

ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL MODERNIZATION AND DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

Turkey was regarded as the first Muslims country that declared as a secular state. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who is recalled as the father of the nation was responsible for the establishment of modern Turkey. The Kemalist ideas on politics, economy, culture and society, have been described as unique and wonderful, particularly given its totality and success in a predominantly Islamic society. Turkey, after the establishment of the Republic for 23 years with a single-party system, and the first time, the multi-party democracy in 1946 was experience.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan He first came to power in 2003 in the wake of a sweeping electoral victory by the Islamist-rooted Justice and Development Party (AKP), of which he was a founding member. Nonetheless JD Party government retained power for many years, causing economic regression, human rights and media depression; opening imam schools, healthy sector deterioration, and more importantly, drift away from secularism. Mr. Erdogan spent 11 years as Turkey's prime minister before becoming the country's first directly-elected president in August 2014 a supposedly ceremonial role.

Key Words: Democracy, Consolidation, Transformation, Turkey

1. INTRODUCTION

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who founder of the republic of Turkey, tried to do Western and pre-Islamic Turkish culture to create a new "national culture" beyond the heritage of the Ottoman Empire. It was not easy way to crossroad between Europe and Asia. Turkish identity was containing Western European, Middle Eastern, and Asian elements. Kemal's ideology and his political structure are important to be studied since both gives important contributions towards the establishment of modern secular Turkey.

"Kemalism, as it was implemented by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was defined by sweeping political, social, cultural and religious reforms designed to separate the new Turkish state from its Ottoman predecessor and embrace a Westernized way of living". (Cleveland, L.and, Bunton, 2013)

Including the establishment of democracy, secularism, state support of the sciences and free education many of which were first introduced to Turkey during Atatürk's presidency in his reforms, 1923-1945 when the country was ruled with a single party regime led by the Republican Peoples Party With the introduction of multi-party political system in 1945, withal political Islam found the opportunity for political activism in the body of Democrat Party. The events and outcome of World War II played a large role in the emergence of the Democrat Party. Democrat Party DP was founded by RPP members in 1946, DP followers that were unhappy with the RPP's authoritarian style at the same time the people who doesn't want to follow Kemalist principals. On this point DP emphasized to everybody Turkey could become a democracy. Democracy helps us better understand the processes of democratic transition or democratic reversal. There are many definitions of democracy, each containing certain aspects. Turkey has reached the status of an electoral democracy but still lacks the some elements. On the other hand Turkey's transition to democracy it was not so easy process. Even after Turkey first vying elections in 1950, Turkey experienced a long period of democratic breakdowns and military coup.

The establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 created a single party regime that radically transformed Turkish society. "The founders of the Republic abolished the Caliphate, banned religious orders, established secular systems of law and education that replaced the shari'a and Islamic schools, and imposed western-style clothing. These reforms were imposed by a strong central government, despite resistance from some of its citizens". (Toprak, 2005:169)

Under this cultural transformation, the Republic's founders aimed to eliminate evidence of its past imperial system and in its place establish and consolidate its own regime and power based on secularism and a legal-rational basis. In 1946 as a result of many domestic and international factors, the single-party government made a transition to competitive politics, allowing for multiple parties and thus, free and fair elections. In the elections of 1950, the Democratic Party won against the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP), marking a historic transition to Turkish democracy. (Rodriguez, 2014: 46)

For the next three decades, Turkey experienced cycles of democracy. Each cycle began with an election to mark a transition to a new rule. When the government's performance did not meet expectations, a period of turmoil followed and was preempted by a military coup. Military intervention occurred in 1960, 1971, and in 1980, The DP won government in free parliamentary elections in May 1950. But democratization has not been a smooth road. The Democrat Party seemingly aiming for single party rule was overthrown in a military coup in May 1960.

Political leaders cannot be viewed independently from the context within which they make choices and decisions (Blondel, 1987: 17) however they make decisions, but they cannot be totally free to shape the political process because this is also dependent on economic, social, cultural, and political dynamics. In addition despite the presence of multiple dynamics, the impact of the political leaders in Turkey, beginning with the emergence of demands for reforming the political regime and transition to democracy in 1945 until the military intervention on 27 May 1960. Turkey is between Europe and Asia not only geographically a meeting point, but also ideologically a big power between Eastern and Western peoples. As we know Turkey is a historical of military interventions and transitions to democracy. 1971 military intervention have been different from others interventions because it occurred in the absence of a deep economic crisis. The 1980 coup played an important role in Turkey's radical neo-liberal restructuring. 12 September 1980 lead to another army coup because of clashes between leftist and rightist groups. Hundreds of thousands of people arrested, dozens executed. In 1997 after rise of Welfare party, prime minister forced to resign. That time mostly it was recommendations of military.

More recently, the Justice and Development Party, which Islamist origins, constituted the latest stage of the line of majority governments in the center right tradition since 2002, after the tripartite coalition, the deterioration of the economy and the disputes between the leaders had been the ground for a new party, thus, the Turkish people chose the JD Party in the first period succeeded in establishing free and fair elections, much freedoms for religion and media, safety and good relations with the Kurds, and a growing economy a commendable transformation. The Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) promised a new and democratic Turkey in the 2002 general elections it means highest priorities are economic recovery It promised full implementation of fundamental rights and freedoms, reforms of corrupt institutions, a booming economy, and the symbolic European Union membership such as strong accession negotiations with the European Union.

The JDP promised to all people who live in Turkey change and a new era. As most people knows hopes were high in Turkey, and the JDP succeeded in winning the votes of the Turkish people in the elections of 2002, 2007, 2011, 2015. I interpret democracy as a blessing given to the people of a country, it is clear that democratic societies are the most progressive societies in the world, Turkey's biggest chance to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkey Republic should be governed by democracy, saying Atatürk it has given direction to the future of the Turkish people, but from the time of his death, democracy has suffered serious blows, and invisible hands frayed democracy with the fallacy of religion.

The lack of political will is the obstacle of the democratization. Turkish people for more or less successful reorientation and adaptation to life of western and democratic understanding Turkish political development, the success of these conditioning processes helps to explain how and why Turkey became a democratic country. Why Turkish people have felt more comfortable receiving the westernization and democratization rather than to other potential destinations of religious and/or socialist way of life and administrative systems. Without the crucial conditioning of decade's long changes in the way of westernization and democratization factors, Turkish political history would have encountered far greater opposition and difficulties than it has done, and might well have been thrown into reverse.

Turkish politics attracted a number of scholars and researchers to investigate political development in a variety of aspects. In fact the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century of Turkey was 'the century of intense westernization and democratization' in Turkey. Without a clear understanding of the



economic, social, cultural and historical background of political development, it is not possible to understand the events which took place during the era of democratic experiences in past decades as well as modern practices. Mustafa Kemal set two goals when he initiated the independence of Turkish nation: (i) Unity of the state, freedom and independence of the state, and the pushing out of foreign occupational forces; and (ii) modernization of the state and society in accordance with contemporary requirements. This came to be called “Atatürkism” or “Kemalism” and became synonymous with modernization or Westernization. As an ideology Atatürkism emphasized scientifically, national interests, and national identity, and it consisted of six pillars: Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Revolutionism, Secularism and Statism (Cin 1993:1-2; Huntington 1996:144-49)

The process of democratization in Turkey was affected by many internal as well as external factors. After Atatürk Turkey s democratization process resulted always with military coup d'état, powerless opposition, created today's single party regime or rather a single man regime. As we seen in Turkey has a big problem of democracy, at the same time it's impossible to say in Turkey full democracy is settled with all institutions and mentality infrastructures, it's a known fact for our country its really very difficult to meet the conditions for democracy. Thus Turkey should remove all obstacles to democratization and should be adopt democracy as a culture. “Our intelligent and hardworking peoples like Atatürk say wants an active member of the global system; a strong, developed and democratic country citizen who look to the future with hope. Indeed it deserves more than that.”

