

TURKEY'S NATIONAL ROLE CONCEPTIONS AND THE IMPLICATIONS IN
THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

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ABSTRACT

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Although many studies prefer using the mainstream international relations (IR) theories nowadays, this thesis utilizes role theory as a foreign policy analysis (FPA) tool for examining national role conceptions of Turkey and the implications of these roles in the Eastern Mediterranean specifically. Following the preliminary works of several scholars as K. J. Holsti, who study the role of beliefs, images and identities of the states, this thesis aims to correlate Turkish national roles with its political and economic aims towards the Eastern Mediterranean region. In order to offer a comprehensive perspective, the thesis examines the data including official foreign policy speeches of highest-level decision-makers since 2018. By using the roles and related keywords, a content analysis which is based on word count was used as a methodology. This methodology was used for both generally presented national roles and their reflections and implications in the Eastern Mediterranean. Most emphasized 10 roles found in the analysis was visualized with graphics according to years of speeches while the same

method was applied to show actor-specific roles. As a result, I argue that using role theory makes it possible to plausibly explain Turkey's foreign policy decisions towards the region rather than mainstream IR theories.

Keywords: Eastern Mediterranean Foreign Policy Analysis, National Role Conceptions, Role Theory, Turkish Foreign Policy.



ÖZET

TÜRKİYE’NİN ULUSAL ROL KAVRAMSALLAŞTIRMALARI VE DOĞU AKDENİZ’DE UYGULANMASI

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Yüksek Lisans, Enerji Ekonomisi ve Enerji Güvenliği Politikaları Programı
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Günümüzde çoğu çalışma ana akım uluslararası ilişkiler (UI) teorilerini kullanmayı tercih ediyor olsa da, bu tez, Türkiye'ye ilişkin ulusal rol kavramlarını ve bu rollerin özellikle Doğu Akdeniz'de uygulanışını incelemek için bir dış politika analizi (DPA) aracı olarak rol teorisini kullanmaktadır. Devletleri yöneten dış politika elitlerinin inançlarının, imgelerinin ve kimliklerinin rolünü araştıran K. J. Holsti gibi birçok akademisyenin çalışmalarını takiben, bu tez, Türkiye'nin ulusal rollerini, Doğu Akdeniz bölgesine yönelik siyasi ve ekonomik amaçlarla ilişkilendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Kapsamlı bir bakış açısı sunmak adına tez, 2018 yılından bu yana üst düzey karar vericilerin resmi dış politika konuşmalarını içeren verileri incelemektedir. Roller ve ilgili anahtar kelimeleri kullanarak, kelime sayımına dayalı bir içerik analizi metodolojisi kullanılmaktadır. Bu metodoloji, hem genel olarak sunulan ulusal roller hem de bu rollerin Doğu Akdeniz'deki yansımaları ve uygulamaları için kullanılmaktadır. En çok vurgulanan 10 rol, Cumhurbaşkanı ve Dışişleri Bakanı'nın

konuşmalarının yıllarına göre grafiklerle görselleştirilirken aynı yöntem aktör bazlı rolleri göstermek için de uygulanmıştır. Sonuç olarak, rol teorisinin kullanılmasının, Türkiye'nin bölgeye yönelik dış politika kararlarını ana akım teorilere nazaran daha güçlü bir şekilde açıklamayı mümkün kıldığı anlaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dış Politika Analizi, Doğu Akdeniz, Rol Teorisi, Türk Dış Politikası Ulusal Rol Kavramsallaştırmaları.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Chapter Overview	1
1.2 Background of the Thesis.....	1
1.3 Research Objectives	3
1.4 Research Questions	4
1.5 Significance of the Thesis	4
1.6 Organization of the Thesis	5
CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	8
2.1 Prevailing Theories	8
2.1.1 Realist Theory	8
2.1.2. Liberal Theory.....	11
2.1.3 Constructivist Theory.....	14
2.2 Role Theory.....	15
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY	28

3.1 An Introduction to Content Analysis.....	28
3.2 Method of Thesis.....	29
CHAPTER IV: TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS ROLES	38
4.1 General Perspective.....	38
4.2 Application of Method to TFP	48
CHAPTER V: TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.....	53
5.1 General Perspective.....	53
5.2 Application of Method to the Eastern Mediterranean.....	56
CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION	69
REFERENCES	75
APPENDIX	96

LIST OF TABLES

1. Turkey's MENA roles pre and post-Arab Uprisings (Akbaba & Özdamar, 2019)	48
2. Relation between roles and all foreign policy speeches during 2018 and 2020 by Erdoğan and Çavuşoğlu, and their percentages	51
3. Relation between roles and all foreign policy speeches during 2018 and 2020 by Erdoğan and their percentages	51
4. Relation between roles and all foreign policy speeches during 2018 and 2020 by Çavuşoğlu and their percentages.....	52

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Some Sources of National Role Conceptions (Holsti, 1970).....	19
2. Sources of Official Foreign Policy Speeches.....	33
3. Roles and Keywords.....	34
4. Categorizing the Speeches According to its Relevance	35
5. Reading Speeches and Highlighted Keywords via "Text" button.....	36
6. Listing the Relevant Speeches.....	37
7. Turkey's National Roles by year	50
8. Turkey's National Roles by actor	50
9. Turkey's National Roles in the Eastern Mediterranean by year	57
10. Turkey's National Roles in the Eastern Mediterranean by actor.....	57
11. Maritime Jurisdiction Areas Dispute between Turkey, TRNC and the GCA in the Eastern Mediterranean (Anadolu Agency, 2019).....	58
12. EEZ after the agreement between Turkey and Libya (Sputnik News, 2020)	59
13. EEZ map in the Eastern Mediterranean (Sputnik News, 2020)	61
14. Turkish Petroleum survey and drilling activities (Erciyes, 2019).....	64

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Overview

The introduction chapter of the thesis starts with the background of the study and describes the role theory as one of the ways to analyze Turkish foreign policy in general, and its implementation in the Eastern Mediterranean in specific. This is followed by the research objectives, questions, methodology and significance of the thesis. Finally, the chapter concludes with the organization of the thesis by describing other chapters.

1.2 Background of the Thesis

Role theory, which has an important place in the sociology-related studies, has started to be used as a theory in international relations (IR) and foreign policy analysis (FPA) since the early 1970s when K. J. Holsti's work titled "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy" (1970) was published and gained a prestige in IR world. Following his work, an important literature has become more obvious and some methods to classify the roles of states in foreign policy were produced by many scholars.

Since the establishment of Turkish Republic, when the general trend of foreign policy and its situation especially in the last decade are compared, a quite striking difference and shift can be easily observed. Together with the Justice and Development Party

(AK Party) won elections in 2002, a very significant change in Turkish foreign policy (TFP) took place in general towards its region. Until such a change, a traditional pro-West TFP continued at many levels even towards the Middle East and Africa while preferring a more neutral attitude like avoiding to be active in these regions.

Nevertheless, with the new conservative government since 2002, several important breaks were experienced in TFP. One of these breaks is that re-creating the image and prestige of Turkey by re-defining it as a central country in its region unlike the previous approach for the role of bridge country. In this context, Turkey started to become an active country that wishes to improve relations firstly with its neighbors. The attitude to be more involved in the region and naturally the problems occur here have brought important political and academic discussions in Turkey.

Those who adopt a theoretically realistic approach in their statements tried to study on how TFP is affected while they were also emphasizing the changing conditions at the global level. When a comprehensive research is done for this thesis, it has been understood that the existing studies and statements explain the motives and dynamics TFP has through only applying the traditional approaches like balance of power or interests of states. From this point of view, during the foreign policy making and decision implementation phases, the states are still accepted as the single actor that can exist in foreign policy developments. Nowadays, however, it is clearly understood that ignoring the effects of domestic politics, public, media, bureaucracy, intellectual structures and the leaders or decision makers' perceptions of the world is no longer valid to analyze foreign policy of a state.

Similar to the customary approach that is mentioned above, politicians and scholars

somehow ignored the abstract elements such as identity, norms, ideology and culture, which have tremendous impacts on the foreign policy and the emergence of state behaviors. At that point, role theory is chosen as the main theory for this thesis due to the fact that it offers many conceptual tools that can be a problem solver for the missing points regarding the relationship between state identity and foreign policy from a more constructivist perspective. Its main argument is about having a guideline to understand who the states really are while determining and making decisions in line with their material factors like economic and strategic interests as well as ideational factors like their historical ties with other nations.

In this context, Turkey's general foreign policy since its foundation until today will be evaluated in the framework of role theory, but the main period of the thesis will be between 2018 and 2020. The motives behind this period is to analyze the changes in TFP by focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean and buying drilling ships as the elements give acceleration to the activeness of Turkey in the region.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main purpose of this thesis is to use role theory to present Turkey's national role conceptions as a shaping factor in foreign policy generally and the roles in the Eastern Mediterranean specifically. To analyze the roles in a more objective manner and find academically satisfying answers to my research questions, I aim to do a content analysis that consists of foreign policy speeches of the President and Minister of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) since 2018.

1.4 Research Questions

In this thesis, the first research question is “In which ways Turkey’s national role conceptions and the statements of highest level decision makers affect foreign policy dynamics?” while the second question related with the first one is “How does the desire to be more active in the Eastern Mediterranean which has rich energy resources besides its strategic importance affect Turkey’s roles especially after buying drilling ships since 2018?”

1.5 Significance of the Thesis

This study will contribute to the improvement of analysis of TFP not only in the academia but also in the decision-makers’ communities. I hope that this thesis will encourage the researchers those are interested in foreign policy and allow them to deeply analyze the relationship between foreign policy, TFP, and role theory.

Moreover, I believe that this thesis and its methodology will extend the existing TFP studies and knowledge about national role conceptions of Turkey by integrating the general foreign policy and the preferences regarding the Eastern Mediterranean region.

As past studies predominantly look at TFP from the realist, liberal, constructivist, or critical theories’ perspective, the addition of national role conceptions of Turkey from the role theory perspective will bring in a comprehensive understanding for current foreign policy dynamics and the tendency towards being very active power in the region.

By choosing a word count method that covers the national role conceptions which are determined by the foreign policy elites and developing software for this method into

the thesis, a holistic model will be provided for broader approaches to be analyzed through extracting the foreign policy speeches of decision makers. I hope this method will be improved in the near future when the researchers appreciate the value and importance of role theory even though mainstream IR theories will probably continue to prevail in this discipline for years to come.

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

Chapter II will include a summary of mainstream IR theories and their limitations in foreign policy analysis. After the limitations in examining previous and current TFP dynamics will be presented, I will clarify how role theory and its conceptions touch upon these limitations, and how it can be a more reasonable choice to predict Turkey's preferences. At that point, role theory will be examined in a detail to analyze TFP and national role conceptions towards the Eastern Mediterranean due to both material and ideational factors of this region.

Chapter III is about the methodology of this thesis. This chapter will mainly cover a content analysis by using word count method while it will focus on foreign policy speeches of highest-level decision makers from official websites of institutions since 2018. Most general statements of role, identity, or purpose will be confined by developing a software to pick up the speeches of the President and MoFA. Then, these speeches will be classified by considering Holsti's role categories and their keywords as sources. According to the decision makers, specific roles will be determined and showed by using graphics.

Chapter IV will investigate the general roles that Turkey plays in foreign policy from

its establishment to the present government by using the conceptual tools of role theory and some milestones in TFP history. Akbaba and Ozdamar's (2019) study which determined Turkey's MENA roles will be taken as given roles to test the suitability of role theory in regards to Turkey's changing roles. With the help of the method and developed software, roles will be showed according to the years and actors.

Chapter V will cover an analysis that is about the developments in the Eastern Mediterranean and buying Fatih, Yavuz and Kanuni drilling ships as the elements that affect foreign policy. Accordingly, the impacts of energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean to Turkey and its national roles will be analyzed from the perspectives of economy, identity and international law that are very controversial in today's political agenda. As in the previous chapter, the method and developed software will be used again in order to illustrate the consistency between the roles regarding the region and general TFP roles. Graphics according to the years and actors will also be applied again.

Chapter VI is the conclusion chapter of the thesis. On the basis of the results of the analysis, it will be concluded that Turkey's role conceptions are in harmony with its roles towards the Eastern Mediterranean where Turkey has a potential to gain several material and ideational successes. Then, this chapter will discuss the results that support the argument that Turkey expresses more than one role indicating a tendency toward the roles of regional leader, protector, rule maker, central country and active independent. Last but not least, some further research recommendations will be provided to contribute to role theory implications of foreign policy analysis, especially

in Turkey.



CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 International Relations Theories

2.1.1 Realist Theory

In realist theory, as one of the major IR theories with its contributions to the literature, the power term plays a prominent role in examining international politics; so, there is little room for the other factors affect domestic and foreign politics.

According to realism, the system structure is essential as the actor; however, there is much more emphasis on the system structure and its outcomes. The relationship between power and system structure, on the other side, has been studied extensively because the structure is built upon the states' actions together with their power and desire for more power.

Realist theory firstly argues that the state is the primary actor in international relations while other actors also exist, but with their limited power. Therefore, this theory has a state-centric approach (James, 1989). Second, the state is also a unitary actor as it is led by national interests with one voice (Elman & Elman, 2003). Third, realism assumes that decision-makers are rational, and their decisions are orientated by reaching the national interests. Also, according to rational choice theory similar to the realism, states and individuals have information to make a rational choice that can be measured and analyzed (Waltz, 1979).

Realism puts forward that leaders pursue to have control of the affairs of their state

with others to survive. In conjunction with the survival term, the system where states act is completely anarchic, and this characteristic of the system directly affects the policy preferences of states (Hobbes, 1968).

According to realism, human nature is egoistic, and having the ultimate power to survive is the primary motivation of leaders. From a historical perspective, it is analyzed that realists focus on selfishness, appetite for power, and lack of trust towards others. Considering all these human-specific factors, state behaviors are inevitably influenced by human nature. At that point, the famous political philosopher and statesman who lived in the 15th and 16th centuries, Niccolò Machiavelli should be referred for his tremendous studies on the impact of human characteristics on the security issues. For Machiavelli, a leader must be on the qui vive and deal with the threats both inside and outside the state to survive, and to be successful in the eyes of people (Milner & Keohane, 1996).

In the 20th century classical realism, realism started to be impacted by the effects of the First World War where idealists argued that building peace is possible together with the help of international institutions as the League of Nations (Wilson, 1998). Considering these critics for the claim that conflict is inevitable because of human nature, further studies have been necessary among realists. In Morgenthau's studies as *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (1948), it is highlighted that international politics is about a power struggle. Hence, from this point of view, political actions aim to have, augment and then maintain the power while other factors like morality are likely to cause states' weaknesses vis-a-vis other states.

During the 1950s and 1960s, realism faced the real change when the claim that the

main determinant is not human nature, but the structure of the system itself (Waltz, 2000). Theory of International Politics (Waltz, 1979) opened a new way to the realist theory, which is called neorealism or structural realism. The main argument is that each state is limited due to existing and operating in an anarchic international system. Neorealism indicate that the sovereignty of the state covers issues such as how to deal with internal and external problems, whether to get help from others against a threat it will face, how to take advantage of the opportunities, restrict itself in return for foreign aid or take action according to the interests of the helping states (Waltz, 1979).

According to neorealism, the most necessary and harmless type of cooperation in the international arena is the establishment of alliances or the establishment of the balance of power (R. Keohane, 1988; G. H. Snyder, 1990). A state with more power than others will try to change the rules about the course of the international system, improve its sphere of influence, and re-arrange the international distribution of power (Gilpin, 1981). From this point of view, it is not difficult to establish a balance of power in the international system, on the contrary, although the states do not have any special efforts for this, there is a balance in the system, and that the foreign policy decisions are formed in line with this balance.

Besides given aspects of the theory, it is also criticized by many scholars for claims that leaders act according to their suspicion, power and force (Kocs, 1994). Another critical point is the pessimistic nature of realism that perceives the international system as a part of inevitable conflict (Stevens & Michelsen, 2020). Although neorealism faces many criticisms for its emphasis on the system structure, its

perception of the state as the most important among the international actors, its pessimistic outlook on cooperation and the importance it attributes to the powers and capacities of states, its role as one of the mainstream IR theories which offer important contributions to the world of politics is quite successful in describing the relations between states that have not dramatically changed even today. However, it is still quite limited to explain the perceptions, choices, and behaviors of actors in detail. Therefore, the difficulty to understand the outcomes of actors' actions is the reason why realist theory is not preferred in this thesis as a theory.

2.1.2. Liberal Theory

Liberal theory, developed by such thinkers as John Locke (1948), Alexis de Tocqueville (2000), John Stuart Mill (1859), David Hume (Whelan, 2004), Adam Smith (A. Smith & Cannan, 2003), and David Ricardo (1912), has different but also common values. These shared values can be summarized as individualism, freedom, natural law, natural order, the rule of law, and the idea of a restricted state (van de Haar, 2008).

Smith has predicted that increasing wealth would be possible through unrestricted and free initiatives instead of restrictions and regulations (A. Smith & Cannan, 2003), while Locke was focusing on the social contract and the state of nature. Locke (1948) has also assumed that the state is responsible for ensuring the supremacy of the law and it is a device that exists with the consent of individuals. Therefore, liberalism is mainly based on the ethical argument that the government's primary concern is to protect the right of an individual to life, liberty and property. Correspondingly, as the core component of a political system, liberals stress that the well-being of the citizens

and their life (Lund, 1996; Starr, 2007) and liberty cannot be secured by a political structure formed by uncontrolled absolute power like monarchy or dictatorship models (Çoban Balci, 2020).

