University of Southern Denmark, 12 October 2011:  Mediterranean Perspectives	
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AKP and the EU: towards a new Turkish foreign policy profile	
+ Student Presentation by Emma: AKP's policies – conservative globalism?	
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Literature:	
<ul> <li>Almuedo, Ana (2011) New Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Middle East: Neither so New, Nor so Turkish, PaperlEmed 4, pp. 1-28.</li> <li>Kirisci, Kemal (2007). "Turkey: A Country of Transition from Emigration</li> </ul>	
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Outline:	
<ul> <li>From Mondaya few remarks on institutionalism and path dependency theory in relation to Turkey: Turkish political culture and the European</li> </ul>	
<ul> <li>challenge</li> <li>Turkey and European security – seen from Turkey</li> <li>New Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Middle East (?)</li> </ul>	
Turkey and the migration issue	
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	Turkish political culture and the European challenge	
٠	Turkish political political culture has been changed by the attempts at entering the EU. The theory of institutionalism can help explaining that: rules, norms, practices of the EU integration process influence the internal Turkish political processes – leading to a convergence of	
	political culture, if you will a Europeanization of Turkeyyet on a two-level basis (both an international dimension and a local dimension)	
٠	The whole setup creates a sense of irreversibility (that things cannot move backwards) – especially in the "enlighthened" western Turkey	
	and in the Turkish (internationally oriented) elite  The following areas have been affected by the liberalisation process:  * Civil society	
	The state The role of religion	
	National identity      Wuniversity of southern denmark.ck.	
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	Turkish political culture and the European challenge	
	When doing research on this: As always with political processes you	
	cannot have a control group (unless we think of Morocco as a control experiment)  Still, there is no doubt that there has been an effect from the EU	
	pressure – convergence is there, and has furthermore been stimulated by the relative success of Turkish economy the last ten years	
٠	However, according to Grigoriadis Turkey runs the risk of becoming a scapegoat of domestic EU problems  And, quoting Jack Straw: "Turkey's EU membership is the acid test of	
	whether Europe can defeat terrorist attempts to sow devision between Islam and the West"	
•	Conclusion – slowing down and new challenges  But also, not – for obvious reasons – mentioned by Grigoriadis, recently a more active, independent, Israel-critical, new alliances-seeking	
	Turkey, putting pressure on Europe, but also finding a new identity	
	Turkish political culture and the European challenge	
	Path dependency theory can help explain a liberalisation process in	
	Turkish political culture, according to Grigoriadis. So what is path dependency theory?  A simple definition: "Path dependency explains how the set of decisions	
	one faces for any given circumstance is limited by the decisions one has made in the past, even though past circumstances may no longer be relevant" (Praeger)	
٠	Or, as put by G.: "As Turkey was making steps toward convergence with the Copenhagen criteria, it became increasingly difficult to change	
	direction and relapse to old politics and practices"  The challenged political legitimacy of the AKP and its leader fixed the new leadership even more firmly in the EU-direction	
٠	So the process led Turkey to a liberalisation of its political culture – or maybe even a civilianisation – i.e. a challenging of the military and the	
	old ( Ottoman) bureaucracy "leftovers" from pre-Turkey  **UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN DENMARK.CK	