It is seen, all these information in this article my theory going to be democracy and authoritarian are strongly related with economy, state security and religion. How I found this, previous researcher and my research determine, lack of democracy countries in suffer, beside the countries which authoritarian govern is much more suffer, this is the reality, sum up peoples should determine their own way, using their own electoral right but of course not in dirty election.

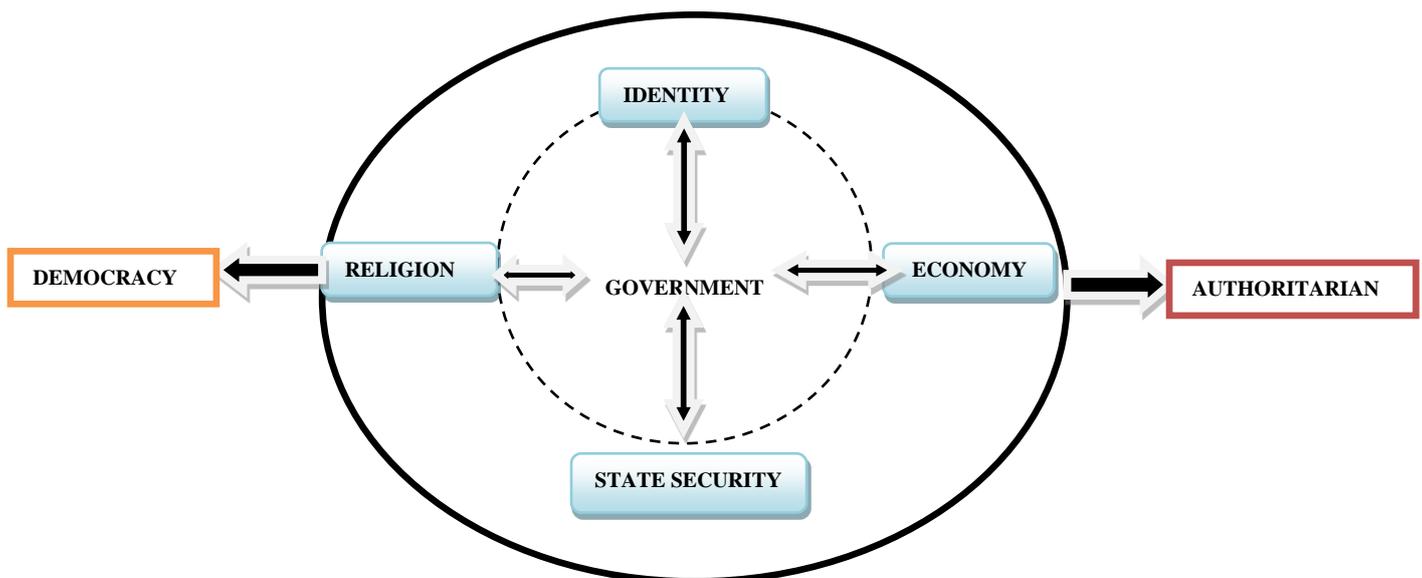


Figure 1.1: Relation between Four Factors

Source: Designed by Author

According to researcher, these four factor is directly related of the future of countries, its mean; for example how does political regime type affect economic development or state security or identity or religion that most countries suffer from it , with this, people should determine their own way, which way can help much, to the future of countries; democracy or authoritarian rule, these four important situation, directly affected countries freedom, un freedom, development, un development ,peoples happiness or sadness, good or bad leaders, all are related with these four situation, this is the main point of my article. However previous researches show democracy has positive impacts on gross domestic product (GDP) growth has been gaining momentum through some empirical and theoretical studies. Acemoglu et al. (2014) suggest that democracy has a significant and robust positive effect on GDP. They add that democratization increases GDP per capita by about 20 per cent in the long run. Persson and Tabellini (2007) suggest that abandoning democracy can cause negative growth effects. On the other hand, according to the developmental state theory, the quality of an institution which leads to economic growth is not

consistent with democratic quality (Wade and Haggard, 1990) for some additional information about East Asia, for example see Johnson (1982), Amsden (1989) and Woo (1991). In some East Asian countries, including South Korea and Taiwan, strategies for economic growth were aimed at controlling institutions efficiently in order to allocate capital and resources according to the government's objectives. (Johnson, 1982); (Amsden (1989) and Woo (1991)) Democracy and human rights were mobilized in implementing these strategies with the goal of achieving economic growth. By persuading citizens to focus primarily on economic growth, developmental states created an atmosphere in which sacrificing personal freedom could be justified. Moreover as Barro (1996) argues, examples of autocracies which have increased economic freedom include the Pinochet regime in Chile and the Fujimori government in Peru. The point, though, made by advocates of the compatibility thesis is democracy is more likely to be conducive to promoting economic freedoms than authoritarianism because the political legitimacy and therefore long term survival of a democracy depends on maintaining economic rights. In addition, the military officers that staged the 1960 coup sought to build a "healthy democracy" and effect a "more balanced economic growth" by making the previously excluded rural classes a more meaningful and effective part of Turkish politics. Social reform, especially in rural areas, came to the political fore only after the 1960 coup, for which Ozbudun credits the ruling military leaders. (Ozbudun, 2009: 26-94) The ruling military also provided impetus, as a means of progress and democratization, to economic development as well as social progress and stability (Karpat, 2013: 267 at 108)

The other discussion is about state security or on the other hand militarization for example, "Turkey and Portugal, which respectively underwent democratic coups in 1960 and 1974 and resulting constitutional entrenchment by their militaries, both established consolidated democracies. Portugal removed the military's prerogatives from its constitution by amending it only six years after the end of the coup. And buoyed by its candidacy to the European Union in the early 2000s, Turkey amended its constitution to chip away at the military's constitutional entrenchment. And still waiting for the candidacy to the European Union" (Varol, 2013:32 at 322)

Moreover, the fragile one is, religion when we see political leaders appealing to one religious group to the detriment of another, or when we see religious authorities claim to speak for "all" people, we often wonder if a thriving democracy might not require the elimination of religion from public life entirely. Even in the most secular of democracies, however, a more careful reckoning of religion's public role can bring to light not only potential anti-democratic factors but potential pro-democratic forces. Several Muslim-majority countries including Indonesia, Senegal, Turkey, and most recently, Tunisia have been able to construct and sustain democratic governments, but recent statistical analyses show that the higher the proportion of a country's population that is Muslim, the higher its propensity to autocratic government. For example on 16 April, Turkish voters approved a package of constitutional reforms in a referendum, centralizing power in the office of the president. The amendments will give President Erdoğan the power to appoint and dismiss government ministers, pick judges, enact legislation by decree, and draft state budgets. Potentially, they could allow him to stay in power until 2029. Democracy is understood as a consequence of the dominant collective position regarding the fundamental social equalities and freedoms and hence as a complex system of entitlements and their borderlines.

2. DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Peace at home and peace in the world

Democracy is the most valued and also perhaps the vaguest of political concepts in the modern world. A democratic transition refers to the experience of many countries in the last decades of the 20th century as they moved from some form of non-democratic government to liberal democracy, often very quickly. (Roberts, 2003: 136)

The Turkish right has been dominant in Turkish politics since the first free elections were held in 1950, in 2002 the JDP on of the successors of the religious right gained an overwhelming majority with 363 seats in the 550 member parliament. Its victory was partly the result of past failures of all center-right and center-left political parties to cope with Turkey's major economic and political problems. JDP leaders see the JDP as a conservative democratic party like the Christian Democratic Parties of Western Europe. In this respect they claim to have to mission of combining Islamic values with both democracy and modernity. In the JDP program, democratization, economic liberalization, and Turkey's EU membership are therefore given priority.



2.1. Democratic Transition under Military 1946-1960

The transition from autocracy to democracy is a difficult process: most countries have achieved it to the accompaniment of revolution, terrorism and bloodshed. Turkey is one of the rare cases where the transformation has taken place in an orderly way without any violent upheaval. Where else in history has a firmly entrenched authoritarian single party peacefully handed over power to another party, as a result of free elections held under its own supervision. This is what happened in Turkey in 1950. The reason it could happen was that the ground for democracy had been slowly prepared during a hundred years by successive reforms, but even more because the foundations of the Turkish social structure were favorable.

Between 1946 and 1960, Turkey had a typical two-party system. The two main contenders were the Republican People's Party (RPP) and the Democratic Party (DP). In the 1961 elections following the first military intervention (during which the DP was banned), the former DP vote split three ways and no party obtained a majority. In the 1950 elections, the Democratic Party enjoyed a landslide victory and won the majority of seats in the National Assembly, surprising many, especially the Democrats themselves. Their leader, Adnan Menderes, became Prime Minister and his peaceful transition to power marked the beginning of a competitive political system in Turkey.

The first rupture was the transition to parliamentary democracy in 1945–1950, and since then, Turkey's modernization entailed a significant reference to the question of democratization. Despite frequent regime breakdowns and significant democratic deficits, the history of modern Turkey has been, and today remains as, a process of modernization with democratization since 1950.

The Democrat Party was founded in 1946 by RPP members who were dissatisfied with the authoritarian style of the RPP but who otherwise supported the party's Kemalist principles. The DP emphasized the need to end various restrictions on personal freedom so that Turkey could become a democracy. Reform of laws governing political parties and electoral activities measures that would enable the DP to compete on an equal basis with the RPP were enacted prior to the 1950 parliamentary elections. Consequently, those elections were the first free ones since the founding of the republic in 1923. The DP won a large majority of seats in the assembly and thus took over the government from the RPP. The Democrat Party then governed Turkey until 1960, when growing economic problems and internal political tensions culminated in a military coup. The DP retained control of the government throughout the 1950s, a period during which it enacted legislation that restricted news media freedom and various civil liberties. As the DP steadily became less tolerant of dissent, the RPP gradually moved in the opposite direction, abandoning its authoritarian stance and becoming an advocate of civil rights. The DP's efforts to suppress opposition to its policies provoked a political crisis that culminated in the May 1960 military coup. A new constitution was written, and civilian government was reinstated with the convening of the Grand National Assembly (GNA) in 1961. This constitution established a National Security Council (NSC) composed of the president; the prime minister and other key ministers; the Chief of the Turkish General Staff; and representatives of the army, air force, and navy.

2.2 Democratic Transition under JDP Government 2002-2016

The election of the JDP into power led to a new phase in Turkish politics, marking the opportunity for democratic consolidation. During the JDP's first term, the government concentrated on fulfilling its promises made in the 2002 elections. The party prioritized economic growth to deliver Turkey from its major financial crisis in 2001. Incorporating the economic policies outlined by Kemal Derviş (who is a Vice President and Director of the Global Economy and Development Brookings Institute) and sanctioned by the IMF, the government carried out large privatization schemes, kept inflation and the budget deficit low, and successfully attracted foreign direct investment. He is in 2001-2002, as Minister of Economic Affairs and the Treasury of Turkey; Derviş was responsible for launching Turkey's successful recovery from a devastating financial crisis. However, Recep Tayyip Erdogan was the former mayor of Istanbul, JDP unlike of National Salvation Party and Welfare Party having drawn lessons from the history of Islamist parties managed to present itself as being pragmatic but socially conservative. The JDP because of the focused immediate needs of Turkish people won the elections of 2002 with 34.3 percent of the vote (Rodriguez et al., 2013:60-61) However, during the JDP's first term economy grew an average 6.8 percent per year with exports increasing from \$45 billion to \$107 billion (Gumuscu and Sert, 2010:58)

The JDP's main goal, however, was to obtain EU membership, and thus the government took major steps to consolidate democracy. In order to harmonize Turkish law with EU norms, the JDP made constitutional amendments for a total of 42 articles in the Constitution, improving the protection of fundamental rights,

bolstering the rule of law, and limiting the military's role in government by reforming the National Security Council. (Zihnioglu, 2013:114)

The constitutional amendments made in 2004 were one of the most significant steps in Turkey's liberalization and democratization process. The amendments completely abolished the death penalty, strengthened gender equality, recognized international human rights norms, and abolished the controversial state security courts. (Zihnioglu, 2013:66)

In 2007, the re-elected JD Party focused on the headscarf ban first; it meant he would use his democratization effort for religious freedom. The JDP also failed to the rights of minority groups, moreover JD Party that cannot meet the needs of minorities, using his own democratic way he started to follow an Islamic path, this situation criticized by many of nongovernmental organization. However, after the opening of EU accession negotiations in 2005, progress decelerated, leading to a loss of reform momentum, Cyprus issue, which strongly protect by Greece government was the most important issue that EU memberships such as Germany and France suggested suspended the negotiation talks. This seriously blocked progress and resulted in Turkish perceptions that the EU was treating them unfairly because of the EU's desires to remain a "Christian Club." This undermined the credibility of the EU's conditions, causing the JDP to turn inwards to consolidate its own power base. As a result, Turkey's domestic reform impetus has stalled, declining enough to start showing signs of democratic backsliding (Kubicek, 2012:43)

2.2.1 Cyprus Issue

Cyprus has 1.1 million inhabitants, about 78 percent are Greek Cypriots (most of them Orthodox Christians) and about 18 percent are Turkish Cypriots (most of them Sunni Muslims). The country has three officially recognized Christian minorities .Maronites, Latins (Roman Catholics) and Armenians and a small Roma, or Gypsy, community.

It is home to the longest-serving peacekeeping mission in United Nations history. It has been called a diplomatic graveyard, having frustrated generations of negotiators. It has been compared in complexity and duration, not bloodshed.

Cyprus came under British control in the late 19th century, during the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Many Greek Cypriots supported the political union of all Greeks living under Turkish rule within a sovereign Greek nation, while many Turkish Cypriots favored a partition of the island between Greece and Turkey.

