WITH OR WITHOUT YOU: THE SHIFT IN DISCOURSES OF IDENTITY IN THE EU-TURKEY RELATIONSHIP

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ABSTRACT

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The long history of EU-Turkey relations paved Turkey's path towards membership in 2005, though she is still a candidate country. After 2013, the stagnated relationship between the two increased the emphasis on strategic partnership more than membership, while less emphasis was given to ideational factors in the literature. In addition, the role of ideational factors in the EU's enlargement policy remains understudied. To contribute to the literature, this study aims to explain the shift in discourses of identity through a discourse-historical analysis (DHA) of the EU's identity-based approaches towards Turkey between 2013 and 2016 based on the social constructivist theory. Guided by the literature between 1999 and 2013, this thesis observes the themes through which Europeanness and Turkishness were constructed as a result of certain milestones in the relations. Taking 2013 as a major milestone because of the Gezi Park Protests and corruption investigations in Turkey which increased the EU's concerns on Turkey's democratic status, it is possible to observe the shifts in discourses of identity by analyzing 18 parliamentary debates on Turkey in the European Parliament which is a strong influencer in the EU's enlargement policy. The analysis shows that Turkey was perceived as the EU's geographical, cultural, historical, religious and civilizational other before 2013. In addition, Turkey was also presented as an acceding state to the EU which had democratic and territorial disputes. Between 2013 and 2016, Turkey was mostly perceived as the EU's undemocratic other, while religious, civilizational and geographical discourses were still present.

ÖZET

NE SENLE, NE DE SENSİZ: TÜRKİYE-AB İLİŞKİLERİNDE KİMLİK SÖYLEMLERİNDEKİ DEĞİŞİMLER

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Anahtar Kelimeler: AB, Türkiye, Kimlik, Söylev

Türkiye-AB ilişkilerinin uzun tarihi Türkiye'ye 2005 yılında adaylık yolu açsa da, Türkiye hala aday ülke olarak yoluna devam etmektedir. İkili arasındaki durağan ilişki 2013 sonrasında üyelikten daha çok stratejik partnerliğin öne çıkarılmasına yol açmıştır. seviyesine gelmiş ve literatürde kimlik çalışmalarına daha az yer verilmiştir. Bu boşluğu doldurmak üzere bu çalışma, AB'nin Türkiye'ye olan kimlik temelli yaklaşımlarını 2013-2016 arası dönemde, sosyal inşacı perspektiften söylevsel-tarihsel eleştirel söylev analizi (ESA) metoduyla açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. 1999-2013 arası literatürden faydalanarak, ilişkilerdeki belli kırılma noktaları Avrupalılığın ve Türklüğün hangi temalar üzerinden inşa edildiğine bakılarak incelenebilir. Gezi Parkı protestoları ve yolsuzluk soruşturmaları sebebiyle 2013 yılı büyük bir kırılma noktası olarak alındığında, AB nezdinde Türkiye'nin demokratik durumu hakkında endişelerin arttığını ve kimlik söylevlerinin değiştiğini Türkiye hakkında yapılan 18 Avrupa Parlamentosu oturumu üzerinden çıkarmak ve Avrupa Parlamentosu'nun AB'nin genişleme politikasında önemli bir aktör olduğunu belirtmek mümkündür. Analiz sonucunda, 2013 öncesinde Türkiye'nin AB'nin coğrafi, kültürel, tarihsel, dinsel ve medeniyetsel öteki olarak görüldüğü ortaya çıkmıştır. Ek olarak Türkiye, AB üyeliğine aday ancak demokratik ve sınırsal problemler yaşayan bir ülke olarak tanımlanmıştır. 2013 ve 2016 yılları arasında, Türkiye, çoğunlukla AB'nin demokratik olmayan öteki olarak görülmüş, dini, medeniyetsel ve coğrafi söylemler de hala varlığını sürdürmüştür.

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To my Family

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES IX
LIST OF FIGURES X
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS XI
1. INTRODUCTION 1
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY 9
2.1. Theoretical Framework 9
2.2. Social Constructivism 10
2.3. Methodology 14
3. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS IN PRE-2013 EU-TURKEY RELATIONS 24
3.1. Turkey as the Geographical, Cultural and Historical Other 30
3.2. Religion and Civilization 33
3.3. Democratic and Territorial Disputes 36
4. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE POST-2013 EU-TURKEY RELATIONS. 39
4.1. Turkey as the Undemocratic Other 41
4.2. Turkey as the Religious and Civilizational Other 52
4.3. Turkey as the Geographical Other 58
5. CONCLUSION 62
BIBLIOGRAPHY 67

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Discursive Strategies 15
Table 2.2 Political orientation of the party groups in the 7th and 8th EP 20
Table 2.3 Number of speeches given by the party groups and representatives of EU institutions 22
Table 4.1 Number of speeches according to their ideational themes utilized by different party groups 42

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Percentages of total seats in the European Parliament 21

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP: Justice and Development Party 3
CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis 3
CHP: Republican People's Party 27
DHA: Discourse-Historical Approach 8
EC: European Council 24
EP: European Parliament 7
EU: European Union 1
FETO: Fethullah Gülen Terror Organization 6
FP: Virtue Party 25
FSA: Free Syrian Army 29
JPC: Joint Parliamentary Committee 8
MEP: Member of the European Parliament 8
MHP: Nationalist Action Party 54
PKK: Kurdistan Workers' Party 28
RAG: Reform Action Group 7
RP: Welfare Party 25

1. INTRODUCTION

As widely recognized, Turkey and the EU have an extensive history which officially dates to 1959, way before it was the Union as we know it today. Since then, it could be argued that their history and relationship have been delicate. The recognition of Turkey as a candidate country in 1999 and the start of the accession negotiations in 2005 paved the way for a different momentum in the EU-Turkey relations. Nevertheless, Turkey remains a candidate country.

Despite all the obstacles the EU and Turkey have, they continue with their relations based on mutual strategic objectives. For this reason, a satiric title is chosen for this thesis. "With or without you" is not only the name of an emotional rock song by U2 but is also suitable to depict the current situation of the EU-Turkey relations as well. Although both sides express their strong desire to cooperate based on common objectives, they are reluctant to show progress towards membership.

One crucial reason for this which is often understated could be sought in discourses and identity constructions. Throughout their extensive relationship, the EU's ideational role in relation to Turkey and its foreign policy have been under observation, although they have been receiving less attention in recent years. Overall, culture, geography, history and religion were recognized in the literature to be the recurring ideational themes in the EU-Turkey relations. However, as the EU was going through several enlargement rounds and crises while trying to reconstruct its own identity, Turkey was seeking her place in the EU framework while re-structuring and positioning her identity. Thus, the ideational themes were constantly reshaped and reconstructed.

In different periods, it is not difficult to observe how identities are being re-structured differently in the EU-Turkey relations. Especially after 1999, when Turkey's accession path took a crucial turn towards EU membership, a surge in identity constructions in the EU became evident. That is not to argue, however, that identity constructions were non-existent in the relations, as they could possibly be traced as far back to the very initial interactions between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, which are still often-mentioned historical references. Nevertheless, the emphasis on and use of different ideational themes in the EU's foreign policy discourses varied across time.

Understanding and analyzing foreign policy through discourses are relatively contemporary approaches in the fields of Political Science and International Relations. The intricacies between linguistics and foreign policy are revealing in the sense that they uncover and trace identity constructions and their traits. In recent years, discursive studies have been receiving increased attention by relying on different theoretical frameworks and methodologies. Similarly, studies that apply discursive methods on the EU-Turkey relations are now easily noticeable and growing in numbers. Political speeches, news articles, parliamentary debates, interviews and the like are now in the toolkit of discursive studies. Exemplary literature using such resources will be provided as this thesis advances.

Until 2013, various discursive studies that focus on the EU-Turkey relations using the identity-membership spectrum were common, especially the ones that reflect Turkey's perceptions of the EU. However, after 2013, the studies that explore the identity dimension in the EU-Turkey relations are in decline. Studies that reflect the EU's perceptions of Turkey are in decline as well. In addition, as the literature points out, 2013 is argued to be a year in the EU-Turkey relations that sets a big divide which changed the existing themes of identity (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016). The deterioration of the relations caused culture, geography, history and religion-based identity themes to yield themselves to concerns on democracy and freedom of expression.

In the literature, a lot of emphasis, especially after 2002, was given to the identity constructions in the EU-Turkey relations (Aydın-Düzgit 2015c; Dağı 2005; Macmillan 2013; Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın 2007; Rumelili 2008; Rumelili 2011; Turunç 2011). In relation to Turkey's active foreign policy in the AKP period, the literature was prevalent on the constructions of identity in the EU-Turkey relations that focus on interests and religious and cultural dualities between the two. Furthermore, comparative studies that focus on ideational factors were also common. The comparative analysis by Morozov and Rumelili (2012) is one contemporary example that aims to observe how Turkey and Russia contributed to the identity construction of Europe by challenging it. Other studies explored certain themes in discourses, particularly security, by considering institutional settings in terms of identity constructions, as done by Aydın-Düzgit (2013).

After 2013, studies that included discursive and ideational approaches declined in numbers, although there are still some contemporary examples (Arkan 2016; Aydın-Düzgit 2015c; Türkeş-Kılıç 2019). A recent example that covers the EU-Turkey relations from an identity and cultural-based perspective through CDA is a research conducted by Aydın-Düzgit et al. (2018) by focusing on newspaper articles, editorials, and journals published between 1946 and 1999. Nevertheless, as a result of several factors that will be elaborated further, the EU-Turkey relations started to be discussed more in relation to alternative forms of integration. As the relations between the two deteriorated and the prospect of membership withered away for Turkey, alternative forms of integration such as "strategic partnership" and "differentiated integration" came to the fore (Müftüler-Baç 2018; Kaya 2018; Kaygusuz 2018).

As often argued, the recent focus on alternative forms of integration emerges from the rising bilateral dependency especially on economic, political, and security matters. For instance, both actors have been significant trading partners to one another. In addition, with the rise of political instability in the EU's close neighborhood, Turkey started to gain an important position in securing her own and EU's borders. With the surge in the flow of refugees to Europe and Turkey, Turkey acquired the "gatekeeper" role (Okyay and Zaragoza-Cristiani 2016) by accepting more than 3.5 million refugees and asylum seekers. In general, although

the discourses of the AKP government confirm Turkey's willingness to become an EU member, the de facto situation favors alternative forms of integration.

While studies that focus on strategic partnership and differentiated integration have been receiving attention, ideational factors and the shift from them to new integration models are not prioritized enough. As the prospects of membership for Turkey are in decline, the change in the models of identity are due to fade in the literature. However, as this thesis will argue, identity-based issues are still present and have a major role in shaping the foreign policy of the EU towards Turkey. As the analysis part of this thesis will observe, the ideational matters are still at the core of the debates between the EU and Turkey, although in a changing fashion after 2013. Combined with the alternative forms of integration, the perspectives of the EU towards Turkey are transforming as the accession negotiations continue to stagnate.

When thought in relation to Turkey's accession process, Türkeş-Kılıç (2019) argues that the stagnant EU-Turkey relations are also due to the reluctancy of the EU to include Turkey as a member. Institutionally, one of the major areas that causes this reluctancy within the EU framework is the EP. The EP is argued to have a strong influence over the EU-Turkey relations through its discussions and resolutions, frequently underlining Turkey's growing distance with the EU (Gürkan 2018). Indeed, when the EP resolutions on Turkey, for instance, are observed after 2013, it could be suggested that they have a big impact on setting the political climate with Turkey (European Parliament 2013b; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019).

The EP is also argued to be a significant influencer in the EU enlargement and accession processes. For this reason, this study aims at both emphasizing the shift in 2013 between different types of identity-related issues and the role of the EP by observing the discourses of the MEPs. To accomplish this, this study benefits from the European parliamentary debates on Turkey between 2013 and 2016, starting the temporal period after the Gezi Park Protests and terminating it before the 2016 coup attempt in Turkey, focusing on the period between two important milestones in recent Turkish politics. In order to identify a milestone in 2013 for the shift in discourses of identity, a prior reading of the EU-Turkey relations is

necessary to trace, where possible, recurring themes of identity-based discourses and where present, the changes in identity representations.

Observing the incidents between 1999 and 2002 is beneficial in providing the historical background that had an impact on identity constructions. The coalition government in Turkey initiated the primary political reforms in the path to EU membership. During that period, EU's discourses on Turkey increased and were mostly based on identity (Levin 2011). However, the political turbulence within the coalition government weakened the expectations that Turkey would accelerate its attempts to sustain democracy and grasp EU membership (Johansson-Nogués and Jonasson 2011). AKP's election in 2002 changed this perception towards Turkey. The continuation of the political reform process after the election of AKP has shown that Turkey was determined to be a candidate in the process of EU membership. The reforms generally paved the way for a positive atmosphere in the EU-Turkey relations.

This relatively positive atmosphere in the EU-Turkey relations changed after 2007 following few domestic and external incidents. Coupled with the vetoes by France and Cyprus on opening new chapters, AKP's gradual breakaway from the EU reforms and struggle with the secularist cadre parted Turkey's way with the EU (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016). Since then, especially after 2013, Turkey's declining democracy have been gaining prominence in the literature (Aydın-Düzgit and Keyman 2012). The emerging literature on Turkey's drift towards "competitive authoritarianism" (Esen and Gumuscu 2016), following the Gezi Park Protests, reflects a significant change in the EU-Turkey relations. On the public side, it is also visible to observe the changing dynamics in Turkish NGOs' perceptions (David and Pinto 2017) and in the decline of EU public support towards Turkey's membership. (Lindgaard 2018) Furthermore, corruption and bribery investigations on December 17-25, 2013 increased concerns on Turkish democracy. Thus, Turkey's current position in relation to EU is based on a confrontational position.

Being a public movement involving various societal segments, the Gezi Park Protests represent a mass demonstration in Turkey that targeted the AKP government and its policies against public spaces. The literature emphasizes the demand for public spaces that gather

diverse societal groups (Göle 2013) and the demand for an anti-authoritarian government (Öniş 2015) as the main drivers of the protests. In addition, the dissatisfaction with neo-conservative and neoliberal capitalist practices could be included among the reasons behind the protests (Önal 2016). With these elements in its core, the Gezi Park Protests also challenged EU-Turkey relations by triggering reactions from various EU officials and member states. Nevertheless, in the post-Gezi Park Protests period, the AKP government did not lose much of its power in the following elections, as it gradually steered away from the EU. As it strongly held onto power, the EU membership was already out of its priorities.

The December, 17-25 corruption and bribery investigations were considerably one of the biggest incidents of rivalry between the AKP government and the Gulen Movement, which would later be known as FETO that added to the EU's growing concerns following the Gezi Park Protests. It is another major incident after the Gezi Park Protests in which the incumbent government tried to defend its hold onto power, while major figures from the party, including some of their family members, were arrested. In the following years, the political rivalry between the AKP government and the Gulen Movement intensified, paving the way for the July 15 coup attempt in 2016. The coup attempt clearly demarcated the lines between the government and FETO supporters (Yavuz and Koç 2016) and significantly damaged the EU-Turkey relations.

