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**The Turkish Model, the Double-Security Dilemma, and the Political  
Reproduction of State Polities in the Middle East**

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**Submitted for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Faculty of Management, Law and Social Sciences  
University of Bradford  
2018**

## **Abstract**

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Reproduction of State Polities in the Middle East

Keywords: alliance-building, Turkish foreign policy, Islamic neoliberalism,  
Justice and Development Party, Turkish domestic politics

Conceptually the aims of this thesis are to show the salient features of the political reproduction of states as a necessity for their survival as they continually face a double-security dilemma in the neoliberal era. Empirically this thesis examines Turkey's ruling party from 2002 to 2015. The Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP*) maintained authority by mitigating the polities and actors that posed vertical and horizontal competition to their power (the double-security dilemma of domestic and international threats faced by state rulers).

To outcompete and absorb its rivals, the *AKP* maintained a post-Islamist alliance-building model of political reproduction through a globalized Islamic neoliberal authority pattern until 2011. This became popularized as the 'Turkish Model', a model of political reproduction framed as suitable for other Muslim-majority states. The findings from data analysis show that to maintain the constitutive sovereignty of the Turkish state, the *AKP* built a post-Islamist hegemony.

Furthermore, this thesis explores how the *AKP* horizontally built a pluralist vision of neo-ottomanism enabling their navigation of the international political system. Their 'zero-problems' foreign policy was the cornerstone of building regional liberal peace. This policy was the basis of the *AKP*'s maintenance of functional sovereignty until the 'Arab Spring'. Yet, the new double-security dilemma that emerged through the 'Arab Spring' not only threatened the existence of post-Islamism within Turkey, but the existence of the 'Turkish Model' itself. The *AKP* then moved towards a fortifying pattern of authority to shield both themselves and the Republic from emergent threats.

## **Dedication**

For my grandmothers, Audrey Maalouf and Victoria Saba Araj.

## **Acknowledgements**

Firstly, my gratitude must go to my inspiring supervisors Dr. Afshin Shahi and Professor Behrooz Morvaridi. Their support has been invaluable to me. Within the University of Bradford, I also must thank Dr. Dorothy Spencer, Nisa Almas and Sue Adamson for their unconditional support, care and belief in bringing out the best in me. I also appreciate those who have helped me through the years whether that be through administration or academic skills: Michele Mozley, Sandra Hall, Margaret Haldane, Dr. David Lewis, Professor Caroline Hughes and Dr. Russell Delderfield.

Secondly, I must thank my family for their unconditional love and kindness. My sister Serena who is my entire world, my encouraging and warm-hearted mother and father Isabelle and Dimitri who have gone to the moon and stars and back for me, and my grandfathers David Maalouf and Judeh Araj who taught me aspiration, generosity and sumud. Special thanks must also go to my extended family, particularly my aunt Nadira Araj and my cousins Raneen Al-Arja, Fida Mousa and Magda Campo.

Finally, my gratitude goes to my friends who have been like family to me: John and Pauline Davison, Dr. Fares Jabr and the Byrnes (particularly Jessica and Becky). My friends Gordon Shand, Anan Quzmar, Matt Scholey, Nisreen Abu Hunaina, Liz McNielle, Yacoub Sabatin, Dr. Lamia Zafrani, Malaika Reza and Noreen Fatima have been so far, yet so near whilst I have

undertaken this path of educational empowerment. Those who have been near who have helped me and undertaken this PhD journey with me include Dr. Ronak Olfati, Dr. Pamela Nzabampema, Dr. Ananilea Nkya and Mark O'Shea. Finally, I would like to note that the guidance of all my friends from Istanbul plus Amie from Mosaic, Dr. Magid Shihade and Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik were key to the completion of this project.

This project was funded by my parents, the Marie Curie European Commission Sustainable Peacebuilding Project through Sabancı University and the Allan and Nesta Ferguson Charitable Trust.

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Dedication .....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures .....	x
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Images.....	xii
Abbreviations .....	xiii
<b>Chapter One: Introduction to the ‘Turkish Model’ and the Political Reproduction Of State Polities .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 The ‘Turkish Model’ .....	7
1.3 Constructivist Polity Approaches to Historical Realism .....	10
1.4 Research Summary .....	11
<b>Chapter Two: Political Reproduction and the Double-Security Dilemma of State Polities .....</b>	<b>16</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	16
2.2 Constructivist Ontologies for Middle Eastern Studies .....	18
2.3 The Genesis of the Theoretical Framework of this Study: Reviewing Constructivist Historical Realism.....	24
Polities and Political Change.....	24
Historical Realism .....	32
A Constructivist Polity based Approach to Historical Realism.....	38
Research Framework and Analysis .....	43
Some Further Remarks on Identity, Loyalty, Political Membership and Ideology .....	48
The State, the Regime, the Government, the Governing Party and the Polity in Constructivist Historical Realism .....	50
2.4 Conclusion .....	52



<b>Chapter Three: Researching the ‘Turkish Model’: An Alliance-building Case of Political Reproduction?</b> .....	55
3.1 Introduction .....	55
3.2 The Significance of this Study .....	56
3.3 Methodology .....	58
3.4 Data Collection And Research Method .....	60
3.5 Research Method Limitations.....	65
3.6 Ethical Considerations .....	66
3.7 Author’s Reflections .....	66
3.8 Research Question .....	67
3.9 Conclusion .....	69
<b>Chapter Four: Arrows of Change: Kemalism and the Roots of the ‘Turkish Model’</b> .....	70
4.1 Introduction .....	70
4.2 Theoretical Literature on the ‘Turkish Model’ .....	73
4.3 The Late Ottoman Period.....	80
The Young Ottomans, c. 1839-1902 .....	80
The Young Turks, c. 1902-1918.....	83
The Rise of Ethnonationalism in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1909-1918.....	86
War and Peace c.19 .....	91
Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 19 May 1881–10 November 1938.....	94
4.4 The First Republic.....	101
Republicanism (cumhuriyetçilik).....	101
Populism (halkçılık).....	109
Nationalism (milliyetçilik).....	113
Some Further Remarks on NATO.....	128
Secularism (laiklik).....	134
Etatism/ Statism (devletçilik) .....	138
Reformism/ Revolutionism (devrimcilik/ inkılâpçılık) .....	141
The Legacy of Mustafa İsmet İnönü, 24 September 1884-25 December 1973 and the Increasingly Fortifying State .....	144

4.5 Conclusion .....	148
<b>Chapter Five: Vertical Alliance-building Political Reproduction in Turkey: The Turkish State Polity under the <i>AKP</i>'s Mounting Authority</b> .....	150
5.1 Introduction .....	150
5.2 The Ascent of the Post-Islamists and their Formation into a Power Bloc .....	151
5.3 “Hope is the Bread of the Poor”: Political Authority and Development .....	183
5.4 The <i>AKP</i> 's Struggle for Executive Power, Justice and Lawfulness ...	196
5.5 Concluding Remarks .....	203
<b>Chapter Six: The <i>AKP</i>'s Horizontal Alliance-building Political Reproduction of Post-Islamist Turkey's Functional Sovereignty</b> .....	206
6.1 Introduction .....	206
6.2 Neo-Ottoman Statecraft as a Response to the Double-Security Dilemma of the New Century .....	209
6.3 Between Middle-state and Greatness: Turkey's Horizontal Alliance-building, Moral Power, and Functional Consent in the Middle East and Beyond.....	220
6.4 The Two Faces of Turkey: The <i>AKP</i> 's Maintenance of Hard Power during the Alliance-building Period.....	240
6.5 A Deconstruction of the ‘Turkish Model’ .....	248
<b>Chapter Seven: The Unravelling of the ‘Turkish Model’: The Arab ‘Spring’, the <i>AKP</i>'s Evolving Double-Security Dilemma and their Transition from Alliance-building to Fortifying Political Reproduction</b> .....	253
7.1 Introduction .....	253
7.2 Turkey's New Horizontal Security Dilemma .....	255
Theoretical and Methodological Considerations .....	255
Turkey's Post-Arab ‘Spring’ Souring Horizontal Relations in North Africa .....	260
Turkey's Post-Arab ‘Spring’ Souring Horizontal Relations with Syria and the Prevarication of Neo-ottomanism .....	277
7.3 Domestic Consent in Decline .....	290

The AKP’s Expansion and Monopolization of the Turkish state and its Institutions.....	290
Winners and Losers of Capstone Turkey.....	299
State-Society Relations in the Securitized Period.....	306
7.4 Concluding Remarks.....	323
<b>Chapter Eight: Thesis Conclusions</b> .....	<b>326</b>
8.1 Introduction .....	326
8.2 Research Outcome and Contribution to Knowledge .....	328
8.3 Scope for Further Research.....	334
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>335</b>

## **List of Figures**

Figure (2.1) A Heuristic Map of Historical Realism

Figure (2.2) A Heuristic Map of a Constructivist Polity-Based Approach to Political Reproduction

Figure (5.1) GDP per Capita (Constant Prices, Turkish Lira) in Turkey Every 5 Years

Figure (5.2) Gini coefficient in Turkey from 2002-2012

Figure (5.3) Government Expenditure as a Percentage of GDP from 2000-2015

Figure (5.4) The Proportion of Imam Hatip High School Students in the Total Number of High School Students (1995-2014)

Figure (6.1) Turkey's Official Development Assistance since 1990 in USD millions

Figure (6.2) Tourism Revenue in Turkey, 2001-2012

Figure (6.3) Trade Volume between Israel and Turkey

Figure (7.1) Support for Recent Government Restrictions on Internet by Party Support (percentage of total respondents, single response) 2015

## **List of Tables**

Table (2.1) Constitutive Dimensions of the Double-Security Dilemma in Historical Realism

Table (2.2) The Constitutive Dimensions of a State's Double-Security Dilemma in Constructivist (polity-based) Historical Realism

Table (3.1) Data Collection

## **List of Images**

Image (4.1) Arab Dissidents Hung by the Young Turk Administration in Jerusalem, Palestine 1916

Image (7.1) Rabia Flag at Protest in Istanbul

Image (7.2) Egyptian Flags at Palestine Protest in Istanbul

Image (7.3) Turkish Protestor Makes the Rabia Salute

Image (7.4) Protest against Syria and Russia in Istanbul

Image (7.5) Protest against Syria and Russia in Istanbul (2)

Image (7.6) May Day Protest 2013, Beşiktaş, Istanbul

Image (7.7) Gezi Park Protestors Vandalize Police Vehicle

Image (7.8) Gezi Park Protestors Occupy Taksim Square

Image (7.9) Armenians make their Presence Known in Gezi Park

Image (7.10) Barricades around Gezi Park

Image (7.11) A Carnival Atmosphere at the Gezi Occupation

Image (7.12) Stand-off between Protestors and the Police

Image (7.13) Gezi Activists join Anti-Capitalists Muslims in Reclaiming Iftar on Istiklal Street

## Abbreviations

- AKP* Justice and Development Party (Turkish: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*)
- CHP* Republican People's Party (Turkish: *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*)
- DP* Democratic Party (Turkish: *Demokrat Parti*)
- ESA Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia
- EU European Union
- FDI Foreign Direct Investment
- FP* Virtue Party (Turkish: *Fazilet Partisi*)
- GCC Gulf Cooperation Council
- GDP Gross Domestic Product
- HDP* Peoples' Democratic Party (Turkish: *Halkların Demokratik Partisi*)
- IDF Israeli Defence Force
- İHH* Humanitarian Relief Foundation (Turkish: *İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı*)
- IMF International Monetary Fund
- IR International Relations
- ISIS Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
- İT* Committee of Union and Progress (Turkish: *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*)
- KRG Kurdistan Regional Government
- MB Muslim Brotherhood
- MENA Middle East and North Africa
- MHP* Nationalist Movement Party (Turkish: *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*)
- MÜSİAD* Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (Turkish: *Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği*)
- NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OIC Organization of Islamic Cooperation

PKK Kurdistan Workers' Party (Kurdish: *Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê*)

PYD Democratic Union Party (Kurdish: *Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat*)

RP Welfare Party (Turkish: *Refah Partisi*)

SMEs Small and Medium-sized Enterprises

TESEV Turkish Economic and Social Social Studies Foundation (Turkish: *Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı*)

TİKA Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (Turkish: *Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon İdaresi Başkanlığı*)

TSK Turkish Armed Forces (Turkish: *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri*)

TÜSİAD Turkish Industry and Business Association (Turkish: *Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği*)

USA United States of America



# Chapter One: Introduction to the ‘Turkish Model’ and the Political Reproduction of State Polities

## 1.1 Introduction

The Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP*)<sup>1</sup> administration has been one of the most successful authorities at maintaining the power and stability of a majority Muslim state in the post 9.11 world. Under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan the administration has facilitated a threefold increase of Turkey’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP), heavily invested in the development and renewal of infrastructure throughout the country and elevated Turkey’s regional standing to a point not seen since the Ottoman period; culminating in policy-makers framing Turkey as a model state for other majority Muslim nations to follow. It must be noted that this ‘success’ has not been without its challenges, as the *AKP* faced both traditional and new threats to their power. These threats came both from inside and outside Turkey and took on many different configurations.

The intention of this thesis is to investigate the political reproduction of states in the face of the double-security dilemma (internal and external threats to the state). The thesis achieves this with a case study of the ‘Turkish Model’

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<sup>1</sup> The *AKP* is a moderate Islamist conservative party established in 2001 and has held governing incumbency in Turkey from 2002-2016. It has held a majority in parliament for over 13 years (Keyman and Gumuscu 2014).

by collecting data on Turkey; and analysing how the *AKP* as a power bloc maintained their authority and the sovereignty of the Turkish state through both absorbing and challenging evolving threats to their power. Thus, the unique findings of this thesis dispel the notion of the 'failure' of the 'Turkish Model' domestically and internationally- rather, it displays how the *AKP* simply altered their mode of political reproduction. Furthermore, the theoretical findings of this thesis, that contribute to the existing literature on the double-security dilemma, exhibit both causal and constitutive factors in the vertical and horizontal political reproduction of the state, noting the centrality of geopolitics, identity and loyalty to a state's survival<sup>2</sup>.

Political reproduction is the process by which a state maintains a pattern of authority through its actions, bargaining and institutionalization (Hall 1999). It is through political reproduction that a state's relationship to its environment is constituted and reconstituted. The double-security dilemma that a state faces can either motivate a fortifying or an alliance-building mode of political reproduction (Hall 1999). A fortifying mode is one in which the state insulates itself from society and other polities. An alliance-building mode is one in which it builds co-operation with society and other polities. Failure to respond

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<sup>2</sup> This thesis demonstrates the institutional and sovereign vulnerability of state polities due to the double-security dilemma, particularly as a state horizontally expands its influence. Yet, the transition of the 'Turkish Model' is evidence of how a state can survive if it can politically reproduce effectively.

to the 'double-security dilemma' will lead to the collapse of the state (Hall 1999)<sup>3</sup>.

The 'Turkish Model' of 2002-2011 represents the process by which the *AKP* maintained authority of the Turkish state through an alliance-building mode of actions, bargaining and institutionalization both domestically and internationally. The maintenance of this pattern of authority within Turkey, that of 'Islamic neoliberalism'<sup>4</sup> was marketed to the 'region's downtrodden as 'justice' (Tuğal 2016: 149). The dominant policy consideration was that if *AKP* could simultaneously ensure Turkey's domestic stability and elevation to hegemony on the international stage; the Turkish state would have the capacity to spread normative ties of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law between Europe and the Middle East, "fostering 'positive peace' and stability in the penetrated region as regional hegemon." (İşeri and Dilek 2012 119)

Until 2012 the 'Turkish Model' was a dominant point of reference for nations undergoing regime change such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen

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<sup>3</sup> The strategy of pursuing a fortifying mode of political reproduction is to prevent rivals from gaining strength. Pursuing an alliance-building mode of political reproduction leads to co-opting or co-operating with rivals and making them allies. It is important to note that that a state is never alliance-building or fortifying, rather it is in the process of becoming either (Hall 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes Tuğal (2016: 4) refers to 'Islamic neoliberalism' and sometimes to 'Islamic liberalism' which he explains is "the marriage of formal democracy, free market capitalism and (a toned down) conservative Islam."

(Natil 2016). The 'Turkish Model' was marketed as a political solution to emerging power gaps by both foreign and domestic actors. Nevertheless, the marketing of the 'Turkish Model' was an ineffective tool of political entrepreneurship and 'Islamic neoliberalism' did not successfully inseminate the region (Natil 2016).

Since 2013, concerns have been raised about the *AKP*'s monopolization of political power and creeping authoritarianism (Tuğal 2013; Samaan 2013; Keyman and Gumuscu 2014). Regional shifts in power and the increased threat from pseudo-Islamic and Kurdish terrorism reverberating from miscalculated policy decisions during the Arab 'so called'<sup>5</sup> Spring have altered the structure of Turkish political society and in turn, how it relates to world society. The recent consensus of analysts, policy-makers and civil society is that the 'Turkish Model' has lost the capacity to spread normative ties. The *AKP* have had to revise their mode of political reproduction to grip onto the Turkish state as they shifted their alliances on both the international and domestic front (Waldman and Caliskan 2017; Çagaptay 2017).

Research into the failure of the 'Turkish Model' in the Arab region has largely focused on the structure of Turkish political society. These studies (Tuğal 2013, 2016; Keyman and Gumuscu 2014; Haynes 2010) have explained how

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<sup>5</sup> The 'Arab Spring' refers to the democratic uprisings that arose in Tunisia and spread across the Arab world from 2010. However, scholars began to question the use of the word 'Spring' due to the negative outcomes of the uprisings.

the *AKP*'s monopolization of political power has polarized Turkish society into those with a stake in Islamic neoliberalism and those without. Scholars have also examined Turkey's misconstrued foreign policy which diminished Turkey's bargaining power and potential as a mediator to facilitate political change in the region (Natil 2013; Kösebalaban 2011; Dede 2013; Öniş 2012). Further studies have focused on the idea of 'exceptionalism', and that either Turkey or the Arab states are unique, with their own cultures and histories (Harik 2006). Turkish 'exceptionalism' conceptualizes Turkey as uniquely European in the Middle East and as a bridge between civilizations. Arab 'exceptionalism', on the contrary, conceptualizes the Arab states as not culturally permeable to democracy, human rights or the rule of law, therefore lending to the idea that the 'Turkish Model' is not an appropriate model for Arab state polities (Harik 2006).

Research both on the rise and the fall of the 'Turkish Model' has rarely touched upon the role of identity, ideology, loyalty and rhetoric. The role that these factors play in political reproduction as state actors navigate through the changing political environment has become counterhegemonic scholarship within International Relations (IR) (Ferguson et al. 2000; Hopf 1998; Bozdaglioglu 2003). IR has touched upon the 'Turkish Model' as a soft power tool (Al-Ghazzi and Kraidy 2013) or a factor for consideration within Foreign Policy Analysis (Natil 2013; Park 2012); yet has not deconstructed the model as a form of political reproduction or examined a behavioural

connection to the state-system. Researching the 'Turkish Model' through this perspective is important because systemic analysis of politics offers a deep understanding of the way state actors relate to both their populations and to instability on an international level. It can provide insight into how the interaction between the domestic and international can impact on the decision-making of policy-makers. This has become an increasingly important political dynamic as the world becomes more digitized and globalized.

Scholars have examined the impact of the 'Turkish Model' on either domestic politics or international politics but have rarely combined the two. Therefore, this research aims to fill in this gap by studying the impact of the 'Turkish Model' alliance-building mode of political reproduction in both Turkey and the Middle East region. Identities, ideologies and loyalty are borderless, and it is only through a 'second-image reversed'<sup>6</sup> approach (Gourevitch 1978) that a full picture of political change in the region can be offered. Investigating why the 'Turkish Model' failed through constructivist IR is germane and it is through the political grammar of constructivist IR that this research enquiry is framed.

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<sup>6</sup> A 'second image reversed' approach to research in the social sciences is that which frames the international system not just as an expression of domestic structures, but a cause of them (Gourevitch 1978).

## **1.2 The ‘Turkish Model’**

The emergence of the ‘Turkish Model’ has been well documented by scholars, policy-makers, and the media. The *AKP*'s ability to combine democracy, modernism and neoliberalism with Islamic values and traditions was proposed as a viable model for Arab nations in political transition. However, in 2011 both the regional and domestic political dynamics altered. Since 2012, the political debate has shifted to frame the ‘Turkish Model’ as having failed as instability took hold both in the Arab region and Turkey.

Literature around the failure of the ‘Turkish Model’ has largely focused on the ‘democratization’ aspect of the model. Many have argued that the ‘Turkish Model’ cannot be an effective example for emerging democracies with Muslim majority populations as since 2011 the state apparatus has become increasingly authoritarian under the *AKP* (Bâli 2011). Studies have highlighted the flaws of Turkey’s democratic institutions (Czajka and Isyar 2011). Czajka and Isyar (2011) explain that Turkey has the most unrepresentative electoral system in Europe where minorities such as Kurds are grossly underrepresented. Other flaws include failure to consult the opposition and civil society in the formulation of the new constitution, a poor civil and human rights record and crack downs on media and internet freedom (Czajka and Isyar 2011). In their seminal (2014) work, E. Fuat Keyman and Sebnem Gumuscu expound that the ‘Turkish Model’ is having a negative demonstrative effect in the Arab region. The ‘Turkish Model’ is

promoting the view that greater 'power fusion' provides better and stronger governance. 'Power Fusion' is defined by Keyman and Gumuscu (2014) as the presence of a strong executive that rules with a majoritarian impulse and relies extensively on an electoral, rather than pluralist understanding of democracy. Through this process the separation of power is gradually eroded.

Another school of thought refers to the uniqueness of both the structure of society and the historic experiences of the Turkish Republic and the Arab region which lends to the failure of 'one size fits all' policy prescriptions. Turkey has long established secular and European traditions that some scholars argue are not present in Arab society (Harik 2006). There is a notion of 'Arab exceptionalism'. This refers to a "widespread and longstanding view in Western intellectual circles that maintains that somehow the Arab-Islamic world is civilizationally and culturally different from the rest of the world (especially the West) and that this explains why democracy has been absent, turmoil persists, and authoritarianism has prevailed." (Hashemi 2013: 210)

A departure from both Arab exceptionalism and democratization theory, Cihan Tuğal's (2016) study of the fall of the 'Turkish Model' is centred around how the politics of mobilization reconstructed state-society relations in Turkey. Within this reconstruction the 'Turkish Model' was a political tool brought in by the political establishment to combat the threats to the political status quo in Turkey. Tuğal's main argument is that the 'Turkish Model' has



failed as the historic Anatolian subaltern<sup>7</sup> have become the new political establishment who have monopolized power. Thus, the political mobilization of this class of society and their absorption into state institutions has itself created more threats to the continuity and stability of the Turkish Republic and its “democracy”. Tuğal's (2016: 27) core argument is that, “The ‘Turkish Model’ puts activists with revolutionary rhetoric at the helm of a counterrevolutionary state and mobilizes parts of the population to demobilize the rest.”

The literature on the failure of the ‘Turkish Model’ has examined structural factors but has rarely taken account of how identity politics and regional security threats have affected the structure of Turkish political society<sup>8</sup>. Social cohesion and sovereign territoriality are weaker than ever in the Middle East. Turkey managed to mitigate these issues during the early years of the *AKP* incumbency through alliance-building with civil society and ethnic and religious minorities. Nonetheless, as the double-security dilemma shifted, this alliance-building model of political reproduction failed to spread Islamic neoliberalism to the Arab region and has shifted within Turkey itself.

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<sup>7</sup> The Anatolian subaltern were the Turkish rural traditional majority who were marginalized by the Kemalist process due to their religious views and traditional practices. Nonetheless, they became socially mobile during the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s as Islamic neoliberalism extricated them out of the periphery.

<sup>8</sup> Natil (2017) has analysed how the regional embeddedness of Turkey's INGO's have, despite increasing Turkey's soft power, made the state vulnerable to transborder security threats.

### **1.3 Constructivist Polity Approaches to Historical Realism**

This research project answers the call of Martin Hall (1999) to further develop historical realism theory through contemporary constructivist case studies on the political reproduction of states. The political reproduction of states is a necessity for their survival as they continually face a double-security dilemma in the anarchic post-international system. Historical realism theory (as produced by Hall (1999), explains that states can undertake one of two modes of political reproduction. A state can undertake an 'alliance-building' mode of political reproduction or a 'fortifying' mode of political reproduction<sup>9</sup>. If a state fails to politically reproduce it will collapse entirely. The 'Turkish Model' of 2001-2011 was an 'alliance-building' mode of political reproduction. Polity theory as developed by Ferguson and Mansbach (1996) states the double-security dilemma<sup>10</sup> is based around the threat posed to the authority

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<sup>9</sup> These two options are at times in this thesis presented as dichotomous for simplicity. However, it is important to understand that in reality polities can be simultaneously alliance-building as well as fortifying. Thus, a continuum exists with polities either becoming more alliance-building or more fortifying at any given time. It is also important to note that becoming more fortifying does not detract from a polity still using a certain level of alliance-building behaviour nor does it prevent a more alliance-building polity from engaging in fortifying behaviour.

<sup>10</sup> The 'double-security dilemma' refers to the external and domestic security threats a state faces and the predicament it faces in mitigating the two simultaneously. Responding to external security threats may have an impact on the nature of domestic security threats. There are differing perspectives amongst scholars around the nature of the 'double-security dilemma'. This research project will employ the 'double-security dilemma' as referred to by Ferguson and Mansbach in their work on polities.

of the state polity<sup>11</sup> by two differing groups. The first is those groups who threaten the sovereignty of the state polity, and the second is those who would threaten the institutional foundations of the state polity.

When mitigating the double-security dilemma, if a state polity succeeds in providing value satisfaction for those who identify with it, it may prevent new loyalties from forming amongst those in which it is able to have some influence. Failure to provide satisfaction may provoke shifts in loyalties. Nevertheless, the capacity of a state polity authority to mitigate the double-security dilemma and effectively politically reproduce to either becoming 'fortifying' or becoming 'alliance-building' is dependent on its constitutive environment. The constitutive environment of the state-polity includes: the level of competition for loyalty with other polities, whether the discursive social environment is open or closed to critical opinion, the level of segmentary differentiation in society, and the level of stratifactory differentiation.

#### **1.4 Research Summary**

Thus, this thesis uses a case study to examine an example of how a state polity reproduces dependent on both its constitutive environment and capacity to mitigate the double-security dilemma. Therefore, this project

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<sup>11</sup> Ferguson and Mansbach (1996) note that polities are hierarchal group structures such as the state that are led by authorities who command and compete over the loyalties of global citizens.

answers the research question, “How does a state polity politically reproduce to mitigate the double-security dilemma?”

This is achieved through the case study of the ‘Turkish Model’ of alliance-building political reproduction undertaken by the *AKP*. The following research summary explains how the research question is answered. Firstly, *Chapter Two: Political Reproduction and the Double-Security Dilemma of State Polities* and *Chapter Three: Researching the ‘Turkish Model’: An Alliance-building Case of Political Reproduction* outline the methodology and theoretical framework of this research project. The gaps in both the methodological and theoretical literature are combined to note that a constructivist polity-based historically realist approach, framing the ‘Turkish Model’ as a form of alliance-building political reproduction, is the most appropriate for this case study. Then a heuristic theoretical framework is designed for this thesis combining the above with some taxonomy from comparative politics and IR.

Next, *Chapter Four: Arrows of Change: Kemalism and the Roots of the ‘Turkish Model’* explains the creation of the Turkish state polity and how it became embedded into the international system and grew to be an important regional actor. Many of Turkey’s security problems are permanent such as its geopolitics, its history of Islam and being part of Europe and the polarized identities that has created. It is as important to examine these fixed security dilemmas that all Turkish rulers have had to deal with, as it is important to

understand the 21<sup>st</sup> century dilemmas that were solely unique to the *AKP*. In fact, the 'Turkish Model' emerged as a response to binaries such as modernity and tradition, Westphalia and Islam. Therefore, it is vital to understand the historical inception of these ideas and their absorption into the loyalties of Turks.

Following that, *Chapter Five: Vertical Alliance-Building Political Reproduction in Turkey: The Turkish State Polity under the AKP's Mounting Authority* focuses on the structures and functions of the political system that posed vertical obstacles to the *AKP's* rise to power and consolidation of control. To overcome these obstacles and outcompete rivals for, they used an alliance-building neoliberal pattern of authority to penetrate society and consolidate their rule. They did this through expanding their power base and creating vested interests amongst a wide range of stakeholders. Thus, chapter five builds a full representation of the evolution of Turkish politics under the control of the *AKP* which culminated in the 'Turkish Model'.

The next analytical chapter, *Chapter Six: Neo-ottomanism and Zero-problems: The AKP's Horizontal Alliance-building Political Reproduction of Post-Islamist Turkey's Functional Sovereignty*, will explain how the *AKP* not only maintained the sovereignty of the Turkish state through its friendly neighbourhood policy, but also elevated Turkey to regional power status. The *AKP* used its shared history and Islamic ideology with the Arab world to reignite the ties that had been lost by the Kemalists. The chapter explains

that as Turkey became more entrenched in the Arab region and Africa, its popularity grew amongst the Arab and Muslim public, leading to it becoming a 'model' state for other Muslim-majority nations to aspire to. Yet, despite this, cracks in the alliance-building project emerged firstly as Turkey was dependent on its hard power alliances with the United States of America (USA), Israel and the West to mitigate its security dilemma and secondly; as the *AKP* began to use more authoritarian behaviour to nullify domestic dissent.

The final analytical chapter, *Chapter Seven: The Unravelling of The 'Turkish Model': The 'Arab Spring', The AKP's Evolving Double-Security Dilemma and their Transition from Alliance-Building to Fortifying Political Reproduction* examines how Turkey's commercial, religious and social embeddedness in the Middle East region that had become entrenched during the alliance-building period caused a new double-security dilemma for the *AKP* from 2011 onwards. This was largely due to Turkish diplomatic failure during the Arab 'Spring'. The security situation was also exacerbated by the environmental and social costs of Islamic neoliberalism. This chapter explains how the *AKP* reacted to this change in the double-security dilemma by moving towards a more fortifying mode of political reproduction domestically and internationally from 2013 onwards. As it was clear liberal peace within society or within the region could not endure, the 'Turkish Model' idea was put to rest. Instead,

growing authoritarianism and militarism with President Erdoğan at the helm was viewed as the only way to secure the Turkish state polity.

Lastly, *Chapter Eight: Thesis Conclusions* will discuss the findings of this enquiry into the 'Turkish Model'. It will explain how this thesis has illuminated significant methodological and ontological considerations on state ruler's behaviour and their inverse relationship to both the international political system and the societies with which they command loyalty. Then, the conclusion will examine the benefits of the study to both academics and those within the policy field.

## **Chapter Two: Political Reproduction and the Double-Security Dilemma of State Polities**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter will review the ontological and theoretical literature of this thesis. The first part of this chapter, 2.2 *Constructivist Ontologies for Middle Eastern Studies*, deals with the failure of some sections of academia in analysing the socio-political changes within Turkey and the Middle East and their miscalculations over the permeability of the 'Turkish Model' in the Islamic world. It then outlines the ontological merit of constructivism for research on the Middle East. The next part of this chapter, 2.3 *The Genesis of the Theoretical Framework of this Study: Reviewing Constructivist Historical Realism*, explains a polity approach to research followed by an explanation of the historical realist approach. Based on a constructivist ontology, an outline of the merger of the two above theories will then provide the theoretical framework to be used within this research project.

A successful alliance-building mode of political reproduction will naturally form a 'demonstrative effect' as the state co-operates with and co-opts allies domestically and internationally thereby fostering 'positive peace' (İşeri and Dilek 2012: 119). A state's response to a domestic or international event may also politically reproduce its identity or reinforce it, it is thus that the study of the 'Turkish model' and other state-polity models becomes important. A



constructivist ontology is therefore the approach that will be taken in this study. A constructivist theoretical framework centres social forces, social relations and identity politics. This is necessary when examining a region as complex as the Middle East where territoriality is constantly under threat by heightened religious, cultural and ethnic tension.

In this theoretical framework the logical frame of analysis sets the 'Turkish Model' as the Turkish alliance-building model of the 2002-2011 period. Hall's (1999) work<sup>12</sup> on political reproduction will be combined with the polity framework of Ferguson and Mansbach (1996) which has identity and loyalty at its nucleus. A polity is a political authority with a unique identity and an institutional and hierarchical structure. Polities have the capability to politically mobilize individuals who identify with them regardless of territoriality. The mode in which state polities politically reproduce dependent on Ferguson and Mansbach's double-security dilemma (threats to both their

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<sup>12</sup> The concept of an 'alliance-building model' is based upon Hall's theory of political reproduction (Hall 1999). As stated in the introductory chapter, political reproduction is the process in which a state maintains a particular pattern of authority through its actions, bargaining and institutionalization (Hall 1999). The provocation for an alliance-building mode of political reproduction is changes in the double-security dilemma that a state faces. An alliance-building mode of political reproduction is one in which the state builds co-operation with society and other polities. The double-security dilemma can also provoke fortifying reproduction in which a state insulates itself from society and other polities to prevent rivals from gaining strength. Failure to respond to the 'double-security dilemma' will lead to the collapse of the state (Hall 1999). It is important to note that that a state is never alliance-building or fortifying, rather it is in the process of *becoming* either (Hall 1999). The double-security dilemma of each state is unique and depends on its domestic and international environment. This theoretical framework examines the 'Turkish Model' as in transition.

*institutional* and *sovereign* integrity) they face is the basis of the theoretical framework of this thesis. Turkey's political reproduction will be framed with regards to the security dilemmas and threats from rival polities that it faced. It will become evident how every state polity's experiences are unique. Any single model-based solution to enable their democratization and stability will fail. This is because a state polity's survival is dependent on its ability to politically reproduce within its OWN constitutive environment and unique double-security dilemma (Hall 1999).

## **2.2 Constructivist Ontologies for Middle Eastern Studies**

Social science scholars are currently experiencing a post 'Arab spring' hangover. Whether or not the discipline is in complete turmoil has become a moot point for discussion. A kinder description would characterize the current intellectual period as a period of introspection, but it is clear this self-reflection has been too long in the waiting. The argument for a complete ontological shift of the discipline has become one of the leading interrogations within the academy (Ergul 2010; Hartmann 2013; Al-Ghazzi and Kraidy 2013).

In fact, academics across the social sciences failed to predict the 'Arab Spring', did not predict and misanalysed its collapse and the consequences of the collapse in Turkey and beyond. Nevertheless, some scholars assert that predicting the time of, or even occurrence of revolution is beyond the

scope of social science (Goodwin 2011; Gregory et al. 2014; Kuran 1995). Rather, social science is limited to analysing where revolt is more likely to occur and the reasons for said revolt (Goodwin 2011). Due to the increasing popularity of the liberal internationalist paradigm there has been a fixation within the academy on regime types, democratization and institutional reform in which other indicators of political, social and economic change were ignored (Howard and Walters 2014). These critics argue that for researchers to redeem themselves, future projects should employ broader research agendas (Howard and Walters 2014).

This thesis takes the approach that rather than stating the presence of scientific barriers to the realm of social science, there needs to be an ontological shift in the method of enquiry. The ontological basis of both realist and liberal internationalist approaches has been under growing criticism as constructivist approaches grow more popular (Howard and Walters 2014). The realist approach in IR research has led to a failure of the integration of domestic politics in the study of how states interact. The Washington Consensus liberal internationalist approach of those close to the policy-making community has been prevalent in political science. As such, it has failed to take into consideration local and regional power dynamics. Others argue that the tensions between the above two schools of thought are what has shaped the failure (Shelley 2011). Thus, the approach of this thesis is

that an ontological shift to constructivism has the potential to redeem the discipline and truly analyse inter and intra state dynamics.

The influence that ideas, norms and rules have over states' identities and interests can provide a wider picture of current global affairs than traditional realist IR's *realpolitik* (Hartmann 2013). Realism does not consider the role of non-state actors or determining factors other than self-interest in analysing the outcomes and trajectory of international politics<sup>13</sup>. Constructivism presents a way of understanding IR that incorporates social forces into the study of global politics; offers a fresh perspective on anarchy, change and power in the international system, and situates state identity at the forefront of studies (Hopf 1998). Political reproduction is key to the constructivist approach; a state's response to an international event may reproduce its identity or reinforce it (Hopf 1998). Hopf (1998: 173) explains how the study of behaviour is possible only within an intersubjective social context:

“Actors develop their relations with, and understandings of, others through the media of norms and practices. In the absence of norms, exercises of power, or actions, would be devoid of meaning. Constitutive norms define an identity by specifying the actions that will cause others to recognize that identity and respond to it appropriately.

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<sup>13</sup> A realist approach downplays the role of religion, culture and identity in foreign policy, “States, no matter their culture or religious heritage, face the same security dilemma in the form of threats because of power and geography... Religion in any form has little impact on the security dilemma and states responses to that dilemma.”(Sadik, 2012: 297) Neorealists elaborate this argument, “States consider themselves secure not necessarily when they have improved relations with their neighbours with religious affinity, but “when they have enough relative power to deter, pre-empt, or defend against threats to their survival or relative power position.” (Sadik, 2012: 297)

Since structure is meaningless without some intersubjective set of norms and practices, anarchy, mainstream international relations theory's most crucial structural component, is meaningless."

This explains how norms and practices dictate the character of anarchy within the international system.

Constructivism therefore treats the identities of states as changeable and reliant on sociohistorical and cultural factors. This offers much more context than a realist approach that defines states as simply self-interested, and nothing more (Hopf 1998). Identities create a sense of normality and predictability within the international system due to the preferences that they imply according to the characteristics an actor purposes to identify with. Thereby, daily social exchange reproduces identity within an intersubjective system (Hopf 1998). Although, an actor's agency only goes so far, as they are not able to manage how their identity is perceived by other actors. A constructivist approach does not deny the realist tenets of the anarchic nature of the international system, nor the structural qualities of the international system that neo-realists purport. Constructivism in fact expands these concepts to provide a framework for understanding that is relevant to today's globalized geopolitics. A constructivist paradigm, therefore, can open a wide variety of decisions and actions for analysis (Hopf 1998).

An important point of deliberation for scholars of both IR and Middle Eastern studies is how the revolutionary wave of action during the Arab 'spring' dominoed from one country to the next. Weyland (2012) explains that a

constructivist ontology using norms and values can clarify how the success of one uprising, and the ideals that came about from it such as anti-authoritarianism and the empowerment of the masses, spread from one setting to another. Yet, this approach does not explain the temporal issues regarding the speed of the spread of the protests. Also, the preexisting value systems within the various states that experienced uprisings were far from homogeneous to start with which creates further problems for analysis. Weyland (2012) explains how in *laic* more progressive countries such as Tunisia, the population was more predisposed to democracy and liberalism than in more conservative countries such as Yemen. Here, constructivism fails to explain 'the tight clustering of protests and uprisings' and the applicability of value change to enact political change in such a short amount of time across the Arab region (Weyland 2012).

A constructivist study needs to be supplemented with additional ontological approaches to explain complex dynamics. At the interchange of domestic and international politics, domestic politics has continued to play a less significant role in IR which has been dominated by foreign policy analysis, diplomacy and *realpolitik*. A discipline superior in the comprehension of the importance of domestic politics in global contexts is historical sociology, which when accompanied by constructivism can lead to radical analysis and begin to fill the gaps that constructivism leaves behind (Hall 1999).

Historical sociology studies social relations as both causal and parallel phenomena to IR. This means that the domestic and international political realms are merged, which can offer depth to constructivist studies (Shaw 2013). Historical sociology emphasizes institutions and social order as clear pillars and flags for scholars to follow in the historical analysis of agency and change. Lawson, (2006: 39) emphasizes that this will only be successful if these institutions are, “understood beyond the straightjacket afforded to them by mainstream IR theory.”

Historical sociology's multilinear and dynamic ontology of change lends a weightier role to the agency of actors (Lawson 2006). Allowing for a greater awareness of the unexpected as the norm, this focus can remove the bias of ideological predictions that have dominated IR in the last fifty years. Lawson (2006: 38) explains that this broader research agenda can examine,

“the production, reproduction, reform, and recasting of primary and derivative institutions which flow out of, and which form, particular structural conjunctures; the relationship between initial choices, developmental paths, critical junctures, and transformation in issues as varied as state formation and systems change; and investigation of the forces that act as principia media in driving macro-level processes of social change.”

This breakdown of social processes of change is valuable for a constructivist approach which is based on an intersubjective social context.

Scholars and practitioners of IR have failed to provide thorough or sound analysis of the geopolitics of the Middle East in the past few years, especially regarding the Arab ‘Spring’. Realism and liberal internationalism have not

offered a viable logic of analysis for a region with such diverse and trans-border identities and interests. A constructivist approach that can incorporate the role of domestic politics and the institutionalization of domestic identities (as offered by historical sociology), in turn with their transnational character, may have the potential to redeem IR.

### **2.3 The Genesis of the Theoretical Framework of this Study: Reviewing Constructivist Historical Realism**

In the previous section it was explained how merging both domestic and international politics through the lens of political reproduction and identity formation is central to understanding political change regarding the 'Turkish Model'. In this section, the merger of polity literature with that of historical realism (Hall's thesis on political reproduction) will set out a radical theoretical framework to be used in this study. First, the strengths of both studies will be explored.

#### *Polities and Political Change*

Ferguson and Mansbach (1996) lay down the foundations of the political grammar of the study of the international system through 'polities':

"A polity (or political authority) has a distinct identity; a capacity to mobilize persons and their resources for political purposes, that is for value satisfaction; and a degree of institutionalization and hierarchy (leaders and constituents) ...Leaders must be able to call upon the support and resources of those for whose identity(ties) they are surrogates. A polity's domain includes the persons who identify with it



and their resources, the space those persons occupy, and the issue(s) over which the polity exercises influence.”

(Ferguson & Mansbach 1996: 34-35)

In the postinternationalist modern international system polities can compete for influence over issues across borders, within borders, through the internet, and within a variety of different spaces.

Definitions of what is foreign and what is domestic have merged, and issues themselves, rather than sovereign borders become the defining frame for what and who is spatially and temporally an 'other' or an active participant. The authorities that command and compete over the loyalties of global citizens are 'polities':

"Polities decay from within and are challenged from without... (during) transitional epochs.. the hegemony of previously dominant authorities is contested, and loyalties are seduced to new authorities through the critical issues of the day.”

(Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 58).

They compete through the strength of their leadership and institutions, the persuasiveness of their ideology, and their capacity to mobilize individuals into loyal groups. Therefore, the polity 'economy' consists of individuals and resources (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

It is important to note that polities differ in size, their scope to mobilize, institutional efficiency, and cultural norms. Ferguson and Mansbach explain that the main intention of their theory is to,

"illustrate how world politics has always involved a crazy quilt of polities- foci of authority of varying domain and influence; distinctive in some respects overlapping, layered and nested and linked in others, competing and cooperating across space and issues trying to attract and hold the allegiance and resources of individuals and seeking to allocate values that have usually been in inadequate supply to meet demands."

(1996: 60)

Polities simultaneously exist side-by-side, coordinate on issues, and compete. Polity formation and disintegration is an organic historical process, and the intricate international system of domestic, regional and international authority formations are constantly 'becoming' and changing (Yale H. Ferguson and Mansbach 1996). When polities disintegrate, they seldom vanish entirely; rather they endure as an exhibition in the worlds 'living museum'. Therefore, they always have the potential to re-emerge in the future. These may re-emerge due to old loyalties being sparked by unexpected events. Polities only apply leverage within limited domains. The domains to which they apply leverage will be defined by the issues which command their loyalty, where they compete with other polities for political space (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

On the micro-level, individuals can have several different and often conflicting identities and loyalties such as family, class, religion, ethnicity, tribe, and gender. The decision-making process that individuals undergo over polity loyalty is complex, for example,

"In Medieval Europe how did the Bishop-Barons choose between and among pope and emperor, extended family and local secular and or

religious authorities, and why did they make the choices they did? These questions probe the changing cognitions, perceptions and skills of individuals- they enquire into individual hopes and fears and try to determine which symbols were most persuasive and why.”

(Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 47)

The polity hoping to command loyalty needs to offer both cognitive fulfilment and physical perks to those individuals it wishes to attract, control and coerce. Predominantly, IR research tends to simply offer state-based analysis, sweeping away "layering or overlap among polities as domestic or internal politics thereby overlooking multiple loyalties." (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 48) Yet, the polities framework, rather than denying the importance of horizontal analysis, supplements it with a vertical analysis. An example of polity theory applied to the expansion of early Islam will illuminate how a merged horizontal and vertical polity analysis can be applied to empirical data.

Ferguson and Mansbach's (1996) analytical framework for accounting for political change is divided into the horizontal dimension of politics (relationships among polities **across** political space) and the vertical dimension of politics (relationships of polities **within** space). The environment in which a polity expands and contracts horizontally is formed of the following factors: how much power external forces have to influence changes in the international system; the distribution of capabilities amongst the polities in the international system; the geophysical setting of a polity; production; trade; warfare; demographics, and diplomacy. The environment in which a polity

expands and contracts vertically is moulded by the strength of loyalty to specific identities within society, the structure of the institutions and hierarchy within political society, and the scope of governmental control (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

Ferguson and Mansbach (1996) use the above analytical framework to explain the expansion of the Islamic polity from its birth in 622 A.D. to the early 13th century. They explain that key to the rise and expansion of the Islamic polity was a mix of favourable vertical and horizontal factors. Firstly, the charismatic qualities of the Prophet<sub>(pbuh)</sub> were a key factor, and his ability and capacity to spread his message horizontally was aided by the weaknesses of rival groups across the Mediterranean region. The region had been plagued with barbarian invasions, illness, poor harvests, and intra-polity conflict between the Persians and Byzantines. This freed the political space for the Arabs who were mobile and able to negotiate the vast terrain with camels. Economic factors also contributed, as the Arab nomads were forced to look outside the Gulf region due to the aridness of their localities, thereby spreading their ideology westward. The legitimacy of the Islamic polity, which grew into a Caliphate, was based on divine right (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

Nevertheless, the factors that had led to the expansion of the Islamic polity also were the route of its weaknesses and led to its downfall. Firstly, control of such expansive geographies was hampered by a lack of military

technology. Governing from one centre proved problematic due to the number of geographically isolated regions. As the centre was unable to control these areas, increasingly power was transposed to the military (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996). This was to prove a key factor in imperial decline, as various military factions became independent and commanded their own loyal power bases. Particularly, soldiers of Turkic ethnicity who had once been enslaved posed a problem as they were disloyal to their Arab leaders (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

Aside from divisions between the government and military; tribal, clan and ethnic differences caused conflict within the polity (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996). The caliphs themselves had previously been Arab chieftains, and the polity continued to be shaped by tribal culture. This posed problematic as the loyalty of Muslim subjects was divided between three polities- tribe, Ummah, and the Caliphate. Within each of these polities, divisions based on clan, sectarian and dynastic lines all made it impossible for the Islamic empire to survive. In fact, Ferguson and Mansbach (1996) argue that contrary to popular historical opinion, which deems the fall of the Islamic Empire to be due to external challenges such as those from the Mongol invasions, it was the rapid expansion of the Islamic polity that caused its downfall. The rapid expansion of the Islamic caliphate could not negotiate the competing loyalties in its geography that were already heavily entrenched. Islam provided a

semblance of unity, but it was not enough to unite those with cultural and ethnic differences (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

Class and urban/rural divides also further drove divisions within the Caliphate, and when Abu Bakr<sub>(RA)</sub> became Caliph after the Prophet<sub>(pbuh)</sub> various sections of society could not unite behind a leader they saw as not having been appointed by God (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996). The legitimacy of the Caliph came into question, leading to revolts against tax payments, and the inability of the centre to control the local dynasties. The Islamic Empire could not survive these internal challenges and disbanded in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

The raptures of the time continue to influence polity formation and competition in the Middle East to this day. The identities that were formed during the Empire have become nested<sup>14</sup> memories within the modern day Ummah and the loyalties they transpose continue to influence events in the region. These identities are particularly strong in eras where many socio-political changes are taking place (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

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<sup>14</sup> Nesting is the term used for the process of ingestion of one polity by another, without either vanishing. Through this process polities partially or fully embed in each other forming emergent symbols and new identities. Large polities consisting of a number of nested polities are harder to control and can pose problems for organizational management. A more modestly-sized polity may be easier to supervise and coerce, despite having less man-power and resources (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996)

Islamic nested identities continue to pose a problem for secular governance in the region, and command loyalties across and beyond the borders formed by Sykes-Picot. Nationalism has not managed to compete with religious identity in the Middle East, proving the lines between internal politics and external politics obsolete. The 'Turkish Model' is one that tries to unite loyalties through nationalism, all the while respecting religious freedoms. Nonetheless, within Turkey itself age-old conflicts between Islamic and non-Islamic sects along with ethnic and class divides continue to pose a dilemma for state polity sovereignty.

Polity theory can provide a useful framework for studying the politics of the Middle East beyond the rigidity of state relations. It allows the researcher to delve into notions that are determining the transition of political power in the Middle East such as identity and loyalty. To answer the question as to why the 'Turkish Model' failed to reproduce in the Arab region the polity framework provides a dynamic and radical base for research but lacks a distinct outline for analysing what factors are maintaining the pattern of authority within the 'Turkish' case and how the 'Turkish Model' is constituted and reconstituted in relation to its internal and external environment<sup>15</sup>.

Nonetheless, there are key assumptions stemming from the polity framework that can provide a basis of the theoretical framework for the research agenda

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<sup>15</sup> The 'historical realism' theoretical framework (Hall 1999) provides some providence to these issues and will be discussed further on in the chapter.

of this thesis. The first assumption will of course be that the Turkish Republic and Arab states are state polities. Secondly, that rival polities compete over revenue, identity, loyalty and ideology within a post-internationalist international system. Lastly, that Turkey and thus, the 'Turkish model' is a mix/fusion of several nested polities and identities. The main ones include Ottoman, European, Turkic and Kemalist (Hale 2012). Nonetheless, this thesis will show that the way in which these identities have monopolized Turkish state discourse has misrepresented many in Turkey, including those from the Kurdish and Armenian ethnic minorities. This monopolization of state identity has caused dissent and conflict (Waldman and Caliskan 2017).

### *Historical Realism*

Hall's (1999) thesis is a historical sociological and IR approach to the political reproduction of states. Hall (1999) bases much of his theory of historical realism on the polity framework but takes it a step further through a "higher degree of deductive reasoning" (Hall 35). Hall does this through an approach which emphasises competition between different groups over revenue, rather than loyalty and ideology like the polity approach. He argues that his historical realism approach allows for systematic comparisons across cases,



something that the polity approach lacks. Political reproduction is the key dependent variable in Hall's (1999) historical realism theory<sup>16</sup>.

Within the polity literature the double-security dilemma is based around the threat posed to the authority of the polity by two differing groups. The first is those groups who threaten the sovereignty of the state polity, and the second is those who would threaten the institutional foundations of the state polity. In the double-security dilemma according to Hall's theory of political reproduction (historical realism) the threat against the states revenues are equated with a threat to its security. Hall (1999: 22) states

“there are two sorts of groups which threaten a state in this way: members of the society which the state directly extract revenue from (that is, in effect, tax); and those that either (potentially) extract resources from the state in turn (such as suzerain states extracting tribute, for instance) or, by way of the structure of the system-wide economy, get ‘unfair’ terms of trade, broadly understood. Herein lies the ‘double’ of my double security dilemma: its two referents are not territorially, or even geographically, defined groups, although there is an inside/outside dimension present. Rather, they are defined by which kind of threat they pose to the state.”

Therefore, the double security dilemma implies how the state reacts or does not react to threats from those it can tax will have consequences for the outcomes with those it cannot tax. If the state cannot devise one plan to deal

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<sup>16</sup> As stated in the thesis introduction, political reproduction can be defined as the process in which a state maintains a particular pattern of authority through its actions, bargaining and institutionalization. It is through political reproduction that a state's relationship to its environment is constituted and reconstituted.

with both at the same time, it could forsake political reproduction and collapse. Thus, within Hall's (1999) theory, political reproduction is the dependent variable and the double-security dilemma is the independent variable or structural variable that is based on four constitutive dimensions.

