

**Middle East Technical University  
Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences  
Department of Political Science and Public Administration**

**Spring 2009-2010 Semester  
Wed: 13:40-16:30 Room: FZ08.**

**ADM 4162 -DEMOCRATIZATION AND EUROPEANIZATION IN TURKEY  
Instructor: Assist.Prof. Canan Akman**

**Course Description:** The objective of this course is to provide for the students of political science a theoretically-informed analysis of democratization in Turkey, with specific reference to the impact of the Europeanization process. It will emphasize the interplay between domestic and international forces in Turkish democratization in addition to the general objective of providing a theoretical framework and a comparative perspective on democratization to comprehend the challenges of democratization in Turkey. In the first part of the course, major theoretical approaches and frameworks on transitions from authoritarianism and consolidation of democracy will be provided. This part will highlight the various routes, forces and issues and actors of democratization as a background to comprehend the Turkish case and to put it into perspective. The second part deals with the Turkish case since the early 1980s. The discussion on Turkey will proceed through describing the transition, the political reform process as well as the challenges of consolidation. The major axis of discussion will be on democratization as the political aspect of the Europeanization process which was accelerated in Turkey over the last decade.

**Course Requirements/Evaluation:**

1. It is essential for the students to attend the class regularly. It is also expected that students come to the class having done the assigned readings beforehand.
2. For class presentations students should prepare notes summarizing the assigned reading material (i.e. the presenters should not directly read from the text assigned). They should summarize the text, highlight its major argument(s) and raise questions for class discussion

3. All students must understand the meaning and the consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences. Plagiarism is a serious offense which violates rules of academic integrity, and it is punishable in accordance with the regulations of the university. It refers to dishonestly representing someone's ideas as your own. This is the most common form of plagiarism. It is punished by the disciplinary committee and results in an (FF) as course grade and usually accompanied with heavier penalties. All ideas, information as well as quotes which do not belong to you must be acknowledged in a consistent reference format in essays and papers. (please refer to the handout distributed by the instructor)
4. There will be no make-up exam (except in case of severe illness). In case of illness, you should inform the instructor as soon as possible and bring the doctor's report approved by the university medical center in the week following the exam.
5. Additional information about the term-project ( a 10 to 15-pages paper based on genuine and serious research, and due at the end of the term) will be provided by the instructor separately. Papers are due on the day of the final exam in June. (late papers will be penalized)
6. All the reading material is available as a pack for the students in the faculty building's Xerox Rm.

Course Evaluation:

Mid-term exam 30 %

Class Presentation: 10%

Final exam: 30 %

Term -Project (Paper) 25 %

Class attendance and participation in class discussions: 5 %

## COURSE OUTLINE

### **PART I. Democratization and Europeanization: Theoretical Approaches and Comparative Insights (WEEKS OF 24 Feb & 3, 10,17 March)**

#### **a) The ‘Third- Wave Democratization’, the Transition Paradigm. & Democratic Consolidation**

1. Huntington, Samuel P. ‘How? Processes of Democratization’ , *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. (Norman:the University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp109-141.
2. Carother, T. ‘The End of the Transition Paradigm’ *Journal of Democracy*, 13: 1(2002), pp.5-21
3. Diamond, L. ‘Is the Third Wave Over?’ *Journal of Democracy*, 7(3),July 1996, pp.20-37
4. Haggard, Stepan and Robert R Kaufman, ‘The Challenges of Consolidation’, *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (4) 1994,pp.5-16
5. Stepan, A and J Linz. ‘Democracy and Its Arenas’ in *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: the John Hopkins University Press,1996). pp.3-15.
6. Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. ‘International Linkage and Democratization’, *Journal of Democracy*, 16(3), 2005,20-34.

#### **b) Post-Communist Democratizations (CEECs – Central and Eastern European Countries- and former Soviet Republics) and Europeanization**

7. McFaul M. ‘Transitions from Post-Communism’, *Journal of Democracy*, 16 (3), July 2005. pp.5-19.
8. Pridham, Geoffrey. ‘EU Accession and Democratization In Central and Eastern Europe: Lessons from the Enlargement of 2004’ in Quirico, Roberto Di ed. *Europeanization and Democratization: Institutional Adaptation, Conditionality and Democratization in European Union’ s Neighbour Countries*. (Florence, European Press Academic Publishing, 2005), pp.59-81.
9. Radaelli, C.M ‘Europeanization of Public Policy’ in: Featherstone, Kevin and C. M. Radaelli eds. *The Politics of Europeanization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp.27-53.

#### **c) Turkish Democratization Process in Perspective**

10. Özbudun, Ergun ‘Turkey: How Far From Consolidation?’ *Journal of Democracy*, 7 (3) 1996, pp.123-138.

**PART II. Turkish Democratization: Europeanization and Domestic Challenges**  
(WEEKS of 24 & 31 march, 7, 14, 21, 28 April, 5, 12, 26 May )

**a) An Overview of the Transition, Democratization and the EU Conditionality**

11. Evin, Ahmet ‘From Ozal to the Present Day’ in *The EU and Turkey: a Glittering Prize and Millstone*. ed Michael Lake. (London: Federal Trust for Education and Research),2005, 29-48

12. Keyman, F and Z Öniş. ‘Helsinki, Copenhagen and Beyond: Challenges to the New Europe and the Turkish State’ in M. Uğur and N. Canefe eds. *Turkey and European Integration: Accession Prospects and Issues* ,(LondonRoutledge, 2004 ), 173-193.

