

INSIGHT

T U R K E Y

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Talip Küçükcan

Marmara University

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Muhittin Ataman
Abant İzzet Baysal University

Kadir Üstün
SETA DC

Kılıç Buğra Kanat
Pennsylvania State University

MANAGING EDITOR
Ali Ünal, SETA

BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

Galip Dalay, SETA
Mehmet Özkan, SETA

ART DIRECTOR

Mustafa Fuat Er, SETA

SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER

Ümare Yazar, SETA

GRAPHIC DESIGN

Ferhat Babacan

PUBLISHER

SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research

EDITORIAL BOARD

Meliha Altunışık Middle East Technical University, **Ümit Cizre** Istanbul Şehir University, **Ali Çarkoğlu** Koç University, **Hatem Ete** Yıldırım Beyazıt University, **Metin Heper** Bilkent University, **Kemal İnat** Sakarya University, **İbrahim Kalın** Office of Public Diplomacy, **Şaban Kardaş** TOBB Economy and Technology University, **Fuat Keyman** Sabancı University, **Kemal Kirişçi** Brookings Institute, **Stephen Larrabee** RAND Corporation, **Ian Lesser** The German Marshall Fund, **Akira Matsunaga** Sasakawa Peace Foundation, **Basheer M. Nafi** Aljazeera Centre for Studies, **Ziya Öniş** Koç University, **Ergun Özbudun** Istanbul Şehir University, **Mesut Özcan** Center for Strategic Research, **Taha Özhan** SETA, **Walter Posch** SWP Berlin, **Tobias Schumacher** College of Europe, **Ömer Taşpınar** National Defense University, **Dmitri Trenin** The Carnegie Moscow Center, **Ramazan Yıldırım** Istanbul University

PRINTING HOUSE: Turkuvaz Matbaacılık Yayıncılık A.Ş., Akpınar Mah. Hasan Basri Cad. No: 4, Sancaktepe, 34885 / İstanbul

On behalf of SET VAKFI İktisadi İşletmesi (2008) owned by Taha Özhan / ISSN 1302-177X

All Rights Reserved.

Insight Turkey is a peer-reviewed journal indexed by the following databases and indexes: Bibliography of Asian Studies, Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO), EBSCO, Elsevier Bibliographic Databases, European Sources Online (ESO), GALE-Cengage, Gender Studies Database, Index Islamicus, International Bibliography of Book Reviews of Scholarly Literature in the Humanities and Social Sciences (IBR), International Bibliography of Periodical Literature in the Humanities and Social Sciences (IBZ), International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), International Political Science Abstracts (IPSA), Lancaster Index to Defence and International Security Literature, Left Index, Middle East & Central Asian Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies, Scopus, Social Services Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, World Affairs Online (WAO).

EDITORIAL OFFICE

Nenehatun Caddesi No: 66 GOP/Çankaya, 06700 Ankara/Turkey

Tel: +90.312.551-2100 • Fax: +90.312.551-2190

editor@insightturkey.com • www.insightturkey.com

Contents

FALL 2013 • VOLUME 15 NO. 4

Editor's Note

4

COMMENTARIES

Gezi Park Revolts: For or Against Democracy?

ATILLA YAYLA

7

Political Culture and National Identity in Conceptualising the Gezi Park Movement

TAHIR ABBAS

19

Ergenekon: An Illegitimate Form of Government

MARKAR ESAYAN

29

Democratization and Relations with the EU in the AK Party Period:
Is Turkey Really Making Progress?

PAUL KUBICEK

41

A New Challenge for Turkey: Civil War in Syria

NURŞİN ATEŞOĞLU GÜNEY

51

Military, Political Islam, and the Future of Democracy in Egypt

A. KADİR YILDIRIM

61

Insights for Egypt's and Tunisia's Islamists from Turkish Experience of Democratic Transition

AHMET UYSAL

69

ARTICLES

Euro-Turks in the Contemporary European Imaginary

RAYMOND TARAS

79

Constitutional Amendments Under the Justice and Development Party Rule

VAHAP COŞKUN

95

The Turkish Economy During the Justice and Development Party Decade

ERDAL TANAS KARAGÖL

115

Civil-Military Relations During the AK Party Era:
Major Developments and Challenges

MÜGE AKNUR

131

Turkey's Education Policy During the AK Party Era (2002-2013)

ZAFER ÇELİK and BEKİR S. GÜR

151

After Gezi: Moving Towards Post-Hegemonic Imagination in Turkey

ALİ MURAT YEL and ALPARSLAN NAS

177

Kyrgyzstan: In Search for Stability

Y. EMRE GÜRBÜZ

191

BOOK REVIEWS

Debating Security in Turkey: Challenges and
Changes in the Twenty-First Century

EBRU CANAN-SOKULLU

Reviewed by Mustafa Kibaroglu

207

Turkey's European Future: Behind the Scenes
of America's Influence on EU-Turkey Relations

