Turkey: Muslim and Modern
SES279FS, TUR279FS
Fall 2014, Tuesday-Thursday 10:05-11:20
Social Science 105

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05 Languages Building
mustafa.tuna@duke.edu

Office Hours: Thursday 11:30–12:30 or by appointment (I mean this. If you need or want to see me shoot me an e-mail and we will figure out a time to meet.)

Course Description

As one of the promising economies of the world and, until recently, a model democracy for other majority-Muslim countries especially in the Middle East, Turkey has come under the spotlight in the past decade. In this course, we will study how the multiethnic and multiconfessional but Muslim-ruled Ottoman empire gave birth to a secular and Europeanized but still Muslim democracy, and we will examine the complexities of its Muslim modernity. The course should help you not only in developing an understanding of Turkey’s history, politics, and culture but also in starting to think about Islam’s encounter with the West in an informed way. No former knowledge of Turkey or the Turkish language is required.

Textbook

Flip to page 12 for course policies.
Week 1: Introduction

August 26 & 28

Where is Turkey?
Why does Turkey matter?
Who lives there?

“Did You Know?” (www.goTurkey.com)


Michael Rubin, “American Turkish Diplomacy and the Iraq War,” Turkish Policy Quarterly (Spring 2005).

TOTAL ~40

Week 2: Ottomans: Diversity and Religion

September 2 & 4

What was the ethnic and religious composition of the Ottoman Empire?
What place did Islam occupy in the Ottoman empire? What was the role of Sufi orders?
How did Islam in the Ottoman Empire look different from or similar to Islam in other empires?
How did the appearances of Islam in various parts of the Ottoman Empire differ?
Why would Mehmed II institute toleration in 15th c. while we need to wait for the late-18th c. to see the Russians and Austro-Hungarians to do the same?
Was toleration a goal for the Ottoman Empire?
What does “legibility” mean?
What is “dhimma”?
How did Ottomans prevent religious communal leaders from acquiring too much power?
What were main categories of societal organization in the Ottoman empire? (The list you might find in the reading is not exhaustive).
What did Sultan Abdulhamid II hope to gain by promoting pan-Islamism?

First Meeting Assignment


Second Meeting Assignment


Week 3: Encountering the West

How did Europe’s geographic discoveries impact the Ottoman Empire?
How did the Ottomans engage the West?
What were the initial implications of the technological breakthrough that European powers experienced during and after the industrial revolution for the Ottoman Empire?
Why did Napoleon come to Egypt, and what was the impact of his visit?
When did the Ottomans first realize their relative weakness vis-a-vis the West?
How effective were Ottoman military reforms?
Beyond military reforms, what else had to change? Administration? Social organization? Education? Culture? Religion?
How did Ottoman peasants experience the globalization of West European modernity?
How was their experience different from that in urban centers?
What kinds of pressures did the integration of global markets create in and for the Ottoman Empire?
Was there industrialization in the Ottoman Empire? To what degree?
Could the Ottoman Empire avoid the consequences of globalization?

First Meeting Assignment

Textbook, 21-90.


Second Meeting Assignment


TOTAL 69
9
16
94

Week 4: Politicizing Religious Differences

Did the rise of the West affect the Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire in similar ways?
What were the main differences between Muslims and non-Muslims in their interaction with Western powers?
What were the capitulations and why were they granted? What was their long-term consequence?
Why were European powers interested in the non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire?
What is nationalism? Where does it come from?
Was Turkish nationalism a self-defeating cause?
What were the demographic movements that concentrated Muslims in Anatolia?

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<tr>
<td><strong>Textbook:</strong> 93-132.</td>
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**TOTAL 87**

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**Week 5: Empire to Nation-State**

*September 23 & 25*

How and when did the Ottoman Empire disintegrate?
What mobilized Anatolian peasants against invading Greek armies?
Who founded the new Republic?
Who manned the new republic’s cadres?
What was the legacy of the Ottoman Empire for the Republic of Turkey?
How did Mustafa Kemal become Republican Turkey’s symbolic as well as political icon, Atatürk, “the Father of Turks”?

