

Turkish Political Elite

This dissertation seeks to answer to this question: what was the nature and significance of political and cultural opposition in the Kemalist single party state? It examines the careers and output of several key members of the Turkish literary and political elite who enjoyed significant popularity throughout this period, were supportive of some form of Turkish nationalism, but ultimately found themselves at odds with the state establishment, and silenced, suppressed or exiled by the time multiparty politics opened up in Turkey at the dawn of the Cold War. Many of these figures offered alternative visions of Turkish nationalism and modernity inspired by international movements to the left of Kemalism, some of them espoused liberal economic views or a friendlier attitude towards religious conservatives, some of them offered ultranationalist visions infused with racism and inspired by Nazi Germany. By recovering these narratives through state archives, private archives, published and unpublished memoirs found in Turkey, the United States, and Europe, as well as a close reading of the political press in this period, it provides a clearer picture of how contentious the Turkish democratic project was during the single party era, and what types of political voices found themselves on the outside looking in once the first successful opposition party, the Democrat Party, came to power in 1950.

Turkish accession to the European Union is an important but controversial item on the agenda of the European Union. By focusing on the various domestic sources that drive Turkish politics, this comprehensive study of both classic and new topics supported by fresh, new insights fills a void in the current literature on Turkey-EU relations. This volume is a comprehensive, state of the art study of domestic politics and policies and their role in Turkey's EU accession. Contributions are obtained from established scholars, acknowledged for their expertise in their respective fields. The content is structured along issues, dynamics, actors and policies that drive Turkish politics and it provides an integrated assessment of the dynamics in Turkey-EU relations to general readers, students and specialists in EU Enlargement and Turkish politics alike. Original contributions to 'classic' topics such as the customs union, human rights, military, civil society, public and elite opinion, political parties and the Kurdish issue are made by assessing the domestic sources of recent developments during the negotiations period. In addition, 'new' topics are included that previously have not been covered or analyzed in volumes on Turkish-EU relations such as the Alevi issue, European Turks, corruption in Turkey, and Turkish parliamentary elite opinion on Turkey and the EU. This book was published as a special issue of South European Society and Politics.

This book provides a solid and critical historical examination of the endorsement, development and course of Greek nationalism among the lay/clerical leadership of the Greek Orthodox minority of Istanbul during the last phase of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of the newly established Republic of Turkey. The focus is on the political role played by the ethnocentric communal elite, who actively championed the Greek nationalist plan of the Megali Idea (Great Idea). Based on a comparative investigation and synthesis of a wide array of Greek and British archival sources the book engages with the various stages of Constantinopolitan Greek elite nationalism in Turkey and partly in Greece, and examines its manifestations, its level of success and its consequences on the minority during the crucial period of 1918–1930. The main argument is that the internal dynamics, the policies and the responses of this powerful communal elite vis-à-vis other communal factions as well as Greek irredentism and Turkish nation-building conditioned to a significant degree the construction of specific representations and perceptions of the group's collective identity and determined the status of the Greeks of Istanbul as a national minority in Turkey until nowadays. Providing a thorough analysis of elite politics during and in the aftermath of the Greek-Turkish War and assessing the

application of the minority clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923), the volume is a key resource for students and academics interested in nationalism and minorities, modern Greek history, Ottoman and Turkish history as well as for policy makers and specialists working in the diplomatic field, the Greek and Turkish public service, international institutions and non-governmental organizations.

Where is Turkey heading? The internal and external policy reorientation of the AKP since the year 2002 makes this question justified. According to the political language of the ruling AKP elite, Turkish society has entered a phase of a 'new Turkey' with more democracy and economic development. One thing is certain: with the rise in power of the AKP, Turkish politics is gaining a new dynamic, which is full of conflict and is leading to reform of the political domain. This anthology explores these processes of change and the continuity of Turkish political culture during this period. It devotes particular attention to the influence of the AKP government's policy on Turkey's political and cultural order. The individual contributions it contains are therefore concerned with the question of the changes in and continuity of political and cultural patterns. With this focus, they allow conclusions to be drawn concerning Turkey's political order and, in particular, the question of democratisation.

