

- **Course Title:** Turkish Politics
- **Course code:** POLS550
- **Course Type:** Graduate
- **Level of Course:** Graduate
- **Semester:** F
- **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 the complexities and developments of political life, institutions and processes, as well as the socio-economic factors that influence the political system in Turkey. An equally significant aim of the course is to provide the students with the theoretical background and analytical tools to render their own political analyses of the Turkish political system, in the context of the field of comparative politics and of the political science discipline.
- **Prerequisites:** None
- **Course Contents:** This course is designed to introduce graduate students to Turkish politics through examining its cultural foundations, regime characteristics, political institutions, socio-economic processes, as well as movements and developments that affect the shape of its state-civil society relations, and the political economy of change that has been occurring in the Turkish political system.
- **Teaching Methods:** In-class lecture
- **Assessment Methods:** Participation (assessed through pop quizzes): 20 %, Mid-term I: 25 %, Mid-term II: 25%, Final (Term Paper): 30 %.
- **Language of Instruction:** English
- **Class Time and Room:** W 9:40 – 12:30, FASS 1098
- **Office Hour:** W 13:40 – 14:30, FASS 1048
- **Recommended Readings:**  
There is no single required manuscript the students are advised to follow for the course.

### 1. Approaches to Turkish Politics (Weeks 1-2)

Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (Montreal: McGill Univ. Press, 1964): 3 - 250 (Introduction – Chap. 8).\*\*

Şerif Mardin (1975), “Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?” in Engin D. Akarlı and Gabriel Ben-Dor (eds.), *Political Participation in Turkey: Historical Background and Present Problems*, (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press): 7-32.

Ergun Özbudun, “Development of Democratic Government in Turkey,” in Ergun Özbudun (ed.), *Perspectives on Democracy in Turkey*, (Ankara: Turkish Political Science Association Publication, 1988): 1-58.

Çağlar Keyder, “The Agrarian Background and the Origins of the Turkish Bourgeoisie”, in Ayşe Öncü, Çağlar Keyder, Saad Eddin Ibrahim (eds.), *Developmentalism and Beyond: Society and Politics in Egypt and Turkey*, (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1994): 44-72.

### Suggested Readings:

Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye’de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, (çev. Sabri Tekay), (2. Baskı) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990): 9-195.

## 2. **Political Culture: The People and Their Polity** (Week 3)

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

Frederick W. Frey, "Patterns of Elite Politics in Turkey," in G. Lenczowski (ed.) *Political Elites in the Middle East*, (Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1975): 41 - 82.

İlter Turan, "The Evolution of Political Culture in Turkey," in Ahmet Evin, *Modern Turkey: Continuity and Change*, (Berlin: Leske Verlag and Budrich, 1984): 84-112.

Faruk Birtok 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.\*

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

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

### Suggested Readings:

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

Umut Özkırımlı and Spyros A. Sofos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*, (London: Hurst & Co.: 2008): passim.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Türkiye'de Demokrasi'nin Pekişmesi: Bir Siyasal Kültür Sorunu", *Prof. Dr. Ergun Özbudun'a Armağan: Essays in Honor of Ergun Özbudun*, Cilt 1 (Siyaset Bilimi), (Ankara: Yetkin Basımevi, 2008): 247 - 277.

## 3. **Political Regime** (Week 4)

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

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge Across Troubled Lands* (New York: Palgrave – Macmillan, 2005): 15 – 188. (\*\*)

İlter Turan, *Turkey's Difficult Journey to Democracy: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*, (Oxford, United Kingdom: 2015): 33 – 140.

Ergun Özbudun, “AKP at the Crossroads: Erdoğan’s Majoritarian Drift,” *South European Society and Politics*, 2014 (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2014.920571>).

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

Murat Somer. “Understanding Turkey’s democratic breakdown: old vs. new and indigenous vs. global authoritarianism,” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16(4) (2016): 481-503, DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2016.1246548.

Esen, Berk and Sebnem Gumuscu. “Building a Competitive Authoritarian Regime: State–Business Relations in the AKP’s Turkey,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20(4) (2018): 349-372. DOI: [10.1080/19448953.2018.1385924](https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2018.1385924).

Menderes Çınar and Nalan Soyarak 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.

#### Suggested Readings:

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “From Parliamentary uni-partyism to fragmented multi-partyism: The Odyssey of political regimes in the Turkish Republic,” in Erik – Jan Zürcher (ed.) *Turkey in the Twentieth Century*, (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2008): 89 – 116.

