

IME
Identities and modernities in Europe
SSH-CT-2009-215949

Work Package 4
‘The state of the art: various paths to modernity’
Turkish Case report

Final version

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December 2009

Turkish Modernity: A Continuous Journey of Europeanization

In a classical perspective, modernity was understood to be a linear and teleological process, spreading from the West to the rest of the world. Accordingly, all societies were said to undergo the same transformations only at different periods of time. In the very end, they would all be “modern” in a Western sense. In this frame of reference, modernization is equated with Westernization, which is the case very much visible in the narrative of Turkish modernization. This belief also resulted in a subjective evaluation of the Western type of civilization as the superior model of civilization promoting Euro-American hegemony in the discourse on modernity. It is exactly this Euro-American hegemony that is put into question in the context of contemporary discourses on modernity generated and discussed by Shmuel Eisenstadt, Barrington Moore, Charles Taylor, Gerard Delanty, John Arnasson, Bo Strath, Peter Wagner, Willfried Spohn and Atsuko Ichijo. The ways in which such scholars debate about modernity constitute a separate literature on the idea of *multiple modernities*. The idea of multiple modernities opposes classical views of modernization and therefore denies the monopoly of the West. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt admits that modernity was in its origins a Western project which spread to the rest of the world through military and economic imperialism especially in the form of colonialism, and he comes to the conclusion that the West has never been successful in the promotion of a homogenizing (cultural) program of modernity. Instead, Eisenstadt observes the emergence of new centers of modernity all round the world in which the originally Western model of modernity is continuously reinterpreted and reconstructed. The varying interpretations of modernity manifest themselves in different institutional and ideological patterns, and are carried forward by different actors such as social movements. Eisenstadt summarizes the idea of multiple modernities as follows:

The idea of multiple modernities presumes that the best way to understand the contemporary world indeed to explain the history of modernities is to see it as a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs. These ongoing reconstructions of multiple institutional and ideological patterns are carried forward by specific social actors in close connection with social, political, and intellectual activists, and also by social movements pursuing different programs of modernity, holding very different views on what makes societies modern (Eisenstadt 2000: 2)."

Schmuel N. Eisenstadt argues that modernity is an open-ended horizon in which there are spaces for multiple interpretations. This immediately implies a critique of totalizing theories of modernity. He rightfully claims that it is modernity, which makes it possible for radically plural world-interpretations to be expressed openly, and it is for this reason that the field in which human beings live necessarily becomes a field of tensions. Modernity's openness to interpretation makes the concept of the plurality of modernities necessary.

The idea of multiple modernities is also debated in Turkey through the works of Nilüfer Göle, İbrahim Kaya, Ferhat Kentel and Ayhan Kaya. The works of Nilüfer Göle (2003 and 2009) and Kaya and Kentel (2005 and 2008) tend to provide some alternative interpretations for the rising visibility of Islamic symbols in the public space in Turkey as well as in the western European countries. Their interpretation of modernity equates modernity with social (civil) and political (civic) participation. Becoming socially and politically active of those who have a strong faith in Islam makes them modern although they do not fit into the classical definition of western modernity. What makes them modern is their act of protest, in other words their self-reflexivity, which they build up against the detrimental forces of globalization, and their participation in public life. İbrahim Kaya, on the other hand, makes theoretical interventions in the idea of multiple modernities through the works of Schmucl N. Eisenstadt, John Arnason and Peter Wagner. Scrutinizing the relationship between women and Islam in Turkey, İbrahim Kaya (2004a) asserts that current Islamism of veiled women could be understood as essentially modern since the act of protest and self-reflexivity is embedded in the very idea of modernity.¹ Kaya also argues that it is more plausible to talk about modernity in its plural form as it is intertwined with multiple set of interpretations as in Kemalism, Islamism, liberalism, national socialism, Fascism, and Leninism (Kaya, 2004b: 40). These works tend to propose that equating modernity with westernization in Turkey is a rather pathological inclination as it is based on the assumption that western civilization is superior in comparison to the others. On the contrary, the idea of multiple modernities does not yield to a kind of hierarchy between cultures, or civilizations, in a similar vein to what Eisenstadt (2005) calls pluralistic modernity with reference to Erasmus, Vico and Herder. This paper aims to explore the Turkish modernity, which has basically emerged in a liminal space constructed by various cultures and civilizations namely with Turkish, Byzantium and Islamic elements. Parallel to what Eisenstadt (2005) calls *totalizing modernity* with reference to Rene Decartes, modernization has simply been meant to be westernization and/or Europeanization by the secular Turkish political and military elite. Hence, we will scrutinize the process of modernization in Turkey with a historicist approach in order to see if there is a rupture in the perception of modernization.

Although the two World Wars mark the turn of history in European states, the Turkish case is remarkably different in the sense that the World Wars were not the main events that determined Turkey's path to modernity. In effect, the mile stones

¹ Schmucl N. Eisenstadt argues that self-reflexivity and protest are inherent constituents of modernity: "[Modernity] focused first on the evaluation of the major dimensions of human experience, and especially on the place of reason in the construction of nature, of human society and human history, as against the more expressivist dimension. Secondly, it focused on the tension between reflexivity and active approaches to human life. Thirdly, it focused on totalizing and pluralistic approaches to human life and the constitution of society and, finally, on control or discipline, on the one side, and autonomy or freedom, on the other" (cited in Delanty, 2004: 395-396).

of Turkey's modernization are: the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the consequent establishment of the Republic, the decision taken at the Helsinki Summit (1999) and the rise of identity based conflicts in Turkey. Furthermore, the process of westernization that Turkey experienced during the transition from an Empire to Republic is significantly different from the experiences of Western European states which were perceived as the source of modernity. In terms of the Helsinki Summit, the literature has shown that Turkish modernity and Europeanisation relies heavily on the strength of the EU anchor as well as the internal dynamics of Turkey with regard to the perceptions of Turkish identity. In that regard, the most debated issue is the rights of minorities or the lack thereof in the Turkish state as a challenge to democracy and as a counterpart to the established rights of minorities in Europe. The following research will draw on the literature on the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, and analyze the main elements of Turkish modernity with respect to center-periphery relations, state-centric policies of homogenization and subsequently, the status of minorities. The periodization of the process of Turkish modernization will be in the following order: the fall of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and early 20th centuries; foundation years of the new Turkish Republic preceding the World War II; the period of military coups (1950-1983); globalization and Europeanization of Turkey (1983-2005); and the period of Euroscepticism deepening with the beginning of the accession negotiations.

Ottoman Empire: A Muslim Empire or Not?

It is often stereotypically believed in the Western literature that the Ottoman Empire was simply a Muslim empire. The same assumption is still there in the European public debate, in a way that reduces Turkey's candidacy into a discussion revolving around Islam. Ottomans were rather the bearers of three different traditions: Central Asian secular Turkic culture, Islamic culture of the Memluks, and the Byzantium (Barkey, 2007). Ottoman state tradition is a syncretic one composed of various cultural traditions. The coexistence of secular laws (*Kanun*) and religious laws (*sharia*) in the Ottoman Empire, and the priority of the former (Sultan as the absolute temporal authority) to the latter (Sheikh-ul Islam as the spiritual authority) reveals that the secular character of the state tradition was always evident. The syncretic element of the Ottoman state tradition was very much visible until the late 17th century when the Empire had the capacity to expand towards the west. Ottoman sultans were also marrying with Christians to expand their hegemony in the Christian lands. Sunni Islam was not certainly the driving force of the Ottoman State. Monolithical and Sunni Muslim became pivotal in the Empire after the 16th century when the Ottomans started to expand towards the east and transferred the Caliphate from the Egyptian Memluks to Istanbul in 1517. Then opting for Sunni Islam as the official religion of the Empire was also a rational decision to be able to compete with the rival Shia origin Persian Safavid Empire in the east (Mardin, 1981: 193). In the meantime, the Turks were using the colonial dervishes and Bektashi Tariqat (religious school) as a soft power starting from the 11th century to control and muslimize the west. This has also created a

syncretic understanding of religion comprised of different religious legacies such as Islam, Christianity, shamanism, and pantheism (Ocak, 2000). In the meantime, the fight between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church made it easier for the Ottomans to control the Byzantium, and the Orthodox Church collaborated with the Turks in the 13th century when the Crusaders destroyed Constantinople and disturbed the Orthodox Church.

Similarly, one could also argue that the Turkish Islam is different from Arabic and Persian Islam for various reasons. Firstly, Islam was never a political tool in Anatolia to liberate the country against the colonial powers and rather it has been coded in the parliamentary democratic regime; conversely Islam in the Arab world has been an ideological tool in fighting against colonial powers. Secondly, Islam in Turkey has always been an Islam of Tariqats (small networks) and now of *cemaats* (wider community networks through media). Thirdly, Turkish Islam can be perceived as a sort of *Volkislam*, because Turks adopted Islam from shamanist heterodox colonial dervishes, not from orthodox *ulema*. Fourthly, Alevi minority settled in Turkey is more secular and republican reproducing the heterodox Turkish faith. They have also recently become more politically engaged, and they were promoted by the state to display an anti-fundamentalist form of Turkish Islam as opposed to the rising political Islam (Herman, 2003). Finally, Turks opted for secularism since the early 19th century following the wilful act of the Ottoman intelligentsia to become a part of the Western civilization, which they believed to be the only civilization based on material development (Gökalp, 1976b; and Hanioglu, 2008). In the words of Ziya Gökalp, a Kurdish origin leading figure of Turkish nationalism, “There is only one road to salvation... to adapt ourselves to western civilization completely” (Gökalp, 1959). Hence, Turkish modernization is an attempt to be incorporated into the European civilization (Berkas, 1978). In his review of the Europeanization of Turkey, Erozan very well puts forward that the West was perceived by the Ottoman elite as an expanse from which solutions could be derived to the ills of the Ottoman rule (Erozan, 2009: 6).

Management of ethno-cultural and religious diversity in the Ottoman Empire was mostly accomplished on the basis of the ideology of multiculturalism, which was literally called *Millet* system. *Millet* is an Ottoman Turkish term, which refers to confessional community in the Ottoman Empire. The word *Millet* comes from the Arabic word *millah* (nation). Subject populations such as the Christians were classified by their religious affiliation. Their civil concerns were settled by their own ecclesiastical authorities who were delegated by the Sultan. This was the way the government secured access to the non-Muslim populations (Mardin, 1981: 192). In the 19th century, with the *Tanzimat* reforms replacing the religious law with the statute law, the term ‘*millet*’ started to refer to legally protected religious minority groups, other than the ruling Sunni Muslims (Mardin, 1981: 196; and Zürcher, 2003: 66). Beside the Muslim *millet*, the main *millets* in the Ottoman Empire were the Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Armenian and Syrian Orthodox (Barkey, 2007). Muslims encountered non-Muslims in the market place in everyday life; there was

not a deep-rooted kind of interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims due to ethno-cultural and religious boundaries essentialized by the *Millet* system. Although the *millets* were permitted to govern themselves with regard to internal affairs, their relations with the ruling Muslims were tightly regulated. For instance, the non-Muslims, though they were allowed to maintain their own religious and cultural heritage, they were subject to certain rules, such that “non-Muslims could not proselytize, they could only build new churches under license and they were required to wear distinctive dress so they could be recognized. There were limits on intermarriage, and they had to pay special taxes in lieu of military service” (Kymlicka, 1992: 36). Therefore, the system relied on tolerance of the *millets* provided that they were willing to abide by the regulations of the Empire, which encouraged conformity. Consequently, the system did not perceive the members of the *millets* as individuals but rather as a part of the collective non-Muslim identity. Tunaya illustrates the principle of equality during the Tanzimat era as follows:

The most emphasized issue during *Tanzimat* had been equality. Certainly, equality was not recognized in terms of the legal doctrine but rather in terms of being Ottoman. The second and reconciliatory method of *Tanzimat* had doubled the State’s objectives. The principle of equality amongst the Ottomans from multiple religions was established. According to a popular saying of the time land fellowship principle was anticipated to become the main policy principle. Everyone was ‘the child of one father’, that father was the Sultan. Accordingly, the Islamist Empire formula was accompanied by the perception of a cosmopolitan community. The consolidative component of this plural community was being Ottoman. As a result, Islamism was accompanied by Ottomanism (Tunaya, 1960: 34, translation ours).

Furthermore, the Ottoman Empire was a multi-national state with a sharp division between the ruling elite and the mass of the population, which played almost no part in the government of the Empire. According to Schmucl N. Eisenstadt, the most distinctive character of the Ottoman ruling elite was

the military-religious rulers who emerged from tribal and sectarian elements, and from the system of military slaves, which created special channels of mobility such as the *qul* (slave) system in general, the Memluk system and Ottoman *devshirme* in particular, through which the ruling group could be recruited from alien elements (Eisenstadt, 1981: 132).

Decision making was concentrated in the hands of a small group of political elite, at the centre of which stood the Sultan. His power was theoretically absolute, but in practice it was limited by the existence of three major power structures, the *Ulema* (religious intellectuals), the military, and the bureaucracy (Szyliowicz, 1966). The separation of the *khalifa*, as an ideal religious figure and the sultan, as the actual ruler, which is particularly prevalent in Sunni Islam, resulted in several unique social formations, such as: the establishment of “a unique type of ruling group i.e. the military-religious rulers, who emerged from sectarian elements”; the

autonomous *ulema*² “who created major networks that brought together, under one religious- and often also social-civilizational – umbrella, varied ethnic and geopolitical groups, tribes, settled peasants and urban groups, creating mutual impingement and interaction among them that otherwise would probably not have developed” (Eisenstadt, 2006: 447- 449). Through their control of education, of the judiciary and of the administrative network, they acted as agents of the state and secured the state’s control of social life (Mardin, 1981: 194). As a result, the *ulema* was the umbrella under which the *ummah* was able to convene and together the two entities constituted an autonomous public sphere. Consequently, “this decoupling of an autonomous and vibrant public sphere from the political arena- or to be more precise from the realm of rulership- which differed greatly from counterparts in Europe, especially Western and Central Europe, constituted one of the distinctive characteristics of Muslim civilization”(Eisenstadt, 2006: 452).

