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2 Constructing the Idea of Europe through Turkish Media Coverage of the 2016 EU-Turkey Refugee Deal

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Abstract: This chapter tracks how seven Turkish-language news media have covered the EU-Turkey “Refugee Deal” announced in 2016. Using media content as a lens to understand how the idea of Europe is constructed in its periphery, the study identifies themes in the portrayal of Europe, at once pictured as a place of refuge but also as an immoral bargainer betraying its own values. Engaging in the ways in which Europe and the European Union are often conflated in Turkish news media, the study shows that while Europe frequently appears as a haven of progressive values—a place of comfortable living that refugees want to reach at all cost, risking even death—the European Union is regularly represented as an unethical political entity that excludes non-white populations. As an alternative to the conventional approach used by scholars in European studies who examine non-Europeans as constructed “Others,” this research focuses on the representation of Europe from its margins by positioning the Turkish media as an actor in the shaping of a global image of Europe. Thus, this shift encourages a reconceptualization of actors in the peripheries and outside of the continent as actively contributing to the construction of a global vision of Europe.

Changing Representations of Europe

Images of Europe have been constructed by actors within the continent, but also by those located at its peripheries and outside of Europe. The very idea of Europe has developed in opposition to an “Other” when Europeans came together to fight Muslims and Ottomans and as they colonized the Americas (Chin 2017). However, the idea of a coherent European identity weakened in the course of the twentieth century, first in the aftermath of both world wars, then when the continent received large numbers of immigrants (Pagden 2002, 1). Nonetheless, the founding of the European Union revived an idea of unity, although the United Kingdom recently leaving the Union and the inconsistent responses to the “refugee crisis” among EU countries have shattered this harmonious image.

Turkey is considered to be at the margins of Europe (Keyder 1993, 2006), not only because it is geographically situated at the edge of the continent but also because it has long been construed as a proximate cultural “Other” through which a European identity

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has been formed (Robins 2003). Whether Turkey is part of the Global South or the Global North is also debated, for example by Stephen Haug (2021) who places Turkey at the boundary of the two spheres. While a member of the OECD, an organization consisting mostly of wealthy Global North countries, Turkey opposes the Global North's dominance of the world; it is "both Southern and Northern or neither Southern nor Northern" (Haug 2021, 2020). Focusing on how a European identity is constructed there brings close attention to how various actors at the margins of the continent, precisely because of their liminal position, have challenged images of Europe created at its core and thus have actively contributed to the reshaping of Europe. This chapter adds to the literature on Europeanness by placing these peripheral actors at the center of European studies. It analyzes an image of Europe constructed through the coverage of the 2016 "Refugee Deal" in the media in the Turkish-language by examining articles published in seven news sources with different political leaning between 2016 and 2018. Through a qualitative document analysis that involves a reflective thematic analysis (Morgan 2022), the chapter identifies themes related to the image of Europe. This research helps reconsider European image-building as an active, ongoing process involving actors located outside the usual center of the continent. This imagining has been produced not only in relation to the exclusion of Europe's "Others" from its imagined unity, but also in connection to how these "Others" have constructed Europe's image.

The 2016 EU-Turkey Deal

In the ten years following the start of the Syrian Civil War in 2011, 6.6 million Syrians sought refuge internationally (UNHCR n.d.). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) described this situation as "the world's largest refugee crisis in decades" (n.d.). As the crisis grew, large numbers of Syrians and other nationals fled to Turkey to in turn seek asylum in Europe. To end this flow, the European Commission established a joint action plan with Turkey in October 2015. Consequently, the European Union (EU) and the Turkish state declared in March 2016 that they had made an agreement to "end the irregular migration from Turkey to the EU" (Council of the EU 2016). According to this agreement, formally known as the "EU-Turkey Statement" and frequently referred to as the "EU-Turkey Refugee Deal," Turkey was to prevent unauthorized migration to the EU from within its territory, and the EU gained the right to send back "irregular migrants" who came through Turkey (Council of the EU 2016). In return, Turkey would receive financial assistance to sustain the lives of asylum seekers within its own borders. Moreover, Turkish citizens would benefit from certain visa liberations, and the process of Turkey's accession to the EU would be accelerated (Council of the EU 2016). On the one hand, many Europeans understood this agreement, made in the context of the "European Refugee Crisis," as a necessary step to protect European borders. On the other hand, various pro-migration activists, academics, and journalists regarded it as a "dirty deal," since the agreement aimed at keeping "unwanted migrants" outside Europe in return for monetary and political benefits to Turkey. The situation of

Syrian refugees in Turkey thus came to reflect the tension between the values framed as European values and the reality of European politics. The idealized image of Europe as a haven of human rights was indeed challenged in major ways in the aftermath of the Syrian Civil War.

