

Boğaziçi University
Department of Political Science and International Relations
MIR 506: FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES IN TURKISH POLITICS
SPRING 2017

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Lecture Hours:

MONDAY
18:30-21:30
IB 301

Office Hour: Monday, 16:00-17:30 at the Center for European Studies, K-Park Building, 1st Floor, Room No.118

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Book Reviews, Book Presentations, Participation in Debates&Discussions: 50%
 Final Exam: 50%

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course will consist of an overview of political developments in modern Turkey in the second half of the 20th and in the early 21st century, from the end of the Second World War till today. Topics to be covered include the transition to democracy between 1945 and 1950; the “populist democracy” between 1950-1980 and the three military coups (27 May 1960, 12 March 1971, and 12 September 1980); the surge of “identity politics” after the 1980s; the elections of November 2002 and beyond. We will focus on such hotly debated contemporary issues of Turkish politics as the state based on the rule of law, human rights, citizenship, civil society, democratization and westernization. Attention will also be paid to those current issues which generally fall within the general problematic of “identity”, particularly religion and ethnicity.

The first lectures will be devoted to surveying some of the major historical turning points and current issues of Turkish politics. In the remaining sessions, we will read and discuss some recently published books on the various current issues of Turkish politics.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

The Department of Political Science and International Relations has the following rules and regulations regarding academic honesty.

1. Copying work from others or giving and receiving answers/information during exams either in written or oral form constitutes cheating.
2. Submitting take-home exams and papers of others as your own, using sentences or paragraphs from another author without the proper acknowledgement of the original author, insufficient acknowledgement of the consulted works in the bibliography, all constitute plagiarism.
3. Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and will result in:
 - a) an automatic “F” in the assignment or the exam
 - b) an oral explanation before the Departmental Ethics Committee
 - c) losing the opportunity to request and receive any references from the entire faculty
 - d) losing the opportunity to apply in exchange programs
 - e) losing the prospects of becoming a student assistant or a graduate assistant in the department

The students may further be sent to the University Ethics committee or be subject to disciplinary action.

CLASS DAYS**February 6: Introduction****February 13, 20, 27****March 6, 13, 20, 27****April 3, 10, 24****May 8****Spring Break: April 17-23****April 17 – No Class - Spring Break****April 24 – No Class (Professor will be at a conference in Brussels)****May15: Last Day of Classes****A BASIC LIST OF MONOGRAPHS, EDITED VOLUMES, RESEARCH REPORTS ON TURKISH POLITICS**

Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. London and New York: Routledge

Ahmad, Feroz. 2003. *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. London: Oneworld Publications.

Altınay, Ayşe Gül. *The myth of the military nation : militarism, gender, and education in Turkey*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Altunışık, Meliha Benli. *Turkey : challenges of continuity and change*. London ; New York : RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.

Azak, Umut. *Islam and secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, religion and the nation state*, London; New York: I.B. Tauris; New York: Distributed in the USA by Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Barkey, Henri J. 1998. *Turkey's Kurdish question*. Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield.

Birtek, Faruk and Toprak, Binnaz (eds.). 2011. *Essays in honor of Şerif Mardin : The post-modern abyss and the new politics of Islam : Assabiyah revisited*. Istanbul : İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Çarkoğlu, Ali. 2007. *Turkish democracy today : elections, protest and stability in an Islamic society*. London ; New York : I.B, Tauris.

Findley, Carter V. 2010. *Turkey, Islam, nationalism, and modernity : a history, 1789-2007 / Carter Vaughn Findley*. New Haven ; London : Yale University Press.

Güzeldere, Güven and Irzık, Sibel (eds.). 2003. *Relocating the fault lines : Turkey beyond the East-West divide*. Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 2003.

Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. 2008. *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Jacoby, Tim. 2004. *Social power and the Turkish state*. London ; New York: Frank Cass.

Jung, Dietrich. 2001. *Turkey at the crossroads : Ottoman legacies and a greater Middle East*. New York : Zed Books.

- Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. 2005. *Turkish Dynamics, Bridge across Troubled Lands*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Keyder, Çağlar. 1987. *State and Class in Turkey. A Study in Capitalist Development*. London, New York: Verso
- Kasaba, Reşat (ed.). 2008. *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge UP.
- Kuru, Ahmet T. *Secularism and state policies toward religion : the United States, France, and Turkey*. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Mango, Andrew. 2004. *The Turks Today*. Woodstock and New York: The Overlook Press
- Mardin, Şerif. 2006. *Religion, Society, and Modernity in Turkey*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Navaro-Yashin, Yael. *Faces of the state: secularism and public life in Turkey*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Özbudun, Ergun. 2000. *Contemporary Turkish Politics, Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers
- Özbudun, Ergun & Gençkaya, Ömer Faruk. *Democratization and the politics of constitution-making in Turkey*, Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2009.
- Özyürek, Esra. *Nostalgia for the modern : state secularism and everyday politics in Turkey*. Durham, NC : Duke University Press, 2006.
- Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge.
- Rubin, Barry and Heper, Metin (eds). 2002. *Political parties in Turkey*. London; Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass.
- Rubin, Barry and Çarkoğlu, Ali (eds.). 2006. *Religion and politics in Turkey*, London; New York: Routledge.
- Shankland, David. 2003. *The Alevis in Turkey : the emergence of a secular Islamic tradition*. London ; New York : RoutledgeCurzon.
- Sunar, İlkay. 2004. *State, Society and Democracy in Turkey*. İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publication
- Turam, Berna. 2007. *Between Islam and the state: the politics of engagement*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Yavuz, M. Hakan. 2009. *Secularism and Muslim democracy in Turkey*, Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Yılmaz, Hakan. 2016. “Meaning Frames in Turkish Political Culture: Exploring The Left-Right Divide”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) (Grant No: 2013012 – 45871) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: December 2016.

Yılmaz, Hakan. 2014. “The Kurdish Question and the Peace Process in Turkey: Trends in the Public Opinion”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) (Grant No: 2013012 – 45871) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: November 2014.

Yılmaz, Hakan. 2012. “Conservatism in Turkey”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: June 2012.

Yılmaz, Hakan. 2012. “Profiling Social Classes in Turkey”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: June 2012.

Yılmaz, Hakan. 2012. “Euroskepticism in Turkey”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: June 2012.

Yılmaz, Hakan. 2010. “Between Hospitality and Hostility: Determining the Processes of Othering in Turkey and Developing Policy Proposals for the Prevention of Discrimination”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) (Grant No: 2009001) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: 07K120620). Date of completion: February 2010.

Yılmaz, Hakan and Erdoğan, Emre. 2009. “European Perceptions of Turkey as a Future Member State: Results of an Opinion Poll in France, Germany, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom” (Field Work: August-September, 2009; Sample Size: 5000+ respondents). Conducted as part of the project entitled “Problems of Europeanization and European Perceptions of Turkey as a Future Member State”, supported by a grant from the European Union, Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue between European Union and Turkey, Universities Grant Scheme (Contract No: TR0604.01-03/070).

Zurcher, Erik Jan. 2004. *Turkey, A Modern History (Revised Edition)*. London: I.B. Tauris

LECTURES

FEBRUARY 6: INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

FEBRUARY 13, 20. LECTURE: Historical background: major turning points in Turkish politics from the early 20th century to the early 21st century

- The foundation of the Kemalist state
 - The transition from the one-party to the multi-party regime
 - The rule of the Democratic Party and the institutionalization of populist democracy, 1946-1960
 - Populist democracy and its major actors: the 1960-1980 period
 - The military coup of 12 September 1980 and beyond
- 1) Ahmad, Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, pp.49-74.
 - 2) Yılmaz, Hakan. “The Kemalist Revolution and the Foundation of the One-Party Regime in Turkey: A Political Analysis”. 2008. In Prof. Dr. Ergun Özbudun’a Armağan –Cilt I, Siyaset Bilimi (Essays in Honor of Ergun Özbudun, Vol. I Political Science), ed. Serap Yazıcı, Kemal Gözler, Fuat Keyman, Ankara: Yetkin Yayınevi, 2008, pp.535-564.
 - 3) Yılmaz, Hakan. 1997. “Democratization from above in Response to the International Context”, Turkey 1945-1950. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No. 17 (Fall 1997), pp. 1-38.
 - 4) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2009 (1996). “The Democrat Party Period in Turkey, 1950-1960: Populists, Progressives, and Officers” and “The Coup d’Etat of 1960 and the Establishment of Military Democracy” . Forthcoming in *The Contested Legacy, A History of American-Turkish Relations in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Selçuk Esenbel and Bruce Kuniholm, 2009.

FEBRUARY 27, MARCH 6. LECTURE: Major Trends in Turkish Politics and Society Today

- 5) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2012. “Profiling Social Classes in Turkey”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: June 2012.
- 6) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2012. “Conservatism in Turkey”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: June 2012.
- 7) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2014. “The Kurdish Question and the Peace Process in Turkey: Trends in the Public Opinion”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) (Grant No: 2013012 – 45871) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: November 2014.
- 8) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2016. “Meaning Frames in Turkish Political Culture: Exploring The Left-Right Divide”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) (Grant No: 2013012 – 45871) and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: December 2016.

