

EUS 4931: History of Europe and Turkey, and the Future of Turkey in the EU

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Course objectives, description and goals:

Turkey's membership application to the EU has been a long and drawn out affair, beginning in the 1960s. Throughout the Cold War, Turkey was felt to be a 'tangible' asset within the western alliance to help combat the spread of Communism. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union however, Turkey's membership within the emerging European Union was questioned and initially rejected. Put simply, several member states and a sizeable portion of public opinion in the West did not feel that Turkey belonged in the 'new Europe' for a variety of reasons. Despite this initial setback, Turkey continued to press for membership and began full accession negotiations with the union in 2005, which has helped to spark a larger debate in Europe over what constitutes European or '*European-ness*'. In concise terms, Turkey has been seen by many as Europe's 'other.' It is often cited as an example of the opposite of what the "West" stands for. It is a country with a 99.6 per cent Muslim population, constructed from the remnants of the Ottoman Empire, largely perceived as the eastern threat to western Christendom. In the present climate however, the debate over Turkey's candidacy to formally join the 'West' represents in many ways the types of conceptual problems that the EU is grappling with more generally. Primary among these are:

- What does it mean to be European and can non-Christians be a part of it?
- Where do borders of Europe lie and how far can (should) the EU enlarge?
- How can the EU stem the tide of ultra-nationalist sentiment rising in individual member states?
- Can the EU help promote liberal democratic norms outside its own borders?
- What is the EU's impact as a regional and/or global actor, and what the EU has to bear in mind when considering a common foreign and security policy?

Aspiring to join the EU also presents serious challenges for Turkey, from both institutional and cultural standpoints. Although the country went through a rapid process of political and economic modernization under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk during the 1920s and 1930s, this is by no means a consolidated journey. The requirement to 'conform' to EU standards has, and continues to have, a profound impact on Turkish political culture. The extension of individual and associational rights in the widest sense; developing the rule of law; institutional (and sometimes popular) resistance to conform to EU standards; rising trends in nationalism and, an as of yet limited ability to prove that a Muslim society can espouse liberal democratic ideals all pose potential problems to the future of Turkey within the European Union.

The course, thus, has two broad aims: For students to gain an understanding of the challenges the EU faces at present with reference to Turkey, as this country's candidacy highlights many of the unresolved issues facing the construction of a more integrated EU. Secondly, the course intends to give students a deeper understanding surrounding the dynamics and developments in Turkish politics with regards to its EU path. Turkey is one of the most referred to examples in courses related to European identity and integration, without however, adequate depth and understanding of specific dynamics that are particular to Turkey.

Prerequisites

While no formal requirements are necessary to take this course, students are highly encouraged to take the course "EUS 4210/CPO 4104 (The Politics and Institutions of the EU)" or its equivalent, prior to this course. This is to ensure that students are adequately equipped with knowledge about and a thorough understanding of the institutions and structure of the EU.

Attendance

Note that class attendance and active participation is required for this course and constitutes 10% of your grade. We will randomly circulate an attendance sheet, provide insider information for exams and otherwise incentivize regular attendance. Repeated absences will unquestionably affect your performance on exams since they will be based on class lectures as well as readings. Lecture notes and other related course materials discussed or distributed during class will NOT be posted online or otherwise distributed (except in the case of an *excused* absence)..

According to the Office of the University Registrar, "acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused."

For further information about the University of Florida's attendance policy, please see the current Undergraduate Catalogue (<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html>).

Academic Honesty

Academic dishonesty, including cheating on exams and plagiarism, will not be tolerated. Any student engaging in such activities will be dealt with in accordance with University policy. It is your responsibility to know what constitutes plagiarism, and what the university policies are. If you have doubts, we would be happy to discuss with you. Please refer to the current Undergraduate Catalogue for more information on the Student Honor code (<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/students.html>). If you have questions about these policies, we would be happy to discuss them with you

Students with Disabilities

If you have a disability that may affect your performance in this class, you should contact the Dean of Students Office so that special arrangements can be made to accommodate you. It is your responsibility to do so at the beginning of the semester and to communicate directly with the professor during the first week of classes (or as soon as the disability occurs).