By using the core insights of the constructivist approach in International Relations, this book analyzes the foreign policy behavior of Turkey. It argues that throughout its modern history, Turkey's foreign policy has been affected by its Western identity created in the years following the War of Independence.

“A must-read for anyone concerned about the fate of contemporary democracies.”—Steven Levitsky, co-author of *How Democracies Die* Why divisions have deepened and what can be done to heal them As one part of the global democratic recession, severe political polarization is increasingly afflicting old and new democracies alike, producing the erosion of democratic norms and rising societal anger. This volume is the first book-length comparative analysis of this troubling global phenomenon, offering in-depth case studies of countries as wide-ranging and important as Brazil, India, Kenya, Poland, Turkey, and the United States. The case study authors are a diverse group of country and regional experts, each with deep local knowledge and experience. *Democracies Divided* identifies and examines the fissures that are dividing societies and the factors bringing polarization to a boil. In nearly every case under study, political entrepreneurs have exploited and exacerbated long-simmering divisions for their own purposes—in the process undermining the prospects for democratic consensus and productive governance. But this book is not simply a diagnosis of what has gone wrong. Each case study discusses actions that concerned citizens and organizations are taking to counter polarizing forces, whether through reforms to political parties, institutions, or the media. The book's editors distill from the case studies a range of possible ways for restoring consensus and defeating polarization in the world's democracies. Timely, rigorous, and accessible, this book is of compelling interest to civic activists, political actors, scholars, and ordinary citizens in societies beset by increasingly rancorous partisanship.

This book explores the roots of the decline of democracy and the rise of hegemonic parties in Turkey, by comparing the Justice and Development Party (AKP) with other comparable cases throughout the world. Offering a novel analysis in the rise of hegemonic parties, this book incorporates the analysis of state-society relations and institutionalist approaches. A hegemonic party is a single political party that dominates the scene in multi-party elections for extended periods of time. Focusing on the cases of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Malaysia, Russia and other countries through the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, Africa and Europe, the book proves that hegemony building is possible through the combination of societal and institutional factors at the individual, local, and national levels. Multilingual comparative content analysis, rigorous statistical tests, and in-depth elite-level interviews support this theory, based on an extensive fieldwork analysis. Analysing

contemporary as well as historical cases of hegemonic parties, the volume will be of interest to researchers and students in a broad range of areas including democratization, political parties and Turkish politics.

This paper explores two questions: What are the ideological, social, and political roots of the new "Islamic" Republic of Turkey? How was the new thinking of the ascending political anti-Kemalist elite translated into a precipitous change in Turkey's foreign policy? The first section describes the fundamentals that guided Turkey's foreign policy throughout the Cold War period and the geopolitical crisis that occurred at that period's end. The second section highlights the three main causes of the drastic shift in the Turkish orientation towards the Greater Middle East: the American-promoted 'Turkish model,' a new revisionist doctrine of foreign policy introduced by Davuto?lu, and the emergence of the new political elite representing the conservative and religious businesspeople of Central Anatolia. The third section examines how this thinking was translated into concrete policies in the region. The fourth section describes the new dynamic in the region unleashed by the 'Arab Spring.' The conclusion analyzes the ramifications of Turkey's ambition to become the regional kingmaker and its role in an evolving geostrategic environment.--Résumé de l'éditeur.

Turkish foreign policy and its implications for Eurasian security.

Ruling, but not governing : a logic of regime stability -- The Egyptian, Algerian, and Turkish military "enclaves" : the contours of the officers' autonomy -- The pouvoir militaire and the failure to achieve a "just mean" -- Institutionalizing a military-founded system -- Turkish paradox : Islamist political power and the Kemalist political order -- Toward a democratic transition? : weakening the patterns of political inclusion and exclusion.

