

**Boğaziçi University**  
**Department of Political Science and International Relations**  
**POLS 246.01: INTRODUCTION TO TURKISH POLITICS**  
**SPRING 2010**

**Prof. Dr. Hakan Yılmaz**

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**Assistant: Levent Önen (Room IB 208, Tel: (212) 359 6805, [leventonen\\_1983@yahoo.com](mailto:leventonen_1983@yahoo.com))**

**Student Assistants: Nazife Ece, Eylül Görmüş, Özge Acarsoy, Handan Karakaş**

**Reading material: A reading packet will be available at Doğa Kirtasiye**

**Lecture Hours:**

<b>MONDAY</b>	<b>WEDNESDAY</b>
<b>6-7</b> <b>(14:00-16:00)</b> <b>NH 105</b>	<b>4</b> <b>(12:00-13:00)</b> <b>NH 401</b>

**Office Hour: Wednesday, 14:00-16:00**

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

Midterm Paper: 50%

Final Exam: 50%

**Discussion Sessions: TBA**

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

This course will consist of an overview of political developments in modern Turkey in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> and in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, from the end of the Second World War till today. Topics to be covered include the transition to democracy between 1945 and 1950; the “populist democracy” between 1950-1980 and the three military coups (27 May 1960, 12 March 1971, and 12 September 1980); the surge of “identity politics” after the 1980s; the elections of November 2002 and beyond. We will focus on such hotly debated contemporary issues of Turkish politics as the state based on the rule of law, human rights, citizenship, civil society, democratization and westernization. Attention will also be paid to those current issues which generally fall within the general problematic of “identity”, particularly religion, ethnicity and gender. Although these issues occupy the top places of today’s political agenda, they have a certain history, and therefore special attention will be given to the historical evolution of these issues and as well as to the debates around them. There will be no midterm exam. Instead, you will write a midterm paper on the major period of Turkish politics since World War II.

**Lectures Days (Mon-Wed)**

1. March 1-3	7. April 12-14
2. March 8-10	8. April 19-21
3. March 15-17	9. May 3-5
4. March 22-24	10. May 10-12
5. March 29-31	11. May 17
6. April 5-7	12. May 24-26

## **ACADEMIC HONESTY**

The Department of Political Science and International Relations has the following rules and regulations regarding academic honesty.

1. Copying work from others or giving and receiving answers/information during exams either in written or oral form constitutes cheating.
2. Submitting take-home exams and papers of others as your own, using sentences or paragraphs from another author without the proper acknowledgement of the original author, insufficient acknowledgement of the consulted works in the bibliography, all constitute plagiarism.
3. Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and will result in:
  - a) an automatic "F" in the assignment or the exam
  - b) an oral explanation before the Departmental Ethics Committee
  - c) losing the opportunity to request and receive any references from the entire faculty
  - d) losing the opportunity to apply in exchange programs
  - e) losing the prospects of becoming a student assistant or a graduate assistant in the department

The students may further be sent to the University Ethics committee or be subject to disciplinary action.

## **A BASIC LIST OF MONOGRAPHS ON TURKISH POLITICS**

Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. London and New York: Routledge

Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. 2005. *Turkish Dynamics, Bridge across Troubled Lands*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Keyder, Çağlar. 1987. *State and Class in Turkey. A Study in Capitalist Development*. London, New York: Verso

Mango, Andrew. 2004. *The Turks Today*. Woodstock and New York: The Overlook Press

Özbudun, Ergun. 2000. *Contemporary Turkish Politics, Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Sunar, İlkay. 2004. *State, Society and Democracy in Turkey*. İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publication

Zurcher, Erik Jan. 1997. *Turkey, A Modern History*. London: I.B. Tauris

## **1) THE TRANSITION FROM THE ONE-PARTY TO THE MULTI-PARTY REGIME, THE RULE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF POPULIST DEMOCRACY, 1946-1960**

Yılmaz, Hakan. 1997. "Democratization from above in Response to the International Context", Turkey 1945-1950. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No. 17 (Fall 1997), pp. 1-38.

