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THE STUDY OF MILITARISM: ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD
SCHOLARSHIP AND TURKEY'S SCHOLARSHIP COMPARED

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THE STUDY OF MILITARISM: ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD
SCHOLARSHIP AND TURKEY'S SCHOLARSHIP COMPARED

A Master's Thesis

by

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Ankara

July 2019



To my grandparents and family

THE STUDY OF MILITARISM: ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD SCHOLARSHIP AND TURKEY'S SCHOLARSHIP COMPARED

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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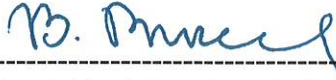
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I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration.



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ABSTRACT

THE STUDY OF MILITARISM: ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD SCHOLARSHIP AND TURKEY'S SCHOLARSHIP COMPARED

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Militarism has attracted academic attention since late seventeenth century. Scholars have defined and studied militarism in different ways. While during the First World War, militarism was studied as an ideology, in the post – Second World War period civil-military relations was the focus of analysis. Since the 1970s, the scholarship on militarism began to diversify. During the late 1980s, scholars started to study militarism as a sociological and historical phenomenon. This thesis aims to analyze how militarism has been studied in (English-speaking) world scholarship and in Turkey. By adopting meta-study technique, the thesis identifies the similarities and differences between the two bodies of scholarship. In the concluding section, the thesis discusses what Turkey's scholarship on militarism has focused on and overlooked in comparison to world scholarship.

Keywords: Civil-military relations, Militarism, Turkey

ÖZET

MİLİTARİZM ÇALIŞMALARI: İNGİLİZCE DÜNYA LİTERATÜRÜ VE TÜRKİYE LİTERATÜNÜN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ANALİZİ

Özcan, Berika

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi

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Militarizm, on yedinci yüzyılın sonlarından beri akademik ilgi konusu olmuştur. Bilim insanları militarizmi farklı şekillerde tanımlamış ve çalışmıştır. Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında militarizm bir ideoloji olarak incelenirken, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası sivil-asker ilişkileri analizin odağını oluşturmuştur. 1970'lerden bu yana militarizm literatürü çeşitlenmeye başlamıştır. 1980'lerin sonlarında, bilim insanları militarizmi sosyolojik ve tarihsel bir fenomen olarak incelemeye başlamışlardır. Bu tez militarizmin (İngilizce konuşulan) dünya literatüründe ve Türkiye'de nasıl çalışıldığını analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tez, meta-çalışma tekniğini benimseyerek, iki literatür arasındaki benzerlik ve farklılıkları analiz edecektir. Sonuç bölümünde, tez, Türkiye'deki militarizm literatürünün dünyadaki literatür ile karşılaştırıldığında neye odaklandığını ve göz ardı ettiğini tartışacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Militarizm, sivil-asker ilişkileri, Türkiye

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Turkish nation has been defined as a “military-nation”. From the 1930s until the 1980s, textbooks of history and social studies described the Turkish nation as a “soldier-nation” and Turkish people as “great soldiers” and “warriors” (Altınay & Kancı, 2011). Halil İnalcık, a prominent historian of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, argued that being a “military-nation” had been a characteristic of the Turkish nation for a very long time (cited in Altınay, 2004a, p. 13). Most recently, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan reiterated this motif in one of his speeches: “Turks had always possessed the necessary physical and spiritual virtues to be the superior and dominant military power both in their region and in the world”.¹ A famous Turkish saying goes: “Every Turk is born a soldier”. Everyday life is indeed filled with the color khaki in Turkey.

According to Ayşe Gül Altınay, military service and education have been two important channels through which militarism had been reproduced and defined as a cultural practice (Altınay, 2004a; Altınay & Kancı, 2011). On the one hand, the army is seen as a school for the citizens. Fulfillment of military service

¹ Cumhurbaşkanının Milli Savunma Üniversitesi Öğrencileri ile İftar Programında Yaptığı Konuşma’ <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/konusmalar/353/105291/milli-savunma-universitesi-ogrencileri-ile-iftar-programinda-yaptigi-konusma> (Accessed 08 June 2019).

requirement is directly associated with serving the nation and its security (Altınay, 2004a). Challenging or rejecting to perform military service, on the other hand, is directly associated with disloyalty and ingratitude to the nation (Altınay & Kancı, 2011). On the other hand, at schools, citizens of the Turkish nation learn about the militaristic characteristics of their nation (Altınay & Kancı, 2011). Beginning at a very young age, citizens are educated and socialized into militarist practices, values, and beliefs. The relationship between education and military is reciprocal since the early years of the Republican era, authors showed.

Turkey's scholars have extensively studied civil-military relations, yet without calling militarism by its name. The military has been the main subject of many studies in Turkey's scholarship (Karpat, 1988; Heper & Evin, 1988; Cizre, 1993; Heper & Güney, 1996; Cizre-Sakallıoğlu, 1997; Cizre, 1999; Narlı, 2000; Demirel, 2004; Demirel, 2005; Güney & Karatekelioğlu, 2005; Heper, 2005; Ünsaldı, 2008; Aydınli, 2009; Bilgiç, 2009; Cizre, 2011; Gürsoy, 2012; Sarıgil, 2012; Sarıgil, 2015; Söyler, 2015; Şahin, 2018). What is more striking than the vastness of this scholarship is the absence of a recognition of the link between militarism and the way in which civil-military relations is organized in Turkey. The scholars of civil-military relations have studied the relationship between the military and civilians as if it has been independent from militarism. For these scholars, the issue is more about a democratic control over the armed forces. Indeed, the paucity of studies on militarism in academic scholarship is striking.

How is it possible that militarism is so prevalent yet so understudied by scholars of Turkey?

That said, there are important exceptions. Beginning from the late 1990s and early 2000s, scholars have examined the embeddedness of militarism in culture, politics, and public and private spheres of life. Taha Parla was the first scholar in Turkey who problematized the militarization of Turkish economy with his works published in the late 1990s (Parla, 1998). After Parla, scholarship in Turkey had to wait until the 2000s for a following analysis of militarism in Turkey, when Ayşe Gül Altınay published her groundbreaking book *The Myth of the Military Nation* (Altınay, 2004a). While Parla looked at the militarization of political economy, Altınay analyzed military service and militarized culture and education system in Turkey. Both Parla and Altınay examined militarism as a process in relation to its ideological dimensions and social embeddedness. Even though similar studies to those of Parla and Altınay emerged after the 2000s, their number remains very few.

This thesis seeks to look at how militarism has been studied by scholars in the (English-speaking) world and in Turkey by juxtaposing the two bodies of literature.² First, I will look at world scholarship on militarism (Chapter two). Next, I will analyze how Turkey's scholars studied militarism (Chapter three). Finally, I will juxtapose two bodies of scholarships to see similarities and

² This thesis limits itself with studies on militarism in English language while analyzing world scholarship. Hereafter, 'world scholarship' will refer to 'English-speaking world scholarship'.

differenced between two (Chapter 4: conclusion). The next section of this introductory chapter will explain the methodology which was utilized to analyze studies on militarism in world scholarship and in that of Turkey.

1.2. Methodology

By following meta-study approach of qualitative research synthesis, this thesis will look at different interpretations of militarism in both bodies of scholarship.

The aim is to reflect on various perspectives, examining theories and findings to shed light on differences and similarities, and exploring theoretical frameworks in the study of militarism. This section will first explain meta-study approach and show its differences from other research synthesis techniques. Then, I will lay out how meta-study as a research technique is utilized in this thesis to contextualize and interpret descriptions and explanations of militarism in world and Turkey's scholarship.

Research synthesis is defined as a scholarly work to summarize and integrate past research in a specific field, to outline marginalized past studies, and to present the existing body of knowledge with the aim of guiding future research (Cooper, 1998, p. 3). Although efforts to synthesize past research emerged initially in quantitative research, the need to add qualitative studies to quantitative analyses or synthesizing them on their own became clear in qualitative research later on. The need for synthesizing existing studies to further scientific knowledge is well established by scholars of research synthesis (Rosenthal, 1991; Glass, 1976; Hunt, 1999; Cooper, 1998). This stemmed from the need to synthesize previous studies in a field of interest to establish what is

already known, to show specific areas or topics that need attention, to formulate and guide new research questions, and simply not to replicate efforts to conduct studies that have already been conducted (Dickersin & Berlin, 1992, p. 156; Card, 2012, p. 3).

Some scholars evaluated research synthesis within the broader family of literature reviews (Cooper, 2017; Patall & Cooper, 2008; Card, 2012). For instance, Cooper defined literature review as a detailed attempt to integrate what previously has been said and shown in a body of knowledge, to criticize past scholarly research, or to underline the central issues and points that need further research in a specific field (Cooper, 1998, p. 3). Literature reviews may focus on research methods, theories, research outcome, or all of these, of previously done scholarly research. Cooper identified two main sets of literature reviews that appear most frequently in the literature, which are theoretical review and integrative research review. In the former, the researcher aims at presenting the theories that have been utilized to explain a certain phenomenon; whereas the latter focuses on empirical studies and their conclusions with the goal of laying out the state-of-art in a particular field and identifying the issues that need additional attention (Cooper, 1998, p. 3). Research syntheses aim to make connections that were not visible and explicit before between the studies examined (Suri, 2011). By aggregating or interpreting findings of past studies, research synthesis goes beyond literature reviews. Research synthesis had been used more widely in research areas such as health, medicine, nursery, psychology, and education.

