

SABANCI UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

POLS 352: TURKISH POLITICS - I

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Office Hours : W 14.40-16.30
Class Hours : M 1.40-2.30
W 10.40-12.30

Course Description

This course is designed as a general overview of Turkish politics starting with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. It covers major historical and political issues in Turkey and provides a basic snapshot of the transformation of Turkish society over the last century. The course consists of two parts. The first part offers a historical analysis of Turkish politics from the late Ottoman period until the contemporary era. This historical overview is essential for understanding major political events that have impacted Turkish society. Building on the historical perspectives provided in the first part, the second part of the course then will overview primary and contested issues, debates, and trends in a thematic manner and discuss how they transformed the political arena. Some of these topics include civil-military relations, Kurdish issue, party system and politics, migration, regime dynamics, and political economy. A dedicated discussion on the importance of major political parties and movements, as well as the analysis on the way the Turkish political system has changed over the past decades, will be a critical component of the course.

The major learning objectives of this course are to make students familiar with key political figures, events and parties in Turkey and to follow major political debates; and to trace the transformation of the political institutions.

Grading

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 write an annotated bibliography on one of the weekly topics. More information will be provided during the first session.

1. Class Participation & Attendance: 15 %
2. Annotated bibliography: 20 %
3. Midterm Exam: 30 %
4. Final Exam: 35 %

Academic Honesty

Academic dishonesty and plagiarism will not be tolerated and will be subject to disciplinary process and 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.

WEEKLY COURSE PLAN & READING ASSIGNMENTS

PART I

Week 1: Introduction: Ottoman Legacy

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

Zürcher, Erik J. (2005). "How Europeans adopted Anatolia and created Turkey". *European Review* 13 (3): 379-394.

Meper, Metin. (1985). *The State Tradition in Turkey*. North Humberstone: Eothen Press. Ch. 1 & 4.

Akgündüz, Ahmet. (1998). "Migration to and from Turkey, 1783–1960: Types, numbers and ethno-religious dimensions". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 24 (1): 97-120.

Week 2: Single Party and Kemalist Reforms

Karpat, Kemal. (1991) "The Republican People's Party: 1923-1945", in M. Heper and J. Landau (eds.), *Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey* (London: I.B. Tauris). Ch. 4.

Esen, Berk. (2014). "Nation-Building, Party-Strength, and Regime Consolidation: Kemalism in Comparative Perspective". *Turkish Politics*. 15 (4): 600-620.

Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. (2005). *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge across Troubled Lands*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): pp. 45-66.

Metinsoy, Murat. (2011). "Fragile Hegemony, Flexible Authoritarianism, and Governing from Below: Politicians' Reports in Early Republican Turkey". *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (4): 699-719.

Week 3: Multiparty Competition (I)

Karaömerlioğlu, Asım. (2006). "Turkey's Return to Multi-party Politics: A Social Interpretation". *East European Quarterly* 40 (1): 89 -107.

Sunar, İlkay. (1990). "Populism and patronage: The Democrat party and its legacy in Turkey" *Il Politico* anno LV (4): 745-57

Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin (2005). *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge across Troubled Lands*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan): pp. 67-90.

Week 4: Multiparty Competition (II)

Zürcher, Eric J. (2004). *Turkey: A Modern History* (I.B. Tauris), pp. 245-277.

Esen, Berk. (2021). "Praetorian army in action: a critical assessment of civil–military relations in Turkey". *Armed Forces & Society* 47 (1): 201-222.

Karpat, Kemal. (1967). "Socialism and the Labor Party of Turkey". *Middle East Journal* 21 (2): 157-172.

Levi, Avner. (2016). "The Justice Party, 1961-1980". in *Political parties and democracy in Turkey* (Routledge), pp. 134-151.

Aytürk, İlker., & Esen, Berk. (2021). "The Far Right, Labor Unions, and the Working Class in Turkey since the 1960s". *The Middle East Journal* 75 (4): 511-531.

Week 5: Post-1980 Politics (I)

Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. (2005). *Turkish Dynamics, Bridge Across Troubled Lands*, (Palgrave Macmillan), pp.125-137.

Cizre-Sakallıoğlu, Ümit. & Yeldan, Erinç. (2000). "Politics, Society and Liberalization: Turkey in the 1990s" *Development and Change*, 31(2): 481-508.

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

Week 6: Post-1980 Politics (II) AKP Years

Aytaç, S. Erdem; Öniş, Ziya. (2014). "Varieties of Populism in a Changing Global Context: The Divergent Paths of Erdoğan and Kirchnerismo" *Comparative Politics*, 47 (1): pp. 41-59.

Esen, Berk., & Gumuscu, Sebnem. (2016). "Rising competitive authoritarianism in Turkey". *Third World Quarterly*, 37 (9): 1581-1606.

Baykan, Toygar. (2018). *The justice and development party*. In: *Turkey: Populism, personalism, organization*. Cambridge University Press. Selected pages.

Karataşlı, Şahan S., & Kumral, Şefika (2022). "Crisis of capitalism and cycles of right-wing populism in contemporary Turkey: The making and unmaking of Erdoğanist hegemony". *Journal of Agrarian Change*. pp. 1-25.