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

MARCH 13: STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

- 9) Ahmad, Feroz. 2008. "Politics and political parties in Republican Turkey", in Kasaba, Reşat (ed.). 2008. *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge UP, pp.226-265.
- 10) Çarkoğlu, Ali. 2012. "Economic evaluations vs. ideology: Diagnosing the sources of electoral change in Turkey", 2002–2011, *Electoral Studies*, 31, pp.513-521
- 11) Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. 2013. "Turkish party system: leaders, vote and institutionalization", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 13:4, 483-502, DOI:10.1080/14683857.2013.859815
- 12) Sayarı, Sabri. 2016. "Back to a Predominant Party System: The November 2015 Snap Election in Turkey", *South European Society and Politics*, 21, pp.263-280.
- 13) Öniş, Ziya. 2016. "Turkey's Two Elections: The AKP Comes Back", *Journal of Democracy*, 27, pp.141-154.

MARCH 20. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: IDENTITY POLITICS, RELIGION, PART 1

- 14) Mardin, Şerif. 1971. "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution". *IJMES*, Vol 2/Issue 3, pp.197-211.
- 15) Özyürek, Esra. 2006. *Nostalgia for the modern : state secularism and everyday politics in Turkey*. Durham, NC : Duke University Press.
- 16) White, Jenny B. 2008. "Islam and politics in contemporary Turkey", in Kasaba, Reşat (ed.). 2008. *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge UP, pp. 357-380.
- 17) Göle, Nilüfer. 2002. "Islam in Public: New Visibilities and New Imaginaries". *Public Culture* 14(1): 173–190.
- 18) Altınordu, Ateş. 2016. "The Political Incorporation of Anti-System Religious Parties: the Case of Turkish Political Islam (1994-2011)", *Qualitative Sociology*, 39, pp.147-171.

March 27. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: IDENTITY POLITICS, RELIGION, PART 2

- 19) Azak, Umut. 2010. *Islam and secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, religion and the nation state*, London; New York: I.B. Tauris; New York: Distributed in the USA by Palgrave Macmillan.
- 20) Davison, Andrew. 2003. "Turkey, a 'Secular' State?: The Challenge of Description". In Güzeldere, Güven and Irzık, Sibel (eds.). 2003. *Relocating the fault lines : Turkey beyond the East-West divide*. Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 2003.
- 21) Massicard, Elise. 2013. "Democratization in Turkey? Insights from the Alevi Issue", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.376-390.
- 22) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2007. "Islam, Sovereignty, and Democracy: A Turkish View". *MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL*, Volume 61, No. 3, Summer 2007, pp.477-493.

APRIL 1. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: IDENTITY POLITICS, ETHNICITY, NATION, PART 1

- 23) Bora, Tani. 2003. "Nationalist Discourses in Turkey". 2003. In Güzeldere, Güven and Irzik, Sibel (eds.). 2003. *Relocating the fault lines : Turkey beyond the East-West divide*. Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 2003.
- 24) Çınar, Alev and Arıkan, Burak. 2002. "The Nationalist Action Party: Representing the state, the nation or the nationalists?". 2002. In Rubin, Barry and Heper, Metin (eds). 2002. *Political parties in Turkey*. London; Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass.
- 25) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2011. "Euroskepticism in Turkey: Parties, Elites and Public Opinion". In *South European Society and Politics*, Volume 16, Number 1, March 2011 , pp. 185-208.
- 26) Akgönül, Samim. 2013. "Non- Muslim Minorities in the Democratization Process of Turkey", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.361-375.

April 3. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: IDENTITY POLITICS, ETHNICITY, NATION, PART 2

- 27) Bozarslan, Hamit. 2008. "Kurds and the Turkish state", in Kasaba, Reşat (ed.). 2008. *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge UP, pp.333-357.
- 28) Kurban, Dilek. 2013. "The Kurdish Question: Law, Politics and the Limits of Recognition", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.345-360.
- 29) Tezcür, Güneş Murat and Gürses, Mehmet. 2017. "Ethnic Exclusion and Mobilization: The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey", *Comparative Politics*, published online in January 2017, pp.213-230+Appendix

April 10. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: DEMOCRATIZATION, PART 1

- 30) Çarkoğlu, Ali and Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. 2007. *Turkish democracy today : elections, protest and stability in an Islamic society*. London ; New York : I.B, Tauris.
- 31) Hale, William. 2013. "The International Context of Democratic Reform in Turkey", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.67-86.
- 32) Saylan, İbrahim. 2013. "The Formation of Citizenship in Turkey", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.16-42.

