

Boğaziçi University
Department of Political Science and International Relations
POLS 246.01: INTRODUCTION TO TURKISH POLITICS
SPRING 2017

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Assessment: A midterm exam (50%) and a final exam (50%).

Reading material: A reading packet will be available at Doğa Kırtasiye in Hisarüstü (0212 263 44 28)

Lecture Hours:

MONDAY	WEDNESDAY
5 (13:00-14:00) NH 301	6-7 (14:00-16:00) EF 106

Office Hour: Monday, 16:00-17:00 K-Park 118

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Midterm Exam: 50%
 Final Exam: 50%

Discussion Sessions: TBA

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 problematique of “identity”, particularly religion, ethnicity and gender. Although these issues occupy the top places of today’s political agenda, they have a certain history, and therefore special attention will be given to the historical evolution of these issues and as well as to the debates around them. There will be no midterm exam. Instead, you will write a midterm paper on a political party/movement of Turkish politics since World War II.

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.

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 od Islam : Assabiyah revisited*. İstanbul : 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 Irzik, 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; Yilmaz, 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. 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. “Middle 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

A) INTRODUCTION: An Overview of Turkey's Modernization from the Tanzimat Reforms of the mid-19th Century to the End of the Second World War in the mid-20th Century.

01-Ahmad, Feroz. 2003. FROM REFORM TO REVOLUTION, 1789–1908, in Ahmad, Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, pp. 25-48.

02-Ahmad, Feroz. 2003. THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION: REFORM AND WAR, 1908–1918, in Ahmad, Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, pp.49-74.

03-Ahmad, Feroz. 2003. THE KEMALIST ERA, 1919–1938, in Ahmad, Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, pp.75-94.

04-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.

B) 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

05-Ahmad, Feroz. 2003. TOWARDS MULTI-PARTY POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY, in Ahmad, Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, pp. 95-118.

06-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.

07-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.

C) POPULIST DEMOCRACY AND ITS MAJOR ACTORS: THE 1960-1980 PERIOD

08-Ahmad, Feroz. 2003. MILITARY GUARDIANS, 1960–1980, in Ahmad, Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, pp. 119-148.

*Lecture on the 27 May 1960 Military Intervention

*Lecture on the **new bureaucratic political actors**: The military, the National Security Council, the Constitutional Court, the State Planning Organization and the Senate.

* Lecture on the **new civilian political actors**: The Justice Party, the Nationalist Action Party, the National Salvation Party, The Republican People's Party, the Worker's Party of Turkey, the YÖN movement, the Revolutionary Youth movement.

*Lecture on the Rise and Fall of National Developmentalism

D) THE MILITARY COUP AND THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME: THE 1980s-1990s

09-Ahmad, Feroz. 2003. THE MILITARY, THE PARTIES AND GLOBALIZATION, 1980–2003, in Ahmad, Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, pp. 149-184.

E) SELECTED CURRENT ISSUES AND ACTORS

Parties, Elections and the Electorate

10- 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

11-Çarkoğlu, Ali. 2012. "Economic evaluations vs. ideology: Diagnosing the sources of electoral change in Turkey", 2002–2011, *Electoral Studies*, 31, pp.513-521

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.

Civil-Military Relations

14-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.

Identity Movements I: Islamism

15-White, Jenny. 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.

16-Davison, Andrew. 2003. "Turkey, a "Secular" State? The Challenge of Description". *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102:2/3, Spring/Summer 2003, pp.333-350

17-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.

18-Göle, Nilüfer. 2002. "Islam in Public: New Visibilities and New Imaginaries". *Public Culture* 14(1): 173–190.

Identity Movements II: The Kurdish Question

19-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.

20-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.

21-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