

Boğaziçi University
Department of Political Science and International Relations
POLS 484: SEMINAR IN TURKISH POLITICS
SPRING 2017

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Reading material: All readings for the lectures will be available, in print form, at Nazar Kırtasiye, which is located in the South Campus (inside the food court, on the ground floor of the First Men's Dorm)

Lecture Hours:

MONDAY	WEDNESDAY
6 (14:00-15:00) NH 302	8-9 (16:00-18:30) EF 104

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

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Midterm Exam (take-home, essay-type, based on the lectures): 40%
 Research Presentation and Final Papers: 60%

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course will consist of two parts: lectures and student presentations. The lectures will make 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. The second part of the course will be devoted to group presentations of the term projects. This semester, the general topic of the term project is: “Rethinking and Rewriting Political History of Turkey: 1968 through 2017”.

CLASS DAYS

February 8: Introduction

Lectures: February 15, 22; March 1, 8, 15

Student Presentations: March 22, 29; April 5, 12; May 3

General Discussion: May 10

Spring Break: April 17-23

April 17 – No Class - Spring Break

April 26 – No Class (Professor will be at a conference)

May15: Last Day of Classes

LECTURES: February 15, 22; March 1, 8, 15

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) 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.
 - 2) 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.
 - 3) 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.
 - 4) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2007. “Islam, Sovereignty, and Democracy: A Turkish View”. *MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL*, Volume 61, No. 3, Summer 2007, pp.477-493.
 - 5) 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.
 - 6) 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.

Major Trends in Turkish Politics and Society Today

- 7) 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.
- 8) 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.
- 9) 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.
- 10) Yılmaz, Hakan. 2016. “Meaning Frames and the Left-Right Divide in Turkish Politics”. Research project supported by a grant from Açık Toplum Vakfı (Open Society Foundation) (Grant No: 2015040 – 45871 – FGG011 and Boğaziçi University&State Planning Organization (Grant No: DPT 2010K120670). Date of completion: November 2016.

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: **March 22, 29; April 5, 12; May 3, 10**

TERM PAPERS: STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

General Topic of the Research

Rethinking and Rewriting Recent Turkish Political History: 1968-2017.

Periods to focus on:

Period 1: May 27, 1960 (Military Coup)-March 12, 1971 (Military Coup)

Period 2: March 12, 1971 (Military Coup)-September 12, 1980 (Military Coup)

Period 3: September 12, 1980 (Military Coup)-October 20, 1991 (General Elections)

Period 4: October 20, 1991 (General Elections)-November 3, 2002 (General Elections)

Period 5: November 3, 2002 (General Elections)-June 12, 2011 (General Elections)

Period 6: June 12, 2011 (General Elections)-January 26, 2017 (The proposal for constitutional amendments ratified by the TGNA).

1) Each group member will read at least 2 full books and 2 journal articles/book chapters, covering the events of the period.

2) A detailed&annotated chronology of the period, in Turkish, will be prepared, covering all the major domestic as well as international events of the period under consideration (political, economic, social, cultural...). For this, archives of a major newspaper will be taken as a basis, as well as Ayn Tarihi, the official chronicle published by the BYEGM. "Annotated" means that for each entry in the chronology the data source should be specified. All the chronologies will be prepared using an EXCEL worksheet, following the format below:

Year	Month	Day	Event
1971	3	12	The military issued a memorandum, threatening the JP government with intervention if political instability continues
1980	9	12	The military took over political power

3) A Who's Who will be prepared, covering the short biographies of all the major individual and institutional (parties, associations, labor unions, student movements etc.) political actors of the period.

4) Each group member will conduct an in-depth interview with a political actor who was active during the period under consideration or with a journalist/writer/researcher who was a witness to the period.

5) The final paper will have to have the following separate sections:

A) Political Actors

A1) Institutional Political Actors: Political Parties, Civic Associations, NGOs, Labor Unions, Movements, etc.

A2) Individual Political Actors (Politicians, civic leaders, military leaders, media people, etc.)

B) "Illusions of the Period":

Clash of ideas promises, hopes, expectations

Was any of them hegemonic?

C) Turning Points and the Historical Path

Crucial events, such as elections, terror attacks, military interventions, social unrest, etc., that gave the period its color and shape and separated the period into sub-periods)

Research Groups

You will form 10 research groups, each consisting of an equal number of students (expected to be 6 or 7), depending on the class size. The groups will be specified by the end of the add-drop period, when class size will have been finalized. Each group will have 60 minutes to present their paper, so on each Wednesday two groups will make their presentations.

At least one day before the presentation, the group will send, via email, a handout to the class, outlining the material to be presented. The handout is expected to be 3-5 pages-long.

Each group will have a group speaker, who will be responsible for coordinating the work of the group, the presentation, and the preparation and submission of the final paper.

However, all group members will be on the stage during the presentation, and it is expected that each group member will have a chance to talk about one part of the presentation.

What to Include in the Paper (ALL to be submitted in digital format on a flash disk; no paper copy is required!!!)

- Cover Page (1 page, as shown below)
- Abstract (1 page, double-spaced)
- Main Text (25 pages at most, double-spaced)
- Bibliography (Indicate under separate headings: Primary Sources: archival material; government documents; newspapers and magazines; the names and positions of the persons you have interviewed. Secondary Sources: books, book chapters, journal articles, theses and dissertations.)
- Endnotes (Placed at the very end of the paper; single-spaced)
- Full transcriptions of the interviews. Please do not forget to put an IDENTITY CARD as described below, at the beginning of each transcription.
- Annotated chronology
- Who's Who
- Pictures and other visual material

Language: You will write your papers in **English**. Write in your own English, rather than borrowing sentences from others. This will be highly rewarded. Plagiarism, on the other hand, will be considered as cheating and punished accordingly.

