

**SABANCI UNIVERSITY  
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**POLS 353: Turkish Politics II**

**Instructor:** Berk Esen

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**Office Hours:** TBA

**Class Hours:** M 1.40-3.30

Thu 1.40-2.30

**Course Description**

This course is designed to offer students a comprehensive view of contemporary Turkish politics by focusing on major developments and issues in the post-1983 period. As such, we will examine and discuss the primary themes, issues, trends and challenges faced by contemporary Turkish society and how these have been translated into the political arena in recent decades. Although my lectures will provide a short historical summary, these topics will be covered in a thematic and theoretical manner. Some of these topics include civil-military relations, Kurdish question, party system, migration, government-opposition relations, and political economy. We will also discuss the relevance of political ideologies/movements such as populism and political Islam and analyse how the Turkish political system has changed over the past decade. Regarding learning objectives, students are expected to become familiar with key political figures and parties; follow major political debates; and trace the transformation of the political system.

**Grading**

Thursday sessions will be allocated to discussion of that week's topic. Students are expected to come to class having done the weekly readings and will be graded based on their performance in the midterm and final exam (30 % each). Students will also be required to an annotated bibliography on one of the weekly topics. More information will be provided during our first session.

1. Class Participation & Attendance: 20 %
2. Annotated bibliography: 20 %
3. Midterm Exam: 30 %
4. Final Exam: 30 %

Students who fail to show up for the exams indicated in the Syllabus without a valid excuse and not taking the make-up examinations for such exams will receive N/A as their final grade.

Your webcam must always be on during exams-if not, your exams will be void. You must connect to the Zoom link for the course with your official Sabancı University e-mail account, and not utilize other email accounts. In some cases, the instructor may give an oral exam to check up on the student's progress.

You must attend the synchronous Zoom lectures, recitations, etc. and real-time online exams with your SU email account.

### **Academic Honesty**

Academic dishonesty and plagiarism will not be tolerated in this course and will be penalized accordingly. Students need to submit the work that they do without any outside help. Please make sure to cite your sources properly. Persons who commit or attempt to commit plagiarism will be penalized in accordance with Sabancı University policy.

## **SCHEDULE**

### **Week 1 Introduction: Historical Overview**

Zürcher, Erik Jan. (2017). *Turkey: A Modern History*. Fourth revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris. Pp. 283–319

Arat, Y., & Pamuk, Ş. (2019). *Turkey between democracy and authoritarianism*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 3

### **Week 2 Post-1980 Turkish Politics**

Narli, N. (2011). Concordance and discordance in Turkish civil-military relations, 1980–2002. *Turkish Studies*, 12 (2), 215-225.

Eligür, B. (2010). *The mobilization of political Islam in Turkey*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 3

Van Bruinessen, M. (1996). Turkey's death squads. *Middle East Report*, 20-23.

Zürcher, Erik Jan. (2017). *Turkey: A Modern History*. Fourth revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris. Pp. 319-337

### **Week 3 Post-2002 Turkish Politics**

Eligür, B. (2010). *The mobilization of political Islam in Turkey*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 243-275

Gumuscu, S. (2010). Class, status, and party: The changing face of political Islam in Turkey and Egypt. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(7), 835-861.

Gumuscu, S. (2016). The Clash of Islamists: The crisis of the Turkish state and democracy. *Contemporary Turkish Politics*.

Arat, Y., & Pamuk, Ş. (2019). *Turkey between democracy and authoritarianism*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 4

### **Week 4 Civil-Military Relations**

Sakallioğlu, Ü. C. (1997). The anatomy of the Turkish military's political autonomy. *Comparative politics*, 151-166.

Sarigil, Zeki. (2014). "The Turkish Military: Principal or Agent." *Armed Forces & Society* 40(1): 168-190.

Demir, Sertif, and Oktay Bingöl. (2018). "From Military Tutelage to Civilian Control: An Analysis of the Evolution of Turkish Civil–Military Relations." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*:1-20.

### **Week 5 Kurdish Question**

Ocakli, F. (2017). Politics in the Kurdish periphery: clan networks and local party strategies in a comparative perspective. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 53 (4), 571-584.

Sarigil, Z. (2018). *Ethnic boundaries in Turkish politics: The secular Kurdish movement and Islam*. NYU Press. ch. 3

Tezcür, G. M., & Gurses, M. (2017). Ethnic exclusion and mobilization: the Kurdish conflict in Turkey. *Comparative Politics*, 49 (2), 213-234.

Whiting, M., & Kaya, Z. N. (2021). Autocratization, permanent emergency rule and local politics: lessons from the Kurds in Turkey. *Democratization*, 1-19.

### **Week 6 Democratic Breakdown in Turkish Politics**

Esen, B., & Gumuscu, S. (2016). Rising competitive authoritarianism in Turkey. *Third World Quarterly*, 37(9), 1581-1606.

Tansel, Cemal Burak. (2018) "Authoritarian Neoliberalism and Democratic Backsliding in Turkey: Beyond the Narratives of Progress." *South European Society and Politics* 23, no. 2: 197–217.

Cengiz, F. Ç. (2020). Proliferation of neopatrimonial domination in Turkey. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 47(4), 507-525.

Esen, B., & Gumuscu, S. (2020). Why did Turkish democracy collapse? A political economy account of AKP's authoritarianism. *Party Politics*, 1354068820923722.