Constructing the Idea of Europe

Scholars have shown that the idea of Europe has been unstable throughout its history and constantly reshaped (Chin 2017; Pagden 2002; van der Dussen and Wilson 1995). This reshaping has been evident in the ways in which the various meanings of Europeanness have been varied and contested. As Oriane Calligaro (2017) has shown, even the Council of Europe's and EU's conceptualization of European culture have been at odds. Europeanness has been celebrated as a glue binding the EU, yet the meaning of Europe is not the same for all member states. It is rather continuously negotiated (Calligaro 2013). In fact, Europeanness has been constructed from multiple perspectives, including "moral universalism, post-national universalism, cultural particularism and pragmatism" (Delanty 2002, 345). In particular, researchers have analyzed varying images of Europe in relation to the EU, describing the EU—commonly perceived to be founded on European unity—as "a fragile construction" (Guibernau 2011, 31).

There have been an array of obstacles in the creation of a coherent European identity uniting the peoples of the EU, including economic difficulties and differing opinions about the role of European "elites and the masses" (Guibernau 2011, 41). In their article comparing Bulgarian and British children's idea of Europeanness and the relationship between understandings of Europe and the EU, Slavtcheva-Petkova and Mihelj (2012) demonstrated that the meanings children attribute to Europe varied depending on their own political context. British children tended to define Europe in geographical terms rather than as a political entity and were more likely to define themselves as European than Bulgarian children were (ibid). Half a decade after Slavtcheva-Petkova and Mihelj's study, Great Britain voted to exit the EU in what came to be known as the Brexit referendum. "Anti-immigration and anti-establishment sentiments" among lower-class British citizens (Hobolt 2016, 1259) and "Britons' weak sense of European identity" (Carl et al. 2018) were identified as some of the reasons leading to the exit vote. Brexit shows that even in core EU countries, people have different understandings of Europeanness and attitudes toward the Union. As populism has been rising across Europe, the legitimacy of the EU continues to be questioned throughout the continent (McNamara 2019).

Scholars have analyzed how the idea of Europe has been negotiated in the presence of such differences and obstacles. However, Thomas Risse (2005), for example, shows that such national differences do not necessarily hinder the formation of an overarching idea of Europeanness. For him, Europeanness is rather merged into national identities. The diversity within Europe is also recognized and praised. Moreover, the "unity in diversity" discourse of the EU has been implemented to strengthen European cohesion in various projects such as the European Landscape Convention (Sassatelli 2009). The

idea of a common European heritage has also been mobilized to form a united identity (van der Waal et al. 2022). Nevertheless, scholars have warned that various constructions of Europeanness that do not take into consideration the multicultural and multiethnic composition of Europe runs the risk of manufacturing an exclusionist, white, Christian community (Amin 2004). The selectiveness of European identity-building is reflected, for example, in European memory politics (Sierp 2020). For instance, the idea of Europeanness is built on memories of “the Holocaust and National Socialism as well as Stalinism,” but Europe is reluctant to remember its colonial and imperial past (Sierp 2020, 686). However, the formation of the EU and relatedly of a European identity are, in fact, intertwined with this past. Indeed, several European states had colonies when the European Economic Community was founded (Sierp 2020, 687-688). As Aline Sierp (2020) argues, recognizing this past would not necessarily be destructive for the idea of Europe but could help build a strong “European political identity” instead (699-700). Similarly, Margriet van der Waal and colleagues (2022) ask if European heritage construction can be imagined as “a space of exchange, flow and entanglement where Europeanness is defined as inclusive and pluralistic” rather than as “an exclusive and singular identity” (163). In her article questioning how the EU has built a European identity in relation to how it differentiates itself from countries in its periphery—including Turkey—Bahar Rumelili (2004) also shows the potential for creating a European identity that differentiates itself from the Other but does not position the Other as its antinomy. Therefore, the current diversity within the EU, enhanced by a history of migration and Europe’s relationships with actors outside of its core, makes analyzing constructions of the idea of Europe at its margins a fruitful task.

