



Council of the European Union
General Secretariat

READING REFERENCES

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2020

TURKEY



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Introduction

The Council Library has compiled a reading list relating Turkey. It contains numerous books and articles that you can access via [Eureka](#).

Resources selected by the Council Libraries

Please note:

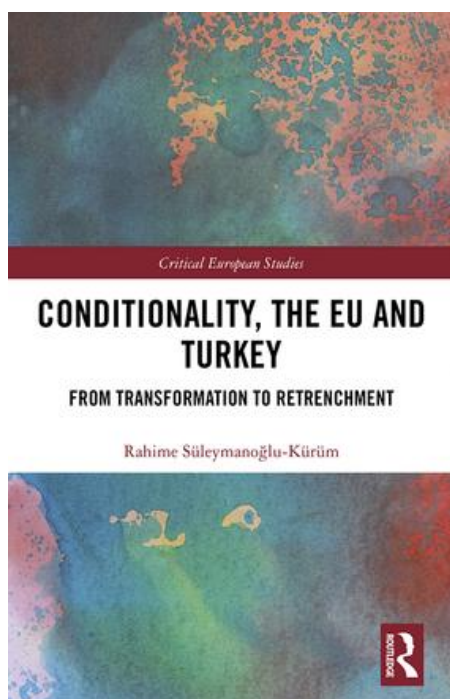
This bibliography is not exhaustive; it provides a selection of resources made by the Council Library. Most of the titles are hyperlinked to [Eureka](#), the resource discovery service of the Council Library, where you can find additional materials on the subject. Access to some resources might be limited to registered Council Library users or to users in subscribing institutions.

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Books



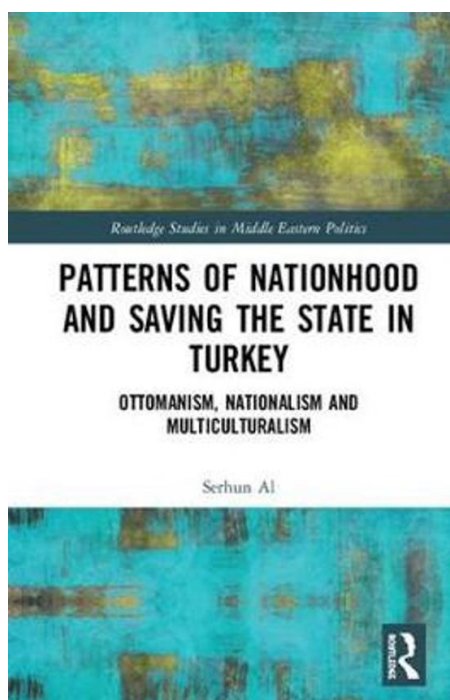
Conditionality, the EU and Turkey from transformation to retrenchment

Rahime Süleymanoglu-Kürüm

London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019

Access via [Eureka](#)

"Turkey has been a critical case to study to assess the impact of EU conditionality on non-member states, but has lost its visibility following the debates on the detachment of Turkey from the EU gradually since 2005. This book studies Turkey – EU relations in the area of foreign policy from 1987 when Turkey applied for full membership and expanding to the present-day retrenchment of Turkey from the EU."



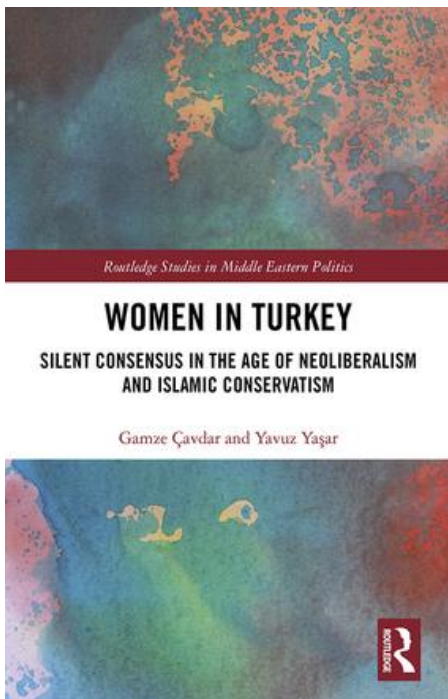
Patterns of nationhood and saving the state in Turkey: Ottomanism, nationalism and multiculturalism

Serhun Al

London ; New York, New York: Routledge, 2019

Request via [Eureka](#)

"Patterns of Nationhood and Saving the State in Turkey tackles a theoretical puzzle in understanding the state policy changes toward minorities and nationhood, first by placing the state in the historical context of the international system and second by unpacking the state through analysis of intra-elite competition in relation to the counter-discourses by minority groups within the context of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey."



Women in Turkey: silent consensus in the age of neoliberalism and Islamic conservatism

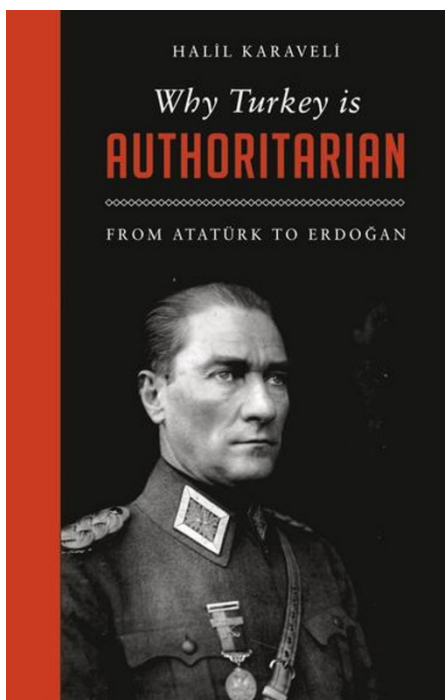
Gamze Çavdar ; Yavuz Yasar

London ; New York, New York: Routledge, 2019

Request via [Eureka](#)

"This book provides a socio-economic examination of the status of women in contemporary Turkey, assessing how policies have combined elements of neoliberalism and Islamic conservatism. Using rich qualitative and quantitative analyses, *Women in Turkey* analyses the policies concerning women in the areas of employment, education and health and the fundamental transformation of the construction of gender since the early 2000s. Comparing this with the situation pre-2000, the authors argue that the reconstruction of gender is part of the reshaping of the state-society

relations, the state-business relationship, and the cultural changes that have taken place across the country over the last two decades. Thus, the book situates the Turkish case within the broader context of international development of neoliberalism while paying close attention to its idiosyncrasies."



