

Course syllabus for POLS 246 – Introduction to Turkish Politics
Boğaziçi University, Spring 2022

TTW672 / NH 301 NH 301 ONLINE
Office hour: By appointment (email me)

Instructor: Dr. Alper Yağcı, alper.yagci@boun.edu.tr
Course assistant: Osman Zinnur Aksu, o.zinnuraksu@gmail.com



This course covers major historical and contemporary issues in Turkish politics. It is a required course for POLS majors. Due to the subject topic of the course, some readings and discussions may be in Turkish. Hence it may not be ideal as an **elective** course for non-Turkish speakers.

This syllabus is important. Please read it carefully. Each time you ask the course instructor a question that is already answered in the syllabus, a kitten cries.

Logistics

On Tuesdays we meet at NH 301. On Wednesdays we meet online via a Zoom link found on the Moodle course page.

THIS IS PLANNED TO BE A MOSTLY CONVENTIONAL COURSE WITH 2/3 FACE-TO-FACE, 1/3 ONLINE CONTENT. THE EXAMS WILL BE IN-CLASS. HOWEVER, STUDENTS SHOULD EXPECT CHANGES TO COURSE LOGISTICS TO TAKE PLACE IF NEED BE. IF COVID-19 SITUATION DRAMATICALLY WORSENS, IF GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS OR THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION REQUIRE US TO TAKE NEW MEASURES, THEN COURSE LOGISTICS AND EXAM SPECIFICS MAY CHANGE DURING THE SEMESTER. I RESERVE MY RIGHT TO MAKE SUCH CHANGES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT STUDENT NEEDS AND COMMON SENSE. PLEASE KEEP AN EYE ON YOUR EMAILS FOR ANY NEWS.

Grading requirements

40% Midterm exam (April 5)
60% Final exam (date to be arranged by university admin)
Below is the scale used to convert scores to course grades.

Score	Course grade	GPA
90-100	AA	4
85-89	BA	3.5
80-84	BB	3
75-79	CB	2.5
70-74	CC	2
64-69	DC	1.5
60-64	DD	1
0-60	F	0

Academic integrity

Cheating and plagiarism during the assignments and the exams will not be tolerated. The Department of Political Science and International Relations at Bogazici University has the following rules and regulations regarding academic honesty:

- Copying work from others or giving and receiving answers/information during exams either in written or oral form constitutes cheating.
- 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. To avoid plagiarism, consult the guide at the end of this syllabus.
- Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and will result in:
 - an automatic F for the assignment or the exam
 - an oral explanation before the Departmental Ethics Committee
 - losing the opportunity to request and receive any references from the entire faculty
 - losing the opportunity to apply in exchange programs
 - 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.

Course Schedule and Reading List

Though all the required readings will be available online through Moodle, I recommend you to buy 2 Turkish-language books and read them in full at some point. You can order them online through e-merchants.

- Başsoy, Ateş İlyas. 2014. *AKP Neden Kazanır? CHP Neden Kaybeder?* İstanbul: Pegasus.

This is a fun story of an election campaign as narrated by an advertisement executive working for CHP.

- Bora, Tanıl. 2017. *Cereyanlar: Türkiye’de Siyasi İdeolojiler*, İstanbul: İletişim.

This is a magisterial overview of political thought in modern Turkey.

Below is the weekly reading list. There are some readings in Turkish. But each week includes enough readings in English too. THE LIST BELOW IS TENTATIVE, SOME ITEMS MAY CHANGE.

Week 1 (Feb 23): Historical-geographical primer

- Kafadar, C. (2007). A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum. *Muqarnas*, 24, 7-25.
- Ahmet Akgündüz (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 (Mar 1-2): Perspectives on Turkish political development

- Keyder, Çağlar. State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development. London; New York: Verso, 1987. “Introduction,” “Looking for the Missing Bourgeoisie.”
- Mardin, Serif. “Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?” *Daedalus* 102, no.1 (1973): 169-190.
- Taşkın, Yüksel. 2017. “Şerif Mardin: Sosyal Bilimlere Saygınlık Kazandıran Bir Bilim İnsanın Ardından” *Birikim* (online), 14 Eylül: <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/haftalik/8514/serif-mardin-sosyal-bilimlere-sayginlik-kazandiran-bir-bilim-insaninin-ardindan#.WcfnMhimNhA>

Week 3 (Mar 8-9): Kemalism and the Republican Revolution

- Özbudun, E. "The Nature of the Kemalist Political Regime," in Kazancıgil and Özbudun, eds., *Atatürk: Founder of a Modern State* (London: C. Hurst, 1981), pp. 79-102.
- Cemil Koçak, ‘Tek Parti Yönetimi,’ in Ahmet İnel (ed.), *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce cilt 2 Kemalizm*. İletişim.
- 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.
- Aytürk, İ. (2015). Post-post Kemalizm: Yeni Bir Paradigmayı Beklerken. *Birikim*, 319, 34-47.

Week 4 (Mar 15-16): Elections and Parties

- Sunar, Ilkay. 2004 [1990]. "Populism and Patronage: The Demokrat Party and Its Legacy in Turkey." In *State, Society and Democracy in Turkey*, edited by Ilkay Sunar. Istanbul: Bahçesehir University.
- Sayarı, Sabri. 2002. "The Changing Party System" in Sabri Sayari and Yılmaz Esmer, ed. *Politics, Parties and Elections in Turkey*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Wuthrich, F. M. 2013. "An Essential Center-Periphery Electoral Cleavage and the Turkish Party System." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45, no. 4: 751–773.