Researching the 2016 EU-Turkey Deal

When examining various aspects of the Refugee Deal, scholars have analyzed the legal basis and implications of the agreement (Lehner 2019), its effects on EU-Turkey relations (Paçacı Elitok 2019), its utilization in international politics (Demiryontar 2021), and the validity of framing Turkey as a “Safe Third Country” where refugees can be resettled (Şimşek 2017). Anchored in but shifting the focus away from this legal and political framework, this chapter builds on media analysis scholarship to analyze how the deal has been covered in the Turkish media and understand how the idea of Europe has been constructed in its periphery through this coverage. Scholars have analyzed media representations to unearth how social issues have been shaped by the media, which themselves reproduce or challenge existing power relations. Indeed, the production and reception of media discourses are situated in their political, material, and social contexts (Hall 2006). Within media representation studies, the way migrants and migration policies have been represented has drawn particular attention (Bradimore and Bauder 2012; Danso and McDonald 2001; Fryberg et al. 2017; Gale 2004; Kavaklı 2018; KhosraviNik 2009; Musolff 2015). While these representations stem from the public’s attitudes toward migrants and official policies, they also in turn influence attitudes

and regulations (Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart 2009; Fryberg et al. 2017; Kavaklı 2018; Poynting et al. 2001) in a feedback loop effect. While past studies have mostly concentrated on the effects of media representations in the very country in which these media are based, this chapter goes an extra step to focus instead on how representations in the Turkish media have challenged certain understandings of Europe and contributed to the reformulation of the idea of Europe generally and elsewhere.

Researchers have analyzed the media coverage of the 2016 EU-Turkey Deal in different contexts. Futák-Campbell and Pütz (2021), for example, point to the changing discourses about refugees in German media to explain Germany's shift from a willingness to receive Syrian asylum seekers at the beginning of the crisis to its approval of the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal, which limits the number of asylum seekers accessing Germany. Kavaklı (2018) examined how the agreement between the EU and Turkey has been covered in the Turkish online press by analyzing what prominent "actors" and "frames" appeared in three popular Turkish newspapers within four months of the EU-Turkey Statement (266). For Kavaklı (2018), the deal has been framed in terms of:

1. "Visa liberation," which has been promised to Turkey by the EU;
2. The idea that the deal did not adequately help refugees;
3. Legal and ethical problems inherent to the agreement;
4. The idea that the agreement was harmful to Turkey; and
5. The difficulty of implementing the agreement.

Thus, Kavaklı's study shows the framing of the deal in relation to its effects on refugees and on Turkey. These studies have anticipated that media discourses shape public opinion and policy-making and contribute to understanding the specific ways in which the media influence the political climate. This chapter utilizes this scholarship but shifts the focus to consider media coverage as a site where an image of Europe is created.

Turkish Media Coverage of the 2016 EU-Turkey Deal

Drawing on Turkish-language media products published between 2016 and 2018, this research identifies themes in articles produced before and after the declaration of the deal in March 2016. The selected media are wide-ranging in terms of political leaning, whether on the left, in the center, or on the right. This choice gives rise to a wide range of perspectives:

1. *Cumhuriyet* is a long-established newspaper founded in 1924 that is read by a secular audience and is known for its oppositional columnists and news pieces (Mert Elmas and Paksoy 2020, 187; İnce and Koçak 2018, 1976);
2. *Diken* is an independent online "non-mainstream critical news outlet" (Ertuna 2023, 545) whose name literally means "thorn." Its founder describes the mission of the journal as "being the thorn in the [Turkish] media" (Simavi n.d.);

3. *NTV.com.tr* is a private (Doğuş Media Group) news website owned by the TV channel NTV. It is one of the most visited news websites in Turkey, with almost 10 million visitors per month in 2018 (Alp and Turan 2018, 9);
4. *Sabah* is a privately owned (Turkuvaz Holding) newspaper, known to have close ties to the Turkish government (Mert Elmas and Paksoy 2020, 187; İnce and Koçak 2018, 1976);
5. *Sözcü* is a privately owned (Estetik Yayıncılık A.Ş. [joint stock company]), nationalist-leaning newspaper that is one of the most widely read newspapers in Turkey and publishes some oppositional news pieces (Mert Elmas and Paksoy 2020, 187; İnce and Koçak 2018, 1976);
6. *Habertürk.com* is a privately owned (Ciner Group) internet news medium connected to a TV channel; and
7. *T24* is an independent online “non-mainstream critical news outlet” (Ertuna 2023, 545).