Ergun Özbudun, *1921 Anayasası*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1992): 1 – 84.

Ergun Özbudun, *Türkiye’de Demokratikleşme Süreci: Anayasa Yapımı ve Anayasa Yargısı*, (İstanbul, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2014).

Mümtaz Soysal, *Dinamik Anayasa Anlayışı: Anayasa Diyalektiği Üzerine bir Deneme*, (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1969): 1-106.

S. Erdem Aytaç, Ali Çarkoğlu, and Kerem Yıldırım, “Taking Sides: Determinants of Support for a Presidential System in Turkey,” *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 22, no.1 (2017): 9 - 16.

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis “The Rising Tide of Populist Majoritarianism in Turkey.” in *Democratic Transition and the Rise of Populist Majoritarianism: Constitutional Reform in Greece and Turkey* (by I. Grigoriadis), (Reform and Transition in the Mediterranean Series, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Ödül Celep, “Perspectives on Turkey’s 2017 Presidential Referendum” *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 21(1) (2017): 67-75.

Murat, Somer, “Conquering versus democratizing the state: political Islamists and fourth wave democratization in Turkey and Tunisia,” *Democratization*, 24:6, (2017): 1025 -1043. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2016.1259216.

Berk Esen and Şebnem Gümüşçü “A Small Yes for Presidentialism: The Turkish Constitutional Referendum of April 2017,” *South European Society and Politics*, (2017). DOI: 10.1080/13608746.2017.1384341.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Halk Yönetimi: Demokrasi ve Popülizm Çatışmasında Dünya* (Ankar: Efil Yayınları, 2021): Kısım 4

#### 4. **Political Institutions: State and Politics (An Overview)** (Week 5)

Metin Heper, *State Tradition in Turkey*, (Walkington, UK: The Eothen Press, 1985): passim\*\*

Yeşim Arat and Şevket Pamuk *Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 55 – 87.

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

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “Turkish Democracy: Patronage versus Governance” *Turkish Studies*. Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 54-70.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge Across Troubled Lands*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 45 - 188.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Anayasa – Der (2017). “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası’nda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun (Üzerine Teknik Bilimsel Rapor) (<http://anayasader.org/turkiye-cumhuriyeti-anayasasinda-degisiklik-yapilmasina-dair-kanun-teklifi/>).

Kemal Gözler, “CUMHURBAŞKANLIĞI HÜKÛMET SİSTEMİNİN UYGULAMADAKİ DEĞERİ Bir Buçuk Yıllık Bir Bilanço” (13/9/2020) <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/>

## **Mid-term I: Week 6**

#### 4.1. **The Legislative System** (Weeks 6-7)

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.

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.

Yasushi Hazama, "Constituency Service in Turkey: A survey on MPs" *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 3, (2005): <https://doi.org/10.4000/ejts.471>.

Élise Messicard, "Differences in Role Orientation among MPs," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 3 (2005): <https://doi.org/10.4000/ejts.499>.

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*, (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 119 – 141.

Ahmet Cilavdaroglu and Birol Ekici "Assessing the Power of the Purse of the Turkish Grand National Assembly," *TODAIE's Review of Public Administration*, vol. 7, Issue 3, (September 2013): 57 -83.

#### Suggested Readings:

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

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Türkiye'de Siyasal Sistemin Evrimi ve Yasama Sistemi" *Bilanço 1923-1998: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75 yılına Toplu Bakış" Uluslararası Kongresi, Cilt I*, 1999: 95-110.

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.

İlter Turan, Şeref İba and Ayşe Zarakol, "Inter-party mobility in the Turkish Grand National Assembly: curse or blessing?" *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no.3 (2005): <http://www.ejts.org/document400.html>.

Fahri Bakırcı, *Kuruluşundan Günümüze TBMM'nin Denetim Yetkisinin Sönümlenmesi (Denetimden Kaçış)*, Lykeion Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2021).

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu "Yasamanın Yüzyıllık Kurumsallaşma Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi" (2022).

#### 4.2. Executive and the Bureaucracy (Week 8)

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

Ergun Özbudun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*, (Boulder, London: Lynne Reinner, 2000): 105 - 123.

Metin Heper, "State, Democracy and Bureaucracy in Turkey, in Metin Heper (ed.), *The State and Public Bureaucracies: A Comparative Perspective*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987): 131 - 145.

