Theoretical Approaches to Turkey's Foreign Policy

Assoc. Prof. Ali Balcı

IIBF, A Blok, No: 316 / Middle East Center, 2nd Floor
Sakarya University, Turkey

E-mail: ...
Office Hours: …

Aims

This course explores different conceptual, methodological and theoretical approaches to the study and practice of Turkish foreign policy. Structured through a series of questions, students will engage key approaches advanced by various theoretical positions and be able to develop a critical reflection on the production of knowledge in the sphere of studies about Turkey's foreign policy.

Objectives

By the end of this course students should be able

- to identify, to outline, to analyze, and to assess critically specific theories used to explain/understand Turkey's foreign policy
- to understand the differing conceptions of the relationship between theories and practices of Turkey's foreign policy,
- to have a clear sense of the significance of the multiple ways in which to read Turkey's foreign policy,
- to provide a well-structured and coherent presentation about the topic they choose to research on

Course Overview

1. Introduction
2. Traditional texts on Turkey's foreign policy
3. Realist Readings of Turkey's foreign policy
4. (Soft Power) Realist Perspectives on Turkey's foreign policy
5. Liberalism, institutionalized ideas, NGOs, democratic peace, and public opinion in Turkey's foreign policy
6. Liberalism, Europeanization and Turkey's Foreign Policy
7. Marxist/Gramscian readings on Turkey's foreign relations
8. Discussion with traditional approaches
9. (Identity-based) Constructivist Analysis of Turkey's foreign policy
10. (Critical) Constructivist discussions on Turkey's foreign policy
11. Security Studies in Turkey's foreign policy
12. Feminism and Post-colonial studies and the others on Turkish Foreign Policy

13. Post-Structuralist Readings of Turkey's Foreign Policy
14. Discussing theoretically

Teaching Organization

The course will be taught on the basis of fourteen three-hour seminars (the first week is supposed to be composed of a one-hour welcome). Seminars are central to the learning experience at PhD level and attendance is <u>compulsory</u>. Should you be unable to attend a seminar because of the circumstances beyond your control, you should contact the course convener as soon as possible to explain your absence.

Each class consists of an introduction by the convener of the course and a class discussion designed to explore in more detail the subject at hand. Students are required to read at least two of the titles in the required readings from the reading lists. Needless to say, the more you read and think about the seminar before hand, the better the seminar experience is going to be for you and for other students.

Assessment

There are three forms of assessment for this course:

1. Essay: 70%
2. Workshop Presentation: 20%
3. Learning Log / Book Review: 10%

Essays

You must write one at least 3,000 word essay. Although you are required to construct your own essay question, you must consult with the course convener to have your essay question approved. The essay is an invitation to write an essay about an aspect of the course. It also should engage with some of the material introduced on the course module, demonstrate awareness of key concepts and frameworks, and apply ideas and approaches to the understanding of Turkey's foreign policy. Independent and critical thinking, originality, and display of interdisciplinary knowledge will be awarded.

Essays should be fully referenced. Referencing should be consistent throughout, and must conform to Cambridge (footnotes) methods of formatting. The lack of proper bibliography and appropriate references will result in the deduction of marks. They must be typed, one and a half spaced in a reasonable font (eg. 12 point in Times New Roman or Calibri). Needless to say, plagiarism is a serious offence.

Essays must not be faxed or e-mailed to neither secretary of the department nor the course convener. They must be handed in to the convener of the course a week before the last week of semester. Extensions may be granted to students when there are exceptional mitigating circumstances (e.g. strong medical reasons). In such cases a form given by doctor must be submitted to the Secretariat of Department.

Workshop Presentations

Each week every student will be called upon to make a presentation of 10-15 minutes. There will also be time for discussion through which students and the convener of the course will ask questions

about your presentation. Needless to say, all presentations must be interesting for as well as clear to the audience.

Learning Log

Because your participation is mainly assessed by a Learning Log, you have to submit your learning log of 400 words each. Your learning log is to be handed in at the beginning of each seminar. It should comprise a brief account of the key features of what you have learnt from the literature in the reading list, students are free to use other sources though.

Book Review: You, of course, have an alternative. Those who do not want to write learning log can prepare two book reviews of at least 1500 words each. The Review will be a critical evaluation of the books either listed in the course guide or proposed by the convener of the course. In the review, students should give the reader a concise summary of the content, including a relevant description of the topic as well as its overall perspective, argument or purpose. Additionally, the point of a review is not to provide an individual's personal likes and dislikes, but rather a critical assessment.

Office hours

You are welcome to consult me during my office hours about any questions. Office hours may be updated on the sign next to my office's door.