	Turkey and European security – seen from Turkey	
٠	Richard Youngs, see FRIDE: <a href="http://www.fride.org/">http://www.fride.org/</a> : The EU-Turkey relation is like "a drawn out and complex game of diplomatic chess"  The social psychology of being turned down – opinion polls in Turkey	
Ĭ	point to increasing opposition to the EU, especially among youngsters	
٠	New contradictions in the trans-Atlantic cooperation (NATO) because of the opposition in Europe to Turkish admission	
٠	Securitization of Turkey as a new condition in the discussion about the relation between the EU and Turkey	
٠	New reservations from the EU side as to accession, demands about the abolition of censorship (§ 301 in Turkish law), etc	
	Turkey waiting in line behind (?) Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, ???	
٠	Is security the (main) reason why they probably never will become a (real) member	
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	Turkey and European security – seen from Turkey	
٠	Turkey is a member of NATO and the European Council. This must be considered an important part of the framework for negotiations between Europe and Turkey	
٠	The role of Turkey has changed in a post-coldwar context – new challenges enter the political scene	
٠	Turkey has to find its own role in relation to a new NATO, where security has a new meaning and new alliances is at stake	
٠	Turkey has to solve or at least deal with the ethnic issue: first and foremost the question of the Kurds and the PKK problem, the Armenian	
	genocide in 1915 and its repercussions today  At the same time new solutions must be found as to the role of the	
	Turkish army in Turkish internal and foreign policies  All in all Turkey is taking part in a complex, dynamic development,	
	where the parliament, the army and the other actors enter into a powergame about who is to decide the foreign policy of Turkey	
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	Turkey and European security – seen from Turkey	
٠	9-11 should in principle strengthen the alliance between Europe and Turkey – building on the NATO-alliance and the common interest in fighting terror – be it in the Middle East, Turkey (PKK) or in the 'West'	
٠	The terror issue, however, is at the same time a part of the tactically influenced negotiation process with Turkey as a fellow player and an	
	opponent Probably identity policy is an important security factor (the fact that	
	most of the Turkish population are muslims contributes to the contradictions)	
٠	Added to that: the European, American and Turkish interests are not necessarily identical: security is a complex issue and as part of it	
	sometimes the interests are contradictory (an example could be the PKK-situation in northern Iraq with conflicting Turkish and US interests)	
۰	The "traditional" conflicts about Cyprus, the demands from the EU etc. reinforces the identity- and security political contradictions	

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	New Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Middle East (?)	
٠	New Turkish activism in the latest – how can it be explained? And what is meant by a soft power approach? (yet another expression of Europeanization?)	
٠	Historical reasons – the Ottoman past, and the potential power of Turkey – is Turkey emerging as an independant foreign policy and security actor	
	The Öcalan case – result: improved relations between Turkey and Syria Internal reasons: the gradual roll-back of the military	
٠	A changing Middle East – a new security environment	
	The economic dimension – dealing with Iraq (Kurdistan), Iran, Russia  New challenges:	
٠	Israel-Palestine and the "new" Turkey	
	Iran as a "very good friend" (Erdogan on the reelection of Ahmadinejad) Iraq, the Kurdish issueand the international role of Turkey	
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	Tyrkey and the migration issue	
	Tyrkoy and the migration issue	
٠	Generally Turkey belongs to the countries in European peripheri, which has contributed the most to the European labour force	
٠	Kirisci: 3,1 mio. Turks (depending on the statistical method) outside of	
	Turkey, of them 2,7 mio. in Europe, increasing from 600.000 in 1970. In addition to the 3,1 mio. might be added 800.000, which have had a	
	new citizenship Tyrkey was for long time an emigration country, but a number of new	
	tendencies (see below) has changed the picture. Added to that a	
	proces of demographic change pointing to yet another example of "Europeanization" (ageing)	
۰	New tendencies: Tyrkey as a transit country (Iraq, Africa, Middle East, stan-states)	
٠	New conditions within the refugee-regime, new conditions as to asylum	
۰	New tendencies (softening?) as to ethnic minorities, especially the Kurdic minority – the so-called Kurdish opening recently	
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	Tyrkey and the migration issue	
	Remittances: the means seem to be spent on everyday necessecities	
	(but with local differences) – due to (relative) poverty	
۰	Remitting has continued in spite of the stop for immigration in Europe around 1973, partly because of the continued migration due to family	
٠	reunion, but with a downward tendency over time  The remittances solve a huge problem with the trade balance deficit	
٠	The migration movements are most frequent in rather poor areas with large families. This is shown in research on familypatterns.	
	Economic incentives are decisive for Turkish migration (earlier periods	
	of very high unemployment) The growth of a population is traditionally seen as a combined result of	
	fertility, mortality and migration. Of course the latter is important, but only if the domestic market is covered!	
٠	Conclusion: Europe needs the Turks, but within a few years the Turks can no longer deliver – then what?	
	Can no longer deriver — unen what?	

Supplementary literature	
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