The last major incident that generated a political dispute in the EU-Turkey relations is the July 15 coup attempt in Turkey in 2016 which marks the end of the analysis. The coup attempt represents another milestone for the EU-Turkey relations which needs a different analysis because it flamed the EU's growing concerns on Turkey's democratic status and accession negotiations. The ability of Turkey to deliver the necessary reforms for EU membership was completely damaged, especially by the state of emergency that was declared right after the coup attempt (Müftüler-Baç 2018). In addition, after the attempt was suppressed, the AKP government and Turkish President Erdoğan repeatedly expressed their resentment towards the EU and its member states for not showing their immediate support after the coup attempt. Even today, it is possible to observe such a discourse from the government elites and Erdoğan. They argue that only the government of the United Kingdom from the EU voiced

its explicit support to the AKP government. The contentions were furthered by both sides through the EP vote to suspend negotiations with Turkey and speculations of death penalty in Turkey.

In this domestic political struggle, the already stagnated EU-Turkey relations deteriorated further over time. However, it is interesting to note that in the post-2013 period, the interactions between the EU and Turkey increased as the membership prospects for Turkey were sidelined. For instance, in December 2013, the initiation of the visa liberalization dialogue came months after the Gezi Park Protests, although it was not realized as of today. In the same year, the Readmission Deal was signed by both actors as a result of the challenges that emerged during the Syrian Civil War. Furthermore, the first EU-Turkey summit was held on November 2015. In 2016, there were two more summits, which focused mainly on the increasing flow of refugees and Turkey's reception of the fund to support refugees. In addition, there were political dialogue meetings as well. Lastly, starting from 2014, the RAG meetings started to be held in Turkey to observe the political reforms. Overall, it could be concluded that there is an effort to increase the strategic cooperation between the EU and Turkey.

The brief context that was presented above sets a background for the key arguments of this thesis. When the identity representations in the EU-Turkey relations are considered, there is again a rising trend in nationalist, populist, and Islamophobic sentiments in the EU (Kaya 2018). Combined with the increasing strategic partnership without the prospect of membership in proximate sight, it might be beneficial to understand the post-2013 identity constructions through discourses. It would also be accurate, though, to state that these identity constructions are very much subject to change depending on the political incidents.

Theoretically, the aforementioned events help and change the formation of identities under self-other conceptualizations that are extensively discussed by social constructivist scholars. In social constructivism, norms, rules, and identities are key (Wendt 1992). In this realm, states define their identities through their interactions with other states. States and non-state actors are considered to be the products of world politics and they actively shape it (Viotti &

Kauppi 2012). From this perspective, constructivist analyses of EU-Turkey relations are essential to comprehend the structures of identity and shared meanings.

Guided by the relevant literature, the second chapter of this thesis will outline and expand the theoretical framework that was briefly introduced earlier. In relation to the theoretical framework, the choice of methodology will be introduced. This study will propose an attempt to apply DHA by analyzing the political speeches given by the MEPs. The specific focus on the EP will be justified through its' increased powers especially in the enlargement policy of the EU. In addition, as a special international institution, the debates in the EP set the boundaries for the EU's policies and in which the EU officials can act. Benefitting also from the Joint Parliamentary Committee meetings between the EU and Turkey, this thesis aims at observing the agenda items that were discussed between 2013 and 2016. Since the JPC meeting minutes are only available in the form of speech summaries, it is not possible to infer ideational constructs from them. The JPC meeting minutes, however, will be beneficial in showing the issue areas that were discussed between 2013 and 2016 and thus complementing the empirical analysis that will be done based on the speeches in the EP to observe the identity articulations.

The following chapter will provide the general context in the EU-Turkey relations between 1999 and 2013. Afterwards, the relevant literature that presents common ideational themes in the EU-Turkey relations will be provided. The literature that focuses on the period between 1999 and 2013 will be observed to identify pre-existing ideational themes and turning points in the EU-Turkey relations. Based on the pre-2013 literature on identity constructions, the fourth chapter aims to analyze the shifts and continuities in discourses of identity between 2013 and 2016 in the EU-Turkey relations. The final chapter will conclude with the findings and limitations of this thesis, which will pave the way for remarks for further research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Theoretical Framework

In foreign policy analyses, numerous theoretical perspectives have been drawn and are in the making. As stated in the introduction, social constructivism is one of the theories that is beneficial for explaining foreign policy from an ideational perspective. In this chapter, constructivism and its relevance to this thesis will be elaborated as the preference of this particular theory will be justified.

As a well-known international relations theory along with realism and liberalism, social constructivism gained prominence after the Cold War, when realism and liberalism fell short of anticipating the post-Cold War political atmosphere. The rise of neo-utilitarian approaches brought succinct empirical testing while creating some gaps. Social constructivism emerged to fill that gap through ideational analyses (Ruggie 1998). Taking the world as a constantly changing phenomena, social constructivism is rooted in both rationalistic and value-rational behavioral accounts. By prioritizing the importance of interpretations, social constructivism focuses on norms, rules, and identities (Wendt 1992). In their analyses, social constructivists do not limit themselves only to states. They also include transnational and international organizations (Viotti and Kauppi 2012). Thus, the EU, as it shows supranational and intergovernmental characteristics, and its relations with its members and candidate states are crucial for constructivist studies.

2.2. Social Constructivism

After a brief introduction to social constructivism, we will move into its main premises and its relevance for this study. For constructivists, the agent-structure relationship is the central concern. For them, intersubjectivity, structures, rules, and norms are key terms (Viotti and Kauppi 2012). In this framework, identity holds a significant place in constructivist analyses. Social constructivism takes identity as a constructed concept which is contested by different actors. Through contestation, identity gains meaning in a self-other dichotomy. In other words, an actor gains its identity when it is recognized by other actors (Rumelili 2008). Actors observe each other through the identities that they attribute to one another (Hopf 1998). In International Relations, one way that actors can attribute certain identities towards one another is through othering. Othering could be defined as the distance between the self and the other and in the literature, it is often constructed through negative and antagonistic relationships (Rumelili 2004; Morozov and Rumelili 2012).

Neumann (1996) suggests that there are several scholars who study identity politics as a self-other dichotomy. One is Michael J. Shapiro, who perceives foreign policy as all about creating an Other. In security studies, for instance, this dichotomous relationship has often been explored. David Campbell has explored how the United States tried to create an Other after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Neumann himself argues that self-other analyses would reveal the actors, the ways that they are constituted and the circumstances they may survive under.

Constructivism also suggests that norms can also generate belongings to social communities (Risse 2004). The EU, for instance, is argued to represent an example of a social community that reflects a collective identity, based on universal principles in which member states extend their identities to other members (Habermas 2003; Kaina and Karolewski 2013). In European studies that follow a constructivist path, Europe is often defined with respect to others (Aydın-Düzgit 2013; Arkan 2016).

Considering EU's relations with non-EU states, identities are constructed through the representations of "self" and "other" and they are in constant change, as evident in the EU-Turkey relations (Rumelili 2004). The EU and Turkey position and shape their identities towards one another by interacting and establishing certain norms over time. As argued by the constructivist literature on the EU-Turkey relations, creation of a self-other dichotomy is essential for identity construction (Türkeş-Kılıç 2019). For this reason, in this study, identity is taken as a concept that might be analyzed relationally through difference and as an empirical concept that could be studied to understand the EU's foreign policy (Rumelili and Cebeci 2016).

As Arkan (2016) suggests, constructivism is concerned with the linkages between identity representations and policies. Constructivism perceives identity as a factor that shapes foreign policy through interactions. Thus, the EU's foreign policy towards Turkey could be analyzed through its interactions with Turkey. Such interactions are reflected on individuals' discourses. Analyzing ideational relationships through discourses is in line with the social constructivist thought because discourses are perceived as a way of representation which individuals utilize to describe the world (Aydın-Düzgit 2018). That is why, this thesis benefits from the discursive approaches to the ideational relationship between the EU and Turkey.

Combining the relational and discursive outlooks based on social constructivism, this thesis will primarily look into the ways in which Turkey is being ideationally othered by the EU. Guided by the literature that explores the common ideational themes in the EU-Turkey relations, one of way of observing the ways in which Turkey is being othered by the EU is to look at the ideational themes of geography, culture, history, religion, civilization and democracy. Observing such ideational themes in a temporal dimension would provide the change in the EU's ideational approach to Turkey. The key research question of this thesis focuses on whether the EU's ideational perspectives on Turkey changed after 2013. If so, the thesis aims at exploring the ideational themes in the EU-Turkey relations that changed and continued to exist after 2013.

Based on the literature review for the period between 1999 and 2013, ideational themes that are mentioned above in the EU-Turkey relations will be presented. Throughout their long history, the EU and Turkey generated different ideational themes in relation to one another. Rumelili (2008), as an example, offers a succinct analysis on the EU-Turkey relations by arguing that the relations generate certain dichotomous identities, such as "Europe and Asia"; and "West and Islam". Such ideational constructs will be observed under the themes of geography, culture and history. Culturally, for instance, Turkey is presented as the EU's other, as she possesses Eastern cultural characteristics while the EU is the bearer of the European culture. Historically, for instance, Europe and the Ottoman Empire are coined in a long and violent relationship in which the Ottoman Empire is seen as a threat (Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın 2007). The discourse analysis will reveal whether these themes continue to exist between 2013 and 2016.

Other relational themes could be grouped under religion and civilization. Although civilization could be perceived as a broad concept that includes geography, culture and history, it is most frequently being associated with religious identity constructions, as could be seen in the exemplary discourses provided by Rumelili (2008). For instance, as the former prime minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair, and the former EU Commissioner for Enlargement, Günter Verheugen, suggests, Turkey's accession to the EU would end the civilizational clash between the West and the Islamic World. At the same time, it would be wise to observe these concepts separately, as they could be used on their own as a way of othering Turkey. Turkey, for instance, by challenging the European identity with repetitive accusations of being a "Christian Club", causes the EU to include Christianity in its identity (Rumelili 2008) and redefine its roles regarding multiculturalism. Similarly, Turkey and the EU represent two different civilizations that are built relationally (Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın 2007). Turkey's accession process increased the EU's concerns on whether these two different civilizations could be reconciled.

The final theme to be observed is the democratic and territorial disputes. Starting from 2007, the literature suggests that Turkey started to be seen as a candidate country that has democratic and territorial disputes and thus, cannot meet the European norms (Çarkoğlu

2007; Oğuzlu 2012). Considering that the EU's core identity includes democracy (Rumelili 2008), Turkey's diverging path from democracy leads her to be othered by the EU. However, conventional/liberal constructivists argue that the EU's core identity, including democracy, is not formed in relation to others, as it is taken to be an internal process. On the other hand, critical constructivists argue that collective identities of states are formed in a self-other nexus (Rumelili and Cebeci 2016). For this reason, this thesis obtains the latter approach when analyzing democracy and territorial disputes as ideational themes in which Turkey is being othered by the EU. The analysis covering the period between 2013 and 2016 will reveal whether the EU uses Turkey's democratic and territorial disputes as a tool to position Turkey as the other.

Before moving on with the next chapter, it is beneficial to refer to some contemporary and critical examples of constructivist analyses of the EU-Turkey relations, as there are emerging analyses that are critical towards social constructivism. For instance, Rumelili and Cebeci (2016) provide a new insight to the constructivist debates on European identity. They focus on the evolution of constructivist approaches to European identity. With its recent internal and external challenges, European identity started to be questioned and re-constructed through certain dualities, such as national and European; and internal and external. To be able to construct a thorough analysis, they suggest other theoretical lenses to be harmonized with constructivism, such as poststructuralism which experienced an increase in EU studies. As it is argued in this thesis, discursive studies could be beneficial for that harmonization.

Finally, it could be argued that studies that apply discursive approaches are currently increasing. Theoretically, Aydın-Düzgit (2014) suggests that CDA is more in line with social constructivist thought, as they both seek for causality behind discourses and incidents. At the beginning of Chapter 3, this thesis aims at presenting a general overview of the incidents that took place in the EU-Turkey relations which could have an impact on the construction of ideational themes in discourses. Moreover, CDA proposes a social reality besides discourses by separating what is discursive and non-discursive (Aydın-Düzgit and Rumelili 2018). That is why, the next section aims at introducing a type of CDA, DHA, which will be used in the analysis part of this thesis.

2.3. Methodology

As mentioned earlier in the thesis, one way of analyzing foreign policy is through studying discourses. In general, discourse analysis is usually regarded as a method of linguistics. However, discourses are now treated as more than language use. With the emergence of CDA, language is seen to be a "social practice" by "critical linguists" who are influenced by the Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas. (Wodak 2001b). For instance, focusing on discourses could help one to capture social issues and the relationship between power and politics (Herrera and Braumoeller 2004; Hopf 2004). Thus, context is highly relevant for discourse analysis. In relation to this thesis, speeches given by the MEPs on Turkey are expected to reveal the shifts in discourses of identity, as well as uncovering current tensions and issues of contention between Turkey and the EU by benefitting from discourse analytic methods.

As a type of CDA, DHA is the primary method that is used in this study. DHA diverges from CDA with its focus on identity and discursive constructions as "us" and "them" (Aydın-Düzgit 2014). There are several reasons for this choice of method. Firstly, there is not yet much emphasis in the literature on the EU-Turkey relations from a discursive perspective that aims to observe the shifts in discourses of identity over Turkey's membership bid, though the discursive methods are gaining attention. Thus, this study aims to contribute to the gap in discourse analytic studies on the EU-Turkey relations. Secondly, by applying DHA, this study tries to benefit from social constructivism. In addition, DHA is argued to be suitable for studies that observes identity constructions (Aydın-Düzgit 2014).

One critical point to be addressed at this point should concern the suitability of social constructivism and DHA. DHA is known for connecting discursive incidents with their societal and political histories which are essential for social constructivism. As this thesis adopts the approach of constructivism, background information of the incidents will be provided along with their relevance to their context. In this thesis, constructions of European identity through Turkey's membership bid between 2013-2016 is the primary focus.

The temporal dimension of this thesis might lead to key findings in relation to discourses. The period between 2013 and 2016 is crucial primarily because of the context of the critical voices that were raised by the EU. In this period, it could be argued that normative and identity-based approaches slowly yielded themselves to strategic ones, although they were still vibrant. In addition, concerns on Turkey's diverging path from democracy started to be raised much often. Strategic partnership and differentiated integration were being discussed more frequently.

Table 2.1 Discursive Strategies

Strategy	**Objectives**	**Devices**
Referential / nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	• Membership categorization • Biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies • Synecdoches
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	• Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits • Implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	• Topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	• Reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	• Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory) utterances

Source: Wodak, Ruth. 2001a. "The discourse-historical approach." in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis.* Edited by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer. London: Sage.

This thesis will follow three steps to apply DHA. As Wodak (2001a) identifies, these steps are named as the identification of "discourse topics", "discursive strategies", and "linguistic means". In this thesis, discourse topics refer to the repeating themes in discourses of EU politicians. As expected, they will revolve around debates on Turkey's integration and EU's partnership with Turkey. Secondly, discursive strategies, as indicated in Table 2.1, are crucial because they involve multiple questions to be dealt with. Wodak establishes five strategies, that are: "referential/nomination", "predication", "argumentation", "perspectivation, framing / discourse representation" and "intensification, mitigation". Referential / nomination strategies are concerned with the constructions of in-groups and out-groups. Predication strategies observe the labels given to social actors. Argumentation strategies look at how positive or negative attributions are justified by using different topoi, which are argumentation parts that link the arguments with conclusions. Perspectivation, framing / discourse representation strategies reveal the speaker's level of involvement. Finally, intensification, mitigation strategies observe any modifications of the epistemic status of a proposition. The third and final step would be on linguistic means that refer to metaphors, creation of ingroups, and the like. Overall, these three steps will be sought in the discourses indicated in this study.

