

# THE POLITICS OF' MODERN TURKEY

### Critical Issues in Modern Politics

## Edited by AH Qarkoglu and William Hale

Volume I Historical Heritage of Politics in Modern Turkey



# THE POLITICS OF MODERN TURKEY

Critical Issues in Modern Politics

## Edited by AH Qarkoglu and William Hale

Volume II Political Institutions and Processes



# THE POLITICS OF MODERN TURKEY

Critical Issues in Modern Politics

## Edited by AH Qarkoglu and William Hale

Volume III Modern Turkey's Foreign Policy



## THE POLITICS OF MODERN TURKEY

Critical Issues in Modern Politics

### Edited by AH Qarkoglu and William Hale

Volume IV Major Issues and Themes in Contemporary Turkish Politics



	Acknowledgements Chronological table of reprinted chapters and articles	xv xvii
	Introduction , ;	1
	DLUME I HISTORICAL HERITAGE OF POLITICS IN DDERN TURKEY	1
PAR His	et 1 atorical roots	15
1	The nature of traditional society: Turkey HALIL JNALCIK	17
2	The grocer and the chief: a' parable DANIEL LERNER	36
3	The transformation of the Ottoman state, 1789-1908 KEMAL H. KARPAT	56
4	Center periphery relations: a key to Turkish politics §ERiF MARDiN	96
5	The political economy of Turkish democracy £A <jlar keyder<="" td=""><td>118</td></jlar>	118
6	Populism and patronage: the Dernokrat Party and its legacy in Turkey iLKAY SUNAR	161

PAR	<b>T</b> 2	
Kemalism		173
7	Kemalism in contemporary Turkey , SUNA KiJ	175
8	Kemalist certainties and modern ambiguities RE§AT KASABA	194
I'AR	T 3	
Nat	ionalism	213
9	The top hat: secular Kemalist nationalism HUGH POULTON	215
10	The ups and downs of irreden'tism: the case of Turkey JACOB M. LANDAU	251
11	Remembering the minorities ANDREW MANGO	266
PAR	RT 4	
Pol	itical culture and education	293
12	State elites and democratic culture in Turkey ERGUN OZBUDUN	295
13	Education and political development JOSEPH S. SZYLIOWICZ	317
14	Political culture in Turkey: connections among attitudes toward democracy, the military and Islam MARK TESSLER AND EBRU ALT1NOGLU	330
15	Religion and political culture in Turkey JLTER TURAN	360

## VOLUME II POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

	Acknowledgements	ix
PAR	Т 5	
Cor	nstitutional framework	1
16	The politics of constitution making ERGUN OZBUDUN	3
PAR	T 6	i
Exe	ecutive	23
17	The status of the president of the republic under the Turkish constitution of 1982: presidentialism or parliamentarism? ERGUN OZBUDUN	25
PAR		25
Bui	reaucracy	35
18	Society and bureaucracy: the civil service DAVID BARCHARD	37
PAF	RT 8	
Par	rliament	53
19	Cyclical development, redesign and nascent institutionalization of a legislative system ERSJN KALAYCIOGLU	55
PAI	RT 9	
Pa	rty system	97
20	Turkish party system in transition: party performance and agenda change ALi GARKOGLU	99

21	Turkish political parties and elections: half a century of multiparty democracy FRANK TACHAU	t31•
22	The changing party system SABRJ SAYARI	151
	ctions, voting	175
23	Voter profiles and fragmentation in the Turkish party system CEM BAS.LEVENT, HASAN KJRMANOGLU AND BURHAN S.ENATALAR	177
24	At the ballot-box: determinants of voting behaviour in Turkey YILMAZ ESMER	194
25	Regional cleavages in Turkish politics: an electoral geography of the 1999 and 2002 national elections W. JEFFERSON WEST	217
26	Unconventional political participation in Turkey and Europe: comparative perspectives ERSIN KALAYCIOGLU	245
	RT 11 erest group politics, civil society	265
27	Non-state actors and environmentalism CIGDEM ADEM	267
28	Globalization, civil society and citizenship in Turkey: actors, boundaries and discourses E. FUAT KEYMAN AND AHMET igDUYGU	285
29	Business, globalization and democracy: a comparative analysis of Turkish business associations ZIYA ONIS AND UMUT TUREM	303