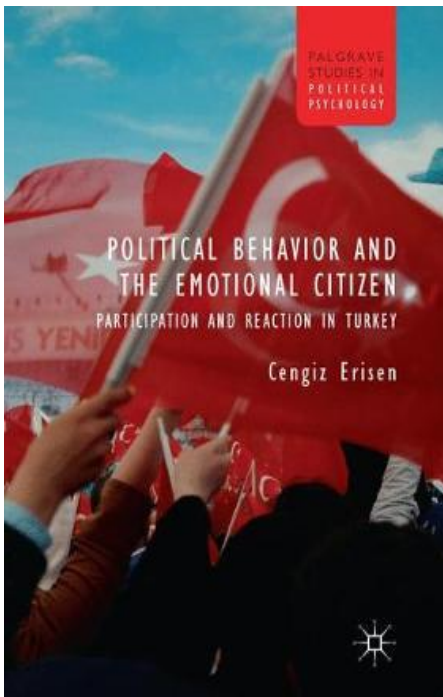
Why Turkey is authoritarian: from Atatürk to Erdoğan

Halil Magnus Karaveli

London: Pluto Press, 2018

Request via [Eureka](#)

"Halil Magnus Karaveli argues that for the last century, the Western world has regarded Turkey as a pivotal case of the 'clash of civilisations' between Islam and the West. *Why Turkey is Authoritarian* seeks to challenge the narratives. H. M. Karaveli highlights the danger in viewing events in Turkey as a war between a 'westernising' state and the popular masses defending their culture and religion, arguing instead for a class analysis that is largely ignored in the context of Turkey."



Political behaviour and the emotional citizen: participation and reaction in Turkey

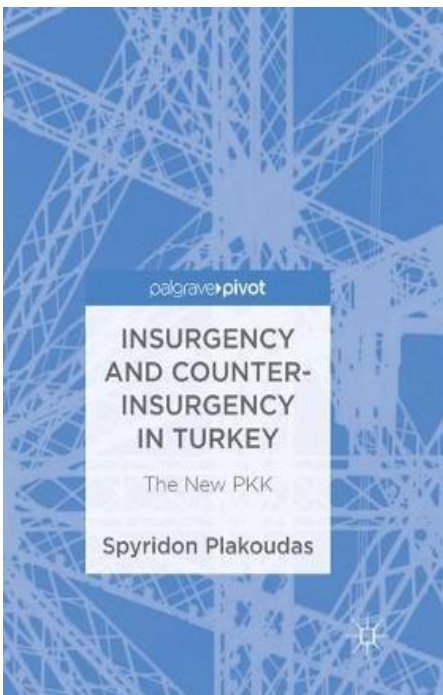
Cengiz Erisen

London : Palgrave Macmillan UK: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

Request via [Eureka](#)

"This book studies the role of emotions, such as anger, anxiety, and enthusiasm, across various domains of political behaviour in Turkey. The author considers how emotions affect evaluations of leadership performance, levels of intolerance, likelihood of following and participating in politics, perceived threats from terrorism, and electoral decisions, including vote choice. Using a nationally representative survey and experimental data, this study empirically analyses the causal associations among the primary factors explaining

the Turkish electorate's political attitudes and behaviours."



Insurgency and counter-insurgency in Turkey the new PKK

Spyridon Plakoudas

Cham: Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Palgrave Pivot, 2018

Request via [Eureka](#)

"This book seeks to answer the "why" and "how" questions about the insurgency of the PKK, a militant left-wing group of Turkey's Kurds, in Turkey. The PKK has been inter-locked in an intermittent war against Turkey since 1984 in the name of Kurdish nationalism. The author combines insights of Strategy and IR - from strategy and tactics in irregular warfare to peace negotiations between state authorities and insurgents, with data from qualitative research, to achieve two inter-related objectives: first, assess the current state of affairs and predict

the future course of the conflict and, secondly, draw general conclusions on how protracted conflicts can end and how."



The Presidential System in Turkey: opportunities and obstacles

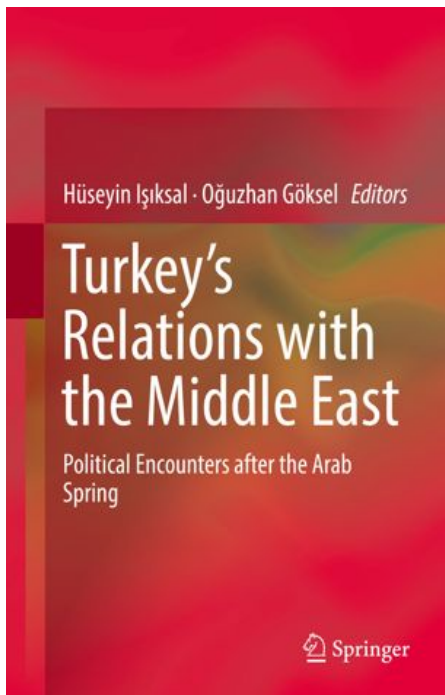
Battal Yilmaz

Cham : Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

Request via [Eureka](#)

" This book explores the opportunities and obstacles to a presidential system in Turkey as proposed by the Justice and Development Party (AK Party). Since the formation of Turkey's parliamentary system in 1909, there have been many attempts to replace it with an elected executive branch. After the referendum for constitutional amendment to elect the president by the people in 2007 and the elections of 2014, these discussions have increased in intensity. The author explores these debates chronologically and discusses the

broader theoretical framework of these different government systems. He also adds a comparative analysis of elections and democratic transition between Turkey, Tunisia, and Egypt."



Turkey's Relations with the Middle East: political encounters after the Arab Spring

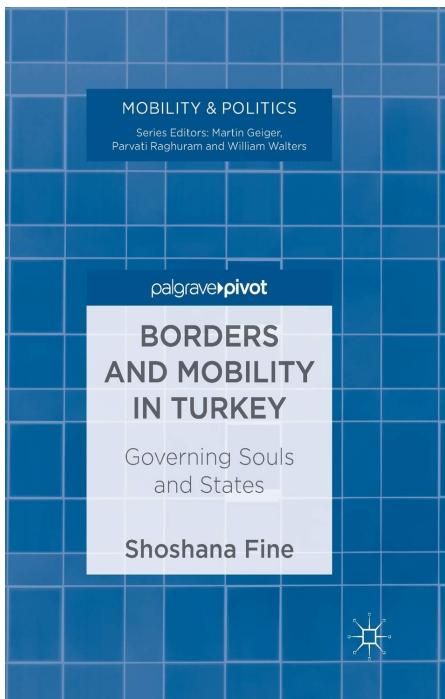
Hüseyin Işıksal ; Oğuzhan Göksel (Eds.)

Cham: Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Springer, 2018

Request via [Eureka](#)

"This volume examines the political relations between Turkey and the Middle East. In the light of the Arab Uprisings of 2011, the Syria Crisis, the escalation of regional terrorism and the military coup attempt in Turkey, it illustrates the dramatic fluctuations in Turkish foreign policy towards key Middle Eastern countries, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The contributors analyse Turkey's deepening involvement in Middle Eastern regional affairs, also addressing issues such as terrorism, social and political

movements and minority rights struggles. While these problems have traditionally been regarded as domestic matters, this book highlights their increasingly regional dimension and the implications for the foreign affairs of Turkey and countries in the Middle East."



Borders and mobility in Turkey: governing souls and states

Shoshana Fine

Cham : Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

Request via [Eureka](#)

"In the last two decades, Turkey has witnessed a variety of bordering interventions rooted in its problematisation as variously "transit," "destination," "European," "Muslim" and "safe." This book brings into focus seemingly disparate actors involved in such interventions, from the EU and international organisations to missionaries, security professionals and migrants themselves. It exposes how these actors depend upon the intersecting rationalities of managerialism, securitisation, humanitarianism and orientalism to control,

contain, process, save and soul-lift mobile populations."