In the late 1950s, a guerrilla group, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters, rebelled against British rule. As Cyprus slid toward war, the United States and Britain feared that the conflict could open the door to Soviet dominance in the eastern Mediterranean. Archbishop Makarios, the longtime Greek Cypriot leader, agreed to independence as an alternative to union with Greece. The new country's Constitution, ratified on Aug. 16, 1960, provided for a Greek Cypriot president, a Turkish Cypriot vice president, and a Civil Service 70 percent Greek Cypriot and 30 percent Turkish Cypriot.

Britain, Greece and Turkey pledged to maintain the "sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence" of Cyprus, and Britain kept two sizable military bases there. But after Archbishop Makarios, as president, proposed amendments to the Constitution, fighting between the two communities broke out. Turkish Cypriots say their side was expelled from the government; Greek Cypriots say Turkish Cypriots left the government to form a parallel administration.

The pivotal year was 1974. That summer, the leader of Greece's military junta, which controlled a guerrilla group in Cyprus, ousted Archbishop Makarios, who went into exile. Turkish officials believed that a Cypriot union with Greece was imminent. In July, Turkey invaded to protect Turkish Cypriots. The junta in Greece collapsed, but during talks Turkey sent in a second wave of troops in August, overrunning the north. Turkish settlers also descended on the north, while about 160,000 Greek Cypriots were displaced.

The disagreements affect key issues, including the return of displaced Cypriots and the handling of their property, repatriation of Turkish settlers, and demilitarization of the island and the future role of Greece, Turkey and Britain. For most Greek Cypriots, a new federation means two tightly linked federal units, neither defined mainly in ethnic terms; for many Turkish Cypriots, maintaining control over a strongly autonomous region is key,

However, For Turkey, the Cyprus problem has not been an ordinary foreign policy issue since its inception. Defined as a 'national cause', it had clear repercussions on the power struggle in Turkey between the parties of status quo and change in domestic politics and foreign policy. It has been affecting not only Turkey's relations with the EU but also the internal dynamism of Turkish democracy because of its high nationalist resonance used by the hardliner circles in Turkey as a populist tool. As Adamson underlines,



the Cyprus issue, as an extremely sensitive issue deriving support from all sectors of the political spectrum, hitherto served for the political elites in Turkey since its inception from the early 1950s onwards to the same purpose of inciting nationalism, populism and in the end diverting the attention of the public from domestic social and economic problems (Adamson, 2001:227-303)

As it can be seen, Cyprus issue is politically held and it is an undesirable place to meet the solution consciously.

2.3 Turkey Foreign Policy EU

The changes and alignments in Turkey's foreign policy to the European lines are closely related with the country's broader transformation and democratization under the pressure of the EU accession process.

The inherent linkage between democratization and transformation of foreign policy throughout the European integration process, however, analyzing the transformation of Turkey's foreign policy requires us also to address a dilemma that democratization in the process of acceding to the EU has different dynamics than the democratization process itself (Olsen, 2002:921-952) As Oguzlu argues, democratization along the EU accession process requires both the establishment of democratic regimes in candidate states and the internalization of the EU's identity. (Oguzlu, 2004:97) In fact, being part of the EU would imply that candidate states formulate and implement foreign policies in harmony with the identity and interests of the EU. The EU, as an external anchor of democratization of the candidate country, is a party involved in this process. Its way of involvement would affect both the prospects of democratization in the candidate state and its ability to adapt to the EU's foreign policy identity. Therefore, the success of democratization along the EU accession in candidates, like Turkey, would be contingent on the nature of relations between these states and the EU. Here the likelihood that candidate states follow EU-oriented foreign policies would be dependent on the successful implementation of the democratization along the EU accession process. The more this process proceeds smoothly which greatly depends on the EU's way of involvement and the existence of membership as an attainable outcome particularly true for Turkey the more easily they would follow EU-friendly foreign policies. The democratization process itself and its impact on foreign policies would be strongly tied to the dynamics of relations with the EU (Grabbe, 2002:249-268)

Turkey's cooperative relationships with the EU would go in parallel to Turkey's democratization. Democratic Turkey would in turn adopt a more compromising style, a more multi-dimensional process and more EU oriented outcomes in its foreign policy. As the country gradually becomes more democratized, the participation of various societal groups in the foreign policy-making process would lead to the adoption of more cooperative attitudes towards other democracies. Regular EU reports on Turkey's progress towards establishing its 'Criteria' are not always positive. As the EU has said, for example, in the area of human rights: 'prosecutions and convictions for expressing non-violent opinions, and actions against newspapers illustrate that the Turkish legal system does not fully guarantee freedom of expression in line with European standards (Mattli, and Plümper, 2002: 520-574) But obstacles in the way of EU accession by Turkey are not simply the result of Turkey's failure, or delay, to implement the required measures, but are also the result of EU uncertainty about its own identity and purpose.

3. WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIAN REGIME

Democracy is the form of government in which, through the vote of the citizens, its representatives are elected, and who will defend their ideals and interests. Theoretically, in a "pure" democracy, the majority cannot be limited in any way and should always be able to impose itself over the minority. On the other hand, authoritarianism is a political regime in which power is exercised in an authoritarian way. This means that whoever represents the highest figure of authority in a state practices abuse of it. Forms of government such as dictatorship or fascism usually practice authoritarianism as a way of maintaining power over its citizens. It should be mentioned that a democracy could become an authoritarian government in certain cases; in theory oppose, in practice is something that could happen.

