary technical education", 5,
ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,4] == "Incomplete higher education", 6, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,4]
== "Completed higher education", 7, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,4] == "Post-graduate degree", 8,
""))))))))

EUandNATO2011[,5] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,5] == "Rural", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,5] == "Urban", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,5] == "Capital", 3, ""))

EUandNATO2011[,6] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,6] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,6]
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,6] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,6] == "4", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,6] == "5", 5, ""))))

EUandNATO2011[,7] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,7] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,7]
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,7] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,7] == "4", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,7] == "5", 5, ""))))

EUandNATO2011[,8] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,8] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,8]
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,8] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,8] == "4", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2011[,7] == "5", 5, ""))))

EUandNATO2011$RURAL[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==1]<-1
EUandNATO2011$RURAL[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==2]<-0
EUandNATO2011$RURAL[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==3]<-0
EUandNATO2011$URBAN[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==1]<-0
EUandNATO2011$URBAN[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==2]<-1
EUandNATO2011$URBAN[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==3]<-0
EUandNATO2011$TBS[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==1]<-0
EUandNATO2011$TBS[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==2]<-0
EUandNATO2011$TBS[EUandNATO2011$STRATUM==3]<-1

# Recode categorical data, 2010 data

EUandNATO2010[,2] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,2] == "Male", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,2] == "Female", 0, ""))

```

```
EUandNATO2010[,4] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,4] == "No primary education", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,4] == "Primary education", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,4] ==
"Incomplete secondary education", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,4] == "Completed secondary
education", 4, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,4] == "Secondary technical education", 5,
ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,4] == "Incomplete higher education", 6, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,4]
== "Completed higher education", 7, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,4] == "Post-graduate degree", 8,
""))))))))
```

```
EUandNATO2010[,5] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,5] == "Rural", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,5] == "Urban", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,5] == "Capital", 3, ""))
```

```
EUandNATO2010[,6] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,6] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,6]
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,6] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,6] == "4", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,6] == "5", 5, ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2010[,7] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,7] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,7]
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,7] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,7] == "4", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2010[,7] == "5", 5, ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2010$RURAL[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==1]<-1
```

```
EUandNATO2010$RURAL[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==2]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2010$RURAL[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==3]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2010$URBAN[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==1]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2010$URBAN[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==2]<-1
```

```
EUandNATO2010$URBAN[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==3]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2010$TBS[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==1]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2010$TBS[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==2]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2010$TBS[EUandNATO2010$STRATUM==3]<-1
```

```
# Recode categorical data, 2009 data
```

```
EUandNATO2009[,2] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,2] == "Male", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,2] == "Female", 0, ""))
```

```
EUandNATO2009[,4] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,4] == "No primary education", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,4] == "Primary education", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,4] ==
"Incomplete secondary education", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,4] == "Completed secondary
education", 4, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,4] == "Secondary technical education", 5,
ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,4] == "Incomplete higher education", 6, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,4]
```

```
== "Completed higher education", 7, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,4] == "Post-graduate degree", 8,
"))))))))
```

```
EUandNATO2009[,5] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,5] == "Rural", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,5] == "Urban", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,5] == "Capital", 3, ""))
```

```
EUandNATO2009[,6] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,6] == "Don't support at all", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,6] == "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,6] == "3", 3,
ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,6] == "4", 4, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,6] == "Fully support", 5, ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2009[,7] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,7] == "Fully distrust", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,7] == "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,7] == "3", 3,
ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,7] == "4", 4, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,7] == "Fully trust", 5, ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2009$RURAL[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==1]<-1
```

```
EUandNATO2009$RURAL[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==2]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2009$RURAL[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==3]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2009$URBAN[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==1]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2009$URBAN[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==2]<-1
```

```
EUandNATO2009$URBAN[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==3]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2009$TBS[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==1]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2009$TBS[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==2]<-0
```

```
EUandNATO2009$TBS[EUandNATO2009$STRATUM==3]<-1
```

```
# Recode categorical data, 2008 data
```

```
EUandNATO2008[,2] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,2] == "Male", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,2] == "Female", 0, ""))
```

```
EUandNATO2008[,5] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,5] == "Rural", 1,
ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,5] == "Urban", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,5] == "Capital", 3, ""))
```

```
EUandNATO2008[,6] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,6] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,6]
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,6] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,6] == "4", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,6] == "5", 5, ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2008[,7] <- ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,7] == "1", 1, ifelse(EUandNATO2009[,7]
== "2", 2, ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,7] == "3", 3, ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,7] == "4", 4,
ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,7] == "5", 5, ifelse(EUandNATO2008[,7] == "NA", "", ""))))
```

