

- **Course Title:** Turkish Politics
- **Course code:** POLS352
- **Course Type:** CE
- **Level of Course:** 3
- **Year of Study:** 3/4
- **Semester:** F
- **ECTS Credits:** 6
- **SU Credits:** 3
- **Name of Lecturer:** Ersin Kalaycıoğlu
- **Objective of the Course:** The primary objective of the course is to enable the students to understand and analyze better the diversities and vicissitudes of political life, institutions and processes in Turkey. An equally significant aim of the course is to provide the students with the theoretical background and analytical tools to assess Turkish political development in the context of the field and discipline.
- **Prerequisites:** None
- **Course Contents:** This course is designed to introduce undergraduate students to Turkish politics through examining its cultural context, institutional structure, socio-political processes, as well as movements and developments that affect the shaping of the political system of the country.
- **Teaching Methods:** Electronically conducted Synchronous Lectures (Students are strongly advised to ask questions and inquire about those issues they failed to comprehend in the lectures with the Instructor of the Course during the Class Hours and the Office Hour).
- **Assessment Methods:** Participation (assessed through pop quizzes, (to be announced electronically on the days that correspond to lecture hours): 20 %, Mid-term I: 25 %, Mid-term II: 25 %, Final Exam: 30 %, on dates as shown on the syllabus. (All of the quizzes and examinations will be administered electronically).
- **Language of Instruction:** English
- **Class Hours and Room:** M 16:40 – 19:30
- **Office Hour:** M 15:30 – 16: 30 or by appointment
- **Recommended Source:** Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge across Troubled Lands*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Readings for the Course:

1. An Overview of the Ottoman Political Legacy (Weeks 1-2)

Ergun Özbudun, “Antecedents of Kemalist Secularism” in Ahmet Evin (ed.), *Modern Turkey: Continuity and Change*, (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1984).

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge across Troubled Lands*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 15 - 43.

İlter Turan, *Turkey’s Difficult Journey to Democracy: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*, (Oxford, United Kingdom: 2015): 33 – 60.

Suggested Readings:

Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, (I. B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 11-172.

Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), 79 - 118.

Şerif Mardin, "Power, Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 11 (June 1969): 25 - 48.

1. 2. Early Republican Period and Transition to Democracy (1923-1945) (Weeks 2-3)

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics...*: 45-166.

Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "Turkey's Return to Multi-party Politics: A Social Interpretation," *East European Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 1, (Spring 2006): 89 -107.

Hakan Yılmaz, "Democratization from Above in Response to the International Context: Turkey, 1945 – 1950," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no: 17, (Fall 1997): 1 -37.

İlter Turan, *Turkey's Difficult Journey to Democracy: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*, (Oxford, United Kingdom: 2015): 61 - 85.

2. Political Culture: The People and Their Polity (Week 3 - 4)

İlter Turan, "The Evolution of Political Culture in Turkey," in Ahmet Evin, *Modern Turkey: Continuity and Change*: 84-112.

Frederick W. Frey, "Patterns of Elite Politics in Turkey," in G. Lenczowski (ed.) *Political Elites in the Middle East*: 41-82.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics ...* : 167-188.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Political Culture," in Metin Heper and Sabri Sayarı (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, (London: Routledge, 2012): 171 - 181.

Suggested Readings:

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Political Culture and Regime Stability: The Case of Turkey," *Boğaziçi University, Journal of Economic and Administrative Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, (Summer 1988): pp. 149-79.

Faruk Birtek and Binnaz Toprak, "The Conflictual Agendas of Neo-Liberal Reconstruction and the Rise of Islamic Politics in Turkey: The hazards of rewriting modernity," *Praxis International*, vol. 13, (1993): 192 – 212.*

Yılmaz Esmer, Devrim, *Evrım, Statüko: Türkiye'de Sosyal, Siyasal ve Ekonomik Değerler*, (İstanbul: TESEV, 1999), passim.

Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *The Rising Tide of Conservatism in Turkey*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 1 – 74.

3. Political Regimes and Institutions (Weeks 5-6)

Metin Heper, *State Tradition in Turkey*, (Walkington, UK: The Eothen Press, 1985): 48 - 66 (Chapter 3).

Ergun Özbudun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*, (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner, 2000): 49-71.

İlter Turan, "Turkey's never-ending search for Democracy," in Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2019): 27 – 36.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Turkish Democratization Falter Again," in Arno Scherzberg, Osman Can, Ilyas Dogan (eds.), *Regierungssysteme im Lichte von "Checks and Balances"*, (Münster, Hamburg, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2017): 9 - 46.