Yılmaz, Hakan. 2009 (1996). "The Democrat Party Period in Turkey, 1950-1960: Populists, Progressives, and Officers" and "The Coup d'Etat of 1960 and the Establishment of Military Democracy". Forthcoming in *The Contested Legacy, A History of American-Turkish Relations in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Selçuk Esenbel and Bruce Kuniholm, 2009.

## **2) POPULIST DEMOCRACY AND ITS MAJOR ACTORS: THE 1960-1980 PERIOD**

Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 121-212

\*Lecture on the 27 May 1960 Military Intervention

\*Lecture on the **new bureaucratic political actors**: The military, the National Security Council, the Constitutional Court, the State Planning Organization and the Senate.

\*Lecture on the **new civilian political actors**: The Justice Party, the Nationalist Action Party, the National Salvation Party, The Republican People's Party, the Worker's Party of Turkey, the YÖN movement, the Revolutionary Youth movement.

\*Lecture on the Rise and Fall of National Developmentalism

## **3) THE MILITARY COUP AND THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME: THE 1980s-1990s**

Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. 2005. *Turkish Dynamics, Bridge across Troubled Lands*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.91-166

## **4) CURRENT ISSUES AND ACTORS**

### Elections and the Electorate

Çarkoğlu, Ali. 2002. "The Rise of the New Generation Pro-Islamists in Turkey: The Justice and Development Party Phenomenon in the November 2002 Elections in Turkey". *South European Society and Politics*, Volume 7, Issue 3, pp. 123 – 156.

Çarkoğlu, Ali. 2008. "Ideology or Economic Pragmatism: Profiling Turkish Voters in 2007". *Turkish Studies*, Vol.9, No.2, pp.317-344

### AKP: The Justice and Development Party

Öniş, Ziya. 2009. "Conservative Globalism at the Crossroads: The Justice and Development Party and the Thorny Path to Democratic Consolidation in Turkey". *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp.21-40.

### CHP: The Republican People's Party

Keyman, E. Fuat and Öniş, Ziya .2007. "Globalization and Social Democracy in the European Periphery: Paradoxes of the Turkish Experience". *Globalizations*, Vol.4. No.2, pp.211 - 228

### The Military and Civil-Military Relations

Şatana, Nil S. 2008. "Transformation of the Turkish Military and the Path to Democracy". *Armed Forces & Society*, Volume 34, Number 3 April 2008, pp. 357-388

### The Judiciary Judicial Empowerment

Shambayati, Hootan and Kırdış, Esen. 2009. "In Pursuit of "Contemporary Civilization": Judicial Empowerment in Turkey". *Political Research Quarterly*, Volume 62, Number 4, pp. 767-780.

### Islamism: Old and New, Political and Cultural, Modern and Traditional

Göle, Nilüfer. 1997. "The Quest for the Islamic Self within the Context of Modernity". In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, pp.81-94. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Gümüşçü, Şebnem. 2010. "Class, Status, and Party: The Changing Face of Political Islam in Turkey and Egypt". *Comparative Political Studies* XX(X), pp. 1–27.

### The Alevi Revival

Vorhoff, Karin. 1998. "Let's Reclaim Our History and Culture!"— Imagining Alevi Community in Contemporary Turkey". *Die Welt des Islams*, 38/2, pp.220-252.

Çarkoğlu, Ali. 2005. "Political Preferences of the Turkish Electorate: Reflections of an Alevi–Sunni Cleavage". *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 273–292

### Secularism

Davison, Andrew. 2003. "Turkey, a "Secular" State? The Challenge of Description". *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102:2/3, Spring/Summer 2003, pp.333-350

### The Kurdish Question

Somer, Murat. 2005 "Defensive- vs. Liberal-Nationalist Perspectives on Diversity and the Kurdish Conflict: Europeanization, the Internal Debate, and *Türkiyelilik*", *New Perspectives on Turkey* No. 32, Spring.

### The New Tide of Turkish Nationalism

Bora, Taml. 2003. "Nationalist Discourses in Turkey". *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102:2/3, Spring/Summer 2003, pp.433-451.