How to Buy Books

The books (not all) are available at the following online book stores: http://www.pandora.com.tr, http://www.rob389.com, http://www.homerbooks.com, If you do not like online shopping, you have real bookstores. Of them, Robinson Crusoe, Pandora Kitabevi, Homer Kitabevi, D&R-Suadiye and Atatürk Ariport, Ada Kültür- Kadıköy, Remzi Kitabevi-Suadiye, Kanyon Remzi Kitabevi, Dünya Aktüel Kitabevi and EFY in Istanbul, Dost Kitabevi and Meteksan Kitabevi in Ankara and finally Pan Kitabevi in İzmir. Please check all of them and find the cheapest book. Of course you are free to buy your books from abroad. Best choices are http://www.amazon.com/ and www.bookdepository.com. Please be careful when you order from international online bookstores, you may have shipping problems.

General Materials

The majority of essential sources for this course are journal articles and you will be ensured that they are all available on the University's online database. All other readings should be available from the Sakarya University Library. As a graduate level student, you are supposed to have consent about the wide range of readings.

1. Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith, International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, Oxford University Press, 2010
2. Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, (Edts), Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012
3. Ali Balcı, Türkiye Dış Politikası, Aktörler, İlkeler ve Uygulamalar, Etkileşim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013 (available only in Turkish)
4. Baskin Oran (Editor), Turkish Foreign Policy: 1919-2006, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2011 [Baskın Oran (Edt.), Türk Dış Politikası, 3 Cilt, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004 ve 2013]
5. William Hale, Turkish foreign policy since 1774, London: Routledge, 2013 [William Hale, Türk Dış Politikası 1774- 2000, Mozaik, 2003]

6. Hasan Kösebalaban, Turkish Foreign Policy: Islam, Nationalism, and Globalization, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011
7. Yasemin Çelik, Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy, London: Praeger Publishers, 1999

Course Schedule

Week 1: Introduction

The purpose of the one hour-long seminar is to introduce ourselves and the general themes and content of the module as well as to allocate readings and explain the organization of the tutorials. Also it can be discussed any initial questions you may have about the course.

Warning: Week 1 contains important information and it is taken as given that you are aware of this information.

Highly Recommended Readings

Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews, "Periphery theorising for a truly internationalised discipline: spinning IR theory out of Anatolia", Review of International Studies 34(4), 2008, pp. 693-712

Pinar Bilgin and Oktay F. Tanrisever, "A telling story of IR in the periphery: telling Turkey about the world, telling the world about Turkey", Journal of International Relations and Development 12(2), 2009, pp. 174-179

Week 2: Traditional texts on Turkey's foreign policy

Required Reading (read at least two of the following key readings)

Metin Tamkoç, "Turkey's Quest for Security through Defensive Alliances," Milletlerarası Münasebetler Türk Yıllığı, 2, 1961, ss. 1-39

Halide Edib, "Turkey and her Allies", Foreign Affairs, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Apr., 1940), pp. 442-449
    The article oscillates between morality and realism in explaining Turkey's foreign policy on the eve of the World War II. However, it slides towards realism when it has to say the followings: "the foreign policy of any country is determined by its national interests as well as by its cultural and moral inclinations" and "Turkey must be ready for the worst" (p. 448).

Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "An Analysis of Atatürk's Foreign Policy, 1919-1938," Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, Vol. 20, 1980-81, pp. 133-187
    The article summarizes the basic elements and goals of Ataturk's foreign policy. However, it can be read as praise for "the cult of the leader", Ataturk, and the demonization of the Ottoman other. For example, it has to say that, "Mustafa Kemal's relationship with the Soviet regime was based on equality, namely on mutual benefits. This again was much different than the Ottoman practice of total dependence on one major power-needless to say-on an unequal basis, from late XIX century onwards." (p. 158)

Week 3: Realist Readings of Turkey's foreign policy

Required Reading (read at least five of the following key readings)

Ronald R. Krebs, "Perverse Institutionalism: NATO and the Greco–Turkish Conflict", International Organization, 53(2), 1999, 343–77
"[The NATO] bears a significant degree of responsibility for the tension between [Turkey and Greece]… Alliances can, under certain conditions, intensify conflict among their members (p. 344).

Şaban Kardaş, "Turkey: A Regional Power Facing a Changing International System", Turkish Studies 14.4 (2013): 637-660.
"This paper attempts to position Turkey in modern-day international relations, in order to develop an analytical framework capable of theorizing its regional and global-level activism coherently."