Narrative literature review was another approach to summarize and integrate research in a specific field (Patall & Cooper, 2008, p. 536). Narrative review was defined as “the traditional method of summarizing a field of research to make a judgment about the current state of knowledge” (Britten, et al., 2002). This traditional narrative review has been criticized due to its proclivity to subjectivity, biases of the reviewer, and its insufficiency to measure effect systematically (Hunt, 1999, p. 7). Narrative reviews were deemed “subjective, scientifically unsound, and an inefficient way to extract useful information,” and statistical reviews for integrating findings were proposed as a response to the disadvantages of traditional narrative reviews (Light & Pillemer, 1984, pp. 3-4). This skeptical view about narrative reviews also explains the turn away from them toward meta-analysis in the social sciences starting from the mid-1970s.

Quantitative meta-analysis was the first technique that emerged among research syntheses. Coined by Gene V. Glass in 1976, meta-analysis was defined as “the statistical analysis of a large collection of analysis results from individual studies for the purpose of integrating the findings” (Glass, 1976, p. 3). Glass differentiated between primary, secondary and meta-analysis. He defined meta-analysis as “the analysis of analyses,” and primary and secondary analyses as data analysis where raw data is analyzed and re-analyzed respectively (Glass, 1976, p. 3). By the late 1970s and 1980s, meta-analysis had become the most prominent quantitative synthesis technique (Cooper, 2017, p. 13).

The late 1990s and early 2000s witnessed a growing interest in qualitative research and its synthesis in different disciplines due to its rigor, ability to understand the complexity that quantitative studies cannot explore, and its competency to address diversity in terms of theory and methodology (Barbour & Barbour, 2003; Johnson & Waterfield, 2004). Whereas the goal of synthesizing quantitative studies is to aggregate findings about a phenomenon of interest, synthesis of qualitative studies aims to interpret and understand various explanations of the phenomenon. Scholars of research synthesis cautioned that templates produced for synthesizing quantitative research should not simply be imported to synthesizing qualitative work (Barbour & Barbour, 2003). Rather, differences between quantitative and qualitative research must be recognized in terms of “the nature of curiosity involved, the iterative research process, and the treatment of data, analysis, and findings” (Barbour & Barbour, 2003). Due to these differences between quantitative and qualitative research, scholars have offered various synthesis techniques of qualitative studies with different names, such as meta-ethnography (Noblit & Hare, 1988), qualitative meta-synthesis (Barroso & Sandelowski, 2003), qualitative meta-summary (Sandelowski, 2001), and meta-study (Paterson, Canam, Joachim, & Thorne, 2003).

Nevertheless, some approached synthesizing qualitative research skeptically.

Different from quantitative studies, qualitative studies resist the efforts of integration due to their idiosyncrasy, they argued (Light & Pillemer, 1984).

Nevertheless, one of the most prominent scholars of qualitative research synthesis, Margarete Sandelowski, argued that qualitative studies are in need of

synthesis. Sandelowski argued that precluding the efforts to synthesize qualitative studies in order not to sacrifice their idiosyncrasy endangers qualitative research (Sandelowski, Docherty, & Emden, 1997, p. 365). For Sandelowski, qualitative research synthesis in itself is a necessary and worthy activity, not a “trivial pursuit” (Sandelowski et al., 1997).

Although a strong consensus on the necessity of synthesizing qualitative research or including qualitative studies in research synthesis efforts started to emerge during the 1990s, there was no agreement in the literature as to what name to give to such syntheses. Some scholars preferred the term meta-ethnography. Noblit and Hare defined meta-ethnography as a means of comparatively and cumulatively analyzing previous data (Noblit & Hare, 1988). Some other scholars preferred to use the term meta-synthesis (Jensen & Allen, 1996; Sandelowski & Barroso, 2007). Sandelowski and Barroso defined meta-synthesis as “an interpretive integration of qualitative findings that are themselves interpretive syntheses of data” (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2007, p. 18). Meta-study is another term in usage. Shanyang Zhao, a scholar of sociology, defined meta-study as an intellectual effort to synthesize the results of previous studies (Zhao, 1991, p. 378). According to Zhao, although meta-study belonged to the category of second-order study, which studies previous studies, it was different from other kinds of secondary studies. For Zhao, meta-study sought not only to synthesize but also to “reflect upon the processes involved in previous studies” (Zhao, 1991). Thus, Zhao defined meta-study as a valuable and worthy effort in sociology as a tool of understanding the state-of-art in a

given discipline, and at times, of solving “disciplinary crises” by identifying directions for primary studies to be conducted (Zhao, 1991, p. 391).

For Zhao, meta-study differed from other forms of integrative research reviews since it was more systematic and comprehensive and aimed to understand and advance the discipline (Zhao, 1991, p. 379). For Zhao, meta-study had three components, which are meta-theory, meta-method, and meta-data-analysis.

According to Zhao, meta-theory is the study of existing sociological theory, meta-method studies the existing sociological research methods, and meta-data-analysis processes the data processed by previous studies (Zhao, 1991, p. 378).

In addition to sociology, health researchers also started to utilize meta-study as a research synthesis technique (Paterson, Thorne, Canam, & Jillings, 2001; Jones, 2007, p. 65). Health researchers, such as Paterson, defined meta-study as a “dynamic and iterative process of thinking, interpreting, creating, theorizing, and reflecting” (Paterson et al., 2001, p. 112). The philosophical premises of meta-study, they claimed, paved the way for an “authentic understanding,” meaning that, meta-study allowed for a comprehensive understanding of complex phenomena (Paterson et al., 2001). Paterson argued that as a result of meta-study, a body of literature is organized in line with theory, method and data (Paterson et al., 2001, p. 11).

In other disciplines of social sciences, however, attempts to synthesize past research, either quantitative or qualitative, are sporadic, if not absent. It is possible to find research syntheses, often under the term meta-regression

analysis, in public policy research and in economics (Davies, 2000; Wallace, Croucher, Quilgars, & Baldwin, 2004; Bel & Fageda, 2009; Bel, Fageda, & Warner, 2010; Doucouliagos & Ulubaşoğlu, 2008; Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, & Babbitt, 1999; Bhatti, Dahlgaard, Hansen, & Hansen, 2016), yet other areas of social sciences, especially political science, seem distant to using research synthesis methods. Rod Dacombe drew attention to the relative incuriousness of political scientists about research synthesis, although it would be a useful tool for them since it provides various opportunities such as “minimizing bias, accounting for the quality of existing research and potential for meta-analysis of the findings of different studies” (Dacombe, 2018, p. 149). Dacombe explained the distance of political scientists through their false notions about systematic reviews as being positivist, undervaluing qualitative work, and being too technical to deal with the theoretical complexities of social and political sciences (Dacombe, 2018). However, Dacombe emphasized that these questions need not to preclude the potential use of systematic research syntheses. Systematic accounts of existing research might contribute to political science in terms of scoping, problem-formation, and meta-analysis (Dacombe, 2018, p. 154).

Dacombe encouraged the use of meta-analysis in political science.

To reiterate, meta-study differs from other techniques of research reviews such as meta-analysis and meta-synthesis. While meta-analysis is a method utilized to aggregate and analyze the findings of previously conducted quantitative studies, qualitative meta-synthesis is an interpretive and critical endeavor aiming to integrate data from past studies that are themselves interpretations. Meta-

study, however, goes beyond interpretation to shed light on the state-of-art in a given body of knowledge. Meta-study is a more suitable technique for studying past quantitative and qualitative works in a given body of knowledge that aim to answer a similar research question. Meta-study does not necessarily combine, aggregate or integrate data from past studies as meta-analysis and meta-synthesis aim to do. Rather, meta-study is “focused on the evolution and critique of ideas and knowledge development and representation” (Sandelowski, 2007; Paterson et al., 2001). Meta-study is used as a tool of critically engaging with previous studies.

This thesis will apply meta-study technique to analyze studies on militarism and their conceptual and definitional characteristics. This study will adopt the framework on militarism put forward by Anna Stavrianakis and Jan Selby, which identified five definitions of militarism as “an ideology”, as “the propensity to use force to resolve conflicts”, as “military build-ups”, as “civil-military relations”, and as “a sociological phenomenon” (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013). I analyze world scholarship on militarism into four historical periods. The reason for this periodization is better analyzing which definition(s) of militarism was prominent during each period. I select representative scholars who studied militarism within the context of each definition while analyzing world scholarship. When analyzing Turkey’s scholarship on militarism, I look at which studies have been conducted within the scope of each definition of militarism. For each definition, I select scholars and analyze their relevant work on militarism in detail.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY OF MILITARISM IN (ENGLISH-SPEAKING) WORLD SCHOLARSHIP

This chapter aims to analyze definitions and conceptualizations of militarism in world scholarship during different historical periods. Despite militarism's global presence, the study of militarism has been unidimensional and geographically limited. According to Marek Thee, militarism has not attracted scholarly interest notwithstanding the need for conceptual elucidation of its social, political, international and material dimensions (Thee, 1977). Martin Shaw agreed that the study of militarism has remained academically marginal. Especially after the Cold War ended, the applicability and relevance of militarism started to be regarded as waning (Shaw, Twenty-first century militarism: a historical-sociological framework, 2013). It is recognized by scholars that systematic and sustained scholarly interest in militarism has been missing from world scholarship, especially since the 1990s (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013, pp. 4-5).

