

# MASTER'S THESIS

Course code: **S0330S**

Name: **John William Nes**

---

**Turkey's Relations with NATO Under the AKP Government**

---

Date: **15.05.2023**

Total number of pages: **57**

# Table of Contents

- Abstract ..... i
- Chapter 1: Introduction ..... 1
  - 1.1 Topic ..... 1
  - 1.2 Research Question ..... 5
  - 1.3 Conceptual Framework..... 6
  - 1.4 Goal of the Research ..... 7
  - 1.6 Structure of Thesis ..... 10
- Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework ..... 12
  - 2.1 Constructivism ..... 12
  - 2.2 Concepts of identity and interest in Constructivism ..... 15
  - 2.3 Constructivism in relation to Turkey and NATO ..... 17
- Chapter 3: Methodology ..... 20
  - 3.1 Content Analysis ..... 21
  - 3.2 Inductive Content Analysis ..... 23
- Chapter 4: Analysis ..... 26
  - 4.1 Introduction ..... 26
  - 4.2 Turkey-NATO Relationship Before AKP ..... 27
  - 4.3 Turkey and NATO Relations during the Justice and Development Party (AKP) Era... 29
  - 4.4 Changes in Turkish Nationality – Through De-Kemalization & Re-Islamization ..... 32
  - 4.5 Turkish Identity Shift..... 34
  - 4.6 Turkey-NATO Foreign Policy Relationship..... 44
  - 4.7 Conclusion ..... 50
- Chapter 5: Conclusion..... 53
- References..... 58

## **Abstract**

This thesis aims to explore the political identity of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) over the past two decades, starting from their rise to power after the 2002 elections. Specifically, the study will focus on the variations in identity construction during different government periods and the alterations that the AKP's political identity has brought about in Turkey's foreign policy concerning NATO.

The research will also evaluate the extent to which the constructivism theory can account for these changes. As part of the study, this paper explores Turkey's increasing rapprochement with Russia and growing interest in China, the AKP's independent policy, and the potential violation of NATO's defence principles. The research highlights the significance of ideational factors in shaping Turkey's foreign policy towards NATO and shows that the AKP's emphasis on Turkey's Islamic and Ottoman identity has led to a shift in the country's relationship with NATO. The research concludes that constructivism offers valuable insights into understanding the complex dynamics of NATO-Turkey relations and the role of identity in shaping foreign policy decisions.

**Key Words:** *Turkey, NATO, Constructivism, Foreign Policy, Russia, China, the Justice and Development Party (AKP)*

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Topic

Turkey's relationship with the NATO alliance has changed quite drastically during the reign of the AKP. These changes include an increasing rapprochement with Russia and a growing interest in China. Additionally, there have been alterations in military procurement due to Turkey's involvement in conflicts in Syria and Libya. The AKP's crackdown on the media and erosion of the rule of law has further strained Turkey's relations with NATO. The AKP's foreign policy has become more assertive and independent, leading to concerns about Turkey's commitment to democratic values.

This thesis is based on the evaluation of all those factors which have played a pivotal part in framing the overall dynamic portfolio of Turkey regarding its relations with NATO. As historical records reveal, Turkey's relationship with NATO in the last two decades has been fraught with hazards. Turkey's decision to allow US forces to use its territory to invade Iraq in 2003 was one of the events that caused controversy and faced strong opposition from various segments of Turkish society. Another significant incident was the failed coup attempt in 2016, which strained Turkey's relationship with NATO, and Turkey's accusation that NATO did not provide enough support during the crisis. In addition, Turkey's purchase of the Russian S-400 missile defence system has caused tensions with the United States and other NATO members and is seen as a potential violation of NATO's collective defence principles. Considering these scenarios under the AKP government, Turkey has already highlighted the threat of being left alone and has had a tough time in the Middle East region.<sup>1</sup>

As the Cold War steadily polarized transnational affairs, placing the Soviet Union and the United States in a state of irritable disagreement, Turkey observed its affiliation with NATO both as a token of national safety and as a resilient way of strengthening its Western distinctiveness.<sup>2</sup> In other words, pursuing NATO membership was more of a political strategy than a martial move. On the other hand, for NATO, Turkey's position to offer its land and marine bases and military capabilities, its robust armed forces, and its strategic stance on the

---

1 Muharrem Ekşi. " Geocultural Axis of Turkish-American Relations under the AKP Rule in the Middle East: Islamic Identity". *Gazi Akademik Bakış* 9, (2016): pp. 59-77 (In Turkish)

2 Melvyn P. Leffler. "Strategy, Diplomacy, and the Cold War: The United States, Turkey, and NATO, 1945-1952." *The Journal of American History* 71, no. 4 (1985): pp. 808-825.

south-eastern side of the Coalition, literally signified that the country could emerge as a firm collaborator in this region. In this scenario, the Montreux Convention, which was signed on July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1936<sup>3</sup> confirmed certain rules for administering the track of war vessels through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Since then, Turkey has followed the rules of this convention with complete impartiality and transparency.

Turkish support for the West was essentially undisputed across the nation, and this wave of inspiration went beyond security and military considerations. Turkey recognized itself as a part of Western values, which backed the Ismet İnönü<sup>4</sup> and Adnan Menderes<sup>5</sup> regimes which implemented economic and political reforms over a two-decade period. During that era, according to NATO's perception, Turkey was a keystone of Western safety on its southern border. In this situation, interacting with Turkish nationals and briefing them about the significance of Turkey-NATO associations was a sagacious choice from both sides.

When Turkey became a member of NATO, Turkey used this alliance as an opportunity to highlight the significance of its army. The US was predominantly keen on offering favours in quite a few areas, including economic, military, and even academic fields. In the research conducted during the 2000s<sup>6</sup>, it has been observed that despite the negative public feedback towards NATO, the ruling parties did not demonstrate that public opinion while outlining their strategies with NATO; it is a notable fact that Turkey took an active part in NATO and flourished in this association with every passing year.

NATO is seen as a vital player when it comes to security by the Turkish government. Turkey continued to support NATO membership, even though there were opposing views<sup>7</sup> in the society as a result of negative problems with its NATO allies. NATO has taken a central role in Turkey's security and defence policies and contributes to its integration with the Euro-Atlantic society. In addition, since the day it was founded, NATO has contributed to the

---

3 Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/implementation-of-the-montreux-convention.en.mfa>

4 Oya Mughisuddin. "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, 1918-1945: Historical Perspective". BELLETEN 57 (1993): pp. 251-269.

5 Gül Dağcı. Kaan Diyarbakirlioglu. "Turkish Foreign Policy during Adnan Menderes Period". *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 12 (2013): pp. 19-29.

6 Kamal A. Beyoglow. Turkey and the United States on the Brink: Implications for NATO and the US-Turkish Strategic and Military Partnership. Pennsylvania: US Army War College. (2020): pp. 2-10.

7 Burak Bekdil. "Turkey: NATO's Odd One Out." Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2017.

emergence of Turkey's Western identity and supported this identity in terms of principles such as democracy, rule of law, and human rights.

The changing aspects of a US-Turkey disagreement became noticeable throughout the 2000s, even in NATO, which had offered an influential platform for Turkish American association.<sup>8</sup> In this regard, Turkey has maintained that NATO has always been the strength of its defence and security policies. For example, NATO emerged as a main contributor to all the peace support movements, played a leading role in the Partnership for Peace plan, and reinforced the Alliance's transmutation. However, Turkey instantaneously appeared to be acting and thinking inversely to the Alliance. Moreover, there have been noticeable apprehensions over Turkey's hampering NATO collaboration owing to the unsettled issue of Cyprus.<sup>9</sup>

Many debates on the current Turkish national identity and its impact on foreign policy fail to adequately acknowledge the enduring influence of Turkey's Ottoman-Islamic heritage. The relationship between Turkey's national identity and its foreign policy is essential, although the nature of this connection and the influence of political Islam on it have not been thoroughly examined and have received little scrutiny. The emergence of modern Turkey with a contemporary Islamic identity discourse can be attributed to the growth of higher education, media, and communication, as well as the rise of the middle class in Turkish society. These factors play a pivotal role in shaping Turkey's national identity and foreign policy.<sup>10</sup>

The progression of the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP)'s cultural stance regarding the West as an informal instrument that vindicated its Muslim equality practices and its nativist actions. AKP emerge as an Islamic democratic political power, integrating Islam with modern democratic values, and solving the predicament of Turkey's Western distinctiveness. Turkey's role as a model country with its Islamic identity has been the cultural axis in its relations with NATO.

---

8 Armağan E. Çakır. *The United States and Turkey's Path to Europe: Hands across the Table*. Abingdon: Routledge. (2015): pp. 234-300.

9 Naval Postgraduate School. *Turkish Influence in the South Caucasus and Levant: The Consequences for NATO and the EU*. Scotts Valley: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform. (2014): pp. 22-27.

10 Beken Saatçioğlu & Funda Tekin. *Turkey and the European Union: Key Dynamics and Future Scenarios*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag. (2021): pp. 59-186.

State identity has also played an important role in the political life of the AKP government. For example, in the establishment of the Turkish Republic, a new political identity began to be formed in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the nation-state administration with the principles of Atatürk. This national model was shaped by a Western model. In this process, religious characteristics in the state identity were abolished with Kemalism<sup>11</sup>, relations with the Middle East were reduced, and the basis of foreign policy was established to integrate with the West. In this respect, the Westernization identity directed to the state within the scope of modernization and nation-state creation projects was not accepted by some segments of the society, and Turkish politics after the Republic was shaped by an ongoing tension between secular Kemalist elite groups and Islamist groups. The developments in the local politics of the state identity have been reflected in the foreign policy behaviours of Turkey's NATO policies. Alexander Wendt's constructivist theory, which is the study of the international identity structures of states, will be emphasized in my thesis. In this way, starting from the assumption of the AKP's identity creation practices, Turkey's local and international political identity that affected its relations with NATO during the AKP period will be analysed.

The AKP adopted a "conservative democrat" identity in the early years of its rule that did not contradict social norms and was in harmony with Republic principles, attempting to establish a unique identity, and seeking legitimacy against the secular opposition and security.<sup>12</sup> The AKP, which did not engage in discourses against NATO and the West in its first years, and increased its European Union policies and democracy discourses, has turned to a more conservative, authoritarian, and divisive identity in its last years. As a result of these, the tendency to move away from Western institutions, the strengthening of ties with Russia and China the emphasis on religious references, and the emphasis on policies towards the Middle East region due to the Ottoman past emerged. I will analyse the change brought about by the AKP identity in Turkish foreign policy based on constructivism theory which sees foreign policy as constantly changing and reconstructing. When I looked at the Turkish academic studies on AKP, I saw many discussions and studies in the style of "Neo-Ottomanism", "de-Kemalization", and "re-Islamization."

---

11 Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu. "Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy." *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 1 (2008): pp. 55–75.  
12 Shaimaa Magued. "Restructuring State-Society Relations under the Rule of the AKP through Diplomacy". *Journal of Academic Inquiries* 7 / 2 (July 2014): pp. 27-48.

In the study, in which I evaluate Turkish policy with a constructivist theory, it is observed that Turkey's foreign policy identity has undergone a change with the AKP. In a social international setting, identities can show who states are and what their interests are.<sup>13</sup> In this respect, I analysed the AKP's identity assessment and examined its relationship with NATO.

## **1.2 Research Question**

Turkey's stance on its commitment to NATO is unstable. History has revealed that NATO has always been the most esteemed entity that binds Turkey to the West, but Turks have always probed whether NATO is still essential to Turkey's security and foreign policies. Various scholars have noted that Turkey's bonding with NATO during the cold war was mainly identity-oriented. Turkey's association with NATO complemented the country's intentions of pursuing a European/Western identity and was acknowledged by the Westernization objectives of the Republic.

AKP governments increasing authoritarian rule and more independent foreign policy put a strain on Turkey's NATO alliance. The governments developing relations with Russia and purchase of S-400 missiles caused security alarms and raised concerns about Turkey's reliability. Concerns have been expressed concerning the potential transfer of critical NATO technology to Moscow following the system's purchase from Russia.

At the same time, Turkey's security concerns became more acute. With the rise of ISIS and other extremist groups (i.e., Boko Haram, al-Qaeda, and terror actions in Syria and Iraq) in the Middle East causes a threat to its security. In this case, Turkey's membership in NATO is important for military and logistic support. The relationship between Turkey and NATO will probably continue to be a subject of discussion and scrutiny as it attempts to navigate the challenging geopolitical terrain of the twenty-first century. So according to these facts, my thesis will explore the following research question:

*“How has the Turkish identity influenced NATO-Turkey relations under the AKP government?”*

---

13 Alexander Wendt. “Collective Identity Formation and the International State”. The American Political Science Review, Vol. 88, No. 2 (Jun., 1994): pp. 386-394.



This research question lets me define the scope of my thesis, allows me to find relevant sources, and makes me stay focused during the analysis stage of the thesis. I can define key terms such as what do I mean with “Turkish Identity”, how has it evolved over time, what is the AKP government policy, and how AKP shaped governments relations with NATO.

While collecting data about this question, I can develop a research design that will allow me to collect and analyse the relationship between Turkish identity and NATO-Turkey relations. It is possible for me to explore how different actors perceive the relationship and how their views shape policy decisions, such as political leaders, NATO officials, and Turkish and Western societies. I will examine how geopolitical and regional factors, like Russia-China relations and developments in Syria and Iraq, impact NATO-Turkey relations. This research question will ultimately have implications for future studies related to this topic.

### ***1.3 Conceptual Framework***

For the purpose of this research, the theory of constructivism has been chosen to build the conceptual framework on. The arrival of constructivist theory in international relations is normally linked with the cessation of the Cold War, an occurrence that conventional international relations theories such as liberalism and realism failed to justify. Liberal and realist theories focused primarily on the state and its behaviour, and they did not fully account for how ideas, norms, and social structures affect international politics.

Moreover, this deterioration can be associated with some of their basic canons, for instance, the persuasion that states are self-centred actors who contest for authority, supremacy, and the uneven power dissemination among countries which outlines the equilibrium of influence among them.

This research is based on the concept endorsed by Constructivist theory which says actions, communications, and discernments form reality. To define and make sense of the relations between subjects, constructivism focuses on the collective consciousness, common understandings, and meanings. Common ideas and shared knowledge make up social life, not material elements. Through mutual relations, actors' identities and interests are also

reconstructed. Certainly, these indications are the basis of the tag of this theory.<sup>14</sup> However, in practice, this apparently unpretentious notion has noteworthy consequences for how a state can understand the rest of the world.

With reference to this research, the theory of constructivism is well suited as it provides a platform from which the whole scenario (i.e., Turkey's shifting national identity, its strategic interests, and Turkey's position in the region) Turkey faces in its relations with NATO can be widely analysed. Using Alexander Wendt's constructivism theory in my thesis, I had the opportunity to explain the research questions based on concrete historical observations and data, and this data helped me define the interests of AKP and NATO actors, taking into account the norms and values in international relations. By doing so, I am able to provide a much more comprehensive analysis of actor's behaviour, emphasizing the ways in which their social and cultural environments determine their behaviour.

#### **1.4 Goal of the Research**

The objective of this research question is to explore how constructivist theory can explain the relationship between NATO and Turkey under the AKP government. Based on constructivism theory, international relations are determined by norms, values, ideas, and identities rather than just material interests. Therefore, the research question might examine how shared norms and values have influenced the relationship between NATO and Turkey, or how Turkey's changing identity and perception of security have influenced its relationship with NATO.

Taking a constructivist perspective on international relations, I can look at intersubjective understanding and how states socialize within a region and how this produces a state identity through NATO-Turkey relations, where formal and informal institutions are established. In my thesis, I tried to understand whether the AKP political identity has changed with the constructivist theory, or whether this identity reflects a strategic choice. Moreover, I will analyse whether the identity and interests of the AKP make a difference in terms of events in Turkish foreign policy and its relations with NATO. In addition, the period in which my work was prepared, the AKP government's continuation as the ruling party today makes it necessary to impose a temporal limitation on the government period. In this context, I will examine the

---

<sup>14</sup> Çağla Gül Yesevi. "Examining Social Constructivist Approach in the International Relations Discipline." *Electronic Journal of Political Science Studies*, Vol:12, (2021): pp. 55-60. (In Turkish)

articles, discourses, and practices related to NATO between 2002 and 2020, starting from the years when the AKP came to power.

The basic aim of this research is to discover the following dynamics:

- To explore the political background of Turkey regarding its regional relations, including its geopolitical challenges and opportunities,
- To examine NATO's relations with Turkey under the administrative banner of AKP,
- To identify the Turkish stance as an Islamic state while upholding its transnational needs,
- To examine the ways in how Russian and Chinese regional policies have impacted Turkey's foreign policy and potential cooperation and interests with those countries,
- To identify how the US steered its associations with Turkey through NATO.
- To ascertain the impact of the NATO-Turkey coalition in the region,

This research covers a wide range of research targets since the concern of this study is multidimensional and intricate. The research question can be answered comprehensively while inspecting the various edges involved in this case study.

### **What Makes This Topic Interesting for Research?**

It is of great geopolitical importance that Turkey is a member of NATO. Turkey is located between Europe and Asia, combining Islamic and Western cultures. In the context of international relations, this opens up the possibility of collaboration between different identities and cultures. As a member of NATO, Turkey has the opportunity to learn from many cultures and identities of its partners and share its cultural perspectives with other member states.

The interesting fact about cultural collaboration is the multidimensional nature of this commitment, where a variety of nations are involved. While discussing this side of international relations, the AKP's era of administration is remarkably considerable. This was the phase when Turkey redefined its foreign policy, the baseline of its relations with other states and non-state

actors, redesigned its true pro-Islamic portfolio, and most importantly, stepped in as a moderate Islamic state to fortify its terms with NATO and quite indirectly with the US.<sup>15</sup>

The topic of Turkey's foreign policy and its relationship with NATO is interesting for several reasons:

- Turkey is a significant player in the international arena due to its strategic location between Europe and Asia, its large population, and its strong economy. Throughout its membership in NATO, Turkey has played a significant role in maintaining stability in the region, particularly in the fight against terrorism. Its foreign policy choices could have an impact on both the local area and the wider world.
- The AKP's rise to power in 2002 marked a significant shift in Turkey's foreign policy, which has drawn attention from foreign policy experts and analysts. A more independent and assertive foreign policy, closer ties to Russia and China, and a deeper rift with the United States and other NATO members have characterized this shift.
- The constructivist theory provides an interesting lens to examine the interactions between Turkey and NATO, as it highlights the role of both state and non-state actors in shaping foreign policy, including media, civil society organizations, and public opinion. It is also possible for me to analyse from a variety of theoretical perspectives, including realism, liberalism, neoliberalism, critical theory, etc.
- Changes in Turkey's foreign policy have raised concerns over its commitment to democratic values, especially given the government's media crackdown and erosion of the rule of law. This has important implications for Turkey's relationship with NATO. The alliance is founded on the values of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law.

