International Journal of Social Science And Human Research

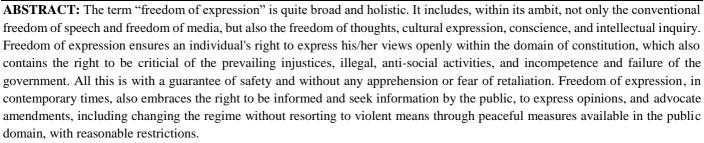
ISSN(print): 2644-0679, ISSN(online): 2644-0695

Volume 05 Issue 05 May 2022 DOI: 10.47191/ijsshr/v5-i5-01, Impact factor- 5.871 Page No: 1545-1552

Democratization in Turkey under AKP Government

Pavan Chaurasia

Ph.D. scholar, Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Neh University, New Delhi



In the past decade and half, Turkish experience as a transitional democracy presents an interesting case study to explain as to how the state of freedom of expression is causally related to the failure of the EU-driven reform process undertaken by the ruling AKP (Turkish: Adaletve Kalkınma Partisi) since the year 2002, when the party won the Parliamentary elections in Turkey for the first time. The issue about the press freedom and freedom of expression in Turkey has for very long time, attracted a great amount of scholarly attention and provoked extensive debate both inside and outside Turkey. Although Turkey remains one of the rare democracy in the West Asia, a region with strong monarchic and semi-monarchic tradition of government, a series of development in the past years has raised several interrogations about the qualitative and quantitative aspects of democracy in Turkey under the AKP.

KEYWORDS: AKP government, Democracy, Coup, Republic, Democratic value

INTRODUCTION

The AKP has been the dominant political party of Turkey since Turkey became a republic in 1923. Under its tenure, Turkey has witnessed drastic change in both its internal and external domain, not isolated from each other. On foreign policy issues, the AKP started with a strategic vision based on improving relations with neighbouring countries and raise the country's regional economic and diplomatic stature. AKP rule, pursued a compromise in Cyprus, normalized relations with Armenia, mediated between Israel and Syria (Omer 2016, p. 16). On the domestic front AKP government carried out series of economic and political reforms to enhance development and promote, liberal democracy. It curbed the power and interference of the Turkish military and passed several legislations for improving human rights conditions and provided the minorities with some substantial rights. Liberal reforms introduced by AKP were significant because it helped AKP to shrink off the image of rooting in Islamist ideology and, denouncement of *democracy and west-oriented foreign policy*.

Turkey's EU agreement negotiations commenced in October 2005, six years afterwards duration the Helsinki summit of 1999, established formal status. But, through the beginning of 2015, best one of the 35 negotiation chapters has been finished (Toni 2015, p. 27). The recent development of undermining democratic principle in Turkey has paved the way for a majoritarian, authoritarian kind of polity with zero tolerance to dissent of any kind. The once admired 'zero problems with neighbours' policy has now turned into 'zero friends' for Turkey. The situation in Turkey has transformed drastically in the AKP rule. The democratic consolidation that took place during the first two tenures of AKP has now disappeared and increasing gross human rights violation and democratic backsliding in Turkey has come to characterize contemporary Turkey under AKP This chapter will first look into the theoretical aspect of democratization and will then highlight the democratization of Turkey under the AKP and its limitation.

UNDERSTANDING DEMOCRATIZATION

Democratization can be simply defined as a process of transformation where non-democratic government becomes a democratic one. Such a transformation has a multitude of underlying factors like historical legacies, the predilections of existing elites, numerous



indigenous strategies and the impact of international players. Democratisation in words of Potter, is the "political adjustments shifting in a democratic course" The transition to a democratic world can be understood in three stage classification conceptualized by Graeme Bill: regime breakdown, democratic consolidation, and democratic transition (David 1997, p. 132). In the first stage a disintegration of structures that characterize the old regime's working is dismantled and this upheaval of old structures is germane to new structures. Sooner or later, in the third phase, after the democratic consolidation, these new systems emerge as stabilized and acquire legitimacy as well as authority in the society.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO DEMOCRATIZATION

Most of the theories of democratization underline various check points to determine the process of democratization emphasis is on different domains of human world. With different focus at their ends, scholars have emphasized certain factors which are important for heralding the democratic society. Some took societal dimensions, while few liked to focus of the good sized actors, and the need of certain preconditions at socio-economic or political level was focus of few. With this understanding we can a have theoretical classification

- Modernization Theory: that highlights the inter-relationship between democratization and economic process.
- The Structural Approach: This reflects long-term historical deviations in regard to the interrelationship between dissimilar power structures.
- Path Dependency: that looks on the nature of preceding regimes and impact on the process of democratization.
- The Elitist Approach: This underscores the value in the role of social elites.
- Transition Theory: This applies a historical method inside the evaluation of democratization, by placing a unique emphasis on elite behaviours.

