

Dramatizing Political Puzzles of Peacelessness: A Constructivist Pedagogical Experimentation in the Semi-Periphery

Mehmet Akif Kumral

Department of Political Science and International Relations,
Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences,
Gaziosmanpaşa University,
Taşlıçiftlik Campus,
60250 Tokat-Turkey
Email: makumral@gmail.com

Abstract

This study is built upon a constructivist pedagogical investigation that experimented the efficacy of dramaturgical tools as applied in semi-peripheral settings. Pragmatic value of drama applications was explored in an introductory political science course taken by first-grade Turkish university students. Three drama sessions were designed to improve understanding of political dynamics shaping peacelessness in Syria, Egypt and Iran. In these experiments, the students were assigned to create and take part in a political drama that would help to capture current political puzzles of peacelessness. Students were encouraged to make emphatic explorations and put themselves in roles that would reflect voices of key socio-economic/socio-cultural actors shaping the politics of peacelessness in those three countries. Students were expected to write three assignments. A role paper of 500 words was graded with 10 points. Each of the two interpretive postings with 250 words graded with 5 points. All three assignments constituted 20 points of the students' final exam. The net impact of three-week drama sessions amounted to only 12 percent of their overall course grade. Despite this low level of grading impact, most of the students took the job seriously and hence benefited from the experience enormously. Students learned how to analyze cases of peacelessness from political economy and political culture perspectives. Their writings reflected pragmatic value of posing perennial questions of political theory to solve puzzles of peacelessness in the semi-periphery.

Keywords: Teaching political theory, constructivist pedagogies, drama applications, active learning, semi-periphery.

This paper¹ is based on experimental and narrative designs of educational research (Creswell, 2012: 294-330, 501-521). The author analyzes the content of textual data gathered during three drama sessions conducted in “Introduction to Political Science (IPS)” course. This required course was delivered in two semesters to two (day-night) sections of 1st grade students enrolled in the curriculum of Political Science (PS) and International Relations (IR) at Gaziosmanpaşa University, Tokat, Turkey. Drama applications took place during the spring semester of 2015. Among 93 total enrollments, the number of students participating at least to one of the drama sessions were 79 (40 of them female). These students have been enrolled in relatively a new Department, which was inaugurated in the fall semester of 2012. The first alumni of the Department is expected to graduate in June 2016.

In the first part of this paper, I briefly discuss general teaching conditions in the IR semi-periphery. Here, I also draw lessons from my educational experiences in Turkey. In the second part, I look at particular learning implications of dramaturgical experiments that I have conducted in one of Anatolian universities located in Turkey’s periphery. All in all, this paper offers auto ethnographic insights (Brigg and Bleiker, 2010; Dauphinee, 2010) for making sense of teaching political theory in the IR semi-periphery through actual dramatizing rather than virtual-simulative role playing (Gorton and Havercroft, 2012; Asal and Blake, 2006).

1. Teaching in the IR Semi-Periphery: Lessons Learned from Educational Experiences in Turkey

First and foremost, there are structural and substantial problems permeating the Turkish higher education. Social sciences in general, the IR departments in particular, have been impaired by these negative circumstances (Özcan, 2007). Thus, the credit of teaching in IR has to be conceived within the broader issues of total quality in Turkish higher education.

Even IR departments functioning at key central cities such as Ankara, Istanbul and İzmir could not stay immune to setbacks such as the declining quality of high school education particularly in social-studies courses. Turkish high school teachers delivering social-studies courses (history, geography, philosophy, sociology, psychology) “find essay questions helpful in measuring students’ ability to apply, analyze and synthesize content and in developing students’ ability to express their ideas in writing.” On the other hand, they often avoid using essay-type tests in measuring student performance, since administrators and inspectors do not recommend their exclusive use. In other words, there has been “little room for essay questions in student assessment” in social-studies courses delivered in Turkish high schools (Yıldırım, 2004: 167-168).

[High school] teachers say that students are mostly assessed in terms of their knowledge, and this leads them to memorize content. One teacher asserted: ‘Students should be allowed to reflect their own perspectives and to formulate solutions to problems in examinations through critical and creative thinking’...[In a similar fashion, students] believe that [multiple-choice and/or short-answer] tests measure only factual knowledge (e.g., dates, definitions and descriptions), which they tend to forget easily. They suggest that teachers should be more creative in measuring students’ interpretation and application of what they know since this is what really matters in the long-term (Yıldırım, 2004: 171, 173).