Türkei, Schlüsselakteur für die EU?: Eine schwierige Partnerschaft in turbulenten Zeiten

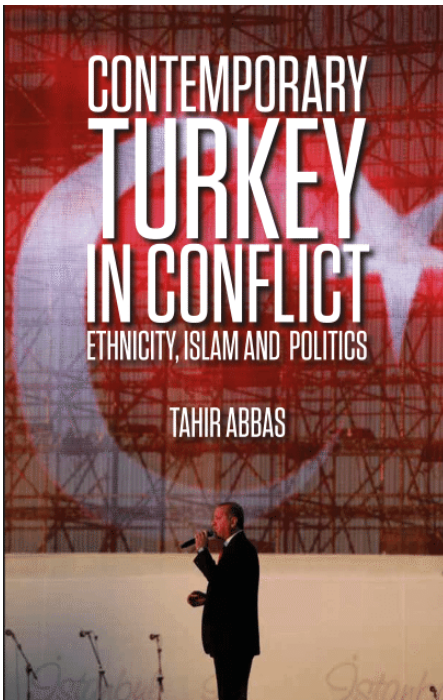
Beate Neuss ; Antje Nötzold (Eds.)

Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2018

Request via [Eureka](#)

"This volume assesses the state of and prospects for Turkish–European relations from the perspective of both actors. Besides addressing the process of Turkey's accession to the EU and domestic developments in Turkey after the attempted coup of July 2016, the book examines the refugee agreement between Turkey and the EU, Ankara's cooperation with the European Union and NATO as well as German–Turkish relations as defining aspects of the two bodies' current relationship. Furthermore, it presents an analysis of Turkey's policy on security challenges in the region, like the

Kurdish question and the conflict in Syria."



Contemporary Turkey in Conflict: Ethnicity, Islam and Politics

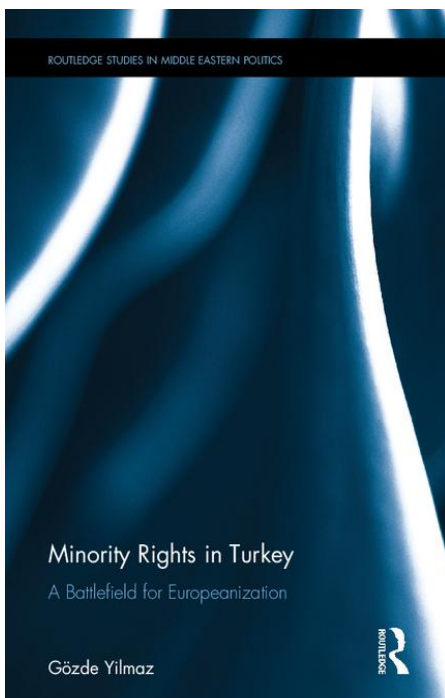
Tahir Abbas

Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2017

Request via [Eureka](#)

"New perspectives on ethnic relations, Islam and neoliberalism have emerged in Turkey since the rise of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2002. Placing the period within its historical and contemporary context, Tahir Abbas argues that what it is to be ethnically, religiously and culturally Turkish has been transformed. He explores how issues of political trust, social capital and intolerance towards minorities have characterised Turkey in the early years of the 21st-century. He shows how a radical neoliberal economic and conservative outlook has materialised, leading to a clash

over the religious, political and cultural direction of Turkey. These conflicts are defining the future of the nation."



Minority rights in Turkey: a battlefield for Europeanisation

Gözde Yilmaz

London, England ; New York, New York: Routledge, 2017

Request via [Eureka](#)

"The issue of minority rights is highly contested in both member and candidate states of the European Union. Compared with other policy areas, the Europeanisation process in minority rights is much slower and more problematic. Turkey, though, differs from the majority of the member states by showing positive development, although admittedly it is still characterised by both accelerations and slowdowns. This book examines how minority protection, as a highly sensitive and controversial issue, is promoted or constrained in the EU's neighbourhood, by focusing on the

case of Turkey."



Türkei

Yaşar Aydın

Schwalbach/Ts, Germany: Wochenschau Verlag, 2017

Request via [Eureka](#)

"Die Türkei wird in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit meist im Zusammenhang mit Demokratieabbau, Menschenrechtsverletzungen, Autoritarismus, Kurdenkonflikt und ihrer Verbindung zu türkischen Migranten in Deutschland wahrgenommen. In der Tat weisen die jüngeren Entwicklungen in der türkischen Gesellschaft nicht in Richtung liberale Demokratie, Rechtsstaatlichkeit und EU-Integration. Die politischen Prozesse sind jedoch nur zu verstehen, wenn neben dem Staatsaufbau des Landes auch innergesellschaftliche Entscheidungsprozesse, Konfliktlinien und Machtverhältnisse analysiert werden. Dieses Buch

diskutiert die zentralen Akteure, institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen und Funktionsweisen von Staat und Gesellschaft in der Türkei. Dabei wird auch die jüngste Verfassungsänderung per Referendum berücksichtigt, mit der die Türkei in ein Präsidialsystem umgebaut werden soll."



Overconfidence and risk taking in foreign policy decision making: the case of Turkey's Syria policy

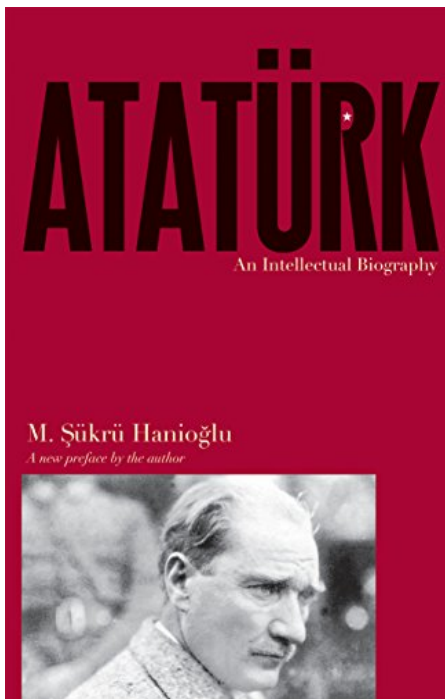
Imran Demir

Cham: Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017

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"The author examines why policy makers commit themselves to policies that they do not have the capacity to deliver, and develops an alternative theoretical model to prospect theory in explaining risk taking behaviour based on the concept of overconfidence. The volume suggests that overconfident individuals exhibit risk seeking behaviour that contradicts the risk averse behaviour of individuals in the domain of gain, as predicted by prospect theory. Using a set of testable hypothesis deduced from the model, it presents an empirical

investigation of the causes behind Turkish decision makers' unprecedented level of risk taking toward the uprising in Syria and the consequences of this policy."



