

EUS4213/POS4931: Turkey and the EU: History, Present and the Future

Fall 2025 | 3 credits

Section Numbers:

EUS4213-2AB3(26021)

POS4931-TAEU(26230)

<p>NOTE: This course complies with all UF academic policies. For information on those policies and for resources for students, please see UF's "Academic Policies and Resources" web page.</p>

I. General Information

Meeting days and times: T-R (Period 8,9-Period 9) T(3:00-4:55 PM) R (4:05-4:55 PM)

Class location: MATHERLY HALL 102

Instructor(s):

Name: Asli Baysal

Office Building/Number: Turlington Hall 3328

Email: abaysal@ufl.edu

Office Hours: Wednesdays 10:00-12:00/ 2:00-3:00 PM

Course Description

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

- What does it mean to be European and can non-Christians be a part of it?
- Where do borders of Europe lie and how far can (should) the EU enlarge?

- How can the EU stem the tide of ultra-nationalist sentiment rising in individual member states?
- Can the EU help promote liberal democratic norms outside its own borders?
- What is the EU's impact as a regional and/or global actor, and what the EU has to bear in mind when considering a common foreign and security policy?

While using Europeanization and (de)Europeanization as a broad theoretical framework, this course explores the current state of Turkey's EU accession bid from a variety of perspectives, structured along issues, dynamics, actors and policies that drive Turkish politics and it provides an integrated assessment of the dynamics in Turkey-EU relations. Moreover, this course situates the Turkish accession process through comparisons with the contemporary Western Balkan countries.

Prerequisites

Prereq: Sophomore standing or higher.

General Education Designation: none.

Course Materials

- Canvas E-learning Platform

Materials will be available through the following means:

The required materials (journal articles, book chapters, videos, lecture slides) will be available online via Canvas. If you have problems accessing the required materials, please let me know as soon as possible so that I can contact either the library or the bookstore to make sure you have the materials for each of our sessions. In order to have off-campus access to library licensed articles you must authenticate yourself to the UF network. UF libraries recommend installing the 'Virtual Private Network' software for this purpose. If you connect from campus, another way suggested by our libraries is to search the article on Google Scholar, which "enables checking to see if access to full text has been licensed by the UF Libraries (and connecting to it if it does)". Please familiarize yourself with various ways to access academic publications. The instructor will use Canvas e-learning system to communicate with students. The page of the course will frequently be updated to include relevant visual materials, required and recommended readings.

Materials Fee: N/A

II. Course Goals

Course Objectives

This course will first analyze and evaluate the EU enlargement policy and the chronology of Turkey-EU relations. We will then discuss the historical patterns of continuity and change over time since the Ottoman Empire to the extent it helps us understand the current politics, society, and culture in Turkey. The modernization of the late Ottoman Empire will be contextualized as an experiment to address domestic and international challenges in a decaying Empire. These challenges will be discussed at length to contextualize the birth of a new nation-state bordering

Europe and the Middle East. The second part of this course will survey the origins of state-building and nation-building in the new Turkish Republic after the Turkish War of Independence. We will discuss reforms and institutions in the early years of the Republic by focusing on the identity formation of the state as a secular, Western, democratic entity. This way, students will have a broader understanding of the democratization attempts in Turkey in the context of the transition from single-party to multi-party rule in 1950 and the civil-military relations in the following years. The third part of the course will focus on various themes: religion, ethnicity, class and gender identities, interest groups and civil society in Turkey and the problems in these areas that jeopardized the path to Europeanization. The fourth part of the course will look at the simultaneous processes of Europeanization and de-Europeanization

Student Learning Outcomes

A student who successfully completes this course will be able to:

- Remembering and understanding the evolution of Turkey-EU relations: recalling the chronology
- Differentiating between different enlargement processes
- Evaluating the EU's perception of Turkish culture and politics

III. Graded Work

Graded Components

News Briefings (10%): News Briefings will assess your ability to summarize a single news (of the past week/weeks) as it relates to Turkey and the EU or enlargement policy. You will post your briefing on the discussion part of Canvas along with the link to the original article or articles and write a paragraph (paraphrase) on what the news is about and how it relates to our class. This is going to be an open post for everyone to see. Students are expected to submit two news briefings per semester. To prevent similar posts on the same week and to ensure there is news briefing for every week, the instructor will distribute a sign-up sheet so that two or three students post news briefings per week. If you forget to post your news briefing, inform the instructor. These briefings will be graded at the end of the semester. Be informative. Due on Thursdays at noon on the week students sign up for a news briefing. Expect to say a few words on the news you posted in class.