Dilek Barlas, "Turkish Diplomacy in the Balkans and the Mediterranean: Opportunities and Limits for Middle-Power Activism in the 1930s", Journal of Contemporary History, 40(3), pp. 450-451
"The aim of this article is to analyze to what extent Turkey during the 1930s was able to develop an autonomous diplomatic strategy in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. In other words, it focuses on how Turkey defined its priorities at the diplomatic level and to what extent it was able to realize such priorities independently from the decision-making of the great powers." (p. 442)

Şener Aktürk, "Turkish-Russian Relations after the Cold War, 1992-2002," Turkish Studies, 7(3), September 2006, pp. 337-364
This article argues that the diminution of the Russian threat allowed for the possibility of Turkish–Russian cooperation. At a second stage, the proliferation of common geopolitical interests between Turkey and Russia encouraged them to take advantage of this 'window of opportunity.'" (p. 338)

Murat Bayar, and Andreas Kotelis "Democratic Peace or Hegemonic Stability? The Imia/Kardak Case", Turkish Studies, 15.2 (2014): 242-257
Democratic peace theory (DPT) and hegemonic stability theory provide different explanations for cooperation among (democratic) states. The Imia/Kardak crisis took place between Greece and Turkey, two democratic, nonnuclear, and interdependent states in the post-Cold War era, thus, offers rare insights into these theorized processes.

Cameron S. Brown, "The one coalition they craved to join: Turkey in the Korean War." Review of International Studies, 34(1), 2008, pp. 89-108
"This article examines the forces that motivated Turkey to send nearly 5,000 troops almost 5,000 miles away from home, and concludes with thoughts on the implications for alliance theory" (p. 89)

Hasan Basri Yalçın, "The Concept of "Middle Power" and the Recent Turkish Foreign Policy Activism", Afro Eurasian Studies, Vol. 1, Issue 1, Spring 2012, pp. 195-213

Week 4: (Soft Power) Realist Perspectives on Turkey's foreign policy
Required Reading

Tarık Oğuzlu, "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy," Australian Journal of International Affairs, Volume: 61, no. 1, 2007, pp.
"Process of desecuritisation and increased Turkey's credibility in the eyes of both Western and Middle Eastern countries are sine qua non for Turkey's soft power." (p. 87)

Ömer Taşpınar, "Turkey's Middle East Policies: Between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism", Carnige Papers, Carnige Endowment for International Peace, Number: 10, September 2008, pp. 1-29
"Neo-Ottomanism is essentially about projecting Turkey's "soft power"… Turkey appears torn between these two alternative visions of foreign policy. While the Kurdish challenge makes Ankara reactive, cautious, and sometimes overly insecure, neo-Ottomanism motivates Turkish policy makers to be more audacious, imaginative, and proactive." (p. 3)

Kemal Kirişci, "The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy: The Rise of the trading state", New Perspectives on Turkey, no. 40, 2009, pp. 29-57
"How come that the "post-Cold War warrior" of the mid-1990s today is referred to as a "benign" or even "soft" power? How can we explain such a transformation?… The rise of the trading state has transformed and is transforming traditional foreign policy-makers, too." (p. 33)

Güneş Murat Teczür, and Alexandru Grigorescu, "Activism in Turkish Foreign Policy: Balancing European and Regional Interests", International Studies Perspectives, 2013

Week 5: Liberalism, institutionalized ideas, NGOs, democratic peace, and public opinion in Turkey's foreign policy

<u>Required Reading</u>

Binnur Özkeçeci-Taner, "The impact of institutionalized ideas in coalition foreign policy making: Turkey as an example, 1991–2002", Foreign Policy Analysis, 1(3), 2005, pp. 249–278
"The dominant political discourse of Kemalism began to be challenged stronger than ever with the increasing popularity of political Islam and ethnic Kurdish nationalism… Therefore, the key element in understanding Turkish foreign policy today lies in the clashes and the resulting compromises and confrontations between different and essentially competing ideas." (p. 260)

Fiona B. Adamson, "Democratization and the domestic sources of foreign policy: Turkey in the 1974 Cyprus crisis", Political Science Quarterly, 116(2), 2001, pp. 277–303
"I analyze the relationship between domestic processes of democratization and foreign policy making in the case of Turkey and its 1974 decision to intervene in Cyprus". (p. 278)

Ziya Öniş, "Domestic Politics, International Norms and Challenges to the State: Turkey-EU Relations in the post-Helsinki Era", Turkish Studies, 4 (1), 2003, pp. 9-34
"The Helsinki decision created a powerful set of incentives for change and reform in Turkey's domestic politics. Previously, change had been under way, but was less pronounced given that membership in the Customs Union in and of itself failed to provide an appropriate mix of conditions and incentives…. Observing the Turkish scene two-and-a-half years after the Helsinki summit, one can clearly detect the beginnings of an influential pro-EU coalition in Turkey." (p. 29)