PART -II

Week 7: Civil-Military Relations and Military Coups

Sarigil, Zeki. (2014). "The Turkish military: principal or agent?" *Armed Forces & Society* 40 (1): 168-190.

Yagci, Alper (2018). "The Political Economy of Coups D'état: A General Survey, and a Local Theory for Turkey," *Turkish Studies* 19:1, 72-96.

Waldman, Simon., & Caliskan, Emre. (2020). Factional and unprofessional: Turkey's military and the July 2016 attempted coup. *Democracy and Security*, 16 (2), 123-150.

Ozpek, Burak Bilgehan (2021). "Civil-military relations in Turkey: patterns and Possibilities" in Jongerden, J. (Ed.). (2021). *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Turkey*. Routledge.

Week 8: Kurdish Politics

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

Tezcür, Günes. (2015). "Violence and nationalist mobilization: the onset of the Kurdish insurgency in Turkey". *Nationalities Papers*, 43(2): 248–66.

Yeğen, Mesut (2021). *Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey, 1898-2018*. In: *The Cambridge History of the Kurds*, edited by Hamit Bozarslan, Cengiz Gunes, and Veli Yadirgi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 311–33.

Tezcür, Güneş Murat and Gürses, Mehmet. (2017). "Ethnic Exclusion and Mobilization: The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey", *Comparative Politics*, 9 (2): 213-234.

Somer, Murat. (2008). "Why aren't Kurds like the Scots and the Turks like the Brits? Moderation and democracy in the Kurdish question". *Cooperation and Conflict*, 43(2), 220-249.

Week 9: Turkey's Struggle for Democratic Consolidation

Heper, Metin., & Keyman, Fuat. (1998). "Double-faced state: political patronage and the consolidation of democracy in Turkey". *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34(4), 259-277.

Arat, Yesim., & Pamuk, Şevket. (2019). *Turkey between democracy and authoritarianism*. Cambridge University Press. Selected pages.

Turan, İlder (2019). "Turkey's never-ending search for democracy". In Özerdem, A., & Whiting, M. (Eds.). (2019). *The Routledge handbook of Turkish politics*. Routledge. pp. 27-36.

Kubicek, Paul (2020). "Faulty Assumptions about Democratization in Turkey", *Middle East Critique*, 29:3, 245-257.

Esen, Berk., & Gumuscu, Sebnem. (2021). "Why did Turkish democracy collapse? A political economy account of AKP's authoritarianism". *Party Politics*, 27(6), 1075-1091.

Week 10: Political Economy of Development

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

Keyder, Caglar. (1979). The political economy of Turkish democracy. *New Left Review*, (115), 3-44.

Yadirgi, Veli. (2021). "The Kurdish question in contemporary Turkey: A political economy perspective". In *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Turkey* (pp. 282-296). Routledge.

Bugra, Ayse., & Candas, Aysen. (2011). "Change and continuity under an eclectic social security regime: The case of Turkey". *Middle Eastern Studies*, 47(3), 515-528.

Aytaç, Selim E. (2020). *Economic voting during the akp era in Turkey*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 11: Party System and Party Politics

Wuthrich, Michael. (2013). "An Essential Center-Periphery Electoral Cleavage and the Turkish Party System." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45 (4): 751–773.

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

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

Sayarı, Sabri. (2018). "The study of party politics in Turkey". In *Party Politics in Turkey* (pp. 10-26). Routledge.

Massicard, Elise. (2021). "Parties and politics in Turkey". In *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Turkey* (Routledge): pp. 103-116.

Week 12: Religion, Conservatism and Islamist Politics

Cizre-Sakallioğlu, Ümit. (1996). "Parameters and strategies of Islam-state interaction in Republican Turkey". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 28 (2): 231-251.

Gumuscu, Sebnem. (2010). "Class, status, and party: The changing face of political Islam in Turkey and Egypt". *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(7): 835–61.

White, Jenny. (2011). *Islamist mobilization in Turkey: A study in vernacular politics*. University of Washington Press. Selected pages.

Gumuscu, Sebnem. (2016). "The clash of Islamists: The crisis of the Turkish state and democracy". *Contemporary Turkish Politics*, 6, 6-11.

Aytürk, İlker., & Esen, Berk. (2021). "The Far Right, Labor Unions, and the Working Class in Turkey since the 1960s". *The Middle East Journal*, 75(4): 511-531.

Week 13: Migration and Urbanization

Erman, Tahire. (2021). "Migration from rural Anatolia to metropolitan cities". In *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Turkey* (Routledge): 347-359.

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

İçduygu, Ahmet., & Aksel, Damla. (2013). "Turkish migration policies: A critical historical retrospective". *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, 18 (3): 167-190.

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

Week 14: Conclusion: *quo vadis* Turkish Politics

Esen, Berk. (2022). "The Opposition Alliance in Turkey: A Viable Alternative to Erdoğan?" SWP Comment. <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/the-opposition-alliance-in-turkey-a-viable-alternative-to-erdogan>

Esen, Berk. (2022). "Post-2023 Election Scenarios in Turkey". SWP Comment. Forthcoming