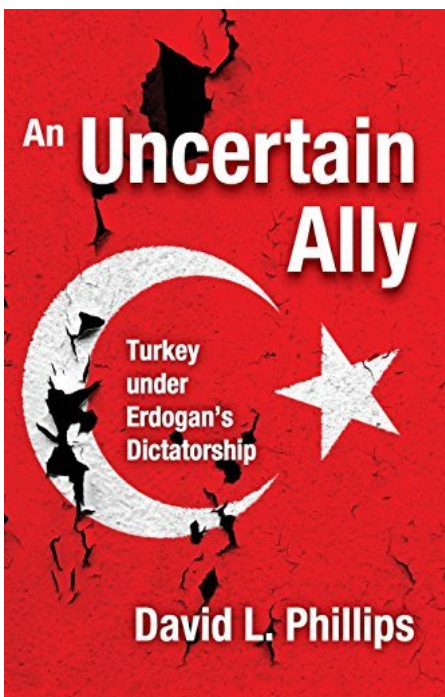
Atatürk: an intellectual biography

M. Şükrü Hanioglu

Princeton, New Jersey ; Oxford, England: Princeton University Press, 2017

Request via [Eureka](#)

"When Mustafa Kemal Atatürk became the first president of Turkey in 1923, he set about transforming his country into a secular republic where nationalism sanctified by science--and by the personality cult Atatürk created around himself--would reign supreme as the new religion. In this book, M. Şükrü Hanioglu seeks to take the reader from Atatürk's youth as a Muslim boy in the volatile ethnic cauldron of Macedonia, to his education in nonreligious and military schools, to his embrace of Turkish nationalism and the modernizing Young Turks movement."



An uncertain ally: Turkey under Erdogan's dictatorship

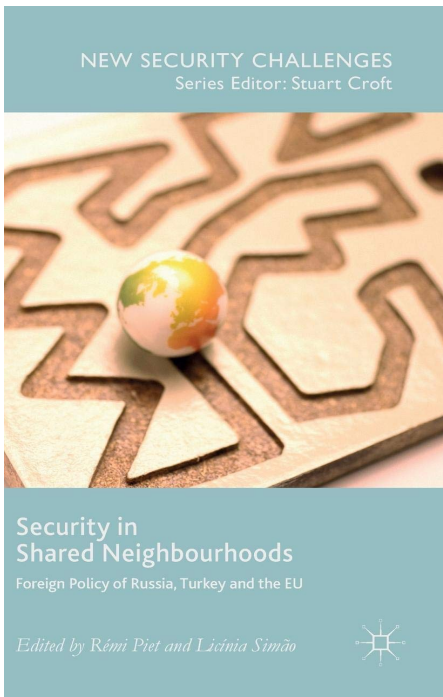
David L. Phillips

London, England ; New York, New York: Routledge, 2017

Request via [Eureka](#)

"Under the rule of Erdoğan, Turkey has descended into a dictatorship that promotes the Islamist agenda, abuses human rights, limits freedom of expression in the press, and wages war against the Kurds. While Turkey has historically been important geopolitically, it has become an outlier in Europe. *An Uncertain Ally* seeks to explore the corruption and money laundering schemes that benefitted Erdoğan, Turkey's ties to jihadists in Syria and the Islamic State, as well as questioning Turkey's suitability as a NATO member. The author argues that under the rule of Erdoğan, Turkey faces a

dark future that poses a danger to the region and internationally."



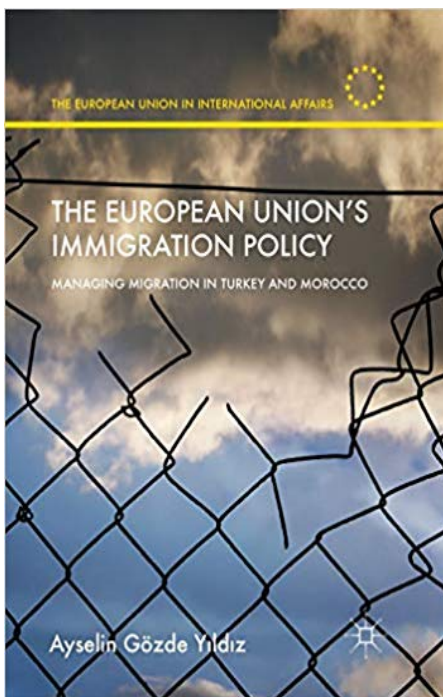
Security in shared neighbourhoods : foreign policy of Russia, Turkey and the EU

Rémi Piet ; Lúcia Simão

Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan , 2016

Available at Council Library Main Collection (103439)

"This edited volume addresses the foreign policy approaches demonstrated by the European Union (EU), Russia and Turkey towards their shared neighbourhood. These three geopolitical players promote active foreign and security policies towards the Black and Caspian Seas, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and determine stability in these regions."



The European Union's immigration policy : managing migration in Turkey and Morocco

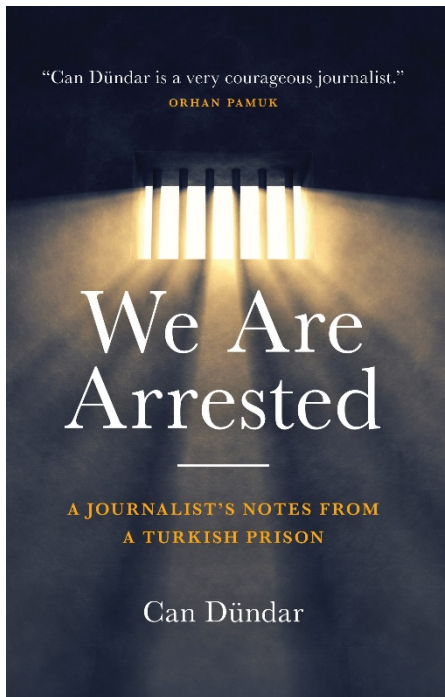
Ayselin Gözde Yıldız

London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016

Available at Council Library Main Collection (104071)

"This book analyses the externalisation of the EU's immigration and asylum practices towards non-member transit countries and the consequences of this process. Selected policy areas of externalisation (border management, visa policy, readmission agreements and asylum policy) are applied to Turkey and Morocco as two main migration transit countries within two different institutional cooperation mechanisms: Turkey as an EU candidate country within the EU's enlargement policy; Morocco without membership prospect within the EU's neighborhood policy. Yıldız applies

theoretical debates and critically compares the rhetoric in policy papers with practice in the field."



We are arrested: a journalist's notes from a Turkish prison

Can Dündar

London, England: Biteback Publishing, 2016

Request via [Eureka](#)

"Following the 2016 coup d'état, the international spotlight has fallen on Turkey's increasingly authoritarian government. The author, Can Dündar argues that the coup has given Erdoğan an excuse to further suppress all opposition. In November 2015, Can Dündar was arrested on charges of espionage, helping a terrorist organisation, trying to topple the government and revealing state secrets. Dündar was imprisoned in solitary confinement in Turkey's Silivri prison for three months whilst awaiting trial. Dündar's crime was informing the public of the discovery of a highly illegal covert

arms shipment by the Turkish secret service to radical Islamist organisations fighting government forces in Syria. *We Are Arrested* is Dündar's account of the discovery, the weighing up of the pros and cons of publishing, and the events that unfolded after the decision."



