**Conflicts and Cultures in Contemporary Turkey**

SA.860.823

Spring 2022

Johns Hopkins University SAIS

**Prof. Lisel Hintz**

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Class meetings: Tuesdays 2:00–4:30 in Nitze 517

Office Hours: Mondays 2:00–5:00pm and by appointment in #523 Rome and on Zoom

Zoom office hours room: https://jh.zoom.us/j/2026635795

In this course we take a deep dive into many of Turkey’s domestic and regional conflicts to understand the issues at stake, actors involved, and power dynamics at play. We focus on cases in the contemporary era of the Justice and Development Party’s (AKP) governance since 2002, but draw from legacies including Ottoman rule and collapse, Turkey’s Cold War experience as a NATO member, impacts of military coups that targeted perceived leftist and Islamist threats, and spillover effects of the first Gulf War on Turkey’s Kurdish issues. While we examine so-called cultural conflicts shaped by struggles over identities both within Turkey and in foreign policy – the role of Islam in politics, campaigns against gender violence, competing nationalisms in the Eastern Mediterranean, clashes with Israel and alignment with Muslim Brotherhood actors – we gain unique, nuanced, local perspectives on these struggles by viewing them through the lens of popular culture.

During the course we acquire tools for considering the traditional stuff of conflicts in various forms but do so in part through the vernacular forums of films, TV, music, novels, and sports, rather than solely through academic articles and media reports. In other words, we consider pop culture as a nontraditional data source, as an empirical window onto vibrant debates we otherwise wouldn't be able to access, especially when studying them in a US-based institution. These forms of pop culture are by definition entertaining ways to consider a country’s domestic and regional conflicts, but they also serve as effective tools of waging struggles against rivals. Take Saudi Arabia and UAE’s response to Turkey’s support of Qatar during the Gulf Cooperation Council Crisis: wildly popular soap operas that are a lucrative export for Turkey were banned from Saudi airwaves and the two Gulf states collaborated to produce a historical drama that would “counter Ottoman tyranny.” Or consider the role supporters of Istanbul’s Beşiktaş soccer club played in sustaining the 2013 Gezi Park Protests, using their highly mobilized fan networks and experience in clashing with rivals in the stands to defend the park’s peaceful protesters against police crackdown. Or how the Ministry of National Defense uses music videos to sell Turkey’s naval activity in the Eastern Mediterranean and military incursions in Syria to domestic publics. Or how rap artists incorporated scenes and sounds of everyday life to critique issues from youth unemployment to corruption to environmental destruction. Political actors at the highest levels clearly take the power of pop culture seriously. As students seeking deeply informed, multi-faceted, policy-relevant expertise in Turkey’s internal and external conflicts, we will as well.

**Student Learning Outcomes**

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

\*Gain empirical knowledge of key issues in Turkish politics and society including the Kurdish conflict, various coups, and foreign policy initiatives

\*Gain understanding of how political and economic factors shape news, social, and entertainment media production and regulation in Turkey – and vice versa

\*Critically evaluate the role of popular culture materials as an alternative perspective on politics and society to academic and news sources

\*Demonstrate the policy relevance of using pop culture as a lens onto politics

\*Synthesize facts and arguments across class readings in order to reason critically and argue creatively in class discussions and in written assignments

\*Conduct in-depth research on an original topic relating to Turkey’s politics and societies using pop culture as either research tool or subject of research

\*Design, research, and write a well-sourced analysis of 3,000 words

**Methods of Assessment**

**1. Attendance and Participation (30%):**

To facilitate productive discussion and active learning, students are expected to attend all classes; students with more than one unexcused absence will receive an automatic deduction in their participation grade. Students are expected to have at least skimmed all readings and other materials and come prepared with questions, critiques, and topics for discussion. Students are also expected to familiarize themselves with topical events involving issues of pop culture and politics in the global context to become aware of how frequently and powerfully the two intersect. We will begin each class with a 10-15 minute “**Current Events Round-Up**” discussion to facilitate this (details provided in class). Students will be assessed based on the level and quality of their participation throughout the term.