This is not to say that there is no literature on militarism, but that there is a history of conceptual confusion and a lack of an agreed-upon definition. The lack of conceptual clarity and definitional multiplicity of militarism is recognized in the scholarship (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013, p. 5, Stavrianakis & Stern, 2018, p. 4,

Van Tuyll, 1994). Scholars who have taken stock of the study of militarism have identified that the literature has focused on different aspects of militarism during different historical periods.

This chapter of the thesis will trace this change in the study of militarism from the early twentieth century onwards. In doing so, I will adopt Stavrianakis and Selby's fivefold categorization and try to see which historical period focused on which type or definition of militarism. The first section will look at studies on militarism in the early-to-mid twentieth century. During these years, which approximate to half a century, the glorification of warfare, soldiery, and military ways was followed by a critique of militarism as an ideology. The second section will focus on studies on militarism during the 1950s and 1960s. Different from the preceding period, this one produced the classics on civil-military relations and the studies that analyze the military as an organization and institution. During this period, an ideological critique was missing, and militarism was regarded as a problem that is observed in the 'Third World, while 'the West' was viewed as having properly organized civil-military relations. The third section looks at works on militarism produced during the 1970s and 1980. During this period, militarism was regarded as both a problem in and a solution for the Third World. Section four will look at the post – Cold War period when the studies of militarism started to become diversified and multi-dimensional, owing much to feminist scholarship on militarism and its critique of it. This section will also trace this diversification in world scholarship beginning with the 1990s until today and

look at how different disciplinary approaches and scholarly orientations studied militarism and its related concepts such as militarization, violence, and security.

By organizing the scholarship in historical periods, this chapter aims to establish the evolution and change of scholars' attention to militarism in world scholarship during different times. This chapter will identify when, how, and by whom militarism has been studied.

Anna Stavrianakis and Jan Selby identified five ways in which militarism was defined and conceptualized in the scholarship, which respectively described militarism “as an ideology”, “as the propensity to use force to resolve conflicts”, “as military build-ups”, “as understood by civil-military relations approach”, and “as a sociological phenomenon”. According to first definition, militarism as ideology elevates values, beliefs, and ways of acting related to the military above those belonging to civilian sphere. The second definition understands militarism as preferring military solutions to resolve conflicts. Militarism as military build-ups quantitatively measures militarism in terms of military personnel, expenditure, and arms spending. According to the fourth definition, militarism is understood in terms of the relationship between civilians and the military. Lastly, the fifth definition looks at the ways in which militarism becomes embedded in society and analyzes militarization as a process.

In what follows, I will analyze the respective historical periods with their categorization in mind to see how during different periods different definitions of militarism became prominent.

2.1. The study of militarism during the early-to-mid twentieth century

According to Volker R. Berghahn, a historian of European history, militarism as a concept was known and used as early as the seventeenth century. Berghahn argued that even in the late seventeenth century, people started to show an academic and political interest in militarism and the discussion generally revolved around the incompatibility of the standing armies and the military organization and the basic principle of modern liberalism and democracy (Berghahn, 1984, pp. 7-8). During the nineteenth century, militarism as a concept started to appear in encyclopedias in French and German, and then spread to other European countries (Berghahn, 1984, pp. 7-9). In Berghahn's account, the debate on militarism prior to the First World War primarily focused on the role and place of militarism in nation-building processes. The examples of this type of militarism were Bismarckian Prussia and Napoleonic France of the 1860s. The features of militarism in these cases were centralization tendencies, mobilization of national resources for maintaining the army, and rearmament (Berghahn, 1984, p. 10; Danahar, 1974). Bismarckian nationalism was seen as embodying militarism as a significant component, and the repercussions of the Bismarckian synthesis of nationalism, autocracy and militarism was regarded as contributing to the expansionist Nazi movement (Pflanze, 1955, p. 565). Against this background of the Nazi threat in Europe, the critique of militarism that emerged during the 1930s and 1940s criticized the channeling of resources to the military, the autocratic proclivities and armament.

During the 1930s, militarism as an ideology and the institutional structures behind it were started to be criticized in the scholarship against the admiration and glorification of the army, the military officers, and militarist discourses. But before that, during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, militarism studies had witnessed a critique with respect to its organization and influences upon civilian society. Being regarded as either within political and constitutional framework or as a socio-economic problem, militarism was viewed as a threat since it exerted a decisive influence on civilians (Berghahn, 1984). For example, sociologist and political theorist Herbert Spencer's ideal type of "militant type of society", which was contrasted with the industrial type, consisted of the embodiment of the militarist principles by society, which possessed the life of the individuals at its disposal, who were rendered prepared for fighting other societies at all times (Spencer, 1898; Berghahn, 1984). It can be argued that before the ideological critique, militarism was subject to a sociological critique during the nineteenth century.

The ideological critique of militarism during this period is represented by Alfred Vagts' seminal work of *A History of Militarism: The Civilian and the Military*, which was originally published in 1937. Vagts, a military historian, was one of the prominent scholars who defined militarism as an ideology, and *A History of Militarism* can be seen as the work embodying the ideological critique of militarism of the 1930s and 1940s. In *A History of Militarism*, Vagts was concerned with militarism in Germany, Britain, France, and to some extent Japan. He defined militarism as covering "every system of thinking and valuing

and every complex of feelings which rank military institutions and ways above the ways of civilian life, carrying military mentality and modes of acting and decision into the civilian sphere” (Vagts, 1959, p. 17). According to Vagts, civilianism was the true opposite of militarism. The latter was defined as being more than the mere love of war. For Vagts, after 1870, when militarism had made inroads into the French, English, and German languages, it connoted “a domination of military demands, an emphasis on military considerations, spirit, ideals, and scales of value, in the life of states,” and also it came to imply an economic burden on the country at the expense of welfare of the citizens (Vagts, 1959, p. 14).

Distinguishing between an old form of militarism and modern militarism, Vagts drew parallels between old militarism and imperialism. Vagts argued that militarism sought a form of dominion through demanding more strength, men, and financial resources whereas imperialism sought more territory. On the other hand, according to Vagts, modern militarism was so deeply entrenched that it transcended true military purposes. Since modern armies were not continuously engaged in combat, their personnel had become self-employed and even “narcissistic” in time to serve their own ends (Vagts, 1959, p. 15). Vagts also separated “military way” from “militarism”. Vagts defined the former as the efficient and rational use of force utilized for winning specific objectives that are decided upon by the civilians, whereas according to Vagts militarism denoted the supremacy of military modes of acting and ways of conduct over civilian ones (Vagts, 1959, p. 17). Thus, Vagts emphasized the possibility that armies

that were expected to serve the society by providing protection may divert from their primary objective and indeed may threaten the security of society (Vagts, 1959, p. 341). Through using their often-unquestioned expertise and the acceptance of their ways of acting by civilians, Vagts argued that militarization of civilians may legitimize militarist ideology.

The 1930s' discussions on militarism revolved mostly around the German case.

German militarism was seen as a product of the transition process from an agrarian to an industrial society, which was difficult for existing pre-industrial political systems and structures to accommodate. German militarism was feared throughout the European continent due to Germany's expansionist aspirations through external aggression and para-militarism. The Nazi ideology, which pervaded the society with its warlike spirit and its absolutism in terms of the ascendancy of military considerations, was the accompanying concern (Diehl, 1977; Lauterbach, 1944). The Nazi movement threatened the stability of European balance of power through its expansionist policy comprising of cultural and racial nationalism together with the Prussian military tradition (Pflanze, 1955, p. 565). According to Martin Kitchen, the glorification of the army and militaristic virtues and behavior had a strong connection with fascism both in Germany and Italy (Kitchen, 1975, p. 219).

The "Garrison State hypothesis" (Lasswell, 1941; Aron, 1979) developed by Harold Lasswell, an American political scientist, in 1937 regarding the Sino-Japanese war was also widely used to explain Nazi Germany's militarism. The Garrison State hypothesis identified the military with war and violence.

According to this hypothesis, war and preparation for war would subordinate all other purposes and activities, which required centralization of power and the military to gain the upper hand vis-à-vis civilians. As a result of these, civilian rule, democracy and legislative branch of the government were expected to weaken and democratic institutions would become symbolic (Lasswell, 1941; Huntington, 1957). The garrison state exerted a restrictive influence over civilian politics, and it was incompatible with democracy, Lasswell argued.

