THE EUROPEANIZATION OF TURKISH SECURITY
CULTURE: A REALITY OR MYTH?

A Master's Thesis

by

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I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

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ABSTRACT

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Turkish journey to Europe has a history longer than 40 years however especially in the last 10 years more and more scholars started to study "Europeanization of Turkey" especially the foreign policy dimension. This thesis aims at contributing the growing Europeanization literature by looking at the degree of Europeanization in Turkish Security Culture. The traditional realpolitik nature of Turkish Security Culture has shown signs of change in the last decade especially in terms of style and the process dimensions and more European means are utilized by Turkish policy makers. This new situation creates a critical question for anyone interested in Turkish politics: do those changes observed in Turkish Security Culture mean a European transformation has taken place? After explain and comparing the European and Realpolitik Security cultures, this thesis shows that Turkish Security Culture has undergone a change in terms of the style security matters are handles and in terms of processes involved, yet the ultimate goals Turkey pursuing are still defined in terms of realpolitik mindset. True Europeanization requires pursuit of European ends with European means and against this background, Turkish Security Culture, which desires to achieve realpolitik ends but wits European means, does not fit in to the definition of European Security Culture.

Keywords: Europeanization, Security, Turkish Security Culture, Realpolitik, transformation

ÖZET

TÜRK GÜVENLİK KÜLTÜRÜNÜN AVRUPALILAŞMASI: GERÇEK Mİ EFSANE Mİ?

Bulut,Serkan
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Türkiye'nin Avrupa yolculuğu 40 yıldan daha uzun bir geçmişe sahiptir ancak özellikle son 10 yılda çok daha fazla akademisyen Türkiye'nin Avrupalılaşmasını, özellikle de dış politika boyutunu çalışmaya başladı. Bu tez büyümekte olan Avrupalılaşma literatürüne Türkiye'nin Güvenlik Kültürün Avrupalılaşması konusunu araştırarak katkıda bulunmaya çalışmaktadır. Türk Güvenlik Kültürünün geleneksel Realpolitik doğası, özelliklede son on yılda, tarz ve süreç açısında değişim sinyalleri vermekte ve çok daha fazla Avrupai yöntemler kullanılmaya başlandı Türk politika yapıcıları tarafından. Bu yeni durum Türk siyaseti ile ilgilenen tüm kesimler için kritik bir soru ortaya çıkarmıştır: Gözlemlenen bu değişimler Türk Güvenlik Kültürünün Avrupalılaştığı anlamına mı gelmektedir? Bu tez, Avrupa Güvenlik Kültürü ve Realpolitik Güvenlik Kültürlerini karşılaştırdıktan sonra Türk Güvenlik Kültüründe güvenlik meselelerinin ele alındığı biçim ve gerçekleşen süreçler açısından çeşitli değişimler olduğu ancak Türkiye'nin ulaşmayı amaçladığı nihai hedeflerin halen Realpolitik bakış açısı ile tanımlandığını göstermektedir. Gerçek Avrupalılaşma Avrupai hedeflerin Avrupai araçlar ile elde edilmesini gerektirmektedir ve şu anki duruma bakıldığında Realpolitik hedeflere Avrupai araçlar ile ulaşmayı öngören Türk güvenlik Kültürü Avrupa güvenlik Kültürü çerçevesine uymamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Avrupalılaşma, güvenlik, Türk Güvenlik Kültürü, Realpolitik, Dönüşüm

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

CFSP	Common Foreign and Security policy
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
EEC	European Economic Community
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
ESCI	European Security Culture and Identity
ESI	European Security Identity
EU	European Union
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Association
JDP	Justice and Development Party
PKK	Kurdish Workers Party
NSC	National Security Council
NSCI	National Security Culture and Identity
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
TSC	Turkish Security Culture
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	Western European Union
WWII	World War Two

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> "The search for security is primordial, and never before in history has human society faced the multidirectional challenges that will predictably develop in the coming decades. Our times demand the very best efforts from those who study security, for world politics today is hounded not only by traditional interstate conflicts but also by nuclear-armed regional threats, ever more innovative and dangerous terrorist strategies, new problems arising from the dynamics of globalization, the challenges of inflamed religious and ideological extremism, the politics of rage provoked by obscene disparities of wealth and opportunity, and all the complexities caused by the momentum of global environmental change" (Booth 2005:35).

In the last fifty years Europe has undergone a tremendous economic and geopolitical transformation the architects of the European Union (EU) hardly could have imagined. Suffered the unprecedented destruction of the World War, the European states were brought together to create a common future in which the destiny of one another will depend on each other. From the corridors of the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* where Rome Treaty came into life to headquarters in Brussels, from initial steps to create common economic sphere in 1950's to ensure deep

social political integration in 90's, step by step, Europe walked the path of integration, with slow and cautious enlargement steps. "The political dissolution of the East-West divide has left Europe scrambling to redefine its relation to Eastern Europe, both in terms of the long-awaited enlargement to the east and in terms of a real foreign policy toward Russia, Asia and Africa (Burgess, 2003).

While Europe was reorganizing itself and trying to solidify the ties that hold Europe together through enlargement and deepening economic-political integration, Turkey, wanted to be a part of the new Europe and an equal member of the emerging community/union

Since 1959, the application for associate membership to European Economic Community (EEC), respective Turkish governments spent time and money to carry European norms and standards to Turkey, which in return were expected to carry Turkey to EU. As a natural and desired consequence of this process, many aspects of Turkish economic and political life evolved in line with European expectations, which can also be called as "Europeanization". Turkish Security mind-set and security practices or "Turkish Security Culture (TSC)" as a whole was no exception to that.

Since 1990's and especially after 2000, we have seen a significant increase in scholarly work dealing with Turkish-EU relations and an important portion of this work concentrated on Europeanization of different aspect of Turkish political life. As a contribution to this growing literature, this thesis examines Turkish Security Culture and tries to see if it has undergone a "European" transformation as a result of which TSC would evolve from its Realpolitik mind-set to the European mind-set.

This study sees the nature of TSC as a "defensive Realpolitik" one and asks the following question: Is there a European transformation (Europeanization) in TSC (with which Turkey might be moving away from Realpolitik Security Culture to European Security Culture)?

It attempts at answering this question by describing the ongoing developments and changes in TSC in line with Europeanization process and it continues with discussion of the indicators and possible reasons of such a transformation. In doing so, it touches upon the historical origins and development of TSC to provide a better understanding as to why Turkey ended up with such a security culture and based on the historical dimensions as well as geopolitical reasons this thesis voice the claim that the transformation witnessed in Turkish Security Culture is limited at best as Turkey is still pursuing realpolitik goals in its region, only with more "European means" this time. According to the conceptualization of European Security Culture in this thesis, to achieve a true European Security Culture, a state should be pursuing "European ends" (such as spreading the common norms, seeking a normative and ideation transformation etc.) with "European means" (non-military channels, education, integration, economic relations etc.)

The methodology followed for this research relies on description of the facts and explanation of possible causes behind, in which the emphasis is on estimation rather than testing. The difficulty of measuring or testing Security Culture stands in the way as an obstacle and presents itself as a limitation for this type of research. Available secondary data from media (newspapers, news agencies, TV and radio channels and all other and eligible forms) books, monographs, articles from

periodical academic journals, and some primary data from declarations, speeches, press releases, and official unclassified documents published in the web-pages of the various governmental and non-governmental bodies are used to present information and verify claims and justify arguments.

The chapters of the thesis are designed in a way to allow a broad start on security and narrow it down to security culture in general and Turkish Security Culture in particular. Starting with general theoretical discussion on the nature of security and the possibility of a transformation in security, Chapter II prepares the theoretical framework within which the security culture discussions are situated. In this sense various International Relations theories are surveyed and their approach to a transformation in security mind-set is demonstrated wherever possible.

Chapter III focuses on several concepts that are used throughout the thesis and it specifies the nature and different dimensions of National Security Culture such as national security, national culture, identity etc. It concludes with the indicators of transformation in security culture and in this vein it proposes; style, process and outcome as parameters to see if a transformation is in place.

With Chapter IV this study put forth two alternative security cultures; European and Realpolitik. Those two alternative security mind-sets are defined and compared and based on those definitions and conceptualization, later on this study evaluates the situation of TSC as well as the transformation that is thought to be happening.

Lastly in Chapter V, various dimensions of TSC are laid bare and indicators and possible explanations of a European transformation in TSC are evaluated. In the finally analysis, this thesis claims that it is difficult to deny the changes taking place in Turkish Security Culture and many scholars would label these changes Europeanization with rightful reasons of their own. However within the confines of the European Security Culture definition of this thesis, it is not possible to say that a European transformation has truly taken place in TSC and no longer does Turkey operate on a Realpolitik mind-set. The argument here is that European Security Culture demands pursuing European ends with European means and in the case Turkey, it still has realpolitik goals in mind only this time it expanded it's portfolio of tools to include European instruments as it is more probable to reach those realpolitik aspirations with European means.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL APROACHES and CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS:
WHAT IS SECURITY AND HOW DOES IT TRANSFORM?

2.1 Security and Identity

This chapter will try to explain the nature of "Security" as an International Relations concept. In this process it will discuss why the "simple" question of "what is security" is very complicated to answer in deed. This chapter will try to identify the variables that add up to the complexity of the concept of Security, before moving on to uncovering the transformation that might be happening in the security culture of Turkey. The chapter will try to demonstrate alternative questions about Security and will continue with various theoretical approaches that are providing competing explanations for the security questions and transformation of security culture.

2.1.1 Understanding Security

Security matters! It is impossible to make sense of world politics without making reference to it (Williams 2008; 1). While the concept itself is very important, like many other concepts in the International Relations discipline, it has no single definition. This is partly because "what security is" and "how it is handled" differs from one place to another, from one state to the other. It is also because of the complex nature of the Security concept itself.

Security is a dynamic phenomenon that is continuously evolving into new meanings and forms such as human security, environmental security, food security, national security, etc. Throughout time and place, the meaning it has assumed varies, which is partly responsible for the different explanations that are at hand. Because of this transformation and complexity, students of security studies are constantly seeing scholars of the field trying to define security or are urging researchers and practitioners of the field to re-define/ re-conceptualize the concept over and over.[1]

From the first moment of our existence on planet earth, Security has always been a major issue for humanity. At many different levels, people have come to expect

[1] Rethinking security by Robert Hall and Carl Fox, Rethinking Insecurity, War and Violence by Damian Grenfell and Paul James, Rethinking Security Governance by Christopher Daase and Cornelius Friesendorf, Rethinking Security in Nigeria: Conceptual Issues in the Quest for Social Order and National Integration by Dapo Adelugba and Philip Ogo Ujomu, Rethinking Security: The Environmental Connection by Gregory D. Foster, Rethinking Security after the Cold War by Barry Buzan, Rethinking Security: Ambiguities in Policy and Theory by Simon Dolby, Rethinking Human Security by Gary King and Christopher Murray, Rethinking National Security by Theodore C. Sorensen, Re-conceptualizing Security in Mexico: In search of Security by Richard C. Rockwell and Richard H. Moss and Re-conceptualizing Security in the 21st Century: Conclusions for Research and Policy-making in the book Globalization and Environmental Challenges by Úrsula Oswald Spring and Hans Günter Brauch, and many more books and journal articles in this direction, clearly exemplifies this point.

violence and are exposed to security threats as part of everyday civilized life. Yet, despite contemporary experiences with violence (from small scale armed conflict to all out world war), many are surprised to learn that the troubled times of the present extend into the distant past; as far back as the early periods of human inhabitation (Martin & Frayer, 1997).

As soon as early humans appeared, they sought secure areas to dwell and they developed equipment to protect themselves, their possessions and their habitat from the predators of their time. Trying to survive in an unpredictably dangerous world, one filled with unimaginable uncertainties and powerful predators, made man understand the importance of security and pushed him to look for ways to ensure his own; through the development of fire-making, for example. Originating 1.500.000 years ago, this important advancement, which brought everyday benefits like warmth and illumination, also constituted a new instrument for humans to provide security for themselves against wild animals and predators (Thomas, 1995:90).

As early as pre-historical times, humans strove to provide security for their communities and they used all available resources for this purpose, coming up with ways to pass the information on to coming generations so as to ensure the continuity of the clan or tribe's security. As Nash (2005) suggests, ancient cave paintings depicting scenes of war were created by the warriors of the tribe to pass on strategic information about warfare tactics, battle field planning and formations to future generations of warriors who will be in charge of the security of the

community.[2] Training the youth of the tribe for battle and passing the information gathered by the elderly to coming generations of soldiers constituted an organized action to provide security for the community.

Thousands of years have passed since humans first appeared on earth and while many aspects of human life have changed since then, the need for security and the struggle to achieve it has not; the only difference being how humans try to ensure that security. The modern system of Sovereign States, whose origins can be traced back to 17th century, is, at its very core, about security. People yield their power to a higher authority and in turn this higher authority provides them with security. In order to escape the state of nature (where they have to provide their own security) people created states, combining their power to be safe and secure outside as well as inside.

States earn the right to internal sovereignty and become legitimate in the eyes of its population by providing for the needs of its people, security being a major one. Hence, leaders are expected to provide security for the citizens of their country. To fulfill this responsibility, the ruling authority defines the threat and comes up with solutions accordingly. If the ruled population is allowed to join in and contribute to the process of "Securitization" (the process of defining, perceiving and interpreting the threat and taking action against it), then the definition of security and the security needs of the society and the state are more likely to overlap. This contribution might take various forms, ranging from participating in elections as a

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[2] Detailed information about the ancient warfare and the importance of cave paintings for the prehistoric human communities: Nash, George. 2005. "Assessing rank and warfare-strategy in prehistoric hunter-gatherer society: a study of representational warrior figures in rock-art from the Spanish Levant, southeastern Spain" In Mark P. Pearson and I. J. N. Thorpe, eds., *Warfare, Violence and Slavery in Prehistory*. Oxford: Basingstoke Press, 75-86.

candidate or a voter to intellectual activity in related fields in order to shape and influence policy. The more the society is allowed to take place in security affairs, the more the security understandings of the state and the society will correspond. For instance, in states where free and fair elections are held periodically, where governments are accountable and all their actions are transparent, where civil society is powerful and the media is independent, different societal groups, with differing ideas about security will be able to enter into the system. Through those channels their views will be integrated into the system and in the end what the state understands from security and what it sees as the ideal instruments for providing it will converge with the views of society.

Naturally, a situation opposite to the aforementioned would create a great discrepancy between the state and society in terms of security. In this situation the security understanding and security agenda of the state and society would differ a great deal. Mugabe's Zimbabwe is a suitable example for this case. By looking at the facts one can infer that the main threats to the Republic of Zimbabwe are the catastrophic economic conditions of the country, the lack of sanitation and clean water and infectious diseases, not military-political issues. Zimbabwe's economic crisis is so dire that the official inflation rate exceeds 100,000 percent and at least one-quarter of the population has fled the country (Hanson 2008). Grain silos across the country that once held strategic grain reserves three times the population's annual food needs now stand empty. In the midst of its political and economic crisis, Zimbabwe is being ravaged by HIV/AIDS. The country's HIV prevalence rate is the world's fifth highest (Ploch, 2009; 27). However, as the security agenda is set by the authoritarian government, dangerous gaps between the

security needs of the society and the state inevitably appear, always at the expense of the society.

2.1.2 Globalization and transformation of Security

The primary determinants of the traditional state-centric international system have been internal and external security concerns. These concerns explain the preoccupation of states with geopolitics, strategic calculations and dilemmatic security behavior. Inevitably, security was interpreted in territorial terms and as long as the defined territory of the state is secured against aggressors, the state assumed to have security for itself.

The absolutes of the Westphalian system—territorially fixed states where everything of value lies within state borders; a single, secular authority governing each territory and representing it outside its borders; and no authority above that of the state— (Metthews, 1997:56) are thought to govern the relations among the states as well as security related matters; all defense preparations were designed accordingly. States have spent billions of dollars on defense, from large armies to small elite units, from simple equipment to the most sophisticated missile shields like the US has been trying to implement, all aiming at one particular, similar end: securing the territory of the state against any threats to state sovereignty.

According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) the world spent $1339 billion in 2007—a real-terms increase of 6 per cent over 2006 and of 45 per cent since 1998. This corresponded to 2.5 per cent of world gross domestic

product (GDP) and $202 for each person in the world. (The $1339 billion includes all current and capital expenditure on the armed forces, including peace keeping forces, defense ministries and other government agencies engaged in defense projects, paramilitary forces when judged to be trained, equipped and available for military operations and military space activities)[3] At this point a critical question arises: Do all these efforts make the world, in general, and states, in particular, safer and more secure? The answer seems to be "NO", as scholars and policy makers have begun to recognize that successful territorial security does not necessarily ensure the security of citizens within the state; a fact to which the examples of North Korea and Rwanda can attest, and for which Global terrorism stands as a firm example (King and Murray, 2002). This dislodging of territory as the total focus for security diversified the subjects brought under the umbrella of International Relations, putting issues like environmental change and its subsequent consequences like global warming, droughts, lack of food, lack of clean water, extinction of species and global epidemics like bird flu, swine flu or AIDS etc, onto the agenda and clearly signaled a transformation in the system and its states.