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<tr>
<td><strong>Textbook:</strong> 133-65</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Robert G. Landen,</strong> “Kemal Atatürk on the Abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, 3 March 1924,” in <em>The Modern Middle East: a Sourcebook for</em></td>
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**TOTAL**

Turkey: Muslim and Modern – 4
Week 6: Building a “Secular” Nation

September 30 & October 2

How and why did the Republic of Turkey abolish the caliphate?
How does the Turkish model of secularism differ from Western models?
Which religious institutions defined Anatolian peasants’ experience of Islam?
Why did the Republican state close some of these institutions and centralize others?
Why did Turkish peasants not resist the state’s secularizing policies?
Could Islam be a part of Turkish nationalism?

First Meeting Assignment

Textbook: 166-205.

Second Meeting Assignment

Walter Woodburn Hyde, “How Ancient History is Taught in Turkish Schools,” in School and Society, 1933 37(July-December), 89-92 and 709.

TOTAL 91
Week 7: Democratization

October 7 & 9

Why did the Republican People’s Party choose to hold multi-party elections?
What made the Democratic Party so popular?
Why did the army topple the Democratic Party and hang its leader?
Why have Turkish army officers tended to identify Islam as a threat to the Turkish Republic?
Why have Turkish army officers been able to organize coups d’état?
Why have political parties with an Islamic message had a larger following in Turkey?

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<tr>
<td><em>Textbook:</em> 206-240.</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Turkey: Martinet [Death of Atatürk],” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 11.21.1938.</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Turkey: the Land a Dictator Turned into a Democracy,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 10.12.1953.</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Turkey: the Impatient Builder,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 02.03.1958.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ash Daldal, “The New Middle Class as a Progressive Urban Coalition: the 1960 Coup d’Etat in Turkey,” in <em>Turkish Studies</em>, 2004 5(3): 75-100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Turkey: Message to a Son,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 09.29.1961.</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Turkey: the People’s Choice,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 06.06.1960.</td>
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Fall Break

October 10-15

Week 8: Bureaucratization and Military Tutelage

October 16, Thursday

Who governed Turkey in the 1960s and 70s?
Could the Turkish people influence government policies beyond democratic voting?
How?
Why were Turkish officers so eager to intervene in politics yet willing to leave government to elected civilians?
What were the main political movements/parties in Turkey since the 1960s? How would you evaluate their legacy?
How did the Cold War affect Turkish politics?
What do “Left” and “Right” mean in Turkish politics?

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<td><em>Textbook:</em> 241-306.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Watch “Beynelmilel”</td>
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Week 9: Social and Economic Transformation

October 21 & 23

What factors led to Turkey’s urbanization bursts in the 1960s and especially the 1980s? How did TV, telephone, and the Internet become a part of everyday life in Turkey? How have the shopping preferences/options of Turkish citizens changed since the 1950s? What social and cultural consequences of urbanization can we observe in Turkey? How did changes in Turkey’s demographics, communications, and exchange patterns affect expressions of Islam?

Turkey: Muslim and Modern – 7
Week 10: The New Republic’s Others: Islamic Education and the Headscarf Issue

October 28 & 30

Why did the Turkish government open *imam-hatip* schools in the 1950s?
Why have many Turkish parents sent their children to imam-hatip schools, i.e. schools that train men and women of religion?
Are imam-hatip schools linked to Islamic political activism in Turkey?
Why did the Turkish army want to close imam-hatip schools in the late 1990s?
What leads some Turkish women to wear the headscarf while others do not?
Why was the headscarf not a big problem for the Turkish government until the 1970s and especially the 1980s?
And why did the headscarf continue to be such a controversial issue in contemporary Turkey (possibly) until recently?