Türkei: Erdoğan Griff nach der Alleinherrschaft - ein politisches Länderporträt

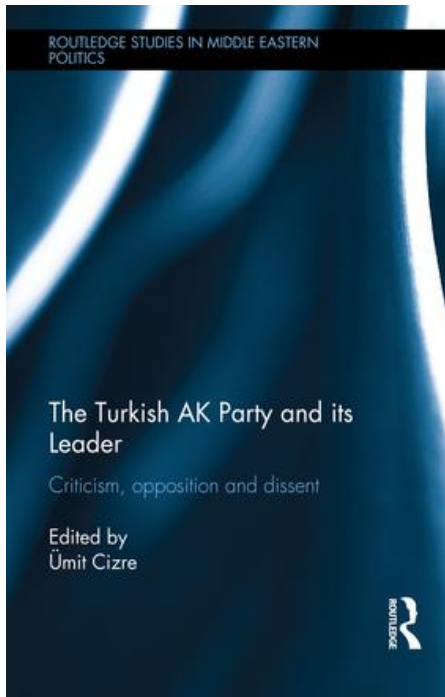
Jürgen Gottschlich

Berlin, Germany: Ch. Links Verlag, 2016

Request via [Eureka](#)

"Das ist die Türkei, hier ist alles möglich" – so lautete die Prämisse, unter der sich Jürgen Gottschlich, seit mehr als 20 Jahren Korrespondent in Istanbul, seinem Gastland immer genähert hat. Doch er wurde wie alle Beobachter vom gescheiterten Putschversuch des Militärs im Juli 2016 überrascht. Weniger verwunderlich war für ihn die nachfolgende Säuberungsaktion des Militärs, der Schulen, Universitäten, Verwaltungen und Medien von Erdogan-Kritikern. Schließlich bestimmen harte innenpolitische Auseinandersetzungen schön länger den Kurs des Landes.

Jürgen Gottschlich beschreibt kenntnisreich Erdogans Griff nach der Alleinherrschaft, die mehr und mehr islamische Ausrichtung des Staates, den Konflikt mit der kurdischen Minderheit, aber auch den Alltag des Landes sowie seine Kultur und Lebensformen."



The Turkish AK party and its leader: criticism, opposition and dissent

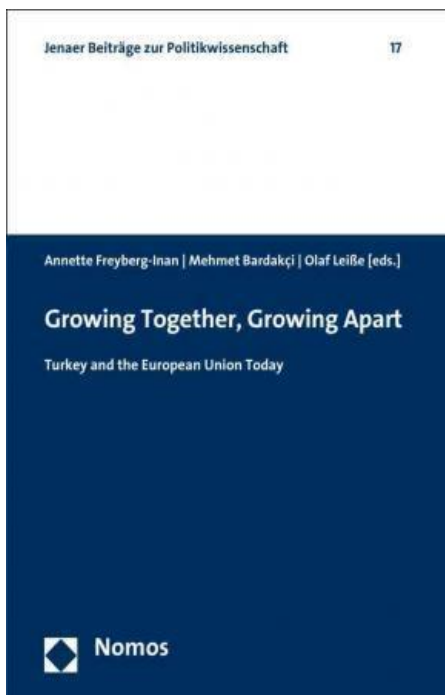
Ümit Cizre (Ed.)

London, England ; New York: Routledge, 2016

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"After landslide electoral victories, two referenda and a presidential election, the AK Party rule have shattered many myths regarding Turkey's politics and the nature of the party itself. This book argues that the last few years are best understood via the AK party's interaction with the social-political realm. It focuses on criticism, dissent and opposition from prominent organised groups in Turkish society, which themselves represent significantly different traditions, ideologies and interests. Overall, the book throws light on the extent to which the government's characters, trajectories,

policies and leadership style have been interactively shaped by opposition and dissent."



Growing together, growing apart: Turkey and the European Union today

Annette Freyberg-Inan ; Mehmet Bardakci ; Olaf Leisse (Eds.)

Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos, 2016

Request via [Eureka](#)

"This volume provides an up-to-date overview of relations between the EU and Turkey. Is Turkish EU membership still a realistic option today? How has this relationship evolved so far, and with what benefits for both sides? What are currently the main challenges to closer relations and cooperation? The resulting overall picture is one of ambivalence: Turkey and the EU have grown together in important ways, and both sides have benefited from this process. However, the process is neither linear nor irreversible. There's tensions in

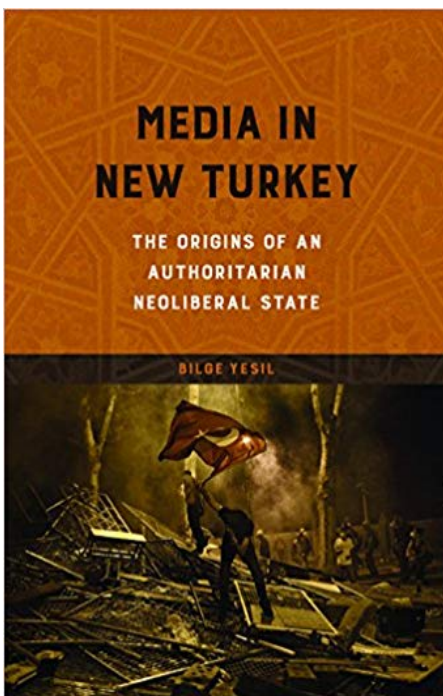
this relationship, and it appears impossible at this time to predict how EU-Turkish relations will evolve even in the near future."



Der fall erdogan: wie uns Merkel an einen autokraten verkauft

Sevim Dagdelen
Frankfurt, Germany: Westend, 2016
Request via [Eureka](#)

"Was treibt Präsident Erdogan an? Wie sollten die politischen Antworten aussehen? Und wie steht es um die Verteidigung der Grundrechte? Sevim Dagdelen beleuchtet die dortigen Machtverhältnisse, die verschiedenen Akteure und auch ihren Einfluss auf Deutschland. Sie hat mit dem verurteilten Journalisten Can Dündar gesprochen, mit dem kurdischen Politiker Selahattin Demirtas und vielen anderen. Erdogans Arm greift nach Europa – wer wissen will, was das für uns bedeutet, muss die Hintergründe und Konflikte in der Türkei verstehen."



Media in new Turkey: the origins of an authoritarian neoliberal state

Bilge Yesil
Urbana, Illinois ; Chicago, Illinois ; Springfield, Illinois:
University of Illinois Press, 2016
Request via [Eureka](#)

"In Media in New Turkey, Bilge Yesil unlocks the complexities surrounding and penetrating today's Turkish media. Yesil focuses on a convergence of global and domestic forces that range from the 1980 military coup to globalization's inroads and the recent resurgence of political Islam. Her analysis foregrounds how these and other forces become intertwined, and she uses Turkey's media to unpack the ever-more-complex relationships. Yesil confronts essential questions regarding: the role of the state and military in building the

structures that shaped Turkey's media system; media adaptations to ever-shifting contours of political and economic power; how the far-flung economic interests of media conglomerates leave them vulnerable to state pressure; and the ways Turkey's politicized judiciary criminalizes certain speech."