Menderes Çınar and Nalan Soyarik Şentürk, "The Presidency in Turkish Politics," in Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2019) : 103 – 114.

Mid-term I: Week 6

3.1. The Legislative System (Week 7)

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Cyclical Breakdown, Redesign, and Nascent Institutionalization: the Turkish Grand National Assembly," in Ulrike Liebert, and Maurizio Cotta (eds.) *Parliament and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe*, (London, New York: Francis Pinter, 1990): 184-222.

İlter Turan, "Volatility in Politics, Stability in Parliament: An Impossible Dream? The Turkish Grand National Assembly during the Last Two Decades", *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2, (Summer 2003): 151 -176.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "The Turkish Grand National Assembly: New Challenges and Old Problems," in Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem, Philip Robins (eds.), *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 119 – 141.

Suggested Readings:

Marvin Weinbaum, "Classification and Change in Legislative Systems: With Particular Application to Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan," in . R. Boynton, and Chong L. Kim (eds.) *Legislative Systems in Developing Countries*, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1975): 31-68.

Ahmet Naki Yücekök, *Türkiye'de Parlamento'nun Evrimi*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayını, 1983): 157-188.

Chong L. Kim et. al., *The Legislative Connection: The Politics of Representation in Kenya, Korea, and Turkey*, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1984): 87-115.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "The Turkish Grand National Assembly: A Brief Inquiry into the Politics of Representation in Turkey" in Çiğdem Balım et. al. (eds.) *Turkey: Political, Social and Economic Challenges in the 1990s*. (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995): 42-60.

3. 2. Executive and the Public Bureaucracy (Weeks 8 - 9)

Metin Heper, "Bureaucrats, Politicians and Officers in Turkey," in Ahmet Evin (ed.), *Modern Turkey*: 64-83.

Metin Heper, "Civil - Military Relations" in Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2019): 115 -125.

Kemal H. Karpat, "Military Interventions: Army-Civilian Relations in Turkey Before and After 1980," in M. Heper and A. Evin (eds.) *State, Democracy and the Military in Turkey in the 1980s*, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988): 137-58.

William Hale, "Turkish Politics and the Military: A comparative analysis," from William Hale, *Turkish Politics and the Military* (London: Routledge, 1994): 301 – 336.*

Yaprak Gürsoy, "The 15 July 2016 Failed Coup and the Security Sector," in Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2019): 284 – 295.

Suggested Readings:

Ümit Cizre-Sakallıoğlu, *AP-Ordu İlişkileri: Bir İnkilemin Anatomisi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), passim.

William Hale, *Turkish Politics and the Military*, (London: Routledge, 1994), passim.

3.3. Elections and Voting Behavior (Weeks 9 - 10)

Yılmaz Esmer, "Parties and the Electorate: A Comparative Analysis of Voter Profiles of Turkish Political Parties," in Çiğdem Balım et. al. (eds.) *Turkey: Political, Social and Economic Challenges in the 1990s*. (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995): Chap. 5

Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Fragile but Resilient? Turkish Electoral Dynamics , 2002 - 2015* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Michigan University Press, 2021): 95 - 248.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “Elections, Parties, and the Party System,” in Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2019): 83 - 102

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu and Gülnur Kocapınar, “Turkey’s Constitutional Referendum: The 16 April 2017 Referendum in Historical Perspective,” in Julie Smith (ed.) *The Palgrave Handbook of European Referendums* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave – Macmillan, 2021): 405 – 426.

Suggested Readings:

Üstün Ergüder, “Changing Patterns of Electoral Politics in Turkey” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi (Sosyal Bilimler)*, vol. 8-9, (1980-81): 45-69.

Üstün Ergüder and Richard Hofferbert, “The 1983 General Elections in Turkey” in Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin (eds.) *State, Democracy and the Military: Turkey in the 1980s* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988): Chap. 7.

Ali Çarkoğlu, “Ideology or Economic Pragmatism?: Profiling Turkish Voters in 2007,” *Turkish Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2, (June 2008): 317 - 344.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “Turkish Popular Presidential Elections: Deepening Legitimacy Issues and Looming Regime Change,” *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 2, (2015): 157–179.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “Two Elections and a Political Regime in Crisis: Turkish Politics at the Crossroads” *South European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 18, no.1, 2018: 21- 51.

Özge Kemahlıoğlu, “Winds of change? The June 2015 parliamentary election in Turkey”, *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 20, no. 4, (2015): 445–464.