Another aspect of DHA to be included in the analysis is DHA's concepts of "intertextuality" and "interdiscursivity" (Wodak 2001a). Unlike poststructuralist analyses, DHA differentiates between the two. Intertextuality is sought when a particular text carries certain themes and elements from other texts, whereas interdiscursivity refers to the when a discourse refers to certain elements in another discourse. To illustrate both in relation to this thesis, intertextuality could be visible when a MEP, while giving a speech on Turkey's accession, takes certain themes from another speech given by the EU Commissioner for Enlargement. Meanwhile, interdiscursivity could be visible when a certain MEP refers to the headscarf debate in Turkey while speaking about freedom of expression.

As presented, the application of DHA to the texts that are picked from MEPs' speeches is done through the aforementioned three steps by observing intertextuality and interdiscursivity. To note a shortcoming of this thesis, it is vital to include that most

parliamentary speeches on the website of the EP are not in English in the transcribed format. Thus, the videos of the speeches had to be viewed to hear the direct translations of the speeches that are not in English. After transcribing the speeches, the speeches were categorized based on their ideational themes and the party groups that utilize them. To add another detail about the transcription process, it should be added that written appeals in the parliament were also omitted from the analysis because their translated versions are not available.

Given this methodological ground, this thesis starts to outline the literature on identity constructions in the EU-Turkey relations between 1999 and 2013. In Chapter 4, the analysis of this thesis will cover the period between 2013 and 2016. The analysis will observe 18 EP debates and 1024 individual speeches (Table 2.3) on Turkey's accession starting from the first meeting during the Gezi Park Protests on June 2013 and ending with the last meeting on June 2016 before the July 15 coup attempt in 2016. The debates on Turkey were retrieved through the website of the EP. For the debates between 2013-2016, the first parliamentary term from 2009 to 2014, starting from 2013, was used. From the second parliamentary term between 2014 to 2019, the debates between 2014 and 2016 were retrieved (European Parliament, n.d.). There are two parliamentary debates on Turkey in 2013, three in 2014, five in 2015, and eight in 2016. After July 15, it is possible to point out that ideational studies on the EU-Turkey relations ceased to exist, as did the membership prospects for Turkey. The relations came to a point of full stagnation when the EP voted to suspend negotiations with Turkey (Müftüler-Baç 2018). Considering the impact of the incidents in 2013 on the shifts in discourses of identity in the EU-Turkey relations, this study aims to examine the reflection of ideational constructs in the EP discourses as the relations stagnate and deteriorate.

One crucial reason behind the selection of parliamentary debates for this analysis lies in the literature as well as the EU's founding treaties when the EU's external relations are considered. For instance, Article 8 of the Treaty on European Union (EUR-Lex, n.d.) emphasizes the EU's relations with neighboring countries. Moreover, in Article 8, a special importance is attached to the values and norms of the Union. The EP is the institution of the EU in which such values and norms are being debated. In addition, being the EU's institution,

which is directly elected by the people, it has key legislative, budgetary and supervisory powers. As will be mentioned further, the EP, not being a typical parliament with its qualities and powers, is a special institution in which identity articulations could be observed the most.

There is a growing emphasis on the role of parliaments in foreign policy making. Similarly, international parliaments, such as the EP, are of crucial significance when the enlargement procedure of the EU is concerned. This line of argument is different from the conventional view that sidelines the roles of international parliaments (Slaughter 2004). As the emerging literature suggests, the empowerment of the EP changed its' relations with national parliaments. Depending on how national parliaments perceive the EP, either as a competitor or an ally, the EP may either push national parliaments to obtain extra powers at the national level or deter them from doing so (Winzen et al. 2015). On the other hand, Haroche (2018) argues that the EP empowerment could be seen as a threat to national parliamentarians when their policy preferences do not match. Thus, the international structure of the EP and the powers it gradually gained changed its' relations with national parliaments.

As an international parliament, the EP also gradually gained prominent powers compared to other EU institutions. For instance, the "assent procedure", which is currently known as the "consent procedure", that was firstly brought by the Single European Act in 1986, provides the EP with the power to veto an acceding state (Aydın-Düzgit 2015a). Furthermore, the Treaty on the European Union provided the EP with crucial powers on the financial side of enlargement, allowing the EP to influence the amounts given to the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance. Finally, the EP's rapporteurs for candidate countries can influence the European Commission's country reports (De Munter 2019). As a result, the EP currently has a strong leverage in the enlargement procedure.

Besides the EP's powers in the enlargement procedure, the literature suggests that parliamentary debates carry high formal authority and are revealing in terms of identity constructions (Aydın-Düzgit 2014; Hansen 2006). However, there are recent critical studies on the role of the EP which suggest that the EP's image in "target countries", such as Turkey, are in decline (Gürkan 2018). However, upon examining the MEP speeches, this thesis argues

that they are beneficial for this study because of their identity articulations that are both under high political authority and public scrutiny. The MEPs can influence the enlargement procedure through informal deliberations with the representatives from the EC and the Commission (Aydın-Düzgit 2015a). Combined with the EP's strong powers in the enlargement procedure, examining the MEP speeches might reflect the EU's ideational perspective on Turkey. By doing so, this thesis aims to contribute to the literature by putting emphasis on the EP as an influencer in and representative of identity politics.

The EP also has certain powers considering EU's foreign policy. Though the EP's powers are limited, it holds the right to be informed and consulted about the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. In addition, the EP has budgetary powers that can shape the Common Foreign and Security Policy (Turunen 2019). Moreover, the EP is involved in inter-institutional discussions with the European Commission.

Observing the speeches of the MEPs can also reflect the ideological stances of their party groups on Turkey. As seen in Table 2.2, there are different party groups in the EP that vary in size (Figure 2.1) and they represent different political orientations. The political orientations of the MEPs are crucial to consider because they reflect the boundaries in which the EU officials can act. In addition, their political orientations could be perceived on a left-right dimension, as it is the case in national parliaments (Hix et al. 2005). On the left side of the political spectrum, there are GUE-NGL, Greens-EFA and S&D. GUE-NGL, which has been the fifth largest party group since 1989, has far-left, Eurosceptic, anti-austerity and anti-capitalist political views. Greens-EFA was founded in 1999, preceded by The Green Group and European Radical Alliance. Greens-EFA has a left-wing, environmentalist and regionalist agenda. Its number of seats in the EP have been very close the GUE-NGL's number of seats. The S&D group, founded in 1953, is the second largest party group in the EP since 1999 and is at the center-left, bearing socialist tendencies. ALDE, which was founded in 2004, could be placed at the center with its liberal agenda, being the third largest party group in the EP until 2014. ALDE was preceded by the European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party.

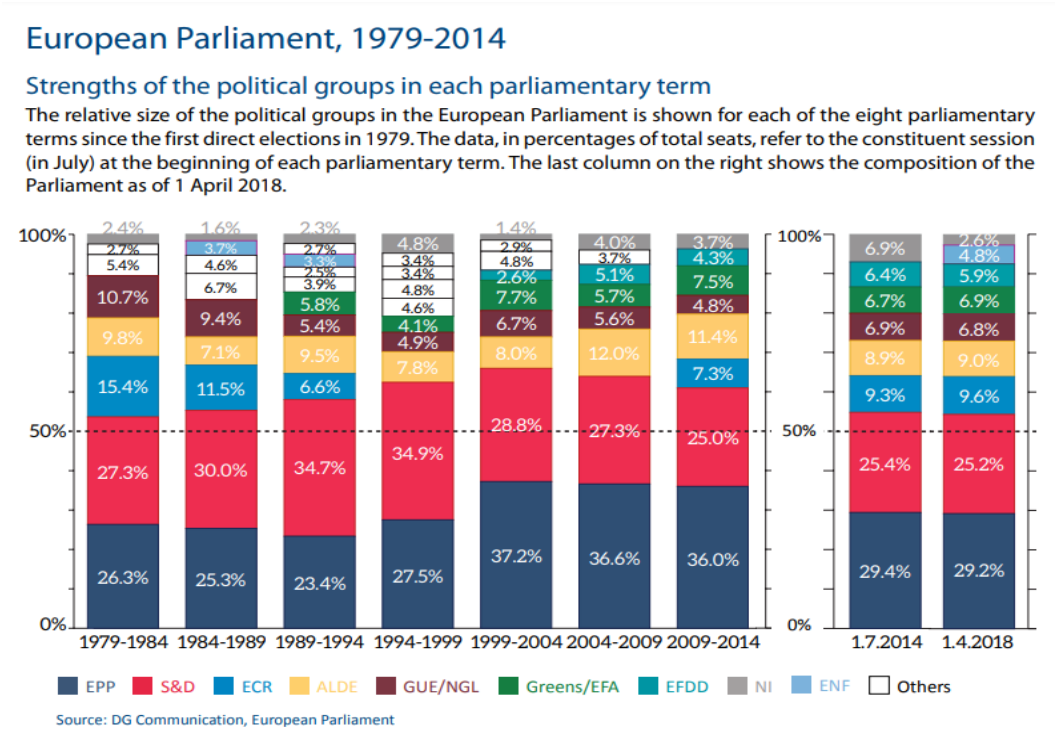
Table 2.2 Political orientation of the party groups in the 7th and 8th EP

2014-2019 8th European Parliament	**2009-2014 7th European Parliament**	**Political orientation**
European United Left-Nordic Green Left (GUE-NGL)	European United Left-Nordic Green Left (GUE-NGL)	Far-left, Eurosceptic, Anti-austerity, Anti-capitalist
Greens-European Free Alliance (Greens-EFA)	Greens-European Free Alliance (Greens-EFA)	Left-wing, Environmentalist, Regionalist
Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D)	Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D)	Center-left, Socialist
Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE)	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE)	Centrist-Liberal
European People's Party (EPP)	European People's Party (EPP)	Center-right, Christian Democrat and Conservatives
European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)	European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)	Center-right, Conservative, Anti-federal, Eurosceptic
Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD)	Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFD)	Right-wing, Conservative, Eurosceptic
Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF)		
Non-Affiliated Members (NI)	Non-Affiliated Members (NI)	Various

Source: Türkeş-Kılıç, Selin. 2019. "Justifying privileged partnership with Turkey: an analysis of debates in the European Parliament." *Turkish Studies*. p. 10.

On the right side of the political spectrum, there are EPP, ECR, EFDD and ENF. EPP, which holds most of the seats at the parliament since 1999 (Figure 2.1), is a center-right political group that is made up of Christian democrats and conservatists. It was founded in 1976. ECR is relatively a new party group that was founded in 2009 and has anti-federal and Eurosceptic tendencies. ECR quickly became the fourth and third largest party group respectively. Finally, EFDD and ENF share similar political orientations that are close to the right-wing, conservatism and Euroscepticism. EFDD was founded in 2014 and ENF was founded in 2015. Besides Non-Inscrits, both parties had the lowest number of seats in the EP. Finally, it is also possible to point out that Non-Inscrits almost had the same number of seats in the EP as EFDD and ENF.

Figure 2.1 Percentages of total seats in the European Parliament



Source: European Parliament: Facts and Figures. April 2018. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/614733/EPRS_BRI(2018)614733_EN.pdf

After providing information on the party groups that were present in the EP between 2013 and 2016, we can now provide a basic description of the dataset of the analysis. The dataset contains 1024 speeches and as visible in Table 2.3, those speeches that are observed between 2013 and 2016 in the EP during the debates on Turkey are distributed among different party groups. The table also contains the number of speeches given by the representatives of the other EU institutions, the European Commission and the EC. Those speeches by the EU institutions' leaders are crucial to observe in the analysis because they might contain identity articulations regarding the EU and Turkey as well.

Table 2.3 Number of speeches given by the party groups and representatives of EU institutions

Party Groups	Number of speeches
European Commission	25
European Council	20
GUE/NGL	86
Greens & EFA	68
S&D	218
ALDE	90
EPP	203
ECR	124
EFDD	68
ENF	58
NI	64
Total	1024

It is not only the EP in which it is possible to observe the general climate in the EU-Turkey relations in a parliamentary setting. Another parliamentary body that is crucial in the EU-Turkey relations is the EU-Turkey JPC, which was established in 1965 to support Turkey's transition to democracy. This committee includes members from the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the EP. The committee allows one to observe the agenda items that are being discussed in the EU-Turkey relations. For instance, Scotti (2016) argues that the committee mainly focuses on the Kurdish issue, the status of minorities, the Cyprus issue and the role of religion. A closer look at the meetings between 2013 and 2016 would guide the analysis by revealing other items that were discussed. As stated in the Introduction, however, it is not possible to observe identity constructions through the speeches of the MEPs because the JPC meeting minutes are only available in speech summaries. Thus, in the empirical part of the thesis, the agenda items that were discussed in JPC meetings between 2013 and 2016 will complement the identity constructions in MEPs' speeches.

In the period between the Gezi Park Protests and July 15 coup attempt, there were five JPC meetings. Right after the Gezi Park Protests began, the committee convened for its 72nd meeting (European Parliament 2013a). Along with some emphasis on the protests, the Syrian crisis was widely being discussed. The Kurdish issue and the Cyprus issue were also included in the debate. Those issues were discussed in the 73rd meeting as well, which took place

towards the end of 2013. In the 74th meeting on April 2014, such issues were replaced by the issues concerning the rule of law and the independence of judiciary in Turkey, following the December 2013 corruption investigations. Towards the end of 2014, the 75th meeting had an agenda that combined all the aforementioned agenda items except the Gezi Park Protests. On March 2015, the committee convened for its 76th meeting. In the meeting, unresolved issues regarding customs union and visa liberalization were discussed. With the rise of Islamic State in 2015, the debate focused on combatting Islamic State in particular. Until April 2018, no other committee meetings were held. In general, Turkey's democratic and territorial disputes were frequently discussed between 2013 and 2016, as well as the regional challenges faced by Turkey and the EU.

Before moving on further with the thesis, it is beneficial to mention about one methodological issue. When trying to infer from party groups' ideological stances, representativeness arises as a critical issue. It would not be a thorough analysis to assume uniform positions for party groups, as they are heterogenous (Türkeş-Kılıç 2019). Similarly, it would be even harder to assume a uniform stance on an ideational issue towards Turkey. On the other hand, the EP debates allow the representation of people from different nationalities and political opinions, which assure public scrutiny. In addition, the EP also allows to observe speeches given by the presidents of EU institutions, the EP, European Commission and EC (Levin 2011). Thus, this thesis aims to cover discourses from different party groups and provide different and common discursive themes in the speeches of MEPs. Speeches that share similar ideational tropes will be presented in the footnotes to point out to the shared discursive elements on Turkey. In light of the aforementioned theoretical framework and methodology, next chapter will reflect the ideational themes that were prevalent between 1999 and 2013.

3. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS IN PRE-2013 EU-TURKEY RELATIONS

EU-Turkey relations between 1999 and 2013 have numerous milestones and turning points that had an impact on identity constructions. To be able to observe the literature during this period and come up with ideational themes from the literature, a prior overview of the events that occurred in the relations is beneficial to relate the themes with context, as social constructivism and DHA necessitates.