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Turkish Foreign Relations and Public Opinion", GMF On Turkey, September 2011, pp. 1-3
If we look more closely, it is possible to see that several foreign policy issues have left indelible marks on the minds of Turkish voters and political elites alike. Several issues have been successfully converted into domestic issues, which helped to bolster or undermine the ideological positions of both politicians and parties, which in turn has a major impact on what people decide at the polls. (p. 1)

<u>Suggested Readings</u>

Ryan Kennedy and Matt Dickenson, "Turkish Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the AKP Era", Foreign Policy Analysis, 2012, pp. 1-18

> "Analyzing data from the Pew Global Attitudes Project, we find some differences in attitudes based on political party affiliation, income and education, but the results generally refute the argument that Turks see a fundamental choice between East and West in their foreign policy or that supporters of the AKP have fundamentally different international outlooks. Taken together, these results have important implications for US policymakers." (p. 1)

Esra Çuhadar-Gürkaynak and Binnur Özkeçeci-Taner, "Decisionmaking Process Matters: Lessons Learned from Two Turkish Foreign Policy Cases", Turkish Studies, 2004, 5, pp. 43-78

Week 6: Liberalism, and Europeanization in Turkey's Foreign Policy

Required Reading

Alper Kaliber, "Contextual and Contested: Reassessing Europeanization in the Case of Turkey", International Relations, 27(1), 2013, pp. 52-73

> "The impact of Europeanization in a given society is heavily conditioned by the extent and the ways in which Europe is used as a context by domestic actors" (p. 52)

Ziya Öniş and Şuhnaz Yılmaz, "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", Turkish Studies, Volume 10, Issue 1, March 2009, pp. 7 – 24

> "From the end of 2002 to roughly the end of 2005, corresponds to the Golden Age of Europeanization in Turkey… the second sub-phase corresponds to… 'Soft Euro-Asianism' [which] means that foreign policy activism is pursued with respect to all neighboring regions but with no firm EU axis." (p. 13)

Tarık Oğuzlu, "Turkey and Europeanization of Foreign Policy?", Political Science Quarterly, 125(4), 2010/11, pp. 657-683

> "This article contends that Turkey's gradual adoption of EU foreign policy norms and practices is not the same thing as the Europeanization of Turkish foreign policy. Rather, this process should be defined as Turkey's Europeanizing foreign policy… The former is Europeanization of fore ig n policy as effect/by-product, whereas the latter is Europeanization of foreign policy as cause." (p. 658)

Nathalie Tocci, "Europeanization in Turkey: Trigger or Anchor for Reform," South European Society and Politics, Vol.10, No.1 (March 2005), pp.72–81

> "Did the accession process trigger the reforms as an external force driving internal change; or has domestic change been spearheaded by domestic actors that have used and been strengthened by the external EU anchor?" (p. 73)

Bahar Rumelili, "Transforming Conflicts on EU Borders: The Case of Greek-Turkish Relations," Journal of Common Market Studies 45(1), 2007, pp. 105-126

> "This article has sought to demonstrate that the EU's bordering practices towards outsider states are an important condition for EU impact beyond its boundaries… the change in the EU's institutional and identity relations towards Turkey after 1999 have positively affected the Greek-Turkish conflict." (p. 122)

Week 7: Marxist/Gramscian readings on Turkey's foreign relations

Required Reading

Faruk Yalvaç, "Approaches to Turkish Foreign Policy: A Critical Realist Analysis", Turkish Studies, 15.1 (2014): 117-138.
> "This article analyses different approaches to Turkish foreign policy (TFP) from a critical realist perspective. It seeks to criticize positivist and post-positivist approaches to TFP, arguing for a non-reductionist, historical materialist approach based on the principles of critical realism."

Faruk Yalvaç, "Strategic Depth or Hegemonic Depth? A Critical Realist Analysis of Turkey's Position in the World System", International Relations, 2012, 26 (2), pp. 165-180
> "The article provides a criticism of the realist geopolitical thinking on which the concept of strategic depth is based using the insights of the critical realist philosophy of science. It takes the concept of ontological depth from critical realism and extends it to Gramsci's analysis and develops the concept of hegemonic depth. Turkey's new geopolitical vision can be defined as an attempt to redefine state–society and economic relations in Turkey along neoliberal lines in the context of a reorganizing international capitalism." (p. 165 and 167)