More and more International Relations scholars have started to question the states' capacity to act in accordance with its traditionally assumed roles, as defined by the Westphalian order (Ohmae 1995, Wendt 2003, Sørensen 2001, Sørensen 2004). It is not uncommon to see the argument that the power and capacity of states have

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[3] Military expenditure concept also includes: personnel expenditure like; all expenditures on current personnel, military and civil, retirement pensions of military personnel, social services for personnel and their families, operations and maintenance, procurement, military research and development, military construction, military aid (in the military expenditures of the donor country). Such area like; Civil defense, current expenditure for previous military activities, veterans benefits, demobilization, conversion of arms production facilities, destruction of weapons are excluded. SIPRI Recent trends in military expenditure, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Available at: http://www.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex_trends.html

diminished at the hands of Globalization, which has created an increasing and deepening transformation in the states and in the system in general.

Defining Globalization is as difficult, if not more, as defining Security. That is why as, Aydınlı (2005: 231) explains, "Books on the topic of globalization often carry a tone of apology for not being able to offer a precise and generally agreed-on definition." (Aydınlı, 2005: 232) Instead of striving to find a definition to a term that is so widely contested and has so many differing interpretations, it is more productive to identify the dimensions that give globalization the meaning it has for the world now and to mention different positions taken against globalization.

Globalization has become the most widely used – and misused – keyword in disputes in recent years, but it is also one of the most rarely defined, nebulous, misunderstood, yet politically effective concepts (Beck, 2000). It signals a number of different instruments and players in contrast to International Relations' exclusive focus on states. First of all, globalization emphasizes a world-wide or global, rather than national, context and it suggests a process oriented "processual" approach to world affairs; we are dealing with realities in motion on the global scale (Gillian 1996). Issues, actors, and instruments which can be called the variables of the global system are neither static nor close to transformation. Globalization is a lot more dynamic and incorporative than International relations, which only recognizes the relations between the defined entities of states as crucial for assessing what is happening in the world (Gillian 1996).

In the final analysis, the effects of globalization are diverse and pervasive in every day life, in International relations and on Security. Globalization, as a process and as a source of transformation, poses itself as a challenge to states given that it complicates already existing security issues and also brings new issues for the states to handle. Naturally, the same challenge applies to the International Relations discipline and Security Studies as globalization and its subsequent events challenges tradition thinking and pushes the discipline for a new line of thought for the new issues and threats at hand.

As it is important to understand the notion of Security in order to be able to discuss the security culture of a country, let alone the transformation from one form to another, the next section will provide a basic discussion on Security, followed by an exploration of different approaches that are trying to explain Security.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Security and Transformation

2.2.1 The [Neo]-Realist Approach to Security

With the outbreak of World War II (WWII), Idealism lost a lot of ground to Realism, which had come into the International Relations discourse in response to the need to study International politics as they are, not as humans feel they should be. "People cannot, by wishing politics were different, make them so because they do not have the power; therefore, they must work within the existing power

structure" was the main rationale behind the formulation of a "Realist" view of International Relations (Barkin, 2003).

The concept of Security has traditionally been merged into the concept of National Security. This applies to the Realist approach in general, with its emphasis on the military capabilities of states. The end of the second greatest war waged on earth brought a new order to the world in which most of the world's states aligned in two camps. Throughout the great rivalry of East and West, world affairs and international relations were seen through the prevailing ideological and military glasses worn by the superpowers of the time; the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (or Союз Советских Социалистических Республик - Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik).

The military rivalry between the superpowers, who owned the means to ensure the destruction of the other, provided strong cement for state oriented world affairs and strengthened the position of the state vis-à-vis any non-state actor in the system. This very dangerous time during the Cold War years, which strengthened the state and placed it at the center of all human affairs, inevitably empowered the state-centric International Relations approach; Realism.

Realism offers a reasonably parsimonious theory that explains a large portion of world politics, as it claims (Hughes, 2000). Briefly, realism argues that states are the main unit of analysis as they are the main actors of the international system and states are motivated by power and security. In this state-centric evaluation of

International relations, everything revolves around the state and states take precedence over individuals who, in fact, make up the state.

In dealing with realism there are several concepts that need particular attention as they constitute the core of the realist view of International Relations and through those concepts the realist approach, with its variants, claims to explain the current situation and predict future actions.

The "State" is at the very center of the realist view of International Relations. For realism, states are unitary actors that speak with one voice and act without internal dissent on interstate issues (as if no interest groups compete within the states) (Hughes, 2000). States are taken for granted and they are regarded are rational actors which will make rational calculations to ensure their security and survival in the anarchic international system.

The State creates a hierarchical environment for humans to live in free from internal and external danger. In this environment, humans feel themselves to be safe and secure, so that they can concentrate on other aspects of life and focus on production and development. Within this structured, hierarchical environment, people know that there is a body with the relevant instruments to protect them from any type of predator. In exchange for this protection humans submit to the authority of the state and recognize it as the legitimate authority that has the power and the right to use force whenever it deems it necessary. While states provide this highly structured, tightly hierarchical order for its members, states do not exist in a similar structure with other states. Humans dwelling within a particular state recognize that

state as the highest authority; however states are autonomous entities that are not subordinate to any higher authority. This brings in the notion of "Anarchy" to the realist approach.

In realism, Anarchy does not mean a totally chaotic environment in utter disorder. Rather, it means the lack of a central authority to which all states would submit and recognize as a higher and legitimate power. As Mearsheimer (2001) suggests, the prevalence of anarchy in the international system is one of the bedrock assumptions of Realism; however this does not mean the system is riven by disorder (Mearsheimer, 2001). In fact, the notion of anarchy is seen as an ordering principle, which says that the system is compromised of independent states with no central authority or government above them (Mearsheimer, 2001). Anarchy is a crucial factor in understanding the system as well as state behavior. Within the state, members of the society are subordinates to the state and they constitute a community ruled by the state. On the other hand, the international system is made up of states that are sovereign units and a community of sovereigns is no community at all (Kurland, 1987).

To demonstrate how the presence of anarchy influences the system and the units within the system, Waltz (1979) points out several differences in his comparison of domestic and international structures:

> "Differences between national and international structures are reflected in the ways the units of each system define their ends and develop the means for reaching them. In anarchic realms like units co-act. In hierarchic realms, unlike units interact. In anarchic realm, the units are functionally similar and tend to remain so. Like units work to maintain a measure of independence and may

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even strive for autarchy. In hierarchical realm, the units are differentiated, and they tend to increase the extent of their specialization. Differentiated units become closely interdependent…"

Even though anarchy itself does not constitute the sole reason for violence and war in the international system, for Waltz (1979) the existence of anarchy and the absence of government are associated with the threat of violence. How would states respond to the threat of violence? How would an individual, a European or a Turk, an inhabitant of Ankara or Berlin respond to the threat of violence? Most likely, in the face of danger or threat, he or she would call the police or write a petition to the office of the public prosecutor. In general, any individual under threat would go to the higher authority to ask for protection and security. There is no higher authority that states answer to or from which they can seek protection. Under this condition, the only option left for the state is to look for ways to provide its own security, which brings in another concept of Realism: "Self help".

Self-help simply means taking care of one's own, in the context of states, this means taking care of your own security needs. The Self help notion intensifies the competition among states and generates a conflict prone system. Even though states come together under alliances, for realism those occasions are still examples of helping self.

To help themselves, states accumulate power and power constitutes an important aspect of Realism and Security. Power, for Waltz (1979), provides four things to the states:

"First, power provides the means of maintaining one's autonomy in the face of force that others wield. Second, greater power

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permits wider ranges of action, while leaving the outcomes of action uncertain…. Third, the more powerful enjoy wider margins of safety in dealing with the less powerful and have more to say about which games will be played and how…. Fourth, great power gives its possessors a big stake in their system and the ability to act for its sake…" (Waltz, 1979:47)

2.2.1.1 Transformation of Security Culture and Neo-realism

When it comes to discussing security culture and its transformation under the auspices of Neo-realism, one faces major challenges. First of all, Security culture by definition, is a product of Constructivist perspective and this perspective explains the origins security culture with individuals actions of the actors, namely security culture is a constructed product of agents not a dictation of the international system (therefore it evolves and transforms independent of system level changes such as a change in polarity). Security culture is shaped by the particular history, geography and experiences of a particular state. It is influenced by outside factors however it is also deeply attached to the domestic features of the state. However, Neo-realist tradition will deny the influence of domestic sphere and will reject state-specific explanations, as for this perspective States, no matter what happens, think and act in the same way, as they are not different from each other and as they all seek the same ends (Waltz, 1979).

Secondly, Neo-realists explain "the change" at the systemic level based on the distribution of capabilities which is defined in terms of power[4], which means if any change will happen in the security equation; this will be due to the fall or rise of

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[4] For detailed discussion of change, power and capabilities at the system level see Mearsheimer, J. J. 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics.* New York: Norton.

new powers. A transformation of security understanding is not really relevant for Neo-realist security perspective.

2.2.1.2 Epilogue to [neo]-Realist Security

Even though realism, which was backed by the unique conditions of the Cold War, and was strengthened by its parsimony and effective concepts, prevailed for a long time, it did not last as the single interpretation of interstate affairs. Several variants of Realism came into being as scholars of this school began to focus on diverse aspects of international relations or interpreted state behavior in different ways. All those variants, from classical to neo or offensive to defensive, accept the basic tenets of realism while emphasizing different dimensions, like human nature versus the system or states adopting an offensive strategy in order to dominate the other states or a defensive strategy in order to ensure their security.

For realists, the meaning of "Security is subsumed under the rubric of power. Conceptually, it is synonymous with the external security of the state, which is to be achieved by increasing military capability" (Tickner, 1995: 177). With the dawn of the 1990's, critics of Realism began to raise their voices. They heavily criticized the realist preoccupation with cross-border conflict and military power defined in terms of the interests and security of the great powers, for offering a worldview that was a poor fit with the reality of the time (Tickner, 1995). Realism's decline in the 1990s was coupled with developments in the international arena that seemed to provide strong support for alternative approaches. The Soviet Union's voluntary retrenchment and subsequent demise, the continuation of Western European

integration in the absence American-Soviet competition, the wave of democratization and economic liberalization throughout the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the developing world the improbability of war between the great powers and the developing world, and the improbability of war between the great powers themselves, all made realism appear outdated (Jervis, 2002).

The new millennium brought newer crises and threats to the international system that seem to make Realism relevant again. Moreover, it should be noted that not all states or regions are experiencing the same level of positive progress in terms of war and security. Therefore, the Realist Security understanding still holds a relatively strong position.

2.1.2 Liberalism and Security

The liberal tradition in thinking about Security dates as far back as the philosopher Immanuel Kant, who emphasized the importance of republican constitutions in generating peace within the system and among the states (Kornelia, 2008). In today's International Relations and diplomacy, using the concept of "Road Map", which implies a plan of action detailing the steps for the ultimate resolution of a certain problem or conflict, is very common when parties are trying to resolve a dispute (Road map for solving Israeli-Palestine conflict, Turkish-Armenian problems or Cyprus issue etc). In this regard, Kant's "Perpetual Peace" is his road map for peace, with its preliminary and definitive articles as well as its guarantees for peace.

To understand how Liberalism sees the system and how it interprets the concept of "Security", it is useful to examine the articles of the Perpetual Peace, through which Kant explicitly and implicitly describes what peace and security is all about. The preliminary articles are:

1. *"No conclusion of peace shall be considered valid . . . if it was made with a secret reservation . . . for a future war."*

Realism dictates that a self help notion prevails in the system. In such a system, a state can not trust any other actor as there is no higher place to look for justice or protection. With the first preliminary article, Kant addresses the lack of trust issue and tries to prevent this from becoming an obstacle to Peace. A lack of trust will lead to an abundant fear of cheating, which will result in a lack of cooperation as each side attempts to gain and secure as much as possible; this behavior will trigger the other side to do the same, leading to the eventual failure of peace.

2. *"No independently existing state, whether it is large or small, may be acquired by or come under domination of another state by inheritance, exchange, purchase or gift or any other way of exchange."*

A state is not, like the ground which it occupies, a piece of property (*patrimonium*). It is a society of men whom no one else has any right to command or to dispose of except the state itself. Incorporating the state into another state contradicts the idea of the original contract, without which no legitimate right over a people can be conceived (Smith, 1992).

3. "Standing armies (miles perpetuus) will gradually be abolished altogether."

Almost all organisms have their own defensive mechanisms; for states, these mechanisms are armies. However, keeping such a power always at hand brings with it the possibility of resorting to force to resolve differences. Combined with other articles, armies will not be needed for security in a system where trust prevails and threats are eliminated.

4. "National debt shall not be contracted in connection with the external affairs of the state."

War is a great expense for the state. An important amount of financial resources are required to undertake a war against other parties. If money is always available for this purpose it will create greater inclination towards resorting to warfare. Therefore, providing credit and money to fighting parties is an important source of problems that needs to be eliminated for perpetual peace and security.

5. "No state shall forcibly interfere in the constitution, government and affairs of another state."

Nothing can justify intervention into another state's affairs. It will constitute a negative example for the rest of the world. This aspect of Kantian understanding is a source of debate when it comes to humanitarian intervention. In traditional terms, security threats are directed towards the state from outside and states provide security for themselves and for their citizens, however, in today's world the state itself might become a security threat, not only to other states, but also primarily to its own citizens. "Failed states" are a prominent example of this. For Kant, Security can be provided for all as long as every state deals only with its own affairs and

refrains from intervening in the affairs of others; yet a non-traditional understanding of Security will not be served in this way.

6. "No State shall, during war, permit such acts of hostility which would make mutual confidence in the subsequent peace impossible: these intolerable acts are the employment of assassins to exterminate the leaders, and incitement to treason in the adversary."

Warfare is mostly about violence, yet still there has to be justice in war. In the occasion of a war, the aim should be resolving the problem by making the other side accept your terms, not annihilating the other side nor inflicting irreparable damage. Such extreme acts will demolish trust in the system and will increase the fear of other states. Therefore, states, for the sake of earning the upper hand in current affairs, should not resort to ways that will destroy security and peace in the future.[5]

2.2.2.1 Democratic Peace Theory

In 1983, Doyle published "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," which drew attention to the existence of the democratic peace (DP). Doyle's theory is predicated on the idea that states that adhere to liberal principles "enjoy a separate peace among them, but are likely to wage war against non-liberal states (Lynn-

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[5] Definitive articles of the Perpetual Peace are: One: The Civil Constitution of Every State Should Be Republican, Two: The Law of Nations Shall be Founded on a Federation of Free States, Three: The Law of World Citizenship Shall Be Limited to Conditions of Universal Hospitality. In addition to preliminary and definitive articles, there are two supplements that are A. Of the Guarantee for Perpetual Peace and B. Secret Article for Perpetual Peace. Kant, Immanuel. 1992. *Perpetual Peace*. M. Campell Smith, trans. Bristol: Thoemmes Press.

Jones 1999, xiv)." This philosophy was set forth by Immanuel Kant in 1795 and, for Doyle, Kant's notion of the "Perpetual Peace" provides the best explanation for the DP (Lynn-Jones 1999, xv). He proposes a theory based on structure-centered liberalism, which emphasizes the domestic institutions of states in order to explain their international behavior. There are three structural dimensions of the domestic polity: political structure – regime type (democracy vs. dictatorship); economic structure – type of economic system (capitalist vs. command economy); and domestic social structures – commonly shared ideas on truth or appropriateness (ideologies, identities, etc). Unlike other DP theories, the key for Doyle is the state's commitment to liberalism, the essential principle of which is freedom of the individual (Russett 1999, 59).

The other "founding" DP theories are generally divided into two categories: structural and normative (Owen, 1994). The structural theory holds that the constraints within a democracy, such as checks and balances, division of power and public interest, will reduce the likelihood of war. Leaders must "ensure broad popular support, manifested in various institutions of government," which means they are unlikely to propose any war they know will be unpopular (Russett 1993, 101). These same leaders must run for reelection, so they are unlikely to wage a war they don't think they can win. Additionally, mobilizing for war is a time consuming process in a democracy and it is also a public endeavor, so other states can easily ascertain their intentions. Perceptions matter because, if democratic leaders generally assume that all other democratic leaders will be like they are, slow and reluctant to fight, then they will not fear an attack from that country. They will likely settle their disagreements without war (Russett 1993). Violent conflicts will

be frequent with non-democracies, however, because non-democratic leaders know that democratic leaders are constrained and will push democracies to make concessions over issues of conflict. Democracies may respond with large-scale violence rather than make the concessions (Russett 1993).