Needless to repeat, 1999 is the year in which Turkey's candidacy was recognized in Helsinki. At the time, Turkey was led by a coalition government made up of three political parties. Bülent Ecevit was the prime minister, accompanied by İsmail Cem, the foreign minister. The government enacted democratic reforms paving the way for EU membership (Öniş 2016). Ecevit's statement following Turkey's candidacy reflected a strong belief in Turkey's EU membership in the short term (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1999).

Towards the end of the coalition government, Turkey persisted towards EU membership. During the early 2000s, important milestones paved the way for Turkey's accession, such as the adoption of the EU-Turkey Accession Partnership in 2001 by the EC. In the same year, the EC decided to increase EU's financial support to Turkey (Delegation of the European Union to Turkey 2019). There were other factors that accelerated Turkey's path to the EU. The Turkish parliament enacted the reform that abolished the death penalty in 2002 except for war times, which was a reform that was highly praised by the EU. The European Commission viewed this initiative as a positive move towards becoming a "full-fledged democracy" (BBC News 2004).

At the same time, however, Turkey was going through political tensions, as the Turkish Constitutional Court banned FP (BBC News 2018). The EU voiced its concerns regarding Turkish democracy (Amerika'nın Sesi 2001). The FP was the continuation of RP, which had been banned in 1998. Both parties shared the same ideological roots in religion and their approach to democracy and foreign policy. Interestingly, FP differed from the RP in its perception of the EU as the representative of universal democratic values, which would later be echoed by AKP (Tanıyıcı 2003). Given such a background, Turkey's elections in November 2002 that ended the decade-long period of coalition governments changed both Turkish politics and EU-Turkey relations. Turkey's acceleration towards EU membership that had started in 1999 took a faster path after the election of the AKP government.

One of the very early reforms AKP initiated in 2003 to drive Turkey towards EU membership was on freedom of speech, Kurdish language rights, and the political role of military (Müftüler-Baç 2005). These issues represent other recurring themes for identity constructions, as they will become more visible in the post-2013 analysis. Despite these reforms, there were incompatibilities between some EU member states and Turkey. For instance, on her visit to Turkey, the former leader of the main opposition party in Germany, Angela Merkel, who would later become the Chancellor, expressed her concerns in 2004 regarding Turkey's EU membership, offering "privileged partnership" as an alternative. Privileged partnership would later be offered as an alternative yet unclear way that neither risks EU's strategic ties with Turkey nor accepts Turkey as an EU member (Ulusoy 2014).

The privileged partnership offers were rejected by the former prime minister Erdoğan. Most importantly, in the meeting with Merkel, Erdoğan argued that AKP does not perceive the EU as a "Christian Club", although the EU has to include Turkey to prove that it is not a Christian Club (Deutsche Welle 2004). By referring to a religious ideational construct, Turkey tried to pressure the EU to accept her as a member. Nevertheless, Merkel repeated her offer in several occasions after she became the Chancellor of Germany. As could be observed, alternative forms of integration were already being voiced even before the accession negotiations, along with religious themes (Dağı 2005).

Regardless of Germany's opposition to Turkey's full membership, on December 2004, it was decided that Turkey's accession negotiations would start the following year on October 2005, marking it as another crucial milestone in the EU-Turkey relations. Until 2007, AKP steered its attempt to increase democratic reforms in the realm of its ambitious EU membership process. As Öniş (2015) describes the 2002-2007 period as the AKP's golden age, it could be suggested that Turkey had economic growth, increasing presence in its neighborhood by establishing ties with several countries, and relative stability in the issues regarding minority rights, trying to reconstruct Turkey's former identity in the eyes of the EU.

Two incidents that occurred in 2005 came as a major shock to the EU's identity and integration project. The European Constitutional Treaty, defined as the second big initiative of the EU after the 2004 enlargement, was rejected by referenda in two of the founding countries of the EU, the Netherlands and France. On both sides, Turkey's accession to the EU was used by the opposition to encourage national identities instead of the EU (Taggart 2006). Thus, this incident revealed the ideational tensions within the EU, which was strengthened by the accession negotiations of Turkey.

Around the same period, Cyprus started to become a major issue of contention that also have ideational implications for the EU-Turkey relations, which damaged the EU's positive image of Turkey's religious and civilizational difference. Cyprus became an EU member in 2004 right after the failed referendum on the United Nation's Annan Plan. As the referendum envisioned, if there was a reunification, the whole island of Cyprus would have become an EU member. Nevertheless, the Northern Cyprus was left out while Cyprus became an EU member (Kirişçi and Toygür 2019). In 2006, contrary to what the Additional Protocol required, Turkey did not extend her ports and airports to the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus. Thus, eight chapters of the acquis could not be opened (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs Directorate for EU Affairs 2017). As a result, Cyprus emerges to be another issue to be sought in the post-2013 analysis because it was applied to Turkey under the "good neighborly relations criterion". This increased the concerns that even if Turkey democratizes, she would remain as a candidate state that has territorial disputes with an EU member (Saatçioğlu 2009).

Towards 2007, combined with the issues related to Cyprus, the relations stagnated when AKP had its domestic struggles and economic troubles following the 2007-08 global financial crisis. Primarily, on April 2007, the Turkish military published an e-memorandum claiming that AKP departed from secularism during the parliamentary sessions to elect the president. After Abdullah Gül was nominated by the AKP as its presidential candidate, despite the ongoing EU reforms, the Turkish military signaled a possible military intervention (Warhola and Bezci 2010). Furthermore, the constitutional referendum later in the same year introduced the public vote to elect the president. Afterwards, the main opposition party CHP applied to the Turkish Constitutional Court in 2008 for AKP's closure, sharing the e-memorandum's claims. The Constitutional Court rejected the appeal by a small margin, although it was the second major challenge AKP faced. It could be suggested that AKP became the new dominant center party after it passed these challenges, though EU's concerns regarding Turkish democracy and secularism surpassed other ideational themes such as geography, culture, history, religion and civilization, that were mentioned earlier (Çarkoğlu 2007; Oğuzlu 2012).

During Turkey's accession negotiations and domestic struggles, another round of enlargement took place in the EU. As of January 2007, Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU. Both countries had eleven and twelve years of accession negotiations, respectively. One of the major implications of this enlargement was that Turkey's two neighbors in her western border was now EU member states. This enlargement round had another implication which concerns the EU. From the perception of the EU, certain EU member states such as Poland and Czech Republic saw Romania and Bulgaria as "less-European" (Rumelili 2008). Within the central and eastern member states, this became a prominent identity issue for the EU. This type of "othering" was also visible towards Turkey, especially after 2007.

In 2007, Turkey began to face opposition from certain EU member states, more specifically from France and Austria. When public opinion surveys and government discourses are examined, Austria has always been recognized by her opposition to Turkey's membership (Lindgaard 2018). France, during former president Nicolas Sarkozy's incumbency, expressed

strong criticisms to Turkey's possible membership. Besides suggesting Turkey as a geographically non-European country (Morozov and Rumelili 2012), Sarkozy also lobbied to prevent opening new chapters with Turkey (Bilefsky 2007).

Despite opposition, Turkey and the EU managed to open four new chapters in 2008. The EU also acknowledged Turkey to be a functioning market economy (European Commission 2008). However, the relations gradually stagnated after 2009. In 2009, only two chapters could be opened and only one in 2010. In 2009, Cyprus unilaterally blocked six Chapters. Until 2015, these six Chapters did not have any negotiations over them. The growing literature on AKP's dominancy and authoritarian tendencies are crucial to comprehend Turkey's growing distance with the EU (Ertuğrul and Yılmaz 2017; Esen and Gumuscu 2016; Haferlach, Tekin and Wódka 2018). As Öniş (2016) suggests, between 2007 and 2011, the AKP's consolidation of power was realized through the marginalization of the military and judiciary. In addition, both the EU and Turkey started to have economic issues following the financial crisis that started as of 2007-08. Identity-based issues were also prevalent in financial debates. For instance, in the EU, negative representations of identity between creditor and debtor member states challenged the collective European identity (Kaygusuz 2018; Rumelili and Cebeci 2016).

Other political developments that took place in Turkey from 2010 to 2013 are crucial in understanding Turkey's growing distance with the EU as well. Issues regarding the status of minorities in Turkey, particularly the Kurdish issue, gradually became an obstacle preventing the EU-Turkey relations from moving further. The "Kurdish initiative" that was launched in 2009 and the constitutional referendum in 2010 were positive developments that were welcomed by the EU. The Kurdish initiative went in parallel with the "Oslo talks" which involved negotiations between the Turkish government and Kurdish representatives. However, the Oslo talks broke down as of 2010, accompanied by PKK attacks, Turkish opposition parties' criticisms, and arrests (CNN Türk 2014a).

The issues in Turkey considering the role of the military and judiciary are also significant in relation to Turkey's democratic status and her accession to the EU. The referendum in 2010 that aimed to bring parliamentary control over the military and judiciary was a crucial

incident that helped democracy as an ideational theme to be reconstructed. As the referendum was approved by the people, Štefan Füle, the former European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy, welcomed the results of the referendum. However, after the 2017 referendum, there would be differing retrospective opinions regarding whether the 2010 referendum was the predecessor of the one in 2017 that enabled AKP to steer Turkey towards a presidential system, thus, a more authoritarian regime (Hamsici, 2017).

2011 marks the year as the beginning of the Syrian Civil War and the refugee crisis that would later turn into a serious challenge against Turkey and the EU, among many other countries. With the surge of the Arab Spring, the southern neighborhood of both actors was subject to significant change. The Turkish government shifted its foreign policy towards the Middle East and North Africa with hopes of leading the Islamic world at the international arena by supporting the uprisings (Kirişçi and Toygür 2019). Moreover, Turkey openly expressed her support to the opponents of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and enabled the FSA to organize in Turkey (Özbek 2018). Thus, as a neighboring country, Turkey was actively involved in the Syrian conflict since the beginning of the first incidents.

The EU took certain measures against Syria as well, by imposing sanctions on the Syrian president Assad (BBC News 2011), freezing the draft Association Agreement and suspending bilateral cooperation programs (European Union External Action Service 2016). In the 2011 Progress Report on Turkey (European Commission 2011), little emphasis was given to the issue, while Turkey's humanitarian efforts were recognized. However, the EU stated that Turkey was not aligned with the EU's measures against Syria, leading to the divergence of interests in foreign policy. In addition, Turkey's active involvement in Syria and its relations with non-state armed forces, such as FSA, brought exclusivist discourses in the EP in which Turkey was accused of cooperating with terrorist organizations.

Coming back to the EU-Turkey relations in particular, the effect of multiple issues in the EU-Turkey relations was visible in the accession negotiations. There was no progress regarding opening new chapters in 2011 and 2012. Nevertheless, identity constructions by the EU

leaders were not exclusionary. In 2011, for instance, the former EU Commission president Barroso expressed his opinion that regarded Turkey as an asset to the EU because of her young population and dynamism, while recognizing that there were opposing member states (Aras and Akdoğan 2017).

The general overview of the period between 1999 and 2013 reveals significant deterioration of the relations especially after 2007. The incidents that took place between the EU and Turkey are crucial to comprehend the ways in which identity constructions are formed. In the light of the literature, the next chapter aims to observe the period between 1999 and 2013 in EU-Turkey relations according to different identity representations. In each section, it is possible to refer to the common ideational themes in the literature which are based on the aforementioned events that have taken place between the EU and Turkey. The first section covers the ideational themes of geography, culture and history. The following section sheds light on religion and civilization. The final section has more emphasis on democracy and territorial disputes.

3.1. Turkey as the Geographical, Cultural and Historical Other

EU-Turkey relations between 1999 and 2013 might be better explained through a presentation of the literature that reflects identity constructions in this period. The factual focus will be on the identity constructions in Europe towards Turkey. The EU's approach towards Turkey has historically been shaped by the ways the EU constructs its identity. However, it would not be a thorough analysis if European identity construction is considered in isolation. As will be shown in more detail in the post-2013 analysis, the EU's constructions of identity is shaped by the events that occur in Turkey. Thus, in the pre-2013 study of themes of identity, it is vital to refer to the initial stages after Turkey's candidacy was granted to the EU.

Around 1999, the excitement of Turkey on becoming a candidate to the EU was not necessarily echoed by the EU. As Levin (2011) suggests, exclusivist definitions of Europe increased in parliamentary speeches around 1999. The EP did not have a positive image of Turkey, considering the gender roles, human rights, democracy and religion in Turkey. The unsettled headscarf debates and minority rights issues led the EP to link Turkey with suppressive human rights applications. Contrary to liberal / social democrat MEPs, who were the proponents of Turkey's membership, opposing groups used exclusivist discourses such as "dangerous" and "threat", based on geographical, cultural and historical constructions of identity. For instance, in an EU member state, such as France, exclusionary discourses could be noticed based on geography, culture, and history (Tekin 2010). The same could be argued for Germany (Yılmaz 2007).

To start with the theme of geography, it is possible to argue that Turkey is seen as a Middle Eastern or an Asian country that does not belong to Europe (Türkeş-Kılıç 2019). Very much in relation to the civilizational discourses that would be argued later, Europe is geographically constructed as a civilization (Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın 2007). However, as civilization is often associated with religious connotations, it would be beneficial to observe religious and civilizational constructions of identity together in the next section. The EU, as an organization that bears supranational characteristics, is subjected to several attempts to create fixed borders for Europe. As the EU enlarged towards Central Europe and Balkans, the fixed borders of Europe also enlarged. The way the borders of Europe was defined changed and started to include new cultural bonds, such as "kinship" (Sjursen 2002).

Being the EU's largest enlargement up to that date, known as "The Big Bang Enlargement", ten countries became EU member states. Retrospectively, Germany was in favor of this enlargement, considering the security of its larger neighborhood against Russia's influence in the region. A second factor behind Germany's support could be "kinship". Germany could have perceived welcoming the countries in the 2004 enlargement as a historical obligation because of Europe's distant relations with them in the past. Some member states were not as welcoming as Germany, such as France, as she prioritized their power and influence within the EU. Nevertheless, as Schimmelfennig (2001; 2003) suggests, European states have used

norms to pursue their interests (Aydın-Düzgit 2015b). However, the literature is not certain whether the same could be applied to the Turkish case, in which othering and inclusion were processed together.

Overall, it could be suggested that Turkey was mostly excluded and perceived to be different on cultural grounds as a non-European country (Müftüler-Baç 2000). Culturally, Europe is defined as an entity that has a shared culture. Turkey is argued to have a hybrid culture, nourished by Eastern and Western cultural characteristics (Morozov and Rumelili 2012). However, Turkey's cultural identity is seen as incompatible with European cultural identity because of Europe's roots in "ancient Greece, Christianity and the Enlightenment" (Müftüler-Baç 2000). Such cultural constructions of identity that carry religious and civilizational underpinnings will be elaborated further.

Finally, the way the EU constructs Europeanness and Turkishness also carries a historical background that could be traced back to the relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The literature suggests that especially with the AKP government, as a "post-Islamist" movement (Dağı 2005; Rumelili 2008), Turkey tried to reconstruct her identity that has its roots both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, trying to reflect her hybrid character that was mentioned earlier. Historically, the Ottoman Empire was ideationally constructed as the "dominant Other" that could pose a threat to Europe (Müftüler-Baç 2000). In addition, the representations of the Ottoman Empire were coined with "barbarism" while Europe was associated with civilization (Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın 2007). However, with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the founders and the governments that followed them tried to establish a pro-Western outlook while establishing alliances.