3.1 Dependent and Independent Variables

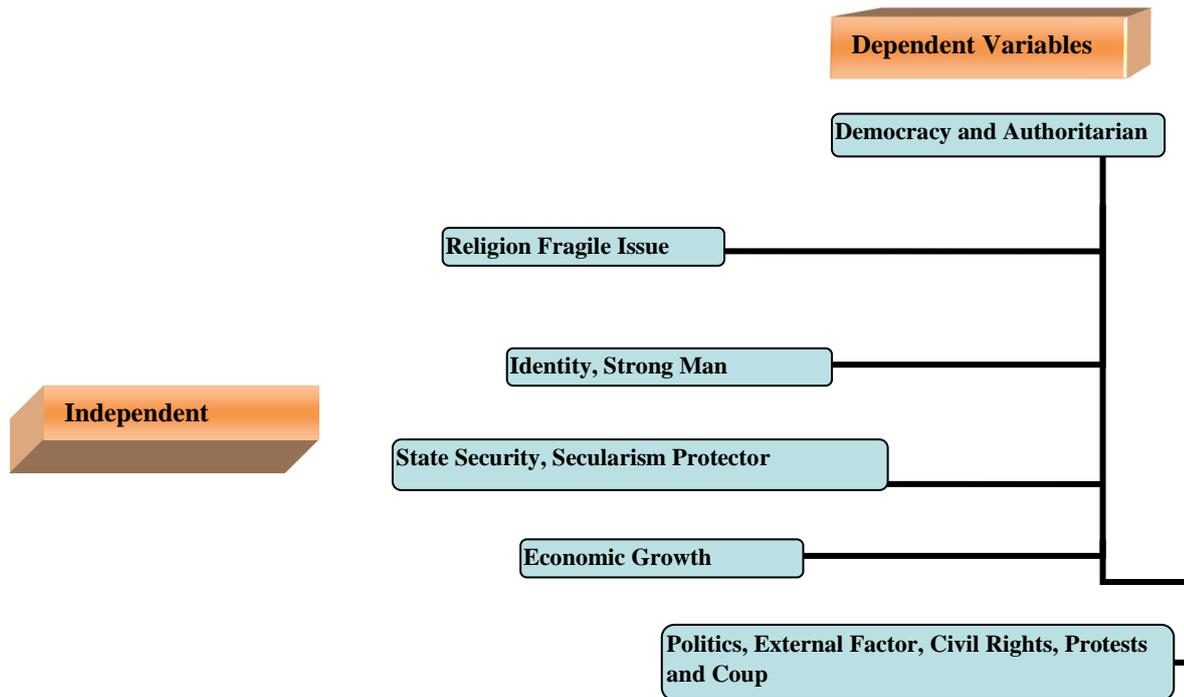


Figure 3.1: Dependent and Independent Variables

Source: Designed by Author

1946-1960 In the immediate postwar years, two major factors shaped domestic policy and economic performance. First, Turkey obtained access to Marshall Plan aid to Europe and U.S. bilateral assistance programs, which were partly based on defense considerations. The conditions of these foreign aid programs required, however, a shift in economic priorities away from industrial development and toward primary production, as called for by the newly emerging perceptions of the optimal division of labor in Europe. Second, against the backdrop of rising domestic discontent with one party rule, the government (under the second head of state, ismet inonu) initiated a change toward a multiparty parliamentary system. Given the intense preoccupation with political changes, a draft five-year plan was aborted and industrialization objectives were pushed aside in the late 1940 following a major exchange rate adjustment in 1946, government policies began to favor agricultural expansion and free enterprise. Average annual GNP growth rates have been estimated as 7.4 percent, 1.2 percent, and 7.9 percent for the periods 1923-38, 1938-48, and 1948-53, respectively. The rising domestic dissatisfaction, Turkey's switch to a multiparty parliamentary framework eventually culminated in the defeat of Inonu's Republican People's Party and a victory for the newly formed Democratic Party (DP) in the May 1950 general elections. The mass basis of the DP was rural conservatives. On economic matters, the DP's plan was not to plan. The Turkish economy expanded rapidly in the early 1950s with the help of a steep rise in agriculture output and primary exports. However, after the massive crop failure of 1954, the economy entered into a phase of foreign exchange stringency and reduced GNP growth, averaging around 4 percent per year during 1953-58. However DP rule in the 1950s stimulated broader political participation and improved the political status of the rural population. On the other hand, the DP governments became increasingly repressive in the face of mounting economic difficulties and rising political dissent by the urban elite. The end result was a tragic one for the top party leaders and came in the form of a complete military takeover in May 1960. Military rule was transitional and ended quickly after the adoption of a socially progressive constitution in 1961, which provided more checks and balances in the overall political process.

In 2002-2016 Following its severe financial crisis in 2001, Turkey enjoyed five years of rapid economic growth, driven in large part by structural changes, productivity growth and a broadening base of economic activity both geographically and socially. This process stopped and reversed itself, however, even as the foreign and the Turkish media were touting a new Turkish model immune to the "stop-go cycles" so characteristic of its economy in the 20th century. From about 2007 onwards, economic growth slowed significantly, as government spending became the mainstay of the economy, and productivity growth almost fully stagnated. Underpinning the sea change was likely the reversal of the productivity-enhancing

structural changes that had played a pivotal role in the previous five years.

Politics, External Factor Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe (from 1949) and NATO (from 1952), and has been a candidate country of the European Union since 1999, and has many other institutional links with Western-oriented multilateral bodies. All these are important links for its international relations. However the elections' effects on Turkey's foreign policy, including its relations with the United States, are difficult to predict. Turkey's reluctance to involve itself more directly in U.S.-led coalition efforts against the Islamic State organization (IS, ISIL, or ISIS) in Syria seems to stem largely from concerns expressed across the political spectrum regarding threats direct action may pose to Turkish security and economic interests. However, Turkey is an important player in some of the U.S.'s most important strategic arenas and interests, including resolution of the war in Syria, maintenance of the NATO alliance, and preservation of the territorial integrity of Iraq. Washington and Brussels both must recognize that Turkey's future as a stable democracy, and a reliable ally, is increasingly in doubt. Like the EU, the United States can use economic negotiations to support greater government accountability and transparency. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the U.S. and the EU offer an opportunity to increase free trade with Turkey as well. Turkey's customs union with the EU means that Turkey has a high stake in the outcome of the TTIP, but cannot participate in negotiations. Turkish business leaders and the government are rightly concerned that they not be ignored in the process. According to Freedom house special report; the U.S. government should: • Begin parallel negotiations with Turkey on a free-trade pact to accompany the U.S.-EU TTIP, and make transparency and accountability in the public procurement process and all business and financial dealings a central component of these negotiations.

Civil Rights, Freedom Some of independent newspapers and websites continue to operate; they face tremendous political pressure and are routinely targeted for prosecution. More than 150 media outlets were closed in the months after the attempted coup in 2016. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, a total of 73 journalists were behind bars as of December 2017, making Turkey the world's worst jailer of journalists for the second year in a row. Many more faced criminal charges. Government attempts to block news sites and other online information sources continued in 2017, most notably with a nationwide block on Wikipedia beginning in late April. The mainstream media, especially television, reflect government positions and routinely carry identical headlines.

Many Turkish citizens continue to voice their opinions openly with friends and relations, but more now exercise caution about what they post online or say in public. Not every utterance that is critical of the government will be punished, but the arbitrariness of prosecutions, which often result in pretrial detention and carry the risk of lengthy prison terms, is increasingly creating an atmosphere of self-censorship.

Turkey was never a full democracy in practice since the founding of the Republic That means the conditions for a democracy, fair elections where people can decide the future of their country, fundamental rights in labor law, equality before the law, religious freedom was set up and clearly protected in the constitution, but it could only fulfill the requirements of the basic rights and never the full democratic understanding.. Turkey can basically be called a democratic system, but it is not and has not been a full democracy, as a new example, with a referendum in favor for the presidential system, nothing has changed, the previous rights of a president were same worse and have almost made him a super power man. Sometimes it was the political leadership, sometimes the military or sometimes the judicative power bureaucratic oligarchy that made life difficult for us and interrupted democracy at times. Even democracy in Turkey is just like his geographical location, between Europe and Asia, or the culture that has both European and Asian, somewhere in between, sometimes squeezed between two chairs. But the good thing is that compared to many of the other autocratic countries of the world, Turkey has a long-lasting culture of democracy for which thousands of people have sacrificed their lives from left to right. And historically, and truly, it's only the workers who can introduce democracy, for it cannot be imposed either by a political elite or external forces.

Identity, Image of Leader Adnan Menderes (1946-1960) was a Turkish politician. He was the Turkish Prime Minister between 1950–1960 He was one of the founders of the Democrat Party (DP) in 1946, he was elected deputy of Kütahya in the 1946 elections. When the DP won 52% of the votes in the first free elections in Turkish history on 14 May 1950, Menderes became prime minister, and in 1955 he also assumed the duties of foreign minister. He later won two more free elections, one in 1954 and the other in



1957. During the 10 years of his term as prime minister, the Turkish economy is claimed to have grown at an unprecedented rate of 9% per annum over his 10 year administration, a feat which had and so far has not yet been duplicated. During his tenure, Turkey was admitted to NATO. With the economic support of the United States via the Marshall Plan, agriculture was mechanized; and transport, energy, education, health care, insurance and banking progressed. He was hanged by the military junta after the 1960 coup d'état, along with two other cabinet members, and he was the last Turkish political leader to be executed after a military coup.