Turkish Nationalism as a Late-Comer: From Ottomanism to Turkism

When the geographical expansion of the Ottoman Empire came to an end in the 17th century, political and military establishment considered to introduce a set of reforms in order to prevent the further devcay. Accordingly, a number of reforms were introduced in the late 18th and early 19th century by Selim III and Mahmud II in order to primarily modernize the army and the other auxiliary sectors such as secular education, medicine, industry, economy, administration, legal structure and bureaucracy (Berkes, 1978; Karpát, 2002; and Hanioglu, 2008). The increased contacts with Western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the development of a new class within the Ottoman Empire, that emerged as a new group of elite, owing to its monopoly of contacts with Europe and its mastery of European languages (Szyliowicz, 1966: 267). This was also the time when non-Muslim minorities became protected by law, the population of whom was around 1,5 million out of 10,5 million in Anatolia (Berkes, 1978: 210-211; Karpát, 2002: 46-47). But these reforms came too late. By the late 19th century Ottoman Empire was known as the ‘Sick Man of Europe’. Through a series of treaties of capitulation from the 16th to the 18th century the Ottoman Empire gradually lost its economic independence. Although the Ottomans were theoretically among the victors in the Crimean War, it emerged from the war economically exhausted. The Congress of Paris (1856) recognized the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but this event marked the confirmation of the empire’s dependency rather than of its rights as a European power.

The rebellion (1875) of *Bosnia and Herzegovina* precipitated the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, in which the Ottoman Empire defeated despite its surprisingly vigorous stand. *Romania* (i.e. Walachia and Moldavia), *Serbia*, and *Montenegro*

² Eisenstadt (2006) also differentiates the *ulema* of the Ottoman Empire from the other Muslim societies, and states that while the Ottoman *ulema* was a highly autonomous community of religious elites, it was partly organized by the state.

were declared fully independent, and Bosnia and Herzegovina passed under Austrian administration. *Bulgaria*, made a virtually independent principality, annexed (1885) Eastern Rumelia. Facing a continuous set of failures leading to the shrinking of imperial boundaries, the Ottomans framed a liberal constitution, and the first Turkish parliament opened in 1877. Despite the lack of experience, the deputies maintained a high level of debate and did not hesitate to criticize the government of the Sultan. But the success of the first Parliament led to its failure as the Sultan Abdulhamid dismissed it in 1878 and began a rule of personal despotism (Syzliowicz, 1966: 268-269). In 1908, the *Young Turk* movement, a reformist and strongly nationalist group, with many adherents in the army, forced the restoration of the constitution of 1876, and in 1909 the parliament deposed the sultan. New elections were held in 1908, and all the Ottoman nation, irrespective of religion, ethnicity, class and gender, was embraced by high hopes. Although the revolutionists had been concerned with the restoration of representative institutions, they had rather envisaged the revival of the Empire and its transformation into a strong modern state (Syzliowicz, 1966: 269). However, the attempt to revive the Empire failed, and the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) came into play as the dominant political organization. Soon after the CUP constituted a one party rule within the entire Empire trying to generate and disseminate the nationalist ideology. The CUP was also an active agent of modernization making significant reforms in Family Law, women rights, secular form of judiciary, municipal and provincial administration, and in education of both boys and girls (Tunaya, 1959: 50-51; and Timur, 1989). Young Turks were not homogeneous at all in their remedies to restore the Ottoman Empire. They were debating whether the State should remain a multi-national empire through the dissemination of the ideology of Pan-Ottomanism; whether it should consist of Muslims only (Pan-Islam); or whether it should only consist of Turks, including those in Central Asia (Pan-Turkism).

The major advocate of the Panturkist ideology was İsmail Gaspıralı (1851-1914), a Crimean Tatar. Gaspıralı, stated his idea of unity among Russian Muslims and Turks with the motto of his Crimean newspaper *Tercüman*, "unity in language, ideas, deeds". Gaspıralı who defended the concepts of Turkism and Islam, was also in favor of Westernisation. The "usuli Cedid/New Method" program he initiated was designed to serve this aim. Yet, he foresaw the line of modernization looking to West was necessary for the continuity of the concepts of Turkism and Islam. They would decay in underdevelopment without modernization (Kırımlı, 2005). To put it differently, following the Western path was a matter of life or death in order not to be left behind the developed nations of the West. Gaspıralı had avoided formulating a political Turkish identity and had prepared the social and cultural background of this union, leaving the political union to others. One of those "others" who founded the political Pan-Turkism was Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), another Russian-Turk. He compared the three political approaches pursued by the Union and Progress Party and called for a unification of Turks who were

facing the Western imperialism in his famous article "*Üç Tarz-/ Siyaset*" (*Three Ways of Policy*, 1904) which was considered as the manifesto of Pan-Turkism, published in the journal "*Türk*" (Akçura, 1998/1904; and Arai, 1994). Criticising Islamism and Ottomanism, Akçura argued that the Turks should support Turkish nationalism; this can be regarded as a reaction to Ottomanism, Islamism and to the radical Westernization of the late 19th century (Akçura 1998). But later, Ziya Gökalp, the most influential theoretician of Turkish nationalism, reconciled these three elements. His programme of Turkish nationalism consisted of three main criteria: Turcification (*Türklesmek*), Islamisation (*İslamlaşmak*) and Modernization (*Muasırlaşmak*) (Gökalp, 1976).

Pan-Ottomanism, *Pan-Islamism* and *Pan-Turkism* were considered by the Union and Progress Party to be the saviours of the Ottoman Empire in the period 1908-1918. The idea of Pan-Ottomanism was put forward by intellectuals and the government since the *Tanzimat*. The Union and Progress valued this idea since it was established as a secret society in Thessaloniki. Pan-Ottomanism was seen as a viable solution to save and develop a multinational state. Until the Balkan Wars, the policy of "*İttihad-ı Anası*" (the unity of constituents) remained the dominant policy. The 1912-1913 Balkan Wars was the turning point of the "*İttihad-ı Anası*" policy. From the war onwards, the Turkist movement which became popular after 1908 Revolution changed the way the Turks were seen as "*Etrak-ı bi idrak*" (unintelligent Turks) in the Ottoman Empire. The members of the Union and Progress had the belief that the Great Powers were continuously intervening in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire under the disguise of protecting the minorities. This belief made them to adopt Turkish nationalism vigorously.

A coherent effort combining different aspects of the Ottoman State and Western style modernization came from Durkheim's follower Ziya Gökalp (Berkes, 1978:416). He attempted to develop these ideas a short while after the Young Turk Revolution in the articles he wrote for the journal *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Patrie), published by the *Türk Derneği Örgütü* (Turkish Association Organization) led by Yusuf Akçura. Turkish nationalism formulated by Ziya Gökalp, has become the dominant ideology especially after the Balkan Wars, and has gained an economic dimension within this framework. The economic dimension of Turkish nationalism emerges with the Union and Progress Party's "National Economy Program", which may be described as aiming at discharging the minority or foreign tradesmen, bankers, entrepreneurs, and replacing them with Turks in order to create a Turkish bourgeoisie. In his article "New Ottomans / Yeni Osmanlılar", Ziya Gökalp (1976a: 64) states that Ottoman civilization would emerge from Eastern spirituality and Western materialism. For him, the Ottomans should neither be imprisoned in the Eastern civilization nor should they be blind imitators of the West. In his article titled "*Üç Akım / Three Currents*" he argues that it was time to head for the Western civilization from Islamic civilization, and describes the Turkish nation as a member of the Altaic language family, Islamic congregation, European union of states (civilization). Gökalp sees no harm in adapting Western science and

technology (Gökalp, 1982: 25). Moreover, Gökalp defines a nation as follows:

A nation is neither a racial, tribal, geographical, nor a deliberate community. A nation consists of individuals who have a collective language, religion and aesthetics, that is to say the same upbringing... In effect, a man would want to live with the people who share the same language and religion rather than his kindred (Gökalp cited in Okutan, 2009: 74, translation ours).

By 1914 the most dominant ideology in the Empire was Panturkism. The advocates of this ideology started to affect the public opinion and foreign policy with their articles. As can be seen in the articles of Yusuf Akçura, alliance with Germany was supported. Anti-Russian strategies were discussed and Russia was presented as the greatest obstacle on the way to achieve the Turkish unity. Where would Ottoman Empire take its place within the new system of alliances of Europe? When France, the traditional ally of the Empire allied with Russia, the Panturkist perspective eliminated this country at once. As for Britain, although this country has defended the Ottoman territorial integrity throughout the 19th century, the Ottomans knew it was for securing the British route to India. Thus, these observations of Panturkists led them to seek alliance with Germany.

In the meantime, one should also note that in the last quarter of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century a generation of intellectuals and bureaucrats grew up at the secular schools. Their conception of the West was entwined with superiority, which was believed to be springing not only from the power of material civilization such as science and technology, but also from various cultural elements such as clothes, pet dogs, piano lessons, French lessons, opera, balls, dancing, and novel-writing (Göçek, 1996: 128). The novels of the period, for instance, often reflected “the clash between the Ottoman and Western cultures,” and usually favoured Western culture to the East (Göçek, 1996: 122). Nationalist novelists as well as the poets were very much in favour of “taking the good sides but leaving the bad sides of the West” (Berkes, 1978: 368), a popular discourse remained unchanged at all. Ahmet Evin (1993) claims that the history of the Turkish novel reveals a dichotomy between authenticity and westernization. Novel was perceived by the western oriented Ottoman intellectuals not only as a literary form to replace the story or tale, but also as a requirement of contemporary civilization. The first generation of Turkish novelists in the 1870s and 1880s used the novel as a means of social mobilization (Evin, 1993: 95-96). Authors such as Namık Kemal (1840-1888) and İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871), who were liberal and nationalist intellectuals of a group of activists called Young Ottomans spent quite sometime in France and spent their time reading the works of Victor Hugo, Jean Jacques Rousseau and Charles-Louis Montesquieu and translating them into Turkish.³ A famous novelist Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın] (1875-1957) once wrote:

³ There is a continuity in Turkey regarding the ways in which western values have been transmitted to the Turkish society. Those intellectuals who were raised in Western European countries such as France, UK and Germany have been very influential in handling the process of Europeanization in

Willing or not, we must Europeanize. Just as the pants we put on come from Europe, so will our literature (...) We must look up to Europe even if all history books of Arabs are translated into our language (Cited in Berkes, 1978: 378).

Some other seculars, on the other hand, were critical of both Pan-Ottomanist and Pan-Islamist approaches trying to keep the Empire intact. Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920), a secular Turkish nationalist, was inviting his generation of writers to write in folk language (ie. Turkish); and Tekinalp (Moiz Kohen, 1912), a devout Turkish nationalist, was reporting in *Mercure de France* that “Turks are searching for an *Ame nationale*’ [national spirit]” (Cited in Arai, 1985: 197). Looking for a way out of the impasse, some young poets published Gökalp’s famous poem, ‘Turan’ (*Turkish Lebensraum*), which in later years became the symbol of pan-Turkist aspirations. Secular nationalists or Turkists of the 1910s, who belonged to the *Türk Ocagi* (Hearth) and wrote to the *Türk Yurdu* (Home), never gained a political influence (Arai 1985: 197-244). Hence, Tefik Fikret’s call for a secular, universalist and humanistic identity in his enlightening poem titled ‘Prometheus’ just faded away without tangible effects. Islamists such as Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936), the author of the Turkish national anthem, on the other hand, seemed to consider the West as a civilization of hypocrisy from which only science and knowledge had to be imported:

[Europeans] possess great things, indeed many great things. Yet one must realize that those great things are only and exclusively in their books! (Ersoy 1997: 498).

The advance of the Western civilization in spiritual matters always insulated behind its material and scientific progress. This is why the Islamists believed that Islam had to be retained carefully. However, Ziya Gökalp’s ideas were shared by the Kemalist elite during the War of Independence (1919-1922). Ziya Gökalp paved the way from an ethnic Turkism to a cultural concept of nation. He did not accept the ideas proposed by Yusuf Akçura, but tried to combine certain basic ideas of each conception to Turkism. His slogan was: “*We belong to the Turkish nation, the Muslim religious community and the European civilization*” (Gökalp, 1976).

Paths to Modernity: The ‘Young’ Turkish Republic

The victory of the Allies in World War I brought about the end of the Ottoman Empire and the birth of a Turkish nation. The war of independence was waged against the Armenian and Greek armies who were backed up by the Russian and Allied powers respectively. The war started in 1919 and lasted until the end of 1922. Mustafa Kemal, once an officer of the Sultan’s army, was the charismatic leader of the independence war. Mustafa Kemal was elected as the President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly founded in 1920, and the newly formed

Turkey since the early 19th Century. It is quite remarkable now to see that most of the academics, for instance, leading the Centres of European Studies in various Turkish universities are actually those Euro-Turks who were either born into guest-worker families in countries like Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, or studied there. Also see Inalcik (2006, Chpt. 9).

Turkish national army defeated the Greeks and expelled the colonial Allies by the end of 1922. After establishing the Turkish Republic in 1923, the new political elite started a series of reforms to modernize and secularize Turkey. Although the Republic emerged from its struggles against the Western powers, Kemalists and subsequently the Republic embraced the “universal validity of Western modernity” (Keyman and Öniş, 2007: 12). However, one should note that despite some essential breakthroughs between the Ottoman Empire and the new Turkish Republic as we shall outline below, there is also continuity between the two with respect to the profile of the bureaucratic elite. As Ali Kazancıgil (1981) indicated earlier the civil and military bureaucracy as well as the *ulema* continued to be the constitutive pillars of the Turkish Republic. To be precise, 93 % of the empire’s staff officers who graduated from *Harbiye* (Military School founded in 1834) and 85 % of the civil servants who graduated from *Mülkiye* (Administrative School established in 1859) retained their positions in the Republic (Kazancıgil, 1981: 48).⁴ These schools were very decisive in substantiating the process of modernization in the Ottoman Empire. As Halil İnalcik elaborately claims, prior to the late 18th century, Ottoman westernisation was limited to borrowing cultural objects. The second stage started with the military schools where western sciences in military and related fields were taught by European experts and the printing press was introduced to publish books on technical subjects. Thus, it was the first time that the Ottoman mind was systematically stimulated by western science (İnalcik, 1998; and Zürcher, 2003: 23). Another very crucial kind of continuity between the two periods is also visible in the ways in which both the Ottoman and modern Turkish political centre treated the periphery:

The Ottoman centre represented a mixture of imperial and patrimonial elements. The imperial element was strongly rooted in the ideology of Islam and in the orientations of some of the groups in the centre; the patrimonial element was evident to some degree in the organization of the centre, in the composition of the periphery, and in the centre-periphery relations. The onset of modernization intensified the development within the centre of a relative plurality of elements: the rulers, different groups of bureaucrats, semi-professional groups, and the military. Some of these elements established relatively solidary relations with upper groups of the rural periphery and in a sense provided an important link between some of the stronger and internally solidarity elements of the periphery within the centre (Eisenstadt, 1981: 139).