As could be observed in this section, the literature argues that Turkey is the EU's geographical, cultural and historical other. However, it would not be wise to generalize such representations of othering to the whole EU. Although certain actors present Turkey as the EU's geographical, cultural and historical other, there are also other actors that utilize cosmopolitan identity constructions. Looking at the parliamentary discourses and tracing such themes will be revealing the ideational continuities as well as changes after 2013. Using

the aforementioned background, the next section will elaborate on the themes of religion and civilization, as they are closely related with geography, culture and history.

3.2. Religion and Civilization

Religion has been a key ideational theme that had an impact on EU-Turkey relations. When AKP emerged as the incumbent government, it defined itself as the representative of "conservative democracy" (Alpan 2016) that would bridge the Western and Eastern values in Turkey. As most of its cadre was born out of the National View (Milli Görüş) tradition, bridging Islamic values and the Ottoman legacy was key. AKP did not, however, present its attempt to harmonize these values in contradiction to Western values or Europe. On the contrary, AKP seemingly aimed to benefit from these "assets" with the aim of making Turkey one of the leading countries (Saraçoğlu and Demirkol 2015). AKP, as a "post-Islamist" movement (Dağı 2005; Rumelili 2008), sought to preserve its relationship with Islam while not applying it on political grounds.

As Temel (2018) notes, the former prime minister Erdoğan made a declaration in 2003 saying that they deviated from the National View tradition which has its roots in radical Islam and anti-Westernism. Taking a different path than its ideological predecessors, AKP viewed Turkey's modernization and democratization processes in tandem with the Copenhagen criteria (Tanıyıcı 2003). Thus, AKP utilized EU membership as an anchor that would increase religious freedoms, which would also degrade the role of groups in Turkey that oppose women wearing headscarves (Lindgaard 2018). As mentioned earlier, the headscarf debate was a major identity issue for Turkey from the EU's perceptions when gender roles, freedom of expression and religion are considered.

Thus, it could be argued that in the early 2000s, the Turkish government started to form a new Turkish identity that has its roots in her history and religion in a way that would not contradict Western or European values. However, such an ideational construct carried the

risk of being othered because as the majority of its population is Muslim, Turkey was one of the countries that had a negative image that links Islam with terrorism after the September 11, 2001 attacks to the US World Trade Center (Verney 2009).

When construction of European values is concerned, the literature on religion and civilization is widespread (Kösebalaban 2007; Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın 2007; Rumelili 2008). As stated earlier, the cultural heritage of Europe is coined with the religious and civilizational elements such as Christianity and Enlightenment (Huntington 1993; Ertuğrul and Yılmaz 2017). For instance, the confrontational and civilizational elements in the EU-Turkey relations are justified by civilizational elements between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Representations of Europe as "civilized" and the Ottomans as "barbaric" are concurrent in the debates concerning EU-Turkey relations (Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın 2007). Furthermore, Christianity is argued to be a common denominator of Europeanness and a glue that binds European communities. These debates are still current in European discourses, especially in the EU-Turkey relations.

Turkey's attempts to reconstruct its identity in relation to the EU have civilizational roots as well. Trying to utilize Turkey's hybridity in terms of having the capability of bridging different cultures, the AKP government expressed its full support for Turkey's EU membership, by referring to the "alliance of civilizations". Turkey was perceived as an extension of the European project that would proliferate peace and stability in her region. This way, the EU aimed at benefitting from Turkey's regional role (Ertuğrul and Yılmaz 2017). Turkey as the EU's religious and civilizational other was presented as an asset that would work in favor of increasing European norms and values in the Balkans and Middle East. The AKP government acknowledged Turkey's role of extending European norms to its proximate neighborhood by utilizing Turkey's "hybrid identity" (Rumelili 2008) which was fed by Turkey's historical roots. It would be beneficial to exemplify Turkey's ideational perspective in the early 2000s:

> "If the EU is aiming to become a global power and wishing to eradicate the conflict of civilizations while becoming a global power, I am not saying this as a

> bluff, but as a finding, as a truth, the alliance of civilizations must take place." (BBC News Türkçe 2005) *[author's translation]*
>
> Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, 3 October 2005

The timing of this speech coincides with the "Alliance of Civilizations Initiative" that was led by the former prime ministers of Turkey and Spain, Erdoğan and Zapatero. The initiative was later taken over by the UN to bridge the gap between eastern and western countries (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011). It would be accurate to argue that this initiative came to be as a result of the post-9/11 war on terror and numerous terror attacks in Turkey and Europe, such as 2003 Istanbul bombings, 2004 Madrid train bombings and 2005 London bombings. The significance of this initiative for the EU-Turkey relations is that the Turkish government tried to use the initiative to increase Turkey's chances of membership to the EU. Though it created a positive image of Turkey in the EU, the EU was reluctant to show any effort for the initiative (Balcı and Miş 2008). In addition, there is only one reference to the initiative in the 2005 Progress Report (European Commission 2005).

As it is evident in the initiative, Turkey's civilizational discourse could be observed as another ideational construct. The civilizational discourse was such a significant ideational theme that both the proponents and opponents of Turkish membership based their arguments on civilizational matters (Tekin 2005). Although the EU was reluctant, Turkey's discourse was echoed to a certain extent by certain European leaders at the time. As Lindgaard (2018) succinctly combines several European discourses, it is evident to observe some support towards Turkey's membership. For instance, the former president of the EU Commission, José Manuel Durão Barroso, argued in 2008 that Turkey's membership may be an inspiration for different cultures and civilizations because she is an exemplary case in which democracy and secularism coexist. Thus, Turkey could benefit the common European project (Aras and Akdoğan 2017).

There is another line of ideational discourse in the literature on Turkey that was argued to pose a challenge to EU's identity (Arkan 2016). The theme of "Turkey as a challenge to EU's identity" was initially disregarded by the EU, which could be exemplified in one of Barroso's

comments (Aras and Akdoğan 2017). Nevertheless, the AKP government echoed the perceptions of the EU, which were mentioned earlier, by arguing that the EU needs Turkey primarily because Turkey represents a combination of multiple strategic assets. Secondly, by accepting Turkey as an EU member, Turkey suggested that the EU would gain the opportunity to prove that it is not a "Christian Club" (Lindgaard 2018). As mentioned earlier, the "Christian Club" metaphor was still prevalent as the relations progressed. This strategy was again based on religious identities that was used to pressurize the EU to accept Turkey as a member (Öniş 2009). Overall, as could be observed, religion is a recurring ideational theme in the relations that was also used with the theme of "Turkey as a challenge to EU's identity", though not much emphasized. However, as Morozov and Rumelili (2012) suggest, Turkey's criticism towards the EU of being a "Christian Club" could be a danger for Turkey to alienate herself further from the EU. Just as the authors predicted, Turkey's alienation from the EU started at a very early stage in the accession negotiations.

3.3. Democratic and Territorial Disputes

Democracy has been another demarcating and contentious issue between the EU and Turkey (Tekin 2010). As mentioned earlier, in the early years of Turkey's candidacy to the EU, Turkey was having a political turbulence in which party closures were taking place along with growing concerns on individual rights and freedoms. The reform period that was initiated after 1999 and gained pace with the election of the AKP government was seen positively by the EU (Johansson-Nogués and Jonasson 2011). However, throughout the years, Turkey's deteriorating democracy and her territorial disputes led Turkey to be perceived as the EU's other.

Democracy is considered to be at the center of the European identity, and it is constantly in the making (Rumelili 2008). The conventional / liberal constructivists argue that democracy and other core concepts that are associated with the EU are not formed in relation to others (Rumelili and Cebeci 2016). This is argued to be an internal process. Conversely, as this

thesis suggests, critical constructivists argue that collective identity formations are based on difference and othering. Similarly, democracy could be considered as an ideational theme in the EU-Turkey relations which constantly shapes Europeanness and Turkishness and how they are differentiated from one another.

The relatively positive atmosphere in the EU-Turkey relations between 2002 and 2007 increased the EU's hopes for Turkey's democracy and membership to the EU. However, the domestic struggles in Turkey during 2007 and 2008, especially the power struggle between AKP and the Turkish military, increased concerns on Turkish democracy (Esen and Gumuscu 2016), differentiating Turkey as non-European. Turkey's transition to the "advanced democracy" narrative after 2007 brought a more critical approach to the EU on the part of Turkey (Alpan 2016). In addition, AKP's transition to a more "neo-Ottomanist" foreign policy (Aydın-Düzgit 2018), aiming to acquire a more significant geopolitical role especially in the Middle East, amplified the ideational conflict between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

Territorial disputes have also been on the agenda in the EU-Turkey relations. It might be argued that territorial disputes have a big impact on the ideational constructs between the two. The first issue to be mentioned is the issue of Cyprus. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the failure of the Annan Plan and the EU membership of Cyprus escalated the conflict (Kösebalaban 2007). Turkey's relations with Cyprus are considered under the "good neighborly relations criterion" (Saatçioğlu 2009), which makes it hard for Turkey to move forward with the accession negotiations unless she extends her ports and airports to Cyprus. Along with the Kurdish issue and Turkey's conflict with PKK, Cyprus issue is among the EU's conditions for Turkey's membership. Turkey resists such conditions and challenges the inclusivity of European identity (Rumelili 2004).

With the increase in the number of refugees and terrorism, the territories and borders of the EU and Turkey were proved to be prone to security risks. Even at the beginning of the Syrian crisis, the MEPs were encouraging close cooperation with Turkey (European Parliament 2011). Turkey acquired a significant position after the Readmission Deal in 2013 and the

statement between the EU and Turkey in 2016 by cooperating with the EU to prevent irregular migration and terrorist activities. Such close cooperation between the EU and Turkey did not increase Turkey's chances of membership, although strategic partnership between the two gained momentum. Considering Turkey's differentiated integration, one of the policy areas that Turkey opted in the most is security (Müftüler-Baç 2017). It is not, however, possible to point out to any references in the literature to issues related to identity in terms of Turkey's strategic cooperation with the EU considering migration and terrorism.

This chapter aimed to lay out the significant literature on identity in EU-Turkey relations between 1999 and 2013 to set the ground for the post-2013 analysis. It is evident to observe a positive and an accelerating trend in Turkey's path to EU membership between 2002 and 2007. As Turkey's domestic political struggles and critical voices from the EU surged after 2007, identity-related issues surpassed the focus on Turkey's membership. The stagnated relations took a different turn after the Gezi Park Protests and the corruption investigations in 2013.

4. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE POST-2013 EU-TURKEY RELATIONS

This chapter, as the analysis part of this thesis, will examine the ideational themes in the EU-Turkey relations after 2013. The themes that are provided by the literature, as outlined in the previous chapter, will be sought in the post-2013 period as the relations take a different path towards a strategic partnership while declining the prospect of EU membership for Turkey. This will be accomplished through a discourse analysis method, DHA. The discourses that are taken from the EP debates on Turkey between 2013 and 2016 will reveal the shifts as well as continuities in identity constructions. Thus, a systematic analysis of the previously outlined ideational themes will be conducted based on their continuation in the post-2013 period. Firstly, the key events that occurred in 2013 will be discussed. Then, the analysis of the speeches of MEPs will be provided to observe the shifts in discourses of identities. As this thesis follows a social constructivist path, the significance of the incidents that took place in the relations, starting from 2013, will be emphasized along with the context to set the background for the discourse analysis.

As outlined earlier, 2013 marks an important turning point both for Turkish democracy and EU-Turkey relations. On May 28, 2013, the demolition of Gezi Park in Taksim Square of Istanbul began with the aim of re-constructing the old Taksim Military Barracks that had been demolished in 1940. This move was initially prevented by a group of protestors with a sit-in. After the images of violent clashes between the security forces and the protestors spread through media, protests began to spread as well. The use of social media by the protestors to mobilize generated a quick turnout (Önal 2016). The mobilization of different socio-economic groups from different segments of society showed a public demand for

preservation of public places and against authoritarian tendencies which arguably increased after the violent clashes between the security forces and protestors (Göle 2013; Kirişçi and Toygür 2019; Önal 2016).

The significance of the protests and the way they represented a turning point for the EU-Turkey relations is worthy of examination in the aspects the protests revealed. Primarily, the protests were a reaction against the policies of the AKP government. Especially, it is argued that the protests carried a discontent on behalf of the secular segments against growing conservatism (Öniş 2015). Secondly, the EU was concerned about the violent protests and Turkey's commitment to democracy. As Önal (2016) argues, the themes of democracy, human rights and civil society, which are considered to be "Euro-concepts", came to the fore in the literature and discourses.

The second crucial series of events that occurred in 2013 was the corruption and bribery investigations in Turkey in December 2013, which caused heavy political turmoil, especially in relation to the political rivalry between AKP and the Gulen Movement, which would later be known as FETO. Following the investigations came a cabinet shakeup as the former Minister for EU Affairs and Chief Negotiator Egemen Bağış was dismissed from his position. The other three ministers who were involved with the investigations resigned. One of the most crucial responses by the EU came from Štefan Füle, as he criticized the efficiency and impartiality of the investigations (Hürriyet 2013). In the following year, the EP convened for a debate on whether Bağış used EU Erasmus funds unlawfully (Özkan 2014).

After the investigations, the AKP government passed a new legislation changing the structure of Council of Judges and Prosecutors, giving broad competence to the Ministry of Justice to appoint judges and prosecutors (Hamsici 2014). This legislation was criticized by the EU, although the legislation was deemed unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court in 2014 (CNN Türk 2014b). Lastly, the Progress Report on Turkey that was published by the EU towards the end of 2014 was dominated by concerns on corruption and the independence of the judiciary (European Commission 2014), creating the impression that the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law were damaged in Turkey. The EU's strong emphasis on

the rule of law and criticisms towards Turkey were related to its 2013 Enlargement Strategy, placing the rule of law at the center (Eralp 2017).

These incidents, as suggested by Lindgaard et al. (2018), caused the EU's approach towards Turkey to shift from identity-related issues to concerns on rising authoritarianism and declining human rights and democracy records (Lindgaard 2018). Thus, these characteristics of the shift in discourses of identity in 2013 might have an effect on the increase of interest-based discourses in the MEPs' speeches, reducing the prospects of membership for Turkey, marking it as a milestone. However, this is not to argue that other ideational themes ceased to exist. As will be elaborated below in the empirical analysis, religious, civilizational and geographical discourses are still expected to be present, although they are not expected to be emphasized often. In the following sections, this shift will be demonstrated through the ideational themes that are driven by the literature and discourses. Firstly, the analysis will observe the ways in which Turkey is being presented as the EU's undemocratic other.