In general, the topic is interesting because it offers insights into the changing dynamics of international relations, the role of regional powers, and the importance of understanding the theoretical frameworks that underpin foreign policy decisions.

---

15 Bill Park. *Modern Turkey: People, State and Foreign Policy in a Globalised World*. Abingdon: Routledge. (2011): pp. 27-63.

## **1.6 Structure of Thesis**

To deliver a systematic literary approach, reading consistency, and adherence to the prescribed academic format to my research, this dissertation has been outlined and structured in the proper arrangement. The entire dissertation has been divided into five important parts that cover all the researched details in a prescriptive way.

In the first part of my work (Chapter 1), I wrote an introduction to provide an overview of the importance of the relationship between Turkey and NATO under the constructivism theory. I provide background information about the historical context of the AKP period, as well as its significance within the field of international relations.

In Chapter 2, I gave the ontological and epistemological foundations of the constructivism theory, which constitutes the theoretical framework, and then tried to explain the basic assumptions of the theory in terms of its impact on AKP and NATO relations. Constructivism theory shows that Turkey's national identity has shifted from secular to Islamic principles, which had a profound impact on the country's relationships with other organizations and nations. Therefore, it is important to apply this theory to gain a better understanding of the changes that occurred in the Turkish identity and its impact on foreign policy decisions.

In Chapter 3, I tried to make the research fit into a scientific framework by addressing the qualitative method I used and to make the researched phenomenon gain a closer meaning to reality. Using inductive content analysis helps me examine, summarize, and systematically interpret data. It also allows me to identify patterns and themes that come up from the data which I can use to develop theories and concepts. With this method style, I can explore relationships that underlie the phenomenon which allows a more holistic understanding of the topic

In Chapter 4, I explained the political background and organizational style of the AKP and analysed how the foreign policy practices developed with NATO as a result of the local and international dynamics of the Party's identity construction, how policies reflected the Kurdish problem, the Cyprus problem which is related to Turkey's relations with the European Union, the roles assumed for the AKP in the Middle East, evaluation of the AKP's management of the country on issues such as the September 11 attacks, the increase in relations with Russia and

China which have important implications for Turkey's foreign policy, and the process after the July 15 coup attempt.

In the last part (Chapter 5), I tried to conclude and summarize the key findings of the research. I highlighted the impact of AKP policies on Turkey's relationship with NATO. The theoretical framework of constructivism is also mentioned in this chapter to emphasize its importance in understanding the relationship between Turkey and NATO, including foreign policy decisions, media, and consequences of Turkey's choices regarding Turkey's place in the international world. Finally, I tried to offer a comprehensive understanding of the research topic and the implications of future research studies on this topic are mentioned in detail.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This chapter will introduce the theory of constructivism that holds a noticeable place in the arena of contemporary international relations these days and which can be applied in the analysis of Turkey-NATO relations under the AKP government. As far as other IR theories like Neorealism and Neoliberalism are concerned, both of these theories have been acknowledged as significant notions of international relations until the drastic transformations in international political arrangements during the 1990s. Throughout that phase, quite a few states across the globe realized their strategic interests in this speedily changing global political landscape. Though, several states practically comprehended that collaboration with the far-reaching NATO policies was the need of time. Consequently, states actively evolved their national conduct, transformed their priorities, and modified their foreign policies intending to cope with transnational challenges and mutual relations. In this scenario, the approval of the identities attributed to them by the states by other actors of the international system is also an important factor in the process of identity formation and shaping. In this respect, Turkey's NATO membership is not only a matter of security but also a matter of asserting its 'Western' image.

In light of the constantly evolving nature of global politics, Constructivism proposed a novel approach during the contemporary period of International Relations, which emphasized the importance of productive social and international interactions. The implementation of major changes in international cooperation undoubtedly contributed to the development of modern Turkish identity as well as Turkish foreign policy.

### **2.1 Constructivism**

In international relations, a new theoretical approach emerges after each great war. Idealist approaches between the two world wars were replaced by realism and it gained importance after World War II.<sup>16</sup> In the 1970s, during a time of settlement and cooperation between the East and the West, emphasizing interstate cooperation and interdependence, liberals made studies questioning Realist theories. In this context, studies conducted by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane, it has been shown that realism was not sufficient in explaining the dynamics

---

<sup>16</sup> Robert Pfaltzgraff and Charles A. McClelland. International relations. Encyclopedia Britannica. (2019) <https://www.britannica.com/topic/international-relations>.

of international relations in a world where transnational non-state actors such as multinational companies and regimes that provide interdependence become more dominant.<sup>17</sup>

During the 1970's when the Cold War was completely intensified, Kenneth Waltz who was an American scientist proposed an innovative theoretical scheme and proposed it by defining this realist model as "neorealism" or "structural realism". As per the approach Waltz promoted, stirred by micro-economic philosophy, disorder, and chaos are the unifying dynamics of the global scheme, which is founded on the nonappearance of a hierarchically exceptional and coercive strength to resolve clashes and implement law and order situations among states. As opposed to hierarchical schemes, the radical structure that consists of analogous units drives the units to perform more autonomously instead of collaborating. On account of this autonomous action, theories proposed by Waltz have emerged as a proper direction in which countries should endeavour to attain more strength.<sup>18</sup>

In the 1980s, neo-liberals sought to understand the systems that enable interstate cooperation. Because the absence of a central authority, mutual distrust even if there are common interests, or lack of information about other states can prevent states from cooperating. According to neo-liberals, to eliminate this situation that prevents cooperation, states have created international organizations and regimes, which means creating a common authority.<sup>19</sup> However, despite these differences, both neorealism and neoliberalism theories are rational and self-interested.<sup>20</sup> Society for individuals and the international community for the state is seen as a field in which they seek to realize their predefined interests. Therefore, actors are not affected by their social environment and enter social relations only to increase their interests. This leads to actors being viewed as rational, atomistic, and self-interested.<sup>21</sup>

After the end of the cold war, neither neoliberalism nor neorealism was sufficient to explain the changes in international relations alone. These theories indeed provided important insights into the behaviour of states, but they did not fully capture the complexity of these global changes or

---

<sup>17</sup> Martin Griffiths, Steven C. Roach, and M. Scott Solomon. "Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations." 2nd Edition. (2009): pp. 146-152.

<sup>18</sup> Kenneth Waltz. *Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, California, 1979: pp. 88-93.

<sup>19</sup> Christian Reus-Smit. *Theories of International Relations*. (Third edition ed.) Palgrave Macmillan, (2005): pp. 188-190.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 188-190.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 192.



the nature of power within the international system. As a result, constructivism emerged in such a period, questioning the basic claims of classical rational theories and claiming that it could explain international relations better.<sup>22</sup> Among the constructivist theorists, Alexander Wendt has been the most notable for his effort to find a common ground between constructivism and realism, but Nicholas Onuf was the first to do extensive work on constructivism.<sup>23</sup> Nicholas Onuf, in his 1989 book "World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations" emphasizes that international relations, like all social realities, are built by people. He emphasized on the social aspect of the human community and the international community. In this context, constructivism, which views international politics as an intersubjectively shared reality rather than a material one, emphasizes the importance of normative structures as well as material structures, the role of identity in making political decisions, and the mutually constructive role that actors and structures play.<sup>24</sup>

Alexander Wendt made detailed research about constructivism in his book "Social Theory of International Politics" in the late 1990s. While bringing a social theory to international relations he claimed that neorealism has not been able to solve existing problems.<sup>25</sup> Post-Cold War states have experienced identity-based social and cultural conflicts that have never been seen before. Among the topics discussed were more human-oriented social elements such as ethnic and religious divisions, environmental issues, human rights, culture, and identity.<sup>26</sup> Due to neorealist and neoliberal theories' inability to explain these emerging problems, constructivism has gained popularity.

According to Wendt, international politics are not only based on materialism. Key structures within the state system are intersubjective rather than material. State identities and interests are not externally given but constructed by social structures. Wendt has a state-oriented perspective. However, he thinks that the interests of the state are not given but built by actors. Wendt stated that in the context of social constructivism, it is necessary to work not on the

---

<sup>22</sup> Abdullah Kiran. "Social Constructivism in International Relations". *Ekev Akademi Dergisi* Year: 15 No: 46, (2011): p. 53.

<sup>23</sup> John G. Ruggie. "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge." *International Organization*, 52(4), (1998): p. 862.

<sup>24</sup> Maja Zehfuss. *Constructivism in international relations: The politics of reality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, (2002): pp. 153-156.

<sup>25</sup> Alexander Wendt. *Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics*. *International Organization*, 46(2), (1992): pp. 391-425.

<sup>26</sup> Michael R. Kisielewski, "Identity politics and nationalism in the post-Cold War era: a critical approach to understanding mutual hostilities." (2000): pp. 13-24.

distribution of material power but on the interpretation of material power by the actors.<sup>27</sup> For constructivists, it is important to consider how immaterial structures affect the identities of actors since identities affect interests, and interests affect behaviour. Identity indicates who and what actors are, while interests indicate what actors want. Interests presuppose identities; an actor cannot know what he wants until he knows who he is.<sup>28</sup>

Constructivism focuses on the identities and interests of states as well as on transnational organizations such as NATO. “Identities are role-specific understandings and expectations about oneself.” They are acquired by interacting with or defining oneself concerning a structure composed of social relationships that share meanings, rules, norms, and practices.”<sup>29</sup>

## ***2.2 Concepts of identity and interest in Constructivism***

International relations are socially constructed. Concepts such as anarchy, security, interest, sovereignty, and cooperation are social phenomena that are researched and questioned, and they emerged in the process of social construction. There is no immutable, single reality. Therefore, international relations can be formed in different ways socially and historically. At this point, constructivism examines the cultural and social dimensions of change.<sup>30</sup> Constructivism focuses on the collective consciousness, common understandings, and meanings between subjects to define and make sense of the relations between sides. The things that make up social life are not material elements but common ideas and shared knowledge. The identity and interests of actors are also reconstructed within the context of mutual relations.<sup>31</sup>

Wendt regarded neorealism as being made of only materialistic capabilities and opposed it. Constructivists argue that material resources acquire meaning for human action only through the structure of shared knowledge.<sup>32</sup> As in the example, 500 British nuclear weapons are less threatening to the United States than 5 North Korean nuclear weapons because the British are

---

<sup>27</sup> Alexander Wendt. *Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics*. International Organization, 46(2), (1992): pp. 391–425.

<sup>28</sup> Christian Reus-Smit. *Theories of International Relations*. (Third edition ed.) Palgrave Macmillan, (2005): pp. 194-201.

<sup>29</sup> Mark V. Kauppi & Paul R. Viotti. *International Relations Theory (Sixth)*. Rowman et Littlefield, (2020): p. 154.

<sup>30</sup> Çağla Gül Yesevi. “Examining Social Constructivist Approach in the International Relations Discipline.” Vol:12, (2021): pp. 55-60.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp. 55-60.

<sup>32</sup> Alexander Wendt. “Constructing International Politics”. *International Security*. Summer, 1995, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Summer, 1995): p.73.

friends of the United States, and the North Koreans are not. So, in constructivism, friendship or enmity is a function of shared understandings. Constructivism, which is based on collective identities, shared understandings, common rules, and accepted norms, claims that there is a meaning behind material elements and that this is decisive. In explaining the concept of “change,” constructivists emphasize the exchange of ideas. As states' identities, perceptions of interests, and policies change, they will affect the structure of the international system.<sup>33</sup> Identities change over time. Identities are produced; that is, they are not given. Cultural elements shape identity. Identity is influenced by race, gender, nationality, ideology, and religion. It affects identity through external factors and international events. The relations of states with each other provide the norm-making process, the formation of rules, and the construction of institutions, and affect the identity and behaviour of states.<sup>34</sup>

According to constructivism, actors do not have stable interests. States first attempt to determine their own identities, then they reveal their interests following their identities and shape their foreign policies accordingly. Wendt, in his article "The agent-structure problem in international relations theory", stated that the state and the structure affect each other mutually and that potential state behaviour is shaped for this reason.<sup>35</sup>

The way states formulate their foreign policies is an important issue on the international stage. Constructivists seem to focus on two different decision-making approaches: the logic of appropriateness and the logic of consequences. While pursuing the logic of consequences thinking, actors act following rational logic and make a profit and loss calculations. In this logic, a rational approach, resilient knowledge, and the talent for strategic decision-making are highly required characteristics. On the contrary, in the logic of appropriateness, they behave according to their identity, character, behaviour, and the moral ideologies they believe in.

As an example, a nation with a strong religious identity might prioritize the interests of its fellow religious believers in its foreign policy. A state's actions must be consistent with its identity and values based on the logic of appropriateness. As opposed to the logic of consequences, which is based on rational calculations of costs and benefits. Based on this

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, pp.72-80.

<sup>34</sup> Mark V. Kauppi & Paul R. Viotti. *International Relations Theory (Sixth)*. Rowman et Littlefield, (2020): p. 155.

<sup>35</sup> Alexander Wendt. “The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory”. *International Organization*, Vol. 41, No. 3, (Summer, 1987): pp. 337-338.

approach, states are seen as rational actors that pursue their self-interest in a calculated manner. The logic of consequences suggests that states make decisions that maximize their benefits and minimize their costs. As an example, a state may choose to engage in economic sanctions against another state that poses a threat to its security, even if it is not consistent with its moral values. This choice may be made based on a rational calculation of the advantages and disadvantages of the sanctions.

Constructivists recognize the importance of the logic of consequences while outlining their approach to making foreign policy decisions, however, they also acknowledge how norms, identities, and ideas shape states.<sup>36</sup> The states perform on an international level following their national needs, ideological preferences, and economic demands. For this thesis, I can say that logic of consequences provides a more practical approach to decision-making, while the logic of appropriateness plays a crucial role in emphasizing the role of character, identity, and moral ideologies in shaping foreign policy decision-making. The logic of consequences and the logic of appropriateness are not mutually exclusive, and it might be beneficial for states to consider both when making decisions.<sup>37</sup>

### **2.3 Constructivism in relation to Turkey and NATO**

Constructivism consists of norms, meanings, and values shared among the subjects that make up the international social structure. These interactions lead to the formation of new interests and common identities through mutual trust. NATO, which was established as a defence organization in the face of a common threat after World War II, transformed into a security society based on a common lifestyle and set of principles. NATO membership played an important role in shaping the international identity of Turkey, which became a member of the organization shortly after its establishment.<sup>38</sup>

Wendt emphasizes that he adopts a state-centred approach that integration theories avoid and that this is a necessity for the definition of the concept of the international state. Wendt stated

---

<sup>36</sup> Jeffrey T. Checkel. "Review of The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory". By Martha Finnemore, Peter Katzenstein, and Audie Klotz. *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998): pp. 327–338.

<sup>37</sup> Johan P. Olsen & James G. March. *The Logic of Appropriateness*. The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy, (2009): pp. 689–708.

<sup>38</sup> Gülnur Aybet. The Evolution of NATO's Three Phases and Turkey's Transatlantic Relationship. *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, 17 (1), (2012): pp. 19-36.

that alliances are formed by states with self-interest and can maintain their existence even after the threat has disappeared, as in the case of NATO.<sup>39</sup> From this point of view, it can be said that NATO is not just an alliance; on the contrary, it is a security system.

Here comes the conflict between NATO and Turkey in the context of a threat to NATO's strength. When Erdogan became prime minister of Turkey in 2003, the relationship between Turkey and NATO started to change constantly, especially in September 2017 when Turkey agreed with Russia to buy S-400 missiles and train Turkish soldiers.<sup>40</sup> This bilateral relationship between Turkey and Russia became or is considered a threat to NATO security. Even though, according to Brakel, the deal between Turkey and Russia is not going to threaten NATO's strength, there were still disagreements on this issue with other allies like Germany, which considered it a big threat with serious consequences.<sup>41</sup>

Many events lead states toward self-interest. However, this does not always prevent the formation of common identities. However, considering that the international system is generally produced by self-interested states, liberal systemic processes are important for the formation of a common identity. Wendt defines the daily functioning of the international system as the process of constantly acquiring different identities depending on the relations of states with others and creating counter-identities appropriate to these identities. Changing these identities can be difficult, but not impossible.<sup>42</sup> If we look at the context of identities under religious ideology, there is a huge clash between Turkey's President Erdogan and NATO's Alliance. Erdogan's religious ideology is far away different from the democratic way of NATO's member states. There are noticeable differences between the ideologies followed by NATO and Erdogan's Turkey.

Turkey is an emerging pro-Islamic state and actively breaking its secular image globally. On the contrary, NATO allies are the followers of contemporary Western ideologies such as liberalism, democracy, and individual liberty. Turkey's issues especially during Erdogan's

---

<sup>39</sup> Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics". *International Organization* 46, 2 (Spring 1992): pp. 391–392.

<sup>40</sup> Hümeyra Pamuk. U.S. suggested Turkey transfer Russian-made missile system to Ukraine. *Reuters News*, (2022). Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/>: <https://www.reuters.com/world/us-suggested-turkey-transfer-russian-made-missile-system-ukraine-sources-2022-03-19/>.

<sup>41</sup> Diana Hodali. DW News. Turkey and Russia at odds in Syria? (2018). <https://www.dw.com/>: <https://www.dw.com/en/are-turkey-and-russia-at-odds-in-northern-syria/a-42374097>.

<sup>42</sup> Alexander Wendt. "Social Theory of International Politics". *Cambridge Studies in International Relations*. (1999): p. 21.

regime with its NATO allies have regularly been on the table talk during the preceding few years. Moreover, its negotiations on the issue of its accession to European Union membership are informally stationary. As far as the United States is concerned, the requirement for an innovative strategic agenda became noticeable after the Cold War era. This fact cannot be denied that Turkey's collaboration with NATO has developed even more intricate during the last ten years owing to three main international advancements: the Arab Spring, the flop coup effort in Turkey, and the development of relations of Russia with Turkey.<sup>43</sup> This thesis looks at these major developments in some detail and concludes that even if there is no clear sign of Turkey dropping out of NATO, the need for a new positive impulse is clear.