Cihan Tuğal, "NATO's Islamists: Harmony and Americanization in Turkey," New Left Review, 44, April 2007, pp. 5–34
> "Erdoğan government has given the clearest signals that Islamism will play no part in its foreign policy. It has aimed to play a leading role in the Bush Administration's self-styled Greater Middle East Initiative. AKP leaders and their media relays have marketed this project to their religious base as an opportunity for Turkey to have a greater say in the region… The AKP launches 'Islamic' foreign-policy salvos, but an attentive reading reveals that these are usually voicing Washington's demands in Muslim phraseology." (p. 26)

Malik Mufti, "A Little America: The Emergence of Turkish Hegemony", Brandeis. University Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Middle East Brief No. 51 (May 2011), pp. 1-8
> "The notion of 'a little America' gains added analytical traction as an expression of Turkey's emerging bid for regional hegemony: as an actor seeking to project the kind of power—manifested in both its 'hard' and 'soft' variants—wielded by the United States at the global level." (p. 1)

Cihan Tuğal, "Democratic Janissaries Turkey's Role in the Arab Spring", New Left Review, Volume: 76, July August 2012, pp. 5-24
> "Many of these AKP supporters were now making their peace with Turkey's sub-imperial role in the region, as a bulwark of the NATO order. This has been the diplomatic and geo-political dimension of a larger process of absorption." (p. 15)

Week 8: Discussion on Turkish foreign policy through traditional theories
P.S.: read the following articles in a chronologically ordered sequence and compare them in terms of their theoretical differences.

Ian O. Lesser, "Turkey's Third Wave – And the Coming Quest for Strategic Reassurance," On Turkey Series, German Marshall Fund, October 25, 2011, pp. 1-4

Şaban Kardaş, "Quest for Strategic Autonomy Continues, or How to Make Sense of Turkey's 'New. Wave'", On Turkey Series, German Marshall Fund, 28 November 2011, pp. 1-4

Soli Özel, "Waves, Ways and Historical Turns: Turkey's Strategic Quest", On Turkey Series, German Marshall Fund, January 30, 2012, pp. 1-4

Şaban Kardaş, "From zero problems to leading the change: making sense of transformation in Turkey's regional policy", TEPAV, Turkey Policy Brief Series, 2012, pp. 1-8

The Case of the March 1, 2003, Motion on Iraq War: read the following articles in a chronologically ordered sequence and compare them in terms of their theoretical differences.

Cengiz Çandar, "Turkish Foreign Policy and the War on Iraq", in Lenore G. Martin and Dimitris Kleridis (eds.), the Future of Turkish Foreign Policy, London: The MIT Press, 2004, pp. 37-60

Ramazan Gözen, "Causes and Consequences of Turkey's Out-of-War Position in the Iraq War of 2003", Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, 2005, 36, pp. 73–99
"[This article] argues that the decision was a product of several factors and pressures, producing both positive and negative consequences for Turkey. Its most important positive consequence is that the TGNA showed its influence over Turkish foreign policy making for the first time since the i970s. However, it 'also generated some strategic changes regarding Turkey's relations with the US and the EU. While Turkish-US relations experienced a 'crisis of confidence', Turkish-EU relations recorded a rapprochement since 2003." (p. 73)

Şaban Kardaş, "Turkey and the Iraqi Crisis: JDP between Identity and Interest", the Emergence of a New Turkey: Democracy and the AK Parti, Edt. Hakan Yavuz (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2006), pp. 306-330
"The major questions addressed in this chapter are the following: What drives the JDP's foreign policy understanding: identity or interest? Is there a JDP security vision on foreign policy, as distinct from that of the secular establishment? Is there a unified JDP approach to foreign policy, or could one identify contending views within the party?" (p. 307)

Murat Yeşiltaş, "Soft Balancing in Turkish Foreign Policy: The Case of 2003 Iraq War", Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs, 14 (1), Spring-Summer 2009, pp. 25- 51

Barış Kesgin and Juliet Kaarbo, "When and How Parliaments Influence Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey's Iraq Decision," International Studies Perspectives, 11(1), 2010, pp. 19-36
"We argue that parliaments are more powerful than is often assumed [in foreign policy decisions]. Party leadership, intraparty politics, and public opinion are all related to legislative-executive relations in foreign policymaking". (p. 20). "The parliament's role was influenced, but not determined, by other factors such as intraparty divisions and public opinion". (p. 33).

