

---

## Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II

---

Meltem Ersoy · Esra Ozyurek  
(Eds.)

# Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II

Turkey Transformed?  
Power, History, Culture

 Springer VS

*Editors*

Dr. Meltem Ersoy  
Istanbul, Turkey

Dr. Esra Ozyurek  
London School of Economics, UK

ISBN 978-3-658-16020-3      ISBN 978-3-658-16021-0 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-16021-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017930954

Springer VS

© Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH 2017

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer VS imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH

The registered company address is: Abraham-Lincoln-Str. 46, 65189 Wiesbaden, Germany

---

## Preface

The series *Contemporary Turkey at a Glance* seeks to promote the work of young researchers committed to the study of contemporary Turkey. This second volume of the series is based on the international conference “Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II – Turkey Transformed? Power, History, Culture”, which took place at Istanbul Bilgi University in October 2014.

The conference and this volume were realized thanks to a close cooperation between the European Institute at Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul Policy Center, the Chair of Contemporary Turkey Studies at the London School of Economics, and Network Turkey. The event and this publication were funded by Stiftung Mercator within the framework of the project Network Turkey – Academic Community for Turkish Studies.

# Content

Preface .....	V
Introduction .....	1
Situating Change Under the AKP .....	7
<i>Ceren Lord</i>	
Political Trials and the Second Jurisdiction of the State: Normalcy of the Exception .....	25
<i>Ayşegül Kars Kaynar</i>	
“To Make Mosques a Place for Women”. Female Religious Engagement within the Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs .....	39
<i>Chiara Maritato</i>	
Personalistic Linkages and Persuasion in Turkish Party Politics .....	53
<i>Kerem Yıldırım</i>	
Turkey’s New Constitution-making Attempt and the Participation of Minority Organisations during the Pubic Consultation Process .....	71
<i>Elif Gözler</i>	
AKP’s Implementation of a Risk Management Project of the World Bank. A Risk Management Project of the World Bank: Creating Entrepreneurial or Charity-Dependent Poor People? .....	87
<i>Meltem Yılmaz Şener</i>	

Power and poetry: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's Third Divan .....	101
<i>Christiane Czygan</i>	
Locating the German-Turks: Transnational Migration to Turkey and Constructions of Identity and Space .....	113
<i>Aylin Yıldırım Tschoepe</i>	
A Turkish Epistemic Community: Sociology of a Foreign Policy Brainstorming .....	131
<i>Jean-Baptiste Le Moulec</i>	
Recalibrating Turkish Foreign Policy After the Arab Uprisings: From Pro-activism to Uncertainty by Easing Off Ideational and Liberal Goals ...	145
<i>Birce Altıok Karşıyaka and Sinan Karşıyaka</i>	
Chaldiran 2.0: Conceptualizing Iranian-Turkish Relations after the Arab Spring .....	163
<i>Magdalena Kirchner and Şafak Baş</i>	
Turkish National Movement, Mass Mobilization, and Demographic Change in Istanbul, 1922-1923 .....	177
<i>Erol Ülker</i>	
Biographies .....	193

---

# Introduction

When Fuat Keyman, Ayhan Kaya, Daniel Grütjen and Esra Özyürek met in Spring 2014 to discuss how to frame the bi-annual “Contemporary Turkey at a Glance” conference, we all had a worrisome attitude towards changing dynamics of Turkish society. The economic boom was already taking a down turn, and much worse, the cruel ramifications of the downturn negatively impacted workers and the environment. The state apparatus increased its authoritarian tendencies after the Gezi Protests. It looked like the country was getting increasingly polarized and societal trust had eroded.

These developments were especially puzzling because few short years earlier Turkey was seen as a model for democracy and economic development in the Middle East. Many liberal observers celebrated the increasing rights for minorities, such as Kurds, and also an end to the army’s political powers. As the government took a more authoritarian turn, liberals in and outside Turkey were heartened by the Gezi Protests, which illustrated the capacities of a pluralistic civil society and offered a snapshot of the potentialities of inclusive forms of social organizations in Turkey. Was that movement possible thanks to the AKP regime or was it a reaction to it?

All of us were seriously wondering to what extent the last decades have witnessed a real transformation of the power structures that shape Turkish society. Has the country’s political culture moved beyond modes of hierarchical engagement between the state and its citizens? Were we witnessing the rise of new forms of state action or a return to early 20th century authoritarianism? Were we witnessing 19th century-style brutish capitalism that maximized benefits at any expense of workers’ rights and security, or a new form capitalism? We asked young scholars to answer our questions. We named this year’s conference: Turkey Transformed? Power, History, Culture.