**2. 1,500-word Short Response (20%):** **Due Sunday, February 27 by 10pm**

Students will write a short paper responding to a prompt provided by the professor that engages the main themes covered in the first five weeks of class. Students must ground their response in **class material** and reference sources accordingly. Grammar, structure, and the student’s ability to articulate ideas clearly factor highly into the grade. Written feedback will be provided for these short essays to assist students in preparing for their final analytical essay.

**3. 1,000-word Culture-As-Data Exercise (20%): Due Sunday, March 20 by 10pm**

Students will read several academic articles, watch a film, and read a novel excerpt, all of which center around a key inflection point in Turkey’s politics and society: the 1980 coup. Students’ papers should consider how the two cultural works reflect the coup and the violence leading up to it differently than the academic sources they read. Papers should include direct quotes from both academic and pop culture materials assigned, using page numbers for written sources. They should also assess why this event may be designated as a particular inflection point in Turkey’s political history.

**4. Analytical Essay of 3,000 words (30%):** **Due Sunday, May 8 by 10pm**

The analytical essay provides students with the opportunity to explore in depth an issue related to Turkey’s domestic politics and/or foreign policy that is of particular interest to them, develop an argument, and present evidence in support of that argument. The paper **must incorporate some form of media** – news, social, and/or entertainment media – in either the topic of study or the research method used to analyze that topic. Whatever the topic, the paper must have a **clear research question** and **must be analytical**, in that it presents a well-reasoned argument and includes appropriate supporting evidence that is correctly cited; a paper that only contains description will not receive a top grade. The paper should show strong research and critical thinking skills, **include course material**, be well written in terms of grammar and structure, and include full citations. Students should meet with Prof. Hintz during the term to discuss their intended topics.

**Late Work Policy**

Deadlines for written work should be taken very seriously. Assignments turned in late will lose a third of a grade for each day they are late (e.g. B+ >>> B). Extensions will only be granted in case of emergency. Please discuss any concerns you have with Prof. Hintz **AHEAD OF TIME**.

**Honor Code**

Refer to Johns Hopkins SAIS Students and Academic Handbook (Red Book) for the rules, guidelines and procedures that must be followed in accordance with our Honor Code.

**Statement for Students with Disabilities**

We welcome students, faculty, staff, and visitors with disabilities and are committed to providing an accommodating environment on our campuses. Student Disability Services representatives can advise you on services and accommodations, including taking notes, sign language interpreters, physical access, and assistive technology. They are here to make sure you get the support you need to be successful.

### University Statement on Equal Opportunity

### Johns Hopkins University does not discriminate on the basis of gender, marital status, pregnancy, race, color, ethnicity, national origin, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, veteran status or other legally protected characteristic in any student program, activity administered by the university, admission, or employment.

**Technology in the Classroom**

To reduce distractions for all students and provide the most productive learning

environment possible, the use of cell phones will not be permitted during class without permission from the instructor. Unless it is a case of special circumstances, all cell phones **must** be switched off for the duration of class and kept out of reach.

**Class Material**

Readings for the class will consist of a mixture of academic articles, news and op-ed pieces, and works of pop culture such as films, music videos, and novels. Some of the academic and news sources are provided as case study background – but should not be considered objective “truth” – while others are pop culture studies of political phenomena themselves. Readings will be posted on Blackboard. Readings may be subject to change within appropriate notice. It is crucial the students review all materials before coming to class.

**Note on Films and TV Episodes**

Some films and TV episodes on the syllabus may have free access via JHU. For others, use the linked film title to see options for free or fee-based streaming. In some cases, you may have a personal streamer account (e.g., Netflix) that allows you to stream for free. In others, you may need to pay a small free to stream (via YouTube, etc). Please contact Prof. Hintz if you have any difficulty accessing the content.

**Part I: Politics of Conflict from a Culture Perspective**

**Week 1, January 25:**

**Introduction: Turkey through Multiple Lenses**

**Read:**

Congressional Research Service, “Turkey: Background and US Relations in Brief,” 17 December 2021: <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/mideast/R44000.pdf>.

Center for American Progress, “Flashpoints in US-Turkish Relations in 2021,” 19 January 2021: https://www.americanprogress.org/article/flashpoints-u-s-turkey-relations-2021/.