What determines voting behavior in Turkey? At a time when the center-right, religious-conservative leadership of the Justice and Development Party has dominated government and the political scene in Turkey—so much so that the democratic credentials of the regime have come into question—many have sought to understand what undergirds this party's success at the polls. While many scholars have argued that elections in Turkey over time can be effectively and simply explained by static social or cultural cleavages, Wuthrich challenges these assertions with a framework that carefully attends to patterns of strategic vote-getting behavior in elections by political parties and their leaders. Using the campaign speeches of the political elite, election data at national and provincial levels, and careful observations of voter mobilization strategies across time, Wuthrich traces four distinct patterns that explain important shifts in electoral behavior. He covers the first free and fair multiparty election in 1950 and follows campaign strategies through 2011, highlighting and explaining the potential development of a new and more problematic paradigm emerging in the post-2007 environment.

Turkey is witnessing an era of political upheaval. From the Gezi protests in 2013 to the attempted military coup of 2016, the concept of 'post-truth' plays a significant role in Turkish politics today. In the chaos of conspiracy theories, hidden enemies and post-coup purges, the unreal merges with the real, fuelling political repression and anti-government sentiment alike. Julian de Medeiros here analyses the many unfolding challenges of Erdogan's New Turkey, and shows how a fixedly Turkish-style of 'post-

truth' has taken root. Examining the relationship between conspiracy theory and 'post-truth', this book sheds light on the strategies of political paranoia that threaten to undermine the success of Turkey's democratic model. De Medeiros argues that both the Gezi protests and the failed coup attempt need to be considered alongside the emerging anti-democratic and conspiratorial tendencies of an increasingly authoritarian Turkish government. As Turkish democracy continues to evolve with breath-taking speed and unpredictable outcomes, de Medeiros shows how the rise of paranoid politics in Turkey constitutes part of a global trend towards post-truth narratives. He situates Turkish democracy as subject to a global resurgence of strongman leadership and antagonistic populism. *Conspiracy Theory in Turkey* presents the very first critical account of the Turkish model of a 'post-truth politics'. Through a counter-intuitive analysis of conspiracy theory and paranoid politics the book disentangles the real from the unreal and chronicles the emergence of post-truth in Turkey today.

This thesis explores the influence of Islam in Turkey today. Dealing primarily with Republican Turkey, the influence of Islam is traced through the development of the various Turkish constitutions, through a brief study of the political elite structure, and finally by looking at the individual Turk. Although Islam is being seen as slowly being eroded by 'secularization-by-modernization,' it is still seen as a very strong, if subtle, force in the Turkish social fabric. (Author).

This book analyses the political and socio-economic problems faced by Turkey in recent decades and the country's gradual integration into the global economy. Since the 1970s, Turkey has faced some of the most serious crises since the Republic was established in 1923. Social unrest, political and ethnic violence, paralysis of the state bureaucracy and other institutions, increasing foreign debt, decreasing economic growth, vast inflation and increasing unemployment have all been part of everyday life in Turkey's recent history. The author argues that this state of affairs is symptomatic of a deeper, more enduring crisis arising from the way in which Turkey has been integrated into the global economy. He shows how, like many other developing countries, Turkey has become reliant on foreign investment and international financial institutions, and he offers a broader critique of globalisation in this light. Topics covered include democracy, repression, the military, the Kurdish question and regional inequalities, civil society, human rights and Islamic fundamentalism.