For each source, I conducted online searches using keywords in Turkish that included the name of the news source along with the following words and phrases: “European Union,” “refugee,” and “agreement.” Included in the study were 46 online news and opinion pieces from *Cumhuriyet*, 67 from *Diken*, 25 from *NTV.com.tr*, 29 from *Sabah*, 58 from *Sözcü*, 24 from *Habertürk.com*, and 73 from *T24*, all published between 2016 and 2018. Placing the articles in relation to the socio-political context of publication, recurring themes were identified. This qualitative method, based on the interpretation of the researcher, is advantageous in this case in that it provides a deep understanding of the texts in relation to the context in which they were produced. Different lenses can be used to address the emerging conceptualizations of Europe in this media coverage, such as disunity and inconsistency in Europe, as reflected in the multiplicity of opinions among Europeans regarding the agreement at stake and the changes in European policy toward migrants. Michael Patton (1990) places interpretation, and thus the creation of meaning, at the center of qualitative analysis. He points to the role of qualitative studies in going beyond exploring an issue and “extending and deepening the theoretical propositions and understandings that have emerged from previous field studies” (193-194). Using a qualitative approach to document analysis and utilizing reflexivity to identify themes, I did not start with pre-existing codes in mind but let the themes emerge as I read the documents closely and repeatedly (Morgan 2022, 73). I concentrated on the content that portrayed Europe, using interpretation and “subjectivity [of the researcher as] a resource” (Morgan 2022, 73). In this study, only articles that went beyond factual information and instead reported an assessment of or provided an evaluation of the agreement were analyzed to unveil how the media treated 1) the role of both the European Union and Turkey in finalizing the deal and 2) the consequences of the deal for Europe, Turkey, and displaced populations. Several themes emerged:

1. Europe as a destination;
2. The agreement between Turkey and the EU as immoral “bargaining;” and
3. Betrayed “European values.”

Europe as a Destination Continent

The theme of fleeing to Europe emerged frequently in conjunction with the conceptualization of Europe as a continent that asylum seekers want to reach even at the risk of death. For example, an article on the news website of the TV channel connected to *NTV* (2017a) published after the deal was signed explained that asylum seekers found alternative ways to reach Europe, such as the maritime route from North Africa to Italy and Spain. While the article referred to a “journey to hope,” it also mentioned that the agreement had made it difficult for all asylum seekers to flee to Europe through Turkey. The news source *Diken* often formulated its headlines to convey asylum seekers’ unwillingness to be held in Turkey and their demand to stay within European countries: “Refugees are in resistance: no to Turkey!” (Diken 2016a). The rejection of the EU-Turkey deal was a recurrent theme in *Diken* as well. For instance, one article (Diken 2016b) featured powerful imagery by the Demirören News Agency and information previously conveyed by the British Daily Telegraph to describe how one Afghan and two Pakistani asylum seekers had filed a complaint with the European Court of Justice asking to invalidate the agreement between Turkey and the EU. One photo in particular showed children and protesters holding banners written in English:

- “Don’t send back to Turkey;”
- “Help us no back to Turkey;”
- “We want not war;”
- “Freedom;”
- “No Turkey;” and
- “Better to die here than go back to Turkey” (Diken 2016b).

In yet another picture, readers saw a close-up of a sleeping baby wearing a hat where the words “no Turkey” appeared (Diken 2016b).