**Pols 246-Spring 2010**  
**TERM PAPERS**

**Date to send, via email, the names of the group members and the project title to Levent Önen: April 2, 2010, 17:00**

**Date to hand in the final papers, both the written and the digital copy on a CD, to Levent Önen: May 31, 2010, 17:00 (Please bind PART I and PART II together and PART III separately for the ease of reading!)**

This year's term papers will focus on a major political party of Turkish politics since 1950 during an important interval of its life cycle. For this purpose, you will form Work Groups comprising 7 students and you will conduct a research:

- By consulting the major books and articles written on that party or movement
- By examining the programs, by-laws, electoral manifestos, pamphlets, posters, and other publications of that party or movement
- By reviewing the newspapers of the period to understand the history of the party/movement and the political context of the period
- By interviewing at least 7 people (members, supporters, militants, leaders) from the party/movement and understanding the way they see the historical significance and legacy of that organization.

**The final paper you will write will consist of the following sections (Please use, exactly and precisely, the following titles and subtitles when writing your papers...)**

PART I: Interpretive Essay

- Formation and Growth
- Membership and Leadership Structure
- Program, Ideals, Goals
- Actions, Tactics, Strategies
- Electoral and Governmental Performance

PART II: Memory

- The Historical Legacy and Political Significance of the Party/Movement in the Memories of Its Supporters and Militants

PART III: Annexes

- An annotated chronology of the political events of the period
- An annotated chronology of the history of the party/movement
- Brief biographies of the leading figures of the parties/movements
- Full and Faithful Transcripts of the Interviews
- Any visual or audio material related to the party (photos, videos, speeches, party programs and pamphlets, etc.)
- Copies of the cover, title and contents pages of all the books and journals you consulted.

**You will choose the party or movement you will be studying from the list below:**

**The Democratic Party/Demokrat Parti (DP)**

1) DP, 1946-1960

**The Justice Party/Adalet Partisi (AP)**

2) AP, 1961-1980

**The Republican People's Party/Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP)**

3) CHP under the leadership of İsmet İnönü: 1950-1972

4) CHP under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit: 1972-1980

5) CHP under the leadership of Deniz Baykal: 1995-2010

**The Populist Party/Halkçı Party (HP); the Social Democracy Party/Sosyal Demokrasi Partisi (SODEP); the Social Democratic Populist Party/Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti (SHP)**

6) HP, 1983-1985; and SODEP, 1983-1985; and SHP, 1985-1995

**The Nationalist Action Party/Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi**

7) MHP, 1969-1980

8) MHP, 1993-2002

**The Nationalist Work Party/Milliyetçi Çalışma Partisi (MÇP)**

9) MÇP, 1985-1993

**The Great Unity Party/Büyük Birlik Partisi (BBP)**

10) BBP, 1993-2009

**The National Order Party/Milli Nizam Partisi (MNP); the National Salvation Party/Milli Selamet Partisi (MSP)**

11) MNP, 1970-1971 and MSP, 1972-1980

**The Welfare Party/Refah Partisi (RP); the Virtue Party/Fazilet Partisi (FP); the Felicity Party/Saadet Partisi (SP)**

12) RP, 1983-1998 and FP, 1998-2001

13) SP, 2001-2008

**The Workers' Party of Turkey/Türkiye İşçi Partisi (TİP)**

14) TİP, 1961-1971

**The YÖN/DEVİRİM Movements in the 1960s**

15) YÖN/DEVİRİM in the 1960s

**Legal Socialist Parties in the 1970s**

16) The Workers' Party of Turkey/Türkiye İşçi Partisi (TİP), 1975-1980

17) The Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey/Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi (TSİP), 1974-1980

18) The Socialist Revolution Party/Sosyalist Devrim Partisi (SDP), 1975-1980

19) The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey/Türkiye İşçi Köylü Partisi, 1978-1980

**Illegal Socialist Parties and Movements in the 1960s and 1970s**

- 20) The Communist Party of Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s
- 21) The Revolutionary Youth Movement/Dev-Genç in the 1960s
- 22) The Revolutionary Way Movement/Devrimci Yol in the 1970s
- 23) The Revolutinary Left Movement/Devrimci Sol in the 1970s

**Legal Kurdish Political Parties, 1991-2010**

- 24) People's Labor Party/Halkın Emek Partisi (HEP), 1990-1991; and Democracy Party/Demokrasi Partisi (DEP), 1991-1994
- 25) People's Democracy Party/Halkın Demokrasi Partisi (HADEP), 1994-2003
- 26) Democratic People's Party/Demokratik Halk Partisi (DEHAP), 2003-2005
- 27) Democratic Society Party/Demokratik Toplum Partisi (DTP), 2005-2009