Krise, Macht und Gewalt: Hannah Arendt und die Verfassungskrisen der Türkei von der spätosmanischen Zeit bis heute

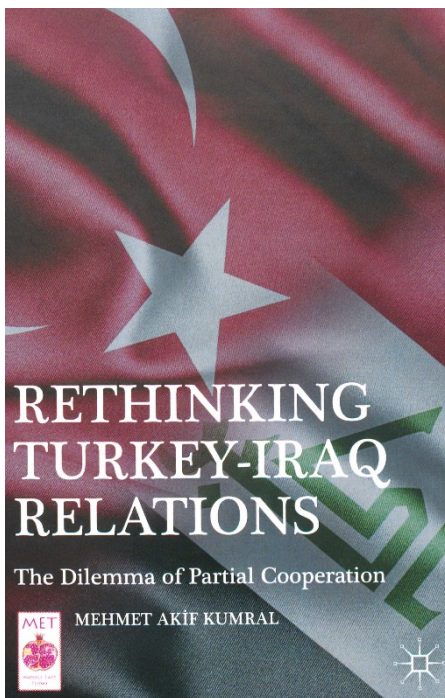
Kahraman Solmaz

Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2016

Request via [Eureka](#)

"Mithilfe der Arendts'schen Begriffe Krise, Macht und Gewalt demonstriert Kahraman Solmaz, dass die Geschichte der modernen Türkei weder als ein gradliniger Prozess der Verwestlichung noch als eine allmähliche Demokratisierung zu deuten ist. Sie ist viel mehr als die Geschichte einer Krise zu lesen, die in der Vergangenheit politische Katastrophen wie Völkermord, Bevölkerungsaustausch, Massaker, Vertreibung, gewaltsame Assimilation und Militärputsche kreierte und die in der Zukunft im schlimmstmöglichen Fall in

einer neuen Katastrophe münden kann, die derzeit den Namen „neue Kriege“ trägt."



Rethinking Turkey-Iraq relations: the dilemma of partial cooperation

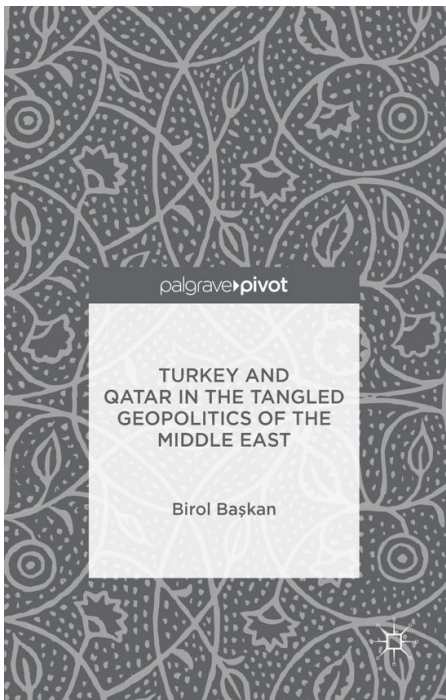
Mehmet Akif Kumral

New York: Palgrave Macmillan US: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016

Request via [Eureka](#)

"This book explores key historical episodes to understand the reasons and consequences of the enduring partiality problem in cooperation between Turkey and Iraq. Notwithstanding their mutual material interdependence and common cultural heritage, these two close neighbors have stayed far from achieving comprehensive cooperation. The author examines contextual-discursive dynamics shaping Turkey-Iraq partial cooperation around critical events, such as the Saadabad-Baghdad pacts, the Gulf War, the US Invasion, and the war

against ISIS. Leading pro-government Turkish daily newspapers of the period are analyzed to highlight ambivalent ontological-rhetorical modes and ambiguous political narratives-frames that perpetuate paradoxes of partiality in Ankara's rationalization and contextualization of cooperation with Baghdad and Erbil."



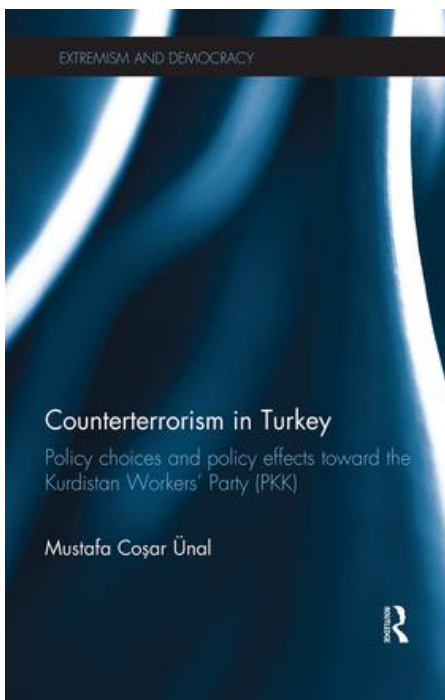
Turkey and Qatar in the Tangled Geopolitics of the Middle East

Birol Başkan

New York: Palgrave Macmillan US: Imprint: Palgrave Pivot, 2016

Request via [Eureka](#)

"This book narrates how Turkey and Qatar have come to forge a mutually special relationship. The book argues that throughout the 2000s Turkey and Qatar had pursued similar foreign policies and aligned their positions on many critical and controversial issues. By doing so, however, they increasingly isolated themselves in the Middle East as states challenging the status quo. The claim made here is that it is this isolation—which became acute in the summer of 2013 - that led the two countries to forge much stronger relations."



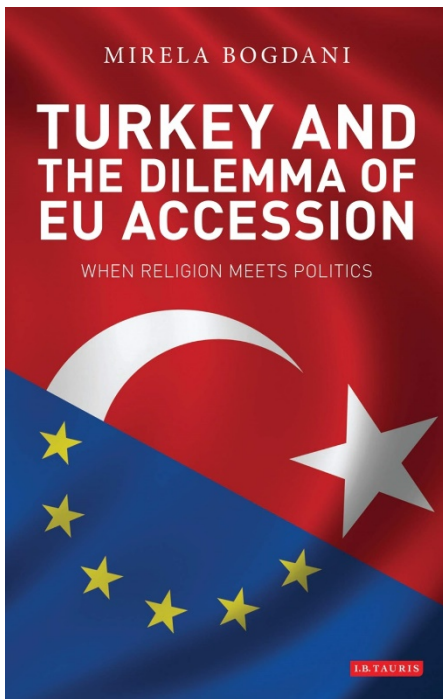
Counterterrorism in Turkey: policy choices and policy effects toward the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)

Mustafa Coşar Ünal

Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012

Available at Council Library Main Collection (097375)

"This book examines what policy measures were taken by the Turkish government up until 2012, and what these policies really mean to the PKK and its sympathisers. Mustafa Coşar Ünal examines counterterrorism policies from both the perspective of the Turkish government and the PKK. The work evaluates whether policy choices were effective (and in what circumstances) and how they affected terrorist violence in Turkey."



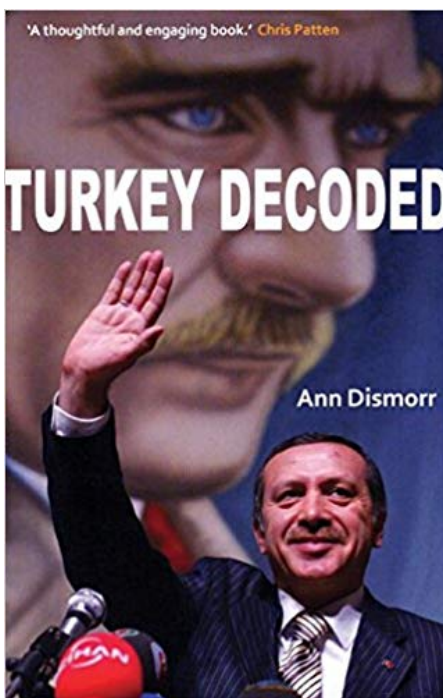
Turkey and the dilemma of EU accession: when religion meets politics

Mirela Bogdani

London: I.B. Tauris, 2011

Available at Council Library Main Collection (095399)

"What impact do issues of culture, religion and identity have on Turkey's chances of joining the EU? Are religious and cultural factors per se the primary obstacle to Turkish accession, or is it their interaction with other factors that is prolonging and complicating Turkey's progress towards EU membership? Mirela Bogdani analyses the complex range of issues that are influencing the process of Turkey's accession to the EU. The author assesses the positions of different European actors towards Turkey's pursuit of EU membership and identifies the reasons for the European opposition."