Despite the quality predicament in high school social-studies courses, university enrollments in social sciences are increasing. The low quality and high enrollment rates impose serious challenges for IR scholars particularly working in cities located in Turkey’s periphery. Quality problems are more acute in newly established universities in Anatolia.

¹Shorter and simpler version of this paper was presented at the 57th ISA Annual Convention, Atlanta, 16-19 March 2016.

Given these substantial impediments, it would seem almost impossible to implement teaching strategies driven towards active student learning. Given semi-peripheral position of Turkey in IR education, the contexts of academic teaching have still remained dependent on mimetic representation of mainstream IR theories and dominant foreign policy practices (Bilgin, 2008). In fact, “Morphenthauist realism” (Uzgel, 2007) and geopolitical truism (Bilgin, 2007) still inform IR teaching tradition in under-graduate education in Turkey. To a great extent, IR departments remain insular to inter-disciplinary interaction (Yalçinkaya, 2005). Institutionalization of interdisciplinarity through “joint programs” (Özcan, 2007: 111) would certainly improve quality of IR graduates. Thus, IR departments need to establish institutionalized interactions with other fields. Given current complexities pervading the context of international relations, communication and cultural studies (including sociology, anthropology, literature, and even theology) emerge as two significant areas to develop IR education in the semi-periphery.

Coupled with this shortcoming, critical pedagogical thinking has not been fully endorsed in most of the Turkish IR departments. This limitation has impeded constitution of a genuine context for improving critical and analytical skills among students and scholars. Critical-analytical unawareness hinders the grasp of constitutive linkages between “political theory” and “international theory” (Keyman and Ülkü, 2007; Oğuzlu, 2015). Overloaded curricula impairs designing of an introductory course covering essential blocks of scientific enquiry such as philosophy of science, philosophy of history, comparative political thought, and multi-method research. These impediments make IPS courses much more important for building basic analytical skills in undergraduate IR education.

Based on my educational experience in Turkey, I argue that constitution of constructivist class environment, particularly in IPS courses, could help both IR scholars and students to overcome much of teaching and learning problems. Broadening and deepening of constructivist philosophy would contribute to the total quality of Turkish IR education. Constructivist pedagogies are more attuned to enable student-centered active learning and enrich positive class environment. Constructivist teaching in the class would certainly have an impact on learning interactions out of the class.

[M]ost studies investigating the link between the extent to which course programmes are student-centred on the one hand and promote academic success on the other hand, find positive relationships between the two. This positive relationship can be explained by the constructivist principle that student-centred learning environments invite students to actively engage with the learning material. These learning environments require students to cooperate with their peers on tasks and to deeply process the learning material (consisting of authentic tasks) (Severiens, Meeuwisse and Born, 2015: 2).

Nevertheless, creating constructivist course environment is not easy in seemingly tougher educational terrains of IR periphery. Since lecturing is primary mode of teaching and passive listening is conventional style of learning, it is difficult to adapt students to constructivist teaching and active learning. Since old educational habits die hard, constitution of new educational habitus require attentive effort from the teacher and the students.

Like their peers around the world, the millennium generation in Turkey seems to get accustomed to classic style evaluations through in-class exams administered in designated time periods. Nonetheless, traditional exams do not help to improve critical and analytical skills necessary for students’ actual learning. Conventional examinations only measure personal progressions in using short-term memory. Students easily memorize the notes taken from their peers and quickly forget what they have learned. Students’ time of forgetting might not even extend to their sitting for the next exam, let alone their learning of exam results.

Unconventional constructivist strategies would aim to make student exams as part of educational development. Take-home exams and open-ended questions could better enhance students’ active learning by making them read and write independently. These kinds of exercises could certainly improve students’

critical reading and analytical writing. Even though speaking is fundamental component of IR education, customary course evaluations do not allow to include measurement of verbal skills. At this point, drama applications would serve as a pragmatic tool for teacher evaluation. In addition, simple dramaturgical tools enable students to better articulate their creative thinking and performative speaking abilities even in peripheral IR classrooms. As it is discussed in the next section, dramaturgical written assignments also enhance peripheral IR students' inter-active learning in and out of class.