To summarize, beginning with the end of the Second World War, militarism saw a diversity in its problematization and study. Increasingly, the military establishment its broader relations to state and society were studied. The glorification of the military power and its association to nationalist efforts of state-building can be traced back to the Bismarckian Germany. During the final years of the nineteenth century, this perspective on militarism was criticized by some scholars, such as Herbert Spencer. When the impact of Bismarckian combination of nationalism and militarism were started to be seen within Germany's expansionist aspirations during the 1930s, an ideological critique emerged, which is symbolized by the seminal works of Alfred Vagts and Harold Lasswell. The following section will analyze the shift from an ideological critique to a more normative and theoretical discussion of militarism.

2.2. The study of militarism in the 1950s and 1960s

In the aftermath of the Second World War, focus of the scholars in world scholarship was on the term civil-military relations. This body of scholarship laid out a theory as to how a proper relationship between civilians and the military should take place, and with what mechanisms the civilians should control the military. This focus was best represented in the works of Samuel P. Huntington, an American political scientist who wrote on the military and its role in state and society. His writings on the military revolved along the military policy, security, and civilian control nexus. Berghahn argued that the tendency to study civil-military relations was also prevalent while studying the developing countries, since the scholarship avoided from using militarism by preferring to speak of civil-military relations during the 1960s (Berghahn, 1984, p. 68).

In *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, Huntington argued that civil-military relations is one aspect of military security policy, which aims to maximize military security at the least expense of other social values. He outlined military professionalism, expertise, and responsibility as the crux of a properly balanced civil-military relations in the search for national security (Huntington, 1957). In Huntington's ideal version of the military, the officer corps were responsible for the military security of the state, which required an emphasis on preparing for war and maintaining strong and ready military forces. Huntington's civil-military relations theory identified two types of civilian control over the military, which were subjective and objective civilian control. While subjective civilian control ensured civilian control through

maximizing the civilian power, objective civilian control did so through maximizing military professionalism (Huntington, 1957, pp. 80-98). Huntington argued that subjective civilian control denied the presence of an independent military sphere whereas objective civilian control recognized the military's autonomy, which is politically neutral by virtue of the professionalism of the officer corps. According to Huntington, what kind of civilian control a country would have depended on the power of officer corps compared to the civilian groups and on the compatibility of the professional military ethic with the political ideologies prevalent throughout the society (Huntington, 1957, pp. 96-97).

Writing largely on the civil-military relations of the United States, Huntington argued that the post-Second World War period brought a civilian-military rapprochement at various levels and sectors (Huntington, 1957). In the aftermath of the Second World War, the participation of officers in civilian government in both military-related and nonmilitary-related posts and military-business alliances, especially between defense industries and the military, was observed, Huntington wrote (Huntington, 1957, p. 345). Military professionals and military thinking were also incorporated into the formulation of foreign policy. Huntington's civil-military relations theory focused on the ways in which the military officers interact with the civilians. However, Huntington did not pay attention to military beliefs, values, and modes of acting and how they may influence civilians.

In an edited volume entitled *Changing Patterns of Military Politics*, Huntington argued that during the 1950s, the nature of political violence, threats, the

external requirements influencing the size and shape of the armed forces had started to change in the world (Huntington, 1962). In this type of new military politics, the emerging concerns were military-industrial complexes, the shift of locus of violence from international to domestic politics, the rise of democracy and technology, and a threat of a nuclear war instead of a direct armed conflict (Huntington, 1962, pp. 14-15). Thus, in accordance with these changes in the international arena, studies on the military organization started to focus on strategy and strategic theory, arms control, American military policy and civil-military relations, weapons, technology and military policy, and doctrine in military affairs. Civil-military relations outside the United States started to attract scholarly interest as well. Research on the military affairs of underdeveloped countries, especially in the Soviet Union and China, focused generally on the capabilities, ideological and political control over the armed forces, whereas in Latin America, Middle East and Southeast Asia, the focus was more on violence, revolution, and the military as an agent of modernization and development.

To summarize this section, during the 1950s and 1960s, the scholarship on military affairs, symbolized by the writings of Huntington, discussed the military as an institution and its role in the state and society. While the body of scholarship on civil-military relations initially focused on civil-military relations of the United States, developing countries of the Middle East and Asia and the Soviet Union started to be studied in the scholarship later on. While during the 1950s, studies of civil-military relations focused on civilian control over the

military, topics such as strategic theory, arms control and military doctrine became important as well, as the Cold War advanced. An ideological critique that was present up until the Second World War is missing from the discussion of the 1950s and 1960s.

2.3. The study of militarism of the 1970s and 1980s

During the 1970s, it is possible to find a revitalization in the conceptual discussion on militarism and militarization. Some scholars, such as Marek Thee, Asbjorn Eide and Andrew L. Ross, tried to distinguish between these two concepts by laying out definitions and indicators of each (Eide & Thee, 1980; Ross, 1987) . Also, during the final years of the Cold War, militarism continued to be problematized in terms of economy, arms build-up, and coups and revolutions in the Third World. Besides militarization in the Third World, the contestation between the United States and the Soviet Union was also studied. Thus, the second and third conceptual and operational approaches to the study of militarism as discussed in Stavrianakis and Selby were evident during this period, which understood militarism as ‘the tendency to use force to resolve conflicts’ and militarism as ‘military build-ups’ (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013). Studies on the historical and sociological conditions of militarism also started to find a wider place in the scholarship. During this period, the studies on militarism, which examined militarism as embedded in the wider social relations of a society, emerged. The scholars started to study militarism under new definitions and conceptualizations.

Michael Mann, sociologist, might be the most significant representative of the second definition of militarism, as Mann described militarism as “the persistent use of organized military violence in pursuit of social goals” (Mann, 1996, p. 224). Mann defined militarism by looking at the policy outcomes of a state and the use of military build-ups, rather than defining militarism within an ideological or civil-military relations framework.

In another article entitled “The Roots and Contradictions of Militarism”, Mann defined militarism as “a set of attitudes and social practices which regards war and the preparation for war as a normal and desirable social activity” (Mann, 1987). In this article, Mann argued that a new type of militarism emerged after the Second World War. This was characterized by nuclear warfare unlike the previous phases, which experienced limited and citizen war as the highest level of warfare (Mann, 1987, p. 36). According to Mann, the emergence of the bipolar world order during the Cold War and the possession of nuclear weapons by the two superpowers led to changes in foreign policy through the inclusion of theory of deterrence, which required a strategy as to how to deploy the armed forces and manage the nuclear arsenals (Mann, 1987, p. 44).

According to Mann, the introduction of the nuclear weapons and their extensive development during the 1960s revived science as an important component of modern militarism. Mann distinguished between how the new type of deterrence militarism took place differently in the Soviet Union and the United States. The deterrence-science militarism bifurcated into militarized socialism in the Soviet Union and spectator sport militarism in the United States, meaning that

militarism had a dynamic nature and “its social-structural foundations were weakened and its cultural mechanisms were changing” (Mann, 1987). Mann argued that in the Soviet Union, militarism was internalized as a part of the communist tools of social control, and it was deemed necessary for creating patriotic citizens, thus, militarized socialism remained as an integral part of Soviet citizenship (Mann, 1987, p. 46). In the United States, on the other hand, militarism was not central to the Western social structures, argued Mann, and the public of the country were indirect participants, or spectators, in the threat of nuclear warfare of the Cold War. Also, militarism in terms of citizens’ willingness to symbolically or actively sacrifice their bodies or possessions for the nation as in the Soviet Union could not find an equivalent in the United States during the Cold War, since principles such as democracy, liberalism, and welfare led to a public proclivity for a rational and diplomatic war strategy (Mann, 1987, p. 49). Mann argued that the Cold War period led to a partial demilitarization of society worldwide due to the isolation of civilian populations from the superpower elites and the emergence of a private state-military field, which led to a decrease in the centrality of military power in domestic politics (Mann, 1987, pp. 45-46).

Aside from arguing that Cold War years had brought demilitarization, some scholars continued to seek conceptual clarity. To name a few scholars, Marek Thee, and Andrew L. Ross wrote on militarism and attempted to classify hitherto existing definitions of the concept. For example, in their book entitled *Problems of Contemporary Militarism* edited by Asbjorn Eide and Marek Thee, the authors defined militarism as a tendency to utilize force to resolve conflicts. For Eide and

Thee, militarization was the increase in armaments and number of people under arms, advances in military technology and weapons, and growing military expenditure (Eide & Thee, 1980). In Eide and Thee's conceptualization of militarism and militarization, the second and third definitions of militarism, that are, militarism as 'the tendency to use force' and militarism as 'military build-ups' were combined.