Lisel Hintz, “Reading Turkish Politics from a Soap Opera,” *Foreign Policy*, 7 December 2012.

Amberin Zaman, “Turkey’s Belly Dancers Can’t Shake Government Censors,” *Al-Monitor*, 22 December 2021.

John Fiske, *Reading the Popular* 2nd Edition (Routledge, 2010), Chapter 1.

John Street, Sanna Inthorn, and Martin Scott, *From Entertainment to Culture: Politics and Pop Culture* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2013), Chapter 2.

**Watch:**

*Kismet: How Turkish Soap Operas Changed the World*, directed by Nina Maria Paschalidou (2014): https://www.aljazeera.com/program/witness/2014/1/15/kismet-how-soap-operas-changed-the-world.

**Week 2, February 1:**

**Politics and Political Economy of Media in Turkey**

**Read:**

Berk Esen and Şebnem Gümüşçü, “Building a Competitive Authoritarian Regime: State-Business Relations in the AKP’s Turkey,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies,* Vol. 20, No. 4, 2018.

Bilge Yeşil, “Authoritarian Turn or Continuity? Governance of Media through Capture and Discipline in the AKP Era,” *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2018.

Yeşim Kaptan and Gökçen Karanfil, “RTÜK, Broadcasting, and the Middle East: Regulating the Transnational,” *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 7, 2013.

Ergin Bulut, “Social Media and the Nation State: Of Revolution and Collaboration,” *Media, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 2016.

Zeynep Tüfekçi, “Censorship and Attention,” Ch 2 in *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest* (Yale University Press, 2017).

**Week 3, February 8:**

**Television in Nation-Building**

**Read:**

Lila Abu-Lughod, *Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt* (University of Chicago Press, 2008), Ch. 1.

Hikmet Kocamaner, “Strengthening the Family through Television: Islamic Broadcasting, Secularism, and the Politics of Responsibility in Turkey,” *Anthropological Quarterly, Vol*. 90, No. 3, 2017.

Burak Özçetin, “‘The Show of the People’ Against the Cultural Elites: Populism, Media, and Popular Culture in Turkey,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 5/6, 2019.

Kumru Berfin Emre Çetin, “Communicative Ethnocide and Alevi Television in the Turkish Context,” *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 40, No. 7, 2018.

Ulaş Başar Gezgin, “To Ban or Not to Ban? The Mass Media Ethics of Marriage Programs in Turkey,” *Journal of Media Critiques*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 2018.

Nazlan Ertan, “Turkey’s Religious Agency Plans to Launch Children’s TV Channel,” *Al-Monitor*, 13 June 2021.

**Watch:**

*Diriliş: Ertuğrul* (*Resurrection: Ertuğrul)*, Episode 9: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dnZcS74eg5U.

**Week 4, February 15:**

**Music and the Politics of Resistance**

**Read:**

Theresa Martinez, “Popular Culture and Oppositional Culture: Rap as Resistance,” *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 1997.

Lisel Hintz, “The Empire’s Opposition Strikes Back: Popular Culture as Creative Resistance Tool under Turkey’s AKP,” *British Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2021.

Lyndon Way, “Protest Music, Populism, Politics and Authenticity: The Limits and Potential of Popular Music’s Articulation of Subversive Politics,” *Journal of Language and Politics*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 2016.

Alev Kuruoğlu and Wendelmoet Hamelink, “Sounds of Resistance: Performing the Political in the Kurdish Music Scene,” in Leonidas Karakatsanis and Nikolaos Papadogiannis (eds.) *The Politics of Culture in Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus* (Routledge 2017).

Martin Stokes, “Islam, the State, and *Arabesk*,” *Popular Music*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1992.

**Watch:**

“Everyday [sic] I’m Capuling,” YouTube video, 5 June 2013: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PLt-YfBZj3c.

*Susamam* (“I Can’t Stay Silent”) by Şanışer: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L5K3IxINr7A&feature=youtu.be>;

*Olay* (“Incident”) by Ezhel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LkM60aTEl0U&feature=youtu.be>

**Week 5, February 22**

**Foreign Policy: “Soft Power,” Popular Geopolitics, and Identity Battles**

**Read:**

Burcu Sarı Karademir, “Turkey as a ‘Willing Receiver’ of American Soft Power: Hollywood Movies in Turkey during the Cold War,” *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 2012.