The liberal approach, which accepts individuals as naturally reasonable, rational and progressive creatures (Weithman, 2016), assumes that the causes of wars are not the evil human nature as realists assume, but imperfect institutions and structural arrangements which perceive the state as the primary actors (Wilson, 1998). At that point, the first systematic studies of the liberal discipline emerged from the last periods of the World War I with a specific focus on the issue of peace. Liberalism, which came to the fore with the motivations of determining the causes of war and preventing war, started to be one of mainstream IR theories for both politicians and scholars. This theory mainly assumes that the reasons for war lie in the way autocratic leaders act and decide according to their egoistic, short-term and false projections that directly affect international politics while democratic states are closer to be more peaceful (Buchan, 2002).

On the other side, the failure to achieve peace in the interwar period and the outbreak of the World War II, which resulted in greater destructions, further increased peace efforts besides criticisms against liberalists (T. W. Smith, 1982). In that regard, neoliberalism stood out as a powerful alternative to neorealism in the 1980s. Due to the necessity of changes in some arguments about war and peace, neoliberals have essentially differed themselves from liberals on several points.

Unlike realists, neo-liberals think that states continue to be the most important, but not the only actor of international relations. Hence, states are still perceived as

rational actors, but neoliberals accept the existence of actors other than the state such as individuals, international organizations and pressure groups (Ataman, 2003).

Neoliberalism highly emphasizes the role of international institutions and questions that why they are important (Nye & Welch, 2013). According to Keohane (1989), international institutions provide necessary information and background that shapes expectations of actors in the system while they are also allowing people to believe there is not going to be a conflict (Nye & Welch, 2013). In brief, they make it easier to reduce the concept of security dilemma by increasing trust and eliminating uncertainty and anarchy. From this point of view, liberals and neoliberals argue that peace might be developed when international institutions attempt to balance the system which is anarchic for realists (Ozkan & Cetin, 2016).

As the basic features of neoliberalism, we also see that it analyzes peace and cooperation while democracy continues to be the most fundamental principle. According to neoliberals, cooperation between liberal democratic states is more possible and several factors will allow states to cooperate mutually (Henderson, 1999; Owen, 1994). However, according to Meiser (2017), institutions and organizations, one way or another restrict the state power while encouraging cooperation exceedingly besides finding ways to charge violators of internationally accepted agreements and commitments.

Nowadays, many approaches see liberal standards as a means to bring constraints to the use of power by influencing the perceptions concerning (un)acceptable actions of states that affect foreign policy decisions and the international system. Taking foreign policy preferences into account in line with different factors states have, it remains

uncertain whether liberalism is a utopia that consists of peace and cooperation.

2.1.3 Constructivist Theory

One of the most prominent features and differences of constructivist theory is being fed by sociology and social psychology. In contrast to the above discussed prevailing IR theories, constructivists fundamentally refuse that the international system consists entirely of material structures (Copeland, 2000). In other words, they give importance to get social structures included in the analysis of relations among states in order to understand better how the international system works with material and ideational factors (Theys, 2017).

Constructivists highly emphasize the identity concept in international politics. In this context, actors cannot decide what their interests are until they know what they represent in the system; so, it is possible to understand what they represent only within the framework of social relations (Katzenstein, 1996). However, the constructivists discount to analyze the identity in line with the unit level part to have a systemic perspective (Hopf, 1998). In terms of the identity concept, Wendt (1999) mainly mentions two important identities that states have: corporate identity and social identity. Nevertheless, he did not examine the corporate identity that was shaped before systemic interaction. Moreover, the individual level construction was ignored by Wendt while he also abstained from examining the state identities' impacts on foreign policy behaviors (Checkel, 1998).

Aside from this emphasis, they claim that it is intersubjective structures that give

meaning to the material world. In other words, it is the interaction among the units that makes the system, and both the units and the system mutually construct each other (Wendt, 1999). In this context, determining the relationship between agent and structure is essential. The first scholar who expressed this importance in the IR world is Alexander Wendt as the leading name of one of mainstream IR theories. He mainly assumes that material factors alone do not make sense in the international relations (Wendt, 1999).

According to the constructivist approach, ideational factors are significant in the progress of mutual agent-structure construction (Onuf, 1989). In other words, the meaning and effects of material factors depend on the ideas of agents (Wendt, 1999). Even further, some scholars attached particular importance to make a perception which benefits from both ideational and material factors (Kubáľková, 2001).

Since the representatives of the state perceive their situation and their belief systems have decisive effects on the decision-making processes, examining only the system is not plausible to comprehend foreign policy. In this context, while there are many shortcomings of the constructivist approach, role theory comes to the fore quite competently and effectively.

2.2 Role Theory

As Brighi and Hill (2012) note, "Foreign policy decisions should be seen primarily as heightened moments of commitment in a perpetual process of action, reaction, and further action at many different levels and involving a range of different actors".

From this point of view, it can be claimed that foreign policy decision making is affected by the color of the room in which the decision is made. Critiques of FPA have also centred around the impossibility of tracing all influences on a given decision. However, it is still needed to explain foreign policy decision making through multifactorial ways. At that point, to emphasize agent-oriented theories due to only human beings can be true agents, psychology, sociology, organizational behavior, anthropology, economics, and so on, will be useful for the foreign policy analyst in efforts to explain foreign policy decision making.

Before the IR literature as well as foreign policy studies, role as a term was one of the main topics in sociology, psychology, social psychology in particular, and anthropology fields (C. Thies, 2009). Originally, role theory has consisted of sociological researches such as symbolical interactionism (Harnisch et al., 2011) while its fundamental claim is that several roles which are described as norms for behaviors are presented by the individuals (Harnisch et al., 2011; Holsti, 1970; Walker, 2011). Role theory became an attractive field in IR literature and foreign policy studies when Holsti's study was published in 1970. Aside from these fields' arguments and studies about role theory, Holsti mainly showed efforts to draw a framework for the decision-makers, or the leaders in any state, in other words. Therefore, Holsti's study mainly consisted of the elements of the leader (individual) and state, and national role conceptions started to emerge as the fundamental factor that shapes the actions of these mentioned elements in the international era.

In conjunction with the relationship between role and behaviour, it is highly stated that role can be defined as the behaviour rather than the position. According to

Turner, the main reason for that relationship is essential to understand the importance of using "enacting the role" instead of "occupying" (Turner, 1956). The description is simplified by proposing that leaders establish scenarios that assist them in deciding the role to be played. From this point of view, actors have some roles, or in other words, they have some accepted roles as an appropriate set of behaviours. Moreover, these behaviors are enacted in some individuals and situations, and they are based on both the position and the norms and expectations (Biddle, 1986).

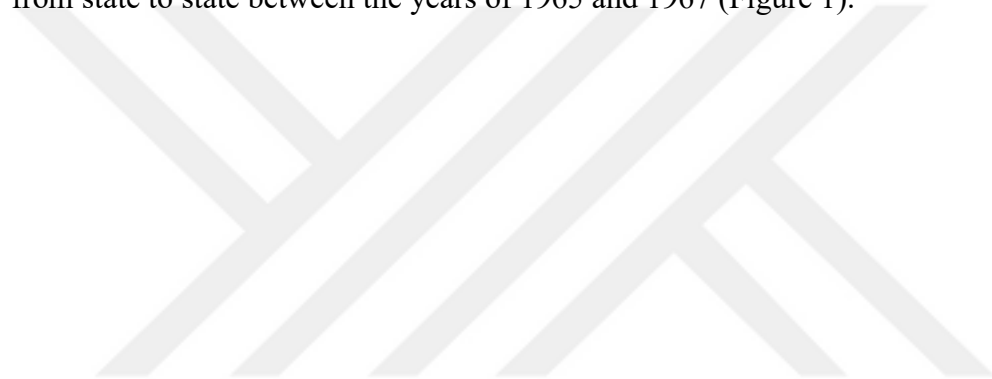
K. J. Holsti starts his argument with some questions regarding the national role conceptions. Firstly, he questions the sources of role conceptions held by policymakers. Secondly, he focuses on the structure of policymakers' national role conceptions and its possible results for foreign policy decisions and actions. Finally, he asks that under what specific conditions national role conceptions allow researchers to detect the typical behaviour of the state or leader (Holsti, 1970).

Besides the first two theoretical questions, the third one, especially, is emphasized as a kind of tool to understand and make predictions concerning the decisions and actions. Holsti, as a further method of questioning, argues that explaining the national role conceptions by focusing on dependent and independent variables would be more insightful for the specific decisions (R. C. Snyder et al., 2002).

In analyzing foreign policy, four concepts are presented by Holsti. The first concept includes role performance which consists of the decisions and actions any government implements. According to Holsti, role performance refers to decisions and actions of governments which can be defined through the policymakers' conceptions for the state's national role. This national role can be operated in a region

or the international system. Foreign policy is directly affected by the second one while the first one is still a factor. The second concept Holsti offered is about the governments' self-defined national role conceptions, while the third one is including the role prescriptions. The position where actions exist is the final concept and a system for these role prescriptions (Holsti, 1970).

As a concrete study, Holsti (1970) lists most observed roles that amount 17 varying from state to state between the years of 1965 and 1967 (Figure 1).



Role Conception	Sources	Countries
Bastion of revolution-liberator	ideological principles; anti-colonial attitudes; desire for ethnic unity	Com. China Cuba Indonesia North Korea
Regional leader	superior capabilities; traditional national role	Egypt Japan
Regional protector	perception of threat; geographic location; traditional policies; needs of threatened states	Australia New Zealand U.S.A. U.S.S.R.
Active independent	anti-bloc attitudes; economic needs-trade expansion; geographic location	France India Yugoslavia Rumania Zambia
Liberator supporter	anti-colonial attitudes; ideological principles	most African, Asian, and Communist states in sample
Anti-imperialist agent	ideological principles; perception of threat; anti-colonial attitudes	Iraq Syria most Communist states
Defender of the faith	perceptions of threat; ideological principles; traditional national role	Rep. China U.S.A. North Viet Nam
Mediator-integrator	traditional national role; cultural-ethnic composition of state; traditional non-involvement in conflicts; geographic location	Lebanon Sweden
Regional-subsystem collaborator	economic needs; sense of "belonging" to region; common political-ideological traditions; geographic location	Belgium Ethiopia Guyana Japan Sweden Switzerland
Developer	humanitarian concern; anticipated consequences of underdevelopment; superior economic capabilities; balance U.S.-U.S.S.R. competition in under-developed areas	Canada France Japan Kuwait U.S.A.

Figure 1: Some Sources of National Role Conceptions (Holsti, 1970)

Role Conception	Sources	Countries
Bridge	geographic location; multi-ethnic composition of state	Belgium Pakistan
Faithful ally	perception of threat; insufficient capabilities; traditional policies; ideological compatibility	Albania Hungary Italy Portugal Great Britain
Independent	anti-bloc sentiments; anti-colonial sentiments; economic needs; threat perception	many new African states; Nepal, etc.
Example	no revealed sources	
Internal development	socio-economic needs; perception of threat through foreign involvement	Brazil Finland Indonesia Pakistan
Isolate	perception of threat; insufficient capabilities	Burma Cambodia Laos
Protectee	perception of threat; insufficient capabilities	Laos Czechoslovakia

Figure 1: (Continued)

In the 1980s, the studies for role theory in foreign policy and its tools for analysis started to develop seriously. Thies (2009) and Walker (1987) argue that role theory is used by scholars to explain foreign policy issues due to its characteristics of being descriptive, organizational, and explanatory in their studies that focus on the comparative study of foreign policy, decision making, and political realism (C. Thies, 2009; Walker, 1987). Starting with descriptive characteristic, Thies and Walker argue that many beliefs and images for the development of individuals and/or groups, and processes are classified in-depth in role theory. Secondly, analysts become able to study by focusing on any level of analysis that is called organizational value. Lastly, they indicate the explanatory value as a factor that might adapt the concepts of role theory to other theories besides it might be stemmed from these theories. Cantir and

Kaarbo, on the other hand, indicate that the focus regarding role theory has been closing the gap in the literature about agents and structure besides integrating ideational and material factors into the studies of state behavior (Cantir & Kaarbo, 2016).

Over the years, various theoretical and empirical questions were asked by many scholars. Although the scope of the questions has been changed, it has remained to examine role definitions of actors; structure and number of these roles held by actors; whether there is a conflict among roles; and the impacts of actors' national role conceptions on foreign policy decisions and outcomes (Getzels & Guba, 1954).

Aside from these factors, role theory is expected to incorporate ideational and material factors in order to express the behaviours of states (Adigbuo, 2007; Le Prestre, 1997; C. G. Thies & Breuning, 2012). Using role theory in the thesis has a significant advantage, along with other advantages, to find out how state behaviour can be plausibly explained because traditional IR theories offer only structural explanations within limited theoretical horizons.

According to Breuning (2011), role theory should be studied together with norms and identities. The first reason is that role theory provides an area to incorporate identity into behaviour, and the second reason is that the theory offers tools and mechanisms to examine the empirical side of agent and structure of foreign policy behaviours. At that point, Harnisch also endeavours that role theory provides a set of vocabulary to make understanding the relationship between agents and structures easy (Harnisch et al., 2011).

As mentioned above, role theory is the primary concern of this thesis due to its capacity to combine ideational and material factors to understand the total process of national role conceptions of leaders. These conceptions involve the positioning of the states in international politics through their ideational and material strengths and/or weaknesses outside the borders, according to the leaders (Breuning, 2011). From this point of view, it is a *sine qua non* to understand (1) the distribution of roles in the international system; (2) constraints of agents and structure; (3) the interaction among them; (4) how role expectations affect the conceptions; and finally (5) how leaders adapt and implement these conceptions as foreign policy agenda (McCourt, 2012).

Among other advantages, role theory can point out the importance of ideational factors while making tremendous contributions to other theoretical debates in IR studies. Hence, paying attention to roles with ideational, normative, and sociological terms is crucial for a plausible analysis in any thesis (Breuning, 2011). On the other side, the correlation between role and identity leads to various academic discussions on the clarity and value of each term (Breuning, 2011; Harnisch et al., 2011; McCourt, 2012). At that point, Thies (2013) looks from a different perspective by claiming that there is always an affinity between role theory and realist theory because both have a concern about the status of states and their leaders in the international system. Similarly, McCourt (2011) relates role theory with the English School's approaches to international society. From the regime types perspective of role theory, Brummer and Thies (2015) focus on the types of democratic systems in order to do a comparative study while Malici and Walker (2014) analyze the issue of rogue states.

Most role theorists start with the presumption that structural factors are quite inadequate to describe the number and variety of roles of states (Aggestam, 2006). In this sense, the impact of material factors emerges as the first concern that theorists should attract attention to (Thies, 2013). The aforementioned material factors mainly involve the size of the country (Chafetz et al., 1996) and economic situation and performance indicators (Alden & Schoeman, 2013). According to Kenneth Waltz's neorealist approach (1979), the preferences of states are highly determined by distributions of power that exist in an anarchic system; thereby, relying on the material strengths of states, foreign policy revolves around seeking balance or hegemony of power. On the other hand, ideational factors are just as impressive as the material ones. These factors consist of culture, history and identity. While many scholars focus on these factors and their impacts on role conceptions, Breuning (2011) highlights the perceptions of decision-makers or in other words leaders in order to delineate the subject of roles. Wendt (1999) suggests that ideas create preferences and interests; in other words, ideas produce the material world. The delicacy of the matter presented by Wendt is that without a material adjustment, one still may have a system adjustment.

Moreover, states that are not similar to each other in terms of material factors can still act in similar ways. This situation, however, is dependent on a condition of ideational factors within the system (Hudson & Day, 2019). In terms of agent-structure issue, it is important to focus on (1) the structures as the main factor to shape system behavior as Waltz indicates, and (2) the actors of a state as a factor to shape the structure as Wendt focuses.

As a critique, it is seen that there are some important missing points at the works of both Waltz and Wendt. Firstly, Waltz dropped both humans and their ideas out of the mix, and he is left with a deterministic machine that cannot change without material change. Wendt only dropped humans, but not ideas, from his mix. Therefore, Wendt and Waltz have no adequate conceptualization of agency at all (Hudson & Day, 2019).

In this thesis, the subject of symbolic interactions regarding role theory takes place in literature. The main reason behind this subject is to figure out how roles interact with role expectations from outside the states' borders (Harnisch et al., 2011; McCourt, 2012). According to Thies (2013) this interaction can be observed when an actor pursues to play a role that is determined and desired to play by the actor itself. This situation, in other respects, drives a negotiation atmosphere which consists of ego and alter expectations for appointing convenient roles for states (Thies, 2013). If a harmonization among these expectations is recognized, it means that there is a logical interaction. However, if there is not, the roles of ego may become more dominant in this process, although the alter expectations are different from the former ones. As another confrontation situation, the alter has the capacity to refuse the ego's roles and enforce its role expectations (C. G. Thies, 2011, 2013). Hereafter, the fundamental ambition is to provide accordance with the mentioned role expectations.

Over and above role expectations, role conflict appears as another interest that should be considered by role theorists. According to Holsti (1970), states are the actors which have several national role conceptions and they often face role expectations of other actors. Therefore, it is likely to be role conflicts due to the contrary expectations

(Cantir & Kaarbo, 2016). In this respect, it is important to question how agents cope with this conflict while they have to present a foreign policy behaviour.

According to Bengtsson and Elgström (2012), role conflict means a struggle between national role conceptions, which are defined by domestic conjunctures, and role expectations, which are defined by external factors. Thies (2009) uses the inter role conflict terminology to explain the situation that can be problematic when a person is expected to be in more than one role enactment. Goode (1960), from a more cognitive perspective, defines this conflict as role strain due to commitments and requirements to accomplish.