PAR	T 12	
The	The military	
30	The Turkish military's decision to intervene: 12 September 1980' TANEL DEMIREL	331
31	The Justice and Development Party government and the military in Turkey METJN HEPER	356
32	Problems of democratic governance of civil-military relations in Turkey and the European Union enlargement zone UMJT CiZRE	375
33	Turkish politics and the military: a comparative analysis WILLIAM M. HALE	393
VOLUME III MODERN TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY		
	Acknowledgements	vii
PAI	RT 13	
His	storical background .	1
34	The Late Ottoman Empire•FEROZ AHMAD	3
35	Turkish diplomacy from Mudros to Lausanne RODERIC H. DAVISON	31
36	The Turkish context BRUCE R. KUNIHOLM	66
37	Turkey WILLIAM HALE	125

PART 14		
Сур	Cyprus and Greek-Turkish relations	
38	Cyprus in Turkish politics and foreign policy CLEMENT H. DODD /	155
39	Turkish policy toward Greece	170
	TOZUN BAIICHELI	
PAR	т 15	
Tur 40	key's relations with the USA, Russia and Eurasia Turkey and the United States F. STEPHEN LARRABEE AND IAN O. LESSER	191 193
41	Turkey and Russia in Eurasia OKTAY F. TANRISEVER	214
42	Turkey and the newly independent states of Central Asia and the Caucasus	240
	GARETH WINROW	
PAR	T 16	
	e Kurdish question and Turkey's policy towards Middle East The Kurdish question and Turkish foreign policy KEMAL KiRi§Ci	255 257
44		291
45	Between Europe and the Middle East: the transformation of Turkish policy	313
	KEMAL KiRi§Ci	
PAR	RT 17	
	rkey and the EU	329
46	The December 2004 European Council decision on Turkey: is it an historic turning point? KEMAL KJRI§Ci	331

47	Europe: still the "desired land"?	341
	HEINZ KRAMER	
PAF	RT 18	
	reign policy since 2002	365
48	Turkish foreign policy since 2002: between a "post-Islamist" government and a Kemalist state PHILIP ROBINS	367
	DLUME IV MAJOR ISSUES AND THEMES IN ONTEMPORARY TURKISH POLITICS	
	Acknowledgements	ix
PAI	RT 19	
Democratization, politics of EU membership process		1
49	Turkish political parties and the EU discourse in	
	the post-Helsinki period: a case of Europeanization GAMZE AVCI	3
50	Turkey, Europe, and paradoxes of identity: perspectives on the international context of democratization	24
	ZiYA ONi§	24
51	The intellectual roots of anti-European sentiments in	
	Turkish politics: the case of radical Turkish nationalism NERGIS CANEFE AND TANIL BORA	49
52	Europeanization in Turkey: trigger or anchor for reform?	70
	NATHALIE TOCCI	
PA	RT 20	
	entity issues 1: Religiosity and the rising salience of	0.2
pr 53	o-Islamist movements G Group-differentiated rights and the liberal democratic state:	83
	rethinking the headscarf controversy in Turkey YESJM ARAT	85

54	Patronage, party, and state: the politicization of Islam in Turkey SENCER AYATA	99.
55	The conflictual agendas of neo-liberal reconstruction and the rise of Islamic politics in Turkey: the hazards of rewriting modernity FARUK BIRTEK AND BINNAZ TOPRAK	118
56	Religiosity, support for <i>§eriat</i> and evaluations of secularist public policies in Turkey ALi CARKOGLU '	141
57	Transformation of Islamic political identity in Turkey: rethinking the West and westernization il-ISAN DAGI	167
58	Secularism and Islamism in Turkey: the making of elites and counter-elites NiLUFER GOLE	187
59	The Turkish state and Alevis: changing parameters of an uneasy relationship BEDRIYE POYRAZ	202
60	Political Alevism versus political Sunnism: convergences and divergences	219
	RUS.EN CAKIR	
PAI	RT 21	
	ntity issues 2: Ethnicity and politics of Kurdish nority The Kurdish question and Turkey's Justice and	225
01	Development Party M. HAKAN YAVUZ AND NUIAT ALI OZCAN	227
62	Citizenship and ethnicity in Turkey MESUT YEGEN	247
63	The People's Democracy Party ^ AYLIN GUNEY	264

PAR	T 22	
Identity issues 3: Women in Turkish politics		279
64	From emancipation to liberation: the changing role of women in Turkey's'public realm	281
	YESJM ARAT	
PAF	RT 23	
	icy-making, political economic interactions, patronage	295
65	Politics, society and financial liberalization: Turkey in the 1990s UMIT CIZRE-SAKALLIOGLU AND ERJNC YELDAN	297
66	Double-faced state: political patronage and the consolidation of democracy in Turkey METIN HEPER AND E. FUAT KEYMAN	325
67	Domestic politics versus global dynamics: towards a political economy of the 2000 and 2001 financial crises in Turkey ZiYA ONi§	344
68	Political economy of agricultural reforms in Turkey MiNE EDER	373
	Index	398