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (2002-now) is clearly the most controversial figure in recent Turkish political history. His preponderance in political life is remarkable even by Turkish standards. Because Erdoğan is so powerful and has effectively weakened most internal checks on his power, any attempt to explain Turkey's recent foreign policy outcomes will be seriously lacking without considering his leadership impact. The dominant figure in Turkish politics had long dreamed of enshrining his authority through constitutional change, turning Turkey from a parliamentary to a presidential republic, scrapping the post of prime minister and consolidating his hold on the country.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan is one of the most astonishing yet enigmatic figures of current Turkish politics. Even in a country where the political culture is underpinned by dominant leadership, Erdogan's sway over the political process has reached a dramatic level rarely seen in modern Turkish political history. As many analysts can concur, no convincing analysis of current Turkish politics can proceed without coming fully to grips with the extent of the control Erdogan exerts over many of the country's political institutions (Yavuz, 2003:120)

Religious, Cultural, State Security Factors The maintenance of a secular state is one of the key issues on which the Turkish military is prepared to intervene in politics. Secularism is an important issue in countries where Islam is the majority religion, and many see it as a fundamental challenge to developing a modern democracy. For democracy requires that there is a separation between public and private spheres of life, whereas one widespread interpretation of Islam sees no room for such a division, the leaders of the current ruling party, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), who are under notice from the military about their religiosity, are nevertheless moderate Muslims who seem not to present a challenge to the modernization or democratization of Turkey.

Gezi Square and Police Brutality, Social Media on 30 may 2013, police cleared Gezi Park in central Istanbul of a small group of protestors opposed to its destruction. The denial of their right to protest and the violence used by the police touched a nerve and a wave of anti-government demonstrations swept across Turkey. While little progress has been made in investigating and bringing police officers responsible for abuses to justice, thousands of demonstrators have been detained; hundreds risk prosecution simply for organizing or attending the protests. Journalists, doctors and lawyers who documented the events, supported the protestors or defended their rights have been arrested, beaten, threatened and harassed, as the government has sought to silence and smear those speaking out against it. Moreover Government attacked social media companies and its users with the Prime Minister stating "There is a scourge called Twitter". Government statements suggested that they had received user information from Face book but not from Twitter forcing Face book to issue a statement denying cooperation with the Turkish authorities The Government later made a statement that it would require Twitter to open an office in Turkey and require it to cooperate on "universal crimes" including defamation. Government made further statements regarding [unspecified] plans to introduce a law to regulate social media and require cooperation to combat "defamation". Supposing, democracy or democratic government is a form of government wherein the people or citizens of a country have the freedom to choose their leaders and get involved in governance. Unlike a monarchy or oligarchy where an individual has absolute power or a small group of individuals have the power, a democracy is a government for and by the people. However, like all forms of government, a democratic government is not without benefits and setbacks. While officials are elected by the people, corruption is also one possible disadvantage of this type of government. Contraire wise, some scholars endorsed many of these measures as useful and productive, hypothesizing that there exists an "authoritarian advantage," particularly in the early stages of economic development. Samuel Huntington has argued that authoritarian regimes are more capable of rational, consistent, and responsible decision making than democratic ones, and that a participatory democracy affords special interest groups the power to block, delay or hinder changes that might be beneficial to the economic growth of the entire society. In addition, Huntington argues, democratic regimes face more political constraints than authoritarian ones in



imposing taxes or extracting high levels of savings through such devices as compulsory pension plans. ” (Huntington, 1968:448) It is not the case that a society must choose between democracy and little economic success or authoritarianism and greater wealth, In fact, the most authoritarian regimes have to impose the harshest measures on their societies while the more democratic regimes are finding they have an exceptional resource in the form of popular support and a readiness to sacrifice.

Gulen Movement A well-organized community of people not a political party named after the US based Islamic cleric Fethullah Gulen. He is regarded by followers as a spiritual leader and sometimes described as Turkey’s second most powerful man. The imam promotes a tolerant Islam which emphasizes altruism, modesty, hard work and education. The movement known in Turkey as Hizmet, or service runs schools all over Turkey and around the world, including in Turkic former Soviet Republics, Muslim countries such as Pakistan and Western nations including Romania and the US, where it runs more than 100 schools. Followers are said to be numerous in Turkey , possibly in the millions, and are believed to hold influential positions in institutions from the police and secret services to the judiciary and Mr Erdogan's ruling JD Party itself.

With their focus on Islamic values, Mr Gulen and his followers were natural allies for Mr Erdogan as he took power. He first used the Gulenists' bureaucratic expertise to run the country and then exploited their connections to get the military out of politics. In 2010, the big Sledgehammer case began, which led to 300 army officials being jailed for allegedly organizing an attempted coup in 2003. Most of the evidence against them was later found to have been fabricated. However In May 2016, the Turkish government formally declared the Gulen movement a terrorist organization.

To sum up, Democracy and Authoritarian rule are my Dependent Variables, Religion, Identity, Economy, State Security, Freedom, Civil Rights, and Coup and so on are my Independent Variables.