Turkey also brought many advantages to NATO for example in the period of terrorism and to control democracy in the Middle East and North African regions. Turkey also successfully conducted NATO's diplomatic and military plans through active participation during the conflict in countries like Kosovo, Bosnia, and Afghanistan. But after Erdogan's government in 2003, Turkey's democratic and secular state identity changed to "Muslim democrats."<sup>44</sup> Under the dynamic leadership of Erdogan; who is religiously and ideologically inclined to Islamic teachings and beliefs.

---

<sup>43</sup> Hümeýra Pamuk. U.S. suggested Turkey transfer Russian-made missile system to Ukraine. Reuters News, (2022). Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/>: <https://www.reuters.com/world/us-suggested-turkey-transfer-russian-made-missile-system-ukraine-sources-2022-03-19/>.

<sup>44</sup> Ian O. Lesser. "Turkey: 'Recessed' Islamic Politics and Convergence with the West." *The Muslim World After 9/11*, 1st ed., RAND Corporation, (2004): pp. 187-188.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

The relationship between Turkey and NATO has been an important topic of discussion in international politics. Turkey's policies under the AKP regime have been under scrutiny, contributing to a decline in trust with NATO members. In my thesis, I aim to analyse the impact of AKP policies on Turkey's relationship with NATO. It is important to examine the historical context of Turkey's identity in order to gain an understanding of this complex relationship. This can be accomplished by comparing policies during the secular government and after the AKP government. Using the content analysis methodology, I will investigate the changing identity of Turkey over the last 20 years. I mainly conducted my research using original Turkish language sources to provide a deeper insight into Turkey's perspectives. By doing so, I will shed light on the factors contributing to Turkey's strained relationship with NATO.

The content analysis method involves systematically analysing and interpreting content of written, verbal, and visual communications. This methodology can be useful in exploring complex topics such as the changing identity of Turkey and its relationship with NATO. To conduct content analysis with a constructivist theory on NATO-Turkey relations, I need to identify the data sources that I want to analyse. After that, I need to decipher the key points and themes that I want to analyse and create a coding system. This might involve identifying certain words or concepts that are particularly relevant to the topic I am studying such as "Turkey's identity change," "AKP role," and "NATO relations."

After identifying my data sources, the next step would be to establish a coding system that will help in detecting important themes and patterns within the data. This could involve recognizing particular keywords or phrases that are relevant to my research question, such as "AKP identity" or "foreign policy". Additionally, it may be necessary to establish a group of categories or themes that will help me organize and interpret the data. Once I develop my coding system, I will be able to begin the process of analyzing my data. This may involve manually reviewing and applying codes to each document or text, or using software or other tools to assist in the coding process. After I analyse the data, I will start to identify patterns and themes that are relevant to my research question. I may also begin to develop new insights based on my analysis. To ensure that my findings can be replicated, it is important to keep detailed notes and records of my analysis.

Using a constructivist approach, I can explore national identity, cultural attitudes towards NATO, and how different actors within Turkey interpret relationships. I can also analyse the language used in official statements, media, and social media. In analysing texts related to NATO-Turkey relations, I will be better able to determine what meanings and interpretations individuals construct from them.

### **3.1 Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a useful tool for researchers to gain insights into media studies such as written, spoken, or visual communication. It can be used in various sources, including books, articles, news, social media posts, speeches, and reports. Content analysis is the foundation that can provide for future research by uncovering important topics. It is both a deductive and inductive type of analysis that focuses on understanding the characteristics of the content itself. Coding is an essential part of the content analysis. The relationship between the concepts underlying the data is revealed through coding.<sup>45</sup>

Researchers use books and journal articles and utilize them to generate a new idea or revisit an old idea. The sources must be reliable of course. They should also be closely related to whatever topic the researcher is working on. To successfully use this type of analysis, it is significant that the data be compact to ideas that define whatsoever phenomenon the researcher is reviewing.<sup>46</sup>

One of the more common methods used to analyse data and infer its meaning is qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis offers a methodical and objective means of unfolding and measuring phenomena.<sup>47</sup> When it comes to qualitative content analysis, the coding process is the stage in which concepts are shaped and identified. Typically, the researcher's insight and intuition will guide the analysis. It is important to make the analysis process transparent and replicable. The researcher's unique insight is often difficult to explain to outsiders. This is why the research report must be clear and highlight any conclusions.<sup>48</sup> This will make it easier for other people to understand and appreciate the research findings. There

---

<sup>45</sup> Ali Baltaci. "The Qualitative Research Process: How to Perform a Qualitative Research?" *Journal of Ahi Evran University Institute of Social Sciences*, 5 (2019): p. 377.

<sup>46</sup> Satu Elo, Maria Kääriäinen, Outi Kanste, Tarja Pölkki, Kati Utriainen, & Helvi Kyngäs. Qualitative content analysis: A focus on trustworthiness. *SAGE open*, 4(1), (2014): p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1.



are two main ways to approach qualitative content analysis: inductive and deductive. Both processes involve three main stages:

- Preparation (collection of data)
- Organization (organizing of collected data)
- Reporting of results

The first phase called the preparation phase is when the researcher collects and examines the data, tries to divide the data set into meaningful parts, discovers which concept each part corresponds to, and selects the component of the analysis. During the data-collecting process, the researcher may often need to read the data several times. With detailed readings, it becomes easier to reach the meaning of the words or phrases. Since the probability of encountering new codes is high even after the categories and themes are formed, it is seen that the researcher is coding during the entire data analysis.<sup>49</sup>

In inductive research, the organization phase comprises open coding, category creation, and conceptualization.<sup>50</sup> While in deductive content analysis, this phase includes classification matrix expansion. This needs that the data to be studied for content and implied for communication to identified categories. The categorization matrix is valid if the groupings sufficiently represent the ideas. From the viewpoint of validity, the classification matrix must precisely capture what the researcher envisioned.<sup>51</sup>

As a result of detailed coding in the organization process, the researcher makes a systematic structure in which he can organize the collected data in a meaningful way. Then, the researcher reorganizes the data he collects based on this structure. In the data editing phase, the researcher accesses the findings and it may be possible to redefine and interpret the data according to these findings. It is important to describe and explain the data in a language that the reader can understand. At this stage, which generally focuses on the information in the findings section of the research, the researcher does not include his views and comments and presents the collected information to the reader in an appropriate way.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Ali Baltacı. "The Qualitative Research Process: How to Perform a Qualitative Research?" *Journal of Ahi Evran University Institute of Social Sciences*, 5 (2019): p. 378.

<sup>50</sup> Satu Elo, Maria Kääriäinen, Outi Kanste, Tarja Pölkki, Kati Utriainen, & Helvi Kyngäs. Qualitative content analysis: A focus on trustworthiness. *SAGE open*, 4(1), (2014): p. 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Ali Baltacı. "The Qualitative Research Process: How to Perform a Qualitative Research?" *Journal of Ahi Evran University Institute of Social Sciences*, 5 (2019): p. 379.

In the final phase, the reporting phase, results are described using the preferred approach. Qualitative research is the research orientation presented by the personal experiences of the researcher. From this point of view, since the researcher is close to the investigated event and experiences related to the phenomenon, his comments and transfers are of special value. This last stage of the research process requires the researcher to explain the findings, establish cause-effect relationships, and draw some conclusions from his findings, as well as explain the significance of the findings.<sup>53</sup>

As a result of applying content analysis to constructivism theory, I can understand how individuals construct meaning from the data that is being analysed. Through a constructivist approach, I can gain insight into the subjective experiences of the participants and how these experiences influence their understanding of NATO-Turkey relations. I may find different discourses associated with NATO-Turkey relations, such as shared values and interests, tensions and conflicts, and historical and cultural similarities. I may also examine different perspectives such as political ideology, Turkish national identity and foreign policy, and personal experiences with NATO and Turkey.

### **3.2 Inductive Content Analysis**

While analysing the complex and evolving relationship between NATO and Turkey during the AKP period, it is important to consider the most appropriate research methodology. One such methodology is inductive content analysis, which allows for a more open-ended and exploratory approach to analysing data.

In this approach, the researcher identifies key themes and patterns in the data and uses these to develop categories or themes that help to organize and interpret the data.<sup>54</sup> This approach is particularly useful in exploring complex issues such as national identity and cultural attitudes, as well as how different actors interpret relationships. In this context, I have chosen to use an inductive approach to analyse NATO-Turkey relations during the AKP period, to gain a deeper understanding of the factors contributing to the strained relationship between these two entities.

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p. 379.

<sup>54</sup> Danya F. Vears & Lynn Gillam. "Inductive content analysis: A guide for beginning qualitative researchers." *Focus on Health Professional Education: A Multi-Professional Journal*. Vol. 23 No. 1 (2022)

Based on my research question I can use some categories for coding in the inductive content analysis. These categories may change throughout the analysis process as new themes come out in the data. As an example, these categories might be used:

1. The national identity of Turkey: The themes and sub-themes such as Turkish nationalism, Islamism, and Ataturk's secularism.
2. Actors and their relationships: Role of the political leaders, civil society actors, and the military officials.
3. Cultural perceptions: Western nations' perceptions, perceptions of NATO, and their attitudes towards military interventions.
4. Historical context: History of NATO-Turkey relations, the impact of Turkey's political changes, and its relationship with NATO.
5. Security concerns: It can be sub-themes of Turkey's strategic importance for NATO, security concerns in the Middle East, and NATO policies' impact on the Turkey's security.

## **Design of the Thesis**

My goal was to have enough sources to give the depth of the topic. The articles are ideally published from 2000 to 2022 because a lot has happened over the last two decades, and I would not want to miss any articles that mention Turkey's behaviour during this period. I am a native Turkish speaker and it allows me to engage with Turkish language literature. I made sure that I search recent online news articles and magazine articles, official documents from the Turkish Foreign Ministry. To do this, I searched through various databases such as Taylor and Francis, JSTOR, Cambridge Dergipark, Oria (Nord University), and find scholarly articles that are available for download. I will also search for scholarly articles that discuss constructivism so that I can apply the elements of this theory to the topic at hand. This is where I am going to find specific information about what Turkey has done.

For example, there is an article about how Turkey purchased Russian weapons even though Russia is a common threat to NATO's member states.<sup>55</sup> There are also articles published since 2003 when Turkey denied the United States request to place troops and use the Turkish NATO base to attack Baghdad.<sup>56</sup> Once the articles have all been downloaded to my computer, I will go through each one and outline them. I will use these notes later to write the paper itself. For any paraphrases, I will simply cite articles that I will find in Chicago style. For literal quotes, I will write down the page number where I found the quote so I can cite it properly in the text of my paper.

As long as I do not commit plagiarism, which is something within my control, there is no chance of my violating any ethical standards. I will be relying exclusively on scholarly articles, online articles, as well as online newspaper and magazine articles. As mentioned, my notes and data will be written down in a spiral notebook. These notes will then provide the information and quotes I need to write my paper and support my thesis statement. Of course, there is always a risk of doing qualitative analysis. When one is doing quantitative analysis, they have concrete data and empirical research data. I will not have that in my paper.

However, given the nature of the research question, it would not make sense to try to come up with a quantitative methodology. Qualitative data is important in determining the particular frequency of traits or characteristics for my thesis. This way, all of the pieces of information I find can be combined and integrated in the best way possible so the paper will be smooth and offer a clear argument, support, and conclusion.

---

<sup>55</sup> Jacob Lindgaard, Moritz Pieper, Cecilie Felicia Stokholm Banke. "The Outlook for Turkey-NATO relations." (2020). <https://www.diiis.dk/node/23973>.

<sup>56</sup> Kathy Gilsinan. "Why is Turkey in NATO Anyway?" The Atlantic (2019). <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/10/turkey-and-nato-troubled-relationship/599890/>.

## Chapter 4: Analysis

### 4.1 Introduction

The following section of this research offers a comprehensive analysis of the relations between Turkey and NATO focused primarily on the AKP period. In this section, we understand how Turkey maintained its relations with NATO following the AKP regime. I tried to compare the identity of Turkey in its association with NATO before and after the AKP's administration. For this purpose, chronological occurrences and pertinent Turkish ideological conflicts have been explored which are quite essential to be referenced in the context of Turkey-NATO relations.

The examination of facts as presented in this chapter complements the theoretical baseline of Constructivist Theory. According to that theory, states see structures as intersubjective meanings rather than material; claiming that a significant part of their identities and interests are formed by international social structures, rather than being formed entirely by domestic policies externally to the international system; a structural theory of the international system describes it as a kind of structural idealism.<sup>57</sup> Turkey steered its relations based on all those facts which surround the country and played a crucial part in defining the Turkish reality of being an active part of this international community.

After Atatürk founded the Turkish Republic, becoming a member of NATO was in line with the "Westernization" policy. NATO was the most powerful security organization in Europe, preventing member states from spending their financial resources on military expenditures and contributing to the economic development of European states and the European integration process. The Westernized baseline of Turkey's establishment paved the way for its resilient allegiance to NATO. But the AKP's government transformed the entire Turkish portfolio. These perplexing circumstances posed uncertain situations for Turkey. On one side, Turkey couldn't afford to lose its Westernized snapshot and its vital existence and participation in Europe; on the other side, the pro-Islamic ideological proponents were not ready to compromise its Islamic ideology.

---

<sup>57</sup> Alexander Wendt. "Collective Identity Formation and the International State", *American Political Science Review*, Vol: 88, No. 2, (June 1994): p. 385.

Additionally, I will mention the so-called Kurdish problem in Turkey which is important for its identity. It was a critical stage when Turkey maintained its identity while dealing with the Kurdish issue. Despite the AKP administration's efforts to resolve the "Kurdish problem," Kurds were not given a chance to freely express their identities within Turkish society. The identity of both the state and the Kurdish population is central to the conflict. The Kurdish nationalist movement seeks greater recognition of Kurdish identity and cultural rights in Turkey. The Kurdish problem is also important for analysing Turkey-NATO relations because military actions against Kurdish groups in Syria (YPG) have been a source of tension with NATO.

## **4.2 Turkey-NATO Relationship Before AKP**

After World War II, Turkey tried to take its place in the Western Bloc to ensure its national security and establish its Western identity after becoming a member of NATO. Disputes with NATO, while there were political changes in its foreign policy, at times, generally progressed in tandem with the West. The first event that caused conflicts was the disagreement on the Cyprus Problem in its relations with its NATO ally, Greece. The letter sent by US President Johnson in 1964 to prevent Turkey from intervening in Cyprus revealed the first problem. In the letter, it was stated that if Turkey made a military intervention in Cyprus and the Soviet Union took advantage of this conflict and occupied Turkey, NATO would not protect Turkey.

However, Turkey entered Northern Cyprus in 1974 and faced an arms embargo imposed by the USA until 1978.<sup>58</sup> The transformation of NATO's military strategy from "total response" to "flexible response" after the 1960s increased concerns about the validity of NATO's nuclear guarantee.<sup>59</sup> According to the flexible response, the attack will be responded to in three stages: "direct defence, controlled escalation, and general nuclear response."<sup>60</sup> In other words, when the alliance will choose to use weapons is left unpredictably uncertain. The transformation of this strategy has forced Turkey economically; the budget resource that it can allocate to advanced weapons has not been left with the addition of the Cyprus War and the 1973 oil crisis. Despite these concerns, Turkey continued to expand its position within NATO during the cold

---

<sup>58</sup> Ayça Eminoğlu & Sertif Demir. A Comparative Analysis of Global Competition: North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Journal of Erciyes University Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences*. (2018): p.116.

<sup>59</sup> Erol Mütercimler, Yüksek Stratejiden Etki Odaklı Harekâta Geleceği Yönetmek, İstanbul, Publications, 2. Edition. (2006): p.37.

<sup>60</sup> Fulya Aksu Ereker. "NATO's Security Understanding and Strategic Concepts", Security Posts Series, No.23, (October 2019): p.3.

war, and remaining a member of NATO would be the most essential feature of its foreign strategic moves.<sup>61</sup> The following are the causes for this:

1. Due to its limited military capabilities, Turkey found it difficult to confront the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union did not renew the 1925 friendship pact, sought a base in the Straits, and demanded the cities of Kars and Ardahan.<sup>62</sup>
2. Turkey, which borders numerous Muslim countries in the Middle East, was considered to be a state that could help Europe's safety. This scenario has played an important role in Turkey's incorporation into Europe.

With the end of the Cold War, concerns about the continuation of NATO's European identity have emerged in Turkey. At the time of the Soviet threat, there was military defence integration in Europe. After the 1990s, Turkey's membership began to be seen by the West more as a part of the Middle East security system. With the disappearance of the Soviet Union, Turkey's need for security decreased, and the European Union member states' questioning of Turkey's EU membership caused Turkey to look at NATO membership from an identity perspective. Turkey wanted to renew itself following the globalization process. In this respect, to develop its military power, Turkey participated in NATO's operation in Afghanistan after September 11 and commanded the multinational force NATO established.<sup>63</sup>

In addition to this, the USA was demanding NATO members increase their military budgets and cooperate with the EU in the field of defence<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, Turkey feels isolated because the demands of the USA were linked directly to European countries without addressing Turkey. With the AKP coming to power, the questioning attitude toward NATO has increased. The reasons for this in Turkey can be given with the following examples: In 1991 and 2003, Turkey requested that NATO deploy an early warning defence system and Patriot missiles against terrorist threats from Iraq. Western European NATO allies, especially France, Germany, and Belgium, approached this demand at a distance.<sup>64</sup> Secondly, I can say that the USA attaches less importance to NATO than before and has adopted a unilateral in its foreign policy. As a

---

<sup>61</sup> Tarik Oğuzlu. "Turkey and NATO: An Ambivalent Ally in a Changing Alliance." *International Relations* Vol: 9, No: 34 (2012): pp. 102-103.

<sup>62</sup> *Cumhuriyet* (Newspaper Archive), No: 7492, (27 June 1945): p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Petros Vamvakas. *NATO and Turkey in Afghanistan and Central Asia: Possibilities and Blind Spots*, Turkish Studies, (2009), pp. 57-74.

<sup>64</sup> *Hurriyet News*. "Turkey crisis in NATO. "(2003), <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/natoda-turkiye-krizi-127174>.

result, European states were pushed into their security structures, and Turkey's not being a European member caused it to stay out.

Because of Turkey's history and identity, there is a special relationship between Turkish nationalism and Islam. While challenging the secularist elements and European affiliation of Kemalism, traditionally the assertive form of Turkish nationalism, Turkey's brand of Islamist ideology maintains the heart of Turkish nationalism. Before the AKP's administration, Turkey portrays a bleak picture of Islamic nationalism, and this situation can be duly credited to Kemal's regime and its impact afterward. In other words, the AKP government tried its best to break the secular image of Turkey which was a salient feature of Kemalist Turkish identification.