Grading & Assessment

Students are responsible for completing all readings for the topic in question prior to attending the class. Professors can hold pop-quizzes at will.

- There will be two midterms (25% each = 50%)
- One 10 -12 page position paper linked to the debate (25%)
- Participation in the debate itself (15%)
- Attendance and regular class participation (10%)

Grading Scale

94% - 100% = A

90% - 93% = A-

87% - 89% = B+

84% - 86% = B

80% - 83% = B-

77% - 79% = C+

74% - 76% = C

70% - 73% = C-

67% - 69% = D+

64% - 66% = D

60% - 63% = D-

< 60% = F

Public Debate Participation

The final week of the course will center around a public debate on “Turkish accession to the EU.” The debate will be organized in collaboration with (and with the assistance of) the Center for European Studies (CES), the EU Club, the Model EU and the Turkish Student Association at the University of Florida. The final one-day event will be open to the public and judged by a panel of CES faculty members. Students will be asked early on during the course to select and represent the ideas of a specific member of three possible panels: EU member countries favouring Turkish accession; EU member countries opposed to Turkish accession; Representatives of the Republic of Turkey (in favour of Turkish accession) WHY NOT MEMBERS OF TR OPPOSED TO ACCESSION ALSO?”. The various groups will provide the core elements of the public debate.

The objective of the exercise is to enable students to formulate informed arguments regarding the implications of Turkish accession to the EU. This includes a discussion of the impact of accession on the wider region; the question of whether Turkey belongs in the EU (Europe) and the economic, institutional and political implications of both accession and non-accession. The goal is for both sides of the argument to be discussed/debated resulting in an informed debate surrounding the concepts and ideas discovered throughout the course. Specific criteria as to how this exercise will be graded will be distributed to the students in the first week of class and specific assignments made during the second week.

Capstone Experience in Brussels (additional 1-credit hour)

Students will have the opportunity to take advantage of a capstone experience trip to Brussels during the spring break of the semester. The trip will last for one week, and students are highly recommended to participate in this event, as it will significantly add to their comprehension of the ideas discussed in class, by providing a practical and participatory component to the material they will encounter in class. An organized trip to the EU parliament will be conducted and followed by discussions with EU officials from the Commission who actively work on Turkish accession and EU enlargement more generally. In addition, meetings and discussions with influential members of the Turkish community in Brussels will also be arranged to allow students to gain firsthand accounts of Turkey's motivation for joining EU as well as the hurdles faced by its citizens. The benefit of this experience will be invaluable for students when preparing for the final end of semester conference. The trip will help clarify and solidify arguments that students will need to develop for the final end of semester student conference, by personalising how individuals feel about enlargement in general and Turkey in particular.

Lecture Series: "Turkey and the West"

We are fortunate this semester to have received a generous grant from the Institute of Turkish Studies in Washington and the Center for European Studies at UF to bring in 3 speakers, who will give public lectures on various aspects of contemporary Turkey. Students are strongly advised to attend these lectures, as they will provide invaluable material to increase and supplement the learning experience. Further details will be discussed in class.

Study Abroad: UF in Istanbul-Turkey

The summer of 2010 will be the first time where UF students will have the opportunity to study abroad in Istanbul-Turkey during summer B. For further information, please ask Dr. Ciddi, as he will be the person leading the trip.

Required Book & Materials:

- Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London and New York, Routledge, 1993.
- Remaining readings (below) will be available as a course pack, through e-reserves, online or from the professor.

Course Schedule and required readings

WEEK 1: (January 5 & 7) Turkish History I

- The Ottoman Empire and Europe: the impact of war
 - Conceptions of the 'Turk' in Europe
 - European Turkey – the geography of conquest
1. Selim Deringil, 'The Turks and Europe: The Argument from History', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 43 No. 5, 2007, pp. 709-23.
 2. Arnold Joseph Toynbee, 'The Ottoman Empire in World History', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 99, No. 3, pp. 119-126.
 3. Leonard A. Stone, 'Late Ottoman and Modern Turkish Perceptions of Europe: Continuity and Change', *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 3 No. 2, 2002, pp. 181-99.
 4. Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London and New York, Routledge, 1993, ch. 1.