The EU as an Immoral Bargainer

After meeting with representatives of the EU in Brussels to discuss the agreement, the Turkish Prime Minister at the time, Ahmet Davutoğlu, stated that the agreement constituted a “Kayserian bargain” (Cumhuriyet 2016a). This expression refers to the Turkish city of Kayseri, a place where traders bargained over merchandise historically. This vocabulary suggested that the Turkish team had gotten what they wanted after

skillful negotiations—possibly at the expense of the interests of the EU. Hence, following Davutoğlu's comment, the Turkish media frequently defined the negotiations leading to the EU-Turkey Statement as a “bargain-making” endeavor (*pazarlık*). However, in contrast to Davutoğlu's praise about the negotiations, opposition media have used that same phrase to criticize the agreement and suggest that the EU in fact had the upper hand over Turkey and that the deal was nothing more than a “bargain for embarrassment” (Cumhuriyet 2016b). Other media also deployed the phrase to point to the unequal power relationship between Turkey and the EU in the deal-making process. The negotiations have been described as resulting from Turkey having the “courage of ignorance,” and a journalist insisted that the real bargainer from Kayseri was in fact Brussels (Topçu 2016). The media have also discussed how this unequal relationship played out in the outcomes of the negotiations. *Sözcü*, for example, published an interview with Şükrü Elekdağ, a Turkish politician and former diplomat, in which he warned of the difficulties awaiting Turkey as a consequence of the agreement (Dündar 2016). In particular, the politician evoked that the funds the EU is to pay to Turkey would not suffice to manage a refugee flow of about 3 million Syrians into Turkey. Moreover, the promises made by the EU, such as visa exceptions for Turkish people, have also been described as extremely difficult to fulfill, if not impossible (Dündar 2016).

The immoral position of the EU has also been noted in terms of the exclusionary consequences on non-white populations. Elekdağ even compared the current situation to the Nazi era. He conceived of the deal as “the relapse of the abhorrent European disease called racism” and likened “the hatred towards Muslims and Turks in Germany” to “the [hatred] against Jews during the Nazi era” (Dündar 2016). Thus, Elekdağ presented the deal not only as a political decision but as a symptom of racism that prevented Syrians—mostly non-white and Muslim—from leaving Turkey and kept them at bay at the borders of the EU. The media cited international experts who found the agreement to be unlawful, such as Elizabeth Ferris (from Georgetown University), who referred to the agreement as a fiasco violating the law and an illustration of Ankara's and Berlin's failing morality (T24 2016). Likewise, *Habertürk* cited Amnesty International Refugee Rights coordinator Volkan Görendağ, who posited that the deportation of refugees back to Turkey was unlawful (Timurhan 2016).

Betraying “European Values”

The Turkish news media have focused on how the Turkey-EU Deal has challenged the loyalty of the EU towards its own foundational principles, which are frequently framed as “European values,” including in the fields of refugee rights and legal ethics. *Cumhuriyet* cited Turkey's then main opposition leader, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, who declared that not only did the agreement turned Turkey into a buffer zone, but that it also caused Europe to violate “its own values and rules” (Cumhuriyet 2016c). An article on *NTV* (2017b) drew on the Turkish version of the German news outlet *Deutsche Welle* to cover discussions about a planned agreement between Libya and the EU, comparing it to the EU-Turkey

Deal and citing the suggestion of Oxfam, a collection of charity organizations fighting poverty, that such an agreement would contradict “the core values of Europe” (NTV 2017b). *Sabah* mentioned that a member of the European Parliament for Portugal, Ana Gomes, said that, as a European, she felt “ashamed of the EU’s refugee policy” and that the way in which the EU had handled the crisis “betrayed Europe’s foundational values” (Sabah 2018).

A Self-Contradicting Europe

In its review of articles produced by media outside the EU about the Turkey-EU refugee agreement, this chapter reveals how a certain image of Europe has been constructed that both reinforces and contradicts the idealization of the continent as a defender of human rights. News coverage about asylum seekers trying to flee to European countries presents Europe as a place to be. Yet, in discussions regarding “European values,” Turkish-language media tend to construct the EU as ambivalent and inconsistent. The reluctance of the EU to let asylum seekers come to Europe through legal means and to protect their rights, as well as the failure of the EU’s bureaucracy to fulfill its obligations toward Turkey, were frequently used to criticize the EU for not upholding European values.

The Turkish media showed how the EU in fact had betrayed its own values, echoing news pieces about the “bargain” to depict the negotiations leading up to the agreement. In the deal-making process, the EU appeared on the one hand to neglect the rights of asylum seekers and on the other hand to mislead Turkey in believing that it would benefit from the deal. As a consequence, critical journalists have presented the agreement as antithetical to the image of Europe as a champion of human rights. However, at the same time as these Turkish media condemned EU policies, they also supported the ideals of Europeanness. These two facets in media coverage demonstrated not only that the idea of “Europe” and the EU have become intertwined but also that Europe has emerged as an idealized haven for human rights that fails its own ideals in practice. In contrast, Turkey was shown to embody some of these ideals because it has protected refugee rights and hosted the largest number of asylum seekers in the world. Thus, although people have regularly risked their lives to reach Europe as a place to build a good life, the continent has also been associated with immorality and deceitfulness.