### ***4.3 Turkey and NATO Relations during the Justice and Development Party (AKP) Era***

Turkey, which has contributed greatly to NATO since it joined the alliance, has undergone great changes in its relations with its allies after Recep Tayyip Erdogan became prime minister of Turkey in 2003.<sup>65</sup> After the AKP's election victory, its main foreign policy was to have zero problems with all neighbours, and this policy supported NATO's cooperative policies in 2003. The purpose of this policy was to reduce instability and threats across the country. In this way, Turkey would have the opportunity to better implement foreign policy approaches such as security, political dialogue, economic interdependence, and cultural cohesion.

Furthermore, the target of this proactive diplomacy was to strengthen a stable milieu for development, and regional security of the neighbouring areas of the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Caspian basin, the Black Sea, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Gulf to North Africa. Turkey owns multiple territorial identities. That is the reason; the country is equally responsible to pursue a multidimensional foreign policy approach that complements its regional status as well as its national demands as a sovereign state.

After getting power in Turkey, the AKP redesigned its foreign policy on the baseline of regional collaboration and friendly relations with neighbours. The AKP prioritized its foreign policy

---

<sup>65</sup> Ahmet Davutoglu. "Zero Problems in a New Era." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey. (2013). [https://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h\\_e\\_-mr\\_-ahmet-davutoglu\\_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey-published-in-foreign-policy-magazin-2.en.mfa](https://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h_e_-mr_-ahmet-davutoglu_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey-published-in-foreign-policy-magazin-2.en.mfa).



agenda and rechannelled its preferences to national security, economic development, and transnational trade. Moreover, the ruling party practically considered international organizations, and offered its allegiance to NATO. However, while the policies made in the last 20 years have been a cause for concern for Western allies, they have begun to be perceived as opportunities by countries such as Russia and China.

Over the past 20 years, Turkish foreign policy has undergone a significant transformation. Turkish foreign policy was guided by the "logic of interdependence" throughout the first ten years of the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) administration. The "logic of dependency" and the soft power-oriented "integrator-mediator" role, though, progressively gave way to a demand for "strategic autonomy" that was followed by interventionism, unilateralism, and intimidating diplomacy during the second decade.<sup>66</sup>

It provides the Turkish ruling elite with a framework for aligning with non-Western superpowers and balancing the US-led hierarchical system. Second, and perhaps more significantly, it acts as a legitimating foreign policy discourse for the government, allowing it to organize its domestic voter base, disperse the opposition, and win over the general public. Based on Turkey's independence quest from its Western friends and its inclination towards the Sino-Russian axis, it concludes that segregation and the emergence of new types of dependence are the outcomes of its quest for independence.<sup>67</sup>

In the process of joining NATO, Turkey's Western identity led to its membership not being questioned, even during times of adversity within the alliance. However, with the disappearance of the Soviet threat after the Cold War, Turkey's strategic importance decreased, and the decrease in this strategic importance could also lead to a decrease in its ties with NATO. In such a case, Turkey's withdrawal from NATO and its continuing deficiencies in democracy could cause the West to impose sanctions on Turkey and weaken the country militarily and economically. There is a prevailing opinion in Turkey that strengthening Western norms will increase the value of the country.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Mustafa Kutlay, Ziya Öniş, Turkish foreign policy in a post-western order: strategic autonomy or new forms of dependence? *International Affairs*, Volume 97, Issue 4, (July 2021): pp. 1085–1104.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 1086-1102.

<sup>68</sup> Melvyn P. Leffler. *Strategy, Diplomacy, and the Cold War: The United States, Turkey, and NATO, 1945-1952. The Journal of American History*, (1985): pp. 824-825.

For this reason, Turkey needs to maintain its Western identity and play a role in NATO's foreign policies based on cooperation.<sup>69</sup> Turkey's support for policies based on cooperation is also compatible with its security and interests. Turkey, which was shown as one of the developing countries in the 2000s, endeavoured to re-emerge with a new identity while developing the peace environment and network provided by NATO to democratize, ensure economic development, and maintain national security. It is important that NATO adopt the norms and values it defends more comprehensively in terms of ensuring regional development and increasing these relations with a constructivist approach.<sup>70</sup>

During the Ottoman Empire period, Turkey was the centre of the caliphate, and until the early years of the 20th century, Turkey represented the political power of Muslims and was central to international relations. Atatürk, who founded the Republic of Turkey with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, brought an understanding of secularism with his reforms and principles, and the discourse of "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" began to be adopted in Turkey's foreign policy.<sup>71</sup> Thus, Turkey put into practice foreign policy approaches such as cultural harmony, political dialogue, the development of economic relations, and security with Western countries as a basis. Atatürk's secularist revolution significantly modernized and Westernized Turkey. With these features, Turkey, in the first years of the AKP, said in Erdogan's discourse in 2005, "As a society with the majority of its population adopting the Islamic faith, it is one of the most successful countries that are based on secularism and support democratic norms."<sup>72</sup> In this regard, the AKP supported values such as democracy, human rights, the rule of law, secularism, and freedom, which affected strengthening Turkey's ties with NATO.

I can say that recently, Turkey's relations with NATO have hardened, leading it to a more isolated position in its relations with NATO and the USA, keeping its national interests at the forefront.

---

<sup>69</sup> Adem Çakır. "Constructivist Influences on Turkey -NATO Relations (1991-2011)." (2021): p. 48.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, p. 60.

<sup>71</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey. "Turkish Foreign Policy During Atatürk's Era." <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-foreign-policy-during-aturks-era.en.mfa>.

<sup>72</sup> Voa News. "Erdogan: Turkey is an Example to the World." (2005). <https://www.amerikaninsesi.com/a/a-17-2005-07-07-voa3-87977992/837269.html>

This fact cannot be overlooked: the revised version of Turkish identity made the situation more strained and apprehensive for the USA and NATO as a whole. Turkey, the state that emerged as a secular nation after Atatürk's takeover, was on the way to its pro-Islamic status.

Turkey looked more concerned about its national interests than its relations with the USA and NATO. That was the time when NATO started expanding towards former communist states in Europe, and the USA demanded its European allies increase their defence budgets. In this scenario, Turkey shifted its interests toward its national integrity rather than its allegiance with NATO.

#### ***4.4 Changes in Turkish Nationality – Through De-Kemalization & Re-Islamization***

Mustafa Kemal's nation-state project aimed to make Turkey a full and equal member of Western nations. The goal of establishing a close relationship with Western states was part of the Turkish national identity. For this reason, the re-establishment of Turkish identity was aimed at Kemalism, which was based on Atatürk's principles.<sup>73</sup> After the Kemalist Republic of Turkey, Turkey's identity debates were postponed during the cold war. However, with the removal of the Soviet threat, an identity crisis came to the fore in Turkey. The Westernization projects that emerged during the Atatürk<sup>74</sup>, İnönü, and Menderes periods were changing the state of Turkey's national identity.<sup>75</sup>

However, the geopolitical opportunities created by the Muslim states, which started to gain their freedom with the collapse of the Russian empire, brought up Turkey's identity debates and caused the Ottoman past and the Muslim identity to be revived.<sup>76</sup> The Ottomanism identity that developed during the Özal period started to gain importance as Turkey assumed the role of a protective country for Muslims in the Balkans as a reaction to the Serbs' attempt to purge the Bosnians.<sup>77</sup> This relationship with Bosnia was applied for the first time in Turkey in foreign policy against Kemalist identity. In its early years of power, the AKP, which has Islamic sensibilities, maintained a balanced relationship with the army and Kemalist organizations in Turkey. Bringing its positive secular understanding and Ottoman identity together in society,

---

<sup>73</sup> Tarsus American College. "Ataturk's Principles." <https://www.tac.k12.tr/en/Icerik/ilkeleri/70/>.

<sup>74</sup> Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu. "Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy." *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 1 (2008): p. 61.

<sup>75</sup> Hakan Ongur. "Identifying Ottomanisms: The Discursive Evolution of Ottoman Pasts in the Turkish Presents." *Middle Eastern Studies* 51, no. 3 (2015): pp. 420-424.

<sup>76</sup> Ayla Göl. "The Identity of Turkey: Muslim and Secular." *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (2009): p. 796.

<sup>77</sup> Wikipedia contributors. "Bosnian genocide." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnian\\_genocide#External\\_links](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnian_genocide#External_links).

the AKP succeeded in breaking the hegemony of the Kemalist elite with the referendum victory in 2010.<sup>78</sup>

It was time for Turkey's identity to change over Davutoğlu's "Stratejik Derinlik (Strategic Depth)"<sup>79</sup> doctrine. According to Davutoğlu, instead of the Kemalist project that left Turkey below its potential and status, a neo-Ottoman identity would be built with the awareness of historical responsibility, in harmony with its religion and culture. With this, the foreign policy of the AKP period would try to construct a new identity, and this would be called "De-Kemalism."

De-Kemalization is the process of eradicating Kemalism, a philosophy founded on Kemal Atatürk, who was the creator of modern Turkey, from the Turkish state. The process of de-Kemalization started when the conservative Democratic Party AKP came to power during the multi-party era.

De-Kemalization peaked during the era of the conservative-democratic AKP under the Davutoğlu regime. It entailed the expulsion of the Kemalist ruling class from the judicial, military, and administrative sectors of the state. During the apex of this phase, the military underwent legal purges known as the Ergenekon<sup>80</sup> and Balyoz cases, which were based on accusations of a coup. Moreover, the media was also de-Kemalized as soon as the AK Party and its allies' monopolized media and replaced Kemalist journalists with those who did not endorse Kemal's views.

In a speech made by Erdoğan in 2002, he stated that he attaches importance to religious values as follows:

*"It is not possible for someone who says I am a Muslim to say they are secular at the same time. Allah, the creator of Islam, has absolute sovereignty. One cannot be both secular and Muslim. You will either be a Muslim or a secularist."*<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> CNN Wire Staff. "Turkey's Erdogan hails constitutional referendum win." (2010). <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/europe/09/12/turkey.referendum/index.html>.

<sup>79</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu. "Stratejik Derinlik." (2001).

<sup>80</sup> BBC News. "Ergenekon: "The court case that changed Turkey." (August 2013). <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-23581891>.

<sup>81</sup> Hurriyet News Archive. "Erdoğan testified again at DGM." (1998). <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/erdogan-dgmde-yine-ifade-verdi-39034868>.

If I look at the discourses in this speech, I see his struggle with secular centralism in terms of re-Islamization.

For many years, the state has been gradually, silently, and systematically becoming more Islamized, but its speed has augmented since the coup attempt in July 2016. Erdogan's administration dismissed more than 35,000<sup>82</sup> educators and closed quite a few schools over assertions that they had linked with those who were engaged in the coup attempt. Acting together with the Gülen Community in the first years of its ruling period, the AKP entered the process of building an identity alone after the coup attempt.

Taking an approach that increases his emphasis on religious and conservative values, Erdoğan established several religious schools known as "imam hatip"<sup>83</sup> for the project of raising a religious generation. In this situation, the renewed freedom of turban in education and the expansion of imam hatip high schools weakened the Kemalist and secular identity in institutional education.

As far as these issues are concerned, AKP policies that I have examined over the past twenty years conform to constructivism theory, in that periodical differences in the constructivist approach reflect on foreign policy relations, along with periodic variations in the constructivist style.

## ***4.5 Turkish Identity Shift***

### **After 9/11 and Kurdish Issue**

9/11 attacks tarnished the image of Islam and the global picture of Muslim states as well. That was the time when the international portfolio of Turkey was also stained. That was the time when national identity of Turkey was questioned at international level whether it was Western or Islamic. In other words, the identity of Turkey was considered more theoretical rather than

---

<sup>82</sup> Patrick Kingsley. "Turkey sacks 15,000 education workers in purge after failed coup." The Guardian, (July 2016). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/19/turkey-sacks-15000-education-workers-in-purge>.

<sup>83</sup> Archit Dhar & Zuha Noor & Sam Orloff & Andrew Orner & Gabriella Rabito. The NATO-Turkey Relationship: Envisioning Future Prospects Amidst Growing Rifts. Philadelphia: Perry World House. (2021): pp. 6-14.

regional or territorial. That was the time when AKP highlighted the Turkish identity as a spirited Islamic state that was not ready to compromise its national interests as well as its ideological recognition as an Islamic state.<sup>84</sup>

Considering the entire scenario, it has been observed that after 9/11 the entire world was pushed into a state of indecision where the USA was steering the world affairs without sharing its supremacy. This was the time when differences among states around the world started to evolve on the basis of ideologies. With this uncertainty, the differences that clashed over ideology have now entered a conflicted relationship on the basis of identity. During the Cold War, the political identity of the West was defined as anti-communist. Western countries and Turkey express themselves as democratic and liberal. However, with the disappearance of the eastern bloc, the dangers of religious extremism<sup>85</sup> (i.e., the Afghanistan War, Iran-Iraq War, Libya War, and ISIL threat today) began to emerge as a security issue in NATO and Western countries. In other words, I can say that the relationship between Islam and the West and Turkey and NATO has gained a different dimension.

When the AKP started to rule the country the invasion of Iraq by the USA at the time damaged Turkey's relations with NATO. Since the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the US's operational and tactical moves had increased security concerns over Turkey and had negative effects within the framework of NATO.<sup>86</sup> At that time, the policies followed by the USA in the Middle East began to be seen as a threat to the national integrity of Turkey. In particular, there were differences of opinion on the definition of terrorism and how to fight it.

It is quite essential to mention that the Kurdistan's Workers' Party or PKK has been labelled as terrorist organization in Turkey. Considering this scenario, Turkey wants all allies in the West to see the PKK as it sees itself. The desire of the Kurds in northern Iraq to establish an independent Kurdish state also weakened Turkey's democratization process. It started to be seen as a risk that the Kurds living in Turkey were also affected by the developments in northern Iraq and began to question their loyalty to the state. With the democratization adopted by NATO in its own identity, the perception of using foreign powers against the interests of other countries

---

<sup>84</sup> Calogero Nicosia. "How the 'Clash of Civilizations' Explains Turkey-US Relations". (2016) <https://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com/how-the-clash-of-civilizations-explains-turkey-us-relations/>.

<sup>85</sup> Vera Mironova. NATO Review. (2016). <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2016/04/15/understanding-the-changing-tactics-of-so-called-islamic-state/index.html>.

<sup>86</sup> Tarik Oğuzlu. "Post-U. S Iraq and Turkey". Bilkent University International Relations Department. (2012): pp. 26-38.

has strengthened, and it has become more evident after the Iraq War that this may cause fragmentation and disintegration within the country in the long run. In addition, the issue of Turkey's resolution of the Kurdish issue in order to protect its own interests began to come to the fore more and continues today.<sup>87</sup> The AKP has led the state to undertake many projects such as the liberalization of the Kurdish language, and the liberalization of Kurdish radio, TV, newspapers, and magazines, which will overcome the problem with the Kurdish identity.<sup>88</sup> As in the understanding of identity in constructivism, Turkey has implemented a policy that does not try to construct identity suddenly but tries to construct it continuously and constructively against the Kurds.<sup>89</sup> İbrahim Kalın, the spokesperson of the Presidency of Turkey, stated that there is no solution process on the agenda and gave the following message:

*“Our President has fought hard to ensure that all citizens of the Republic of Turkey live as individuals with equal rights, both during his prime ministry and his presidency. He rejected all kinds of discrimination based on religion and ethnic origin and demonstrated this with his concrete actions. The struggle to save all our citizens, including the Kurds, from the persecution and oppression of the PKK terrorist organization will continue with determination.”*<sup>90</sup>

Moreover, outbreak of Syrian Civil War in 2011, US military support to the Kurdish Arabs in Syria, coalition of Kurdish fighters with Syrian Kurdish Democratic Union Party were the salient factors which strained the multilateral relations among Turkey, and NATO.<sup>91</sup> In this situation, Turkey has been trying to prevent the West to offer logistic and military support to the Kurds in Iraq and Syria. The underlying object behind these Turkish endeavours was to sabotage all the implications of anticipated rise of Kurdish nationalism Turkey.

In order to take practical steps in this regard, in 2012, Turkish military forces chased down Syrian Kurdish troops that were moving quite close Northern Syria.<sup>92</sup> However, Turkey wanted

---

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, p. 32.

<sup>88</sup> Mustafa Kartoglu. “What has been done and what will be done in the solution of the Kurdish problem – I.” (2015). <https://www.star.com.tr/yazar/kurt-sorunu-cozumunde-yapilanlar-yapilacaklar--i-yazi-1007689/>.

<sup>89</sup> Alexander Wendt, “Collective Identity Formation and the International State”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol: 88, No. 2, (June 1994): p.385.

<sup>90</sup> CNN Turk News. “Last minute... İbrahim Kalın: 'There is no new solution process on the agenda!'.” (2018). <https://www.cnnturk.com/son-dakika-ibrahim-kalin-gundemde-yeni-bir-cozum-sureci-yok>.

<sup>91</sup> Francesco M. Bongiovanni. “Turkey: The NATO Alliance’s Wild Card”. Volume: 17 Number: 2. (2018): pp. 56-57.

<sup>92</sup> CNN wire staff. “Turkey hardens military position after Syria downs jet.” (2012). <https://edition.cnn.com/2012/06/26/world/meast/turkey-syria-plane/index.html>.

all its Western allies, especially the USA, to perceive the PKK as an opponent of Turkey and its allies. That was the time, when Turkey was trying to establish its identity as a Westernized state. Turkey's pro-West approaches could bring the country quite close to the NATO and its Western allies.<sup>93</sup>

This fact cannot be ignored that the establishment of an independent Kurdish state and the strengthening of Iraq were posing negative impact on the democratization process of Turkey. Besides that, Turkey's EU membership process was also suffering from this scenario. This entire situation fostered this perception that the USA and other foreign powers were using "Democracy" as a tool to realize their interests in other states.<sup>94</sup> The liberal and democratic steps taken by the Western states coupled with the US support were actually deteriorating the Turkish attempts to incapacitate the Kurdish incursion in the region. In other words, Turkey was having a hard time in making its allies realize that PKK is a terrorist organization. For example, some NATO allies (Greece for example, which had historically tense relations with Turkey has been accused by Turkish government several times<sup>95</sup>) had closer ties with Russia and Iran, who have historically supported the PKK as a means of destabilizing Turkey. Therefore, these allies may have been less willing to recognize the PKK as a terrorist organization in order to not upset their relationship with this group.