These four dimensions set the foundations of a state's double-security dilemma and influence the ability of the state ruler's capacity to act. Combined with the shape of the emerging threats to the state, they motivate either an alliance-building or fortifying mode of political reproduction:

Table 2.1: Constitutive Dimensions of the Double-Security Dilemma in Historical Realism

<b>Constitutive Dimensions of a state's Double-Security Dilemma in Historical Realism</b>	<b>Dimension Details</b>
Functionally differentiated or functionally undifferentiated	International systems can be either functionally differentiated or not. A functionally differentiated international political system is one that is characterized by a multiplication of governance structures. A functionally undifferentiated international political system is dominated by one governance structure. The state can be either part of a functionally differentiated or functionally undifferentiated inter-state system.
Embedded or disembedded into the state system	A disembedded inter-state system is one in which the dealings among polities are not instituted by the economic structure. An embedded inter-state system is that which dealings among states are constituted from an economic structure. A state can be either part of an embedded or disembedded inter-state system.
Competitive or non-competitive system	A competitive environment in which the state extracts revenue is one in which producers/other states or polities can compete with the state for revenue, these producers can be both from within elements of domestic society or abroad. A non-competitive society is one where the state monopolizes production and revenue extraction.
Open or closed environment	An open environment is one that is logistically open and easy to access for rival groups/producers/polities to extract revenue. A closed society is difficult to access. This means that an open environment is costlier to supervise than a closed environment in which it is relatively cheap to regulate comings and goings.

(Hall 1999; Buzan and Albert 2010)

Each of the dimensions explained above integrates politics, sociology and economics. The strategy of pursuing a fortifying mode of political reproduction is to prevent rivals from gaining strength. Pursuing an alliance-building mode of political reproduction leads to co-opting or co-operating with rivals and making them allies<sup>17</sup>. Hall (1999) used his theory to come up with a constitutive map and to build a tool for the researcher to explain which elements in the double-security dilemma cause which modes of political reproduction. For example, in embedded and functionally similar systems it is difficult for a fortifying state to remain fortifying, unless competition is weak and the cost of closedness is low.

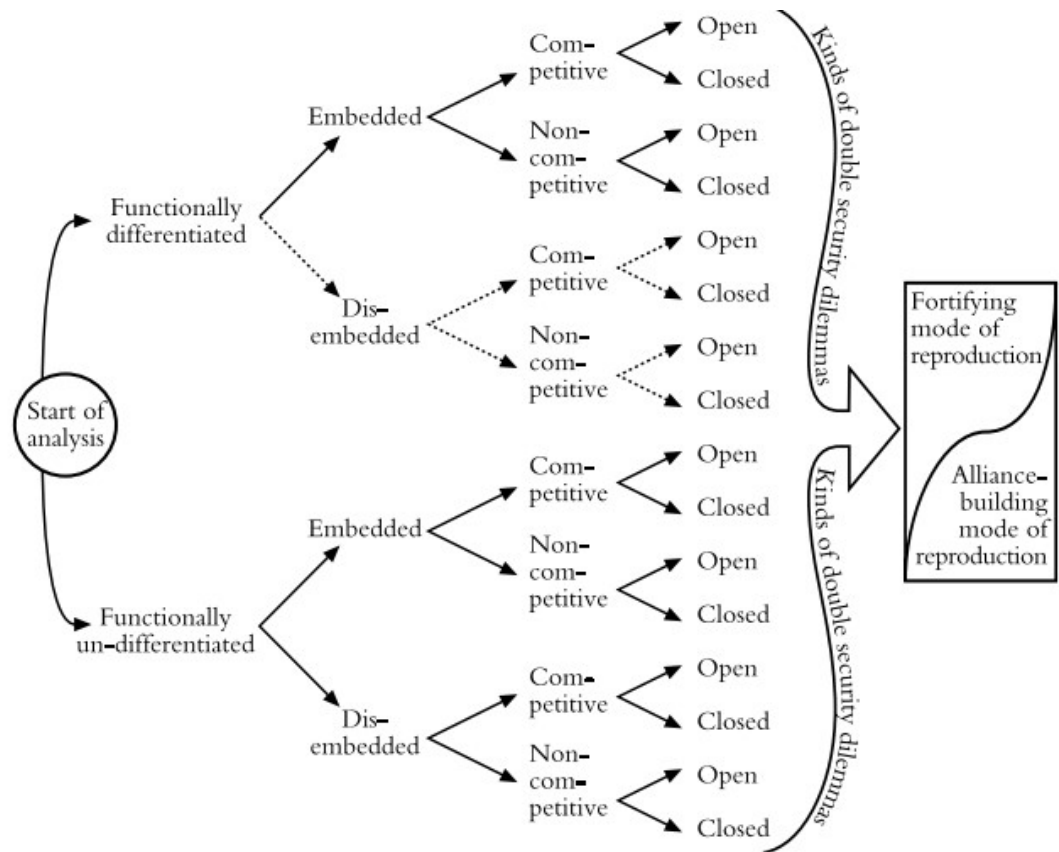
Hall (1999) uses the example of Japan to explain his theory. From the early 1600's until the 1850's Japan had a fortifying mode of political reproduction. The Japanese state utilized blocking and insulating methods towards society to prevent it from upsetting the stability of the Emperor's rule. During this time, production was monopolized by the landed aristocracy and predominantly agricultural. Production was aimed at domestic rather than international consumption. Nevertheless, in the 1800's state economies became embedded in the international economic system. Japan intensified its foreign contacts and moved towards becoming an exporting country. In the 1850's Japan built alliances with society domestically and horizontally

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<sup>17</sup> It is important to note that that a state is never alliance-building or fortifying, rather it is in the process of becoming either.

across the world. The survival of the state then became dependent on its capacity to move towards an alliance-building mode of political reproduction. The transition between alliance-building and fortifying dependent on the constitutive and causal elements of the double-security dilemma such as that which occurred with Japan can be viewed below:

Figure 2.1 A Heuristic Map of Historical Realism



(Hall 1999: 37)

Key assumptions stemming from the historical realism framework that will provide a theoretical framework for the research agenda of this thesis is firstly that states do not continue to exist by default. Secondly, political formations must structure themselves in the most efficient form available to survive in a world rife with war, hostility or mere competition (Hall 1999: 1). This can be achieved by either becoming more alliance-building or becoming more fortifying. Lastly, constitutive and causal observations can be attained through the application of the historical realism approach (Hall 1999).

#### *A Constructivist Polity based Approach to Historical Realism*

In Hall's (1999) doctrine on historical realism, he makes the point of welcoming doctoral empirical research based on his theory and encourages constructivist approaches with modern geopolitical case studies. For example, Hall explains that his theoretical framework lacks conceptual considerations regarding the construction of identities and its role in political reproduction. Hall (1999: 116) explains that further research needs to be done on whether,

“modes of political reproduction affect or are they affected by, ideology and identities? It would seem difficult or prohibitively costly for a state to be alliance-building if there is a discrepancy in the ideological convictions permeating the society and the state, as in Visigothic Spain. Conversely, a state might actively create myths for instance in attempting to become alliance-building, as in free Germany during the Roman Empire. Ideology and identities covering large areas of an

inter-state system might also be expected to have consequences that are not explainable by functional differentiation or embeddedness. Conversely, whether an interstate system is functionally differentiated or not might be expected to have consequences for identity formation.”

When analysing the question of why the ‘Turkish Model’ did not proliferate, it becomes clear that both ideological convictions and nested identities within the Middle East have played a strong determining role. Turkey created myths of neo-ottomanism<sup>18</sup> and a shared history with the Arab states to build alliances, which gained popularity in the early 2000’s (Samaan 2013). Nonetheless, these failed to permeate as the geopolitics of the region shifted and identity politics, polarization and sectarianism seethed. It is important to also note that some scholars believed the ‘Turkish Model’ failed to spread across the Arab region solely because of its US-sympathetic neoliberal and oppressive nature that was evident to the Arab region by 2007 through Turkey’s domestic inequality and privatization and West-sympathetic foreign policy (Tuğal 2007).

Hall (1999) makes the case for a more modern case study of historical realism and examining the transition of the ‘Turkish Model’ in the region which can provide further development of the theory of political reproduction and its application to present day geopolitics. Yet, in acknowledgement of the realism of those such as (Tuğal 2007), in the current climate of political change in the Middle East identity politics is playing a central role (Shahi

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<sup>18</sup> Neo-ottomanism is an ideology which advocates for Turkish penetration into the states and societies of countries that were once part of the Ottoman Empire.

2016). Therefore, identity and constructivism should play a vital role in any research agenda.

The theoretical framework of this thesis will move beyond the double-security dilemma purported by historical realism. A constructivist approach necessitates a theoretical framework which allows for identity and loyalty. Therefore, the polity image's double-security dilemma will be applied to this work. As referred to previously in the chapter,

“Within the polity literature the double-security dilemma is based around the threat posed to the authority of the polity by two differing groups. The first is those groups who threaten the sovereignty of the state polity, and the second is those who would threaten the institutional foundations of the state polity.”

(Hall 1999: 19)

Hall (1999) makes two vital assumptions regarding modern day geopolitical studies that will also be applied here. The first is that the inter-state system is becoming deeper embedded in the economy. The second is that the level of functional differentiation is growing. Therefore, these two elements of the constitutive dimension of state polities will be taken for granted. Hall (1999) concludes his suggestions for further empirical research with some revealing arguments with regards to contemporary IR. He dispels the myth of liberal peace and the idea that the current order can produce peace and stability.

Rather, in the globalized modern age of high-level functional differentiation and embeddedness, the increased competition between polities are likely to both increase the level of competition and violence. This chapter has already



explicated the ontological point that we live in a post-internationalist world, and Hall (1999) takes this one step further. He explains that although it may seem that the 'state' as a polity is disappearing, contrary to this, *the modern state based on the alliance-building mode of political reproduction is disappearing*. Rather than states becoming increasingly irrelevant within IR, they are simply *changing their mode of political reproduction* and becoming more fortifying and insulated (Hall 1999).

Stemming from this another assumption for this theoretical framework can be made. That is, political reproduction is an organic process, polities do not disappear, and states only move into the worlds 'living museum' when their political reproduction fails. Rather than the 'Turkish Model' falling, it merely shifted. The alliance-building mode of political reproduction that became popular up until 2011 has shifted to a fortifying mode of political reproduction based on a combination of its constitutive environment and the changing causative double-security dilemma it faces.

This theoretical framework will re-examine the constitutive elements of state polities that have been provided by historical realism. State polities try and negotiate their way to suppressing rivalry to their institutional and sovereign authority (the double-security dilemma) through political entrepreneurship and political reproduction. Therefore, the individual's identification with polities is key to the maintenance of state polity authority (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996). The way individuals have directed and redirected their

loyalties has strengthened or weakened the polities that were competing for their loyalties. Loyalties and identities will be applied to the study of the constitutive environment of polities within the constructivist historical realist framework of this thesis.

When mitigating the double-security dilemma, if a polity succeeds in providing satisfaction for those who identify with it, it may prevent new loyalties from forming amongst those in which it is able to have some influence (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996). Conversely, failure to provide satisfaction may provoke shifts in loyalties. The ability of a state polity to mitigate the polity-defined double-security dilemma by becoming more alliance-building or fortifying depends on the following constitutive environmental factors (these are both based on and depart from historical realism):

Table 2.2 The Constitutive Dimensions of a State’s Double-Security Dilemma in Constructivist (polity-based) Historical Realism

Constitutive Dimensions of a State’s Double-Security Dilemma in Constructivist Historical Realism	Dimension Details
Competitive or non-competitive environment	A competitive environment is one in which polities can compete with the state polity for revenue, loyalty, and political membership with ease. A non-competitive society is one where the state monopolizes political membership and loyalty.
Open or closed environment	This will be largely unchanged regarding the historical realism definition, nonetheless there is a slight dialectical shift with the new framework. An open environment is one that is logistically open and easy to access for rival polities. A closed society is difficult to access. This theoretical framework will however, emphasize the ease of controlling the means of discourse and social capital. Within an open environment the polity has a lack of control over the discourse and social capital within society. Within a closed environment the polity can have full control over the dissemination of discourse.

### *Research Framework and Analysis*

The case study utilized within this study is that of the rulers of Turkey between 2001 and 2015, the *AKP*. The research investigation of the study is divided into three analytical chapters below, Chapter Four on the *AKP*’s vertical alliance-building, Chapter Five on the *AKP*’s horizontal alliance-building, and Chapter Six on Turkey’s post-2011 double-security dilemma

which then represents the transition of the alliance-building mode of political reproduction. The study considers the following constitutive elements listed in Table 2.2: openness/closedness of the polity economy and competitiveness/non-competitiveness of the polity economy. As the double-security dilemma in this study is based around groups that threaten the institutional and sovereign foundations of the state polity as referred to in Ferguson and Mansbach (1996), rather than threats from the groups that the state either extracts resources from or competes for resources as theorized by Hall (1999), some supplementary literature is needed to build a fully in-depth analysis of state polity political reproduction.

Almond and G Bingham Powell (1996) offer a clear taxonomy of the political system in which states and governments operate. A political system is composed of both structures and functions. The structures are political institutions and organizations that perform various functions within political processes (Almond and G Bingham Powell 1996). Therefore, in this case study the structures that will be analysed that made up the Turkish political system during *AKP* tenure include social institutions, social movements, organized interest groups, independent political parties, the *AKP*, Parliament, the bureaucracy, the President and the military. Some of the above structures are hierarchical polities, and others are not. The inclusion of non-polities is important as they also pose a threat to the governing authority.

Almond and G. Bingham Powell's (1996) conceptual framework is vertically focused on the institutional side of the double-security dilemma.

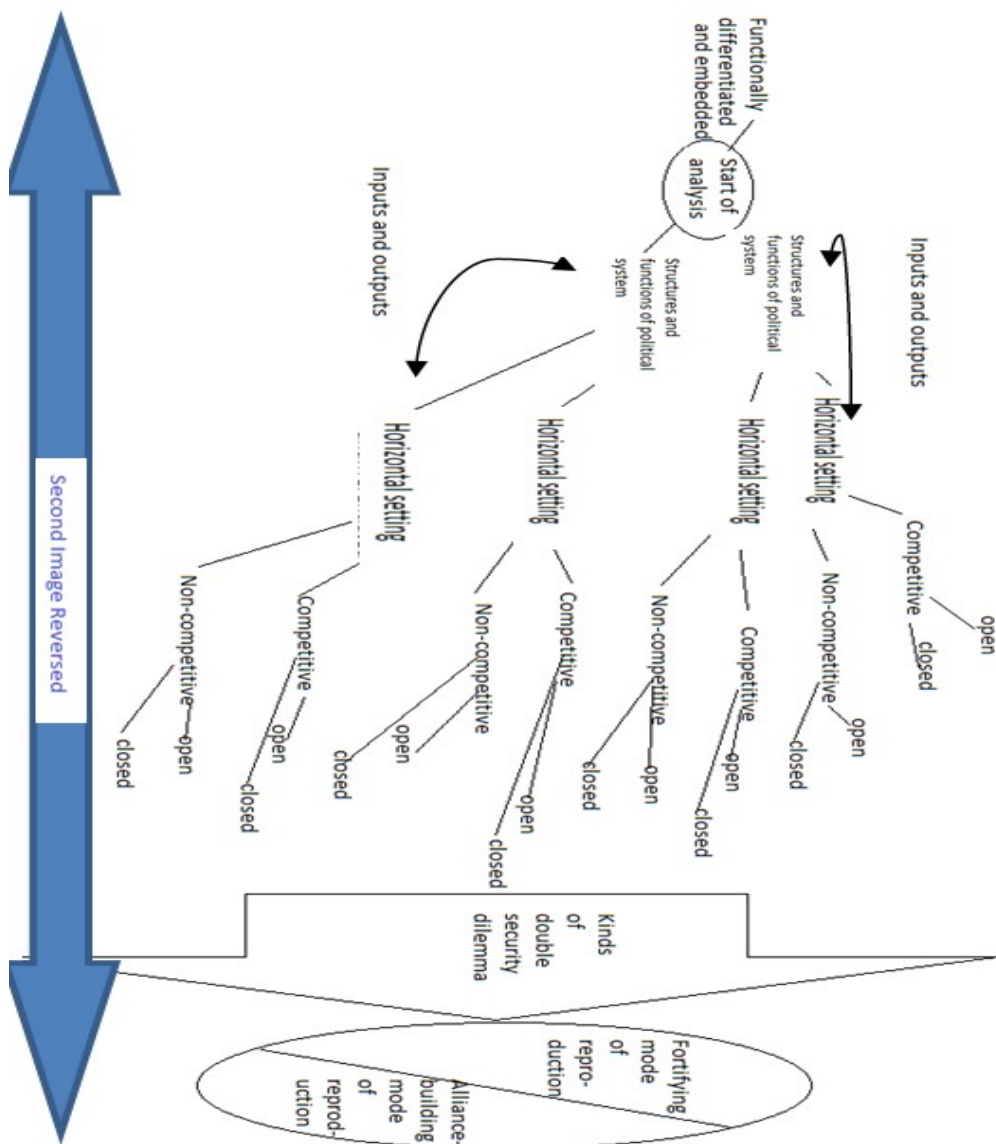
On analysing the horizontal dimension of the double-security dilemma which can also threaten the state's institutional foundations, but seemingly has a direct effect on the level of sovereignty of the state, the case study will refer to Ferguson and Mansbach taxonomy (1996). They describe the workings of the international political system as including diplomacy, mediation, development and aid, trade, defence, warfare and the mass media. When a polity politically reproduces to maintain its sovereignty and political authority it either competes and coerces with or co-opts rival polities for loyalty and value satisfaction (or relief from value deprivation) for the ease of resource extraction and capital expansion. The ability of the polity to do this is dependent on the horizontal dimensions of politics including system discreteness<sup>19</sup>, the distribution of capabilities, the polity's geophysical setting, the terms of production and trade, demographics, and the threat of warfare and risks of diplomacy. The above factors make it harder or easier for the polity to extract resources internationally (through either bargaining or coercion) and maintain its international stature and mitigate the double-security dilemma (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996). Thus, based on the above

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<sup>19</sup> System discreteness refers to how isolated or open a polity is to outside influence/interference (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 382-383)

taxonomies, the data collected for analysis within this thesis is framed on the vertical and horizontal environment mapped:

Figure 2.2 A Heuristic Map of a Constructivist Polity-based Approach to Political Reproduction



### *Some Further Remarks on Identity, Loyalty, Political Membership and Ideology*

As stated earlier, a key assumption of this theoretical framework is:

- Rival polities compete over revenue, identity, loyalty and ideology within a post-internationalist international system

The following section will provide some clarity on the definitions of ideology and loyalty and elucidate on their practical applications within political science. Carlsnaes (1987) provides a definition for the concept of ideology:

“X is ideological when X is a political doctrine which purports to motivate an actor P to do Y (or not to do Z) for the collective interest of Q”

(Carlsnaes 1987: 150)

Ideational entities have ideologies, but actors and agents cannot. Within this theoretical framework, polities will be defined as only those entities which hold ideologies.

The state polity encapsulates a political community. The identities of individuals are based on their membership within the political community and defined by their entrance and continued adherence to it. Their entrance to the political community is based upon a common history and common norms with other members of said community. Kvistad (1999: 4) states that "the determinants of what "just is" and "just isn't" done in a political community are



embedded in historical traditions of discourse that, if deciphered, help make clear who is a member in a political community." This is also known as logics of appropriateness. These determinants, nevertheless, are uncoded and based upon tradition.

When an agent adheres with loyalty to a political community, it simultaneously forms 'othering' and defines those who are outside and inside a political community. These can be modified by political and social interaction. Kvistad (1999: 20) explains that, "Loyalty is a bottom up attribute embodied by individuals forming a relationship with the object of loyalty. Socialization agents play a central role in developing that relationship, but loyalties are nonetheless developed by individuals interacting with those agents. "

Within this theoretical framework, some outsiders will always be deemed as potential insiders to an alliance-building state polity and the polity authority will actively try and cultivate their political membership. Nonetheless, a more fortifying state polity will be more interested in keeping others on the outside of the margins of the political system rather than aiming for their consent. Kvistad (1999) explains, however, that loyalty is hard to empirically test but suggests that conformism and defiance can be used as conceptual measures.

*The State, the Regime, the Government, the Governing Party and the Polity in Constructivist Historical Realism*

It is helpful to address a few of the concepts and terms that are referred to regularly in this thesis as key variables. Almond and G Bingham Powell (1996: 3) define the state, as an “independent legal authority over a population” in a territory and define the institutions of the state as the government. Sovereignty is also an important concept within this thesis, particularly regarding the polity-based double-security dilemma.

Janice Thomson (2001) explains that when including sovereignty<sup>20</sup> into the definition of the state, the concept is expanded to mean far more than simply a monopoly of violence over a given territory. She explains that the two dimensions of sovereignty are what denote the true meaning of the state. The first dimension, constitutive sovereignty, “establishes a boundary between the domestic and international realms of politics (Thomson 2001: 15-16)”; she continues by explaining that this constitutes

“the state as the main actor in international politics by designating the state, rather than a religious or economic organization as the repository of ultimate authority within a political space that is defined territorially.”

The second dimension, the functional dimension, is the explicit authority assertions claimed by the state establishing “the boundary between the

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<sup>20</sup> Janice Thompson (2001: 15) expands on Ruggie’s definition of ‘sovereignty’ which “differentiates units in terms of juridically mutually exclusive and morally self-entailed domains based on single-titled or exclusive, fixed territoriality.”

political and economic and the state and nonstate realms of authority (Thomson 2001: 16).” It is then statesmen<sup>21</sup>, the leaders of the government, who actively consolidate a state’s sovereignty through accepting the role of the state. It is this acceptance of both dimensions of state sovereignty, from within and without, that make the state the predominant polity in the international system. States and governments therefore both exercise authoritative and coercive control, mutually engaging in the sustenance of the status quo of the international political system and politically reproducing its power. As indicated that can be done for research purposes in Almond and G Bingham Powell, the terms state and government are used interchangeably within this thesis (Almond and G Bingham Powell 1996: 28)<sup>22</sup>.

Nonetheless, this over-simplification can be problematic. Robinson (2013) explains how the prime example of this over-simplification causing confusion is if a government is removed and the state survives through revolution. To be able to analyse and develop theory, Robinson (2013) argues terminological specificity of the state and the government is necessary.

Robinson (2013: 556) thus explains the differences,

“States are nonphysical juridical entities of the international legal system, whereas governments are organizations with certain coercive

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<sup>21</sup> Also stateswomen.

<sup>22</sup> Almond and G Bingham Powell (1996: 28) state that both the concept of the state and the concept of the government denote that legally empowered agencies have the predominant authoritative and coercive powers with the international political system.

powers. The relationship between a government and its state is one of representation and authorized agency.”

However, Lindberg (2001), explains that the state, the government and the regime all rearticulate, adapt and restructure for survival. Thus, “these processes are intrinsically linked and perhaps cannot always be distinguished from each other.” (Lindberg 2001: 185) As the focus here is the political reproduction of state polities, the heuristic interchangeable use of state, government and regime is sufficient for studying polity survival. As Lindberg (2001: 185) also alludes, the compatibility of the state, government and regime’s method of politically reproduction is necessary for all of them to survive: “That is, the methods of extraction and use of resources that are employed must basically be the same.”

Thus, the government, in this case the *AKP* government, is often referred to interchangeably as the government or state. The term regime, which denotes the shape of state institutions at any given historical period, is also used interchangeably within the thesis.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

The constructivist theoretical framework of political reproduction outlines that rival polities compete over revenue, identity, loyalty and ideology within a post-internationalist international system. Within this theoretical framework the double-security dilemma is based around the threat posed to the authority of the state polity by two differing groups. The first is those groups

who threaten the sovereignty of the state polity, and the second is those who would threaten the institutional foundations of the state polity.

It has been explained how political reproduction, an organic process, is based on loyalty. Therefore, a one size fits all cannot be applied to states where the double-security dilemma is different to others. Navigating the loyalties of individuals is the basis of continuity in the international system for polities. A state polity may create myths to become alliance-building- this is because it may become difficult for a state to become alliance-building if there is a large discrepancy in the ideological convictions permeating society. Polities can politically reproduce in two ways, through becoming alliance-building- connecting to groups to increase their own resources, or through becoming fortifying- by blocking other would be rulers from building up power bases. A fortifying state is a state whose power is being reconstituted through processes of insulation from society. These two options are at times in this thesis presented as dichotomous for simplicity. However, it is important to understand that in reality polities can be simultaneously alliance-building as well as fortifying. Thus, a continuum exists with polities either becoming more alliance-building or more fortifying at any given time. It is also important to note that becoming more fortifying does not detract from a polity still using a certain level of alliance-building behaviour nor does it prevent a more alliance-building polity from engaging in fortifying behaviour.

The 'Turkish Model' was a contradictory ensemble- a potentially explosive effort to regulate, control and contain revolt at home and abroad (Tuğal 2016). The contradictory nature of the 'Turkish Model' can be explained through the lens of its expression of nested polities, each with their own unique identities and pull/push factors to polity loyalty. The 'Turkish Model' has been used as a form of political entrepreneurship by several actors from different polities to gain loyalty to Turkey and its horizontal polity allies. This alliance-building mode of political reproduction was based on a very specific double-security dilemma with a unique constitutive environment. Therefore, its application to state polities with a different double-security dilemma and constitutive environment was bound to fail. Lastly, as stated above, functional differentiation and embeddedness will be taken for granted as this is a modern geopolitical study. However, revenue collection will still be factored into all explanations within the analytical chapters.

## **Chapter Three: Researching the ‘Turkish Model’: An Alliance-building Case of Political Reproduction?**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter explains the method in which this thesis collates and examines the data on the social forces, social relations and identity politics that affected and motivated the *AKP*'s alliance-building mode of political reproduction of Islamic neoliberalism. The empirical data collected will also explain how the Turkish state shifted away from an alliance-building mode of political reproduction after the Arab ‘Spring’, nullifying the ‘Turkish Model’ as a promotion of liberal norms within the Middle East. The data collected will be analyzed to offer theoretical insight into the political reproduction of states and their relationship to both the external and domestic environment. It will do this by supplementing the current literature on political reproduction with a constructivist approach that utilizes contemporary evidence from a region that has been failed by policy-makers.

The first section of this chapter, 3.2 *The Significance of this Study*, explains the originality and contribution of this thesis to the existing literature. The next section, 3.3 *Methodology*, examines how a constructivist post-internationalist methodology is the most effective in collating and analyzing the mitigation of the double-security dilemma by Turkey’s rulers. After this, segment 3.4 on *Data Collection and Research Method* and 3.5 *Research Limitations* deal

with the empirical issues of this research project. Segment 3.6 on *Ethical Considerations* and 3.7 on *Author's Reflections* contain some reflexivity about the impact and purpose of the study. Finally, the research questions and objectives of this thesis are set out in section 3.8 *Research Questions*.

### **3.2 The Significance of this Study**

This research project makes both theoretical and empirical contributions to the existing literature on the political reproduction of state polities, the double-security dilemma, the AKP and the 'Turkish Model' between 2002 and 2015. 5during much of the period in question 2011-2015 and thorough data collection in English, Arabic and Turkish.

The author is aware of the importance of reflective critical enquiry regarding personal experiences and has been guided by resources on reflexivity (Bolton and Delderfield 2018; Steier 1991; May 2011). As Bolton and Delderfield (2018: Online) state:

“Reflective practice concerns our work, and areas of our experience which impinge upon it. Reflection involving reflexivity is critical questioning which can be initiated and supported by creative reflective processes. These can help us to observe ourselves and our practice from points of view outside of ourselves. Gaining some distance from our habitual certainty about what we do, think, and believe, and beginning to perceive a different focus upon it, can open up seemingly immutable areas to critical enquiry.”

This was applied at every stage of the research project through extensive data collection from a wide range of sources on events attended by the



author such as the Gezi Park protests. Also, three years were spent after the time in Turkey, outside of the country, to reflect, read and write on the experience of being a researcher there.

The theoretical and methodological framework of this study is a radical new take on the existing literature. Through exploring the constitutive elements of political society in Turkey and the Middle East, and examining the nexus between international and domestic politics, ideas around the causality of the political reproduction of state polities will be established. This original theoretical contribution also examines the double-security dilemma of state polities in recent times, contributing to the existing largely historical data on the political reproduction of states.

Empirically, and through using a wide range of different sources on several different elements of Turkish and international political society, this case study departs from the current literature on the 'Turkish Model' through a unique constructivist framework that centres on identity politics, discourse, perceptions of security and social cohesion. A further departure from the current literature on the 'Turkish Model' is that this research project frames the 'Turkish Model' as a mode of alliance-building political reproduction that became popularized by political entrepreneurs in the early 2000's. This project investigates whether the 'Turkish Model' rather than having fallen, is in fact in transition and shifting into a new form of political reproduction. This research also explores another gap in the literature, the transitioning of the

'Turkish Model in the Middle East as a 'whole'. Therefore, making both theoretical and empirical nuances to our current understanding of the politics of the Middle East and the behaviour of state polities.

### **3.3 Methodology**

Constructivist methodologies which scrutinize the influence of ideas, norms and rules in how states identify themselves and relate to each other provide a wider picture of current global affairs than traditional realist IR (Hartmann 2013). Constructivism offers an effective tool-box for understanding political reproduction. A state polity's response to an event may reproduce its identity or reinforce it (Hopf 1998).

A constructivist research program enables, without denying the importance of material factors in the formation of a state's behaviour, the exploration of intersubjective factors such as norms, culture, ideas and identity (Bozdaglioglu 2003). This broadened research agenda is necessary when revitalizing the study of power in world politics beyond material resources such as military and economic capacity.

When explaining how the revolutionary wave of action dominoed from one country to the next during the 'so called' Arab Spring, Weyland, (2012) explains that a constructivist methodology is conventionally viewed as the most effective methodology. He explains the study of the dissemination of norms and values has much to offer when examining how the ideals of anti-

authoritarianism and the empowerment of the masses spread from one country setting to another. This explanation assumes one autocrat's demise in one country stimulated emulative efforts in other countries:

“According to conventional wisdom, such a diffusion process could result from the spread of new norms and values that delegitimated authoritarian rule and motivated a rash of challenges, or from rational learning that inferred from the initial case of success the feasibility and promise of regime contention in many other settings. Normative approaches, derived from constructivism, help explain the goals that many protesters sought to attain.”

(Weyland 2012: 919)

Waltz (1979) theorizes three levels of analysis for international politics that he terms 'images'. The first image, individuals, explains that international politics and conflict is caused by the difficult human nature of state rulers. The second image, based upon states, explains that international conflicts and wars are caused by the domestic makeup of states. Waltz's (1979) third image, the international system, posits that the anarchic nature of the international state system is the root of conflict. Yet, in opposition to this Gourevitch (1978) has flipped the second image, and posits that domestic politics is determined by the international system.

A 'second-image reversed'<sup>23</sup> post-internationalist conceptual framework which assumes that the international system is not only a consequence of

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<sup>23</sup> The pioneer of the idea that the international system shapes domestic politics is Peter Gourevitch. Gourevitch (1978) set out various approaches to this phenomenon which he

domestic politics and structures but a cause of them will frame this study. Domestic politics is determined by a state's external economic relations and international security concerns. A post-international approach furthers this through framing a world society where physical borders of states have become intangible and a wide range of authorities have emerged to compete over the loyalties of global citizens (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996b). What is foreign and domestic has merged, and issues themselves, rather than sovereign borders are becoming the defining frame for what or who is spatially and temporally an 'other' or an active participant (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996).

### **3.4 Data Collection and Research Method**

To explain how a state polity politically reproduces to mitigate the double-security dilemma this research project uses a single case study approach on the 'Turkish Model' that has both explanatory and explorative elements. This is because:

“The detailed qualitative accounts often produced in case studies not only help to explore or describe the data in real-life environment, but also help to explain the complexities of real-life situations which may not be captured through experimental or survey research.”

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calls 'the second image reversed', in his 1978 paper 'The second image reversed: the international sources of domestic politics'. The core assumption of Gourevitch's (1978: 911) paper is that the, "international system is not only a consequence of domestic politics and structures but a cause of them." He explains that domestic politics is determined by a state's external economic relations and international security concerns. These determine how and which political actors form both international and domestic policy and alliances.

(Zainal 2007: 4)

The case study undertaken was a qualitative, largely online, desk-based research. The sources collected in this thesis were in the majority secondary-data sources in Arabic, Turkish and English. The sources collected for analysis included: books, articles, government and civil society reports and publications, government and privately-owned news articles and videos, YouTube and social-media. These secondary sources were supplemented and directed by some primary informal discussions and anecdotal inferences through attendance at rallies, conferences, political meetings and through working in Turkey prior to the beginning of the study. As this data was collected for four years (January 2012-Dec 2015) during the period addressed by the research question (2002-2015), the data was relevant to the study and could be used as evidence.

To understand the way in which the *AKP* politically reproduced through alliance-building the structures and functions of the Turkish political system were used as the basis of data collection and analysis. Data was collected on the *AKP*'s navigation of social institutions, social movements, organized interest groups, independent political parties, the party itself, Parliament, the bureaucracy, the President and the military. On analysing the horizontal dimension of the double-security dilemma, data was collected on the *AKP*'s navigation of the international political system including through diplomacy,

mediation, development and aid, trade, defence, warfare and the mass media.

The data collected was concentrated on the period up until December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2015 where the study ends. Originally, over 10 data sources were planned for collection and analysis within each category of: government documents, Turkish media, International media, NGO's and International Organizations, and business and culture. However, by the end of the research project 75 data sources were collected as demonstrated:

Table 3.1 Data Collection

Data Source Type	Number of Sources Collected	Details	Purpose for Analysis: Towards Alliance-building or Towards Fortifying	Purpose for Analysis: The Double-Security Dilemma
Official <i>AKP</i> or Government Reports	12	<i>AKP</i> General Election Manifesto 2002/ 2007/ 2011/ 2014; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <i>TİKA</i> , <i>Turkstat</i> , Strategic Depth, <i>TBMM</i>	Political reproduction through socialization, recruitment, communication and policy-making and implementation	Capacity of the <i>AKP</i> to extract, regulate and hegemonize
Turkish News and Political Commentary	24	Hurriyet Daily News, <i>OrtadoğuAnaliz</i> , Insight Turkey, <i>Hürriyet</i> , <i>Ortadoğu Etütler</i> , Turkish Policy Quarterly, Turkish Weekly, TRT World, Turkish NY	Analysis of political processes at play- Interest articulation, interest aggregation, policy-making and policy implementation  Communication and socialization	Openness or closedness of the discursive environment, ease of political articulation by rival polities
International News and Political Commentary	12	AlJazeera, Aawsat, Wall Street Journal, Open Democracy, Foreign Affairs, Al Monitor, Reuters, TIME, The Independent, Syria News	Analysis of political processes at play- Interest articulation, interest aggregation, policy-making and policy implementation  Communication and socialization	Openness or closedness of the discursive environment, ease of political articulation by rival polities
Domestic and International Non-Governmental Reports (NGOs) and International Organization reports/ Rival Polities	17	<i>TESEV</i> , OSCE, NATO, <i>İHH</i> , Ataturk Society, <i>MÜSİAD</i> , <i>TÜSİAD</i> , WhoProfits, European Court of Human Rights	Political reproduction through socialization, recruitment, interest articulation and interest aggregation	Level of polity competition and political centralization
Culture, Business and Alternative Media	10	YouTube, The Business Year, Turkish Soaps, Turkish Business Websites, Poetry and Literature	Socialization, extraction, distribution and impact of policy-making	Level of polity loyalty, hegemonic or counterhegemonic strength of economic stakeholders

The make-up and wide range of domestic and international varied sources was planned to give as full of a picture as possible of the horizontal and vertical elements of the polity economy faced by the *AKP*. The sources selected in each category were selected with the following rationale:

Official *AKP* or government reports were selected as the *AKP* was the ruling party during the time of enquiry, thus, there literature was central to this study. The media articles and political commentary selected were based on a selection of the most widely-read pro and anti-government domestic and international outlets. Reports from rival or allied polities were selected based on the importance and influence of the rival polity in the double-security dilemma faced by the *AKP*. The data sources on culture and business were also selected due to their popularity or economic importance.

When analysing the data, the themes that have been displayed in the final two columns in the table were deemed as the best method in understanding a polity's maintenance of political membership, loyalty and identity through navigating through and effecting upon the openness/closedness/ or competitiveness/non-competitiveness of the domestic and international political system.



### **3.5 Research Method Limitations**

Desk-based research is both time and cost effective. Although this single case study was rigorous and applied a thorough online desk research approach which involved systematic identification, collection, analysis and documentation of data pertaining to the constitutive environment as defined in the theoretical framework there are, however, limitations to this method. Firstly, while this study gathered information from reliable online secondary sources, there is a risk the data is outdated as published data is seldom updated and is not always abreast with current changes. This is an issue in political science where situations are fluid, dynamic and constantly changing. Secondly, there is no opportunity when dealing with secondary data to further probe the authors for clarification on any ambiguous issues that may arise after analysis of the data, this means that conclusions can only be drawn on the information that's available for analysis. Therefore, there is a risk of analysing inaccurate data due to a lack of verification process that would allow the researcher to interview the original source or author of the information.

In addition, there is always the disadvantage of analysing information that is severely biased to a certain perspective. This is a main concern especially with political documents which may be authored to ascertain a narrative. This was thus kept in mind when analysing all data sources.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

This research was conducted in accordance with ethical guidelines of the University of Bradford. Thus, the study approach was to 'do no harm'. Most data for this study was gathered from secondary sources therefore, there were no personal safety or security risks concerns. Furthermore, any photographs used in this research have blacked out the faces of participants to preserve their anonymity. All the sources for data that have been collected are mentioned in the bibliography. As this study's formal contribution is to existing knowledge on theories around the political reproduction of states, and secondary contribution is empirical, primary data was in large not used thus breach of confidentiality was not an issue.

### **3.7 Author's Reflections**

My interest in the political reproduction of the Turkish polity was sparked by the 2010 "*Gaza Flotilla Raid*" when nine Turkish aid workers lost their lives due to an attack on the *Mavi Marmara* aid ship by Israel. This caused a diplomatic crisis between Israel and Turkey and elevated the AKP's standing in the Arab region. Thus, I felt the need to investigate the behavior of state polities in the volatile Middle East region.

I decided to take up a research position for two years at Sabanci University in Istanbul in 2012 and embedded myself within Turkish society and study

Turkish politics. This was not without difficulties, as my research was slowed down by the long bureaucratic processes of being an immigrant in Turkey, being a distance learner, and changes in my supervision team back in Bradford.

Despite these difficulties, I continued to pursue my research and continued to embed myself in Turkish policy and activist circles, volunteering for a few NGO's and journals. Thus, prior to the beginning of this study I undertook some informal discussions with key actors including *AKP* and opposition politicians, business leaders, political activists and NGO workers. During my research I have also regularly attended conferences, protests and political meetings to keep myself up to date with regular developments.

I lived in Turkey for over four years in the post-Arab Spring environment when a lot of political and demographic changes were taking place. This furthered my anecdotal understanding of Turkish politics and familiarized me with the human impact of the regional and domestic changes.

### **3.8 Research Question**

As explained in the introduction, the main research question of this study is,

“How does a state polity politically reproduce to mitigate the double-security dilemma?”

This is achieved through the case-study of the 'Turkish Model' (as an example of an alliance-building mode of political reproduction from 2002-2012). The case study will also look at why the 'Turkish Model' did not last and the constitutive and causal factors that led to its alteration. Thus, the 'Turkish Model' is an example of how a political party/block maintained authority of the Turkish state through Islamic neoliberalism.

The following research objectives were formed as a guide to break-down the above wider question by the researcher:

- To examine what the 'Turkish Model' means in the context of state political reproduction and the double-security dilemma.
- To analyse the elements of the Turkish state and political society that shaped the 'Turkish Model' of 2002-2011.
- To analyse the elements of the regional and international system that shaped the 'Turkish Model' of 2002-2011.
- To analyse how and why Turkey's evolving double-security dilemma altered its mode of political reproduction during the *AKP's* tenure.
- To examine the implications of the above for Turkey and the rest of the Middle East.

### **3.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has explained the uniqueness and relevance of the 'Turkish Model' of alliance-building political reproduction within the literature on politics and the double-security dilemma. It has set out which data has been collected and discussed issues that can occur when collecting empirical data on a state's behavior. The chapter has also explained constructivist post-internationalist methodology and the use of such a methodology in this project's research question formation on state polity political reproduction. The research question does this through the lens of the double-security dilemma and the case study of Turkey's alliance-building *AKP* model.

This chapter is the final chapter that both justifies and sets out an analytical programme for the research. The next chapter will provide a historical background on the 'Turkish Model' case study. This will be followed by three analytical chapters.

## **Chapter Four: Arrows of Change: Kemalism and the Roots of the ‘Turkish Model’**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides the formation of the fortifying early modern<sup>24</sup> Turkish nation-state out of the Ottoman Empire polity with a historical narrative. This historical narrative is preceded by a theoretical debate of several existing perspectives on the ‘Turkish Model’. Then, the historical narrative begins with a description of the formation of the Republic which institutionalized the Kemalist, secular, modern state. Additionally, it will explain how the Republic of Turkey developed into a Western-allied state and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member under the sphere of US influence, combatting the double-security dilemma propagated by the Cold War. An examination of the fortifying Kemalist nation-building process<sup>25</sup> and an analysis of its key

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<sup>24</sup> Modernity refers to ‘modes of social organization that emerged in Europe from about the sixteenth century and extended influence throughout the world in the wake of European exploration and colonization.’... Modernity is fundamentally about conquest, ‘the imperial regulation of land, the discipline of the soul, and the creation of truth’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2000)

<sup>25</sup> The Kemalist revolution was an engine for the progression and betterment of the human condition of the Turkish public. The Ottoman Caliphate had stagnated the destined progress of the Turkish people. Drastic and enforced rapid change was a necessity to lift the Turkish nation into modernism and this radical shift has culminated in the emergence of the ‘Turkish Model’ as a nation-building model for Muslim majority countries. The Ottoman Empire was an Empire born out of the Islamic conquests of the Oghuz Turks. At its peak it spanned Anatolia, South and Eastern Europe, North Africa, Western Asia, the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Horn of Africa. The administration of the Ottoman Empire was engineered through a Turkish interpretation of Shariah and the Millet system. Throughout the nineteenth century the Ottomans lost increasing amounts of territory because of irredentism and the rise of nationalist movements. Following concurrence with the Central Powers in World War I, the

reforms are crucial to understanding the historical foundations of the *AKP*'s 'Turkish Model'.

The first part of this chapter, *4.2 Theoretical Literature on the 'Turkish Model'* examines the way that other scholars have looked at the 'Turkish Model' conceptually and contextually, noting the gaps that are yet to be studied. It notes the importance of centralizing both identity and history when studying the 'Turkish Model'. The rest of the chapter thus centralizes identity and history within its narrative of the formation of the Turkish state and the main influences, structures and traditions that the *AKP* have had to both manipulate and mitigate.

The second part of this chapter, *4.3 The Ottoman Empire, c.1299-1923*, will explain how European ideas such as liberalism and nationalism infiltrated the Ottoman Empire. Part 4.3 will provide an explanation into how Mustafa Kemal's nation-building project emerged in the last days of the Young Turk period. It will also explain how the rise of ethnonationalism inspired Westphalian modelled revolts and ethnic conflict in the Empire's remnants. The Balkan Wars and World War I led to an influx of Muslim refugees into Anatolia. The climate of trauma fostered ideas of a Turkish nation-state as a

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Empire disbanded and was replaced by the Republican regime of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk built a new Turkish nation-state on the territory of the Straits and Anatolia. He achieved this through Kemalism: "an eclectic framework of political, economic and social views to aid in the construction of a nation state on the remains of the Ottoman Empire." (Aytürk 2011: 309) This 'founding ideology' of the Turkish Republic prompted an overhaul of the social and political body of the country.

form of protection for those refugees who self-defined as Turkish. It was through this discourse that Turkish nationalism was born. Thus, the new nation-state polity politically reproduced through the 'othering' of non-Turks and conservative Islamists.

Section 4.4 *The First Republic*, then explains how republicanism, as a discursive and normative tool, mechanized the vertical political institutions which fostered democracy, such as the 1924 constitution. It also examines how the Kemalist populist project set out individual citizenship rights. Nonetheless, problems would arise for actors who did not ascribe to the Kemalist vision of the 'Turkish nation'<sup>26</sup>. Lastly, part 4.4 explains how the Kemalists believed religion was to blame for lack of progress and development in the Ottoman period. Influenced by European positivism, the Kemalists pushed for a society founded in science, economic prosperity, knowledge and education.

This historical chapter is important as despite the double-security dilemma being to unique every ruler throughout history, much of Turkey's security context is unchangeable. Its geopolitical location as the bridge between Europe and Asia, its Islamic past and the vibrant polity economy that has thus formed has continually shaped its security agenda. The 'Turkish Model'

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<sup>26</sup> A legacy of ethnic-conflict had fostered a nationalist dogma, discriminatory against minorities. Internal stability and the institutionalization of Turkish nationalism were reinforced by the Western alliances Turkey had formed.



emerged as a political response to the binaries created throughout Turkey's history- modernism and conservatism, the West and the East. Thus, analysing the evolution of these concepts into modern Turkey's is imperative.

#### **4.2 Theoretical Literature on the 'Turkish Model'**

With regards to Turkey and the Middle East region, a wealth of theoretical literature has been published. A significant portion of the literature focuses on the changing nexus of international and domestic politics under the *AKP* (e.g. İşeri and Dilek 2012; Tuğal 2016; Waldman and Caliskan 2017). Ayşe Zarakol (2013) examines the connections between the recent political directions of Turkey and Thailand. She argues that global norms form the domestic power structures of each state. International norms have strongly influenced the identities of domestic groups. Concerning Turkey, the polarization between the secular strata and political Islamists, cannot be deduced to differences in culture or ideology. A class analysis of the economic differences between those with different ideologies is also insufficient in painting the full picture. Rather, Zarakol (2013: 160) states that,

"The structural view gives us a better understanding of what is at stake in both Turkey ... by illuminating the degree to which... countries have been shaped by their earlier interactions with the modern international system, and the complicated—not to mention complicating—ways “modernizing” norms originating in Western centre of international society have diffused and continue to do so throughout the world."

This shows how globalization, an "always" phenomenon, has been hegemonized by the West since modern times and the inception of modernism into peripheral states such as Turkey has greatly altered the power dynamics and identity of groups within its domesticity.

Mehmet Arda (2015) article explains how Turkey's activist foreign policy is linked to its domestic politics. Arda explains that the *AKP* ideological basis puts emphasis on empowering the weak and destitute. "Domestically this comprises traditional, conservative and religious groups. Internationally, it is certainly marginalised or vilified countries and Muslim or Turkic minorities that Turkey thinks are mistreated." (Arda 2015: 222) Arda's analysis of *AKP* ideology and political action denotes that for the *AKP* neither the domestic or international take priority but are simultaneously important in policy considerations. Arda states that the *AKP* see their constituents to be as much the orphans in Gaza as the miners in Suma.

İşeri and Dilek (2012) also explain that the stability of the Middle East region as a whole depends on the nexus between domestic and international politics within Turkey. İşeri and Dilek (2012) assert that Turkey's capacity to act on the international stage is directly correlated to the consolidation of democracy within the state. Within traditional IR, a state's strength within the anarchic international system is based on its military and economic prowess. İşeri and Dilek explain that nothing is looked upon more favourably than democratic

consolidation within both the national and international theatre of public opinion.

İşeri and Dilek expand their point into an analysis of the possible demonstrative effect of the 'Turkish Model' within the Arab region. They explain that as far as creating a domino-effect for the 'Turkish Model' in the Middle East, Turkey must ensure that the 'domestic political configuration functions to forbid undemocratic praxis.' İşeri and Dilek conclude quite pessimistically observing the current situation in Turkey as too authoritarian and not routed in constitutional democratic order. Therefore, the 'Turkish Model' will not have the desired effect of creating positive peace under the current political climate, as those outside the state will continue to have a cautious opinion of Turkish influence until Turkey's democracy is consolidated.

In Cihan Tuğal's (2016) study of the 'Turkish Model' his theoretical framework is centred around how the politics of mobilization reconstructed state-society relations in Turkey. He explains how the political instability of the Middle East region in the 1970s led to the fear of the dominoing of revolt into Turkey. Preventing a situation like that of revolutionary Iran in 1979 and suppressing Kurdish rebellion was the primary concern of the Turkish establishment. To combat these threats the army launched a coup in the early 1980s as they felt the government did not have the capacity to suppress the uprisings. Tuğal marks the political birth of the 'Turkish Model' at this point.

The coup led to the political ascent of the subaltern Anatolian conservative strata as a form of appeasement. A key consequence of this was Turkish Islamism's elevation as a viable political force (Tuğal 2016). It is the emergence of this strata of society into the traditional secular quasi-democratic institutions of the Turkish state which has characterized the 'Turkish Model'.

The argument developed is that Turkish Islamism's inception into the state apparatus and political establishment is the root cause of the fall of the 'Turkish Model'. This new political establishment sought to monopolize power. Gramscist political discourse describes this political process as 'passive revolution'. Tuğal (2016: 26) explains, "They boast a powerful business class, appropriated huge chunks of the bureaucracy and had built many civic institutions that surrounded the core of Turkish power. Circa 2010 they started to attack their benefactors." Thus, the political mobilization of this class of society and their absorption into state institutions has itself created more threats to the continuity and stability of the Turkish Republic, and its "democracy" (Tuğal 2016).

Here a political sociological theoretical framework has been applied to the study of the fall of the 'Turkish Model' whilst simultaneously incorporating the importance of historical change. Tuğal (2016: 23) takes the ontological approach that the "lines between state and society, the elite and the people, are drawn and redrawn continuously." His research explains how, why and

by whom these lines are being drawn and redrawn. Central to his study is the idea of political society: “a field of actors and organizations that have comprehensive social visions...” (2016: 23) Parties dominate the political scene in states in which democracy has been consolidated. Nevertheless,

“in more dynamic situations, the field is populated by socio-political organizations and groups that are difficult to classify and label. Political society frequently remakes the boundaries between the power bloc and the people.”

(2006: 23)

The failure of the ‘Turkish Model’ was compounded by the souring of geopolitics and domestic stability with the turn of the Arab Spring to winter in 2013, and the Gezi Park uprising within Turkey itself in 2013. The Gezi Park uprising was a political reaction to the Islamist monopolization of institutional structures.

A historical approach is central to Tuğal’s study as underlining the impact of past political changes on the region and the processes of change within it are the only way to navigate through the present. Studying the history of reactions to revolutions can lead to patterns emerging connecting events, society, and political institutions. The revolutionary change that swept the Middle East in 1789, 1968, 1979 and 2011 has sent shockwaves across the region as capitalism tries to protect itself by any means necessary (Tuğal 2016).

Cihan Tuğal (2016) offers a wealth of theoretical contributions to the study of the 'Turkish Model' and its relation to both history and domestic and international politics. His explanation on how the sociology of political power and power blocs within passive revolution offers a fresh perspective that is rarely incorporated into either realist or constructivist IR. One of the most central themes of his book is how the 'Turkish Model' was constructed as a reaction to threats from rival groups both domestically and internationally and this theme will also be a central theme within this thesis. Nonetheless, this constructivist thesis will depart from his heavily institutional approach and focus more on security, identity, ideology and rhetoric.

The importance of religious identity or ideology is not dismissed by Tuğal. Yet, religious identity falls behind class analysis and economic interests within his research agenda. Although these factors are important in studying the 'Turkish Model', a constructivist methodology will elaborate more on how identity, rhetoric and discourse played a role in uniting the conservative Anatolian strata behind the *AKP* agenda no matter what the economic consequences might be.

Tuğal's book will be referred to as a core text within this project. All the same, a theoretical departure from his study will be the engagement of this project with the main debates within IR. A recent trend in IR research that Tuğal does not touch upon is that of postinternationalism. A postinternationalist approach to IR sees the role of the state as being less and less important in

world politics. James Rosenau, the pioneer of this approach, explains in his 1990 book on 'turbulence theory' how non-state actors have played a central role in both domestic and foreign policy formation and destabilization. Like Tuğal, he focuses on the importance of domestic politics, but he directly applies it to IR. Suitable for a constructivist research agenda, postinternationalism or 'turbulence theory' brings to focus the role of international norms and the dilemma of intra-state violence and terrorism that is plaguing this world (Ferguson and Mansbach 2007). This project will follow a postinternationalist paradigm.