2. Teaching Political Theory in Turkey's Periphery: Implications of Dramaturgical Experiments on Learning

Before documenting and analyzing textual data emerged out of student assignments written for three drama sessions applied in the second (spring) term of IPS course, I should turn to the first (fall) term in order to portray initial conditions of teaching in Turkey's periphery. This account is based on my own auto-ethnographic teaching experience in Tokat. I should acknowledge that teaching this course proved to be one of the challenging experiences in my academic career. This was mainly due to the critical pedagogical path that I had deliberately taken. The philosophical essence of critical practices in education is bluntly put by Henry A. Giroux (1999: 110-111):

Pedagogy as a critical cultural practice needs to open up new institutional spaces in which students can experience and define what it means to be cultural producers capable of both reading different texts and producing them, of moving in and out of theoretical discourses but never losing sight of the need to theorize themselves.

Put in other words, critical pedagogical practices aim to enhance self-awareness and self-reflection in IR classrooms (Grenier, 2015). Rather than turning to critical pedagogies, I could play by classic rules of education. In many ways, mimicking the codes of traditional teachers could be less bothersome. Students of the periphery might be easily disturbed by unconventional teaching methodologies. But, I thought that constructing critical pedagogical class environment would be better for teaching political theory even in one of Turkey's peripheral educational settings.

While designing and conducting the course in two semesters, each of which lasted for fourteen weeks, I followed general educational principles of pragmatism and constructivism (Eggen and Kauchak, 2001: 105-146, 226-268). In line with these approaches, I have been fully committed to experiential model of teaching and learning in PS and IR. This model helped me to envisage a course design that would enable teaching of "effective thinking skills and problem-solving abilities." I have aimed to construct a course environment that would facilitate various "styles and stages" of experiential learning, i.e. "abstract conceptualization, concrete experience, active experimentation, and reflective observation" (Brock and Cameron, 1999). Following recent recommendations made for teaching political theory (Moore, 2015), I also imagined to incorporate drama applications and role-plays into the IPS course.

In fact, my own learning experiences have constituted the initial point of departure for teaching. That is to say, I decided to teach political theory in the way that I have learned it. This inevitably implied understanding of political theory as "ontology." As pointed out by Robert Cox (1996) and Colin Wight (2006), ontological distinctions make it easier to analyze theoretical bases of political practices. Thus, I have assigned basic philosophical readings in the very beginning of the course. With the help of these readings, I introduced students with main philosophical discussions on ontology, epistemology and methodology. Based on this philosophical foundations, I delineated four theoretical (utilitarian, structural, institutional, and constructivist) approaches to analyze political phenomena in any given country (Lichbach and Zuckerman, 1997).