The foundation of Turkish nationalism has always been Islam. But with the current nationalist movement, religious symbolism and speech, as well as a stinging concern with sovereign rights, have been heightened. Many Turks also show great pride in their nation's democratic reforms throughout the years and declare their commitment to democratic ideals and an open country with liberty of faith and speech for everyone, countering these more internationalist, at least, go it alone—philosophies.<sup>96</sup>

While AKP's efforts for democratization, Kurdish and Alevi initiatives, and rapprochement with the Gülen community were evident to meet the EU-Copenhagen criteria between 2002 and 2010, it is seen that today it is more inclined towards an understanding of Ottomanism and Pan-

---

<sup>93</sup> Rezarta Bilali. The downsides of national identification for minority groups in intergroup conflicts in assimilationist societies. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, (2014): pp. 21-38.

<sup>94</sup> Tarık Oğuzlu. "Post-U. S Iraq and Turkey". Bilkent University International Relations Department. (2012): pp. 26-38.

<sup>95</sup> Erik Siegl. "Greek-Turkish Relations—Continuity or Change?" *Perspectives*, no. 18 (2002): p. 43.

<sup>96</sup> Mehmet Bardakçı. "Is a Strategic Partnership Between Turkey and Russia Feasible at the Expense of Turkey's Relations with the EU and NATO?" *Comparative Southeast European Studies*, (2021): pp. 535-559.



Islamism.<sup>97</sup> Under the state of emergency in 2016, AKP ensured the construction of a sectarian regime by using its iniquitous administration of justice and negatively impacting the social opposition and democratization process.<sup>98</sup>

In addition, AKP's alliance with the MHP, which is an extreme right-wing party, and his rapprochement with ethnic and nationalist parties such as the Vatan Party also shake the thoughts of the NATO members. It is not yet possible to say how these developments will lead to a change in Turkey's identity. However, it is seen that the trust of NATO in Turkey, and the Turkish state, and the living people in NATO is decreasing day by day.<sup>99</sup>

This idea is quite dominant in Turkey that many NATO member countries observe Turkey not as a strategic partner but as a strategic resource to be used in Central Asia, and these NATO states want to maintain Turkish indefinite status rather than allowing it to play an active role in Europe.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, Turkey focused on developing its economic and military capacity during the AK Party era and did not require NATO protection.<sup>101</sup> In this context, after Turkey announced that it would buy Russia's S-400 air defence system, alarm bells began to ring in NATO. This move made it difficult to keep Turkey as a partner in the NATO alliance. NATO has two problems with Turkey's S-400 purchase: (1) incompatibility with existing NATO platforms; and (2) Russian espionage activities may be exposed against NATO platforms due to increased military cooperation between Russia and Turkey. President Putin has long sought to weaken NATO, viewing it as a threat to his country since its inception.<sup>102</sup>

From 2002 to 2010, the AKP under Erdogan attained two main successes: army transformation and unparalleled economic development. Following the failed military coup attempt in July 2016, the Turkish army was entirely expelled and the majority of its senior officers were

---

<sup>97</sup> Turan Eser. "Reconciling Atatürk with Islamism." Birgun News, (2017). <https://www.birgun.net/haber/islamcilikle-ataturk-u-baristirmek-188776>.

<sup>98</sup> Archit Dhar & Zuha Noor & Sam Orloff & Andrew Orner & Gabriella Rabito. *The NATO-Turkey Relationship: Envisioning Future Prospects Amidst Growing Rifts*. Philadelphia: Perry World House. (2021): pp. 6-14.

<sup>99</sup> Oda Tv News. "Atatürk united the Republic, and AKP...." (2013). <https://odatv4.com/makale/ataturk-cumhuriyeti-birlestirdi-akp-ise...-3110131200-47011>.

<sup>100</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu, (2001). «Stratejik Derinlik». (2001): pp. 234-239.

<sup>101</sup> Kemal İnat. "Understanding the Turkey-NATO Relationship". (2019). <https://www.setav.org/turkiye-nato-iliskisini-anlamak/>.

<sup>102</sup> Kamal A. Beyoghlou. "Turkey and The United States on The Brink: Implications for NATO And the Us-Turkish Strategic and Military Partnership." Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, (2020): pp. 4-5.

forcefully retired, or detained for trial.<sup>103</sup> Currently, Erdogan enjoys the authority of commander-in-chief of Turkish armed forces with more powers ever existed before 2002. He appointed military officers with the consultation of his former trustworthy Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım, who served as a Speaker of the House. Turkey's Western alliance, and especially its relations with the United States, also suffered a setback after the Arab popular uprisings in 2011. Unlike its NATO partners, Turkey was not interested in overthrowing Muammar Gaddafi in Libya because Turkish companies had hundreds of millions of dollars in construction contracts, which can cause huge economic drawbacks.<sup>104</sup>

In 2009, then-US President Obama made his first overseas trip to Turkey. In this meeting, Turkey's moderate Islam was emphasized by the United States. He stated that Turkey is the only secular and democratic state in the Islamic world, and therefore it is of great importance for NATO and the USA.<sup>105</sup> After 2016, however, Erdogan's ultra-authoritarian tendencies to initiate human and civil rights violations and suppress freedom of expression and the press aroused serious suspicions about Turkish democracy in US and Western European circles. The reaction of the AKP and its supporters to the 2016 coup was harsh. Thousands of civil servants, soldiers, judges, and journalists were dismissed, imprisoned, or tried. Trustees were appointed to the newspapers where liberal journalists working against the AKP were working, and people who were Kemalist sympathizers were likewise excluded.<sup>106</sup>

In addition, Erdogan accused the Muslim philosopher and theorist Fethullah Gülen, who is in exile in Pennsylvania, of the July 15, 2016, coup d'état. Between the 2002 and 2010, the Gülen community contributed to the AKP's economic success. TUSKON (The Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists), a successful organization at that time, established a strong bond with Central Asian countries, and many countries working with this federation had common views with Turkey in terms of ethnicity, religion, identity, and culture.<sup>107</sup> TUSCON

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>104</sup> Steven A. Cook. "General Erdogan's First War." Foreign Policy Magazine. (February 2018). <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/07/general-erdogans-first-war/>.

<sup>105</sup> Sema Emiroğlu. "The US repercussions of Obama's visit to Turkey". DW News. (2009): <https://www.dw.com/tr/obaman%C4%B1n-t%C3%BCrkiye-ziyaretinin-abddeki-yank%C4%B1lar%C4%B1/a-4158178>.

<sup>106</sup> Kamal A. Beyoglow. "Turkey and The United States on The Brink: Implications for NATO And the Us-Turkish Strategic and Military Partnership." Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, (2020): p. 20.

<sup>107</sup> TUSKON EU asbl. "Report On the Purge in Turkey Right to Own Property – Impacts on Business Community." (2020). [http://tuskoneu.org/?dt\\_portfolio=report-on-the-purge-in-turkey-right-to-own-property-impacts-on-business-community](http://tuskoneu.org/?dt_portfolio=report-on-the-purge-in-turkey-right-to-own-property-impacts-on-business-community).

was closely linked to the Islamic Gülen movement, and this organization, working in partnership with the AKP, contributed greatly to the economy until 2010.<sup>108</sup>

Organizations in the USA that are related to Gülen held regular conferences with US government officials, and Islam's alignment with the West through modernity, rationalism, science, Western-style education, and inter-religious dialogue had a positive effect on Turkey's Democratization and Westernization identity in NATO. As a result, the corruption operations, which involving Erdogan and his family in 2013<sup>109</sup>, were somehow removed from the agenda with the coup in 2016, and the police officers, public employees, and media organizations involved in the corruption operation were suspended from state institutions or imprisoned in 2013.<sup>110</sup>

In presidential and legislative elections in 2018, the broad executive powers granted to Erdogan were confirmed by referendums, and Erdogan's hyper-presidential rule was extended until at least 2023.<sup>111</sup> There is a growing perception in Western countries that Turkey no longer adheres to NATO's fundamental principles and does not shy away from confrontational policies. Erdogan launched a comprehensive de-Kemalist and re-Islamization of Turkish society. In particular, Erdogan, who made an Islamist speech against Israel at the Davos forum, was supported by the Turkish nation and Muslim countries at that time and was subjected to criticism of an "axis shift" by Western countries.<sup>112</sup> Despite these criticisms, Turkey was given the opportunity to change its behaviour in 2010 and was granted permission to install the NATO Missile Defense System's early warning radar system in its country against countries like Iran and Syria. The placement of this radar system in Malatya was accepted at the NATO Lisbon summit. However, this event could not prevent the deterioration of relations between Turkey and Iran.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> Yaprak G. & Ilke Toygür. "Turkey in and out of NATO? An instance of a turbulent alliance with Western institutions." *Elcano Royal Institute*, (2018): pp. 1-7.

<sup>109</sup> Stockholm Center for Freedom. "Police officers who exposed Erdoğan family's corruption sentenced to life." (March 2019). <https://stockholmcf.org/police-officers-who-exposed-erdogan-familys-corruption-sentenced-to-life/>

<sup>110</sup> Constanze Letsch. *The Guardian*. "Turkish ministers' sons arrested in corruption and bribery investigation." (2013). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/17/turkish-ministers-sons-arrested-corruption-investigation>.

<sup>111</sup> Francesco M. Bongiovanni. "Turkey: The NATO Alliance's Wild Card". Volume: 17 Number: 2. (2018): p. 54.

<sup>112</sup> *The Guardian*. "Recep Erdogan storms out of Davos after clash with Israeli president over Gaza." (30. Jan 2009). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/30/turkish-prime-minister-gaza-davos>.

<sup>113</sup> Kemal İnat. "Transformation of the Capacity of Turkish Foreign Policy: Ak Party Era". *Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. (2014): p. 3.

## **Muslim Democratic AKP Identity**

With the AKP's election, Turkey has placed a greater emphasis on Islam in its national identity. Previously, Turkey was regarded as a country that could help NATO achieve its objectives in the East. With the AKP, this understanding has changed drastically. A sense of national belonging that constantly glorified the Ottoman past began to dominate. As Smith said: "A nation, it was argued, is a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy, and common legal rights and duties for all members."<sup>114</sup> The emphasis was placed on history, language, religion, and culture to build national identity and create a sense of belonging. With its political identity as a "conservative democrat", the AKP came to power as a "conservative democrat" with its political identity. However, after winning the election, AKP came to the fore with its approach to give less importance to the Islamic political view and understanding of the global Ummah and instead to establish a relationship with Muslim countries, as in the Ottoman period, in which Turkey is in a leading position in the Middle East among Muslim countries.

Until 2013, the AKP under Erdogan's foreign policy was in line with the West, and there were many ups and downs between Turkey and NATO's relationships. Turkey thought that its co-existing Western and Islamic identities and its geographical location could be used as an asset and a good example for other countries in the Middle East. The Turkish approach as "a model Muslim democratic country" was also supported by the USA after 9-11 under AKP rule. Following September 11, 2001, the Turkish government declared its unqualified support for the United States in any military operation in Afghanistan. In addition, during the presidency of Ahmet Necdet Sezer, Turkey sent a letter to the US administration indicating the availability of its airports in the event of an operation in Afghanistan, as well as its interest in sharing intelligence data on Afghanistan.<sup>115</sup>

In the meantime, Turkey's policy toward Afghanistan under the AKP administration was based on a "soft power" agenda. Turkey represented through approximately 300 servicemen to the NATO-affiliated transnational peacekeeping force known as the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which was grounded on American and British soldiers and came to Afghanistan on the 7th of October in 2001. From June 2002 to February 2005, Turkey

---

<sup>114</sup> Anthony D. Smith. "National identity." Reno: University of Nevada Press, (1991): p. 40.

<sup>115</sup> Yelda Demirağ & Burak Bilgehan Özpek. "Turkish foreign policy after the 'Arab Spring': from agenda-setter state to agenda-entrepreneur state." *Israel Affairs*, (2014): p. 335.

commanded ISAF. During this time, Turkey expanded its troop strength to 1300. Turkey also commanded the Kabul territory with almost 1800 service personnel for a year beginning October 31, 2009. It is also worth noting that, unlike other NATO members, Turkey delegated its armed forces in Afghanistan as non-fighter units. All these endeavours are directly and indirectly linked to the Turkish identity. Turkey's soft agenda toward Afghanistan represents that Turkey did not want to pose a harsh stance for any Islamic state, secondly, Turkey quite diplomatically did not lose its affiliation with NATO.<sup>116</sup>

But unfortunately, this Turkish image was destroyed by the Arab Spring due to its support for Islamic groups such as the Islamic Brotherhood in Egypt. However, the 2013 coup in Egypt was a failure of Turkish foreign policy, and the Muslim Brotherhood's defeat was also a failure of the AKP's Islamic ideological vision for the region. On the other hand, the war in Syria causes more severe consequences for Turkey's regional power efforts, defence, and relations with the NATO.<sup>117</sup>

The Turkish government wanted to see a change in the Syrian regime, which meant that Bashar al-Assad's government had to go. Nevertheless, this placed Turkey at odds with the reality on the ground and provided the impression that Turkish foreign policy consisted of non-realistic assumptions that Bashar al-Assad could be defeated in a short and limited time. During the Syrian war, the US and NATO's main target was ISIS, and to defeat ISIS, the USA was trying to use and make Kurdish warriors strong. Disagreements between Turkey and NATO arose when the US desired and began to support Kurdish fighters fighting ISIS in Syria. This US support for Kurdish warriors was not accepted by the Turkish government, which considered supporting Kurdish warriors a direct threat to Turkey's territorial integrity.

On the other hand, for Turkey, Syria poses a possible threat due to the Kurdish factor. Turkey will never tolerate the growth of the Kurdish national entity in Syria as well as in Iraq, which is so near its Kurdish south-eastern province. The main fear for Turkey is that Kurdish strength in Syria can increase the demands for Kurdish independence in Turkey and eventually, separation. Turkey was also worried about the potential growth of violence in its territory due to Al-Qaeda and ISIS. Turkey has also had concerns related to the long-term effects on its economy of a growing number of Syrian refugees. Furthermore, the Syrian war had the potential

---

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, p. 335.

<sup>117</sup> Yaprak Gürsoy & Ilke Toygür. Turkey in and out of NATO? An instance of a turbulent alliance with Western institutions. ARI 73/2018, (11 June 2018): pp. 2-4.

to disrupt Turkey's free movement of goods and services with neighbouring and other countries.<sup>118</sup>

### **AKP Identity After July 15 Coup Attempt**

The coup attempt on the 15th of July was yet another major moment that influenced Turkish-NATO ties, making them more despotic in their identity politics and forsaking their democratic values. Erdogan and other AKP members have repeatedly alleged that the failed coup, which was primarily orchestrated by air force army commanders, was conducted with the assistance of American-based preacher Fethullah Gülen. From the AKP point of view:

1. The USA's use of a few planes at the NATO airfield in Incirlik, Turkey, on the coup's final night.<sup>119</sup>
2. The USA's reluctance in denouncing the coup.<sup>120</sup>
3. Gülen's residence in Pennsylvania and Washington's refusal to extradite him despite Turkey's demands.<sup>121</sup>

As a result of the coup attempt, Turkey's democracy began to suffer greatly. The arrest of Hakan Atilla, deputy director of Halk Bank after the coup started to strain the AKP administration even more. Atilla was accused by the US of scamming money from Iran, which was detected by the state police, which was previously associated with the Gülen community. President Erdogan was suspected by the Gülen community of cooperating in money smuggling in the event.<sup>122</sup> As a result, Atilla's arrest began to appear as an AKP conspiracy against the Gülen community. In addition to causing tension between Turkey and the United States, the coup also had consequences that affected NATO. First, after the coup, the AKP administration started to move towards authoritarian rule. This has also begun to negatively affect relations with European countries.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> Kamal A. Beyoghlou. "Turkey And the United States on The Brink: Implications for NATO And The US-Turkish Strategic and Military Partnership." Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, (2020): pp. 10-16.

<sup>119</sup> Berk Esen & Sebnem Gumuscu. "Turkey: How the Coup Failed." *Journal of Democracy*, (2017): pp. 59-73.

<sup>120</sup> M. Hakan Yavuz & Rasim Koç. "The Turkish Coup Attempt: The Gülen Movement vs. the State." *Middle East Policy*. (2016): pp. 136-148.

<sup>121</sup> Fethullah Gulen: I Condemn All Threats to Turkey's Democracy. (2016, July 25). Retrieved December 20, 2022, from <https://www.nytimes.com>: <https://www.cimer.org.au/wp-content/uploads/documents/FETHULLAHGULENSTATEMENTONTURKEY.pdf>.

<sup>122</sup> Jon Pahl. "Fethullah Gulen: A Life of Hizmet." Clifton: Blue Dome Press. (2019).

<sup>123</sup> Ilke Toygür. "From a failed coup to state of emergency: democracy in Turkey today." Elcano Royal Institute, (2016). <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/commentaries/from-a-failed-coup-to-state-of-emergency-democracy-in-turkey-today/>.

The tension between Turkey and Greece increased when eight pilots escaped and took refuge in Athens after the coup. The Greek court refused the soldiers' requests to return, and the disputes in the Aegean Sea started to flare up again. The previous problems with Greece in Cyprus and the islands began to make it harder for Turkey to be in the NATO alliance. One consequence of the coup for NATO was that Turkey was divided into different ideological positions regarding its foreign alliances. It was stated that while one side advocates close relations with Eastern countries such as Russia and Iran, the other side is pro-NATO. The secular and republican principles of Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, began to weaken in the state administration. The continuation of these trends has resulted in the emergence of an administration with a pro-NATO stance and increased cooperation with Russia.<sup>124</sup>

#### **4.6 Turkey-NATO Foreign Policy Relationship**

The foreign policy adopted by the AKP in its early years depicted a clear understanding that Turkey should be accepted as an important member by all members of NATO. Turkey wanted to play a more active role in the policies implemented by NATO and not be a state that provides security in the Middle East. For this reason, Turkey began to bring its interests more and more to the table. Turkey began to care that NATO's policies should not collide with its foreign policy and tried to develop close relations with all neighbouring countries.

Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, said the following on this subject:

*“Geographically, Turkey has a very privileged position. Located in the middle of the Afro-Eurasian region, Turkey can be defined as a central country where many regional identities come together since it cannot be reduced to a single identity. Like Russia, Germany, Iran, and Egypt, Turkey cannot be associated with a mere region, both geographically and culturally. Turkey's regional diversity gives it manoeuvrability across many regions. Therefore, Turkey has a sphere of influence in its neighbouring regions.”<sup>125</sup>*

With Davutoğlu's definitions of "soft power" and "zero problems with neighbours", his expansion to the Middle East and surrounding countries was a continuation of Özal's liberal functionalist policies, which supported neo-Ottomanism instead of Kemalist foreign policy.