In addition to Eide and Thee, Ross defined militarization as both 'a process' and 'build-up' (Ross, 1987). Writing especially on militarization of the Third World countries, Ross argued that the first type of militarization resulted in militarism, which was associated with militaristic behavior and militarism of the mind, connoting more ideological elements of militarism. In the second type, an increase in military spending and growing importance of the armed forces were accompanied by an increasing influence of the military in politics (Ross, 1987). Ross measured militarization by using categories of indicators to operationalize military build-up, such as military expenditures, the armed forces, arms imports, arms production, wars, and military regimes (Ross, 1987, p. 565). In Ross' account of militarism and militarization, the focus was on material features of militarism that would be measured quantitatively. Ross' view of militarism was directly in line with the third definition of militarism which viewed militarism as military build-ups, as identified by Stavrianakis and Selby (Ross, 1987; Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013).

In another article entitled “Militarism and Militarization in Contemporary International Relations”, Thee aimed to establish a distinction between militarism and militarization (Thee, 1977). According to Thee, militarism is

the rush to armaments, the growing role of the military (understood as the military establishment) in national and international affairs, the use of force as a tool of prevalence and political power, and the increasing influence of the military in civilian affairs (Thee, 1977, p. 296).

Thee insisted that militarism should be investigated by looking at the social and political dynamics within which militarism is embedded. According to Thee, militarism consisted of a set of sources, it had a structure, ideology, and a mode of conduct, which were to be made clear through an analysis of socio-political conditions (Thee, 1977, p. 298). Writing at the time of the Cold War, Thee argued that as more resources were directed into acquiring more material capabilities and as military capacity was used as a tool of politics and diplomacy, military tended to undertake some roles within society and transcended beyond its primary function of protection and violated the principle of democratic legitimacy. Thee associated the rise of militarism with rising nationalism as well, which was led by socialization processes of disseminating the military mind and attitudes through various channels such as compulsory military service, state educational structure and the mass media. This kind of an extension of military influence on civilian life was militarization, according to Thee, which possessed structural and ideological features as well as being result of a certain policy orientation.

Thee's definition of militarism and militarization included ideological elements since he discussed the role of hierarchy and discipline in military profession, the glorification of power, of the army and the military establishment, and the nationalist sentiments geared towards a form of military socialization and indoctrination (Thee, 1977, p. 299). However, Thee's account on militarism differs from Vagtsian ideological understanding. Besides ideological elements, the regime type, civil-military relations and policy outcomes are treated as important factors in militarization in Thee's account. According to Thee, militarism derived its strength from various elements such as how state is organized, whether there exist social groups supporting the influence of a strong military when security is at stake, and an ideology feeding the salience of the army as a significant political actor (Thee, 1977, p. 301). However, Vagts, who provided an ideological critique of militarism, did not analyze the processes of militarization.

Kjell Skjelsbaek was another scholar who discussed militarism along three dimensions, which were behavioral, attitudinal or ideological and structural. The author cautioned that formulating a universal definition of militarism was not only not possible but also meaningless (Skjelsbaek, 1979). For him, militarism should be treated as a disease and its symptoms should be investigated rather than investing efforts into defining it. Comparing the critique of militarism in liberal and Marxist traditions, Skjelsbaek argued that both traditions recognized the military as a significant and legitimate actor. However, while Marxism condoned and even glorified the use of violence at times of revolution, according to Skjelsbaek,

liberal tradition was more concerned about the grounds upon which the use of force and maintenance of a military establishment was justified (Skjelsbaek, 1979, p. 217). For Skjelsbaek, militarism should be considered as a phenomenon that is linked to many others, and the linkages between the domestic and international level, the ideological and the material, and the structural and the cultural should be recognized (Skjelsbaek, 1979, p. 226). For Skjelsbaek, militarism was a problem to be resolved rather than a concept to be defined.

To summarize this section, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the emergence of new definitions of militarism and militarization. During this period, authors understood militarism mostly along the nexus of the tendency to use force and military build-ups. Militarism and militarization in the Third World were the subject of scholarly interest, which generally revolved around the arms transfers, military regimes, coups, revolutions, and the place of the Third World in the Cold War. Militarism and militarization within the context of bipolar world order also attracted the interest of world scholarship. This section argued that the 1970s and the following decade witnessed a diversification of studies on militarism in line with the second and third definitions of militarism provided by Stavrianakis and Selby (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013). Unlike the two previous periods when an ideological critique of militarism and civil-military relations prevailed respectively, from the 1970s onwards, the recognition of the conceptual and operational difficulties in defining militarism were more salient in the scholarship.

During the 1970s and 1980s, scholars of the world scholarship studied militarism by analyzing how military force was used and in terms of military build-ups.

2.4. The study of militarism during the 1990s and onwards

After the end of the Cold War in 1989, scholars writing on militarism observed that interest in militarism had waned due to a process of demilitarization. Martin Shaw argued that after the Cold War, the main tenets of classical militarism were brought into question, such as conscription, and Europe made a transition to a post-militarist society (Shaw, 1991). In a post-militarist society, militarism seemed being displaced since its structural mechanisms were weakened, Shaw argued. Feminist scholars and political geographers, disagreed, arguing that people's lives and spaces they were living in were still militarized at various levels. Shaw, feminist scholars and political geographers, albeit arriving at different conclusions on demilitarization, looked at the sociological processes of militarism.

Martin Shaw, a scholar of sociology and international relations, defined militarism by analyzing the processes in which militarism becomes embedded in society and mechanisms allowing for such an embeddedness. Shaw argued that it was necessary to move beyond the narrow ideological definitions of militarism because they separated the ideology and social relations. In turn, Shaw proposed defining militarism as “the penetration of social relations in general by military relations” (Shaw, 2013, p. 23). According to Shaw, militarism depended on the *political, economic, and cultural forces* that the military power mobilized and the *social relations* of military power that demarcated the boundaries

between the armed forces and civilians (Shaw, 2013, p. 23). For Shaw, during the post-Cold War period, militarization faced a serious retreat. The author argued that in a post-militarist society, the concept of citizenship became demilitarized as people of Europe increasingly started to resist to conscription and to become insulated from war making (Shaw, 1991). According to Shaw, the end of the Cold War changed the structural and sociological foundations of militarism, which led to demilitarization.

However, other scholars disagreed about demilitarization and came to a different conclusion. Beginning from the 1980s but increasingly during the 1990s, feminist scholarship, which may be represented through the works Cynthia Enloe, offered a gender perspective to the studies on militarism and argued that women's lives have become militarized (Enloe, 1988; Enloe, 1993). During this period, political geographers were also attentive to war, militarism, and militarization (Bernazzoli & Flint, 2009; Woodward, 2005). These two bodies of scholarship, that is, feminist and political geography scholarship, have taken ground-breaking steps in terms of studying militarism through paying attention to the political realities of people who experience wars, conflicts, and constant militarization in real places (Sjoberg & Via, 2010, p. 7). For both bodies of scholarship, the ideological dimension of militarism was recognized through the analysis of military attitudes, values and beliefs influencing societies. What makes them different was their analysis of how the impact of military sphere is constructed and reproduced through various mechanisms. Both bodies of

literature examined militarism and militarization as sociological processes by looking at their process of becoming embedded in social practices.

Feminist scholarship adopted a gendered lens while looking into the workings of masculinities and femininities in war zones and in militarized cultures (Jacoby, 2005; Hunt & Rygiel, 2006; Jeffreys, 2007; Wibben, 2018). The aim of gendered analysis was to 'better understand unequal social hierarchies, including gender hierarchies, which contribute to conflict, inequality, and oppression,' as Tickner put it (Tickner, 1999, p. 11). Feminists' recognition of the close ties between national interest, power, masculinity, and militarism, and how they have been replicated at the international level have led them to analyze the gendered political and social processes (Horn, 2010). Excluding women and feminized identities from the imagery of combat, security, and military have reinforced masculine conceptions of citizenship and political identity and the powerlessness of feminized groups (Via, 2010). By being attentive to politics, power relations, and the constellations of interests throughout society, feminist scholars have pursued answers to questions related to militarism, masculinity, femininity, security, violence and war.

In her works, Cynthia Enloe extensively analyzed the role of women in gendered processes of militarization and war making (Enloe, 1988; Enloe, 1993; Enloe, 2000; Enloe, 2004). Enloe understood militarism as an ideology and militarization as "a step-by-step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being on militaristic ideas" (Enloe, 2000, p. 3). For Enloe, militaristic individuals and

societies have viewed militarism not only as a valuable but also as a normal phenomenon (Enloe, 2000). According to Enloe, militarism has been socially and politically so prevalent that, from a can of soup to police forces, everything could be militarized (Enloe, 1988).