Although Eisenstadt directly refers to the Ottoman centre in this quotation, one could argue that nothing much has really changed in the modern Turkish centre. Both civil and military bureaucracy established clientalist relations with the local elite of the periphery without the attempt to reach out to the rural public in general. This is why the elements of a modern state such as secular education,

⁴ Secularization of education in the Ottoman Empire starts with *Tıbbiye* (School of Medicine, 1827), and then continues with *Harbiye* (1834), *Mülkiye* (1859), *Rüşdiye* and *Lycées* in 1860s (Rostow, 1981; and Mardin, 1981). Serif Mardin argues that secularization of education as well as of the state departments such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Empire was the consequence of direct encounter of the state officers and elite with their western counterparts (Mardin, 1981).

justice and security have not really been institutionalized in the periphery; instead the state made itself visible there through an alliance with the local, patriarchal and semi-feudal big landowners.

The fundamental reforms of the Kemalist elite came as a reaction to two fundamental problems, which they attributed to the demise of the Ottoman Empire: the personal rule of the sultan as an opposition to the nation-states in Europe, and the Islamic ideology as a restraint on progress (Keyman and Öniş, 2007: 301). Removing the religious school system (*medrese*), establishing a secular educational system, banning the religious Sharia law, adapting the secular Swiss Civil Code, replacing the Arabic alphabet with the Latin, banning the Caliphate, introducing *Laïcité*, establishing the Directorate of Religious affairs to control the power of Islam, secularizing education, establishing universities, bringing European scientists and academics to boost higher education (Mardin, 1981: 209-211), sending students with scholarship to the European universities to import western norms and values, changing the old style clothes with the European ones, introducing democratic electoral laws, introducing universal suffrage including women, establishing Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) and People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) to disseminate the values of the modern elite to the entire country, and fuelling the Turkish pride were some of the reforms, laws and propaganda made by the Kemalist regime in the first place (Lewis, 1968; and Kazancıgil and Özbudun, 1981). It is of utmost importance here to talk about Kemal Atatürk's opinion regarding the change of the Arabic script to the Latin:

So long as Turkish was written from right to left, it could never properly express the ideals of European civilization. The picturesque involutions and intricacies of Arabic script afforded a psychological background to the Oriental mentality which stood as the real enemy of the Republic (Quoted in Wortham, 1930: 188-189).

Latin alphabet was considered by Atatürk as a solution for correcting shortcomings and deficiencies of the Oriental mentality. The solution was the conversion from traditional to 'civilized' life through a new alphabet. According to Sterling, Latin alphabet was successful in distancing the new generations of Turks from the Arabic:

From 1928 on, all school children learned the Latin alphabet. Very few learned also the Arabic script, which was needed both to chant religious works in uncomprehended Arabic, and to read religious works in Turkish. To the vast majority of literate young people, everything printed before 1928 is as good as written in a foreign language. Very little has so far been transcribed (Stirling, 1958: 397).

By these reforms, Atatürk wanted to split with the past. His reforms constituted a coherent and systematic inclination towards the West and aimed at reaching the cultural, industrial, and economic level of the European states. Atatürk's success derived from his belief to accept European civilization as a whole, whereas earlier reformers had only tried to imitate Europe with limited success. Atatürk expressed his desire for westernization "to reach the level of contemporary civilizations." Western civilization was chosen "not for it is the civilization of the West, but

because it represents the modern civilization which incorporates values created by entire humanity in thousands of years by adding an independent, scientific, and rationalist philosophy of life" (İnan, 1971: 37).

The reforms to modernize Turkey however did not spread around the whole country and remained limited with the largest towns without reaching out to the rural space (Gellner, 1994; and Szylowicz, 1966: 271). In the first place, the number of western-oriented elite following Mustafa Kemal's footsteps was very small ranging from the bureaucracy and the military to the professionals. There were even several western oriented followers who were not sure of the desirability of the radical transformation of the society. As summarized above, the first years of the Republic witnessed several reforms trying to create a modern secular nation with a republican form of government based on the popular will. Kemal Atatürk defined in 1931 the principles of his program as Republicanism, Nationalism, Etatism, Populism, Secularism, and Revolutionism (Karal, 1981). Later in 1937, these six principles were inserted into the constitution. There was a continuous set of efforts in the 1930s to disseminate the Kemalist ideology and the western norms and values, and several institutions such as the schools, the party (CHP, Republican Peoples' Party established by Kemal Atatürk) and the mass media played an important role in this attempt. The main rationale of this attempt was to boost the national pride as well as to westernize the nation. The emphasis was laid upon the symbols of nationhood such as flags, anthems, national holidays, monuments, parades, balls, history, language and culture in order to compensate for the destruction of the Ottoman past as well as to strengthen Turkish pride (Szylowicz, 1966: 272). National education was also used to disseminate the new reforms in order to cut off the people from the Ottoman past. The new educational system anticipated the eradication of social differences in favour of a Turkish national identity. Although the new regulations rejected the Ottoman past, the system was based on the state-society relationship legacy of the Ottoman Empire (Okutan, 2009: 165). In effect, the primary concern of education was to instruct individuals on their responsibilities to the state. According to Okutan, the party programme of the CHP released in 1931 was a significant example of this legacy due to its emphasis on the significance of education in raising individuals who would benefit the Turkish Republic both spiritually and physically. Throughout the propaganda activities, the emphasis was constantly made upon modernization, laicism and nationalism.

CHP, established in 1923, was born from an alliance between "the central military-bureaucratic- intellectual elite and local notables (Ozbudun, 1997: 83). Therefore, CHP and the National Assembly comprised of a very heterogeneous group of individuals. In effect, the traditional peasantry constituted the majority of the society but lacked the ability to modernize in light of the Kemalist ideologies. On the one hand, this exclusion gave rise to concentration of political power in the hands of the westernized political elite. On the other hand, it led to the failure of the Kemalist rupture in the sense that it has turned out to be more totalitarian

during the *interbellum* period. This is because Kemalist regime did not opt for enlarging its alliance towards the peasants in the country. This is why the Kemalist project remained to be an elitist movement without turning into a people's movement.⁵ The lack of a larger civil alliance has inevitably led to the existence of a long-lasting social divide in the country, the reflections of which could be trace after the introduction of multiparty system in mid 1950s and onwards, a point we will come back shortly.

Additionally, the limited level of social pluralism in the Republic allowed for the justification of CHP's policies and ideologies without competition (Özbudun, 1997: 84-96). Kemalist revolution and its vanguard party (CHP) constituted a tutelary ideology combining an instrumental function with the goal of a partial social transformation. Kemalist revolution was basically an elitist political movement far from a total social transformation, which has failed to include the peasantry. As Ergun Özbudun rightfully stated:

Kemalism was oriented towards a partial, not total, transformation of Turkish society. Repeating an often stated Kemalist maxim, it aimed at putting Turkey on a level with 'contemporary civilization', making it a modern, strong, fully independent nation-state. It did not dream about creating a totally new society or a new type of man (sic), as did totalitarian ideologies. Kemalism was instrumental in the sense that it was closely associated with action...Many Kemalist principles grew out of action and in response to concrete needs and situations... Kemal displayed little interest in social and economic change... For him, economic improvement and a bridging of class differences were practical requirements of national solidarity and international stature, rather than deeply felt needs of human justice and dignity (Özbudun, 1981: 90).

Nevertheless, neglecting the peasants in the reform process brought about unintended consequences in the aftermath of the World War II when modern Turkey was introduced to democratic multi-party system in 1946. Democratic Party (DP) established by the former members of the CHP won a landslide victory in 1950 elections with the support of the peasantry, who were complaining about the fact that the single party rule of the CHP did not invest enough in agricultural development of the country (Hershlag, 1958: 169). DP came to, and stayed in,

⁵ As Bo Strath (2009) rightfully claims shifting social and political alliances are very decisive in the formation of the paths of modernity taken by different nations. Strath gives the examples of Germany and Sweden, which were in similar social-economic-political conditions in 1920s and 1930s. However, the political choices of the two social democratic parties in making alliance with various social groups had become decisive in taking the two countries into two different pathways of modernity. While Swedish social democrats preferred to turn their party into a people's party rather than keeping it as a party of the proletariat, together with the inclusion of the peasantry. However, the choice of the German Social Democratic Party to be loyal to the working class discourse and not to make an alliance with the peasantry brought about a different pathway for Germany in 1930s. Strath claims that the choice of alliance of two identical political parties has led the two countries into two very different paths of modernization, one towards social democracy, the other towards Nazism. A similar line of argumentation was previously made by Gregory M. Luebbert (1987) with the inclusion a few more number of cases such as Germany, Spain, Italy on the one hand and Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Czechoslovakia on the other.

power for a decade, owing to the new electoral law accepted in 1950 by the CHP single party rule in order to actually secure its ongoing power. But the plan fired back and instead the DP stayed in power for three consecutive terms almost until the military coup in 1960. The new electoral system was based on the principle of 'secret ballot – open count'; one deputy was allocated for every 40.000 voters; and the party slate which won the majority of the total vote cast within the province (*vilayet*) was elected. Such a system tends to inflate majorities and means that parties are not represented in the parliament in accordance with their popular vote. This is why there were only two parties in the parliament in the 1950s: DP and CHP. The electoral system obviously worked in the interest of the party receiving the majority of the votes.

Year	1950		1954		1957	
Parties	DP	CHP	DP	CHP	DP	CHP
Votes (%)	54,3	40,6	57,5	35,29	48,84	40.4
Seats (pcs)	416	67	503	31	424	178

Table 1. General Election results in 1950, 1954, 1957

Source: Electoral Atlas of Turkey 1950-2009: Continuities and Changes in Turkey's Politics

However, the populist DP government supported by the landowners and businessmen could not carry out its promises due to disorganized planning, large defence expenditures and a shortage of capital. The result was a drastic inflation and a scarcity of consumer goods. Despite the fact that their vote went down in the 1958 elections, they still could get the majority of the seats in the parliament. In the mean time, the DP amended the electoral law in order to make coalitions difficult. Supporting the CHP in opposition, military, bureaucracy and the working class groups started to raise their concerns against the DP government (Karpat, 1962: 312). However, such an opposition remained short to overthrow the government due to the changes in the electoral law made by the DP. Eventually both the CHP and the oppositional social groups complaining about the rising authoritarianism of the DP tended to lean on the possibility of a military coup to give an end to the government in 27 May 1960. This was a coup, which brought about further coups in the future in 1971 and 1980.

Modern Turkey: Homogenising the Nation

Having the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, modern Turkey is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country, housing approximately 50 different Muslim and/or non-Muslim ethnic groups: Sunni Turks, Alevi Turks, Sunni Kurds, Alevi Kurds, Circassians, Lazis, Armenians, Georgians, Jews, Greeks, Arabs, Assyrians etc. (Andrews, 1992). However, leaving aside the attempts made for democratisation

of the country in the last decade, the Turkish state has been far from recognising the ethnically and culturally diverse nature of the Turkish society since the foundation of the Republic in 1923. Ethnic groups in Turkey have been subject to homogenising state policies, some of which originate in the nationalist Turkish history thesis of 1932, emphasizing the history of Turks before the Ottoman era and placing the Turks into the centre of world civilisation; in the Sun Language Theory (1936) addressing the Turkish language as the mother of all languages in the world; in unitarian nationalist education policies (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*, 1924) (Mardin, 1981: 211); in the banning of the use of mother-tongue and ethnic-minority names other than Turkish; in discriminatory settlement policies (*İskân Kanunu*, 1934) *vis-à-vis* exchange populations and new migrants as well as Romans/gypsies (Çagaptay, 2002); in discriminatory citizenship laws granting citizenship exclusively to Muslim migrants; in the levying of the *Wealth Tax* in 1942, particularly on non-Muslims; and in the forced migration of Kurds in the east and south-east of Turkey (Aktar 2000; Bali 1999; Yı ldı z 2001).

Retrospectively speaking, ethnic groups in Turkey such as Kurds, Circassians, Alevis, Armenians, Lazis and Arabs have developed various political participation strategies *vis-à-vis* the legal and political structure and delimitations. While the Turkish Republic was being built up in the 1920s, the republican political elite were highly engaged in a strong ideology of majority nationalism, which promoted the formation of an ethnically and culturally homogenous nation. In the beginning of the Republican era, most ethnic groups preferred to incorporate themselves into this nation-state project and discourse; they abstained from declaring their ethnic identities in public and considered themselves as one of the constituents of the Turkish Republic. The defining distinctiveness of the early Republic was Turkification policies, which sought the dominance of Turkishness and Islam as the defining elements in every walk of life, from the language spoken in the public space to citizenship, national education, trade regime, personnel regime in public enterprises, industrial life and even settlement laws (Aktar, 2000). Having an imperial legacy, many such new regulations and laws referred to a set of attempts to homogenise the entire nation without any tolerance for diversity and difference. It is highly probable that the underestimation of ethnic diversity among the Muslim population of the Republic was due to the preceding Ottoman *Millet* system borrowed by the republican political elite. The *Millet* system did not consider ethnic differences among Muslims. All Muslims, regardless of their other differences, belonged to the one and the same 'Muslim nation'. Paradoxically, the successful nature of the Turkish revolution/rupture lays in the continuity of the Ottoman notion of *millet*.⁶ The ongoing legacy of the Ottoman *Millet* system is still evident in the nationalist discourse of mainstream political elite ranging from the Justice and Development Party to the Republican People's Party and the

⁶ Similarly, Ibrahim Kaya asserts that Kemalism did not achieve an absolute rupture with the Ottoman legacy, and "it did not bring about a completely new Turkey- a Western nation" (Kaya, 2004: 149).

Nationalist Action Party, who have a tendency to limit the boundaries of the Turkish nation only with the Sunni-Muslim Turks. Thus, for instance non-Muslims are not included in this ethno-culturally and religiously defined nation.