```
EUandNATO2008$RURAL[EUandNATO2008$STRATUM==1]<-1
```

EUandNATO2008\$RURAL[EUandNATO2008\$STRATUM==2]<-0  
EUandNATO2008\$RURAL[EUandNATO2008\$STRATUM==3]<-0  
EUandNATO2008\$URBAN[EUandNATO2008\$STRATUM==1]<-0  
EUandNATO2008\$URBAN[EUandNATO2008\$STRATUM==2]<-1  
EUandNATO2008\$URBAN[EUandNATO2008\$STRATUM==3]<-0  
EUandNATO2008\$TBS[EUandNATO2008\$STRATUM==1]<-0  
EUandNATO2008\$TBS[EUandNATO2008\$STRATUM==2]<-0  
EUandNATO2008\$TBS[EUandNATO2008\$STRATUM==3]<-1

# View all data sets

View (EUandNATO2015)

View (EUandNATO2013)

View (EUandNATO2012)

View (EUandNATO2011)

View (EUandNATO2010)

View (EUandNATO2009)

View (EUandNATO2008)

table(EUandNATO2015\$NATOSUPP)

table(EUandNATO2015\$EUSUPP)

table(EUandNATO2015\$TRUSTEU) ## Fully trust not coded correctly

table(EUandNATO2013\$NATOSUPP)

table(EUandNATO2013\$EUSUPP)

table(EUandNATO2013\$TRUSTEU) ## Fully trust not coded correctly

table(EUandNATO2012\$NATOSUPP)

table(EUandNATO2012\$EUSUPP)

```
table(EUandNATO2012$TRUSTEU) ## Fully trust not coded correctly
```

```
table(EUandNATO2011$NATOSUPP)
```

```
table(EUandNATO2011$EUSUPP)
```

```
table(EUandNATO2011$TRUSTEU) ## All coded correctly because numbers were coded from  
the start
```

```
table(EUandNATO2010$NATOSUPP)
```

```
table(EUandNATO2010$TRUSTEU)
```

```
table(EUandNATO2009$NATOSUPP)
```

```
table(EUandNATO2009$TRUSTEU)
```

```
table(EUandNATO2008$NATOSUPP)
```

```
table(EUandNATO2008$TRUSTEU)
```

```
install.packages("psych")
```

```
library(psych)
```

```
# All 2015 data as numeric
```

```
EUandNATO2015$MALE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$MALE)
```

```
EUandNATO2015$AGE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$AGE)
```

```
EUandNATO2015$EDU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$EDU)
```

```
EUandNATO2015$STRATUM <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$STRATUM)
```

```
EUandNATO2015$NATOSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$NATOSUPP)
```

```
EUandNATO2015$EUSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$EUSUPP)
```

```
EUandNATO2015$TRUSTEU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$TRUSTEU)
```

```
EUandNATO2015$RURAL <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$RURAL)
```

```
EUandNATO2015$URBAN <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$URBAN)
```



```
EUandNATO2015$TBS <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2015$TBS)
```

```
# All 2013 data as numeric
```

```
EUandNATO2013$MALE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$MALE)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$AGE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$AGE)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$EDU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$EDU)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$STRATUM <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$STRATUM)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$NATOSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$NATOSUPP)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$EUSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$EUSUPP)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$TRUSTEU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$TRUSTEU)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$RURAL <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$RURAL)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$URBAN <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$URBAN)
```

```
EUandNATO2013$TBS <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2013$TBS)
```

```
# All 2012 data as numeric
```

```
EUandNATO2012$MALE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$MALE)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$AGE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$AGE)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$EDU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$EDU)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$STRATUM <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$STRATUM)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$NATOSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$NATOSUPP)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$EUSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$EUSUPP)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$TRUSTEU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$TRUSTEU)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$RURAL <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$RURAL)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$URBAN <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$URBAN)
```

```
EUandNATO2012$TBS <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2012$TBS)
```

```
# All 2011 data as numeric
```

```
EUandNATO2011$MALE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$MALE)
```

```
EUandNATO2011$AGE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$AGE)
EUandNATO2011$EDU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$EDU)
EUandNATO2011$STRATUM <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$STRATUM)
EUandNATO2011$NATOSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$NATOSUPP)
EUandNATO2011$EUSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$EUSUPP)
EUandNATO2011$TRUSTEU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$TRUSTEU)
EUandNATO2011$RURAL <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$RURAL)
EUandNATO2011$URBAN <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$URBAN)
EUandNATO2011$TBS <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2011$TBS)
```

```
# All 2010 data as numeric
```

```
EUandNATO2010$MALE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$MALE)
EUandNATO2010$AGE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$AGE)
EUandNATO2010$EDU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$EDU)
EUandNATO2010$STRATUM <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$STRATUM)
EUandNATO2010$NATOSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$NATOSUPP)
EUandNATO2010$TRUSTEU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$TRUSTEU)
EUandNATO2010$RURAL <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$RURAL)
EUandNATO2010$URBAN <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$URBAN)
EUandNATO2010$TBS <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2010$TBS)
```

```
# All 2009 data as numeric
```

```
EUandNATO2009$MALE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$MALE)
EUandNATO2009$AGE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$AGE)
EUandNATO2009$EDU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$EDU)
EUandNATO2009$STRATUM <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$STRATUM)
EUandNATO2009$NATOSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$NATOSUPP)
EUandNATO2009$TRUSTEU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$TRUSTEU)
```