A key approach within the postinternationalist paradigm is the 'polity' approach (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996). Another departure from Tuğal, who examines political society, a 'polity' approach encased with a postinternationalist dialectic can do more to bridge the gap between international and domestic politics, plus incorporate historical change. Using the political grammar of political society and institutionalism has its limits, and it does not consider the identity of various *groups* within political and civil society or how individuals within the groups identify with and become loyal to said group.

A constructivist research agenda framed through the political grammar of 'polities' can bridge these gaps (Weyland 2012). The polity approach applied to this research project frames the scope of political change as transient, rather than as clear-cut positivity. Ferguson and Mansbach explain that both

individual polities and polity types rarely vanish entirely, rather, they linger as a section of the worlds 'living museum'... "sometimes as a historical oddity that may go back on show or be reconstructed in the future." (Ferguson and Mansbach 2004: 107) It is here where the role of history, culture and identity can also tie in, as a mix of Islamic and Ottoman ideas based on the polities of the past have reinforced loyalty to the current Turkish polity both within and outside Turkey's borders.

### **4.3 The Late Ottoman Period**

#### *The Young Ottomans, c. 1839-1902*

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's nation-building project was developed in the increasingly hybrid environment of the last days of the Ottoman (*Osmanlı*) Empire. European philosophy which included ideas such as Westphalian sovereignty had begun to permeate the Empire's dominant Islamic discourse from as early as the Ottoman 18th Century. These Europeanizing concepts, forces and actors would have a profound influence on the formation of the Turkish Republic (Unsar 2002). This increasingly hybrid environment was the defining character of the *Tanzimat* (reorganization) period (1839-1878) of the Ottoman Empire (Unsar 2002).



The *Tanzimat* period would introduce innovations in the ruling mechanisms of the Sultanate. The fundamental changes that revolutionised Europe during the 19th century, such as the French Revolution, generated the ideas of liberty and nationalism which spread to the south and east of the Mediterranean (Unsar 2002). The Sultanate undertook research into the European science of governance in the hope of deterring any dissenting forces. This generated multitudinous reform emulating a more European style of governance. One example was the 1839 Declaration of Gülhane,

“guaranteed individual rights for the subjects of the empire in the form of security for ‘life, honour and property’, it neither challenged the Sultanate nor exceeded its limits by introducing a comprehensive and novel system to replace the obviously malfunctioning Ottoman system.”

(Unsar 2002: 94)

In 1865, a group of intellectuals, the Young Ottomans, surfaced which further drove the Europeanization process within the Ottoman Caliphate. The chattering classes had grown increasingly concerned with the authoritarian policy direction of the Caliphate (Saygın and Onal 2008). However, the Young Ottomans were not revolutionaries. They expressed allegiance to the Sultanate and many had a strong Islamic faith (Unsar 2002). They advocated for reforms of the Ottoman system such as a more liberal European style of citizenship framed on a constitutional monarchy (Unsar 2002). The Young Ottomans represented the first substantial force of liberalism in the Ottoman period (Unsar 2002).

The writings of the Young Ottomans would have a profound influence on Atatürk. Key thinkers such as Sadık Rifat Pasha, Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, Ali Suavi and Hayreddin Pasha inspired the shape of modern Turkey (Saygın & Onal 2008). Notably, Ali Suavi is considered a pioneer of secularism in the region. Suavi's article 'Half Thought Half Religion' (*Yarım Fakih Din Yıkar*) demonstrates that Islamic teachings are acceptable solely within the private sphere of faith as in reality 'the science of politics relies upon geography, economics and ethics' (Suavi cited in Saygın & Onal 2008). Thus, the secular science of governance incepted the Ottoman Empire. In 1876, pressure from the Young Ottomans expedited the introduction of the 1876 constitution which inaugurated a 'basic law' encompassing all citizens despite their religious heritage (Unsar 2002). The Young Ottomans had sowed the seeds of liberalism and secularism in the Empire that would eventually culminate in the emergence of the Republic.

However, the Young Ottomans saw their aspirations of the consolidation of a constitutional monarchy crushed in 1878 as the monarchy responded to their demands by fortifying their authority. In 1878 Sultan Abdülhamid II restored an absolute monarchy (Bozdaglioglu 2003). Then, the shattered remnants of the Young Ottoman movement, students from the military academy and students of the school of medicine came together to build a broader coalition of dissent against the absolute monarchy (Bozdaglioglu 2003). Facing arrest and repression, the dissidents moved to Paris and established the

Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti, IT*) or the Young Turks in 1902 (Bozdaglioglu 2003). This rival polity would become the security dilemma that eventually saw the end of the Ottoman polity and ensured its nesting into the worlds living museum. That is, until its legacy was resurrected by Turkey's Islamists in the 1990s.

### *The Young Turks, c. 1902-1918*

Following the Young Ottomans, the Young Turks became the Empire's next noteworthy rival polity. They constituted the primordial and most significant group of intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire to normatively distance themselves from Islamism (Unsar 2002). Staunchly against religion, and influenced by concepts such as Darwinism and Bersonism, the ideas of the Young Turks lay in scientific truth, art and ethics (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). Enthused and inspired by the rebellious West, such as the 'Other West' of revolutionary France, they became radical modernists (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). Their radical ideologies would metamorphize Kemalist thought.

Young Turk Abdullah Cevdet's ideas can be credited as the tenets of modernization within Kemalist thought and the underpinnings of the modern Turkish nation. Cevdet's prime contribution was on social revolution. Saygin and Onal (2008) refer to his 1912 article, 'A Quite Awake Sleep', which they

state 'shows serious resemblance' to the modernization and nation-building initiatives of Mustafa Kemal:

“Fez will be banned and instead of it, a new hat will be accepted, ..., small and big dervish lodges will be abolished and their revenues will be transferred to education budget, all madrasah will be closed and new literary and technical schools will be founded; wearing turban, cassock, etc. will be permissible only for certificated ecclesiastic men; saints, vows and presents will be forbidden and the money saved from them will devoted to national defence; writers of charm, healers and people like that will be removed and malaria treatment will be compulsory; functional schools will be opened for old people; Ottoman Turkish dictionary and grammar will be prepared by a committee consisting of linguists and writers.”

(Saygın and Onal 2008: 35)

Young Turk sociologist Ziya Gökalp was also a Kemalist influencer. His most significant contribution was the idea of a Turkified common culture (*hars*) constructed around those who had experienced a similar upbringing (*terbiye*) (Kösebalaban 2011). This common culture would be based on a Turan or Turkish national identity that could be ascribed to by all Muslim citizens of the Sultanate regardless of their ethnic background (Kösebalaban 2011). His three steps towards the culture included: systematizing Westernization, forming a manifesto of transformations and changes and the consolidation of Turkism as culturally-based nationalism (Kösebalaban 2011; Saygın & Onal 2008). Nonetheless, it is important to note that there was far from a common consensus amongst the Young Turks around Gökalp's ideas.

An authoritative critic of Gökalg was Yusuf Akçura whose ideas differed from Gökalg in that he felt a Turkified common culture (*hars*) could only be based around ethnic, rather than culturally based nationalism. Kösebalaban (2011) highlights the importance of Akçura's (1904) essay, 'Three Political Resolutions 'Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset', in which he identifies three possible resolutions to the decline of the Ottoman Empire, 'Ottomanism, pan-Islamism and Turkism'. For Akçura the only viable solution was pan-Turkism, an ideology that he felt would not come under the attack of Western imperialists and could possibly enjoy their support as a form of resistance against Russia. He saw Ottomanism and Islamism as short-sighted ideologies which diminished the essence of 'Turkishness' (Kösebalaban 2011). Notwithstanding their divided perspectives on ethnicity, Akçura and Gökalg were united over the issues of Turkification, Islamization, and Modernization (*Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, and Muasırlaşmak*) which Gökalg named 'the three currents', (*üç cereyan*) (Kösebalaban 2011). Two of these 'three currents' would become the core values of Kemalism.

Mustafa Kemal's notions of the role of religion in the *terbiye* (education) of the Turk also departed from the ideas of Gökalg. Kemalism advocated for full separation of religion and statehood. However, Turkism could not carry a historical mission paradoxical to Islam, and Islam continued to inform the cultural undertone of Turkish identity. According to Kösebalaban (2011):

“Kemalism allowed Islam to constitute the core of the Turkish social identity and produced an ethnic cultural nationalism...Kemalism in theory and in implementation was a project of nation-building where Islam served as the foundation of social consciousness. Despite attempts to purge Islam from the theory and practice of Turkish nationalism, Muslimness remained an awkward but powerful informant of the Kemalist identity.”

(Kosebalaban 2011: kindle Loc 1000 of 6250)

The rise of the Young Turk movement and other counterhegemonic discourses in the Empire led to uprisings in the Ottoman occupied lands of Bulgaria, Crete, and Macedonia (Hale 2012). The Young Turks armed and the 1876 constitution was reinstated in the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908 by a revolt of Third Ottoman Army officers in Salonika (Hale 2012). Parliament and elections were reconvened. Royal autocracy ended. Civil liberties such as freedom of speech and the right to free press were restored and aspirations were built for a ‘constitutional and representative government’ in Ottoman lands (Hale 2012).

### *The Rise of Ethnonationalism in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1909-1918*

The Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918) was the last historical stage of the Ottoman Empire. This era saw the move to extremely fortifying behaviour to mitigate the polity’s collapse. The time was characterized by the onset of the Balkan Wars, the Armenian genocide at the hands of the Young Turks

and the entry of the Ottomans into World War I (Kösebalaban 2011). The Young Turks won the parliamentary elections in 1908 in the restored constitutional monarchy (Kösebalaban 2011). The next decade would see a power struggle between conservative elements, the *IT* and the monarchy (Hanioğlu 2001). The period would also see a growth in ethnic tension and an increasing level of revolt against the Empire (Kösebalaban 2011). The spread of irredentism paved the way for the Armenian genocide, a modern fractured Middle East at the mercy of European colonialism and a new 'hero', Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Atabaki and Zèurcher 2004).

Ethnonationalism, influenced by Westphalian ideals of sovereignty, spread throughout the Sultanate at the turn of the century. Revolts in the Greek, Serb, Romanian, Macedonian, Armenian, Arab, Kurdish and Slav communities began to break out demanding independence from the Empire. This lack of consent and loyalty to the Ottoman polity posed the final double-security dilemma of the Empire (Kösebalaban 2011).

The leaders of the Empire began losing their grip on power within the Straits and Anatolia. As a consequence, there were several coups including the Ottoman countercoup of 1909, the 31 March Incident, the 1912 Ottoman coup d'état and the Raid on the Sublime Porte, the last coup of the Ottoman Empire, on June 11, 1913 (Kösebalaban 2011). This heralded the formation of a capstone *IT* dictatorship, 'that brought the empire' into World War I, subsequently causing its final annihilation (Kösebalaban 2011).

Yet, the ability of the Young Turks to develop a Turkified common culture (*hars*) to penetrate society was compromised by the resistance of competing ethnonationalist ideologies, such as Arab, Greek and Serb nationalism that no longer felt invested in the Ottoman Empire. This nationalist wave was amongst Christians, Jews and Muslims alike. Muslim Albanians revolted in 1910 (Hale 2012). In 1911, Arab intellectuals and politicians from the Levant formed The Young Arab Society, a small Arab nationalist club, in Paris. Congruent in name and disposition to the Young Turks, Parisian intellectualism stemming from the ideas of the French Revolution, would have a gargantuan influence on the make-up of the modern Middle East (Hale 2012).

The Young Arab Society sowed the seed for the spread of Arab nationalism within the Middle East. Numerous revolts took place in Arab lands against Ottoman rule and were met with a violent response. During this period the Arab elites looked continually to the Western colonialists for support and possible independence. However, they were betrayed by the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement that ensured Western domination and control over the region. Arab nationalist movements began to look both within themselves and outside the region for inspiration for democracy, self-determination and dignity, thus turning their backs on the Turks (Kamrava 2005). Despite being under Western colonial control, the birth of Arab countries carved out of



former Ottoman territories included: Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia (Bhalla 2014).

Image 4.1 Arab Dissidents Hung by the Young Turk Administration in Jerusalem, Palestine 1916



(Author's Family Collection)

Moreover, the rise of ethnonationalism during the final years of the Young Turk regime led to mass atrocities and group violence became commonplace (Kinzer 2001). The Medz Yeghern, the Armenian Genocide, began on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1915. 1.5 million ethnic Armenians were killed in Anatolia by Young Turk death squads. Up until this point, the Armenians had been pushing the Ottomans for civil rights for decades (Pope and Pope 1997). As

Christians, they were discriminated against in the Ottoman Millet system through high-taxation and a lack of political rights. As Turkish nationalist discourse became increasingly hegemonic, a binary was constructed between Turk and non-Turk, Muslim and infidel. The situation was not helped by the onset of World War I. Armenians were othered as pro-Russian and deemed a threat to national security (Kinzer 2001). Counterhegemonic resistance ensued amongst Armenians against the repressive policies of the *IT*. This resulted in the systematic ethnic-cleansing of ethnic Armenians from Anatolia (Kinzer 2001).

The 'Muslim populations of the Balkans, Crimea and Caucasia' also suffered from the rise in ethnic violence (Hale 2012). These Muslim populations were attacked by the emergent Balkan states and the Russian military. The atrocities play a dominant role in Turkish collective memory and were instrumental to the creation of the Turkish Republic as a safe-haven for the Muslim refugees of the Balkans, Crimea and Caucasia (Hale 2012).

It would be these refugees, the most prominent being Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who would feel the need for the protection and security that a new nation-state in Anatolia could give them:

“between 1827 and 1922 around 5 million Muslims in Greece, the Crimea, the Caucasus and the Balkans were killed, while about another 5.4 million were expelled and took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. A large proportion of these victims of Greek and Balkan chauvinism and Russian imperialism were ethnic Turks, but their numbers also included millions of Slavic Muslims and Crimean

Tartars, plus the Muslim minorities of the Caucasus (Muslim Circassians, Abkhazians, Chechens, Azeris and Muslim Georgians) many of whom had not been under Ottoman rule, but fled to the Ottoman Empire since they recognized it as a 'kin state'."

(Hale 2012: 11)

The influx of Muslim refugees from the surrounding regions led to a sharp rise in the Muslim population of Anatolia (Hale 2012). Amongst the Muslim refugees a shared feeling of injustice and trauma dominated conversations. This shared solidarity and suffering was absolved through the rhetoric of Turkic patriotism and led to the growth of Turkish nationalism (Hale 2012).

### *War and Peace c. 19*

The Ottoman Empire's horizontal relations and their eventual defeat in World War I is crucial to understanding the emergence of the Turkish Republic. Between 1568 until 1923 Russia and the Ottoman Empire went to war twelve times due to disputes over territory in Central Asia and the Balkans (Hale 2012). In the late 19th century, the Ottomans joined an alliance with Britain against Russia. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 ended with the Treaty of Berlin. The Ottoman Empire lost Serbia, Romania, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Cyprus. These territories had consisted of 5.5 million Ottoman subjects, a major loss to the Sultanate. The Ottoman Empire found itself at its weakest point.

These losses left the Ottomans with no option other than to seek out defensive realpolitik, trying to build alliances from a point of vulnerability. Germany appeared a rational ally, distant enough geographically not to pose a threat, but stalwart enough to offer the necessary military support that the Empire lacked (Hale 2012)<sup>27</sup>. The Ottoman Empire continued to face losses in the lead up to World War I. Uprisings against the Ottoman Empire in Yemen and Albania in 1910 (Lewis 1955) followed Bulgaria's declaration of independence in 1908. This was succeeded by the invasion of Libya by Italy in 1911 (Lewis 1955).

In 1914 when World War I broke out, Young Turk and Minister of War for the Ottoman Empire, Ismail Enver Pasha committed the Ottomans to side with the Central Powers against the majority of *Osmanlı* opinion (Lewis 1955). Turkey would join its new ally, Germany in their mission against Turkey's old enemy, Russia. The Ottomans at this point had ordered two warships from British shipyards which they dispatched to bomb Russian Black Sea ports (Lewis 1955). When the Ottomans refused to apologize to Russia and meet the Russian demand of expelling German high-ranking officers from the Ottoman military, full war broke out across the Ottoman Empire and the Ottomans were defeated by the Allies in 1918 (Lewis 1955). All Ottoman territory would be annexed by the Allies.

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<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that the German's built a regional railway between Istanbul and Baghdad during this period.

The Mudros Armistice was employed between Great Britain and the Ottomans on the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1918: “*All Ottoman possessions in Arabia, Syria, Iraq and Africa were placed under Allied military control.*” (Lewis 1955: 50) The Straits, Dardanelles and Black Sea ports were also annexed by the Allies (Lewis 1955). Although relief was felt in some quarters when the war ended, the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1918 would be known as a ‘black day’ in Turkish public memory (Lewis 1955).

Despite the end of World War I, violence and aggression continued in the post-Ottoman neighbourhood and continued to pose a security threat to the shrinking Turkish polity. The territories of Anatolia and the Straits were disputed by Greece and Armenia and with the support of the Allies the fighting continued against the Turks. During this time, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk a well-respected war hero and commanding officer, was sent to Eastern Anatolia (Symons 2012). He subsequently led the fight-back against the occupying forces of the Allied powers, Greece and Armenia. This would be the final push to defend the viability and geographical continuity of Anatolia as a homeland for the Turks (Symons 2012).

The resisting Turks held onto Anatolia. Symons (2012) states that as Istanbul was under British control, the resistance moved to Ankara, ‘where a new national parliament was established on 23 April, 1920’. The Republic of Turkey (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*) formed in the new capital, Ankara. Symons (2012: kindle Loc 2618 of 5409) continues, “A set of successful battles

against the advancing Greek forces consolidated the new state and the war ended in 1923 with a comprehensive settlement which was eventually achieved via the Treaty of Lausanne.” The Ottoman period had ended, and a new Turkish Republican century was born. Yet, it would be the marriage of the historical legacy of both these polities that would become the ‘Turkish Model’ a century later.

*Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 19 May 1881–10 November 1938*

Dominant contemporary discourse in Turkey pits Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the most crucial actor in both the formation of ‘Turkishness’ and the ‘liberation’ of the ‘country shaped like a head of a mare’<sup>28</sup>. Under his command, the Turkish Army defeated the Greek forces, expelled the Sultan, and signed the 24 July 1923 Treaty of Lausanne -thereby giving birth to the Republic of Turkey (Bayar 2014; Mango 2001).

Ghazi<sup>29</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s family background and upbringing were average for his time. The Ottoman-occupied Macedonian, present day Greek city of Thessaloniki, or as it was more commonly known at the time, Salonika

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<sup>28</sup> From Nâzım Hikmet’s poem ‘the plea’

<sup>29</sup> One of Atatürk’s many names, part of his original given name, it also means ‘great warrior’.

or Salonica, was the birthplace of Atatürk (Macfie 1994). His parents were Ali Rıza Efendi and Zübeyde (Macfie 1994). They had six children, and his father was a minor customs official in the Department of Pious Foundations and Excise (Macfie 1994). Macfie (1994) notes that although Atatürk had a relatively trouble-free middle-class upbringing, the deep divisions in Ottoman society with the emerging binaries of modernization/tradition and secularism/religion plagued his parents' marriage. His mother was the more conservative of the two. It was these issues accompanied by Atatürk's military schooling that would shape his ideology, later known as Kemalism (Mango 2001).

Despite years of resistance from his mother, she eventually supported his dreams of a military career and at twelve years old Atatürk enrolled at the Military Secondary School in Salonika (Kinross 1964). After passing his school exams, in 1889 Atatürk joined the War College in Harbiye, in what was then Constantinople (present day Istanbul) (Kinross 2012). He eventually graduated from the Staff College in 1905, when he was 24 years old (Kinross 2012). It was at this age that Atatürk would become increasingly interested in politics (Mango 2001).

Mustafa Kemal became progressively more critical of the Sultanate and began to join radical political reading groups (Kinross 2012). He was eventually arrested and jailed for his political activities for six months (Kinross 2012). Once released, he became involved with the Young Turk Revolution

of 1908 (Macfie 1994). After the revolution, his youthful dissidence subsided, and he returned to focus on his military career.

Mustafa Kemal would gradually rise through the ranks of the Ottoman Army. During his extensive military career, he fought in Tripolitania (Libya) against the Italians; he also spent time in Sofia, Bulgaria during the outbreak of the Second Balkan War (Macfie 1994). By his thirties he had become a brigadier in command of the Eastern Front in the equivalent of modern-day Syria during World War I (Macfie 1994). The post-World War I violence between Greece and the Turks would then set Atatürk on the path to the leadership of a new nation (Rustow 1991).

In 1919 Atatürk formed the Nation Pact, defining the regions of the Straits and Anatolia as the borders of a Turkish nation-state (Rustow 1991). This vision was not shared by the Allied powers or their partners (Rustow 1991). Facing aggression from the Armenians in the East, the French who were advancing from Syria, a British occupation of Istanbul and the Sultan's army who wanted to crush the republicans, Mustafa Kemal managed to hold his ground (Rustow 1991).

Atatürk and his cadre also managed to hold off invasions from the Greek Army who had been relentlessly attacking through the Aegean in 1919, 1920, 1921, and then again in 1922 (Rustow 1991). The Turkish nationalists held strong and by the autumn of 1922 all Greek and other foreign troops



retreated from the Straits and Anatolia (Rustow 1991). This period went down in the Turkish history books as the Turkish War of Independence. On the 29th of October 1923 Mustafa Kemal proclaimed the Republic of Turkey (Jacoby 2006). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was elected President as the leader of the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP*) and the Sultanate was abolished. He then embarked on an immense reformation programme of Turkey and its ex-Ottoman subjects and institutions (White 2003).

Atatürk became leader of a society on its knees economically and politically after the high costs of the Ottoman losses to its territory at the hands of the Allies. Despite this, Mustafa Kemal not only rehabilitated the Turkish nation, but most of his reforms and institution-building projects have stood the test of history and lasted until the present day, forming the foundation of the 'Turkish Model'. Rustow (1991: 75) underlines how Atatürk's legacy is 'securely embodied in the political institutions' of the Turkish republic. This consolidation of Kemalist institution-building happened in four phases:

“(1) a preparatory phase (ca. 1915-May 1919); (2) an experimental phase (November 1918-March 1924); (3) a decisional or institutional phase (September 1919-26); and (4) a consolidation phase (1923-38).”

This gradual process restructured the nation through transforming Ottoman institutions and the formation of a new alphabet and calendar (Rustow 1991). The agenda for this transformation was based on the principles of Kemalism.

Esen (2014: 602) offers a comprehensive explanation of Kemalism and its principles,

“Kemalism, the founding ideology of the Turkish Republic, served as the primary framework for political conduct under the rule of the *CHP*. Named after Mustafa Kemal, it was formulated around six principles (known in the political jargon as “arrows”): republicanism, nationalism, secularism, statism, populism, and revolutionism.<sup>4</sup> Kemalism, as a secular, modernizing worldview, carried a political program focused on building a Turkish nation-state. This state support gave Kemalism an inherent advantage over other ideological alternatives, ensuring its dominance for decades to come. Owing to this hegemonic status, Kemalism appropriated, co-opted, and modified a host of political ideas, just as various movements appealed to different aspects of Kemalism to conjure legitimacy for their respective agendas.”

These principles did not officially enter the *CHP* political program until 1931. Throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, differing interpretations of Kemalism have proliferated Turkish national discourse (Esen 2014). Significant to Kemalism’s consolidation into the institutions of a nation-state was Atatürk’s agility as a political strategist.

During the early 1920’s Atatürk managed to co-opt large numbers of the Ottoman elite to his nationalist cause (Esen 2014). He used the societal networks that had existed under the Empire to coerce loyalty to his leadership (Esen 2014). As he met resistance from several sections of society including Islamists and Kurds he used military might and populism, through forming the First Group, a parliamentary caucus, to root out opposition (Esen 2014). The formation of the People’s Party was also a strategy to rule out rival polities. A one-party unity bloc was a tool to

disenfranchise the opposition and for Mustafa Kemal to choose a party list of supportive candidates. Before the election he embarked on a nation-wide tour to 'turn his military prestige into political support' (Esen 2014: 607). When the capital was moved from Constantinople to Ankara, it allowed Atatürk to draw out new provinces which would then be 'administered by Ankara appointed governors' (Esen 2014: 607).

Atatürk employed a similar strategy of monopolizing power within the military. He achieved this by increasing the wages of veteran officers to ensure their loyalty and transferring his opponents in the military to ceremonial posts (Esen 2014). In 1924 Members of Parliament with a dual role as generals in the army were no longer able to participate in the governance process, thus were forced to resign (Esen 2014). The Kurdish revolt, the Sheikh Said rebellion of 1925, provoked the Maintenance of Order Law (*Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu*), authorizing the regime 'to outlaw almost any opposition group' (Esen 2014: 609). As a result, the rights of political organization and freedom of the press were suppressed. The Communist and Progressive Republican parties were banned (Esen 2014; Hale 2012).

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk set a precedent for the executive's monopolization of power over the political process. Keyman and Gumuscu (2014) reconnoitre the monopolization of power by the executive over Turkey's political process. They explain how incumbents in Turkey, such as the *AKP*, monopolize power over the democratization process to form 'electoral hegemony'. They theorize

this concept as 'power fusion': 'the presence of a strong executive that rules with a majoritarian impulse and relies extensively on an electoral, rather than pluralist understanding of democracy'. Keyman and Gumuscu's study into the ruling mechanism of the *AKP*'s 'Turkish Model' explains the Machiavellian nature of Mustafa Kemal's rise to power.

For Atatürk, monopolizing power was a necessity to modernize and consolidate both the Turkish state and the institutions that would define it throughout the twentieth century. These were guided by Atatürk's 'arrows', or Kemalist principles. The instruments of the 'Turkish Model', Atatürk's 'arrows' have been temporally continuous institutions of the Turkish nation-state throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century. Thus, they form the foundation of the 'Turkish Model'. Nonetheless,

"Kemalist principles are schematic and offer guidance for political activity rather than strict prescriptions, thus they frame political debate without actually determining it."

(Glyptis 2007: 36)

During the twenty-first century the role of Atatürk's 'arrows' within Turkish politics altered. Competing forces to the 'arrows' such as neo-liberalism and globalization took the leading role in restructuring Turkish institutions. Nationalist discourse around the Kemalist principles has had to adapt to a globalizing economy, the growing agency and power of Islamic organizations, and most recently the power of the 'new money' Islamic conservative Anatolian bourgeoisie. Analysing the 'arrows' of Kemalism and their impact

on institution-building and Turkish society is an effectual way to reconnoitre the history of nation-building in Turkey. The Kemalist principles were the yardstick that set the Republic on the path to 'model status'.

## 4.4 The First Republic

*Republicanism (cumhuriyetçilik)*

*"...today (in 1930), the ideal of democracy resembles a rising sea...the 20th century has seen many a tyrannical regime drown in that sea."*

-Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

(Cited in Cornell & Karaveli 2008: 14)

For Mustafa Kemal, republicanism was the sole engine with the ability to lift the Turkish nation out of the despair the loss of the Empire had caused. He also saw it as an inevitable path in the empowerment of the Turkish nation (Glyptis 2007). Republicanism would provide the blueprint for the foundational institutions of the Turkish nation-state to best represent the 'wishes of the people' (Stone 1998). The birth of republicanism in Turkey is recognized on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1920, the date of the inauguration of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara (The Atatürk Society of Canada 2016).

Atatürk, despite being an advocate for a model of 'government through the will of the people, parliamentary elections, rotation of office and popular sovereignty' did not secure a transition to democracy during his incumbency (The Atatürk Society of Canada 2016).

Atatürk tailored a constitution to emulate those of European republican states. The constitution would consolidate republicanism as the political creed of the Turkish sovereign state. The first constitution of the republic, the 1924 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, articulated the fundamental statutes regarding the political processes of the state and its relation to its citizens (Ünsal 1979). The first constitution remained in place until 1961. The implementation of the 1924 Constitution provided the legislative framework to transform all six 'arrows' into political mechanisms, thereby providing governing agents a blueprint for the modernization of Turkish society (Ünsal 1979).

Resembling an excerpt from the constitution of any European modern liberal democracy, the 1924 Constitution established the normative constraints of the state:

“Inviolability of person; freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, of speech, of press; freedom of travel and of contract; freedom of labour; freedom of private property, of assembly, of association; freedom of incorporation, are among the natural rights of all Turks.”

(Article 40 of the 1924 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey)

When analysing the political arrangements of the 1924 Constitution a palpable shortcoming emerges in the extensive mandate of the executive branch. There is enough evidence to suggest this was a pivotal mechanism in Mustafa Kemal's monopolization of power. The political processes and institutions codified in the constitution included:

the formation of an elected Grand National Assembly holding legislative and executive power; an elected President who would then have the power to select a cabinet and held supreme command of the army; an independent judiciary; voting rights for every male citizen over the age of 18; an outline of the separation and checks and balances of power; and a procedure for the amendment of the constitution

(Earle 1925; Ünsal 1979).

Superficially, the 1924 Constitution was functional and democratic. Nevertheless, rather than consolidating democracy, the 1924 Constitution consolidated Kemalism as the etymological foundation of the political language of the state continuing well into the *AKP*'s tenure in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century (Glyptis 2007). It is the *AKP*'s pressing for a re-definition of Kemalism within the institutions of the state which moves the 'Turkish Model' apart from any other mode of political reproduction in Turkey's history (Glyptis 2007).

The sanctity of the Kemalist 'arrows' and their later insertion into the 1924 Constitution, made it easy to condemn those who questioned them. Opponents of Kemalist discourse were marginalized and often criminalized as traitors to the sovereignty of the nation (Glyptis 2007; Weiker 1981). Therefore, critics of the 1924 Constitution have argued that it was a way of

ensuring the power of the establishment and marginalizing dissenting sectors of society. Cook (2007) frames the rights and freedom codified in the 1924 Constitution as a 'pseudo democratic facade'. These freedoms and rights were maintained solely to appease various societal actors.

Cook (2007) explains in its infancy the Turkish Republic offered the new independent post-Ottoman nations of the Arab region a model of how to control society through political tools and militarism. Leaders of newly independent states that followed this model included Egypt's Free Officers and Algeria's Colonel Houari Boumedienne. Emulating the Kemalist model, the leaders of these nations developed constitutions with strong executives, ensuring the maintenance and consolidation of their power. This Kemalist model was characterized by single-party rule, a legislative framework limiting political participation, and military control over state-institutions. The military control over state-institutions in the Turkish Republic would ensure the completion of the Kemalist revolution and evoke a culture of fear of being 'othered' as anti-Turkish (Cook 2007).

The military were the ultimate defenders of the republican state and the Constitution. The Turkish Armed Forces (*Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri, TSK*) at this point had evolved from the squadrons who had abandoned the Ottoman army to join the Kemalist revolution and had become the defenders of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara during the War of Independence (Akşin 2000). War hero Fevzi Pasha Çakmak became the Chief of General Staff of



the *TSK* (Zürcher 2005). A confidante of Atatürk, he had carte blanche in the management of the *TSK* (Zürcher 2005). His management of the Armed Forces was characterized by authoritarianism and austere measures.

The Turkish nation was fragmented and economically weak after the War of Independence and the Kemalist political elite regarded a well-disciplined and united Armed Force as essential to the maintenance of law and order. Çakmak had a monopoly over the *TSK* enrolment process, the *TSK* curriculum and over the promotion of ranks (Haynes 2010). This meant that the officer corps was routinely purged of Kurds and conservative Muslims disloyal to Turkish nationalism (Haynes 2010). A unique unified force in a polarized society, the *TSK* has historically sustained cohesion and 'organizational integrity' within its ranks despite the religious, ethnic, cultural and economic divisions in Turkish society (Haynes 2010).

The authoritarian culture within the army was not limited to its ranks. The political terrain was also dominated by the authoritarian culture of the *TSK* (Haynes 2010). Enshrined in the 1924 Constitution was the role of the Armed Forces as the ultimate defender of the Constitution. This structured the *TSK* as the 'hyper-secular' protector of the Kemalist revolution (Haynes 2010). The Kurdish revolt of 1925, and the resulting Law of Maintaining Order effectively turned the First Republic into a military regime governed by martial law (Foss 2014). The *TSK* at this point gained the authority to shut down political parties and organizations (Haynes 2010). This was a huge blow to

the opposition, and Turkey became a single party state until the 1950s. The culture of military authoritarianism continued to dominate the Turkish Republic throughout the twentieth century.

“The long-term structural effect on politics of aggressive secularization and military significance has significantly influenced the country’s political culture and made it difficult to develop an emphatically democratic regime.”

(Haynes 2010)

Not until over ten years after the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (10<sup>th</sup> November 1938) did republicanism achieve its *raison d’être*, the democratic representation of the people as agents of political change. Through the late 1930s and 1940s the Kemalist revolution was sustained through the leadership of Mustafa İsmet İnönü (Miller et al. 2012). İnönü’s incumbency constituted increasingly repressive and authoritarian policies, one-party rule, and radical transformations for the sole benefit of a minority of elite stakeholders (Miller et al. 2012). The 1940’s were the antithesis of democracy, nevertheless, the will of the people eventually prevailed and 1950 witnessed a defining parameter in the Republican ‘arrow’ of the Kemalist revolution (Miller et al. 2012).

In 1950 multi-party free and fair elections with universal suffrage were held for the first time in the Turkish Republic. Voting participation was at 89% for this election, and averaged around 76% for the 1950-1980 period, far above

the figures recorded for Western-European democracies during the same period (Rustow 1970). The Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti, DP*), was formed in 1946 by ex-*CHP* members who advocated for a more liberal economic policy.

The *DP* won the 1950 election (Rustow 1970). Celâl Bayar became President of the Republic and Adnan Menderes became Prime Minister (Rustow 1970). Liberalizing the economy was not the only *DP* achievement, as there was an increased atmosphere of religious tolerance during the Democrat incumbency (Rustow 1970).

One of the *DP*'s first legislative measures was the legalization of the call to prayer in Arabic (Rustow 1970). This opened the political space to Islamic conservatives who had been marginalized by İnönü and Atatürk. Empowered by democracy and religious freedom, protest and dissent grew amongst certain quarters of society. During the late 1950s, elite control had come under threat by the increased agency of the subaltern (Rustow 1970). The *DP* government reverted to implementing the repressive and despotic policies of the 1940s with aim to dominate the parameters of governance. For the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1960, the *TSK* exercised their power to defend the sanctity of the Constitution. A military coup removed *DP* domination. This induced the birth of the Second Republic in 1961. The Second Republic was marked by further

authoritarianism, instability and ethnic conflict resulting in an increasingly fortifying mode of political reproduction by Turkey's rulers (Rustow 1970).

Republicanism, although not immediately fostering a democratic transition, tailored the Republic's political institutions with the mechanisms to produce a democracy. Accordingly, the implementation of the 1924 Constitution signified the stability of the political process. State-military relations were articulated in the 1924 Constitution, standardizing the dominant role of the executive and military in the political process. Hence, the Kemalist constitutional model became the prevailing constitutional model to follow for the military leaders of Arab nations. For these leaders, a strong-executive and military whose parameters of power were sanctified by a constitution would provide a monopolizing mechanism to maintain law and order as they consolidated their newly independent states.

The uniqueness of Turkey's power fusion process lies in the disparity of the political class-rural, urban, Islamist, Kemalist which provides on the surface high levels of democracy. Nonetheless, competition between these actors has further facilitated the monopolization of power by any given ruling actor.

International actors have been crucial to the acceleration of the post-Cold War democratic process. The most prudent of these is the European Union (EU), where economic liberalization and increased trade has encouraged democratic values.

*Populism (halkçılık)*

*“Who is the “effendi” [the steward and master] of this nation? Well, Turkey’s backbone, indeed, the ultimate master of the land is the “köylü” — the peasant, who produces our food, and fights our wars.”*

-Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

(Cited in Özmeral 2012: 16)

The Kemalist concept of populism was the tool of penetrating the masses with the dogma of social revolution. Citizen-government relations transformed with the onset of the First Republic. Ottoman subjects who had little agency under the Empire became Turkish citizens with full equality and the agency to influence the future of the nation regardless of their background or gender (Stone 1998).

“Populism in the Atatürkist mould simply means that Kemalism is against class privileges and class distinctions and it recognizes no individual, no family, and no organizations as being above others. Hence, in this context Kemalism is a discourse centred around Turkish citizenship with a set of disclosures exhorting the people to achieve a sense of unity and national identity.”

(Stone 1998: 27)

Secularism and republicanism, by the ideological mandate of Kemalism, were the mechanisms to empower, penetrate and control the public. The

modern notion of 'citizenship' was standardized through a secular and republican system which was non-discriminatory and treated all Turks as equals within the eyes of the law. In the eyes of the Kemalists, equality and popular participation could only come about through a social contract between citizens and the state, not the parochial control of a Shariah system (Stone 1998).

Several reforms immortalized the concept of citizenship in the Turkish mind set. The first of these was the replacement of the Ministry of Shariat with the Directorate of Religious Affairs, emancipating citizens from Islamic law (Ulutas 2010). Accordingly, a new civil code removed the Ottoman system for family, marriage and property. These reforms culminated in the annulment of Islam as the official religion of the Republic in April 1928 (Ulutas 2010). The rollback of religion at the time was influenced by Europeans (Hyland 2008). The European nation-states renegotiation of power relations and the newly defined parameter of church-society relations across the continent provided a model to follow for the Kemalists.

The nation-states to most influence Turkey during this period was France, Italy and the Soviet Union. The Turkish penal code was a replica of the Italian model (Earle 1925; Ünsal 1979). The civil code was a replica of the Swiss model (Zürcher 2005). The school curriculum was influenced by the French and German model and included French novels and French and German philosophy (Zürcher 2005). Standardizing modern education as a right of all

citizens, where they could learn the European concepts of modernism and liberalism corresponded a liberating pedagogy in Kemalist dogma. Enabling social mobility and active citizenship would contribute to the modernization of society (Zürcher 2005).

Atatürk was adamant that it was necessary to educate women and girls. For Mustafa Kemal, women had an equal role to men as active citizens of the nation-state (Foss 2014). To set a precedent for the rest of society to follow, in the 1920s Mustafa Kemal adopted four girls. He encouraged his daughters to become as educated as possible. The most famous of his daughters, Sabiha Gökçen, became the first Turkish female combat pilot. Today, one of Istanbul's two international airports carries her name, Istanbul Sabiha Gökçen International Airport. Another one of his daughters, Professor Ayşe Afet İnan, became a world-renowned historical scholar and anthropologist. She was a founding member of the Turkish Historical Society and was a pioneer in reinvigorating Turkish nationalism (Foss 2014).

It is important to note, however, that the enabling of academic or professional success of the daughters of state rulers is not a reflection of the emancipation of those women, or any women at all within the state. In many instances the daughters of state rulers can themselves worsen the position of women through their roles. Despite being portrayed as free and powerful,

“There remained, however, a large discrepancy between formal rights and the social position of women in Turkey. Women were perceived

as mothers of the republic and as blind supporters of Atatürk's one-party government and his CHP.”

(Binder and Richman 2012)

Nonetheless there was measurable success for the societal position of women at this time. For example, Atatürk pushed for several legislative measures to ensure the increased role of women in Turkish society and the political process. In April 1930, suffrage for women in municipal elections and their right to stand in them were adopted as law (Earle 1925; Ünsal 1979). Full suffrage for women in national elections and their right to stand for national office was achieved in December 1935 (Earle 1925; Ünsal, 1979). The first female deputies were elected to the General National Assembly in March 1935 (Earle 1925; Ünsal 1979).

The Kemalist populist project safeguarded individual citizenship rights and attempted to tailor a collective Turkish consciousness in tune with the European ideal of a modern and engaged general public who actively participated in society. However, it is important to note that life in the first Republic was far from utopic. In reality, only those who agreed to make a social contract with the Kemalist nature of the state could benefit from the new opportunities that arose from the Republic's modern laws and institutions. Problems particularly arose for actors who did not ascribe to the Kemalist vision of the 'Turkish nation' in and of itself, thereby, disqualifying their citizenship 'rights'.



Historically, women had been disembedded from the political system; the essence of the Kemalist project was to embed those from society historically outcast by Ottomanism into the Republic through populism. The aim of this was to compete for their loyalties by giving them a stake in the Kemalist populist project, through education and empowerment. Thereby, thrashing any ability of peer polities to command their loyalty. Nonetheless, this created a new security dilemma for Turkey's Kemalists, as the more empowered and educated women became, the less they consented to the status quo. This explains their key role in the collapse of the first and second republic.

#### *Nationalism (milliyetçilik)*

*"Peace at home, peace in the world."*

-Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

(Cited in Young, Zuelow, & Sturm 2007: 96)

Inevitable in every newly independent nation-state is a nationalist discourse (Stone 1998). Stone (1998: 27) defines Kemalist nationalism as the "principle that the Turkish state is an indivisible whole comprising its territory and people." Kemalist nationalism recognizes a common Turkish culture and the right of the Turkish people to the lands of Anatolia and the Straits as set out

by Mustafa Kemal after the War of Independence (The Atatürk Society of Canada 2016). A central theme of Kemalist nationalist dogma is the concept of duty to the nation, and the common goals of the 'arrows' which would modernize the Turkish nation. For Mustafa Kemal, the ancient Turkish people were the cradle of civilization and had achieved greatness, and their descendants were destined to achieve greatness once again<sup>30</sup>.

Collective memory is the essence of all nation-building projects. At one fell swoop, 'apparent *difference*' is countered, by an emergent discourse of self-identity and otherness, thereby connecting the 'unconnected' (Massad 2001). Illuminating themes on construction of the nation state Massad (2001) explains, "The nation's commitment to the preservation of a traditional national culture carried through from the past and its project of technological modernization as the present goal to be achieved in the future place the nation on a synchronic temporal continuum." (Massad 2001: 9)

Researching and reaching a common consensus over Turkish history was the Kemalist's first step to building a national identity and it was through this history that several of Atatürk's nationalist aims would be met. These aims were: to justify Anatolia as the home of the Turkish nation, to strengthen the

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<sup>30</sup> Comparisons can be drawn between Ataturk and Hitler; in fact, Hitler was greatly influenced by Ataturk (Ihrig 2014). As both felt their nations were treated badly by the victors of WWI, they mobilized their nations on ethnic lines to be able to overcome what they felt were the injustices brought upon them by the WWI allies (Foss 2014). However, unlike Hitler, Ataturk was anti-war, pro-democracy and did not want to agitate the West.

idea of secularism as part of Turkish national consciousness and to pit it as an 'equal' amongst great nations thus elevating Turkey's ancestry as the architects of modern civilization along with the Ancient Greeks and Romans (Özmen 2015). It was also important to Atatürk that his investment in this new history would dismiss what he deemed were fallacies present at the time in Western discourse about Turkey (Foss 2014). These fallacies included the ideas that the Turkish people were not Aryan and were uncivilized with no ancestral right to Anatolia (Foss 2014). Awareness of the aims of Atatürk's new history in the formation of a Turkish consciousness and a source of national pride is essential for grasping the construction of 'Turkishness' in the First Republic.

History was a priority within the Kemalist educational and research institution formation process (Özmen 2015). The 4240 law on the History of the Revolution was codified on the 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1942 (Özmen 2015). This law made history a compulsory school subject throughout the educational curriculum. The history curriculum was based on the Ministry of Culture's 'History' textbook (Foss 2014). The textbook explained that all civilizations evolved from Turkish civilization or were influenced by it (Foss 2014). Turkish civilization had originated in Eurasia, and the textbook included a map of central Asia with routes of how the Turks had dispersed around the globe from there (Foss 2014; Guvenc-Salgirli 2010).

The textbook was preoccupied with the 'New History Thesis' a Kemalist constructed historical narrative of the roots of Turkish civilization (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). The 'New History Thesis' engineered the historical claim that the Turks were the first nation to build a civilization (Guvenc-Salgirli, 2010). This civilization started near a sea between the Caucasus and Tien Shan (Foss 2014). The history thesis explained that by 10,000 BC the Turks had settled and were living off the harvest of the land and animals (Foss 2014). Another engineered claim was that the Turks were the first nation in history to develop metal work and agriculture (Foss 2014). The 'New History Thesis' produced a historical narrative the Turkish people could be proud of; through a pioneering history that constructed their ancestral home as the cradle of civilization.

The 'New History Thesis' paved the way for linguists to synchronize the Turks 'historical mission' with an ideological reminiscence of the etymological foundations of the Turkic/Turan languages. This engineered etymology claimed all languages have a Turkish origin. Accordingly, a historical discourse on the trans-historical dissemination of the Turkic language and civilization was produced (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). The historical narrative on the dissemination of Turkic was that in the final years of the Ice Age, the environment of Central Asia rapidly changed (Foss 2014). The land was no longer fit for agricultural production and the Turks became environmental refugees and nomads who dispersed across the continents (Foss 2014).

Once settled again in various geographic locations the Turkic peoples founded the origins of the Hun and Scythian Empires, their influence stretching to India and China (Foss 2014).

One of the most fundamental 'research' developments of the 'New History Thesis' was the 'discovery' that the Sumerians were 'in fact' the Turks of the Near East, therefore Sumerian Turks had invented the first writing system (Foss 2014). The epistemological foundations behind these claims were published by Ahmet Cevat Emre (Aytürk 2004). He stated that both the Sumerians and Mesopotamians had originated from Central Asia. Since neither Sumer or Turkic had Indo-European or Semitic routes they therefore had the same route, Turkic (Aytürk 2004). Historical linguists attempted to validate the claim of Turkish origins for the words Iran, Aryan and Eire. All three of the names for these nations were simply metaphors for the Turkish words 'er' and 'man' (Foss 2014). The 'New History Thesis' enabled historians to frame historiography with 'Turkishness' at the centre. Through the history thesis, any nomadic people could be identified as having Turkic origins.

A priority of the engineers of Kemalism's nationalist dogma was that the 'New History Thesis' reflect the Turkish nation's indisputable right to the land of Anatolia. Central to their claim to this land was the history of the Hittites whose formative civilizational stages took place in Anatolia around 1600BC (Foss 2014). The Hittite civilization communicated in a language with a close

etymology to Sumerian Turkish (Foss 2014). This enabled Kemalist historians to claim the Turkic peoples were the ancestors and descendants of the Hittites and by default the indigenous people of Anatolia.

The 'New Turkish History Thesis' was not just the history studies component of the tertiary education system. The 'New Turkish History Thesis' was 'official doctrine' and delineated the historiography and self-determining claims of the Turkish Republic. Mustafa Kemal ensured that there was a substantial amount of investment into historical research. He held three Turkish History Congresses, one in 1932, one in 1934 and in 1937 to expound the 'New Turkish History Thesis' to international experts and the press (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). The September 1937 History Congress attracted over 400 attendees. Many of the delegates were teachers and Western academics (Foss 2014). Atatürk sought to both popularize and institutionalize the 'New Turkish History Thesis' thereby reinforcing consent through patriotism and forming a Kemalist hegemony in the new nation-state.

Atatürk developed and restructured several institutions to ensure the standardization of the 'New Turkish History Thesis' doctrine. The most notable of these was the Turkish Historical Society, established in 1935, which is an active research body that has continued to produce research until the current day (Foss 2014). In 1935, Atatürk inaugurated a new university in Ankara, the Language, History and Geography Faculty (Foss 2014). This university provided taught programmes in languages that were deemed to

have Turkic etymology (Foss 2014). This included Sumerian, Akkadian, Chinese and Hindi (Foss 2014). Mustafa Kemal also invested heavily in archaeological excavations. This was a dark point in Kemalist history as the excavations were used to draw blood samples from human fossil to substantiate the claim that Turks were Aryan (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). Another low point occurred in the formative stages of Mustafa Kemal's nation-building project in 1933. At this time 187 out of 240 academics from Istanbul University lost their positions for criticizing the 'New Turkish History Thesis' (Foss 2014).

The 'New Turkish History Thesis' was accompanied by the 'Turkish Language Thesis', both of which became the main frame of reference within the state for the formative stage of the hybridity between the Turkic peoples and the antiquities of the West (Aytürk 2004). Fundamental to 'Turkish Language Thesis' was the sun-language theory of the Turkish Language Institute (*Türk Dili Tetkik*) formed by Samih Rifat, which became part of the active discourse of the state in 1936 (Aytürk 2004). Influenced by the research methodology of 19<sup>th</sup> century European psychoanalysts such as Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung, the theory purported that all languages originated from Ancient Turkish (Aytürk 2004). In Rifat's opinion this was because each correspondence between sounds and their meaning had been initiated during Ancient Turkish civilization (Aytürk 2004). Worshipping the sun had provoked the use of language as part of ritual.

Consequently, academics in the new republic could provide evidence for the connection of the Turkic peoples and any other nation that had once prayed to the sun (Aytürk 2004). This theory would further instill, sustain and enforce patriotism amongst the public.

Aytürk (2004) summarizes the use of language and history in the Kemalist nationalist project. He explains the radical shift from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic was a colossal change from one civilization to the next. In one fell swoop, the new Turkish polity had to demonstrate its validity and historical legitimacy in an era of mass social change. The Kemalist nationalist project would be the reincarnation of the forgotten grandmother of Western civilization, the Turkish nation. Framing the Ancient Turkish nation as a civilizational pioneer would give Turkish citizens a sense of 'national pride' and loyalty no matter their social class (Aytürk 2004).

Researching the history and influence of the Turkish language was not the only mandate of the Turkish Language Institute. To the Kemalists the future trajectory of the Turkish language was as vital as instilling a sense of pride in its past. Standardizing a modern Turkish vocabulary that would be tenable in a developing Westernizing nation was the ultimate priority of linguists and this would be at the core of the nation-building project (Aytürk 2004).

In the opinion of the Kemalists, Ottoman Turkish was archaic and obsolete. Most of the nationalist elite had been educated in European languages and



felt that it was necessary to modernize the Turkish language to befit European standards (Aytürk 2004). In May 1928 the Latin alphabet and numerals were adopted to replace Ottoman Arabic (Ünsal 1979). In 1932 the Turkish Language Institute was mandated to 'purify' the Turkish language (Aytürk 2004). Accordingly, there was a 'cleansing' of words deemed to hold a non-Turkish etymology (Aytürk 2004). Modern standard Turkish became the official language of the Republic and was injected throughout the educational curricula. Mustafa Kemal was passionate about the literacy of the Republic's citizens, for him, improved literacy in modern Turkish would guarantee the involvement of all Turks as engineers of social change in the great Turkish nation (Aytürk 2004). Atatürk also believed the creation of an official modern standard language would ensure the fortification of Kemalism in the diverse Republic where a multitude of languages were spoken. Consequently, the language rights of Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Laz, Arabs and other ethnic groups became compromised and blocked.

Language rights were not the only minority rights that were compromised through the Kemalist nationalist project. A moot point in the academic literature on Turkish nationalism is regarding the inclusiveness of Kemalism's ethnification project and how much it marginalized or encompassed minorities. Some researchers such as Tepe (2008) and Foss (2014) suggest that Kemalism discriminated against non-Muslims, much as the Ottoman Caliphate had done. Declaring irredentism, a danger to peace and security,

Turkish nationalism became an othering discourse through which Christians, Kurdish nationalists and other minorities were reframed not only as outsiders but as a threat to the sovereignty of the nation. The First Republic, like the formation of most nations, was not founded through non-violence.

Another school of the literature is sympathetic to the nationalist *raison d'être* of the Kemalists. Scholars such as Aytürk (2011) and Kösebalaban (2011) route the origins of Turkish nationalism in the refugee crisis which plagued the Balkan wars. This body of literature focuses on the construction of Anatolia as a refuge for Muslims fleeing from religious conflict in Eastern European and Russia. Thereby, there was an emphasis on the Islamic character of 'Turkishness' by the Kemalist elite. This was reflected in Atatürk's words at the Grand National Assembly in 1920,

“The people who are present here and constitute the Great Parliament are not only Turks, Circassian, Kurdish or Laz. They are an honest community comprised of the elements of Islam....The unity that we are determined to construct is not for Turks or Circassians only but for the entire elements of Islam.”