Dominant discourse of homogeneity has been challenged by a few major incidents having both internal and external sources: a) rising politics of ethno-cultural and religious identity originating in the USA in the 1970s; b) Kurdish nationalism starting in the early 1980s; c) Alevi revivalism gaining velocity in the 1990s; d) 2nd republicanists' debates on liberalization in the early 1990s;⁷ and e) democratization process stimulated by the European Union Helsinki Summit in 1999, declaring Turkey as a candidate country to the EU (Yılmaz, 2009). The rupture in the homogeneity discourse has also changed the profile of the significant others, both external and internal, for the traditional republican and laicist political establishment. The political discourse of the *ancien regime* was fuelled by the popular hatred constructed against the *western imperial powers*, *the Communist USSR*, *Islamic fundamentalism* and the *Kurds*. The military coup in 1980 made only one change in the profile of these significant others. The neo-liberal coup and the 1982 constitution were designed to combat those left-wing social movements in the 1970s. The new Constitution was favouring a Turkish and Islamic alliance using a flavour of popular religious nationalism in the country. The idea was a neo-liberal one aiming at the revival of a religious based community formation in Turkey as opposed to a centrifugal working class alliance. In 1990s, Communism ceased to be a significant other for the Turkish political and military establishment. Moderate Islam was also included in the political centre due to the nature of the 1980 military coup. However, Kurds, Alevis, radical Islam, the European Community and Christianity turned out to be the new significant others.

Turkey's enthusiastic hopes and efforts of integration into the European Union along with the Helsinki Summit was a path-breaking one in the rupture of the homogeneity discourse. The post-Helsinki Period corresponds to Turkey's willingness to go through certain constitutional and legal changes in many respects. These changes also have an impact on the discourses developed by various ethnic, cultural, and religious groups in the country. Therefore, the discursive shift from *homogenisation* to *diversity* owes a lot to the Helsinki Summit decisions, and to the democratization process which accelerated in the aftermath of the Summit. The following section will elaborate on the Post-Helsinki process, which resulted in the intensification of the notion of "*diversity as a discourse/ideology*".

⁷ The second republicanism envisages a liberal state and society based on free market, internationally competitive economy, minimal state, individualisation, pluralism and human rights. It was defended by intellectuals and journals, including famous journalists and scholars such as Mehmet Altan, Cengiz Candar and Hikmet Ozdemir, who tried to articulate a liberal democratic politics with Turgut Ozal's neo-liberal economic policies, which started in 1983 after the military rule was turned over to the civilians through democratically held elections (Erdogan and Ustuner, 2004: 511).

The Post-Helsinki Period: moderate turn towards democratization

Despite political, ethnic and religious predicaments in neighbouring countries, Turkey has experienced one of the steadiest periods in the history of the Republic. At the Helsinki Summit in December 1999, the European Heads of State and Government for the first time offered Turkey the concrete prospect of full membership of the European Union, more than four decades after its application for association with the European Economic Community (EEC) in July 1959. Subsequently in 1963, Turkey had signed the Ankara Agreement, which foresaw the establishment of a Customs Union between Turkey and the EEC. Although the Customs Union was an economic cooperation model, Article 28 of the Agreement stipulated to Turkey's membership as a long term goal. Accordingly, this stipulation had reflections on the political realm; economic interests of elites had a "conditioning effect" on democracy (Keyman and Öniş, 2007: 61). In 1987, Turkey applied for full EEC membership. Although Turkey was deemed eligible for membership, in 1989 the Opinion of the Commission stated that there were several economic and political difficulties that needed to be addressed before membership, "such as the expansion of political pluralism, the state of democracy, the persistence of disputes with a Member State (namely Greece), the lack of a viable solution to the Cyprus problem, relative economic backwardness, especially in macroeconomic terms, the Kurdish question, and problems related to human rights. (Müftüler-Baç, 2000: 23). However, the official reason for this rejection was the internal dynamic of the EEC, namely the undergoing process of establishing a single market.

The decision taken in Helsinki was in almost direct opposition to that taken at the Luxembourg Summit of 1997, which made Turkey's hopes for EU membership crash. European leaders then chose to ignore Turkey because there was no chance that Greece would not veto Turkey's candidate status as this was the time of high intensity of the Turkish-Greek conflict. Besides, as the summit took place in December, the EU's "disqualification of Turkey" was very much influenced by the perception of Turkey's instability as proven during the 28 February 1997 military intervention.⁸ In view of this, they did not want to give the same position to Turkey as to the other candidates which were left out of the "Luxembourg group" of countries that were to commence their accession negotiations in 1998 (Poland, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary and Slovenia). In the aftermath of the Luxembourg Summit, the public response in Turkey was immediate and harsh. Popular nationalism, minority nationalisms, Kemalism, religiosity, Occidentalism and Euroscepticism all reached their peak shortly afterwards, but thanks to the Helsinki Summit; this destructive atmosphere in Turkey did not last long. The EU perspective delivered to Turkey in Helsinki owed much to the letter that had been

⁸ For a further analysis of the 28 February military intervention, or 'postmodern coup', see Belge (2004).

sent by Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit to the German Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, in May 1999. The letter was crucial because in it Turkey expressed its willingness to undertake structural reforms in the political, social and economic spheres in order to fulfil the Copenhagen political criteria. These commitments were optimistically interpreted by the political elite of the EU member states, and particularly by the German Greens and Social Democratic Party. The letter was sent in the immediate aftermath of the arrest of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) leader, Abdullah Öcalan, in January 1999. As one can imagine, the capture of Abdullah Öcalan was regarded as the end of a traumatic reign of terror and violence, both for the political establishment and the nation in general. Furthermore, one should also bear in mind that the most fundamental difference between the 1997 and 1999 summits was the change of Greek stance towards Turkey's application. It was only after the mutual agreement between Turkey and Greece in 1999 to work closely on mutual rapprochement, and to resolve their bilateral disputes by 2004, that Greece lifted its veto and recognized Turkey as a candidate. Furthermore, recognizing Turkey's candidacy at this moment allowed the EU not to put the later 2004/2007 entrants and Turkey at the same level. In fact, Turkey was recognized a candidate only after the "Helsinki group" of the rest of future 2004 and 2007 entrants was allowed to start negotiations.

In 2002, the Copenhagen Summit introduced new concerns and discussions regarding the nature of European identity, the notion of Europeanization and the borders of Europe, which led to identity-based concerns regarding Turkey's place in Europe and the situation of Islamic identity in European societies. According to Keyman and Öniş, the main concern whether the EU aspired to become a global actor or rather preferred inward-oriented integration. Subsequently, while the former aspiration was accommodating towards Turkish membership, the latter perceived Turkey as a liability given the social, political and economic disparities between the EU member states and Turkey (Keyman and Öniş, 2007: 48-50). For the first time the Copenhagen Summit and the subsequent discussions linked the question of culture with European enlargement and the EU's capacity to embrace cultural differences. "The discussions over Turkish accession reveal yet another dimension of 'absorption capacity', that of 'cultural' and 'social' absorption, which are directly related to the 'identity' of the Union. Jean-Louis Bourlanges, an MEP from a French centre-right party vocal on Turkish accession, has argued that the accession of Turkey will not only have a huge economic impact on the EU, but will also introduce a great deal of cultural and social heterogeneity that will endanger the formation of a solid and democratically organised political community" (Emerson, 2006: 3.)

It is apparent that recently many ethnic minority groups in Western Europe have been trying to surpass the nation-states, to which they have been subjected, by bringing their issues to the European Union bodies in Brussels or elsewhere. Basques, Corsicans and Catalans have, for instance, taken their demands on a transnational basis into the European Commission to be solved. Kurds, Alevis,

Circassians and other ethnic minorities in Turkey are also engaged in similar political manoeuvres. In fact, they have rational reasons to do so. The EU has recently declined the use of the minority discourse due to the escalation of minority problems in Europe, especially in the immediate aftermath of the dissolution process of the former Yugoslavia. As could be clearly seen in the Accession Partnership Document, which maps out the requirements of Turkey in the integration process into the EU, the term 'minority' has been replaced with the term 'cultural diversity' in order to celebrate the understanding of '*unity in diversity*'. Corresponding to some threats and practical needs within the Western European context, the discursive shift from 'minority' to 'cultural diversity' also has its reasons peculiar to the Turkish context in which the use of the term 'minority' has the risk of provoking certain groups in one way or another – a point we shall come back shortly. However, it should be noted that The Report on Minority Rights and Cultural Rights (2004) prepared by the Human Rights Advisory Board addressed several statements embedded in the Turkish Constitution and particularly criticized Article 3/1 of the Turkish Constitution, which states that "The Turkish State, with its territory and nation, is an indivisible entity. Its language is Turkish.". In view of this Article, the report argued that expression "indivisible identity" "assumes that "recognition of sub-identities" is meant to disturb the said identity, and therefore to charge those who do with "separatism and subversion" (The Human Rights Advisory Board, 2004: 3). Furthermore, the report attributed this approach to: Turkey's inability to track the global developments on minority rights; unawareness of the difference between recognition of identities with granting rights; denial of the existence minorities due to fears of territorial fragmentations; the denotation of Turkishness as an ethnic group and the confusion between a nation's 'oneness' with unity (ibid, 2004: 5-6).

Eventually, there are also strong evidences in Turkey that some political actors within the state apparatus have demonstrated their willingness towards the recognition of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity; and that minority claims are no longer predominantly considered to be a threat to *national security*, but a quest for *justice* by at least a part of the political and military establishment. This shift in the ways in which the state perceives minority claims has brought about essential repercussions in both public and bureaucracy. For instance, Minorities Commission which was secretly formed in 1962 was banned in 2004, and replaced with the Civil Committee on Minorities. The new Committee is composed of civil central and local government representatives, but not of any military personnel. The discursive shift is also visible in the discourses of the Prime Minister, Minister of Justice, Interior Minister and the Chief Negotiator for the Accession Talks with the EU, which started in late 2005. Kymlicka and Opalski (2002) argue that European model of democratic management of ethno-cultural and religious minorities seems to be exported to the Eastern and South-Eastern countries. This line of thinking is also true for Turkey (Kaya, 2003).

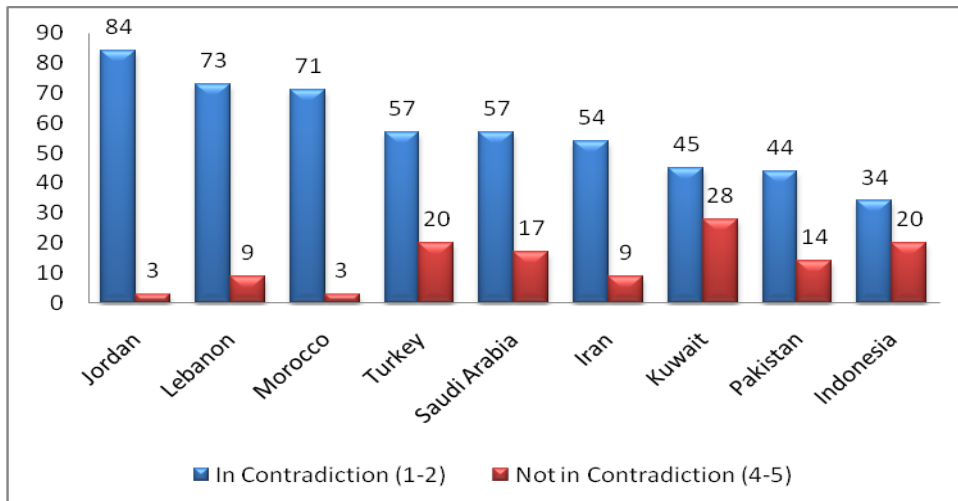
Virtuous Circle: Europeanization⁹ of Turkey

The European Union perspective offered in Helsinki has radically transformed the political establishment in Turkey, opening up new prospects for various ethnic, religious, social and political groups. Kurds, Alevis, Islamists, Circassians, Armenians and a number of religious and ethnic groups in Turkey have become true advocates of the European Union in a way that affirms the pillars of the political union as a project for peace and integration. The normative and transformative power of the EU provided immediately after 1999 a great incentive and motivation for numerous groups in Turkey to reinforce their willingness to coexist in harmony. What lies beneath this willingness no longer seems to be the *glorious retrospective past*, which has lately been perceived to bear full of ideological and political disagreements among various groups, but rather the *prospective future*, in which ethnic, religious and cultural differences are expected to be embraced in a democratic way. The EU then appeared to be the major catalyst in accelerating the process of democratisation in Turkey, or in other words, a light house enlightening Turkey's road to modernization and liberalization.

The 1999 Helsinki Summit decision stimulated a great stream of reforms in Turkey. In fact, the country achieved more reforms in just over two years than during the whole of the previous decade. In the aftermath of the Summit with the rise of political and economic incentives, several pressure groups such as civil society organizations and business organizations emerged as pro-European actors, which supported the reformation process. Several laws were immediately passed in the National Parliament to fulfil the Copenhagen political criteria (democracy, free market and human rights). These included the right to broadcast in one's mother tongue; freedom of association; the limitation of military impact on the judiciary; more civilian control over the military; bringing extra-budgetary funds to which the military had access within the general budget of the Defence Ministry; removing military members from the High Audio Visual Board (RTÜK) and the Board of Higher Education (YÖK); removing military judges from the State Security Courts (DGM) and eventually the abolition of those Courts; the extension of civil rights to officially recognized minorities (Armenians, Jews and Greeks); reformation of the Penal Code; the abolition of the death penalty; release of political prisoners; the abolition of torture by the security forces; and greater protection for the press.

⁹ The term "Europeanization" is often understood differently in various national discourses. Our understanding is that in Turkey, references to the recent Europeanization are generally *legalistic*, related to the broad and deep reform process undertaken since the late 1990s. Yet, in other national contexts, where such deep reforms and transformations were not necessary, the term was to signify other things, such as "adopting European issues into national political discourses," "Europeanization of political parties," "undertaking necessary socio-economic and agricultural reforms first to have a claim for EU funds and then for compatibility with the single market," "general programs for increasing public awareness about Europe and the EU," or referred to the reformulation of the candidates' foreign policies and relations so that they broadly conform with the EU policies.