The modernization theory correlates between economic improvements and democracy while it led to association of democratisation theory related to financial improvements (David 1997, p. 122). Lipset, in his seminal work *Political man: The Social Bases of Politics,* argues that "the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy" (Martin 1960, p. 114). In line with this principle a number of social and economic prerequisites related to existing liberal democracies are required for a prosperous democratization. Therefore, any attempt or successful implementation of the democratization in a state should be linked to the contribution of modernization resulting from socio-financial developments (David 1997, p. 109).

Even though several different elements like colonial legacies, party systems, political institution and political lifestyle and international members of the family, ethnic clashes, are also the major concerns; the socioeconomic improvement is the important aspect of this concept. Due to the fact, consequently, what determines the arrangement of the magnificence warfare is the "economic development" and the "development of education level" even as financial improvement is likewise helpful within the consolidation of the centre class in a country which is in flip effective in their support for moderate and democratic events within the political system of the state, thereby supporting within the democratization. However, Gill in a study highlights that the character of the relationship isn't linear; "the probability of democracy does not increase by default as the level of development rises".

Gill further explains how the democratisation is influenced by the economic development through a way of giving significance to commercial development and the rise of middle class as its outcome. Gill described, "The new middle class, the industrialists, businessmen and the financiers", who start to have an emphasis over the economic sphere, additionally start to participate inside the political domain with organisations in their own for the purpose of placing stress at the regime for policy changes. The impoverished hundreds, alternatively begin to flow to the cities from the geographical region and they also grow to be a strain organization for the development of their poor situations (Hood 2004, p. 210). The transition concept, on the other hand, is heavily influenced by an article of W.W Rostow "Transition to Democracy", and makes a specialty of how a democracy comes into being in the beginning. The approach used is an old technique. In this method, initially, there's a segment of "national unity" and "sharing of a political identity". This period is followed through a political struggle. The conception for which this phase is widely understood is that democratization is usually a result or consequence of a battle between opposing businesses in all nations, instead as opposed to being an easy end result of "peaceful evolution" (Rustov 1970, p. 89).

The third period is the 'transition or choice phase', at some stage wherein the active agents of politics "determine to compromise and undertake democratic regulations". Inside the very last section, this is mentioned to as the 'habituation section', those democratic policies end up habituated (Arkoglu 1993, p. 105). The political elites of the transition phase are substituted through a brand new era, which have habituated democratic regulations and consider in them. After that, the democratic regime is stated to be installed. The third tactic to democratization is a structural method that specializes in lengthy-term approaches of historic exchange. Whereas the transition theory delineates the process of democratic transition with a special focus on elites, the structural method emphasizes the importance of converting power structures, power relations between various social forces and social classes.

The main assumption for evolution of liberal democracy comes through regulation of situation having interrelationship between different power systems, inclusive of financial, social and political power structure (Linz 1996, p. 24). As a result, the

structures of power have historical stages of change and because of this, and the analysis made via this technique is specifically a long term. These historical phases are examined on the basis of the interrelationship between democratization and industrialization, state and social classes. Aside from those three approaches Potter additionally states six explanatory elements, which are all noted with the aid of these procedures in explaining democratization. Elements includes like political institutions, social divisions, state and, economic development, civil society, and ideas and transnational and political culture, international engagements, such as warfare (Feroz 1993, p. 156).

Linz and Stepan fundamental contribution is on the Path-dependency. To be able to apprehend what it means, the conceptual framework wherein it takes vicinity needs to be explained. Linz and Stepan introduce dependent variables within the studies of democratization. these are "completed democratic transition" and "consolidated democracies" (Linz 1996, p. 46). As a result, what decide the "completion of a transition to democracy" are the unfastened and fair elections made to decide the government, the agreement made on the techniques for this election, the capability of the authorities to put in force new policies, and the domination of rules, execution and jurisdiction within their very own regions of power."