Sabri Sayarı, “Back to a Predominant Party System: The November 2015 Snap Election in Turkey,” *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (2016): 263–280.

Mid-term II: Week 11

3.4. Political Parties and the Party System in Turkey (Weeks 11- 12)

William Hale, “Democracy and the Party System in Turkey,” in in Brian W. Beeley (ed.) *Turkish Transformation: New Century – New Challenges*, (Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, England: The Eothen Press, 2002): 165 - 197.

Sencer Ayata, “Patronage, Party and State: The Politicization of Islam in Turkey,” *Middle East Journal*, vol. 50, no. 1, (1996): 40 – 56.*

Sabri Sayarı, “The Changing Party System,” in Sabri Sayarı and Yılmaz Esmer (eds.), *Politics, Parties and Elections in Turkey*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002): 9 – 32.*

Ergun Özbudun, *Party Politics and Social Cleavages in Turkey*, (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner, 2013): 1 - 104.

Suggested Readings:

Ersin Onulduran, *Political Development and Political Parties in Turkey*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1974): passim.

Tarik Z. Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler I*, (İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları, 1984): passim.

Tarik Z. Tunaya, *Op. cit. II*, (İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları, 1986): passim.

Tarik Z. Tunaya, *Op. cit. III*, (İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları, 1989): passim.

Ümit Cizre (ed.) *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party*, (London: Routledge, 2007).

M. Hakan Yavuz and Nihat Ali Özcan, “The Kurdish Question and Turkey’s Justice and Development Party,” *Middle East Policy*, vol. 13, no. 1, (2006): 102 - 119.

4. Interest Groups and Civil Society (Week 12)

Ergun Özbudun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics*, Chap. 6.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “State and Civil Society in Turkey: Democracy, Development and Protest” in Aryn B. Sajoo (ed.), *Civil Society in the Muslim World: Contemporary Perspectives*, (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002): 247-272.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “Civil Society in Turkey: Continuity or Change?,” in Brian W. Beeley (ed.) *Turkish Transformation: New Century – New Challenges*, (Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, England: The Eothen Press, 2002): 59-78.

Markus Ketola, “NGOs and Civil Society,” in Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2019): 126 – 137.

Suggested Readings:

Robert Bianchi, *Interest Groups and Political Development in Turkey*, (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton Univ. Press, 1984), chaps. 5-7.

M. Heper, "Interest Group Politics in post-1980 Turkey: Lingering Monism," in Metin Heper (ed.) *Strong State and Economic Interest Groups*, (Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1991): 163-76.

5. Political Economy (Week 13)

Mina Toksöz, "The Economy: Achievements and Prospects", in Brian W. Beeley (ed.) *Turkish Transformation: New Century – New Challenges*, (Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, England: The Eothen Press, 2002): 141-164.

Ziya Öniş, "Domestic Politics versus Global Dynamics: Towards a Political Economy of the 2000 and 2001 Financial Crises in Turkey," *Turkish Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2, (Summer 2003): 1-30.

H. Tolga Bölükbaşı, "Political Economy" in Metin Hepar and Sabri Sayarı (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, (London: Routledge, 2012): 341 – 351.

Ali Burak Güven, "Political Economy," in Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2019) :151 – 162.

6. Social Mobilization and Political Participation (Weeks 13 - 14)

Sabri Sayarı, "Some Notes on the Beginnings of Mass Political Participation in Turkey," in Engin D. Akarlı with Gabriel Ben-Dor (eds.) *Political Participation in Turkey: Historical Background and Present Problems*, (Bebek, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Pub., 1975):. 121-133.

Ergun Özbudun, *Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976): 60-96 and 118-151.

Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Democracy Today: Elections, Protest and Stability in an Islamic Society*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007): 1- 21 and 57 – 112.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "The Evolution of Conventional Political Participation in Turkey" in Güneş Murat Tezcür (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2020) (DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190064891.013.19).`

Suggested Reading:

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültür ve Siyasal Katılma," (Political Culture and Political Participation in Turkey) in Mehmet Kabasakal, (ed.) *Türkiye'de Siyasal Yaşam: Dün, Bugün, Yarın*, (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi. yayımları, 2016): 181 - 220.

Final Examination: To be conducted at the end of the semester during the last class hour.

(*) This article is also re-printed in Ali Çarkoğlu and William Hale (eds.) *The Politics of Modern Turkey: Critical Issues in Modern Politics*, vol. II or vol. IV, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).