Furthermore, strict anti-inflationist economic policies have been successfully enforced along with the International Monetary Fund directives; institutional transparency and liberalism have been endorsed; both formal nationalism and minority nationalism have been precluded; broadcasting in languages other than Turkish such as Kurdish and Circassian; and socio-economic disparities between regions have also been dealt with. However, much remains to be done and to be implemented.



Graph 1. Modernity and Islamic Values

Question: To what extent do you think that economic, social and cultural modernity, as experienced in Western societies, is in contradiction to our value system? If you believe that Western economic, social and cultural modernity is in total contradiction to our value system, select a one. If you believe it is not in contradiction at all, select a five. (Respondent shown 5-point scale card) Source: Gallup. 2002. Does Modernity Challenge Islamic Values?

The EU perspective has also provided the Turkish public with an opportunity to come to terms with its own past, a Turkish “*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*” (coming to terms with the past). Two widely debated and polemical conferences on the “Ottoman Armenians during the Demise of the Empire” and the “Kurdish Question” were organized at the Istanbul Bilgi University, on 25-26 September 2005 and 11-12 March 2006 respectively, a point to which we shall return shortly. Although the judiciary acted favourably towards the lawsuits claimed by some ultra-nationalist lawyers, both conferences paved the way for public discussion of two subjects that had hitherto been taboo in contemporary Turkish history.

Another international conference was hosted on 26-27 May 2005 by the Istanbul Bilgi University’s Centre for Migration Research, on the theme of the emigration of Assyrians who were forced to leave Eastern Anatolia in the aftermath of the foundation of the Republic in 1920s. Assyrian-origin participants from various European countries including Sweden, Germany, France and Belgium openly expressed their excitement at seeing the radical democratic transformation that Turkey had recently gone through. Another conference, on the theme “Meeting in Istanbul: past and present”, was organized by the Greek-origin minority in

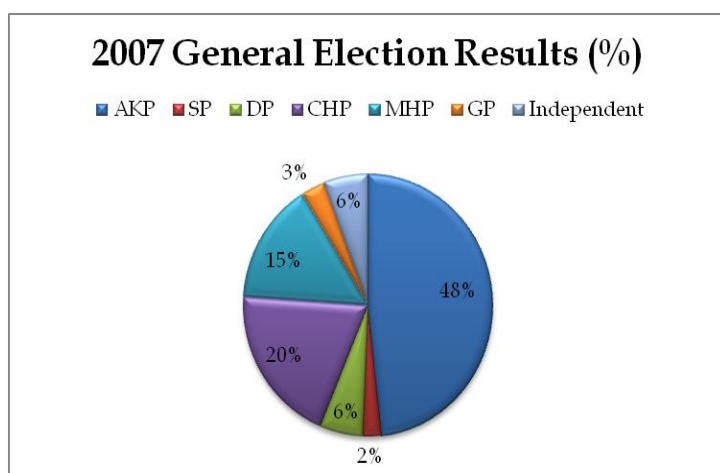
Istanbul, to bring together intellectuals from the Anatolian-Greek diaspora and the Greeks of Istanbul (30 June -2 July 2006). Apart from the fact that such conferences could be organized in contemporary Turkey without encountering any major public intervention, the latter conference was even hosted by the AKP-affiliated Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. All of these legal and political changes bear witness to the transformation of Turkey regarding its position *vis-à-vis* the notion of *diversity*. This transformation corresponds to a discursive shift, which officially recognizes Turkey as a multicultural country. That is to say that multiculturalism is no longer just a phenomenon in Turkey; it is also an officially recognized legal and political fact. This was also the time when the debates revolving around the Habermasian idea of *constitutional patriotism* became more vocal (Kaya and Tarhanli, 2005).

One should also bear in mind that the Justice and Development Party government has successfully made use of Turkey's Islamic identity to boost the discourse of Alliance of Civilizations in which Turkey has been presented as a bridge between the East and West, or between Islam and Christianity. The moderate Islamists gathering in the AKP government have also seen the importance of EU membership for Turkey as an instrument to consolidate and solidify their own position against the danger of any kind of possible attack coming from the ultra-laicists as well as some other segments of Turkish society such as middle-class and/or upper-middle classes and Alevis. Hence, as Ziya Öniş (2004: 16) rightfully stated, European integration has become a mechanism to preserve Turkey's Islamic identity and "making it more compatible with a secular, democratic and pluralistic political order."

Vicious Circle: Euroscepticism

From 17 December 2004 to 3 October 2005, when EU state and national government leaders decided to start negotiations with Turkey, tensions began to rise between nationalist, patriotic, statist, pro-status-quo groups on the one hand and pro-EU groups on the other hand. This was the time when the *virtuous cycle* of the period between 1999 and 2005 was replaced with the *vicious cycle* starting from the late 2005. A new nationalist and religious wave embraced the country, especially among middle-class and upper middle-class groups. The actual start of the accession negotiations in 2005 was a turning point towards Euroscepticism,. This was also observed in several previous cases during the accession negotiations of the 2004/2007 entrants. Political elites and the government come to realize that accession negotiations are not in fact "negotiations" but rather a unilateral imposition from the EU. The only "negotiable" matters that would benefit the candidate are generally some minor exceptions and hardly bargained transition periods. Furthermore, this reality of actual accession negotiations is often abused by politicians to unfoundedly blame many governmental actions onto the EU. Be the "blaming of Brussels" honest or not, the overall impact on public support is almost surely negative. The electoral cycle of presidential and general elections,

witnessed militarist, nationalist and Eurosceptic aspirations coupled with rising violence and terror in the country. The fight between the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the other statist political parties, backed by the military establishment, crystallized during the presidential election in May 2007 (See Graph 2). The AKP had nominated the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdullah Gül, as presidential candidate, but Mr. Gül did not fit the expectations of Turkey's traditional political and military establishment and he failed to reach the required two-thirds majority in the assembly sitting. This failure resulted from the fact that the presidential post has a rather symbolic importance in Turkey since it was first occupied by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. However, the establishment argued that, as someone with pro-Islamist values and a wife who wears a headscarf, Mr. Gül was inappropriate for the office of president. The conflict even led to military intervention in politics on 27th April 2007, an intervention notoriously labelled “e-intervention” because of the way it was announced on the web page of the Military Chief of Staff. However, the nationalist and militarist alliance against the AKP was unsuccessful in the general election and on 22 July 2007 the party won a landslide victory, with 47 % of the votes cast.



Graph 2. 2007 General Election Results .

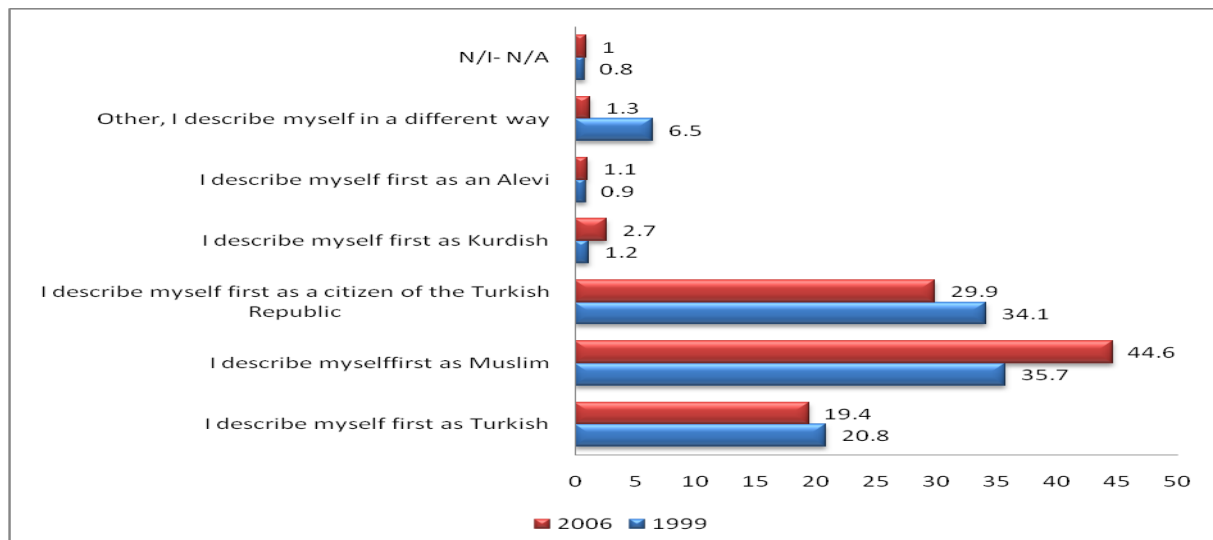
Source: Güvenç, Murat and Hasan Kirmanoğlu (2009). Electoral Atlas of Turkey 1950-2009: Continuities and Changes in Turkey's Politics. Istanbul Bilgi University Press: Istanbul.

Following the elections, Abdullah Gül was also elected for the Presidential office. It could simply be concluded that, instead of heeding the nationalist and militarist electoral campaigns, based on a parochial, local, anti-global and anti-European discourse that aimed for ‘nationalist closure’, the Turks opted for Europeanization, globalization, stability and progress. However, this time the EU was not in a state of being a light house for Turkey again. This is why, the political divide present at the top of the Turkish State is now being turned into a social divide between *moderate Islamists* and *secular fundamentalists*, involving a wide variety of political and non-political actors such as the political parties, parliament, judiciary, army, academia, non-governmental organizations, media and business circles.

Similar to the divide during and after the Democratic Party rule in 1950s, the recent social and political divide in Turkey has both internal and external sources. The divide actually seems to have economic reasons as the ruling party, Justice and Development Party (JDP) has so far represented the interests of newly emerging middle class groups with rural origin-conservative background, who are competing against the established middle and upper middle classes with urban background. The divide also springs from the fact that the legitimate political centre is now accessible to several social groups including not only laicists, republicans, Kemalists and liberal business circles but also Muslims, Kurds, conservative business circles and several other groups. International sources of the divide are namely internal crisis of the European Union, enlargement fatigue of the Union, ongoing instability in the Middle East, changing American interests in the region, rise of political Islam as a reaction to the ongoing Islamophobia in the world, and the global evocative ascendancy of civilizationist/culturalist/religious discourse.

Euroscepticism, nationalism and parochialism in Turkey were triggered by the disapproving sentiments towards the American occupation of Iraq, the limitations on national sovereignty posed by the EU integration, the high tide of the 90th anniversary of the Armenian “deportation”/“genocide” among the Armenian diaspora (2005), the “risk of recognition” of Southern Cyprus by Turkey for the sake of the EU integration, anti-Turkey public opinion in the EU countries (e.g. France and Austria) framed by conservative powers, and Israel’s attacks on Lebanon in 2006. Against such a background the state elite has also become very sceptical of the Europeanization process. The best way to explain the sources of such a kind of scepticism among the state elite is to refer to the “*Sèvres Syndrome*”, which is based on a fear deriving from the post-World War I era characterized with a popular belief regarding the risk of the break-up of the Turkish state (Öniş, 2004: 12).¹⁰

¹⁰ Sévres Syndrome derives from the Sévres Peace Treaty signed by the Allied powers and the Ottoman Empire in 1920 in the aftermath of the World War I, leading to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.



Graph 3. Identities in Turkey¹¹

Question: Would you primarily describe yourself as Turkish, Muslim, a citizen of the Turkish Republic, Kurdish, or Alevi?

Source: Çarkoğlu, Ali and Binnaz Toprak (2006). Religion, Society and Politics in Changing Turkey. TESEV Publications: Istanbul.

AKP immediately set back from its pro-European position as it was perceived by the Party that the EU no longer paid off. Actually, it is not the nationalist climax in the country which turned the AKP into a Eurosceptical party, but it was the decision of the European Court of Human Rights vis-a-vis the headscarf case brought by Leyla Sahin v. Turkey challenging a Turkish law which bans wearing the Islamic headscarf at universities and other educational and state institutions. In 2005, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) heard a particularly monumental case called *Leyla Sahin v. Turkey*. It was monumental because the Grand Chamber agreed to hear Sahin's case at all. And two previous admissions to the European Human Rights Commission concerning the Turkish headscarf were ruled inadmissible. In Sahin's case, however, the outcome equalled temporary defeat for headscarf supporters. The court ruled that there had been no violation to Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights (freedom of thought, conscience and religion); Article 10 (freedom of expression); Article 14 (prohibition of discrimination) and Article 2, Protocol No.1 (right to education) (ECHR, 2004). In short, the Grand Chamber concluded that the interference/violations of fundamental rights concerning headscarf were acceptable and legitimate. In addition to these rulings, Grand Chamber stated that the interference to her education triggered by her wearing a headscarf was found to be necessary for protecting the rights and freedoms of others and maintaining public order. While the Chamber recognized that the ban interfered with Sahin's right to publicly express her religion, it stated that the ban was acceptable if it was imposed to protect the rights of third parties, to preserve public order, and to safeguard the

¹¹ One should bear in mind that such surveys are often misleading with respect to the size of Kurdish and Alevi origin population in Turkey. All the surveys seen to indicate these numbers much less than it should be. This is probably because respondents of minority origin still do not feel comfortable in responding the questions related to one's ethno-cultural and religious identity.

principles of secularism and equality in Turkey. Since the ECHR is an institution within the framework of the Council of Europe, to which Turkey is a member since 1949, it could be difficult to see how its judgment could have an impact on the support for the EU membership. The only way, then, could be that Euroscepticism is understood as a general perception and attitude towards Europe, not only towards the EU and the prospect of membership. This is actually a remarkable phenomenon indicating that Europe and European Union are often interchangeably used in Turkey.

The last but not the least, the AKP government is very keen on developing friendly relations with the eastern and southern neighbours starting with Syria, Iran, Armenia, and Iraq at the expense of underrating relations with the European Union and Israel. In doing so, the Turkish government seems to rely on the excuse that Germany and France, the two driving forces of the EU, have recently developed a Turkey-sceptic discourse. Lately, in Turkey's approach toward the Middle East, the notion of "soft power" is commonly used. Soft power can be briefly defined as one state's indirect influence over another state's actions through cultural or ideological instruments. This power results from the appeal of a country's cultural and political ideologies and relies on the mentality of using desirability instead hard power to succeed in order to have its way. Soft power creates the opportunity to gain influence over other countries. Unlike coercion, since the state aligns on its own volition, it can be evaluated as a less costly and legitimate method. A country's soft power depends on three elements: its culture, political values and foreign policy. Rising popularity of the Turkish *soap operas* which reflects Turkey's western face in the Middle East, investing in democratic initiatives to give an end to the Kurdish question, and generating good relations with the neighbours indicate that Turkey is becoming a soft power in the region. Turkish political elite have the belief that the USA is very much involved in the Middle East investing in Turkey's being 'soft power' in the region, whereas the EU is not interested at all in Turkey's becoming a strong democratic regional power. The indifference of the EU to the Middle East seems to strengthen Euroscepticism in Turkey leading to the popular assumption that EU is again betraying Turkey.