Lerna Yanık, “Valley of the Wolves Iraq: Anti-Geopolitics Alla Turca,” *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication,* Vol. 2, 2009.

Nesibe Hicret Battaloğlu, “The Gulf Crisis: Turkey’s Soft Power in the Gulf,” in M. Zweiri, M. M. Rahman, and A. Kamal (eds.), *The 2017 Gulf Crisis*, Gulf Studies, Vol. 3, Springer Singapore, 2021.

Omar Al-Ghazzi and Marwan Kraidy, “Neo-Ottoman Cool 2: Turkish Nation Branding and Arabic-Language Transnational Broadcasting,” *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 7, 2013.

Miyase Christensen and Christian Christensen, “The After-Life of Eurovision 3003: Turkish and European Social Imaginaries and Ephemeral Communicative Space,” *Popular Communication*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2008.

**Watch:**

Sertab Erener, “Everyway [sic] That I Can,” Eurovision winning performance, 2003: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m3i4S4E7h3I.

**Week 6, March 1**

**Soccer: Arena of Conflict or Conflict Resolution?**

**Read:**

John McManus, *Welcome to Hell? In Search of the Real Turkish Football London* (UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2018), Ch 3 “Reis,” read **only** pp. 66–81.

James Dorsey, *The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), Introduction and Ch. 3, (in Ch. 3 read **only** pp. 114–148).

Sabine Waas, “Failure of Integration or Symbol of Racism? The Case of Soccer Star Mesut Özil,” *International Migration*, online, 2021.

Jean-Francois Polo, “Turkish Sports Diplomacy in the Service of Renewed Power?” *European Journal of Turkish Relations*, Vol. 21, 2015.

Meline Toumani, *There Was and There Was Not* (Metropolitan Books, 2014), Ch 20 (“Soccer Diplomacy”).

*Economist*, “Believe, Boys, Believe: In Turkey Football is an Outlet for Dissent,” 31 January 2019.

**Part II: Issues in Focus**

**Week 7, March 8:**

**1970s Violence and the 1980 Coup**

**Read:**

Selin Bengi Gümrükçü, “Ideology, Discourse, and Alliance Structures: Explaining Far-Right Political Violence in Turkey in the 1970s,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2021.

Betül Urhan and Seydi Çelik, “Perceptions of ‘National Security’ in Turkey and their Impacts on the Labor Movement and Trade Union Activities,” *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 11, 2010.

Emrah Güler, “1980 Coup, in the Eyes of Filmmakers,” *Hürriyet Daily News*, 10 September 2012: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/1980-coup-in-the-eyes-of-filmmakers-29716.

Ece Temelkuran, *Time of Mute Swans* (Arcade Publishing, 2015), Chs 14–15 (pp. 309-347).

**Watch:**

*Babam ve Oğlum* (*My Father and My Son*), directed by Çağan Irmak, 2005: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wNC7rdAc8kQ>.

**Week 8, March 15:**

**Kurdish Conflict**

**Read:**

Mesut Yeğen, “‘Prospective Turks’ or ‘Pseudo-Citizens’: Kurds in Turkey,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 63, No. 4, 2009.

Harun Ercan, “Is Hope More Precious than Victory? The Failed Peace Process and Urban Warfare in the Kurdish Region of Turkey,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 118, No. 1, 2019.

Dilan Okçuoğlu, “The Kurdish Movement in Turkey: Understanding Everyday Perceptions and Experiences,” in Güneş Murat Tezcür (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*, online, 2021.

Ece Algan, “Local Broadcasting as Tactical Media: Exploring Practices of Kurdish Activism and Journalism in Turkey,” *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, Vol. 12, 2019.

Suncem Koçer, “Kurdish Cinema as a Transnational Discourse Genre: Cinematic Visibility, Cultural Resilience, and Political Agency,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 2014.

Sibel Hürtaş, “Jailed Kurdish Leader Keeps in Touch with Supporters through Arts, Literature,” *Al-Monitor*, 13 October 2017.