In terms of resolution of role conflicts, many scholars have worked by analyzing case studies state-to-state. For instance, Tewes (1998) analyzes the German perspective about deepening and widening decisions of the EU by accepting them as roles and then using the role conflict concept. As a result, he finds that denying the conflict, separating these roles from each other, and then merging them were the solutions to conflict from the German side.

Accordingly, shifts or changes in roles are another study area, especially in foreign politics due to the dynamic atmosphere of discipline. Although it is thought that roles are expected to be steady due to the constituted values of states throughout history, many cases in foreign policy show that roles might change according to the variables (Harnisch et al., 2011). It is also significant to question whether it is possible to predict any change and relationship between role conceptions presented by leaders and the state's behaviors in the international area (Grossman, 2005). Chafetz, Abramson and Grillot (1996) examine a similar topic theoretically by analyzing the

national role conceptions and foreign policy behaviour of Ukraine and Belarus regarding nuclear weaponization.

Role contestation as a domestic factor is another area of study for role theorists who integrate the theory with foreign policy. According to Cantir and Kaarbo (2016) the consensus among the public for a state's foreign policy decisions is generally not so observed; so, it is found that there might be domestic contestation when a national role conception is made. The two types of contestation are called vertical and horizontal by emphasizing the elites and the public as actors (Cantir & Kaarbo, 2016). The former does occur when the actors are the elites and the public while the latter refers to the contestation only among the elites. Both are presented as important matters in establishing foreign policy dimensions where the actors and their behaviors are likely to change not regularly. It is also crucial to differentiate role conflict and role contestation since the former concerns the ego or unitary actor, and the latter includes the ego besides other actors that cause contestation over the final behaviours of states.

In conclusion, national role conceptions were hypothesized by several scholars to pave the way for states and leaders who decided to fulfil the role requirements in the international system. Role theory helps analysts to analyze decision-making processes and to relate them with foreign policy by taking socio-cultural and psychological processes into the account due to the fact that it includes decisions, commitments and actions that are defined by decision-makers as factors that matter for the foreign policy dynamics of states (Walker, 2011); (Holsti, 1970). Roles consist of a double-edged process between actor and structure since decision-makers

exist in the both domestic and international area besides they are affected by many variables that form their perceptions and images concerning the nation (Hollis & Smith, 1990). Therefore, role theory mainly highlights the connection between independent factors that impose some expectations from the actor and the definitions and aims of the same actor.



CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 An Introduction to Content Analysis

Nowadays, "basic content analysis" is regarded by many researchers as a quantitative research tool that offers an effective but restricted understanding. In basic content analysis method, researchers mainly use word counts as a technique. Nevertheless, in some methods called "interpretive content analysis" and "qualitative content analysis", researchers also prefer doing a content analysis without specific statistical analysis (Drisko & Maschi, 2016).

Before stating the method used in this thesis, defining content analysis and the historical background with remarkable examples will be useful in setting the thesis on a solid foundation.

As Krippendorff (2004) describes content analysis as a research technique to make systematic and objective assumptions from texts to the contexts. These assumptions may involve the message, senders, recipients, and even the effect of the message (Weber, 1984). To define and record the perceptions, beliefs, and desires of individuals and large or small groups, researchers use content analysis method in their studies.

As its applications have progressed over time, content analysis has developed and diversified through numerous methodologies. The roots of systematic academic content analysis emerged in the fields of sociology and journalism in the very

beginning of 1910s. As a sociologist, Max Weber mainly proposed a study that covers newspaper content in a speech to the first Congress of German Sociologists (Krippendorff & Bock, 2008). Early studies were conducted manually by using punch cards covering data; however, such a method was slow besides being exposed by human coders' errors. Therefore, this method was open to the criticisms in terms of being insufficient for large texts. Even though it was insufficient in usage, content analysis remained to be one of the most used analysis tool in social sciences.

While it was limited only with word counts, scholars began to demand more advanced theoretical approaches that are based on principles rather than word counts by the mid-1950s (de Sola Pool, 1960).

Still, content analysis is used to analyze political, cognitive, psychological, cultural and historical studies with the help of improvements in computer science technologies and in the scope of social sciences. As data collection and reduction of unnecessary data from the dataset became easier thanks to the software algorithms, content analysis also developed dramatically and frequently used in academic researches. In this respect, I preferred such a methodology, firstly, to simplify the national role conceptions of Turkey in line with the foreign policy events; secondly, to illustrate these roles as a set of findings by using software techniques; and thirdly, to offer a conceptual analysis for FPA and IR studies.

3.2 Method of Thesis

The research sample consisted of foreign policy related speeches from the highest-level decision and policy makers in Turkey published both in Turkish and English

official websites of the Presidency and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) since 2018 that was the year of buying first drilling ship. I confined my study to only the official speeches to determine and analyze the role, identity and purpose of foreign policy dynamics in Turkey.

The fundamental elements were used in the completion process of the qualitative content analysis mainly follow:

- a) All official speeches that includes 640 speeches by President Erdoğan and 27 speeches by MoFA Çavuşoğlu (the place they were given and their length are not considered) as the subject of TFP
- b) President Erdoğan and MoFA Çavuşoğlu as the actors of analysis
- c) Speeches both in Turkish (440 Turkish speeches by President Erdoğan and 24 Turkish speeches by MoFA Çavuşoğlu) and English (200 English speeches by President Erdoğan and 3 English speeches by MoFA Çavuşoğlu) as the language of analysis
- d) Official websites as the source of analysis

In this thesis, content analysis was made due to the data obtained from the speeches of decision makers. To do this kind of analysis, a software was developed in PHP language and MySQL was used as the database. The software was installed and run on the local computer via XAMPP. For database management, phpMyAdmin was used. In terms of the implementation process of software, the first step started with the analysis and planning the process. In this step, the necessary requirements were

determined and planned in a detailed way, then, the resources to be used were gathered. Secondly, the requirements and constraints of the software are determined. Thirdly, on the design and prototyping side, the architectural design of the software was prepared. Prototypes were also produced and trials were made. Next, the development step was started, and tests were made according to the determined requirements and analyses. Lastly, on the deployment side, the environment where the software will run was prepared and installed.

In addition to these technical information, it is necessary to summarize the operating steps of the software. The first operating step is the step which collects the data to be scanned from the specified sources. In the second step, the keys information such as role keywords required for data analysis are determined by the user. Then, the software begins to analyze the data according to the given keys and performs the scoring process. In the continuation of this step, scoring is evaluated and data is determined according to this scoring. Lastly, the software gives the expected output with the specified data.

As mentioned before, a qualitative content analysis method was incorporated into the software after several methodology documents are reviewed. The method is applied in order to analyze the national role conceptions in line with the foreign policy speeches. Then, the relevant official foreign policy speeches of the President and MoFA between 2018 and 2020 (until November 20th), published in English and Turkish, were automatically extracted from the official sources entered in the system and then recorded in the system (Figure 2).

In the light of the work of Holsti (1970) and many other scholars who contributed to

the role theory literature, the roles to be worked on were listed, and keywords were determined in order to reveal the articles with these roles (Figure 3). With the help of the software, potential articles were listed highlighting roles by keywords. Scores were determined according to the number of keywords. In addition, the relevance of the articles to the specified roles could be distinguished by using relevant or irrelevant categories (Figure 4). In order to examine the articles on the basis of role, the speeches highlighting the keywords were made accessible by clicking the "text" button (Figure 5). After all work has been completed, the software has been made to list the relevant speeches selected for roles on a single page (Figure 6).

ID	name	link	lang
1	Cumhurbaşkanlığı [TUR]	https://www.tccb.gov.tr/receptayyiperdogan/konusmalar/	tur
2	Cumhurbaşkanlığı [ENG]	https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/receptayyiperdogan/speeches/	eng
3	Dış İşleri [TUR]	http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.tr.mfa?53e304f9-73af-43b3-83b5-3b43db38d51f	tur
4	Dış İşleri [ENG]	http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.en.mfa?e626bae4-6615-1813-9ab7-4d9e6c71f171	eng

Figure 2: Sources of Official Foreign Policy Speeches

ID	name	keywords	lan
1	Bastion of revolution-liberator	ideology:ideological:revolution:anti-colonial:colony:ethnic:ethnicity:imperial	
2	Regional leader	superior capabilities:tradition:region:lead:power:stability:stable:peace:conflict:nation:special:responsible:responsibility:role:choice	
3	Regional protector	region:protect:threat:geography:tradition:lead:choice:power:peace:stable:stability:adjacent	
4	Active independent	anti-bloc: economic:economy:need:necessity:trade:expansion:expand:geography:choice:power:military:commit:relation	
5	Liberator supporter	anti-colonial:ideology:ideological	
6	Anti-imperialist agent	ideological:ideology:threat:anti-colonial:agent:struggle:imperial:power:lead	
7	Defender of the faith	threat:ideology:ideological:tradition	
8	Mediator-integrator	tradition:nation:culture:ethnic:composition:involve:conflict:geography:location:balance:peace:stability:stable:reconcile:reconciliation:between:among:group	
9	Regional-subsystem collaborator	economic:economy:need:necessary:belong:sense of belonging:region:common:political:ideological:ideology:tradition:geography	
10	Developer	human:concern:anticipate:development:superior economic capabilities:economic:economy:balance:competition:compete	
11	Bridge	geography:across:between:among:multi:ethnic:passive:vague:convey:message	
12	Faithful ally	threat:ally:sufficient:capabilities:tradition:ideology:ideological	
13	Independent	anti-bloc: anti-colonial: economic:economy:need:threat:interest:own	
14	Example	model:role:prestige:influence:international:domestic	
15	Internal developer	socio-economic need:threat:foreign:involve:effort:develop	
16	Isolate	threat:sufficient:capabilities:neutral:conflict:involve:location	
17	Protectee	threat:sufficient:capabilities:economic:security:interest:major:minor:power:oppress:protect:dynasty:responsible:responsibility	
18	Global system leader	lead:create:maintain:global:order	
19	Regional subsystem collaborator	take:commit:cooperate:cooperation:build	
20	Global system collaborator	take:commit:cooperate:cooperation:support:global:order	

Figure 3: Roles and Keywords

English

keywords : superior capabilities;tradition;region;lead;power;stability;stable;peace;conflict;nation:special;responsible;responsibility;role;choice

Show Relevant

Show Not Relevant

Relevant?	Score	Found	Title	Take Note	Text	Date	Actor	Link
Relevant	32	tradition(1) region(5) lead(2) power(1) stability(2) peace(6) conflict(6) nation(7) role(2)	Transcript of the address by H.E. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, at TRT World Forum, 4 October 2018 / Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs	take note	Text		MoFa	http://www.mfa.gov.tr/transcript-of-the-address-by-h-e-mevlut-cavusoglu-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-turkey-at-trt-world-forum-4-october-2018.en.mfa
Relevant	29	region(3) lead(3) power(1) stability(2) peace(2) nation(15) special(2) responsibility(1)	New Year Message	take note	Text		President	https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/speeches-statements/558/87951/new-year-message
Relevant	28	lead(4) power(1) peace(4) conflict(1) nation(16) responsibility(2)	Speech by H.E. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, at the United Nations General Assembly meeting to condemn the terrorist attacks in New Zealand, 2 April 2019, New York / Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs	take note	Text		MoFa	http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-bm-yaptigi-konusma-nisan-2019.en.mfa
Relevant	25	lead(1) nation(24)	President Erdoğan's Message on April 23rd National Sovereignty and Children's Day	take note	Text		President	https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/speeches-statements/558/119158/president-erdogan-s-message-on-april-23rd-national-sovereignty-and-children-s-day
Relevant	21	power(3) stable(1) nation(17)	President Erdoğan's Message on April 23rd National Sovereignty and Children's Day	take note	Text		President	https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/speeches-statements/558/105064/president-erdogan-s-message-on-april-23rd-national-sovereignty-and-children-s-day

Figure 4: Categorizing the Speeches According to its Relevance

Regional leadership

keywords : superior capabilities

Relevant?	Score	Found
☒	32	tradition(1)
☐		lead(2) power
☐		peace(6) conflict
☐		nation(7) region
☒	29	region(3) leadership
☐		stability(2)
☐		nation(15) responsibility

Expectations of today's reform.

Forget about the UN, our regional organizations are also not meeting the expectations of our societies in Europe particularly. And European Union is one of them. Therefore EU and the Council of Europe and the OECD and the others should also reform themselves.

When I was president of Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the reform was my priority. It was the priority at the same time of the Secretary General, who is still Secretary General of the organization (Thorbjorn Jagland). And we didn't reform only the Parliamentary Assembly well even the European Court of Human Rights, which is more effective right now. Therefore reform is an ongoing process, we need to continue reforming this organization. And while we are facing all these problems, in our neighborhood, Turkey cannot just sit back and watch.

Therefore the principle of today's Turkish foreign policy is enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy, and we must take initiatives and employ hard and soft instruments of power to implement the enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy in our neighborhood and beyond.

We take active roles in prevention and peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Syria is one example and the immediate example. The deal, the memorandum that we signed with Russians on Idlib didn't only prevent the humanitarian catastrophe, but also prevented another mass flow of migrants

Text	Date
Text	
Text	

Figure 5: Reading Speeches and Highlighted Keywords via "Text" button

Political Speech DB						
>LIST<						
Title	Roles	Notes	Take Note	Text	Date	Actor
Transcript of the address by H.E. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, at TRT World Forum, 4 October 2018 / Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Isolate		take note	Text		Mofa
Speech by H.E. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, at the United Nations General Assembly meeting to condemn the terrorist attacks in New Zealand, 2 April 2019, New York / Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Isolate		take note	Text		Mofa
New Year message by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	- Regional protector - Developer		take note	Text		President
World Refugee Day Message	Bastion of revolution-liberator		take note	Text		President
Joint Turkish-US Statement on Northeast Syria	- Bastion of revolution-liberator - Isolate		take note	Text		President
Message on August 30 Victory Day	Bastion of revolution-liberator		take note	Text		President
President Erdoğan's Message on Easter	Bastion of	testtttt	take	Text		President

Figure 6: Listing the Relevant Speeches

CHAPTER IV

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS ROLES

4.1 General Perspective

Studies of Baskın Oran (2010) and William Hale (2013) in Turkish foreign policy (TFP), which are the most fundamental readings in this field, traditionally define Turkey as a country that adopts and implements a policy of balance. The authors also introduce Turkey as a medium-sized state in the international system while they are revealing the limitations of TFP.

As a starting point of the newly founded Republic, in the Atatürk period, Turkey's main foreign policy reference was Westernization with an emphasis on the establishing a state according to the level of contemporary civilizations (Çalış, 2001). Under the conditions of that period, Westernization and a Western-oriented foreign policy were regarded as one of the fundamental conditions for a strong presence in the international community (Zarakol, 2011). The principles that distinguish this period from following periods of the Republic include the values of revisionism, balancing, supporter of the status quo, inspiration and opportunism on the basis of independence as a most important value for Turkey (Balci, 2017). In foreign policymaking sense, Atatürk as the founding father has focused mainly to solve some specific issues like Mosul, Straits and Hatay by emphasizing the importance of implementing the National Pact and solving the Lausanne related problems (Sonmezoglu, 2016). In the founding periods of the Republic, Atatürk and then İnönü

were predominantly influential leaders in foreign policy making processes.

After the independency concerns of Atatürk, İnönü period maintained to adopt an active attitude of neutrality in Turkey's foreign policy while showing efforts to ensure continuation of the Western approach in the country (Deringil, 1982). The most prominent feature and the war strategy of Turkey during the Second World War were the efforts to maintain a balance in foreign policy by creating alliances with warring parties and remaining outside the war (Balci, 2017). Another important feature of this period was also about Turkey's alliance-security dimension of consolidation in the relations between Turkey and the West.

The principle of neutrality, which started to be abandoned in the second half of the 1940s, began to be replaced by the transition to democracy and Americanism with the Menderes governments even the relationship among the two states dramatically changed (Bilgiç, 2015). In 1952, along with being a member of NATO, Turkey has chosen the United States as its politically and militarily closest ally in the bipolar equation in order to secure its borders against the Soviet threat (Oguzlu, 2013). To Menderes, the rationale of Americanism was not only a reflection of Westernized aims and policies but also a requirement of being an economically developed country (Simpson, 1965). This could have been possible only through guaranteed foreign aid from the US. Nevertheless, since the late 1950s and earlier 1960s have created one of the major turning points in TFP due to US's insufficient responses to Turkey's expectations about foreign assistance (Balci, 2017) . At that point, the relationship between Turkey and Soviet Union became a rapprochement process. In this period, quests for new alliances in the near regions like the Balkans and the Middle East,

TFP dealt with another issue at the international level: the Cyprus problem.

When the events of the military coup of 1964 and Johnson Letter occurred, foreign policy dynamics in Turkey began to give up the pro-Western foreign policy progressively. However, the foreign policy of the period can be summarized as a transition to versatility without a radical disengagement with the West. In this period, the prominent topics in terms of foreign policy applications were the Cyprus problem as an issue that has fundamentally affected Turkish-Greek relations. The relations among these two countries actually did not experience major problems until that day besides the issues of the application for membership to the European Economic Community (EEC) and the signing of the Ankara Agreement in 1963. Today, the Cyprus-related issues still constitute the basis of tense relations as it will be discussed in the next sentences.