Sabri Sayarı and Hasret Dikici Bilgin, "Paths to Power: The Making of Cabinet Ministers in Turkey," *Parliamentary Affairs*, (2011): 1 – 26.

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 - 158.

Feroz Ahmad, "Military and Politics in Turkey," in Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem and Philip Robins (eds.), *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, (New York, N. Y: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 92 -116.

Ali Karaosmanoğlu, "Civil – Military Relations" in Metin Heper and Sabri Sayarı (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, (London: Routledge, 2012): 149 - 159.

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 İnkılabın Anatomisi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), passim.

William Hale, *Turkish Politics and the Military*, (London: Routledge, 1994), passim.  
Ali Karaosmanoğlu, *Armed Forces and Democracy*, (Ankara: Bilgesam Report, no. 33, June 2011).

#### **4.3. Judiciary (Week 9)**

Ergun Özbudun, "Political Origins of the Turkish Constitutional Court and the Problem of Democratic Legitimacy," in Ozan Ergül (ed.), *Democracy and the Judiciary*, (Ankara: Türkiye Barolar Birliği, 2006): 279 – 293.

Ceren Belge, "Friends of the court: The republican alliance and selective activism of the Constitutional Court of Turkey," *Law & Society Review*, 40, (2006): 653–692.

Hootan Shambayati and Esen Kirdiş, "In pursuit of 'contemporary civilization': Judicial empowerment in Turkey" *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (2009): 767–780.

Yasushi Hazama, "Hegemonic preservation or horizontal accountability: constitutional review in Turkey" *International Political Science Review*, 33 (4) (2012): 421-440.

Suavi Aydın, Meryem Erdal, Mithat Sancar, Eylem Ümit Atılğan, ***Just Expectations: A Compilation of TESEV Research Studies on the Judiciary in Turkey***, (Istanbul: TESEV Publications, 2011): 7 – 90.

Ergun Özbudun, “Turkey’s Judiciary and the Drift toward Competitive Authoritarianism,” ***The International Spectator***, Vol. 50, No. 2, (June 2015): 42–55.

#### Suggested Readings:

Ergun Özbudun, ***Pending Challenges in Turkey’s Judiciary***, (Global Turkey in Europe: Policy Brief 20, Mercator, IAI and IPC Joint Publication, January 2015).

Osman Can, ***Darbe Yargısının Sonu: Karargah Yargısından Halkın Yargısına***, (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2010): 21 – 50.

Orhan Gazi Ertekin, ***Yargı Meselesi Hallolundu: Yargıçların “Eşşekli Demokrasi” ile İmtihanı***, (Ankara: Epos Yayınları, 2011): 15 – 103 and 122 – 208.

### **5. Elections and Voting Behavior** (Week 10)

Ali Çarkoğlu, “Voting Behavior,” in Metin Heper and Sabri Sayarı (eds.) ***The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey***, (London: Routledge, 2012): 160 - 170.

Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, ***Fragile but Resilient? Turkish Electoral Dynamics 2002 – 2015***, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2021): 56 – 281.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “Turkish Party System: Leaders, Vote and Institutionalization,” ***Southeast European and Black Sea Studies***, vol. 13, No. 4, (December 2013): 483 - 502.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “Turkish Popular Presidential Elections: Deepening Legitimacy Issues and Looming Regime Change”, ***South European Society and Politics***, 2015 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2015.1046264>.

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. (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2016.1170254>).

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu “Two elections and a political regime in crisis: Turkish politics at the crossroads,” ***Southeast European and Black Sea Studies***, vol. 18: no.1, (2017): 21- 51.

Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu (eds.), ***Elections and Public Opinion in Turkey: Through the Prism of the 2018 Elections***, (London and New York: Routledge, 2022): 8 – 69, 122 – 156, 169 – 193.

#### Suggested Readings:

Üstün Ergüder, (1980-81) “Changing Patterns of Electoral Politics in Turkey” ***Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi (Sosyal Bilimler)***, vol. 8-9: 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): 81-102.

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, “Elections and Governance” in Sabri Sayarı ve Yılmaz Esmer (eds.) *Politics, Parties, and Elections in Turkey*, (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner, 2002): 55-71.

William Hale, “The Electoral System and the 2007 Elections: Effects and Debates,” *Turkish Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2, (June 2008): 233 - 246.