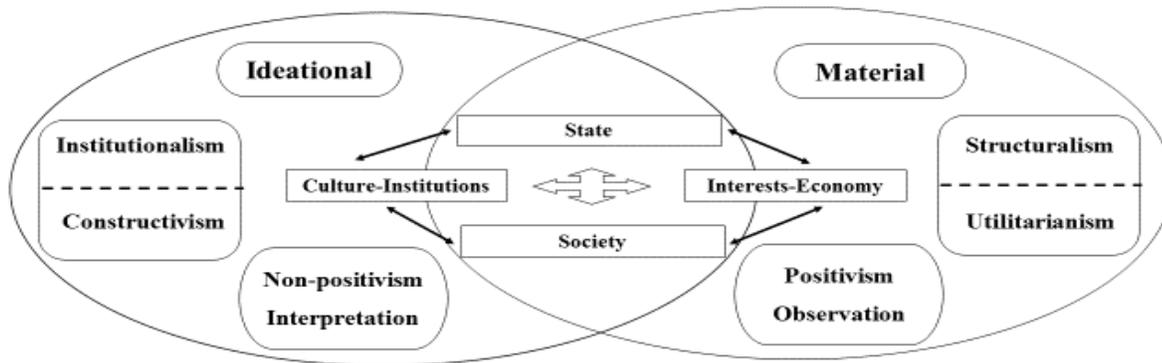


Figure 1: Philosophical Parameters of Main Analytical Approaches

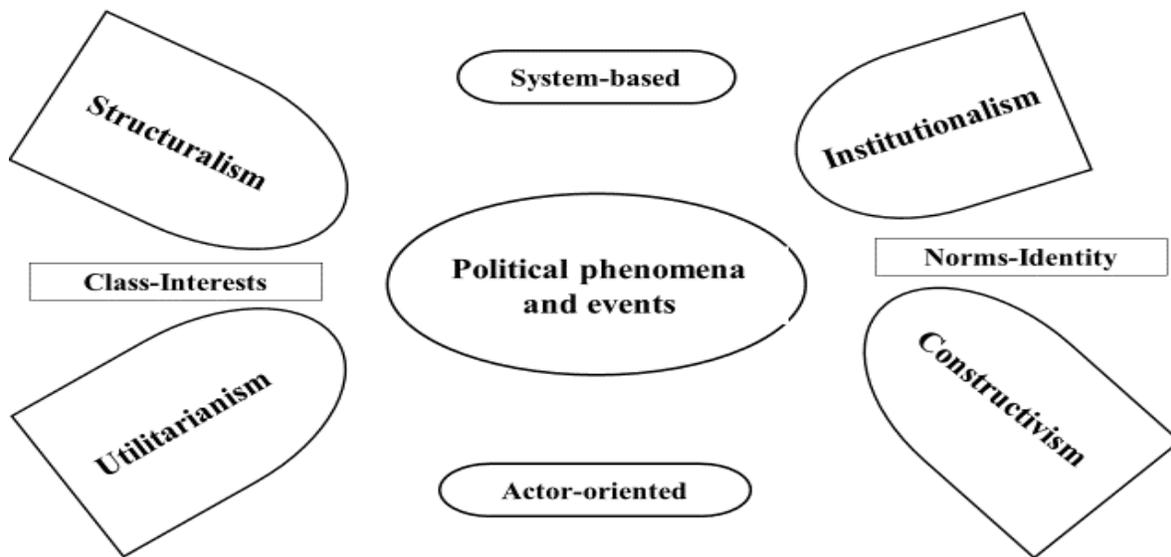


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework of Main Analytical Approaches

Figure 1 and Figure 2 summarizes philosophical parameters and conceptual framework of main analytical approaches in political science and comparative politics. These two figures formed the cognitive schemata in mapping and steering the course step-by-step. As the course moved on, I realized that some of the students were facing troubles in making sense of four analytical approaches. At least, part of the problem seemed to be emanating from ideological postures permeating the Turkish society at large. After all, these students have grown in politically polarized society of Turkey. At that point, I also recognized that deepening of ideological polarization could hinder development of analytical awareness. Analytical thinking could not take root in highly ideological class environment. Hence, I had to put enormous effort in order to teach main analytical approaches in political theory.

Despite my effort, some students could not easily grasp main approaches used in theoretical analysis of political phenomena. After a brief period of “trial and error,” another daunting challenge emerged. Students did lack analytical reading and writing skills necessary to complete the first term of IPS course. I

decided to make a simple constructivist intervention. Like me, they could only learn objective thinking by doing scholarly analysis. Take-home exams with open-ended questions became key to better develop students' analytical abilities during the first term of IPS course. In order to surpass their ideological preoccupation with the Turkish politics and make them familiar with the bigger world out of Turkey, I endorsed students to analyze select books from international literature. This exercise helped students to overcome their Turkish-centric and monolithic understanding of politics and allowed them to gain comparative and multi-dimensional view of the political constituted in various spatial-temporal domains of our world.

By looking at the level of development in student learning, I assigned some canonical readings from comparative politics literature for evaluating students' success in the second term. In a sense, dramaturgical experimentations were designed as a complementary measurement tool that would improve students' understanding of comparative approach and analyzing of politics in Syria, Egypt and Iran. Each role play was expected to address a main task: articulate socio-economic/socio-cultural policy proposals for providing peace in Syria, Egypt and Iran. Each drama session was organized around key questions: (1) What would re-bring peace into Syria? Economic equality or cultural compromise?(2)Who would re-lead peace in Egypt? Economic or cultural elites?(3)How could revolutionary Iran re-think peace? By the evolution of social cognition or with the transformation of economic mentality? By asking these questions, I wanted to establish dramaturgical version of "structured classroom debates" (Oros, 2007) and by extension encourage "learning through discussions" (Pollock, Hamann and Wilson, 2011).

Here, I encoded dramaturgical making of peace between two ontologies. I wanted students to expose ontological (material and ideational) paradoxes in their portrayal of political peace(lessness). As to interpretive postings, students were expected to reflect upon analytical puzzles of peacelessness between two schools of thought: political economy (structuralism) and political culture (constructivism).