```

EUandNATO2009$RURAL <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$RURAL)
EUandNATO2009$URBAN <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$URBAN)
EUandNATO2009$TBS <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2009$TBS)

# All 2008 data as numeric
EUandNATO2008$MALE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$MALE)
EUandNATO2008$AGE <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$AGE)
EUandNATO2008$EDU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$EDU)
EUandNATO2008$STRATUM <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$STRATUM)
EUandNATO2008$NATOSUPP <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$NATOSUPP)
EUandNATO2008$TRUSTEU <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$TRUSTEU)
EUandNATO2008$RURAL <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$RURAL)
EUandNATO2008$URBAN <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$URBAN)
EUandNATO2008$TBS <- as.numeric(EUandNATO2008$TBS)

# Correlation between EDU and TBS
cor(EUandNATO2015$EDU, EUandNATO2015$TBS, use="complete")
0.2420515
cor(EUandNATO2013$EDU, EUandNATO2013$TBS, use="complete")
0.1943902
cor(EUandNATO2012$EDU, EUandNATO2012$TBS, use="complete")
0.2308522
cor(EUandNATO2011$EDU, EUandNATO2011$TBS, use="complete")
0.2519321
cor(EUandNATO2010$EDU, EUandNATO2010$TBS, use="complete")
0.2146085
cor(EUandNATO2009$EDU, EUandNATO2009$TBS, use="complete")
0.3058503

```

```
cor(EUandNATO2008$EDU, EUandNATO2008$TBS, use="complete")
```

```
0.2089696
```

```
# Correlation between EDU and STRATUM
```

```
cor(EUandNATO2015$EDU, EUandNATO2015$STRATUM, use="complete")
```

```
0.2930711
```

```
cor(EUandNATO2013$EDU, EUandNATO2013$STRATUM, use="complete")
```

```
0.2294538
```

```
cor(EUandNATO2012$EDU, EUandNATO2012$STRATUM, use="complete")
```

```
0.2742154
```

```
cor(EUandNATO2011$EDU, EUandNATO2011$STRATUM, use="complete")
```

```
0.3184339
```

```
cor(EUandNATO2010$EDU, EUandNATO2010$STRATUM, use="complete")
```

```
0.2639676
```

```
cor(EUandNATO2009$EDU, EUandNATO2009$STRATUM, use="complete")
```

```
0.3428481
```

```
cor(EUandNATO2008$EDU, EUandNATO2008$STRATUM, use="complete")
```

```
0.2505422
```

```
# Regressions for 2015 data
```

```
NATO2015_1 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS,  
data=EUandNATO2015)
```

```
EU2015_1 <- lm(EUSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS, data=EUandNATO2015)
```

```
stargazer(NATO2015_1, EU2015_1)
```

```
NATO2015_2 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM,  
data=EUandNATO2015)
```

```
EU2015_2 <- lm(EUSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM, data=EUandNATO2015)
```

```
# Regressions for 2013 data
```

```
NATO2013_1 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS,  
data=EUandNATO2013)
```

```
EU2013_1 <- lm(EUSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS, data=EUandNATO2013)
```

```
stargazer(NATO2013_1, EU2013_1)
```

```
NATO2013_2 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM,  
data=EUandNATO2013)
```

```
EU2013_2 <- lm(EUSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM, data=EUandNATO2013)
```

```
# Regressions for 2012 data
```

```
NATO2012_1 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS,  
data=EUandNATO2012)
```

```
EU2012_1 <- lm(EUSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS, data=EUandNATO2012)
```

```
stargazer(NATO2012_1, EU2012_1)
```

```
NATO2012_2 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM,  
data=EUandNATO2012)
```

```
EU2012_2 <- lm(EUSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM, data=EUandNATO2012)
```

```
# Regressions for 2011 data
```

```
NATO2011_1 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS,  
data=EUandNATO2011)
```

```
EU2011_1 <- lm(EUSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS, data=EUandNATO2011)
```

```
stargazer(NATO2011_1, EU2011_1)
```

```
NATO2011_2 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM,  
data=EUandNATO2011)
```

```
EU2011_2 <- lm(EUSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM, data=EUandNATO2011)
```

```
# Regressions for 2010 data
```

```
NATO2010_1 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS,  
data=EUandNATO2010)
```

```
stargazer(NATO2010_1)
```

```
NATO2010_2 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM,  
data=EUandNATO2010)
```

```
# Regressions for 2009 data
```

```
NATO2009_1 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS,  
data=EUandNATO2009)
```

```
stargazer(NATO2009_1)
```

```
NATO2009_2 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM,  
data=EUandNATO2009)
```

```
# Regressions for 2008 data
```

```
NATO2008_1 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + RURAL + TBS,  
data=EUandNATO2008)
```

```
stargazer(NATO2008_1)
```

```
NATO2008_2 <- lm(NATOSUPP ~ MALE + AGE + EDU + STRATUM,  
data=EUandNATO2008)
```

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