Attendance (20%): To receive a full participation grade, you should make an effort to attend all sessions. More than 4 unexcused absences will count against your attendance grade. Any unexcused absences during synchronous sessions will also hurt your grade on other assignments. It is important to attend my office hours to find out about what you have missed or make friends in this class to catch up. I cannot respond in an e-mail explaining what the student have missed. Office hours are the appropriate times to find out about the missed class. However I reserve the right to switch to recorded sessions because we are in the midst of a pandemic that might affect a number of students at once. In those cases, I will only share the recording to those who have warned about their absence ahead of time and I will also notify the students that the particular session is being recorded. Do not rely on this exception as the privacy concerns outweighs one

student's missing a class. Contact me each time you cannot attend the in-person session ahead of time explaining why. Your e-mail will be saved in a folder to excuse your absence at the end of the semester.

Participation (10%): This includes asking and responding to questions, being able to summarize and criticize the reading material, citing relevant news on the issue, engaging in a meaningful and respectful conversation on the issues with fellow students and the instructor. The use of technology in the online classroom or in-person classroom is strictly limited to note taking and viewing the reading material. If a student fails to uphold to this principle (texting, video-streaming, browsing social media, not being present and attentive in discussion rooms), the instructor will hold the right to ask you to correct your behavior. We understand that we all have different levels of comfort regarding speaking in class. If you have any issues that prohibit you from participating in class, we encourage you to contact us so we can find ways to make participation work for you in this class. The rubric is available online.

Criteria	Full Marks (2 pts)	Partial Marks (1 pt)	No Marks (0 pts)
Attendance	Attends all classes; arrives on time and stays for the duration.	Occasionally late or misses 1 class without valid reason.	Frequently absent or late; pattern of disengagement.
Preparedness	Always prepared; has completed all readings and assignments before class.	Sometimes prepared; occasionally misses reading/assignments.	Rarely prepared; does not complete required work.
Quality of Contribution	Contributions are relevant, insightful, and advance discussion.	Contributions are sometimes relevant but shallow or off-topic.	Contributions are irrelevant or not given.
Engagement	Actively listens, participates, and responds to others; supports classroom dynamic.	Participates when called upon or with prompting.	Does not participate, or is disruptive/disrespectful.

Criteria	Full Marks (2 pts)	Partial Marks (1 pt)	No Marks (0 pts)
Collaboration	Encourages participation of others; respectful and open to different perspectives.	Sometimes interacts respectfully; participation is uneven.	Disregards others' input; may monopolize/dismiss discussion.

Total Possible Points: 10

Grading Scale

- 9–10 Points: Exceptional Participation

Consistent, thoughtful, and respectful contributions; models exemplary engagement.

- 7–8 Points: Meets Expectations

Regular participation and preparation; occasionally could be more engaged or insightful.

- 5–6 Points: Developing

Inconsistent participation or preparation; needs to improve engagement or quality.

- 0–4 Points: Unsatisfactory

Rarely participates; often unprepared or disengaged; negatively impacts class experience.

Quizzes (30%): To evaluate students' general comprehension of the required material. Quizzes will be online and open book with time limitation every other week. It will be true/false, multiple choice and short answers. There will be 6 quizzes and the best 4 will be included in your grade. For officially excused delays in taking the quiz, the instructor will allow a week to complete missed quizzes.

Progress Report Evaluation (20%): Final Paper will constitute 20% of your grade. It will be to your benefit to begin thinking about it and working on it early in the semester. It will include one of the progress reports of Turkey and you will evaluate Turkey's readiness to make further progress on the issue. This paper will require outside reading. Much of the basic information will come from class, but all specific information pertinent to your topic will come from additional outside sources. All papers must include a title, an abstract, page numbers, headings and subheadings where appropriate, a bibliography that includes all reference materials, footnotes/endnotes where appropriate, and proper in-text citations. Papers must be typed using standard margins, 12pt type and double-spaced. The length of the paper should be 8-10 pages. You may choose any recognized citation format, but you must be consistent throughout. A detailed guideline will be provided during the semester through Canvas e-learning system. Final papers must be submitted to Turnitin on Canvas for plagiarism check. There is no need to submit a hard copy. Each student should have a private meeting with the instructor to discuss their paper topic ideas. You should know your topic and be able to talk about a preliminary outline. Choose one of the general themes from the syllabus and decide on which aspect you would like to write on. Further guidelines will be provided. Final papers are due when the official final exam date is due.