After outlining their depended variables; which are "completed democratic transition" and "consolidated democracies"; Linz and Stepan position their independent variables. The primary is "stateness". Stateness is the connection among the state, the state and democratization. For any extant democracy the primary prerequisite is the existence of a sovereign nation and functional government cannot exist without a state (Alex 2014, p. 106). While a massively wide variety of people, commonly particular groups, do not want to belong to that state, and desire to set up a nation of their own or be part of with another state, as, within the case of the post-Soviet republics, critical matters arose inside the state becomes a hurdle for any democratic development from being amalgamated. In countries which have multiple considerable ethnic groups, the problem is transformed into the query of who will represent the political community (polity) of that state (Ali 2005. P. 123).

While there are reflective variations about the territorial limitations of the political communities of state and reflective dissimilarities as to who has the right of citizenship in that state, there may be what we call a 'stateness' problem. Another unbiased variable inside the arguments of Linz and Stepan is "path dependency", which highlight the nature of workings and state of preceding regime system in democratization.

For this, they developed an unused typology of non-democratic regimes and include post-totalitarianism to sultanizm, authoritarianism and totalitarianism One of the important framework to examine the democratisation is provided by Jean Grugel. Grugel, in his work gives the most essential significance to trinity of the state, civil society and global order. In this proposal, the state dimension utilized in this system will be analyzed. Appropriately, a democratic state must have the subsequent features:

- Territorial integrity
- The rule of law
- Minimality of legal violence exercised on its citizens
- Representative and popularly elected government, together with constitutionalism
- The existence of more than one power foci
- Formality of access to decision-making
- Commitment to social and economic justice.

Consequently, though democratization of a state entails the amalgamation of "*institutional change* (the form of the state), *representative change* (having effect over policies and to whom is the state accountable for), and *functional transformation* (what the state does or the range of state duties)", the focal point consider the first aspect (Sahin 2010, p. 94). In order to call any state to be democratic, the primary is that elections must be conducted in free and fair manner, the existence of political parties must be free from clutches of neither state nor the government, constitution must place some constraints on the degree of limits to the power available for a leader, a certain degree of polarity that acknowledges competitiveness must exist and be ensured, whether it may be a presidential or a parliamentary framework should be clear.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS UNDER AKP

Beneath the first content of Article 76 of the 1982 constitution, those who have been sentenced, inter alia of association in ideological and anarchistic actions were not qualified to end up appointees. Parallel to this arrangement, the electoral Law made a conviction on account of Article 312 of the previous criminal code an impediment to qualification for parliament. This Article made despise discourse on the premise of contrasts of, race, social class religion, faction or locale a criminal offense, and AKP pioneer Erdogan was himself sentenced in 1998 for having supposedly damaged this arrangement. Therefore, he was not eligible for membership of parliament in the 2002 elections. The constitutional amendment adopted on 26 December 2002 swapped

the terminology "ideological and anarchistic actions" with "terror actions (Altinas 2017, p. 68). Thus, a more concrete and legally definable term was substituted for an extremely vague and broad term. The constitutional amendment, also supported by the major opposition party, the CHP, opened the way to Tayyip Erdogan to get elected to parliament in a bye-election and to assume the premiership.

The constitutional amendments of 2004, also passed with the support of the CHP, were far more consequential and they involved ten articles. By these amendments, the death penalty was completely abolished. The death penalty had already been limited to crimes have done while the war going on and the impending danger of war, and including the crimes consists with terror , it declared in the constitutional amendments of 2001, and the terror crimes exception had been eliminated on 9 August 2002. Now, the total abolition of the death penalty distant the constitutional hindrance to the ratification provided by Turkey in the 13th Additional Protocol to the European union Convention based on the Human Rights. By the same amendments, three more positions to the death penalty which were given in Articles 15, 17 and 87 of the Constitution were also removed (Ammar 2014, p. 67).