This volume is a collection of some of the excellent presentations from that conference held at Bilgi University in October 2014. Contributions consist of a

wide range of topics from the impact of the changing dynamics in the region following the Arab Uprisings to the role of the strong one party government on the transformation of the institutions; the relations between the state and the citizens; formation of and challenges to identity in the transnational communities; the analysis of historical events to project on current politics; the intersection between the legal system and politics, and finally acts of transgressing established categories of religion and gender, in the context of state institutions.

The volume comprises of three main areas: 1) Challenging and transforming the institutional dynamics, 2) The relations between the state and the citizens, 3) Foreign policy in the face of the new dynamics in the region, and transnational identities.

Contributions in the first section focus on the changing institutional dynamics of Turkey. They analyze the role of the ruling party on reforming state institutions, the impact of political agendas on the legal system, and the role of increasing number of female religious actors on changing the Directorate of the Religious Affairs.

Through the lens of historical-institutionalism that emphasizes ‘path-dependent path-shaping’, **Ceren Lord** argues that the majoritarian logic of the Turkish political system has been a persistent feature, and it has been employed by the AKP to strategically shape institutions in a manner of tilting towards a form of patronal presidentialism. By looking at key legislation introduced by the AKP to analyze how actors have engaged in strategic action, and based on theoretical insights on hybrid regimes, Lord concludes that rather than conceptualizing the AKP period simply as marking change or continuity – as a transitional regime type, or a ‘trajectory’ toward or away from an ideal-type end point – change and continuity should be considered within the context of political cycles.

**Aysegül Kars Kaynar** illustrates the important intersection of law and politics in the context of the political trials in Turkey, from 2007 onwards. Kaynar questions the phenomenon of political trials from a political vantage point, and discusses how they should be interpreted and conceptualized in terms of the relation between political power and the constitutional state. Political trials take place in the Specially Authorized Courts (ÖYMs) on the basis of Anti-Terror Law. Until their abolishment in March 2014, they divided the judicial system of Turkey and created a second criminal jurisdiction. The criminalization of political opposition within the second jurisdiction of state has become a common political instrument in Turkey, rather than an exception, as is often argued in the literature.

**Chiara Maritato** explores the increasing number of activities promoted by the Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) toward women and families. The Diyanet employs female religious officers as female preachers (vaizeler), Qur’an teachers and vice Muftis all over the country and abroad. Maritato investigates how the the Diyanet’s female personnel cast light on the evolution of women’s



religious engagement in Turkey, starting from 2004. Through an ethnographic observation of the vaizeler's daily activities for women and families in Istanbul, Maritato aims to enrich the literature by mapping the professional female religious engagement – deeply rooted in the public sphere – while being in full compliance with the Diyanet, its dogma and its hierarchies.

The second section, *State-Society*, focuses on relations between the governing party and citizens. Contributors explore networks of clientalism, analyze the role of religious minorities in the constitution making process and also visit relations in the Ottoman Empire.

**Kerem Yıldırım** analyzes the shifts and continuities of the clientelistic linkages in Turkey. Yıldırım posits that the Turkish political experience is aimed towards establishing personalistic linkages between political elites and voters. By doing so, voters are not only mobilized to vote for a political party, but also they obtain information cues regarding political developments from party activists and brokers. In this respect, clientelism is a strategy for establishing party-voter convergence on different policy positions. Yıldırım examines the temporal dimensions of clientelism in the Turkish context in order to shed light on the effectiveness of clientelistic linkages in the party system.

**Elif Gözler** explores the long-standing effort of constitution making in Turkey, focusing on the period following the 2011 national elections, when the debate intensified and led to the formation of the Constitutional Reconciliation Commission. The Commission adopted an unprecedented participatory model for the new constitution-making process. A public consultation process was initiated to collect public views, predominantly from civil society organizations. For the first time, ethnic and religious communities were officially invited by the state to contribute to an important decision-making process. Gözler explores their activities and the meanings ethnic and religious communities attributed to the process, based on the in-depth interviews.

**Meltem Yılmaz Şener** evaluates the World Bank's social risk management approach to poverty and explains the consequences that have emerged when this approach was implemented in the case of the Social Risk Mitigation Project (SRMP) in Turkey. The World Bank's SRMP in Turkey was formulated based on the social risk management framework conceptualized in the 2000/2001 World Development Report. Through the lens of neoliberal governmentality, Yılmaz Şener points out the gap between the ambitions of the social risk management framework and the reality experienced following its implementation in the Turkish case.