Conclusion: Post-National Europe and Turkey

The process of modernization and Europeanization of Turkey dates back to the early 19th century. The journey is full of impediments as the process was a rather politically oriented one leading to the emergence of social divides/fault lines within the nation. This paper was an attempt to underline such divides within the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic as well as referring to the continuity between the two configurations. It was claimed that the definition of nation (*millet*) in modern Turkey is very much parallel to the *millet* system of the Ottoman Empire. That is why nation has been defined in Turkey with reference to religion in a way that includes the Muslims, and excludes the non-Muslims. However, the intensification of the process of Europeanisation in the aftermath of the Helsinki

Summit of December 1999 has brought about a remarkable change in the perception of ethno-cultural and religious minorities by the state elite. From then on, a discursive shift was seen in Turkey from a rather republican discourse of 'unity over diversity' to a more democratic and pluralist discourse of 'unity in diversity'. However, the period following the decision of the heads of European states to start accession talks with Turkey in late 2005 was marked by a rising tide of Euroscepticism, deriving from both internal and external dynamics. One should also keep in mind that Turkey's linkage with the European Union had become stronger during the AKP government preceding the Eurosceptic cycle, which started in 2005.

It is actually very reminiscent to see that the Turkish electorate had politically become more attracted to pro-Islamist AKP in a time when civilizationist and religious discourse has become globally very popular. The timing of Turkey's European bid partly coincided with the aftermath of the September 11 when Turkey started to become instrumentalised by the USA and the EU as a model country for the Muslim nations with its orientation to the so-called *moderate Islam*. Turkey was then pointed out as a bridge not only between continents but also between civilizations. Moderate Islamic state of Turkey was praised by the western countries in a way that also embraced the pro-Islamist ruling party in Turkey. Instrumentalization of Turkey as a model for other Muslim countries was also welcome by the Turkish political elite. PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and several other politicians as well as academics played with this new role expecting that it would bring Turkey into a more favourable position in the European integration process. Turkey's role as a mediator between the Muslim world and the non-Muslim world was also accredited by the United Nations as the PM Erdoğan was appointed together with the Spanish PM José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero by the UN to launch the *Alliance of Civilizations* initiative.

It is evident that the continuation of democratization process in Turkey depends upon the path the EU is likely to take in the foreseeable future. One could also easily argue that Turkey's EU bid strongly shapes the internal discussions within the EU concerning the identity of the Union. It is comprehensible that the Turkish democratization process is expected to be persistent along with a liberal, political and post-civilizational project of Europe, which would be ready to welcome Turkey. Whereas a culturally and religiously defined Europe would possibly abstain from welcoming Turkey, and this would certainly interrupt the democratization process. Turkey's democracy is highly linked to the ways in which the EU is being constructed and reconstructed. There are at least two definitions of Europe and the European Union. The first defines Europeanness as a static, retrospective, holistic, essentialist, and culturally prescribed entity. The latter emphasizes on the understanding that 'Europe' is a fluid, ongoing, dynamic, prospective, syncretic and nonessentialist process of becoming. While the first definition highlights a *cultural project*, the latter definition welcomes a *political project* embracing cultural and religious differences, including Islam.

Civilizational Europe	Post-Civilizational Europe
static	Dynamic
religious	Secular
communal	Societal
Multinational	Postnational
economic	Economic
cultural	Political
Holistic culture	Syncretic culture
retrospective	Prospective
Essentialist	Non-essentialist
Heterophobia	Heterophilia
Physical geography	Political geography

Table 3. Alternate Projects for Europe

Accordingly, the conservative *civilizational idea* aims to build a culturally prescribed Europe based on Christian mythology, shared meanings and values, historical myths and memories, the Ancient Greek and/or Roman legacy, homogeneity and heterophobia. Civilizational Europe does not intend to include any other culture or religion without a European/Christian legacy. Hence, neither Turkey nor Islam has a place in this project. On the other hand, the progressive *post-civilizational idea* proposes a politically dynamic Europe based on cultural diversity, dialogue, heterogeneity, and heterophilia. The advocates of a syncretic Europe promote coexistence with Turkey and Islam, and underline that the EU is, by origin, a peace and integration project. Agency and self-reflexivity are indispensable constituents of such a form of syncretic Europe, which is always in the making and open to new inputs. Hence, Turkey's future in the EU depends on the weakening of the civilizational and cultural idea of the European Union. A post-civilizational, post-western, post-religious and secular idea of Europe would strengthen pro-European sentiments in Turkey.

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Annex I

Policy Actors in the post-Helsinki Period: Political Parties and Civil Society Organizations

There are several different social and political actors shaping the Europeanization process of Turkey: major political parties, civil society organizations, trade unions and the media. This section will elaborate the perspectives of these actors on the EU with reference to the existing literature. In doing so, we shall mainly scrutinize the mainstream actors without touching upon the minor actors due to the space limits of the work.

Political Parties

From the 1960s onwards, political parties in Turkey displayed different levels of commitment to EU membership while the left-right division of political parties became more visible and class politics began to emerge due to the industrialisation process. Altunışık and Benli (2005: 25) argue that “From the mid-1980s onwards, identity issues took over the political sphere and gained an ideological dimension in time. The Kurdish issue and political Islam became two important subjects of discussion during this period”. Subsequent to the 1999 Helsinki Summit, the prospect of EU membership led to the realignment of political parties with regard to their perceptions on EU membership, yet there was a common element to both pro and anti-European sentiments. In that regard, “the major political parties were not willing to challenge the fundamental precepts of state ideology on key issues of concern such as ‘cultural rights’ and the ‘the Cyprus problem’...” (Öniş, 2003: 17).

In the early and mid-1990s, leading up to the Helsinki Summit, ANAP (*Anavatan Partisi*- Motherland Party), the centre-right party under the leadership of Mesut Yılmaz, emerged as one of the key political actors that supported EU membership with a rather more evident political stance. However, ANAP, as the opposition party in the early 1990s, was not able to implement considerable reforms. As a counterpart, in early 1990s the ultra-nationalist MHP (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*- Nationalist Movement Party), the far-right party, emerged as the major anti-EU political party with concerns over the effects of EU membership on “national sovereignty and security” (*ibid.*: 18). However, “military’s elite, left-wing nationalists and extremists have also repeatedly voiced their concern or opposition on certain EU issues” (Avcı, 2003: 157). These concerns were mainly over sovereignty and territorial integrity. It should also be noted that in late-1990s, MHP became one of the key political actors attributable to the rise of Turkish nationalism. The rise of PKK insurgency and the increasing political attention to the situation in the South-eastern Turkey leading to the rise of nationalism revived concerns over territorial integrity of the country. Subsequently, “the political debates around EU membership turned into “ideological” confrontations between the nationalists and the rest of the parties” (Avcı, 2003:157).

While the far right and the centre right took opposite sides on the debate over EU accession, there was another common element to the stances of the political parties, Öniş notes that “the Left has taken a highly nationalistic stand on many of the key issues involved. ... parties of the centre-right in Turkey do not appear to have been particularly influenced by debates on multiculturalism, liberal internationalism and third way politics, which seem to have occupied the European social democratic left during the recent era...” (Öniş, 2003: 18). Consequently, “‘defensive nationalist’ characteristics of the left-right political spectrum, which refers to the parties’ broad support for membership accompanied by a tendency to feel uncomfortable with the key elements of conditionality” (Öniş, 2007: 248). Öniş also notes that while EU membership is a part of state supported westernization process and the stances of political parties can be distinguished as “hard euroscepticism” and “soft euroscepticism”. He summarizes the distribution of hard and soft sceptics as follows:

hard euroscepticism, meaning the rejection of EU membership altogether is confined to fringe elements in the party system namely extreme leftists or nationalists and radical Islamists which constitute a very small percentage of the total electorate... “soft-Euro-scepticism” which involves a certain dislike of the conditions associated with full-membership if not the idea of membership is quite widespread and can be identified in political parties which fall across the whole of the political spectrum (*ibid*: 249-250).

Another important political phenomenon in the 1990s was the rise of political Islam which brought about a different dynamic to domestic politics. Necmettin Erbakan, “defined his movement against the West, in general, and the Kemalist vision of Europeanization, in particular” (Yavuz, 2006:243). Although Erbakan incorporated EU membership to his agenda in the 1999 elections, the formation of AKP introduced yet another form of political Islam. To that effect, Yavuz suggests that the prospect of European integration had strong influences on political Islamic movements in Turkey. He argues that

“Since the early 1990s, however, a dramatic cognitive shift has taken place in Turkey. Islamic political identity is shifting from an anti-Western to a pro-European position, while conversely, the Kemalist bureaucratic-military establishment, which has defined its historic mission as that of guardians leading the nation westward, has become increasingly recalcitrant in regard to integration with Europe. Today one of the few unifying platforms of Turkey’s diverse ethnic and religious groups is one favouring membership in the EU” (Yavuz, 2006:226).

In analyzing the wide public support for AKP, Yavuz suggests that the party’s promotion of accession “is the search for political identity through the EU process”, which is founded on an identification “with the European norms of the Christian Democratic parties” In relation to that, he argues that AKP utilized the process of accession to “reduce the power of the military” through defining “itself against the military” (Yavuz, 2006: 246). In other words, he attributes the pro-EU stance of AKP to the search for self-identification, which occurred in contrast to the military establishment in Turkey.

Civil Society Organizations

Although Turkish civil society organization have been deemed weak policy actors due to the assertion that “respect for authority is stressed over citizen empowerment and participation, and democracy has been shallow, imposed from above by Westernizing elites on largely peasant, passive society”, in the 1980s and particularly in the 1990s civil society organization began to proliferate (Kubicek, 2002:762). While it is agreed upon that this proliferation was highly contingent on economic liberalization, Keyman and İçduygu argue that this increase can also be associated with the political parties, such that:

where the center-Right and center-Left political parties have continuously been declining in terms of their popular support and their ability to produce effective and convincing policies, while at the same time both the resurgence of identity politics and civil society have become strong and influential actors of social and political change (Keyman, İçduygu, 2003:222).

Kalaycı oğlu agrees that although “the visible statist orientation (*étatisme*) in Turkey stresses community over the individual, uniformity over diversity, and an understanding of law that privileges collective reason”, he reasons that this phenomenon is founded on the critical relations between the centre and the periphery (Kalaycı oğlu, 2002: 250-252).

Perhaps as a part of this dynamic, namely the association of the center with the state, Kalaycı oğlu argues that, among others TÜSİAD (*Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği*- Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association), Türk-İş (*Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*- Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions), TOBB (*Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği*- The Union of Chamber and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey), “often benefit from their co-operation with the state, rather than co-operation with other voluntary associations to pressure the state. As a rule voluntary associations do not seem to consider the state as an adversary, but rather as an ally to be mobilised against their competitors” (Kalaycı oğlu, 2002: 258). On the other hand, protest movements and advocacy associations which confront the Turkish state that “advocate drastic change in the Republican system or the political regime”, though they receive media attention, are not received well by the state (Kalaycı oğlu, 2002: 260). In contrast, Atan argues that certain civil society organisations do not necessarily cooperate with the state and that

while Turkish civil society is traditionally weak *vis-à-vis* the state. Turkish PBOs [Peak Business Organizations] appear as significant actors to challenge the government’s policy agenda. Familiarisation with the EU-level governance system had provided them with additional resources to act upon the domestic agenda-setting process (Atan, 2004:109).

To that effect, it should be noted that TÜSİAD, an association including big business, has been one of the most discussed civil society actors in literature. In terms of EU membership, Atan argues that in the aftermath of 1997, “TÜSİAD played an important role in strengthening their ties with their European counterparts with and through whom they lobbied EU institutions and governments in favour of Turkey’s EU membership” (Atan, 2004: 107). Additionally, TÜSİAD prompted domestic policy changes in Turkey in favour of harmonization with the

EU member states through the report titled “The Perspectives on Democratization in Turkey” published in 1997.¹² These reports have been discussed and cited by several scholars as a reflection of the growing civil society participation in the domestic policy-making process.

MÜSİAD is another business association, which consists of AKP supporters. According to Atan, MÜSİAD appears to be “an organisation advocating a different model of economic and social development using ‘a certain interpretation of Islam’ to ensure the coherence of its members and ‘to represent their economic interest as an integral component of an ideological mission” (Atan, 2004: 111). Consequently, the MÜSİAD followed the “discourse emphasizing the compatibility of EU membership with the ‘Islamic democrat’ identity of Turkish society (Atan, 204: 112), which is quite similar to the arguments made by the members of the AKP. On the other hand, Yankaya (2009) states that in the case of MÜSİAD, Europeanization process produces two dynamics: economic Europeanization as a social learning process and political Europeanization as political opportunism, and an ongoing Euroscepticism. Furthermore, one could also observe that there is an interesting shift from hard Euroscepticism based on a *civilizational divergence* argument towards a soft Euroscepticism expressed in national-interest and in a new Islamic rhetoric in line with the assumption that Turkey is becoming a soft power in its region.

In addition to business associations, it should be noted that İKV (*İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı* - Economic Development Foundation) was established as an initiative of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce in 1965 to inform the public on the internal affairs of the EU as well as the relations between Turkey and the EU. Similarly, TESEV (*Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı* - Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation) is a non-governmental think-tank which focuses on social, political and economic policies in Turkey. Both İKV and TESEV have been very active in informing the public and the government on EU-related issues.