4.1. Turkey as the Undemocratic Other

In the post-2013 period, the first ideational theme that arises from the parliamentary discourses is democracy, which reveals a continuity from the pre-2013 period. Democracy has been a key part of the identity construction between the EU and Turkey because it has been constructed as a mechanism that is problematic in Turkey, while it is arguably taken for granted in the EU. Thus, it has been utilized as a frequent way of "othering" Turkey as Turkey is perceived to be in clear violation of the Copenhagen criteria (Table 4.1). From Table 4.1, it could be argued that there is a cross-party convergence around the theme of democracy, in which Turkey is being presented as the EU's other. When the first EP debate on Turkey during the Gezi Park Protests convened on June 12, 2013, the protests were praised as a

reflection of democracy, while the response of the government was criticized as an anti-democratic move:[1]

> "I have the impression that something is happening that is both enjoyable and at the same time disturbing. Rejoicing, because we have the feeling of seeing a new actor - civil society and citizens - spring up, promising for the deepening of democracy. At the same time, we are concerned because it is clear that the answer chosen for the moment by the authorities is authoritarianism, repression and security logic, which leads us to a Russian style brutal democracy."
>
> Flautre, Greens / EFA, 12 June 2013

Table 4.1 Number of speeches according to their ideational themes utilized by different party groups

Party Groups	Turkey as the Undemocratic Other	Turkey as the Religious and Civilizational Other	Turkey as the Geographical Other
European Commission	-	-	-
European Council	-	-	-
GUE/NGL	10	2	-
Greens & EFA	5	-	-
S&D	10	2	-
ALDE	2	2	-
EPP	4	4	-
ECR	14	11	1
EFDD	17	6	5
ENF	6	20	-
NI	11	18	-
Total	79	65	6

In this excerpt, the Gezi Park Protests are observed in relation to democracy in Turkey. By doing so, the MEP from the Greens & EFA group provides a positive and a negative aspect about the protests. For this reason, she coins the term "brutal democracy" to point at both the deepening of and the deterioration of democracy in Turkey. Out of 68 speeches that are observed for the Greens & EFA group, only 5 of them represent Turkey as the EU's

[1] For constructions of Turkey as the "undemocratic" other, see the speeches by Maria-Eleni Koppa (S&D) on June 12, 2013; Mark Demesmaeker (ECR) and Renate Sommer (EPP) on December 17, 2014; Bodil Valero (Verts/ALE) on October 7, 2015; and Dimitrios Papadimoulis (GUE/NGL) on March 9, 2016.

undemocratic other. Most of the speeches strongly emphasize the deterioration of democracy in Turkey while supporting close cooperation with Turkey to face regional challenges. However, they also encourage the EU to stay attached to its values and not support Turkey's authoritarian practices.

A discursive examination of this excerpt in particular refers to Wodak's (2001a) argumentation strategies. The justification of the protests in both positive and negative manners is done by using the topos of comparison between the types of democracies in Turkey and Russia. As Morozov and Rumelili (2012) suggests, Russia is the EU's other "liminal other" besides Turkey. It is evident in this excerpt that Turkey is being treated as an "other" with its application of democracy and is likened to another country that the EU perceives as an "other". As could be observed in Table 4.1, democracy is the most frequent theme that are present in the MEPs' speeches in which Turkey is being othered as the EU's undemocratic neighbor.

There is another line of discourse in the EP that considers the deterioration of democracy and the protests as the causes of Turkey's destabilization. Thus, instead of othering, this line of discourse embraces Turkey's strategic importance for the EU and does not favor a destabilized Turkey at the EU's border. However, it is not possible to see clear stances on Turkey's membership:

> "Turkey is a positive and active partner of the European Union that has introduced numerous reforms: he is a loyal ally of the West within the Atlantic Alliance, where he took risks due to the invasion of Kuwait; it is a strategic country in the passage of the Black Sea hydrocarbons; and it is a country that plays an important role in the 'Arab Spring' conflict and has hosted more than 400,000 Syrian refugees. Therefore, we cannot afford, Mrs. Ashton, a destabilization incited by the European Union of the situation in Turkey."
>
> Sánchez-Neyra, EPP, 12 June 2013

As a member of the largest group in the EP, Sánchez-Neyra took a different approach from Flautre by emphasizing the strategic importance of Turkey for the EU in a much larger context in which Turkey and the EU member states have interacted on different occasions.

Similarly, out of 203 speeches that are observed for the EPP group, only 4 speeches reflect Turkey as the EU's undemocratic other. Most of the MEPs from the EPP group, which is a center-right party, support building constructive and strategic dialogue with Turkey and support democracy to sustain in Turkey. However, as could be observed from the speeches of the EPP group, Turkey's full membership to the EU is not voiced.

In this excerpt, there is also an emphasis on the growing refugee crisis caused by the war in Syria. Thus, it is possible to mention several argumentation strategies here. For instance, by using the topos of history through a reference to the invasion of Kuwait, the MEP is presenting Turkey as an asset to the EU, without any comments on Turkey's EU accession. In addition, it is also possible to encounter interdiscursive and intertextual elements in this excerpt as well. Turkey's strategic importance has mostly been matched with its geographical position. Here, Turkey's location near the Black Sea energy resources is being discursively related to its strategic importance. In addition, the intertextuality emanates from the official EU foreign policy, which focuses more on the strategic partnership with Turkey (Türkeş-Kılıç 2019). Overall, the topos of usefulness/advantage is being utilized to include Turkey as a strategic partner.

Another example of othering that is prevalent in the MEP discourses is through the theme of freedom of expression, in which Turkey has been likened to certain "others" of the EU. The deterioration of freedom of expression in Turkey (Esen and Gumuscu 2016), especially after the Gezi Park Protests, was subjected to scrutiny by several MEPs:

> "…I would call Turkey today, Mr. Swoboda, the biggest prison for journalists in the world. In the Reporters Without Borders press freedom index, it was ranked 154th, just three places above the last dictatorship in Europe, Belarus. That is what is happening today in Turkey. In my opinion – and I did not hear this from the European Union in its message – what is happening in Turkey is constant abuse by an overbearing state. I call it a 'tyranny of a majority', in the words of John Stuart Mill, a system in which decisions taken by a majority are always more important than the rights of minorities and the rights of individual people. This trend goes beyond Turkey. Look at Mr. Putin in Russia and even Mr. Orbán in Hungary. Here we are talking about Turkey and Mr. Erdoğan."
>
> Verhofstadt, ALDE, 12 June 2013

The MEP Verhofstadt, as one of the influential members of the liberal centrist ALDE group, explicitly criticizes Turkey in terms of freedom of expression by using a metaphor of "prison for journalists". Taking Europe as a geographical construct, Verhofstadt compares the figures of Turkey with a non-EU country, Belarus, by referring her as "the last dictatorship in Europe". Moreover, there is also an intertextual element within the excerpt with the reference to a well-renounced concept in political philosophy as a discursive strategy. The MEP also makes a comparison between Turkey, Russia and an-EU member, Hungary. In the literature, it is argued that as the EU's transformative capacity and Western liberal democracies are losing their popularities as a result of recent economic and identity problems, causing nationalist and populist leaders to rise in Turkey, Russia and Hungary (Öniş 2016). Thus, Verhofstadt's way of grouping these countries as the EU's others is also argued by the literature. In addition, not only there is the othering of Turkey with the EU's "liminal other", Russia, but there is also an othering of Hungary within the EU, as an EU member that is being criticized for her anti-democratic and anti-EU practices. This bears significance as it also reveals the EU's internal identity crisis.

Corruption represents another issue to be discussed in the EU-Turkey relations. Especially after the 2013 corruption investigations in Turkey, the emerging power struggle between the government and the Gulen Movement became evident (Yavuz and Koç 2016). As Turkey was rattled by more domestic struggles following the Gezi Park Protests, the discourses in the EP became more sceptic towards Turkey's membership. In several discourses, Turkey was presented as an undemocratic EU candidate which is also prone to corruption:

> "The independence of the judiciary, the freedom of the judges to decide for themselves, the right to recognize what is right, is limited by the fact that there were hundreds, even thousands, of forced evictions at the moment when the judiciary systematically opposed itself for the first time obviously widespread corruption at the top of the state has turned. This whole development, like the deadlock in constitutional reform, is really worrying. And I say to you here: we have to work with Turkey, it's - I said that - a big, important neighbour and a proud country. We need to work together on energy policy, we need to work together in foreign policy - it is admirable what Turkey is doing for the Syrian refugees. But the accession process, which we started in 2005 and does not budge at all, which, paradoxically, has worsened rather than improved relations between

> the European Union and Turkey, this accession process must be suspended. We should suspend negotiations until Turkey comes to the right again and respects the freedoms of its citizens and the independence of its judiciary."
>
> Lambsdorff, ALDE, 11 March 2014

In this excerpt that is taken from the parliamentary debate on the 2013 progress report on Turkey, the MEP is voicing his concern on the status of the judiciary in Turkey with a specific focus on the corruption investigations that took place in December 2013. Out of 90 speeches that are observed for the ALDE group, only 2 speeches, by Verhofstadt and Lambsdorff, present Turkey as the EU's undemocratic other. As a centrist group, the MEPs from the ALDE group highlight the deterioration of democracy in Turkey by pointing out that the rule of law and the independence of judiciary are in decline, while urging strategic cooperation with Turkey to counter regional challenges. In addition to their evaluations about Turkey's democratic status, the MEPs present Turkey as the EU's undemocratic other because they also propose the accession negotiations to be suspended due to Turkey's lack of progress in terms of democratic standards.

The excerpt above makes it visible to observe an emphasis on strategic partnership while showing that the prospects of membership are undermined. Although the speaker uses predication strategies to refer to Turkey as a "big, important neighbor" and a "proud" country as positive traits, he urges the parliament to suspend the accession process though it does not have such a power in the EU. In addition, as an argumentation strategy, he uses the topos of humanitarianism to reflect on Turkey's efforts to host Syrian refugees. Nevertheless, the MEP sets a clear example of the core issues in the EU which an acceding member has to deal with. Turkey is being represented as the EU's other in terms of human rights and judicial independence.

There are also critical MEPs who pose essential criticisms to the EU by disapproving its approach to Turkey. These criticisms position Turkey as an undemocratic country and the EU as a cooperator with this "undemocratic other". From these aspects, the EU is put under scrutiny to determine its path between European identity that excludes Turkey or European interests that integrates Turkey (Rumelili 2008):

> "In the meantime, Erdogan now feels like an Ottoman sultan and feels strengthened by the weak attitude of the European Union. In a previous statement, Ms. Ashton stated that the EU is determined to strengthen the dialogue with Turkey. Erdogan rages. And what does the EU do? It simply rolls out the red carpet for Erdogan. Mr. President, this is really absurd! Enough is enough! As far as the PVV is concerned, Erdogan is definitely not welcome in Brussels! The EU is not worth it if it still sends an invitation to this Islamist!"
>
> Stassen, NI, 12 June 2013

As an independent MEP, Stassen poses criticisms mainly to the EU over Turkey's accession. Out of 64 speeches delivered by Non-Inscrits, 11 speeches contain elements that constructs Turkey as the EU's undemocratic other. Although the Non-Inscrits do not carry party affiliations in the EP, it is possible to observe similar themes and argumentation strategies in their speeches. As exemplified by Stassen's speech, the majority of Non-Inscrits oppose Turkey's membership to the EU based on Turkey's authoritarian tendencies. Mostly through labelling strategies, the Non-Inscrits present Turkey as the undemocratic other.

As could be observed from this excerpt, the historical tension between Europe and the Ottoman Empire is a reflection of the intertextual element which represents the Ottomans as "hostile" and "barbaric" while Europe is the "civilized" side (Levin 2011; Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın 2007). As a member of the right-wing populist party in the Netherlands, PVV, Stassen expresses a party position that is known by its Eurosceptic and anti-Turkey tendencies. Consequently, the MEP uses predication strategies to label the Turkish president as an "Ottoman sultan" and "Islamist" based on stereotypical traits.[2] These traits are based on AKP's Islamic and anti-secular past, as they will be elaborated further in the following sections (Yavuz and Koç 2016).

Besides essentialist criticisms, there are also constructions of Europeanness in the discourses of the MEPs based on democratic values, such as respect for human rights and freedom of speech and the press. The enlargement policy of the EU shaped the identity of the EU towards

[2] For reconstructions of the Ottoman traits, see the speeches by Ewald Stadler (NI), Andreas Mölzer (NI) and Antigoni Papadopoulou (S & D) on June 12, 2013; Davor Ivo Stier (EPP) on March 11, 2014; Marcel de Graaff (ENF), Nicolas Bay (ENF) and Kristina Winberg (EFDD) on April 13, 2016; Charles Tannock (ECR) on June 8, 2016.

becoming the "promoter of human rights and democracy" (Sedelmeier 2003). In addition, the EU emerged as a normative power that aims to bring stability to its closer neighborhood (Manners 2002). The escalation of war in Syria after 2011 caused an influx of Syrian refugees to Turkey's and the EU's borders and became one of the biggest challenges for both actors, especially for the EU's normative power. Thus, the EU's normative power was once again under pressure. Following 2013, the number of non-state armed forces in Syria surged, as the Islamic State became the largest of all. The Islamic State started its terror attacks first in Iraq and spread to the world as of 2014 and onwards. Europe and Turkey were challenged by several terrorist attacks claimed by the Islamic State while the influx of refugees continued. In the period between 2013 and 2016, the line of identity construction that emphasizes European democratic values, especially on human rights, is still present to position Turkey as unfit for European values:

> "Madam President, Turkey's treatment of the Kurdish people, not just within their own borders but also against those bravely fighting IS in Iraq and Syria, is a scandal. All will have been pleased when the armed conflict between Turkey and the PKK was brought to a mostly peaceful conclusion, yet now we are witnessing the Turkish authorities rekindle that fight. What is worse is that, not content with President Erdoğan's attack on a free press and journalists, his wrath is now being directed towards the Kurdish people. Damningly, evidence mounts highlighting collusion between Turkish authorities and Islamic State in the region, including support for oppressive actions towards Kurds. This is a timely reminder of the fundamental differences between Turkish and European values and is further proof that Turkey must never be allowed to join the European Union."
>
> Carver, EFDD, 20 January 2016

The MEP addresses several issues to construct European values that are in contradiction with Turkey. This speech is taken from the EP debate on the "Situation in the South East of Turkey", at a time when Turkey's south eastern border was prone to large waves of Syrian refugees, the conflict between Turkey and PKK and the rise of Islamic State. The EFDD group, which is a right-wing party group in the EP, has 68 speeches that are observed in this thesis and 17 of them reflect Turkey as the EU's undemocratic other. Compared to other party groups in the EP, the EFDD group has the greatest number of speeches that utilize such an ideational othering. As can be observed in this excerpt, most of the speeches given by

EFDD parliamentarians oppose Turkey's membership to the EU based on Turkey's undemocratic practices towards the freedom of speech and the Kurdish issue. Other speeches mainly reflect the EFDD's Eurosceptic position through criticizing the ways in which the EU cooperates with Turkey to deal with regional challenges and the position the EU obtains in Turkey's accession negotiations.

In this excerpt, the emphasis on Kurdish people in this speech is exemplifying the divergence between Turkey and the EU in their attitudes towards the issue. As it will become more evident, this is an intertextual element that is present in other discourses as well. Carver criticizes Turkey on the basis of human rights and freedom of the press. As a referential/nomination strategy, the MEP constructs an in-group, Europe, and an out-group, Turkey, that are distinct in terms of their values. In addition, the alleged "collusion" between Turkey and the Islamic State is observable in several discourses of the MEPs.[3] By doing so, Turkey is being presented as an EU candidate that is involved with a terrorist group such as the Islamic State. Thus, Carver suggests that Turkey must not be allowed in the EU.