The period which began to be re-applied multi-faceted foreign policy interrupted by the coup of 1971 was the same period some policy differentiations erupted. For instance, Ecevit, different from İnönü's policies, believed that there is a need to build an atmosphere of mutual trust and strong diplomatic ties between Turkey and region countries in order to guarantee the security of the country as a rational choice (Mufti, 1998; Özdamar & Erciyas, 2020) besides his active-independent leadership style (Çuhadar et al., 2020). During the 1970s, the most important development in TFP was the Western governments' embargo decisions against Turkey right after the Turkish intervention in Cyprus in 1974 (Durmaz, 2006; Fouskas, 2005). On the other side, this situation has prepared the ground for several changes in foreign policy on Turkish decision-makers. The most obvious shift was the policies of rapprochement

to the Middle East, during the Nationalist Front governments under the leadership of the Justice Party (the AP), which was not prioritized until this date (Duran & Karaca, 2013). Following the intervention in Cyprus, the decision was taken by the US regarding the arms embargo, and the increasing dependency on external energy resources of Turkey after the 1973 oil crisis and then embargo were among the major reasons for the politically and economically growing interests towards the Middle East region (Dinc & Yetim, 2012). Nevertheless, such an interest change has not been an alternative which causes breaking ties with the US and security alliances under the leadership of NATO.

In the 1980s, Turkey had to determine its foreign policy agenda in line with the security concerns because of the military coup of 1980 and being under pressure from the PKK terrorist problem. These concerns also shaped the relationships between Turkey and its neighbors to a considerable extent (Kibaroglu, 2012). In addition to these, the emergence of the National Security Council (NSC), which was formed with a strict military-bureaucratic structure, as a decisive factor in both domestic and foreign policy has been effective in the decisions (Kabak & Aknur, 2019). In a historical context, the main reason for such a role is that the military has been heavily engaged in the policymaking processes, and when the decision is about security components of the state, its approval has been particularly necessary (Taydaş & Özdamar, 2013). Although after the elections of 1983, a more democratic and liberal structure was established with Turgut Özal, some important actors as Kenan Evren, the NSC and the General Staff continued to play the dominant role in security and foreign policy issues in that period.

Özal primarily concentrated on the domestic politics and economic development of Turkey in his early governance due to his perception regarding the importance of growth as a component of TFP (Eray & Bayram, 2018). This perception depended on the aim of turning Turkey into a regional power and a bridge between the East and the West (Kara & Sözen, 2016). Establishing and then participating at some organizations as the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Region were the important commitments in this period (Yılmaz Bozkuş, 2019).

In the following years, Özal became a powerful actor in determining foreign policy dynamics by concerning regional cooperation alternatives on security issues with a multilateral stance (Karaosmanoglu, 2000) in addition to military and bureaucratic structure in Turkey that somehow restricts foreign policy-making by leaders. For example, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Bozer and the Chief of General Staff Necip Torumtay, who opposed participation in the Iraq operation, had to resign (Brown, 2007). The resign clearly revealed the conflict between traditional foreign policy understanding and making in Turkey, and this atmosphere resulted in retreating of the military part instead of the civilian part. When the governments of Menderes and Demirel, which acted undemonstratively and took steps backward vis-à-vis any opposition from the military bureaucracy, is remembered, Özal's actions towards all actors and institutions can be evaluated as a self-confidence. He also applied a foreign policy approach that was built on the Ottoman identity rather than a nation-state ideology (Turan & Albayrak, 2016). In this context, the revisionist foreign policy approach of the period, unlike the previous revisionism, was built on the Ottoman identity, not the nation-state ideology. The main features of this period,

also known as neo-Ottomanism, were historical heritage, Islamic identity and Ottoman history.

By the end of the 1980s, minority issues started to escalate in Bulgaria and Greece, and thus, TFP has been active by examining and taking concrete actions in these areas. After many Turks lost their lives or were forced to migrate within the scope of the assimilation projects, Özal first chose the diplomatic route and sent notes to Bulgaria (Kurnaz & Kurt, 2019). Thus, TFP with this decision has played a role of protector of the oppressed in these lands, which are seen as an Ottoman heritage. Özal secondly followed international platforms in solving the problem and has been effective by using public opinion against Bulgaria. Similarly, as a result of the provocative activities of Greece, he became more interested in the subject of Western Thrace (Ari, 1995) . In this context, with neo-Ottomanism during the government of Özal, a rapprochement process emerged in both the East and the West parts of the Ottoman Empire as a role model.

Since the end of Cold War, some important changes in TFP emerged (Öniş & Yilmaz, 2009) and these are generally classified as policy orientation from passive and isolationist roles to an active stance (Aras & Gorener, 2010). In the foreign policy of the coalitions period since 1993, a pro-Western foreign policy can be seen in line with the process of membership to the Customs Union. On the other hand, the conflict environments that broke out in the Caucasus and the Balkans; securitization policies emphasized over Syria, Iraq and PKK terrorism (Aydin, 2005); and strategic cooperation with Israel are other important developments of the period (Uzer, 2013). Therefore, the dominant position of the General Staff, alongside the President, in

foreign policy issues continued in this period, when security policies were extremely important in foreign policy.

During the late 1990s and the early 2000s, a European-oriented policy approach prevailed. In this sense, the acceptance of Turkey as a candidate country for the EU at the Helsinki Summit of 1999 is seen as an important criterion (Öniş, 2000). As a result of September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the USA, some kind of anti-Americanism in Turkey as well as other Muslim countries occurred when the US created a war against terrorism. In this context, foreign policy orientations of Turkey were also affected in many ways. After the AK Party came to power alone as a result of the 2002 elections, the dynamics of foreign policy began to be reconstructed. Fundamentally, Ahmet Davutoğlu's Strategic Depth that emphasizes the importance of Turkey's historical and cultural heritage in the construction of an identity to strengthen its international position has been accepted in foreign policy making process of the government (Davutoğlu, 2012). In this context, it can be said that the foreign policy understanding with the AK Party period was based on the discourse of "zero problems with neighbours" conceptualized by Davutoğlu. The main pillar of this new foreign policy expresses an understanding that prefers soft power elements and aims to turn crises into opportunities by creating economic interdependence while dealing with zero problem and maximizing the national interests (Davutoğlu, 2008).

One of the most important steps taken in foreign policy-making during the early AK Party era was to limit the dominant role of the army in foreign policy-making. In this context, the structure of the NSC was changed by increasing the number of civilian

members. Then, the decisions taken by the NSC became a set of recommendation for the government (Gürsoy, 2012). As a result of these changes, the government became more active in policy-making, particularly in foreign policy and security issues.

Although it was understood that the army had different opinions than the government on Cyprus and Iraq issues, the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs started to play an active role in foreign policy-making. Turkey's relations with the United States, during the first years of the war in Iraq, suffered drastically due to the fact that the American troops were not allowed to enter northern Iraq from its territory (Taydaş & Özdamar, 2013). Nevertheless, the ties among these states were restored when Obama met with Erdoğan in 2009. Therefore, it is not reasonable to claim that TFP dynamics about the EU and the US has been overthrown (Aras & Gorener, 2010). During this period, although the government faced the first foreign policy problem with the resolution crisis with the USA on March 1, 2003, it was able to reveal foreign policy initiative by giving support Annan Plan in Cyprus, even it is criticized as a failure indeed (Yılmaz, 2005). In 2005, with the start of actual negotiations with the EU, Turkey partly entered into a Western institution after NATO membership. Moreover, Turkey actively engaged with the Middle East by reflecting its effective social interaction through European values and behaving like a European state in that region (Aras & Gorener, 2010). In terms of the geopolitical concerns, Turkey shaped its foreign policy choices in line with the territorial integrity in both inside and outside the country by promoting integration and stabilization efforts for the regions as the Middle East (Altunışık & Martin, 2011).

Similarly, Turkey also aimed to develop close cooperation with its neighbours as

Syria, Iraq and Iran while considering other regions in Africa, Asia and Latin America by the hands of TİKA (Akıllı & Çelenk, 2019). Besides that, by increasing foreign aid, promoting cultural and scientific interaction and regulating the visa system, Turkey has also actively focused on developing its market especially in sub-Saharan states (Hatipoglu & Palmer, 2016). The policies of Turkey indicate that its foreign policy is becoming increasingly 'visible, optimistic and bold'. Therefore, TFP progressively becomes more noticeable in the region and value-based dimensions in the near regions. Moreover, Turkey showed considerable efforts to be involved in the pipeline projects to ascend to a position in the East-West energy corridor (Souleimanov & Kraus, 2012; Tekin & Williams, 2011). Aside from economic concerns, Turkey began to give importance to democracy and human rights concepts (Kayaoglu, 2016). At that point, Davutoğlu period emphasized that Turkey should be a country that is perceived not only as a bridge between Western and Eastern but also as a country produce and actualize policies at each level (Davutoğlu, 2012).

The rapprochement with the US, in contrast to devastating relations with Israel following the Mavi Marmara Attack, were the striking events in the early 2010s (Aytürk, 2011). However, the most striking development in terms of foreign policy and security was the Arab Upheavals started in 2011 in the regions of Middle East and North Africa. Turkey, along with the movements in the Middle East, entered into a relatively trouble period with its neighbors like Syria, Iraq and Iran, in addition to freezing relations with Egypt as a result of the military coup in that country (Atmaca, 2017). Hence, discussions regarding the necessity of re-evaluating the "zero problems with neighbors" policy emerged as its success was questioned (Ekinci, 2017). In this

sense, some scholars believe that Turkey's attitude to behave in very insistent ways somehow resulted in being left alone and isolated in the international arena (Stein, 2014). On the other side, Turkey has been linked to build positive relationships with neighbouring countries only for the requirement of having the political legitimacy of powers in these countries, as different from past periods (Balci, 2017).

Apart from the MENA region and the activism of TFP here, it is also extremely important to reveal the fact that each state can hold more than one identity and national role conception that are the determinants for foreign policy-making. Similarly, various social dynamics or structures may also contribute to some differences in perceptions of the role of states (Chafetz et al., 1996). As mentioned before in Chapter 2, national role conceptions are perceptual definitions of highest decision-makers regarding what the state represents in which ways. In this regard, it seems a misconception to believe that leaders witnessing the same political occurrence have similar priorities and would prefer similar answers with the exception of the lack of evidence indicating that leaders' interpretations and values for the circumstances are almost identical. Hence, TFP, in line with Turkey's increasing activities in the MENA (Akbaba & Özdamar, 2019), can be easily explained as a state that is called global actor while it is performing several roles (Aras & Gorener, 2010). Table 1 that classifies Turkey's national roles before and after the Arab Uprisings shows us many critical changes in the roles.

Table 1: Turkey's MENA roles pre and post-Arab Uprisings (Akbaba & Özdamar, 2019)

Turkey's MENA Roles Pre-Uprisings	Turkey's MENA Roles Post-Uprisings
Defender of Regional Peace and Stability	Regional Leader
Regional Subsystem	Protector of the Oppressed
Collaborator	Leader of the Muslim World
Good Neighbor	Rule maker
Mediator	Central Country
Bridge (across civilizations)	Active Independent
Trading State	

4.2 Application of Method to TFP

Similar to analysis of Akbaba and Ozdamar (2019), a study is conducted to illustrate national roles of Turkey in line with the foreign policy speeches of the President and MoFA between 2018 and 2020. As a result of this study, it is found that the most represented national role in Turkey is “regional leader” during these years (see Figure 7), while the year of 2019 is highly assertive in terms of TFP right after the buying of drilling ships. Besides the national roles according to years, it is also examined that roles according to the actors (see Figure 8) are essential to understand the roles at the individual level. As a result, it is clearly seen that President Erdogan is highly involved in foreign policy and the roles referred by him is directly related with the findings of Figure 7.

A great obstacle for IR scholars still exists to interpret a complex structure of TFP

and its changes within a meaningful theoretical background. The debate on improvements in the nature and conduct of TFP has made a substantial augmentation on different approaches. Firstly, the realist perspective indicates that Turkey aims to balance its choices and movements towards other powers (Cohen, 2011). For instance, although Turkey in its earlier decades of the Republic preferred a neutral foreign policy, it had to take a defensive and confident attitude and security-based foreign policy against the Soviet Union by becoming a powerful member of the US-oriented NATO in 1952 (Hatipoglu & Palmer, 2016). Secondly, liberal approach brings the interaction between domestic politics and TFP in the debate with an emphasis on the liberal market policies (Kirişçi, 2009), whilst it also points out the EU as an instrument facilitates a positive engagement of Turkey, and opens a way for more democratized and reformed governance style in Turkey (Onis, 2011). Thirdly, constructivism describes the modern foreign policy preferences of Turkey through a neo-Ottoman context (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011).

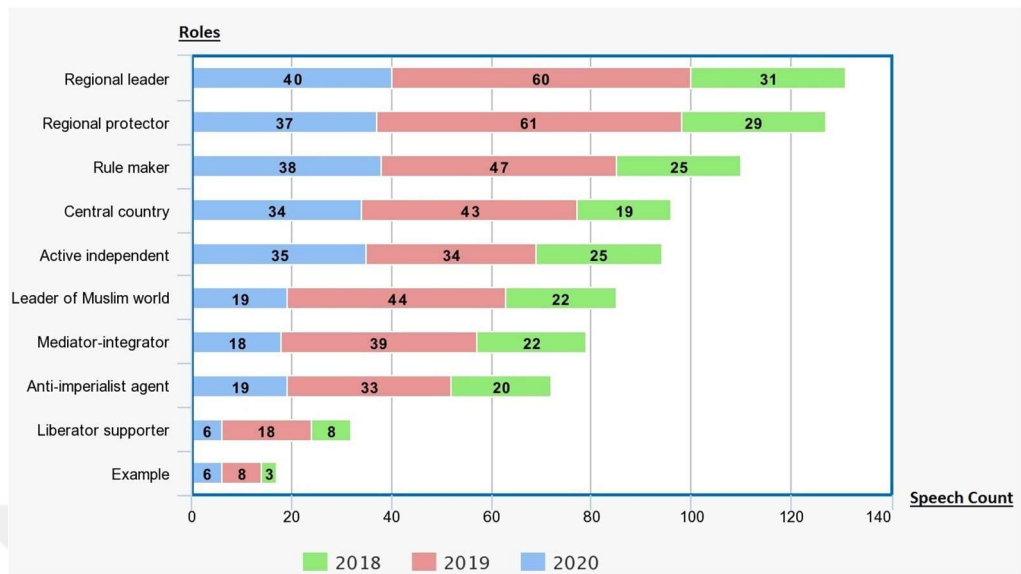


Figure 7: Turkey's National Roles by year

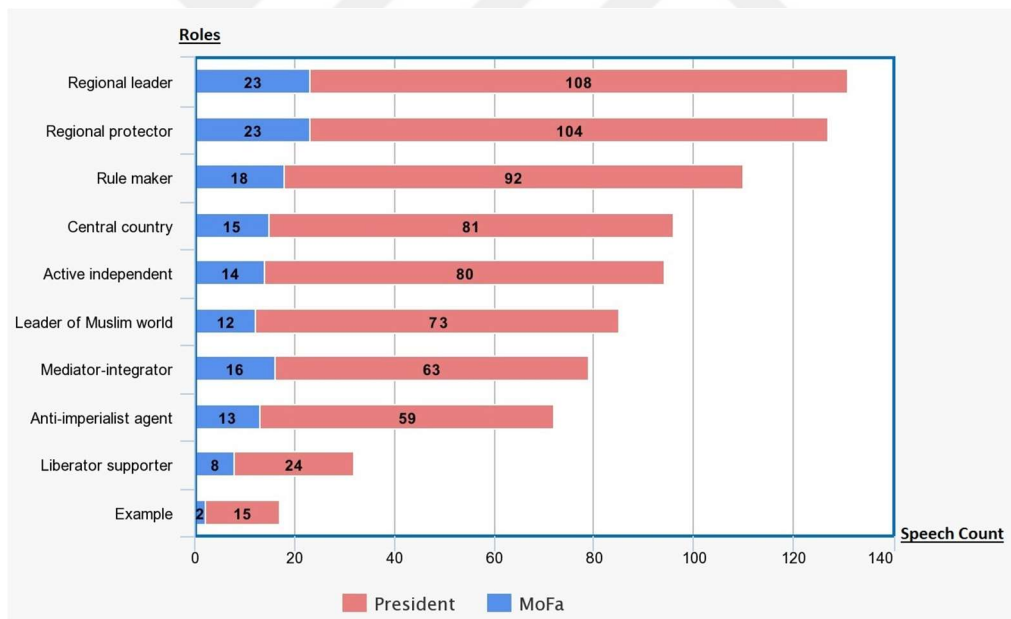


Figure 8: Turkey's National Roles by actor

Table 2: Relation between roles and all foreign policy speeches during 2018 and 2020 by Erdoğan and Çavuşoğlu, and their percentages

All (667)		
Roles	Role Related Speech Count	%
Regional leader	131	19,6401799
Regional protector	127	19,0404798
Rule maker	110	16,4917541
Central country	96	14,3928036
Active independent	94	14,0929535
Leader of Muslim world	85	12,7436282
Mediator-integrator	79	11,844078
Anti-imperialist agent	72	10,7946027
Liberator supporter	32	4,7976012
Example	17	2,54872564

Table 3: Relation between roles and all foreign policy speeches during 2018 and 2020 by Erdoğan and their percentages

President (640)		
Roles	Role Related Speech Count	%
Regional leader	108	16,875
Regional protector	104	16,25
Rule maker	92	14,375
Central country	81	12,65625
Active independent	80	12,5
Leader of Muslim world	73	11,40625
Mediator-integrator	63	9,84375
Anti-imperialist agent	59	9,21875
Liberator supporter	24	3,75
Example	15	2,34375

Table 4: Relation between roles and all foreign policy speeches during 2018 and 2020 by Çavuşoğlu and their percentages

MoFa (27)		
Roles	Role Related Speech Count	%
Regional leader	23	85,1851852
Regional protector	23	85,1851852
Rule maker	18	66,6666667
Central country	15	55,5555556
Active independent	14	51,8518519
Leader of Muslim world	12	44,4444444
Mediator-integrator	16	59,2592593
Anti-imperialist agent	13	48,1481481
Liberator supporter	8	29,6296296
Example	2	7,40740741

The highly complex cooperation with Western powers induced Turkey to give up its foreign policy creation sovereignty until the 2000s. Its distancing movements from the Middle East, in contrast to the Ottoman Empire, are the most insightful outcomes of changes in TFP (Sözen, 2010). Hence, such a change has increased the presence of Turkey in the Middle East by invalidating the non-interference strategy in the region (Türkmen, 2009).