For the purposes of this paper, I have analyzed 42 papers written during three drama sessions conducted by the day section students. I decoded these papers in terms of their making of peacelessness. Overall, almost half of the students (20) portrayed peacelessness from political economy (structural-material) perspective. Other half of students (22) took political culture (constructivist-ideational) as their frame of reference while narrating peacelessness in Syria, Egypt and Iran. Students largely adopted mimetic forms of representation, like providing factual data, in presenting empirical details of their storyline. The number of aesthetic narratives remained 10. Causal thinking dominated student written performance. Creative thinking and emphatic imaginations displayed in 15 papers. These two numbers indicate the added value of dramaturgical experiments for IR students' educational development in peripheral settings.

As the findings in Table 1 suggest, both role play papers and interpretive postings made significant contribution to peripheral students' analytical understanding of the political peacelessness in Turkey's periphery. Furthermore, these drama exercises increased peripheral students' motivation to learn the political phenomena beyond Turkey's borders. All in all, dramaturgical experiments helped me to achieve "emancipatory ends of theory teaching" (Yalvaç, 2013).In the following three sub-sections, I provide content analyses of student writings on emancipation from peacelessness in three Middle Eastern countries.

2.1 Peacelessness in Syria: Between Economic Disorder and Cultural Dissent

The content analysis of Syria role papers is presented in Table 2. Political culture emerged as more dominant perspective in students framing of peacelessness in Syria. While framing reasons of cultural dissent, students emphasized the impact of authoritarianism, ethno-sectarian discrimination, ideological cleavages, non-democratic media, media manipulation, digital prohibitions, cultural and political alienation. Financial mismanagement, lack of transparency, inefficient control mechanisms, corruption, nepotism, bribery, unemployment, center-periphery (Damascus-Aleppo) rivalry, environmental degradation were counted as

material reasons shaping economic disorder. In order to emancipate Syria from peacelessness, students envisaged transformations such as transition to democracy, enhancement of human rights, socio-cultural and socio-economic integration.

2.2 Peacelessness in Egypt: Between Economic Underdevelopment and Cultural Backwardness

There were 16 role papers playing puzzles of peacelessness in Egypt. As shown in Table 3, most of the students tend to take political culture perspective while viewing peacelessness in Egypt. Students mainly thematized peacelessness around cultural backwardness frame. In students' framing, Egyptians urgently needed to (re-)construct common cultural ground for collective coexistence, pluralist conscience among various identities, cultural cohesion within civil society institutions, secular public space, and legitimate media environment in order to prevent peacelessness. Regarding political economy of peacelessness, students' proposal aimed to stop unemployment, corruption, army coercion, media manipulation sooner than later. By looking at role papers, one could discern how most students' saw possible ways of emancipation from peacelessness. As most of them conceived, demilitarization of politics, judicial reform, fair elections, media freedom would be necessary to break the deadlock of peacelessness in Egypt. Re-building of democratic representation and rule of law might take longer than expected. Yet, Egyptian state and society should not insist on staying with the course of peacelessness. In students' vision, Egyptians should keep the following proposals in order to redirect their country towards the road of peace: enhance democratization, strengthen citizenship, reform the educational system, provide socio-economic equality, and prevent any forms of discrimination.

2.3 Peacelessness in Iran: Between Economic Deprivation and Cultural Decadence

The number of students playing roles on Iran was 13. As reflected in Table 4, most students appealed to political economy narrative while resolving economic-cultural puzzles of peacelessness in Iran. Their framing addressed conditions such as illiberal economic structure, financial mismanagement, excessive arms procurements, and unequal wealth distribution. Interestingly enough, most students saw the political remedy from other side of the coin. Political culture provided students with a broader perspective to frame their outlook for peace. In students' view, Iranians urgently needed genuinely functioning democratic system which entailed true deliberation between state and society. For this aim, students proposed significant preventive measures such as avoiding human rights violations and providing media freedoms.

3. Conclusion

After these dramaturgical experiments, most of the peripheral students improved their understanding of main analytical approaches in political theory. Students really enjoyed learning political theory in a game-like class environment. In this active learning atmosphere, students found better avenues to develop their writing and speaking skills. In fact, some students demonstrated substantial progress in both writing and speaking about politics beyond Turkey's borders. Surprisingly enough, students became quite successful in framing "hybrid nature of peace" lessness (Richmond, 2015) by approaching political phenomena from two main angles. Students' hybrid conceptualization of peacelessness implied pragmatic blurring of boundaries between political economy and political culture approaches.