Normative theories, on the other hand, hold that there is a powerful norm within democratic countries of non-violence toward other democracies. Democratic governments generally guarantee rights of self-determination for their citizens and engage in non-violent conflict resolution domestically. Therefore, citizens in one democracy will respect the rights of citizens in another democracy and apply domestic conflict resolution practices to the international level; this results in a "transnational democratic culture" (Russett 1993). Again, perception is crucial because this norm does not apply to non-democratic countries; they are presumed to be aggressive enemies. Non-democracies use violence or violent threats to govern their people, so it is assumed that they would do so at the international level; hence, the norm of non-violence does not apply (Russett 1993).

The DP has "nearly become a truism" and has been referred to as the "closest thing we have to an empirical law in the study of international relations" (Owen, 1994). Its weaknesses, therefore, focus on issues of definition, measurement and causation. How one defines 'democracy' and 'war' is pretty subjective and this "provides a temptation to tautology" (Owen, 1994). Scholars can easily define and measure these terms so that, when empirically tested, the DP proposition is upheld. More importantly, DP scholars have failed to identify the causal mechanism (thereby proving that the connection between democracy and peace is not just spurious)

behind the theory (Lynn-Jones 1999, xi-xii). Even DP theorists, like John Owen, admit that they "do not really know the causal mechanism behind the democratic peace [and this] means we cannot be certain the peace is genuine" (Owen, 1994). DP scholars must come to a consensus on definition and measurement issues so that they can nail down the causal mechanism(s).

2.2.2.2 Transformation of Security/Culture and Liberalism

When it comes to the transformation of Security as a concept and the understanding of security in general, Liberalism is more open and permissive than Realism. However, as Liberalism also operates with similar parameters as Realism when it comes to explaining the basics of the international order, it will not predict a radical transformation in the security understanding of a state. For Liberalism, states remain the dominant actors compared to sub- or supra-national actors and a real-politik security understanding with a Liberal flavor will remain in control of the system in general and security understanding in particular.

Liberalism suffered the labels of idealism and even utopianism because of its optimistic views on peace and Security in the world. Liberalism claims that security can be achieved without racing or defeating others and peace can be established if certain values and norms are achieved. Even though Liberalism shares important aspects with Realism, like the prominence of states as the most important actor in the system, there are certain differences as far as how states, politics within the states and the behavior of states are understood. For Liberalism, states are important actors but not the only ones. Non-state actors play a part in the system as well and

recent events demonstrate that non-state actors might become a major source of insecurity for states; the provision of security depends on how they are handled and accommodated within the system.

Another difference is how Liberalism sees the power of the system over the states. Even though the system is the environment in which states exist and interact, their behavior is not dictated solely by the system. Their behavior is determined by their preferences, not only by their power and status in the system; the Turkish decision to abolish the use of anti-personnel land mines exemplifies this. Anti-personnel land mines might be seen as practical and useful for a state that has extended land borders with its neighbors as the placement of mines might generate power for the owner. Yet Turkey preferred not to place those mines on its territory anymore, nor store them for future use, by becoming a signatory country to the Ottawa treaty. It was not the idea of power, but the preferences of the Turkish state (in line with its Europeanization process) that made Turkey decide on such a course of action.

In conclusion, Liberalism, even though is employs similar views on states' prominence in the system, provides an alternative outlook to states and Security by including the non-states actors of the system and by acknowledging the power of states' preferences in determining their actions. This definitely influences how it understands and provides Security for states and the rest of the actors.

2.2.3 Critical theory and Critical Security

Seeing the immense destructiveness of World War I (WWI), scholars, scientists and educated minds of the time felt the need for research to find ways to establish peace on earth, looking to understand why wars took place and conflicts occurred so as to prevent them from happening. Liberalism dominated the scene with its emphasis on humans, cooperation and economic interdependence. The rise of fascist regimes and the outbreak of the WWII replaced the optimism of Liberalism with the pessimism of Realism. Liberalism and Realism, as the mainstream approaches to International Relations, dominated the field. On the other hand, alternative and voices that are critical of the mainstream did not stop joining the International Relations debates, Critical Theory being one. Compared to Realism and Liberalism, Critical theory and critical security studies are relatively new as it started to exert more influence from 1990's onwards. However according to Bilgin (2005:89) the ideas on which critical security studies are based and the calls for alternative outlooks to those infected by the Cold War, goes back way before than the 1990's, as Cold War categories have restricted the ways of thinking about and doing security for the International Relations field (Bilgin, 2008). Linklater's (2007:45) writings support this view as he claims Marxian-inspired critical theory has exercised significant influence on International Relations theory and has emerged as a serious alternative to orthodox views in the International Relations field.

The important question to answer here is "Why Critical Theory is critical, and what is it critical of? While it is impossible to fit the whole of the Critical Security literature here in this chapter, briefly, one might say that it is critical compared to

"mainstream" theories because, as a social theory, critical theory refuses to take the outside world as a given and tries to question the very foundations upon which the accepted assumptions about the world are based. It denies the applicability of the empirical approaches to the social world and questions the reliability of the knowledge generated via unreliable methodology. In terms of International Relations and for the concept of Security, Critical theory questions basic concepts like State, Interest, Power or the meaning of Security, which are accepted as they are and assumed to remain static by the traditional International Relations approaches (Realism and Liberalism).

Critical theory explains the subjective nature of security and emphasizes the fact that security is bound to the inter-subjective creation of humans, societies and states. Security is what people/states make of it. "It is an epiphenomenon inter-subjectively created. Different world views and discourses about politics deliver different views and discourses about security" (Booth, 1994).

The Welsh school of Critical Security Studies prefers "politicizing security" and Bilgin (2008) puts forward three arguments (analytical, strategic and ethico-political) to demonstrate the merits of this attitude. First of all, addressing non-traditional security threats (such as HIV/AIDS) as "global security threats" helps to mobilize more resources and raise more awareness (analytical argument), which secures better results in terms of remedies for the problem. Secondly, in order not to leave the existential threats merely at the hands of the state's elite, whose way of handling those threats will be based on zero-sum games and traditional military methods (strategic argument), "politicizing security" is the key element. Lastly,

"politicizing security" (ethico-political argument) broadens the security agenda, that used to be based on the policy preferences of the defining elite, to include the other portions of the society and their security concerns.

In the final analysis, critical theory is critical of power politics as power politics and its affiliated theories are the creations of powerful groups/states that use them to protect their acquired power. Being critical of the traditional lines of thought about how security is understood and what is included in it, Critical security studies put forward the argument that the discipline of International Relations is the evolution of human consciousness about living globally and politics on a global scale; and "Emancipation" is the major organizing principle. Booth summarizes the emancipation as "Bread, Knowledge and Freedom" in which bread symbolizes unobstructed access to materials and the satisfaction of material needs, knowledge symbolizes freedom from lies and information distortion and, finally, freedom symbolizes freedom from oppression (Booth, 2009).

2.2.4 The English School, International Society and Security

"The foundation of English School theory is the idea that international system, international society and world society all exist simultaneously, both as objects of discussion and as aspects of international reality" (Buzan, 2004). The key terms for the English School are "Order" and "International Society". Bull and Watson (1984:1) describe International Society as such:

> "By an international society we mean a group of states (or more generally a group of interdependent political communities) which

> not merely for a system, in the sense that the behavior of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of the others, but also have established by dialogue and consent common rules and institutions for the conduct of their relations, and recognize their common interest in maintaining these arrangements"

In the last twenty years, with the writings of Bull, Wight, Linklater, Jones, Suganami, Dunne and several others, the English School earned itself a place in academic debates as an alternative approach to understanding International Relations. Linklater (2006) mentions three dimensions or "inter-related orientations" in the English School's way of investigating and evaluating international affairs. Those three orientations, he labels as: "Structural, Functional and Historical" and he gives Manning's *The nature of International Society* (1975) (Structural), Bull's famous *Anarchical Society* (1977) (Structural and Functional), Vincent's *Non-intervention and International Order* (1974) (Functional), Wight's *System of States* (1977) (Historical) and Buzan and Little's *International Systems in World History* (2000) (Historical)*, as academic works outlining those orientations.

Bull's well known definition of International Society indicates that international society exists because states are conscious of certain common interests and values and they consider themselves to be bound by a common set of rules; these rules define the nature, and the modes, of relations in the International Society as well as the institutions that regulate those relations among the members of the society (Dunne and Wheeler, 1996). Security needs to be understood in this context. For the English School, security constitutes a normative value and thus is subject to change from place to place and from time to time. For instance, what security meant for pre-historic cavemen is different than what it meant for medieval

merchants of Europe. It meant one thing for Machiavelli and something else for Grotius. Similarly, security is defined by the society living within the state and whatever makes them feel insecure and unsafe, influences how they perceive and define security. This logic implies that security is prone to transformation in line with the transformation in the society's interpretation of security and perception of threat.

An important problem surrounding the English School is that the boundaries between the English School and traditionalist theories such as Liberalism and Realism are not clear when it comes to certain issues. The English School and more specifically, the Pluralist factions within the English School, and main stream theories share common views on the nature of sovereignty and centrality of state. On the other hand, Solidarism factions of the English School support the idea that the values, identity and individual cultures of the states matters on the grand scale, a point of common ground with liberal theory.

All in all, security is an important common and normative value for the English School and the security of the whole society is important for the security of the individual members of the international society. What security means for the society is bound to change depending on the time and space. Therefore, it is comfortable to say that security culture is open to change.

2.2.5 Constructivism and Constructivist Security

"All the world's a stage,

And all the men and women merely players:

They have their exits and their entrances;"

says the Lord Jaques in the famous Shakespearean play *As You Like It* (Knowles, 1997 translation, Act 2 Scene 7). For Realism, all the world's a stage, which is organized around a certain structure with certain rules and only certain players are allowed to act on that particular stage. Like a Victorian play and Globe Theater actors, states make their entrances and exits to the stage and play their part on the stage. To whom they play, or under what conditions, with what implications, they perform does not matter because how they will play and how the game will proceed is defined by the material contribution of the script and the facilities provided by the stage.

For Realism, the play is the same play and will produce the same outcome (in this context, the same reactions from the audience) no matter where, when or how it is played. On the other hand, Constructivism disagrees with this line of thought on the basis that how the play will be received is not only determined by the quality of the writing, and the excellence of the acting, but also by the context in which the play is performed, the kind of audience, their values and expectations about the play and the subject of the play. In other words, the outcome of the play and the reaction of the audience will not only depend on the material qualities of the play (such as the quality of the script, the performance of the actors, the lights, the music etc…) but

also on social factors affecting the players and the audience. In addition to the material dimension, Constructivism adds the social dimension to understanding the actions of states; whose primacy in the structure of world politics is also accepted by constructivism.

Constructivism operates through two main assumptions about the nature and structure of the agent and environment. For constructivism, agents are not given nor are they fixed. Rather, they are socially constructed. Even though those agents constitute a material existence, what they come to mean is actualized though social interaction. Another assumption of constructivism brings in the social dimension to the environment of states, in addition to the material dimension, when it comes to understanding states' behaviors. In this sense, constructivism claims that material capabilities are important and undeniable; however, they gain meaning through social interactions and the social environment of the states. In other words, the same material capability is likely to acquire different meanings for different agents (depending on the social interactions between those agents and their social environments), and thus it will produce dissimilar behaviors.

To exemplify the case, one might look at the differences in the nuclear relationships of the US: their tense relationship with Iran, versus their agreements with India or Israel. From a purely material perspective, the US would be expected to oppose the acquisition of nuclear material, technology and weapons by any other state as it is an apocalyptic weapon whose destruction is beyond imagination; since their creation nuclear weapons have only been used twice - once in Hiroshima and once in Nagasaki at the end of WWII. Given that the US is the only nation ever to

employ nuclear weaponry and that the destructive capability of today's nuclear technology far outstrips that of the 1940s, a restrictive and non-permissive attitude from the US is to be expected. But, the real situation portrays a very different picture.

The US shared its nuclear technology and know-how with the United Kingdom (UK) in the past and, despite the ambiguity over the existence of Israel's nuclear arsenal, the US seems to be comfortable with the idea of Israel possessing nuclear technology and nuclear weapons. During the G.W. Bush administration, the US signed agreements with India, who is another nuclear power, to further its cooperation with India in the field of nuclear technology.[6] Against such a background, Iran enters the picture with ambitions to achieve nuclear goals, which mean different things to different sides of the story.

From the Iranian perspective, Iran, though an energy rich country, is trying to diversify its energy resources by adding the nuclear option to its energy portfolio. Even though nuclear energy is not an immediate necessity for Iran, Tehran thinks that it has to act now to invest in various other sources of energy than fossil fuels,

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[6] The technology opportunities India will gain out of this agreement: India would be eligible to buy U.S. dual-use nuclear technology, including materials and equipment that could be used to enrich uranium or reprocess plutonium, potentially creating the material for nuclear bombs. It would also receive imported fuel for its nuclear reactors. Terms of the deal: India agrees to allow inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA), the United Nations' nuclear watchdog group, access to its civilian nuclear program. India commits to signing an Additional Protocol (PDF)-which allows more intrusive IAEA inspections-of its civilian facilities. India agrees to continue its moratorium on nuclear weapons testing. India commits to strengthening the security of its nuclear arsenals. India works toward negotiating a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) with the United States banning the production of fissile material for weapons purposes. India agrees to prevent the spread of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that don't possess them and to support international nonproliferation efforts. U.S. companies will be allowed to build nuclear reactors in India and provide nuclear fuel for its civilian energy program. (An approval by the Nuclear Suppliers Group lifting the ban on India has also cleared the way for other countries to make nuclear fuel and technology sales to India.) Pan, Esther. October 2 2008. " The U.S.-India Nuclear Deal." *Backgrounder*. Council on Foreign Relations Publication.

to guarantee its energy independence in the future (Sahimi et all., 2003). On the other hand, Washington perceives Tehran's nuclear program as a threat and does not accept the Iranian thesis of "nuclear technology research for civilian peaceful purposes" (Rice, 2006). In order to prevent Iran from developing independent nuclear technology, the Western bloc has offered Iran the provision of nuclear material in exchange for Iran ceasing its nuclear material enrichment process. This offer does not satisfy the Iranian side who sees the purchase of the most critical material for this kind of energy production from outside sources as contrary to its plans of energy independence. The situation has been a dead-lock so far with its ups and downs and fluctuating negotiations. Even though there are efforts to negotiate a settlement of the issue, it seems there will only be more tension and delay in the coming days.

But no matter the outcome, the fact that the US government is signing treaties to expand its cooperation with India in the field of nuclear technology while simultaneously threatening Iran for its nuclear activities and quest for nuclear capability is difficult to explain solely on the material terms of a realist world. Constructivism proposes that in the Iran-US nuclear tension, the social dimensions are instrumental in explaining the problem and without including them it is not possible to get the clear and complete picture. The social interaction of Iran with its environment and specifically with the US and Israel, makes the US more suspicious about its material capabilities and makes it more reluctant to agree to Iran's improvement of its material capabilities; Iran's intentions are not clear to outside observers due to its imbalanced, fluctuating and uneasy social connections with the

outside world. The very same material capability acquires different meanings from one unit to other which is determined by the social interaction between the units.

In order to comprehend the fundamental International Relations concepts as elucidated by Constructivism, Alexander Wendt's famous article, *Anarchy Is what States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics*, published in 1992 is an important source of information. In his article, Wendt points out the differences between rational theories (by which he means Realism and Liberalism) and Constructivism and by doing so he generates an outline of constructivism and its arguments on important concepts such as anarchy, states and security. While Waltzian Neo-realism reads the system through the prism of the structure, that is characterized by prevalence of anarchy and distribution of power, and Keohaneian (and Nye) Neo-liberalism relies on "units' complex learning from each other" and the "interaction between them" as the determining factor in states' actions, Wendtian Constructivism (Wendt, 1992) claim that constructivist scholars

> "share a cognitive, inter-subjective conception of process in which identities and interests are endogenous (created or generated within the system, eligible to be derived from within) to interaction, rather than a rationalist-behavioral one in which they are exogenous (originating from outside or derived externally)".

Wendt's famous statement that "Anarchy is what States make of it", in its most uncomplicated sense, means that anarchy is a material fact, it exists out there but what it will mean, what kind of reactions or feelings it will arouse in the units/states is determined by the social interaction among those units/states. This means that anarchy, by itself, does not pose a positive or a negative picture and what it will

turn into depends on the actions of the units/states. Here, states are not passive recipients in the structure; rather they influence the structure as it influences them.

Constructivism emphasizes the inter-subjective (Inter-subjectively held as Ruggie, 1982 details) nature of identity and the interests of the states. The identity of a state, and the interests that are driven by that identity should not be taken for granted nor are they fixed forever. Those socially constructed concepts do not transcend the time and place and do not remain intact, unchanged while it is in interaction with other units/states. Identity and the interests of the state are subject to transformation through inside and outside influences, triggered by domestic or external input (for example, Turkey's European Union (EU) accession process or the Islamic Revolution in Iran).