Regarding the nature civil organizations in Turkey, an important argument is made by Keyman and İçduygu. The scholars argue that the direction of Turkish modernization since the 1980s and the increasing participation of civil society actors in the policy making process is a result of four processes. These are as follows: (1) “the changing meaning of modernity” or in other words “the emergence of alternative modernities” which refers to “first the emergence of the critique of the status of the secular-rational thinking as the exclusive source of modernity in Turkey, and second, the increasing strength of Islamic discourse both as a ‘political actor’ and as a ‘symbolic foundation’ for identity formation”; (2) “the legitimacy crisis of the strong state tradition” which occurred “as a result of the shift towards civil society and culture as new reference points in the language and the terms of politics”; (3) “the process of European integration” referring to

¹²Follow-up reports have been published in 1999 and 2001. For complete texts of these reports please consult: http://www.tusiad.us/main_page.cfm?TYPE_ID=12.

the assertion that “reforms also indicate that the sources of democratization in Turkey are no longer only national, but also global, and therefore that the EU plays an important role in the changing nature of the state-society relations in Turkey and functions as a powerful actor” generating system-transforming impacts on Turkish politics”; and (4) “the process of globalization” due to which “Turkish politics is embedded in this process and globalization functions as a significant external variable for understanding the current state of the political process in Turkey (Keyman and İçduygu, 2003: 222-226).

Trade Unions

In comparison to the literature on civil society organizations and political parties, the literature on trade unions with respect to their role in Europeanization during the post-Helsinki period is rather limited. Nevertheless, it is possible to characterize the stances of labour unions as rather cautious and inconsistent. For instance, “on the one hand, they argue that it would cause unemployment and the disintegration of the country. On the other hand, membership of the EU is seen as providing an opportunity to move forward and to improve labour rights” (Yıldırım, Çalış and Benli, 2008: 363). However, it is also noted that:

“Many of the labor market problems currently experienced in Turkey emerge in a context of rapid structural change. Until quite recently, the bulk of employment was in the agricultural sector, whereas today urban labor force in industry and services is much larger than rural workforce” (Adaman, Buğra, Insel, 2008: 8).

With reference her in-depth interviews with members of the labour unions, Alemdar argues that “Although the literature expects them to appeal to the EU for better labor standards or workers’ rights Turkish domestic actors’ use of the EU depends heavily on the domestic environment and their respective EU perceptions” (Alemdar, 2009:3). In fact, Alemdar’s argument in general is also reflective of shifting views towards the EU but she relies on the premise that the domestic environment, such as the military coups, political party alliances, and labour regulations influence the way in which trade unions perceive the EU. Consequently, the unions appeal to the EU when they are not satisfied with the domestic politics.

In order to examine the perceptions of labour union on EU membership and the reforms it necessitates, scholars tend to look at the cases of Türk-İş (*Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*- Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions), DİSK (*Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*- Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions), Hak-İş (*Hak İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*- Confederation of Justice Seekers’ Trade Union). Alemdar describes Türk-İş as a state-centric labour union while depicting that the Union’s perceptions of the EU have taken an openly anti-EU stance after 2000 but have softened their position since 2005, as membership negotiations began. Türk-İş’s position vis-a-vis the EU is very well explicated by one of Yıldırım Koç, who is one of the advocates of the syndicate:

The European Union's demands for Turkey are in opposition to the Turkish Republic's unitary state system and its independence. Abiding by these demands would tear our country apart and divide it, creating a new Yugoslavia. Turkey is not going to solve its problems through the EU. Turkey is not going to be stronger because of the EU. Turkey is going to solve its problems despite the EU, and it will be stronger. Turkey's admittance to the EU is dependent on this strength (cited in Alemdar, 2009: 12).

It is important to note that Koç's argument is similar to the political parties' concerns over territorial integrity as well as the unity of the Republic. While Türk-İş did not necessarily reflect the structure of its counterparts in the EU, DİSK, which is considered a supporter of the left wing, reformulated itself in 1990s in line with the European trade unions (Alemdar, 2009:15). Consequently, DİSK has been adamant in pressuring the government and lobbying to harmonize Turkish labour regulations with that of the EU (Doğan, 2003).

Hak-İş, on the other hand, presents a different dynamic in the sense that: "HAK-İŞ's appeal to the EU has been intricately linked with the organization's liaisons with the government. When the government was pursuing the EU, its appeal to the EU has been strong, and vice versa" (Alemdar, 2009:19). In December 1989, Hak-İş declared its stance towards the EU as follows:

A major challenge to integration with Europe is Turkey's Muslim population. Turkey, because of its historical, moral, philosophical, religious and national characteristics, is not Western. 'Westernization' comes as a betrayal and alienation to Turkish culture... if membership in the EU is pushed; this would mean a total surrender [to Western values]. On the other hand, Turkey's application for EU membership means a heavy legal burden for the Constitution and other laws, and constitutes a threat to state's sovereignty and nation's unity...the fact that the government and the opposition parties are silent about this raises questions (cited in Alemdar, 2009: 20).

However, as the Islamist political parties modified their perceptions of the EU and the notion of Westernization, Hak-İş followed the same discourse.

Media

First and foremost, it should be noted that similar to trade unions, the literature on the role of the media in the process of modernization/Europeanization is very limited. Nevertheless, scholars have studied the nature of the Turkish media, which can be used to indicate certain trends. During the period between 1982 and 1993, it is possible to observe a proliferation in media outlets, which, was a result of non-media related capital into the sector, which altered the structure of the media to resemble industrial enterprises (Sağnak, 1996:55-56). The technological developments in this period contributed to the establishment of numerous television and radio channels, both local and national. As the intensity of competition increased, in tandem with the rise of capitalist ideology, media enterprises began to focus more on sales. In correlation with the increased competition, among other things, this period was marked by the rise of monopolies in the sector, which in return creates support of the government and politicians due to growing need for "incentives, credits, and public announcements" (Sağnak, 1996: 51).

In terms of exploring the role of EU journalists' role in informing the European citizens about the EU, Arsan makes several observations regarding the Turkish journalists in Brussels. One important observation is that "small state journalists", which includes those from Turkey; do not necessarily have a background in journalism. In other words, individuals who reside in Brussels for other reasons, such as education, have become journalists (Arsan, 2007: 139). During an interview conducted by Arsan with Sıtkı Ulaş, he is quoted saying that although Turkey is trying to become a member of the EU, "there is a severe lack of Turkish press in Brussels" (Arsan, 2007: 140). In line with this argument, the quality of the reports is also rather debatable. In that sense, Turkish journalists, similar to Greek journalists, have characterized by a "pursuit of polemical news and sensational reporting practices" (Arsan, 2007: 150).

Additionally, as Arsan observes in the Greek and Hungarian media, Turkish media is also categorized as a part of the "the Mediterranean model". In this model the journalists "take sides as members of the political and literary elites" (De Burgh, 2005:10). Arsan describes the Mediterranean model of journalism as follows:

The Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model is characterized by an elite-oriented press with relatively small circulation and a corresponding centrality of electronic media. Freedom of the press and the development of commercial media industries generally came late; newspapers have often been economically marginal and in need of subsidy. Political parallelism tends to be high; the press is marked by strong focus on political life, external pluralism, and the tradition of commentary-oriented or advocacy journalism persist more strongly than in other parts Europe. Instrumentalization of the media by the government, by political parties, and by industrialists with political ties is common. Professionalization of journalism is not strongly developed as in the other models: journalism is not strongly differentiated from political activism and the autonomy of journalism is often limited (Arsan, 2007b).

An important aspect of Arsan's argument is that "Turkish journalists were also swinging between Euroscepticism and Eurosupportiveness while framing the EU. Beyond classical institutional news coverage like "Turkey must fulfil its EU requirements by..." or "EU must fulfil its promises..." (Arsan, 2007b). While Arsan depicts the problematic nature of journalists situated in Brussels, it is also necessary to examine the nature of domestic sources of information. In terms of the domestic television channels, Gencel Bek suggests that Turkish media has also gone through a "tabloidization process". As a part of her research, she analyses TRT (*Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu*- Turkish Radio and Television Corporation), and characterizes as the quality of the news as follows:

In general, the reports are quite bland accounts of cabinet meetings. There is no setting of context, interpretation, discussion or criticism. TRT just reports that such and such politicians met, in a formulaic way. The news gives no other information such as who else talked in the meeting, who said what, what the main aim of the meeting was, etc... What TRT does achieve, however, is full coverage of all the national ceremonies, reminding the public of national history from the perspective of the official memory. One could call TRT news the 'news of the nation state' (Gencel Bek, 2004: 378).

The above mentioned argument is partly a result of the mentality followed by RTÜK (*Radyo Televizyon Üst Kurulu*- Radio and Television Supreme Council), which is a public legal entity that monitors television channels. On that issue Gencel Bek criticizes the operations of RTÜK for being in favour of the state. She argues that:

The peculiar characteristics of broadcasting regulation also have an effect on content: the RTÜK controls content to a far greater extent than media structure, concentration, increasing market mechanisms, etc. Content control, and subsequent penalties, is mainly directed towards the channels 'which are against the state'. Protecting the state takes precedence over the citizen's right to information (Gencel Bek, 2004: 383).

Even though Arsan and Gencel Bek examine different aspects of the Turkish media, it is possible to infer a common theme, which is that the news media; both journalists in Brussels and TRT filter the news before they reach the public. In that sense, the lack of professional and extensive media coverage from Brussels and the domination of the public service channel by nationalist events indicate that the citizen's right to information on the EU and the process of Europeanization has been overshadowed by political and social interests. Moreover, as Sağnak argues, the media coverage depends highly on their relations with the political parties. In combination with Arsan's argument that the media has been shifting between Euroscepticism and pro-Europeanness, further research on the relations between private media enterprises and political parties is essential.

Annex II

Chronology of EU-Turkey Relations (1959-2009)

Date	Event
September 1959	Turkey applies for associate membership of the European Economic Community (EEC).
September 1963	An association agreement (Ankara Agreement) is signed, aiming at bringing Turkey into a Customs Union with the EEC and to eventual membership. A first financial protocol to the initial agreement is also signed.
November 1970	The Additional Protocol and the second financial protocol are signed in Brussels, preparing the ground for the establishment of the customs union.
April 1987	Turkey makes an application for full EEC membership.
December 1989	European Commission in its "Opinion" about Turkey's application of full membership process mentioned that it couldn't accept a new member before completing process of its own internal market (1992) and necessity provisions in terms of economical, social and political developments should be fulfilled before Turkey's pre-accession.
1995	Turkey-EU Association Council finalises the agreement creating a customs union between Turkey and the EU.
December 1997	At the Luxembourg European Council, Turkey is declared eligible to become a member of the European Union.
December 1999	EU Helsinki Council recognises Turkey as an EU candidate country on an equal footing with other candidate countries.
March 2001	The Council adopts the Accession Partnership for Turkey.
May 2003	Adoption by the Council of a revised Accession Partnership for Turkey.
October 2004	The Commission presents its Recommendation on Turkey's Progress towards accession along with its paper Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective.
December 2004	The European Council defines the conditions for the opening of accession negotiations.
June 2005	The Commission adopts a Communication on the civil-society dialogue between EU and Candidate countries. This communication sets out a general framework on how to create and reinforce links between civil society in the EU and candidate countries.
October 2005	Starting of the screening process concerning the analytical examination of the <i>acquis</i> . Adoption by the Council of a Negotiating Framework setting out the principles governing the negotiations followed by the formal opening of Accession negotiations with Turkey.
December 2005	Adoption by the Council of a revised Accession Partnership for Turkey.
June 2006	Negotiations are opened and closed on the chapter Science and Research
December 2006	Due to the Turkish failure to apply to Cyprus the Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement, the Council decides that eight relevant chapters will not be opened and no chapter will be provisionally closed until Turkey has fulfilled its commitment. The eight chapters are: Free Movement of Goods, Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services, Financial Services, Agriculture and Rural Development, Fisheries, Transport Policy, Customs Union and External Relations.
March 2007	Negotiations are opened on the chapter Enterprise and Industry
June 2007	Negotiations are opened on two chapters: Financial Control and Statistics.
December 2007	Negotiations are opened on two chapters: Trans-European Networks and Consumer and health protection
February 2008	Adoption by the Council of a revised Accession Partnership for Turkey.

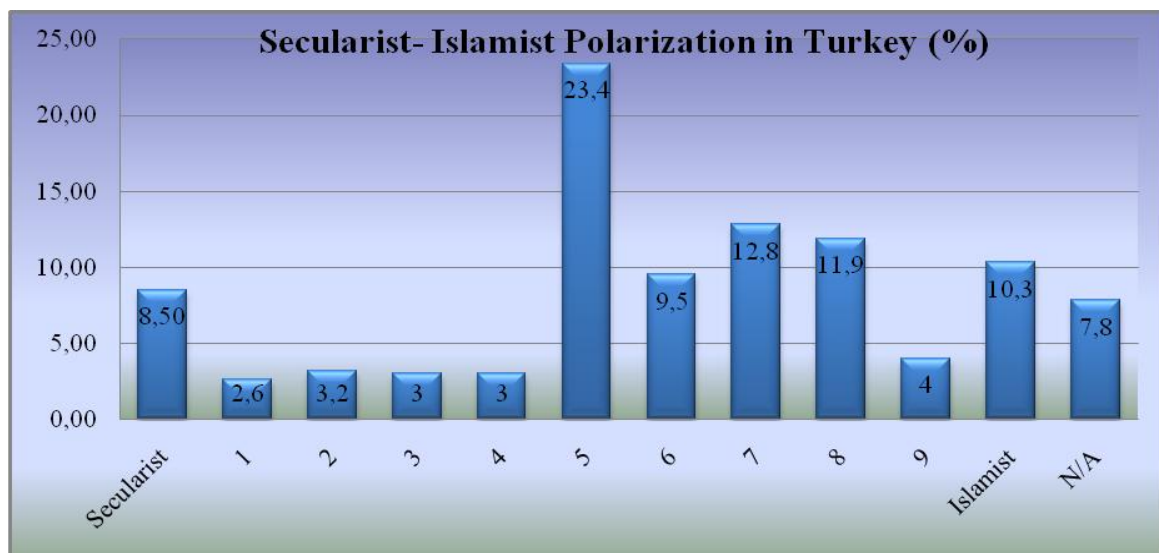
June 2008	Negotiations are opened on two chapters: Intellectual property and Company law (June 2008).
October 2009	11 chapters are open and the 12 th chapter to be opened is likely to be the Environment Chapter in December 2009.
January 2009	Egemen Bağış, Minister of EU Affairs, was appointed as the Chief Negotiator of Turkey in full membership negotiations.
June 2009	Negotiations are opened on the chapter of Taxation.