### **Week 7 Party Politics and Party System in Turkey (Midterm week)**

Baykan, T. S. (2018). *The justice and development party in Turkey: Populism, personalism, organization*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 6

Yardımcı-Geyikçi, Ş. (2018). Party system institutionalisation and democratic consolidation. *Party Politics in Turkey: A Comparative Perspective*. Ch. 12

Musil, P. A. (2018). Assessing the level of party cartelisation in contemporary Turkey. *Party Politics in Turkey: A Comparative Perspective*.

Kalaycioglu, Ersin. (2019). "Elections, Parties, and the Party System" In Alpaslan Ozerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 83-102.

### **Week 8 Political Economy of Turkey**

Esen, B., & Gumuscu, S. (2018). Building a competitive authoritarian regime: State–business relations in the AKP's Turkey. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20(4), 349-372.

Kimya, F. (2019). Political economy of corruption in Turkey: declining petty corruption, rise of cronyism?. *Turkish Studies*, 20(3), 351-376.

Adaman, F., Arsel, M., & Akbulut, B. (2019). Neoliberal developmentalism, authoritarian populism, and extractivism in the countryside: the Soma mining disaster in Turkey. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 46(3), 514-536.

Kutlay, M. (2020). The politics of state capitalism in a post-liberal international order: the case of Turkey. *Third world quarterly*, 41(4), 683-706.

### **Week 9 Populism in Turkish Politics**

Aytaç, S. E., & Öniş, Z. (2014). Varieties of populism in a changing global context: The divergent paths of Erdoğan and Kirchnerismo. *Comparative Politics*, 47(1), 41-59.

Yabancı, B., & Taleski, D. (2018). Co-opting religion: how ruling populists in Turkey and Macedonia sacralise the majority. *Religion, State & Society*, 46(3), 283-304.

Zengin, H., & Ongur, H. O. (2020). How sovereign is a populist? The nexus between populism and political economy of the AKP. *Turkish Studies*, 21(4), 578-595.

Özdemir, Y. (2020). AKP's neoliberal populism and contradictions of new social policies in Turkey. *Contemporary Politics*, 26(3), 245-267.

### **Week 10 Social Movements and Politics of Protest in Turkey**

Atak, K., & Della Porta, D. (2016). Popular uprisings in Turkey: Police culpability and constraints on dialogue-oriented policing in Gezi Park and beyond. *European Journal of Criminology*, 13(5), 610-625.

Atak, K., & Bayram, I. E. (2017). Protest policing alla turca: Threat, insurgency, and the repression of pro-kurdish protests in Turkey. *Social forces*, 95(4), 1667-1694.

Arslanalp, M., & Deniz Erkmen, T. (2020). Mobile emergency rule in Turkey: legal repression of protests during authoritarian transformation. *Democratization*, 27(6), 947-969.

### **Week 11 Politics of Migration**

İçduygu, A. (2000). The politics of international migratory regimes: Transit migration flows in Turkey. *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165), 357-367.

Kirişçi, K. (2007). Turkey: A country of transition from emigration to immigration. *Mediterranean politics*, 12(1), 91-97.

Özerim, M. G. (2018). Stretching, Opening or Sealing the Borders: Turkish Foreign Policy Conceptions and their Impact on Migration, Asylum and Visa Policies. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20(2), 165-182

Adamson, F. B. (2019). Sending states and the making of intra-diasporic politics: Turkey and its diaspora (s). *International Migration Review*, 53(1), 210-236.

### **Week 12 Nationalism on the Rise**

Kıbrıs, Arzu. (2011). "Funerals and Elections: The Effects of Terrorism on Voting Behavior in Turkey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(2): 220-247.

Tezcür, G. M. (2015). Violence and nationalist mobilization: the onset of the Kurdish insurgency in Turkey. *Nationalities Papers*, 43(2), 248-266.

Cengiz, F. Ç. (2020). Resistance to change: the ideological immoderation of the Nationalist Action Party in Turkey. *Turkish Studies*, 1-19.

Ayturk I and Esen, B. (2021) The Far Right, Labor Unions and the Working Class in Turkey since the 1960s. *Middle East Journal*. Forthcoming

### **Week 13 Opposition Politics**

Somer, M. (2007). Moderate Islam and secularist opposition in Turkey: Implications for the world, Muslims and secular democracy. *Third World Quarterly*, 28(7), 1271-1289.

Selçuk, O., & Hekimci, D. (2020). The rise of the democracy–authoritarianism cleavage and opposition coordination in Turkey (2014–2019). *Democratization*, 27(8), 1496-1514.

Bozkurt-Güngen, S. (2018). Labour and authoritarian neoliberalism: Changes and continuities under the AKP governments in Turkey. *South European society and politics*, 23(2), 219-238.

Wuthrich, F. M., & Ingleby, M. (2020). The Pushback Against Populism: Running on "Radical Love" in Turkey. *Journal of Democracy*, 31(2), 24-40.

### **Week 14 Conclusion - New Dynamics in Turkish Politics**

Esen, B., & Gumuscu, S. (2018). The Perils of "Turkish Presidentialism". *Review of Middle East Studies*, 52(1), 43-53

Yardımcı-Geyikçi, Ş., & Yavuzylmaz, H. (2020). Party (de) institutionalization in times of political uncertainty: The case of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey. *Party Politics*, 1354068820960010.

McCoy, J., & Somer, M. (2021). Overcoming Polarization. *Journal of Democracy*, 32(1), 6-21.