**What to Include in the Papers (Midterm/Final)**

- Cover Page (1 page, as shown below)
- Abstract (1 page, double-spaced)
- Main Text (15 pages, double-spaced)
- Bibliography (Indicate under separate headings: Primary Sources: archival material; government documents; newspapers and magazines; the names and positions of the persons you have interviewed. Secondary Sources: books, book chapters, journal articles, theses and dissertations.)
- Endnotes (Placed at the very end of the paper; single-spaced)
- Full transcripts and digital recordings of the interviews.

**Language:** You will write your papers in **English**. Write in your own English, rather than borrowing sentences from others. This will be highly rewarded. Plagiarism (stealing other people's ideas and sentences), on the other hand, will be considered as cheating and punished accordingly.

**Abstract:** Include a one-page abstract of your paper, in which you will summarize your research question and answer.

**Fonts, Formatting, and Numbering:**

- Use a standard font (such as Arial, Courier New, Times New Roman) and set the font size at **12** points.
- Use the same font type and size throughout the paper, including the cover page, the abstract, the main body of text, quotations, endnotes and bibliography. Do not use any other type or size of font anywhere in the paper.
- Use only underlining, **bold**, and *italics* to emphasize a word or a phrase, and avoid unnecessary and inconsiderate use of these formatting features.
- Number all your pages consecutively, excluding the cover page and the abstract.

**Quotations, Citations, Bibliography:**

- When you are talking about other people's ideas try to summarize or paraphrase them in your own words instead of directly borrowing expressions and sentences from other works.
- Whenever you borrow, directly or indirectly, ideas, formulations, and arguments from others, you have to cite the source, by using the in-text author-date citation style, which will include the author's last name, the year of the work's publication, and the relevant page numbers: Ex: (Sunar 1974: 34-40).
- Any work which is cited in the text must appear in the bibliography. When preparing your bibliography, use the style of the bibliographic entries which you will find in the course syllabus.

**Paragraphing and Sectioning:** Each distinct idea should be expressed in a separate paragraph. Avoid long paragraphs. The rule of thumb is that each page should have at least two paragraphs. Put a space between the paragraphs and indent the first line.

**Cover Page:** Include a cover page, that will look exactly as follows:

Boğaziçi University  
Department of Political Science and  
International Relations  
Spring 2010

POLS 246 : Introduction Turkish Politics

Midterm Paper

Title of the Paper

Your Name(s) and Student Number(s)

Date of Submission

## **CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS**

Be patient and understanding. Show a sincere respect for the person's own ideas and life experiences.

Do not cut or interrupt a person's flow of ideas to ask your questions. Patiently wait even if the person seems to be talking about unrelated issues.

Do not jump mechanically from one question to another. Questions should be asked naturally. Let the person talk about his/her life, ask him/her other questions, allow him/her to narrate his/her life experiences freely.

If a person insists on concentrating on a few topics of interest to him/her, let him/her do so. Do not cut his narration in the middle and particularly do not force him/her to switch unwillingly to the your topics.

Try to focus on the person's own views and interpretations, on his/her own life experiences, rather than trying to lead him/her into adopting some theory or model.

You should indicate the real names of the interviewees, if you are allowed to do so. If not, give the person a pseudonym. You should tape-record your interviews. Therefore, you should find people who do not oppose to your tape-recording of the interviews. You should then transcribe the whole interview word-by-word, without omitting any part. You will add these written transcriptions to your papers as an appendix,

**During the interviews, make sure that you do NOT impose your point of view on the person you are interviewing or get engaged in arguments and debates with him/her.** Your status as an interviewer is that of a curious, well-informed but neutral reporter. If you try to manipulate the person in a certain direction, you are going to corrupt the informational value of the interview.

Always ask for **the person's own opinions, impressions and life experiences** about an issue, rather than being contented with his/her clichés and general explanations.

Always ask him/her to give **examples of his own life** to illustrate the general points he/she makes.

