

## TURKISH HISTORY

### TURKISH POLITICAL HISTORY

#### Course description

Turkish Political History builds on a thorough literature review that establishes framework of political, economic, and development theory and relates it to the emergence of Turkey in the modern era, and its evolution over time.

#### About the Professor

This course was prepared by Dr. Birol Yesilada, Professor of Political Science and International Studies, Contemporary Turkish Studies Endowed Chair.

#### Course Content

Week 1:	What is Political Development?
Weeks 2-3:	Emergence of Modern Turkey – Challenges in early years
Week 4-5:	Multi-party Period and Challenges for Democratic Consolidation
Week 6:	Political Culture
Week 7:	Civil-Military Relations in Turkey
Week 8-9:	Political Parties
Week 10-11:	Electoral Politics
Week 12:	Interest Groups and Civil Society
Week 13-14:	Rise of Political Islam
Week 15:	Final Examination

## Assigned Readings

### Books:

1. Ersin Kalaycioglu (2005). *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge Across Troubled Lands*.
2. Bernard Lewis, (1961). *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*.
3. Ali Çarkoglu and Ersin Kalaycioglu (2007). *Turkish Democracy Today: Elections, Protest and Stability in an Islamic Society* (London: I.B. Tauris).
4. Gareth Jenkins (2005). *Context and Circumstance: The Turkish Military and Politics* (Adelphi Series).
5. Ergun Ozbudun (2000). *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers).
6. Birol Yesilada and Barry Rubin, eds. (2010). *Islamization of Turkey Under AKP Rule (Special Issue of TURKISH STUDIES, March 2010)*.
7. Barry Rubin and Metin Heper, eds. (2002). *Political Parties in Turkey*. London: Frank Cass.
8. Sabri Sayari and Yilmaz Esmer, eds. (2002). *Politics, parties, and Elections in Turkey* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner),
9. Banu Eligur (2010). *Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey*.

### Articles:

The articles are available through JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>). You can access these assigned readings from a library that has subscription to JSTOR or you can get your own subscription.

## WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

**1. Critical Short Essays (90 points).** You will write weekly short critical and analytical essays on the sets of readings for the scheduled weekly assignments listed in the syllabus. Each essay counts approximately 90 points (10 points each).

Your essays should be approximately 3-4 single-spaced pages, in a concise but effective fashion, with all direct quotes properly footnoted. In the interest of fairness to all students, late assignments will not be accepted. Your essays will be evaluated on the following basis: in the essays you summarize (1) the major problem or question under study, (2) the main argument, (3) and your critical comments or analysis on the overall readings.

The following questions will help you develop your critical thinking: What is the thesis, key arguments/ assumptions, evidence/examples in support of arguments, and conclusions in each of assigned readings? Is the thesis/argument of each author clearly stated and readily understood? Does the author provide sufficient evidence to support his or her main argument? If not, what appears to be lacking? Are there any unanswered questions you think the author should address in the work? Do you have any suggestions for future research? These writing assignments will not only familiarize you with the issues, problems, theories and practices of democratic transitions and prepare you for effective class participation but also help you develop conceptual ability, creative and critical thinking, and writing skills in political science.

**2. Final Examination (90 points).** To be taken during the 15<sup>th</sup> week and returned by Friday 5pm. See instruction under section on **Final Examination**.

## Week 1: What is Political Development

*Focus: In these readings you need to focus on the concept of political development, what it means and how different authors conceptualize it. What do you get out of these readings in that regard? Is political development a concept that is easily understood and measured?*

Gabriel Almond, "Comparative political systems" *Journal of Politics* 18 (1956), pp. 391-409. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2127255.pdf>

Arend Lijphart, "Comparative politics and the comparative method", *APSR* (1971), pp. 682-693. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1955513.pdf>

Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices" *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 35 No. 1, (February 2002) 5-34.

### Suggested optional readings:

Carl Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Democracy*

Karl Deutsch, *Nation Building*.

Juan J. Linz, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration*, John Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Lucian Pye, *Aspects of Political Development* -read his section on the various definitions of political development.

Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968). ISBN 0300011717 (paper).

Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966). ISBN 0807050733 (paper).

## Weeks 2-3: Emergence of Modern Turkey – Challenges in early years

*Focus: In these readings you are introduced to challenges founders of the Turkish Republic faced in establishing the new political order. Examine these challenges with the notion of political development and what it took Ataturk and his friends to get the Republic formed. What was the relationship between elites and masses? What was the relationship between civilian elites and military elites? What policies were introduced and why? And, why was it essential for the founding fathers of Turkey to introduce six arrows of Kemalism as essential pillars of the new Republic?*

Ersin Kalaycioglu (2005). *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge Across Troubled Lands*. Chapters 1-2.

Bernard Lewis, (1961). *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*.

Dankwart Rustow "The Army and the Founding of the Turkish Republic" *World Politics* Vol 11, no. 4 (July 1959):513-552.

*National Geographic Magazine* (January 1929) "Turkey Goes to School."