(Kösebalaban 2011: kindle Loc 1108 of 6250)

Aytürk, (2011) notes that Kemalism was a cosmopolitan ideology in comparison with the vertical social relations dogma dominant in the lion's share of European states in the early twentieth century. Turkish Jews for example, received comparably better treatment than Jews in Europe. Aytürk, (2011) also explains far more dangerous racist ideologies were emerging in Turkey than Kemalism. The scholarship on Kemalism's ethnification project is

polarized. Nonetheless, it is clear that ethnic conflict played a central role in the construction, sustainability and enforcement of Turkish nationalism.

The transgenerational trauma of the Turkish people due to the loss of the Balkans (*Rumeli*) by the Ottoman Empire between 1911 and 1913 cannot be underestimated (Zürcher 2005). This region had been part of the Ottoman Empire for 500 years. This transgenerational trauma created a feeling of mistrust of Christians and Jews amongst many Turks. It also made statehood a necessary protection for those who self-defined as Turks who had been ethnically cleansed from Eastern Europe. Most of the architects of Kemalism, including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, were in fact refugees (*muhacireen*) from the areas that had been annexed by the Western powers in this period (Zürcher 2005). There was a feeling amongst the refugees that Anatolia was the 'Turk's last stand' (Zürcher 2005). This feeling was not exclusive to Kemalists and was shared by its opponents such as Nâzım Hikmet Ran (Zürcher, 2005). His poem *Davet* (The Plea), articulates the theme of Anatolia as a haven for the unity of the Turkish people and the end of the domination and oppression of their history:

*Davet (The Plea)*

*“Gallop forth from far off Asia*

*stretching like a mare's head into the Mediterranean*

*this country is ours*

*Wrists bloodied, teeth clenched, feet bare*

*and like a silken rug*

*this hell, this heaven is ours*

*Let doors of bondage be closed, never to open again*

*abolish man's subjection to man*

*this plea is ours*

*To live unique and free like a single tree*

*and like a forest in fraternity*

*this yearning is ours”*

(Gencer 2015)

The words of another poet cited in Zürcher, (2005), Yahya Kemal Beyalti, a native of Skopje, really relay the feelings of loss over the Balkans and the need for a homeland amongst the *muhacireen*:

*Açık Deniz (High Seas)*

*“When I passed my youth in Balkan towns*

*I felt a yearning with every breath I took.  
Byron's sad melancholy ruled my heart then.  
In youth's daydreams I roamed the mountains;  
Breathed the free air of Rakofça's fields.  
I felt the passion of my raiding ancestors:  
Every summer, for centuries, a run to the North  
That has left a thundering echo in my breast."*

(Zürcher 2005: 387)

The dominant culture during the formative stages of Turkish nation-building was hegemonized by romanticising the history of struggle of Turkic refugees. Absent from the hegemonic discourse was of course the role the *muhacirs* from the Balkans and the Caucasus had in the expulsion and ethnic cleansing of ethnic Armenians and Greeks from the Straits and Anatolia (Zürcher 2005). These expulsions were 'justified' by the 'falsified' 'historical' claims that there was a link between the Turkic peoples and the ancient civilizations of Anatolia such as the Hittites. This refuted the claims of other ethnic groups such as Greeks, Armenians and Kurds to the land, "...whose earth had been coloured red by the blood of the martyrs since the first Turkish conquest in 1071." (Zürcher 2005: 389) This constructed a binary

between Turks and non-Turks and this binary would perpetuate a cycle of violence.

Indeed, the Turkish Republic was consolidated through a campaign of violence. Mustafa Kemal was a military man and the War of Independence was won through a campaign of bloodshed. The remnants of the Armenian people who had already suffered genocide at the hands of the Young Turks and Ottomans during World War I were further ethnically cleansed from the Republic during the War of Independence. The 1922 defeat of the Greek military operation across the Aegean had culminated in the ethnic cleansing of 750,000 ethnic Greeks from Turkey (Zürcher 2005). The 1923 Lausanne Agreement saw the forced deportation of the remnants of the ethnic Greeks from Turkey. Greek Muslims were also ethnically cleansed from Greece (Zürcher 2005). The legitimacy gained through the 'New History Thesis and New Language Thesis' provided the Kemalist elite an ideological mandate to secure Anatolia as the permanent home of the Turkish people with infallible borders by any means necessary. Instilling a sense of national pride would reinforce Turkish identity and allegiance to the Kemalism. Nevertheless, those who did not self-identify as Turks were othered and marginalized and constructed through nationalist hegemonic discourse as the antithesis of modernization (Zürcher 2005).

The Kemalists were as concerned about the external threats to the nationalist project as they were the internal. Despite their fortifying behaviour, to mitigate

the vertical security dilemma, they believed that at least a small level of alliance-building with horizontal peer polities was necessary to maintain the security and stability of the Turkish nation-state. Thus, new international alliances were formed by the Republic in the post-World War I era. The era was a time of rapid change where new threats emerged such as communism and fascism. The final years of the Ottoman Empire paved the way to the restructuring of power in the international system. The defeat of the Empire opened space for the emergence of new superpowers. The Kemalist trajectory received increasing validation from the West and the alliances formed during the First Republic would stay solid throughout the next century.

For Turkey's Western allies, Kemalism was a favourable ideology. Pro-Western and secular at its core, the allies could be assured that an Islamic civilization would not resurface in the European vicinity to threaten the colonial modern Western way of life. Turkey, in a stage of increasing liminality, was turning its back on the Arab region, this gave the Allies a *carte blanche* at manipulating events in the new Arab independent nations.

The main objective of Kemalist nationalism was to ensure the Turkish nation-state was consolidated as an indivisible whole with indisputable borders comprising the territories of the Straits and Anatolia. This territory would encompass a great people, the Turks, whom the Kemalists believed were the ancient architects of civilization itself and were set for a grandiose future. The

construction of a national-identity that Turks could be proud of was a priority for the Kemalist elite; resulting in major investment in historical research and linguistics. This national identity would be institutionalized through a modern standard Turkish language that 'cleansed' it of other influences such as Arabic.

A legacy of ethnic conflict during the Balkan Wars had bolstered the Kemalists determination to build a safe-space in Anatolia and the Straits that all Muslims who wished to self-define as Turks could call home. Those who did not self-define or ascribe to Turkish nationalism had no place in the new Turkish nation-state and were 'othered' and marginalized.

### *Some Further Remarks on NATO*

A core component of the *AKP's* 'Turkish Model' is its role in the international system as a Western-allied state with a Muslim majority where Western values such as democracy are the status quo. The history behind Turkey's role in the US/European axis and the growing influence of the US in the early twentieth century will be explored below.

Mustafa Kemal was a firm believer in international peace through action rather than neutrality (Mango 2000). Under his leadership Turkey was an active member of the League of Nations. Measures taken by the Turkish



state as a member included taking part in the sanctions of Italy under Mussolini and the Balkan Pact (Mango 2000). Yet, it would be after Atatürk's death and during World War II the Cold War that Turkey's role in international politics would expand.

İsmet İnönü replaced Atatürk as president in 1939, at the onset of WWII. İnönü was lobbied by both the Allies and Axis<sup>31</sup> to join the War as part of their alliance. Nonetheless, İnönü continued with Atatürk's policy of neutrality, particularly because of the way that the Turks had suffered during WWI (Olson 1977). This suited the Allies well up until 1942, as Turkish neutrality blocked the expansion of the Nazis into the resource-rich Middle East. Yet, Axis gains during the first few years of war began to worry the Allies who then pressed Turkey to militarize the Balkans. The Nazis continued to incept and penetrate Turkish society during the War, playing on the nationalist sympathies of the Kemalists with the hopes of creating public support for an alliance with the Axis powers (Olson 1977).

However, once Turkey was invited to join the UN if they joined the Allies, they declared war on the Axis in February 1945. İnönü was also promised economic aid and most importantly, assurance that Turkey would be defended by the Western Allies in case of aggression from the USSR (Olson

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<sup>31</sup> The Axis powers included Nazi Germany, Italy, Japan, Hungary, Romania plus Bulgaria and the Allies included the US, Britain, France, USSR, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia.

1977). The biggest concern of the Kemalists during WWII had continued to be Soviet expansionism, particularly in the Straits and Dardanelles. The promise of defence by the US and UK in case of Russian invasion set the precedent of the West as allies in Kemalist foreign policy. The Truman Doctrine in effect married Turkey to the US with binding conditions in return for military and financial aid (Olson 1977).

Yet, Harris (1971: 9-30) asserts that a differing perspective is that the US were the greater threat than the USSR, and the Russian 'menace' had in fact diminished through direct diplomacy between Turkey's and the USSR's leaders in the late 1940s.

IR scholar Barin Kayaoğlu (2009) offers a comprehensive insight into Turkish-US relations in the early years of the Cold War. He explains that realpolitik drove the US side of the alliance. In the opinion of the Americans if Greece, Turkey or Iran came under the influential sphere of the communist Soviets, a domino effect would see the whole region at threat. Loy Henderson, the State Department's Director of Near East and African Affairs during the Truman incumbency explained,

“Strategically, Turkey is the most important factor in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, Turkey constitutes the stopper in the neck of the bottle through which Soviet political and military influence could most effectively flow into the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East.”

(Kayaoğlu 2009: 325)

Kayaoğlu's (2009) research into the official documents of the Truman administration indicates that the administration's foreign policy formation towards Turkey was solely driven by geopolitical considerations, in which the promotion of democracy was non-existent.

In spite of this, the rhetoric of democracy promotion was a mechanism of bolstering public opinion in favour of an alliance. In fact, the military aid that Turkey received from the US during the Cold War ensured the consolidation of Kemalist nationalism and turned Turkey into a militarist state where dissent had no place. Security considerations and internal stability were Washington's priority in its involvement with Turkey, and the Kemalist elite took full advantage of that (Kayaoğlu 2009).

Historically, the Straits had always been an area of contention between Russia and Turkey. As Russia's main sea route through to the Mediterranean depends on securing access to the Straits, it has been a priority for every Russian leader. Up until the 1940s, the Soviets had pushed for a joint defence pact with Turkey with regards to the Straits. Turkey was keen to stay neutral in the Cold War and not employ a joint defence pact with the Soviets as this might be seen as a hostile act by the USA who was becoming the pre-eminent superpower in Turkey's neighbourhood.

Aside from the Soviet's diplomatic pressure on Turkey, Kayaoğlu explains,

“Parallel to their demands, the Soviets were reportedly amassing troops into Bulgaria and the Caucasus for a possible attack against

Turkey. For President Truman, these moves constituted 'an open bid to obtain control of Turkey' and he believed that the proposal for a joint defence of the Straits was a (Soviet) pretext to control Turkey."

(Kayaoğlu 2009: 325)

Subsequently, policy-makers in Washington began to push for stronger security ties with Turkey so the Soviets would not view Turkey as defenceless. Turkey's neutrality ended and the following years would see a gradual growth in the alliance between Turkey and the US to counteract the Soviet threat. The first step to this was on the 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1947 when the US Congress approved the Greek and Turkish Aid Bill (Kayaoğlu 2009). In 1948 Turkey received \$100 million in military aid from the US (Kayaoğlu 2009).

Nonetheless, despite NATO's formation in 1949, Turkey did not become a member until the 18<sup>th</sup> February 1952. Throughout the 1940s Turkey had been pushing for a Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO) which would include Britain, Greece, Turkey, Egypt and Iran. Ankara, however, became increasingly concerned with the rise in anti-British sentiment in Egypt and Iran and did not feel that the organization would be a solid or tenable alliance. The US was expanding its influence in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time wanting to replace Britain as the hegemonic power in the region (Kayaoğlu 2009). The foreign policy direction shifted in Ankara away from diplomatic pressure on Britain. With the formation of NATO in 1949 all efforts were put into securing NATO membership, thereby, becoming solid allies

with the US. The geo-strategic security concerns of the US culminated in Turkey's accession process which began in 1951 (Kayaoğlu 2009).

There are four key factors that explain why Washington eventually gave into Turkey's demand to be part of NATO (Kayaoğlu 2009). Firstly, Turkey had been putting constant diplomatic pressure on the US for years. Secondly, it became clear to Washington that they would need Turkish airfields in the case of a launch of air strikes against the Soviets. Thirdly, the Turkish military would be a line of defence against any Soviet advance westward. The fourth factor was the onset of the Korean War (Kayaoğlu 2009).

On 25<sup>th</sup> June 1950 the Korean War broke out. Turkey sent their military to join the operations in solidarity with NATO (Kinzer 2001). Ankara felt that this act of solidarity would help build bridges in the future especially if they were to face a future Soviet invasion. Their allies in Korea would come to their deliverance. The Korean War did in fact prove to the world that Turkey was serious in its rhetoric to combat communism (Kinzer 2001).

The internal stability and institutionalization of Turkish nationalism were reinforced by the international alliances Turkey had formed. Turkey had become a crucial member of NATO and was viewed by the West as a fortress in its line of defence against Soviet communism. The USA was emerging as the pre-eminent power in the region at the time. Washington valued a strong and unified Turkey where any form of dissent would not be

tolerated. The military aid received by Turkey in the 1940s and 1950s would ensure that irredentism was no threat to Turkish nationalism (Kinzer 2001). Nonetheless, as will be examined in Chapter 7, irredentism began to pose a threat to Turkey during the tenure of the *AKP*, as despite military aid from the US, Kurdish nationalism began to spill-over from the 2013 Syrian War and seriously threaten Turkey's territorial contiguity in the Anatolian south.

### *Secularism (laiklik)*

*“We shall live in the area of civilization as a progressive and civilized nation. Only knowledge and science can make such a life possible.”*

-Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

(Cited in Mango 2000)

Perhaps the most prominent component of the *AKP*'s alliance-building 'Turkish Model' has been the party's ability to navigate state secularism despite being of a conservative Muslim ideology. To understand the significance of this, it is important to understand the historic capstone fortifying embeddedness of secularism within Turkish institutions that characterized the politics survival under Republican rule. The Atatürk Society of Canada (2015) define the Kemalist 'arrow' of secularism as a means of

separating religious truth from scientific and purely political matters. In the opinion of Kemalists, “A religious moral people are necessary to an ethical, healthy republic, but faith is best inculcated at home and church rather than school.” (The Atatürk Society of Canada 2016)

Çarmikli (2011) furthers this definition in his research on secularism in Kemalist discourse,

“The Kemalist understanding of secularism is not only a separation between state and religion, but also a subordination of religion that defines Islam as, ultimately, an affair of the state. In this sense religion is secondary to the aims of the state that seeks to orientate social life around the rationalist principles of ‘public administration’ using science and technology as its guiding tools.”

(Çarmikli,2011: 140-141)

Atatürk was a staunch believer that Islam should be a personal conviction and that it should not play a part in the public administration of the state. It was important to him to institutionalize secularism as a way of rejecting the role Islam had played in public affairs during the Ottoman period (Zürcher 2005). This rejection of Ottomanism became the dominant discourse amongst the Kemalist elite. According to them, the religious figures of the Ottoman Empire were to blame for the stagnation of Turkish society. The characterization of the Islamic clergy as 'forces of darkness' became a common theme in literature (Zürcher 2005). An example of this was Yakup Kadri's 1922 *Nur Baba* ('Father Light') (Zürcher 2005). Mustafa Kemal believed secularism was the key to modernism, a society open to rationality

and science could take the Turkish nation into the contemporary world (Zürcher 2005).

The institutionalization of secularism was a gradual process in the formation of the Turkish Republic. Mustafa Kemal first pledged to form a secular republic in 1919 at the start of the War of Independence (Mango 2000). In 1928 Islam would cease to be the official religion of the state. In 1937 secularism was codified into the second article of the Constitution (Çarmikli 2011). It was illegal for any government to alter this section of the Constitution. Codifying secularism into a normative political institution was only the formative stage of the Kemalist secular project (Çarmikli 2011). True societal transformation was their aim and this could only be achieved through educating the public.

*“The only true spiritual guide in life is science.”* (Zürcher 2005: 389) This quote by Atatürk illuminates his staunch belief in logical positivism. Mustafa Kemal had received a French secularist education himself at military college. In fact, 27 out of 37 Kemalist leaders were also graduates of these military colleges which had been modelled on the French grandes écoles system (Zürcher 2005). At military college, Mustafa Kemal and his peers studied nineteenth century French positivism and German materialism (Zürcher 2005). These concepts would then have a profound impact on their pedagogical philosophy: “The belief in science brought with it an equally



strong belief in education as a gateway to development and modernization.”  
(Zürcher 2005: 390)

Kemalist leaders were elevated in public life as the 'enlightened ones' (*münevver/ aydın*) and as model citizens to follow the footsteps of (Zürcher 2005). Mustafa Kemal took centre stage and was repeatedly depicted as the all-knowing teacher of the nation. This metaphor was translated into symbols and imagery expounded through statues, photos and paintings of Mustafa Kemal in the role of a teacher (Zürcher 2005).

It was important to the elite to ensure that the quality education they had received would be available to the Turkish masses. The Ministry of Education would undertake this task (İnal 2015). The Ministry of Education became one of the most important mechanisms of the modernization of the state in this period. They pushed for a secular education that would unshackle the masses and create empowered citizens:

“For the Republican cadres, a populist/peasant based educational philosophy, mixed with a version of positivism and elitism, produced and controlled by the elite class; and a practical education approach, aimed at training the “citizen” against the conception of “servant” (*kul*) of the Ottoman Emperor, would, with the help of enlightened teachers’ hard work, modernise Turkey.”

(İnal 2015: 32)

To facilitate the education of the masses the Ministry employed several reforms. Religious schools were closed by the Ministry and a new secular curriculum took the place of the Quran (Foss 2014). Similar reforms were

applied to higher education. Istanbul Darülfünun, a religious university in the Ottoman period, became Istanbul University in 1933 (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). The *mülkiye* was also reformed and moved to Ankara, thereby becoming the University of Ankara (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010).

From the Kemalist perspective religion was to blame for the lack of progress and development in the Ottoman period. Influenced by European positivism, they wished to employ a contemporary pedagogic vision for society with solid foundations in science, knowledge and education. The precondition of this would be the removal of religion from matters of public life and administration. These inroads towards secularism in the political process were in-sufficient to modernize the entirety of Turkish society. To secure the empowerment of all citizens, it was deemed necessary to revolutionize the education system and put secularism at the centre of the curriculum.

#### *Etatism/ Statism (devletçilik)*

*“There can be no political independence without economic independence and ... national sovereignty should be supported by financial sovereignty.”*

-Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

(Cited in Takim & Yilmaz 2010: 551)

Development, one of the *AKP*'s key tenets, was a central characteristic of the 'Turkish Model' through neoliberalism and urban expansion. Nonetheless, it was not always this way, as Atatürkism envisaged the state as the main resource extractor and user within the economy. This is known as 'statism'. The term 'statism' infiltrated Kemalist discourse in the 1930s in reference to the 'leading role the state should take in initiating development projects' (Park 2012).

Conservative supporters of this 'arrow' saw it as a fixed ideology. In the opinion of the conservatives, the state should be in control of economic development and industrialization (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). Like many of the developmentalist states of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, imagery and metaphors for socio-economic improvement and modernity became prominent in public life. These included smokestacks, railways, dams and tractors (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010).

The committee that Mustafa Kemal tasked with reforming the economy would meet regularly in a train carriage at Ankara Rail Station to discuss policy formation. This committee, headed by Ziya Gökalp, reorganized the structure of the economy:

“This structure featured authoritarian management with an economic infrastructure based mainly on agriculture, where commerce and industry were almost completely dominated by the Europeans.”

(Takim & Yilmaz 2010: 549)

An important influence on the 'statist' model was President Roosevelt. The US 'New Deal' had popularized Keynesian economic development after the Great Depression (Park 2012). Another important influence at the time was the Soviet Union who at this point was undergoing rapid industrialization (Takim & Yilmaz 2010). Soviet experts advised the İnönü administration on a 5-year development plan to encourage self-sustaining growth (Takim & Yilmaz 2010). Mustafa İsmet İnönü, more so than Mustafa Kemal, would make this economic model the foundation of state-business relations in the Republic during the 1940s. Some notable achievements of İnönü included the creation of new towns and town centres buzzing with cafes, tearooms, clubs and theatres (Zürcher 2005). Nevertheless, this was perhaps the least stringent and durable of the 'arrows'. The economic policy of the Turkish Republic evolved to a more liberal model in later years.

One reason for this was that for more liberal Kemalists statism was deemed as a necessary short-term measure in order to kick-start economic growth and put the economy back on track. The new republic had inherited the debts of the Ottoman Empire and desperate measures were needed to spur economic growth (Takim and Yilmaz 2010). Once the economy was growing again, the role of the state in the economic sphere would be reduced (Park,

2012). During the 1950s, the framing of the 'West' altered from being solely about Europe to encompass the US (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). The new American model of capitalism and free-market development that came to life under the Truman administration became increasingly popular in Turkey (Guvenc-Salgirli 2010). Private entrepreneurship boomed in Turkey during the 1950s.

The least ideologically stringent of the 'arrows', statism was a permeable metaphor for economic development. An evolving concept, whose normative articulation was an economic tool rather than the foundation of the state, the priority of policymakers such as Gökbalp was to lift the new Republic out of the economic despair that had been a consequence of the loss of Ottoman territory. Influenced by a multitude of international actors, the Turkish economy was rapidly restructured. Despite Mustafa Kemal and İnönü's conservatism when it came to statism, the economy of the First Republic would experience an injection of international investment and a more liberalized economy the 1950s.

#### *Reformism/ Revolutionism (devrimcilik/ inkılâpçılık)*

*“Man as an individual is condemned to death. To work, not for oneself but for those who will come after, is the first condition of happiness.... Each person has his own preferences. Some people like gardening*

*and growing flowers. Others prefer to train men. Does the man who grows flowers expect anything from them? He who trains men ought to work like the man who grows flowers."*

-Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

(Cited in Karpas 1985: 899)

The 'arrow' of Reformism/Revolutionism was the concept that rapid, drastic social change and cultural transformation was a necessity to drive Turkey into the league of modern nations. In the opinion of the Republicans, the Ottoman era had represented a dark-age in the history of the Turkish nation. Mustafa Kemal had vowed to bring about a 'new country, a new society, (*and*) a new State.' (Ataöv 1980: 31) Mustafa Kemal was quoted explaining his programme for this:

"Our country will become out and-out modern, civilized and new ... The masses want to be prosperous, free and affluent ... The nation has decided to adopt, thoroughly and in the same form and essence, the life and the means which contemporaneous civilization has assured to all nations. The nation is determined not to permit centuries-old varieties of he and fraud to retard, for a moment, its efforts in the sphere of innovation and reform ... We cannot live within an orbit, shut off from the rest of the world. For nations, which persist in conserving certain traditions and beliefs which cannot stand the test of reason, it is not only difficult, but also impossible, to progress."

(Ataöv 1980: 32)

For the Kemalist elite, cultural modernity was a metaphor for the fashion and tastes of the European ruling class (Zürcher 2005). A dress code based on European fashion had been promulgated in 1926 (Foss 2014). The *fez* was banned. Mustafa Kemal himself began to adopt European dress. The Turkish public were encouraged to keep dogs and cats as pets this had become a popular cultural practice in Western Europe (Zürcher 2005). Horse racing became a popular sport and Ankara's high-society would regularly socialize at the races, a symbol of prestige reflecting events such as Britain's Ascot (Zürcher 2005). Symbols and metaphors for modernism continued to be infiltrated into the daily life of the Republic, with the hope of fostering a modern society in mimicry of the West.

The rapid social change that occurred during this period was not solely symbolic. The Republicans also enforced normative measures that they trusted would create a more efficient society. The Islamic calendar had been the norm during the Ottoman period. The Gregorian calendar was adopted to align the State's temporality with the European standard (Foss 2014). Perhaps one of the most notable achievements of the Kemalists at the time was the eradication of malaria (Zürcher 2005). The concept of 'public health' had begun to guide discussions on social policy.

To the Kemalist elite, the Kemalist revolution was a social mechanism for the progression and betterment of the human condition of the Turkish public. The Ottoman Caliphate had stagnated the progress of the Turkish people. Drastic

and enforced rapid change would be a necessity to lift the Turkish nation out of subalternism and into the West. These measures could only be achieved through vertical social policy formation.

*The Legacy of Mustafa İsmet İnönü, 24 September 1884-25 December 1973 and the Increasingly Fortifying State*

*“My defeat was my greatest victory.”*

-İsmet İnönü

(Cited in Kayaoğlu, 2009)

Dominant discourse in Turkey regards Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the founder of the Turkish nation-state. Featured less in the symbols and imagery of the Republic is Mustafa İsmet İnönü. If Kemal Atatürk was the pioneer of Kemalism, it is only fair to herald İsmet İnönü as the consolidator of Kemalism. İsmet İnönü became president of the Turkish Republic until the introduction of multi-party democracy in 1950.

İsmet İnönü accelerated the Kemalist reform process. The onset of the Cold War opened space for those who had felt marginalized by Kemalism to resist. İnönü, worried that the Kemalist revolution would be compromised, enforced a crack-down on opposition and administered a police state. İnönü's



incumbency resulted in the development of a political system, “separate from society, fostering politics and society as two separate entities linked by the political domination of experts, career politicians, and the military.” (VanderLippe 2012)

Notwithstanding these changes there were key moments where Inonu expressed his will to encompass minorities. He was quoted as saying at Lausanne, “the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is the Government of the Kurds just as much as the Government of the Turks.” (Hale 2012). A combination of domestic and international factors led to İnönü eventually opening up the political process in 1945. İnönü, very much wanting to align with the West in the Cold War environment, was under increasing pressure to disband the one-party police state administration and replace it with a more liberal democratic state (Hale 2012). In 1945, İnönü disassembled the single-party political framework and legalized the formation of opposition parties. Adnan Menderes and Celâl Bayar, ex People's party members disillusioned with the growing authoritarian nature of the state, founded the *DP* that same year (Hale 2012). 1950 would see a key milestone in Turkey's democratization process. Multi-party free and fair elections were held for the first time with universal suffrage, and the *DP* came into government under Adnan Menderes (Hale 2012).

Yet, the achievements of İnönü at widening the political system were short-lived as during the 1950's the state became increasingly fortifying. As Hall

(1999) explains, the level of democracy within a state does not always impact whether it will become increasingly blocking or not. Despite the opening up of the democratic process and an increase in religious rights in the early 1950s, as *DP* rule became more consolidated, repression grew during the late 1950s.

Rustow (1991) describes the tools used by the Democratic Party government to quash opposition activity such as instigating rioting at opposition rallies and meetings, then suppressing those rallies and meetings through brutal military and police force. On 27 May 1960, the military took a stand against being used as a political tool by Menderes, and launched a coup<sup>32</sup>. They arrested Menderes and other leading party members. He was accused of violating the constitution, corruption, and violent repression, including the Istanbul pogroms<sup>33</sup>. The military then ruled the country for a year and a half through a junta, the National Unity Committee. The *DP* was banned, and Adnan Menderes was executed by the junta on 17 September 1961 (Rustow 1991). A new constitution was formed, and a new electoral system using proportional representation was put in place. Under military tutelage, elections under the new constitution were held in October 1961. There was

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<sup>32</sup> This period saw increasing political intervention from the military, with three coups -1960-61, 1971-73 and a final coup in 1980-1983. Nevertheless, the military justified the coups as a way of restoring the democratic process, and each time they returned to the barracks leaving the political process in the hands of civilians. The actions of the military during this time have been described as 'military tutelage' or 'guided democracy'.

<sup>33</sup> The Istanbul Pogroms were mass racist riots and the ethnic cleansing of Greeks from the city.

no clear majority, however, the newly- formed Justice Party (formed as a call for justice by Menderes' and Democrat supporters) did extremely well. Turkey saw a variety of unstable coalition governments during the 1960s, up until 1965 and 1969 when the Justice Party, under the leadership of Suleyman Demirel, managed to gain a parliamentary majority (Rustow 1991).

The 1970s in Turkey were characterized by an increase in terrorism and extremism, and violent street battles between right and left extremists. In 1971, the military concerned with the volatile security situation in the country, launched another coup and imposed martial law. The military formed a new multiparty cabinet, and gradually law and order was restored to the Republic. In 1973, an election was held, democracy was restored and the military returned to the barracks (Rustow 1999). The rest of 1970s, like the 1960s, saw the onset of a number of weak coalition governments, as both the *CHP* and *DP* failed to secure majorities. Some of the coalition governments that were formed encompassed extreme parties such as the Islamist National Salvation Party of Necmettin Erbakan and the ultra-right Nationalist Action Party of Alparslan Turkes. Governance was characterized by minority cabinets, which failed to secure parliamentary votes of confidence (Rustow 1991).

Rustow (1991) explains the late 1970s saw a, "prolonged vacuum at the center of government...filled by mounting waves of violence and terrorism of Right and Left that dwarfed the outbreaks of the early 1970s and, by mid-

1980, claimed as many as 20 to 30 lives every day.” The Cold War decades represented the increased fortifying political reproduction of the Turkish state.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

The formation of the Turkish Republic represented the radical historic fission of the Ottoman Empire’s expansive polity. As Ferguson and Mansbach (1996) explain, the more expansive a polity’s territory, the more difficult it is to unite and control diverse communities and geographies. The Kemalist ‘arrows’ restructured the social and political body of the remnants of the Ottoman Empire into a fortified modern nation-state, protected by sovereign acceptance of European peer polities and a heavily controlled society by capstone institutions and a uniform racist secular political culture.

This chapter has unearthed key themes that build a picture of the fixed variables of the double-security dilemma that every Turkish leader has faced, such as the trans-historical nature of Turkish hybridity and ‘Europeanness’, the role of geo-strategic *realpolitik* in the formation of Turkey’s nationalist discourse, and ‘othering’ as a discursive strategy of ‘Turkishness’. All these issues were crucial factors that the *AKP* had to mitigate to come to and maintain authority, as will be examined in the next chapter.

Driving the Turkish nation-building process has been a multitude of horizontal and vertical factors. On the horizontal level, international alliances have been

crucial in influencing, validating and consolidating the Turkish nation state. Also, the transnationalism of discursive concepts such as modernism, secularism, nationalism and democracy provided the nation-state with an ideological mandate for its normative parameters. As the modern international system became institutionalized through mechanisms such as transnational organizations and transnational militarism, this in-turn reinforced and standardized the Turkish Republic's legitimacy and validity as Westphalian.

On the vertical level, significant actors such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Mustafa İsmet İnönü and Ziya Gökalp played a multifaceted role in ideology formation and social innovation. Their contributions to the emergence of the *AKP*'s 'Turkish Model' cannot be overstated. The role of individual actors who had internalized European modernism and nationalism and were determined to expound their deep-set beliefs into social policy was a decisive factor in the success of the Turkish nation-state's formation.

The Kemalist normative structures of the Turkish Republic have stood the test of time and are the *raison d'être* of the 'Turkish model'. Yet, the 'Turkish Model' has evolved since the First Republic to contain the binaries of Islam and modernity and encompass a form of consent amongst rural Anatolia and across the Muslim world that Kemalism just could not. The harmony of these binaries are the key determinants of the 'Turkish model's' success as will be demonstrated in the next two analytical chapters.

## **Chapter Five: Vertical Alliance-building Political Reproduction in Turkey: The Turkish State Polity under the *AKP*'s Mounting Authority**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter will focus on the structures and functions of the political system that posed vertical obstacles to the *AKP* regime over issues, resources and loyalties during the party's advancement into government. This chapter argues that the *AKP* formed and maintained an alliance-building model of political reproduction through an Islamic neoliberal pattern of authority to consolidate their power. To understand how this operated, it is important to analyse both the functional dimension of sovereignty and the constitutive. Here the vertical dimensions of the 2002-2011 period within Turkish politics and society are examined to analyse how the *AKP* sustained its authority through penetrating society and opening the political system. Alliance-building whilst maintaining power is usually done through expanding a power base and creating vested interests amongst a wide range of identities under the guise of establishing a 'liberal peace' within society, as (Hall 1999) has stated occurred in democratic consolidation of the penetrative states of Western Europe.

This chapter will be divided into three sections. Each section analyses the alliance-building mode of political reproduction that ensured the *AKP*'s authority within a part of the political system. Section 5.2, '*The Post-Islamists*

*and Power*', focuses on the emergence of the *AKP* to power. The political context in which their tenants of neoliberalism, modernity and political Islam surfaced will be explored. This will be followed by an analysis of how they competed for political authority with other political parties and the established elite. Section 5.3, '*Political Authority and Development*', explains the political programme of socio-economic development that the *AKP* undertook which created a multitude of new stakeholders, altering the face of modern Turkey. Section 5.4, '*Executive Power and Lawfulness*', examines how through their alliances, the *AKP* consolidated executive power and became synonymous with the regime in addition to the impact of this on liberation campaigns and minority rights. Thus, chapter 5, will build a full picture of the transition of the Turkish political system under the authority of the *AKP* which would become 'The Turkish Model'.

## **5.2 The Ascent of the Post-Islamists and their Formation into a Power Bloc**

To comprehend the political reproduction undertaken by the Turkish state from 2002 to 2011, the transformation of the state and political society must be placed in a historical context. Therefore, the starting point of analysis in this chapter is the 1970s when Turkish political society began to change, and new blocs were formed as a counter-revolutionary reaction to both the 1968 leftist uprisings in Turkey and the 1979 Iranian Islamic revolution. As

explained below, the Islamic and neoliberal political blocs evolved as a reaction to these currents throughout the later decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They eventually became one new Islamic neoliberal power bloc at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; culminating in the nesting of the power bloc into the state apparatus through the early alliance-building governance of the *AKP*.

Turkish Islamism's<sup>34</sup> advent as an organized political polity took place with the 1970 founding of the National Order Party (*Millî Nizam Partisi, MNP*) by Necmettin Erbakan. Erbakan had authored the National View (*Millî Görüş*)<sup>35</sup> manifesto in 1969 which advocated for religious education and economic development (Yilmaz 2012). The National View manifesto turned into the National View mass movement as the manifesto had resonated with small enterprise owners, peasant farmers and artisans who had been marginalized by the fortifying Kemalist regime (Tuğal 2013). Therefore, this section of society could identify with the National View as they had an aversion to

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<sup>34</sup> Turkish Islamism was a top down Islamisation of society by the state and the military. Known as the Turkish-Islamic synthesis, it was an effort to block the spread of socialism and other leftist thought into Turkey through penetrating society with Islam. Some policies included compulsory religious education at the primary stage and community-based Quran classes. The philosophy of Islam taught was a combination of Turkish nationalism, Hanefi Islam and Ottomanism drawn from the *Aydınlar Ocağı* (Intellectuals Hearth) school of thought. This legitimized the authority of the new rulers, fortified the polity from Islamic ideas from the Arab region and Iran, and weakened the ideological prowess of the left all deemed as a security threat to the stability of Turkey (Yilmaz 2012).

<sup>35</sup> Throughout the 1970's the National View movement's political parties and organizations were regularly shut down by Kemalist secular governments. Therefore, once the National Order Party was shut down, the movement formed another political party named the National Salvation Party, (*Millî Selâmet Partisi, MSP*).



Western consumer culture and were the losers of the import-substitution economy.

Due to the restraints on religious political activism within the secular republic, the Islamists realised they needed to look to socialization to shape political society. Thus, the National View began publishing on Sharia principles and opening Imam Hatip schools (religious schools aimed at the education of preachers). These attracted religious families dissatisfied with secular public education (Yilmaz 2012). The graduates of these schools became the first socially mobile religious class within Turkey and came to “occupy important public positions, constituting a religious middle class, capable of competing with the secular elite, a new ‘Muslim intelligentsia’” (Tuğal 2013: 115).

Turkey’s Islamists, despite being unable to gain governing power in the 1970s, became a formidable political force. Political entrepreneurship and smart socialization had ensured the loyalty of a large segment of Turkish society that felt that they had had no stake in the secular capstone system. The 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran lent the National View a renewed confidence that a “new society away from Western modernity...(could) be constructed through the apparatus of the state.” (Dagi, 2013: 75)

During the 1970s, Turkey had become embedded in a proxy civil Cold War conflict between right and left, resulting in the September 12, 1980 military coup. This was because the civilian government led by Suleyman Demirel

had been incapable of preventing the factional violence. The military, therefore, decided to intervene, dissolving parliament and suspending the constitution. The country was put under military rule, and they implemented new security measures to halt the wave of violence; this included a ban on all political parties (Kösebalaban 2011). The military crackdown and ban on political parties diminished the mobilization capacity of the left whose increasing power and support from the Soviet Union posed a revolutionary threat and enforced more state-control over the terrorist activity of the extreme-right. The metropolitan youth of the lower classes inspired by the 1979 Islamic revolution of Iran and attracted to the National View's faith-based welfare initiatives began to look to Islamic revolutionary politics in the place of leftist politics (Tuğal, 2013). The 1980's would see the Islamist project undertaking more 'sustained interactions with civil society and the state'; this development of Islamism within political society resulted in its ability to transpose and better determine the fate of the Turkish republic (Tuğal 2016: 117).

This was where the first cracks in the fortifying Kemalist regime emerged and began opening up to Islamic politics and nesting them into the Turkish state. This encapsulation by the regime co-opted the Islamists into the political system, appeasing the potential threat they posed to state power, something that the Shah's Iran had been unable to do. Dinc (2005: 299) explains how this new alliance between Islam and the state was a typical method of

appeasement by secular regimes in majority Muslim nations: “The Turkish case supported the view that in many Muslim countries the relatively secular state elite helped the rise of Islamism by promoting a moderate version of Islam.”

This new alliance between the secular state and Turkey’s Islamists became entrenched in the 1982 constitution. Despite rejecting pluralism, the independence of civil society and legitimizing the role of the military in civilian affairs; the junta authored constitution redefined “Turkishness” with reference to Islam (Miller et al. 2012). This was to the great detriment of Kurdish, Christian, leftist and workers organizations; but Islamic organizations such as the Gülen Community<sup>36</sup> and other post-Sufi and semi-clandestine groups flourished. The Islamic vote steadily increased until the mid-1990s, mainly due to the increasing absorption of Islamic ideology by the state who in turn controlled its penetration into society (Tuğal 2013).

As for the National View movement, Erbakan oversaw the founding of the Islamist Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi, RP*) once civilian rule had returned in

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<sup>36</sup> The Gülen movement is a religious social movement with a vast transnational network of educational, business, media and lobbying organizations. It was founded and is led by Fethullah Gülen, an Islamic preacher in self-exile in Pennsylvania, USA. Aras and Caha (2000) note that the values of the movement are based upon a moderate Turkish Islam with both Sufi and Ottoman influences. Gülen’s goals are “simultaneously to Islamize the Turkish nationalist ideology and to Turkify Islam...[hoping] to re-establish the link between religion and state that existed in the Ottoman era.”(Aras and Caha, 2000:32) The soft power reach of the Gülen movement is vast, with an estimated international membership of 4 million including media outlets (for example the English language Today’s Zaman), schools, universities and business supporters across the globe.

1983. Their popular slogan was being the *hak* (truth and virtues) amongst the *batil* (corrupt) (Dagi 2013: 80). This meant to have a Godly anti-corruption message against the political establishment who at the time were rampant with venality which the Islamists attributed to the lure of Western materialism. The 1991 general elections represented the first alliance-building behaviour of the once insular Islamists, and the *RP* made an alliance with two other right-wing nationalist parties. *RP*'s electioneering focused on social issues rather than sticking to the religiosity of their past. Erbakan's discourse was critical of the West and Israel, but at the same time, was pluralistic in the domestic Islamic sense, where his terminology highlighted the shared history of all Muslim stake-holders in Turkish society, including that of the Muslim Kurdish minority (Hale 2012). The *RP* wanted to expand their power base to the metropolitan poor through messages of anti-Imperialism, anti-austerity, redistribution and social protection. This strategy worked, and they became the largest party in 1996 (Hale 2012).

At this point the *RP* and most of Turkey's Islamists were anti-European. The Europeanisation process had started in 1995 when the then prime minister Tansu Çiller signed a Customs Union agreement with the EU with the hope of Turkey becoming a full member in the near future. This led to a free-trade area between Turkey and EU member states, where goods would be exchanged tax-free (Hale 2012). However, these economic incentives failed to bring about an immediate transformation to Turkey's political and

economic situation. Yet the Customs Union did still enable Turkish industry to adapt itself to the demands of a globalized economy. Turkey's full membership goals were continually quashed by the EU up until 1998, when the German parliamentary elections saw the end of anti-Turkish Christian Democrat rule. In 1999, Turkey attained EU candidate country status, at the Helsinki summit (Hale 2012).

Aside from the anti-EU/marketisation stance, the rise in support for the *RP* must be understood in the context of the Bosnia War and the Chechen conflict in Russia. Both were matters of grave concern to the Turkish public (Kösebalaban 2011). It was perhaps this shared Islamic grievance that kept the Islamists united during this period. Divisions had started to emerge within the *RP* between Erbakan's followers and the younger activists who were gaining influence in their localities. The economic reforms as part of the EU accession process sparked the growth of an emerging middle class within Islamic conservative rural Anatolia. This new middle class included and was energized by the *RP*'s young and upcoming cadre who were more economically savvy than their party elders. Significant members included Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül, Bulent Arinc and Abdulatif Sener (Kösebalaban 2011).

Erdoğan's inclusionary political strategy as party branch chairman in Istanbul was particularly popular with a wide range of residents. In March 1994 he won the mayoral election with the political slogan of "Just Order". This was a

double reference to the “Divine Order” and a just distribution of wealth (Dagi 2013). The RP managed to change the face of Istanbul through the policy implementation of Erdoğan<sup>37</sup>. Two policy initiatives that the RP had failed to implement in Istanbul were the reconversion of the Hagia Sophia into a mosque and the building of a mosque in Taksim Square. Although, these initiatives would re-emerge after 2011 when the Islamists gained increased power (Tuğal 2013: 118).

Despite these successes, the Islamist project faced a major setback in 1997. The Islamist polity had become too powerful for the Kemalist regime and the secular state institutions retreated to their blocking behaviour. The power and loyalty generated by the Islamists was not enough to translate into the state apparatus at this stage, deemed as a vertical threat to the institutional makeup of the still very Kemalist regime, the National Security Council reinforced their authority and launched a ‘post-modern’ coup against the *RP* (Çağlar 2012).

Unlike the coups of the past, the military tried to co-opt its ‘security’ agenda through building a broad consensus against *RP* governance. Elements of the judiciary, civil service, academia, labour organizations and the media joined

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<sup>37</sup> The Islamist policy initiatives employed included increased controls on the sale of alcohol, the institution of prayer rooms in municipal buildings and swathes of Islamic and Ottoman symbols and heritage restoration within public places, including the mass planting of tulip flowers in green and tourist spaces. Tulip flowers had been important Ottoman symbols.

the military in their call for the resignation of the Erbakan government (Çağlar 2012). The National Security Council met on February 28 and agreed to impose sanctions on the Erbakan government if it failed to instigate measures to mitigate a rise in 'reactionary danger' within political society. Erbakan continued with political business as normal, to demonstrate political stability to the public. There was no physical confrontation between the army and the government, but under the pressure the *RP* resigned before the end of the year (Howe 2000).

The military repression was felt on both a national and local level and Erdoğan was deposed as Mayor and sentenced to jail for four months. *Hurriyet* (1999) reported that Erdoğan was convicted of 'inciting hatred based on religious difference' due to his public recital of a poem by Ziya Gökalp in Siirt. Erdoğan had stated,

"Our minarets are our bayonet., Our domes are our helmets. Our mosques are our barracks. We will put a final end to ethnic segregation. No one can ever intimidate us."

"If the skies and the ground were to open against us. If floods and volcanoes were to burst, We will not turn from our mission. My reference is Islam. If I am not able to speak of this, what is the use of living?"

(Aslaneli 1999)

These words were significant as it had been extremely rare for a public official to challenge the secular status quo. Erdoğan's use of Islamic metaphors were deemed as unpatriotic and a threat to the secular Kemalist

foundations of the Republic. The court decision was unpopular, and tens of thousands of protesters rallied against it. Before his jail term, Erdoğan addressed his supporters with a powerful message<sup>38</sup>,

"I am not saying goodbye. This is just a pause. We will continue to work on the projects we have worked on together in the past. The notes that will follow will bring Turkey peace, love, brotherhood and will continue to unite your love."

(Aslaneli 1999)

On the national level, in 1998 the *RP* had been officially banned and Erbakan took a complaint about the closure decision unsuccessfully to Court of the European Human Rights. This was a significant moment in Islamist history, as it was the first time they looked to Western liberalism to defend their rights. Dagi (2013: 88) states that this was an attempt by the Islamists to form "new allies outside Islamist circles at home and abroad" in the hope of reducing the power of the National Security Council and military. The National View movement replaced the anti-globalization *RP* and reemerged with the more organic Virtue Party (*Fazilet Partisi, FP*). Dagi (2013) elaborates that this was an important historical moment for the Islamists, learning the fragility of their political power, they transformed from more blocking Islamist polity reproduction to a more alliance-building post-Islamist polity reproduction. The *FP* abandoned the Islamist politics of the National

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<sup>38</sup> This powerful message is an early example of Erdoğan's charismatic ability as an orator, using language that the masses could relate to, and continually referring to Islamic brotherhood in the context of a Turkish shared identity.



View, the notion of 'Just Order', and focused on democratization and EU accession.

The 'National View' Islamists had learnt that classical Islamic doctrine could not be institutionalized into modern Westphalian state institutions. In order to penetrate them, it would have to reinvent itself with a qualitative shift (Bayat 2013). The loyalties of the Islamist supporters were shifting too, over the years Muslim response to politics altered under the influence of globalization, marketisation, the spread of the internet and the growth of educated elites (Dagi 2013). Bayat (2013: 8) explains that "following a phase of experimentation, the appeal, energy and sources of legitimacy of Islamism were exhausted even amongst its once ardent supporters." Therefore, the upcoming Islamist cadre, the young educated elite, began trying to change the movement from within for the modern era. They attempted to merge religious discourse with human rights discourse, the practice of faith as a practice of freedom and liberty and promote pluralistic ideals rather than the singular authoritative voice of past Islamic revolutions. The key ontological shift they underwent was to understand the practice of religion as individual choice rather than religion as collective responsibility (Bayat 2013).

This did create an internal conflict between the older generation of 'National View' Islamists and the new more moderate post-Islamists. The Islamist generation who had become active in the 1980s, inspired by the 1979 Islamic revolution, wanted to build a new Turkey beyond the chains of Western

modernism (Bayat 2013). The post-Islamist modernizers, who now represented a majority, pushed for a political strategy that utilized democracy “within a new language that enables building coalitions with different political and social groups” (Dagi 2013: 72). At this point, after the lessons of the February 28<sup>th</sup> coup, Islamic social institutions and business groups had lost their trust in the Islamist movement and began to withdraw their support and capital as they no longer saw the movement as capable of ensuring their security (Tuğal 2016). This gave the modernizers the backing they needed to make a positive change once and for all.

At party congress, the moderates from the *FP* launched a leadership bid against the traditionalists. Gül launched a challenge against the Erbakan-backed Recai Kutan. Gül’s bid was unsuccessful, and in 2001 the *FP* was closed by the Constitutional Court for threatening the secular character of the state (Dagei 2013). The movement split in two, the old guard Islamists retreated back into the National View and formed the Felicity Party (*Saadet Partisi, SP*). The new guard modernist post-Islamists formed the *AKP* under the leadership of Gül as Erdoğan was banned from office at this point due to his prior conviction (Dagi 2013).

To understand how the post-Islamists penetrated the Kemalist state, it is important to grasp the basis of the new guard’s political ideology. The early political thought and ideas of the *AKP* were a combination of Turkish conservatism, conservative democracy, neoliberalism, and post-Islamism

with strong Hanefi undertones. This was a split from the Islamist thinking of the 70s and 80s which had been inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) Sayyid Qutb, the shar'ia state advocate Syed Abul A'la Maududi and liberation Islamist Ali Shariati Mazinani (Tuğal 2016). Turkish post-Islamist thought which can be read in the old 1990s pro-Islamist publications of *Conservative Democracy*, *Yeni Safak*, *Vakit* and the later *Akit*, was inspired by reformist Abdolkarim Soroush and Mohammed Abed Al Jabri (Tuğal 2016). Soroush was paraphrased regularly in *Conservative Democracy*, for example:

“Human rights have to be defined as independent from religion...Pluralism has to be accepted...Religion and religious interpretation and understanding are different. Religion is one, religious understanding is not. The acceptance of this opens the door to pluralism...Religion has recognized the freedom to reject religion.”

Akdoğan paraphrasing Soroush, (Tuğal 2016: 85-86)

This quote explains the post-Islamist digression from Islamism, the Islamism of the past rejected pluralism, Westphalia human rights discourse and secular government. In contrary, post-Islamism framed the freedom of religion and religious practice as a universal human right. At the core of post-Islamist thought was the idea to emancipate and serve the people and in turn this would be a service to God. In order to do this, it was necessary for them to accept modernization and partial Westernization (Tuğal 2016). Turkish conservatism provided a specific framework for doing this, through democracy. The post-Islamists campaigned for an end to the Westernised

elite and military tutelage of the past. They believed democracy was the way to empower and emancipate the masses who they felt adhered to 'true' Islamic values. Then again, this created suspicions of collaboration of minorities with the elitists, such as Alevis and Christians (Tuğal 2013). This was because still at the core of mainstream Turkish post-Islamist thought was Hanefi Islam. The modern institution of the nation state was framed as a valid tool of governance for the time being, until the Ummah would unite (Dinc 2005). Dinc (2005: 317) explains that the *AKP*,

“constitutes in one sense a retreat of the Islamists, this time in a leading role, into the fold of the conservatism of the centre-right which is more amorphous, more acceptable by the regime and hence less open to the attack of the forces of secularism.”

Summed up by Erdoğan, the *AKP* sought:

“a modernity that does not exclude tradition, a universality that accepts locality (native values), a rationality that does not reject the meaning, a change which is not radical.”

(Dinc 2005 317)

Aside from ideologically, the *AKP* differed from their predecessors due to their professionalism, media savvy and pro-business agenda. As explained by Cihan Tuğal in the *New Left Review*,

“They were also vociferously pro-European. They made frequent trips to the United States, holding meetings whose agendas have remained private. Gül helpfully explained to an American audience that the *AKP* were ‘the WASP (white Anglo-Saxon protestant’s) of Turkey’. It was clear that the new leadership was trying to reclaim the territory of the centre-right in Turkish politics—in effect, to reconstitute an updated version of that alliance of provincial businessmen, religious intellectuals and state elite at which the subordinate fraction of the ruling power bloc had traditionally aimed,

but which had become impossible with the rise of a radical Islamism. Now, this alliance could also offer to strengthen the hand of the neo-liberal and export-oriented sectors of Turkish capital. Large numbers of center-right politicians, intellectuals and supporters soon swelled its ranks.”

(Tuğal 2007: Online)

This pro-European pro-US stance can also be evidenced in the *AKP*'s 2002 manifesto, *Herşey TÜRKİYE için* or 'Everything For Turkey' where it is stated:

“Turkey should maintain the geographical and historical aspects of its close relationships with Europe. Maintaining its relations with European countries should be top of Turkey's foreign policy agenda. Turkey's relations with the European Union and continuing Turkey's European Union' accession commitments conditions will be met with preoccupation with artificial problems.

Turkey and NATO will continue to work in parallel, in addition, the European Security and Conservation Initiative created under the new European Defence Strategy will also continue.”

(Yıl and Dmbş, 2002: 92, translated by author)

The fast rise of the *AKP* sent shock waves through Turkish political society. The post-Islamists astute political strategy meant that political alliances and blocs that had almost become consolidated within the Kemalist political system began to shift. As Islamic neoliberalism penetrated political society, it eventually altered the political system. Key to the modification of political society was the rise in consumerism as a uniting force that both the pious and secular masses had a stake in (Tuğal 2016). Unlike the anti-materialist 'National View' the *AKP* embraced consumerism. Also, dissimilar to the 'National View' the *AKP* had incorporated rather than blocked the ruling secular elite. Rather than dethroning them and trying to block their power, they allied with the centre-right and conservatives and convinced them their

moderate religiosity was the end to the 'Islamist' threat (De Leon, Desai, and Tuğal 2009).