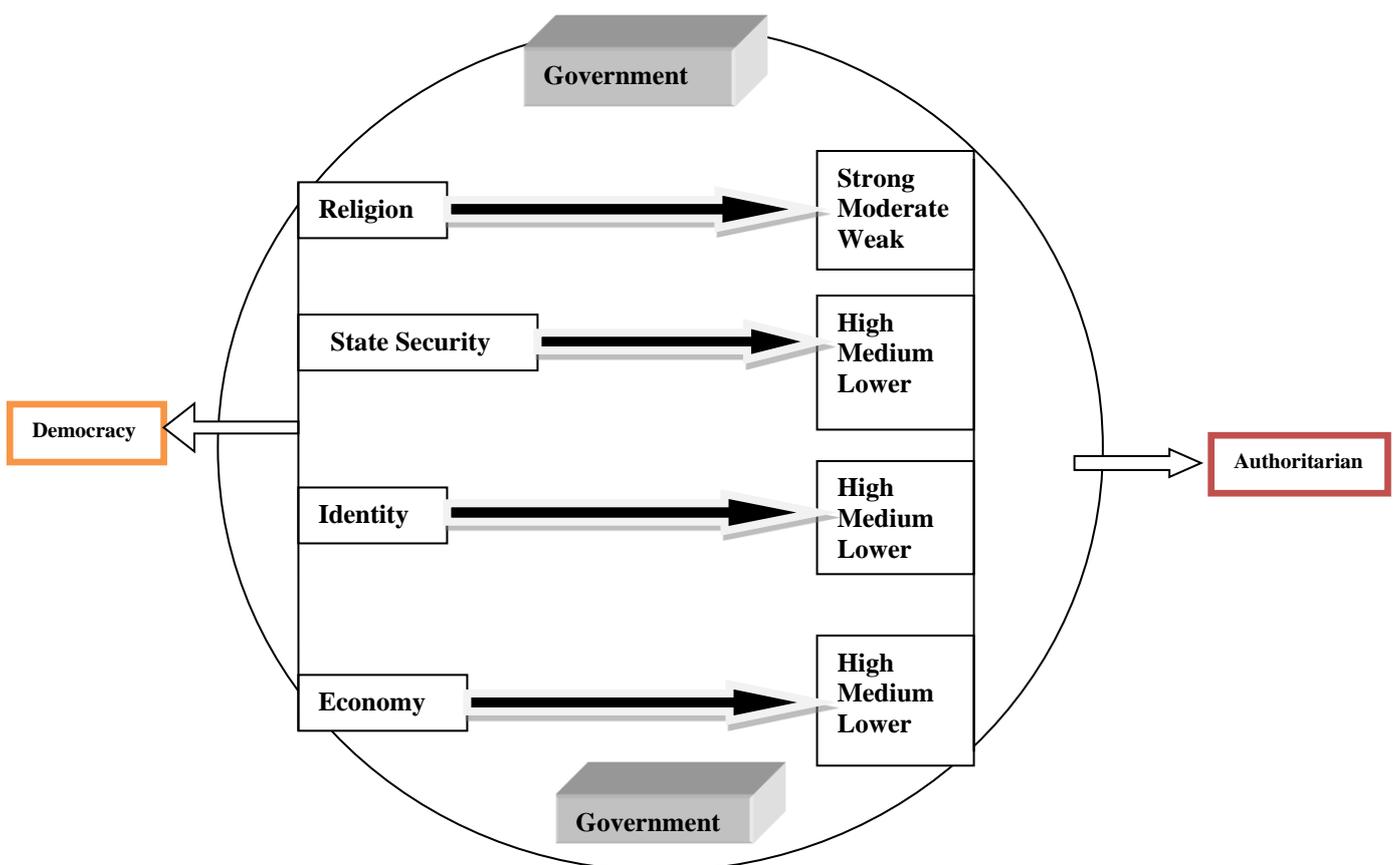


Figure 3.2: The Possible Relationships between the Variables
 Source: Designed by Author

All are related each other and strongly support both regimes rule thereby the future of countries that people or institutions should show poverty on. Identity it's means image of leaders for example how effect, religion believe of peoples, and how Turkish people attack to protect democracy and Atatürk ideas, moreover police brutally and following 15 July coup which Turkish people not yet very understand well. Does Turkish economy going to fail because of the strong man governor, does Turkish freedom especially media freedom, that very important for the development of countries, countries peoples, peoples thinking, and much more important than others is organization, I mean organization of institutions, organization of labor and so on? In addition, three fundamental factors are very important for modern develop democracy: free election, freedom or civil right and independent judiciary thus, the majority creates the dictatorship if it lacks of these three things.

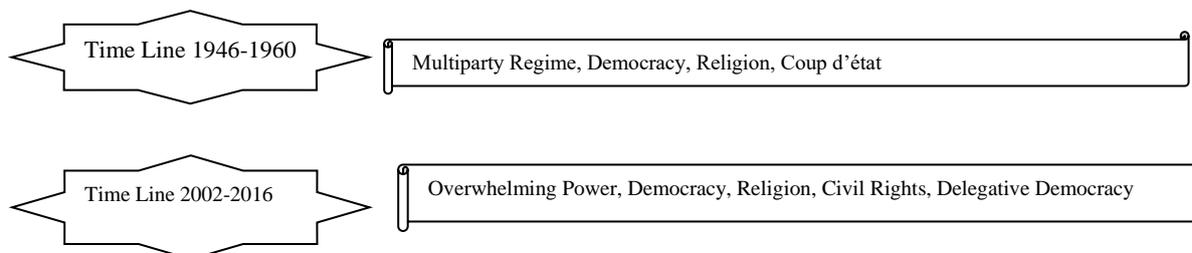


Figure 3.3: Comparison of Each Democratization and Their Crucial Factors

Source: Designed by Author

As seen after multi party system phenomenon of religion played a major role in democracy. The military coup in 1960 was to protect the values of democracy and Atatürk ideas. On the other hand, The JDP elected in 2002 came with democracy, human rights, equality and freedom but what is now appearing; Turkey's democracy is in crisis, Turkey going to delegative democracy, if Turkish people not a seriously take care of the democracy that going to loss, at the same time will lost his freedom after a short time. Political scientists have examined the effect of the economic growth on democracy. Most studies have found that economic growth generates demands for political right (Lipset, 1959; Bollen, 1979; Bollen and Jackman, 1985; Burkhart and Lewis-Beck, 1994). At one level, casual empiricism seems to also support the view that economic growth promotes democracy. As Gupta et al. (1998, pp. 589-590) note," all of the developed, industrialized nations have a democratic political system. In contrast, most of the nations in the poorest segment of the world community operate under various forms of non-democratic political system". However, this is not true in a blanket sense. Casual observation also suggests that economic growth does not necessarily bring about a demand for democracy. There are examples of authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia and the Middle East where citizens are willing to forego demand for political liberalization provided their economic needs are being met.

In these instance there is a good argument that it is only when the authoritarians government stops delivering on the economic front that there are calls for more political rights. An example is the fall of the Suharto regime in Indonesia following the Asian financial crisis when spiraling inflation and unemployment prevented Suharto from delivering in the economic sphere. Glasure et al. (1999) obtain results that are consistent with this view. Their finding suggest that in developing countries and newly industrializing countries economic development has a significant effect on democratic performance, but contrary to Lipset(1959) economic development leads to lower levels of democracy. Glasure et al. (1999, p. 475) conclude:" The sign reversal may stem from the possibility that as nations strive for economic development; the nations tend to trade off democracy for economic development"

For example 1997 Asian crisis show us authoritarian disadvantage authoritarians who have been hardest hit and to date have proven slowest to recover. Set aside the costs authoritarians impose in liberties denied. The real problem with the authoritarians' prescriptions is that they are bad for business. Authoritarian regimes do not inspire sustainable, rapid growth. In a propitious free trade environment with ample technology to borrow and huge investment from the twin transnational networks Pei described, it is quite possible to achieve high rates of growth from a low initial level. This can be done without the dubious benefits of authoritarianism.

As a result, Democrat Party in Turkey developed dodgy democracy, and they continued it until today, unfortunately Turkey attracts the penalty of it. In sum up according to all research, the true way is

democracy, for modern democracy development, the government should use all opportunity which obtains for its own people; this is very important point of the future of countries.

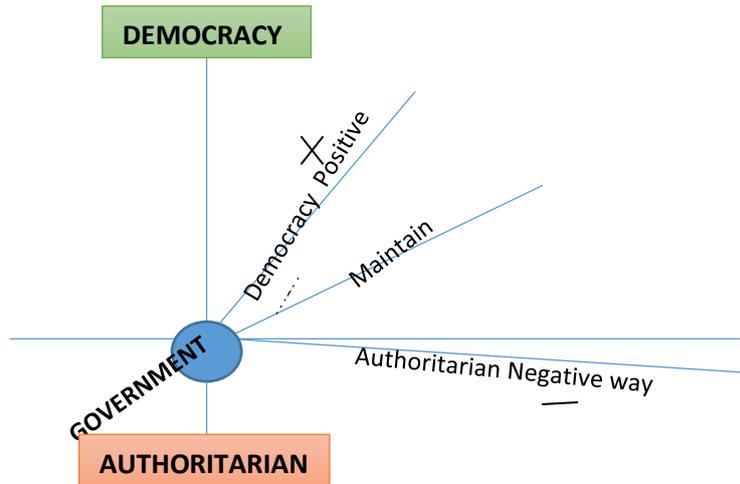


Figure 3.4: The Expectant Result of Research
Source: Designed by Author

The Democrat Party was founded in 1946 to oppose the ruling Republican People's Party, which had established the Turkish Republic and had remained in power from the founding of the Republic through 1950. Its founding members were all well respected figures in the CHP before breaking off and establishing the Democrat Party. For this reason, both political parties had ideologies rooted in Kemalism which prevented the DP from differing substantially in practice from its predecessor, although it held notable variances in platform (Feroz, 2003) the main differences in platform between the two lay in economic policy. While the CHP was guided by statism, the Democrat Party was more interested in privatizing state industries that had helped jump-start the Turkish Republic after World War I now that the country was no longer nascent.