---

<sup>124</sup> Yaprak Gürsoy & Ilke Toygür. Turkey in and out of NATO? An instance of a turbulent alliance with Western institutions. ARI 73/2018, (11 June 2018): pp. 4-6.

<sup>125</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's New Foreign Policy Vision," Insight Turkey, Vol 10, No 1, (2008): p.78.

According to Davutoglu, Turkey could become the hegemon of the region, just like the Ottomans, by aligning its foreign policy around Ottomanism.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, the Islamic factor appears to be a necessary part of Turkish foreign policy rather than a deliberate ideological choice. With the support of the Islamic factor, a strong bond with the West could be established in the democratizing Muslim Middle East, which Turkey would lead. In this context, I can say that Turkey's NATO mission is the connecting point for the West to reach the East. Turkey would be valued by NATO to the extent that it could be useful for the West to achieve its interests in the East. Turkey was conceived as a Western country and it was expected to carry Western values to the East and to represent the West in the East. With the AKP, this understanding began to decline seriously.

Considering that Turkey is trying to be a country with multiple identities and is in a position that brings the West and the East closer, the reason why Turkey wants to be active in NATO is that it is important for its own interests.

### **Turkey's Relations with Russia**

Bilateral relations between Russia and Turkey share a vivid historical background. Following the Cold War, new perspectives and opportunities for their collaboration emerged. After speedy progress in economic partnership during the era of the 1990s, their association started a new chapter at the beginning of the 2000s with the close negotiation between the headships of Turkey and Russia and reached an official character with the formation of the High-Level Cooperation Council (HLCC).

Turkish-Russian associations, which had followed a smooth sequence of collaboration from a bilateral perspective, confronted a serious test as an outcome of armed activities associated with the Syrian crisis. However, a normalization process was initiated in reaction to the common objectives of the Russian and Turkish peoples. Since the second half of 2016, an extensive bilateral political conversation has resumed in this situation.<sup>127</sup>

Turkish-Russian relations are mainly driven by economic and corporate contacts. Russia has been one of Turkey's most significant trading partners. The total trade volume between these

---

<sup>126</sup> Meliha B. Altunısık. "Worldviews and Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East. New perspectives on Turkey." (2009): pp. 187-192.

<sup>127</sup> Jakob Lindgaard & Moritz Pieper. "Turkey's NATO future: Between alliance dependency, Russia, and strategic autonomy." Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies. (2020).



two countries summed up to 26,309 billion USD in 2019, where Turkey shared 3,854 billion USD in exports and 22,454 billion USD in imports. The total number of 1972 projects completed by Turkish contractors in Russia to date has a total value of nearly \$75.7 billion. Energy is one of the most crucial aspects of relations between Russia and Turkey. Moreover, Russia is at the top of the list of Turkish energy suppliers, and the Turkish administration is expanding its energy partnership through projects like Turk Stream and the Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant.<sup>128</sup>

Turkey's foreign policy has recently shifted towards Russia due to shared interests in resolving conflicts in the Middle East, particularly in Syria. However, this has strained its relationship with NATO over issues such as Syria and the extradition of Fethullah Gulen<sup>129</sup>, who is accused of masterminding the 2016 failed coup in Turkey. This has led Turkey to explore alternative partnerships, especially with Russia. The AKP, Turkey's ruling party, has shifted towards a more conservative and nationalist ideology, resulting in a more assertive foreign policy and closer relations with Russia. The relationship between Erdogan and Putin has been characterized by periods of cooperation and tension. However, Turkey's engagement with Russia has raised concerns within NATO. NATO is a military alliance of Western states, which share a common set of values and interests. Meanwhile, Russia views itself as separate from the West with its own set of values and interests. Russia has criticized NATO's expansion into Eastern Europe and involvement in conflicts such as Syria and Ukraine, leading to tensions between the two entities.<sup>130</sup>

From a constructivist perspective, the shift in Turkey's foreign policy towards Russia can be seen as a result of changing ideas and identities. Turkey's desire to diversify its foreign policy and reduce its dependence on the West reflects a changing perception of Turkey's place in the world and its relationship with the NATO.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Archit Dhar & Zuha Noor & Sam Orloff & Andrew Orner & Gabriella Rabito. *The NATO-Turkey Relationship: Envisioning Future Prospects Amidst Growing Rifts*. Philadelphia: Perry World House. (2021): pp. 6-14.

<sup>129</sup> The Guardian. "Turkey requests extradition of Fethullah Gülen but not for coup attempt, says US." (August 2016). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/23/turkey-fethullah-gulen-extradition-request-joe-biden-erdogan>.

<sup>130</sup> NATO. (July 2022). [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_50090.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50090.htm).

<sup>131</sup> Bahar Rumelili. "Negotiating Europe: EU-Turkey Relations from an Identity Perspective." *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 1 (2008): pp. 97–110.

In general, the Turkey-Russia relationship has had implications for NATO under constructivism theory, emphasizing the role of changing ideas, norms, and identities in shaping state behaviour and the dynamics of the international system.

The development of close relations between Turkey and Russia was also one of the factors that contributed to the rift between NATO and Turkey. Even though relations between Turkey and Russia have fluctuated for many years for various reasons, both countries have different levels of interest in Syria. But apart from the differences, cooperation between the two countries started to develop. Russia started to build Turkey's first nuclear plant, which was worth US \$20 billion. After the coup attempt in Turkey, Erdogan met Putin almost 11 times face-to-face and their relations seemed to be based on "intense diplomacy." For NATO, the most problematic outcome of Turkey and Russia's developing relations was Turkey's purchase and delivery of a Russian S-400 SAM system in 2019, which elicited a strong reaction from NATO. In reaction to the Turkish purchase of the S-400, the USA halted the delivery of necessary gear delivery for the F-35 fighter jet which Turkey already had placed an order for 100 aircraft. It was a crucial investment for its jet development.<sup>132</sup>

In this scenario, sanctions and warnings imposed by the United States were ineffective in preventing Turkey from receiving the second batch of S-400 missile defence systems from Russia. Even in reply to sanctions from the USA, President Tayyip Erdogan said:

*"In the future, nobody will be able to interfere in terms of what kind of defence systems we acquire from which country at what level."*

He further added:

*"Nobody can interfere with that. We are the only ones to make such decisions."<sup>133</sup>*

Analysing the United States' harsh reaction to Turkey's purchase of S-400 systems reveals that the United States has doubts that Russian S-400 missile system radar can easily understand how to track the F-35 and S-400 systems were developed to destroy the United States and NATO missiles. In a message to the Turkish Ministry of Defence on June 6, US Defence Secretary Patrick Shanahan stated that the purchase of S-400 missile defence systems will weaken

---

<sup>132</sup> Amanda Macias. "U.S. sanctions Turkey over purchase of Russian S-400 missile system." CNBC News. (December 2020). <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/12/14/us-sanctions-turkey-over-russian-s400.html>.

<sup>133</sup> Middle East Eye News. "S-400: Turkey intends to buy more Russian defence systems, says Erdogan." (September 2021). <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/s-400-turkey-intends-buy-more-russian-defence-systems-says-erdogan>.

Turkish relations with NATO, harm the Turkish economy, and the US will continue to block Turkish participation in the F-35 program.<sup>134</sup> Recent developments in NATO and Turkey's relations can take on a new perspective, especially after the start of the war between Russia and Ukraine. The US administration suggested Turkey transfer its S-400 defence system to Ukraine in response to the Russian attack. Even though Ukraine is not part of NATO, the USA and NATO want to help Ukraine in any way all possible.<sup>135</sup>

Turkey's foreign policy after the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, openly offered military assistance to the US against Afghanistan, reflecting its Western identity image. However, the first S-400 purchase and Turkish silence in response to NATO's suggestion that the S-400 system be transferred to Ukraine indicate that Turkey's identity is shifting from a Western alliance to one that is friendlier with Russia.

Even though Turkey is mostly neutral or friendly to the West, its policy is constantly shifting toward an interest-based ideology. Furthermore, in response to US suggestions of sending S-400 missile defence systems to Ukraine, which may help to restore Turkey-Russia relations and reopen the F-35 program and Patriot system for Turkey, Fahrettin Altun, Tayyip Erdogan's Communications Director, stated, "What the West must do is deliver the F-35 fighter jets and Patriot batteries to Turkey without preconditions."<sup>136</sup> This response once again reflects Turkish-Russian friendliness and independent interest-based policy. It is showing that Turkey is not going to sacrifice its interests related to Russia even for the sake of a deeper and closer relationship with NATO and the West.

### **Turkey's Relations with China**

In 2010, Turkey and China strengthened their relations and signed a strategic cooperative partnership agreement<sup>137</sup>, becoming co-partners in energy, politics, commerce, defence, and security. The agreement marked a significant step towards closer ties between the two countries. Before that, China, a developing economic power along with nations like Brazil, India, and

---

<sup>134</sup> Jakob Lindgaard, and Moritz Pieper. "Four Cases That Have Raised the Question of Turkey's NATO Future." Edited by Cecilie Stokholm Banke. *Turkey's NATO Future: Between Alliance Dependency, Russia, and Strategic Autonomy*. Danish Institute for International Studies, (2020): pp.10-13.

<sup>135</sup> Middle East Eye News. "US suggested Turkey transfer Russian-made missile system to Ukraine." (March 2022). <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/us-suggested-turkey-transfer-russian-made-missile-system-ukraine>.

<sup>136</sup> Al Mayadeen Net. "West must deliver F-35 jets to Turkey 'without pre-conditions'." Ankara, (March 2022). <https://english.almayadeen.net/news/politics/west-must-deliver-f-35-jets-to-turkey-without-pre-conditions>.

<sup>137</sup> China Daily News. "China, Turkey to establish strategic cooperative relationship." (2010). [https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-10/08/content\\_11386689.htm](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-10/08/content_11386689.htm).

South Africa, had a limited influence on Turkish foreign policy.<sup>138</sup> Since 2010, bilateral ties between Turkey and China have grown stronger, particularly in the economy. However, two dynamics support their current diplomatic situation. First, there is the ongoing development of economic ties, and second, there is an unspoken agreement to avoid discussing controversial political issues. The goal of all diplomatic efforts is to maintain the current situation.<sup>139</sup>

China and Turkey's present security status quo is unjustified because of recent changes in global politics and local crises. Turkey is a member of NATO, has an important strategic value to NATO when it comes to tackling a wide range of regional security challenges, and is a prospective member of the EU. Furthermore, China and Turkey take opposing stances on regional crises, including the Kosovo and Cyprus issues, the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, and the Syrian Civil War. China also has a completely different stance regarding Russian aggression in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus than Turkey. Emin Onen, the ambassador for Turkey, voiced displeasure about China's criticism of Turkish military activities in Syria as an example.<sup>140</sup>

China is still expanding its corporate operations in Turkey despite the lack of openness and reciprocity in the two countries' trade contracts. The roughly USD 800 billion Turkish economy's import and export share from China does not suggest a high level of dependence. However, the quality of the economic collaboration could raise concerns among Turkish economic and political actors, particularly in light of the lack of reciprocity and the substantial trade deficit.<sup>141</sup>

Moreover, after its relations with NATO have fallen to a low level, Turkey is considering closer cooperation with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization led by China and Russia.<sup>142</sup> It appears that China and Russia are open to the idea of making Turkey the next target for SCO expansion due to the rapprochement between Putin and Erdogan in recent years.

---

<sup>138</sup> Kadir Temiz. "Turkey-China Relations." SETA, No 196, (2017): pp. 7-11. (in Turkish)

<sup>139</sup> Kadir Üstün & Kılıç Kanat. "US-Turkey Relations in the AK Party Decade." Ankara: SETA. (2013).

<sup>140</sup> Jakob Lindgaard & Moritz Pieper. "Turkey's NATO future: Between alliance dependency, Russia, and strategic autonomy." Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies. (2020).

<sup>141</sup> Jim Zanotti. "Turkey: Background and U.S. Relations In Brief." Congressional Research Service Washington United States. (2023).

<sup>142</sup> Umut Uras. "Can the SCO be Turkey's alternative to the West?" Aljazeera News. (2022).

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/21/turkey-shanghai-cooperation-organisation-membership-nato-west-alternative>.

According to the Chinese perspective, Turkey-SCO relations have developed following the intensification of bilateral strategic partnerships, especially in economic ties with Ankara. As a result of China's attitude towards the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and the failure of Turkey's supply of Chinese missile defence systems in 2015, security relations with Turkey remain limited and complex.<sup>143</sup> Although China sees SCO membership as an opportunity to develop Turkey-SCO and China-Turkey relations broadly, Chinese experts tend to see Turkey's rapprochement with the SCO mainly due to Ankara's close relations with Russia.<sup>144</sup>

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

This chapter presents a broader picture of several ups and downs that Turkey has encountered during the start of the 2000s. During that era, Turkey's multi-dimensional foreign policy appeared active and progressive. Turkey seemed to reinforce its relations with two emerging economic power; China and Russia. That was the era when Turkey redesigned the overall snapshot of its national identity. The process of de-Kemalization and re-emergence of Islam were the points that painted a different picture of Turkish national identity. Turkey, quite sagaciously and tactfully, steered its relations with the USA but at the same time, it streamlined its links with other major powers of the world as well.

Turkey, a member of NATO, supports holding security-related conversations at the NATO level as opposed to the EU level. Additionally, it thinks that the Russian attack on Ukraine has demonstrated that, at least temporarily, the concept of European strategic autonomy lacks both substance and power.

Turkey needed to ensure that the issue of terrorism was not downplayed because NATO's new strategic concept was created to deal with an international security environment characterized by great power competition. As a result, Turkey gained from the fact that this issue still played a significant role in the concept. In the end, state-centric and conventional security concerns define the spirit of this chapter.

---

<sup>143</sup> Reuters News. "Turkey confirms cancellation of \$3.4 billion missile defence project awarded to China." (2015). <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-china-missile-idUSKCN0T61OV20151118>.

<sup>144</sup> Gaspers, Jan, Mikko Huotari, and Thomas Eder. "Can Turkey Play the Shanghai Card? China's Take on Ankara's Eurasian Security Endeavours and What It Means for Europe's Security Architecture." Federal Academy for Security Policy, 2017: pp. 1-5.

NATO is greatly aided by Turkey's strong military force, developing expeditionary capabilities, and growing defence industry (especially in drone technology). The Russian attack on Ukraine has shown that creating long-term stability in the Euro-Atlantic region is still an unfinished task, even as priorities shift and the focus of the world turns to the East. This has confirmed Ankara's continued geopolitical prominence, much to the joy of Turkish leaders.<sup>145</sup>

Elections in Turkey are coming up and might have a significant impact on the future of the nation. Turkish voters will be asked to select a new president and parliamentary majority by May 2023<sup>146</sup> at the latest. The Justice and Development (AK) Party and its eminently successful leader, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, have dominated Turkish politics for the past 20 years. Following a hotly contested constitutional amendment, Erdogan became Turkey's first executive president in 2018, having ruled the nation alone since 2002. Since the beginning of his political career, he has won every round of elections. Nevertheless, his popularity is waning after 20 years, which raises the possibility of political upheaval. As we can understand from my analysis, after coming into power, Erdogan has weakened Turkey's relations with other nations and NATO.

While comparing, I analyse that Turkey's identity before the AKP's government was truly secular, as designed by the Kemalist regime and followed for several subsequent years. But Turkey under the AKP administration is thought to be a variable, volatile, and unreliable state by most of its associates, allies, and neighbours, especially with NATO. In this situation, the most serious task for Erdogan will be to re-establish Turkey's overall international image, status, and place in a turbulent world. In the event of a new administration, it is anticipated that Turkey will form a better distance from Russia, substituting Erdoğan and Putin's associations with a more regularized affiliation. Turkey has been involved in quite a few armed engagements in the current years.

It has conducted three large-scale intrusions and one partial martial action inside Syria, assured a mounting military manifestation in northern Iraq, participated in the Libyan proxy<sup>147</sup> war via military consultants and drone fighting, and contributed to a regional war between Azerbaijan

---

<sup>145</sup> Eda Kuşku-Sönmez. "Dynamics of Change in Turkish Foreign Policy: Evidence from High-level Meetings of the AKP Government." *Turkish Studies* 20, no. 3 (2019): pp. 377-402.

<sup>146</sup> Wikipedia contributors. "2023 Turkish presidential election."  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Turkish\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Turkish_presidential_election).

<sup>147</sup> The Jerusalem Post. "A secretive proxy drone war just exploded in Libya." (2020).  
<https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/A-secretive-proxy-drone-war-just-exploded-in-Libya-628600>.

and Armenia. All these military incursions can get NATO support if Turkey can form friendly terms with NATO during the AKP's government.

In other words, Turkey's associations with NATO truly rest on the diplomatic expertise and sagacious intellect of Erdoğan. Now, Erdoğan is supposed to handle all these serious international situations with extreme seriousness. The AKP government has a lot more challenges to deal with now. Turkey needs to balance its relations with NATO, and this can only be possible if Erdogan maintains good relations with Washington. Beyond this, Turkey is serious about upholding its European allegiance without blemishing its pro-Islamic character. Tackling all of these situations is quite difficult for a new non-secular administration. Considering all these situations, Turkey is expected to act wisely, but one thing that has already been perceived is that Turkey is not willing to give up on its national interests, and recently hard-earned pro-Islamic identity without compromising its European personality as well.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis highlights the multifaceted, complex NATO-Turkey relationship. The research deals with the query, “How has the Turkish identity influenced NATO-Turkey relations under the AKP government?” My thesis examines how interests and identities are socially constructed and how behaviours are shaped in international relations. I explained the impact of constructivism theory on NATO-Turkey relations involving examining how this theory explains the dynamics of the relationship between Turkey and NATO and NATO's approach to dealing with Turkey and other states. My research is based on qualitative content analysis published between 2000 to 2022. This includes research articles, recent online news articles, magazine articles, and official Turkish Foreign Ministry documents that demonstrate Turkey’s behaviour during this period. By examining these resources, I tried to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of identity and interest in shaping the NATO-Turkey relationship under the AKP government.

Before AKP, the foreign policy of Turkey was utterly secular and strategically evolved until it became a NATO member. Turkey demonstrated constructivist thoughts and broke the shackles of its theocratic identity. It can be seen that there is a significant shift from the country's previous practices and evolving identities that can shape state behaviour. Turkey evolved its modern identity on secular principles, and its inclination toward the West led it to be a member of NATO. The national layout of Turkey designed in Ataturk’s regime played a significant role in the westernization of Turkey. Since its membership in 1952, Turkey has been an important ally of NATO.