“Free Zehra Doğan,” VoiceProject.org: <http://voiceproject.org/takeaction/free-zehra-dogan/>.

**Watch:**

**Trailer** for *Ji Bo Azadiyê* (*The End Will Be Spectacular*), directed by Ersin Çelik, 2019: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=icwqiYys7ak>.

**Week 9, March 22**

**Spring Break**

**Week 10, March 29**

**Gender Politics and Violence in New Turkey**

**Read:**

Deniz Kandiyoti, “Locating the Politics of Gender: Patriarchy, Neoliberal Governance, and Violence in Turkey,” *Research and Policy on Turkey*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2016.

Berfin Emre Çetin, *The Paramilitary Hero on Turkish Television: A Case Study on Valley of the Wolves* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), Ch. 6 (read pp. 120-42, skim rest of chapter).

Gökhan Gökulu, “Representation of Sexual Violence in Turkish Cinema and Television Series,” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2013.

Christine Ogan and Özen Baş, “Women’s Rights and Gender Equality in Turkey: Use of Social Media in the Struggle Surrounding Violence Against Turkish Women,” *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 14, 2020.

Laura Neumann, “‘We Will Be Heard: How the Women of Turkey Are Fighting for Their Rights,” *Middle East Eye*, 22 December 2018.

“Turkey’s Educational Authorities Cancel Gender Equality Programmes,” *Ahval News*, 23 February 2019: https://ahvalnews-com.cdn.ampproject.org/c/s/ahvalnews.com/node/40045?amp.

**Listen:** “‘We Don’t Want to Die’: Women in Turkey Decrie Rise in Violence and Killings,” *NPR Morning Edition*, 15 September 2019: <https://www.npr.org/2019/09/15/760135010/we-dont-want-to-die-women-in-turkey-decry-rise-in-violence-and-killings>

**Watch:**

*Mustang*, directed by Deniz Gamze Ergüven, 2015: <https://jhu.kanopy.com/video/mustang-0>

**Rewatch:**

*Susamam* (“I Can’t Stay Silent”) by Şanışer: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L5K3IxINr7A&feature=youtu.be>;

**Week 11, April 5**

**Ottoman Legacies, Jewish Minority, and Conflict with Israel**

**Read:**

Rifat Bali, “Anti-Semitism in Turkey: A New Phenomenon or More of the Same?” in Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat and Lawrence H. Schiffman (eds.) *Confronting Antisemitism in Modern Media, the Legal and Political Worlds* (De Gruyter 2021).

Jay Sekulow, “Turkey-Israel Relations,” M.G. Robertson Global Centre for Law and Public Policy Research, 2016: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2719941.

Deepa Prakash and Aslı Ilgıt, “More Than a Feeling: Emotional Responses to International Criticism in Erdoğan’s Turkey,” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 2016.

Lisel Hintz, *Identity Politics Inside Out: National Identity Contestation and Foreign Policy in Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 2018), Ch. 6.

Sabri Çiftçi, “Soft Power, Domestic Dividends, and Turkish Foreign Policy,” in Tayyar Ari (ed.) Inter-State and Intra-state Conflict in Global Politics: From Eurasia to China (Lexington Books, 2021).

Umar Farooq, “Netflix ‘The Club’ Connects Mainstream Turkey to Jewish Heritage,” *Al Jazeera*, 19 November 2021.

**Watch:**

*Kulüp* (*The Club*), directed by Zeynep Günay and Seren Yüce, Episode 1, available on Netflix.

**Week 12, April 12**

**Ottoman Legacies, Christian Minorities, and Eastern Mediterranean Conflicts**

**Read:**

Michael Tanchum, “How Did the Eastern Mediterranean Become the Eye of a Geopolitical Storm?” *Foreign Policy*, 18 August 2020.

Tuna Kuyucu, “Ethno-Religious Un-Mixing of Turkey: 6–7 September Riots as a Case in Turkish Nationalism,” *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 2005.

Kıvanç Ulusoy, “The Cyprus Conflict: Turkey’s Strategic Dilemma,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 2016.

Tunç Aybak, “Geopolitics of Denial: Turkish State’s ‘Armenian Problem,’” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2016.

