

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

POLS 353: Turkish Politics II

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Office Hours: Mon 2.40-3.30 & Wed 3.30-4.30 (by appointment)

Class Hours: Wed 4.40-7.30 (FASS 1097)

Course Description

This course is designed to offer students a comprehensive overview of contemporary Turkish politics in the post-1980 period. Marked by the 1980 coup, this era signifies a sharp break with prior republican history due to a set of major changes in the country's political system, socio-economic factors, and cultural scene. In this course, our focus will primarily be on major political events that occurred during the past four decades. Throughout the course, we will delve into the primary themes, issues, trends, and challenges faced by Turkish society in this period and explore how they have shaped the political arena. The first three sessions will cover the key political developments of this period as a basic introduction to the course material. Subsequently, we will conduct a thematic analysis of the course material, analyzing major actors and topics of Turkish politics.

The course is designed in a seminar format. Although my lectures will introduce the course material at the beginning of each session, students are also expected to discuss the readings and share their own opinions in class. Some of these topics include Kurdish politics, Islamist movement, contentious politics and protests, migration and diaspora politics, political economy, citizenship, judicial politics, and democratic breakdown. Regarding learning objectives, students are expected to learn about key political figures and parties; become familiar with major political debates; and trace the transformation of the political system.

Grading

Students are expected to complete the weekly readings before attending the lectures and will be given a grade (15 %) based on their attendance & class participation. They will be graded based on their performance in the midterm (30 %) and final exams (35 %). Students are also required to write two reflection papers.

1. Class Participation & Attendance: 15 %
2. 2 Reflection Papers: (10 % each)
3. Midterm Exam: 30 %
4. Final Exam: 35 %

The course will be conducted in a seminar format that requires students' active engagement. Before each session, students are expected to complete the assigned readings and then

participate in class discussions in an informed and proactive manner. The weekly readings are outlined in the course schedule provided below.

Academic Honesty

Academic dishonesty and plagiarism will not be tolerated in the course and will be penalized accordingly. Students *are expected to* submit their work without any outside assistance. In your written assignment, please cite your sources openly and do not copy anyone else's work without a proper reference. Persons who commit plagiarism will be penalized per Sabancı University policy.

SCHEDULE

Week 1: Introduction & Historical Overview

Zürcher, Erik Jan. (2017). *Turkey: A Modern History*. Fourth revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris. Ch. 15

Demirel, T. (2003). The Turkish military's decision to intervene: 12 September 1980. *Armed Forces & Society*, 29 (2), 253-280.

Yenen, A., & Zürcher, E. J. (Eds.). (2023). *A hundred years of republican Turkey: a history in a hundred fragments*. Leiden University Press. Ch. 57-58, 66

Week 2: Turkish Politics in the 1980s and 1990s

Zürcher, Erik Jan. (2017). *Turkey: A Modern History*. Fourth revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris. Ch. 16

Eligür, B. (2010). *The mobilization of political Islam in Turkey*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 6

Watts, N. F. (1999). Allies and enemies: Pro-Kurdish parties in Turkish politics, 1990–94. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 31(4), 631-656.

Öniş, Z. (2004). Turgut Özal and his economic legacy: Turkish neo-liberalism in critical perspective. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40(4), 113-134.

Week 3: Post-2002 Turkish Politics

Zürcher, Erik Jan. (2017). *Turkey: A Modern History*. London: I.B. Tauris. pp. 319-337 ch. 17

Esen, B. (2021). Competitive authoritarianism in Turkey under the AKP rule. In *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Turkey* (pp. 153-167). Routledge.

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

Yenen, A., & Zürcher, E. J. (Eds.). (2023). *A hundred years of republican Turkey: a history in a hundred fragments*. Leiden University Press. Ch. 86, 89, 94

Week 4: Islamist Politics

Lord, C. (2018). *Religious Politics in Turkey: From the Birth of the Republic to the AKP* (Vol. 54). Cambridge University Press. pp. 184-208, 219-225, 230-237

Gülalp, H. (2001). Globalization and political Islam: The social bases of Turkey's Welfare Party. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 33(3), 433-448.

Livny, A. (2020). *Trust and the Islamic advantage: religious-based movements in Turkey and the Muslim world*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction

Gumuscu, S. (2013). The emerging predominant party system in Turkey. *Government and Opposition*, 48(2), 223-244.

Yenen, A., & Zürcher, E. J. (Eds.). (2023). *A hundred years of republican Turkey: a history in a hundred fragments*. Leiden University Press. Ch. 48

Week 5: Political Economy of the AKP Rule

Ayhan, B., & Üstüner, Y. (2023). Turkey's public-private partnership experience: A political economy perspective. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 23(1), 115-138.

Yörük, E. (2020). The politics of welfare in Turkey. In *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ocaklı, F. (2018). Reconfiguring state-business relations in Turkey: Housing and hydroelectric energy sectors in comparative perspective. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20(4), 373-387.