Abstract: Include a one-page abstract of your paper, in which you will summarize your research question and answer.

Fonts, Formatting, and Numbering:

- Use a standard font (such as Arial, Courier New, Times New Roman) and set the font size at **12** points.
- Use the same font type and size throughout the paper, including the cover page, the abstract, the main body of text, quotations, endnotes and bibliography. Do not use any other type or size of font anywhere in the paper.
- Use only underlining, **bold**, and *italics* to emphasize a word or a phrase, and avoid unnecessary and inconsiderate use of these formatting features.
- Number all your pages consecutively, excluding the cover page and the abstract.

Quotations, Citations, Bibliography:

- When you are talking about other people's ideas try to summarize or paraphrase them in your own words instead of directly borrowing expressions and sentences from other works.
- Whenever you borrow, directly or indirectly, ideas, formulations, and arguments from others, you have to cite the source, by using the in-text author-date citation style, which will include the author's last name, the year of the work's publication, and the relevant page numbers: Ex: (Sunar 1974: 34-40).
- Any work which is cited in the text must appear in the bibliography. When preparing your bibliography, use the style of the bibliographic entries which you will find in the course syllabus.

Paragraphing and Sectioning:

- Each distinct idea should be expressed in a separate paragraph. Avoid long paragraphs. The rule of thumb is that each page should have at least two paragraphs. Put a space between the paragraphs and indent the first line.

Cover Page: Include a cover page, prepared as follows:

Boğaziçi University Department of Political Science and International Relations Fall 2017
POLS 484.01 SEMINAR IN TURKISH POLITICS
TERM PAPER
Title of the Paper
Your Names and Student Numbers
Date of Submission

HOW TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS

You will be conducting your interviews in Turkish, if the mother tongue of the person you will be interviewing is Turkish.

Be patient and understanding. Show a sincere respect for the person's own ideas and life experiences.

Do not cut or interrupt a person's flow of ideas to ask your questions. Patiently wait even if the person seems to be talking about unrelated issues.

Do not jump mechanically from one question to another. Questions should be asked naturally. Let the person talk about his/her life, ask him/her other questions, allow him/her to narrate his/her life experiences freely.

If a person insists on concentrating on a few topics of interest to him/her, let him/her do so. Do not cut his narration in the middle and particularly do not force him/her to switch unwillingly to the your topics.

Try to focus on the person's own views and interpretations, on his/her own life experiences, rather than trying to lead him/her into adopting some theory or model.

You should indicate the real names of the interviewees, if you are allowed to do so. If not, give the person a pseudonym. You should tape-record your interviews. Therefore, you should find people who do not oppose to your tape-recording of the interviews. You should then transcribe the whole interview word-by-word, without omitting any part. You will add these written transcriptions to your papers as an appendix (five transcripts for each paper).

You may choose your interviewees from among the European diplomats, businesspeople, journalists, teachers, students, travelers, and the like. You are advised to talk with citizens of the member countries of the European Union, as our focus is on the cultural perceptions and exchanges between Turkey and the EU.

During the interviews, make sure that you do NOT impose your point of view on the person you are interviewing or get engaged in arguments and debates with him/her. Your status as an interviewer is that of a curious, well-informed but neutral reporter. If you try to manipulate the person in a certain direction, you are going to corrupt the informational value of the interview.

Always ask for **the person's own opinions, impressions and life experiences** about an issue, rather than being contented with his/her clichés and general explanations.

Always ask him/her to give **examples of his own life** to illustrate the general points he/she makes.

Do not forget that there may be many logical inconsistencies, factual errors, and even self-contradictions in the person's stream of thoughts and words. **Do not try to be "smart" and "correct" the person's "mistakes"!**

Modesty, sincerity, and respect for the person's ideas and interpretations on the part of the interviewer are necessary for the high quality of the interview.

Please keep the original tape recordings of the interviews with you! Although it is not

necessary to hand the tapes in together with the transcriptions, the original recordings may (and will, in some cases) be asked for if there seem to be problems with the interviews.

Please read your articles before making your interviews.

Transcriptions of the Interviews

The full and faithful transcriptions and tapes will accompany the final paper. At the beginning of each transcription, please put an IDENTITY CARD including the following information, in the following order:

The code and the name of this course (POLS 484)
 The term in which you are taking the course (Fall 2015)
 Your full name
 Date, hour, and place of the interview.

Brief biographical information on the interviewee, to include:

First Name, Last Name (or a pseudonym, if the person does not choose to give his/her real name).

Age

Birthplace

Living place (City, District)

Gender

Marital Status:

Number of Children (If applicable):

Education (If a university graduate and above, the name of the university and faculty/department)

Occupation

Type of house in which the person lives

Income level, according to his/her assessment

Left-Right Scale

Religiosity Scale

!!!VERY IMPORTANT!!! The written and signed permission of the person that his/her interview may be referred to as a source in the academic papers by the students and professors of Boğaziçi University. This statement must also specify whether the person allows his/her name to be disclosed in the references or not. If he/she does not allow his/her name to be disclosed, then he/she must be told that a pseudonym will be used in place of his/her real name.

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 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