Although Turkey began its transition to democracy as early as the 1950s, it is still far from having reached a level of consolidated democracy with the country's sixty-year history of democratic politics being punctuated by numerous breakdowns and restorations of democracy. In an attempt to examine why consolidation of Turkish democracy has taken so long, this book aims at analyzing various factors including state, political parties, civil society, civil-military relations, socio-economic development, the EU as an international actor and the rise of internal threats (political Islam and separatist Kurdish nationalism) that both hinder and enhance democratic consolidation in Turkey. By highlighting the strengths and shortcomings of the Turkish experience from these perspectives, this book suggests the optimal policy priorities for current and future Turkish governments to establish a consolidated democracy in Turkey. Contributors: Muge Aknur, Canan Aslan-Akman, Filiz Baskan, Gulgun Erdogan-Tosun, Siret Hursoy, Aysegul Komsuoglu, Gul M. Kurtoglu-Eskisar, Yesim Kustepeli, Nazif Mandaci, Ibrahim Saylan, & Ugur Burc Yildiz.

A fieldwork-based account of the role of populism, personalism and organisation in the rise of Erdoğan's JDP to authoritarian predominance.

This book provides a comprehensive evaluation of the impact of improving EU-Turkey relations on Turkish political culture. It also comprises a succinct overview of Turkey's most reaching reform process since Atatürk.

Turkey's modern history has been unstable and contradictory. National identity continues to be an issue as Turks are faced with joining the West and preserving their own culture. The emergence of Islamism contributes to the question of how safe the secular constitutional democracy is.

President Erdoğan's victory in the April 2017 referendum granted him sweeping new powers across Turkey. The constitutional reforms transform the country from a parliamentary democracy into a "Turkish style" presidential republic. Despite being democratically elected, Turkey's ruling AKP party has moved towards increasingly authoritarian measures. During the coup attempt in July 2016, the AKP government declared a state of emergency which Erdoğan saw as an opportunity to purge the public sector of pro-Gülenist individuals and criminalise opposition groups including Kurds, Alevites, leftists and liberals. The country experienced political turmoil and rapid transformation as a result. This book identifies the process of democratic reversal in Turkey. In particular, contributors explore the various ways that a democratically elected political party has used elections to implement authoritarian measures. They scrutinise the very concepts of democracy, elections and autocracy to expose their flaws which can be manipulated to advantage. The book includes chapters discussing the roots of authoritarianism in Turkey; the political economy of elections; the relationship between the political Islamic groups and the government; Turkish foreign policy; non-Muslim communities' attitudes towards the AKP; and Kurdish citizens' voting patterns. As well as following Turkey's political trajectory, this book contextualises Turkey in the wider literature on electoral and competitive authoritarianisms and explores the country's future options.

Explains the social, economic, and historical origins of the ruling Justice and Development Party, offering keen insight into one of the most successful transformations of an Islamic movement in the Muslim world.

It was aimed to analyse elites and power in contemporary Turkey in this book. The major goal was to construct a social portrait of Turkish elites, in other words to outline the social anatomy of the elites in Turkish society by using empirical data. The occupiers of the key positions in the major elite sectors were accepted as the elite. A total of five major elite groups were eventually examined. Extensive field researches comprise the major data sources of the study. Detailed interviews were conducted with members of Turkish elite groups. Additionally, documentary and historical data techniques, even secondary data were used. Education is the most important factor for elite recruitment in Turkish society. The media elites and political elites share similar social backgrounds. The members of these two elite groups have a relatively higher social class background than the Turkish labour union elites. The Turkish elites present a higher level consensually unified national elite character. However as a result of its nature, this consensus is not very sharp and exact on some issues. Following the demo-elite perspective this consensus can be called a "relative elite

consensus."

This text is an attempt to study Turkey's national and secular identity in light of the challenges posed by Kurdish nationalism and political Islam.

The Turkish Political Elite
The Logic of Political Survival in Turkey
The Case of Akp

The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey explains why political Islam, which has been part of Turkish politics since the 1970s but on the rise only since the 1990s, has now achieved governing power. Drawing on social movement theory, the book focuses on the dominant form of Islamist activism in Turkey by analyzing the increasing electoral strength of four successive Islamist political parties: the Welfare Party; its successor, the Virtue Party; and the successors of the Virtue Party: the Felicity Party and the Justice and Development Party. This book, which is based on extensive primary and secondary sources as well as in-depth interviews, provides the most comprehensive analysis currently available of the Islamist political mobilization in Turkey.