Zeynep Taydaş and Özgür Özdamar, "A Divided Government, an Ideological Parliament, and an Insecure Leader: Turkey's Indecision about Joining the Iraq War", Social Science Quarterly, March 2013, pp. 217-241
"We contend that the AKP leadership failed to secure approval of the March 1, 2003, motion primarily because a pivotal actor, one who is willing to assume all risks associated with his or her actions, was absent." (p. 17)

Hasan B. Yalçın, Making Sense of 1 March: A Proactive Strategy of Avoidance, Perception, 28 (1), Spring 2013, pp. 155-183

Week 9: (Identity-based) Constructivist Reading of Turkish Foreign Policy
Required Readings

M. Hakan Yavuz, "Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy in Flux: The Rise of Neo-Ottomanism," Critique: Journal for Critical Studies of the Middle East, No. 12, Spring 1998, pp. 19-41

"Contrary to the school of neorealism, I argue that debates over national identity and orientation play a critical role in relations between states… Turkey's national identity and its foreign policy are bound together… new form of political identity can be called a neo-Ottoman (Turkish-Islamic) political discourse, and it shapes what constitutes Turkish national interest." (p. 20, 19, 21)

Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu, "Identity crisis and the struggle for recognition in Turkey", Journal of South Asian and Middle East Studies, 2000, pp. 18-36

"Drawing on role theory and identity, this article analyzes Turkey's foreign policy behavior and preferences during and after the time of the transition… How the new Turkey will look like in the future depends on who will dominate the discourse on Turkish identity and eventually Turkey's foreign policy. Pro-Western political leaders that have dominated Turkish foreign policy since the beginning of the Republic still continue to do so." (p. 19 and 36)

Hasan Kösebalaban, "Torn Identities and Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey and Japan," Insight Turkey, 10(1), 2008, pp. 5-30

"Foreign policy decisions in Turkey and Japan are made against the back-ground of ideational factors, including identity and historical memory… foreign policy decisions emerge in the context of clashes among domestic identity groups.. this study aims to shift attention from a singular notion of national identity and security culture to various contending identities and security cultures at the domestic level" (p. 7)

Bahar Rumelili, "Impacting the Greek-Turkish Conflicts: The EU is "What We Make of It," The European Union and Border Conflicts, ed. Thomas Diez, Stephan Stetter, and Mathias Albert, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008

Pinar Ipek, "Ideas and Change in Foreign Policy Instruments: Soft Power and the Case of the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency", Foreign Policy Analysis, 2013

"this study reemphasizes the importance of domestic ideas in foreign policy… The findings in this study reveal that ideational and material forces are both in play during the foreign policy elite's constitution of policy change" (p. 17).

Bülent Aras, "Turkish foreign policy towards Iran: Ideology and foreign policy in flux", Journal of Third World Studies, Spring 2001; 18(1), pp. 105-124

Suggested Readings

Burhanettin Duran, "Understanding the AK Party's Identity Politics: A Civilizational Discourse and its Limitations", Insight Turkey 15(1), 2013: pp. 91-109

M. Hakan Yavuz, "Turkish-Israeli Relations through the lens of the Turkish Identity Debate", Journal of Palestine Studies XXVII, no. 1, Autumn 1997, pp. 22-37

Week 10: (Critical) Constructivism in Turkish foreign policy studies

Required Reading

Bahar Rumelili, "Liminality and Perpetuation of Conflicts: Turkish-Greek. Relations in the context of Community-Building by the EU" European Journal of International Relations, 9(2), 2003, 213-248

"I adopt a constructivist perspective that does not take the conflicts between Turkey and Greece as the inevitable outcome of their antagonistic history or intertwined geography. I argue that Turkish–Greek conflicts exist and are sustained by the understandings and practices of the two states, which construct their history and geography as a source of ongoing conflict and tension, and ultimately as a legitimate reason for war." (p. 215)

Lerna Yanık, "Constructing Turkish 'exceptionalism': Discourses of liminality and hybridity in post-Cold War Turkish foreign policy", Political Geography, Vol. 30, No. 2, (February 2011), pp. 80-89

"How historical and geographical features of a country are used discursively to construct an exceptional identity that in turn justifies and rationalize foreign policy actions… An exceptional identity based on the hybridization of Turkey's geography and history runs counter to the Kemalist nation-building project." (p. 82 and 87)

Murat Yeşiltaş, "The Transformation of the Geopolitical Vision in Turkish Foreign Policy", Turkish Studies 14.4 (2013): 661-687.

By problematizing the relationship between geopolitics and foreign policy, this paper investigates the discursive assumptions of two different geopolitical visions of Turkish foreign policy… the article is aiming to provide a critical geopolitical perspective in order to understand the discursive transformation of the geopolitical vision in the Justice and Development Party period.