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<tr>
<td>Watch “Turkish Women Unveiled.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Turkey at Odds over Headscarf Ban,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 02.08.2008.</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Turkey Upholds College Scarf Ban,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 06.05.2008.</td>
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**TOTAL** 74
Week 11: The New Republic’s Others: Kurds and Alevites  

November 4 & 6

Who are the Kurds?
Why did the Kurds support the Turkish independence movement after WWI?
How did the Kurds fit into the Republican national project? Or did they not fit?
Who are the Alevites? Did they or did they not fit into the Republican national project?

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<tr>
<td>Vernon Schubel, &quot;When the Prophet Went on Miḥrāb He Saw a Lion on the Road: The Miḥrāb in the Alevi-Bektaşi Tradition,&quot; in <em>The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-Cultural Encounters with the Islamic Miḥrāb Tales</em>, ed. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 330-43</td>
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<th>Second Meeting Assignment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Watch “I Saw the Sun.”</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>This is an ongoing issue. Expect some additional postings from the news.</em></td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong> 88</td>
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Week 12: Islamic Movements  

November 11 & 13

How did Muslim Turks preserve their religious sensitivities in the Republican period?
What were the channels that enabled the transmission of religious knowledge in Turkey in the Republican period?
How effective are Sufi orders in the lives of contemporary Turkish Muslims?
How did Islamic movements emerge? Are there precedents to them in Ottoman history?
How effective are Islamic movements in the lives of contemporary Turkish Muslims?
How modern are Islamic movements?

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<th>First Meeting Assignment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Brian Silverstein, “Sufism and Modernity in Turkey: from the Authenticity of Experience to the Practice of Discipline,” in <em>Sufism and the ‘Modern’ in</em></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Turkey: Muslim and Modern – 9
**Week 13: Islam in Power?**

*November 18 & 20*

Was Islam ever completely excluded from governance in Turkey?
What would “Islam in power” mean in the Turkish context?
What brought the Justice and Progress Party to power at the beginning of the 21st century?
What would be the class origins of Islamic revival in Turkey?
How do the Islamic origins of the Justice and Progress Party affect Turkey’s prospects for being accepted to the European Union?
How would you explain the recent/current tensions between the political and non-political strands of Islamic movements in Turkey?

**First Meeting Assignment**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Page</th>
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<tr>
<td>“Victorious—and Banned,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 10.10.2002.</td>
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<td>“Islam and the Presidency in Turkey,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 05.25.2007.</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Turkey Showdown Averted, For Now,” in <em>Time Magazine</em>, 06.30.2008.</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>“This Decade Filled with Growing Economic Prosperity,” in <em>Today’s Zaman</em>, 01.25.2010.</td>
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**Second Meeting Assignment**

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<th>Article</th>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander Murinson, “The Strategic Depth Doctrine of Turkish Foreign Policy,” in <em>Middle Eastern Studies</em>, 2006 42(6): 945-64.</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>“Tensions Escalate over Israel Raid on Gaza Aid Flotilla,” <em>Time Magazine</em>, May 31, 2010.</td>
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<td>“Israel and Turkey revive hostilities over the UN flotilla report,” <em>Time Magazine</em>, September 02, 2011.</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Erdogan blames outside forces for Turkish corruption scandal,” <em>Financial Times</em>, December 21, 2013.</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
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**Week 14: Movie**

“I Saw the Sun”

**Thanks Giving Break**

*November 25 (10:30 pm)-December 1*

**Week 15: Democratization?**

*December 2 & 4*

⇒ Essay Week. ⇐

Since this is the last week, I will not pose questions in advance but leave the week relatively open for the discussion of current events.

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<tr>
<td>Skim “Gezi Park Protests,” <em>Amnesty International Report</em>, 2013</td>
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COURSE POLICIES

Screen Policy

I not only allow but also ask you to bring your computers and tablets to class, because 1) I want you to use digital copies of your readings, 2) I believe that actively searching for information as we think together in class is a good thing, and 3) I like it when you pull out a piece of information from the Web that challenges or contradicts me.