Enloe also wrote about militarized masculinities and femininities and argued “militarism legitimizes masculinized men as protectors, as actors, and rational strategists” (Enloe, 2004, p. 154). Enloe argued that militarism and militarization put constant pressures on men to show off their masculinity and on women “to behave as the gender women,” meaning that they need to be obedient and subservient to the needs of the militaries (Enloe, 1988; Enloe, 2014). For Enloe, militarism was in a continuous relation with masculinity to determine gender roles. Women’s needs, Enloe argued, have often not been understood and addressed in national and international politics. According to Enloe, gendered structures remain intact and shaped in line with men’s interests and needs. Including women has not solved this problem for Enloe, since women are merely added to structures, such as war making and peacemaking, without changing the gendered norms, rules and premises that had defined those structures (Enloe, 2000; Sjoberg & Via, 2010). Thus, feminist scholarship has strived to shed light on the systems and hierarchies of power and inequality at different levels. A novelty brought by Enloe into the study of militarism and militarization was her conceptualization of militarism at personal, national, and international levels. Enloe showed that all these spheres were interwoven when she famously said “the personal is international, and the international is personal” (Enloe,

2014, p. 343). By that, Enloe aimed to show that analyses of international politics that do not consider feminist questions are too simple and incomplete.

Besides feminist scholarship, scholars of political geography have kept the discussion of militarism and how it shapes social space alive (Woodward, 2005). They studied “the pervasiveness of militarism and military activities in shaping all our geographies” and “how geography is first of all about war” (Luke & O Tuathail, 2000; Mamadouh, 1998; Woodward, 2005). Geographical scholarship focused on explaining “not only the outcomes of military power and control but also their origins”, and the instruments and mechanisms through which they play out (Woodward, 2005, p. 731). Political geographers also looked into how militarism and militarization have been normalized. For example, Kuus analyzed the normalization of military institutions and military solutions to political problems as “enlightened, good, as well as necessary” by examining the practices of Western liberal democracies, international organizations such as NATO and global cooperation (Kuus, 2009, p. 545). Political geographers have also looked into the constructedness of place, the territory and violence nexus, and the cultural impacts of military (Massey, 1994; Cowen & Gilbert, 2008). They have investigated the processes in which societies are perpetually prepared, reshaped, and reoriented to wage wars. For instance, for Bernazzoli and Flint, militarism was more than an ideology and the process of cultural hegemony should be analyzed to understand how militaristic beliefs and values penetrate the society at various levels (Bernazzoli & Flint, 2009, p. 402).

According to Stavrianakis and Selby, while feminist critique of militarism and war making continued, the rise of new scholarship on failed states, new wars, and human security detracted the focus away from the study of militarism and its related concepts (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013, p. 7). These studies have argued that the nature of political violence has been changing from international, organized and supportive of state building to become transnational, informal, and subversive in terms of state building processes (Kaldor, 2012). This change has happened due to declining state capacity, which moved the focus away from states and the problem of military power. Some scholars have also studied security and securitization in lieu of militarism and militarization (Bernazzoli & Flint, 2009, p. 450). According to Bernazzoli and Flint, the concept of militarism assumes an a priori separation of the military and society, and automatically puts actors and their activities into clear-cut categories, which obscures the connectivity between them (Bernazzoli & Flint, 2009, p. 449). Furthermore, Bernazzoli and Flint argued that militarism as a concept has “insufficient conceptual purchase” since it fails to evaluate the roles and activities of various actors in violence at various levels since militarism assumes the civilian and military dichotomy in its analysis (Bernazzoli & Flint, 2009, p. 450). Thus, the scholarship on failed states and the increasing focus on the problem of security, for some, was the reason for the shift of focus away from militarism (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013; Stavrianakis & Stern, 2018).

In contrast to the scholarship that shifted the focus away from militarism, some scholars continued to study militarism within a security studies framework and

called their scholarship “Critical Military Studies”. For scholars working in the burgeoning fields of critical military and war studies, militarism and its social and political impact were worth studying to understand how militarism and military institutions, practices and processes were outcomes of constant reproduction and construction (Basham, Belkin, & Gifkins, 2015; Stavrianakis & Stern, 2018). The everyday politics of the military and its myriad effects on the society has become a subject of critical scholarly inquiry, which aimed to discover the workings of militarism without being confined to binaries that militarism evokes a priori, such as inside/outside, civilian/military, and domestic/foreign.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter aimed to show how world scholarship has studied militarism during different historical periods. Adopting the conceptual framework by Stavrianakis and Selby, this chapter looked at four historical periods to see which definitions of prevailed during each period.

During the early to mid-twentieth century, militarism was understood as an ideology. During this period, scholars such as Alfred Vagts and Volker R. Berghahn provided a critique of militarism as the glorification of military values, beliefs and ways over civilian ones. In their critique of militarism, they mostly relied on the example of German militarism. In Germany, they showed, the marriage of nationalism and militarism was a threatening force due to its expansionist aspirations. According to them and other scholars, the supremacy of the military over civilian actors and processes threatened to weaken civilian institutions. The second section showed that, during the 1950s and 1960s, civil-

military relations scholarship emerged, and it initially focused on the United States. This body of scholarship was mostly represented by the studies of Samuel P. Huntington. Huntington's theory on civil-military relations provided a framework on how a proper relationship between civilians and the military should be organized, rather than providing a critique of militarism. The 1960s was also the period when a literature on military-industrial complex emerged, which analyzed the close ties between the military and economy for the purposes of national security. The third section analyzed the 1970s and 1980s, when countries of the Third World, where militarism and militarization were seen as problems and threatening forces, were mostly analyzed in line with the definitions that understood militarism as the tendency to use force and as military build-ups. The fourth and last section showed that feminist scholars and political geographers analyzed militarism and militarization by looking at sociological processes and mechanisms starting in the late 1980s.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY OF MILITARISM IN TURKEY

This chapter will focus on the scholarship in Turkey on militarism. In this part, works produced on militarism both in English and Turkish languages by Turkey's scholars will be analyzed. Rather than following the periodization of the previous chapter, this chapter is organized around Stavrianakis and Selby's framework of five definitions of militarism (ideology; the tendency to utilize force to resolve conflicts; military build-up; civil-military imbalance; and sociological-historical phenomenon) (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013, p. 12).

The reason why this chapter on Turkey's scholarship on militarism is not organized along the same periodization as the previous chapter is that Turkey's scholarship did not follow a similar trajectory to the world scholarship. In Turkey, studies on militarism emerged during the late 1970s. As will be seen, except for a few works, explicit discussions of militarism and militarization were rarely present in Turkey's scholarship until the 1980s. During this period, the literature focused on coups, coup attempts, and civil-military relations. Since the early 2000s, Turkey's scholarship began to diversify beyond studying civil-military relations. During this period, Turkey's scholars started to study militarism in a sociological manner in relation to security, gender, economy, culture and geopolitics. However, this new focus has not replaced the previous focus on

civil-military relations. The latter still constitutes a great portion of the scholarship on militarism.

3.1. The study of militarism as ideology

This section will look at scholars who studied militarism as ideology. Authors whose studies focus on this definition of militarism as ideology are Murat Belge, Etyen Mahçupyan and Güven Gürkan Öztan.

To begin with, Murat Belge, who is a Turkish literary critic, scholar, and public intellectual, analyzed militarism as an ideology as it is defined by Alfred Vagts. In his book *Militarist Modernleşme* (Militarist Modernization), Belge defined militarism as “a mindset which aims to impose military values, norms, and rules on the non-military, that is the civilian, section of society (Belge, 2011, pp. 147-148). According to Belge, even in times when an active war situation is not present, militarism continues to exert its influence over society because militarism dictates the military way of life. This way of life is essentially hierarchical and fond of discipline, wrote Belge, and aims to make this mentality prevalent throughout all practices and relations within the society (Belge, 2011, pp. 152-153).

For Belge, the mechanisms through which militarism prevails in the society are created through the intricate links between the state, nation, and homeland. The dependence of the state on the military for the protection of the homeland against threats and enemies makes the military a significant institution produced by modernity (Belge, 2011, p. 153). Belge argued that in order for militarism to flourish during times of peace, it produces and reproduces enemies and threats.

Even during times of peace, militarism renders it necessary to be prepared at all times for a possible war. For Belge, social Darwinism constitutes one of the most important anchors of militarist ideology because it reinforces militarism with an idea of constant struggle. The will to survive is utilized by the military to justify war and war preparedness even during times of peace (Belge, 2011, p. 164).

For Belge, militarism as an ideology perpetuates its existence independent from war or peace and takes hold of not only military officers but also civilians.

Furthermore, militarism as an ideology envisions a certain way of life around a set of military values and sanctifies the virtues belonging to the military such as discipline and hierarchy, which are considered to be good values.

Belge's definition of militarism not only laid out militarism's ideological components but also considered the everyday mechanisms that reproduce militarism. Belge argued that a militarist society prefers and advocates the most violent way of resolving domestic or international problems because society handles all kinds of undertakings with a military mentality (Belge, 2011, p. 150).

The military's self-assigned role as the protector of the nation and society from all kinds of threats has enabled it to define threats, select the mechanisms of dealing with them, and defy interventions from civilians into military affairs by virtue of putting forward their possession of knowledge and intelligence in defense and military affairs. Belge also paid attention to the role of the civilians and how their practices legitimize and perpetuate the salience of ideas related to the military, war making, and violence, during times when militarism permeates society.