Meline Toumani, *There Was and There Was Not* (Metropolitan Books, 2014), Ch 7–9 (pp. 73–109).

Elif Şafak, *Bastard of Istanbul* (Penguin, 2007), Chs 8 and 9 (pp. 152 – 185).

**Watch:**

*Kulüp* (*The Club*), directed by Zeynep Günay and Seren Yüce, Episode 10, available on Netflix.

Turkish Ministry of Communication, “Blue Homeland Anthem,” 27 September 2020**:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fDeuVgjzf3g>.

**Week 13, April 19**

**2016 Coup Attempt and Aftermath**

**Read:**

Berk Esen and Şebnem Gümüşçü, “Turkey: How the Coup Failed,” *Journal of Democracy*,” Vol. 28, No. 1, 2017.

Ahmet Yayla, “Turkey’s July Coup Attempt: ‘A Gift from God’ to a New Authoritarianism,” (text of testimony to US House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee, 14 September 2016: https://bit.ly/33POVMD.

Metin Gürcan, “Tentative Transition: Civil-Military Relations in Turkey since the July 15 Uprising,” Washington Institute Policy Notes, No. 48, 2018.

Lyndon C. S. Way, Gökçen Karanfil, and Aytunç Erçifci, “‘See No Evil, Read No Evil’: The Failing Role of Turkish Newspapers in Coverage of Turkey’s 2016 Coup Attempt,” *Critical Discourse Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 5, 2018.

Erkan Yıldız and Kevin Smets, “Internet Trolling in Networked Authoritarianism: ‘Ak Trolls’ in July 2016,” *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 2019.

Lisel Hintz, “Turkey’s Post-Putsch Purge,” *The Boston Globe*, 28 July 2016.

Sibel Hürtaş, “Fired Teacher Tells Story of Turkish Purge Onstage,” *Al-Monitor*, 31 January 2018.

Aaron Stein, “‘Take to the Streets’: Turkey’s Failed Coup Attempt One Year Later,” *War on the Rocks*, 14 July 2017.

**Watch:**

“15 Temmuz Destanı – ‘Vakit Gelir’” (15 July Epic – ‘The Time Will Come’), Presidency-commissioned video with song by Alper Kış, 14 July 2017: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FT3zuBuqnsk.

**Listen**: Interview with Henri Barkey on *The Greek Current:* https://bit.ly/3EhTyvm

**Week 14, April 26**

**Part I:**

**Turkey’s Conflict with Arab States on and through TV**

**Read:**

Bülent Aras and Pınar Akpınar, “Turkish Foreign Policy and the Qatar Crisis,” Report from Istanbul Policy Center, August 2017: <https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/Content/Images/Document/turkish-foreign-policy-and-the-qatar-crisis-17ea79/turkish-foreign-policy-and-the-qatar-crisis-17ea79.pdf>.

Noof Rashif AlDosari, “Qatar Crisis: GCC States’ Perceptions of Regional Powers,” in M. Zweiri, M. M. Rahman, and A. Kamal (eds.), *The 2017 Gulf Crisis*, Gulf Studies, Vol. 3, Springer Singapore, 2021.

Marwan Kraidy, “Boycotting Neo-Ottoman Cool: Geopolitics and Media Industries in the Egypt-Turkey Row over Television Drama,” *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, Vol. 12, 2019.

Salwa Samir, “Why This TV Series Causes High Drama between Cairo, Ankara,” Al-Monitor, 27 November 2019: <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2019/11/kingdoms-of-fire-creates-tensions-egypt-turkey.html>.

Fanack, “Regional Dispute Forces Turkish Soaps Off the Air,” 27 March 2018: https://fanack.com/media-en/turkish-soap-operas~97083/.

**Watch:**

TRT World news video on *Kingdoms of Fire*, 3 December 2020: <https://www.trtworld.com/video/showcase/kingdoms-of-fire/5dcbb299b53db80017178c92>

TRT World video What’s Behind Saudi Arabia’s ‘Turkish Boycott’?” 10 October 2020: <https://www.trtworld.com/video/showcase/whats-behind-saudi-arabias-turkish-boycott/5f817cee46e7130017c14eae>.

**Part II: Students’ Choice**

**Materials TBA**