After World War II, NATO was established to create a military balance against the Soviet Union. Turkey joined NATO to strengthen its defence against external threats and to acquire weapons. Ultimately, its membership helped NATO to contain Soviet expansion. During the cold war, Turkey played a crucial role in protecting the south-eastern borders of the NATO alliance. However, in 1970, the Cyprus crisis created a point of conflict between Turkey and NATO, which led to an arms embargo on Turkey and resulted in anti-Western and anti-US rhetoric in Turkish foreign policy. Turkish-American relations resumed a positive course when the embargo got uplifted in 1978.



In the post-cold-war era, a change in the international scenario resulted in an unstable environment which is full of economic, military, and political uncertainties in Turkey. In 1991, Turkey supported the US-led coalition against Iraq, and in 1993, it participated in UN Somalia missions; this demonstrates its willingness to contribute towards international security efforts. The tensions emerged due to the public opposition in Turkey against the Iraq invasion in 2003, and Turkey refused to allow the US to use the Incirlik airbase for its military operations.

The foreign policy attitudes of the AKP, which formed an identity construct compatible with the political administration such as democracy and secularism during its establishment, have also evolved in this direction. In this respect, AKP endorsed the identity construction process in the constructivism theory, including the international community. In the following periods, the AKP under Erdogan's leadership became more conservative, authoritarian, and discriminatory in its attitudes towards local politics and social life, and used more religious references, causing more criticism of Western institutions (NATO) in its foreign policy experiences, this has led to the emphasis on policies towards the Middle East region, which is subordinate to its religious authority.

As a result, Turkey's Middle East policy has gone through important processes of change with the AKP government. The analysis of these change processes, focusing on the relationship between identity and foreign policy roles within the framework of constructivism theory, provided important explanations in terms of providing the opportunity for analysis at both the system and individual levels.

On the other hand, Turkey considered the US support for Kurdish people in Syria a national security threat. In addition, the internal political developments and a crackdown on media and opposition groups under the leadership of President Erdogan were against the core principles of the alliance. Turkey remains a vital NATO ally despite these challenges and provides operational and strategic capabilities in a critical region. NATO plays an essential role in supporting Turkey's security efforts and promoting stability in the region.

During AKP's reign, there has been a significant change in the relationship between Turkey and NATO due to the cultural stance of the party, which uses Islam as an informal force to justify its actions. Turkey has been changing its foreign policy according to its ideological themes, and its latest pro-Islamic tendency has impacted foreign policy. For example, Turkey

strengthened its relations with Qatar, the Muslim Brotherhood, and some influence in African Muslim states.<sup>148</sup>

Through using constructivism, one can better understand how Turkish identity and NATO's evolving relationship are interconnected. According to this theory, the mutual relationships between states depend upon national interests and ideological dynamics, and the same goes for the Turkey-NATO relationship. Turkey has seemed to abandon its secular stance and transformed its national identity based on Islamic principles. Turkey has been dealing with international disputes and conflicts to maintain its European recognition and the status of an Islamic state. As constructivists argue, identity is not fixed, but rather constructed through social interactions with other actors in the global system<sup>149</sup>, Turkey's turn towards Islamism can be seen as a response to international and domestic factors such as the rise of political Islam in the Middle East and Turkey's growing regional ambitions.

While considering identity formation based on religious ideologies, there is a clash between Erdogan's religious policies and the democratic values of the NATO alliance. Owing to the Arab Spring, the development of the Turkey-Russia relationship, and the flop coup effort in Turkey, the relationship between Turkey and NATO has grown more intricate during the last decade.

The research concludes that since AKP came into power in 2003, there has been a significant change in the relationship between Turkey and NATO. AKP's foreign policies were friendly with its neighbours and it supported the cooperative policies of NATO in 2003. However, in the last two decades, there has been a shift in its foreign policy, due to which its strategic importance to NATO has decreased, and it has become a point of concern for Western allies. Turkey's continuing deficiencies in democracy and potential withdrawal from NATO can result in the imposition of sanctions on Turkey by the West, which can weaken the country economically and militarily. Hence, Turkey needs to cooperate with NATO's foreign policy and maintain its Western identity.

---

<sup>148</sup> Engin Yüksel & Haşim Tekineş. "Key Drivers of Turkish-Qatari Cooperation." Turkey's Love-in with Qatar: A Marriage of Convenience. Clingendael Institute, (2021): pp. 13-17.

<sup>149</sup> Alexander Wendt. Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. International Organization, 46(2), (1992): pp. 391-425.

This research also discussed the identity of Turkey after 9/11 and the Kurdish issue. It is considered that NATO countries don't consider Turkey as their strategic partner but rather take it as a strategic resource that they can use in Central Asia. During the AKP era, Turkey focused on developing its military and economic capacity and did not depend on NATO to seek protection. Due to this move, it has become difficult to keep Turkey in the NATO alliance. Turkey has purchased S-400 missiles from the Russian air defence system, and this has rung the alarm bells in NATO. This has led to concerns over Russian espionage activities and incompatibility with existing NATO platforms.

My thesis also explores de-Kemalization and re-Islamization and the changes it causes to Turkish nationality. De-Kemalization which is the eradication of Kemalism, Kemal Ataturk's philosophy that founded modern Turkey. Ergenekon and Balyoz, two legal purges that occurred during this phase, marked the culmination of this phase. Re-Islamization, on the other hand, has been spreading in Turkey, resulting in an identity crisis that has weakened Turkey's ties with the West. Critics argue that the AKP's policies have resulted in authoritarianism and political Islamism, even though the AKP aims to bridge the gap between Islam and democracy.

Even though Turkey continues to be one of the most valuable members of NATO, its position as a bridge between East and West has sometimes caused friction within NATO, along with its unique geographic location and political stance complicating relations with other NATO members. Hence, Turkey faces certain challenges while trying to maintain a relationship with the West and NATO.

The policies of Turkey have caused concerns among Western allies, reducing Turkey's strategic importance to NATO. In addition, concerns have been raised about compatibility with existing NATO platforms and Russian spying activities following the purchase of the Russian S-400 air defence system. Additionally, Turkish nationality has undergone changes through de-Kemalization and re-Islamization, resulting in an identity crisis that has undermined Turkey's relations with the West.

Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP) has placed a great deal of importance on Turkey's Ottoman and Islamic identity, which has resulted in a notable influence on the country's relations with NATO. This is particularly evident in Turkey's association with Russia and its shift towards authoritarianism. These developments have placed considerable stress on

Turkey's ties with NATO and raised apprehensions regarding the country's dedication to the principles and values of the alliance.

Turkey's international identity has been significantly influenced by its membership in NATO. However, this relationship between NATO and Turkey began to shift after Turkey procured S-400 missiles from Russia and trained its soldiers for this equipment. Despite these events that may push states towards prioritizing their interests, the formation of common identities cannot be eliminated.

It is important to note, however, that Turkey and NATO continue to cooperate on shared goals, such as regional security and stability, despite these challenges. The relationship Turkey has with NATO will continue to be an important part of its defence strategy as it faces a variety of security threats, both inside and outside its borders.

This thesis has significant implications for international relations. By examining the relationship between Turkey and NATO, one can better understand the significance of alliances in global politics. The findings of this study emphasize the importance of understanding international relationships in historical and cultural contexts. This study also provides valuable insights into the relationship between Turkey and NATO. By looking at this relationship, one can gain a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities that arise when nations align their interests.

Future research on this topic could analyse how Turkey's relationship with NATO is changing in light of evolving global politics. A future study could also examine how Turkey's relationship with NATO impacts its relationship with other regions and global actors. Furthermore, future research may investigate how NATO could address some of the difficulties and tensions with Turkey.

## References

- Abramowitz, M., & Barkey, H. J.. Turkey's Transformers: The AKP Sees Big. *Foreign Affairs*. (2009): pp. 118-128.
- Akgönenç, Mughisuddin, O. "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, 1918-1945: Historical Perspective". *BELLETEN* 57 (1993): pp. 249-270.
- Akkaya, Bülent. *AKADEMİK BAKIŞ DERGİSİ* (Journal). "NATO MEMBERSHIP OF TURKEY AND KOREAN WAR." No:28, (Jan-Feb 2012).  
<https://www.acarindex.com/dosyalar/makale/acarindex-1423868057.pdf>.
- Altunisik, Meliha Benli. "THE TURKISH MODEL AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 1/2 (2005): 45–63.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41859009>.
- Athanassopoulou, E.. *Turkey - Anglo-American Security Interests, 1945-1952: The First Enlargement of NATO*. Abingdon: Routledge. (2013).
- Aybet, Gülnur. *The Dynamics of European Security Cooperation, 1945-91*, (1997).
- Aybet, Gülnur. The Evolution of NATO's Three Phases and Turkey's Transatlantic Relationship. *PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs*, 17 (1), (2012), 19-36.  
Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/perception/issue/48985/625014>.
- Baharçiçek, Abdulkadir. Volume: 1 Issue: 1. *Journal of Academic Approaches*. «FROM NEUTRALITY TO ALIGNMENT: THE FORMATION OF NATO AND TURKISH BIDS FOR MEMBERSHIP.» (Winter 2010).
- Baltacı, A. " The Qualitative Research Process: How to Perform a Qualitative Research?" *Journal of Ahi Evran University Institute of Social Sciences* 5 (2019): 368-388.
- Bardakçı, Mehmet. "Is a Strategic Partnership Between Turkey and Russia Feasible at the Expense of Turkey's Relations with the EU and NATO?" *Comparative Southeast European Studies*, pp. 535-559, (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1515/soeu-2021-0001>.

- BBC News. "Ergenekon: "The court case that changed Turkey." (August 2013).  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-23581891>.
- BBC News. "Turkey-Syria border: Kurds bitter as US troops withdraw." (2019).  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-49960973>.
- BBC News Turkey. "Bülent Ecevit talks about Turkey's reaction to the US embargo in 1978."  
 (2018). [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2DPwRfiu\\_m8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2DPwRfiu_m8).
- Bekdil, Burak. "Turkey: NATO's Odd One Out." Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies,  
 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep04655>.
- Benli Altunisik, Meliha. (2009). Worldviews and Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East.  
 New perspectives on Turkey. 40. 10.1017/S0896634600005264.
- Beyoglow, Kamal A. "Turkey and The United States on The Brink: Implications for NATO  
 And the Us-Turkish Strategic and Military Partnership." Strategic Studies Institute, US  
 Army War College, (2020). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24340>.
- Bilali, Rezarta. "The downsides of national identification for minority groups in intergroup  
 conflicts in assimilationist societies." British Journal of Social Psychology, (2014), pp.  
 21-38.
- Brimmer, Esther. "Front Matter." Seeing Blue: American Visions of the European Union.  
 European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), (2007).  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep06932.1>.
- Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Greek Civil War". Encyclopedia Britannica, 26  
 Nov. 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Greek-Civil-War>. Accessed 22 January  
 2022.
- Bongiovanni, Francesco. "Turkey: The NATO Alliance's Wild Card". Volume: 17 Number:  
 2. (2018), pp. 53-62.

- Bozdağlıoğlu, Yücel. "Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy." *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 1 (2008): 55–75. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26328782>.
- Bölme, Selin. *The Politics of Incirlik Air Base*. (2007). *Insight*, pp. 82-91.
- Burchill, S., Linklater, A., Devetak, R. A., Donnelly, J., Paterson, M., Reus-Smit, C., & True, J. (2005). *Theories of International Relations*. (Third edition ed.) Palgrave Macmillan.
- Checkel, J. T.. "Review of The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory". By Martha Finnemore, Peter Katzenstein, and Audie Klotz. *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998), pp. 324–48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25054040>.
- CNN Turk News. "Last minute... İbrahim Kalın: 'There is no new solution process on the agenda'." (2018). <https://www.cnnturk.com/son-dakika-ibrahim-kalin-gundemde-yeni-bir-cozum-sureci-yok>.
- CNN Wire Staff. "Turkey's Erdogan hails constitutional referendum win." (2010). <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/europe/09/12/turkey.referendum/index.html>.
- CNN Wire Staff. "Turkey hardens military position after Syria downs jet." (2012). <https://edition.cnn.com/2012/06/26/world/meast/turkey-syria-plane/index.html>.
- Cook Steven A.. "General Erdogan's First War." *Foreign Policy Magazine*. (February 2018). <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/07/general-erdogans-first-war/>.
- ÇAKIR, Adem. "Constructivism Influences on Turkey-NATO Relations (1991-2011)." *Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations* 18, no. 71 (2021): pp. 45–66. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27085795>.
- Çakır, A. E.. *The United States and Turkey's Path to Europe: Hands across the Table*. Abingdon: Routledge. (2015).
- Dağcı, Gül & Diyarbakirlioglu, Kaan. "Turkish Foreign Policy during Adnan Menderes Period". *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 12 (2013): pp. 18-31

- Dalacoura, K.. A New Phase in Turkish Foreign Policy: Expediency and AKP Survival. London: LSE Research Online. (2017)
- Davutoglu, Ahmet. "Stratejik Derinlik." (2001), pp. 234.239.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. "Turkey's New Foreign Policy Vision," Insight Turkey, Vol 10, No 1 (2008).
- Davutoglu, Ahmet. "Zero Problems in a New Era." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey. (2013) [https://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h\\_e\\_-mr\\_-ahmet-davutoglu\\_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey-published-in-foreign-policy-magazin-2.en.mfa](https://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h_e_-mr_-ahmet-davutoglu_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey-published-in-foreign-policy-magazin-2.en.mfa).
- Demirağ, Yelda & Özpek, Burak Bilgehan. Turkish foreign policy after the 'Arab Spring': from agenda-setter state to agenda-entrepreneur state, *Israel Affairs*, 20:3, 328-346, (2014), DOI: 10.1080/13537121.2014.922806.
- Demirci, M. Cem. "Will the US impose an embargo on Turkey for the S-400? The first embargo in 1975." <https://tr.euronews.com/2019/05/23/abd-s-400-icin-turkiye-ye-ambargo-uygular-mi-1975-teki-ilk-ambargo#vuukle-comments-696022>.
- Dhar, A., Noor, Z., Orlof, S., Orner, A., & Rabito, Gabriella. *The NATO-Turkey Relationship: Envisioning Future Prospects Amidst Growing Rifts*. Philadelphia: Perry World House. (2021).
- Durmaz, Mahmut. "The U.S. Arms Embargo of 1975-1978 and Its Effects on the Development of the Turkish Defense Industry." (2014).
- Ekşi, M. " Geocultural Axis of Turkish-American Relations under the AKP Rule in the Middle East: Islamic Identity". *Gazi Akademik Bakış* 9 (2016): 59-77
- Elo, S., Kääriäinen, M., Kanste, O., Pölkki, T., Utriainen, K., & Kyngäs, H. Qualitative content analysis: A focus on trustworthiness. *SAGE open*, 4(1), (2014), 2158244014522633.
- Eminoğlu, Ayça & Demir, Sertif. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GLOBAL COMPETITION: NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION AND SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION. *Journal of Erciyes University*



- Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences. 115-142. (2018).  
10.18070/erciyesiibd.414768.
- Emirođlu, Sema. "The US repercussions of Obama's visit to Turkey". DW News. (2009)  
<https://www.dw.com/tr/obaman%C4%B1n-t%C3%BCrkiye-ziyaretinin-abddeki-yank%C4%B1lar%C4%B1/a-4158178>.
- Eraslan, İ. Turkey - NATO Relations after the Cold War. Sunnyvale: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing. (2013).
- Ereker, Fulya Aksu. "NATO's Security Understanding and Strategic Concepts", Security Posts Series, No.23, October 2019. [https://trguvenlikportali.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/NATOSTrategjikKonseptleri\\_FulyaAksuEreker\\_v.1.pdf](https://trguvenlikportali.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/NATOSTrategjikKonseptleri_FulyaAksuEreker_v.1.pdf)  
DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.12855.47527.
- Ersen, E.. Turkey's Pivot to Eurasia: Geopolitics and Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order. Abingdon: Routledge. (2021).
- Ertem, Barış. "Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan in Turkey-USA Relations". Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, 12 (21), (2009), 377-397. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/baunsobed/issue/50238/647982>.
- Eser, Turan. "Reconciling Ataturk with Islamism." Birgun News, (2017).  
<https://www.birgun.net/haber/islamcilikla-ataturk-u-baristirmek-188776>.
- Esen, B. & Gumuscu. Turkey: How the Coup Failed. Journal of Democracy, (2017): pp. 59-73.
- Garthoff, R. L. (1983). The Soviet SS-20 decision. Survival, 110-119.
- Gaspers, Jan, Mikko Huotari, and Thomas Eder. "Can Turkey Play the Shanghai Card?: China's Take on Ankara's Eurasian Security Endeavours and What It Means for Europe's Security Architecture." Federal Academy for Security Policy, 2017.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22203>.
- Gilsinan, Kathy. "Why is Turkey in NATO Anyway?" *The Atlantic* (2019),  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/10/turkey-and-nato-troubled-relationship/599890/>.

- Griffiths, M. Steven C. Roach, and M. Scott Solomon. "Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations." 2nd Edition. (2009): pp. 146-152.
- Gökay, B. (2021). Turkish Neutrality in the Second World War and Relations with the Soviet Union. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 845-853.
- Göl, Ayla. "The Identity of Turkey: Muslim and Secular." *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (2009): 795–810. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40388150>.
- Gül, Emre. "Gaddafi had helped Turkey after the 1974 Cyprus operation." (2011). <https://www.dunyabulteni.net/tarihten-olaylar/kaddafi-1974-kibris-harekati-sonrasinda-turkiyeye-yardim-etmisti-h181084.html>.
- Günes, Cengiz. "Kurdish Politics in Turkey: Ideology, Identity and Transformations." *Ethnopolitics*, (2009), pp. 255-262.
- Gürsoy, Yaprak & Toygür Ilke. Turkey in and out of NATO? An instance of a turbulent alliance with Western institutions. *ARI* 73/2018, 11 June 2018. <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/analyses/turkey-in-and-out-of-nato-an-instance-of-a-turbulent-alliance-with-western-institutions/>.
- Güvenç, Serpil. Turkey's entry into NATO. May 6, 2012. <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/28465/turkiyenin-natoya-giris-sureci>.
- Güvenç, S., & Özel, S.. NATO and Turkey in the post-Cold War world: between abandonment and entrapment. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*. (2012): pp. 533-553.
- Gürzel, Aylin. "Turkey's role as a regional and global player and its power capacity: Turkey's engagement with other emerging states." *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, (2014), pp. 95-105.
- Haglund, D. G. "North Atlantic Treaty Organization". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 18 Mar. 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/North-Atlantic-Treaty-Organization>.
- Hamilton, R. E. & Mikulska, A.. *Russian-Turkish Relations and Their Implications for the West*. Pennsylvania: Foreign Policy Research Institute. (2021).