WEEK 2: (January 12th and 14th) Turkish History II

- 'Sevres Syndrome' and the construction of Turkish political discourse on Europe
 - 'Europe the agitator'
1. Nora Fisher, 'Echoes of a Universalism Lost: Rival Representations of the Ottomans in Today's Turkey', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 45 No. 2, 2009, pp. 229-41.
 2. Kudret Bulbul, Bekir Berat Ozipek and Ibrahim Kalin, 'Turkish Perceptions of the West', *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 10 No. 1, 2008, pp. 129-47.
 3. Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London and New York, Routledge, 1993, chapters 2 and 3.

WEEKS 3-4: (January 19th and 28th) Turkish History III *NOTE: no class Jan. 21&26*

- The Kemalist Revolution: nation and state building based on European Positivism
 - Europe and the Republic of Turkey: A partnership renewed
 - Divergence: Turkish abstention from World War II and post World War II reconstruction: Missing the boat?
1. Ergun Özbudun, 'The Nature of the Kemalist Political Regime', in A.Kazancıgil & E. Özbudun, (eds.), *Atatürk, Founder of a Modern State*, London: C. Hurst, 1997, pp. 79-102.
 2. Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London and New York, Routledge, 1993, chapters 4, 5 and 6.

WEEK 5: (February 2nd and 4th) Turkish History III (continued) and The EU Enlargement Process

- Maturation and trials of Turkish Democracy
 - The history of EU enlargement
 - Summary review of the actual administrative/political process of enlargement
1. Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London and New York, Routledge, 1993, chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10.
 2. Nugent, Neill, "Previous Enlargement Rounds" Chapter 2 pp. 22-33 in Neill Nugent (Ed.) European Union Enlargement, New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2004.
 3. Nugent, Neill, "Distinctive and Recurring Features of Enlargement Rounds" Chapter 4 pp. 56-69 in Neill Nugent (Ed.) European Union Enlargement, New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2004.

WEEK 6: (February 9th and 11th) History of Turkish Accession to the EU

- Chronology of Turkish EU relations
 - Understanding Turkish accession in comparative context
 - The implications and importance of the timing of the Turkish accession process
1. Jorgensen, Knud Erik, "The Politics of Accession Negotiations," Chapter 1 in *Turkey and the European Union: Prospects for a Difficult Encounter*, Esra LaGro and Knud Erik Jorgensen (Eds), New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2007.
 2. Kirval, Levant, "Identity, Interests and Political Culture in Turkey's Accession Negotiations," Chapter 10 in *Turkey and the European Union: Prospects for a Difficult Encounter*, Esra LaGro and Knud Erik Jorgensen (Eds), New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2007.
 3. Font, Nuria, "Why the European Union Gave Turkey the Green Light," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 14, No.2 (2006) pp. 197-212.
 4. Avci, Gamze "Turkey's Slow EU Candidacy: Insurmountable Hurdles to Membership or Simple Euro-skepticism? pp. 149 - 170, in *Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration and International Dynamics*, Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin (Eds). Portland, Oregon USA: Frank Cass, 2003.