This led many liberal politicians and intellectuals to support the *AKP*, they identified with their democratic message and were disenchanted by the coups of the past. The *AKP* had built a cross societal power base that gave it an election victory in November 2002 with 34.28%<sup>39</sup> of the vote (De Leon, Desai and Tuğal 2009). This reshuffling of the Islamic political strategy from a blocking to a more alliance-building strategy, "led to the formation of the most hegemonic bloc in Turkish history. The top academics, the most revered public intellectuals, many activists and a large proportion of the popular classes had become one with the regime, even if they attributed contrasting meanings to their adherence." (Tuğal 2016: 94)

The *AKP* continued to out-compete other vriers for political authority over the Turkish state apparatus. This was for two reasons, firstly as Hall (1999) has explained, the more embedded a state polity becomes in the international economy, the more alliance-building it will become in order to encourage international investment and free flows of capital. In turn, the more alliance-building a state polity becomes, the more power it is able to wield as it actively opens the political system to layers of other polities who will thereby

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<sup>39</sup> The 2002 general election in Turkey produced a two-party parliament, with only the *AKP* and the *CHP* able to pass the 10% parliamentary threshold. The *CHP* secured 19.39% becoming the main opposition.

have a stake in maintaining the status quo. The *AKP* were also able to mitigate the grievances of the lower strata as inequality grew, through politically targeted welfare initiatives. These welfare initiatives meant that the *AKP* were able to maintain their consensual contract with the vast majority of the lower strata up until around 2013 and mitigate any disenchantment (Morvaridi 2013). Secondly, the more alliance-building it became the more 'common sense' its politics and policy initiatives became in the eyes of the world and the public. The opposition struggled to find political space. It was very difficult to argue with modernism, stable government, democracy, liberal Islam and economic success (Tuğal 2016).

In order to contextualize the above argument about the *AKP*'s alliance-building political strategy, the evolution of the main political actors in Turkish political society during the early years of *AKP* instituted governance will now be explained. The novel form of governance that the *AKP* implemented, supplemented by the Europeanization process, led to a reconstitution of the cleavages of Turkish political society as new alliances, power blocs, and hierarchies emerged. The winners of the early years of the *AKP* tenure included the post-Sufis that had been more or less clandestine under the capstone Kemalist state and the rising economic force of the Anatolian

middle class. The losers continued to be the *CHP*<sup>40</sup>, the Nationalist Movement Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, MHP*) and other political parties that just could not form a power bloc capable of challenging the *AKP*'s electoral hegemony.

A vital element of the *AKP*-led bloc was the post-Sufi Gülen movement. Their alliance with the *AKP* Tuğal (2016: 90) denotes as in actuality being less of an alliance and more of a merger; as Gülen supporters had incepted both the *AKP* leadership and membership. At first, the merger seemed like a useful tactic for widening the *AKP* power-base through having an element of control over the popular media and by increasing their financial weight, supporters and number of socialization projects. For the Gülen movement, the merger meant that for the first time they would have a direct influence within the policy process in Ankara, and were able to become an active and visible element of public life (Tuğal 2016).

The Gülen movement's reach was wide indeed. Their membership was about 6 million people, of whom donated on average between 5-20% of their annual income to the movement. Those with a higher income were expected to donate up to 30%, aside from regular significant donations from the rich and business community. These donations were used to fund development

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<sup>40</sup> *CHP* at 80 years old is the oldest party in Turkish politics, and the party of Atatürk. It is a traditional Kemalist, secular, social democratic party. The party was led by political scientist Deniz Baykal from 1992 until 2010, when Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu took over.



ventures in health, education and poverty reduction. Initiatives such as these were popular with the public and stimulated loyalty within society to Islamic neoliberalism (Tuğal 2016).

Several Gülen backed institutions served to disseminate the Gülen/*AKP* ideology. These included media institutions, universities and banks. The most prominent included: the Bank of Asya, Samanyolu television station, the Journalist and Writers Foundation, Today's Zaman, Fatih university, and Aksiyon Weekly (Morvaridi 2013). These institutions were uncritical of the government agenda and at the time served as an important mouthpiece to all sections of society up until around 2010. As common practice with political alliances, cracks began to emerge in 2010 and the Gülen movement's strength and support began to pose a threat, rather than being a support base for the *AKP* government.

The first cracks that emerged were over the government backed Humanitarian Relief Foundation's<sup>41</sup> (*İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı, İHH*) maritime humanitarian mission to Gaza on 31 May 2010. This mission resulted in the death of 9 humanitarian workers who were killed by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) in international waters. The humanitarian operation was condemned as too risky and poorly-planned by some segments of Turkish society, due to the Israeli history of international law

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<sup>41</sup> An Islamic charity group with close ties to the *AKP*.

violations against humanitarians (Tuğal 2016). Fethullah Gülen was one of the most prominent critics of the Gaza Flotilla and he criticized the *İHH* for not waiting to receive permission from the Israeli authorities for the mission. This view was very unpopular amongst the majority of the Turkish *AKP*-sympathizers and other pro-Palestinian segments of Turkish society. From this moment on, Fethullah Gülen and his supporters were accused of being in league with the Zionists and were deemed untrustworthy (Tuğal 2016).

This reinforced and furthered the view amongst many media commentators, and in turn the public, that Gülen were operating a parallel state and were infiltrating the police force and judiciary (Akyol 2013). Conspiracy theories and anti-Semitism have always been offered too much weight in Turkish public discourse and suspicions grew as the Hanefi *AKP* bloc felt threatened by the immense power that the Gülen movement had built within and outside the party. Tensions continued to grow in the coming years and eventually after 2011 the *AKP* resorted to blocking behaviour towards the movement, which will be examined further in the following chapters.

A crucial ally to the *AKP* within political society, aside from the Gülen movement, has been the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (*Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği, MÜSİAD*<sup>42</sup>) (Tezcür

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<sup>42</sup> *MÜSİAD* was founded in 1990 by Turkish businesspeople from small and medium-enterprises in order to increase the political influence of SMEs that had vastly increased in

2010). Key to the *AKP*'s formation had been its split with the anti-Western, anti-globalization Islamists whom it felt were out of touch with the needs of a growing economy. The *AKP* cadre had come from a generation which had benefited from the opening of the economy and were pro-business, pro-trade and saw neoliberalism as vital to economic development. As such, it was important to them to build solid alliances with business groups who would support their tenure and lift Turkey into the top ten world economies. It was also imperative to the *AKP* that Muslim businesses that had not been aided by capstone Kemalist governments would play a leading role within *AKP*'s Turkey. *MÜSİAD* represented Muslim small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and was the perfect tool for the alliance (Tezcür 2010)..

*MÜSİAD* flourished in the early years of the *AKP* government. The EU accession process had altered the make-up of Turkish political society and regular dialogue began between state officials, government, civil society and economic actors (Yankaya and Dilek 2009). *MÜSİAD* was very negatively affected by the February 28th coup which had banned Islamic groups and parties. However, with the economic opening of the *AKP* it began to grow immensely. In 2009 its situation had changed significantly, in total the

“member firms operate in each and every sector in the economy: in total, they produce 15% of the national revenue and employ more than

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number due to the export-driven economic growth of the 80s and 90s. *MÜSİAD* had a pro-Islamist line and had been an imperative backer of the Welfare Party (Tezcür 2010).

80,000 people. Moreover, they also operate in the international market, their major import and export areas cover Europe, Central Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. As an interest group, its strength stems from the breadth of its social base: the headquarters being in Istanbul, the association organizes more than 2,700 firms through its national structure of local branches all over Anatolia.”

(Yankaya and Dilek 2009: 6)

Historically, the fortifying Kemalist state had politically blocked this large segment of Anatolian society. Not only had it not involved conservative Anatolia in political processes, it actively blocked its economic success, hence the low membership of *MÜSİAD* in 1999 and its non-existence before the 1990s. As the Turkish economy became more export-driven and more embedded in the global economy in the 1980s and 1990s, it no longer became tenable for the elite to block the Anatolians, their cities and their agriculture (Morvaridi 2013). The Anatolian populace were becoming a valuable source within the rapidly-changing production process driven by technological advancement, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and EU led structural adjustment; and a shift in demand for Turkish produce from the domestic to the international economy. Any new government that was to succeed in this open economic environment with rapid development would have to reproduce Turkish political functions into an alliance-building mode that nurtured the economic might of this once marginalized section of society (Morvaridi 2013).

Indeed the *AKP* fostered this open and competitive environment. As noted by Morvaridi (2013), this created rapid industrial development in the Anatolian heartlands and cities such as Gaziantep, Eskisehir and Kayseri began to be models of the success of the mix between Islamic culture and the free market; “earning it the accolade of the ‘Anatolian Tiger’” (Morvaridi 2013: 310). This export-driven economic success meant the representation offered to the SMEs by *MÜSİAD* was ever more important to ensure that the correct fiscal decisions were being made by Ankara. *MÜSİAD* became one of the largest lobbying groups within the political system out-competing the traditional economic elite group, *TÜSİAD*<sup>43</sup> for the government’s ear.

*MÜSİAD*’s active engagement became widespread as it brought its agenda to the media and put forward its members for *AKP* parliamentary and local positions (Tezcür 2010). Key issues it lobbied for included EU accession and an alliance-building approach to foreign policy that it believed would foster new trade links. It pushed the *AKP* to pursue an even more alliance-building form of political reproduction,

“Its new ambitious pro-Europe attitude led it to criticize the *AKP* government for not sufficiently taking advantage of the parliamentary decision which forbade the passage of American troops through Turkish territory for the war in Iraq in order to strengthen the alliance with ...France and Germany who opposed the invasion.”

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<sup>43</sup> *TÜSİAD* was founded in 1971 by several heads of large companies who wanted more political influence in Ankara. In the late 90s *TÜSİAD* was close to the old regime and Kemalist elite (Ugur and Yankya 2008).

(Yankaya and Dilek 2009: 12)

Then again, much like the merger between the Gülen movement at the *AKP*, the strong alliance between *MÜSİAD* and the government would begin to implode the entire penetrating pattern of authority in the later years of *AKP* tenure. The problem was that the *AKP* alliance with *MÜSİAD* stalled its capacity to build alliances with other polities and elements of political society as allegations of corruption, favouritism and lack of transparency grew. As Morvaridi states,

“Many *MÜSİAD* businesses provided financial donations that are administered by Municipalities, a gesture which...is likely to accord these companies reciprocating privileges in their business-related interactions with the local political authorities. There is a lack of transparency in some of these interactions and in the distribution of assistance, both by the municipalities and by the local branches of the central welfare administration. This concords with a social protection system that is largely discretionary.”

(Morvaridi 2013: 314)

In fact, these concerns were raised by *MÜSİAD*'s secular rival, *TÜSİAD*, from 2005 onwards as they were concerned that the *AKP* were pandering too much to its religious support base. *TÜSİAD* had backed the *AKP* continually until 2004 and were an important strategic ally against trade unions, the military and judiciary. They had lauded the EU accession process undergone by the *AKP* and described the economic and political stability offered by them as the “transformation the country had been longing for (*TÜSİAD* 2004)” Then again, as the *AKP* gained more power and more elements of political society were pushed out of the political process, *TÜSİAD* began to question

whether the *AKP*'s pattern of authority was alliance-building at all. Ugur and Yankya (2008) description of the depth of criticism about fundamental rights violations says it all:

“TÜSİAD criticised *AKP* government for its reluctance to assume the political responsibility for amending the anti-democratic legislation and for its complicity in the destruction of Orhan Pamuk’s novels. It also criticised the government for its complicity in the opening of court cases against Hrant Dink, the editor of the Armenian magazine *Agos*, and other intellectuals including Hasan Cemal, İsmet Berkan, Murat Belge, Haluk Sahin Erol Katircioğlu for organizing a conference on the Armenian issue. TÜSİAD’s criticism included statements that pointed out to Turkey’s obligations under the Copenhagen criteria and stressed the need to broaden the freedom of expression, consolidate civil society organisations, and ensure the necessary conditions for the use of collective liberties.”

(Ugur and Yankya 2008: 24-25)

By as early into its tenure as 2004, divisions had begun to emerge between the *AKP* and its allies, such as *TÜSİAD*. So, who could groups such as *TÜSİAD* turn to with their criticisms? What was the political make-up of the opposition? Could they pose a challenge to the *AKP* or even push it to be more alliance-building? Could there be a third-way, away from both Kemalist authoritarianism and Islamic neoliberalism?

The political parties that could pose a challenge to the *AKP* from 2002 onwards were the Kemalist opposition, the *CHP*, the ultra-nationalist *MHP* and Kurdish parties in their different forms. The only factor uniting these parties, however, was their opposition to the *AKP*, as each had their own grievances, very different ideological background and loyal constituency.

Preventing any policies that would undermine the secular make-up of the Turkish political system dominated *CHP*'s interest articulation from 2002 to 2010. This was the fundamental concern of the *CHP*<sup>44</sup> cadre who were fearful of the religious rhetoric of the *AKP*. One of the most significant issues of the time was around the Islamic veil which had historically been banned in public institutions, parliament and universities. On February 7, 2008, an amendment regarding the headscarf ban was added to the Constitution by the *AKP* majority parliament. This amendment would legalize the headscarf in Turkish universities.

The legalization of the veil was politically marketed as one of the *AKP*'s EU backed policy initiatives to increase both gender equality and religious freedoms, thus, successfully stopping the lifting of the ban proved difficult for the *CHP* who led the opposition against the legalization of the veil. In a public letter towards the wife of the then Prime Minister, Emine Erdoğan, the female deputy leader of the *CHP* Canan Aritman, wrote,

“The way you dress while on trips abroad where you are representing the Republic of Turkey offends Turkish women. I respect your personal preference. But women in the modern Republic of Turkey have accepted a non-veiled, contemporary Western style of dress. If you must go on visits abroad with your husband, be like a contemporary Turkish woman. If you can't be that way then please stay at home.”

(Turgut 2006)

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<sup>44</sup> The *CHP* cadre mainly consisted of Kemalist loyalists who were culturally Westernized.



On June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2008, the lifting of the headscarf ban was cancelled by the Constitutional Court, in a move promoted as a victory by the *CHP*<sup>45</sup>.

Nonetheless, sensing the climate of the time and in an effort to widen the party's electoral base, Deniz Baykal opened *CHP* political membership and recruitment to those wearing the scarf which proved a victory for the alliance-building bloc. Despite this, polarization between the secular loyalists and the modern Islamists dominated political processes at the time. This was because through the alliance-building pattern of authority; political space opened to Islamist and Anatolian sections of society historically marginalized by the Kemalist blocking state. The *CHP* had no choice other than to try to broaden their appeal within this political context but struggled to succeed as both their hard-line ideological foundations and hard-line support base restricted their democratic opening (Öniş 2013).

Their pro-military, secular loyalties meant that up until the early 2000's the *CHP* were not diffident of pushing for a return to authoritarianism, and regularly called for the support of the military and secular establishment in ending the authority of the *AKP* (Öniş 2013). This in turn led to the liberals they frequently tried to attract, abandoning them and voting for the *AKP*. An

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<sup>45</sup> This was then overturned again in 2010 by the *AKP* bureaucracy. Loopholes in the law currently allow for the wearing of the headscarf in a particular manner at universities.

opportune moment for the *CHP* to demonstrate to political society that it had broadened its hard-line agenda to liberalism was during the 2008 Ergenekon trials<sup>46</sup>, in which prominent members of the military and the secular establishment (including *CHP* members were accused of planning a coup through the clandestine Ergenekon organization) (Akyol 2008).

The *AKP* government were accused of responding to the coup attempt disproportionately and utilizing it as an opportunity to arrest and crack down on opponents. Their response was condemned by numerous sections of civil society internally and externally. The *CHP*'s rejoinder to the crackdown, however, also prompted condemnation from liberal elements of political society. Rather than solely criticizing the crackdown, the *CHP* actively defended the motives of the Ergenekon network, with leader Deniz Baykal declaring himself as the “*advocate of the Ergenekon suspects*” (Akyol 2008). This pushed liberals who would have been sympathetic to the *CHP* campaign for secularism, to turn to the *AKP* (Öniş 2013).

The *CHP* had the potential to become the main checks and balance of the *AKP* Islamic neoliberal policy project within Parliament. Yet, in the

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<sup>46</sup> In 2008 the Istanbul Heavy Penal Court 12 and 13 began trials against the first ideologically Kemalist organization accused of terrorism in the history of the Turkish Republic, the clandestine Ergenekon network. This network had been accused of trying to organize a coup against the democratically elected *AKP* government, and assassinating and fomenting violence against minorities. Those in opposition to the government with ideological leanings affiliated with the Ergenekon network were also arrested and accused of being part of it, including some members of the *CHP* (Tuğal, 2016).

increasingly open and competitive environment pushed by the Europeanization project, the *CHP*'s ties to the traditional blocking regime posed difficulties in drawing votes across ethnic and religious divides. The *CHP* lacked the savvy political entrepreneurship needed to tackle the all-encompassing rhetoric of the *AKP* and provided a weak and divided opposition.

At the very heart of the *AKP*'s reshaping of the Turkish state was to make a powerful institutional expression of pluralism. The demands of the increasing embeddedness of the Turkish economy into the EU and global systems called for a neoliberalism based on consent with political society. Liberal peace on the domestic front was key to this consent, so the *AKP* launched a 'democratic opening' initiative. The 'democratic opening' was a shift of Kurdish (and other minority) issues from a security concern to be dealt with by the military, into a political problem with a viable political solution based on democratic deliberation (Keyman 2010: 92).

However, as stated by Araj and Savran (2016: 11), the 'democratic opening' did very little to improve the lives of Kurds from 2002 onwards:

“Studies have highlighted that overall Kurds experience higher levels of income poverty, unemployment, illiteracy (especially among women), fertility, infant mortality rate, and lower levels of educational opportunities and performance (e.g. shortage of teachers, large classes, lack of mother-tongue medium instruction) compared to their Turkish counterparts (Icduygu et al. 1999; Aydin 2005; Koc et al. 2008; Yalcin Mousseau 2012) (despite the democratic opening). (As of 2012) The unemployment rate in the ESA (was) almost double the

national average, and higher among youth. At the same time, Kurdish labourers (made up) a significant majority of the working class and the urban poor in Turkey (Park 2012: 83), particularly in the construction sector though most work in the agricultural sector.”

Despite the ‘democratic opening’ doing little to improve the position of Kurds in Turkey, it was still perceived as sedition by the Kemalists and far right. The *CHP* and other nationalists such as the alt-right *MHP*<sup>47</sup> condemned the ‘democratic opening’ as a grave threat to Turkish sovereignty (Keyman 2010). They blamed the initiative on the influence of outside forces, such as the EU. In a public speech in 2006 *CHP* leader Deniz Baykal accused the EU project of creating “artificial minorities” in Turkey (Keyman 2010).

Throughout the early years of the *AKP*’s political authority, the nationalists continually framed their opposition to alliance-building political reproduction as defence against the weakening of Turkish sovereignty and power by the enemies of the Turkish nation (Celep 2010). These nationalist sentiments resonated with some and the *MHP* secured parliamentary representation in 2007 with 14.27% and in 2011 with 13.01%<sup>48</sup>. This was because the *MHP* managed to pick up votes from nationalist Islamists who were disgruntled by the *AKP*’s soft ‘political solution’ approach to the Kurdish issue. Also, *MHP*’s support on campaigns such as the wearing of the headscarf in universities

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<sup>47</sup> The *MHP* stands for ultra-nationalist neo-fascism in Turkey, they first emerged in 1969 under the leadership of Alparslan Türkeş.

<sup>48</sup> There is a 10% election count threshold to enter parliament in Turkey.

and their backing of Abdullah Gül as President swayed religious voters with more nationalist tendencies (Celep 2010).

Aside from the 'threat' of the Kurds, the nationalists were also vehemently opposed to the EU 'dictating' foreign policy on Cyprus. The *CHP* and *MHP* were critical of the nature of the EU accession targets, finding them submissive and contrary to the proud nationalism of Atatürk (Celep 2010). Deniz Baykal was one of the most vocal opponents against the 2005 Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement regarding the conditions of EU accession. The agreement stated that Turkey should open its market to Greek-Cypriot trade. Baykal expressed that this would be akin to an official recognition of a Greek Cypriot state and a threat to the national interest of Turkey (Hürriyet 2005).

It must be noted that the *AKP* regime's alliance-building mode of political reproduction, especially the 'democratic opening', had wide support from majority Kurdish areas, who had been historically blocked out of the political process by the Kemalist capstone state (Araj and Savran 2017). This explains the large Kurdish vote share for *AKP* in 2002. Conversely, from 2007 onwards as Kurds had been empowered and had increasing access to political space, they began to self-organize and were re-framed as a threat by the *AKP*. In 2009, the Kurdish *DTP* (*Demokratik Toplum Partisi*, Democratic

Society Party) was banned by the Constitutional Court for alleged links to the *PKK*<sup>49</sup> (Araj and Savran 2017).

This section has addressed the *AKP*'s consolidation of political authority through building vertical and horizontal alliances across political society. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Turkish state and regime was entrenched in blocking behaviour. Nonetheless, with the onset of parasitic capitalism, the embeddedness of the Turkish economy in the international and EU economic system, and the fear felt by the regime of revolutionary change as had occurred in 1979 Iran, the post-Islamist polity was able to assume power. It accomplished this through re-articulating the classic Turkish model of coercive governance into a governance of consent. This met the security demands of the regime, the state and political society and the *AKP* penetrated Islamic neoliberalism into public life- incepting the state and becoming the new 'Turkish Model'<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> The Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê, PKK*) is an illegal left-wing organization based in Turkey and Iraq. Since 1984 the *PKK* has waged an armed struggle against the Turkish state for equal rights and self-determination for the Kurds in Turkey.

<sup>50</sup> Lindberg (2001: 183) has explained how through alliance-building within civil and political society, a polity may expand its power: "A penetrative state works through and with society and social organizations to accomplish its tasks. A mutual, yet asymmetrical, relationship enables the state to reorganize and mobilize society to create better incentives for its continued rearticulation, adaptation, or restructuring. Hence, the penetrative state has greater potential for flexible response to changes in its environment."

Section 5.2 has examined how the *AKP* out competed established political parties, established Islamism, and the economic elite for political power. Here, the focus has been on shifting alliances, emergent ideologies and polity power relations. Section 5.3 will further analyse what the alliance-building mode of power articulation meant for the socio-economic development of Turkey.

### **5.3 “Hope is the Bread of the Poor”: Political Authority and Development<sup>51</sup>**

At the core of the *AKP*'s Islamic neoliberal pattern of authority was its penetration and reorganization of political society through altering economic relations. Lindberg (2001) explains that a state extracts and uses resources to sustain itself through either blocking or mobilizing social groups. An alliance-building mode of reproduction which is established by bargain or consent means resources will be extracted through taxation, confiscation of private property, and the use of trade barriers. Revenues will be spent on the management of society and mobilization of social groups for state purposes (Hall 1999; Lindberg 2001). Social groups can be organized and empowered within the framework of the state through education and socialization, economic management and control, support to civil organizations and

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<sup>51</sup> “Hope is the bread of the poor” is an old Turkish proverb.

administration of state functions by semi-autonomous groups (Almond and Bingham Powell 1996). This is how state polities reproduce their power through socio-economic development.

A formation of 'infrastructural power' (Mann 2012), creates a bargaining relationship in which a political society that has been penetrated by the state through resource extraction and use, can feedback inputs, leading to an integrated state polity. Consent for this uneven hierarchy (where the ability to extract resources in a territory is monopolized by the state) will be built through state-spending on the welfare system or other popular means (Lindberg 2001). This double-security analysis thus differs from purist Gramscian thought in that it does not distinguish between political and civil society in terms of state polity reproduction. Gramsci distinguishes between the realm of political society, namely the state apparatus and institutions, operates solely through coercion and threat, in contrary to the public realm of civil society that is oppressed through consent (Femia 1981).

Yet, through an 'infrastructural power' framework it can be deemed that the early laudation of the 'Turkish model' was based on its ability to prevent revolution through poverty reduction, marketization and consumption culture, ensuring the consent of a broad stratum of Turkish society. Within this system, the myth was created and propagated that those who work hard and honestly would achieve higher standards of living and modernity (Tuğal 2016).



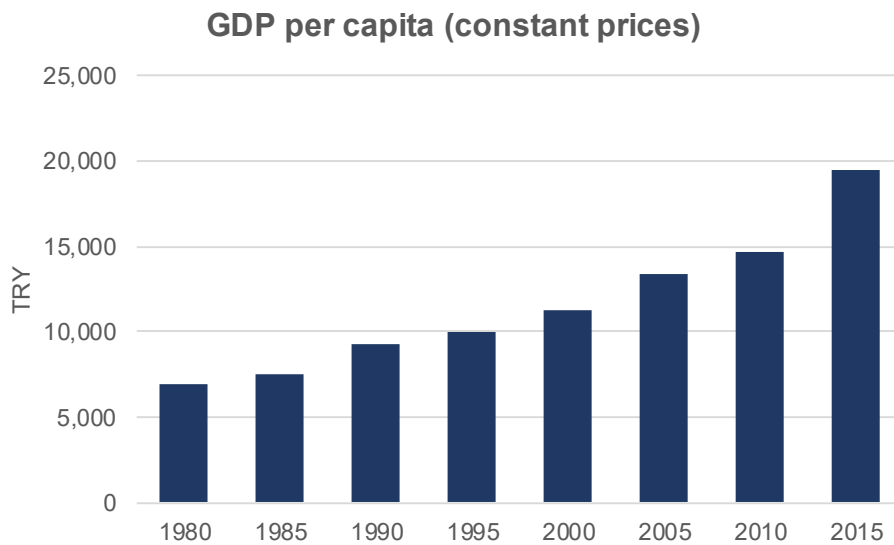
The new hegemonic bloc of post-Islamists reshaped economic relations through pulling back the state and allowing the private sector an expanded role (Dagi 2013). This economic liberalization was possible through the subordination of peripheral margins of society (as well as the reproduction of old subordinations) as the *AKP* power base of business-owners became the hegemonic force in a new business-oriented society (Tuğal, 2016: 119). Social welfare was provided by a number of private actors close to the *AKP*, in the consciousness of those in need, the *AKP* and the private actors were one- creating the myth of and consent for the 'generosity' of neoliberal Islam (Morvaridi 2013).

Mainstream pre-2013 coverage of the Turkish economy lauded it as a success<sup>52</sup>. A large section of the coverage focused on the astounding growth of GDP under the *AKP* which is demonstrated by Figure 5.1 (Tuğal 2016; The Business Year 2011; Bank and Karadag 2012).

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<sup>52</sup> In 2010 progressive steps were made in the auditing of public expenditure. The Law on the Turkish Court of Accounts was put into force which authorized the court to audit public expenditure on behalf of parliament. This move was commended by the European Union (European Commission 2011)

Figure 5.1 GDP per Capita (Constant Prices, Turkish Lira) in Turkey Every 5 Years



Source: IMF World Economic Outlook Database (International Monetary Fund 2018)

The figures in 5.1 demonstrate how in the first ten years of *AKP* tenure GDP per capita in Turkey grew at a rapid pace. The predominant reason for this was because the *AKP* agreed to work with the IMF and EU to privatize public enterprises (such as Turk Telecom, the Turpas oil refinery and Erdemir steel and iron producer) (Türkmen 2008). Privatization revenue amounted to \$30.6 billion (Morvaridi 2013). Privatization and the opening to investment led to a gargantuan increase of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). In 2002 the number of active companies was 498, by 2011 this was 25,927. Foreign

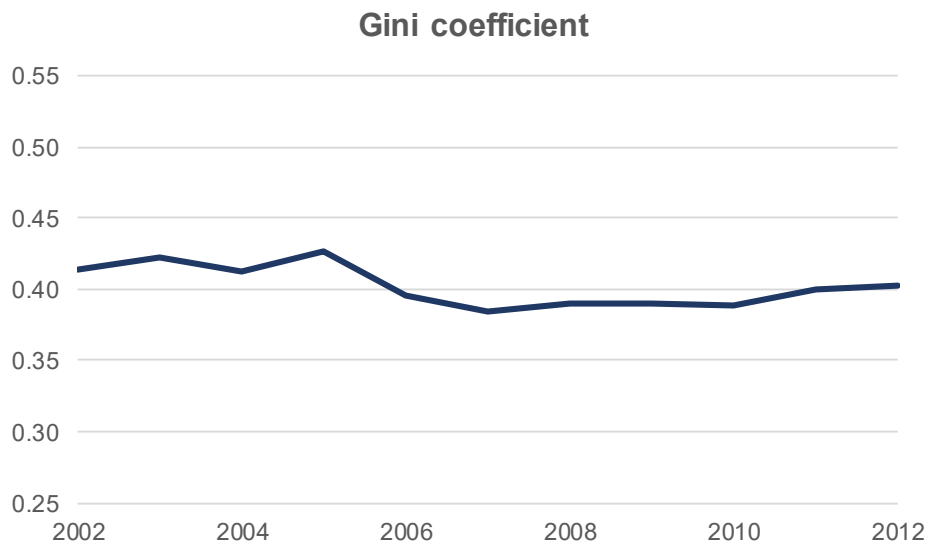
capital was worth \$1.5 billion in 2002 and increased to \$22 billion in (Morvaridi 2013; Tuğal 2016). In turn leading to a stabilization of inflation, but the *AKP* was unable to close the trade gap. Exporters remained dependent on the import of capital and were harmed by the tech-negative pressure of import substitution. This meant that the Turkish economy became very dependent on abroad and vulnerable to a possible slowing of capital flows (Tuğal 2016: 121). As such, dependency on, and embeddedness in the international economy furthered the need for maintaining horizontal alliances with international polities.

Because of the neoliberal turn and IMF and EU targets, there was an increased pressure on the *AKP* to penetrate society without losing government revenue. Fiscal tightness ensued and faith-based organizations sympathetic to the *AKP* filled the welfare gap so as not to lose the power blocs penetrative consent with political society (Morvaridi 2013). Social expenditure was well below the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) average in 2007, at 19.2% of GDP. Inequality persisted, as demonstrated by Figure 5.2 which shows the Gini coefficient at an average of 0.40 over the first decade of *AKP* tenure<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> The Gini coefficient is a measure of the income distribution within an economy. A coefficient of 1 represents perfect inequality, implying that a single individual holds all wealth. A coefficient of 0 indicates perfect equality with wealth distributed equally among participants (Human Sciences Research Council 2014). Nonetheless, the Gini index has come under criticism for only revealing some aspects of inequalities and not others so must be taken

Figure 5.2 Gini coefficient in Turkey from 2002-2012



Source: World Bank (World Bank 2018)

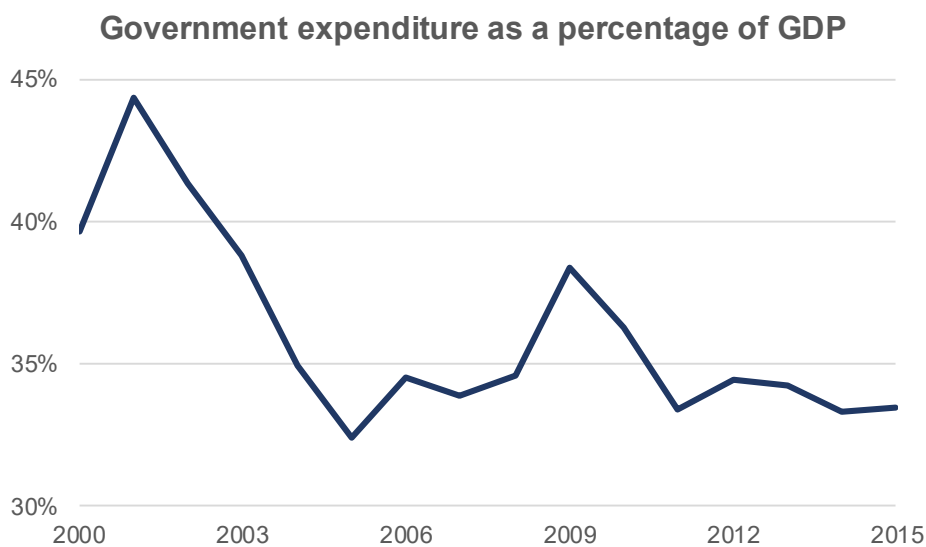
The *AKP* did make some headway in poverty reduction rates. The poverty rate dropped from 26% in 2002 to 17.7% in 2007- which Morvaridi (2013) notes may have been a catalyst for support from the poor when the *AKP* were re-elected in 2011. Figure 5.3 demonstrates *AKP*'s trend towards fiscal tightness with regards to limiting government expenditure. The *AKP*'s rejection of the role of government expenditure was not just based on their neoliberal values, but also their Islamic values. As far as the culture around

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subjectively. For example, it does not account for differing population demographics or an economy's total wealth. It also does not include income from the informal sector or measure social benefits such as access to education or subsidized housing (Human Sciences Research Council 2014).

social welfare was concerned, it stemmed from the socially conservative tradition of reliance on family for assistance.

Figure 5.3 Government Expenditure as a Percentage of GDP from 2000-2015



Source: IMF World Economic Outlook Database (International Monetary Fund 2018)

Morvaridi (2013) argues that this perpetuated power relations based on patriarchy, class and religious authority making the welfare system far from universal. Morvaridi (2013) further comments that casual workers and vulnerable groups had to rely on faith-based organizations and non-governmental organizations if the family structure was not in place.

Tuğal (2016) goes as far as to say that rather than the neoliberal competitive environment leading to voluntary consent from subordinate classes, the reform of social provision by the *AKP* was an act of war against the subaltern. Between 2007 and 2011, the *AKP* cut healthcare, raised the retirement age, depressed wages, curtailed unions and limited strikes<sup>54</sup>. Morvaridi (2013) highlights the removal of the Yeşil Kart system, a state scheme to ensure the provision of health services to the poor, forcing the 5 million Kart holders to pay a premium. Aside from transfiguring the health sector, the education sector was also vastly transformed by the *AKP*'s neoliberal Islamic agenda.

Government spending in the Turkish education sector grew steadily under the *AKP* government between 2002 and 2011. In 2011 this, in addition to private and international investment amounted to TL34 billion, 15% of the national budget. Private and international investment in education was encouraged under the *AKP* through tax breaks and other incentives (The Business Year 2011).

Expansion of access to education was a key policy initiative of the *AKP* government. Access was increased across all levels of education between 2002 and 2011. A fundamental process between 2002 and 2011 was the

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<sup>54</sup> Islamic unions flourished during this period- securing many welfare-like benefits (vacation packaged, car credits and scholarships) (Tuğal 2016).

expansion of early year's education. A large amount of education spending was directed towards kindergartens. Access to kindergartens became widespread throughout the country bringing about a 22% increase in enrolment in 2009-2010 from 2008-2009. Compulsory elementary education to 8 years was implemented through the government's Ninth Development Plan 2007-2013 which in turn increased the number of pupils entering secondary school (The Business Year 2011).

The number of universities also increased under the first two *AKP* party governments. This was due to fiscal incentivising of the founding of private universities. The number of universities doubled between 2006 and 2011. These changes led to an increase of enrolled students in further education from 25.5% of the male population and 17.7% of the female population in the 1998/1999 university year to 49% of the male population and 39% of the female population in the 2008/2009 university year (The Business Year 2011).

The *AKP's* international turn has had a formidable impact on educational opportunities within Turkey and within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. In addition, the Europeanization project eased access of study for Turkish students within Europe, specifically through the Erasmus program. In 2009-2010 approximately 7,000 Turkish students went to university in Europe through the Erasmus initiative. Although this is a relatively small number in the context of the circa 3 million university students

in Turkey, it is a large increase from prior years (The Business Year 2011, Yurtseven 2016). Turkey hosted 20,000 foreign students in 2011, mainly from the Middle East and North Africa (The Business Year 2011).

Despite the increase of access to education, concerns were raised by educational experts about the quality of education that Turkish youth received:

“The *AKP* has not only lifted the headscarf ban in higher education and popularised the Imam Hatip Schools, but also Islamised the national curriculum through the addition of certain optional courses at secondary school level, and with the transformation of the school textbooks on Religious Culture and Morality in 2007 and 2008.”

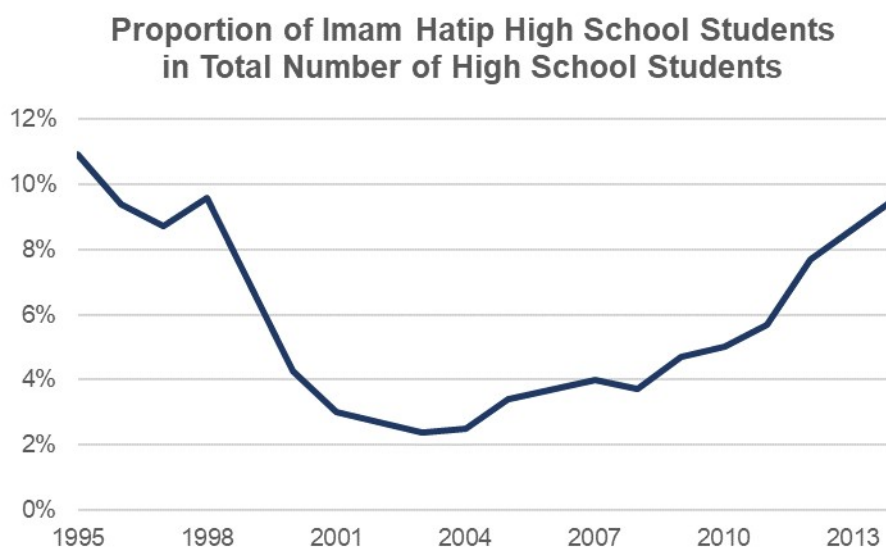
(Kaya 2015: 57)

Worries have persisted regarding the use of socialization within the education system by the post-Islamists to further their Islamic ideology. Gür (2016) refers to the mass increase of Imam Hatip schools, the schools that were traditionally for the education of Sunni Muslim clerics. Many secular schools have been converted into Imam Hatips and a number of new Imam Hatips have been built in what has been condemned by secularists as an attack on the independence of the school system. The growth of Imam Hatip school students generally coincides with the tenure of an Islamic government in Turkey. The large growth of the number of Imam Hatip students since the *AKP* came into government in 2002 can be evidenced in the graph below (5.4). The high number of Imam Hatip school students in the mid to late 90's coincides with the rule of the Islamic Welfare party. The number rapidly



decreased because of the post-modern secularist coup in 1997 before rapidly rising again with the *AKP* in power:

Figure 5.4 The Proportion of Imam Hatip High School Students in the Total Number of High School Students (1995-2014)



Source: Al Jazeera Center for Studies with data obtained from the Ministry of National Education Statistics (Gür 2016)

Another example of the creeping Islamization is the 'FATİH Projesi', which was introduced by the *AKP* in 2010. The aim of this project was to technologize learning throughout the Republic, introducing the use of tablets, e-books and other technology into the classroom. The project 'Fatih' is named after the 'opening' of a new era, when the Ottoman Empire began, and Istanbul was 'liberated' from the Byzantines (Lüküslü 2016). The use of

this language resonates strongly in Turkish Islamic discourse. These programmes have alienated many young people who reject the Islamization project. The young people who have protested such government programmes have been condemned as '*çapulcu*' (looters, marauders or bums) by the *AKP* elite (Lüküslü 2016: 643-644).

Demet Lüküslü (2016: 638) explains that the 'Turkish Model' of 'Islamic democracy' has "proved unsuccessful in solving the chronic problems of Turkey's education sector and the many socio-economic challenges its young people have been facing." She argues that there has been a creeping Islamization of youth culture by the government. As the post-Islamist project was marketed so well as being penetrative and alliance-building, those who did not subscribe to it were condemned as ungrateful and ostracised.

Yet, Bozdaglioglu (2003) is more sympathetic towards the cultural-identity framework of the *AKP*'s Islamism. In comparison to other states with Muslim majority populations such as Saudi Arabia, the *AKP* has a soft Islamic approach. This approach very much reflects domestic currents such as the rise of the Anatolian conservative middle-class. The Islamism and conservatism of the *AKP*, however, has been constrained so as not to offend the traditional Kemalist elites of Istanbul and the army.

The expansion of neo-liberalism is also driven by the consumerist identity of the growing Turkish Anatolian conservative middle-class. The Turkish state

polity under the *AKP* put development at the centre of its maintenance of power, “through the muting of internal differences and social opposition as a precondition of healthy change and growth.” (Tuğal 2016: 110) Power struggles became common throughout the education system and state bureaucracy, not just between the religious and the secular, but also between management and workers<sup>55</sup> over their employment rights and pay. In fact, the open and competitive environment encouraged by the *AKP* seemed to cause more conflict and polarization rather than competitive behaviour and alliance-building. Divisions were so intense, that vertical competition over power threatened the very sovereignty and territoriality of the Turkish state. In 2004 a Presidential veto of the Framework Law on Public Administration prevented devolution of power to local government from central government on the grounds that it “*conflicted with constitutional provisions related to the unitary character of the state.*” (Türkmen 2008: 161)

The social and economic policies implemented by the post-Islamists heavily altered the make-up of Turkish political society through political socialization<sup>56</sup>. The *AKP* managed to maintain a myth of the spoils of

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<sup>55</sup> The weakness of the state bureaucracy meant international corporations could get away with treating workers inhumanely without repercussions. Between 2002 and 2011m, 5213 workers died due to occupational injury (Tuğal 2016: 147).

<sup>56</sup> Political socialization is the way in which loyalty is built towards a particular political culture by a state’s citizens. This is achieved through a number of agents and institutions, educational and religious institutions being central to the formation of political attitudes. As Almond and G Bingham Powell (1996: 51) explain, “It is the way one generation passes on

neoliberal Islam emancipating the young and the poor. They accomplished this through gentrification, and metaphoric symbolism of Ottoman wealth in urban spaces and public discourse, which in turn built consent and loyalty for the *AKP* state polity. Despite these attempts, polarization was reinforced by inequality, foreign interference, and a culture of bias in favour of religiosity and conservatism within the education and health sectors. Rather than the *AKP*'s success lying in employing coercion and fortifying behaviour, it lay in "dressing it in democratic and Islamic garb." (Tuğal 2016: 93)

The next section examines how through their alliances, the *AKP* consolidated executive power and became synonymous with the regime through becoming the very oppressors of the liberal society it championed.

#### **5.4 The *AKP*'s Struggle for Executive Power, Justice and Lawfulness**

The first decade of *AKP* tenure witnessed a growing monopoly on power by the party, with the suppression of press freedoms, lack of transparency and allegations of corruption within the state bureaucracy, the closure of opposition political parties and organizations, court manipulation, the suppression of the right to assembly and demonstrate and an increase in the number of arrests of political opponents. The *AKP*'s power to implement

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political ideas and beliefs to succeeding generations, a process called cultural transmission. It transforms the political culture when it leads the citizens, or some of them, to view and experience politics in a different way."

these repressive measures was reinforced on September the 12<sup>th</sup>, 2010 when a referendum was held regarding 26 amendments to the constitution. The results of the referendum led to the passing of all the amendments. 58% of the population voted in favour of these changes.

Some of the key democratic changes in the referendum were the strengthening of the governing parties influence over the power of the military, and trials to be held in civilian, rather than military courts. However, many saw the referendum as a way for the *AKP* to increase its monopolization on power, rather than hand power back to the people. Through decreasing the power of the military and judiciary, it increased the power and capacity of the executive to pursue their agenda of Islamic neoliberalism (Hale 2012).

The military's role as the ultimate arbiter of Turkish politics decreased significantly under the *AKP*. The ruling party strengthened civilian control of the military as part of its efforts to meet the necessary requirements for EU accession. One such initiative was the re-organization and diminishing of the power of the National Security Council, which was moved to civilian control away from military control (Hale 2012). By the mid 2000's the political culture in Turkey had shifted away from a strong military role in the democratic process, as had been the norm during the 1980s. This was seen with the selection of the President in 2007, where military objection to a Presidential candidate increased the candidate's popularity (Hale 2012).

Traditionally, the Presidency had been held by a secularist non-affiliated to a political party. From 2000 to 2007 this was President Ahmet Necdet Sezer. In the Grand National Assembly in April and May 2007 the *AKP* put forward a ballot to make *AKP* foreign minister, Abdullah Gül, president. The president had historically been chosen by the legislature (Hale 2012). The ballot was boycotted by the *CHP* and mass protests spread throughout the country. These protests were supported by the military who publicly opposed Gül's candidacy. The military who were the historical defenders of Kemalist secular traditions, were gravely concerned about Gül's Islamist beliefs. The presidency had historically been held by a secularist. Due to the *CHP* boycott, the ballot was unable to go ahead. The *AKP* then pushed forward several laws to enable a change in the rules of the selection of the president:

“the candidate who receives the absolute majority of the valid votes becomes the elected President.”

Amended Article 101 (TCCB: 2007)

The presidency was also reduced to 5 years from 7, but two terms were legalized. As the reforms were vetoed by President Sezer, early elections were called in July 2007 where *AKP* managed to increase their vote from 34.3% to 46.6% which they felt gave Gül a mandate for the presidency. The *AKP* nevertheless, still failed to secure Gül's presidency.

“Gül ...failed to receive the required two thirds majority vote in the first two attempts. However, constitutional provisions reduced the two-thirds majority requirement to a simple majority if no candidate gains office in the first two votes. With the main opposition *CHP* boycotting

the vote, Gül gained election to the presidency on the third ballot with 339 votes (61.6%).”

(Polity IV Country Report 2010: Turkey 2009)

The outcome of the *AKP*'s proposed changes would mean that the president, not the prime minister would oversee the daily running of the country. The *AKP* argued that a strong Presidential role in the state would end the polarised political deadlock that had been characteristic of the Republic's policy making process throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century; which was marred by coalition governments. The opposition parties have been vehemently opposed to the proposed changes, one of which would ensure the President the power to appoint half the justices (Hale 2012).

Nonetheless, some improvements have been made within the political system ensuring a fairer playing ground for opposition parties. In 2011 the 'democratic opening' process meant that for the first-time political broadcasts by all legal political parties were permitted. The cost of the political broadcasts would have to be met by the political parties and could be in any language including Kurdish. A number of political parties did in fact broadcast in Kurdish (European Commission 2011).

Yet, despite this 'democratic opening', Kurdish political parties continued to face closure. In its report on Turkish accession the European Commission (2011) condemned Turkey for violating the freedom of assembly and association, with continual bans on political parties. The report also noted that a relatively high number of MPs were also arrested, and some banned

from political office. It stated that women, ethnic and religious minorities and the disabled have been under-represented in Parliament. The overall summary was that,

“Laws concerning financing of political parties and election campaigns, closure of political parties and parliamentary immunities have yet to be aligned with European standards. Further efforts are needed to strengthen parliament’s capacity to perform its functions of law-making and oversight over the executive.”

(European Commission 2011)

The EU Accession Partnership Document had specified 117 areas for political and economic reforms in line with the Copenhagen Criteria for EU members (Atasoy 2009). In 2003 the *AKP* instituted the Emergency Action Plan to better enable the state to meet the Copenhagen Criteria. This resulted in the harmonization laws, with seven political reform packages. The *AKP* significantly altered the make-up of the state in the early 2000s through a huge amount of legislation:

“In the brief period from October 2004 to July 2005, the *AKP* -majority parliament succeeded in passing 166 laws. The general assembly convened 125 times, having met for a total of 696 hours and generating 33,049 pages of documentation. Parliamentary commissions worked 1231 hours and recorded 17,200 pages of deliberation (Turkish Daily News 21 July 2005).”

(Atasoy 2009)

As a result of this, changes to Turkish law included the implementation of freedom of association, deterrents against torture, safeguards for the rights of prisoners and the closure of political parties was made more difficult (Tuğal 2016). Despite these positive changes, the repression of religious and ethnic



minorities persisted. This was accompanied by crack-downs on the freedom of the press and media.

Turkey's Accession Partnership with the European Union had altered the relationship between the state and religion. The blocking secular state historically had a repressive culture towards religious practice. From 1991 onwards, the policy-making priority around religion was to ensure freedom of practice and an end to religious discrimination. The Directorate of Religious Affairs, or Diyanet, is the state religious institution in Turkey, which has taken Hanefi Islam as its foundation.

Between 2002 and 2011 the *AKP* launched a number of reform projects within Diyanet. These have empowered the religious majority but marginalized religious minorities and can be argued to impede other human rights. The Alevi minority have been one of the most repressed groups by the Institution (Tepe 2008).

The Alevi minority have accused the Directorate of not recognizing the sect's religious traditions. The *AKP* have not met the needs of self-determination of the Alevi community, and have not accepted them as a unique religious group with unique religious needs. The *AKP* leadership asserts that, "had the Alevis been recognized as a religious group, the Aczemendis (an extremist eccentric Islamist group) would have to be included as well." (Tepe 2008)

However, in line with the alliance-building 'democratic opening', some liberal change did take place under the *AKP* government. A landmark case regarding the Alevi minority was brought to the European Court of Human Rights in 2004 after failure of a just settlement in the domestic courts. The case brought to the court by Mr. Hasan Zengin and his daughter Miss Eylem Zengin was against "the manner in which the compulsory lessons in religious culture and ethics were taught."

The compulsory religious classes in public schools, based on the homogeneous idea of Hanefi Islam, were found to violate the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (European Court of Human Rights 2007). This led to a softening of the religious agenda, and as a result of the ruling the Turkish regime applied an improved, more open religious education curriculum.

Another liberalization of religious practice, which was brought into implementation by Diyanet, was the allocation of a quota to female 'muftu' or religious assistant provincial leader, to readdress the gender imbalance in religious leadership. Unfortunately,

"The party's failed attempt to fill women's quotas in its own organization was matched by that of the directorate: the quotas for muftu were left unfilled due to the unavailability of qualified candidates. Indeed only 2,450 of the 80,000...directorate employees are women."

(Tepe 2008)

Tepe (2008) argues that the *AKP* implemented a much more pluralist attitude towards religious practice than the conventional Kemalist establishment of the blocking state. Nonetheless, this has resulted in a lazy approach that does not challenge the status quo or the hegemonic religious culture of Hanefi Islam over Turkish society. Tepe (2008) explains “the party’s inclusiveness is not based on principled commitment but is limited to those actors who do not challenge the presumed religious unity.” Diyanet is the most widespread administrative body in Turkey, its network spanning all regions. This provides any elected party the means to influence religious discourse on a mass scale, thus setting the milieu for societal relations<sup>57</sup>.

Nye (2004: 59) explains the reason for this in relation to religion as a soft power tool, “Religion is a double-edged sword as a ...soft power resource, and how it cuts depends on who is wielding it”. When soft power rests on notions of foreign policy activism, cultural attraction and political values (Nye, 2004) a fixed religious ideology and identity although popular with some, can also pose limitations when building bridges with others.

## **5.5 Concluding Remarks**

The alliance-building mode of political reproduction undergone by the *AKP* dramatically overhauled the legislative and institutional framework of the

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<sup>57</sup> Here again we can see political socialization in action, where the *AKP* tried to build as much consent as possible, widening the acceptance of their political programme.

state. Key reforms have included: the abolition of the death penalty, the legalization of Kurdish and other minority languages, property rights for non-Muslims, an increase in religious freedom including the right to wear an Islamic headscarf in public places, and comprehensive limitations on the power of the military to intervene in civilian affairs.

The *AKP* incumbency has also seen the mass opening up and liberalization of the economy, which has led to the emergence of a new bourgeoisie, traditionalists from the heartlands of Anatolia, known as the 'Anatolian Tigers' whose economic interests have played an increasing role in the formal political process. Nonetheless, the greatest success of the 'Turkish model' was its ability to mitigate revolutionary change from below through re-framing Islamic neoliberalism as social justice and opportunity.

What emerged was the nesting of Islamic neoliberalism into the Turkish state polity, its absorption becoming a new-found institutional expression to divert rival polities and potential wielders of power. Here the importance of the second-image reversed thesis in IR must be stressed. The political reproduction of the Turkish state altered to alliance-building because of the changing structure of the international political system, which naturally poses a double-security dilemma to states. The double-security dilemma faced by the Turkish state took the form of the threat of the spread of revolutionary Islamism to its domesticity after the 1979 Iranian revolution; plus, the increasing embeddedness and dependency of the Turkish economy on the

international economic system. In one fell swoop, the 'Turkish *alliance-building* model' of political reproduction de-centred equality and revolution from the centre of Islamist discourse, and replaced it with post-Islamist materialism and avarice.