April 17 – No Class - Spring Break

April 24 – No Class (Professor will be at a conference in Brussels)

May 8. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: DEMOCRATIZATION, PART 2

- 33) Aydın-Düzgit, Senem. 2013. "Human Rights in Turkey", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp. 312-329.
- 34) Candaş, Ayşen and Yılmaz, Hakan. 2013. "The Paradox of Equality: Subjective Attitudes Towards basic Rights in Turkey", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.330-344.
- 35) Gürsoy, Yaprak. 2013, "From Tutelary Powers & Interventions to Civilian Control: an Overview of Turkish Civil-Military Relations since the 1920s", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.253-273.
- 36) Cizre, Ümit. 2008. "Ideology, Context and Interest: The Turkish Military", in Kasaba, Reşat (ed.). 2008. *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge UP, pp.301-332.

MAY 15. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: DEMOCRATIZATION, PART 3

- 37) Özbudun, Ergun. 2013. "The Judiciary", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.274-290.
- 38) Özbudun, Ergun. 2013, "Democracy, tutelarism, and the search for a new constitution", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.293-312.
- 39) Turan, İlter. 2013. "Two Steps Forward One Step Back: Turkey's Democratic Transformation", in Rodriguez, Carmen; Avalos, Antonio; Yılmaz, Hakan; Planet, Ana I. (eds.). 2013. *Turkey's Democratization Process*, London: Routledge, pp.43-66.

Review and Presentation Assignments (Covering Reading No. 9 through 39)

BAYÇA	AÇIKALIN	9	15	16	23	24	30	31	32	38	39
ELİF	AKPINAR ÖZER	12	13	19	20	21	27	28	29	35	36
BAHAR	ALBAYRAK	13	14	20	21	22	28	29	30	36	37
INGEBORG HUSE	AMUNDSEN	9	10	16	17	24	25	31	32	33	39
MANOLYA	ARDIÇ	9	10	11	17	18	25	26	32	33	34
SEZİN	ARSLAN	10	11	12	18	19	26	27	33	34	35
HAYA	ATASSI	11	12	13	19	20	27	28	34	35	36
EMİNE	BAYSOY	12	13	14	20	21	28	29	35	36	37
BATUR	BIÇAKER	13	14	15	21	22	29	30	36	37	38
CANSU	ÇELİK	14	15	16	22	23	30	31	37	38	39
YAĞMURSU	DENİZ	14	15	16	17	23	24	31	32	38	39
YVO VALENTINE	FITZHERBERT	10	16	17	18	19	24	25	32	33	39
AYŞEGÜL	GÜRBÜZ	10	11	17	18	19	21	25	26	33	34
TOBIAS	HERLBAUER	10	11	12	18	19	20	26	27	34	35
GÜLŞAN	ÖZER	11	12	13	19	20	21	27	28	35	36
MARTİNE	REMDRUP	12	13	14	20	21	22	28	29	36	37
NURSEN DENİZ	ŞANLI	14	15	16	22	23	24	30	31	38	39
ECEM	SEKİZKARDEŞ	14	15	21	22	23	29	30	31	37	38
MOUAZ	SHAKHASHERO	13	14	15	21	22	23	29	30	37	38
BURAK	YILMAZ	12	15	16	17	23	24	25	31	32	39
BURAK	YILMAZ	13	10	16	17	18	24	25	26	32	33
SEFACAN	YILMAZEL	10	11	17	18	19	25	26	27	33	34
TALYA	YÜZÜCÜ	11	12	18	19	20	26	27	28	34	35

Each student will be responsible to make a **critical review** of 10 out of the 30 books, book chapters and articles, numbered from 09 to 39 in the syllabus. The first 8 reading pieces are not included in this list. The reading pieces have been randomly distributed among the students.

A critical review typically consists of the following three parts:

- 1) Making an objective summary of the main arguments of the work
- 2) Making an objective summary of the main methods and empirical evidence of the work.
- 3) Your subjective assessment of the originality, validity, cogency of the arguments, methods and evidence.

Each review essay should be around 3-5 pages for articles and book chapters and 7-9 pages for books, written with a standard font set 12 pts and double-spaced.

Each review essay should be sent to the instructor and to the students via email in **MS WORD format** (NOT pdf!!!) on the Sunday before the Monday on which the work is going to be presented and discussed in class.

The syllabus specifies which books/chapters/articles are going to be discussed on which days. At each class day those students who have reviewed the relevant books/chapters/articles will present and discuss them before the class. As there will be more than one person who has written a review

for the same work, the presentation of each work can be divided into two or more sessions, so as to give a chance to speak to as many students as possible.

Each review essay must be headed by a **COVER PAGE**, looking like this:

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY
MA PROGRAM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
SPRING 2017
MIR 506: FUNDAMENTALS OF TURKISH POLITICS

FIRST NAME, LAST NAME

FULL BIBLIOGRAPHIC ENTRY OF THE WORK REVIEWED, AS IT **EXACTLY** APPEARS
IN THE SYLLABUS

DATE OF SUBMISSION