13. Verney, Susannah . ‘National Identity and Political Change on Turkey’s Road to EU Membership’, *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, (3) Dec 2007. Until p.218.

**b) The Legal-Constitutional Reforms and the Politics of Reform**

14. Özbudun, Ergun and Ö.Faruk Gençkaya. “ CH 3: Constitutional Amendments under EU Conditionality,1998-2006.”. *Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey*,(Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009 ), 43-71.

15. Özbudun, Ergun and Ö.Faruk Genckaya. “ CH 4: Harmonization Packages and Other Legislative Reforms”. *Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey*,73-79.

16. Özbudun, Ergun and Ö.Faruk Genckaya. “ CH 5: EU Conditionality and Democratization Process in Turkey”. *Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey*,81-94.

17. Ulusoy, Kivanç “Turkey’s Reform Effort Reconsidered, 1987-2004” *Democratization*, 14:3, 2007,472-490

**c) Arenas of Democratization**

18. Cizre, Ümit ‘The Military and Politics: a Turkish Dilemma’ in B. Rubin and Thomas A Keaney , eds. *Armed Forces in the Middle East*. (London:Frank Cass, 2004),pp. 189-205

19. Heper, Metin. ‘The European Union, the Turkish Military and Democracy’, *South European Society and Politics*. 10(1) 2005, pp.33-44.

20. Barchard, David. 'The Rule of Law' in *The EU and Turkey: a Glittering Prize and Millstone*. Ed. Michael Lake. (London: Federal Trust for Education and Research) 2005, 87-106

21. Dađı, İhsan. 'Transformation of Turkish Politics and the European Union: Dimensions of Human Rights and Democratization' in B Gökay ed *Turkey, Greece and Cyprus: Security Across the Borderlines of a New Europe*. Keele European Research Center, 2004.

22. Spidla, Vladimir 'Empowering Women in Turkey: A Priority in the Pre-Accession Process', *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Spring 2007.17-22.

23. Ecevit, Y 'Women's Rights, Women's Organizations and the State' in Z. Kabasakal-Arat. *Human Rights in Turkey*. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).187-201 (only 196-201)

#### **d) Actors of Democratization**

24. Avcı, Gamze. 'Turkish Political Parties and the EU Discourse in the Post-Helsinki Period: a Case of Europeanization' in M. Uğur and N. Canefe eds . *Turkey and European Integration: Accession Prospects and Issues*, (London:Routledge, 2004 ), pp. 194-214.

25. Önis, Ziya. 'Conservative Globalists versus Defensive Nationalists: Political Parties and Paradoxes of Europeanization in Turkey' *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans. Vol.9 (3),2007, pp.247-261.*(reprinted in S. Verney ed. *Turkey's Road to EU Membership*, 2008 )

26. Gülmez, Seçkin Barış 'The EU Policy of the Republican People's Party: An Inquiry on the Opposition Party and Euro-Skepticism in Turkey', *Turkish Studies*, 9(3), Sept.2008 pp.423-436.

27. Toros, Emre. 'Understanding the Role of Civil Society as an Agent for Democratic Consolidation: the Turkish Case', *Turkish Studies*, 8. (3), 2007, p. 395-415.

28. Göksel, D Nigar and Rana Birden Günes 'The Role of NGOs in the European Integration Process: the Turkish Experience', *South European Society and Politics*. 10(1) 2005, pp.57-72

#### **e) Issues in Democratization**

29. Öniş, Ziya. "Conservative Globalism at the Cross Roads: The Justice and Development Party and the Thorny Path to Democratic Consolidation in Turkey" *Mediterranean Politics*, 14 (1),2009. pp.21-40.

30. Fokas, Effie. 'The Islamist Movement and Turkey-EU Relations' in M. Uğur and N. Canefe eds . *Turkey and European Integration: Accession Prospects and Issues*, (London:Routledge, 2004 ),pp.147-168.

31. Toprak, B. 'Islam and Democracy in Turkey' in A. Carkoglu and B Rubin eds. *Religion and Politics in Turkey*, (London, Routledge) 2006, pp25-43.

32. Tocci, N ‘Europeanization of Turkey’s Kurdish Question’ in J. S. Joseph ed. *Turkey and the EU*, (London:Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).pp.122-137.

33. Cizre, Ümit “Turkey’s Kurdish Problem: Borders, Identity, and Hegemony,” in Ian Lustick, B. O’Leary and T. Callaghy, eds., *Rightsizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*, (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 222-252

#### **f) Changing Political Culture and Mass Support for EU Membership?**

34. Carkoglu, Ali “ Who Wants Full Membership? Characteristics of Turkish Public Support for EU Membership” in A Carkoglu and B Rubin (eds) *Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration and International Dynamics*, (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2003), pp.171-194.

35. Grigoriadis, Ioannis N. ‘The EU Liberalizing Effect on Turkish Political Culture’ in I. N Grigoriadis, *Trials of Europeanization: Turkish Political Culture and the European Union*. (NY, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 166-183.

#### **SOME OFFICIAL SOURCES ON THE REFORMS DURING THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS**

T.C Başbakanlık Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, *Avrupa Birliği Uyum Yasa Paketleri*, 2007.

T.C. Başbakanlık Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, *Avrupa Birliği ve Müzakere Süreci*.2007

\*-----*Türkiye’de Siyasi Reform: Uyum Paketleri ve Güncel Gelişmeler*.2007

Avrupa Birliği, Avrupa Komisyonu Türkiye Temsilciliği. *Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği’ne Katılım Sürecine İlişkin İlerleme Raporları*.