Etyen Mahçupyan, a Turkish columnist and journalist, is another author who analyzed militarism as an ideology. In a book chapter named “Bir Mikro İdeoloji Olarak Militarizm” (Militarism as a Micro-Ideology), Mahçupyan defined militarism as “the domination of decision making and governance mechanisms in a society by military institution and military ways of acting” (Mahçupyan, 2004, p. 129). He argued that the social identity of a militarist society was built upon militarist subjects. According to Mahçupyan, militarism functioned as a “micro ideology” in societies where “the social weakness of will” becomes embedded as a mentality and this mentality rendered the society susceptible to authoritarian ideologies (Mahçupyan, 2004, p. 122). According to Mahçupyan, the weakness of social will stemmed from the society’s passivity and inability to find itself a direction without receiving orders (Mahçupyan, 2004). When the society could not create its own subjectivity, Mahçupyan wrote, militarism manufactured a subjectivity, which became the bearer of militarist roles and norms such as oppression, discipline, and war making (Mahçupyan, 2004, p. 132). Social inertia as the inability to contemplate on social identity and subjectivity laid the groundwork for militarism and in turn, according to Mahçupyan, militarism penetrated the society as an ideology (Mahçupyan, 2004, p. 133). Militarism provided the society with the ethical references that were sought by the society. As such, Mahçupyan criticized militarism as being an ideology of failure, and it could only emerge in societies that could not create its own identity and subjectivity.

Güven Gürkan Öztan is the third scholar who viewed militarism as an ideology. In his book *Türkiye’de Militarizm* (Militarism in Turkey), he discussed militarism in Turkey chronologically through analyzing various historical events such as Turkey’s involvement in the Korean War and the Cyprus dispute. Öztan defined militarism as an ideology that glorifies war and heroism and devalorizes peace and humanism (Öztan, 2014, pp. 46-47). According to Öztan, in Turkey war making has been associated with proving masculinity and feeling of vengeance, which legitimize utilizing force and violence or other types of violent behavior (Öztan, 2014, p. 48). Öztan showed that during Turkey’s involvement in the Korean War in 1950, the discourse of vengeance was maintained hand in hand with the emphasis on anticommunism (Öztan, 2014, p. 48). The scholar provided examples from the speeches of state officials, who called for revenge for the soldiers died on the war front (Öztan, 2014, p. 128). For Öztan, these discourses also included a process of dehumanization of the enemy to justify violence and to do away with any moral responsibility vis-à-vis the enemy in militarist ideology (Öztan, 2014, p. 50).

To re-state, authors such as Belge, Mahçupyan and Öztan have studied militarism as ideology and based their arguments on Vagtsian definition of militarism. Murat Belge, Etyen Mahçupyan and Güven Gürkan Öztan all recognize the strong links between militarism and nationalism in Turkey. The nation-building process has been in a close interaction with militarist discourses, according to these scholars. For these scholars, militarism is an ideology that penetrates society through daily reproduction mechanisms. Furthermore, they

argued that in societies where militarist ideology is deeply entrenched, the role of the military as the guardian of the nation is widely accepted not only by the military as their self-image but also by civilians as well. They also argued that the embeddedness of militarism brings about cultural, economic, educational, and social instruments that aid to sustain militarism as ideology.

3.2. The study of militarism as tendency to use force to resolve conflicts

The second definition understands militarism as the tendency to utilize military force to resolve conflicts (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013, p. 12). According to this definition, militarism denotes a proclivity towards preferring military means and ways rather than non-military ones to resolve conflicts (Eide & Thee, 1980).

World scholars who adopted this definition of militarism mostly focused on states and their foreign and domestic policy choices to characterize their policy orientations as 'militaristic'. While this definition may recognize the ideological and sociological factors and reasons behind militarist policy choices, they focus on the behavioral manifestations of violence in inter-state relations rather than the motives behind these choices (Kinsella, 2013, pp. 104-105). In this definition, militarism means opting for armed conflict to resolve conflicts instead of a peaceful resolution. My research did not find any studies in Turkey's scholarship that adopted this definition to study militarism.

3.3. The study of militarism as military build-up

According to the third definition, militarism is "quantitative increases in military build-ups, weapons production and imports, military personnel and military expenditure" (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013, p. 12). The literature on military build-

ups has looked at various indicators to understand the degree or extent of militarization. Some argued that militarism as military build-up conception was narrow and offered little insight as to how militarism becomes socially embedded to allow it to build up. Some others suggested that its quantitative strength may also be of great use (Shaw, 1991; Shaw, 2013).

In Turkey's scholarship, the definition of militarism as military build-ups was adopted mostly by economists. I will analyze the studies of Gülay Günlük-Şenesen as the representative works of this third definition. Günlük-Şenesen, a scholar of economics and econometrics, has published extensively on Turkey's defense expenditures, armament spending, and the arms industry (Günlük-Şenesen, 1994; Günlük-Şenesen, 1995; Günlük-Şenesen, 2002).

One of Günlük-Şenesen's earliest works, which was published in both English and Turkish in 1994, discussed the military modernization program. In a chapter entitled "An Evaluation of the Modernization Program by the Turkish Armed Forces" that Günlük-Şenesen contributed to an edited volume, the scholar analyzed the domestic arms industry in Turkey and the arms production within the framework of its modernization program. Writing in the 1990s, Günlük-Şenesen argued that while demilitarization was high on the agenda of Western countries in the post-Cold War period, Turkey was moving in the opposite direction. According to Günlük-Şenesen, even after the end of the Cold War Turkey did not adapt to new strategic realities by demilitarizing. This was because, the scholar argued, Turkey continued to approach security matters from a "hard security" perspective (Günlük-Şenesen, 1994, p. 193). In the

aftermath of the Cold War, Günlük-Şenesen showed that Turkey did not seem to find it necessary to change its defense policy due to the domestic and external security threats that Turkey was facing. Günlük-Şenesen also demonstrated that the high levels of defense expenditure, coupled with increasing arms production, were indicators of militarized industries and economy in Turkey (Günlük-Şenesen, 1994, p. 203).

In another article that was published in 1995, “Some Economic Aspects of Turkish Armaments Spending”, Günlük-Şenesen discussed the economic and financial implications of Turkey’s decisions to increase the level of armaments. Noting that Turkey’s dependence on foreign technology and its status as world’s one of the top arms importers seemed to be unavoidable and absolute, Günlük-Şenesen underscored that the allocation of budget in favor of defense spending and arms production with the “efforts to maintain the modernization program puts pressure on the available resources of the economy” (Günlük-Şenesen, 1995, pp. 87-88). In a later study, “Budgetary Trade-Offs of Security Expenditures in Turkey”, Günlük-Şenesen showed that defense expenditures dominated overall security expenditures and were less affected by economic hardships (Günlük-Şenesen, 2002).

Günlük-Şenesen showed that during the Justice and Development Party (the JDP, *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) governments between years 2002 and 2014, the allocation of budgetary resources to military spending displayed a decline. In two co-authored articles, Günlük-Şenesen showed that changing “security perceptions” during the JDP era reshaped the structure of the economy by

replacing hard security solutions with economic interdependence and cooperation (Ayman & Günlük-Şenesen, 2016, p. 42). In another co-authored article, Günlük-Şenesen and Hikmet Kırık argued that the process of “democratization” and “civilianization” halved Turkey’s military burden in the 2010s to approach the EU average and standards (Günlük-Şenesen & Kırık, 2015). In this work, Günlük-Şenesen and her co-author also showed that between years 1998 and 2014, while the budgetary share of military spending decreased, a higher spending pattern was observed for internal security, which implied that other security forces, such as the police, the gendarmerie and the coast guard, started to attain a higher share of the security spending than that of the military (Günlük-Şenesen & Kırık, 2015). In both works, Günlük-Şenesen and her co-authors argued that the reforms, which aimed to curb the influence of the military over civilian politics carried out by the JDP governments, were reflected in public spending patterns. Günlük-Şenesen and her co-authors showed that between years 2002 and 2014, the share of “spending for security agencies in government spending fell from 18.3 percent to 12.8 percent” and this decrease was due to the decreased share of the military in government budget (Günlük-Şenesen & Kırık, 2015, p. 10). “Civilianization” of politics as an EU conditionality had implications for the JDP’s changing security understanding and the economy, which led to a less militarized budget and less military expenditure, Günlük-Şenesen and co-authors argued (Günlük-Şenesen & Kırık, 2015; Ayman & Günlük-Şenesen, 2016).

To summarize, in Stavrianakis and Selby's framework, analyzing military build-ups, military spending, armament production and imports is one of the ways of studying militarism. In Turkey's scholarship, Günlük-Şenesen's studies on military build-ups are representative of this strand of studies in world scholarship. Although Günlük-Şenesen analyzed the patterns in military spending, arms production, arms imports, she did not provide these analyses within the context of militarism or militarization. According to the scholar, Turkey's decisions during the 1990s to modernize its arms industry through diverting its resources from military expenditure to domestic arms production led to an increase of military spending in Turkey's economy and budget. Although this pattern seemed to change during the JDP rule with declining military expenditures, Günlük-Şenesen showed that the spending on security and defense remained at significant levels. Günlük-Şenesen studied the patterns of military build-ups. Nevertheless, her analyses were not focused on militarism or militarization.