Moreover, JDP is an Islamist political party in Turkey. Developed from the conservative tradition of Turkey's Ottoman past and its Islamic identity (the party is the largest in Turkey. Founded in 2001 by members of a number of existing conservative parties, the party has won pluralities in the six most recent legislative elections, those of 2002, 2007, 2011, June 2015, November 2015, and 2018. The party held a majority of seats for 13 years, but lost it in June 2015, only to regain it in the snap election of November 2015 but then lose it again in 2018.

Its electoral success has been mirrored in the three local elections held since the party's establishment, coming first in 2004, 2009 and 2014 respectively. The current party leader is Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the incumbent President of Turkey.

Table 3.1. Democratic Category of Some Countries and Religion

| Location | Democracy Index Score | Democracy Index Rank | Democracy Index Category | Freedom In The World Status | Type Of Government | Religion And State |
|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--------------------|
| Bangladesh | 5.43 | 92 | Hybrid Regime | Partly Free | Parliamentary Republic | State Religion |
| Brunei | | | Authoritarian Regime | Not Free | Absolute Monarchy | State Religion |
| Egypt | 3.36 | 130 | Authoritarian Regime | Not Free | Unitary Semi-Presidential Constitutional Republic | State Religion |
| Indonesia | 6.39 | 68 | Flawed Democracy | Partly Free | Presidential System | Secular State |
| Iran | 2.45 | 150 | Authoritarian Regime | Not Free | Unitary Presidential Constitutional Republic Subject To A Supreme Leader | State Religion |
| Saudi Arabia | 1.93 | 159 | Authoritarian Regime | Not Free | Islamic Absolute Monarchy | Islamic State |
| United Arab Emirates | 2.69 | 147 | Authoritarian Regime | Not Free | Federalism, Constitutional Monarchy | State Religion |
| Turkey | 4.88 | 100 | Hybrid Regime | Not Free | Parliamentary Republic | Secular State |

| Turkey Seen as Favoring Democracy in Middle East | | | | |
|--|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| %Favors democracy in Middle East | | | | |
| | Turkish Government | Saudi Arabia Government | U.S Government | Israeli Government |
| Turkey | 58 | 18 | 12 | 10 |
| Egypt | 78 | 67 | 37 | 6 |
| Jordan | 70 | 64 | 14 | 3 |
| Lebanon | 49 | 48 | 42 | 4 |
| Tunisia | 74 | 31 | 26 | 2 |
| Pakistan | 38 | 52 | 15 | 10 |
| Median | 64 | 50 | 21 | 5 |

Source: Pew Research Center Q72

| Which Is More Important | % Strong Economy | % Good Democracy |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Turkey | 37 | 58 |
| Lebanon | 46 | 53 |
| Egypt | 49 | 48 |
| Tunisia | 59 | 40 |
| Pakistan | 58 | 34 |
| Jordan | 61 | 33 |

Source: Pew Research Center Q120 a-d

4. CONCLUSION

The transformation of the Turkish political system from one-party authoritarian rule to multiparty democracy in the aftermath of the Second World War represents a major landmark in Turkey's modern political history. Thanks to DP Turkey seemed to take first steps for democratization. Since Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded the modern secular Republic of Turkey in 1923, the Turkish military has perceived itself as the guardian of Atatürkçülük the official state ideology. This is important degree of influence over Turkish politics and the decision making process regarding issues related to Turkish national security, albeit decreased in the past decades, via the National Security Council. Turkey has made the transition to democracy four times (first in 1950, second in 1961, third in 1973, and fourth in 1983), that Özbudun argued but repeatedly failed to achieve democratic consolidation. Similarly, McLaren (2008) copied the same conceptual framework while trying to assess the reasons why Turkey, unlike Spain and Italy, has failed to achieve democratic consolidation. Turkey has never been a picture-perfect democracy at any point in its 90-year-long existence. The political opposition in Turkey is no small ragtag group but instead is backed by nearly half of the population.

Since Erdoğan came to power, thousands of new mosques have been built. Tens of thousands more students are attending religious schools than there were in 2002 when Erdoğan came to power, according to the Education and Science Workers' Union of Turkey. From his early beginnings campaigning for Islamist causes to leading NATO's second largest military as the president of Turkey but it wasn't long ago that Turkey was seen as a model democratic state in the Islamic world. And therein lays the problem. Turkey was secular. It was never Islamic. Before somebody decided it should be a model for the 'Islamic world'. And current issues worldwide just show that religion and politics should never ever mix. Herewith, we should all head towards secularism, for better life, more freedom, human rights and so on.

One of the rewards of living in a democratic state or country is the freedom to elect representatives and leaders they prefer through an electoral process. Moreover, they are given the right to decide, by way of voting, on issues in politics, economics and social. As for electing the president who makes significant and major decisions, the people also have the right to vote the right candidate for them.

In a democracy, elected officials cannot stay in power for as long as they want because they bound by the constitution wherein they have to end their terms in office. In the United States, for example, presidential elections are held and the president can only run for two terms, with a total of eight years. Consequently, no one can be in power for a long time just like in a dictatorship. In a democracy, there is equality among the citizens since anybody of legal age and a citizen of a country has the right to vote regardless of status, gender and religious affiliation. Citizens who are not satisfied with the government or are against a certain government policy can have an assembly and speak their minds.

Au contraire elected politicians will have access to budgets for government projects. Politicians who have supporters and friends who make contributions for election campaigns might feel indebted to these people and might give these so-called cronies favors in the future. One of the disadvantages to be thrown at democracy is the freedom not to vote. With the right to choose an individual's preference for a leader also is the right not to vote at all. Another disadvantage of having a democratic form of government is the fact that unlike in a monarchical form of government where decisions are made by one individual, this type of government follows protocol when it comes to decisions and law-making.

There is no perfect form of government all have its upside and downside. What is important is that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages in sum and after my all research; Turkey has made the transition to democracy four times but repeatedly failed to achieve democratic consolidation. The leaders Menderes, Erdoğan and Atatürk are often seen as opposing figures. For Atatürk's supporters it is a contrast between the modernizer and the reactionary, the pro-Western secularist and the anti-Western Islamist. Mr. Erdogan's method has decrease the confidence of public, in Turkish institutions, independency of central bank, and the falling of economic fall. Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, late Singapore Prime Minister, gave us an example from the Singapore School "I do not believe that democracy necessarily leads to development. I believe that what a country needs to develop is discipline more than democracy. Yet, the exuberance of democracy leads to indiscipline and disorderly conduct which are inimical to development" (Kuan, 1994:15)

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