Another important amendment involved Article 90. It was postulated that, in the case of strife between international agreements and the laws which prevails in domestic arena concerning with fundamental liberties and rights, which were appropriately put into impact, international agreement should take priority. Earlier, Article 90 had postulated that international agreements, which were appropriately put into influence, had the same esteem as domestic laws. this became the matter of intense academic debate in the regarding the international and constitutional law, and literature in Turkey, the prevailing view was that, in the case of a strife between international agreements and domestic laws, the rules *"lex posteriori derogate legi anteriori"* (posterior law takes preference over previous laws) and *"lex specialis derogat legi genera Ii"* (special law takes preference over general laws) would relate.²⁰

With this change, a much more successful application of the European Convention on Human Rights and international human rights ensured by the Turkish court. Also contributing to the matchless quality of international law over domestic laws was made alter within the final section of Article 38. Whereas the first content of the Article expressed that no citizen should be removed to and outside nation on the account of an offence presently a special exception was made concerning the commitments stemming from being a party to the International Criminal Court. In this way, the protected impediment was expelled for Turkey to sign this convention. Another critical change presented by the 2004 constitutional revision was the cancellation of the questionable State Security Courts (Arbatli 2014, p. 44). These courts made in 1973 and reincorporated into the 1982 Structure, were blended courts composed of civilian and military judges and public prosecutors, outlined to deals with violations against the security of state.

The European Court of Human Rights had reliably found Turkey in infringement of Article 6 of the convention in cases including the State Security Courts since the military judges and public prosecutors did not have the similar type of tenure ensures as their civilian partners. Subsequently, Article 143 of the Constitution was revised on 18 June 1999 to dispose of military judges and public prosecutors from these courts. The constitutional revision of 2004 completely nullified them. Two of the modification presented by the 2004 corrections included the civil military relations. Beneath the initial content of 1982 constitution, the military had been exempted from the control of the Court of Accounts. This benefit was dispensed with, to begin with by the Seventh Harmonization Package received on 30 July 2003, at that point by the protected correction of 2004. The 2004 alterations too expelled the military agent from the Board of Higher Education.

HARMONISATION PACKAGES

After the European Council gave Turkey the candidate status at its Helsinki meeting at the end of 1999, Turkey entered in a process of comprehensive democratising reforms to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria (Armine 2012, p. 46). In addition to the radical constitutional revisions of 2001 and 2004, nine harmonization packages were embraced in between the time period of 2002 and July 2004. The purpose they were usually called 'packages' was that every one of them intricate changes in a number of laws. The aim was to harmonise Turkish legislation through the constitutional amendments of 2001 and 2004, evolve with the EU's "acquis communautaires"²² as portion of Turkey's determinations to turn into a full member of the EU.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

The progress reports by the EU Commission had constantly underlined the limitations on freedom of expression in Turkey. The first harmonization package introduced relatively minor amendments to the controversial articles include 159 and other one is 312 of the old Turkish Criminal Code. Further the article 159 on abusive the state and as well as the other institutions of state was amended to decrease the upper limit of punishment from three years to maximum six years, and penalties were eradicated. Article 312, which penalized provocative people to antagonism and revulsion on the foundations of contrasts of social, religion, class, race, region and sect, was also amended. Through the amendment, such vocabularies would establish an illegal offence only if they might generate a menace for public order. On 1 April 2005 new Criminal Code arrived (Article 216) additional restricted the possibility of this offence by consuming the term "clear and present danger for public safety."

Article 159 was amended again by the Third Package adding a paragraph stating that 'those written, oral or visual expressions of thought completed with the solitary persistence of denunciation and without the purpose to affront or disparage the institutions in enquiry would not establish a crime.' The seventh package further reduced the lower limit of the jail term from one year to six months. It has been convincingly argued that Article 159 and the corresponding Article 301 of the new Criminal Code still present major shortcomings since the words 'Turkishness' and 'Republic' are too broad and vague, and it is not easy to draw the line between insult and derision and legitimate criticism (Arslan 2015, p. 56).