Suna Kili. "Kemalism in Contemporary Turkey" *International Political Science Review* Vol.1, No. 3, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601123>

Hans KohnSource, "Ten Years of the Turkish Republic" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Oct., 1933), pp. 141-155 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20030569>

## **Week 4-5: Multi-party Period and Challenges for Democratic Consolidation**

*Focus: In these two weeks you will read material covering political and economic development of Turkey since transition to multiparty system in 1945. Address the challenges faced and how political parties became key actors in shaping future development of Turkey. This is also the period when different ideals enter the political arena (i.e., liberalism, Islamic revival, radical left, etc.). How did all these forces affect civil-military relations? What sort of challenges faced political leaders of Turkey and did they act in unity or pulled the masses into societal cleavages that eventually undermined the future stability of the system? Also, make sure you understand the constitutional changes over these years and explain the role of the military in politics.*

Ersin Kalaycioglu (2005). *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge Across Troubled Lands*. Chapters 3-6.

Ergun Ozbudun (2000). *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers).

Birol Yeşilada (1987) "Problems of Political Development in the Third Turkish Republic" *Polity* Vol. XXI, no. 2 (Winter): 345-372. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3234810> or <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0032-3497%28198824%2921%3A2%3C345%3APOPDI%3E2.O.CO%3B2-B>

Haluk Ülman and Frank Tachau. "Turkish Politics: The Attempt to Reconcile Rapid Modernization with Democracy" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring, 1965), pp. 153-168 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4323848>

Eric Rouleau, "Turkey's Dream of Democracy" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 6 (Nov. - Dec., 2000), pp. 100-114 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20049970>

## **Week 6: Political Culture**

*Focus: Political culture is often not discussed in political development. But, it is an important factor in future development of any society. So, in this section you should look at how changes in political culture in Turkey affected political development and also understand how and why political culture changes over time.*

Karaveli, Halil M. (2010) 'An Unfulfilled Promise of Enlightenment: Kemalism and its Liberal Critics', *Turkish Studies*, 11: 1, 85 -102  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683841003747054>

Yeşilada, Birol A. and Noordijk, Peter (2010) 'Changing Values in Turkey: Religiosity and Tolerance in Comparative Perspective', *Turkish Studies*, 11: 1, 9 -27  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683841003746999>

Binnaz Toprak, *Being Different in Turkey*. Available at:  
[http://www.aciktoplumvakfi.org.tr/pdf/tr\\_farkli\\_olmak.pdf](http://www.aciktoplumvakfi.org.tr/pdf/tr_farkli_olmak.pdf)

## **Week 7: Civil-Military Relations in Turkey**

*Focus: Fundamentally you should trace (compare and contrast) the role of Turkish military in politics since 1923 and assess its impact with regard to consolidation of democracy in the country.*

Gareth Jenkins (2005). *Context and Circumstance: The Turkish Military and Politics* (Adelphi Series).

James Brown, "The Military and Society: The Turkish Case" *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jul., 1989), pp. 387-404 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4283319>

- Ümit Cizre Sakallioğlu. "The Anatomy of the Turkish Military's Political Autonomy" *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Jan., 1997), pp. 151-166, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/422077>
- George Harris. "The Role of the Military in Turkish Politics" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter, 1965), pp. 54-66 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4323815>
- John H. McFadden, "Civil-Military Relations in the Third Turkish Republic" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Winter, 1985): 69-85 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4326974>

### **Week 8-9: Political Parties**

*Focus: Political parties are essential part of democracy – without them one cannot imagine representative democracy. Yet, political parties can make or break a democratic system as they play crucial role in functioning democracies. Look for these roles of political parties and assess how Turkish parties met or failed these tasks since transition to multi-party system.*

- Barry Rubin and Metin Heper, eds. (2002). *Political Parties in Turkey*. London: Frank Cass.
- Levent Köker "Local Politics and Democracy in Turkey: An Appraisal" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 540, (Jul., 1995), pp. 51-62 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1048039>
- Criss, Nur Bilge (2010) 'Dismantling Turkey: The Will of the People?', *Turkish Studies*, 11: 1, 45 -58 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683841003747021>
- Biröl Yeşilada (1987) "Problems of Political Development in the Third Turkish Republic" *Polity* Vol. XXI, no. 2 (Winter): 345-372. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3234810> or <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0032-3497%28198824%2921%3A2%3C345%3APOPDI%3E2.O.CO%3B2-B>
- Sabri Sayari and Yilmaz Esmer, eds. (2002). *Politics, parties, and Elections in Turkey* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), read the chapters on political parties.