Presentation (10%): A total of 10-min presentation should include an overview of the part of the progress report of Turkey the student chooses to focus. The scheduling of your presentations will take place in class after drop/add period. Any unexcused absences on your presentation day will count as a failing grade on the assignment. There will be absolutely no change of presentation dates unless you find someone else to switch assignments with. If a student misses his/her presentation without an excuse, there is no make-up. In other cases, the presentation can be scheduled at a later time. If there is an excused absence, the student will provide a 10 min recording of the presentation at an agreed time with the professor and attend the office hours of the instructor after they upload the video.

TOTAL: 100%

Grading Scale

Letter Grade	Number Grade
A	100-92.5
A-	92.4-89.5
B+	89.4-86.5
B	86.4-82.5
B-	82.4-79.5
C+	79.4-76.5
C	76.4-72.5
C-	72.4-69.5
D+	69.4-66.5
D	66.4-62.5
D-	62.4-59.5
E	59.4-0

Note: A minimum grade of C is required to earn General Education credit.

IV. Calendar

Date	Topic	Quiz	News Briefing
1	Introduction		Thursday, 1 pm
2	History of Enlargement: Early Years		Thursday, 1 pm
3	History of Enlargement: Modern Period	Tuesday, 1 pm	Thursday, 1 pm
4	History of Turkey-EU Relations: Foundation		Thursday, 1 pm
5	Turkey-EU Relations: Recent Developments	Tuesday, 1 pm	Thursday, 1 pm
6	European Identity and the Turks: Classical Era		Thursday, 1 pm
7	European Identity and the Turks: Contemporary Views	Tuesday, 1 pm	Thursday, 1 pm

Date	Topic	Quiz	News Briefing
8	Secular Identity and the Kemalist Legacy: Historical		Thursday, 1 pm
9	Secular Identity and the Kemalist Legacy: Modern Era	Tuesday, 1 pm	Thursday, 1 pm
10	Democratic Identity & Transition: Pre-2000		Thursday, 1 pm
11	Democratic Identity & Transition: 21st Century	Tuesday, 1 pm	Thursday, 1 pm
12	Authoritarian Setbacks: Civil-Military Relations I		Thursday, 1 pm
13	Turkish Foreign Policy and EU Relations	Tuesday, 1 pm	Thursday, 1 pm
14	Progress Report Presentations		Thursday, 1 pm
15	Thanksgiving		
16	Progress Report Presentations		
		Papers Due- Final Exam Date	

1. Introduction

- Suggested Reading:

Dinan, D. (2014). *Europe Recast: A History of European Union* (2nd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chapters: 1 (Introduction to the EU), 2 (Foundations of European Integration).

BBC News. (n.d.). What is the European Union?

2. History of Enlargement: Early Years

- Schimmelfennig, F., & Sedelmeier, U. (2002). Theorizing EU enlargement: Research focus, hypotheses, and the state of research. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(4), 500–528.
- Dinan, D. (2014). *Europe Recast*.
Chapter: 5 (Enlargement in the Early Years: 1970s–1980s).
- Kirişçi, K. (2025, February 14). A new but ambiguous momentum in EU enlargement. International Centre for Defence & Security. <https://icds.ee/en/a-new-but-ambiguous-momentum-in-eu-enlargement/>
- Öniş, Z. (2023). Historic missed opportunities and prospects for renewal: Turkey-EU relations in a post-Western order. *Turkish Studies*, 24(3–4), 691–713.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2023.2168192>
- Congressional Research - European Union Enlargement