Article 301 was finally amended 'in a more liberal direction on 30 April 2008 (Law No. 5759). The amendment replaced the words 'Turkishness' and 'the Republic' with the more concrete and legally definable terms 'Turkish nation' and 'the State of Turkish Republic.' Furthermore, it reduced the jail terms making it possible for the courts to defer their execution or convert them into fines. Conceivably most significant, prepared the preparatory of a criminal enquiry subject to the agreement of the Minister of Justice. In the Article 8, Anti- Terrorism Act entails was another major roadblock to freedom of expression. The reform has been praised as 'a positive development on its own in terms of ensuring effective protection of free speech. The sixth package also narrowed down the definition of terror, emphasising the use of 'force and violence' as a necessary element of a terrorist act (Azaria 2011, p. 74).

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

The second, third, fourth and seventh packages introduced certain improvements concerning the freedom of association. Notably, the fourth package (Article 34) permitted associations to engage in international activities and collaboration, to establish branches abroad or to become members in associations established abroad. Correspondingly, in cases of international cooperation is considered useful and witnessing the principle of reciprocity, foreign relations may be permitted to engage in activities and collaboration, establish branches and join other associations in Turkey by a decision of the Ministry of Interior upon the advice of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Article 35). More recently, in July 2004, Parliament of Turkey approved an exclusively fresh law on associations. This law was categorized by a prominent Turkish NGO know as (TOSEV) as the utmost liberal law on associations over the period of 20 years.

FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY

The seventh harmonisation package limited the power of provincial governors to postpone or ban meetings and demonstration marches. Thus, the period of postponement was reduced from two to one month, and a meeting could be barred only if there is an explicit and present-day danger of a crime being committed (Article 20). Similarly, a governor could ban all meetings in his province for one month only in the case of a clear and present danger of a crime being committed (Article 22). The third package allowed foreigners to hold meetings and demonstrations with the authorization of the Ministry of Interior.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

The third package permitted the community trusts (meaning non-Muslim charitable trusts) to obtain and arrange of actual property with the authorization of the Council of Ministers. They could also procure actual property by the way of gift or inheritance (Article 4). The fourth package established this right, replacing the consent of the General Directorate of Foundations for the authorization of the Council of Ministers (Article 3). Further sixth package established the rights meant for the non-Muslim people to construct spaces where they can do worship substance to the acquiescence of expert administrative authorities (Article 9) (Bahar 2017, p. 89).

PREVENTION OF MISTREATMENT AND TORTURE

The progress reports of the European Commission, as well as the reports of the *"European Committee for the Prevention of Torture"* and many international NGOs, had stressed the widespread incidence of torture and mistreatment in state of Turkey. Hence, definite developments were completed to discourage this kind of practices. However, in the second package which transformed the *"Civil Servants Law"* specifying that indemnities compensated by Turkey as an outcome of the verdicts which was declared by Human Rights court of European' in the field of maltreatment and torture cases intend to be appealed from the offenders. In the Fourth package eliminated the prerequisite in order to attain the approval of the expert unit of the administrative branch to impeach the public servants employee's mistreatment and torture cases. Therefore, public prosecutors could now straight arraign the perpetrators. In 2004, the parliament of Turkey approved a law that providing for the payment of reparations by the state sustained as a product of terrorist actions or activities related to anti-terror of government bureaucrats (Baldinger 2015, p. 26).

MINORITY RIGHTS

Further third package fetched about a practically ground-breaking transformation in Turkish law and outlook by authorizing the usage of indigenous dialects instead of Turkish (the precise phrasing which deals with Law is "different languages and dialects traditionally used by Turkish citizens in their daily lives") in television and radio while streaming the programmer. The sixth package

extended the rights in which it allows the streaming in both sphere public and private television and radio.²⁷ Finally third package also allowed establishing up of private courses to teach different languages.

INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In the third package, the pronouncements of the Human Rights court of Europe, which originate defilement of the convention in Turkey, were acknowledged as a base for a restitution of trial in both sphere of civil and the criminal courts. Such a request can be made, within one year of the final judgment of the ECHR, to the presidency of the Court of Cassation by the Minister of Justice, the cassation's Public Prosecutor of the Court or the claimant to the ECHR, in cases where payment of just satisfaction would not redress the consequences. The decision for a retrial was made by the competent plenary session (civil or criminal) of the Court of Cassation. According to the fifth package, decisions for a retrial were to be made by the competent civil or criminal court, which had rendered the original verdict. The sixth package (Article 6) extended this right to administrative cases (Barkey 2007, p. 43).