Nonetheless, this model in and of itself was unsustainable, as despite the best efforts of the *AKP* to maintain consent, discontent grew amongst those who felt unrepresented by the religiosity of the project, alongside those who felt as inequality grew, that they did not have a stake. These themes will be further explored in the next two chapters.

## Chapter Six: The *AKP*'s Horizontal Alliance-building Political Reproduction of Post-Islamist Turkey's Functional Sovereignty

### 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the politics and non-politics of the political system that posed vertical competition to the *AKP* regime over issues, resources and loyalties during the 2002-2011 period. How the *AKP* maintained constitutive sovereignty over the Turkish state through an alliance-building model of political reproduction with an Islamic neoliberal pattern of authority was explored, with special reference to Turkish political and civil society. In this chapter, how the *AKP* maintained the functional dimension of sovereignty of the Turkish state will be examined. In the first 11-13 years of *AKP* rule, Turkey competed for power horizontally through co-opting and becoming increasingly alliance-building<sup>58</sup> to mitigate the threats from other state politics and non-polities<sup>59</sup> vying for political authority and sovereignty across international space<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> It is important to note that alliance-building and fortifying political reproduction are not positivist concepts, a state is either becoming more one or the other at any given time, but always displays some behaviours of either.

<sup>59</sup> These threats are what Ferguson and Mansbach term the double-security dilemma

<sup>60</sup> The alliance-building form of political reproduction lasted around 2 years longer horizontally, than it did vertically. Through the lens of the second image reversed approach, which will be explored more in the next chapter, it is evident how as the regional security

A polity will seek to take the best advantage of its constitutive and environmental factors to ensure its preservation<sup>61</sup>. Ferguson and Mansbach (1996: 44) explain that “a polity is more durable to the extent it co-opts or incorporates competing ideologies and identities into its ideological framework.” This was what Turkey’s lead foreign policy architect and practitioner, Ahmet Davutoğlu<sup>62</sup>, recognized; hence the *AKP* took advantage of its Ottoman history in addition to its neoliberal prowess, to undertake an alliance-building strategy of power consolidation within the international sphere (Natil 2016). The combination of the Islamic neoliberal vertical constitutive dimension of sovereignty and the neo-Ottoman horizontal functional dimension of sovereignty ensured the *AKP* mitigated the double-security dilemma and maintained the authority of the Turkish state. By 2011, this combination would become internationally known as ‘The Turkish Model’.

This chapter is divided into four analytical sections. The first section 6.2, ‘*Neo-Ottoman Statecraft as a Response to the Double-Security Dilemma of the New Century*’ explains how as US power was on the decline, Turkey’s

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situation deteriorated, the reaction was to crack down on civil society domestically whilst maintaining alliances regionally. This unravelled as Turkey’s regional alliances started to falter and it was clear that liberal peace was no longer tenable.

<sup>61</sup> As Lindberg (2001: 180) explains, “The most fundamental activity of state, governance, and regime institutions is to extract resources and then make use of them to preserve its continued existence.”

<sup>62</sup> Turkish academician, Prime Minister of Turkey from August 2014 to May 2016 and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2009 to 2014 (Falk 2014).

post-Islamist leaders began inventing and utilizing new tools of statecraft to expand their 'passive revolution' across borders and consolidate their regional power. The next section 6.3, '*Between middle-state and greatness: Turkey's horizontal alliance-building, moral power, and functional consent in the Middle East and beyond*' examines the soft power implementation of the AKP's statecraft toolbox and Turkey's middle state activism; as 'virtuous power' was constructed to build loyalty and consent for Islamic neoliberalism across the periphery.

Section 6.4, '*The two faces of Turkey: the AKP's maintenance of hard power during the alliance-building period*' provides evidence of Turkey's continued fortifying behaviour through economics, trade and defence. Despite becoming more alliance-building with Iran and the Arab states, this section explains how Turkey's triple entente with the USA and Israel was at the centre of their defence politics. Section 6.5, '*A deconstruction of 'The Turkish Model'*', combines the above factors with the vertical political reproduction of chapter 5 to explain how the AKP's passive revolution and maintenance of neoliberalism became a 'model', having a 'demonstrative effect' on other Muslim majority nations. The concept of 'The Turkish Model' is then deconstructed in light of the political structures, functions and agents discussed in the chapter.



## **6.2 Neo-Ottoman Statecraft as a Response to the Double-Security Dilemma of the New Century**

To comprehend the horizontal political reproduction undertaken by the *AKP* from 2002 onwards, the transformation of Turkey's foreign relations has to be placed in historical and political context. Therefore, the starting point of this analysis is the decline in US power, and the post-Islamist strategy contrived by Davutoğlu to make Turkey the regional political powerhouse as a response. This was achieved by attempting to nest the complex identities of the Middle East under one post-Ottoman identity through expanding the *AKP*'s passive revolution. This was achieved through soft power and allying with neighbours- in the hope of consolidating the model of Islamic neoliberalism.

US power in the Middle East has been on the decline since it was clear that the Iraq war was not a hasty remedy to reinforcing American hegemony. By 2005, the American military became heavily embroiled in the conflict, opening up space for smaller state polities to compete for power in the region (Bank and Karadag 2012). Turkey, as a non-Arab state polity, not tied to either the pro-Saudi or pro-Iran axis, had a unique position to employ independent political action and mediation, providing the government with a powerful domestic narrative of Turkey as the new regional leader.

“At a time when a new regional public sphere has been in the making... (there has been)..growing acceptance of and support for Turkey as a regional actor whose approach differs radically from that of global and other rival regional actors in their attempts to become

dominant. Neither Iran nor Saudi Arabia can credibly act as defenders of the Muslim voice as the AKP has done domestically.”

(Bank and Karadag 2012: 18)

The *AKP* post-Islamist’s passive revolution accompanied by their success at defeating the secular Kemalist authoritarian regime on the domestic front gave Turkey increased legitimacy whilst dealing with Muslim nations (Tuğal 2016). The emerging ‘moral power’ on the international front, in turn, reinforced the *AKP*’s authority at home (Nye 2004).

Birdal (Akça, Bekmen and Özden 2013: 92) explains that Turkey faced a new double-security dilemma in the increasingly neo-liberal international space. The *AKP* had to simultaneously re-articulate domestic social and international political relations ensuring Turkey’s standing in the capitalist world economy. Central to this was maintaining the authority of the state in an increasingly competitive region and protecting capital accumulation domestically and internationally of the hegemonic class of the post-Islamist petit-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. States have two options for maintaining power across and through political space, they extract resources from their own society and from abroad either co-operatively or coercively (Lindberg 2001).

States extract resources then uphold themselves through war, defence, propaganda, social benefits and patronage. Historically this has happened in

the international sphere through imperialism, trade, intergovernmental aid and loans<sup>63</sup> (Lindberg 2001). The state also has to continually bargain for authority within the international community and the ever more trans-border nature of political society. Then the resources are used to maintain authority through either blocking or mobilizing social groups through maintaining polity loyalty (Lindberg 2001). Waltz, (1979: 56) has explained that alliances are the tools states use to ensure a balance of power and survival within the state system. Combining their capabilities with those of other states through alliances is a method of external balancing.

Statecraft is the “use of policy instruments to satisfy the core-objectives of nation states in the international system” (Mastanduno 1998: 826). The conceptual framework of statecraft broadened with the ‘third great debate in international relations’. Previously restricted to use of economic, diplomatic and military means to achieve power, influence and security; scholarship on statecraft now encompasses notions of soft power<sup>64</sup>, low politics, culture and

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<sup>63</sup> Lindberg (2001: 181) refers to the point that “Historically... absolutism was necessary to extract resources without consent.” Yet, as social relations and the nature of political society changed, it became more efficient for the state to make the population pay for war “voluntarily” through taxes normalizing bargaining and consent as the maintenance of power of political authorities. It is at this point in history that loyalty and issues became particularly important in civilian-government relations.

<sup>64</sup> The power of a polity to co-opt, persuade and attract through culture, economy, tourism or other “soft” means, internationally.

identity-formation<sup>65</sup>. With regards to Turkey, the literature examines soft power during the *AKP* government (Oğuzlu 2007; Anas 2011; Alpaydin 2010); Turkey's role as a regional power (Kirişci 2011) and middle power (Nye 2004; Barlas 2005), the concept of Turkey's regional human security agenda (Natil 2013, 2016, 2017) and the role of religion, culture and identity formation in Turkish statecraft (Bozdaglioglu 2003). In the first sections of this chapter, Turkey's soft power is contextualized in relation to the *AKP*'s alliance-building political reproduction driven by the double-security dilemma faced at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as neoliberalism ensued. As a historical realist enquiry, despite the central role of identity and loyalty; this study also builds and expands on the Gramscian idea of 'historic bloc formation' and highlights the centrality of economic competition in the state's threat determination (threat from rivals) which will be further explored at the end of the chapter (Femia 1991).

Yalvaç (2016:12) explains how the modern state "serves as the locus of accumulation and the construction of the political order of capital." To understand the state's extraction and bargaining in the international sphere,

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<sup>65</sup> Hall (1999: 116) "for instance, (it would) seem difficult or prohibitively costly for a state to be alliance-building if there is a discrepancy in the ideological convictions permeating society and the state, as in Visigothic Spain. Conversely, a state might actively create myths, for instance, in attempts at becoming alliance-building, as in free Germany during the Roman Empire."

one has to appreciate the role of foreign policy as a hegemonic initiative<sup>66</sup> driven ideologically and physically by the elite class to maintain their political authority over both domestic and international civil and political society. Yalvaç (2016:8) explains that:

“..through the hegemonic bloc concept (Gramsci) demonstrates how a temporary alliance between social classes is established around a set of hegemonic ideas or ‘dominant ideology’. (In this case, neo-ottomanism and post-Islamism.)”

When the ‘red threat’ of 20<sup>th</sup> century communism had disintegrated, policy-makers began to reshape Turkish foreign policy according to the new economic opportunities and alliances that presented in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. *AKP*’s ex-foreign and prime minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu, is the creator of the Strategic Depth Doctrine (*Stratejik Derinlik*) which he sets out in an academic literary format (Davutoğlu 2001)<sup>67</sup>. In his book, Davutoğlu states that Turkey should utilize its alliance-building potential based on historical and cultural ties within its geopolitical sphere, as well as promoting democracy and free markets, ergo shedding its fortifying 20<sup>th</sup> century reputation, the ‘so-called Kemalist foreign policy tradition’ (Tansel 2015).

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<sup>66</sup> Yalvaç (2016: 16) explains that “the concept of a hegemonic project- developed by Jessop (1990) denotes the agential moment of structural change, in which agency transforms pre-existing structures, while simultaneously being enabled and constrained by those structures.”

<sup>67</sup> The focus here on Davutoğlu is not without reason. As Falk (2014) has stated, “Long before Davutoğlu became foreign minister in 2009, he was widely respected in Turkey as the creative force behind its energetic and effective foreign policy, which was causing a stir in the region and around the world.” (Falk 2014)

During the Cold War, Turkey's political reproduction within the international system was blocking and fortifying, particularly within the Middle East where the Treaty of Lausanne had left a fractured legacy. The political processes at the time meant that policy-makers perceived multiple international alliances as a threat to Turkish sovereignty as any loosening of Kemalist militarism could offer space to plant the seed of Communism within Turkish territory. International loyalties lied solely with NATO and Israel (Hale 2012). When the Soviet Union dissolved, the newly independent states of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, and the liberalizing of economic markets opened up space for new alliances to be formed and Turkey's political reproduction in the international sphere became alliance-building and based on consent and cultural solidarity (Hale 2012).

Davutoğlu's radical vision of international alliances is based on a new regional geographic imagination grounded around the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, thus it was termed by commentators as "neo-ottoman":

"It was argued that the *AKP*'s policies, far from being new, were 'neo-Ottoman', implying a reversion to pre-republican practices. The principle of cultural pluralism was used to address the Kurdish question, and could be adopted as the basis of more liberal, less ardently nationalist, foreign policies."

(Hale 2012: 255)

Under the *AKP*, *pax-ottomana* and the revival of Turkey's Islamic and Ottoman heritage swept through layers of the intelligentsia and popular culture across the Islamic world. There was a renewed sense of pride in

Turkey's history and a renewed energy for regional co-operation (Hale 2012). Tuğal (2012: Online) states, "A nostalgia for all things ottomanesque has swept through even secular Turkey, leading to record ratings for a soap opera about (Ottoman) Sultan Süleyman."

The architects of transnational post-Islamism, the intellectual wing of the *AKP* leadership, had generated a pax-ottomana renaissance intending to shake the foundations of the Eurocentric epistemology that the international system had grown accustomed to<sup>68</sup>; as they believed great powers could only be born ideologically and combining Turkey's Ottoman legacy with its geopolitical and economic weight as a middle state were central to this (Davutoğlu 2001).

Davutoğlu's conception of Islam in politics was largely influenced by the sociologist Ziya Gökalp, who theorized the notion of Turkish nationalism with an Ottoman character as opposed to Western laicism. This would build the loyalty and consent of the Anatolia religious majority (Bayat 2013). His ideas

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<sup>68</sup> Adiong (2013) in his seminal work 'International Relations and Islam' which puts forward an argument for the marrying of Islamic studies and IR, states it is important to note that there is an inequality perpetuated by Western IR schools on the role of Islam in international relations, which could account for the criticism of Davutoglu's strategic doctrine. Scholarship on Islam has increasingly framed it as a unanimous concept rather than studying its pluralist manifestation, and as an existential threat to the security of the Eurocentric Westphalian model of human rights and democracy stemming from Christendom, leading to wide orientalist perspectives across the academy which frame Muslim as "other". Adiong (2013) argues that just as the English school drew upon Christian values to conceptualize a desirable state system, scholars from the global South can reclaim back the intellectual space and use frameworks drawing on Islamic values.

became popular during the 1970s, when Islamic activism was suppressed by a string of militarist secular governments. In the 1990s the *RP* promoted the idea of traditional Ottoman-Islamic civilization being Turkey's true national culture (Bayat 2013). In turn, the business classes and old elites would see benefits of the marriage of Ottoman Islamic ideology with the growing economic opportunities that trade liberalization across the Middle East offered in the post-Cold War period (Adiong: 2013).

Davutoğlu declared that Turkey should recapitalize on its heritage to become a leader in intercivilizational and inter-religious dialogue between the new global economic powerhouses (Grigoriadis 2010). He describes a 'zero-problems with neighbours' policy where efforts should be on peace-building, conflict resolution and mediation within the Middle Eastern neighbourhood. Yet, Davutoğlu's zero-problems policy rejects the idea of Turkey bridging the West and Islam, as he believes it is a regional multi-ethnic power with its own strategic weight (Grigoriadis 2010).

The 'zero-problems with neighbours' philosophy's translation into Turkey's central active policy consideration can be readily grasped on the website of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

"Turkey attaches special importance to seeing its positive outcomes in her immediate vicinity, that is to say, in her relations with neighbours. In this context, the discourse of "zero problem with neighbours" is a slogan summarizing Turkey's expectations with regards to her relations with neighbouring countries. Turkey wants to eliminate all the



problems from her relations with neighbours or at least to minimize them as much as possible.”

(Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011)

Davutoğlu’s understanding was that long-term strategic planning meant that resources could effectively be turned into power. His avocation of a long run alliance-building strategy was an attempt to mitigate the double-security dilemma by pro-active penetration (Hall 1999).

In his book, Davutoğlu (2001) argues that a deficiency of strategic thought had mired 20<sup>th</sup> century Turkish foreign policy. This was due both to underinvestment and the defensive Sèvres Syndrome<sup>69</sup> under a number of Kemalist governments. Fortifying political reproduction had been the norm in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which meant that Turkey had a lack of a sphere of influence in the region and the world. For Davutoğlu (2001), Kemalist political leaders lacked political will, leading to a reactive foreign policy dependent on conjectural changes, rather than an intelligent proactive and assertive foreign policy. Langan (2016: 1403) links this to the more recent concept of ontological security of the Turkish elite who felt out of control of their hegemonic projects and failed to reach consent amongst the masses and civil society, something that Davutoğlu believed the *AKP* were capable of.

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<sup>69</sup> A popular Turkish conspiracy theory that the West or the Arab region are trying to sabotage the future of the Turkish Republic.

Davutoğlu believed that the *AKP* could mitigate the double-security dilemma by following a simple power equation:

*Power = sum of fixed data (history, geography, population and culture) + potential data (economic capacity, technological capacity, military capacity) X (strategic mentality, strategic planning and political will)*

He explains that fixed data cannot be changed in the short and medium term no matter how much political will those in charge may have. Whilst, potential data can be changed in both the short and medium run (Davutoğlu 2001). To politically reproduce in order to maintain authority, those governing need strategic mentality and planning. No state can rely on fixed data or potential data alone to mitigate the double-security dilemma (Davutoğlu 2001).

For the benefit of this study, it can be understood that potential data is a form of hard power and the tool of the more fortifying state. On the other hand, a more alliance-building state takes advantage of the fixed data through strategic mentality and planning to be able to maintain authority when embedded in a neoliberal international system.

The new foreign policy of Davutoğlu has also been described as being Kantian, as opposed to the Hobbesian approach popular since the founding of the republic (Park 2012). Davutoğlu's peers have argued that rather than a radical approach, he borrowed the cooperative security community idea from Europe, based on neoliberal peace-building ideas of cooperation through

trade and economic ties, desirable for national peace and security. Turkey's neo-ottomanism is thus comparable to the relationship other former imperial powers such as France and Britain have with their ex-colonies (Yalvaç 2016).

Park (2012) frames Turkey's political reproduction under *AKP* as based on soft power, yet not discounting that its foreign policy initiatives are very much in line with its expanding economic interests. Yalvaç (2016) elaborates that it is not possible to consider Turkey's strategic depth as separate from the aspired neoliberal depth of the capitalist world and the geopolitical dynamics associated with it. Therefore, the emergence of Strategic Depth Doctrine should be linked to a process of hegemonic depth defined as the increasing embeddedness of the bourgeoisie class in Turkish society and its increasing links with international and the transnational capital (Yalvaç, 2016: 16).

Yalvaç (2016:15), also elaborates on the importance of the *AKP*'s expanding economic interests (or the 'potential data' in Davutoğlu's power equation in their relationship with the outside world):

"The use of a Muslim identity in foreign policy is also the outcome of the increasing hegemonic depth of the JDP (*AKP*) creating congruence between its economic and popular ideology. The image of a moderate Islamic state fitted both to the hegemonic aspirations of the US and the accumulation strategies of the "neo-national bourgeoisie" in search of export markets in the Middle Eastern countries. Therefore, the use of a Muslim identity and Turkey being considered as a "model Muslim democracy" both internally and externally helped JDP (*AKP*) consolidate its ties with other Muslim countries. Thus ideological depth and hegemonic depth have consolidated and mutually overdetermined each other, leading to attempts at increasing the hegemonic depth externally."

Section 6.2 has examined how the *AKP* planned to mitigate the double-security dilemma through taking advantage of Turkey's shared identities and alliance-building potential, whilst maintaining hard power. The focus was on the role of Davutoğlu's Strategic Depth Doctrine and the birth of neo-ottomanism as a political tool to build loyalty. The next section will explain how this strategic planning translated into solid action, through the use of morality, culture and religion to ensure Turkey's visibility and power as a middle-state in the ever-more competitive international system.

### **6.3 Between Middle-state and Greatness: Turkey's Horizontal Alliance-building, Moral Power, and Functional Consent in the Middle East and Beyond**

At the core of the *AKP*'s horizontal alliance-building was its penetration of international political and civil society through post-Islamist moralism. The *AKP* used a combination of both traditional and radical middle state activism to ensure Turkey could out-compete other state polities vying for influence and power in the semi-periphery and periphery. The failure of pan-Arab nationalism let down peripheral nations like Palestine and Somalia and it was these nations that would be central to Erdoğan's statesmanship. The Palestinian issue, an issue that domestically was popular with the Anatolian heartlands and internationally was popular with the Arab masses, would take central stage in foreign policy discourse (Natil 2013). Tools of soft power

such as culture and religion would accompany this to ensure Turkey's 'virtuous power' touched the peripheral masses of the globe (Nye 2004).

When examining the world system, it is clear that the best place to situate Turkey is as a "middle/intermediate-power' state"<sup>70</sup>. According to Chapnick (1999), middle power foreign policies are usually multilateralist, bridge-building, and concerned with the promotion of norms. The importance for middle-powers is to demonstrate to the world that despite not being empirically on par with the great powers, they can manoeuvre with just as much credence (Chapnick 1999). Middle states commonly use multilateralism and conflict management in their foreign policy behaviour as the most effective means of ensuring soft power. Discourse around Turkey's middle state status has been contextualized by policy-makers and academics as being part of the emerging regional powers of Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey, 'MINT status'<sup>71</sup> as US power is on the decline (Langan 2017).

Culture is one of the three resources that Nye (2004) uses to account for how middle states such as Turkey increase their power of attraction. Nye and

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<sup>70</sup> Ranking states along empirical lines is an insufficient way to understand how middle powers act within the international system. Rather, domestic and international perceptions of capacity have a leading role to play in understanding these phenomena. Due to the importance for middle-powers of demonstrating to the world that despite not being empirically on par with the great powers, they can manoeuvre with just as much credence, much of the scholarship around them is constructivist. However, to what extent this manoeuvring is independent of the great powers is disputed (Cooper, Higgott, and Nossal 1991) coined the term "followership" to describe how middle powers generally actively follow the great powers.

<sup>71</sup> (An acronym referring to the economies of Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey)

other scholars such as (Oğuzlu 2007; Commuri 2012) frame the shift away from more fortifyingism to more alliance-building neo-ottomanism within Turkey's foreign policy as a loosening of hard power and the turning point to the emergence of the soft power concept in Turkish foreign policy. Nye (2004) defines soft power in the international system as getting others to desire the outcomes you want.

Under *AKP* rule, Turkey has been an increasingly prominent player in the imagination of the Islamic street gaining a lot of air time on TV and attention from scholars. Erdoğan's liberalized policies gained increasing popularity in the first decade of the 21st century within the masses of the Middle East who were governed by authoritarian regimes:

“The advent of *AKP* rule aroused the curiosity of the Arab world: Turkey's Kemalist tradition was customarily portrayed as atheistic and anti-Arab, but *AKP* leaders were demonstratively pious and, in Erdoğan's case, had the popular touch. Thus, as police brutality, poverty, inequality and unemployment intensified under authoritarian neoliberal Arab regimes, Turkey re-emerged in the Arab popular imagination as an ambivalent entity. The Erdoğan government became a symbol of Muslim strength, but it also evoked uneasiness about Turks' imperial arrogance.”

(Tuğal 2012: Online)

(Anas 2011: 368) affirms that Turkey stands far ahead of its Arab and Muslim neighbours in having improved its political and cultural institutions, human resources and cultural landscape. Turkey has more than 200 TV channels and nearly 1,000 radio channels which make it vastly different to one decade ago (Anas 2011). A huge measurable success of the Turkish Ottoman

branding project within the Islamic world was the Turkish soap opera Noor. It projected a Turkish liberal model of Islam with characters celebrating Ramadan but still including more secular traditions such as drinking and kissing on screen. "So much so was the Noor mania that its popularity sparked reaction from Iranian columnists calling it an effort to counter Shia influence in the Arab world." (Anas 2011: 382) The Ottoman cultural revival through Turkish soaps, media outlets and religious discourse led to growing popularity of Turkey on the Arab street (Oğuzlu 2007). Kirişçi (2011) explains how Turkey's soft power activities have had a 'demonstrative effect' across the Middle East.

Turkey's use of soft power has generated the appeal of the 'Turkish Model' (political Islam compatible with neo-liberal democracy). This had sway in the early days of the Arab Spring, where discussions took place around the applicability of the model for new democracies. An example of this is a BBC Arabic TV show that was broadcast in 2011 'The Turkish Model' (BBC Arabic- YouTube 2011). This was in debate form and examined issues such as why Turkey became a model despite the fear of secularists and alawis of Turkey's creeping authoritarianism. An argument brought to the fore was that due to the past 40 years of corruption and repressive governments in the Arab region, the Arab masses felt held back. Turkey has been perceived as a state all citizens had a stake in. Turkey previously had been a repressive

regime, and the *AKP* had led the country away from repression. The Arab peoples saw hope that their countries could follow this path.

As middle powers lack in standalone military might, international perceptions of agency and capacity take the leading role in increasing their global influence, also known as the behaviour model, or construction of the soft power of attraction (Chapnick 1999). Central to this is a middle states expressed desire for greater international status, “Hallmark events, sports and cultural industries are perceived as useful means for semi-peripheral societies to attract a ‘CNN presence’ and, concomitantly, tourism, capital, students and similar multiplier effects.”(Black and Westhuizen 2004: 1204)

On the other hand, soft power propagandizing cannot always conceal the reality of the human cost of repression and hard power (Samaan 2013). This can be demonstrated by another issue addressed by the programme which was the lack of success of the ‘Iranian model’. Despite the Iranian government’s soft power efforts, it was deemed that the Iranian model was not popular with the Arab street as it was not largely different from their repressive regimes. The programme concluded by suggesting that the failure of the ‘Turkish Model’ may lie in the continued repression of the media and the lack of media freedom in the country, with *AKP* sympathetic broadcasters and broadsheets monopolizing 80% of the market (BBC Arabic- YouTube 2011).



Another example is the 2010 book published by AlJazeera (Werghi: 2010). Werghi (2010) explains how the 'Turkish model' is a historic opportunity to help redraw the tense relationship between the Arab ruling secular elites and monarchies on the one hand, and the lack of the consolidation of democracy on the other. This ties into Tuğal's (2016) concept of 'passive revolution'- where revolutionary currents calling for peoples democracy can be appeased through top-down reforms of repressive regimes. Nonetheless, Keyman and Gumuscu (2014) note that caution has to be taken when theorizing democracy in the Middle Eastern context. They explain that secularism must not be conflated with democracy. Thus, a 'post-Islamist' party elected into power operating within a 'secular framework', is no guarantee for democratic consolidation. In this situation, the 'Turkish Model' of democratization is therefore having a negative demonstrative effect in the Arab region.

Political values are vital to soft power promotion and effective soft power behaviour for a middle state is constructing itself as an international moral power (Chapnick 1999). Crucial to the application of the neo-Ottoman Islamic discourse in its geopolitical sphere is Turkey's re-emergence in the Arab popular imagination as an ambivalent entity (Tuğal 2012: Online). Central to this is both the pious public imagery of Turkish leaders and Turkish state power being framed as a symbol of Muslim strength to counteract the injustices across the Middle East (Tuğal 2012: Online). A measure of the success of this was an opinion poll on the popularity of countries, taken by

the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (*Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı, TESEV*) in 2010, of 2006 respondents by telephone in seven Arab countries, it was revealed that Turkey received the second highest score out of eight countries (the highest score was given to Saudi) (Akgün, Perçinoğlu, and Gündoğar 2010) .

With the failure of pan-Arab nationalism, the dominant discourse around the Palestinian issue is one of Islam and morality against injustice, a discourse the *AKP* subscribed to. A determining parameter in the shift of Arab general public opinion in favour of Turkey despite decades of icy relations took place due to Turkey's tough stand against Israeli violations of international law and solidarity with the Palestinian people (Natil 2013). So much so, that the Palestinian *TİKA* office was opened by Prime Minister Erdoğan and *TİKA* is one of the most active aid providers in Palestine:

“The (Palestinian) Office of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (*Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon İdaresi Başkanlığı, TİKA*) was opened on 02 May 2005 by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. *TİKA* is providing schools, hospital and clinic constructions, clean water access, restoration projects, education in landscaping and urban infrastructure and expert training. President of Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency Serdar Çam went to Palestine on 7 March 2012. Serdar Çam and his delegation are expected to visit the Jerusalem Program Coordination Office and examine the *TİKA* projects on site.”

(*TİKA* 2012) [translated from Turkish by the author]

During his prime ministerial rule Erdoğan became known across the region for his speeches in favour of the Palestinian people. In the 2009 Davos Summit Erdoğan walked off stage after an angry exchange with the then

Israeli President Shimon Peres over Israeli policy in Gaza (Natil 2013). In May 2010 a Turkish Aid ship, *Mavi Marmara*, organized by the *İHH*, an *AKP* sympathetic charity was ambushed by the Israeli Defence Force in international waters<sup>72</sup>. Mahmut Tural, Captain of the Ship, described events:

“The Israelis did not warn us before attacking. They kept trying to intimidate us and force us into their territorial waters. I did not allow it. I did not let them change our route. Nobody agreed to be drawn into Ashdod Port. Israel could have used a number of methods, but the Israeli method was to kill 9 people.”

(*İHH İnsani Yardım Vakfı* 2010) [translated from Turkish by author]

After decades of the failure of the Arab nations to act on the Palestinian cause and take a tough stand against Israel, Erdoğan's soap box speeches became an effective soft power tool to increase Turkey's influence with the Arab public (Natil 2013). This led to Palestinian elected Prime Minister in exile, Hamas' Ismail Haniyeh commenting on Palestinian public television that the Turkish aid workers who had been killed by Israel were 'martyrs', and that their sacrifice would never be forgotten (Palestine TV- YouTube 2010).

Later, due to continual diplomatic pressure from Turkey, Israel was forced to apologize. Erdoğan comments on the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's apology for the Mavi Marmara incident are revealing with regards to confirming the centrality of the strategic depth doctrine in the

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<sup>72</sup> Nine Turkish aid workers lost their lives.

Turkish foreign policy discourse of the time. Speaking in the Turkish parliament, Erdoğan commented on Israel's apology:

"We are at the beginning of a process of elevating Turkey to a position so that it will again have a say, initiative and power, as it did in the past."

(Reuters 2013)

He later also made the remark:

"The point we have arrived at as a result of our consultations with all our brothers in Palestine and peripheral countries is increasing our responsibility with regard to solving the Palestinian question and this is bringing about a new equation,"

(Hurriyet Daily News 2013)

The first quote mentions Turkey's powerful past, which for Erdoğan is the Ottoman period when Turkey administered Islamic rule over its empire. The second quote which mentions "brothers in Palestine and peripheral countries is increasing our responsibility" is a reference to brotherhood in Islam across the Middle East and Turkey's moral responsibility to protect its Muslim kin. The common theme is Turkey's power and responsibility to the Islamic world, its Islamic heritage and its manoeuvre back to this moral religious position as a power broker. Here religious undertones are playing a dominant discursive role in the construction of Turkey's relations with the Middle East.

Nonetheless, from a realist foreign policy perspective, common Muslim heritage cannot solve arduous alien threats and international disputes. For example, common Islamic heritage did not protect Turkey from Islamic fundamentalist terrorism, and peace-building with Syria has been a complete

failure for Turkish diplomacy (Waldman and Caliskan 2017). Strategically, Turkey also has been alliance-building with non-Muslim states to mitigate its internal and international threats from fundamentalists and others. Aside from its NATO commitments, Turkey signed up as a dialogue partner to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, a security nexus between Russia, China and other states in the Caucasus (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011).

As Falk (2014: 158) explains,

“Turkey did its utmost to bring greater stability and prosperity to the region, through diplomacy, cultural exchanges, and trade/investment relations. Beyond this, Davutoglu and Erdoğan were innovative in encouraging diplomatic and economic relations with Africa and Latin America, regions Turkey had previously ignored.”

Other major components of Turkey’s internationalist alliance-building activity have been the increased role of Turkey in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the election of a Turkish General Secretary, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, within the organization (Sadik 2012) and Turkey’s initiatives in conflict management. Efforts in conflict management included mediation between Israel and Syria<sup>73</sup>, efforts to achieve Sunni-Shiite reconciliation in

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<sup>73</sup> Turkish-Syrian relations have often been suspicious and tense, but after narrowly avoiding an all-out war in 1998 the two countries were forced to co-operate. This new-found co-operation led to the flourishing of economic opportunities and liberalization between the two countries under the *AKP*, plus the management of water and border disputes. Mutual interests such as disagreement with the Iraq War and suppression of Kurdish self-determination decreased the hostility between them. Cross-border trade and tourism thrived as visa restrictions were removed (Altunisik 2013; Hinnebusch and Tür 2013). Prior to Operation Cast Lead, Israel’s attack on Gaza in late December 2008, indirect talks between Syrian and Israeli diplomats were held in Istanbul hosted by Davutoğlu (Hale: 2012).

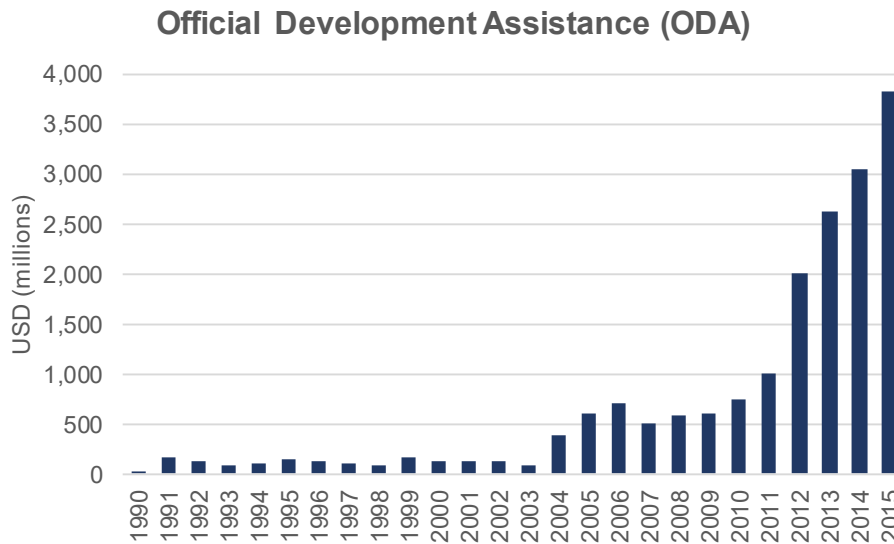
Iraq, attempts at rapprochement with Armenia, reconciliation efforts in Lebanon and Palestine between Hamas and Fatah<sup>74</sup>, the Serbia-Bosnia reconciliation in the Balkans, the dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan and post-conflict reconstruction efforts in Darfur and Somalia (Hale 2012). Aside from this, *AKP* leaders congratulated President Ahmedinejad on his controversial re-election in June 2009. Turkey's signed in May 2010, along with Brazil, an agreement committing Iran to ship out low-enriched uranium in return for research reactor fuel rods for medical purposes, and pushed against additional sanctions on Iran, winning the 9 June 2010 vote in the Security Council against additional sanctions (Hale 2012).

Conflict management, diplomacy and development were also central to Turkey's alliance-building neo-ottoman expansionism in Africa and across the developing world (Cavdar 2013). The below graph shows the mass increase in official development assistance under the *AKP* government:

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<sup>74</sup> For more information on this see Natil 2013 "Turkey's Human Security Agenda in the Gaza Strip."

Figure 6.1 Turkey's Official Development Assistance since 1990 in USD millions



Source: OECD Data (OECD.org 2018)

Largely due to Turkey's aid contributions to Africa, the country was awarded the position of 'strategic partner' by the African Union in 2008. Cavdar (2017) states that *AKP's* Africa policy had two calculated outcomes from the beginning, the expansion of the capital of the emerging Turkish *AKP* sympathetic SMEs and reinforcing Turkey's international role as a middle power. The beginning of the strategic partnership took place as early as 2002, when Ankara were involved in African Union conferences as an external observer. Some key events in the political partnership included: the visit of AU President Professor Alpha Oumar Konare to Ankara in November 2005, Tayyip Erdoğan's state visit to Ethiopia in January 2007, the Istanbul

Turkish-African Partnership Summits in August 2008 and October 2013, and the opening of 19 Turkish embassies across the African continent after 2009 (Cavdar 2013).

Multi-track diplomacy between Turkey and Africa played a large role in the strengthening of economic relations between them (Cavdar 2013). Significant measures included: the 2008 Turkish-African Business Forum organized by *AKP* sympathetic business lobbyists the Foreign Economic Relations Board (*Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu, DEİK*) and the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (*Türkiye İşadamları ve Sanayiciler Konfederasyonu, TUSKON*), the increase in foreign trade between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa by 72% from 2000 to 2011- reaching \$7.5 billion (Langan 2017), and the aid budget from Turkey to Africa reaching \$1 billion in 2011 (Cavdar 2013)<sup>75</sup>.

Somalia has been a large focus of *AKP*'s Africa drive. Publicity on the *TİKA* website explains the success of Turkey's multi-track assistance to Somalia:

“In Somalia, we cannot let human deaths be just statistical data, the work of our country (Turkey) was not limited to emergency humanitarian aid. Turkey has launched activities to strengthen the social and technical infrastructure of the region. As a result of the campaigns, life tended to improve in the country; Child mortality has diminished, and vitality has been gained in the capital Mogadishu.”

(*TİKA* 2012)

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<sup>75</sup> Growth in Turkish international aid and development projects over the last decade have been facilitated by Turkish International Cooperation Agency (*TİKA*), the government's official aid agency which *AKP* established in 2001.



[Translated from Turkish by the author]

Langan (2016) explains that this multi-track diplomacy was constructed in the context of Turkey's moral power, which he terms 'virtuous power'. Humanitarian interventions in sub-Saharan Africa were framed as an alternative to the EU's neo-colonialism, 'reinterpreting Ottoman history as one of benevolent hegemony'. This can be evidenced by quotes from President Gül (Langan 2016: 7):

"We (Turks) have never run after only our own interests. We know that states, which only looked after their own interests in the past engendered major damage to Africa. The international community should know that we could only be equal partners in Africa."

"We are different from Europeans. We do not take away your raw materials. We invest and also bring along technology and qualified workforce. We have done so in other African countries. We have already begun to do so in Ghana as well."

(Speaking to Ghanaian officials)

Despite countries like Somalia endorsing the *AKP* as a 'virtuous power' and Turkey as a model country, concerns have been raised by some development practitioners and scholars around Turkey's Africa activism (Andrikopoulos 2015, Cavdar 2013, Marks 2013, Mason 2017, Langan 2016). Langan (2016:10) raises the issue over industrial clashes between Somali workers and Turkish managers, such as the disputes over the privatization of Somalia's ports. He also raises worries regarding Turkey's eye on Somalia's oil and Turkish arms sales to sub-Saharan Africa which have amounted to \$650 million. Despite the Turkish governments 'anti-imperialist' rhetoric, the same inequalities of 'Western' neoliberal "free" trade

exist with regards to African business access to Turkish markets, and the lubrication of corrupt local patronage networks by Turkish officials (Langan 2016).

Keyman and Gumuscu (2014) bring to light the problems of Turkey being viewed as a model country by developing nations, the worry being that Turkey 'may end up preaching effective governance as an outcome of power fusion. Turkey may ...export the idea of effective governance as a by-product of consequentialism and monopolization of power.' They note a particular shift in aid policy, noting that before the Arab Spring aid was distributed without normative conditions, nonetheless as the double-security dilemma shifted, post-Arab spring aid policy has had conditionality and state reform at the centre (Keyman and Gumuscu 2014). This shift will be analysed more in the next chapter.

Despite the virtuous rhetoric, Turkey is far from being guided into a moral Islamic mission by the *AKP*; rather the *AKP* have been using Islamic rhetoric to "play an important role in the ...policies of the USA and Atlantic axis." (Erdem 2012: 440) Tuğal (2007) argues that Turkish foreign policy in the 2002-2011 period was based more on the Washington's Greater Middle East Initiative than 'Strategic Depth'. Closer relations with Islamic and African countries was simply a chance to reap the economic and political benefits of the assertion of US control. He describes this as an 'Islamized Americanization'. "The *AKP* launches 'Islamic' foreign policy salvos, but an

attentive reading reveals that these are usually voicing Washington's demands in Muslim phraseology." (Tuğal 2007: Online)

For example, Ankara's relationship with Hamas was used to convey the West's message of disarmament rather than religious brotherhood and solidarity (Tuğal 2012). The *AKP* have also used their "Islamic" brand to justify the use of military force for NATO and Israeli interests, "in 2006, when the Turkish population almost unanimously condemned Israel's invasion of Lebanon and bombardment of South Beirut, Erdoğan insisted on Turkish participation in the UN force sent to contain Hezbollah, which the IDF had signally failed to do, on the grounds of 'coming to the aid' of suffering Lebanese." (Tuğal 2012: Online)

Zalewski (2010: 102) explains that:

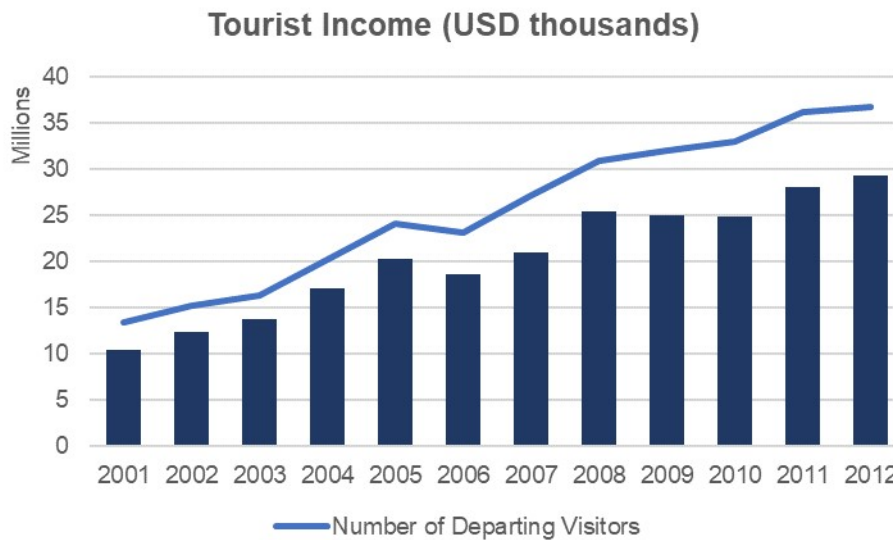
"By suggesting that Turkey is "turning from the West", the current debate- dressed as it is in Cold War terminology-fails to do justice to the breadth and depth of the nation's foreign policy revolution. Regardless of what the *AKP*'s critics might argue, Turkey has not parted ways with the West simply by rediscovering the East. Although the EU negotiating process has slowed to a crawl, Turkey remains committed to the objective of EU accession. Although it has improved relations with Muslim countries, including Iran and Syria, it has also reached out to non-Muslims nations such as Armenia and Russia. And although it has clashed with the United States on the Iranian issue, Turkey provides military support in Afghanistan and remains a member of NATO and an invaluable intermediary between Syria and Iraq."

(Zalewski 2010: 102)

The *AKP*'s "zero problems with neighbours" policy was motivated substantially by economic considerations (Tuğal 2012) driven by the search

for international profits by the growing Anatolian post-Islamist middle-class. Turkey's zero-problem initiative reflects the enormous increase of trade linkages, rendering Turkey a new trading state (Kirişci 2011: 33-35). Between 2002 and 2010, Turkish trade increased threefold with Syria, nearly fourfold with Maghreb countries, fivefold with the Gulf countries and Yemen, and sevenfold with Egypt (Kirişci 2011). The waiving of visa requirements for nationals of several Arab countries also contributed to the increase in the number of Arab visitors to Turkey, from 332,000 in 1991 to almost 1.9 million in 2010 (Kirişci, 2011). In fact, due to the success of Turkey's marketing power as a desirable tourist destination, as seen in the graph below the number of foreign visitors greatly increased under the *AKP*, from 13,450,127 in 2001 to 36,776,645 in 2012 bringing in a tourism income of \$29.3 billion. This meant an increase of more than double the tourist revenue in the *AKP*'s first ten-year tenure.

Figure 6.2 Tourism Revenue in Turkey, 2001-2012 (Average spend c. \$800 per visitor)



Source: (Turkstat 2013)

Another tool of Turkey’s nation branding was the state’s use of popular culture to encourage business ties. The Turkish government announced that it would give prizes and financial awards to support producers and directors to create media products that help Turkey’s image (Bank and Karadag 2012). The reverse effect was also in play: Turkish businessmen and professionals involved in economic projects abroad contributed to the unified message of the national brand. On his 2011 “Arab Spring” tour, Erdoğan was accompanied by 250 Turkish businessmen (Tuğal 2016).

Bank and Karadag (2012) explain that part of the necessity of using branding, culture and other means of marketing was Turkey's heavy reliance on the export of consumables. Unlike other Middle Eastern states, Turkey lacks natural resources, specifically energy resources. Despite this they note that, Turkey had to renew its image in order to balance its Eastern-oriented foreign policy with its military alliances. To the West Turkey would be a "mediator", to the global South a "soft-power" plus a leading exporter to challenge both the West and China. However, they could not hope to be a "soft-power" in the Middle East region without at least seeming to side with their "Muslim brothers and sisters" (Bank and Karadag 2012). This was a large part of a cultural capitalism project (where buying Turkish did not just mean buying a Turkish product, you were buying into *AKP* ethics- neo-ottoman, anti-Israel, Islam with a human face. The *Mavi Marmara* incident, the Davos summit, Turkish Ottoman soaps, Turkish cinema, Turkish fashion can all be framed in this way (Bank and Karadag 2012).

The notion of a turn in foreign policy towards Islamic nations either way is a misconception of the very role of the semi-peripheral state in the international system. Religion, and in this case Islam, is being misused as a globalised form of social and cultural capital that increases the brand loyalty and

desirability of “Muslim” Turkey to the periphery<sup>76</sup> (Fox and Sandler 2004). However, these dynamics can also lead to aggressive practices if one state uses a common religious background to justify taking over another, or if countries with varied religious backgrounds cannot co-operate due to differing religious ideologies (Snyder 2011). Religion is a unique phenomenon in its capability to unite people and organizations across borders and globalization has enabled transnational networks of religious actors who can influence policy-making across a wide range of geopolitical settings (Snyder 2011).

Through this channel, the Western capitalists are using Turkey’s semi-peripheral power to put a friendly Turkish and Islamic face onto neo-liberal policies. Hegemony involves the expansion of a discourse of “norms, values, views and perceptions through persuasive redescription of the world (Torfing 1999: 302).” Since

“any discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre; a perpetual discursive struggle is being waged between different hegemonic projects to be understood not just as one possible project

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<sup>76</sup> “Religion is a double-edged sword as an American soft-power resource, and how it cuts depends on who is wielding it” (Nye 2004: 59). When soft power rests on notions of foreign policy activism, cultural attraction and political values (Nye 2004) a fixed religious ideology and identity although popular with some, can also pose limitations when building bridges with others. Fox and Sandler hypothesise that a common religious heritage between states can lead to common norms being practiced that then facilitates peace-building through alliances and international treaties (Fox and Sandler 2004)

among many alternatives, but as the only possible social order- thus to hegemonize is to construct the dominant social meaning.”

(Laclau and Mouffe 2001: 112).

Although Turkey likes to brand its influence in this regard as a form of “soft” power, it becomes very apparent that viewing religion in the terms of social/cultural capital through a world systems lens; there is no real separation between hard and soft power. They are both forms of structural violence which elevate the destructive policies of the hegemon. The next section will delve deeper into the notion of hard power, which on many levels seemed relatively unchanged to that of the Kemalist period.

#### **6.4 The Two Faces of Turkey: The *AKP*'s Maintenance of Hard Power during the Alliance-building Period**

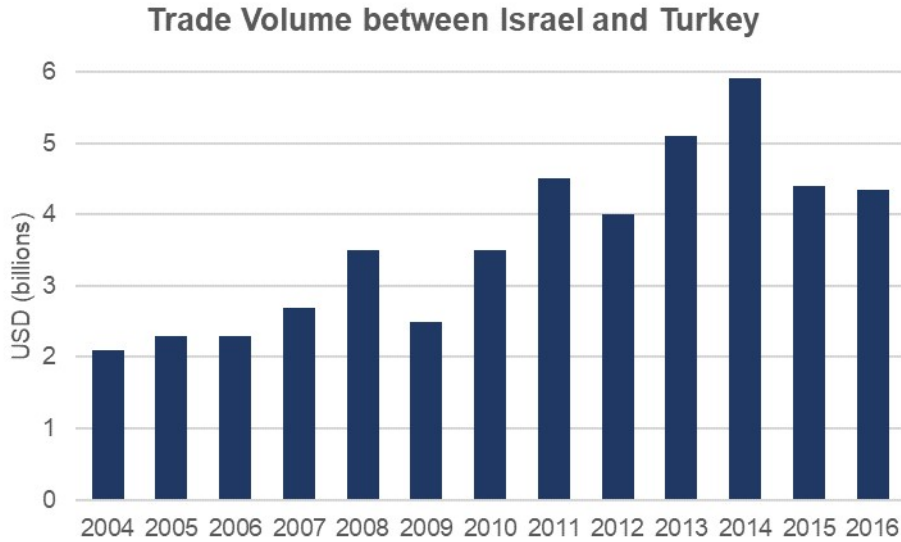
Defence cooperation with Israel was one of the cornerstones of the Kemalist fortifying regime, and contrary to popular belief expounded by the *AKP*'s Islamic rhetoric; the military alliance with Israel was also a key source of the *AKP*'s political authority. Defence politics and hard power are vital to both alliance-building and fortifying polities; the difference simply lies in the scope. State polities have a monopoly of violence, and that is the foundation of the state, yet despite using hard power, alliance-building regimes are more likely to also use soft power in maintaining their rule.

In line with their international diplomatic efforts, an increase in trade with non-Muslim nations demonstrates that alliance-building horizontal relations were



not reserved for majority Muslim countries. As evidenced in the graph below, the volume of trade between Turkey and Israel steadily increased under the *AKP*. The trade volume between the two countries almost reached \$6 billion in 2014 (TRT World 2017). More surprisingly, when the figures are matched with the political turmoil between the two countries, it seems that trade is not impacted by the cold rhetoric between the states rulers. For example, in 2011, imports from Israel reached \$2 billion; up from \$1.360 billion the previous year, while the exports amounted to \$2.4 billion, up from \$2 billion in 2010. That is the same year in which the *Mavi Marmara*, carrying humanitarian aid to Gaza, was raided and diplomatic tensions ensued between the two countries.

Figure 6.3 Trade Volume between Israel and Turkey



Source: TRT World with statistics from the Ministry of Economy, Turkey (TRT World 2017)

A large amount of the trade with Israel was based around defence. In order to bolster air defence capabilities, the republic of Turkey has been funding the Peace Eagle Project. As part of this the country chose to purchase four Boeing 737-700-based AWAC aircraft for USD1.5 billion in 2002. The AWAC use Israeli-made electronics such as Elta's electronic support measures (ESM) that need to be continually updated. In 2013, despite the political rift between the two countries, the Elta systems were delivered (Space Daily 2013). During August of 2013 Israeli specialized vehicle manufacturer

Hatehof won a bid of 60 million Shekel from the Turkish company BMC, producing and supplying aircraft refuellers and armoured vehicles<sup>77</sup> (Israel Defence 2013).

Turkish automotive company, Otokar, has been working in collaboration with Israel's Rafael arms company to produce armoured vehicles which were sold to the IDF and others from 2008 onwards. The OTOKAR AKREP, COBRA, and YAVUZ are all used by the IDF in Gaza, to commit crimes that the *AKP* leadership continually condemn (Otokar 2008). Another Turkish company, Hidromek, supply the Israeli Army with backhoe loaders and excavators similar to Caterpillar which are used to demolish Palestinian homes. Machinery manufactured by the company was used in the demolition of Palestinian houses in the occupied Jordan Valley and in the Palestinian neighbourhood of Beit Hanina in East Jerusalem. Hidromek equipment was also documented during the demolition of cisterns in the South Hebron Hills (Who Profits 2014).

Bank Pozitif is the Turkish branch of Israeli Bank Hapoalim. Due to being an online/retail bank its visual presence does not reflect its economic power as one of the largest banks in the sector. Despite its relatively small asset size Bank Pozitif's name appeared among multinational banks in major projects

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<sup>77</sup> Including: armoured vehicles for military use developed with Rafael for the Israeli army (wolf, Typhoon, Xream), riot control trucks and special vehicles for military purposes.

like Istanbul international airport privatization, Istanbul Hilton Hotel acquisition financing, a large cement factory financing and other projects involving major exporters (Bank Pozitif 2014).