In sum, although Turkey's intention to be more involved in its foreign policy was stimulated since the Cold War ended, this intention was not instantly reflected by the abilities of Turkey to alter and impact the world around it (Hatipoglu & Palmer, 2016). In this sense, Turkey's policies towards Syria and other region countries at some points after the Arab Uprisings became more assertive while a threat regarding economic sanctions and military intervention re-enforced Turkey to formulate preponderant foreign policies for the sake of being regional power (Hatipoglu & Palmer, 2016).

CHAPTER V

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

5.1 General Perspective

The anarchic nature of the international system claims that sovereignty and identity factors are quite stable (Wendt, 1999). From this point of view, it can be seen that international security has become a concept of identity and a strategic direction towards or shaped by it. The historically and situationally changing identities of countries, combined with various beliefs and attitudes, can lead to national, regional, and international paradigm shifts. While political geography is one of the areas most affected by this situation, the identities that are tried to be created and presented gradually become the roles of states towards certain issues. This situation has become apparent in recent years with the foreign policy decisions of the relevant states, especially within the framework of Eastern Mediterranean geopolitics.

With the end of the Cold War, policies started to be built within the framework of the understanding of regionalism (Ataman, 2002). However, in this process, not only the nation-state and sharp political decisions as before, but also socio-cultural and economic factors started to come to the fore. With the expansion of the concepts and debates on geopolitics, the security understanding of the Eastern Mediterranean region has also changed. At that point, the domestic and foreign policy preferences and understanding of historical ties with nation-states in the region have been very

influential (Cankara, 2016). On the other hand, the Eastern Mediterranean has experienced multi-dimensional transformations for centuries. Therefore, the past political environment has directly affected the future environment.

Wendt's statement that points out the anarchic structure and its discourse saying that the identities do not change, thus it has not become such a valid concept in the Eastern Mediterranean. With the increasing role of globalization in international politics, efforts have been made to construct an Eastern Mediterranean region that might have a calmness in geopolitics and foreign policy. Moreover, cooperative competition, international governance, and collective security concepts might be taken into account while examining the developments on this region. Since the growing gap between energy production and consumption causes energy-importing countries to become dependent on foreign countries, the oil crises in 1973 and 1979, which demonstrated the political power of oil, also caused the energy security to rise to the top in the diplomatic relations of oil-importing countries (Şahin, 2019).

Since 2018, the year of buying the first drilling ship by Turkey, the issue of energy has somehow become a matter of competition and prestige (Hürriyet, 2020). This topic of course will continue to be a subject that can be examined from many different perspectives in the coming years. However, in this thesis, how the national role conceptions of Turkey shape foreign policy dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean is presented.

If we look at the issue in terms of inter-state political and economic competition, it can be said that with the end of the bipolar system, which is the predominant feature of the Cold War period, the uncertainty brought about by the multipolar world system has

increased the competition. On the one side, the fact that Turkish foreign policy with its preferences and actions has created an ideological position for itself during the Cold War era is obvious (Bilgin, 2004). This statement is valid for the conjunctures in the Eastern Mediterranean, too. On the other side, since the end of the Cold War, some uncertainties and changes have occurred as has already been stressed. While the constructed ideologies and identities lost their importance at some points, they changed dimensions at other points. Considering all these affected by foreign policy decisions, domestic policy has been the factor that has accelerated these changes in the region throughout history (van Veen & Yüksel, 2018).

On the other hand, taking the increasing role of the Eastern Mediterranean as an energy corridor in international politics into account, especially after the Cold War era, it was an inevitable fact that the relations between Turkey-EU and Turkey-US were also impacted in many ways (Lesser, 2000; Tziarras, 2019). The influence of foreign policy to this extent, of course, was not independent of internal politics and economy. As a most concrete step, Turkey with its deterrence capability in the region has worked extensively on the topics of state jurisdiction over marine and deploying naval forces to avert some negative results which might be caused by regional alliances and have been successful in some points (Defence Turkey, 2018).

Energy, which is both a security issue and an issue that directly affects the economy, is a subject of scrutiny when combined with the various identity and belief concepts of high-level decision-makers of states. For example, when we look at the Turkish Cypriot region and energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Turkish perspective, national role conceptions of Turkey come into prominence.

5.2 Application of Method to the Eastern Mediterranean

A large number of factors that take a role in shaping Turkey's Eastern Mediterranean policy might be mentioned. The Eastern Mediterranean region, which has stood out in foreign policy in the last periods, is of great importance in terms of security concerns, economic development, historical and cultural ties with the region countries, and international law issues. A similar analysis to the roles in the MENA (Akbaba & Özdamar, 2019) can be conducted for the Eastern Mediterranean even though the interests and roles started to be relatively newly constructed. Figure 9 is created to show Turkey's national roles in the Eastern Mediterranean based on the speeches of the President Erdoğan and MoFA Çavuşoğlu since 2018.

Firstly, if the significance of the region to be addressed in Turkey's security policy, it is necessary to mention the region's geostrategic and geopolitical importance. To understand this importance, it is very critical to look at the power struggles in the region, especially after the problems occurred in Cyprus and the Arab Uprisings (Tziarras, 2019). Besides Turkey, the numerous actors such as the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Israel, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates mainly intend to be regional and global powers thanks to rich energy resources in the seabed. The Eastern Mediterranean as a region where various security problems and threats have erupted concomitantly with the subject of access to the natural resources, directly influences both the bilateral relations between Turkey and region and global powers in the scope of the energy security as well as peace and stability in the region.

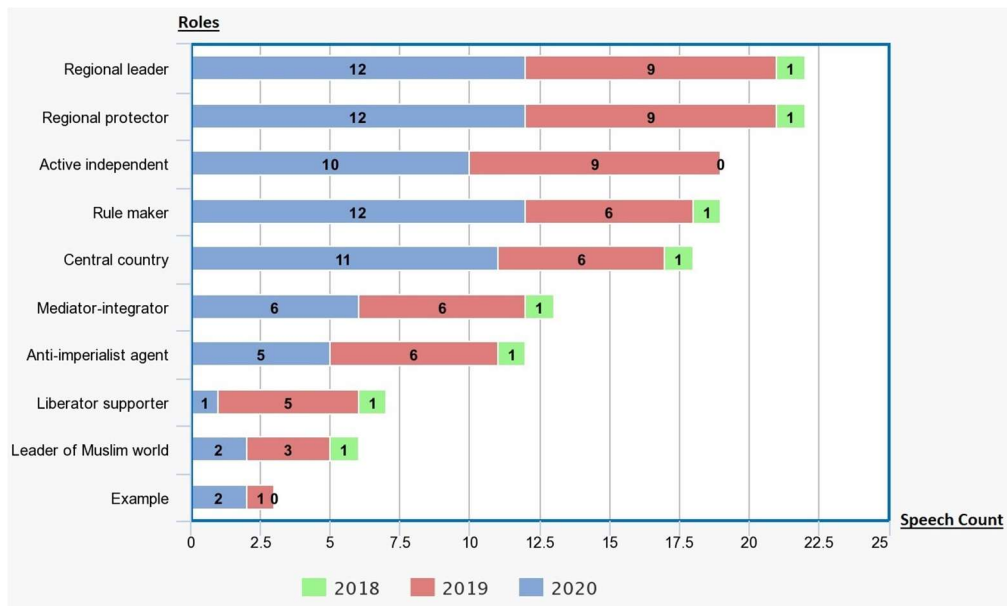


Figure 9: Turkey's National Roles in the Eastern Mediterranean by year

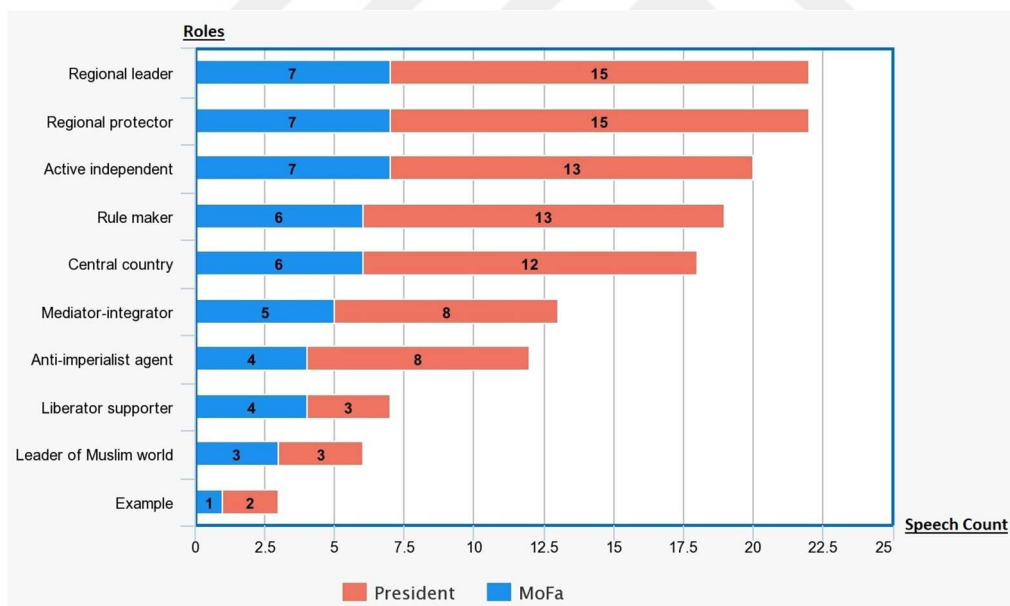


Figure 10: Turkey's National Roles in the Eastern Mediterranean by actor

Notwithstanding that Turkey is the leading actor which has the longest coastline in the Mediterranean, international efforts to hedge Turkey in a confined space in terms of the continental shelf and exclusive economic zone have been the most explicit developments in foreign policy dynamics towards the region during the recent years

(Yaycı, 2012). It will not be inappropriate to claim that owning energy resources constitutes the basis of the struggle for sharing maritime jurisdiction areas in the Eastern Mediterranean while the exclusion of Turkey by Greece and SGCA and acting in violation of international law are staying as the root causes of the problem. With the maritime boundary delimitation agreement and licenses between Turkey and the TRNC in 2011, Turkey has made its presence felt with its strong naval forces around the island of Cyprus, as well as the TRNC's rights of access to the hydrocarbon resources are protected (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).



Figure 11: Maritime Jurisdiction Areas Dispute between Turkey, TRNC and the GCA in the Eastern Mediterranean (Anadolu Agency, 2019)

As a concrete example of this protection initiative, similarly, in 2016, the drilling ship of the Italian company ENI has intended to enter the claimed 3rd parcel of the TRNC and was stopped by the Turkish navy to protect the regional security and the rights of the TRNC again. In 2018, Greek Cypriot government has accused Turkey again to block Italian drilling ship due to the extended military exercises of Turkey (BBC

News Türkçe, 2018). In addition to the fact that some military actions like this and the first drilling ship Fatih received by Turkey in 2018 continue to search gas here, the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Libya on November 27, 2019 to determine maritime jurisdictions is a very important development due to impacting the dynamics in the region (Resmi Gazete, 2019a). "The continental shelf and exclusive economic zone borders in the Mediterranean" are shown with their coordinates on a map added to the MoU. A boundary of approximately 30 km has been determined from point A to point B shown in the annex map. In addition, the coordinates of the coastal lines of the two countries, which are taken as a basis, are specified in the annex of the MoU in determining the location of the border, which is stated as the "middle line". Hence, this agreement between Turkey and Libya covers both the continental shelf and exclusive economic zones of two countries.

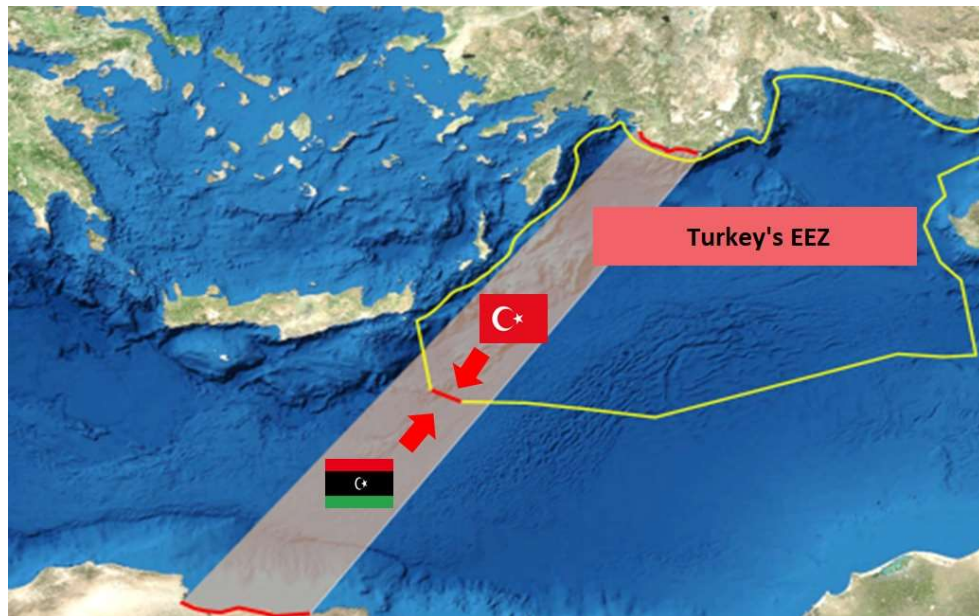


Figure 12: EEZ after the agreement between Turkey and Libya (Sputnik News, 2020)

With this MoU between Turkey and Libya;

1. For the first time Turkey has signed a treaty which is limiting Exclusive Economic Zone with a riparian state.
2. At some point, legal and legitimate grounds have been obtained.
3. Acquired rights have been provided.
4. Political superiority has been emphasized and seized.
5. The Western border of Turkey's maritime jurisdiction areas is determined in accordance with international law.
6. The legal infrastructure of Turkey's legitimate rights has been established.
7. The message that Turkey always applies legal and diplomatic tools has been given to the international community like the EU.
8. Political games and calculations, made to imprison Turkey in a 41,000 sq km area according to the arguments of SGCA and Greece which are supported by the EU, eliminated.
9. The worst case scenario for Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean has been also eliminated thanks to the opportunity to prevent the agreement between Egypt and Greece and Greece-SGCA.

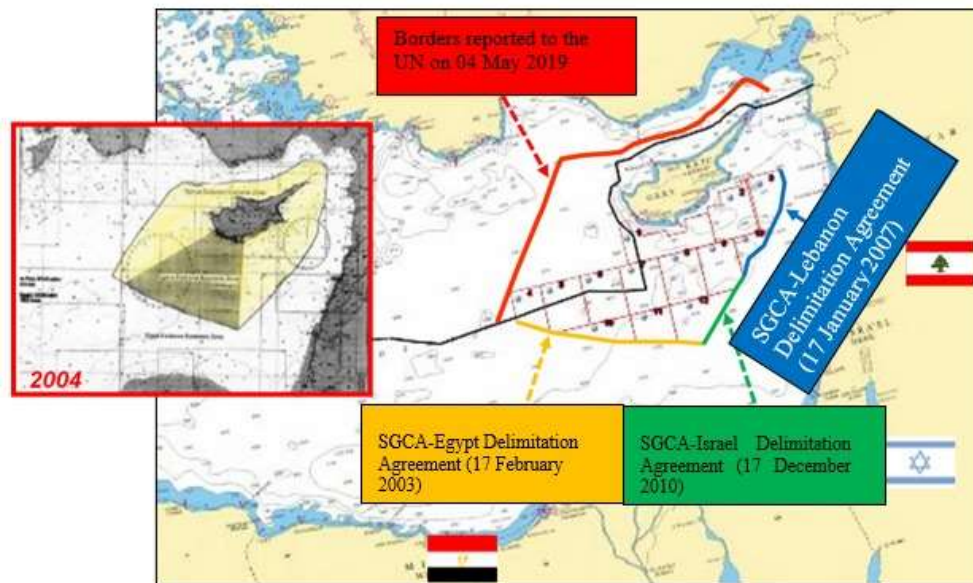


Figure 13: EEZ map in the Eastern Mediterranean (Sputnik News, 2020)

Following the MoU on maritime issues, Turkey and the Government of National Accord in Libya also signed a security and military cooperation agreement and Turkey sent troops to Libya based on the invitation of Tripoli (Resmi Gazete, 2019b). In this way, maritime jurisdictions have been defined on the Western borders of Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Turkish military authority has also been emphasized in the region (International Crisis Group, 2020). According to the agreement, which stated that it will be valid for three years, it can be extended for one year, but if it expires, the ongoing programs will not be affected. The main areas of the agreement are:

1. Turkey will provide the support for the areas of training, consultancy, materials and planning.
2. Common “Defense and Security Cooperation Office” can be established in both Turkey and Libya.
3. Land, sea and air vehicles, weapons, training bases can be allocated.