The EU closely associates the conflict between Turkey and PKK with the rights of Kurdish people in Turkey, linking the issue with democratic rights and freedoms. That is why, this issue could be regarded under the democracy theme in which Turkey is presented as the other. Turkey's othering by the EU in this matter increased after the failure of Oslo talks and ceasefire between Turkey and PKK, as the armed struggle continued especially in 2011 and 2012. The issues regarding the minority rights in Turkey, more specifically the rights of the Kurdish population in Turkey, became a major concern in the EU-Turkey relations. However, it is vital to note that there is not much emphasis in the literature that regards the status of the minorities in Turkey as an ideational issue.

In the post-2013 period, with the escalation of the border conflicts between Turkey and PKK, it is possible to observe the agenda items regarding the Kurdish question in Turkey. Along with democratic concerns, the EU's approach towards Turkey in this issue became more

[3] See, for instance, the speeches by Angel Djambazki (ECR) on December 17, 2014; Kostas Chrysogonos (GUE/NGL) and James Carver (EFDD) on October 7, 2015; and Eleftherios Synadinos (NI) on January 20, 2016.

linked to territorial disputes. Similarly, as argued for the 2007-2013 period, Cyprus became a recurring issue in the post-2013 period that regards Turkey as an "other" that has territorial disputes with an EU member. The issue was overwhelmed by the failure of reunification talks and in sharing the energy resources. In the following excerpt, it is possible to observe all the issues that are mentioned in this section:

> "So far, only one chapter of 33 has been opened and closed, as Turkey still refuses to recognize the Republic of Cyprus. The decline of secular Turkey and the rise to power of the Islamist AKP has posed new challenges as President Erdoğan's increasingly erratic authoritarian approach takes on the students, the army, journalists and now the rival Islamist group, the Gülenists, who have dared challenge the corruption and obstruction of justice in that country. Erdoğan has also backtracked on the PKK ceasefire negotiations, and only under huge NATO pressure has he finally agreed to allow support for beleaguered Kurdish forces in Kobani, as he sees brutal ISIS as less of a threat to Turkish interests than the secular PKK. There has also been Western alarm about Turkey's alleged support to jihadists in Egypt, Iraq and Syria, but despite all this, we all still hope that Turkey may still change course towards a more Western path it once held."
>
> Tannock, ECR, 17 December 2014

The ECR group, which is a center-right party, has a total of 124 speeches observed in this thesis and 14 of them construct Turkey as the EU's undemocratic other. As the members of a center-right party, the MEPs strongly criticize Turkey's authoritarian approach. At this point, an important distinction could be made to differentiate between discourses that criticize Turkey's authoritarian practices and present Turkey as the EU's undemocratic other. Although they could not be differentiated from one another in certain speeches, this thesis adopts certain methods to discern how Turkey is being presented as the EU's undemocratic other. As could be observed in the aforementioned speeches, one line of discourse supports Turkey's accession negotiations to be stopped based on Turkey's undemocratic status. As in Tannock's speech above, exemplification of multiple instances in which Turkey obtained an authoritarian approach is being utilized to present Turkey as the EU's problematic neighbor.

The MEP, in this excerpt, addresses many issues that are mentioned in this section. Starting with the issue of Cyprus, the MEP points out to the territorial and possible the customs union

dispute between Turkey and Cyprus. Moreover, he addresses the concerns on growing conservatism and deteriorating democracy in Turkey, followed by the power struggle between the government and the Gulen Movement. Regarding Turkey's conflict with the Islamic State and PKK, there is an intertextual element that is also present in Farage's discourse that suggests Turkey's fight against the Islamic State as unconvincing as Turkey is argued to perceive the Islamic State as "less of a threat". The reference to Kobani is significant here because, as a stronghold of PKK in Syria, PKK accuses Turkey of obstructing the peace process by allowing the Islamic State to mobilize in Kobani (Yıldız 2014). Furthermore, the reference to Turkey's alleged support to jihadists in the mentioned countries may be interlinked with AKP's close relations with Muslim Brotherhood (Saraçoğlu and Demirkol 2015). This reflects an interdiscursive element that coins Islam with terrorism and jihadist movements, as AKP is argued to be an Islamist party as a negative predication strategy.

The excerpt above is an exemplary one in terms of the ideational discourses in the EU because it covers two of the issue areas that are mentioned in this section, the Kurdish question and Cyprus, as the Cyprus issue shows a continuity from the pre-2013 period. These issues are utilized as a way of othering Turkey as an undemocratic country that has territorial disputes and may pose a threat and a challenge to the EU. It is also beneficial to argue that the political groups in the EP converge around the theme of "Turkey as the undemocratic other". Using the table in Table 2.2 that shows the political orientations of party groups in the EP, it is possible to suggest that this particular ideational theme includes different party groups of various political orientations.

There are also over 300 speeches besides the aforementioned 79 speeches that focus on Turkey's democratic issues. However, those speeches do not present Turkey as the EU's undemocratic other. On the contrary, although the MEPs highlight and emphasize their concerns on democracy in Turkey, they approach the EU-Turkey relations constructively, arguing that the issues in the EU-Turkey relations should be dealt with through moving further with the relations. In addition, there are also certain speeches in which Turkey's strategic importance for the EU is voiced.

Finally, when the JPC meeting minutes are considered, it is possible to observe that there is a parallel between the MEPs criticisms in the EP and JPC towards Turkey's democratic status. For instance, a special emphasis was given to the Gezi Park Protests in the 72nd meeting on June 27-28, 2013. In several speeches delivered by the MEPs, the excessive use of force is being criticized. In addition, MEPs urged Turkey to stay committed to democratic principles and the EU accession negotiations. In the 73rd meeting on December 5-6, 2013, the MEPs pointed out that Turkey is drifting away from democratic principles. They also underlined the issues concerning the status of minorities and their fundamental rights. The democratization package that was announced on September 30, 2013 was considered to be weak. In the 74th meeting on April 10-11, 2014, it is possible to see a continuation of MEPs' concerns on Turkey's democratic status.

Starting with the 75th meeting on November 11, 2014, it is possible to observe a change of focus from democratic concerns to the regional challenges faced both by the EU and Turkey. Along with such issues, the visa liberalization dialogue with Turkey was supported by the MEPs. Nevertheless, in the 76th meeting on March 19-20, 2015, the MEPs voiced their concerns on Turkey's democracy especially regarding the freedom of media. In the next two chapters, it will be possible to observe the discursive constructions of Turkey as the other through the themes of religion, civilization and geography along with the relevant agenda items in the JPC meetings.

4.2. Turkey as the Religious and Civilizational Other

The second themes of identity construction that is common after 2013 in the EU-Turkey relations are religion and civilization. As mentioned in Chapter 3, religion and civilization are two ideational themes that are mostly associated with each other. Although civilization could be observed as a broad concept that may include religious identity constructions, it would be beneficial to seek for the discourses in which religion and civilization are used

together and separately to present Turkey as the EU's other. Table 4.1 suggests that religion and civilization as ideational themes are being utilized mostly by the right-wing party groups in the EP along with Non-Inscrits. As mentioned earlier, religious and civilizational identity constructions were frequent between 1999 and 2013, as put forward by the literature on EU-Turkey relations. After 2013, such constructions of identity were still common due to the incidents that took place in the EU-Turkey relations.

From a social constructivist view, Christianity is an ideational construct that is coined with Europeanness and, thus, the EU. As a country that has a Muslim majority, Turkey had used religion to challenge the EU's identity, especially right after the election of AKP. The AKP government used the "Christian Club" rhetoric to challenge the EU's identity by encouraging the EU to include a Muslim country (Rumelili 2008). However, not only this encouragement was not echoed by the EU, it caused religion to become a way of othering Turkey. Combined with the "post-Islamist" outlook of the AKP, religion became a way of othering especially for the opponents of Turkey's membership in the EU.

It is also possible to examine the aspects that are associated with Islam. One way of constructing Islam ideationally is through its alleged monolithic quality and connection to terrorism (Aydın-Düzgit 2013). The lack of diversity that was discursively created for Islam is argued in relation to the immigrant population in Europe that poses security risks for Europe. In addition, the post-9/11 period that generated a connection between Islam and terrorism spread to the EU discourse which is regarded under the theme of security. The surge in the number of Syrian refugees and the creation of Islamic State in the post-2013 period exacerbated such concerns against Turkey in the EU discourse:

> "The Turkish government commits crimes against humanity through genocide against the Kurdish population. The Turkish government is silencing every opposition to its radical Islamic agenda. The country is sliding into an Islamic dictatorship. The sultan of Ankara is accelerating the Islamization of the EU. Grey wolves demonstrate in the squares of our capitals, mosques call for hatred of our state and culture, migrants engulf our villages and towns combatively. I say to the Commission: no accession negotiations, no visa-free travel, no money for this corrupt clique! Turkey can never become a member of the European Union!"
>
> de Graaff, ENF, 13 April 2016

This excerpt taken from the debate on the 2015 Report on Turkey provides an example for the aforementioned religious othering fueled by the flow of refugees into Europe. As a member of a right-wing conservative party group, de Graaff, utilizes religious and civilizational othering and excludes Turkey from the EU. Out of 58 speeches given by ENF MEPs, 20 of them contain religious and civilizational othering of Turkey. ENF has the greatest number of speeches that contain religious and civilizational othering of Turkey. As could be exemplified by this excerpt, the members of the ENF group frequently benefits from intensification strategies while utilizing religion and civilization as ideational themes to exclude Turkey.

There are certain related issues that the MEP mentions when presenting Turkey as the EU's religious and civilizational other. Regarding the Kurdish population, de Graaff uses the term "genocide" and intensifies his proposition that accuses Turkey of committing crimes. In relation to this section of the thesis in particular, the speaker benefits from predication strategies to label the president of Turkey as a "sultan" with reference to the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the interdiscursive element that ties Islam with the topos of threat is sustained through his references to the paramilitary organization of the MHP in Turkey, called "Grey wolves" (Yavuz 2002), and migrants. The speaker intensifies his proposition by accusing these two groups of spreading Islam and damaging European values as well as European villages and towns. Finally, as de Graaff utilizes, the opponents of the visa liberalization talks prioritize Islamophobic sentiments, as Muslim Turkish citizens would supposedly be in Europe and undermine Christianity. Secondly, similar discourses argue that the EU, as a civilization, is blind to its values by prioritizing its strategic aims over Turkey's democratic issues.[4]

As such discourses that regard Turkey as the religious and civilizational other continued, Turkey's geostrategic importance paved the way for an increasing strategic partnership between the EU and Turkey. The strategic prospects between the EU and Turkey to counter

[4] For such critical constructions of Europeanness, see the speeches by Laurence J.A.J. Stassen (NI) on 12 June 2013; Ska Keller (Greens/EFA) on December 2, 2015; Ana Gomes (S&D) on March 9, 2016; Mark Demesmaeker (ECR) on June 8, 2016 and Marie-Christine Vergiat (GUE / NGL) on May 11, 2016.

the growing number of refugees increased in the early 2016, as both actors prepared a joint statement regarding their agreement that aimed to secure the transfer of EU funds to Turkey to facilitate the accommodation of refugees in Turkey and sharing of information to combat irregular migrant crossings (European Council 2016). This strategic initiative, however, increased the use of religious othering by certain groups in the EP with the fear of being "invaded" by Muslims.[5] The joint statement was also criticized because it was argued that it strengthened Turkey's bargaining power vis-à-vis Europe:

> "It is easy to foresee the criteria that will govern the management of the Turkish brand, the Erdogan brand of refugees, while three hundred, those who say four hundred thousand refugees threaten to invade Italy and it is no coincidence that Turkey prudently blocks the borders. We are under blackmail of a tipaccio like Erdogan, only a few days have passed and already Turkey threatens to suspend the agreement - and Amnesty's protests - Erdogan, who is an Islamist extremist, wants the invasion of Europe: never, never, never, never! Never, the invasion of Europe by the Turks, by the Muslims: never, never, never!"
>
> Borghezio, ENF, 13 April 2016

Another example from the ENF group, which is a party group that often benefits from religious and civilizational references, could be provided here to observe the ways in which Turkey is being othered. The MEP, during the debate on the 2015 Report on Turkey, criticizes the agreement between the EU and Turkey mostly through religious identity constructions. As evident in the previous speech, Borghezio also benefits from the intensification strategy to argue that refugees pose a threat to "invade" Europe, most particularly Italy. Not only the MEP positions the refugees as invaders, he also labels Turkey as willing to invade Europe, echoing the dichotomous identity constructions between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. This is yet another example of the utilization of the topos of threat.

Borghezio also strongly benefits from predication strategies, similar to the ones that are observable in the speech of de Graaff. He uses derogatory labels such as "tipaccio", which refers to a mean or a bad character in Italian, and "Islamist extremist" to justify his religious

[5] For similar reconstructions of religious othering, see the speeches by Laurence J.A.J. Stassen (NI) on June 12, 2013; Zoltán Balczó (NI) on June 10, 2015; Marcel de Graaff (ENF) on December 2, 2015; Auke Zijlstra (ENF) on 2 February 2016; Notis Marias (ECR) and Nikos Androulakis (S&D) on June 8, 2016.

othering. The reasons behind such religious othering could be sought in the growing conservatism and Islamization of the incumbent party in Turkey between 2013 and 2016 (Kaya 2015). This reinforces the reconstruction of the European religious identity, especially by the opponents of Turkey's membership. Combined with the far-right populist parties' encouragement of Islamophobic and anti-refugee sentiments, religious othering of Turkey between 2013 and 2016 is noticeable.

The Islamization of AKP in Turkey has its traces in Turkey's changing foreign policy. As stated earlier in this study, Turkish foreign policy turned more to the East following the Arab Spring with the aims of becoming the representative of the Islamic world in the international arena, trying to revitalize her "model country" image (Keyman 2016; Kirişçi and Toygür 2019) that was initially praised by the EU. As Turkey moved away from the EU and sought new ties in the East, religious discourses started to be utilized frequently. Between 2013 and 2016, it is possible to observe critical voices in the EP that oppose Turkey's EU membership on the grounds that Turkey belongs to the Islamic world as Europe is made up of Christian member states. Some MEPs refer to the murder of three Christians in Malatya, Turkey in 2007 (Birch 2007) to justify their opposition.[6]

There is also another line of discourse that could be placed under the civilizational theme which questions and puts the burden on the European project rather than constructing Turkey as an "other." This line of discourse calls for a re-evaluation of the European values in a time of crises and challenges:

> "The refugee challenge is above all a European challenge. However, we must look at the Mediterranean and Africa if we do not want to live in an eternal and painful emergency. Whether it is Turkey, Russia or another country, we are against the relocation of European problems to other countries. It is not others who have to solve our problems. It is time for Member States to assume their responsibilities through binding decisions. We don't expect others to do what we have to do. The decline of European civilization will be stopped only by recovering our moral strength, the dignity that has made us appreciate and esteemed throughout the world."
>
> Pittella, S&D, 9 March 2016

[6] See, for instance, the speeches given by Bastiaan Belder (EFDD) on March 11, 2014; Bastiaan Belder (ECR) on May 20, 2015; and Udo Voigt (NI) on April 13, 2016.