Drama sessions allowed peripheral students to grasp practical inter-linkages between various conceptions of peacelessness around Turkey's periphery. This does not hide the fact that most students came up with a mimetic portrayal of peacelessness in Syria, Egypt and Iran. But, one should note that around 25-35 percent of students appealed to aesthetic, emphatic and creative representations. In sum, dramaturgical experiments help both peripheral teachers and students to re-discover emancipatory potential of political theory in resolving various puzzles of international peacelessness.

Table 1: Summary of Main Findings on Role Plays and Interpretive Postings

Paper Number	Analytical Perspective		View of Peace(lessness)		Ontological Mode		Empirical Framework		Explanatory Model	
	political economy	political culture	structural	constructivist	material	ideational	mimetic	aesthetic	causal	emphatic-creative
1	+		+		+		+		+	
2	+		+		+		+		+	
3	+			+		+		+		+
4		+		+		+	+		+	
5		+		+		+	+			+
6	+		+		+		+		+	
7	+			+		+		+		+
8		+		+		+	+		+	
9	+		+		+		+		+	
10	+		+		+		+		+	
11		+		+		+	+		+	
12		+	+		+		+		+	
13	+			+	+		+		+	
14	+		+		+		+		+	
15		+	+			+	+		+	
16	+		+		+		+		+	
17	+		+		+		+		+	
18	+		+		+		+		+	
19	+		+		+		+		+	
20	+		+		+			+		+
21	+		+		+		+		+	
22	+			+		+	+			+
23		+	+		+		+			+
24		+		+		+	+		+	
25	+		+		+		+			+
26		+		+		+	+		+	
27		+	+		+			+		+
28		+		+		+		+		+
29		+		+		+		+		+
30		+	+		+		+		+	
31		+		+		+		+		+
32	+			+	+		+		+	
33		+		+		+		+		+
34		+		+		+	+		+	
35		+		+		+	+		+	
36	+		+		+		+		+	
37		+		+		+		+		+
38		+		+		+	+			+
39		+		+		+		+	+	
40		+		+		+	+			+
41	+		+			+	+		+	
42		+		+		+	+		+	
Total	20	22	20	22	20	22	32	10	27	15

Table 2: Content Analysis of Role Papers on Syria.

Paper Number	Roles Played	Main Frames and Themes
1.	Former Minister of Economy	Drought, demographic pressure, unemployment, agricultural development, peacelessness resulting from environmental degradation.
2.	Former Chief of Central Bank	Deficiencies in financial management, corruption, lack of transparency, inefficient control mechanisms, peacelessness as irrational use of public resources.
3.	President of Turkmen Tradesmen Association in Latakia	Nepotism, bribery, ethnic-discrimination, economic equality, peacelessness as social inequality.
4.	Journalist-Writer	Ideological divisions, authoritarianism, ethno-sectarian discrimination, transition to democracy, peacelessness as political injustice.
5.	Former Syrian Army Officer	Sectarian struggle inside the Syrian army, ruthlessness of Assad regime, privatization of security sector, arms smuggling, peacelessness as sectarian strife.
6.	Kurdish Women	Socio-economic discrimination, political alienation, rights of citizenship, reform for the new deal, peacelessness as political-economic imbalance.
7.	Planner of Transportation Firm	Damascus-Aleppo rivalry, center-periphery dichotomy, economic cooperation, regional integration, peacelessness as economic imbalance.
8.	Representative of Syrian Journalists Association	Media manipulation, digital prohibitions, freedom of speech, ethics of journalism, peacelessness as non-democratic media.
9.	Chief of Devavne Tribe	Tribal strife, regime-opposition cleavages, tribal unity, end of political fighting, peacelessness as lack of socio-political unity.
10.	Former Ba'th Party Member	Single party system, dictatorial rule, transition to multi-party system, free and fair elections, peacelessness as lack of political participation.
11.	Not identified.	Domestic conflict, civil war, migration, education of children, peacelessness as lack of efficient education.
12.	Not identified.	Uprising, civil war, proxy wars, international intervention, peacelessness as geopolitical destiny.
13.	Kurdish Political Activist	Ethnic division, political discrimination, cultural alienation, equal citizenship, peacelessness as political inequality.