CIVIL AND MILITARY RELATIONS

In adding to the constitutional amendments in 2001 concerning civil-military relations, the seventh package presented a number of imperative changes with respect to the capacities and arrangements of the "**National Security Council**", including specific perspectives of civil and military relationships. Article 24 has defined; the "Prime Minister" might engage one of the "Deputy Prime Ministers" to yield counselling choices and conclusions given to the council of Ministers" and to safe the harmonization of their execution in those cases in which they are affirmed by the "Council of Ministers" (a work that once in the past had a place to the "Secretary-General of the National Security Council". ²⁸Beneath Article 25, the "National Security Council" made provision to meet within the time span of two months instead of one month. Like Article 26 stripped the "Secretary-General of the Council" explained much of its official powers and would constrain basically to secretarial obligations. Article 27 revised the arrangement necessitating of the secretary (Baser 2017, p. 105).

Article 27 modified the endowment needing the selection of the "Secretary General" from military officers; who hold the top ranking and from among the senior level bureaucrats`. Article 28 specified that the guideline on the utilities of the "Secretariat of the Council" would be printed in the Approved Periodical, thus obliterating the privacy section and augmenting the clarity of actions of Secretariats.

CONSTITUTION'S ARTICLE 90

Within the system of "Constitutional Amendments" in 2004, the taking after ruling was included to the final passage of Article 90 titled "Ratification of International Treaties" through the correction of Article 90: "in the case of a conflict between international assertions within the zone of fundamental rights and freedoms appropriately put impact and the domestic laws due to contrasts in arrangements on the same matter the arrangements of international understandings should prevail."

THE HARMONIZATION PACKAGE: FOURTH.

The fourth harmonization package (the first under AKP rule), on January 11, 2003, it established and stimulated substantial variations in the background of the enlargement of the "freedom of association" pre-emption against mistreatment, and torture and it established the safety measure for prisoners for their rights.

THE HARMONIZATION PACKAGE: FIFTH

The fifth version of harmonization package, which came into action in 2003, after the fourth package it, included arrangements on the "freedom of association". This package expelled the basis " the infringement is seen to have had results that cannot be compensated" from the rigid law and made it flexible for every Court judgments consists with infringement to be deliberated for retrial, which is subject within the time frame of one year.³⁰

THE SIXTH HARMONIZATION PACKAGE

On July 19, 2003, sixth harmonization package was announced noteworthy changes in the legal domain and it intensify the "freedom of expression," defend requirements of the prisoners' rights, "right to life and retrial", religious freedom by a sequences of amendments ratified to the "Anti-terror Law", "the Law on the Basic Provisions on Elections and Electoral Rolls.

THE SEVENTH HARMONIZATION PACKAGE

This package entered into the drive in 2003 in the month of August, presented critical modifications within the setting of the development of "the freedom of expression", "opportunity of association", defend arrangements on the prisoners' rights the religious freedom as well as the children's right, social rights, civilian and military relations.³²

DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE HARMONIZE PACKAGES

The apparatus of authorization No.6 of the Protocol to the "European Convention on Human Rights" regarding the closure of the capital punishment was placed with the sitting of council's Secretary General on 12 November 2003. The Protocol came into action in the month of December, 2003. The apparatuses of authorization of the "International Covenant on Political Rights, civil rights, the, social, cultural", and "International Covenant on Economic" was set down with the Secretary General of UN in 2003. The other change in "Law on the Establishment, Duties and Trial Procedures of Juvenile Courts" was embraced in 2004 by the Parliament.

CONCLUSION

The AKP came to power at a time when Turkish democracy was under a path of uncertainty. The era of coalition governments and deteriorating economic conditions had created doubts about the future of Turkeys. Under these conditions the AKP promised and brought stability and initiated several political, democratic and economic reforms that transformed Turkey. However, it also needs to be mentioned that the reformist phase of the AKP did not last very long and Turkey lost the track towards democratization especially during the third tenure of the AKP government.