Kıvanç Coş and Pınar Bilgin, "Stalin's Demands: Constructions of the "Soviet Other" in Turkey's Foreign Policy, 1919–1945", Foreign Policy Analysis, 6(1), 2010, pp. 43–60

"the paper looks at five instances of the USSR's communication of interest in some form of change in the Straits regime, in 1921, 1925, 1936, 1939, and 1945, with particular attention to Turkey's policymakers' portrayal of Turkey–USSR relations in general and the USSR's identity in particular." (p. 45)

Week 11: Security Studies in Turkish Foreign Policy

Required Reading

Bülent Aras and Rabia Karakaya Polat, "From Conflict to Cooperation: Desecuritization of Turkey's Relations with Iran and Syria," Security Dialogue 39, no. 5, 2008, pp. 495-515

"We argue, however, that the change in Turkey's foreign policy toward Syria and Iran can best be explained by looking at changes at the domestic level, particularly in terms of the desecuritization process that has been taking place within Turkey." (p. 496)

Pınar Bilgin, "Turkey's Changing Security Discourse: The Challenges of Globalization," European Journal of Political Research, 4, no. 1, 2005, pp. 1-27

"The aim of this article is to analyse the ways in which Turkey's security discourses have been shaped by, and have sought to shape, the transformation Turkey has gone through in recent years as part of the process of preparing for European integration." (p. 176-7)

Ali Balcı and Tuncay Kardas, "Understanding the Changing Dynamics of Turkey's Relations with Israel: An Analysis of 'Securitization'", Insight Turkey, Vol. 14, No. 2, April-June 2012, pp. 99-120 ("Türkiye'nin İsrail İle İlişkilerinin Değişen Dinamikleri: Bir 'Güvenlikleştirme' Analizi", Çeviren: Ramazan Erdağ, Ortadoğu Yıllığı 2012, İstanbul: Açılık Kitap, 2013)

"The present study seeks to answer the following questions: How was it possible that a state such as Turkey, which had until then pursued a low-profile policy in the Middle East, forged a bold strategic alliance with the state of Israel in the 1990s? Conversely, then, how has the unparalleled and positive nature of the relations in the 1990s been replaced a hostile and toxic nature in the first decade of

11

2000s? How can this difference in the relations between the 1990s and the 2000s be explained? To answer such questions, this article uses the Copenhagen School's theory of 'securitization'." (p. 99)

Ali Balcı, "Foreign Policy as Politicking in the Sarikiz Coup Plot: Cyprus between the Coup Plotters and the AKP", Middle East Critique, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2012, pp. 157-170
"[The article asks] the following questions: How did the Cyprus question serve as a battle ground between the coup plotters and the JDP government at the beginning of 2004? How did a group of coup plotters use the Cyprus question to reverse the process by which the JDP gained an upper hand vis-a`-vis the military? What was the role of the Cyprus question in general in the so-called Sarıkız coup plot aimed to topple the JDP government?" (p. 158-9).

Suggested Readings

Pınar Bilgin, "The Politics of Studying Securitization: The Copenhagen School in Turkey," Security Dialogue, vol. 42, 2011, pp. 399-412

Week 12: Feminism and Post-colonial studies and the others on Turkish Foreign Policy

Required Reading

Nora Fisher Onar and Meltem Müftüler-Baç, "The adultery and headscarf debates in Turkey: Fusing 'EU-niversal' and 'alternative' modernities?", Women's Studies International Forum, Volume 34, Issue 5, September–October 2011, pp. 378–389
The debate over EU's demands on women rights "attested to the way women's bodies serve as the site of an ongoing debate over the reconcilability over 'European' and 'Islamic' trajectories of political modernity." (p. 387).

İsa Çamyar and Halit Mustafa Tağma, "Why does Turkey seek European Union membership a Historical Institutional Approach", Turkish Studies, Vol.11, No.3, September 2010, pp. 371-386
"Our goal in this paper is to exploit the analytical potential of the historical institutional approach in order to account for the puzzling persistent of Turkey's bid for EU membership. We claim that the historical and institutional trend of modernization has locked Turkey into a pattern of domestic and foreign policy orientation that is difficult for current policy-makers to break or reverse." (p. 372)

Viatcheslav Morozov and Bahar Rumelili, "The External Constitution of European Identity: Russia and Turkey as Europe-makers", Cooperation and Conflict, 2012, 47(1) pp. 28–48
"Combining constructivist approaches to identity with insights from post-colonial studies, this article argues that the other, far from being a mere presence, often plays an active role in identity politics… Russia and Turkey exercise agency by challenging, each in its own manner, the EU's power to define the normative meaning of Europe. While Turkey has contributed to a decentering of European identity by challenging the self-perception of Europe as a multicultural space, Russia's uncompromising stance tends to consolidate the EU-centered image of Europe as a political community based on liberal democratic values" (p. 28)