Yılmaz Esmer, “At the Ballot Box: Determinants of Voting Behavior” in Sabri Sayarı and Yılmaz Esmer (eds.) *Politics, Parties and Elections*, (Boulder, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002): 91 – 114.

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.

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

Ziya Öniş. “Turkey’s Two Elections: The AKP Comes Back.” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 27, no. 2, (2016): 141-154.

Bilgin, Hasret and Emre Erdoğan. “Obscurities of a Referendum Foretold: The 2017 Constitutional Amendments in Turkey,” *Review of Middle East Studies*, 52(1) (2018): 29-42. doi:10.1017/rms.2018.9.

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.

## **6. Political Parties and the Party System in Turkey (Weeks 11-12)**

Ergun Özbudun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*, (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner, 2000): 73-103.

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

Yeşim Arat and Şevket Pamuk *Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 88 – 129, and 162 – 192.

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

Sabri Sayarı, “Political Parties,” in Metin Heper and Sabri Sayarı (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, (London: Routledge, 2012): 182 – 193.



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

Pelin Ayan Musil, “Emergence of a Dominant Party System after Multipartyism: Theoretical Implications from the case of the AKP in Turkey.” *South European Society and Politics*, 20(1) (2015): 71–92.

Sebnem Gumuscu, “The Emerging Predominant Party System in Turkey.” *Government and Opposition*, 48(2) (2013): 223–244.

E. Fuat Keyman. “The AK Party: Dominant Party, New Turkey and Polarization.” *Insight Turkey*, 16(2) (2014): 19-31.

#### Suggested Readings:

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

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

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

Metin Heper and Jacob M. Landau (eds.) *Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey*. (London: I. B. Tauris, 1990): passim.

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

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.

Barry Rubin and Metin Heper (eds.), *Political Parties in Turkey*, (London, Portland OR: Frank Cass, 2002): passim.

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.

Ümit Cizre (ed.) *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008): passim.

Ergun Özbudun and William A. Hale, *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey: The case of the AKP*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2010): 1 – 44.

## Mid-term II: Week 11

## **7. Interest Groups and Civil Society** (Week 12)

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.

Yeşim Arat and Şevket Pamuk *Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 228 - 261.

Binnaz Toprak, "Civil Society in Turkey," in Augustus Richard Norton (ed.), *Civil Society in the Middle East*, (Leiden, New York, and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996): 87-118.

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.

İlter Turan, *Turkey's Difficult Journey to Democracy: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*, (Oxford, United Kingdom: 2015): 175 - 186.

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:**

Stephanos Yerasimos and Walter Seufert (eds.), *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism*, (Istanbul: Orient – Institut, 2000).

Ergun Özbudun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*: 125 – 147.

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.

Nilüfer Göle, "Authoritarian Secularism and Islamist Politics: The Case of Turkey," in Augustus Richard Norton (ed.), *Civil Society in the Middle East*, (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996): 17-43.

## **8. Political Economy** (Week 13)

Yeşim Arat and Şevket Pamuk *Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 28 – 54 and 130 – 161,

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

İlter Turan, *Turkey's Difficult Journey to Democracy: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*, (Oxford, United Kingdom: 2015): 141 - 174.

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.

Suggested Readings:

E. Fuat Keyman and Ziya Öniş, *Turkish Politics in a Changing World: Global Dynamics and Domestic Transformations*, (Istanbul, Turkey: Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2007): passim.

Selim İlkin, "Privatization of the State Economic Enterprises" in Metin Heper (ed.) *Politics in the Third Turkish Republic*, (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1994): 77-86

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.

Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019); passim.

9. Social Mobilization and Political Participation (Week 14)

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

Ayşe Güneş-Ayata (1994), "Roots and Trends of Clientelism in Turkey" in Luis Roniger and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata (eds.), *Democracy, Clientelism and Civil Society*, (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner): 49-63.

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" *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics* (2020).

S. Erdem Aytaç and Susan E. Stokes, *Why Bother? Rethinking Participation in Elections and Protests*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 13- 36, and 114 - 125.

Suggested Readings:

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, "Türkiye'de Siyasal Katılma ve Değişim," Tarih Vakfı, *75 Yılda Tebaa'dan Yurttaş'a Doğru*, (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998): 233-40.

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 yayınları, 2016): 181 - 220.

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

## **Term Paper in lieu of the Final Exam will be due for the final day of classes!**

(\*) 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).

(\*\*) These readings are books, which are deposited with the Reserve Section of the Information Center (Main Library).