The MEP, during the debate titled "Preparation of the European Council meeting of 17 and 18 March 2016 and outcome of the EU-Turkey summit", focuses on the surge in the flow of refugees to the EU. Rather differently than the excerpts presented earlier, he urges the EU to find an internal solution to the challenges they face as a community, rather than commenting on the relations with Turkey. Out of 218 speeches delivered by S&D members, only two speeches carry religious and civilizational identity constructions. In addition, this speech does not other Turkey as an out-group. On the contrary, it is a speech that does not exclude Turkey, though it urges the EU to revitalize its civilizational strength.

The normative references such as "moral strength" and "dignity" echo the normative power arguments in the EU (Manners 2002) which establish the EU's prominent role in the world. The humanitarian crisis as a result of the massive mobility of refugees who were seeking shelter in the EU challenged the EU's normative power that includes humanitarian aid as one of its priorities. Pittella makes a reference to the humanitarian crisis as a European challenge that should be solved by the EU itself. Although they are not in this excerpt, the European identity and solidarity are also being challenged by other internal issues. Eurosceptic, nationalist and populist governments, such as in Hungary, Romania, Poland and Italy, pose essentialist criticisms to European integration. Finally, Brexit is the last of these challenges that initiated an EU member's departure from the EU (Postelnicescu 2016).

Overall, the religious and civilizational identity constructions, although they are still present, are not dominant as they were in the early stages of Turkey's accession negotiations. As could be observed in the aforementioned exemplary discourses, religious and civilizational identity constructions are mostly voiced in far-right discourses. Between 2013 and 2016, religious othering is largely due to the growing conservatism and Islamization of the Turkish government, the growing number of refugees and threats posed by the Islamic State. Thus, the discourses of a group of MEPs regarding Turkey as a Muslim country are exclusivist in the sense that they emphasize Christianity as a unifying element in the EU. When the JPC meeting minutes are observed, there is only one meeting, the 76th meeting on March 2015, out of five meetings that are examined in which Islam was one of the agenda items primarily

because of the rising Islamophobic trends in Europe. In the meeting minutes, it is not possible to observe an instance where Turkey is being othered religiously and under the theme of civilization. Because religion and civilization are intertextual ideational themes, they may include geographical discourses as well, which will be analyzed in the following section.

4.3. Turkey as the Geographical Other

Between 2013 and 2016, it is still possible to encounter geographical constructions of identity in the EU. As in the religious and civilizational identity constructions, geographical constructions of identity are voiced mostly by the right-wing parties (Table 4.1). The challenges that were posed to the EU by the influx of refugees and terrorist attacks in 2015 and 2016 revealed how susceptible the EU's border security is. Consequently, the EU's southeastern neighbor, Turkey, which borders Syria, Iraq and Iran, came under scrutiny. As many refugees sought shelter in Turkey or used Turkey as a transit to Europe, the EU and Turkey increased their cooperation by organizing summits and preparing agreements to monitor their borders.

The close cooperation between the EU and Turkey both increased Turkey's strategic position in the eyes of the EU and concerns regarding the EU's borders. As a result, identity constructions on geographical discourses were revitalized between 2013 and 2016. For instance, certain geographical exclusions of Turkey were still a reflection of the pre-2013 constructions that presented Turkey as a Middle Eastern / Asian country. Other geographical constructions include labelling Turkey as a threat if she were to become an EU member, extending the EU's borders to Middle East:[7]

[7] For similar geographical constructions of identity, see the speeches by William (The Earl of) Dartmouth (EFDD) on March 11, 2014; and May 20, 2015; Nigel Farage (EFDD) on December 2, 2015 and March 9, 2016; and Ryszard Czarnecki (ECR) on April 13, 2016.

> "Let's look at Turkey. It is a country that is barely democratic and where free speech is increasingly attacked. It is a country that has a disgraceful human rights record, it is a country that is accused of aiding and abetting Islamic State, and it is a country that is going through the process of creeping Islamification. Turkey is also not geographically European. Only 3% of Turkey actually falls within Europe and it borders places that clearly want to harm us: Syria, Iraq and Iran."
>
> Nuttall, EFDD, 28 April 2016

This excerpt, which is taken from the debate on the EU-Turkey joint statement, reveals a similarity with the aforementioned speeches because of its emphasis on the democratic status of Turkey, the alleged cooperation between Turkey and Islamic State and growing Islamization in the country. The more significant message that was given in this excerpt is the geographical construction of Europe and exclusion of Turkey. Out of 68 EFDD speeches that are observed in this thesis, 5 of them contains Turkey's geographical othering. As could be observed in other speeches given by EFDD members, Nuttall is positioning Turkey as a geographical out-group by using the statistic of %3, also benefitting from religious themes. Moreover, by utilizing the topos of threat, the MEP argues that accepting Turkey to the EU would mean bordering countries that are willing to pose a threat to the EU. By doing so, the MEP creates a civilizational discourse that is close to the clash of civilizations thesis through positioning Europe on one side and Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran on the other.

Combined with the aforementioned background, the discourses of the MEPs that are observed in the post-2013 period reveal Turkey's membership as being positioned next to the debates on migration and borders. Once again, geography became an ideational theme that showed a continuity in the EU-Turkey relations. As it was argued in the literature, Turkey was presented as a Middle Eastern/Asian country by the opponents of Turkey's membership to the EU. As Turkey's southeastern border became more problematic after 2013, the discourses in the EP were shaped around the borders of the EU if Turkey became a member. Furthermore, the opponents of European integration use exclusionary ideational discourses towards Turkey by justifying their arguments with the challenges the EU faces from Turkey's borders even by not including Turkey as a member. The Readmission Agreement in 2013

between the EU and Turkey, which is set to pave the way for visa liberalization, escalated these concerns, reflecting the growing Islamophobic and populist discourses:

> "I guess what you are doing is this: you are saying the way we will stop illegal immigration is to make it all legal immigration, and if that does not take the biscuit, now you are going to fast-track Turkey to be an EU Member State. So let us just think about that. A country, 97% of whose land mass is in Asia, apparently you want to join Europe. It is a country that appears to be keener on bombing the Kurds than it is on taking on ISIS. It is a country that has turned a complete blind eye to ISIS fighters travelling through its territory. It is a country where, according to the Pew institute in a poll last week, 8% of those 75 million actively encourage and support the aims of ISIS. It is a country directly and closely linked with buying ISIS oil, and we will finish up bordering Syria, Iraq and Iran."
>
> Farage, EFDD, 2 December 2015

As could also be seen in Carver's speech earlier, the EFDD group, known by its Eurosceptic and populist tendencies, reflects the growing concerns considering Turkey's membership in a situation where Europe is being challenged by the growing number of refugees and terrorism. Migration emerges as a new issue between 2013 and 2016 that does not show a continuity from the pre-2013 period. As an underlying issue, however, geography is linked to migration. As it was argued in the first section of Chapter 3, the topos of geography, as an argumentation strategy, is once again being utilized in this excerpt over the concerns of extending the EU's neighbors to Syria, Iraq and Iran. In addition, Farage is also referring to the claims that suggest Turkey as in an alleged trade relationship with the Islamic State and the opinion surveys that reveal the Turkish people who support the Islamic State. Consequently, Farage is trying to establish a link between Turkey and terrorism via using the topos of threat. An interdiscursive element in this excerpt could also be discerned as the MEP associates Turkish membership with terrorism as a result of its border conflicts with PKK.

These challenges caused the EU to revitalize its debates on its identity, most particularly its borders and geographical entity as a result of the refugee crisis. The Schengen regime came under heavy scrutiny during the refugee crisis. In relation to the discussions on the Schengen regime, the visa liberalization talks with Turkey were also related with the refugee crisis

(Müftüler-Baç 2017). The EU positioned the accession negotiations and visa liberalization talks with Turkey next to Turkey's level of cooperation with the EU on issues of migration and border security (Demirsu and Cihangir-Tetik 2018). This line of argument is being utilized by the MEPs who argue that the visa liberalization talks and the joint statement with Turkey on refugees threaten the geographical entity of Europe.

As could be observed in this section, geographical constructions of Turkey are still present in the EP, although they are not much emphasized. As the EU, Europeanness and the norms associated with them started to be challenged by the growing number of refugees and terrorism, the EU's normative power was subject to scrutiny. Thus, the increase in geographical debates carried a different background than they did in the pre-2013 period, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The excerpts above show that such debates are mostly utilized by far-right political groups. In the EP, it is observed that far-right groups use exclusivist geographical constructions of identity while center-left groups express more inclusivist discourses. In this framework, the already stagnated and deteriorated relations with Turkey were utilized by the MEPs to reconstruct the essential elements that define the EU and being European. As could be observed in the aforementioned excerpts, Turkey's geographical background was used as a way of othering. Finally, it is crucial to note that in the available JPC meeting minutes, no geographical identity constructions are observed.

5. CONCLUSION

This study was inspired by the current stagnated relations between the EU and Turkey. The motivational driver of this work is the fact that despite all the crises both actors had, they still continue their cooperation although they are both unwilling to show willingness towards membership. One of the root causes behind their unwillingness might be sought in their ideational constructs. In their extensive relationship, the contemporary literature accumulated various studies that explore ideational matters by using different methodologies and theoretical backgrounds. With the emergence of social constructivism after the Cold War, identity-based studies became prominent in the EU-Turkey relations. Methodologically, as the interaction between linguistics and foreign policy became more visible in the early 2000s, discourse analytic studies entered into the picture. Social constructivism and discourse analytic studies, however, started to interact later.

Discourse analytic studies entered into the social constructivist realm much later, although they started to receive attention in a relatively short period of time. After 1999, ideational studies that explore discursive constructs in the EU-Turkey relations became common. More contemporary literature also has discursive studies that adopt a poststructuralist theoretical background. However, as the EU-Turkey relations started to stagnate after 2007 and took a different turn after the incidents in 2013, studies that explore identity constructions using linguistic tools became rare. The relations started to evolve into a strategic partnership after 2013, while this shift has not been explored from an ideational perspective, especially from the EU's perspective.

Guided by social constructivism and DHA, this thesis aimed to contribute to the literature on EU-Turkey relations by observing the shifts in discourses of identity in the EP debates. The EP, as an international parliament, diverges from national parliaments with the powers it contains. Especially in the enlargement procedure, it gradually acquired significant powers. Furthermore, the debates in the EP set the boundaries of the EU's foreign policy. In addition, the political positions of the MEPs reflect the boundaries in which the EU officials can act. Benefitting from this background, the thesis aimed at exploring the shifts in discourses of identity through the speeches of the MEPs. The thesis also sought to observe the JPC meetings between 2013 and 2016 to reflect on the agenda items that shaped the EU-Turkey relations.

The literature on identity constructions between 1999 and 2013 reveals different ideational themes that are pronounced the most. First, it is possible to observe Turkey as the EU's geographical, cultural and historical other. Secondly, religious and civilizational constructions of identity were still prominent in this period and gained new meanings due to Turkey's new government, AKP, which had its roots in Islam and the Ottoman heritage with a pro-Western attitude. With the EU's several enlargement rounds and the milestones in the EU-Turkey relations, it is also possible to observe how the ideational constructs changed over time. Finally, the rise of the opposition in the EU to Turkey's membership and Turkey's domestic disputes weakened the relations while democratic and territorial identity constructions were emphasized.

In the light of the literature, 2013 represents a key turning point for the EU-Turkey relations that changed the EU's identity constructions towards Turkey. The AKP government in Turkey was challenged by the public demonstrations in Gezi Park and corruption investigations, which led to more undemocratic practices and authoritarian tendencies. Consequently, the literature argues that the EU's approach to Turkey became more focused on strategic partnership and democracy. Indeed, the analysis of 18 EP debates and 1024 speeches on Turkey between 2013 and 2016 demonstrated the political positions of the party groups in the EP. They also revealed the growing concerns of the EU on Turkey's democracy and fundamental rights which led to the reconstruction of Europeanness through positioning

Turkey as the EU's "undemocratic" other. Although it is not possible to come up with unifying positions across the political groups in the EP on Turkey, the majority of the MEPs voiced their growing concerns on Turkey's deteriorating democracy while some MEPs focused on the destabilization of Turkey as a risk factor to the EU. Thus, democracy as an ideational theme continued to persist from the pre-2013 period by becoming the most emphasized theme towards Turkey.

The analysis of the EP debates revealed other ideational themes that are still present in the EU-Turkey relations. Although they were not much emphasized, religion, civilization and geography were other ideational themes that were voiced by the MEPs in the debates on Turkey between 2013 and 2016. This represents a continuity with the pre-2013 period, in which these ideational themes were much at the forefront. What is visible in some of the religious constructions of identity is that Turkey was being constructed as an Islamist country that was led by a conservatist and Islamist government. When coined with the influx of refugees in Europe and the rise of Islamic State, Turkey was seen as a threat to Europe. In relation to this, the EU and Europeanness were being reconstructed as civilizational and geographical entities which have their roots in the European civilization and continent. This line of discourse could be tied to the rise of nationalist and Islamophobic sentiments in the EU, as religious, civilizational and geographical constructs of Turkey were mostly utilized by the right-wing party groups in the EP.

Another issue that was prevalent in EU-Turkey relations is the growing strategic partnership between the two, sidelining Turkey's membership prospects and ideational constructs. In relation to this, the remaining speeches that are not mentioned in this thesis mainly focus on developing EU-Turkey relations through making progress in Turkey's accession negotiations. Because this thesis aimed at observing the ways in which Turkey is being othered by the EU, such strategic representations of Turkey or constructive approaches to the EU-Turkey relations are not mentioned. In addition, Turkey's strategic position for the EU is not much emphasized in this thesis as well. However, further research that focuses on the discursive constructs of Turkey's strategic partnership with the EU could be vital to

comprehend how the EU and Turkey position themselves as strategic actors especially in the post-2013 period while membership prospects are very much in decline.

The period after the coup attempt in Turkey in 2016 may be vital to consider for similar discursive studies. In the literature, the coup attempt represents, as the Gezi Park Protests do, another crucial milestone for the EU-Turkey relations, in a way that Turkey's alienation from the EU gained momentum. As the government in Turkey complained about the lack of support from the EU, the EU was more critical about the status of democracy and rule of law in Turkey. In addition, the EU and its identity have been challenged by Brexit and Eurosceptic voices within the EU. From this perspective, the EU's enlargement policy may very much be studied in relation to new ideational constructs through discursive analyses.

When conducting such discursive analyses, it is crucial to mention about the possible concerns regarding generalizability. As argued in this thesis, generalizability could not be sought in discursive analyses of the parliamentary speeches because speeches may not be a reflection of the party groups in the EP. However, it is possible to observe certain patterns in the party groups of the EP in the ways they construct identities. For instance, as this study aimed to show, the constructions of Turkey as the undemocratic other in the post-2013 period is shared by the majority of the MEPs and their political groups. However, religious, civilizational and geographical constructs of identity are mostly utilized by the center-right, far-right and Eurosceptic groups.

Further discursive research could also consider the challenges that are put forward by this study in terms of data collection. As noted earlier, the debates in the EP are hold in several languages and are transcribed in those languages without their translations to English. For this reason, the simultaneous translations of the speeches should be listened through to transcribe the speeches that are not in English before conducting the discourse analysis. This represents a challenge for the data collection process.

Finally, as the relations between the EU and Turkey develop, different theoretical backgrounds, such as poststructuralism, could be utilized in discursive studies to explore

different combinations of foreign policy and linguistics. Furthermore, the foreign policy of the EU could be studied further in relation to its enlargement policy as new candidate countries become member states.

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