4. Joint exercises, intelligence sharing, peacekeeping operations can be done.
5. Turkish civilians and troops who are members of the defense and security organizations which will be called "Guest Personnel" can be sent to Libya.
6. Military equipment can be donated, sold or rented.

This agreement was ratified in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) on 21 December 2019 while GNA in Libya has approved instead of the parliament. Then, GNA has requested military support from Turkey on December 26, 2019 (Abdullah, 2019). Subsequently, on January 02, 2020, the Presidential bill for sending troops to Libya was accepted by the TGNA with 325 affirmative votes against 184 rejection votes (Beaumont, 2020). With this motion, the authority to deploy the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) in Libya for a year was given to the President Erdoğan.

In Libya, forces loyal to Haftar detained the Jamaican flagged Turkish commercial cargo ship. Then, the MFA made a statement about the detention of the ship with the Turkish crew as "if Turkish interests are targeted in Libya, there will be serious consequences. We strongly condemn this practice. Haftar and his militias continue their aggressive attitude even in a period when the political process is advancing among our Libyan brothers under the leadership of the United Nations."

With all these developments, Cyprus and Libya, in connection with the Eastern Mediterranean, have become two of the most important issues of the TFP in recent times. Both the protection of the seas and the connection with the region are a matter of national security for Turkey while the desire to be a power that ensures stability here continues in an assertive manner (Başeren, 2013). By protecting energy

resources, it is aimed that the rights of both the Cypriot Turks on the island and Turkey are not usurped (Sandıklı et al., 2013). Turkish foreign policy makers perceive every round of the development contrary to this goal as an attempt to cut off the political, economic and cultural ties that have come since the Ottoman Empire; so, they act and implement policies according to this claim (Aydin & Dizdaroğlu, 2018).

During the AK Party period in particular, Syria, Egypt, Libya and Palestine located in the Eastern Mediterranean basin, it has been observed that it is closely interested in these countries and tries to establish close relations in every sense. However, as mentioned earlier parts of the thesis, with the outbreak of Arab Uprisings, Turkey continued to defend the necessity for democratic structures in undemocratic governments in Egypt, Syria and Libya. In this respect, it exhibited the role of “protector of the oppressed” by standing with the people of the region.

Another notable factor that shapes TFP in the region lies in the economic reasons due to the country's increasing energy needs in developing industry. In this context, the Eastern Mediterranean is a critical region in terms of both rich energy resources and the bilateral economic relations between the region countries (Aydin & Dizdaroğlu, 2018). Turkey mainly aims to decrease the dependency on foreign energy resources and seeks to augment its trade at significantly higher rates with the world, including the neighbors. From this point of view, on the one hand, while Turkey is shaping its foreign policy decisions in this region, it continues to make efforts to discover natural gas and oil on its own continental shelf. On the other hand, it attaches importance to take a role in transporting natural gas that will be discovered in other countries' maritime jurisdiction areas to the European markets via its territory.

Besides the drilling ships given Fatih and Yavuz names, Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha and Oruc Reis seismic research ships provided Turkey to be considered as a country in the world standards in the seabed search of energy resources with the help of Turkish Petroleum's exploration and drilling activities. Oruç Reis seismic research ship is a ship that can perform all kinds of geological, geophysical, hydrographic and oceanographic researches, especially natural resource searches. Moreover, declaration and extended time of the communication device system NAVTEX that provides information about meteorology forecasts, navigational information, urgency, safety and the areas where work is done at sea for Oruc Reis ship, the waters in the Mediterranean began to "warm up". Although the Navtex disputes between Turkey and Greece constitute the main point of disagreement whether the authority to broadcast Navtex belongs to the station based in Crete or to the station based in Antalya, the main source of the problem is related to the discussion on the limitation of maritime jurisdictions in the Eastern Mediterranean region.

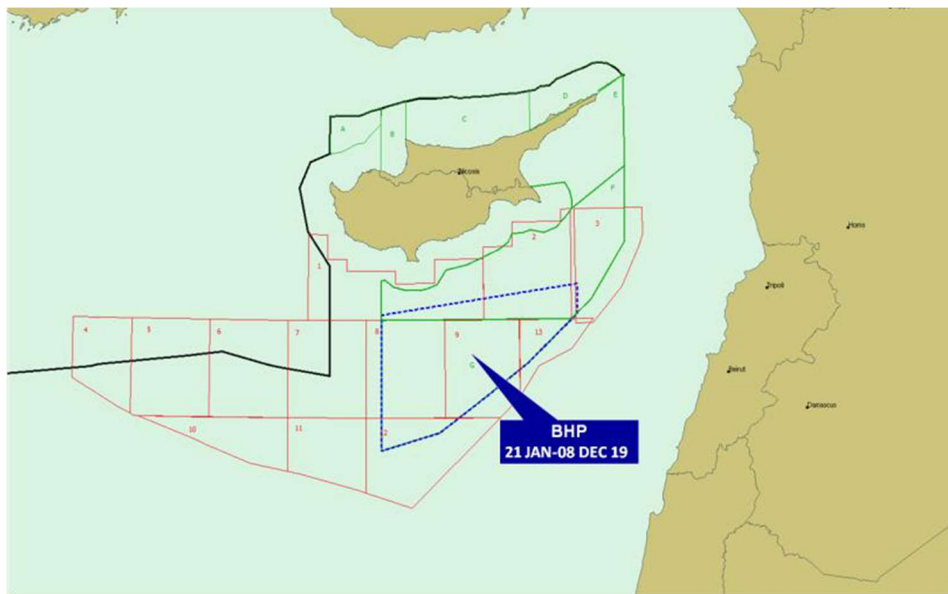


Figure 14: Turkish Petroleum survey and drilling activities (Erciyes, 2019)

In 2020, the Kanuni drilling ship was added to this inventory by fostering the search operations not only in the Eastern Mediterranean but also in the Black Sea basin (CNN Turk, 2020). Naval forces and coast guard ships have also undertaken duties to protect these ships by guaranteeing safe conduct of activities in the aforesaid maritime jurisdiction areas within the scope of security (BBC News Türkçe, 2020). In addition to these, many military exercises in the Eastern Mediterranean region have been carried out by Turkey by supporting them with unmanned aerial vehicles as an indicator of having military power (NTV, 2019). Therefore, economic motivations are also integrated with protecting military and legal interests, especially in Cyprus and Libya. In doing all these, Turkey aims to be an economically active independent power and energy bridge besides playing a protective role for national and regional security and stability (Ala'Aldeen et al., 2018).

Several countries in the East Mediterranean coastline as Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Montenegro, Albania, Greece, Syria, Palestine / Israel and Lebanon were ruled by the Ottoman Empire for centuries, although these territories were lost during the Empire period, they inherited to the Ottoman successor Republic of Turkey with historical ties. Considering TFP after 1980, conservative leaders such as Turgut Özal, Necmettin Erbakan and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan gave importance to developing relations with the Balkans, Levant and North Africa regions.

One of the most fundamental theoretical criticisms of the TFP for the AK Party period is the shaping of foreign policy with "ideological preferences" (Dalacoura, 2017). Definitions of a shift from the West axis or neo-Ottomanism are also made to support this claim. Valuing historical and cultural ties in relations with both the Middle

Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean countries is important for mutual national interests, but although ideological and socio-cultural preferences are mentioned, the main axis of Turkey are concrete national interests. The best example for this aim lies in Turkey's attempts to protect its national interests regarding the sharing of maritime jurisdiction areas according to the international law, and develop its foreign policy considering these interests in the Eastern Mediterranean (Çubukçuoğlu, 2014).

In addition to all these, the political and trade relations of Turkey with the countries formerly ruled by the Ottoman Empire should not be considered as an alternative to the West. On the other side, it is obvious that integration with the West is not considered as a necessity when recent Turkey's foreign policy preferences and the national role conceptions towards the region are examined carefully (Aka, 2014; Oğuzlu, 2008).

With a multidimensional TFP understanding that started with Özal in the 1980s, common history, culture and religion were evaluated as positive elements in foreign policy making and national roles. This approach is continued by the AK Party, which came to the government in 2002 (Sözen, 2010). Even though, the reactions of the states in the region against such a foreign policy preference, and therefore the bilateral relations dramatically changed especially after the Arab Uprisings as mentioned before (Akbaba & Özdamar, 2019), it is estimated that Turkey's approach will be maintained for several years in the region due to the reasons above discussed.

Looking at the international law issues in the Eastern Mediterranean, it would be plausible to firstly mention Cyprus island. Almost in every international platform, Turkey consistently highlights that it acts in the framework of principles of

international law in Cyprus (Şahin, 2019). An example of this claim is its intervention in Cyprus after the coup on the island by Greek forces in 1974 by using its guarantor rights stemming from the London and Zurich Agreements in 1959 (United Nations, 1960) while “regional leader” and “protector of the oppressed” roles are emphasized (Bryant & Yakinthou, 2012).

The relations with Israel, that directly affects Turkey’s power and foreign policy preferences in the region, mainly consist of the axes of both Turkey’s close interest in the geographies of Jerusalem and Gaza and quite offensive policies of Israel towards them. The attacks perpetrated in Gaza in 2008 and harsh criticisms of Erdoğan to Perez at Davos Summit in 2009, a fracture in the Turkey-Israel relations occurred, and it still remains to be tense in the Eastern Mediterranean issues today (Bacik, 2009; Neubauer, 2012).

In the energy side of the story, due the Leviathan situated in Israeli jurisdiction is one of the largest natural gas discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean, and this discovery can make Israel an energy exporter (Grigoriadis, 2014), the relations among two states are critically important to reduce the effect of interaction between Israel, Greece and Cyprus in terms of transportation of gas to the Europe via EastMed Pipeline Project (Gafarlı, 2020). From these developments, it is seen that “regional leader”, “protector of the oppressed”, “leader of the Muslim world” and “rule maker” roles somehow became Turkey’s national role conceptions.

Another issue was the toppling of democratically elected Morsi with a coup after the Mubarak's dictatorial leadership that strained relations between Turkey and Egypt (Yegin, 2016). Also, in the energy dimension of this relation, the agreements on the

sharing maritime jurisdiction areas between Greece-Egypt and Greece-GCASC would cause foreign policy crises at very large scales (Yaycı, 2019). In this respect, Turkey's intent to be a "regional leader" and "rule maker" comes into prominence especially after the purchase of drilling ships as a material factor for these mentioned roles.



CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

According to realism, one of the traditional theories of international relations, it is accepted that foreign policy emerge together with the decisions of the states. In line with this view, foreign policy has been carried out in a process that can be considered rigid for many years. This tradition has continued for a long time in academia as well as among decision makers, and it has been claimed that states, which are the main actors of international relations, always make rational decisions in foreign policy.

It was understood that it was insufficient to explain the various changes experienced by the states only with theories or assumptions like realism especially when the Cold War began to unravel with neoliberal thought, which rose in the period since 1980s. From this perspective, the state could no longer be the only unit of analysis, and foreign policy could not be seen as a completely state-dependent and rational process.

The existence of different elements that shape foreign policy and the fact that foreign policy becomes an output by directly or indirectly affected by these elements has led to the emergence of various research and discussion topics for those interested in foreign policy analysis. In addition to non-state and subnational or supra-national actors coming to the fore with neoliberal thought, identity-based issues that the constructivist perspective is concerned with, and the efforts of those working on political psychology to include the personal characteristics of leaders in the decision-making positions, the way they perceive the world and national roles, into foreign policy analysis (FPA) have gained popularity for several decades. In other words, it

has been deemed *sine qua non* to include some national factors such as identity, culture, leadership and internal power balance with domestic politics, which are accepted as given, into the studies of FPA.

Foreign policy is actually realized by individuals who make foreign policy on behalf of the state by considering both their views about the position of state in the region or world besides calculating which positions could gain a support from the electorate and international actors. Then, foreign policy related principles are created by these policy makers and accepted as guidelines for policy decisions and implementations.

Various factors, ranging from the political structure of the state to the developments in the international arena, can affect the expression and initiation of role concepts. In addition, the fact that states have more than one identity and different role concepts over time is also a point to be taken into account when FPA is conducted by researchers. Since I believe that an inclusive foreign policy approach such as national role concepts will provide the most appropriate explanation for Turkish foreign policy (TFP), which has more than one role in the regional sense and is very active since 2018, role theory was chosen as the main theory for this thesis.

According to some, TFP has been shaped by bureaucratic and military elites rather than political decision makers for many years, but with the AK Party's coming to power in 2002, foreign policy has started to become more active by actors with political responsibilities. From this point of view, Turkish foreign policy stopped interacting only with the West in order to be a country that quickly adapts to regional developments as well as the changes in the international system. Parallel to this, it has become more involved in regional developments. To evaluate this paradigm shift, it

should be said that a foreign policy understanding that is not only state-oriented and high politics indexed as predicted by the realist theory, but also cares about identity, cultural and historical heritage has developed. In addition to this view, it is a highly emphasized foreign policy debate that the distancing itself of TFP from the West after 2002 has peaked especially after the 2011 Arab Uprisings that allowed for an unprecedented activism of the Republic in the Middle East and North Africa regions. Therefore, it can be also said that the situation in Turkey has changed considerably, especially it is considered the fact that the leaders before the AK Party period generally preferred more moderate roles in foreign policy.

In this thesis, it is revealed that Turkey's desire to exhibit active and assertive attitude in foreign policy making and to become a critical actor in a considerable degree in the region and international arena is regarded as a departure from the traditional concept of national role.

When I examine TFP in terms of decision makers, the discourses that generally emphasize cooperation draw attention. According to the results of the content analysis, it has been seen that roles supporting global and regional partnerships continue to be adopted by decision makers in foreign policy, even though there are many assertive roles that lead TFP dynamics. From this point of view, it is worth mentioning that the roles that favor peace and stability in TFP are at least as important as the roles as central power and protector in the region.

In the period following the purchase of the first drilling ship Fatih in 2018, national roles related to being a state which is regional leader, protector of other peoples in the region and of the Muslims, active independent economically, rule maker, center,

example, open cooperation, liberator and resisting imperial powers have now become new concepts of TFP. Since it would be insufficient to examine all these roles with only mainstream IR theories, the role theory proposed by Holsti and developed by many valuable academicians was used as a main theory in this thesis. In addition to examining the general foreign policy of Turkey, developments in the Eastern Mediterranean and buying Fatih, Yavuz and Kanuni drilling ships as the elements that affect foreign policy have been evaluated in this thesis. At this point, the impacts of energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean to Turkey and its national roles were analyzed from economy, identity and international law perspectives.

Foreign policy speeches of high-level TFP makers between 2018 and 2020 (in this thesis they are President and Minister of Foreign Affairs) were examined and analyzed according to Holsti's roles and keywords of these roles. Word count method was chosen as the analysis method within the framework of content analysis. With the developed software, the speeches were extracted from official websites both in Turkish and English, were categorized and eliminated as relevant or irrelevant, and then the main data was obtained to study. The most emphasized words and national roles indexed to them are put in order and visualized by using horizontal barcharts.

The role theory mainly offered some testable ideas on whether differences in the national role conceptions could explain the region-oriented roles of TFP. In this direction, it has been observed that the general roles of the TFP and the roles in the Eastern Mediterranean are in complete harmony.

When the roles are evaluated on an actor basis, it is understood from the number of foreign policy speeches that the President Erdoğan is very active in the field of foreign

policy. It was also observed that the roles analyzed from the speeches of Minister of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) Çavuşoğlu were in line with Erdoğan's speeches and the roles related to these speeches.

As a result, the recent national role conceptions of Turkish decision makers as regional leader, protector, or rule maker have been found extremely consistent with the foreign policy initiatives for the Eastern Mediterranean and the MENA region. As a more general conclusion, it will not be non-logical to claim that the model of Turkey that exhibits an attitude of ownership against regional problems and offers solutions at the regional levels is now the overall concept in TFP and national roles.

The strategic importance of the Eastern Mediterranean, which has hosted many civilizations and religions, will continue to increase. Neither the existence of new energy sources such as shale gas nor new explorations of oil and natural gas fields in other parts of the world will change the fact that the international and regional Powers aim to control the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean energy resources and corridors. When considered in this context that the threat faced by Turkey, risks and opportunities will not decrease, but on the contrary they will increase. In order to ensure the survival and security of Turkey under the current conditions in the region, it is critically important to be a member of international organizations and alliances in accordance with national security and foreign policy and to develop national power elements altogether. At this point, Turkey, in addition to political, legal, military and economic measures and national role conceptions for its own security, it should also accept and then apply public diplomacy methods and use complementary political language. Turkey, in line with national security policies and the roles formed by these

policies, should analyze regional risks and threats with the realistic approach, should act in a manner required by the national interests, and lastly it should build its national roles on a solid ground to represent more sustainable roles in the region for longer times.

The criticisms of role theory should also be discussed because the theory is not able to completely explain foreign policy decisions; international pressures might influence the conceptions, and social setting factors might cause unexpected sudden changes in these conceptions.

On the limitations side, since I used only Holsti's (1970) and Akbaba and Özdamar's (2019) roles, a future research and correlation should be done with more detailed roles for longer periods. Secondly, more theories should be used to compare with role theory for the usefulness test. Thirdly, it is also questionable that using official government's foreign policy speeches as primary data for qualitative research is appropriate method in a thesis although speeches given by any political actor can be still used as an input while doing a research, collecting data and incorporating all these into a code sheet. Finally, as the computer sciences and psychological analyses develop, I believe scholars who study foreign policy will also develop their studies with more comprehensive perspectives about role theory implications.