Marschall, M., Aydoğan, A., & Bulut, A. (2016). Does housing create votes? Explaining the electoral success of the AKP in Turkey. *Electoral Studies*, 42, 201-212.

Yılmaz, V. (2013). Changing origins of inequalities in access to health care services in Turkey: From occupational status to income. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 48, 55-77.

Week 6: Kurdish Politics

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

Gunes, C. (2021). Kurdish politics in Turkey. In *The Routledge Handbook on Contemporary Turkey* (pp. 180-191). Routledge.

Kemahlioglu, Ö. (2022). Distributive politics and electoral competition for the Kurdish vote. *Turkish Studies*, 23(2), 223-242.

Tanca, D. E. (2024). Subnational regime variation in Turkey: how the Kurdish-majority region complicates Turkey's regime type. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 1-26.

Waldman, S., & Caliskan, E. (2017). *The New Turkey and its discontents*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 6

Yenen, A., & Zürcher, E. J. (Eds.). (2023). *A hundred years of republican Turkey: a history in a hundred fragments*. Leiden University Press. Ch. 93

Week 7: Democratic Breakdown in Turkish Politics

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

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

Akkoyunlu, K., & Öktem, K. (2016). Existential insecurity and the making of a weak authoritarian regime in Turkey. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16 (4), 505-527.

Yardımcı-Geyikçi, S. (2020). Democratic backsliding in a second-wave democracy: The strange case of Turkey. *APSA Democracy and Autocracy Newsletter*, 18(3), 21-27.

Week 8: Midterm

Week 9: Political Economy of Authoritarianism

Güven, A. B. (2023). Towards a new political economy of Turkish Capitalism: three worlds. *Turkish Studies*, 24(1), 177-196.

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.

Apaydin, F., & Çoban, M. K. (2023). The political consequences of dependent financialization: Capital flows, crisis and the authoritarian turn in Turkey. *Review of International Political Economy*, 30(3), 1046-1072.

Luca, D., & Rodríguez-Pose, A. (2015). Distributive politics and regional development: assessing the territorial distribution of Turkey's public investment. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 51(11), 1518-1540.

Week 10: Party & Grassroots Politics

Laebens, M. G. (2020). Party organizations in Turkey and their consequences for democracy. *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*.

Massicard, É. (2022). *Street-level governing: negotiating the state in urban Turkey*. Stanford University Press. Ch. 8

Baykan, T. S., & Somer, M. (2022). Politics of Notables versus National Machine: Social, Political and State Transformations, Party Organizations and Clientelism during AKP Governments. *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey*, (34).

Ayan Musil, P., & Vašenda, J. (2020). Party regulation in Turkey: a comparison with modern Europe. *Turkish Studies*, 21(1), 83-107.

Week 11: Populism in Turkish Politics

Yabancı, B. (2020). Fuzzy borders between populism and sacralized politics: mission, leader, community, and performance in 'new' Turkey. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 21(1), 92-112.

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.

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

Esen, B., & Gumuscu, S. (2023). How Erdoğan's populism won again. *Journal of Democracy*, 34(3), 21-32.

Week 12: Social Movements and Politics of Protest in Turkey

Özen, H. (2015). An unfinished grassroots populism: The Gezi Park protests in Turkey and their aftermath. *South European Society and Politics*, 20(4), 533-552.

Doyle, J. L. (2017). State control of civil society organizations: The case of Turkey. *Democratization*, 24(2), 244-264.

Lüküslü, D. (2018). Creating a pious generation: Youth and education policies of the AKP in Turkey. In *Exit from Democracy* (pp. 169-182). Routledge.

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

Yenen, A., & Zürcher, E. J. (Eds.). (2023). *A hundred years of republican Turkey: a history in a hundred fragments*. Leiden University Press. Ch. 91

Week 13: Autocratic Legalism

Kogacioglu, D. (2003). Dissolution of political parties by the Constitutional Court in Turkey: judicial delimitation of the political domain. *International Sociology*, 18(1), 258-276.

Oder, B. E. (2021). Turkey's Democratic Erosion: On Backsliding and the Constitution. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 88(2), 473-500.

Bakiner, O. (2016). Judges Discover Politics: Sources of Judges' Off-Bench Mobilization in Turkey. *Journal of Law and Courts*, 4(1), 131-157.

Esen, B. (2024). Court-packing in a Hybrid Regime: The Case of Turkey. *Law & Policy*, Forthcoming

Week 14: Politics of Migration & Diaspora Politics

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.

Serdar, A. (2023). An illiberal inclusion? The AKP's politics of exceptional citizenship. *Turkish Studies*, 24(1), 51-74.

Yıldız, U., & Sert, D. (2023). The Transformation of Migration Governance in Turkey. In *Turkey's Challenges and Transformation: Politics and Society on the Centennial of the Republic* (pp. 145-164). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Waldman, S., & Caliskan, E. (2017). *The New Turkey and its discontents*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 5

Yenen, A., & Zürcher, E. J. (Eds.). (2023). *A hundred years of republican Turkey: a history in a hundred fragments*. Leiden University Press. Ch. 69