Week 5 (Mar 22-23): Military Coups

- Yagci, Alper H. 2018. "The Political Economy of Coups D'état: A General Survey, and a Local Theory for Turkey," *Turkish Studies* 19:1, 72-96.
- Sarigil, Zeki. 2014. "The Turkish military: principal or agent?" *Armed Forces & Society* 40, no. 1: 168-190.
- Okur, Mehmet Akif. 2014. "Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinin 12 Eylül Kavşağı: Amerikan Belgeleri Darbe Hakkında Ne Anlatıyor?" *Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika* 40: 67-93.

Week 6 (Mar 29-30): Constitutional Development

- Özbudun, E. (2011). *The constitutional system of Turkey: 1876 to the present*. Springer. Chapter 1.
- Kalaycioglu, Ersin. 2002. "Elections and Governance." Sabri Sayari and Yılmaz Esmer, ed. *Politics, Parties and Elections in Turkey*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Scotti, V. R. (2017). Presidentialism in Turkey. A first appraisal of 2017 Constitutional Reform. *DPCE Online*, 30(2).

Week 7: Recess (April 5-6)

- April 5: Midterm
- April 6: No class

Week 8 (April 12-13) Political Economy of Development

- Waldner, David 1999. *State Building and Late Development* (Cornell), Chapter 3.
- Arat, Yeşim and Pamuk, Şevket. 2019. *Turkey between Democracy and Authoritarianism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5 Uneven Economic Development and Domestic Politics.
- Akarca, Ali T., and Aysit Tansel. "Economic performance and political outcomes: An analysis of the Turkish parliamentary and local election results between 1950 and 2004." *Public Choice* 129.1-2 (2006): 77-105.

Week 9 (April 19-20): Voter Behavior

- Başsoy, Ateş İlyas. 2014. *AKP Neden Kazanır? CHP Neden Kaybeder?* İstanbul: Pegasus. pp. 5-59
- Aytaç, Selim Erdem. 2020. Economic Voting during the AKP Era in Turkey. In *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*, edited by G. M. Tezcür.
- Laebens, M. G., & Öztürk, A. (2020). Partisanship and Autocratization: Polarization, Power Asymmetry, and Partisan Social Identities in Turkey. *Comparative Political Studies*,

Week 10 (April 26-27): Conservatism, Social Change and Gender

- Çarkoğlu, A., Kalaycıoğlu, E. (2009). *The rising tide of conservatism in Turkey*. Springer. Chapter 5: Explaining the Character of Turkish Conservatism, excerpts [I'll probably replace this]
- Arat, Yeşim and Pamuk, Şevket. 2019. *Turkey between Democracy and Authoritarianism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8: Women's Call for Democracy

Week 11 (May 3-4): Bayram and Spring Break

No class

Week 12 (May 10-11): Religion and Secularism

- Kuru, Ahmet T. *Secularism and state policies toward religion: the United States, France, and Turkey*. Cambridge University Press, 2009. "Analyzing Secularism," pp. 6-37.
- Öztürk, A. E. (2019). An alternative reading of religion and authoritarianism: the new logic between religion and state in the AKP's New Turkey. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 19(1), 79-98.
- Bora, Tanıl. 2017. *Cereyanlar*, İletişim. 7. Bölüm 'İslamcılık' pp. 415-446, 459-518 (you may skip 'Radikal İslamcılık' section)

Week 13 (May 17-18): The Kurdish question

- Arat, Yeşim and Pamuk, Şevket. 2019. *Turkey between Democracy and Authoritarianism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6: Kurdish Revolt
- Tezcür, Güneş Murat and Gürses, Mehmet. 2017. "Ethnic Exclusion and Mobilization: The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey", *Comparative Politics*, published online in January 2017, pp. 213-230+Appendix
- Somer, M. (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 14 (May 24): TBA

Final exam period: 27 May – 11 June

Grading deadline: 16 June

Note on communication

Although I would love to be able to answer each email I receive, this is not possible and often not necessary. We are living in an age of email ubiquity, and this seems to have led students to sending frequent emails without putting much thought in them, or being impatient about the response.

- In the subject line of your email, begin with the code of the course (for example POLS246) you are writing about. If your email is bereft of basic courtesy or identification info (your real name) you will not receive a reply.
- If you are asking me something that is clearly explained in the syllabus, I may not reply.
- If your email is one among many I am receiving from several students on the same issue, then I will later send a collective message. If this is already addressing your point, do not expect an additional individual reply.
- If I have asked you to complete an assignment on Moodle, and instead you are sending it to me via email, especially late, then you are not entitled to a reply. I will probably evaluate your delivery with some score penalty, although I have the right to dismiss it completely.
- If your email is incorrectly addressing me about an issue that is best left to other faculty or administrative offices, I may fail to reply. Remember that for some of the more clerical issues you can consult my assistant. Her/his email is at the top of this syllabus.
- If your email is of a kind that justifiably requires an individual response from me, I will try to reply to it. If I don't, then please resend the email some days later. Remember that professors are busy people and teaching is only one part of our job (next to research and administrative service). We are also old. Sorry about that. ^_(:\`)/_/
- If my individual reply to you is short and terse, it doesn't mean that I am angry with you, it just means that life is short. Actually I love you.