"Processes of identity-formation under anarchy are concerned first and foremost with preservation or "security" of the self. Concepts of security therefore differ in the extent to which and the manner in which the self is identified cognitively with the other" (Wendt, 1992). In this regard, similar to the formation of identity, the transformation of identity implicitly signals a better preservation of security for the self and a better adaptation of self for the changing condition. As security is genuinely dependent on how identity is formed or transformed (and therefore how interests are defined), security is bound to different interpretations and will yield to transformation. Unlike Realism or Liberalism, with which constructivism does agree on various concepts, the constructivist security understanding provides room for future changes that might take place in a state's security behavior; it is not only fixed to interstate-external threats.

Finally, Wendt identifies three security systems:

a) Competitive Security System; which can be identified as a Hobbesian type of system with a fixation on relative gains. Symptoms of this system can be portrayed as a constant fear of others, lack of trust of other units in the system, the near impossibility of cooperation and dilemmatic security behavior (one's action negating the others)

b) Individualistic Security System; which can be identified as neoliberal type of system with fixations on absolute gains. Symptoms of such a system would be; self-centric/self-regarding security mentality, less attention to others and possibility of cooperation.

c) Cooperative Security System; which can be identified as a Security producing/Positive Security type of system with assumptions beyond self-help behavior. Symptoms of this system are responsible units, limited differentiation between self and other, the possibility of collective security action and a high degree of convergence in terms of security identity and interests.

In conclusion, Constructivism is the key to understand Security Culture as it provides the analytical tools to understand how security culture is formed and transforms over the time. This thesis evaluates the Turkish security culture and the possible transformation of it (European transformation in this case) with a constructivist perspective. In the following parts, it tries to explain the historical

steps of this evolution and finally looks for a transformation toward European security mindset.

CHAPTER III

SECURITY UNDESTANDING IN TRANSFORMATION:

UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE & EXPLAINING THE CHANGE!

In this section the concepts of "National Security Culture and Identity" (NSCI) will be explained. "Security Culture has become fashionable in main stream international relations scholarship in the post-Cold War era and an emerging consensus in national security policy studies that culture can affect significantly grand strategy and state behavior has been noted" (Lantis, 2002).

The section will then move on with the theoretical explanations for and a discussion about the transformation that NSCI might undergo. Then it will move on to presenting the possible indicators that prove the existence of such a transformation and demonstrating three different models proposed to explain such a transformation.

3.1 National Security Culture and Identity (NSCI)

Security is quite an important concept not only for states but also for individual members of those states. It is in almost all aspects of human life and, especially after the end of Cold war, new variants and meanings of security have gained room in the realm of security.

To get a full grasp on NSCI, a closer look at the origins of the National Security idea is needed. The term National Security first appears in US documents in 1928 in J. Reuben Clark, Jr.'s *Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine*; the Under Secretary of State for US president Calvin Coolidge was writing to Henry L. Stimson, the then Governor-General of the Philippines. In the document the national security concept was used with another accompanying term: "Self-preservation". In Clark's words, "… situations challenging our [US] self-preservation may be handled [in Latin America], and more wisely so, as matters affecting the national security and self-preservation of the United States as a great power" (Clark, 1928). Here in the Memorandum about Latin America, National Security implied the preservation of American presence and power in Latin America, which was seen as America's backyard; the Monroe Doctrine declared the region to be closed to external influence or interference.

With the end of WWII, and the escalation of the tension between the forming rival blocs, the concept of National Security started to garner more attention and became even more powerful in terms of mobilizing society and national resources. In 1947, the US congress passed the National Security Act (NSA) of 1947, which marked

the first use of the National Security concept in US laws and regulations. The NSA of 1947 brought about a major reorganization in US defense capabilities and institutions. By this act, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and National Security Council (NSC) were formed, whose members included the US President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and others (like the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency). Furthermore, the Act provided for the creation of the Department of Defense by merging the Navy Department with the War Department.[7] In addition to the NSA of 1947, the US Code includes relevant chapters on national security under US Code Title 50 (War and National Defense) and Chapter 15 (National Security). These documents exemplify the process of inclusion of the concept and how significant it became for the US and, inevitably, for the rest of the world.

The Cold War promoted the power of the Realist Approach to international security through the escalation of tension between the blocs, imminent nuclear danger, fear of total destruction, and anxiety about Soviet subversion or the spread of US influence.

For Realism, the Foreign policy of a state is dictated by the national interest "raison d'État" and national security imperatives. National security, no matter how clear it is for Realism, is found to be rather ambiguous and marvelously elastic, as it has been stretched at times to cover a multitude of different issues and activities. Using this term so extensively for a variety of areas started with the end of WWII, and like a boomerang it is not possible to throw away (Amos, William and Mazarr,

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[7] More information about the National Security Act can be found at the official website of the US State Department (http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/cwr/17603.htm) and in the United States Intelligence community website (http://www.intelligence.gov/0-natsecact_1947.shtml)

1999). While Wolfers and Buzan argue about the ambiguity or insufficient conceptualization of the term National Security, Morgenthau (1948) puts forward a simple and straightforward definition of it, which also demonstrates the Realist understanding of the concept: "integrity of the national territory and its institutions". This is very much understandable as Realism tends to attach security to territory and expect territorial threats.

In the previous sections, the influence of globalization on security has been mentioned. Even though the dimensions, magnitude and depth of this impact is contested, in many ways globalization exhibits its influence on security issues and the concept of National Security is no exception to that.[8] The idea of National Security and interstate warfare seems to be an old story for the hyper-globalist position, yet as Paul and Lipman (2004) claim, the causal connection between the decrease of interstate warfare and a retreat from National Security is yet to be empirically established; further research is needed to come up with a more explanatory conclusion about the nature of this relationship.

While National Security stands as a crucial dimension in the general framework of the states, how does the NSCI fits into the picture? To be able to answer this question properly one needs to answer another related question: what should be understood from National Culture and Identity?

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[8] For a detailed discussion on Globalization and National Security: Paul, Thazha Varkey and Norrin M. Ripsman. 2004 "Under Pressure? Globalization and the National Security State," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 33(2): 355–380.

3.1.1 National Identity

At the very basic level, Identity is defined by the answer to the questions "WHO are you?", WHO are WE? or WHO am I? There are many answers to those questions, which also demonstrate that a person can carry multiple identities at the same time. "WHO are/am WE/I" question are answered in relation to an "OTHER." The self needs an element of comparison to be able to define itself and the identity is constructed in relation to that specified OTHER. The very first identity element a person gains (in fact starts with) is the biological gender. Females are defined opposite the male "other." Later on males and females acquire social gender roles and adapt those to their identities (or vice versa). This could be followed by tribal (for which you have the other tribes around your tribe or tribes that you have knowledge of, such as The Afars of Ethiopia-Djibouti versus The Amharas of Ethiopia- Shoa and Wallo), religious (Muslim versus Jewish, pagan versus Christian or Sunni versus Shi'i) and national identity (Turkish versus American, Iraqi versus Kuwaiti, Greek Cypriot versus Turkish Cypriot) dimensions.

National identity can be seen as a product of Nationalism, "unquestionably one of the great social forces of modern times which transcended all cultural boundaries and still remains a crucial tool of many governments" (Buzan and Segal, 1998:123). Ernest Gellner (1983) sees nationalism as the solution found by states to gain and control the loyalty of their subjects in a time of shifting loyalties under industrialization. As a top-down process, nationalism was instituted by the states onto the societies as conscription based national armies proved superior over other

forms. For the economic mobilization and development of the state, people needed to be more devoted to the state than to a local identity group.

National Identity or the feeling of "WE" requires the fulfillment of several preconditions. Anthony D. Smith, Professor Emeritus of Nationalism and Ethnicity, identifies 5 fundamental factors in defining National identity. For Smith (1991:14) a human group can be defined as a nation when it displays 5 complementary features:

a) The idea/ownership of a historic territory, or homeland

b) Existence of common myths and historical memories

c) Having a common, mass public culture shared by the members

d) Existence of common legal rights and duties for all members of the nation

e) Owning a common economy with territorial mobility for the members.

3.1.2 National Culture

The word culture originates from the Latin word *cultura* which means "cultivating".[9] Culture, in this sense, is affiliated with cultivation and production; in agricultural terms it is the growth of crops, and in societal terms, it means the thriving of civilization in general and civilization of a certain society in particular. In agricultural processes, whatever a farmer sows to the field will come up later as the product, if sufficient care is given and the environment is suitable for it. In the

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[9] According to the Etymology Dictionary, the term "Culture" is generated from Latin word *cultura* and, first appeared in 1404 with the attributed meaning of "the tilling of land". In 1510 , the word acquired meaning of "cultivation through education". Later on in 1805 the meaning transformed into "the intellectual side of civilization" and "collective customs and achievements of a people" in 1867. Source: Online Etymology dictionary accessible at: http://www.etymonline.com/index.php

societal counterpart of the aforementioned process, whatever the society sows into the social life, will grow up as the product of this cultivation and flourish as the culture of that society; of course, with adequate effort of the society and with a suitable environment.

"Cultures are made of various norms and identities that have different salience in different political domains", writes Katzenstein (1996b:38) when he tries to describe the role of culture and norms in security policies (of Japan in the context of his book *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Post-war Japan*). However, culture is not limited to norms and identities; it also includes the history of the society, which brings in the legacies of that society's past, as well as its values and its goals.

To move from National Culture and Identity to National Security Culture and Identity, one needs to know that NSCI is not detached from the influence of national culture and national identity (contrary to the assumptions of realism, which would not recognize any difference due to domestic variations or local characteristics). In other words, "who you are" inescapably influences "what you see" as security; what you understand from security, how you provide it or how you react against threats jeopardizing it.

American Culture and American Identity demonstrates differences from German, French (or European Identity, if we can speak of one) or Turkish National Identity, which inevitably leads to differences in terms of behavior (or in terms of Culture). How will the American government or Israeli government react to a possible

Iranian nuclear test in 2010? It is very difficult to give a precise and certain answer to this question, due to the complexity of the problem at hand, but one thing is certain: how the US or Israel will react to the issue would be clearly different than Europe's behavior, if we establish our predictions based on their respective behavior towards Iran in its process of nuclearization with a relatively unclear end goal. Even though the US, France, Germany, Turkey, Russia or Iran share many similarities stemming from being a state in the international system, they differ in their security understanding as they have different NSCIs. Their divergent NSCIs prioritize different things or values. Different NSCIs devalue dissimilar objects and through the glasses of their own NSCIs, nations might see a different world than what other nations are seeing.

NSCIs, as the examples above try to explain, is the prism through which a nation characterizes its security understanding. For Identity/National Identity, the answer(s) to the question "Who are you?" provides the expected outcome and, as a recent study at Bilkent University demonstrates, people fill in the answer with many adjectives that in the end constitute the components of Identity/National Identity.[10] For NSCI, the question changes and so does the answer or answers. The answer to the question "What (kind of) security actor are you?" describes a particular state's NSCI. For this thesis, two types of security identity will be evaluated, which are Real-politic Security Identity and European Security Identity, portrayed as differing security understandings.

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[10] Participant of the study used categories like; Turkish-ness, religious affiliation, the city they were born, ethnic background, job, gender, type of clothing, age level, to answer the question of who they were and to describe their identity. Eide, Karalyn. 2007. " Turkish Identity: National vs. State Identity in Turkey and Implications for U.S.-Turkey Relations." Unpublished master's thesis. Ankara, Turkey: Bilkent University, Ankara.

3.1.3 Why NSCI is important?

"The concept of linkage between culture, identity and national security policy exists in classic works, including the writings of Thucydides and Sun Tzu and Carl von Clausewitz" (Lantis, 2002). When it comes to NSCI, in the context of states and International Relations, scholars posits differing views. For Johnston (1995:46), strategic culture is "an ideational milieu which limits the behavioral choices…an integrated system of symbols which acts to establish pervasive and long lasting strategic preferences…". Colin S. Gray, a realist thinker and strategic studies professor, in contrast, conceptualizes "culture as context", which comprises and pervades behavior of political actors, thus going all the way down (Meyer, 2006:16).

NSCI is important in understanding the security behavior of a particular state, because it is the national style of security (achieving/providing security or interpreting security) or strategy (Nye, 1988:14) of a particular state. NSCI is a critical factor in determining how a state behaves in terms of security (alliance formation versus non-alignment, European or real-politik behavior, defensive versus offensive real-politik etc..), what type of instruments it prefers to realize its goals (military use of force, economy and interdependence, diplomacy, bargaining and negotiation etc…), what ends it desires (maximum security for itself at the expense of others or regional cooperative security or integration and deepening institutionalization etc…) and how it defines the other side (rival, competitor, rival, adversary, enemy, partner, ally act..)

Contrary to the realist assumptions about state behavior being similar under similar conditions for the same situation, states differ in their security and strategic choices. Not all states decide to gain nuclear power and some states even denuclearize in a nuclearizing world. Some states voluntarily hand over some of their power in certain areas to international organizations, while others reinforce their absolute power and control over their population. Not all states look for alliances or not all of them look for the same type of alliances. These kinds of behavior deviations from expected patterns or dissimilarities with each other cannot be explained with the idea that all states are like units providing the same functions only in differing performance levels.

The NSCI of a state influences its threat perceptions and instrument selections for security. Combined with the world environment (conjuncture) and regional dynamics, NSCI shapes the behavioral choices in foreign policy, alliance formations, security understanding and security-making.

How NSCI influences a state's security character and behavior can be exemplified by Japan, for which Katzenstein (1996b) provides insights. Japanese Security Culture and Identity generates "nonviolent state behavior in terms of security" (Katzensten, 1996). This fact is closely connected to the distinctive features of Japanese NSCI (which experienced important transformations during the course of near history; from imperial Japan invading continental Asia to pacifist trading state). Japanese NSCI has a significant impact on a wide variety of security related issues, from definition of the basic concepts, to interpretation of particular events and,

overall, to understand Japanese security behavior one needs to consider Japanese NSCI, in addition to systemic variables.

3.1.4 NSCI and transformation

NSCI, contrary to the assumptions of realism, and in line with the assumptions of Constructivism, is open to change, as a result of strong internal/external forces or motivators. That is why, as Karaosmanoğlu (2000:200) states, "national security culture is not static; indeed it can change over time, as new experience is absorbed, coded and culturally translated. While National Security Culture is not static and is open to change, as Karasomanoğlu (2000) indicated, it is not elastic either. It does not change overnight with daily political events nor does it go with the flow of everyday domestic or international politics. The dynamism which opens the gate for change comes from the fact that Security Culture and Identity is a socially constructed element of the state and with the change in social interactions among the actors, this social construct: "National Security Culture and Identity" changes.

However, the process of change in NSCI should not be expected to be an easy flowing or smoothly running one. States are the traditional and old-line actors of the system and traditional institutions are not so enthusiastic about change. They exhibit voluntary or involuntary resistance to change from time to time, depending on the context and the sources of this change. In addition, institutional and historical dimensions of state identity limit the dynamism of NSCI. The historical experiences and institutional structures of the particular state (types of domestic actors, institutions and power distribution among them, dominance of more

traditionalist groups or institutions like the role of the Turkish army in terms of security culture formation and change, etc.) provide a strong influence on NSCI and they act as the constants of this concept (continuity dimension). This answers the query of Katzenstein (1996a), who questioned the reasons for not seeing a constant change in norms and national identities (whether it be security or not). In the Turkish context, this situation is called "Continuity and Change" [11], which emphasizes the fact that some elements of the NSCI continues to prevail, while some do not, during the transformation of the NSCI.

Depending on the direction or duration of the change, or an incompatibility between the existing and newly acquired culture and identity, or due to a major change in the system, the state might go through a process called "Identity Crisis", which basically means that the state finds it very difficult to answer the question of what characterizes its security; what kind of security actor it is now. An Identity Crisis of a state might put the state in jeopardy, for the state will not be able to have a clear, well defined security culture. At the same time, according to Bilgin (2004:153), an "identity crisis is an opportunity for policy-makers to re-inscribe the state identity in line with changing perceptions of national interest."

One problem identified while dealing with NSCI in International Relations is that "social science has developed no exact methodology for identifying distinctive national cultures and styles" (Gray, 1988). For Lantis (2002), this is the reason why even the supporters of the idea that NSCI influences National Security Policy, are

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[11]The conceptualization belongs to Oral Sander. Detailed information can be found: Sander, Oral. 1984. Turkish Foreign Policy; Forces of Continuity and of Change." In Ahmet Evin, ed., *Modern Turkey; Continuity and Change.* Opladen: Leske Verlag.

careful in dealing with real affects of it. The complexity of the concepts for this issue like; National Culture and Identity complicates and calculation for a precise calculation of effects, yet this does not constitute an irreparable damage and various studies on National Security Culture and Identity of various nations like Turkish, Greek or Japanese, made it clear that scholar working on the issue are developing better analytical framework for analysis (Katzenstein, 1996).

How can the transformation in Security (Culture and Identity) be explained?