WEEK 7: (February 16th and 18th) History of Turkish Accession to the EU II

- Understanding Turkish accession in comparative context
 - The implications and importance of the timing of the Turkish accession process
1. Schrijvers, An, "What can Turkey Learn from Previous Accession Negotiations?" Chapter 2 in *Turkey and the European Union: Prospects for a Difficult Encounter*, Esra LaGro and Knud Erik Jorgensen (Eds), New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2007.
 2. Dyson, Kenneth, "Reinventing Europe? Turkey, European Union Accession and Europeanization," Chapter 3 in *Turkey and the European Union: Prospects for a Difficult Encounter*, Esra LaGro and Knud Erik Jorgensen (Eds), New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2007.
 3. Rohtus, Dirk, "European Hesitation. Turkish Nationalism on the Rise?" pp. 25-32 in *European and Turkish Voices in Favor and Against Turkish Accession to the European Union*, Christiane Timmerman, Dirk Rohtus and Sara Mels (Eds), Brussels, Belgium: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008.
 4. Gangloff, Sylvie, "Turkey's Accession to the EU. The Flexible Reality Underlying the Debate," pp. 33-44 in *European and Turkish Voices in Favor and Against Turkish Accession to the European Union*, Christiane Timmerman, Dirk Rohtus and Sara Mels (Eds), Brussels, Belgium: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008.

WEEK 8: (February 23rd and 25th) Issues in Turkish Accession -Turkish Perspective (Social/ Cultural)

- EU institutions' record and ability to encourage political reform in applicant countries. Constructing an EU wide Constitution: limiting of state sovereignty
 - The EU effect on Turkish institutional reform
1. Ergün Özbudun and Serap Yazıcı, *Democratization Reforms in Turkey*, (İstanbul, TESEV yayınları, 2004)
 2. Senem Aydın and E. Fuat Keyman, 'European Integration and the Transformation of Turkish Democracy', *CEPS Working Paper, No. 6072* (Brussels: Center for European Policy Reform, 2004)
 3. Ahmet Arabaci, 'Explaining Transformation of Turkish Civil Society in the EU Accession Process', *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 10 No. 4, 2008, pp. 77-93.
 4. Paul Kubicek, 'The European Union and Grassroots Democratization in Turkey', *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 6 No.3, 2005, pp. 361-77.

WEEK 9: (March 2nd and March 4th) Issues in Turkish Accession -Turkish Perspective (Economic)

- The accession process, supporting and opposing national & EU perspectives.
 - Possible costs and implications
 - Turkish political culture & public opinion towards accession
1. Sedef Eylemer and İlkey Taş, 'Pro-EU and Eurosceptic Circles in Turkey', *Journal of Communist Studies & Transition Politics*, Vol. 23 No. 4, pp. 561-577.
 2. Ali Çarkoğlu, 'Who Wants Full Membership? Characteristics of Turkish Public Support for EU Membership', *Turkish Studies*, Spring 2003, Vol. 4 No. 1, 2003, pp. 171-194.
 3. Fuat Canan, 'Main Costs and Benefits of Turkish Accession to the European Union', *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 9 No.2, 2008, pp. 7-24.
 4. Ziya Onis and Suhnaz Yilmaz, 'Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP era', *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 10 No. 1, 2009, pp. 7-24.

SPRING BREAK-NO CLASSES (March 6th – 13th)

WEEK 10: (March 16th and 18th) Issues in Turkish Accession -Turkish Perspective (Political / Institutional)

- Historic prejudices in present day politics: The challenge of Multiculturalism and Islam in Europe
 - Islam as a cultural barrier to Turkish accession
1. Marcie J. Patton, 'AKP Reform Fatigue in Turkey: What has happened to the EU Process?' *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 12 No.3, 2007, pp. 339-58.
 2. William Hale, 'Christian Democracy and the AKP: Parallels and Contrasts', *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 6 No. 2, 2005, pp. 293-310.
 3. Second Report on the Independent Commission Report on Turkey, *Turkey in Europe: Breaking the Vicious Circle*, Open Society Foundation, September 2009, pp. 13-37.

4. Deniz Gökalp and Seda Ünsar, 'From the Myth of European Union Accession to Disillusion: Implications for Religious and Ethnic Politicization in Turkey', *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 62 No 1, 2008, pp. 93-116.