The liminal position Turkey holds in relation to Europe enables such ambivalent depictions. As scholars have shown (Ahiska 2003; Ahiska 2010; Heper 2006; Keyder 1993; Rumelili 2008), Turkey’s identity has been constructed and negotiated in relation to Europe both as it has striven to be a part of Europe and as it has sought to differentiate itself from Europe. Even as the contours of Turkey’s Otherness in relation to Europe have been continuously reconstructed in relation to political developments (Ertuğrul and Yılmaz 2017), this position remains a defining feature of the relationship between the two entities. That Europe is both an object of desire and of criticism is reflected in the Turkish media’s simultaneous praise for European values and criticism of the EU for not upholding these values. A similar ambivalence exists towards the deal in the European

media. For example, in their analysis of the coverage of the refugee crisis in the Greek, German, and British press, Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016) find that the 2016 EU-Turkey Deal was one of the leading topics in European media in 2016 and show that the interpretation of the deal as a necessary agreement indicates skepticism against Turkey in relation to whether the agreement will actually be implemented. Similar to the way the deal was covered in the Turkish media, in the European press the deal was often framed as “controversial,” and its legal basis was questioned (Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti 2016, 273-275). Sharp criticisms of European migration politics similar to those in the Turkish-language coverage of the deal can be found in European media as well. *Deutsche Welle*, for example, quoted Imogen Sudbury from the International Rescue Committee labelling the deal as “a stain on EU rights record” (Wesel 2021). The Turkish case shows how such globally echoing criticisms of EU migration policy were constructed in the periphery of Europe through local frameworks such as the expression of “bargaining.” This critical depiction from the margins of Europe helped emphasize the transactional nature of the agreement and provided a critical approach to the deal.

Constructing the Idea of Europe from its Periphery

When referring to the “Refugee Deal,” the Turkish-language news media have constructed Europe as a place where human rights are at once protected and violated, also framing the negotiation process as “a bargain” in which both sides have neglected the rights of the displaced. Europe has been depicted as having failed its idealized image and humanistic principles. Due to its bureaucratic inefficiency, the EU has been described as lacking adequate planning in implementing the agreement, while Turkey has been portrayed as having been deceived by a seemingly cunning EU, for example when it comes to the level of compensation it would receive, which many in the Turkish media deemed to be insufficient in return for such large sacrifices.

The ways in which Europe has been defined from its periphery demonstrates not only that the very idea of Europeanness is not static but also that its core is challenged precisely by its periphery. Indeed, this conceptualization of what it means to be “European” shifts according to different perceptions of Europe, and these perceptions are influenced by the political contexts from which they emanate. Turks have long been perceived as “Other” in Europe, and this perception has helped Europeans unite. Turkey applied for EU membership in 1987, but the process has still not reached a conclusion. In effect, Europe has excluded Turkey institutionally and discursively, although it remains a candidate for EU membership. Yet, from its peripheral position, Turkey has induced some questioning and shaping of the very idea of Europe (Morozow and Rumelili 2012), challenging various assumed binaries such as Global South/Global North, East/West, and center/periphery. The critical coverage of the 2016 Turkey-EU Deal by Turkish language-media parallels Turkey’s role as an external challenger of Europe in the political arena (Aydın-Düzgit and Noutcheva 2022). Turkey has, for example, questioned the legitimacy of European political presence in Africa and the Balkans on ethical grounds (Aydın-Düzgit and Noutcheva 2022, 1824).

Turkey's peripheral position might well be the source of its ability to pose such challenges. Contrasting with the institutional memory politics of the EU that is shaped by an amnesia of the colonial and imperial past of Europe (Sierp 2020), Turkey recalls Europe's colonial history as it disputes European politics (Aydın-Düzgüt and Noutcheva 2022). Such voices from the margins of Europe could help reevaluate the idea of Europe and whether an inclusive Europeanness can be imagined that does not build itself on imagining the actors outside of its core as potential threats (Rumelili 2004).

Note: All translations from Turkish are by the author.

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