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APPENDIX

Index.php

```
<?php
```

```
include "header.component.php";
```

```
include "yazgi.functions.php";
```

```
include_once "db.config.php";
```

```
$lang="eng";
```

```
$topic_id=1;
```

```
$relevant=0;
```

```
if(isset($_GET["relevant"]))
```

```
    $relevant=$_GET["relevant"];
```

```
if(isset($_GET["lang"]))
```

```
    $lang=$_GET["lang"];
```

```
if(isset($_GET["topic_id"]))
```

```
    $topic_id = $_GET["topic_id"];
```

```
$selectedRelevant = $relevant;
```

```
?>
```

```
<div class="row">
```

```

<div class="col-md-2">

    <div class="list-group">

        <?php

            $sql = "SELECT * FROM topic";

            $data = getQueryArray($sql);

            while($build = mysqli_fetch_array($data))

            {

                echo "<a href='\"index.php?topic_id=$build[ID]&relevant=1\""
class=\"list-group-item list-group-item-action\">$build[name]</a>";

            }

        ?>

    </div>

</div>

<div class="col-md-10">

    <?php

        $engOutline = "";

        $turOutline = "-outline";

        if($lang=="tur"){

            $engOutline = "-outline";

```

```

        $turOutline = "";

    }

?>

<center>

    <a

href="index.php?topic_id=<?=$topic_id?>&lang=eng&relevant=<?=$relevant?>"
type="button" class="btn btn<?=$engOutline?>-primary">English</a>

    <a

href="index.php?topic_id=<?=$topic_id?>&lang=tur&relevant=<?=$relevant?>"
type="button" class="btn btn<?=$turOutline?>-primary">Turkish</a>

</center>

<?php

if(isset($topic_id))

    $sql = "SELECT * FROM topic WHERE ID=".$topic_id;

    $data = getQueryArray($sql);

    $topic = mysqli_fetch_array($data);

    $name = $topic[1];

    $keywords = $topic[2];

    echo "<h1>".$name."</h1>";

```

```
echo "keywords : ".$keywords."<br/>";
```

```
$relevantQuery ="";
```

```
if($relevant==1){
```

```
    $relevantOutline="";
```

```
    $notRelevantOutline="-outline";
```

```
    $allOutline="-outline";
```

```
    $relevantQuery =" AND relevant=1";
```

```
}
```

```
else if($relevant==2){
```

```
    $relevantOutline="-outline";
```

```
    $notRelevantOutline="";
```

```
    $allOutline="";
```

```
    $relevantQuery =" AND relevant=2";
```

```
}else{
```

```
    $relevantOutline="-outline";
```

```
    $notRelevantOutline="-outline";
```

```
    $allOutline="";
```

```
    $relevantQuery ="";
```

```
}
```

```

?>

<br>

<center>

    <a
href="index.php?topic_id=<?=$topic_id?>&lang=<?=$lang?>&relevant=0"
type="button" class="btn btn<?=$allOutline?>-secondary">Show All</a>

    <a
href="index.php?topic_id=<?=$topic_id?>&lang=<?=$lang?>&relevant=1"
type="button" class="btn btn<?=$relevantOutline?>-success">Show Relevant</a>

    <a
href="index.php?topic_id=<?=$topic_id?>&lang=<?=$lang?>&relevant=2"
type="button" class="btn btn<?=$notRelevantOutline?>-danger">Show Not
Relevant</a>

</center>

<br>

<?php

$speechIDsQuery = "";

if($relevant==0) {

    sql_insert("UPDATE `speech` SET `score`=0,`result`=\"\" WHERE 1=1");

    $searchQuery = keywordsToSqlQuery($keywords);

```

```

$searchQueryLang=" AND (category_id=2 || category_id=4)";

if($lang=="tur")

    $searchQueryLang=" AND (category_id=1 || category_id=3)";


    $sql = "SELECT * FROM `speech` WHERE
    ".$searchQuery.$searchQueryLang.$relevantQuery;

    //echo "sql : ".$sql."<br/>";

    $speeches = getQueryArray($sql);

    while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($speeches))
    {

        updateScoreAndResult($keywords, $speech["content"], $speech["ID"]);

    }

}

else{

    $sql = "SELECT * FROM `relevant` WHERE topic_id=".$topic_id." AND
relevant=".$relevant;

    //echo "sql : ".$sql."<br/>";

    $relevantSpeeches = getQueryArray($sql);

    $x=1;

```

```

$speechIDsQuery =" (";

while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($relevantSpeeches)) {

    if($x!=1)

        $speechIDsQuery=$speechIDsQuery." ||";

        $speechIDsQuery = $speechIDsQuery." ID=".$speech["speech_id"]."";

        ++$x;
    }

    $speechIDsQuery = $speechIDsQuery.") AND ";

    if ($x==1)

        $speechIDsQuery = " 1!=1 AND ";

}

?>

```

```

<table class="table table-hover table-sm">

```

```

<thead>

```

```

<tr>

```

```

<td>Relevant?</td>

```

```

<td><strong>Score</strong></td>

```

```

<td><strong>Found</strong></td>

```

```

<td><strong>Title</strong></td>

```

```

        <?php

            if($selectedRelevant==1)

                echo "<td><strong>Notes</strong></td>";

        ?>

        <td><strong>Take Note</strong></td>

        <td><strong>Text</strong></td>

        <td><strong>Date</strong></td>

        <td><strong>Actor</strong></td>

        <td><strong>Link</strong></td>

    </tr>

</thead>

<tbody>

<?php

    $sql = "SELECT * FROM `speech` WHERE ".$speechIDsQuery." score != 0
ORDER BY score DESC";

    //echo "sql : ".$sql."<br/>";

    $datas = getQueryArray($sql);

    $sentences="";

    $actor="";

```

```

$relevantOutline="";

$notRelevantOutline="";

while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($datas))

{

    if($speech["category_ID"]==3 || $speech["category_ID"]==4)

        $sactor="MoFa";

    else

        $sactor="President";

    $speech_id=$speech["ID"];

    $relevant=0;

    if(isset($topic_id) && isset($speech_id)){

        $sql = "SELECT * FROM relevant WHERE topic_id=".$topic_id." &&
speech_id=".$speech_id;

        $data = getQueryArray($sql);

        $relevantData = mysqli_fetch_array($data);

        @$relevant = $relevantData["relevant"];

    }

```

```

if($relevant==1){

    $relevantOutline="";

    $notRelevantOutline="-outline";

} else if($relevant==2){

    $relevantOutline="-outline";

    $notRelevantOutline="";

} else {

    $relevantOutline="-outline";

    $notRelevantOutline="-outline";

}

$contentText = $speech["content"];

$contentText = keywordUnderLiner($keywords, $contentText);

?>

<tr>

<td>

<a

href="relevantAction.php?speech_id=<?=$speech["ID"]?>&topic_id=<?=$topic_id?>

&status=1" target="_blank" class="btn btn<?=$relevantOutline?>-success btn-

sm">Relevant</a><br/>

```

```

<a
href="relevantAction.php?speech_id=<?=$speech["ID"]?>&topic_id=<?=$topic_id?>
&status=2" target="_blank" class="btn btn<?=$notRelevantOutline?>-danger btn-
sm">Not Relevant</a>

```

```

</td>

```

```

<td><?=$speech["score"]?></td>

```

```

<td><?=$speech["result"]?></td>

```

```

<td><?=$speech["title"]?></td>

```

```

<?php

```

```

if($selectedRelevant==1)

```

```

    echo "<td>".nl2br($speech["notes"])."</td>";

```

```

?>

```

```

<td>

```

```

    <a href="takeNote.php?speech_id=<?=$speech_id?>" class="btn
btn-primary" target="_blank">take note</a></td>

```

```

<td>

```

```

<!-- Button trigger modal -->

```

```

    <button type="button" class="btn btn-primary" data-toggle="modal"
data-target="#text<?=$speech["ID"]?>">

```

```

Text

```

```

</button>

<!-- Modal -->

<div class="modal fade bd-example-modal-lg"
id="text<?=$speech["ID"]?>" tabindex="-1" role="dialog" aria-
labelledby="exampleModalLongTitle" aria-hidden="true">

    <div class="modal-dialog modal-lg" role="document">

        <div class="modal-content">

            <div class="modal-header">

                <h5 class="modal-title"
id="exampleModalLongTitle"><?=$speech["title"]?></h5>

                <button type="button" class="close" data-
dismiss="modal" aria-label="Close">

                    <span aria-hidden="true">&times;</span>

            </div>

            </div>

            <div class="modal-body">

                <?=$contentText?>

            </div>

            <div class="modal-footer">

                <button type="button" class="btn btn-secondary btn-sm"

```

data-dismiss="modal">Close</button>

<a

href="relevantAction.php?speech_id=<?=\$speech["ID"]?>&topic_id=<?=\$topic_id?>

&status=1" target="_blank" class="btn btn<?=\$relevantOutline?>-

success">Relevant

<a

href="relevantAction.php?speech_id=<?=\$speech["ID"]?>&topic_id=<?=\$topic_id?>

&status=2" target="_blank" class="btn btn<?=\$notRelevantOutline?>-danger">Not

Relevant

</div>

</div>

</div>

</div>

</td>

<td></td>

<td><?=\$actor?></td>

<td><?php echo "<a target=\"_blank\"

href=\" \$speech[link]\">\$speech[link]";?></td>

</tr>

```
<?php
}
?>

</tbody>

</table>

</div>

</div>

<?php
include "footer.component.php";
```

db.config.php

<?php

function db_connect(){

 \$servername = "localhost";

 \$dbname = "yazgi";

 \$username = "root";

 \$password = "";

// Create connection

 \$conn = mysqli_connect(\$servername, \$username, \$password, \$dbname);

// Check connection

 if (!\$conn) {

 die("Connection failed: " .

 mysqli_connect_error());

 }

 //echo "Connected successfully";

 return \$conn;

}

function sql_insert(\$sql){

```
$conn = db_connect();

if ($conn->query($sql) === TRUE) {

    //echo "New record created/updated successfully.<br>";

} else {

    echo "Error: " . $sql . "<br>" . $conn->error;

}

$conn->close();

}

function getQueryArray($sql){

    $conn = db_connect();

    $data = mysqli_query($conn,$sql);

    return $data;

}
```

Footer.component.php

</main>

<footer class="footer">

 <div class="container">

 <center>

 </center>

 </div>

</footer>

<!-- Bootstrap core JavaScript

===== -->

<!-- Placed at the end of the document so the pages load faster -->

<script src="https://code.jquery.com/jquery-3.2.1.slim.min.js" integrity="sha384-

KJ3o2DKtIkvYIK3UENzmM7KCKr/rE9/Qpg6aAZGJwFDMVNA/GpGFF93hXpG

5KkN" crossorigin="anonymous"></script>

</body>

</html>



Header.component.php

```
<?php
```

```
include_once "bot.functions.php";
```

```
?>
```

```
<!doctype html>
```

```
<html lang="en">
```

```
<head>
```

```
<meta charset="utf-8">
```

```
<meta name="viewport" content="width=device-width, initial-scale=1, shrink-to-fit=no">
```

```
<meta name="description" content="">
```

```
<meta name="author" content="">
```

```
<link rel="icon" href="/docs/4.0/assets/img/favicons/favicon.ico">
```

```
<title>Political Speech DB 🗨️</title>
```

```
<!-- Latest compiled and minified CSS -->
```

```
<link rel="stylesheet" href="bootstrap/css/bootstrap.css">
```

```
<script src="https://code.jquery.com/jquery-3.5.1.slim.js" integrity="sha256-DrT5NfxfbHvMHux31Lkhxg42LY6of8TaYyK50jnxRnM="
crossorigin="anonymous"></script>
```

```

<!-- jQuery library -->

<script src="bootstrap/js/bootstrap.min.js"></script>

</head>

<body>

<header class="mb-3">

  <nav class="navbar navbar-expand-sm bg-dark navbar-dark">

    <a class="navbar-brand mx-auto" href="/yazgi/index.php"><h3>Political
Speech DB 🗨️</h3> </a>

    <a class="navbar-brand mx-auto" href="/yazgi/list.php">>LIST<</a>

  </nav>

</header>

<!-- Begin page content -->

<main role="main" class="container-fluid">

```

List.php

```
<?php
```

```
include "header.component.php";
```

```
include "yazgi.functions.php";
```

```
include_once "db.config.php";
```

```
$sql = "SELECT * FROM `relevant` WHERE relevant=1";
```

```
$relevantSpeeches = getQueryArray($sql);
```

```
$x=1;
```

```
$speechIDsQuery = " (";
```

```
while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($relevantSpeeches)) {
```

```
    if ($x != 1)
```

```
        $speechIDsQuery = $speechIDsQuery . " ||";
```

```
        $speechIDsQuery = $speechIDsQuery . " ID=" . $speech["speech_id"] . " ";
```

```
        ++$x;
```

```
    }
```

```
    if ($x==1)
```

```
        $speechIDsQuery = " 1!=1 AND ";
```

```
else
```

```
$speechIDsQuery=$speechIDsQuery.") ";
```

```
$selectedSql="SELECT * FROM `speech` WHERE ".$speechIDsQuery." ORDER  
BY score DESC";
```

```
?>
```

```
<table class="table table-hover table-sm">
```

```
<thead>
```

```
<tr>
```

```
<td><strong>Title</strong></td>
```

```
<td><strong>Roles</strong></td>
```

```
<td><strong>Notes</strong></td>
```

```
<td><strong>Take Note</strong></td>
```

```
<td><strong>Text</strong></td>
```

```
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
```

```
<td><strong>Actor</strong></td>
```

```
<td><strong>Link</strong></td>
```

```
</tr>
```

```
</thead>
```

```
<tbody>
```

```
<?php
```

```

$datas = getQueryArray($selectedSql);

$sentences="";

$actor="";

$relevantOutline="";

$notRelevantOutline="";

while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($datas))
{
    if($speech["category_ID"]==3 || $speech["category_ID"]==4)

        $actor="MoFa";

    else

        $actor="President";

    $speech_id=$speech["ID"];

    $relevant=0;

    // ROLES

    $roles = "";

    $sqlRelevant = "SELECT * FROM relevant WHERE speech_id=".$speech_id."
AND relevant=1";

    $dataRelevant = getQueryArray($sqlRelevant);

    $topicIDsQuery = " (";
```

```

$x=1;

while($relevantData = mysqli_fetch_array($dataRelevant)){

    if ($x != 1)

        $topicIDsQuery = $topicIDsQuery . " ||";

        $topicIDsQuery = $topicIDsQuery . " ID=" . $relevantData["topic_id"] . ""';

        ++$x;

        //echo "topicIDsQuery : ".$topicIDsQuery."<br>";

    }

    if ($x==1)

        $topicIDsQuery = " 1!=1 AND ";

    else

        $topicIDsQuery =$topicIDsQuery.") ";

    $selectedTopicSql ="SELECT * FROM `topic` WHERE ".$topicIDsQuery;

    //echo "selectedTopicSql : ".$selectedTopicSql."<br>";

    $topic_datas = getQueryArray($selectedTopicSql);

    $roles="<ul>";

    while($topic = mysqli_fetch_array($topic_datas)) {

        $roles=$roles."<li>".$topic["name"]."</li>";

    }

```

```

$roles=$roles."</ul>";

// ROLES

if($relevant==1){

    $relevantOutline="";

    $notRelevantOutline="-outline";

}

else if($relevant==2){

    $relevantOutline="-outline";

    $notRelevantOutline="";

} else {

    $relevantOutline="-outline";

    $notRelevantOutline="-outline";

}

$contentText = $speech["content"];

//$contentText = keywordUnderLiner($keywords, $contentText);

?>

<tr>

    <td><?=$speech["title"]?></td>

    <td><?=$roles?></td>

```

```

<?php

    echo "<td>".nl2br($speech["notes"])."</td>";

?>

<td>

    <a href="takeNote.php?speech_id=<?=$speech_id?>" class="btn btn-
primary" target="_blank">take note</a></td>

<td>

    <!-- Button trigger modal -->

    <button type="button" class="btn btn-primary" data-toggle="modal" data-
target="#text<?=$speech["ID"]?>">

        Text

    </button>

    <!-- Modal -->

    <div class="modal fade bd-example-modal-lg"
id="text<?=$speech["ID"]?>" tabindex="-1" role="dialog" aria-
labelledby="exampleModalLongTitle" aria-hidden="true">

        <div class="modal-dialog modal-lg" role="document">

            <div class="modal-content">

                <div class="modal-header">

                    <h5 class="modal-title"

```

id="exampleModalLongTitle"><?=\$speech["title"]?></h5>

<button type="button" class="close" data-dismiss="modal" aria-label="Close">

×

</button>

</div>

<div class="modal-body">

<?=\$contentText?>

</div>

<div class="modal-footer">

<button type="button" class="btn btn-secondary btn-sm" data-dismiss="modal">Close</button>

</div>

</div>

</div>

</div>

</td>

<td></td>

<td><?=\$actor?></td>

```
<td><?php echo "<a target=\"_blank\"  
href=\""$speech[link]\">$speech[link]</a>";?></td>  
  
</tr>  
  
<?php  
  
}  
  
?>  
</tbody>  
</table>
```

relevantAction.php

<?php

include_once "db.config.php";

//0 -> belirsiz

//1 -> relevant

//2 -> not relevant

\$status=0;

\$speech_id=0;

\$topic_id=0;

if(isset(\$_GET["status"]))