3. History of Enlargement: Modern Period

- Vachudova, M. A. (2005). *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford University Press.
Introduction and Chapter 2 (Post-Communist Enlargement and EU).
- Wallace, H., & Wallace, W. (2000). *Policy-making in the European Union*. Oxford University Press.
Chapter: 2 (Enlargement and Policy Adjustment).
- Aydın-Düzgit, S., & Fagerholm, A. (2024, December). The future of EU-Turkey relations: Transactional bargaining continues. Finnish Institute of International Affairs. <https://fiia.fi/en/publication/the-future-of-eu-turkey-relations>
- Börzel, T., & Risse, T. (2024). Introduction: The Europeanisation of identities through everyday practices. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 32(1), 1-12.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2024.2310021>

4. History of Turkey-EU Relations: Foundation

- Müftüler-Baç, M. (1997). *Turkey's Relations with a Changing Europe*. Manchester University Press.
Chapter: 1 (Origins of Turkey-EU Relations).
- Rumelili, B. (2008). *European Identity and Turkey's Accession to the EU*. Routledge.
Chapter: 2 (European Identity and Turkey's Place).
- Rill, K. (2025). Germany's central role in EU-Turkey relations and its implications. *Environmental Politics*, 34(3), 435–452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2025.2502836>
- Seckin Baris Gulmez, A. E. Topal, & Rumelili, B. (2023). Europe and Turkey: identities in evolution. An analytical literature review. *Frontiers in Political Science*, 5, 111-135.
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC10445910/>

5. Turkey-EU Relations: Recent Developments

- Tocci, N. (2014). *Turkey's European Future: Behind the Scenes of America's Influence on EU-Turkey Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Chapters: 3 (EU-Turkey Negotiations to 2014), **5** (Current Challenges and Prospects).
- Wächter, L. (2025). Narratives in flux: Turkish elite perspectives on Germany's role in EU-Turkey relations. *Environmental Politics*, 34(4), 497–519. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2025.2530964>
- Özcan, N. (2025). Türkiye-EU relations amidst shifting global order. Trends Research & Advisory. <https://trendsresearch.org/insight/turkiye-eu-relations-amidst-shifting-global-order/>
- Geddes, A. (2024). Turkey and the EU: waning foreign policy alignment in a changing context. *Mediterranean Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2024.2359806>

6. European Identity and the Turks: Classical Era

- Neumann, I. B. (1999). *Uses of the Other: The 'East' in European Identity Formation*. University of Minnesota Press.
Chapters: 1 (Introduction to Identity Formation), 4 (The Ottoman Empire and Europe).
- Barkey, K. (2008). Empire and European identity formation. *European Review of History*, 15(4), 450–462.
- Yabancı, B. (2025). Turkey as a “Geopolitical Other”: The construction of European identities. *European Review of International Studies*, 14(2), 120–142.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1867299X25100287>

7. European Identity and the Turks: Contemporary Views

- Diez, T. (2004). Europe's Others and the Return of Geopolitics. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 17(2), 319–335.
- Yilmaz, H. (2007). Turkish identity on the road to the EU. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 9(3), 305–315.
- Gürkan, S. (2025). The West and the rest: the Westernised nature of Europe(anness). *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 33(2), 230–246. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2025.2500399>

8. Secular Identity and the Kemalist Legacy: Historical

- Zürcher, E. J. (2004). *Turkey: A Modern History*. I.B. Tauris.
Chapters: 7–9 (Formation of the Republic and Kemalist Ideology).
- Ahmad, F. (1993). *The Making of Modern Turkey*. Routledge.
Chapters: 5–6 (Kemalism and Secularism in Early Turkey).
- Akkaya, A. H. (2024). Turkey’s evolving secularism: The past and the present. *Middle East Critique*, 33(1), 45–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2024.1832564>

9. Secular Identity and the Kemalist Legacy: Modern Era

- Çınar, M. (2011). The Justice and Development Party and the Kemalist establishment. *Turkish Studies*, 12(2), 195–210.
- Jenkins, G. (2007). *Political Islam in Turkey: Running West, Heading East?* Palgrave Macmillan.
Chapters: 3–4 (Secularism and Islamist Movements Under AKP).
- Esen, B., & Gümüşçü, Ş. (2024). Authoritarian elections under the AKP rule. *South European Society and Politics*, 29(2), 203–222. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2024.1784821>

10. Democratic Identity & Transition: Pre-2000

- Heper, M. (2002). The consolidation of democracy versus democratization in Turkey. *Turkish Studies*, 3(1), 53–67.