"Marvel for a moment at the fecundity of the human imagination when it comes to inflicting violence on each other" says Buzan (1998) when he is discussing military power from early history to present. In fact, archeological evidence presented in the previous titles proves the assumption that "in the beginning there were just fists, feet and teeth, and simple sticks and stones" to do the job, however, as history progressed, the means that human groups have been using to harm each other kept changing, kept getting more and more sophisticated and better performing, which unfortunately meant less effort to exterminate greater numbers. The more deadly the weapons became; the more anxious humanity got, and looked for more ways to defend itself and harm the other. As the ways of threatening the other changed, inevitably the meaning of security (which basically means being free from the armed or non-armed threats of other party or parties) has changed. This has brought in the problematic of transformation in Security as a concept and Security Understanding in general.

There can be many reasons for transformation of security understanding (Identity and Culture). The accession to a body that has the power to motivate and realize such a change like EU, for instance, can be one of many. Türkmen (2001) argues that joining the EU would eventually transform Turkey's strategic culture and this argument offers a relevant example. In another situation, the change might be triggered by a major structural change that causes a reshuffling of power instruments and a displacement in relative power distribution. The list might go on like this but this research will focus on the transformation of security understanding due to the exposure to another security environment and security understanding, to which the state under consideration is opting to be a part of.

Security changes! It takes on different forms like food security, energy security or border security etc, and it takes place on various levels like individual/human security, national security or international security. No matter what, it is certain that Security, with its relevant branches and conceptual components, is not "unalterable, but neither is it transient"

This thesis will provide two models explaining the transformation taking place in security and security identity of a state. The first model is Katzenstein's (1996a) model, which he devised to demonstrate the identity change (and a consequent interest and policy change) as a result of the interaction with the environmental structure. The second model is Rieker's (1996) model of Europeanization of National Security Identity. Those two models, despite being independent ones, complete each other in forming a comprehensive explanatory model for identity-based change and subsequent change in security policies. Following the

presentation of those two transformation models, another model will be presented to explain the change in the Turkish case.

3.2.1 Katzenstein Model of Transformation:[12]
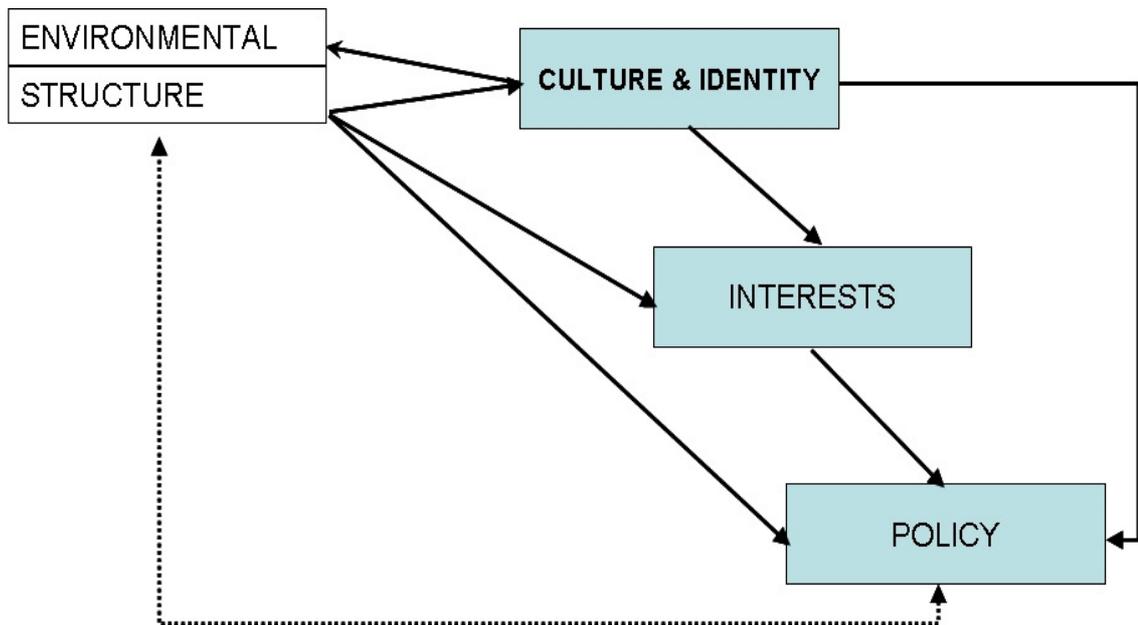
Figure 1: Katzenstein Model of transformation in Security

* Environmental structure means cultural and institutional elements (of the source in this context)

Briefly, this model tries to demonstrate the interaction patterns mainly between the identity of the state (security identity in the scope of this thesis) and the external source of transformation. Basically the environmental structure influences identity and, in turn, this influence and the change inflicted by this influence is reflected to interests and policy, respectively.

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[12] This model labels broad categories of causal construction effects. It is thus not a total causal model of state security activity. Specifically, since some actor properties are intrinsic, "identity" is not the only cause of "interest." The model under consideration here is not a singled-out theory on its own. Katzenstein, Peter (ed.) 1996a. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

3.2.2 Rieker Model of Transformation (Europeanization of National Security Understanding):
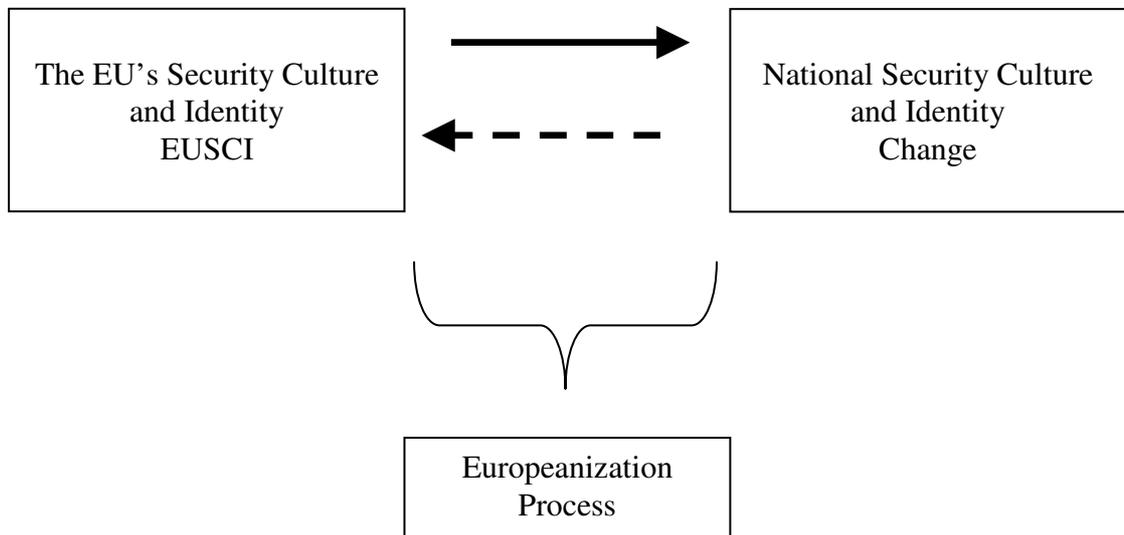
Figure 2: Rieker Model of Transformation: Europeanization of National Security Culture and Identity

Rieker's European Security Assumptions (Rieker, 2006):

a) The European Security context has changed radically since the end of the Cold war, giving the concept of security a different and broader meaning.

b) The EU has developed a security identity in tune with this new security context.

c) This security identity influences national security identities of EU member states as well as other states closely linked to the integration process, through a process of Europeanization. (Relevance to Turkish case)

While Rieker's illustration of change provides the basics when it comes to European influence on National Security and the Europeanization of NSCI, still there is room in her model for improvement through inclusion of a detailed representation of the steps.

The following illustration, which is a modified, localized and elaborated combination of Katzenstein and Rieker models and assumptions, tries to explain how the transformation in National Security Culture and Identity takes place.

How has the substantive European Security Culture and Identity influenced and transformed (if it did or has been doing) Turkish National Security Culture and Identity?

EUROPEAN

European Security and Defence Policy

European Security Culture and Identity

Europeanization

Turkish National Security Policy

Turkish National Security Culture and Identity
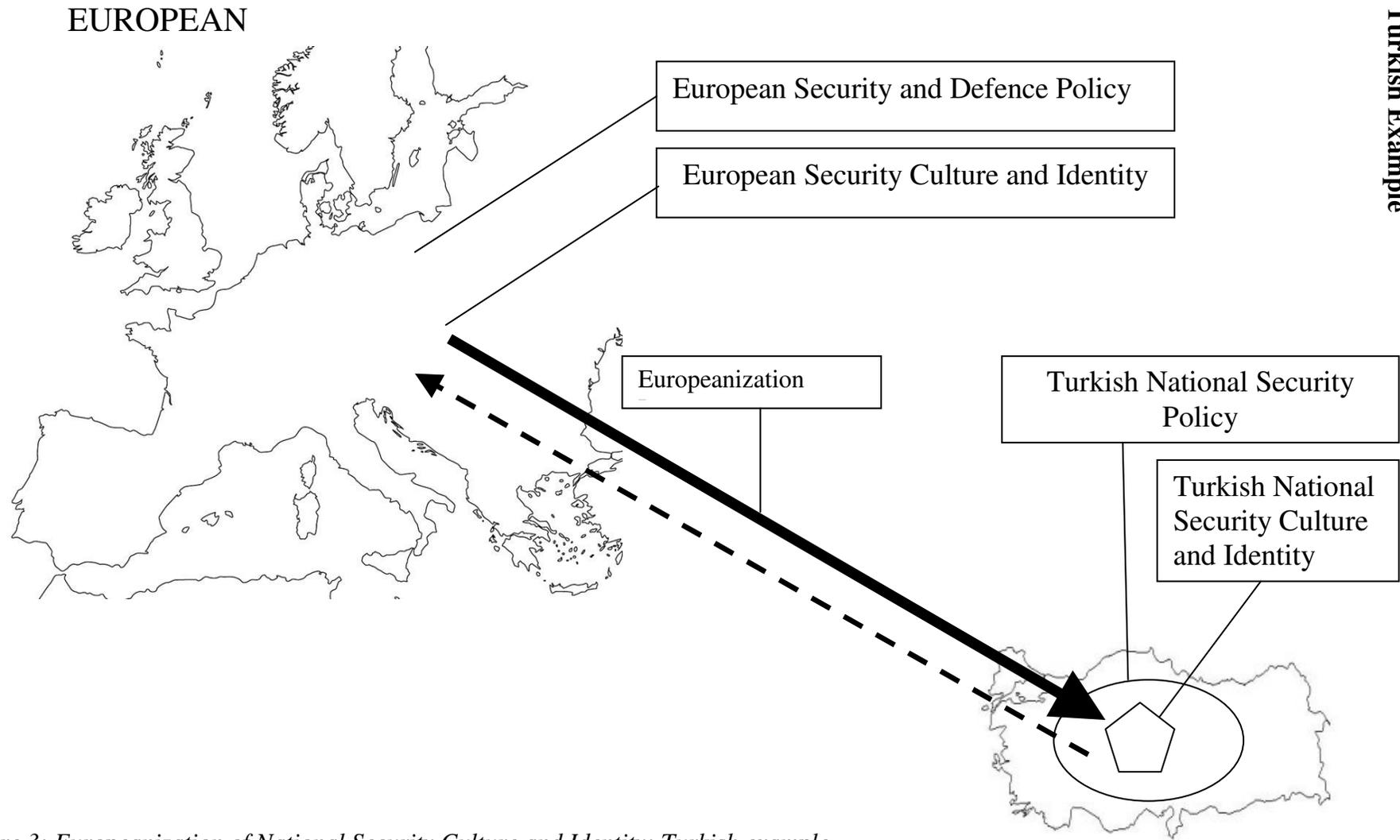
Figure 3: Europeanization of National Security Culture and Identity: Turkish example

3.3 Indicators of Transformation:

To see whether a transformation has taken place (or is taking place) in a state's NSCI and behavior, one can look at various categories of action and pillars of decision making processes of the state. Comparison of former and latter behavior or situations will demonstrate the existence or inexistence of a transformation. In this sense, three categories; "Style and instruments of Security, Processes of Decision-making, and Expected Outcomes" can be identified as relevant categorizations to evaluate the change.

3.3.1 Change in terms of Style and Instruments of Security

At the very basic, the change in the style means a modification in the way the state acts in a particular situation. It is the way that the state speaks out about its issues. The style of security is also defined by the instruments it prefers. In other words, it is a change in the way the state talks and walks when it comes to security. How the state reacts to different situation changes through a transformation in security understanding.

A state might employ civilian-economic instruments to ensure security for itself or it might rely on military means. The type of power instruments a state relies on (hard vs. soft, military vs. non-military), the kind of political rhetoric a state employs (an aggressive one vs. a milder one), the level at which that state seeks to resolve the differences and handle affairs (unilateral vs. multilateral) and the way a state defines

the other parties (rival-competitor vs. enemy-adversary) give hints about the style and instruments of a state.

3.3.2 Change in terms of Decision-Making Processes

In the decision making process, various bodies and institutions of the state are involved and they each posses a relative weight in the overall process. Whether civilians or the military has the dominant position in the decision making process and mechanisms, is an important indicator about the nature of the decision making process. The state's decision making mechanism becomes more and more civilianized and its civilian nature is reinforced through transformation.

The classical difference between high politics and low politics gradually disappears. The issues of significance to the state become more and more interlinked with each other during the globalization process. With this change, the possibility of defining potential security problems as political problems increases. The civilian dimension not only includes stronger participation on the side of political parties and government and civilian bureaucrats, but also an empowered civil society. The change in terms of process replaces the "weakly institutionalized democracy and insufficient civil society" (Rumelili, 2004) and provides an autonomous space for civil society and vigorous participation of non-governmental groups in different forms, ranging from civilian inspection of decisions and expenses (transparency of Security affairs) to civilian contributions to decision making and common wisdom (with research, public debates and discussions etc…)

3.3.3 Change in terms of Expected Outcome

The assumed transformation in a state's security identity shows itself in the form of that state's expected outcomes from any particular situation. In this sense, the transformation signals a "reorientation of the organizational logic [of] national politics and policy making" (Ladrech, 1994). This means that the state will follow the logic of appropriate action in its expected outcomes rather than a self-interested logic of consequences. This gradual change will unify the expectations of the particular state and the expectations of the higher institutional bodies that are participating.

CHAPTER IV

DIFFERENT WORLDS, DIFFERENT MINDS:
EUROPEAN SECURITY UNDERSTANDING vs. REAL-POLITIK
SECURITY UNDERSTANDING

In this part two different security understandings: "European Vs. Real-politik", will be discussed and elaborated. They will be compared as different and competing security understandings. Before going further into the details of the two security cultures there are several points we need to keep in mind.

First of all, these two different security cultures do not exist in isolation; on the contrary they sit at the opposite ends of a security continuum and this research, at its heart, has the intention to see if Turkey has moved from Real-politik end to European end.

Secondly, both of the security understandings/cultures/models etc. are "ideal types" that are provided to IR scholars to evaluate the "Security Culture" at theoretical level. As Weber, the originator of the concept explains; the conduct of social science

depends upon the construction of hypothetical concepts in the abstract. "The "ideal type" is therefore a subjective element in social theory and research; one of many subjective elements which necessarily distinguish sociology from natural science" (Weber, 1904). In other words, researcher defines different concepts of the social world and creates "ideal types" to investigate. Ideal types are necessary to study different aspects of the social world however this does not mean that there will be one to one correspondence between the ideal type and practical world. Still this does not mean the concept is not relevant to the real world. In this sense, by operationalizing European Security Understanding and Real-politik Security Understanding, we create ideal types and this is important to keep in mind when trying to make comparisons between the research and practical world.

Lastly, Europeanization, European Security Culture and Real-politik Security Culture are concepts that are widely discussed, debated and contested. Many scholars will come up with differing explanations for any of them. This thesis tries to benefit from many perspectives and studies done on the subject however it also tries to limit itself to its operational definitions provided in the respective chapters and evaluate Europeanization of Turkish Security Culture within the confines of the explanations provided.

To explain what European Security Understanding comes to mean, this thesis will briefly survey European Security Culture and Identity (ESCI) and efforts towards a unified European Security policy.

4.1 European Security Understanding: ESCI at a glance

What is Europe? What does European Security Understanding mean? There are many different answers for these questions and the debate over these terms has been going on for quite a long time.