It has also been argued that the democratization in Turkey resulted in three inter-related issues: the eradication of the Turkish military's political role, the political and economic liberation of sincere Muslims, the Anatolian middle class and the closely linked issue of the renegotiation of national identity of Turkey. The phase from 2000-2005, which is deliberated as the "golden age of reform" in Turkey, near about eight reforms had taken placed, and packages to comply with Copenhagen Criteria. Moreover it harmonizes Turkish structure of legislation with the EU *acquis communautaire*.

As per the IHD data, in 2012 itself at least 216 women who were stated killed, and other 96 injured and additional 519 were raped or other women are subject of various kinds of violence. In the past few years there increase high rates of domestic violence the different parts of Turkey, other data explicitly shows the growing gap of inequality in Turkey. Illiteracy gap has also increased between men and women and it reflects the greater disparity between two genders. Women are more illiterate as compare to men.³⁶ In 2011 Turkish government has changed "Ministry of State responsible for Women and Family Affairs" into a "Ministry of Family and Social Policies", successfully finish a much wanted obvious emphasis on women's rights.³⁷

There are sturdy indicators which recommend that as an alternative of really wanting to get Turkey an EU membership, the AKP government deceivingly used the EU accession process and the associated reforms highly instrumentally for combining its power within the present Turkish state structures by fading the Kemalist elites that encompassed the Turkish army and the bureaucrats.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1) Abbas, Tahir and Anja Zalta (2017), "You cannot talk about academic freedom in such an oppressive environment': perceptions of the We Will Not Be a Party to This Crime! Petition signatories", *Turkish Studies*, 18(4): 624-643.
- 2) Arkoglu, A.C. and E. Kalaycioglu (1993), *The Rising Tide of Conservatism in Turkey*, London: Palgrave.
- ABC News (2003), "Turkey's Erdogan wins key by-election towards premiership", [Online: web] Accessed 20 April 2018 URL: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/news/2003-03-10/turkeys-erdogan-wins-key-by-election-towards/1814352</u>
- 4) Ahmad, Feroz (1993), *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London and New York: Routledge.
- 5) _____(1981), "Military Intervention and the Crisis in Turkey" *MERIP Reports*, 93: 5-32.
- 6) Ahmet, I. (2017), "Turkey: One year after the coup attempt, Erdogan has set up an autocracy", [Online: web] Accessed 12 August 2017 ULR: <u>http://www.eurozine.com/turkey-one-year-after-the-coup-attempt-erdogan-has-set-up-an-autocracy/?pdf</u>
- 7) Alev, Yaman (2014), "The Gezi Park Protests: The Impact On Freedom Of Expression In Turkey", PEN International: London.
- 8) Ali, Arslan, D. (2005), "The evaluation of parliamentary democracy in turkey and Turkish political elites", *Historia Actual Online*, 6:131-141.
- 9) Alpay, Şahin (2010), "Two Faces of the Press in Turkey: The Role of the Media in Turkey's Modernisation and Democracy", in Celia Kerslake, Kerem Oktem and Philip Robins (eds.) *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity. Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Altinas, Baris (2017), "Cumhuriyet: A pained history of suppression, assassinations and betrayal", [Online: web] Accessed
 5 October 2017 URL: <u>https://www.indexoncensorship.org/2017/09/cumhuriyet-a-pained-history-of-suppression-assassinations-and-betrayal/</u>
- 11) Anadolu Agency (2018), "Turkey: Former top judiciary official arrested", February 2. [Online: web] Accessed 8 June 2018 URL: <u>https://www.aa.com.tr/en/todays-headlines/turkey-former-top-judiciary-official-arrested/1057339</u>
- 12) Angel, R. and F.L. Stephen (2008), "The AKP in Power Book Title: The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey",[Online: web] Accessed 11 Oct. 2017 URL: <u>https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG726.sum.pdf</u>