 \$status=\$_GET["status"];

if(isset(\$_GET["topic_id"]))

 \$topic_id = \$_GET["topic_id"];

if(isset(\$_GET["speech_id"]))

 \$speech_id = \$_GET["speech_id"];

if(\$speech_id!=0 && \$status!=0 && \$topic_id!=0){

 sql_insert("DELETE FROM `relevant` WHERE speech_id=\$speech_id &&
topic_id=\$topic_id");

 sql_insert("INSERT INTO `relevant`(`speech\_id`, `topic\_id`, `relevant`) VALUES

```
($speech_id, $topic_id, $status));
```

```
?>
```

```
<script>
```

```
    window.opener = self;
```

```
    window.close();
```

```
</script>
```

```
<?php
```

```
}
```

```
else
```

```
{
```

```
    echo "<h1>HATA !!! eksik parametreler var.</h1>";
```

```
}
```

```
?>
```

Resource.functions.php

```
<?php
```

```
include "bot.functions.php";
```

```
include_once "db.config.php";
```

```
function tcb_page_links($pageNumber=0,
```

```
$basLink="https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/receptayyip Erdogan/speeches/?&page=",
```

```
$sekLink="https://www.tccb.gov.tr/"){
```

```
    $link = $basLink.$pageNumber;
```

```
    echo $link;
```

```
    $speechLinkArray = array();
```

```
    $content = getPageContent($link);
```

```
    $i = 1;
```

```
    while(true){
```

```
        $linkA = ara($content, '<dd><a href="/', '>', $i, 0);
```

```
        if($linkA=="")
```

```
            break;
```

```
        $speechLinkArray[$i] = $sekLink.$linkA;
```

```

        ++$i;

    }

    $i=1;

    return $speechLinkArray;

}

function mfa_page_links($link="http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.en.mfa?e626bae4-6615-
1813-9ab7-4d9e6c71f171"){

    $speechLinkArray = array();

    $content = getPageContent($link);

    $i =1;

    while(true){

        $linkA = ara($content, "<div class=\"sub_lstitm\"><a href=\"", "", $i, 0);

        if($linkA=="")

            break;

        $speechLinkArray[$i] = "http://www.mfa.gov.tr".$linkA;

        ++$i;

    }

    $i=1;

```

```

return $speechLinkArray;

}

function tccb_All_links($limit=5, $lang="eng")

{

    $i=1;

    $speechLinkArray = array();

    $currLinkArray = array();

    $basLink = "https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/receptayyiperdogan/speeches/?&page=";

    $sekLink = "https://www.tccb.gov.tr/";

    if ($lang == "tur"){

        $basLink = "https://www.tccb.gov.tr/receptayyiperdogan/konusmalar/?&page=";

        $sekLink = "https://www.tccb.gov.tr/";

    }

    while($i<=$limit){

        $currLinkArray = tccb_page_links($i, $basLink, $sekLink);

        $speechLinkArray = array_merge($speechLinkArray, $currLinkArray);

        ++$i;

    }

    return $speechLinkArray;

```

```

}

function tccb_get_content($link, $id){

    echo "$link<br>";

    $content = getPageContent($link);

    $title = ara($content, '<h1><span>', '</span></h1>', 1, 0);

    $content = ara($content, '<div id="divContentArea">', '</div>', 1, 0);

    $tarih = ara($content, '<h6>', '</h6>', 1, 0);

    $title = addslashes($title);

    $content = addslashes($content);

    $sql = "UPDATE `speech` SET title = '$title', content= '$content', tarih = '$tarih'
WHERE ID = $id";

    sql_insert($sql);

}

```

```

function mfa_get_content($link, $id){

    $content = getPageContent($link);

    $title = ara($content, '<title>', '</title>', 1, 0);

```

```

$content = ara($content, '<div class="info">', '<div class="social_share">', 1, 0);

$title = addslashes($title);

$content = addslashes($content);

$sql = "UPDATE `speech` SET title = '$title', content= '$content' WHERE ID =
$id";

sql_insert($sql);
}

function mfa_fetch_link_content($category_id=3){

    $sql = "Select * From speech Where title=\"\" && category_id=".$category_id;

    $data=getQueryArray($sql);

    while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($data)) {

        mfa_get_content($speech["link"], $speech["ID"]);

    }

}

```

```

function tcb_fetch_link_content($category_id=1){

    $sql = "Select * From speech Where title=\"\" && category_id=".$category_id;

    $data=getQueryArray($sql);

    while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($data)) {

        tcb_get_content($speech["link"], $speech["ID"]);

    }

}

```

TakeNote.php

<?php

include_once "header.component.php";

include_once "db.config.php";

include_once "bot.functions.php";

\$speech_id=0;

if(isset(\$_POST["speech_id"]) && isset(\$_POST["notes"])){

 sql_insert("UPDATE `speech` SET `notes`='".addslashes(\$_POST["notes"])."

WHERE ID=".\$_POST["speech_id"]);

?>

<div class="alert alert-success" role="alert">

 Kaydedildi.

```

</div>

<?php

}

if(isset($_GET["speech_id"]))

    $speech_id = $_GET["speech_id"];

if($speech_id!=0) {

    $sql = "SELECT * FROM speech WHERE ID=".$speech_id;

    $data = getQueryArray($sql);

    $topic = mysqli_fetch_array($data);

    $id = $topic[0];

    $name = $topic[1];

    $notes = $topic[10];

    ?>

    <h3>NOTES : <?=$name?></h3>

    <form method="post" action="#">

        <input type="hidden" value="<?=$id?>" name="speech_id"/>

        <input type="submit" class="btn btn-primary btn-block"

value="*****Kaydet*****">

        <textarea rows="20" cols="50" class="form-control col-xs-12"

```

```
name="notes"><?=$notes?></textarea>
```

```
    <input type="submit" class="btn btn-primary btn-block"  
value="*****Kaydet*****">
```

```
</form>
```

```
<?php
```

```
}
```



Turkce.php

```
<?php
```

```
include_once "db.config.php";
```

```
include_once "yazgi.functions.php";
```

```
$sql = "SELECT * FROM `speech` WHERE category_id=1";
```

```
$speeches = getQueryArray($sql);
```

```
while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($speeches))
```

```
{
```

```
    echo "<hr>";
```

```
    $speechText = $speech["content"];
```

```
    $speechText = karakterDegis($speechText);
```

```
    $speechText = addslashes($speechText);
```

```
    sql_insert("UPDATE `speech` SET `content`='".$speechText.'" WHERE  
ID=".$speech["ID"]);
```

```
}
```

Yazgi.functions.php

```
<?php
```

```
include_once "db.config.php";
```

```
include_once "bot.functions.php";
```

```
function keywordsToSqlQuery($keywords){
```

```
    $keywordsArr = explode( ":", $keywords);
```

```
    $searchQuery = " (";
```

```
    $i=1;
```

```
    foreach($keywordsArr as $key) {
```

```
        if(1!=$i){
```

```
            $searchQuery = $searchQuery." || ";
```

```
        }
```

```
        $searchQuery = $searchQuery."content LIKE \"%".$key."%\"";
```

```
        ++$i;
```

```
    }
```

```
    $searchQuery=$searchQuery.")";
```

```
    return $searchQuery;
```

```
}
```

```

function karakterDegis($baslik)

{

    $ara=
array("&ccedil;", "&Ccedil;", "&#287;", "&#286;", "&#305;", "&#304;", "&ouml;", "&Ouml;", "&uuml;", "&ucirc;", "&Uuml;", "&acirc;", "&rsquo;");

    $degis = array("ç", "Ç", "ğ", "Ğ", "ı", "İ", "ö", "Ö", "ü", "Ü", "ä", " ");

    $degisen= str_replace( $ara , $degis, $baslik);

    return $degisen;

}

```

```

function updateScoreAndResult($keywords, $content, $speechID){

    $content = strtolower($content);

    $result = "";

    $keywordsArr = explode( ":", $keywords);

    $score = 0;

    foreach($keywordsArr as $key) {

        $keyCount=0;

        $keyArr = explode(strtolower($key), $content);

        $keyCount = count($keyArr);
    }
}

```

```

$keyCount=$keyCount-1;

if($keyCount>0)

{

    $result = $result.$key."(".$keyCount.") ";

    $score += $keyCount;

}

}

$result = addslashes($result);

sql_insert("UPDATE `speech` SET `score`=$score,`result`=\"\$result\" WHERE
ID=$speechID");

}

function keywordUnderLiner($keywords, $content){

    $result = "";

    $keywordsArr = explode( ":", $keywords);

    $score = 0;

    foreach($keywordsArr as $key) {

        $content = str_replace(strtolower($key),"<span style=\"background-color:
#FFFF99;\">>$key</span>", $content);

    }

```

```
    return $content;  
}
```



Bot.functions.php

```
<?php
```

```
function getPageContent ($url) {
```

```
    $curl = curl_init();
```

```
    curl_setopt_array($curl, array(
```

```
        CURLOPT_URL => $url,
```

```
        CURLOPT_RETURNTRANSFER => true,
```

```
        CURLOPT_ENCODING => "",
```

```
        CURLOPT_MAXREDIRS => 10,
```

```
        CURLOPT_TIMEOUT => 0,
```

```
        CURLOPT_FOLLOWLOCATION => true,
```

```
        CURLOPT_HTTP_VERSION => CURL_HTTP_VERSION_1_1,
```

```
        CURLOPT_CUSTOMREQUEST => "GET",
```

```
        CURLOPT_HTTPHEADER => array(
```

```
            "Cookie: _cookie_tccb=s/nPL8ZamrGqdL6Ks3K8XkrzqYA0006"
```

```
        ),
```

```
    ));
```

```
    $response = curl_exec($curl);
```

```
    curl_close($curl);
```

```
    echo $response;

}

function ara($content, $bas, $bit, $basSay, $bitSay)

{

    $basA = explode($bas,$content);

    if (!array_key_exists($basSay, $basA)){

        return "";

    }

    $basB = explode($bit,$basA[$basSay]);

    if ($basB==""){

        return "";

    }

    return $basB[$bitSay];

}
```

CategoryBased.php

```
<?php

include "header.component.php";

include "db.config.php";

if(!empty($_GET['search']))

    $_SESSION["search"] = $_GET['search'];

if(!isset($_SESSION["search"]))

    $_SESSION["search"] = "regional, power";

if(isset($_GET["category_id"]))

    $category_id = $_GET["category_id"];

?>

<div class="row">

    <div class="col-md-3">

        <div class="list-group">

            <?php

                $sql = "SELECT * FROM category";

                $data = getQueryArray($sql);

                while($build = mysqli_fetch_array($data))

                {
```

```
        echo "<a href=\"index.php?category_id=$build[ID]\" class=\"list-group-item  
list-group-item-action\">$build[name]</a>";
```

```
    };
```

```
        echo "<a href=\"index.php?category_id=0\" class=\"list-group-item list-group-  
item-action\">**Sorunlu</a>";
```

```
    ?>
```

```
</div>
```

```
</div>
```

```
<div class="col-md-9">
```

```
<form action="#" method="GET">
```

```
<label for="fname">SQL Search:</label>
```

```
<input type="text" id="search" name="search"
```

```
value="<?=$_SESSION["search"]?>" size="110"><br><br>
```

```
<input type="submit" value="Ara">
```

```
</form>
```

```
<?php
```

```
$search = "";
```

```
if(isset($_SESSION["search"])){
```

```

$search = " AND ".$_SESSION["search"];

}

if(!isset($category_id))

    $sql = "SELECT * FROM speech WHERE 1=1".$search;

else if ($category_id==0)

    $sql = "SELECT * FROM speech WHERE (title=" || LENGTH(content) <=
350 || content LIKE '%Also available in the following%')".$search;

else

    $sql = "SELECT * FROM speech WHERE
category_ID=".$category_id.$search;


echo "sql : ".$sql."<br/>";

$data = getQueryArray($sql);

while($speech = mysqli_fetch_array($data))

{

    ?>

    <div class="card mb-2">

        <div class="card-body">

            <small>#<?=$speech["ID"]?></small>

```

```

<h4><?=$speech["title"]?></h4>

<p><?php

    echo strlen($speech["content"]) >= 500 ?

        substr($speech["content"], 0, 490) . ' <a target="_blank"
href="'. $speech["link"].'">[Read more]</a>' :

            $speech["content"];

    ?></p>

    source : <?php echo "<a target='_blank'
href=\"\$speech[link]\">\$speech[link]</a>";?>

</div>

</div>

<?php

}

?>

</div>

</div>

<?php

include "footer.component.php";

```

Database.sql

```
-- -----  
  
--  
  
-- Table structure for table `category`  
  
--  
  
CREATE TABLE `category` (  
  `ID` int(11) NOT NULL,  
  `name` text NOT NULL,  
  `link` text NOT NULL,  
  `lang` text NOT NULL  
  
) ENGINE=InnoDB DEFAULT CHARSET=utf8mb4;  
  
--  
  
-- Dumping data for table `category`  
  
--  
  
INSERT INTO `category` (`ID`, `name`, `link`, `lang`) VALUES  
  
(1, 'Cumhurbaşkanlığı [TUR]',  
'https://www.tccb.gov.tr/receptayyiperdogan/konusmalar/', 'tur'),  
  
(2, 'Cumhurbaşkanlığı [ENG]',  
'https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/receptayyiperdogan/speeches/', 'eng'),
```

```
(3, 'Dış İşleri [TUR]', 'http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.tr.mfa?53e304f9-73af-43b3-83b5-3b43db38d51f', 'tur'),
```

```
(4, 'Dış İşleri [ENG]', 'http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.en.mfa?e626bae4-6615-1813-9ab7-4d9e6c71f171', 'eng');
```

```
-----
```

```
--
```

```
-- Table structure for table `relevant`
```

```
--
```

```
CREATE TABLE `relevant` (
```

```
  `ID` int(11) NOT NULL,
```

```
  `speech_id` int(11) NOT NULL,
```

```
  `topic_id` int(11) NOT NULL,
```

```
  `relevant` int(11) NOT NULL
```

```
) ENGINE=InnoDB DEFAULT CHARSET=utf8mb4;
```

```
-----
```

```
--
```

```
-- Table structure for table `speech`
```

--

```
CREATE TABLE `speech` (  
  
  `ID` int(11) NOT NULL,  
  
  `title` text NOT NULL,  
  
  `content` text NOT NULL,  
  
  `date` int(11) NOT NULL,  
  
  `tarih` text NOT NULL,  
  
  `link` text NOT NULL,  
  
  `category_ID` int(11) NOT NULL,  
  
  `score` int(11) NOT NULL,  
  
  `result` text NOT NULL,  
  
  `relevant` int(11) NOT NULL,  
  
  `notes` text NOT NULL  
  
) ENGINE=InnoDB DEFAULT CHARSET=utf8mb4;
```

--

-- Table structure for table `topic`

--

```

CREATE TABLE `topic` (

  `ID` int(11) NOT NULL,

  `name` text NOT NULL,

  `keywords` text NOT NULL,

  `lang` text NOT NULL

) ENGINE=InnoDB DEFAULT CHARSET=utf8mb4;

--

-- Dumping data for table `topic`

--

INSERT INTO `topic` (`ID`, `name`, `keywords`, `lang`) VALUES

(1, 'Bastion of revolution-liberator', 'ideology:ideological:revolution:anti-
colonial:colony:ethnic:ethnicity:imperial', ''),

(2, 'Regional leader', 'superior
capabilities:tradition:region:lead:power:stability:stable:peace:conflict:nation:special:re
sponsible:responsibility:role:choice', ''),

(3, 'Regional protector',
'region:protect:threat:geography:tradition:lead:choice:power:peace:stable:stability:adja
cent', ''),

(4, 'Active independent', 'anti-bloc:
economic:economy:need:necessity:trade:expansion:expand:geography:choice:power:

```

military:commit:relation', "),

(5, 'Liberator supporter', 'anti-colonial:ideology:ideological', "),

(6, 'Anti-imperialist agent', 'ideological:ideology:threat:anti-colonial:agent:struggle:imperial:power:lead', "),

(7, 'Defender of the faith', 'threat:ideology:ideological:tradition', "),

(8, 'Mediator-integrator',
'tradition:nation:culture:cultural:ethnic:composition:involve:conflict:geography:location:balance:peace:stability:stable:reconcile:reconciliation:between:among:group', "),

(9, 'Regional-subsystem collaborator',
'economic:economy:need:necessary:belong:sense of
belonging:region:common:political:ideological:ideology:tradition:geography', "),

(10, 'Developer', 'human:concern:anticipate:development:superior economic
capabilities:economic:economy:balance:competition:compete', "),

(11, 'Bridge',
'geography:across:between:among:multi:ethnic:passive:vague:convey:message', "),

(12, 'Faithful ally', 'threat:ally:sufficient:capabilities:tradition:ideology:ideological', "),

(13, 'Independent', 'anti-bloc: anti-colonial:
economic:economy:need:threat:interest:own', "),

(14, 'Example', 'model:role:prestige:influence:international:domestic', "),

(15, 'Internal developer', 'socio-economic need:threat:foreign:involve:effort:develop',
"),

(16, 'Isolate', 'threat:sufficient:capabilities:neutral:conflict:involve:location', "),

(17, 'Protectee',
'threat:sufficient:capabilities:economic:security:interest:major:minor:power:oppress:pr
otect:dynasty:responsible:responsibility', "),

(18, 'Global system leader', 'lead:create:maintain:global:order', "),

(19, 'Regional subsystem collaborator', 'take:commit:cooperate:cooperation:build', "),

(20, 'Global system collaborator',
'take:commit:cooperate:cooperation:support:global:order', ");