4.1.1 What is Europe?

Europe is a geographical, political, cultural and historical entity with its roots in the past, influence on the present and power for the future. It can also "be seen as a combination of the nations within Europe plus the formation of an overarching civilization identity with the label "European" (Buzan, 1990). Europe covers an area more than 4 million km^2 with more than 490 million people living within its area. The geographical and political dimensions of Europe do not have a one-to-one correspondence. Twenty-seven countries of the European continent have come together under the umbrella of the EU, some European countries are not members of this Union (Norway, Iceland, Switzerland, Serbia, San Marino, Vatican city state, Montenegro, Monaco, Moldova, Liechtenstein, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Belarus, Andorra, Albania) and some are still in the process of becoming a member (Turkey, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Croatia)

The EU, the supranational body that ties the 27 members and 3 candidates together, became what it is now in ten historic steps[13], which are:

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[13] Gateway to the European Union: *Europe at a glance: Ten historic steps, http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_2/index_en.htm.*

1) 1951: The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) is established by the six founding members

2) 1957: The Treaty of Rome establishes a common market

3) 1973: The Community expands to nine member states and develops its common policies

4) 1979: The first direct elections to the European Parliament

5) 1981: The first Mediterranean enlargement

6) 1993: Completion of the single market

7) 1993: The Treaty of Maastricht establishes the European Union

8) 1995: The EU expands to 15 members

9) 2002: Euro notes and coins are introduced

10) 2004: Ten more countries join the Union (Bulgaria and Romania followed on 1 January 2007)

In its journey since 1951, the Union has passed though (and is still going through) important transformations. The evolution of the EU is formed by two main dimensions. The first is the Vertical Expansion, which means the deepening of integration among the already existing members and intensification of integration efforts. The second is the Horizontal Expansion, meaning the inclusion of new members to the Union. While the Vertical Expansion or deepening of integration meant improving the connections among the members that will hold them together, unify them around the common aspects, values and norms of the Union, and will contribute to the creation of a single European identity; the Horizontal Expansion meant including new members to this collective identity. While the Vertical Expansion dimension works to strengthen the internal cohesion of the Union and

improves its capacity to act as a single body, the Horizontal Expansion dimension refreshes the power of Europe's attraction, and contributes to its soft power, as well as providing Europe with fresh resources on all fronts, from labor to material, from political power to border stability.

Since the formation of the ECSC in 1951, to the EU of today, Europe aimed at combining European states around a European identity, European values and European norms. The main objectives of the EU, in this vein, can be expressed as such:[14]

> To promote economic and social progress (the single market was established in 1993; the single currency was launched in 1999); to assert the identity of the European Union on the international scene (through common foreign and security policy, common positions within international organizations, European humanitarian aid to non-EU countries and collective action in international crises); to introduce European citizenship (which does not replace national citizenship but complements it and confers a number of civil and political rights on European citizens); to develop an area of freedom, security, and justice (linked to the operation of the internal market and more particularly the freedom of movement of persons); to maintain and build on established EU law (all the legislation adopted by the European institutions, together with the founding treaties).

Both Vertical and Horizontal dimensions of expansion contributed to the creation of a common European identity, in general, and ESCI, in particular. While widening of the borders with horizontal expansion brought in new ingredients for a European (Security) Culture and Identity, the deepening aspect reinforced the integration of new and old elements to form a common single ESCI, therefore, a common European security policy.

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[14] Gateway to the European Union: http://europa.eu/index_en.htm

The signing of the Treaty of European Union (The Maastricht Treaty) in 1992 was an important step towards the formulation of a European Security Identity and subsequent Common Foreign and Security Policy. The treaty acknowledged three central pillars for the EU:

1) European Community - Union citizenship, Community policies, Economic and Monetary Union, etc.

2) Common foreign and security policy.

3) Police and judicial co-operation in criminal matters.

The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) stands as an important indicator for the EU to achieve a common Security Culture and Identity. Even though CFSP suffers various problems, ranging from financial issues to the nature of action (those problems can be seen as indicators of an *evolving* ESCI or European Security Identity (ESI). The EU is a dynamic organization with its 27 members and 3 candidates. ESCI is produced and reproduced in relation to the membership dynamics of the Union. As long as the widening in the EU carries on, the influence of globalization is felt and changes in the nature and type of security threats continues, the ESCI will go through transformation as well. While the changes and the subsequent problems are indicators of the dynamic nature of ESCI, it still is an important development towards a settled ESCI and security policy.

ESI appeared in Western European Union (WEU) official documents for the first time in 1992, when WEU released the Petersberg Declarations on 19 June (What ESI means

in the document corresponds to what ESCI means in this thesis).[15] Following the WEU declaration, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, that paved the way for the development of an institutionalized security dimension for the EU, entered into force in November of 1993. In the Maastricht Treaty, the notion of ESI is inscribed in the second pillar; the common security and foreign policy (enshrined in Title V of the Treaty on European Union/Maastricht) and ESI is seen as "the most recent brick in the construction of the concept of European identity" (Burgess, 2003).

"Through the gradual crystallization of a CFSP that was born in the Maastricht Treaty of the EU, coupled with an irregular, but continuous, process of political, economic and cultural integration, the EU aspires to develop a consolidated security identity" (Burgess, 2003), a security identity that combines military and civilian aspects, that integrates the wide range of expectations of the members from Nordic states to new comers of the Southeast, that provides solutions to immediate existing problems, as well as the ones that the Union might come across in its journey to the 22nd century.

Even though Claude (1984:25) argues that "there is little sign in some areas of Europe that force is losing its utility or that European institutions are capable of providing an infallible formula for the solution of the problems posed by ethnic conflicts, border disputes, state fragmentation and national minorities," (Claude, 1984) formed on the columns of a community logic/appropriateness logic, the ESCI

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[15] The term is used in a similar fashion to European Security culture. Basically, it means a commons style of European action or common European way of security. Western European Union Council of Ministers Petersberg Declaration, Bonn, 19 June 1992
. http://www.weu.int/documents/920619peten.pdf

holds its value as an alternative outlook and as an important source of transformation through interaction and integration.

4.1.2 European Security Understanding

This thesis interprets the European Security Understanding (ESU) as a value-oriented, norm-based security understanding that emphasizes the founding values of the EU when pursuing security and foreign policy goals. The ESU advises its subscribers to follow a security and foreign policy that prioritizes the advancement of definitive values of Europe. What a state with an ESU is expected to do is to refer to the founding values when it is going to make a security or foreign policy decision. This understanding demands that the governing orientation should not be national interest; rather it should be the values that bring the community together and holds them as one around the same table. The idea is not to promote competition or provoke a race for the sake of interest bound gains, but to promote certain values, starting from the circling environment and extending it to the distant areas.

The ESU urges the states to seek "European ends" (advancement of values, norm compliance and promotion of influence through attraction) through "European means". European means can be termed civilian-nonmilitary instruments. These instruments can be;

A) Economic (sanctions, restrictions, loans, credit, aid, financial support for developmental projects, direct investment in the intended country, creation of interdependency, flow of goods and labor etc..),

B) Cultural (inclusion in cultural activities like year's cultural capital, conducting mutual cultural activities like concerts, art exhibitions, respective "country of the year" activities like Turkish year in France etc…),

C) Educational (student and scholar exchanges among universities and high schools, Comenius, Leonardo, Socrates, Grundtvig, Minerva, Lingua programs for different portions of the society, researcher mobility, standardization of educational procedures like European Language portfolio etc…)

D) Political/Diplomatic (Encouraging certain ways of action, voicing benefits of norm compliance and promoting prestige of reduction in violent power like abolishing mine use and cleaning the already buried mines etc..

Many similar items can also be added to the list, yet the point is that a state with an ESU will seek European Security ends with European Security means. The combination of these two aspects (EUropean ends and EUropean means) constitutes a real and effective ESU and it provides solid evidence that the ESCI is at work here.

4.2 Realpolitik Security Understanding

Realpolitik. This word conjures up images of tough leaders and armed forces. The term has also come to imply a certain amorality or immorality, choosing the most effective course regardless of whether it is the right or proper one; in other words, without being overly concerned about its appropriateness as long as it serves the state's interests (Wayman and Diehl, 1994).

In addition to "angst" (fear, anxiety), "blitzkrieg" (lightning war), and "schaden-freude" (malicious-joy, malicious glee), Realpolitik is one of those German words that have come into English usage and entered into International Relations terminology. In spite of its familiarity, however, the origins and connotation of the phrase remain, to most people, including most historians, rather obscure (Sperber, 2005).

Linguistically the word means "political realism or politics of reality" in German and it was first used by a German journalist and politician named Ludwig von Rochau in 1853 in his work called *Grundregeln von Realpolitik, angewendet an den politischen Zuständen von Deutschland* (Realpolitik Principles Applied to the Political Conditions of Germany) and since then has found a broad sphere of usage.

Across time and space, how it was used and what it meant changed, however, it generally revolved around similar conceptions and interpretations. A Turkish newspaper was explaining Realpolitik as "up-to-date, real/realist politics" (güncel, gerçek/çi politika) in an article about the Middle East (Kahraman, 2003). Even though this presents an over-simplification, it still holds a truth value. Basically Realpolitik means being pragmatic in policies pursued, following what is feasible and possible in each situation through reliance on military power and alliances. It means the rational calculation of the possible and the most beneficial ends for the state.

While Realpolitik broadly means pragmatism, focusing on what is (instead of what ought to) and battling to acquire the best result for the state, Realpolitik Security

Understanding (RSU) moves from that similar point of departure. RSU, with its Realpolitik means and ends, focuses on national interest. Without being restrained by the appropriateness considerations, this understanding of security urges the states to seek self-interested gains. The main referential point for this understanding is "National Interest".

RSU claims that the purpose of foreign policy is to ensure the security of the state (raison d'etat), rather than crusading for values, norms or humanitarian purposes. The pragmatism of this understanding demands the states to act in the most efficient ways to realize maximum gain for themselves in a fragmented world, governed by an anarchic international system whose members are nothing but similar units in an endless fight for survival.

A true RSU demands a motivation to realize Realpolitik ends through Realpolitik means. Realpolitik ends could vary from a direct annexation of a territory to promoting influence over a state or a community. The focal point here is the gain provided for the state. According to this understanding, the state aims to realize its power-oriented goals. Those goals are self-oriented objectives of the state and are expected to be achieved, sometimes at the expense of others. Any state following this understanding or logic, aims to provide security for itself by using hard power instruments, and by exercising power over others. Security, and a subsequent stability, is first demanded for self, and, once achieved, can then be expanded to others and to surrounding areas, if it is necessary for the security of that state. The primary intention to expand stability in the surrounding environment is to gain

security for self. It is not an action taken because of its merits all by itself but because of its utility value for the interest of the state.

While ends are self-interested and self-oriented for RSU, the means are no exception. As long as state interest is served, any means is useable and any means is acceptable. RSU would mostly resort to military means to resolve its differences or to realize its ends. In the world of muscles, what will make the other listen to you is to have more muscle than your closest rival. This mindset encourages military investment and measures power in terms of military capability and power projection.

A Realpolitik Security Culture and Identity would form the base of a RSU. In return, this will make a state an aggressive follower of interest through amoral or immoral means: Realpolitik ends achieved by Realpolitik means confirm the prevalence of a RSU.

CHAPTER V

INDICATORS and REASONS of TRANSFORMATION IN TURKEY'S SECURITY CULTURE and IDENTITY

This chapter will start with a discussion of the historical background of Turkish Security Culture and Identity. In this sense, the various periods of Turkish history that left their fingerprints on Turkish Security Culture and Identity (TSCI) will be dealt with, as well as various institutions. Following the historical aspects, indicators of a transformation that has been going on in TSCI will be elaborated and possible reasons for such a transformation will be explained. Finally, this thesis will discuss if the ongoing changes and shifts can be labeled as Europeanization and seek an answer to the Europeanization question of Turkish Security Culture: Do we really see a Europeanization in Turkish Security Culture? Or can the scholars interpret the differences and novelties they have been observing in TSCI, within the Realpolitik Security Culture?

5.1 Traditional Aspects of Turkish Security Culture

5.1.1 Historical background

Katzenstein (1996b) sheds light to the issue of the historical dimension and its influence on NSCI. He explains that "the Japanese security culture did not emerge mystically from the fog of ancient history, nor did it appear suddenly, magically, an immaculate historical conception in 1945" (Katzenstein, 1996). In a similar fashion, TSCI is not just the product of the Cold War or the Post-Cold War. While the Turkish Republic was born as a new state in 1923 with a new ideology and system, the new TSCI was still influenced by the Ottoman experience of Turks, which is called the "Ottoman legacy" of Turkey. Additionally, Sévres syndrome; a psychological-perceptive phenomena of the Turkish state, the single party era in Turkey, the great ideological confrontation and the following pole-less world left their traces on TSCI. All together they will be presented as the historical background of the current situation. To be able to see where TSCI is now and why, it is important to know where it comes from.

5.1.1.1 Ottoman Legacy

The Ottoman Empire, as Karaosmanoğlu (2000:201) explains, started with an offensive Realpolitik Security Culture. From its establishment in 1299, until its final halt in 1699 with Treaty of Karlowitz, Ottomans kept expanding in all directions, thanks to their religious motivations coupled with a hardheaded Realpolitik mindset. *Raison d' état* or *Staatsräson* was a primary factor in Ottoman decision making.

Ottomans were careful in their strategic calculations so as not to find themselves in a war on two fronts at the same time. They relied on any instrument of RSU, at their disposal, from temporary alliances to strategic retreats, if needed. All in all, they were able to further the Ottoman Raison d' état for a long time through an Offensive version of RSU.

The dynamic nature of Security Culture was mentioned in the previous parts of this thesis. In line with this argument, Ottoman Security Culture underwent a transformation due to various reasons of the time (remaining backward in military technology, overstretched borders, new discoveries in the world, change in the power balance in Europe, pouring wealth to European states from distant colonies, etc…). "Its Security culture evolved from an offensive Realpolitik Security Culture to a defensive one" (Karaosmanoğlu, 2000:201)

The less the Ottomans proved to be successful in protecting the territorial integrity of the empire, the more they became anxious about the future of the Devlet-i Ali Osman (the state of the Ottoman). While the Ottoman Empire was galloping towards its inevitable end, "How to protect or how to maintain the state" became the ultimate question for the bureaucratic elite. Those very same questions passed on to the Turkish Security Elite when the Turkish Republic was founded. From the very beginning, until now, the Turkish security elite have been concerned with those inherited questions. This continuity of mindset was a natural consequence of the continuity of the ruling elite from the old empire and the new state. The new republic inherited the Ottoman military and civilian elite, and along with them came the Ottoman defensive Realpolitik Security Culture and Identity. With this mindset,

everything revolved around the "State" and the state has always been under the traditional/inherited threats of the Ottoman era, as well as the new emerging threats as a result of the changing conjuncture in the world. Due to the Ottoman legacy in TSCI, it demonstrates typical features of Ottoman era security culture, like extreme caution in foreign policy, always looking for alliances, close relations with the West, etc…

5.1.1.2 Sévres syndrome

WWI ended on 11 November 1918, leaving millions dead and many more wounded. The victorious states gathered in Paris in 1919, and in the absence of the defeated side, they prepared peace treaties to be signed. The Treaty of Versailles with the German Empire, the Treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria, the Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria and the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary, were signed on different dates and officially ended the Great War for the signatories.

The peace treaty with the Ottomans was the last and the latest one. It was signed in the small town of Sévres, located south of Paris, France on 10 August, 1920. The town of Sévres was famous for its porcelain and the Treaty of Sévres did not stand even as strong as the porcelain produced there (Marshal, 1924). It was not ratified by the Ottoman Parliament (Meclis-i Mebusan) and it was never adopted. Later on, as a result of the Turkish War of Independence, the Treaty of Sévres was superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne.

The name Sévres recalls the most tragic period of Ottoman history for Turkey. The Sévres Treaty was the official declaration of the end of the Ottoman era for many Turks of the time, and it represented the destruction of Ottoman land and the elimination of Ottoman rule. In this vein, the Sévres syndrome constitutes a general name for traditional Turkish fears (inherited from the Ottoman background) concerning the state, the nation and territory. The Ottoman legacy was haunting Turkish policy makers in their foreign and security policy decisions and it was affecting the decision making processes. In general, Sévres syndrome brought in a feeling of distrust for outsiders (Bilgin, 2002:1), a constant fear of abandonment by allies or supporting sides, a fear of encirclement by enemies and a fear of loss of territory like the Ottoman Empire had suffered in its last two hundred years.

Sévres syndrome, and the fear of suffering the fate that the Ottoman Empire experienced, were important factors shaping TSCI, and, therefore, Turkish security behaviors and strategic choices.

5.1.1.3 Republican Party Era

In the Republican Party period, the memory of the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire revived and it reinforced the concern for national unity as well as for law and order within the state borders (Heper, 2000).

The prevalent security discourse in Turkey has been the discourse of the policy-making elite since the early days of the Republic and there has been little public

questioning of or resistance to the security conceptualization of the security elite during the Republican period (Bilgin, 2002:7).

With the inheritance of Ottoman defensiveness, combined with Ataturk's non-adventurism, the Republican Party era was a time of cautious engagement with the outside world. A web of treaties, agreements and pacts were formed to create a safety ring around Turkish land so that the new republic could flourish and prosper politically and economically. Atatürk's famous quote "Peace at home, peace in the world (Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh) clearly characterizes the Security mindset of the Republican era in particular.