NATHALIE TOCCI

Reviewed by Yaprak Gürsoy

210

The Emergence of Modern Istanbul:
Transformation and Modernisation of a City

MURAT GÜL

Reviewed by Esra Akcan

212

Reforming the European Union:
Realizing the Impossible

**DANIEL FINKE, THOMAS KÖNIG,
SVEN-OLIVER PROKSCH, and GEORGE TSEBELIS**

Reviewed by Senem Aydin-Düzgüt

215

A Muslim Mystic Community in Britain:
Meaning in the West and for the West

TAYFUN ATAY

Reviewed by Ali Murat Yel

217

Writing Muslim Identity

GEOFFREY NASH

Reviewed by Mohammad Siddique Seddon

219

Muslim Youth: Challenges, Opportunities
and Expectations

**FAUZA AHMAD and MOHAMMAD
SIDDIQUE SEDDON**

Reviewed by Dr. John Mattausch

221

Church, State, and the Crisis in
American Secularism

BRUCE LEDEWITZ

Reviewed by Laura R. Olson

223

Jews: The Making of a Diaspora People

IRVING M. ZEITLIN

Reviewed by Harvey E. Goldberg

225

Habermas and European Integration: Social and
Cultural Modernity Beyond the Nation-State

SHIVDEEP GREWAL

Reviewed by Ünal Eriş

227

Foreign Policy after Tahrir Revolution:
(Re)-Defining the Role of Egypt in the
Middle East

MEHMET ÖZKAN

Reviewed by Muzaffer Şenel

229

EDITOR'S NOTE

TALİP KÜÇÜKCAN

AS TURKEY prepares for local, presidential and general elections in the next two years, domestic and foreign policy issues are becoming central topics of public debate in the context of democratization, economic development, and regional stability.

Since the beginning of the Arab awakening and its aftermath, Turkey started to enjoy greater attention from international observers. Often, Turkey was touted as source of inspiration and an island of stability in turbulent waters. Democratic reforms, economic progress, diversification of its foreign policy relations and active engagement in regional politics are all frequently cited to explain how and why Turkey has a powerful potential role in the reconfiguration of regional power balance and restructuring of the Middle Eastern political culture.

Turkey's achievements were numerous: it struck a balance between Islam and democracy, raised the standards of human rights, empowered civilians over the military, through judicial and constitutional reforms, achieved economic success, and established closer relations with its neighboring countries. Once taboo issues such as the Kurdish question, rights of un-orthodox Muslims and non-Muslim minority citizens have been genuinely addressed.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan explicitly recognized the shortcomings of state policies towards the Kurdish citizens and apologized for state atrocities toward its own people in the past on behalf the Turkish state. Since 2002, The Justice and Development Party (the AK Party) governments introduced several initiatives to resolve deeply rooted political problems and conflicts in the country, including aggressive EU harmonization reforms culminating in 2005, a constitutional referendum in 2010, and more recently a democratization package in September 2013.

Announcement of the recent democratization and human rights package took place amidst claims that the AK Party government lost its reformist spirit, as its image was tarnished during the Gezi Park protests in May and June of this year. Handling of the Gezi Park demonstrations were extensively covered in the media and strongly criticized. However, promises of this new package indicated that the government was ready to listen to people and learn from its own mistakes.

In this special issue, *Insight Turkey* focuses on the AK Party decade with an emphasis on the transformation of domestic politics and challenges that the 'New

Turkey' still faces. The AK Party came to power in 2002 just a year after its foundation in the midst of economic and political crisis, solidly winning the 2007 and 2011 elections by a large margin. Now it is time to examine how and to what extent the AK Party left its imprint on Turkey's economy, society and, political realities following its electoral successes in Turkey. Cutting edge research and academic articles in this issue critically evaluate how the AK Party policies transformed the Turkish state and its domestic political environment. Moreover, the question is raised on whether the governments in the last decade were able to deliver what they promised in democratizing and de-securitizing the state ideology while empowering civilians to advocate more openly in the public arena. This issue of *Insight Turkey* will take a serious look at domestic politics in the last decade, but this will be just the beginning of this critical examination. *Insight Turkey* will continue to analyze the debate on foreign policy under the AK Party period in the next issue.

Commentators in this issue touch upon recent events that are unfolding in Turkey and the larger Middle East. In this context Gezi Park, the Ergenekon coup plot trial, Turkey-EU relations, civil war in Syria, and the future of democracy in Egypt and Tunisia are covered in the commentary section.

A Note on Editorial Change

As of this issue, I take over the editorial responsibility from İhsan Dağı who accepted a Fulbright fellowship at The School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in the USA. I would like to thank him for his tireless efforts in transforming *Insight Turkey* into a more critical and stronger policy journal. I would also like to thank Taha Özhan, the SETA President, for his unwavering support and confidence in the editorial team. With this issue Kılıç Buğra Kanat replaces Kıvanç Ulusoy as Assistant Editor who deserves many thanks for his contribution. A final note for our readers is that starting from this issue they can enjoy *Insight Turkey* on iPad. ■