During Turkey's alliance-building period Israel was continually keen on political reconciliation with Turkey. Reconciliation would have reopened Turkish airspace to Israeli aircraft, allowing the Israeli Air Force to carry out long-distance flight training (Al-awsat 2014). It was also hoped that reconciliation would also speed up the implementation of the Turkish–Israeli energy corridor with the aim of the transfer of Israeli natural gas through Turkey to Europe. On the Turkish side it was hoped that this would reduce Ankara's own reliance on Russia and Iran for gas, a matter that was regularly up for debate amongst the *AKP*'s business supporters who were keen on Turkey becoming a regional energy hub (Al-awsat 2014).

It is important to note that there have been some efforts by the Turkish government to curb Israeli collaborations within NATO (for example with Operation Active Endeavour). However, there has been no similar process with regards to the arms trade (Al-awsat 2014). There is also a misconception that Israel is the greater ally to Washington. During Turkey's alliance-building period it was central to Washington's defence and imperial interests and had far more bargaining power than the Israeli state. Israel was increasingly being shunned away from international institutions and their importance to NATO was diminishing, they had become an increasing

burden to the Obama administration whilst Turkey was playing a central role in policing the Middle East (Al-awsat 2014).

NATO has regularly used Turkey's membership as a tool to expand its own alliance-building project. NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue was initiated in 1994 by the North Atlantic Council. Turkey's membership has been key in getting non-NATO majority Muslim state polities to join the Dialogue, including Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia (NATO 2012). Another NATO initiative, in which Turkey has played a key role, has been the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative. Launched at the Alliance's Summit in June 2004, it aims to contribute to long-term global and regional security by offering countries of the broader Middle East region<sup>78</sup> practical bilateral security cooperation with NATO (NATO 2012).

Chossudovsky (2016) explains how state polity allies Israel, Turkey and the USA worked together to influence the power dynamics within weaker state polities across the Middle East, through the guise of an alliance-building project. This was a form of internationalized political reproduction to build horizontal consent of neoliberal hegemony through soft power whilst reinforcing hard power. Chozzudovsky (2016: Online) gives the example of a meeting in Brussels between the powers to convey this,

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<sup>78</sup> including Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan. Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia

“The member countries met in Brussels in November 2004. Senior Israeli IDF officers held discussions, under NATO auspices, with the top military brass of six members of the Mediterranean basin nations. The hidden agenda of this meeting was essentially to set the stage for a full-fledged NATO-Israel partnership, with the tacit consent of the front-line Arab States...The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) neutralizes Israel’s potential adversaries in the Arab World. It essentially grants a green light to Israel and its indefectible Turkish ally. It ensures that other member States (front-line Arab States) of the NATO sponsored, will not intervene in a Middle East conflict instigated by Israel. This is the main purpose of the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative: paralyse the Arab States at the diplomatic and military levels, to ensure that they will not act in any meaningful way against US-Israeli interests in the Middle East.”

Even though the Turkish government has been vocal against Israel, especially with their solidarity for the besieged Gaza Strip, the *AKP* has close relations with the Israeli state. The reality is Turkey is complicit in and profiteering from the crimes of the Israeli occupation. Despite a brief cooling of relations in the 1980s, full diplomatic ties and cooperation on all levels were instituted in 1991 and have been strengthening ever since. Despite Turkish neo-ottoman rhetoric around cutting off military ties after the *Mavi Marmara* incident and 2008 Gaza war, a \$165-million agreement on airborne imagery intelligence was signed on the eve of the 2008 Gaza bombardment. The Israeli Air Force continues to conduct training missions at Turkey’s training base in Konya. Turkey also participated with Israel and the USA in the annual joint exercise Reliant Mermaid in August 2009.

In 2010, the year of the brutal murder of Turkish aid workers on the *Mavi Marmara* ship, bilateral trade between Israel and Turkey reached \$2 billion. It

has been increasing rapidly since then, and was over \$5 billion in 2013, and is set to increase even more this year.

Yet these hard power facts were not enough to undo the soft power rhetoric of the *AKP*, and with the onset of the Arab Spring, Turkey had succeeded in its 'demonstrative effect' across the Arab region and had become a 'model'. The rise of the 'Turkish Model' was directly linked to changes in the global economy, as the USA and other Western powers were no longer the world's unquestionable leaders of economic growth (Tuğal 2016). This, accompanied by a crisis of US hegemony as wars and torture prevailed in the Global South meant the world has been becoming increasingly ungovernable. The 'Turkish Model', with Turkey's perceived economic success under the *AKP*, was an engine for re-framing America's involvement in the Middle East. The 'Arab Spring' was the perfect opening for the imitation of Turkey's Atlanticist path. However,

“the Islamic movements and organizations in the region learnt selectively from Turkey's success, engaging in multiple and shifting coalitions with regional powers—not all of them in line with global hegemony, let alone with Turkey's specific interests.”

(Tuğal 2016: 24)

As consent for the 'Turkish Model' waned, the hegemon increasingly turned to violence, coercion and *realpolitik*.

As Western power is in decline, the conceptually ambiguous 'Turkish Model' was used as a neo-liberal tool of state 'model promotion' to counterbalance

the power of Iran, Russia and other emerging powers. Turkey was being used as an 'order setting' agent (Akkoyunlu 2013). Two dimensions of 'the Turkish model' are evident here again- internal actors shaping the domestic infrastructure of the state and external actors trying to employ hegemonic control over the Arab peoples. This is a classic alliance of control by the imperialists and the bourgeoisies and petit-bourgeoisie as Western capital interest's shift in response to the changing nature of the increasingly volatile double-security dilemma as international capitalism reaches its parasitic stage (Akkoyunlu 2013).

Nonetheless, Akkoyunlu (2013) states that the success or failure of this project is based on a key factor. He observes that,

“Turkey’s regional leadership role may also come into conflict with its renewed commitment to the US-led western security establishment. As we already noted, one of the main contributors to Turkey’s rising popularity in the Middle East had been the perception that, on the basis of the AKP’s new-found economic dynamism and political confidence, it had stopped acting as a US client in the region, especially in relation to Israel. Without a meaningful breakthrough in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict and dramatic changes in popular perspectives towards the US and Israel in the Middle East, the long-standing dynamics of the region are unlikely to allow any country to emerge as its leader while being perceived as a US client.”

### **6.5 A Deconstruction of the 'Turkish Model'**

Stevens (2012) states the 'Turkish Model' idiom was more a tool of discursive power than a foreseeable development in international politics. Rather than a



straightforward analysis of the 'Turkish Model' as a viable statecraft toolbox to emulate, the 'Turkish Model' has to be researched as a metaphor to truly de-construct how reality is being shaped by different actors from both within and outside the Arab region. The idea of a 'Turkish Model' stressed Turkish exceptionalism and asserted the necessity of Turkey's significant role in the region. It also appeared in Western rhetoric because of Western aspirations to have a friendly ally in the Muslim world<sup>79</sup>. "By advancing the 'Turkish Model' American observers can capitalize on the existing relationship with Turkey, support democratic transitions, and argue that any Arab Spring state can emulate Turkish secularism and diplomacy." (Stevens 2012: Online)

There is a wealth of literature about Turkey during the period being far from a liberal democracy, and many argued that under the *AKP* the state apparatus has become increasingly authoritarian. For example, some convey the flaws of Turkey's democratic institutions such as having the most unrepresentative electoral system in Europe where minorities such as Kurds are grossly under represented (Taspinar 2012). Other flaws include the growing concerns over the makeup of the new constitution in which *AKP* have failed to consult the opposition, Turkey's poor civil and human rights records, and growing suppression of media freedom (Taspinar 2012).

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<sup>79</sup> George Bush himself suggested that Turkey 'provided Muslims around the world with a hopeful model of a modern and secular democracy' (Park 2013).

Taspinar (2012) states that domestic shortcomings were also to blame for the waning of Turkey's 'demonstrative effect' as it moved away from its 'zero problems' policy to playing a much more confrontational and assertive role. This was accompanied by a growing despondency in the Arab world towards the *AKP* as it became increasingly authoritarian,

"By 2012, however, the *AKP* had also exposed serious democratic shortcomings. It increasingly cracked down on its critics, especially those in the media. After a decade in power, Erdoğan had also failed to follow through on promises of a new constitution and reforms that would address pivotal issues facing the country—the Kurdish question, human rights, and freedom of expression."

(Taspinar 2012)

Keyman and Gumuscu (2014) elaborate this further by explaining the three critical points which characterize Turkey's democratization experience so far, that have to be understood in the context of electoral hegemony, power fusion and effective governance: 1) Turkey moved from power sharing to power fusion gradually, 2) during the gradual shift the government sustained economic growth and stability 3) even so, the evolution to power fusion has caused problems and Turkey has become a crisis prone society (Keyman and Gumuscu 2014).

Unlike Taspinar (2012) they explain that, despite these negative factors, the multi-dimensional identities of the Turkish political system have made it an aspiration to Arab and Muslim populations, and beyond. These include: the ability to achieve secular and parliamentary democracy within a society with a predominantly Muslim population, its combination of hard and soft power,

and its mix of modernity, democracy, security and economic dynamism (Keyman and Gumuscu 2014).

Aras (2012) focuses more on the role of Turkey's international, rather than domestic politics. Within the Arab media, there was growing suspicion of Ankara's relations with Washington as they became more politically aligned on Syria from around 2012. Turkey, along with the US, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Jordan and Qatar, began to be increasingly viewed as manipulating and toying with the region to counter the influence of Iran, Syria and Hezbollah (Aras 2012). This shift in the *AKP's* approach toward Damascus has also been framed as an Ottoman Islamist one, with some allegations of Turkey using Syria as a proxy to counter the Shia influence of Iran (Aras 2012). Erdoğan uses the same Islamic rhetoric when talking about the Syrian casualties as he does the Palestinians. He lauds the massacred rebels as martyrs. Aras (2012) attributes this to Turkey's desire for the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood to gain power, and there is mutual support between the parties as evidenced by Syrian Muslim Brotherhood leader Muhammad Riad al-Shaqfa's declaration that Syrians would accept Turkish military intervention in Syria (Aras 2012).

Jean Paul Samaan (2013) explained that post-Arab 'Spring' commentary amongst Arab intellectuals, despite Erdoğan's warm reception in Cairo in the early days of the Egyptian revolution, begun to frame neo-ottomanism as a colonial project started by the Sultans at Topkapi and reinvigorated by

Erdoğan and his diplomats. This was the dominant discourse stemming from the more Syrian/Hezbollah sympathetic Al-mayadeen, Al-Manar, As Safir, Al-Akhbar, and Al-Jadeed. He states that even for Arab thinkers who support the revolution against Bashar Al-Assad,

“Turkey’s assertiveness has been progressively seen as ill-advised and perilous, leading to an escalation of the conflict. In particular, Turkey’s support for the rebels, including the fringes identified as extremist (e.g. Jabhat al Nusra), has led many to wonder what exactly Ankara’s political objective is in the Syrian civil war.”

(Samaan 2013)

Also, a poll released by *TESEV* in December 2013 provided evidence of a decline in Turkish soft power in the Middle East region at the time. The positive view of Turkey amongst the Middle Eastern participants declined by 19% after the ‘Arab Spring’, with 38% of the participants holding the opinion that Turkey has been following sectarian policies (*TESEV* 2013).

In the next chapter it will become evident how social cohesion and sovereign territoriality became weaker than ever in the Middle East after the ‘Arab Spring’, which altered the double-security dilemma Turkey faced. Turkey managed to mitigate the double-security dilemma during the early years of *AKP* incumbency through alliance-building with civil society and ethnic and religious minorities domestically and across borders. Nonetheless, in the next chapter an analysis of why this alliance-building model of political reproduction failed to take hold in the Arab region and shifted within Turkey itself will examine how state polities alter their patterns of authority.

# **Chapter Seven: The Unravelling of the ‘Turkish Model’: The Arab ‘Spring’, the *AKP*’s Evolving Double-Security Dilemma and their Transition from Alliance-building to Fortifying Political Reproduction**

## **7.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter focused on how the *AKP* maintained the functional dimension of sovereignty of the Turkish state. In the first 11-13 years of *AKP* rule, Turkey competed for power horizontally through co-opting potential rivals and becoming increasingly alliance-building<sup>80</sup> to mitigate the threats from other state polities and non-polities vying for political authority and sovereignty across international space. Focusing on the *AKP*’s rule from 2011 onwards, this chapter explains how the *AKP*’s double-security dilemma evolved due to unforeseen regional pandemonium and the implications of this for the Turkish alliance-building model. The 2011 Arab ‘Spring’ and its repercussions represented a crisis of hegemony in the region, as consent for power-wielders waned. Therefore, this chapter explains how the *AKP*’s policy formation went from ‘zero problems’ to zero options. This resulted in increasingly blocking behaviour from the Turkish state both horizontally and vertically, as regional disorder dominoed into Turkey, altering the pattern of

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<sup>80</sup> It is important to note that alliance-building and fortifying political reproduction are not positivist concepts, a state is either becoming more one or the other at any given time, but always displays some behaviours of either.

the political authority of the *AKP* away from the 'Turkish Model' of the alliance-building period.

This chapter is divided into two parts and focuses on the post-2011 period. Firstly, '7.2 *Turkey's horizontal security dilemma*', examines the *AKP*'s changing capacity to respond to growing horizontal challenges and their foreign policy shift away from broad alliance-building. It is divided into three sections. The first section of 7.2, '*Theoretical and Methodological Considerations*' re-examines the chapter relevant literature on a state's fluid double-security dilemma, constitutive environment and possible behaviour. The second section of part one, '*Turkey's Post-Arab 'Spring' Souring Horizontal Relations in North Africa*', explains the impact of the Arab 'Spring' on Turkey's horizontal relations with Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. The third section of 7.2, '*Turkey's Post-Arab 'Spring', Souring Horizontal Relations with Syria and the Prevarication of Neo-Ottomanism*' examines the impact of the Syrian civil war on the *AKP*'s domestic, regional and global power.

The next part, '7.3 *Domestic Consent in Decline*', examines Turkey's vertical security dilemma, due in many parts to the second-image reversed problem faced by states, as rival polities became emboldened by the Arab 'Spring'. Part two also analyses the *AKP*'s changing capacity to respond to said dilemma and their growing authoritarianism as a result. The first section of 7.3, '*The AKP's Monopolization of Turkey's Institutions*' will examine how the *AKP* fortified the structure of the state and its institutions in favour of

President Erdoğan. The next section of 7.3, *'Winners and Losers of Capstone Turkey'* describes the new winners and losers that emerged under this new shape of regime. The third section of part two, *'State-Society Relations in the Securitized Period'* examines the new relationship between the Turkish state and Turkish society that emerged after the 'Arab Spring'.

## **7.2 Turkey's New Horizontal Security Dilemma**

### *Theoretical and Methodological Considerations*

Through re-examining the theoretical literature on a polity's political reproduction and the double-security dilemma, this section explains the core concepts and tools that can be used to explain the departure of Turkey from its alliance-building political reproduction. These concepts include the post-international nature of the political system, the *AKP's* threat perception and use of threats to maintain hegemonic power, and the horizontal and vertical aspects of the double-security dilemma which impacted both the functional and constitutional dimensions of the *AKP's* power and relations with Turkish institutions and society. Reconsidering the theoretical literature serves as a base contextualization of the events examined further on in the chapter.

The highly embedded, hybrid and liminal environment that the Turkish state polity is geopolitically situated within, makes it particularly vulnerable to the volatile characteristics of the modern international system. These characteristics include:

“declining territoriality; the declining capacity or at least significant transformation of states; the erosion of barriers between internal and external political arenas of states; the central role of culture, and especially identities, in global politics; the growing importance of a galaxy of political communities and actors such as corporations, terrorist groups, and non-governmental organisations; the declining role of sovereignty in international law and the growth of a global law of ‘persons’; and the decline of interstate war along with the spread of intra- and trans-state violence.”

(from Rousenau in Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 372)

Through analysing Turkey’s engagement with the ‘Arab Spring’ this chapter will bring to light the highly interdependent, porous nature of Turkey’s sovereignty and its impact on domestic authority patterns (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 372). This volatility meant that as the *AKP*’s threat perception aggrandized, the government moved away from an international security policy to a national security policy. Additionally, the threats that emerged were a useful way for the *AKP* to maintain its hegemony through expounding fear and maintaining political coherence through framing threats to their power as threats to national security itself. As Buzan (1991: 338) states, a level of threat can be an effective tool for a state polity to suppress dissent and build unity. However, centring the Gramscian idea of hegemony, Femia (1981: 39) states that to build that unity “there must be a substratum



of agreement so powerful that it can counteract the division and the disruptive forces arising from conflicting interests”- this was unsustainable in the Turkish case as the shape of the double-security dilemma shifted, evoking a new and more fortifying response from Turkey’s power wielders who began to push internationalism and cosmopolitanism outside the policy agenda. The *manipulation* of threat perception is what enables a state to maintain power. Threats are a matter of perception and not empirically measurable. Therefore, they have become a discursive tool of policy makers (Buzan 1991).

Thus, if national security is a ‘relative’<sup>81</sup> end, then the ontological frame of the *rise and fall* of the ‘Turkish Model’ of the *AKP*’s post-Islamic neoliberalism becomes void when studying the ability of the model to combat the double-security dilemma of the Turkish state (Buzan 1991). In the short run, the ‘Turkish Model’ was indeed a relative success, and the hegemony of the *AKP* was sustained for around 14 years through passive revolution, alliance-building; and absorbing those engines of society who may have had the capacity to destabilize the status quo. These engines included the Kurds,

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<sup>81</sup> Buzan (1991: 331) states that “Relative security is a permanently unsatisfactory condition. It can always be criticized as imperfect, because on logical grounds it must be so. It can never serve as a stable resting place, because the factors which define a satisfactory relative level at any given moment are themselves ephemeral. The structure of the system and its interaction dynamics complete this dilemma by ensuring that any attempt to acquire, or even move towards, complete security by any actor will stimulate reactions which raise the level of threat in proportion to the measures taken.”

liberal civil society and the Anatolian peasantry and working class. The model however, was relatively unsuccessful in the long run as horizontal instability and economic discontent grew, leading to a weakening of consent for the hegemony of the *AKP*, and a new destabilized era of a war of position. To sustain its hegemony the *AKP* had to alter its pattern of authority. To combat the new security threats that had emerged they abandoned the 'Turkish Model' (embossed by alliance-building) of the turn of the century, moving to a form of fortifying reactive political reproduction.

The trend in the shifting nature of polity behaviour has been demonstrated by the extensive historical research on state polities by Ferguson and Mansbach (1996). Ferguson and Mansbach (1996: 263) have noted that as polities recurrently evolve, their horizontal and vertical relations evolve too. Hall (1999) has explained that this also works inversely. Ferguson and Mansbach (1996: 44) note that this evolution is due very much to the "pulling and hauling of competition among authorities"; or what has been termed here as the double-security dilemma. Changes to the polity that may occur are the "expansion or retrenchment", or fission or fusion of the polities domain of authority (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 44). If consent has begun to wane, the polity may also alter its pattern of authority, "by utilizing, adapting, or restructuring existing institutions that are set up to extract and use state resources in a particular manner." (Lindberg 2001: 184)

How the polity does this, i.e. the way it responds to the double-security dilemma, through either fortifying or alliance-building affects both:

#### Horizontal Politics

-the states external relations with the environment consisting of other states and international organizations

And...

#### Vertical Politics

-the structure of the state and its institutions

-the structure of society as stakeholders and winners and losers shift  
(vertical relations)

-the relationship between the state and its society and how society interacts with the states institutions (Lindberg 2001: 184)

Lindberg (2001) states that all these institutions, or structural layers of the state, must continuously 'be defended' in terms of re-articulation, adaptation to changing conditions or restructuring" (Lindberg 2001: 184). If the chosen method does not succeed the state polity will lose its authority and fail to exist.

This part of chapter 7 analyses horizontal politics, focusing on how alliance-building altered Turkey's external relations, making the country more vulnerable and embedded within its external environment which put it at great risk during the 'Arab Spring'. This then led to Turkey becoming fortifying, both vertically and horizontally, which induced the altering of the structure of the state and its institutions. This created new winners and losers in society, and a more hostile interaction between society and state.

#### *Turkey's Post-Arab 'Spring' Souring Horizontal Relations in North Africa*

Turkey's relationship with North Africa during the alliance-building period had been much defined by economic considerations, neo-ottomanism due to the regions post-Ottoman status, and security co-operation within the Union for the Mediterranean and NATO/Mediterranean Dialogue. The 'zero-problems' policy had led to large sums of Turkish FDI in the MENA region, and the Muslims of North Africa were attracted to Turkish soft power, with Turkish broadcasting and consumables popular with many (Cavdar 2017). Nonetheless, horizontal relations between Turkey and the states within the region radically shifted with the onset of the 'Arab Spring'. Through analysing the shifting diplomatic relations between Turkey and the countries which underwent mass power shifts during the revolt (Tunisia, Egypt and Libya),

this section will examine how this limited Turkey's foreign policy formation, bringing an end to their push for liberal peace in the region<sup>82</sup>.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 2010, Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor, set himself on fire in response to the humiliation he had received by his local municipality. This act would spark what became known as the Arab 'Spring', a region wide revolt against state authoritarianism and a shaking off of repression (Tuğal 2016). As political leaders fell like dominoes throughout the Arab region, Middle Eastern polities faced an unprepared for security dilemma as power vacuums replaced the authorities that had once been. This new security dilemma, unforeseen by Turkey's foreign policy intellectuals and practitioners, led to the end of the horizontal zero-problems with neighbours alliance-building strategy architected by Davutoğlu. As the regional security dilemma embroiled, the *AKP* found that new vertical threats emerged, and the passive revolution had to change its shape- to that of fortifying political reproduction- for the *AKP* post-Islamist neoliberal order to survive (Tuğal 2016).

Tunisia is perhaps the state where the Islamic neoliberal pattern of authority, marketed as the 'Turkish Model', had the most success. Tuğal (2016: 176)

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<sup>82</sup> This section focuses on Tunisia, Egypt and Libya as the countries which did not experience the Arab "Spring" did not directly cause such an overhaul of Turkey's international politicking. That is not to say, however, that Turkey's relations with other North African states were static.

notes that this was in part due to the weight of the international drive behind the 'Turkish Model' in Tunisia, which the global hegemony felt was the easiest way to ensure the nesting of neoliberalism in any new order that may emerge in the Middle East. The international support behind a Tunisian 'Turkish Model' was instrumental in the marginalization of other Tunisian polity formations (Tuğal 2016). Nonetheless, as the *AKP* began to increasingly monopolize power; due to the threats posed by regional disarray, their Tunisian patrons followed suit (Keyman and Gumuscu 2014). This encouraged a new regional pattern/form of post-Islamist power reproduction- that of coercion.

Despite the international drive behind the 'Turkish model' in Tunisia, at the start of the revolution, the *AKP* government stayed mute on the situation, in line with their 'zero-problems' policy, and in dissimilarity to other regional actors such as Qatar, Iran and Hezbollah (Tuğal 2016). As the continued authority of the ultra-secular Ben Ali regime seemed untenable, the international community pushed for a Tunisian post-Islamist passive revolution in Tunisia (Tuğal 2016). At this point, Tunisia's Islamists began their own discussions on their role in the future of the country, feeling that they could make use of the "Western/global push for moderate Islam." (Tuğal 2016: 178)

Post-Islamism seemed attractive to Tunisians who after years of corruption, religious repression, and economic inequality were searching for a form of

governance that incorporated religious freedom, economic opportunity and globalism- features all seen within the 'Turkish Model' (Göksel 2014). A political force that against all odds seemed to be the only agent able to establish said polity was Ennahdha<sup>83</sup>, periodically banned and repressed by the Ben Ali regime, Ennahda still had an established base in rural areas, prisons and support from other Islamic groups such as the Salafis (Tuğal 2016). Rashid Ghannouchi, head of the conservative Ennahda party, noted that Ennahda was

“taking lessons from Turkey”: “Turkey is a model country for us in terms of democracy. There are very good relations between Turkey and Tunisia, and I hope there will be a proper environment in the future where we could foster those relations.”

(Ghannouchi in Göksel 2014: 477)

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 2011, President Ben Ali fled Tunisia, and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 2011, the first free elections for a constituent assembly were held in the history of the country. Ennahdha won with 37.04% of the vote, the opposition received only 8% (Tuğal 2016). The fall of Ben Ali and the election of Ennahdha led to the expansion of Islamic practices that had been banned by the ultra-secular regime of Ben Ali, in a similar way that the election of the *AKP* government had done in Turkey at the peak of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis (Tuğal 2016).

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<sup>83</sup> Moderate Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood party meaning 'awakening' and led by Rached Ghannouchi.

Between 2011 and 2014 relations between the *AKP* and Ennahda flourished. Tunisian policy-makers and civil servants regularly attended courses in Turkey to optimize the organizational management of the health, education, welfare and financial sector (Tuğal 2016). In January 2012, the first official state visit of the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rafik Abdessalem, was to Turkey (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2012). On meeting his Turkish counterpart, the “2012 Turkey - Tunisia Action Plan for Bilateral Cooperation” was contracted by the Ministers. The plan intended to set the foundation of a special relationship between the two states, with the “organization of high-level meetings with participation of related institutions; more cooperation and solidarity in the framework of regional and global forums.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2012)

Yet, due to post-revolution instability and the massive polarization between Tunisia’s Islamists and secularists, Ennahda did not end up following the alliance-building model of the *AKP*’s first terms. Ennahda were accused by the secularists of a clandestine plot to form a sharia-based caliphate in Tunisia (Göksel 2014). Indeed, as Tuğal (2016) notes, unlike the *AKP*’s first tenure, the new Tunisian government faced waves of mass protests by the radical Islamists and the secularists. Their inability to strike the right balance between the two, meant they were unable to form a hegemony. In October 2014, Ennahda were unseated from government by a liberal-secularist coalition.



This Tunisian power shift was detrimental to Turkey's foreign relations with the country, as the *AKP* had laid all their eggs in the Ennahda basket. Also, the Gezi protests of 2013 were heavily covered by the Tunisian press, which for the first time revealed the weaknesses of the 'Turkish Model' to the Tunisian public who also had begun to blame Turkey for Ennahda's failings (Marks 2013). Turkey's horizontal influence over Tunisia became increasingly limited with the rise of the secularist Nidaa Tounes party who held both parliamentary and executive power from 2014 onwards. Nidaa Tounes' politics and ideology, rooted in Arab nationalism and secularism, are very distant from that of the *AKP*. A notable point of division between the two is over the war in Syria, with Nidaa Tounes sympathetic toward the Assad regime (Reidy 2015). The political divisions between the two governing parties has also been demonstrated by a large decrease in the balance of trade between the two countries which decreased from \$1864 million in 2014 to \$676 million in 2015 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015).

Tunisian-Turkish relations is just one example of the failure of Turkey's alliance-building foreign policy after the shake-up of the 'Arab Spring'. Turkey's relationship with the whole of North Africa, and in fact the entire MENA region, also began to experience increasing challenges, not just to Turkey's power as a regional hegemon, but to the spread of the post-Islamist 'Turkish Model' itself. One of the most notable cases of this happening aside from the Tunisian case, is that of Egypt, where Turkey's miscalculation of

emerging security dilemmas severely limited its influence not only in Egypt, but in the entire Arab world (Tuğal 2016).

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2011, the Arab “Spring” spread to Egypt. The slogan of the protesters was ‘bread, social justice, freedom and dignity’. Tuğal (2016: 158) notes how the protesters in the main square in Cairo, Tahrir, were largely middle class, and more working class in Mahalla and Tanta. A key rival polity to the regime at the time was the ‘Turkish Model’ sympathetic Muslim Brotherhood (MB) who were guided by the same stream of Hanefi Islam as the Turkish *RP* and Erdoğan himself. At this point in time, although being against the Mubarak regime in Egypt, the MB’s guidance bureau did not advise its supporters to attend the protests. Nonetheless, many MB supporters did attend the protests, which led the guidance bureau to then change their minds (Tuğal 2016).

On the 1<sup>st</sup> February 2011, the first cracks in the *AKP*’s alliance-building strategy towards Mubarak’s Egypt emerged. On that date, Erdoğan made a television address to Mubarak to ‘meet the people’s desire for change’ (Erdoğan in Tuğal, 2016: 179). On the 10<sup>th</sup> February 2011 a general strike led to President Hosni Mubarak quitting office the following day. At this point, the MB’s guidance bureau demanded protesters to leave the streets and abide by the authority of the military, in order to ensure that a fully-fledged revolution did not take place, and rather instil a ‘Turkish Model’ of passive

revolution where conservatism, neoliberalism and hegemonic interests were key (Tuğal 2016).

Throughout 2011, the MB continually represented the counter-revolution in Egypt, yet failed to consolidate a Turkish style passive revolution. The MB nonetheless, monopolized power through the violent suppression of anti-military and workers resistance with the aid of the Turkish state (Keyman and Gumuscu 2014). One example of this support was that the *AKP*'s political marketing team had counselled MB activists during the electoral drive of the MB's Freedom and Justice Party (Isiksal and Örmeci 2015). There is also evidence of the 'Turkish Model' being used as a tool by the MB in order to demonize anti-MB protesters as being anti-Islamic and anti-modernist<sup>84</sup>. Yet, the conservative structure of Egyptian society made the implementation of a modernist liberal 'Turkish Model' difficult, and Islamic and liberal political society once united against Mubarak began to further diverge (Tuğal 2016).

Due to this ideological strain, cracks did surface in the MB-*AKP* alliance. In September 2011, Erdoğan's speech in Cairo included a passage about the universality of rights afforded by the secular state model being beneficial to those of pious beliefs. This caused discontent amongst the MB ranks,

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<sup>84</sup> This was also supported by the international community, "The Western supporters of the 'Turkish Model' (in Egypt) became the global proponents of the MB's framing of...events. They pictured the protestors as saboteurs out on the hunt for Islamic democrats." (Tuğal 2016: 171-172)

particularly amongst the Salafis and the Jamaa, who the guidance bureau pacified by distancing itself from the comments made by the Turkish PM (Champion and Bradley 2011). The inability of Turkey to influence events in Egypt despite the strong alliance between the MB and *AKP* was also demonstrated with the MB President's first state visit. The new Egyptian MB President Morsi's first state visit was to Riyadh and not Ankara, a rejection of Turkey and the *AKP* who had provided unyielding solidarity to the MB throughout the Egyptian upheaval (Tuğal 2016).

Riyadh won out again and managed to employ greater influence on Cairo than Ankara when pro-Gulf General Sissi took over power from and arrested President Morsi in the July 2013 coup (Tuğal 2016). Turkey, highly critical of the coup and having offered relentless solidarity to the MB, lost a large amount of influence in Egypt as a result (Mason 2017). Erdoğan has displayed support for the MB on many occasions, including through flashing the Rabia sign<sup>85</sup> at his supporters and calling for Morsi to be released from jail. (Mason 2017: 137). The Rabia sign is a four-finger salute that emerged in summer 2013 after a four day sit in by MB supporters in Nasr City was met with extreme violence and resulted in hundreds of deaths at the hands of General Sissi's security forces. It was quickly co-opted by other Hanefi Islamists as a symbol of solidarity of the oppressed Muslims against the

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<sup>85</sup> See images 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3

infidel and the imperialist. It gained traction amongst the *AKP* supporters and all MB supporters across the Middle East as the 'Arab Spring' turned into a salmagundi of sectarianism (Mason 2017).

By November 2013, Sissi had expelled the Turkish ambassador and withdrawn his ambassador from Ankara, employed economic sanctions against Turkey, and took part in joint military exercises with Russia and Greek Cypriots (Mason 2017). Turkey retaliated by hosting the Egyptian MB and anti-Sissi opposition, who broadcasted banned information into Egypt (Çagaptay 2017). Hostilities were not just felt on a track one level, but on all levels of diplomacy<sup>86</sup>. An example of a track three break down was noted by Shadi Al-Idrees, the Communications Manager for the Turkish branch of the Open University of Cairo, who explained how registration for the University within Turkey hugely decreased in the year of the Sissi coup (Syria News 2014).

The Egyptian crisis also put immense strain on US-Turkish relationship and the Turkish-Israeli relationship too. Erdoğan put blame on the West and Israel for the coup in Egypt, and his words were officially condemned by a White House statement<sup>87</sup> (Çagaptay 2017).

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<sup>86</sup> (Track one denoting official government diplomacy, track two unofficial and track three citizen to citizen exchanges and dialogue)

<sup>87</sup> Despite this, Turkey and the US maintained close military co-operation. As Çagaptay, (2017: 177) states: "A NATO radar facility in the Turkish town of Kurecik in the east-central

In recent years, no single foreign policy issue aside from Palestine has united Turkey's political Islamists as much as General Sissi's crackdown on the MB. The *AKP* may have lost their horizontal influence within post-coup Egypt, yet as a vertical consent building tool the Rabia movement reignited the neo-ottoman discourse that had begun to abate. The evidence of this was far and wide across the class and ethnic spectrum:

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Anatolian Malatya Province, activated in 2012, is perhaps the best example of the symbiotic security cooperation between Ankara, the USA and NATO. The facility is part of NATO's Ballistic Missile Defence Shield, serving to protect alliances members against Russia and Iran."

Image 7.1 Rabia Flag at Protest in Istanbul



Rabia flags are sold to protesters at demonstration in solidarity for Gaza outside the Israeli Consulate in Levent, Istanbul. (Author's own image from July 2014)

Image 7.2 Egyptian Flags at Palestine Protest in Istanbul



The Egyptian flag is raised with Islamist flags by protesters at the same demonstration (Author's own image from July 2014)



Image 7.3 Turkish Protestor Makes the Rabia Salute



A protester raises the Rabia sign popularized by Erdoğan outside the Israeli Consulate (Author's own image from July 2014)

Mason (2017) notes that the Egyptian-Turkish rupture not only meant the end of the post-Islamist 'Turkish model' in Egypt, but it reignited the polarized identities that had become nested into the model in both countries -that of the Islamists and the secularists. The renewed divisions between the Islamists and secularists were not only apparent in Turkey and Egypt but within the region too (Mason 2017). A cause for concern was the divergent backing of

Turkey and Egypt for polar conflicting elements in post-revolution Libya where the 'Turkish model' also did not succeed (Tuğal 2016).

The Libyan uprising was a key factor in the transformation of Turkey's perception of regional security and said response, away from alliance-building to increasingly aggressive behaviour. Prior to 2011, Turkish-Libyan relations had flourished with Turkish construction companies heavily investing in Gaddafi's development projects (Tuğal 2016). Turkey's investments in Libya were worth around \$30 billion (Isıksal and Örmeci 2015). Unsurprisingly, when the Libyan revolt began, this meant that Turkey's priority was to protect said investments and ensure their stability and continuity. Thus, Ankara took a soft stand with Gaddafi, speaking publicly against any form of military intervention<sup>88</sup> but urging him to transfer power. The Libyan rebels perceived this move with disdain, and protesters began to burn Turkish flags in Benghazi (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). Nonetheless, as Gaddafi refused to transfer power or stop his brutal crackdown on protesters, Ankara had no choice but to pull the full weight of the *TSK* behind the NATO intervention on the 25 of March 2011, marking a new interventionist period in Turkish foreign policy (Mason 2017).

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<sup>88</sup> On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 2011, the international community/NATO implemented a no-fly zone in Libya against the best wishes of the *AKP* government in Turkey (Tuğal 2016)

Actions taken by the *TSK* and the Turkish government included the blockade of Libyan harbours, the designation of Izmir as the logistical centre of the NATO intervention, and legislation in parliament legalizing the intervention and the freeing up of further troops to join the operation if needed (Tuğal 2016). This represented a major shift away from the *AKP* support for Gaddafi, and on July 2011, during his trip to meet the opposition in Benghazi, Davutoğlu declared the national transitional council as the legitimate leadership of the Libyan nation (Tuğal 2016). Turkey's fortifying behaviour had restored its influence in Libya for the time being. In spring 2012, Libya's national transitional council leader Mustafa Abdul Jalil stated,

“Turkey's democratic structure is an example for Libya and other countries that experienced the Arab Spring. Libya will take Turkey as a model for its own political and democratic structure. And our friendly relations will be much more powerful in the new era.”

(TurkishNY 2012)

These sentiments were echoed by Abdulmagid El-Mansuri the Chairman of The Libyan Economic Development Consultancy Corp and founder of The Arab International School in Istanbul who framed the Libyan revolution as a window of opportunity for the Turkish-Libyan relationship to flourish for the good of societal innovation, education, technology and science. He continued by expressing that this relationship could form an example to the entire Arab region (El-Mansuri 2014). Yet, just a few months after this article, in August 2014, the security situation in Libya rapidly deteriorated as questions emerged over the legitimacy of the government. This had an extremely

detrimental effect on Turkish-Libyan co-operation which completely seized to exist on a track one level (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2016).

The 'Arab Spring' left three North African countries with short to long term power gaps where dictators had once ruled. Neither Egypt, Tunisia, nor Libya were stabilized by the new institutions that had formed and many of the failures of the previous polities such as police violence, sectarianism and injustice survived. In the case of Turkey, the *AKP*'s neo-ottoman openness and embeddedness within North Africa's economies and societies, as it hoped to expand Islamic neoliberalism within the area, left Turkey highly exposed when changes of governance and the reorganization of societies occurred due to the revolutions. Alliance-building political reproduction can make a polity's sustenance susceptible to turmoil within its region, particularly in the case of the loss of consent for a shared model of governance or ideology. Alliance-building encourages the idea of liberal peace. Yet, if the security of a polity is reliant on the restraint of other polities with regard to threats, that security is vulnerable to the whims of said polities (Buzan 1991: 335). Thus, the *AKP* were left with no option but to change their horizontal pattern of authority. Therefore, the *AKP* moved away from an 'international security strategy' to a 'national security strategy'.

*Turkey's Post-Arab 'Spring' Souring Horizontal Relations with Syria and the Prevarication of Neo-ottomanism*

“The implosion of Syria has left Turkey’s ‘zero-problems with neighbours’ policy in tatters. The Arab Spring in Syria and spread of Da’esh in Syria and Iraq illustrates that events can often outstrip foreign policy conceptions, formulations and responses.”

(Mason 2017: 147)

Ankara’s relationship with North Africa had a knock-on effect with regards to its relationship with the rest of the MENA region. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states became increasingly disgruntled by Turkey’s relationship with hanefi Islamist polities such as the MB in Egypt and Syria. Yet, economic interests between the GCC and Turkey were prioritized when it came to the revolutions in Yemen and Bahrain. Due to its reliance on GCC energy imports and an aspect of sectarianism, the *AKP*’s solidarity for the Arab uprisings was not echoed when it came to the revolutions in Bahrain or Yemen (Mason 2017). Plus, when its derisory offer to mediate the Bahrain crises fell on deaf ears, Turkey looked less like a regional power and more like a peripheral state in the shadow of the GCC (Waldman & Caliskan 2016: 220). Unsurprisingly, due to its geographical proximity and the sovereign threat of the Kurdish issue, the uprising that had the most profound effect on Turkey’s double-security dilemma was the Syrian revolution. Işıksal and Örmeci (2015) state that it was indeed the Syrian crisis which was the Achilles heel of the Davutoğlu Doctrine.

By the year 2011, Turkish business had over \$223 million of FDI in the Syrian cement, fishing, agricultural and metal industries (Mason 2017: 139). Turkey's full stake in Syria was worth at least \$2.4 billion (Waldman and Caliskan 2016: 221). This may explain why despite the Syrian uprising beginning in March 2011, it was not until August of the same year that Ankara pushed for a transition of power. The Syrian uprising began when the Bashar Al-Assad regime's security forces opened live fire on non-violent protesters in Deraa- who were protesting in solidarity with the Arab revolutions. The uprising rapidly escalated into a full-blown conflict between those who supported Assad and those who wanted to see an end to his regime (Isıksal and Örmeci 2015).

In the summer of 2011, the *AKP* permitted thousands of refugees safe passage into Hatay and allowed for the head of the armed wing of Syria's Muslim Brotherhood to give a press conference in Istanbul (Tuğal 2016)<sup>89</sup>. In June 2011, Prime Minister Erdoğan branded the Assad regime as 'savage' and pressed Assad to instigate a democratic reform process. This coincided with a Turkish arranged summit of the MB-sympathetic Syrian opposition, the founding of the armed wing of the opposition in Hatay (the Free Syrian Army, with the assistance of US logistics and Saudi finance and weaponry), and the

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<sup>89</sup> Erdoğan stated that he "wish (ed) there to be no painful events (in Syria) as occurred in Libya" (Tuğal 2016: 182). By urging Assad of Turkey's unwillingness for violence and military intervention, the Turkish foreign office hoped to find a reformist approach that would prevent such an outcome.

security of Free Syrian Army leaders ensured by Turkish constabularies (Tuğal 2016; Mason 2017). Turkey also turned a blind eye to arms smuggling to the opposition across the Syrian border (Waldman and Caliskan 2016: 222).

Erdoğan's words of caution were unheeded by Assad. Therefore, in August 2011 Ankara threatened Damascus with an even harsher stance. FM Davutoğlu stated,

“This is our final word to the Syrian authorities: Our first expectation is that operations stop immediately and unconditionally. If the operations do not end there would be nothing more to discuss than steps that would be taken.”

(Davutoğlu in Işıksal and Örmeci, 2015: 79)

After a Turkish fighter jet was shot down in international airspace by the Syrian army in June 2012 and evidence of the Syrian regime using chemical weapons against civilians over 200 times emerged, the *AKP* became increasingly pro-intervention in Syria (Andrikopoulos 2015)<sup>90</sup>. From the summer of 2012, the Turkish government continually urged the UN Security Council to act on Syria, in October 2012 Davutoğlu pushed for both collective non-direct and direct humanitarian intervention in Syria<sup>91</sup>- claiming the Free Syrian Army had a right to self-defence and were a legitimate force

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<sup>90</sup> The Syrian regime deny that the jet was shot down in international airspace.

<sup>91</sup> This included a push for a no-fly zone similar to that enforced in Libya (Andrikopoulos 2015).

(Andrikopoulos 2015: 79). Framing the Free Syrian Army as a viable alternative ruling polity to the Syrian regime, the Turkish government began pushing for a transitional government (Andrikopoulos 2015).

Yet, Turkey's cries for support from the international community were disregarded. Thus, left to its own devices, divides began to mire the Syrian opposition; with moderates wanting to replace the Syrian regime with a 'Turkish Model'<sup>92</sup> and conservatives pushing for a sharia Saudi-type system. The *AKP* argue that the lack of support for a 'Turkish Model' in Syria by the international community was a key factor which led to the rise of Da'esh (also known as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), an extreme "Islamist" group calling for a sharia state (Mason 2017). After the threat of hostage taking of Turkish citizens by Da'esh emerged, Turkey joined the US-led alliance against the group in September 2014 (Mason 2017)<sup>93</sup>. However, Tuğal (2016) states that bombardments from the *TSK* against ISIS were few and far between compared with those against the *PKK*.

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<sup>92</sup> Tuğal (2016: 195) refers to the statement of the Syrian MB leader: "Ali al-Bayanouni the leader of the Syrian MB from 1996 to 2010 said in 2011 that Turkey's balance between secularism and freedom of religion made it an ideal model for Syria."

<sup>93</sup> In July 2014 46 Turks were kidnapped by ISIS. A prisoner exchange between the Turkish government and ISIS resulted in their freedom (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).



Domestically, the lack of support from the USA and the international community<sup>94</sup> meant an increasing burden of the Syrian crisis on Turkish society- as Turkey's "open door" policy for Syrian refugees meant a population influx of 2.7 million plus by 2012<sup>95</sup> (Andrikopoulos 2015). Turkey's blind eye to foreign fighters also exacerbated its domestic terrorism problem<sup>96</sup> (Mason 2017). Public opinion was 70% against war with Syria (Mason 2017). Turkish civilians also suffered from cross border shelling. This was eventually halted by the installation of six batteries of NATO Patriot missiles on Turkey's southern border (Mason 2017).

In 2011, another problem arose for Turkey across the Syrian border, the Syrian branch of the *PKK*, the Democratic Union Party (*Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat PYD*), enlightened by the Syrian uprising, became an organized armed force wanting to push for Kurdish sovereignty within the Syrian state (Çagaptay 2017). Support for Ocalan and the *PKK* was rife amongst Syrian Kurds as the *PKK*'s popularity had been allowed to grow under the government of Hafez Al Assad who provided asylum to Ocalan and used the

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<sup>94</sup> Cracks began to emerge at this point between the Obama and Erdoğan administrations, Erdoğan stating that the US was not pulling its weight with Syria. Further tensions emerged in the Turkish-US relationship when in 2014 Ankara purchased air defence systems from China in a snub to the Pentagon (Çagaptay 2017).

<sup>95</sup> Andrikopoulos (2015: 79) has stated that, "The *AKP* government promised full protection in Turkey for Syrian citizens escaping the conflict in April 2012, when evidence emerged of the Syrian army using live fire against Syrian refugees attempting to flee the violence."

<sup>96</sup> The 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2013 represented a turning point in Turkey as the terror spread to Reyhanli in Turkey, where two bombs killed 51 (Andrikopoulos 2015).

*PKK* as a proxy against Turkey (Çagaptay 2017). In response to Turkey's support for the Syrian opposition, the Assad regime halted joint intelligence sharing on the *PKK* with Turkey and pledged Syrian citizenship to Syrian Kurds<sup>97</sup> (Çagaptay 2017). In July 2012, the Assad regime struck a deal with the *PYD*, handing over autonomy of Ayn Al Arab/Kobane, Qamishli/Qamishlo, Erfin and Amude, in return for an end of hostilities (Çagaptay 2017). This led to the establishment of Rojava, Western Kurdistan, between 2013 and 2014. Tuğal (2016) has observed that "growing Kurdish autonomy" was one of the key factors that ended the 'Turkish Model'. An analysis of the impact of Kurdish autonomy on the *AKP*'s political reproduction will be examined later in this chapter.

The harsher stance of Turkey towards the Syrian regime also began to upset its friendly neighbourhood policy with Iran<sup>98</sup>. Due to Iran's support for the Alawi Syrian regime, past enmities between nationalist 'Persian' and 'Ottoman' ideologues re-emerged which led to some *AKP* supporters pushing for Turkey to fortify against the Shia axis (Tuğal 2016). Iran and Turkey both also had a unique and divergent perspective of the Arab uprisings, Iran viewing them as a follow-on from the 1979 Iranian Revolution and Turkey

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<sup>97</sup> Or Rojava Kurds as known by Kurdish nationalists. 10-20% of Syrians are of Kurdish origin (Çagaptay 2017).

<sup>98</sup> Trade between Iran and Turkey was \$10 billion in 2008. Turkey had been a key actor in encouraging non-proliferation negotiations with Iran (Mason 2017)

viewing them as potential dominoes of the ‘Turkish Model’, putting both models on a “collision course” (Işıksal and Örmeci 2015: 57). The collision course played into international and regional rivalries. A NATO missile defence system was built on the Turkey-Iran border, and the US, Saudi and Israel pressurized Turkey to play a bigger role against the ‘Shia crescent’ and perceived threat of Iran’s nuclear capabilities (Tuğal 2016).

Despite the chilling of relations with Iran, there is an argument that the *AKP*’s ‘zero-problems’ policy was being ‘reset’ when in 2013 President Gül invited Iranian President Rouhani to Turkey and there were several meetings between Davutoğlu and his Iranian counterpart (Mason 2017). Turkey also made a tougher public stand against Al-Qaeda, differentiating them with Al-Nusra<sup>99</sup>, a move welcomed by the Iranians. Yet, Turkey’s relations with another pro-Assad regional power became complicated by the Syrian war, that with Russia, who like Iran, had maintained support for the Syrian regime (Mason 2017).

Dealings between Russia and Turkey became antagonistic when in November 2015 Russia levied sanctions against Turkey for downing a Russian fighter jet on the Syria-Turkey border (Mason 2017). Russia also positioned a S-400 missile defence system in Syria, a move which firmly limited Turkey’s defence policies towards Da’esh and the Syrian regime- a

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<sup>99</sup> A militant Salafi Islamist group in Syria

problem exacerbated by the spread of Da'esh terrorism into Turkey (Mason 2017)<sup>100</sup>. Furthermore, unlike Iran, Russia fully supported Kurdish autonomy in Northern Syria. The robust role of Iran and Russia in Syria began to make the *AKP* look powerless on not just an international front, but on the domestic front too. In an example of the double-security dilemma faced by the *AKP* 2012, as international unrest was met with internal destabilization; anger against Russia for its perceived support of Assad boiled onto the street within Turkey and protests regularly took place against Russia's Syria policy mostly by the Sunni Anatolian working and middle class, pushed by *AKP* sympathetic organizations such as *İHH*:

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<sup>100</sup> Çagaptay (2017: 170) refers to Putin's threat, "that Russia would shoot down any Turkish planes or troops who made their way into Syria (jeopardizing any of Turkey's logistical support for the rebels). Putin also imposed economic sanctions on Turkey and deployed extra troops to Armenia, Russian troops now surrounded Turkey on 3 sides- Crimea, Syria, Armenia."

Image 7.4 Protest against Syria and Russia in Istanbul



Turkish protesters burn an effigy of Bashar-Al Assad outside the Russian Consulate on Istiklal Street, Istanbul (Author's own image from June 2012)

Image 7.5 Protest against Syria and Russia in Istanbul (2)



Turkish protesters pin protest placards onto the Russian Consulates plaque on Istiklal Street, Istanbul. The placards read, "Free Syria. Resistance is coming." "Victory from God, the opening is near." (Author's own image from June 2012)

The balance of power between the EU and Turkey has also altered thanks to the war in Syria, as Mason (2017: 146) states, “Turkey’s bargaining position vis-a-vis the EU is intimately connected to the continuation of the Syrian conflict in general and continuation of the migrant crisis in Europe.” Despite Turkey’s changing relations with the EU, Syria, Iran, the *PYD* and Russia, Turkey continued its alliance-building behaviour with the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq (Mason 2017).

This alliance was important for Turkey to block the emerging threats from the Syrian crisis and ensure the stability of energy imports that were at peril due to the Russia crisis (Isıksal and Örmeci 2015). The Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government began to play a mediating role between Kurdish groups in North Syria- and tried to impose a passive revolution there- a role that had been dominated by Turkey in the region during its alliance-building period. Turkey’s evolving double-security dilemma and threats to its sovereignty from Kurdish autonomy had severely limited its ability to act as the engine of passive revolution or mediation within the region, particularly in areas where Kurds were involved<sup>101</sup> (Andrikopoulos 2015). The encouragement of a passive revolution within Rojava by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) also ensured the KRG was favourably looked upon by Turkey

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<sup>101</sup> A key moment that represents Turkish weakness is the Suleyman Shah incident, when Turkish troops abandoned its Ottoman Sultans tomb in Syria (Waldman and Caliskan 2016: 39).

(Andrikopoulos 2015). Additionally, the KRG-Turkey alliance has been vital in the countries fight against the *PKK*, with the KRG blocking *PKK* cross-border operations into Anatolia (Mason 2017). A 50-year oil and gas agreement was renewed by Turkey and the KRG in June 2014 (Andrikopoulos 2015). Thus, Turkey continues to be the KRG's biggest trading partner, and a leading consumer of oil from the KRG region (Çagaptay 2017).

Isıksal and Örmeci (2015) further analyze the routes of the importance of the *AKP*-KRG alliance. Firstly, it makes the Turks seem like rational impartial actors in the face of *PKK* terrorism. Secondly, the *AKP* have gained support for the rights and freedoms of the Turkmen in Iraqi Kurdish areas by the KRG leaders. Yet, the KRG-Turkish alliance is a unique case of unfavourable tolerance on both sides as "overall the *AKP*'s foreign policy under Erdoğan has left the country with few allies." (Çagaptay 2017: 177) By 2014, the Syrian civil war had left "three sides of a deadly triangle"- Da'esh, the *PYD* and the Syrian regime on Turkey's border (Waldman and Caliskan 2016: 189). This deadly triangle represented a profound amount of weight on Turkey's double-security dilemma.