- 13) Ant, Onur (2014), "Turkey's Erdogan tells women they can't be equal with men" *Livemint*, [Online: web] Accessed 4 June 2018 URL: <u>https://www.livemint.com/Politics/7Ay8ZV8iAuuEspC4q4K3nM/Turkeys-Erdogan-tells-women-they-cant-be-equal-with-men.html</u>
- 14) Arbatli, E. (2014), "Turkey's new path: The rise of electoral authoritarianism", [Online: web] Accessed 12 March 2018 URL: <u>http://researchturkey.org/turkeys-new-path-the-rise-of-electoral-authoritarianism/</u>.
- 15) Arin, Canan (2012), "Gender Based Violence: A Present to Women of Turkey", *Reflections Turkey*. [Online: web] Accessed June 7, 2018. URL: <u>http://www.reflectionsturkey.com/?p=239</u>
- 16) Armine, S. (2012) "Constrains on Freedom of Expression in Turkey: The Effects of Article 301" Master's Thesis, San Francisco: University of San Francisco.
- 17) Arslan, D. Ali (2005), "The evaluation of parliamentary democracy in turkey and Turkish political elites", *Historia Actual Online 2005*, 6:131-141.
- 18) Arslan, Zuhtu (2015), "Freedom of Expression, Democracy and Challenges", [Online: web] Accessed 18th August, 2017, URL: <u>http://anayasa.gov.tr/en/inlinepages/press/NewsAndEvents/detail/pdf/fulltext.pdf</u>
- 19) Asli Bali, (2012), "The Perils of Judicial Independence: Constitutional Transition and the Turkish Example," *Vurginia Journal of International Law*, 52 : 235-320.
- 20) Atacan, Fulya (2005), "Explaining Religious Politics at the Crossroad: AKP-SP," Turkish Studies, 6(2): 187-199.
- 21) Azaria, Reza (2011), "Nationalism in Turkey: Response to a Historical Necessity", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(12): 72-82.
- 22) Bacik, G. (2001), "Turkey and Russia: Whither modernization?", Journal of Economic and Social Research, 3(2): 51-71.
- 23) Bagdonas, Ozlem Demrtas (2008), "The Clash of Kemalisms? Reflections on the Past and Present Politics of Kemalism in Turkish Political Discourse", *Turkish Studies*, 9(1): 99-114.
- 24) Bagnell, B. J. (2004), A History of Freedom of Thought, Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press.
- 25) Bahar Baser, et al. (2017) "Academics for Peace" in Turkey: a case of criminalising dissent and critical thought via counterterrorism policy", *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 10(2): 274-296.
- 26) Bahar, Heymi (2007), "The real winners and losers Of Turkey's July 2007 Elections", *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 11(3): 68-74.
- 27) Bal, Idris (2000), *Turkey's Relations with the West and the Turkic Republics: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Model*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- 28) Baldinger, Dana (2015), Vertical Judicial Dialogues in Asylum Cases, Boston:Brill Nijhoff.
- 29) Balkir, Canan (2007), "The July 2007 Elections in Turkey: A Test for Democracy", *Mediterranean Politics*, 12(3): 415-422.
- 30) Baris, Altinas (2017), "Cumhuriyet: A pained history of suppression, assassinations and betrayal", [Online: web] Accessed 5 October 2017 URL: <u>https://www.indexoncensorship.org/2017/09/cumhuriyet-a-pained-history-of-suppression-assassinations-and-betrayal/</u>
- Barkey, Henri (2011), "Winners and Losers in Turkey's Election", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. [Online: web] Accessed 5 April 2018 URL: <u>http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/06/13/winners-and-losers-in-turkey-s-election-pub-44592</u>
- 32) Barkey, Henri J. and Çongar, Yasemin (2007), "Deciphering Turkey's Elections: The Making of a Revolution", *World Policy Journal*, 24(3): 63-73.
- 33) Basaran, Ezgi (2016), "Turkey coup: Who was behind Turkey coup attempt?" BBC. [Online: web] Accessed 30 May 2018. URL: <u>https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36815476</u>
- 34) Baser, B. B. et al. (2017), "Academics For Peace" In Turkey: A Case of Criminalising Dissent and Critical Thought Via Counterterrorism Policy", *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 10(2): 274-296.
- 35) Baser, Bahar (2015), "Turkey election: Erdogan and the AKP get majority back amid climate of violence and fear"[Online: web] Accessed 17 Sept. 2017 URL: <u>https://theconversation.com/turkey-election-erdogan-and-the-akp-get-majority-back-amid-climate-of-violence-and-fear-49963</u>.



There is an Open Access article, distributed under the term of the Creative Commons Attribution – Non Commercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0)

(https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/), which permits remixing, adapting and building upon the work for non-commercial use, provided the original work is properly cited.