Analyzes Turkey's Kurdish conflict since post-Ottoman nation-building through recent peace attempts, from a novel perspective highlighting the dilemmas of the Turk majority and reshaping our understanding of ethnic conflicts, and offers solutions for a sustainable peace. How did the Kurdish-Turkish Conflict arise? Why have Turks and Kurds failed for so long to solve it? How can they solve it today? How can social scientists better analyze this and other protracted conflicts and propose better prescriptions for sustainable peace? Return to Point Zero develops a novel framework for analyzing the historical-structural and contemporary causes of ethnic-national conflicts, highlighting an understudied dimension: politics. Murat Somer argues that intra-majority group politics rather than majority-minority differences better explains ethnic-national conflicts. Hence, the political-ideological divisions among Turks are the key to understanding the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict; though it was nationalism that produced the Kurdish Question during late-Ottoman imperial modernization, political elite decisions by the Turks created the Kurdish Conflict during the post-imperial nation-state building. Today, ideational rigidities reinforce the conflict.

Analyzing this conflict from "pre-modern" times to today, Somer emphasizes two distinct periods: the formative era of 1918–1926 and the post-2011 reformative period. Somer argues that during the formative era, political elites inadequately addressed three fundamental dilemmas of security, identity, and cooperation and includes a discussion of how the legacy of those political elite decisions impacted and framed peace attempts that have failed in the 1990s and 2010s. Return to Point Zero develops new concepts to analyze conflicts and concrete conflict-resolution proposals. Murat Somer is Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Koç University in Istanbul, Turkey.

The authors put issues relevant to Turkey today – such as consolidating democracy, dealing with economic development issues, improving its human rights record and its foreign policy – in an historical context, allowing comparisons with other late developers in the world and reflecting the complexity of Turkish political and socio-economic developments. Turkey also argues that the modernization process that started in the nineteenth century, with all its elements including secularization and Westernization, has taken root.

This book aims to analyse, the power structure of Turkish society and the Turkish power elite. In accordance with the pluralists views one could argue that, power has been diffused and fragmented among many people or elite groups which together participate in the decision-making process in contemporary Turkish society. Nevertheless, decisive and effective power (parallel with the main thesis of the elitist view) has been concentrated and centralised in the hands of the small number of elite groups which are called the Turkish Power Elite. The

contemporary Turkish power elite is composed of economic, military, political and media elites. Decisive power has become centralised into the hands of these groups of people. They control the state and the elite recruitment process. Briefly, the Turkish power elites are the most powerful and wealthy people in society. They define the final shape of socio-political and economic decisions. They not only define the roles of millions of people, they also define the future of Turkish society.

The Saljuq period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the arrival in Iran of Türkmen nomads from Central Asia and the beginning of Turkish rule. Through the example of the city of Isfahan, the book analyses the internal evolution of Iranian society in this period and the interaction of the Iranian elites and Turkish rulers. Drawing on an analysis of a wide range of sources, including poetic and epistolary material, this study fills an historiographical gap and casts new light on the two centuries prior to the Mongol invasion. This comprehensive analytical study provides a new contribution to the understanding of many crucial issues: the cultural divide between Western and Eastern Iran; the military potential of city-dwellers; the attitude of the Turkish rulers toward cities and city life; the action of the famous vizier Nizam al-Mulk; the meaning of the Ismaili uprising; and above all the structure of the local elite, organized into rival networks and largely autonomous vis-à-vis state powers. The study is enhanced by a variety of additional features, including extensive genealogical tables, Arabic script and maps. Providing a new understanding of the cultural identity of Iran, this book is an important contribution to the study of the history of Iran and the Medieval period.