WEEK 11: (March 23rd and 25th) Issues in Turkish Accession-EU Perspective (Social / Cultural)

- What does it mean to be European, where are Europe's borders?
 - The role of religion in the EU and the accession process
1. Tacar, Pulat, "Socio-cultural Dimensions of Accession Negotiations," Chapter 7 in *Turkey and the European Union: Prospects for a Difficult Encounter*, Esra LaGro and Knud Erik Jorgensen (Eds), New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2007.
 2. Spiering, Menno, "Euro-sceptic Concerns about National Identity in the European Union and Turkey," Chapter 9 in *Turkey and the European Union: Prospects for a Difficult Encounter*, Esra LaGro and Knud Erik Jorgensen (Eds), New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2007.
 3. Karlsson, Ingmar, "Turkey's Historical, Cultural and Religious Heritage. An Asset to the European Union?" pp. 99-109 in *European and Turkish Voices in Favor and Against Turkish Accession to the European Union*, Christiane Timmerman, Dirk Roctus and Sara Mels (Eds), Brussels, Belgium: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008.
 4. Amiraux, Valerie, "Breaching the infernal cycle? Turkey, the European Union and Religion." Chapter 9 in *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence*, Aziz Al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas (Eds). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
 5. Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, chapters 2-3 in *The European Union, Turkey and Islam*, Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2004.

WEEK 12: (March 30th and April 1st) Issues in Turkish Accession-EU Perspective (Economic)

- Is Turkey too big and too poor?
 - EU-Turkish trade relations – past, present and future
 - Turkish migration to EU – problem or solution?
1. De Vylder, Gerrit, "The Ottoman and Turkish Economies and their Integration in Europe: 1453-2006," pp. 45-72 in *European and Turkish Voices in Favor and Against Turkish Accession to the European Union*, Christiane Timmerman, Dirk Roctus and Sara Mels (Eds), Brussels, Belgium: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008.
 2. Chislett, William, "Socio-Economic Arguments for and Against Turkey's EU Membership" pp. 73-84 in *European and Turkish Voices in Favor and Against Turkish Accession to the European Union*, Christiane Timmerman, Dirk Roctus and Sara Mels (Eds), Brussels, Belgium: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008.
 3. Kirisci, Kemal, "Is Turkey too Big, too Poor and too Different for the European Union?" pp. 127-138 in *European and Turkish Voices in Favor and Against Turkish Accession to the European Union*, Christiane Timmerman, Dirk Roctus and Sara Mels (Eds), Brussels, Belgium: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008
 4. Katircioglu, Erol, "The Economic Challenges of the Accession Process," Chapter 6 in *Turkey and the European Union: Prospects for a Difficult Encounter*, Esra LaGro and Knud Erik Jorgensen (Eds), New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2007.

**WEEK 13: (April 6th and 8th) Issues in Turkish Accession-EU Perspective
(Political / Institutional)**

- Political implications of Turkey in the EU
 - Enlargement fatigue and EU institutional incapacity
 - Foreign policy implication of Turkish accession
1. Arnold, Hans, "Political Arguments Against the Accession of Turkey to the European Union" pp. 109-126 in European and Turkish Voices in Favor and Against Turkish Accession to the European Union, Christiane Timmerman, Dirk Rohtus and Sara Mels (Eds), Brussels, Belgium: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008.
 2. Redmond, John, "Turkey and the European Union: Troubled European or European Trouble?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (2007) pp. 305-317.
 3. Cayhan, Esra, "Towards a European Security and Defense Policy: With or Without Turkey?" pp. 35-54 in Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration and International Dynamics, Carkoglu and Rubin (Eds). Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass, 2003.
 4. Suvarierol, Semin, "The Cyprus Obstacle on Turkey's Road to Membership in the European Union" pp. 55-78 in Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration and International Dynamics, Ali Carkoglu and Barry Rubin (Eds). Portland, Oregon USA: Frank Cass, 2003.
 5. Eris, Ozgur Unal, "The European Neighborhood Policy and Turkey," Chapter 11 in Turkey and the European Union: Prospects for a Difficult Encounter, Esra LaGro and Knud Erik Jorgensen (Eds), New York, NY: Palgrave Press, 2007.

WEEK 14: (April 13th and 15th) Wrap up discussion Turkey and the EU in 2050?

WEEK 15: (April 20th and 22nd) End of class wrap up & reading day.