- History.com Editors. "Soviets announce withdrawal from Iran". (November 13, 2009)  
<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/soviets-announce-withdrawal-from-iran>.
- Hodali, D.. Turkey and Russia at odds in Syria? (2018) From <https://www.dw.com/>:  
<https://www.dw.com/en/are-turkey-and-russia-at-odds-in-northern-syria/a-42374097>.
- Ilkha-Ilke News Agency. A black stain in Turkey's history: Military coup of September 12, 1980. (2020). <https://ilkha.com/english/analysis/a-black-stain-in-turkey-s-history-military-coup-of-september-12-1980-9850>.
- İnat, Kemal. Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern Studies. "Transformation of the Capacity of Turkish Foreign Policy: Ak Party Era". (2014).
- İnat, Kemal. "Understanding the Turkey-NATO Relationship". (2019).  
<https://www.setav.org/turkiye-nato-iliskisini-anlamak/>.
- Karaosmanoğlu, Ali L. "NATO Enlargement and the South a Turkish Perspective", Security Dialogue, Volume 30, No.2, 1999.
- Karasapan, Ömer. "Turkey and US Strategy in the Age of Glasnost." (October 1989).  
<https://merip.org/1989/09/turkey-and-us-strategy-in-the-age-of-glasnost/>.
- Kartoglu, Mustafa. "What has been done and what will be done in the solution of the Kurdish problem – I." (2015) <https://www.star.com.tr/yazar/kurt-sorunu-cozumunde-yapilanlar-yapilacaklar--i-yazi-1007689/>.
- Kauppi M.V. & Viotti P.R. International Relations Theory (Sixth). Rowman et Littlefield, (2020).
- Kayaoğlu, Barın. Strategic imperatives, Democratic rhetoric: The United States and Turkey, 1945–52. Cold War History. 9. 321-345. (2009) 10.1080/14682740902981403.
- Kennedy, R., & Dickenson, M. (2013). Turkish Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the AKP Era. Foreign Policy Analysis, 9(2), 171–188. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24910849>.
- Keyman, E. Fuat. "Globalization, Orientalism and the Problem of the Other: The World and Justice After 9/11." East West Publication Volume 4, Issue 20, (2002).

- Kingsley, Patrick. "Turkey sacks 15,000 education workers in purge after failed coup." *The Guardian*, (July 2016). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/19/turkey-sacks-15000-education-workers-in-purge>.
- Kiran, Abdullah. "Social Constructivism in International Relations". *Ekev Akademi Dergisi* Year: 15 No: 46, Winter 2011, p. 53.
- Kirisci, K.. *Turkey and the West: Fault Lines in a Troubled Alliance*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press. (2017).
- Kirişci, K. (2012). Turkey's Engagement with Its Neighborhood: A "Synthetic" and Multidimensional Look at Turkey's Foreign Policy Transformation. *Turkish Studies*, 319-341.
- Kisielewski, Michael R., "Identity politics and nationalism in the post-Cold War era: a critical approach to understanding mutual hostilities." (2000). Masters Theses 1911 - February 2014. 2555. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/theses/2555>.
- Kuşku-Sönmez, Eda. "Dynamics of Change in Turkish Foreign Policy: Evidence from High-level Meetings of the AKP Government." *Turkish Studies* 20, no. 3 (2019): 377-402.
- Kutlay, Mustafa & Öniş, Ziya. Turkish foreign policy in a post-western order: strategic autonomy or new forms of dependence? *International Affairs*, Volume 97, Issue 4, July 2021, Pages 1085–1104, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iab094>.
- Leffler, Melvyn. "Strategy, Diplomacy, and the Cold War: The United States, Turkey, and NATO, 1945-1952." *The Journal of American History*, (1985): pp. 807-825.
- Lesser, Ian O.. et al. "Turkey: 'Recessed' Islamic Politics and Convergence with the West." *The Muslim World After 9/11*, 1st ed., RAND Corporation, 2004, pp. 175–206. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg246af.13>. Accessed 19 Jan. 2023.

Letsch, Constanze. "Turkish ministers' sons arrested in corruption and bribery investigation."

The Guardian. (2013). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/17/turkish-ministers-sons-arrested-corruption-investigation>.

Lindgaard, Jakob & Moritz Pieper. "Four Cases That Have Raised the Question of Turkey's NATO Future." Edited by Cecilie Stokholm Banke. *TURKEY'S NATO FUTURE: Between Alliance Dependency, Russia, and Strategic Autonomy*. Danish Institute for International Studies, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25197.4>.

Lippe, John M. Vander. "Forgotten Brigade of the Forgotten War: Turkey's Participation in the Korean War". *Middle Eastern Studies*, 36(1), 92–102, 2000. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4284053>.

Loğoğlu, Faruk. "Turkish-American relations and September 26, 1978." (2018).

<https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/forum/2018/09/26/turk-amerikan-iliskileri-ve-26-eylul-1978>.

Magued, Shaimaa. "Restructuring State-Society Relations under the Rule of the AKP through Diplomacy". *Journal of Academic Inquiries* 7 / 2 (July 2014): 27-48.

Mark, E.. *The War Scare of 1946 and Its Consequences*. *Diplomatic History*, (1997): pp. 383-415.

McGhee, George. *Turkish Entry into NATO: The United States' Role, 1950–51*. In: *The US-Turkish-NATO Middle East Connection*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. (1990). [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-20503-5\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-20503-5_6).

Macias, Amanda. *U.S. sanctions Turkey over purchase of Russian S-400 missile system*. (14 December 2020) <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/12/14/us-sanctions-turkey-over-russian-s400.html>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey. "Turkish Foreign Policy During Ataturk's Era." <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-foreign-policy-during-ataturks-era.en.mfa>.

Mironova, Vera. NATO Review. (2016).

<https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2016/04/15/understanding-the-changing-tactics-of-so-called-islamic-state/index.html>.

Molla, Alptekin. "AN ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF NATO'S DEFENSE POLICIES." (2008).

Mütercimler, Erol. Yüksek Stratejiden Etki Odaklı Harekâta Geleceği Yönetmek, İstanbul, Publications, 2. Edition, 2006.

NATO. (July 2022). [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_50090.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50090.htm).

NATO. Int. Türkiye and NATO. Retrieved December 15, 2023, from

[https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified\\_191048.htm?selectedLocale=en](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified_191048.htm?selectedLocale=en).

Naval Postgraduate School. Turkish Influence in the South Caucasus and Levant: The Consequences for NATO and the EU (Turkey). Scotts Valley: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform. (2014)

Nicosia, Calogero. "How the 'Clash of Civilizations' Explains Turkey-US Relations". (2016).

<https://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com/how-the-clash-of-civilizations-explains-turkey-us-relations/>.

North Atlantic Council. Ottawa 15th-20th Sep. 1951. <https://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c510920a.htm>.

Odatv. "Is there a nuclear danger in Incirlik?" (2018). <https://odatv4.com/guncel/incirlikte-nukleer-tehlike-var-mi-yok-mu-06121839-151628>.

OdaTv News. "Atatürk united the Republic, and AKP...." (2013).

<https://odatv4.com/makale/ataturk-cumhuriyeti-birlestirdi-akp-ise...-3110131200-47011>.

Oguzlu, Tarık. "Making Sense of Turkey's Rising Power Status: What Does Turkey's Approach Within NATO Tell Us?" Turkish Studies, (2013): pp. 774-796.

- Oguzlu, Tarik. "Post-US Iraq and Turkey". Bilkent University International Relations Department. (2012): pp. 26-38.
- Oguzlu, Tarik. "Turkey and NATO." *Adam Academy Journal of Social Sciences*, (2013): pp. 1-10.
- Oguzlu, Tarik. "Turkey and NATO: An Ambivalent Ally in a Changing Alliance." *Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations* 9, no. 34 (2012): 99–124.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43926229>.
- Oguzlu, Tarik. Turkish foreign policy at the nexus of changing international and regional dynamics. *Turkish Studies*, (2016): pp. 58-67.
- Oktav, Ö. Z.. *Turkey in the 21st Century: Quest for a New Foreign Policy*. Abingdon: Routledge. (2016).
- Olsen, J. P., & March, J. G. (2009). The Logic of Appropriateness. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, 689–708.
- Oniř, Ziya. Turkey in the Post-Cold War Era: In Search of Identity. *Middle East Journal*, 49(1), 48–68, 1995. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4328771>.
- Ongur O., Hakan. "Identifying Ottomanisms: The Discursive Evolution of Ottoman Pasts in the Turkish Presents." *Middle Eastern Studies* 51, no. 3 (2015): 416–32.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24585897>.
- Ozalp, Mustafa. Benefits and Losses: Turkey-NATO Relations In Between Exit or Not to Exit. *Bilecik Şeyh Edebali Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 3 (2), (2018): pp. 404-421. DOI: 10.33905/bseusbed.426374.
- Ozcan, Yurter. "Turkey as a NATO Partner: Reality vs. Rhetoric." *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, (2012): pp. 105-112.
- Pamuk, H. (2022, March 20). U.S. suggested Turkey transfer Russian-made missile system to Ukraine. Retrieved November 10, 2022, from <https://www.reuters.com/>:

<https://www.reuters.com/world/us-suggested-turkey-transfer-russian-made-missile-system-ukraine-sources-2022-03-19/>.

Park, B.. *Modern Turkey: People, State and Foreign Policy in a Globalised World*. Abingdon: Routledge. (2011).

Park, B.. Turkey's isolated stance: an ally no more, or just the usual turbulence? *International Affairs*. (2015): pp. 581–600.

Pfaltzgraff, R. and McClelland, Charles A. (2019, October 15). international relations. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/international-relations>.

Phillips, D. L.. *An Uncertain Ally: Turkey under Erdogan's Dictatorship*. Abingdon: Routledge. (2017).

Pifer, S. (2011). “NATO, Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control.” Washington, D.C.: Bookings.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Cyprus (Historical Overview).

[https://www.mfa.gov.tr/cyprus-\\_historical-overview\\_.en.mfa](https://www.mfa.gov.tr/cyprus-_historical-overview_.en.mfa)

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. “Turkey- NATO Together for Peace and Security Since 60 Years”. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-nato-together-for-peace-and-security-since60-years.en.mfa>.

Reus-Smit, Christian. *Theories of International Relations*. (Third edition ed.) Palgrave Macmillan, (2005): pp. 188-190.

Reuveny, R., & Prakash, A. (1999). The Afghanistan war and the breakdown of the Soviet Union. *Review of International Studies*, 693–708.

Robinson, Richard D. “The Lesson of Turkey.” *Middle East Journal*, 5(4), 424–438, 1951. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4322327>.

Ruggie, J. Gerard. “What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge.” *International Organization*, 52(4), (1998), p. 862.



Rumelili, Bahar. "Negotiating Europe: EU-Turkey Relations from an Identity Perspective."

Insight Turkey 10, no. 1 (2008): 97–110. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26328784>.

Saatçioğlu, B., & Tekin, F.. Turkey and the European Union: Key Dynamics and Future Scenarios. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag. (2021).

Siegl, Erik. "Greek-Turkish Relations—Continuity or Change?" *Perspectives*, no. 18 (2002): 40–52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23615826>.

Smith, Anthony. "National identity." Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991.

Stein, A.. Turkey's New Foreign Policy. Abingdon: Routledge. (2014).

Stein, A.. Turkey's New Foreign Policy: Davutoglu, the AKP and the Pursuit of Regional Order. Abingdon: Routledge. (2015).

Stocholm Center for Freedom. "Police officers who exposed Erdoğan family's corruption sentenced to life." (March 2019). <https://stockholmcf.org/police-officers-who-exposed-erdogan-familys-corruption-sentenced-to-life/>

Pahl, Jon. Fethullah Gulen: A Life of Hizmet. Clifton: Blue Dome Press. (2019).

Pakel, Aykın. "Turkish - American Relations (1945-1980): Quest For Security and Adapting to Change." The Department of International Relations. Bilkent University Ankara. (2007), p. 111.

Temiz, Kadir. "Turkey-China Relations." SETA, No 196, (2017): pp. 7-11. (in Turkish) <https://setav.org/assets/uploads/2017/04/TRCin.pdf>.

The Guardian. "Recep Erdogan storms out of Davos after clash with Israeli president over Gaza." (30. Jan 2009). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/30/turkish-prime-minister-gaza-davos>.

The Guardian. "Turkey requests extradition of Fethullah Gülen but not for coup attempt, says US." (August 2016). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/23/turkey-fethullah-gulen-extradition-request-joe-biden-ergodan>.

- The Jerusalem Post. "A secretive proxy drone war just exploded in Libya." (2020).  
<https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/A-secretive-proxy-drone-war-just-exploded-in-Libya-628600>.
- The New York Times. Fethullah Gulen: I Condemn All Threats to Turkey's Democracy. (July 2016). <https://www.cimer.org.au/wp-content/uploads/documents/FETHULLAHGULENSTATEMENTONTURKEY.pdf>.
- Theys, Sarina. Constructivism. International relations theory. (2017),  
[https://eprints.ncl.ac.uk/file\\_store/production/243398/E34DFD4F-D44E-4ACF-9BBC-C73D632DA6BE.pdf](https://eprints.ncl.ac.uk/file_store/production/243398/E34DFD4F-D44E-4ACF-9BBC-C73D632DA6BE.pdf)
- Toygur, İlke. 'From a failed coup to state of emergency: democracy in Turkey today', Expert Comment, nr 38/2016, Elcano Royal Institute, 22/VII/2016,  
[http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano\\_en/contenido?WCM\\_GLOBAL\\_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano\\_es/zonas\\_es/europa/commentary-toygur-from-failed-coup-to-state-emergency-democracy-turkey-today](http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_en/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_es/zonas_es/europa/commentary-toygur-from-failed-coup-to-state-emergency-democracy-turkey-today).
- TUSKON EU asbl. "Report On the Purge in Turkey Right to Own Property – Impacts on Business Community." (2020). [http://tuskoneu.org/?dt\\_portfolio=report-on-the-purge-in-turkey-right-to-own-property-impacts-on-business-community](http://tuskoneu.org/?dt_portfolio=report-on-the-purge-in-turkey-right-to-own-property-impacts-on-business-community).
- Türkten, Idris. "Besieged Turkey". (28.02.2021).  
<http://www.kocaeliaydinlarocagi.org.tr/Yazilar/YaziDetay/11934>.
- Uras, Umut. "Can the SCO be Turkey's alternative to the West?" Aljazeera News. (2022).  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/21/turkey-shanghai-cooperation-organisation-membership-nato-west-alternative>.
- U.S. Army War College; Penny Hill Press Inc.. The Role of Turkey as a NATO Partner. Scotts Valley: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform. (2015).
- Uslu, Nasuh. "The Turkish-American relationship between 1947 and 2003: the history of a distinctive alliance". (2003).
- Üstün, K., & Kanat, Kılıç. "US-Turkey Relations in the AK Party Decade." Ankara: SETA. (2013).

- Vamvakas, Petros. NATO and Turkey in Afghanistan and Central Asia: Possibilities and Blind Spots, *Turkish Studies*, 10:1, (2009), pp. 57-74, DOI: 10.1080/14683840802648661.
- Vasiliev, A. (2010). *The Black Sea Region in Turkish Foreign Policy Strategy: Russia & Turkey on the Black Sea*. Georgia: Black Sea Peacebuilding Network.
- Vears, D.F. and Gillam, L.. “Inductive content analysis: A guide for beginning qualitative researchers.” *Focus on Health Professional Education: A Multi-Professional Journal*. Vol. 23 No. 1 (2022). Available at: <https://fohpe.org/FoHPE/article/view/544>.
- Voa News. “Erdogan: Turkey is an Example to the World.” (2005). <https://www.amerikaninsesi.com/a/a-17-2005-07-07-voa3-87977992/837269.html>.
- Wendt, Alexander. “Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics.” *International Organization*, 46(2), (1992), 391–425. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858>.
- Wendt, Alexander. “Collective Identity Formation and the International State”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol: 88, No. 2, (June 1994): pp. 384-397.
- Wendt, Alexander. “Constructing International Politics.” *International Security* 20, no. 1 (1995): 71–81. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539217>.
- Wendt, Alexander. “Social Theory of International Politics”. *Cambridge Studies in International Relations*. (1999), p. 21.
- Wendt, Alexander. “The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory.” *International Organization* 41, no. 3 (1987): 335–70. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706749>.
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, California, 1979, pp. 88-93.

Wikipedia contributors. "Bosnian genocide." Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnian\\_genocide#External\\_links](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnian_genocide#External_links).

Yavuz, M. Hakan & Khan, Mujeeb. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT: DUALITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT (1950 - 1991). *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 14(4), 69–94, (1992). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41858030>.

Yavuz, M. Hakan & Koç, Rasim. The Turkish Coup Attempt: The Gülen Movement vs. the State. *Middle East Policy*, (2016): pp. 136-148.

Yesevi, Çağla Gül. "Examining Social Constructivist Approach in the International Relations Discipline." *Electronic Journal of Political Science Studies*, Vol:12, (2021): pp. 52-74.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348900105\\_Uluslararası\\_Iliskiler\\_Bilim\\_Da\\_linda\\_Sosyal\\_Insacilik\\_Yaklasiminin\\_Incelenmesi](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348900105_Uluslararası_Iliskiler_Bilim_Da_linda_Sosyal_Insacilik_Yaklasiminin_Incelenmesi).

Yeşilbursa, Behçet K. Turkey's participation in the middle east command and its admission to NATO, 1950–52, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 35:4, 70-102, 1999. DOI: 10.1080/00263209908701287.

Yılmaz, Eylem & Bilgin, Pinar. Constructing Turkey's "Western" Identity during the Cold War: Discourses of the Intellectuals of Statecraft. *International Journal*, 61(1), 39–59, 2005. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40204128>.

Yılmaz, Şuhnaz. Turkey's quest for NATO membership: the institutionalization of the Turkish–American alliance, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 12:4, 481-495, 2012. DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2012.741844. Page 489.

Yüksel, Engin, and Haşim Tekineş. "Key Drivers of Turkish-Qatari Cooperation." *Turkey's Love-in with Qatar: A Marriage of Convenience*. Clingendael Institute, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep28664.6>.

Zanotti, Jim. "Turkey: Background and U.S. Relations In Brief." *Congressional Research Service Washington United States*. (2023).

Zehfuss, M. (2002). *Constructivism in international relations: The politics of reality*.  
Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.