**Christiane Czygan** investigates Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's (Muhibbî's) poetry, which influenced the social and political spheres of his time in several important ways. Czygan argues that it served to establish an emotional connection between

the ruler and his subjects, demonstrated cultural independence against the overwhelming Persian dominance in a time of Safawid-Ottoman warfare, and it helped build social cohesion in the struggle for Sunni-Islamic hegemony. Czygan asserts that Muhibbi's poetry provides an excellent example of what Ute Frevert refers to as *Gefühlspolitik*, where not only did Muhibbi use his poetry to influence his subjects' emotions, but also created an image of himself with a strong mystical flair.

The final section illustrates the expanding borders of the nation state by looking into the formation and transformation of identity in the transnational dimension, as well as foreign policy engagements in the region post-Arab Uprisings.

**Aylin Yıldırım Tschoepe** argues that a diverse group of identities such as the German-Turks can only be located through their constructions of a homescape as a common denominator. Homescapes emerge in the transnational migratory space out of migrants' tactics to counteract alienation and to (re)insert themselves upon moving from Germany to Turkey. Migrant identities and homescapes are constantly (re)negotiated in reciprocal relationship, and they are in flux over time and the transnational space between and inbetween countries. While self-stereotyping and stereotyping by the (German and Turkish) Other persists and shapes cultural imaginings, the notion of autochthonous culture is an artifact of the nation state. Yıldırım Tschoepe explains that German-Turkish diasporic cultural intimacy is what identifies the individuals as part of the group, and that they can be located through their homescape. Questions of belonging, Self and Other, global culture versus cultural intimacy in the diaspora, inbetweenness, spatial and cultural practice, flux and mobility become central elements when locating German-Turks spatially, culturally, and socially.

**Jean-Baptiste Le Moulec** posits that in the late 1990s in Turkey there was an upsurge in academic and research interest in Middle Eastern social sciences and humanities. This led to a flourishing field of expertise indirectly steered by the military establishment at first and then by the AKP government, using private research foundations as go-betweens. Following Ahmet Davutoğlu's foreign policy doctrine of the 2000s, this reticular constellation of Turkish scholars along with journalists and government actors has been mired in the unfolding events in the Middle East, especially after the succession of uprisings. Le Moulec argues that these event, and especially Syrian civil war, brings about a purge that turns this network of experts into an epistemic community of political followers.

**Birce Altıok and Sinan Karşıyaka** examine Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) chronologically using the Arab uprisings as a critical juncture and an important contra-game setter. The authors compare Turkey's foreign policy before and after the uprisings and analyze Turkey's new foreign policy adjustments in the Middle East from a comparative theoretical framework of Davutoğlu's foreign policy

vision that encompasses liberal, constructivist and realist elements. Altıok and Karşıyaka argue that

TFP has approached realist concerns in the policies concerning the Middle East, and they evaluate the recalibration of Turkish foreign policy in the post-2011 period.

**Magdalena Kirchner and Şafak Baş** revisit the Battle of Chaldiran, which eliminated Persian influence in Anatolia and they address the question of whether recent Turkish and Iranian foreign policy responses to shifts in their mutual security environment reflect a re-emergence of rivalry for power and influence in their neighbourhood. The Arab uprisings, alongside the US's military and political disengagement in the region, has opened new spaces for Turkish-Iranian competition, weakened incentives and the scope of bilateral cooperation, and has impeded efforts to stabilize the region. Resorting to a neoclassical realist framework of foreign policy analysis, the article traces specific policy responses to developments in North Africa, Syria, and Iraq, and concludes that although both Turkey and Iran achieved mixed results of policy success and setbacks, interstate rivalry contributed to increased instability in the region.

**Erol Ülker** examines the development of the Turkish national movement in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, after the end of the Greek-Turkish military confrontation in Anatolia in September 1922. Ülker focuses on the National Defense Committee (NDC), the principal organization of the Turkish national movement in Istanbul under Allied occupation. The article discusses how the leadership of this armed committee of resistance broadened the popular base of the organization in the context of rising tensions between the Muslim and Christian elements in the city. Following a series of demonstrations in which thousands of Muslims participated between September and November 1922, the NDC initiated the founding of a group of economic confederations. One of the main goals of these confederations was to mobilize Muslim merchants, artisans, and workers around a nationalist campaign for the elimination of non-Muslims from the economy.

Politics, history, and culture in Turkey keeps transforming and reproducing itself simultaneously. Understanding such complex and often contradictory dynamics calls for innovative approaches, fresh perspectives, and new questions. Contributors to this volume do exactly that. Both of us, Meltem Ersoy and Esra Ozyürek, left the conference at Bilgi University feeling even more worried about Turkey. But we also left feeling extremely optimistic about the flourishing field of Turkish Studies and the promise of an amazing new generation of young scholars in understanding it.