- Özbudun, E. (2023). Democratization and political change in Turkey. *Democratization*, 30(1), 15–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2022.2138561>

11. Democratic Identity & Transition: 21st Century

- Özbudun, E. (2014). AKP at the crossroads: Erdoğan's majoritarian drift. *South European Society and Politics*, 19(2), 155–167.
- Freedom House. (2024). Turkey Country Report.
- Rumelili, B., & Yıldız, M. (2024). Democratic consolidation and its discontents in Turkey. *Mediterranean Politics*, 29(1), 123–141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2024.1875349>

12. Authoritarian Setbacks: Civil-Military Relations I

- Hale, W. (2011). *The Turkish Army and Politics* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
Chapters: 5–7 (Military Influence 1980–2000, Role in Politics).
- Aydin-Düzgit, S. (2024). Civil-military relations in Turkey: A decade of change? *Turkish Studies*, 25(3), 455–474. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2024.1254567>

13. Turkish Foreign Policy and EU Relations

- Altunışık, M. B., & Martin, L. G. (2011). Making sense of Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East under AKP. *Turkish Studies*, 12(4), 569–587.
- Tocci, N. (2011). Turkey and the European Union: A journey in the unknown. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 13(1), 101–107.
- Kardaş, Ş. (2024). Strategic autonomy as a dynamic of convergence in Türkiye-EU relations. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/10/strategic-autonomy-as-a-dynamic-of-convergence-in-turkiye-eu-relations?lang=en>

14/16. Progress Report Presentations, Papers Due, Final Exam

- No assigned readings. Use all above materials for research and writing.

Evaluations

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online. Students can complete evaluations in three ways: [1] The email they receive from GatorEvals; [2] Their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals; or [3] The central portal at <https://my-ufl.bluer.com>.

Guidance on how to provide constructive feedback is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.

Honor Code

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” The Conduct Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. See the UF Conduct Code website (<https://sccr.dso.ufl.edu/policies/student-honor-code-student-conduct-code/>) for more information. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.”

Students Requiring Accommodation

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the Disability Resource Center by visiting <https://disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started/>. It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

Use of Artificial Intelligence Tools

The UF AI Ethics states “UF is committed to an ethical and equitable approach to artificial intelligence in its teaching, research and business practices.” (<https://ai.ufl.edu/about/ai-ethics/>)

In the course, we will recognize two categories of AI tools: Assistive AI (AAI) and Generative AI (GAI) tools.

- The AAI tools may suggest, correct, or improve student-created content. Examples of such tools are Google’s Gmail, Microsoft’s Outlook, Word, and Grammarly.
- The GAI tools produce content that may be represented as text, image, translation, sound, or code. Examples of such tools are ChatGPT, Dall-e, Copilot, and Gemini.

In the course, the AAI tools are allowed and do not have to be cited or listed. The GAI tools may be permitted in specific situations (as described in assignments and assessments). If GAI tools are used to create content that is described as something that students should produce by themselves it will be treated as a violation of the UF Honesty Policy (“A Student

must not represent as the Student's own work all or any portion of the work of another person or Entity").

Campus Resources

Health and Wellness

U Matter, We Care:

If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact umatter@ufl.edu, 352-392-1575, or visit U Matter, We Care website to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.

Counseling and Wellness Center:

Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.

Student Health Care Center:

Call 352-392-1161 for 24/7 information to help you find the care you need, or visit the Student Health Care Center website.

University Police Department:

Visit UF Police Department website or call 352-392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies).

UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center:

For immediate medical care call 352-733-0111 or go to the emergency room at 1515 SW Archer Road, Gainesville, FL 32608; Visit the UF Health Emergency Room and Trauma Center website.

Academic Resources

E-learning technical support:

Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.

Career Connections Center:

Reitz Union Suite 1300, 352-392-1601. Career assistance and counseling services.

Library Support:

Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.

Teaching Center:

Broward Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352-392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.

Writing Studio:

2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.

Student Complaints On-Campus:

Visit the Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code webpage for more information.

On-Line Students Complaints:

View the Distance Learning Student Complaint Process.

Let me know if you need more from other sections or any specific format.