### **Week 10-11: Electoral Politics**

*Focus: Elections and electoral politics represent the other side of the coin – one side being political parties. Voters and their orientations change due to socio-economic development as well as how political parties socialize them. The same can be said about civil society organizations as well. Therefore, examine voter behavior in turkey, address voter realignment and how political parties faired in making adjustments to capture that/these times of voter realignment(s).*

- Sabri Sayari and Yilmaz Esmer, eds. (2002). *Politics, parties, and Elections in Turkey* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), read the chapters on elections.
- Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin (2010) 'Justice and Development Party at the Helm: Resurgence of Islam or Restitution of the Right-of-Center Predominant Party?', *Turkish Studies*, 11: 1, 29 — 44 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683841003747013>
- Ali Akarca and Aysit Tansel. "Economic Performance and Political Outcomes: An Analysis of the Turkish Parliamentary and Local Election Results between 1950 and 2004" *Public Choice*, Vol. 129, No. 1/2 (Oct., 2006), pp. 77-105 URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25487580>
- Ali Carkoglu, Ideology or Economic Pragmatism": Profiling Turkish Voters in 2007," *Turkish Studies* vol. 9, no. 2 (June 2008): pp. 317-344.
- Ersin Kalaycıoğlu "Attitudinal Orientation to Party Organization in Turkey in the 2000s," *Turkish studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (June 2008): pp. 297-316.

## Week 12: Interest Groups and Civil Society

*Focus: Civil society organizations have become a new force to be reckoned in Turkish politics. Address their role in politics in a similar fashion you addressed political parties.*

Ergun Ozbudun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics*, pp. 125-147  
Yeşim Arat "Feminists, Islamists, and Political Change in Turkey" *Political Psychology*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Mar., 1998), pp. 117-131  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792117>

## Week 13-14: Rise of Political Islam

*Focus: Emergence of political Islam in Turkey is probably the single most serious threat to Kemalism and the foundations of the Turkish Republic. It represents a long process where Islamists have utilized the democratic multi-party political system to advance their agenda. In these readings you will see how complex the Islamist groups are, how their organizational structures vary, their ties to other Islamist groups and foreign actors, and differences in their political and societal goals. Address how various Islamist groups pursue their mission, whether or not they chose to enter political life via formal structures like forming political parties or infiltrating traditional parties, what is Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, Islamism, and civil society networks and their connections to the emergence of Islamic capitalist class in Turkey.*

Banu Eligur (2010). *Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey*.  
Erkan Akin and Omer Karasapan, "The "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis" *Middle East Report*, No. 153, (Jul. - Aug., 1988), p. 18 URL:  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3012127>  
Paul Stirling, "Religious Change in Republican Turkey" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Autumn, 1958), pp. 395-408 URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4323051>  
Joshua D. Hendrick, "Globalization, Islamic activism, and passive revolution in Turkey: the case of Fethullah Gulen"  
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t778749998>  
Metin Heper, "Islam, Polity and Society in Turkey: A Middle Eastern Perspective" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Summer, 1981), pp. 345-363 URL:  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4326250>  
Hakan Yavuz, "Towards an Islamic Liberalism?: The Nurcu Movement and Fethullah Gülen" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 584-605 URL:  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4329392>  
Serif Mardin, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jul., 1971), pp. 197-211 URL:  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/162194>  
Şen, Mustafa(2010) 'Transformation of Turkish Islamism and the Rise of the Justice and Development Party', *Turkish Studies*, 11: 1, 59 – 84 URL:  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683841003747047>  
Bernard Lewis "Islamic Revival in Turkey" *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 28, No. 1(Jan., 1952), pp. 38-48 URL:  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2604969>

## FINAL EXAMINATION – 15<sup>th</sup> week of the Course

You have five days to complete this examination. Choose five of the following questions answer them using relevant literature. Do not forget to cite the material in an appropriate fashion. Limit your answers to each question to a maximum of 10 pages. All answers must be typed, double spaced, and clearly numbered. Make sure you include your name in the header of each page.

1. Provide an in-depth discussion of civil-military relations in Turkey in the context of democratization and economic development. In your discussion make sure you address the issue of national security and how it affects this process.
2. Provide an in-depth discussion of human rights issues and civil society organizations in Turkey as they relate to political reforms and democratic consolidation.
3. Provide a critical assessment of how Ataturk's six principles (six arrows) have been changed since transition to multiparty politics in Turkey. Include in your discussion all aspects of these principles as they relate to constitutional as well as practical policies Turkish political system experienced over time.
4. Despite repeated closure by the constitutional court and/or the military interventions in politics, religious parties keep coming back in Turkey. Provide a detailed discussion of religious parties' adaptation, or the failure, in politics and assess whether or not a system oriented Islamist party is possible. What would it take for an Islamist political party to convince the military and other secular (*laicist*) political institutions/organizations that it is indeed a system oriented party?
5. The internal and external pressures for reform present formidable challenges for policymakers in Turkey as they try to meet the Copenhagen criteria for EU membership. Provide an in-depth assessment of these challenges and the internal dynamics of policymaking in Turkey during the last few years.
6. Political parties play a crucial role in functioning democracies. Explain what these functions are and how they apply to party politics in Turkey during the first, second, and third "republics." What has been the main problem of political parties in Turkey?
7. Provide a comprehensive analysis of voter realignment in Turkey since the 1960 coup with special attention to: (a) the impact of party closure and reorganization following each military intervention, and (b) EU harmonization process.