Table 3: Content Analysis of Role Papers on Egypt.

Paper Number	Roles Played	Main Frames and Themes
14.	Not identified.	Not written.
15.	Planner in Association of Farmers	Irrigation of water in Nile basin, agrarian reform, state subsidies, peacelessness as economic underdevelopment.
16.	Former Judge	Struggle for power, role of judiciary, political institutionalization, secularization, peacelessness as political underdevelopment.
17.	Retired Journalist	Pro-regime media outlets, political manipulation, electronic surveillance, freedom of speech, peacelessness as illegitimate media environment.
18.	Student in Department of Economy at Cairo University	Class struggle, army coercion, unemployment, educational reform, peacelessness as imbalanced social power.
19.	Not identified.	Neoliberal reforms, IMF mandate, structural crisis, social upheaval, peacelessness as structural problem.
20.	Ex-officer	Army rule, economic corruption, securitization of politics, demilitarization, peacelessness as militarization.
21.	High Level Bureaucrat	Discrimination against Muslim Brotherhood, unequal distribution of public resources, public sector reform, peacelessness as unequal bureaucratization.
22.	Owner of Tourism Company	IMF mandate, dependent economy, tutelary regime, Muslim-Christian divide, peacelessness lack of solidarity in tourism sector.
23.	Not identified.	One-man rule, the Monufia circle, regime cohesion, preventing political privileges, peacelessness as legitimacy crisis.
24.	Not identified.	Cultural ignorance, public education, democratic values, free and fair elections, peacelessness as lack of cultural conscience for plural coexistence.
25.	Not identified.	Religious intolerance, Muslim-Christian dialogue, shared historical values, citizenship culture, peacelessness as erosion of common cultural public space.
26.	Not identified.	Corrupt governments, human rights, free-fair political representation, rule of law, peacelessness as lack of socio-political dignity.
27.	Medical Doctor	Oppression against women, circumcision of women, social consciousness, women education, peacelessness as gender inequality.
28.	Not identified.	Collective identity construction, civil society institutions, pluralism, democratization, peacelessness as majoritarian rule.
29.	Muslim Brotherhood Women Branches	Islamic values, social solidarity, cultural unity, representative governance, peacelessness resulting from weak social-cultural values.

Table 4: Content Analysis of Role Papers on Iran.

Paper Number	Roles Played	Main Frames and Themes
30.	Media and Television Manager	State surveillance over the media, digital bans, lack of private televisions, human rights violations, peacelessness as undemocratic media environment.
31.	Chief of Tourism Bureau	Financial mismanagement, closed economy, lack of foreign economic investment, contribution of tourism sector for fiscal reorganization, peacelessness resulting from inefficient economic environment.
32.	Manager of Oil Company	Misuse of oil revenues, excessive arm procurements, peacelessness resulting from unequal wealth distribution.
33.	Woman Activist	Traditionalist-modernist division, oppression against women, gender equality, peacelessness resulting from male dominant politics.
34.	Student in Department of Economy at Tehran University	Exclusion of women, discriminatory bans, gender equality, peacelessness resulting from male dominant politics.
35.	Journalist	State-led media, closure of newspapers, privatization, state-society deliberation, peacelessness as regime failure to build open public space.
36.	Not identified.	Traditionalist-reformist divide, statist economy, peacelessness as regime failure to build liberal economic order.
37.	Not identified.	Islamic values, women rights, freedom of faith, external propaganda, peacelessness as deviation of women from Islam.
38.	Shii Cleric	Shii state doctrine, hidden Imam, the high clergy, alms distribution, peacelessness resulting from theological hegemony.
39.	Former General from Revolutionary Guards	Politicization of high-level officers, arbitrary use of violence, democratic control over revolutionary guards, peacelessness resulting from mismanagement in security sector.
40.	Film Director	Class discrimination, ideological division, gender equality, peacelessness as authoritarian order.
41.	Former Minister of Domestic Affairs	Lack of genuine democracy in Iran, peacelessness as political power struggle.
42.	Head of Iranian Atomic Energy Agency	Different threat perceptions, need for nuclear energy, lack of public support for nuclear armament, peacelessness resulting from economic embargo.

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