However, non-course-related material have a persistent tendency to pop up on student screens during class hours. This is not only a distraction for the student whose screen mysteriously surfs the internet without his/her consent but also disturbing to the professor who is trying to communicate with the student. It is very easy to notice when a student’s attention moves on to those creepy websites, Facebook pages, e-mail messages, and so on. Screens take students to the la-la land: eyes get fixated on the screen, a smile or smirk moves facial muscles, and anxiety levels jump as the professor moves closer.

So, in order not to turn a beneficial thing into a distraction, annoyance, and possible “participation grade killer,” let it be known that nothing that is not directly related to the course is allowed on screens during class. If you are caught e-mailing, texting, chatting, surfing, or engaging in any other vice through your screens, not only will your screened gadget be confiscated for the rest of the class hour but also you will be subjected to the most horrendous torments that may include but are not limited to standing on one foot, flogging, pillory, and waterboarding.

Assignments and Grading

- Readings: The weekly required readings run around 80-90 pages on average. I expect you to read this material before the first class of each week. If you don’t think that you will manage to get through the entire material by Tuesday, read in the assigned order and make sure to at least skim what you cannot read with proper attention. “Proper attention” involves taking notes; do it! The success of our class, your ability to learn, and your grade at the end of the semester all depend on your effort to carefully do the readings. The readings in the syllabus are chosen to stimulate you to think about certain themes and questions. However, each class is unique, and depending on how the dynamics of this class unfolds, I may make changes to the syllabus. All required readings will be posted on Sakai under Lessons.

Treat this syllabus as your guide to the readings. Read and understand the study questions of each week before you start reading. Try to read in the order that readings are listed in the syllabus. First read the secondary source material and try to prepare yourself for understanding the following primary sources. Pay attention to page numbers. Sometimes, the file you will find posted on Sakai may have extra pages that you will not have to read.
• **Class Participation:** 20 % of the final grade – I strongly encourage you to attend classes, take notes, ask questions, and participate in discussions. You cannot participate if you don’t attend, but please note that attendance is not enough for a good participation grade. **If you do not have a legitimate excuse for not attending, each missed class will bring your final grade (not the class participation grade) down by half a grade after 4 missed classes regardless of whether the first 4 missed classes are legitimate or not.** Legitimate reasons for missing the class are “illness or other extraordinary personal circumstance, religious observance, and varsity athletic participation.” You have to notify me and your dean in each of these circumstances in writing (See attached memo for further info on this.). There is no other legitimate excuse to miss class, but if you do miss the class for other reasons, I still would like you to contact me and explain the situation.

• **Weekly Assignments:** 20 % of the final grade – Each week you will write an about 300-word response to the readings and post it on Sakai Blogs. This should be an analytical response that asks questions to the readings and suggests answers. I may not be able to give feedback to you on all of these responses, but I will do so as much as my time allows. This may feel onerous at the beginning, but my students in the past have usually reported that these responses were very helpful in stimulating them for class discussions, improving their writing skills, and learning in general. Just hold tight and you will rip the benefits.

• **Three Essays:** 45 % of the final grade (15 % each) – You will write three about 5-page (**1,500 words maximum**) essays in weeks 6, 10, and 15. I will post 3 questions on Sakai under Assignments on Wednesday in these weeks @ 3pm. You will answer one of those questions with an analytical essay and send answers to me by Friday @ 12:00 noon by e-mail **AND** in the Drop Box of the course page on Sakai. You can think of these as take-home exams. You don’t need to do extensive research and provide detailed references. If you do the readings and participate, you should be able to type up your essays within about three hours. **If you miss the deadline you will have to answer an additional question, and I will evaluate the second question over B maximum.**

• **Book Review:** 15 % of the final grade – I provide a list of books at the end of this syllabus. You can pick one of those titles or find something else that you find more interesting. In either case, make sure that you talk about your choice with me by week 12. I want you to read the book, make a good summary, and connect it to at least two of the major themes we have covered in class (We will talk about this in more detail later). Due by December 10th @ 12:00 noon by e-mail **AND** in the Drop Box of the course page on Sakai. **1,500 words minimum.**
SHOULD STUDENTS USE A LAPTOP IN CLASS?