Source: Official Website of the European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries/turkey/eu_turkey_relations_en.htm

Annex III

1. TESEV Surveys (The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation)

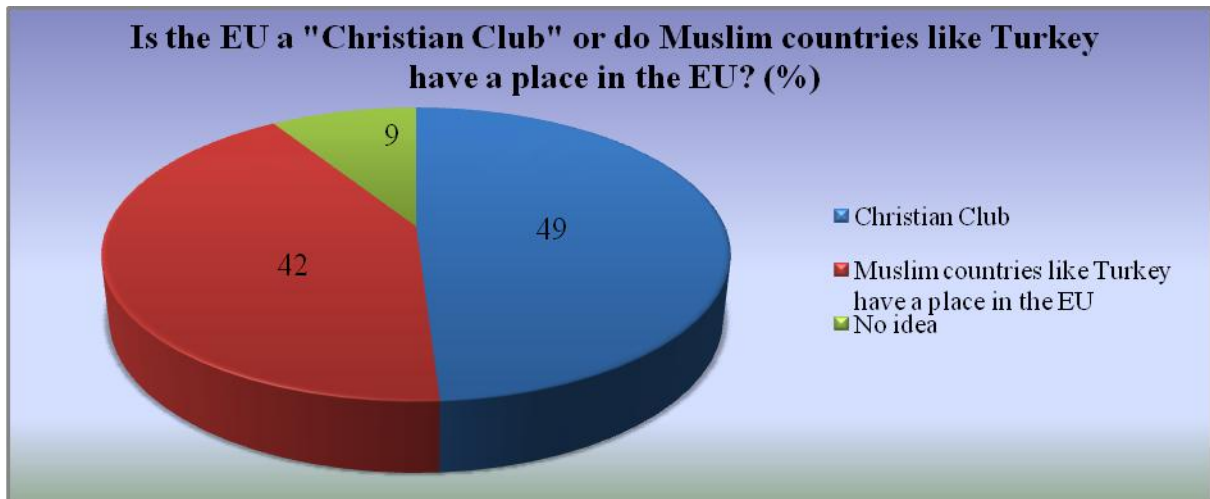
Secularist-Islamist Polarization in Turkey



Question: We often hear about "Islamists" and "Secularists" in Turkey. Where would you place yourself on this scale? Source: Çarkoğlu, Ali and Binnaz Toprak (2006). Religion, Society and Politics in Changing Turkey. TESEV Publications: Istanbul.

The data from the survey conducted in 2006, provides insight to the division of the polarization of the society with regards to secularism and Islam. According to the reports, while 20% of the participants placed themselves towards the secularist end, 49% places themselves towards the Islamist side.

Perceptions of the EU



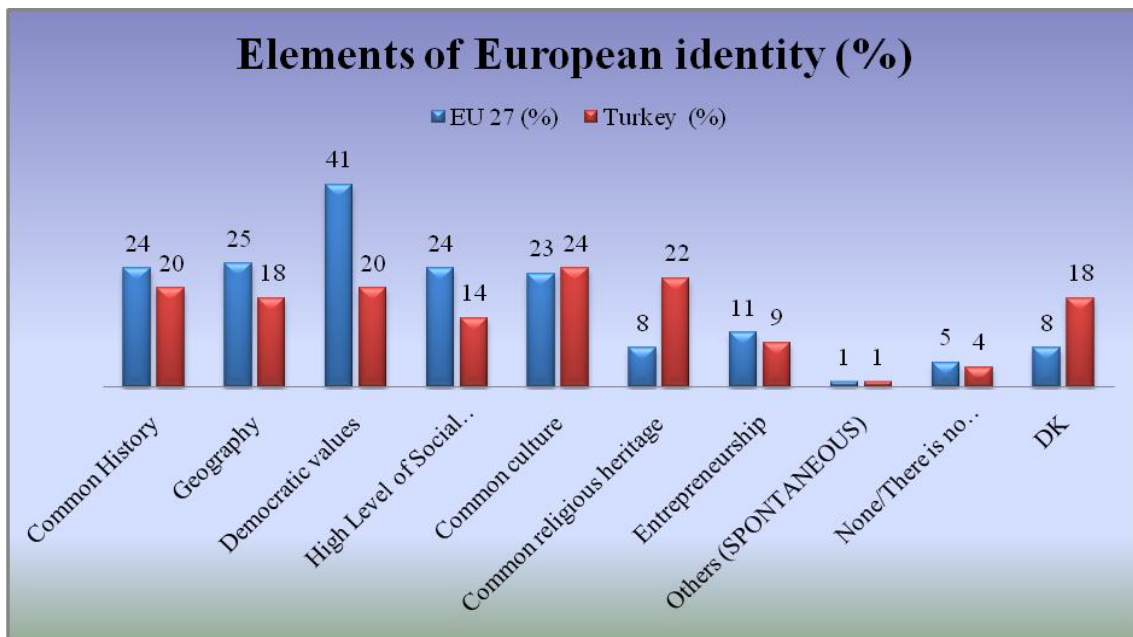
Question: Is the EU a "Christian Club" or do Muslim countries like Turkey, have a place in the EU?
Source: Çarkoğlu, Ali and Refik Erzan, Kemal Kirişçi, Hakan Yılmaz (2002). *Turkish Public Opinion on Membership to the EU*. TESEV Publications: Istanbul.

2. Eurobarometer Surveys

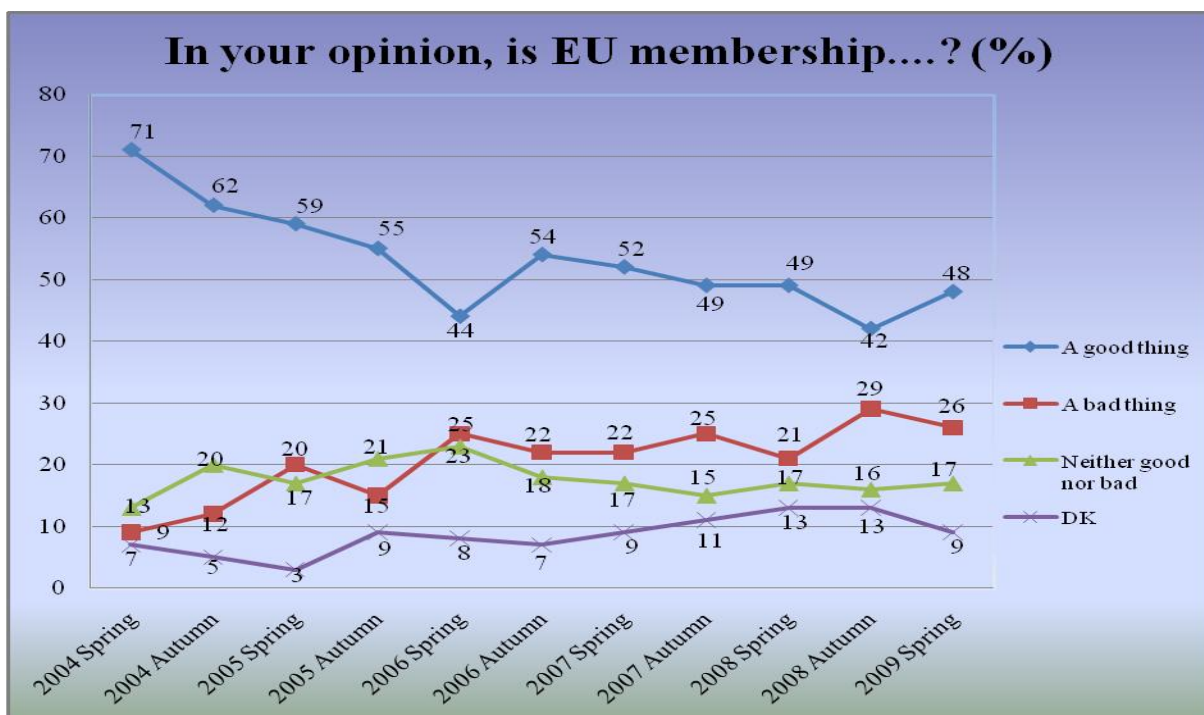


Question: For each of the following please tell me whether you agree... YES % EU 25. **Source:** Standard Eurobarometer 66. September 2007.

Elements of European Identity



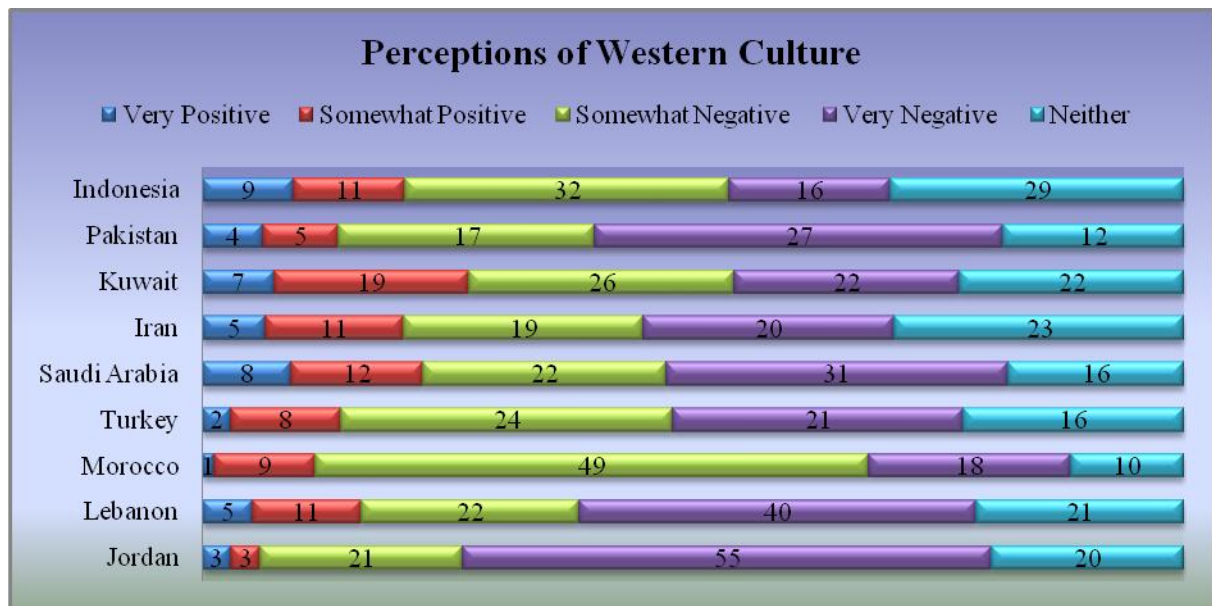
Question: In your opinion, which of the following are the two most important elements that go to make up a European identity? Source: Standard Eurobarometer 71. September 2009.



Question: In your opinion, is EU membership a good thing, a bad thing, neither good nor bad thing, do not know? Source: Standard Eurobarometer 71. October 2009.¹³

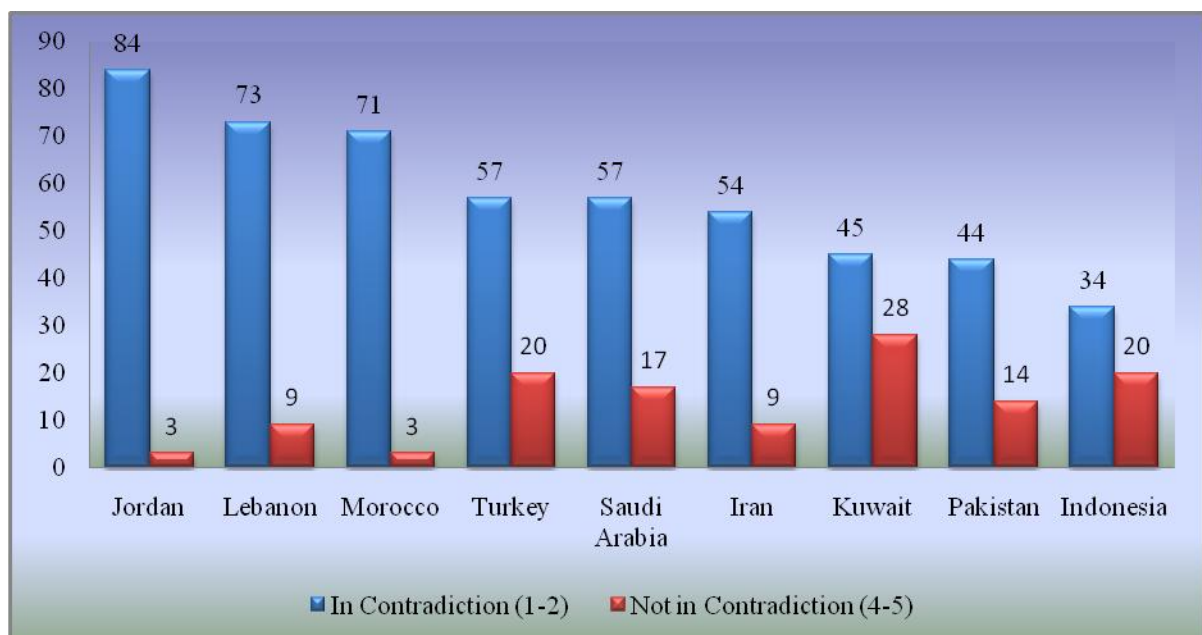
3. Gallup Polls

¹³ It should be noted that although Turkey has been included in the Candidate Country Eurobarometers (CCEB) since 2001, it was integrated into the Standard Eurobarometer in Spring 2004 (Standard Eurobarometer 62). For the purposes of continuity and research integrity, this graph will not provide data prior to Spring 2004.



Question: How positively or negatively do you think our own value system is being influenced by the value system that prevails in the Western societies? To indicate your answer, please select any number on this card from one to five. Source: Gallup (2002). Poll of the Islamic World: Perceptions of Western Culture.

Modernity and Islamic Values



Question: To what extent do you think that economic, social and cultural modernity, as experienced in Western societies, is in contradiction to our value system? If you believe that Western economic, social and cultural modernity is in total contradiction to our value system, select a one. If you believe it is not in contradiction at all, select a five. (Respondent shown 5-point scale card) Source: Gallup (2002). Does Modernity Challenge Islamic Values?