Turkey decoded

Ann Dismorr

London: Saqi, 2008

Available at Council Library Main Collection (090944)

"In this book, Ann Dismorr examines the implications of Turkey's affiliation with Europe and its role in the Middle East against the broader concerns of the widening gap between the West and the Muslim world, terrorism, and the struggle for human rights and democratization."

Selected articles and think-tank papers

La Turquie en marge du Golfe: un Spectateur Enragé

Dorothee Schmid

Institut français des relations internationales, 2019

Access [Online](#)

"La Turquie, qui tentait depuis un siècle de maintenir des relations équilibrées avec l'ensemble des pays de la péninsule arabique, se retrouve dans le camp de Doha et est régulièrement visée par la vindicte de Riyad et d'Abu Dhabi, qui se sont entretemps rapprochés d'Israël — un autre ennemi d'Erdoğan. La mise en scène savante organisée par les autorités turques à l'automne 2018 autour du meurtre du journaliste saoudien Jamal Khashoggi à Istanbul a ainsi marqué une montée spectaculaire de l'antagonisme entre, d'une part, une monarchie saoudienne qui se pique de réformes et, d'autre part, une Turquie qui s'éloigne de plus en plus des us et coutumes démocratiques."

From containment to realpolitik and back again: a realist constructivist analysis of Turkey–EU relations and the migration issue

Natalie Martin

JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, November 2019, Vol.57(6), pp.1349-1365

Access via [Eureka](#)

"The EU's reaction to the migration crisis of 2015–16 was to shower the Turkish government with gifts to secure their cooperation on the Aegean crossing. This led to accusations of realpolitik after Brussels made concessions to Turkey despite Ankara's liberal democratic deficit. This article examines EU policy before, during and after the migration crisis to argue that the situation is more nuanced than this suggests. Turkey–EU accession had been in a state of containment for nearly a decade before the migration issue. Brussels' reaction to it raised questions about the EU's liberal identity but Brussels backtracked quickly once the extent of illiberality following the attempted coup d'état emerged. Turkey–EU relations then returned to a pre-migration state of containment whereby Turkey remains a candidate but progress towards accession depends on their liberal progress. Using realist constructivism, it concludes the EU's liberal democratic standards remain, but the liberal bar is pliable according to circumstances."

A Game changer in EU-Turkey relations: the opportunities and pitfalls of migration policy

Gökalp Aras ; Nefise Ela

The International Spectator, 02 October 2019, Vol.54(4), pp.47-61

Access via [Eureka](#)

"The mass migration from Syria has been a major turning point and an important 'game changer' in EU-Turkey relations, as it marks a watershed in immigration and asylum between two periods: from 1999 to 2011 and from 2011 to the present. During the first period, the EU was one of the driving forces of change in Turkey's immigration and asylum policy, along with significant migration movements from the Middle East. Although EU demands were largely implemented due to the country's changing migration profile, there was also ongoing resistance and reluctance towards the EU, thus a certain degree of conditionality. With the Syrian mass migration in 2011, however, and in particular the so-called 'European refugee crisis' in 2015, Turkey started to use migration as a foreign policy tool with which to oppose EU conditionality."

Aspiring powers, regional rivals: Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the new Middle East

Gönül Tol ; David Dumke (Eds.)

Middle East Institute ; University of Central Florida, 2019

Access [Online](#)

"This study attempts to understand the general state of affairs between three key regional countries. Given that regime survival has become one of the main priorities for all of these actors, the authors argue more attention should be given to domestic factors in these countries to better understand the complex dynamics among them."

Turkey and the UAE: A strange crisis

Birol Baskan

Middle East Institute, 1 May 2019

Access [Online](#)

"On April 19, Turkey arrested two suspects accused of spying for the United Arab Emirates, the latest incident in what has become a worsening crisis in relations between the two countries. It is unclear exactly what happened, but there are Emirati dissidents living in Turkey, and the UAE may have been trying to keep track of their activities. This accusation is not in and of itself especially damaging; indeed, Turkey is frequently accused of spying on its citizens in other countries. More seriously though, Turkey has also accused one of the suspects of being involved in the murder of Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in early October 2018. If proven, this accusation might link the UAE to Khashoggi's murder and could tarnish its international image."

Turkey: an emerging middle power

Buğra Süsler

LSE Ideas, May 2019

Access [Online](#)

"In this report, Buğra Süssler discuss Turkey's engagement with international politics through the lens of the concept of "middle power", questioning whether and how Turkey fits into the international system as an "emerging middle power". The author argues that although the Turkish government has been able to identify niche areas in global governance, domestic challenges such as setbacks in democratisation and economic performance have limited Turkey's soft power capabilities."

Putsch manqué de 2016 en Turquie quelles conséquences sur la relation Turquie-Afrique?

Benjamin Auge

Institut français des relations internationales, 2018

Access via [Eureka](#)

"The failed coup of July 2016 against the power of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan led to profound upheavals in Turkey but also had a very significant impact on the organization of its international relations and influence networks. This paper looks at Turkish diplomacy in Africa and how the 2016 coup as affected the country's foreign policy."

The refugee crisis and the EU's externalisation of integrated border management to Libya and Turkey

Melanie Bonnici Bennett

College of Europe, 2018

Access via [Eureka](#)

"The analysis addresses the following question: what has been the effect of the 2011 Arab Spring and the 2015 'refugee crisis' on the institutionalisation of EU border management? It is argued that the EU has externalised integrated border management to neighbouring countries or regions to fulfil its internal border management objectives. This study explores examples such as the widened mandate of FRONTEX and the negotiation of the 'EU-Turkey deal' to demonstrate how the EU has adapted to external developments."

Revitalising Turkey-EU relations?

Atila Eralp

Istanbul Politikalar Merkezi, 2018

Access via [Eureka](#)

"This paper examines the current vicious cycle of cooperation and discontent between Turkey and the EU and attempts to inject new insights into the discussion by contextualizing the debate on the EU-Turkey relationship in terms of global trends and the future of Europe debate. It examines important areas of cooperation between the EU and Turkey and identifies possible

areas for further cooperation. The paper concludes by looking at the future prospects and possible scenarios for the relationship."

EU–Turkey customs union prospects for modernization and lessons for Brexit

Fadi S. Hakura

Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2018

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"This paper details the operation of the EU–Turkey customs union in its current form and highlights its design flaws. It lays out the contours of the potential EU offer on an upgrade and analyses the prospects for its implementation. Finally, it proposes an alternative approach to negotiations that could minimize the impediments to a successful outcome, and outlines some salutary lessons for Brexit."