Kurdish autonomy was a direct threat to both the constitutive and functional dimensions of Turkish sovereignty- as it threatened to untangle the democratic opening and renew calls for devolution in Kurdish areas. The *AKP*'s hostilities towards the Assad Ba'ath regime in Syria altered its horizontal relations within the region and beyond, as many states were



displeased by Turkey's sympathies with the MB. Additionally, Turkey's staunch support for the MB during the early days of the 'Arab Spring' was a grave miscalculation, as the MB became side-lined in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria. ISIS were not only a security threat to Turkey's civilian population, but the reigniting of Islamic fascism was a problem for the spread of the 'Turkish Model' and the ideology of post-Islamism itself.

The crisis of hegemony within the Middle East due to the 'Arab Spring' limited the capacity for passive revolution as violence and power struggles became normalized (Tuğal 2016). This represented an end for Turkey's zero-problems alliance-building in the region. As (Mason 2017: 147) states, "The myriad of competitors for loyalty in the region has been explosive for regional and international alliances, with peer polities and hegemonic powers all competing for influence." The hegemonic powers such as Turkey increasingly "de-legitimized themselves through sectarianism and by picking sides" based on loyalties and identities rather than universal human rights (Tuğal 2016: 194).

Turkey's horizontal alliance-building was a miscalculated and ill-prepared foreign policy agenda that left it highly dependent on international security within one of the most unstable regions on the planet.

"Turkey as of today, is stuck between national security concerns which have to be reorganized within the framework of realism and could put regional isolation back on the agenda, and the expansionist

foreign policy approach it has pursued in the period after the millennium.”

(Andrikopoulos 2015: 79)

Thus, with a heightened double-security dilemma in its stead, the *AKP* chose to fortify the Turkish state and its institutions to protect its sovereignty from Kurdish separatism and national security from ISIS and the Syrian civil war. The next part of this chapter will focus on the vertical threats to the *AKP*'s authority that emerged from rival polities and non-polities. The chapter will also examine the way in which the *AKP* moved away from alliance-building political reproduction to fortifying political reproduction to mitigate the collapse of the state. Central to this was the notion that the survival of the state was only possible within the capable hands of President Erdoğan and he began to not only block rival polities, but those within the *AKP* itself who had pushed for a more open agenda.

### **7.3 Domestic Consent in Decline**

*The AKP's Expansion and Monopolization of the Turkish state and its Institutions*

Part 7.3, 'Domestic consent in decline' examines the way the *AKP* responded to the neoteric double-security dilemma brought about by the 'Arab Spring' through fortifying its vertical relations and altering both the culture and the structure of the state to block spill over threats. This led to a more fortifying

mode of political reproduction overall within Turkey, which had a profound effect as the winners and losers of Turkish society shifted, and the relationship of the society to the state became increasingly hostile within some segments. Due to the nature of the threats emerging from other polities, some which had historically been nested in Turkey and other countries in the region, the *AKP* altered its form of power reproduction by shifting from consent generation to coercion.

As a response to threats to the *AKP*'s power consolidation, the state apparatus became an engine for increased authoritarianism through blocking alternative polities; rather than power sharing, openness and 'justice and development' as had been the norm in the early 2000's. To maintain the securitisation of the Turkish state, which the *AKP* framed as dependent on their rule of it, the *AKP* squeezed the life out of democratic and civil society.

As (Çagaptay 2017: 125-126) explains,

“Erdoğan's illiberal policies strengthened once he was able to eliminate three key checks and balances: one undemocratic (the *TSK*), and two democratic (the high courts and the media). His successful intimidation of the business community and civil society also neutralized potential forces of opposition, and Erdoğan became brazen in his disregard for democratic institutions.”

Erdoğan's increased paranoia was not without reason. As part 7.2 has demonstrated, by 2013, the 'Arab Spring' weakened Turkey's role as a regional power in the Middle East and put an end to the “zero problems with neighbours” doctrine. Turkey also became a regional hub for millions of

Syrian refugees, causing significant strain on the social system as well as undercutting peripheral employment. Furthermore, by 2014, ISIS had launched a number of brutal attacks against civilians in Ankara, Istanbul and the Kurdish region. Aside from the spread of fear this also greatly harmed the level of FDI and the tourist industry (Çagaptay 2017).

The ISIS siege of the Kurdish Syria-Turkey border town of Kobane from September 2014 to January 2015 had led to the deaths of thousands and caused immense material destruction. The *AKP* were accused of turning a blind-eye to events unfolding in Kobane, angering Kurds in Turkey who began to protest in solidarity with Kobane. On 20 July 2015, 33 Kobane-sympathetic activists from Turkey were killed in a bombing in Suruç carried out by a Turkish citizen (Çagaptay 2017). In retaliation, the *PKK* assassinated two Turkish police officers whom they accused of colluding in the ISIS attack. The killing of the police officers was the government's official excuse for the vast acceleration of state violence and reigniting of the war with the *PKK* in the summer of 2015. Through the ruse of security, the *AKP* now allied with *MHP* and the far right and gave the green light to the Turkish military to invade and launch curfews in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia (ESA), and arrest Kurdish and leftist activists (Araj and Savran 2017).

In stark contrast to the *AKP*'s first and second terms, Turkey's *AKP* third term evoked a reactive political culture, rather than proactive. The first element

targeted for blocking from political authority was of course the Erdoğan critics and liberals from within the party. From 2010, parliamentary party members on the centre/left were side-lined and then were further purged in the *AKP*'s September 2012 party congress (Çagaptay 2017). It has seemed that the fortifying and blocking behaviour of the *AKP* has worked, and despite a number of scandals, corruption allegations, increasing amounts of street protests (including Gezi park), and their fallout with the Gülen movement they managed to maintain their authority.

The *AKP* managed to secure a 52% majority in August 2014 for the election of President Erdoğan, and a majority in the re-run of the November 2015 elections (Çagaptay 2017). Alliance-building political reproduction had ended, but Erdoğan and his supporters were far from finished. Instead, the *AKP* turned to a re-articulation and adaptation of their political authority, to maintain power in an increasingly hostile and competitive environment. The first step in doing this was to alter the structure of the state, including its scope, and its institutions (Çagaptay 2017).

From 2012 onwards, Erdoğan and his supporters within the party began to widen the scope of state interference into the daily life of its citizens within Turkey, a move which ended the absorption of the liberal society into the 'Turkish Model' (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). During the alliance-building period the *AKP* had widened its legislation around basic freedoms, however, from 2012 the *AKP* started to tighten such legislation, limiting basic freedoms

(Andrikopoulos 2015: 83). One of the most unpopular laws was that restricting the sale of alcohol. In May 2013, the Turkish parliament voted to ban the sale of alcohol after 11pm in shops and completely ban the sale of alcohol within a 100m of mosques and schools (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

Yet, it was not just through legislature that the *AKP* tried to control public life, but also through controlling and dominating the public discourse with conservative salvoes, an action that many argued was beyond their role as politicians. A June 2013 poll by Today's Zaman represented this with 49.9% of Turks frustrated with the growing authoritarianism of the government (Waldman and Caliskan 2016: 55). Many public commentators started arguing that the state had become a nanny state. For example, Richard Falk stated,

“There is no doubt that Erdoğan irresponsibly fans the flames of discontent in Turkey by refusal to keep his conservative personal preferences to himself, undermining his identity as the elected leader of a diverse, modern nation. As we should all know by 2013, the personal is political.” (Falk 2014: 184)

Some examples of these salvoes were the notion that women should refrain from laughter in public stated by deputy PM Bulent Arinc, the call of Erdoğan for each family to have at least three children, his speeches against unmarried couples co-habiting and the *AKP's* conservative notion that red

lipstick worn by the staff of Turkish Airlines was haram<sup>102</sup> (Falk 2014; Andrikopoulos 2015). Pro-life proclamations on abortion from Erdoğan and other *AKP* ministers were met with demonstrations and online articles by pro-choice women's rights groups (Korkut and Eslen-Ziya 2017).

Worries about abuse of state power in Turkey by the *AKP* were of concern during the 7 June 2015 Parliamentary elections, as highlighted by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) election observation mission:

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1. Media freedom is an area of serious concern; media and journalists critical of the ruling party were subject to pressure and intimidation during the campaign.
2. There were isolated cases of cancellation or restrictions of rallies of the opposition parties in favour of events organized for the President or the Prime Minister. Two criminal court orders for removal of certain opposition posters deemed to be insulting to the President were issued.
3. Media critical of the ruling party faced increasing pressure and intimidation by public figures and political actors during the election period. The Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTSC), is responsible to oversee compliance of broadcast media with the regulations. The seemingly partisan functioning of the RTSC raised concerns over its transparency and independence”

(OSCE 2015)

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<sup>102</sup> Forbidden by Islam

Despite their abuse of state power during the elections, the *AKP* were short of a majority by 18 seats. A leading factor in their defeat was the rise of the Peoples' Democratic Party (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi, HDP*) a progressive alliance of the left and Kurdish groups, who were the first Kurdish party to pass the 10% threshold in the elections (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). The *AKP* needed to arrange a coalition government to push through the constitutional reforms they envisaged. For the *AKP*, forming a coalition with either the *CHP* or *HDP* was untenable and they chose to hold new elections instead (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). The new elections were held in November 2015 and the *AKP* won 51% of the vote, enough to form a majority government. This victory was largely down to the *AKP*'s crackdown on the opposition, framing *HDP* supporters as terrorists and *CHP* supporters as Islamophobic (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

Aside from increased interference of the state in daily life; othering of Kurds, women and any opponents; lack of electoral freedom and the reigniting of violence in the Southeast; the *AKP* also managed to fortify the judiciary and military to the party's advantage. By 2014, 11 new members had been assigned to the constitutional court to restrict the militaries influence over the judiciary (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). After Erdoğan's election as President in 2014, many high-ranking military officers resigned, concerned at his growing monopolization of power. They felt "it was all but clear that Erdoğan was acting as the puppet master controlling the *AKP* government of



the new Prime Minister Davutoğlu.” (Waldman and Caliskan 2016: 78) 2014 was a key year in the changing shape of the party and the regime. Many old allies of Erdoğan were pushed out and side-lined, including Abdullah Gül and other ex-*RP* heavyweights. The regime began to take the form of a “politburo-like structure” controlled by “Erdoğan loyalists” (Çagaptay 2017: 125).

Despite earlier moves to quash the influence of the military during the alliance-building period, once all his rivals from the military had been removed, Erdoğan began to militarise Turkish society from 2014 (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). He reignited his ties with the *TSK* and began using militarist rhetoric to gain popular support for his crackdown against Kurdish separatists and the Gülen movement. In a show of military might Erdoğan instilled his own military guard at the presidential palace, consisting of 478 soldiers in Ottoman attire (Waldman and Caliskan 2016)<sup>103</sup>.

To consolidate the new politburo shape of the state with Erdoğan at the top, purging all state institutions from Gülen influence was crucial. Although the polity lead by Fethullah Gülen had been a vital *AKP* partner during the alliance-building period, their increased power and number of loyal followers became to be viewed as a threat to the *AKP*'s control of the state (Çagaptay

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<sup>103</sup> The Presidential Palace (Ak Saray) or white palace was built by Erdoğan as a symbol of his strength to a cost of \$615 million (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

2017). The Gülen movement had been accused of clandestine interference within the judiciary and military to mould the state institutions in their favour, rather than in the favour of the *AKP* (Çagaptay 2017).

On September 2012, 330 military officers were convicted and incarcerated for participation in the Balyoz/Sledgehammer plot, a 2003 plan to launch a military coup against the *AKP* (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). Yet, the verdict was reversed by the Constitutional Court because of inconsistencies<sup>104</sup>. This led some Turks to believe that the whole trial had been down to Gülenist theatrics, a play by the Hizmet, to rid the judiciary and police of non-Gülenists (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

The struggle for the judiciary and military between the Gülenists, the *AKP*, and the Kemalist establishment was won by the *AKP*. The *AKP* had monopolized power and moulded the state and its institutions in its favour, purging those who had once been crucial to its rise to power. In the next section, the winners and losers of the new fortifying model will be explored. Many of the losers being those who had in fact, like the Gülen, been crucial to building loyalty and consent amongst the polarized Turkish and Kurdish masses during the alliance-building period.

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<sup>104</sup> One example highlighted by Waldman and Caliskan (2016: 36) is that, “a document purportedly from 2002 mentioned a group called the Turkish Youth Union, who had not been established until 2003.”

### *Winners and Losers of Capstone Turkey*

The deliberate uprooting of rival polities was not limited to the Gülen movement but became a nationwide process. Central to the *AKP*'s maintenance of power during the fortifying period has been the systematic suppression of any form of dissent. On the national level, this systematic suppression has been characterised by two streams of coercive activity. The first has been the targeted nation-wide suppression of activists, journalists and educators suspected of support for the Gülen movement through arrests and purges. The second stream of coercive activity has been the attack on the peace movement, leftists, feminists, LGBTQ activists, Alawis and Kurds who represented a viable counterhegemony against the 'Turkish model'. This broad umbrella of organisations and citizens have become recipients of collective punishment as the *AKP* builds a new pattern of authority based on fear, rather than consent.

Those who benefited from the *AKP*'s new fortified pattern of authority were the nested establishment, the far-right and Kemalists who once suspicious of the *AKP*'s democratic opening, began to favour Erdoğan's increasingly militarist and nationalist rhetoric and hardened stance on Kurdish rights and the left. Parties such as the *CHP* and *MHP*, had not been able to "present a responsible political platform that could give the Turkish people a positive alternative, so the prospect of mounting an electoral challenge remained

poor.” (Falk 2014: 189) Nonetheless, they managed to effectively lobby the *AKP* to concede to militarism and nationalism.

The Gülen movement were the greatest losers of post alliance-building Turkey and were subject to suspicion and conspiracies. Relations between Gülen and *AKP* had begun to sour, in part because of the Gülen movements discontent with the *AKP*'s solidarity with Palestine and the Kurdish opening (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). The *AKP* were unhappy with the large power-base of the Gülen movement that they felt could be a threat to their authority. The *AKP* therefore began to accelerate their crackdown on the Gülen (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

In November 2013 Gülen dersbane were banned by the *AKP* and shut-down (Waldman and Caliskan 2016)<sup>105</sup>. The *AKP*'s election victories despite the corruption allegations<sup>106</sup> enabled them to accelerate their purge of the Gülen movement. During 2013 and 2014 Erdoğan downgraded and sacked many Gülen security personnel and judges and then declared the Gülen movement a terrorist organization. He subsequently had more than two dozen journalists and media personnel arrested from the Gülen owned Zaman and Today's Zaman (Çagaptay 2017).

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<sup>105</sup> A multi-million-dollar industry, the dersbane were aimed at underprivileged youth, helping them to prepare for and access further education (Çagaptay 2017).

<sup>106</sup> Waldman and Caliskan (2016: 85) refer to the rank of Turkey in the 2011 Transparency International Corruption Index: “61 out of 183.”

Although the Gülen-*AKP* fallout had a profound impact on Turkish society, nothing ripped at the helms of the cohesion of the Turkish state more than the ending of the *PKK-*AKP** peace process. The greatest loser of fortifying Turkey was the Kurds and of course those who lost their lives through renewed violence (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). In June 2011, fighting between the *TSK* and the *PKK* resurfaced. The *PKK* blamed the Turkish military claiming that the armed forces were continuing attacks despite the ceasefire- after the renewed clashes Erdoğan refused to sign any more negotiations agreements. Yet talks continued underground despite a re-emergence of hostilities (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

In 2012 the peace process continued to stall, and violence between the *PKK* and the Turkish state claimed over 1000 lives despite a continued push for talks by the broader Kurdish peace movement (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). Actions taken by the movement included a mass hunger strike by Kurdish political prisoners and the meeting of renowned Kurdish political activist Leyla Zana with Erdoğan in July 2012. Hostilities continued into 2013 when three prominent female Kurdish activists were murdered in Paris. Worried about the increase of suffering amongst the Kurdish people, Ocalan pushed for a ceasefire in March of the same year (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

The *AKP* decided to offer a new package of proposed policy changes<sup>107</sup> but these fell far below Kurdish expectations as they did not mention the freeing of political prisoners, the relaxing of anti-terror legislation or universalize the use of Kurdish language. One of the reasons for this weak offer is that as Erdoğan augmented his moves to the presidency, it became clear that Kurdish liberation would be more a hindrance than a help<sup>108</sup> (Çagaptay 2017). To win votes he needed a strong militarist stance against the *PKK* (Çagaptay 2017). The *AKP* also felt like the Kurds shunning of their offers were a stab in the back, as they had seen themselves as the generous protectors of Kurdish rights during the Kurdish opening (Çagaptay 2017). In the tradition of Atatürk, Erdoğan declared war on the Kurds to win the support of the nationalists and become president (Çagaptay 2017:142).

Despite the passing of a new law authorizing official peace negotiations in July 2014, the lack of aid to the Kurds of Syria from the Turkish government destroyed any possibility of a better future for the Kurds of the region, or at least by the will of the *AKP* (Çagaptay 2017). As discontent against the *AKP's* policy towards the ISIS-blockaded Kurds of Northern Syria grew, protests spread across the ESA. The protests were met with a brutal

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<sup>107</sup> Including: potentially easing the 10% parliamentary election threshold and language rights for Kurds (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

<sup>108</sup> An example of this is when HDP leader Demirtas popularized the twitter hashtag #wewillnotmakeyoupresident to combat Erdoğan's hopes of consolidating executive power (Çagaptay 2017).

crackdown by Turkish security forces leaving 22 protesters dead and curfew and internet shut-downs in six majority Kurdish provinces by October 2014 (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

The *TSK* also began an aerial bombing campaign within the ESA against *PKK* sites causing even more casualties. In February 2015 Ocalan again tried to mitigate further violence, publishing an *HDP* endorsed statement listing strategies the government could take to reinstate a ceasefire. Yet, the government responded by blocking his wishes (Waldman and Caliskan 2016). Tensions were further exacerbated when an increase in terrorist attacks targeting Kurds and leftists occurred with accusations of lack of protection from the Turkish security services (Tuğal 2016). Following this, in November 2015 eight JITEM (gendarmerie) affiliates were cleared of massacres of Kurds and Alawis committed in Cizre between 1993 and 1995. In addition, the death of Tahir Elci- the head of Diyarbakir Bar Association (and a lead investigator into massacres committed against Kurds and leftists) in crossfire meant the alliance-building with Kurdish groups was truly over (Tuğal 2016).

The renewal of violence also put the health sector and health professionals of the ESA at risk. The Turkish Medical Association reported an increase of state violations of Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions in ESA due to the reigniting of the *PKK*-Turkish conflict (Vatansever et al. 2015). As explained by Araj and Savran (2017: 16):

“These violations have included direct assaults on health professionals, institutions and ambulances. Incidents noted were the loss of life of three health workers, the closure of pharmacies and hospitals due to curfew and increased violence, the entrance of armed security personnel and vehicles into spaces where emergency healthcare was being provided, the arrest/kidnapping of medics, and acts of physical violence by police forces on nurses and doctors.”

In the eyes of the *AKP* and the political establishment, Kurdish politics had gained too much power through the opening of the political system during the alliance-building period. The final failure for the absorption of Kurdish groups into the passive revolution was the rise of the *HDP*. The *AKP* felt it was time to block the perceived threat to Turkish sovereignty, neoliberalism and post-Islamism that was the Kurdish/leftist party which had thrashed the 10% electoral threshold in June 2015 (Çagaptay 2017)<sup>109</sup>.

Through winning 13% of the vote in the June 2015 election (80 out of 550 seats) and 10.8% in the November re-election of the same year (59 votes out of 550) the *HDP* not only represented a threat to the *AKP* hierarchy, but to nationalism, fascism and neoliberalism in Turkey itself (Çagaptay 2017: 149). Çagaptay (2017) credits a number of factors for the *HDP*'s success: the rise of Kurdish nationalism during the 'Arab Spring', the gains of autonomy in Rojava by the *PYD*, Kurdish defeats of ISIS such as breaking the siege of Kobane and growing international support for Kurdish rights. As Falk (2014:

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<sup>109</sup> Çagaptay (2017: 148) explains the importance of the struggle between the *HDP* and the *AKP* in the ESA: “Politics in ESA is a two-way rivalry between the *HDP* and *AKP*- combined they received more than 93% of the vote in the 12-majority south-eastern Kurdish majority provinces in the November 2015 general election.”



177) explains, “there is also the strong possibility that elements of the Kurdish resistance see the fluidity of the regional situation as a window of opportunity to achieve national self-determination.”

The militarist Turkish elite who had become the stakeholders of the *AKP*'s fortifying re-articulation embraced the renewed skirmishes and felt it was also an opportunity to crush the *HDP* and the left (Çagaptay 2017). Tuğal (2016: 193) explains that the attacks had a profound impact on the basic rights of Kurds and in some areas, such as Cizre, ordinary citizens began digging barricades to keep out the *TSK*. In twelve cities in the South East, *HDP* local authorities declared autonomy from Ankara. Thus, the renewed clashes meant the incarceration of five mayors of Kurdish districts, created 355,000 internally displaced people, and resulted in the deaths of 250 innocents (Tuğal 2016). The *AKP*'s new form of fortifying form of political reproduction seemed to have worked as in the parliamentary elections of November 2015, the *AKP* received 49.5%, due to their pandering to the nationalists and blocking of the Kurdish opposition (Çagaptay 2017).

The pattern of alliance-building authority towards the Kurds from the government was truly over. Fearing the weight of the threats to the sovereignty of the Turkish state by the Kurdish movement for peace and autonomy, the *AKP* reverted the political scene to the traditional form of blocking and capstone behaviour towards minority groups that was favoured by the Kemalist establishment in the 80s and 90s (Waldman and Caliskan

2016). Therefore, parties such as the *MHP* and *CHP* plus the military establishment became increasingly nested into the regime as others such as the Gülen and the Kurds were blocked out.

As a polity responds to the double-security dilemma through either becoming more fortifying or more alliance-building, the numbers of stakeholders in the survival of the polity also alter. In the situation where the polity moves towards a fortifying form of political reproduction, consent wanes and the number of stakeholders therefore decreases. For this process to occur there will be an adaptation of how the state and society relate to each other.

After 2013, the restructuring of state-society relations in Erdoğan's Turkey became that of coercion, punishment and fear rather than consent. Society began to engage with the state through protests, occupations, debate and collective organization through social media. The resulting reaction from the state was to crackdown on the freedom to protest, the freedom to organize, and the freedom of speech and the media. This process will be further analysed below.

### *State-Society Relations in the Securitized Period*

This section examines the new relationship between the Turkish state and Turkish society that emerged after the 'Arab Spring'. Here the focus is on rival polities that were not part of the traditional parliamentary opposition to

the political Islamists. Those that were a more tenable opposition were the street protesters of Gezi Park and the new social media activists that emerged which together began to transform the visibility of subaltern and peripheral society to the state.

Soon after the 2011 election, *AKP* was alienating many Turks. There was widespread dissatisfaction with not only urban policies but a range of other policies and discourses targeting the marginalised (Araj and Savran 2017). Perhaps the first immediate provocation of the working class which led to was the excessive use of force by the security services against the May Day demonstrations in 2013 (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

Image 7.6 May Day Protest 2013, Beşiktaş, Istanbul



The May Day protests were pushed out of Taksim Square by the police into suburban areas such as Beşiktaş where they were further met with water cannons and police violence (Author's own image from May 2013)

However, it was not until the Gezi protests of May 2013 that millions of people came together on the streets and social media throughout Turkey to express their rage against increasing authoritarian, interventionist, and destructive Islamic-conservative neoliberal forces (Tuğal 2016).

The Gezi uprising began when a protest by environmentalists, community activists and architects against the demolishing of Gezi park was met with a violent response by police which included close range shots to the head with

tear gas cannisters. The activists had been peacefully campaigning for months against the building of a mosque in place of the popular Istanbul park in the historically significant area of Taksim<sup>110</sup>. The crackdown was swiftly broadcast over social media and traditional media platforms which was met by pure rage by the Turkish public (Araj and Savran 2017). The anger spread onto the street and,

“soon enough the protest quickly turned into a trans-class uprising by different subaltern groups in alliance against neoliberal economic, political, cultural and ideological domination by the *AKP* and Erdoğan. The Gezi protests brought together such groups as workers, lower middle class, students, the unemployed, artists, intellectuals, radical leftists, Kurds, environmentalists, feminists, LGBTQs, anti-capitalist Muslims and ordinary people with no experience in political protest... As they were protesting against the government’s increasingly undemocratic and unequal policies, a serious counter-hegemonic challenge emerged. The Gezi protests spread from Istanbul to various cities in the country but gradually subsided in mid-June and ultimately failed to institutionalise itself, a crucial step for a counter-hegemony’s success.”

(Araj and Savran, 2017: 7-8)

The images below show the real extent of the discord and unrest on the streets of Istanbul<sup>111</sup>. Inspired by the transnational ‘Occupy’ movement protestors occupied Gezi Park and Taksim square<sup>112</sup>. Symbols of the state

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<sup>110</sup> Taksim Meydanı (Taksim Square) is an area particularly revered by Turkish leftists due to it being the sight of the massacre of 36 leftist protestors murdered by fascist militia during the May day protests of 1977.

<sup>111</sup> The information provided is based on observations by the author.

<sup>112</sup> The ‘Occupy Movement’ started in 2011 with a mass mobilization of people against vast economic inequality in the US and spread to other nations.

such as police cars were attacked by some segments of the demonstrators, and barricades were put up around the park to liberate the area from the control of the *AKP* and the state. Once the square area was under the control of the people, a carnival atmosphere of unity and solidarity quickly spread. For the first time in Turkish history, Kurds, Armenians, liberal Kemalists, leftist Syrians and Palestinians, feminists and anti-imperialist Islamists danced, debated and sang together.

Image 7.7 Gezi Park Protestors Vandalize Police Vehicle



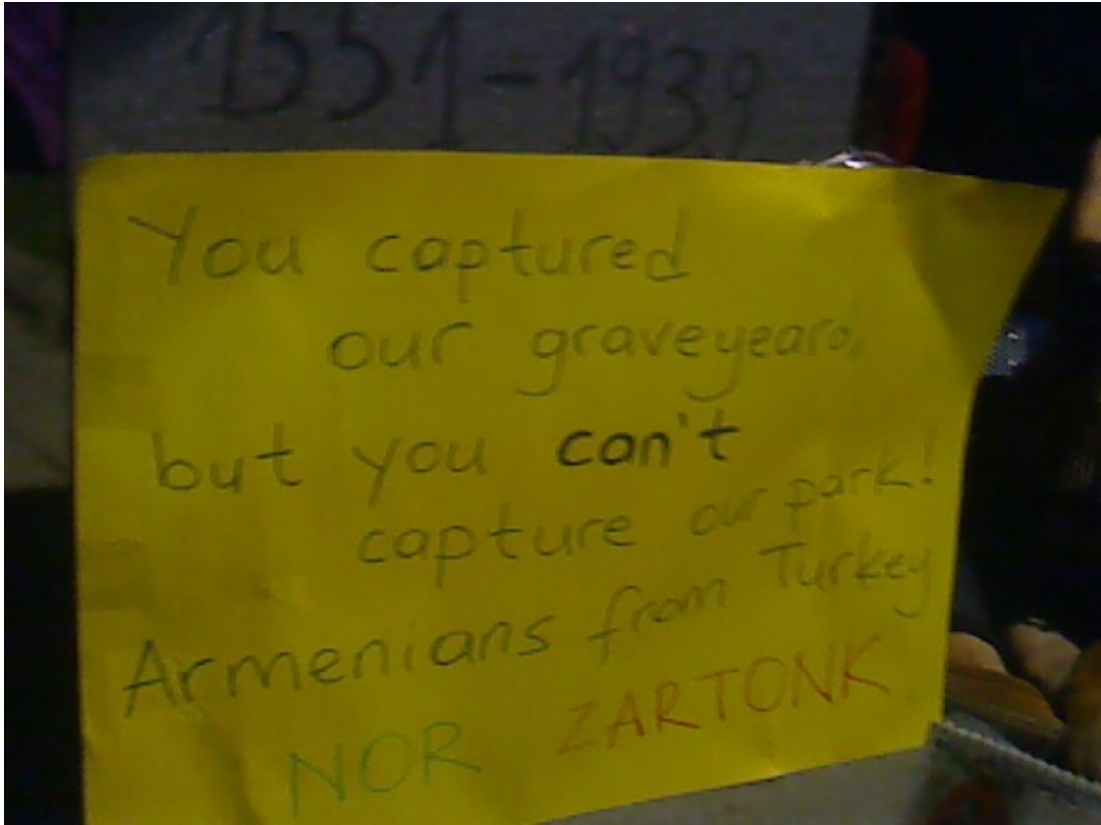
Symbols of the state and *AKP*'s power were the main targets of many protestors anger. A particular reason for this was the lethal disproportionate use of force by the police. (Author's own image from June 2013)

Image 7.8 Gezi Park Protestors Occupy Taksim Square



Protestors reclaim the Square from the state. This resulted in violent clashes between them and the police who pushed protestors back to the Park and Cihangir and Tarlabası. (Author's own image from June 2013)

Image 7.9 Armenians make their Presence Known in Gezi Park



Protestors came from a diverse range of marginal backgrounds and minorities. This Armenian placard reads “You captured our graveyards, but you can’t capture our park! Armenians from Turkey.” This placard is from the Nor Zartonk (New Awakening) movement in Turkey that came about after the assassination of Armenian journalist Hrant Dink. This group represents Armenians and pushes for a leftist agenda. They would later become part of the *HDP* umbrella movement. (Author’s own image from June 2013)



Image 7.10 Barricades around Gezi Park



Youth who had never been to protests in their lives began digging up the pavements and building barricades following the guidance of seasoned communists and Kurdish activists. (Author's own image from June 2013)

Image 7.11 A Carnival Atmosphere at the Gezi Occupation



The unified spirit during the Gezi protests represented a new vision of society away from the control of the media or the inequalities of neoliberalism. Activists built a self-sustainable community, with doctors and health professionals treating the wounded, restaurants donating food and even media activists set up a cinema with a projector in the park. As the state and corporate media had largely ignored what was happening, the park had hubs of alternative media where social media strategy was discussed and press releases were typed up. (Author's own image from June 2013)

Image 7.12 Stand-off between Protestors and the Police



Here the disproportionate amount of police who marched around Istanbul in their droves can be seen in a stand-off with protestors. (Authors own image from June 2013)

Image 7.13 Gezi Activists join Anti-Capitalists Muslims in Reclaiming Iftar on Istiklal Street



In a rejection of the *AKP*'s monopolization of Islamic thought and practice, protestors broke fast together on the ground of significant sights such as Istiklal Street. This was a significant symbolic rejection of *AKP* soft power as *AKP* municipalities regularly provided public Iftar to increase their support and unite their supporters. (Author's own image from June 2013)

The Gezi movement was not just based in Istanbul but was countrywide. As *AKP* supporters worried about the emergence of counterhegemonic power they took matters into their own hands and began organizing street militias to

patrol the streets beating up protestors. Soon it became clear to the Gezi-sympathetic counterhegemony<sup>113</sup> that to truly challenge the power of the *AKP*, they had to form a viable polity and increase their visibility and support base (Araj and Savran 2017). The first step to this was regular neighbourhood forums in public parks all over Turkey to discuss future actions and tactics to dismantle the *AKP*. Eventually, it was decided that a political party would be a necessity to challenge the *AKP*'s electoral hegemony. The new counterhegemony formed the *HDP* (the Peoples' Democratic Party) who would eventually challenge the *AKP*'s monopolization of power when they passed the 10% electoral threshold and became a source of street opposition in Parliament in 2015 (Araj and Savran 2017).

As a response to this challenge to the *AKP*'s authority, the party began to fortify and block their opponents, ending the alliance-building that had once been between state and society:

“Central to the *AKP*'s maintenance of power after *HDP* challenges to their electoral hegemony, the Gülen fallout, the regional overspill of violence and the reignition of the Turkey-*PKK* conflict of July 2015 has been the systematic suppression of any form of dissent. On the national level, this systematic suppression has been characterised by two streams of coercive activity. The first has been the targeted nation-wide suppression of key counter-hegemonic activists or those suspected of support for the Gülen movement through arrests and purges. The second stream of coercive activity has been the structural war against (the media, educators and unions and associations)... This broad umbrella of organisations and citizens have become

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<sup>113</sup> A movement, or a rival polity/polities/possible polity with the potential to form a viable alternative to the hegemonic power that be.

recipients of the *AKP*'s determined de-institutionalisation and externalisation as a form of collective punishment as the *AKP* builds a new pattern of authority based on fear, rather than consent.”

(Araj and Savran, 2017: 13-14)

A chief target of the *AKP*'s fortification of politics was the internet and media. Key measures have included the incarceration of journalists<sup>114</sup>, the purging of opposition media staff from their positions (leading to the recent commonality of self-censorship within the media profession), gag orders<sup>115</sup>, intimidation of reporters, and laws restricting digital rights and internet freedom (Nisbet et al. 2015). The *AKP* also altered the regulatory practices within the media enabling their supporters to buy many media outlets:

“Just after the *AKP* rose to power in 2002, pro-government business owned less than a quarter of Turkish media, by 2011, pro-*AKP* businesses owned about 50%, today the vast majority of the Turkish media is in the hands of pro Erdoğan businesses.”

(Çagaptay, 2017: 123)

The state-owned media was also incredibly bias towards the *AKP*, from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 2014 533 minutes of broadcast time was devoted to Erdoğan, with just under 4 minutes given to the opposition leaders (Çagaptay 2017; Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

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<sup>114</sup> Bulent Kenes, the ex-editor in chief of Today's Zaman was charged for offending Erdoğan (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

<sup>115</sup> In 2013 media censorship on Haber TV against opposition politicians was ordered by Erdoğan Haber TV (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

The internet has been another target of the *AKP*'s blocking of the free flow of information. Waldman and Caliskan (2016) state how internet use by Turks is by proportion one of the most digitized in the world, with 26% of Turks having Facebook accounts (Nisbet et al. 2015). This is much related to the socio-economic development practices of the *AKP* during the alliance-building period where a large sum of investment was targeted to both technology and education. Nevertheless, internet censorship has been a controversial issue in Turkey since 2007 when legislation was passed by parliament to 'clean' up the internet:

“The legislation not only targeted pornographic websites and downloading hosts but also websites like YouTube and Blogger for reasons such as promoting insults to the founder of the Republic of Turkey and attacking political leaders. With approximately 80,000 domain names blocked since the advent of this law, the government has made its position towards “dangerous” content circulating online clear and put Turkey in the limelight with respect to Internet censorship.”

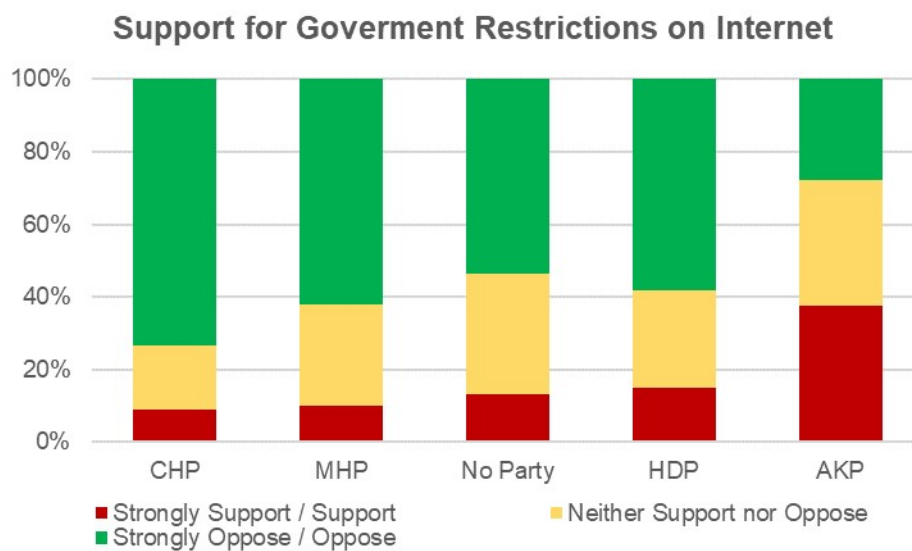
(Nisbet *et al.* 2015: 5)

Since the Gezi protests, social media has regularly been used by citizens as a forum for debate and activism. For example, within one day in June 2013 there were at least 2 million tweets related to Gezi from Turkey. Social media however was not just used by the counterhegemony, but it was also popular with *AKP* supporters who also volunteered in their thousands to defend the party-line on the internet (Waldman and Caliskan, 2016).

This online polarization has been displayed in a survey report on Turkey's contested internet, produced by the Center for Global Communication

Studies (Nisbet et al 2015). The survey results show the stark difference in attitudes towards internet freedom between *AKP* and non-*AKP* supporters.

Figure 7.1 Support for Recent Government Restrictions on Internet by Party Support (percentage of total respondents, single response) 2015



(Nisbet *et al.* 2015: 19)

38% of *AKP* supporters strongly agreed with the internet restrictions imposed by the government as opposed to an average of 11.75% of those who did not support the *AKP*. This also shows the tendency of a significant amount of *AKP* supporters in the 2015 period towards a more authoritarian society.



With its support base behind it the *AKP* indeed managed to accelerate its attack on digital rights<sup>116</sup>. Amendments to the 2007 law which came into effect in 2014 have also severely limited online freedoms. An example of this was the authorization of the Telecommunications Communication Presidency (TIB) to “implement blocking orders in four hours, obliged Internet service providers (ISPs) to retain users’ online activity information up to two years and required these ISPs to provide this data to authorities upon request.” (Nisbet *et al.* 2015: 5) Aside from this, Twitter and YouTube were blocked both before the March 2014 local elections and along with 166 other websites in April 2015 due to the dissemination of a controversial image of a prosecutor’s hostage situation (Nisbet *et al.* 2015). Aside from the violation of digital rights, there is also an issue of ethnic discrimination regarding the internet freedom violations, particularly with the Kurdish minority. For example, in August 2012, 70% of bloggers and media activists incarcerated for their political opinions were Kurdish (Waldman and Caliskan 2016).

However, no amount of internet restrictions could suppress the emergence of the security dilemma to the *AKP* represented by growing Kurdish autonomy. As the environmental and social costs of Islamic neoliberalism began to affect larger numbers of society, inspired by the ‘Arab Spring’ a new counterhegemony emerged to challenge the lack of democracy and

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<sup>116</sup> In the first two quarters of 2015, 92% of court orders for Twitter content removal came from Turkish governmental and municipal institutions (Nisbet *et al.* 2015).

transparency in the *AKP*'s project (Araj and Savran 2017). Under the guise of protecting national security, the *AKP* responded to the protests and renewed confidence of the opposition with violence and suppression (Araj and Savran 2017).

Despite the state's crackdown on dissent; the overcoming of the electoral threshold by the *HDP* and civil unrest calling for Kurdish and human rights continued to pose a security dilemma to the *AKP*'s authority. In order to monopolize power and win this 'war of position' (or struggle for hegemony); the *AKP* launched a deliberate strategy of fortification. This was done to ensure the subordinate social positions of the marginalized remained unmoved. The new mode of political reproduction in Turkey was based on the prevention of any social mobility within Kurdish and Armenian areas and suppression of the exchange of social capital, debates or organization around alternative economic teleology. This was done with the support of the international community, to maintain the power of the *AKP*, the interests of foreign capital, and the continuation of Islamic neoliberalism at any human cost.

However, the unfortunate quagmire is that despite the existence of a strong state tradition and its tradition of regime breakdown, Turkey through its long and ongoing democratization process, has become the most successful example of a secular constitutional democracy in a majority Muslim society, and is arguably the most likely Muslim democracy to become consolidated.

Yet, for this consolidation it is important that the *AKP* alter their current path of authoritarianism. Keyman and Gumuscu (2014) explain that

“In order for Turkey to sustain its 'model' role, the political actors, the state elites, and societal actors should internalize democracy, demonstrate their political and normative commitment to democracy and its consolidation, and accept the plural and multicultural nature of the state.”

(Keyman and Gumuscu 2014: 31)

#### **7.4 Concluding Remarks**

For a state to survive the double-security dilemma, its structural layers must re-articulate and adapt to changing conditions. During the *AKP*'s first 11-13 years of power they underwent an alliance-building mode of political reproduction which firmly embedded Turkey into its external environment socially and economically. The *AKP* also built alliances internally to be able to socially construct as broad consent as possible.

When the Arab uprisings ensued, Turkish policy-makers saw it as an opportunity to spread the passive revolution and Islamic neoliberalism in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria. Yet, the passive revolution failed to domino and Turkey's dependence on its external environment put it at great risk when regional turmoil occurred due to the failure of the 'Arab Spring' to bring about democratic regime change, security or stability. One such risk was the

territorial proximity of Syria, lending to three enemies abiding on Turkey's border- Da'esh, the *PYD* and the Syrian regime.

Consent for its internal alliance-building measures had also begun to wane by 2013 due to domestic inequalities as new stakeholders emerged during the passive revolution. Also, distrust in Turkey's foreign policies as the state began to move away from its 'zero-problems' policy caused citizens with domestic trans-national identities such as Kurdish or Alawi identities to shift their loyalties away from that to the Turkish state. This led to protests, occupations and unrest in Kurdish majority areas where renewed calls for devolution and democratic autonomy proliferated.

To respond to this change in the double-security dilemma, the *AKP* moved to a fortifying mode of political reproduction both vertically and horizontally representing the end of the 'Turkish Model' that had become popularized by the passive revolution. It did this vertically by altering the structure of the state and its institutions, creating new winners and losers, and building a more coercive relationship between society and the state than had been the norm in the alliance-building period. Central to this was the idea that only President Erdoğan could secure the endurance of the Republic through the emergent chaos. Thus, civil society was marginalized, and authoritarianism became synonymous with security. The *AKP* fortified the state horizontally by militarizing its territory, directly intervening in other states through sanctions and military intervention. This caused rifts amongst Turkey's international

alliances both with the West, Russia and Iran due to Turkey's hard-line support for the Muslim Brotherhood.

Despite these rifts, it has seemed that the fortifying and blocking behaviour of the *AKP* has been successful. Although there have been regional wars, several scandals, corruption allegations, increasing amounts of street protests (including Gezi park), and a conflict with Gülen members; the sovereignty, authority and control of the Turkish state over its citizens has been maintained. In the next chapter, Chapter 8: Thesis Conclusions, the inferences of this thesis on how the *AKP* state polity has successfully reproduced to mitigate the double-security dilemma will be examined.

## Chapter Eight: Thesis Conclusions

### 8.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter will begin by reviewing the findings of the research interrogation posed at the beginning of the thesis. Then, Section 8.2, '*Research Outcome and Contribution to Knowledge*', will explain how through a constructivist historical realist methodology, this study has enriched previous empirical studies on the *AKP*, Turkey, the 'Turkish Model' and illuminated significant contributions to the existing theoretical literature on state ruler's behaviour and their inverse relationship to both the world politic and domestic struggles. Following this, Section 8.3, '*Scope for Further Research*', will examine the benefits of the study to both policy-makers and academics, suggesting possible implications for future research and policy-making.

This study investigated the political reproduction of the Turkish state polity under the rule of the *AKP*. Through this case study, unique theoretical contributions were made to the existing literature on how states politically reproduce to mitigate the double-security dilemma. This has been accompanied by some empirical contributions through the selection and analysis of a wide scope of research and sources on the 'Turkish Model'.

The case study showed how the *AKP* effectively maintained authority and managed to mitigate the double-security dilemma posed by threats to Turkey's institutional and sovereign stability from 2002 until 2015. To explain how this operated, both the functional dimension and constitutive dimension of Turkey's sovereignty were addressed through a unique historical realist methodology inspired by the work of Hall (1999). The empirical evidence pointed to how the *AKP* successfully built a post-Islamist hegemony through framing themselves as the only polity with the capacity to ensure the political and economic stability of the Turkish state.

Through analysing data on the *AKP*'s building of alliances and absorbing potential rivals to power, the thesis has shown how the *AKP* maintained authority and became synonymous with the state, the government and the regime. The *AKP*'s consolidation of power within Turkey through an Islamic neoliberal pattern of authority became known as the 'Turkish Model', an alliance-building model of political reproduction framed as appropriate for other Muslim-majority countries to follow as a form of passive revolution to maintain the interests of capitalists and nullify the revolutionary currents stemming from 1979 Iran.

The thesis has also explored the way in which the *AKP* horizontally built a pluralist trajectory of neo-ottomanism which enabled them to navigate through the functions and structures of the international political system through diplomacy, mediation, aid, development and trade in their first

decade of power. This policy was the basis of the *AKP*'s maintenance of functional sovereignty until the 2011 'Arab Spring' completely transformed the shape of the *AKP*'s domestic and regional threats.

The case study then reveals how a new regional double-security dilemma and power vacuums emerged through the 'Arab Spring'. This, accompanied by the failure of the Arab masses to consolidate democratic change, not only threatened the existence of post-Islamism within Turkey, but the existence of the 'Turkish Model' itself. It is argued that this represented the end of the Turkish alliance-building form of political reproduction as the *AKP* moved towards a fortifying pattern of authority to shield themselves and the Turkish Republic from the changing scope of horizontal and vertical threats.

## **8.2 Research Outcome and Contribution to Knowledge**

This thesis has demonstrated how state polities politically reproduce to mitigate the double-security dilemma through the case study of the 'Turkish Model'. This was achieved by addressing the meaning of the 'Turkish Model' in the context of state political reproduction; exploring the elements of the Turkish state and political society that shaped the 'Turkish Model' of 2002-2011; the elements of the regional and international system relevant to the 'Turkish Model' were also analyzed; additionally, the thesis examined how and why Turkey's evolving double-security dilemma altered its mode of political reproduction under the *AKP*. The thesis thus provides implications



for the existing theoretical literature and further studies of Middle Eastern state polities. Consequently, the outcomes of the study are addressed below:

**i. The meaning of the ‘Turkish Model’ in the context of state political reproduction and the double-security dilemma.**

The thesis used a theoretical framework of political reproduction outlining that rival state polities compete over revenue, identity, loyalty and ideology. The double-security dilemma is based around the threat posed to the authority of the state polity by two differing groups. The first is those groups who threaten the sovereignty of the state polity and the second is those who would threaten the institutional foundations of the state polity. Polities can politically reproduce in two ways, through becoming alliance-building- connecting to groups to increase their own resources, or through becoming fortifying- by blocking other would be rulers from building up power bases. The double-security dilemma that the *AKP* faced between 2002 and 2011 included fixed factors such as the trans-historical nature of Turkish hybridity and ‘Europeanness’, the role of geo-strategic realpolitik in the formation of Turkey’s nationalist discourse that had become consolidated by the military, and ‘othering’ as a discursive strategy of ‘Turkishness’ through marginalizing minorities. The double-security dilemma also included new factors such as the embeddedness of the Turkish economy in the regional and international

economy, the threat of the spread of the 1979 Iranian revolution and threats to democracy by the Kemalist establishment and military.

The 'Turkish Model' was an effort by the *AKP* to regulate, control and contain revolt at home and abroad through altering Turkey's political reproduction to that of Islamic neoliberal alliance-building (Tuğal 2016). It was thus presented as a model for other Muslim majority nations to follow. Nonetheless, this thesis highlighted that this alliance-building mode of political reproduction was based on a very specific double-security dilemma with a unique constitutive environment. Therefore, its application to state polities with a different double-security dilemma and constitutive environment was bound to fail thus resulting in the "failure" of the spread of the 'Turkish Model'.

**ii. How elements of the Turkish state and political society shaped the 'Turkish Model' of 2002-2011.**

This thesis has demonstrated how the alliance-building mode of political reproduction undergone by the *AKP* dramatically overhauled the legislative and institutional framework of the state through opening up the political system with increased religious and minority rights and reducing the power of the military to intervene in civilian affairs. The *AKP*'s savvy neoliberal economic policies, routed in those of their predecessors the *RP*, led to the emergence of and emancipation of a new bourgeoisie, traditionalists from the

heartlands of Anatolia who were historically marginalized by the Kemalists. The 'Turkish model' thus mitigated revolutionary change from below through re-framing Islamic neoliberalism as social justice and opportunity. What emerged was the nesting of Islamic neoliberalism into the Turkish state polity, its absorption diverting rival polities. Nonetheless, this model was unsustainable, as despite the best efforts of the *AKP* to maintain consent, discontent grew amongst those who felt disenfranchised by the religiosity of the *AKP*, alongside those left behind by growing inequality.

### **iii. How the *AKP* navigated elements of the regional and international system shaping the 'Turkish Model' of 2002-2011.**

This thesis has demonstrated how the *AKP* re-articulated and adapted to the changing conditions of the international system to maintain the sovereign and institutional foundations of the Turkish state. For the first 11-13 years of the *AKP*'s power they underwent an alliance-building mode of political reproduction which firmly embedded Turkey into its external environment socially and economically. The thesis demonstrates how this was achieved through a post-Islamist strategy contrived by Davutoğlu to make Turkey the regional political, cultural and economic powerhouse. This was achieved by attempting to nest the complex identities of the Middle East under one post-Ottoman identity through expanding the *AKP*'s passive revolution. Turkey, as

a non-Arab state polity, not tied to either the pro-Saudi or pro-Iran axis, had a unique position to employ independent political action and mediation, providing the government with a powerful domestic narrative of Turkey as the new regional leader. The *AKP* success at defeating the secular Kemalist authoritarian regime on the domestic front gave Turkey increased legitimacy whilst dealing with Muslim nations. The emerging 'moral power' on the international front, in turn, reinforced the *AKP*'s authority at home. Yet, this became undermined by Turkey's continued hard power considerations such as their defense alliances with Israel and NATO.

**iv. How and why Turkey's evolving double-security dilemma altered its mode of political reproduction during the *AKP*'s tenure.**

The thesis has demonstrated how social cohesion and sovereign territoriality became weaker than ever in the Middle East after the 'Arab Spring' which altered the double-security dilemma Turkey faced. When the Arab uprisings ensued Turkish policy-makers saw it as a chance to spread Islamic neoliberalism throughout North Africa and the Middle East. Yet, the passive revolution failed to domino and Turkey's dependence on its external relations put it at great risk when the 'Arab Spring' turned to winter. A particular security dilemma was the territorial proximity of a Syria mired by civil war, lending to three enemies aboding on Turkey's border- Da'esh, the *PYD* and

the Syrian regime. This was compounded by the increase of nationalist feeling amongst Kurds inspired by the *PYD*. To respond to this change in the double-security dilemma, the *AKP* transitioned to a more fortifying mode of political reproduction both vertically and horizontally. This represented the fortified transition of the alliance-building 'Turkish Model'.

The thesis has analyzed how the *AKP* vertically fortified the structure of the state and its institutions from 2013 onwards. This created new winners and losers and built a coercive relationship between society and the state. Key to this was President Erdoğan's monopolization of power by synonymizing his authority with the endurance of the Republic through the emergent chaos. The *AKP* fortified the state horizontally by militarizing its territory and directly intervening in other states affairs through sanctions and military intervention; causing rifts with other countries such as Iran, Egypt and Russia. Yet, although there have been regional wars, several scandals, corruption allegations, increasing amounts of street protests, and a conflict with Gülen members; the sovereignty, authority and control of the Turkish state over its citizens and territory has been maintained by the continued political reproduction of the *AKP*.

### **8.3 Scope for Further Research**

This research project ends in 2015 but since completion there has been evidence of scope for further research into the *AKP*'s political reproduction and maintenance of power since then. Some of the challenges faced by the *AKP* have included the continued challenge of Kurdish autonomy, an attempted coup in July 2016, the election of President Donald Trump into the White House, and continued regional power struggles through the vacuums that emerged due to the failure of the 'Arab Spring'. There is scope for studying how these new threats have affected the *AKP*'s authority patterns on both a national and international level. In addition to this, the methodological and theoretical supplementation to the existing literature on the double-security dilemma, provided by this PhD thesis, lends to a framework for further research into other state polities maintenance of authority through either alliance-building or fortifying. It is believed that inference from such studies can be useful to policy-makers tasked with the maintenance of the institutional and sovereign security of states.

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