The Politics of Modern Turkey is a new four-volume Major Work from Routledge. The first volume of the collection ('Historical Heritage of Politics in Modern Turkey') brings together key research to provide a historical contextualization of modern Turkish political experience. This volume traces the sizeable literature that uses historical sociology as its basis to underline the continuities and breakdowns in key political areas of the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the modern Republican era, especially with reference to cultural, institutional, and elite politics perspectives covering the Ottoman and the single-party period (1923–50). The Tanzimat reforms as they relate to the Republican regime's ground-breaking changes of the early 1930s are emphasized, as is the process of transition to a multi-party democracy after the Second World War. The volume also gathers a number of essays on the nature of ideological currents influential in contemporary Turkish politics, taking in Kemalist, Islamist conservative, and nationalist orientations, as well as Turkish versions of liberalism. The second volume of the collection ('Political Institutions and Processes') presents the best research which depicts and evaluates constitutional changes, ending with recent amendments aimed at fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria for EU membership. Volume II also includes vital material highlighting the character and functioning of the executive branch, the bureaucracy, and parliament. Seminal essays describing and analysing the 1960 and 1980 coups and the 1971 coup-by-memorandum, as well as the so-called 'postmodern' coup of 1997. Other topics covered include: the nature of public policymaking and the operation of patronage networks; the party system and electoral laws; social mobilization and trends in political participation; interest and pressure-group activity; and the political role of the military. The material gathered in Volume III ('Modern Turkey's Foreign Policy') addresses the historical development of foreign policymaking institutions, and the policymaking system. A historical section explores foreign policy under Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, through to the Cold War and post-Cold War periods. Regionally, the following areas are covered: Turkey's broad geo-

strategic situation; Turkish–American relations; Turkey and the European Union; Turkey's relations with the Middle Eastern countries; Greek–Turkish relations and the Cyprus problem; and Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union, the post-Soviet republics in Transcaucasia and central Asia, and Russia. The final volume of the collection ('Major Issues and Themes in Contemporary Turkish Politics') is focused on a number of issues that have gained increasing salience over the last two decades. Topics include: democratization, and the politics of the EU membership process; identity issues, especially religiosity and the rising salience of pro-Islamist movements; ethnicity and the politics of the Kurdish minority; women in Turkish politics; political–economic interactions; and political performance and governance. With an introduction newly written by the editor, which places the collected material in its historical and intellectual context, *The Politics of Modern Turkey* is an essential collection destined to be valued by scholars and students as a vital one-stop research and pedagogic resource.

This book focuses on the logic of political survival in Turkish politics by analyzing the case of Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP).

Turkey's Difficult Journey to Democracy provides a thorough examination of the evolution of Turkey's democracy to the present day. After the Second World War, Turkey was considered to have made a highly successful transition from a single party authoritarian state to political competition. Yet, within ten years, Turkey had experienced its first military intervention. During the next forty years, the country vacillated between democratic openings and direct or indirect military interventions. The ascendance in the importance of questions of economic prosperity has helped the deepening and maturing of Turkish democracy, but some impediments persist to produce malfunctions in the operation of a fully democratic system. Through studying the Turkish experience of democratization, *Turkey's Difficult Journey to Democracy* seeks to provide understanding of the challenges countries that are trying to become democracies encounter in this process. *Oxford Studies in Democratization* is a series for scholars and students of comparative politics and related disciplines. Volumes concentrate on the comparative study of the democratization process that accompanied the decline and termination of the cold war. The geographical focus of the series is primarily Latin America, the Caribbean, Southern and Eastern Europe, and relevant experiences in Africa and Asia. The series editor is Laurence Whitehead, Senior Research Fellow, Nuffield College, University of Oxford.

Since 1945, Turkey has witnessed no fewer than three breakdowns of the democratic process (1960, 1971 and 1980) and three retransitions to democracy (1961, 1973 and 1983). In this text, the author analyzes 50 years of Turkish politics and provides a theoretical and comparative perspective.

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