5.1.1.4 Cold War Period

Emphasizing Turkey's geopolitical importance served as the most prominent component of Turkish security discourse during the Cold War period. Turkey; stuck between the two rival worlds, found itself a part of the Western camp. Western bloc was both a preference based on specific historical reasons and a dictation of the particular necessities for Turkey. Criss (2002) explains the historical aspect as the "long standing ambition of Turkey to integration with the West" and the particular necessities as "securing financial and military aid from the US and the Soviet threat".[16]

Over the course of its history "Turkey has historically displayed a relatively consistent security culture of realpolitik which has evolved across the centuries from

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[16] For more detail on this see Criss, Nur Bilge. 2002. "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Dış Politikaları," *Doğu Batı*, 6(21): 41-158.

a dominant offensive character into a dominant defensive one" (Karaosmanoglu, 2000; 200). During Cold War years this defensive realpolitik security culture was strongly reinforced by the ongoing ideological and military confrontation between the Communist and western blocs. As Karaosmanoğlu (2000) explains that centuries-long Ottoman retreat from its powerful position pushed the Ottoman state into a position where "its military and diplomatic isolation subjected it to bargaining between the great powers over its territory". When Turkey was founded in 1923, it not only inherited the Ottoman bureaucracy but also took over this diplomatic and military isolation as well. In the early years, there were various attempts to break free of the inherited isolation however, the effect of those alliances and treaties were limited in terms of integration with the West and the outbreak of the WWII radically changed the parameters. Therefore joining the NATO was the key for Turkey to break this vicious cycle and reinforce its position within the Western states, as well as its position vis-à-vis Soviet Union.

From 1950's to 1990's Cold War dictated a strict national security mentality and state policies were shaped accordingly. Turkey participated in overseas war in an attempt to prove itself useful for the Western world and following its membership to NATO, military relations as well as diplomatic relations deepened with the West, but especially with the US. The high tension between the blocs, especially during 50's and 60's, over emphasize of military security and preparation for a possible World War Three only worked to reinforce the realpolitik mind-set of Turkish security elite.

With the turn of the 60's Turkey experienced its first military coup and from 70's on it became more and more occupied with domestic terrorism, unstable political

structure, coalition governments and economic hardships (Criss 2002). 1974 Cyprus Peace operation came in the middle of this chaos and it only stiffened the Turkish-Western relations. Yet again in the 80's Turkish political system suffered another military intervention and while Turkey was trying to normalize its domestic affairs and political structure, it suffered the outbreak of separatist terrorism. Domestic agenda occupied the Turkish policy makers and when Gorbachev announced the dissolution of Soviet Union, Turkey was neither ready for the immediate effects not for the long term changes.

5.1.1.5 Post Cold War Period

"Turkey's international role and posture have been profoundly affected by the end of the Cold War. "For almost half a century, the constancy of the Soviet threat produced a constancy of American policy. Other countries could rely on the United States for protection because protecting them seemed to serve American security interests" (Waltz, 2000). The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union forced Turkey to redefine and reshape its foreign policy in important ways" (Larrabee, 2000). The new dynamics unleashed by the end of the Cold War have not only expanded Turkey's foreign policy horizons, but have also led to an important shift in Turkish security perceptions; with which Turkish Security Culture has been shaped and reshaped (Larrabee, 2000).

Immediately after the end of the Cold War years Turkey found itself in an environment with new opportunities as well as new challenges. Early 90's witnessed new foreign policy attempts of Turgut Ozal and Süleyman Demirel. Especially

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President Özal was envisioning a more active, more articulate and maybe even more aggressive foreign policy (Torumtay, 1996). However economic insufficiencies (Turkish economic capabilities were not in line with the promises made by the politicians neither in line with the expectations of the recipients- The newly independent states) as well as the resistance of the military crippled the initial attempts of a more active foreign policy (Kösebalaban 2002).

In domestic sphere, Kurdish Workers Party's (PKK) violence prevailed from 1984 till 1999, when Abdullah Öcalan, the founder and person in charge of the organization was captured my Turkish intelligence units. When Justice and Development Party (JDP) came to power in 2002, it started off with a relatively stable security situation (due to inactivity of PKK side) as well as a recovering economy from the major banking crisis it suffered in early 2000.

Due to a variety of reasons – some are particularly JDP related, some are relevant regardless of the ruling party- JDP undertook a major reformation in Turkish state system and a harmonization with European Institutions. European Union membership project was not something new for Turkey when JDP came to power. The European integration that took place after World War II strengthened European states in many ways. As Aybet (1999) notes, "Not only the parameters of European security but also those of European culture were being redefined, as the division of Europe ceased to exist and Europe -east and west- was finding new grounds for bonding in historical, cultural, and religious terms" (Aybet, 1999). In line with the previous governments, JDP strived for EU membership and in a few years it was able to get membership status for Turkey.

With JDP in power, important steps have been taken in terms of Europeanization of legislation and policies. JDP, with its radically different foreign policy approach, challenged the traditional outlook on relations with the neighbors as well as former adversaries. While traditional security perspective of the security elites perceives neighbors less of a partner and more of a source of problem, Davutoğlu driven JDP foreign policy aimed at "Zero-problems-with-neighbors".[17]

In the final analysis, after the initials years of post-Cold War era during which Turkey found itself in a dilemma whether to embrace a more active involvement in international affairs or pursuing the tradition abstention politics (which is no longer as sustainable as it was during Cold War). With the turn of the new millennium a new party came to power and this brought significant changes with it. JDP's 'zero-problem with neighbors' approach, motivation to ensure economic integration of Turkey's immediate surroundings, seeking mediation in perennial territorial disputes of its zones of interests stand out as significant factors that influenced Turkish Security Culture in post-Cold War era. (Davutoğlu, 2008).

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[17] For more information on Davutoğlu's perspective on Turkish foreign policy see: Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2001. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslar arası Konumu (Strategic Depth: The International position of Turkey)*. İstanbul: Küre.

5.2 European Transformation (Europeanization) in Turkish Security Culture

5.2.1 Describing European Transformation in Turkish Security Culture: Indicators of Transformation:

This thesis claims that when one looks at the available literature and the current developments, one can find several indicators pointing out to a European transformation in Turkish Security Culture however; one needs to be careful when it comes to interpreting the depth of this transformation and its overall impact on Turkish Security Culture. It is not surprising to see many scholarly work done on Europeanization of various aspects of Turkish state system and many of those studies raise important questions and bring in important contributions to the discussions yet when we look at the Europeanization issue from a combination of both means and ends (reaching European ends with European means), we might see a different picture. In the following parts various indicators of European transformation in Turkish Security Identity will be discussed and possible factors motivating this transformation will be presented.

5.2.1.1 Europeanization of Turkish Security Culture in terms of style:

In the theoretical discussion of the "style transformation", it is mentioned that the change in the style means a modification in the way the state acts in a particular situation. It is the way that the state speaks out about its security issues. The style of security is also defined by the instruments it prefers. How the state reacts to

different situations changes over time only through a transformation in security understanding.

When we look at the way Turkish policy making elite execute foreign and security policies, especially during the last decade we see important changes compared to previous decades. The way Turkey describes its security situation and its geography has significantly changed. The dominant rhetoric (which was being fed by the security culture and was reinforcing it in return) used to describe Turkey as an island surrounded by a sea of enemies[18]. Abandonment and encirclement nightmares of the Sévres syndrome were kept alive by this rhetoric. "Turks has no friends but Turks"[19] demonstrates the typical worldview of the traditional security culture of Turkey. However this bitter language of enmity, exclusion and constant fear of hostility started to alter especially in the last decade. Turkey started employ a more inclusive language and official rhetoric abandoned the perspective of viewing Turkey as an island surrounded by enemies, rather it started to portray a Turkey image where Turkey assumes a central role and creates a zone of influence cemented by economic integration, social relations and cultural ties (or in other words revives its historical zone of influence as Davutoğlu puts it) (Davutoğlu, 2001).

The Europeanization in terms of style not only shows itself in the way Turkish policy making elite talks about issues and actors but also the way they approach those issues and those actors. Ankara has begun to see foreign and security policy as

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[18] An important example for this type of thinking was clearly demonstrated in the remarks of a retired Turkish general, Armağan Kuloğlu when he spoke to a Turkish TV channel (NTV). He claimed that the more neighbors you have means the more problems you have, and in our case we can never have zero-problems with our neighbors while they have their eyes on Turkish territorial integrity. NTV live broadcasting, August 27, 2010.
[19] Türkün Türk'ten başka dostu yoktur!

a distinctive policy realm in which pursuing competitive relations with other actors should no longer justify unchangeable self-other categorizations between Ankara and other capitals (Tiryaki, 2008). The 'zero problems with neighbors' approach of the current JDP government appears to reflect this understanding. Instead of further alienating neighbors, Turkey has decided to face its problems with its neighbors and when dealing with those problems non-military instruments were emphasized. In this sense, Syria comes forward as an outstanding example.

When we look at the Syrian-Turkish relations we witness an incredible transformation within a few years. While only less than 100 thousand people crossed the Syrian Turkish border in 1998 this number has risen to 509.679 people in 2009 which is expected to go even higher with the changes in the visa regime between Turkey and Syria.[20] While Turkey was doing military drills near Syrian border as a warning to Syria due to their attitude toward PKK when we come to 2009 Turkish and Syrian land forces began to plan joint military drills.[21] This is a radical change over a relatively short time period and it clearly indicates that some things are changing in Turkish security mind set however critical question is whether this transformation in attitude and instruments signal a deep underlying differentiation in Turkish security culture or it is only Turkish security elite discovering new policy instruments? Is Turkey employing European means to achieve European ends?

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[20] Euractive: 2009'da 27 milyon turist geldi, Almanlar başı çekti, 31.01.2010
http://www.euractiv.com.tr/turizm/article/2009da-27-milyon-turist-geldi-almanlar-basi-cekti-008730
[21] TRT Haber: Suriye ile Ortak Tatbikat, 27.04.2009
http://www.trt.net.tr/Haber/HaberDetay.aspx?HaberKodu=9b4d6d2d-e70e-45ac-b054-b13063af5a15

5.2.1.2 Europeanization of Turkish Security Culture in terms of process:

When explaining transformation in terms of process this thesis mentioned that the process dimension involves various bodies and institutions of the state whose level of involvement in security matters is greatly influenced by the Security Culture of that state. With a European transformation we would expect to see a reshuffling of the relative weight each agent possesses in the overall process.

Realpolitik Security Culture of Turkey emphasizes the military prominence and it overwhelmingly increases military's role and power in this process. Infested with unabated national security threats, Realpolitik security culture in Turkey dictates military oriented process and military solutions to problems. Army is seen as the main actor and General Staff has the leading position (Kösebalaban 2002:135).

In line with the Europeanization process, we would expect to see a more civilian security policy making formulated and supervised and audited by civilians. Recalling the European Security Culture/mindset discussion earlier, a Europeanization would mean that not only civilians are in charge of the process but also civilian and multilateral mechanisms are employed.

When we look at the Turkish case we see significant changes such as the reformations concerning National Security Council. The institutional reforms in the National Security Council (NSC) caused a reshuffling of power in the process of foreign and security policy making. The seventh reform package which was passed on 23 July 2003 curtailed the military representation in the NSC and empowered the

civilian side. Foreign and security policy issues are now being discussed in the public and media to the extent one would have found it unbelievable ten years ago (particularly in Turkey's relations with the EU, Cyprus, northern Iraq, Russia and Armenia) (Makovsky and Sayarı, 2000).[22] The process of framing potential security issues as political issues is also becoming more evident (northern Iraq, Cyprus and Armenia are the leading examples) (Çelik and Rumelili, 2006). Through reform packages passed by respective JDP governments the process dimension of security policy has undergone important changes yet again the question remains still: Do all these changes imply a deep long-standing transformation in Turkish Security Culture?

Reform packages that were passed to ensure harmonization with EU policies and bodies undeniably contributed to increase civilian power in the decision making process however it is not easy to say that from now on Turkish policy making elite is pursuing European goals with the newly civilianized mechanisms. With Realpolitik security culture; realpolitik ends were pursued with mostly realpolitik means. Non-civilian bodies had more role and say in the process of this pursuit. With the ongoing transformation, now civilians are pursuing realpolitik ends with more civilian mechanisms like diplomacy, economic ties, integration, creation or expansion of international-multilateral bodies etc.

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[22] In "Turkey's New World: Changing Dynamics in Turkish Foreign Policy", the book edited by Alan Makovsky and Sabri Sayari, this situation is put forward as such: "Much of Turkish foreign-policy decision-making is shrouded in secrecy. Still, it can be safely said that the emergence of a stronger presidency and National Security Council over the last two decades of the twentieth century has increased the number of poles in Turkey's "multi-polar" decision-making apparatus. The primary reference points now seem to be the presidency, prime ministry, and military, with the foreign ministry nevertheless still an important player. Which takes the lead in a crisis seems to be a matter of personality, political circumstance, and the issue at hand". Little role used to be attributed to public and think tanks. However with the EU process foreign and security policy became issues of public and open debate. Once the multi-polarity in Foreign policy decision making meant involvement of Presidency, Prime minister, Ministry of foreign affairs and military in the process. However, now the process inevitably includes public, media and think tanks and business associations and so forth.

5.2.1.3 Europeanization of Turkish Security Culture in terms of expected outcomes:

"A reorientation of the organizational logic [of] national politics and policy making" (Ladrech 1994) will be the result of European transformation in security culture and this logic shift (from logic of consequences to logic of appropriateness) will alter the outcomes expected to be produces through security policies. For Realpolitik Security Culture expected outcomes would come in the form of more power, more security, more influence etc. for the state. Actions of a state informed by Realpolitik Security Culture will be self-interested and will be more pre-occupied with its own gains and its own problems. Any action taken under the influence of this type of security culture will have state interest in mind and the states priority is to maximize its gain or minimize its losses not expanding value systems for the sake of normative values of those systems.

Under the influence of Realpolitik Security Culture, Turkey prioritized its national security over other issues. Increasing military power to ensure territorial integrity as well as non-interference of neighbors or powerful states, prioritizing Turkey's military importance and geo-political significance, seeking close military ties with the West were all part of this logic and were all products of Realpolitik security understanding.

Turkey defined its problems mostly as security problems and sought military solutions to those problems, such as Kurdish issue, disputes with Syria over territory and water rights, air and sea related problems with Greece. In all those cases,

Turkey formulated its relations through the lenses of Realpolitik Security Culture and perceived those issues as security problems/threats and sought realpolitik results. Expected outcomes were more power or influence for Turkey as it is seen s the only way to survive in the unstable conflict prone conflict triangle: Balkans-Caucasus and middles East. The volatile nature of the region pushed Turkey for more and more military preparation (in 1989 Turkey made 11,4 billion dollars-3.1 % of its GDP- military spending and this number rose up to 22,483 billion – 4 % o its GDP in 1999. The actual amount of spending doubled within a decade contrary to the expectations of many scholars who were predicting sharp declines in states military expenditures).[23] On the other hand according to SIPRI data on Turkey, the military spending states that the spending has declined both in terms of actual amount of money spent and in terms of its proportion to GDP especially during the last decade. Inevitably the long cease fire of PKK is partly responsible for this situation yet deconstruction and politicization of Turkish security problems have its role as well. With the influence of Europeanization and as a result of more and more civilian involvement and public attention to security matters, Turkey started to switch to more non-military instruments to pursue its objectives (Schrank, 2009).

This thesis formulated European Security Culture as pursuing European ends (expected outcomes) with European means and without satisfying both tenets and especially the "ends" one cannot confidently claim that a true Europeanization has taken place. When we look at the Turkish case, we see a strong and motivated turn to European means yet when we look deep into the motivations we do not see the primary policy makers (which could include a variety of groups from presidency to

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[23] Source: The SIPRI Military Expenditure Database - Military expenditure of Turkey. Data is available at http://www.sipri.org/databases and data on Turkey covers the period from 1988 to 2009.

foreign ministry etc.) voicing claims from transforming the region or spreading European values or providing political integration of the region based on universal values. Rather we see Turkish policy makers as well as politicians emphasizing non-military instruments to turn the surroundings of Turkey into a zone of peace and a zone of influence and in doing do increasing Turkish security and welfare (Laçiner, 2009). Therefore the expected outcomes are still security oriented yet Turkish security elite has discovered the benefits of new instruments such as Football diplomacy with Armenia, tourism and cultural exchange with Syria, reaching out to non-Turkoman elements of Iraq, toning down the official language regarding the territorial waters issue with Greece, bringing the Caucasian states around the same table with multilateral organizations and confidence building between Iran and the West.

5.2.2 Explaining the European Transformation in Turkish Security Culture: What motivates the transformation?

5.2.2.1 Dynamics of EU Accession Process

"It is not the symbolic geography that creates politics, but rather the reverse… Europe ends where politicians want it to end" (Todorova, 1997). While Todorova was talking about Balkans, she clearly reflected how Turks see their relationship Europe. Ottomans, as the descend from their powerful position from 17th century and on, tried hard to became part of the European state system (Karaosmanoğlu. 2000;204). Turkish Republic, along with many other aspects, inherited this long term goal and when Europe started to get reorganized politically after WWII, Turkey wanted to be a part of this process as well.