Suggested Readings

Hande Eslen-Ziya, "The EU's Influence on Women's Activist Groups Networking a Comparison between Turkey and Greece", Turkish Policy Quarterly, 2007, 6(1), pp. 87–96

Bahar Rumelili, "Liminal identities and processes of domestication and subversion in International Relations", Review of International Studies, 38(2), April 2012, pp. 495-508

Week 13: Post-Structural Readings of Turkey's Foreign Policy

<u>Required Reading</u>

Ali Balcı, "The Kurdish Movement's EU Policy in Turkey: An Analysis of a Dissident Ethnic Block's Foreign Policy," Ethnicities, 2013 (forthcoming)
"This study is an attempt to understand the continuities, as well as the ruptures, and changes in the Kurdish movement's EU policy within the framework of the post-structuralist reading of foreign policy. Post-structuralism not only provides some useful concepts in analysing a dissident power bloc's foreign policy but it also allows a better understanding of the hegemonic state power's foreign policy through the analysis of the dissidents'." (2)

Alper Kaliber, "Securing the Ground through Securitized 'Foreign Policy': The Cyprus Case," Security Dialogue, 36, no. 6, 2005, pp. 319-337 ("Türkiye'de Güvenlikleştirilmiş Bir Alan Olarak Dış Politikayı Yeniden Düşünmek: Kıbrıs Örneği", Uluslararası İlişkiler, Cilt 2, Sayı 7 (Güz 2005), ss. 31-60)
"This study aims at addressing the official security discourse on Cyprus with particular reference to its implications for the (re)configuration of political balances and power relations between the state elite, namely the civilian and military bureaucracy, and the reformist political elite in Turkey." (p. 320)

Pınar Bilgin, "'Only strong states can survive in Turkey's geography': the uses of 'geopolitical truths' in Turkey", Political Geography, 26(7) 2007, pp. 740-745. (Pınar Bilgin, "'Türkiye Coğrafyasında Yanlız Güçlü Devletler Ayakta Kalabilir': Jeopolitik Gerçeklerin Türkiye'deki Kullanımları", Evren Balta Paker ve İsmet Akça (der.), Türkiye'de Ordu Devlet ve Güvenlik Siyaseti, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, ss. 453-474)
"Through historically tracing, politically contextualizing and empirically analyzing the formal writings and public articulations of various civilian and military actors in Turkey, the article seeks to contribute to the critical line of inquiry into the politics of ''inside/outside'' and ''power/knowledge'' in geopolitical discourse. What is of particular interest in Turkey's case is the ways in which geopolitics is put to work in shaping not only foreign policy (as per practice) but also (perhaps more so) domestic political processes." (p. 741)

<u>Suggested Readings</u>

Pınar Bilgin, "Securing Turkey through Western-oriented Foreign Policy", New Perspectives on Turkey, No. 40, pp. 103-124
"Turkey's search to locate itself in the West could be read partly… as a response to non-military and non-specific insecurities of the early Republican era… The West was a source of both inspiration and insecurity… Turkey's western-oriented Foreign Policy… was a crucial aspect of its search for security in the face of a European/International Society" (p. 107, 119 and 121)

Aslan, Ali (2013), "Problematizing Modernity in Turkish Foreign Policy: Identity, Sovereignty and Beyond", Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika, Vol: 9, No: 33, pp. 27-57

"this study calls for integrating the analysis of subjectivity into the study of Turkish foreign policy so as to problematize modernity in the realm of foreign policy. As such, it offers a postfoundational account of foreign policy, which basically views foreign policy as a process of identification, an attempt to produce particular subjectivity". (p. 34)

Johanna Nykanen, "A Bakhtinian Approach to EU – Turkey Relations", Journal of Contemporary European Studies, Vol. 19, No. 4, December 2011, pp. 501-509
"In the formal accession framework,… Turkey is a non-answerable object. Turkey is silenced… the EU denied the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and equal responsibilities… The past image of Turkey as the ultimate other carries through in the EU's current utterances towards Turkey." (p. 504, 505, and 506)

Week 14: Discussing theoretically

P.S.: please read the following book (readable pages are almost 125) and find theoretical arguments related to constructivism, securitization and post-structuralism.

Asa Lundgren, The Unwelcome Neighbour: Turkey's Kurdish Policy, London: I. B. Tairus, 2007, (İstenmeyen Komşu: Türkiye'nin Kürt Politikası, Necla Ülkü Kuglin, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008)