Do not forget that there may be many logical inconsistencies, factual errors, and even self-contradictions in the person's stream of thoughts and words. **Do not try to be "smart" and "correct" the person's "mistakes"!**

**Modesty, sincerity, and respect** for the person's ideas and interpretations on the part of the interviewer are necessary for the high quality of the interview.

**Please keep the original tape recordings of the interviews with you!** Although it is not necessary to hand the tapes in together with the transcriptions, the original recordings may (and will, in some cases) be asked for if there seem to be problems with the interviews.

Please read your articles before making your interviews.

After finishing the interviews, and transcribing them fully and faithfully, each group member will read the texts of the interviews conducted by the other members of the group. In addition to the

interview transcriptions, group members will also read the general sources on the state, state institutions, and state economic enterprises in Turkey. Group members will then come together, in as many sessions as necessary, and discuss the points raised in the interviews. In those discussion sessions, differences and similarities between the viewpoints of the interviewees will be uncovered and these points will then be evaluated in the context of the empirical and theoretical information that will be gathered from the general sources.

You have to ask your questions in as plain a language as possible, without in any way “lecturing” to the person! Try to be plain, simple, short and direct. It is absolutely imperative that you do not impose your own views on the interviewee; if the interviewee senses that you are trying to teach him/her something or manipulate him/her towards your own position, he/she will most probably stop answering your questions sincerely and say only what you would want him/her to say; in other words, he/she will manipulate you instead! Don’t expect a person to provide you with a logically coherent, internally consistent worldview. People will say things, which are not logically connected to one another, or, even worse, which are utterly contradictory with one another. Do not try to fix or correct people’s idea; just record them as they are presented to you.

If people agree to be interviewed but do not want you to use their true names, then you may use a pseudonym for them. If they do not want their voice to be recorded, you may tell them that recording is only for transcription purposes and that you will give the tapes back to them as soon as you finish your transcriptions. If that is the case, please inform me of this situation on the cover page of the related transcription. If the person does not allow at all tape recording, then drop him/her and pick someone else.

## **TRANSCRIBING THE INTERVIEWS**

The full and faithful transcriptions and tapes will accompany the final paper. Please use digital recording devices and copy the audio files onto CDs. At the beginning of each transcription, please put a cover page including the following information, in the following order:

Each interview transcription must include, at the beginning of the first page, the following information and in the following order:

- The code and the name of this course (POLS 246)
- The term in which you are taking the course (Spring 2009)
- Your full name
- Date, hour, and place of the interview.

Brief biographical information on the interviewee, to include:

First Name, Last Name (or a pseudonym, if the person does not choose to give his/her real name).

Age

Birthplace

Living place (City, District)

Gender

Marital Status:

Number of Children (If applicable):

Education (If a university graduate and above, then name of the university and faculty/department)

Occupation

Type of house in which the person lives:

Gecekondu	İmarlı Orta	İmarlı Lüks
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Income level, according to his/her assessment:

Çok Düşük Gelir	Düşük Gelir	Orta Gelir	Yüksek Gelir	Çok Yüksek Gelir
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Left-Right Scale:

En sol	Merkez Sol	Merkez	Merkez Sağ	En Sağ
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Religiosity Scale:

Hiç Dindar Değil	Orta Seviyede Dindar	Çok Dindar
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The written and signed permission of the person that his/her interview may be referred to as a source in the academic papers by the students and professors of Boğaziçi University. This statement must also specify whether the person allows his/her name to be disclosed in the references or not. If he/she does not allow his/her name to be disclosed, then he/she must be told that a pseudonym will be used in place of his/her real name.

**PERMISSION TO USE THE INTERVIEW**

(Tarih)

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'ne,

(Tarih) tarihinde (saat)'da (yer)'da Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü'nde verilmekte olan "POLS 246: Türk Siyasal Hayatına Giriş" dersi kapsamında, (söyleşiyi yapan kişi) benimle yapmış olduğu söyleşinin, bu dersin öğrencileri ve öğretim elemanları tarafından tamamen araştırma amaçlı olarak ve söylediklerime sadık kalmak şartıyla kullanılmasına izin veriyorum.

Yazılan ödevlerde ad ve soyadımın açık olarak zikredilmesine onay veriyorum/vermiyorum.

Adı-Soyadı

İmzası