The Treaty of Rome, establishing the European Economic Community (EEC), was signed in Rome on 25 March 1957 by six countries (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany), and entered into force on 1 January 1958.[24] Shortly after the founding treaty became effective Turkey applied for associate membership of the EEC and its application got a positive response in 1963 and so began the Turkish journey to what eventually became European Union.

Over the last 40 years Turkey has been trying to achieve full membership status and in this almost 5 decades long process it passed several important mile stones such as; full membership application in 1987, Customs Union (CU) negotiations in 1993 and CU agreement in 1996, achieving candidate country for EU membership status in 1999, initiation of membership talks in 2004 and starting accession negotiations in 2005.[25] Since 2005 several chapters of EU Acquis Communautaire have been opened for negotiations and closed and in the mean time Turkey passes 8 reform (harmonization) packages with 53 different laws and 218 articles were amended.[26] Inevitably the accession process, the attempts to harmonize Turkish laws with EU Acquis Communautaire and reforming the major legal and political bodies such as National Security Council or State Security Court pushed Turkey closer to a European foreign and security mindset; or at least these developments stemming from the EU accession process dynamics created leverage for politicians, specifically JDP, to divert the state security policies to a more liberal modus operand.

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[24] Europe Treaties and Law: http://europa.eu/abc/treaties/index_en.htm
[25] Information compiled from Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs (http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-ab-iliskileri.tr.mfa) and European Union (http://europa.eu/index_en.htm) official websites.
[26] Turkey-EU relations: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-ab-iliskileri.tr.mfa

Respective attempts to fulfill candidacy responsibilities and satisfy EU demands on the way to membership can be presented as one of the major motivators of the Europeanization in Turkey Security Culture as well as Turkey-specific reason for this transformation which will be explained under "domestic politics" title.

5.2.2.2 Domestic Politics: Justice and Development Party factor

Established shortly before 9/11 attacks, JDP had the chance to present itself as the best alternative model for Islamic world (Gül, 2004: 3). In this sense, JDP's rise to power was welcomed by Western Capitals, especially Washington, as 9/11 made it clear that Islamic world will occupy western agenda for a long time to come and in this process a moderate Islamic administration which has Islamic roots and rhetoric yet pursues pro-western policies and reconciliates Islamic and western values would be very helpful for the cause. A functioning Muslim democracy that is also pursuing economic and political integration with EU would be a valuable instrument in winning the hearts and minds of the Muslim communities elsewhere and it would weaken the radical tendencies by presenting a functioning moderate pro-western Islamic democracy model.

Even though the JDP does not define itself as 'Muslim democrat' or 'political Islamist', many of its critics argue that it represents the continuation of political Islam under a new guise. Therefore, the Party tends to define itself either as a "post-Islamist party" or a conservative democratic party (Ayoob, 2004:5).

The JDP-ruled Turkey did not hesitate to participated in the US led the Broader Middle East and North African Initiative as a democracy partner on the one hand and the UN-led Alliances of Civilization Initiative on the other (Çetinsaya 2008). Adopting a pro-EU oriented foreign policy might have been thought of bolstering the JDP's post-Islamist institutional identity. From the very first days of its establishment JDP made it clear that it will pursue strong pro-EU policies.[27] We can list a number of different reasons for JDP's strong motivation to pursue pro-EU policies and its sense of ownership of this process however two factors stand out as stronger causes: Legitimacy concerns especially in domestic sphere and curbing the power of bureaucracy at home (military, judiciary etc.)

Even thought JDP came to power with a significantly high percentage of votes in 2002[28], due to the Islamic background of its founders (even though there were MPs with right wing background, the party as overwhelmingly made of politicians with political Islamist history and Milli görüş –National View- tradition.) the party was perceived as a threat to secular nature of Turkish state. In order to dispel the fears of Turkey's secular elites that the JDP has not signed onto Turkey's centuries-long westernization process and the secular state identity, pro-European policy orientation and Europeanization was the key. After all it would be difficult to argue and find domestic and foreign support that the JDP's real goal is to transform Turkey into an Islamic society when the pace of Turkey's Europeanization reforms increased? The best way to prove that JDP believed in modernity, secularism and westernization would be moving Turkey closer and closer to Europe through Europeanization.

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[27] JDP Political Program: http://www.akparti.org.tr/vi-dis-politika-_79.html?pID=50
[28] Turkish High Electoral Commission Official website, 2002 General Elections results: http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/docs/2002MilletvekiliSecimi/gumrukdahil/gumrukdahilgrafik.pdf

In addition to JDP's desire to dispel legitimacy issues and disprove fears of an Islamic transformation, Europeanization was instrumental for the Party to curtail the influence of appointed bureaucrats in politics, most notably the Turkish army. Further democratization and liberalization alongside the EU accession process would in the end strengthen the civilization process at home. When the goal was defined to curtail the power of the army and judicial bureaucracy, the EU-led reformation process would help a lot (Ayoob, 2007). Many significant changes including the changes in the nature and structure of NSC can be interpreted in this vein. The more civilianized the Turkish state system and policy making, the stronger the Party will be vis-à-vis the Army and other appointed bureaucracy. One can also claim that this motivation for Europeanization partially explains the slow-down in the accession process, reformations and Europeanization, as the Party is now strong enough to fend off the bureaucracy without making reference of EU process.

5.2.2.3 Relations with the US: Soft balancing a Hard Power

When we look at official statements on Turkish American relations we see overwhelming emphasize on the deep roots of partnership, mutual significance and a comprehensive cooperation on many fronts:

> "Turkey is a vital strategic partner and NATO ally and occupies a strategic location between Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union. Turkey has been a critical ally in the global war on terrorism, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Turkey's policies and actions affect the resolution of a host of simmering regional conflicts, including Iraq, the Middle East, Cyprus, the Caucasus, and the Balkans".[29]

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[29] The US State Department Official Website: http://www.state.gov/p/eur/ci/tu/

(The US State Department, country background information section)

> "Turkey and United States of America share a sound and deep-rooted partnership. They stand together in the face of many international issues and challenges of the day such as the fight against terrorism, illicit trafficking of drugs-weapons humans, poverty, religious extremism. They share the same values and ideals such as democracy, human rights, rule of law, free market economy…Turkey and the U.S. have been closely cooperating in a wide geography stretching from the Balkans to the Caucasus, from the Middle East to Central Asia."[30]
>
> *(Turkish MFA Turkish-U.S. Political Relations Section)*

It is true that the US has a significant place in Turkish Foreign and Security policies and as reiterated by both sides US-Turkish cooperation has its roots going back to early 19ᵗʰ century. Even thought intense economic and political relations as well as security alliance started only after the Second World War, the origins of Turkish-American relations and initial contacts go back to 1830 when The USS George Washington visited Istanbul and a trade agreement was signed.[31]

From 1830's to 1940's Turkey had limited contact with the US and Washington had little impact on Turkish Security mindset. This has changed significantly with the end of WWII and military and political partnership with the US elevated to a high priority level for Turkey. Cold War and Soviet threat from the East brought Turkey closer to the US and since then close ties to the United States have been important for Turkey no matter which party or parties were in charge. "During the

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[30] Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs Official Website Turkish-U.S. Political Relations Section: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-u_s_-political-relations.en.mfa

[31] Council of American Ambassadors, Fall 2007, "United States and Turkey: Common Purposes in a Critical Region" *The Ambassadorial Review*. http://www.americanambassadors.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=publications.article&articleid=119

Cold War, the United States was seen as the main guarantor of Turkish security (Larrabee, 2000: 26)." Turkish policy makers focused on Soviet threat and relied on the US military protection and US actions in Europe and in the Middle East did not bother Turkey. However, the focus of the U.S.-Turkish relationship has shifted since the end of the Cold War; from Soviet Union to cooperation the Middle East, the Caspian region, and the Balkans and expanded from military cooperation to a number of areas other fields including energy, terrorism, religious extremism human trafficking etc (Larrabee, 2000;27).

Despite the intense military and political relations and constant expression of mutual significance on both sides, Turkish-U.S. relations, have been far from trouble free. Starting with the Cyprus issue and the following US embargo, Turkish-American relations went through times of trouble and the invasion of Iraq consisted of the last chapter when we came to early 2000's. The rejection of the temporary deployment of 62000 US troops in Turkish soil by the parliament on 1 March 2003 in the invasion of Iraq, changed Turkish-American relations directions and surprised many Europeans, Americans and as well as Turks themselves (Emerson and Tocci, 2004). Following the rejection of the motion, tension between Ankara and Washington rose as the US administration strongly warned Turkey not to intervene in Northern Iraq independently of American command (Emerson and Tocci, 2004) and when the US troops arrested 11 soldiers from Turkish Special forces in July 2003 in Suleymaniye/Northern Iraq it only worked to worsen the already tense relations.

"The Euro-American tension that developed during the Bush administration, particularly in regard to Iraq, has meant that it is no longer possible to talk about

"pro-Western" policies without distinguishing which "West" one is talking about" (Danforth, 2008:85). While the War in Iraq dealt a severe blow to the moral authority the US once enjoyed, Turkey started to diversify its foreign relations to open more space to other capitals including but not limited to Moscow and Tehran. The American image has suffered most in the Muslim world, which makes it especially difficult for any Turkish government trying to manage its relations with America and the Middle East (Danforth, 2008:87). Expectedly, Turkish public opinion was not immune to circulating negative sentiment toward the US. "According to the PEW Global Attitudes Survey, the number of Turks who had a favorable view of Americans fell from 32 percent in 2004 to 23 percent in 2005 and a mere 17 percent in 2006" (Grigoriadis, 2006:18).

American actions and rhetoric after 9/11 made it clear for the rest of the world that the US, when it sees necessary, will use disproportionate measures to ensure it gets what it wants and the Bush administration was determined to take radical steps in the Middle East starting from Iraq.[32] Turkey had specific fears and concerns related to its location as a bordering country to Iraq in particular and the Middle East in general (Emerson and Tocci, 2004). Turkey feared the political and economic de-stabilization of the whole region starting from Iraq and the public grew an increasing mistrust to American goals in Iraq. Fearing a partition in Iraq and creation of an independent Kurdish state in the North, Turkey became more and more anxious about the American policies and balancing American power in the middles east became ever more important.

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[32] See National Security Strategy of the United States of America-2002: http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/

In the middle of all these growing tensions and changing calculations, Turkey found itself closer to Europe. The developments in the Middles East, especially after 2003, indicated that Turkish views were more in line with the EU capitals. Ironically, the US was one of the strong supporters of Turkey in its bid to EU membership and after 2003 it started to back-fire.

5.2.2.4 Ever Increasing threats in/from Middle East

Middle East has never been an easy geography to dwell in and it provides us a text-book example of a Hobbesian type of world. From the early years of the republic and on, Turkey tried to refrain from Middle Eastern affairs and it stood away from the murky Middle Easter politics. This policy of limited engagement was more or less sustainable during the Republican Party are as well as Cold War.

However developments after the end of Cold War made it apparent that no longer was it possible to stay away and stay intact. Even when Turkey decided not to take part in the events taking place in the Middle East, being a neighbor, it was deeply affected by them. First Gulf War of 1991 is a striking example in this sense. Even thought Turkey did not take part in the fighting, it was one of the countries who suffered the highest economic damage. Besides, the instability in the region caused an influx of refugees and a deterioration of PKK problem.

The recent history show Turkey that it is no longer possible to stay out, however its historical experience informed Turkey that it is not easy to stay in without suffering harsh consequences. In a geography infested with military conflicts, it is not

possible to ensure "Peace at home, peace in the world" doctrine alone. The ever increasing threats from the Middles East and the uncooperative attitude of the US administration persuaded Turkey for further cooperation with EU and paved the way for further Europeanization of foreign and security policies.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Over the course of its history "Turkey has historically displayed a relatively consistent security culture of Realpolitik which has evolved across the centuries from a dominant offensive character into a dominant defensive one" (Karaosmanoğlu, 2000; 200) The State has been the provider of the security and state security took precedence over other forms of security. This is not surprising thinking that Turkey is in a conflict prone, violence infected region where instability is abundant and peace is a rare commodity.

Turkey developed a National Security Culture and Identity around Realpolitik security orientation and Turkey acted as a Realpolitik security actor. This had been the case for a long time until the rise of Justice and Development Party to power and the increased influence of European Union accession process, which has taken place parallel to the JDP's rise to power. More and more scholar started to acknowledge

the changes taking place in Turkish Foreign and Security making. This inevitably, signaled a transformation in the Security Culture of the Turkish State from Realpolitik orientation to European one. This thesis tried to examine this transformation with the parameters provided in the theoretical sections. It operationalized the definitions of European and Realpolitik Security Cultures and evaluated the possible transformation in Turkish Security Culture within the confines of those definitions and conceptualizations.

The justification for such a study on the transformation on security culture and the rationale behind it needs to be explained. First of all, this study is designed to make a contribution to the growing Europeanization and Turkish-EU literature. Various aspects of Turkish Europeanization have been studied by many scholars and understandably many of those studies focus either on domestic institutions and their harmonization with EU counterparts or foreign policy of Turkey in line with EU accession process. TSC, in this sense, is an area that needs attention and a fertile ground for scholarly discussion. That is why this thesis deals with security culture and sees it as an important dimension of overall Turkish Europeanization.

When it comes to explaining why this study accepts the fact that a transformation is security culture is possible (yet difficult and slow) it relies on the theoretical arguments provided by the main stream IR approaches. Security Culture, contrary to the assumptions of realism, and in line with the assumptions of Constructivism, is open to change, as a result of strong internal/external forces or motivators. That is why, as Karaosmanoğlu (2000:200) states, "national security culture is not static; indeed it can change over time, as new experience is absorbed, coded and culturally

translated. While National Security Culture is not static and is open to change, as Karaosmanoğlu (2000) indicated, it is not elastic either. It does not change overnight with daily political events nor does it go with the flow of everyday domestic or international politics. The dynamism which opens the gate for change comes from the fact that Security Culture and Identity is a socially constructed element of the state and with the change in social interactions among the actors, this social construct: "National Security Culture" changes.

From the foundation of Turkish Republic to current day, the idea of integration with European political and economic system proved itself as the strongest incentive for such a change in social interactions among the actors. This process, the Europeanization as it is generally called is a powerful driving force for Turkey to change its policies and practices. While Europeanization motivated important changes in Turkish political structure and policies this thesis highlight the primacy of the following factors in motivating the perceived Europeanization: Dynamics of accession process (which brings in harmonization of Acquis Communautaire and reform packages), the pragmatic approach of the JDP-led Turkey towards the EU (gaining legitimacy as well as curbing the power of secular elites and appointed bureaucracy) Ankara's own security needs and the desire to achieve a soft balancing vis-à-vis the US in the post 9/11 middle East, and finally the ever increasing threat stemming from the persisting problems and disputes in the Middle East. When all these aspects are taken into account this thesis claims that it has gradually become necessary on the part of Turkey to align its foreign and security policy orientation with EU standards out of realpolitik concerns rather than ideational ones. Aligning

with the EU has lately become an issue of strategic choice rather than ideational requirement (Oğuzlu & Özpek, 2008).

Turkey used to demonstrate a stronger realpolitik security culture with more reliance on Realpolitik instruments; however, with Europeanization process as well as the changing dynamics in its immediate surroundings, Turkey started to look for non-realpolitik or European means. This was not only due to the fact that those instruments presented better chance to actualize otherwise realpolitik ends, but also because of the JDP related reasons. Out of necessity Turkey discovered European means and prioritize the use of such methods. Thanks to the dynamics of the accession process, the fears invigorated by American policies in the Middle East and the foreign policy visions of the major JDP members including but not limited to Gül, Erdoğan and Davutoğlu, Turkey has started to perform a more European style foreign and security approach. The crucial question comes at this point: Can we confidently call that Turkish Security Culture is Europeanized as Turkey is acting more like a European state and emphasizing European means to achieve its goals? This thesis, as it defines European Security Culture as "the security mind-set which dictates achieving European ends with European means", claims that the transformation we witness in Turkish Security Culture cannot be labeled as true Europeanization. Turkey is still pursuing Realpolitik goals of its own only with more European means with time. The adaptation of such an attitude and welcoming the new means can be explained with strategic choices and foreign policy vision of JDP elites.

In conclusion, this thesis claims that Turkish Security Culture has not been transformed to assume a European nature. Turkey is still pursuing realpolitik ends with European means which is a decision out of strategic necessity rather than an ideational and normative choice. It is true that Turkey no longer displays rigid defensive security culture characteristics and its interactions with its region and the EU left their imprints on TSC, however this does not change the fact the Turkey is still operating on logic of consequences. On the other hand this does not mean that a spill-over effect is out of question. From a neo-functionalist perspective a spill-over effect[33] is always possible and in the long run Turkey might experience a true Europeanization of its security culture. The spill-over effect along with various other issues such as the realpolitik challenges to TSC and the future direction of the ongoing transformation remain as questions for further research.

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[33] It means that if Turkey continues with EU accession process and employs European means long enough the public as well as policy makers will internalize the means and expand into ends as well. With the European means in place.

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