Is it OK to use a smartphone in class, email an instructor, record a lecture? A professor offers lessons.

By Evan Selinger
Sept. 6, 2013 8:41 p.m. ET
http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887324577304579054922229616730

There's a widely shared image on the Internet of a teacher's note that says: "Dear students, I know when you're texting in class. Seriously, no one just looks down at their crotch and smiles."

College students returning to class this month would be wise to heed such warnings. You're not as clever as you think—your professors are on to you. The best way to stay in their good graces is to learn what behavior they expect with technology in and around the classroom.

Too much texting in the classroom could jeopardize your academic future, says R.I.T. Assoc. Professor Evan Selinger. So before you post that status update, keep in mind these tips.

Let's start with the million-dollar question: May computers (laptops, tablets, smartphones) be used in class? Some instructors are as permissive as parents who let you set your own curfew. Others are more controlling and believe that having your phone on means your brain is off and that relying on Google for answers results in a digital lobotomy.

Professors are united, though, in the conviction that the classroom is a communal space and that students share the responsibility for ensuring that nobody abuses it by diminishing opportunities to learn. An instructor who lets you squander your tuition by using class time to fuss with your iPhone is likely to have zero tolerance for distracting activities that make it hard for the rest of the class to pay attention.

One of my colleagues has resorted to a severe policy that he calls the "Facebook rule," which turns the classroom into a wild west of bounty hunters and social media outlaws. Students are encouraged to earn extra credit by busting classmates who use their computers for activities like social networking, shopping or gaming during his lectures.

Other professors prefer imposing the scarlet letters themselves. One colleague became so fed up with a student who played games whenever the class went to a computer lab that he installed speakers on the offender's machine. Halfway through the class, the speakers got turned on and everyone stared as the post-apocalyptic sound track started blaring.

Ultimately, rule-breakers are their own worst enemies. Students may be savvy enough to text the occasional query to partners-in-crime during exams. But it is only a matter of
time before the mute button isn't pushed and the whole class gets to hear your "I'm sexy and I know it" ringtone.

Emailing professors is another self-sabotaging land mine. Some instructors appreciate students who don't bother with formalities and shoot off quick, direct questions about an assignment or grade. Others, however, expect a formal greeting and sign off, and view the cut-to-the-chase approach as a rude affront that treats educational conversation like an automated customer-service call.

As for that funny personal email address you got because it seemed cool in high school, ditch it. Your note from lovetoparty@____.com is on a collision course with a spam folder. And if it does reach your professors, they may question your judgment and priorities. If you forget to include your name, you can expect a reply like: "Dear alwaysstoned@____.com, I guess we know the real reason you missed class."

To avoid the double whammy of irritating professors and peers at the same time, record classes only if you have explicit permission. Privacy concerns in the digital age extend beyond worries about sharing personal information. Complete transcripts of class discussions will make some peers feel like you're the NSA. And when a digital recording gets posted online, the whole class is at risk of having outside parties receive and misconstrue sensitive remarks. Recordings also make students self-conscious and less spontaneous, which ruins the free exchange of ideas.

As students consider how to use their devices in the classroom, they should remember, above all, that tuition merely gets them into the lecture hall. If they want college to culminate in life-changing courses, mentoring from dedicated teachers and compelling recommendations for the world after graduation, they will earn these things the time-honored way, with courtesy and hard work.

As for professors, we can make things easier for students by including detailed etiquette policies in our syllabi. Too many of us leave our likes and dislikes to be discovered by trial and error.

But even the most detailed code of conduct can't hope to specify or resolve every possible sticking point. Society writ large is constantly struggling to come to grips with technological disruption, and so too are the adults at the front of the college lecture hall and the wired, distracted young adults who are there to learn from them.

— Mr. Selinger is a professor of philosophy at the Rochester Institute of Technology and a fellow at the Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technology.
Book List for Reviews