European Union - Turkey: from an illusory membership to a "privileged partnership"

Union européenne - Turquie: d'une adhésion illusoire à un 'Partenariat privilégié'

Pierre Mirel

Fondation Robert Schuman, 2017

English [version](#)

Version [française](#)

"When the Turkish president Erdoğan entered the meeting room of the European Council in Brussels in the evening of 17th December 2004, he came to fulfil the dream that Turkey had been nursing since its signature of the Association Agreement on 12th September 1963, the so-called Ankara Agreement: to open membership negotiations with the European Union. That was the historic decision taken by the heads of States and governments, supported by European Parliament on 15th December. A day of glory for Erdogan's government and his Justice and Development Party (AKP) that had entered office only two years previously. However, Erdogan's stern expression revealed a great deal of frustration - of having to accept the additional Protocol to the agreement, to extend membership to the Republic of Cyprus and to nine other States that became EU Member States on May 1st 2004. This was the condition that the European Council had set on the opening of the negotiations."

Turkey's post-2011 approach to its Syrian border and its implications for domestic politics

Asli S. Okyay

International Affairs, 2017, Vol. 93(4), pp.829-846

Access via [Eureka](#)

"This article examines the implications of the post-2011 conflict in Syria for the relationship between Turkey's shifting border politics and its domestic politics, focusing on the period until

mid-2015. The analysis demonstrates that two factors explain the shifts in Turkey's border management modalities in this period. These factors were: first, Turkey's aspiration to enhance its regional influence through a power reconfiguration in post-conflict Syria, in which the Assad regime would be replaced by a predominantly Islamist power elite; second, its concern about its territorial integrity and centralized nation-state model, which it tried to safeguard by impeding the emergence of a Kurdish state, or governance structure with increased autonomous powers and expanded territorial control."

The migration paradox and EU-Turkey relations

Bianca Benvenuti

Istituto Affari Internazionali, 2017

Access via [Eureka](#)

"Since the beginning of the Arab uprisings in 2011 and as a result of growing instability in the region, migration transit through Turkey has become an increasingly pressing issue in Europe. The transit of migrants placed Turkey in a buffer position between the Middle East and Europe, and it soon assumed the role of guardian of the Schengen area, "protecting" it from irregular migration. This, combined with the exponential growth of irregular migration flows resulted in migration management becoming a key to the ostensible rapprochement between Turkey and the EU. However, as a result of many paradoxes, migration can also hamper Turkey-EU relations, as is already becoming obvious as relations took a turn for the worse since the summer of 2016."

Die Syrienkrise: die Auswirkungen auf die Beziehungen der EU und der NATO zur Türkei

Hakan Akbulut

Österreichische Institut für Internationale Politik, 2016

Access via [Eureka](#)

"This paper explores the implications of the Syrian crisis for relations of the EU and NATO with Turkey. The analysis focuses on the consequences of the refugee issue turning acute as well as on the repercussions of the shooting down of a Russian fighter jet by the Turkish air force."

Civilian victimization and the politics of information in the Kurdish conflict in Turkey

Ceren Belge

World Politics, 2016, Vol.68(2), pp.275-306

Access via [Eureka](#)

"During the 1990s, thousands of Kurdish settlements in Eastern Turkey were forcibly evacuated, resulting in the displacement of more than one million Kurdish villagers. This article examines why some villages survived while the populations of others were forcibly displaced. It also

addresses the broader question of why particular groups of civilians become more vulnerable to coercion in the course of armed conflict, and how their vulnerability is shaped by the extent and quality of information that states possess about population groups, particularly minorities deemed dangerous to the regime. The author argues that state practices to categorise the identity of minority groups and to collect information about their behaviour and allegiances are integral to the dynamics of violence."

Purge en Turquie : la stratégie autoritaire d'Erdogan - Observatoire de la Turquie et de son environnement géopolitique

Didier Billion

Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques, 2016

Access via [Eureka](#)

"In Turkey, the 2016 purge intensified with the arrest, on 4 November, of MPs of the HDP - pro-Kurd - including its two co-presidents. Where is Turkey going? Are these arrests legitimate when the government has been the victim of a coup attempt or are we faced with an authoritarian drift?"

The EU-Turkey March 2016 agreement as a model: new refugee regimes and practices in the Arab Mediterranean and the case of Libya

Peter Seeberg

Istituto Affari Internazionali. ; Stiftung Mercator. ; Istanbul Politikalar Merkezi. ; Foundation for European Progressive Studies, 2016

Access via [Eureka](#)

"This paper analyses the main elements of the EU-Turkey agreement and discusses whether the deal (or parts thereof) could be applied to other contexts. It discusses its relevance to the Arab Mediterranean and more specifically in the context of Libya, as and when political and security conditions in that country improve. The author recognises that despite relevant criticism of the EU-Turkey deal, the agreement may well contain building blocks worth taking into consideration in future migration negotiations between the EU and the Arab Mediterranean."

Turkish foreign policy in a changing Arab world: rise and fall of a regional actor?

Bilgin Ayata

Journal of European Integration, 02 January 2015, Vol.37(1), pp.95-112

Access via [Eureka](#)

"This article analyses Turkey's responses to the Arab uprisings in the context of its larger foreign policy transformation and regional aspirations. The AKP government seized the uprisings as an opportunity to increase its influence in the region by assigning itself a central role in the transition processes in various countries. In the process, however, Turkey faced a number of setbacks and reversals. Comparing the cases of Libya, Syria, and Egypt, the paper argues that Turkey's efforts

to advance regime change in these sites were marked by inconsistency and incoherence. Furthermore, the paper argues that this trajectory of reactions can be explained only by taking both ideational and domestic factors into account. Despite the shortcomings of Turkey's actions, however, the article concludes that Turkey has consolidated itself as a regional actor, albeit a controversial one."

Selected audio material

U.S.-Turkey relations: the shifting nature of two NATO allies

Henri J. Barkey ; Naz Durakoglu ; Gönül Tol et al.

Council on Foreign Relations, 29 October 2019

Watch [video](#)

"Panellists discuss Turkey's domestic politics, its recent actions in northern Syria, and the shifting nature of U.S.-Turkish relations in the three years since the attempted July 2016 coup."

The disappearance of Jamal Khashoggi

Mark Leonard ; Asli Aydintasbas ; Jeremy Shapiro et al.

European Council on Foreign Relations ; Mark Leonard's World in 30 Minutes, 16 October 2018

Listen to [Podcast](#)

"The podcast episode discusses what effect the incident might have on relations between Saudi Arabia, the US and Turkey."

Turkey's economic crisis and political fallout

Gönül Tol ; Ömer Taşpınar ; Paul Salem

Middle East Institute, 23 August 2018

Listen to [Podcast](#)

"Turkey is under enormous strain as it faces: an economic crisis that has caused the lira to lose 40% of its value since the beginning of 2018; an ongoing crisis in domestic politics; and an international relations crisis with the United States. The speakers seek to explain the causes of these challenges and what lies ahead."

Turkey after the failed coup: democracy and security

Esra Özyürek ; Bill Park ; Barçın Yinanç et al.

Chatham House, 22 September 2016

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"With the fine line between security and the democratic rule of law being tested by Erdoğan's response to the attempted coup, the panel looks at the future of Turkey's secular, democratic principles. The panellist discuss the potential effects of the current situation on Turkey's relations with EU and NATO allies"