3.4. The study of militarism as civil-military relations

In this section, I will look at studies on civil-military relations by Turkey's scholars. The scholarship on civil-military relations in Turkey constitutes a vast literature. It is important to note that Turkey's scholars themselves do not use the term "militarism" as they study civil-military relations. Scholars of Turkey studied civil-military relations in terms of military's episodic interventions into politics, the military's supremacy over civilians, and its implications for Turkey's democracy. The military's direct and indirect interventions had been regarded as

impeding democratization (Gürsoy, 2012). In this section, I look at studies of Ümit Cizre, Gencer Özcan and Tanel Demirel respectively as representative scholars.³

Ümit Cizre is one of the scholars who has problematized the civil-military relations in Turkey and the army's role in politics. Being widely published since the 1980s, Cizre has been acclaimed as an expert scholar in Turkish politics, civil-military relations, and party politics. Cizre's earlier works on civil-military relations in the 1990s focused on the relationship between different ruling parties and the armed forces, and the sources of "the autonomy" of the military. In the early 2000s, Cizre published various works on the military's role in shaping national security, problems of democratic governance of the armed forces, and the armed forces as the carrier of the official state ideology.

In her 1993 book, *AP – Ordu İlişkileri: Bir İkilemin Anatomisi* (The Justice Party and the Military: The Anatomy of a Dilemma), Cizre focused on the tensions, agreements, and disagreements between the Justice Party (the JP) and the military. What the author termed as "dilemma" stemmed from the JP's dual attitude towards the military. On the one hand, the center-right JP aimed to appease the military, argued Cizre. On the other hand, the JP sought to limit the military's political activities by subjecting it to civilian rule. Cizre argued that as the bearer of the official state ideology, Kemalism, the military has been able to reproduce and reshape its political power and autonomy and exert political

³ For an overview of Turkey's scholarship on civil-military relations since the 1990s, see Appendix.

influence over democratically elected civilian authorities. According to Cizre, the presence of an “autonomous military” was due to the “weakness of civilian politics” in Turkey (Cizre, 1993, p. 12).

In her 1997 article “The Anatomy of the Turkish Military’s Political Autonomy”⁴, Cizre elaborated on the argument that the political autonomy enjoyed by the Turkish military has rested on its self-assumed guardianship role (Cizre-Sakallıoğlu, 1997, p. 154). In this article, Cizre analyzed the Turkish military’s autonomy at institutional and political levels. For Cizre, unlike the armies of many Third World countries, the Turkish military accepts the legitimacy of civilian rule, which left the boundaries between the civilians and the military intact. However, Cizre argued that in Turkey, civil-military balance has been tilted towards the military because the handling of security matters has been vested in the hands of the military in general and the military was seen as the actor that is most capable of “intelligence gathering” (Cizre, 2003, p. 229). Since the civilian forces failed to question the power configurations and the military openly asserted its guardianship role, a democratic control of the armed forces in Turkey would not be ensured. According to Cizre, the political autonomy of the military stemmed from the military’s self-styled role as the guardian of the nation in a milieu of “military culture and society that legitimized the military’s mission and institutional political role,” as well as the weakness of civilian politics (Cizre-Sakallıoğlu, 1997, p. 162).

⁴ This work has been one of the most cited works in civil-military relations studies since its publication (cited by 337 as of 5 July 2019, according to Google Scholar).

In her 2003 article entitled “Demythologizing the National Security Concept: The Case of Turkey”, Cizre argued that the military had been resorting to the vocabulary of “national security” since the late 1990s to reassert its role as the guardian of nation, democracy, national interest, and secularism (Cizre, 2003, p. 216). She also showed that since civil-military balance had been heavily skewed towards the military especially after the 1980 coup, the armed forces had been able to block unwanted change that would undermine its political autonomy. Cizre supported this argument by claiming that in the post – Cold War era, Turkey maintained its military-centered security understanding vis-à-vis the changing security agendas in the world, which were characterized by “less securitization” and inclusion of “soft security concerns” rather than “security in hard military terms” (Cizre, 2003, p. 217).

Carrying the “paradigm of national security” (Cizre, 2003, p. 225), which underpinned the civil-military imbalance, into internal threats, such as the PKK, Cizre argued that the armed forces had been able to perpetuate the national security discourse in the aftermath of the Cold War and to have leverage over policy-making. As such, Cizre explained the ability of the armed forces to assert its political power and the problems relating to democracy in Turkey through referring to the weakness of civilian politics and the military's leverage over security and defense. According to Cizre, the main tenets of Turkish Armed Forces' political autonomy and power were based on its guardianship of Kemalist principles, which casted the military in a benevolent role that could not be objected to. Together with the societal support for the armed forces, Cizre

argued that the salience of the military in politics had been sanctified and mythologized (Cizre, 2003, p. 215). For Cizre, a weak civilian politics and the custodian role of the army were the main reasons as to why the military had been a dominant actor in politics.

Cizre continued to work on civil-military relations during the Justice and Development Party (the JDP) period. In her chapter in the edited volume *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party*, Cizre focused on the relationship between the military and the JDP. According to Cizre, taking the EU bid very seriously in its early years, the JDP differentiated itself from other center-right parties by way of achieving to reform the civil-military relations to find a balance (Cizre, 2008, p. 160). Cizre argued that the JDP's reforms to curb the military's overt political role seemed to promise hope at the time because the JDP's efforts were predicated upon the EU conditionality. However, Cizre argued that Turkey's democratization would not be attained "without dismantling the state-centered security rationale for an expanded military role in politics" (Cizre, 2008, p. 162).

Gencer Özcan also examined how the armed forces in Turkey have been able to insert itself within specific policy-making processes. Özcan offered a detailed analysis of how the civilians and the military have interacted throughout the course of military's direct and indirect interventions in foreign and security policy. Gencer Özcan has analyzed the influence of the military especially in foreign and security making processes since his co-edited book, *The Longest Decade*, which was published in 1998. In his contribution to that edited volume, Gencer

Özcan looked at the increasing influence of the military in Turkey's national security and foreign policy during the decade of the 1990s. Here, Gencer Özcan analyzed the role of the military in foreign policy as an extension of the expanded power and authority that the military has held at its disposal in domestic politics. His works showed how the policy-making processes in Turkey have been affected by the military. For Özcan, Turkey's political regime has been characterized by a strong executive branch vis-à-vis the legislative. The executive power has been distributed among the government, the president, and the military. According to Özcan, this distribution has rendered the military with vast abilities to be a party to politics and policy-making (Özcan, 1994). Özcan has discussed the repercussions of this particular power sharing arrangement in terms of democratic governance. Throughout his works, Özcan argued that the impact of an unelected group of people, that is the military, which has been exempt from any political scrutiny, has been visible in Turkey's security and foreign policy making. The military's presence in politics has circumscribed the scope of power of the civilian authorities in given policy areas, which has created an unfavorable environment for putting a democratic popular sovereignty into practice, Özcan argued (Özcan, 1998; Özcan, 2001).

Özcan's book chapter "Türkiye'de Siyasal Rejim ve Dış Politika, 1983-1993" (Political Regime and Foreign Policy in Turkey, 1983-1993) that was published in an edited volume in 1994 was the scholar's first study where Özcan showed the direct and indirect influence of the military on foreign policy. In this chapter, Özcan argued that in Turkey, increasingly after the 1982 constitution was put in

effect, the boundaries between foreign policy, national security, and defense policy were blurred (Özcan, 1994). According to Özcan, the 1982 constitution provided the military with the power to increase its presence within the political system. With the 1961 constitution, the National Security Council (the NSC) had become a part of Turkish political system, which equipped the military with the authority to shape Turkey's security policy. Özcan showed that since the 1960s, the military gradually increased its scope of authority. Especially after the 1980 coup and the 1982 constitution enhanced the power of the NSC in terms of policy formulation, decision-making, and execution (Özcan, 1994, p. 296). For Özcan, the NSC was the main body through which the military exerted influence over the policy-making processes in national security and foreign policy.

Özcan's book chapter that was published in 1998 "The Increasing Influence of the Military in National Security and Foreign Policy in the 1990s" argued that post-Cold War security agendas around the world started to change. Özcan argued that security agendas started to include 'soft' security issues unlike the preceding decade, which gave more weight to 'hard' security problems. This agenda change was not reflected in Turkey's security understanding, according to Özcan (Özcan, 1998, p. 67). Özcan argued that Turkey's view of domestic and international security threats, such as Kurdish separatism and Islamic fundamentalism, allowed the military to intervene in specific policy-making areas (Özcan, 2001, p. 13). Since the 1960s, the military has been able to overtake the role as the guardian of the nation and insert the concept of national security into daily political language (Özcan, 2010, pp. 350-351). After that period,

especially during the first half of the 1990s, “national security mentality” started to become such pervasive that issues, which may only concern the ordinary public order came to be regarded as national security issues (Özcan, 2002). According to Özcan, during the 1990s, due to increased legal and constitutional powers, abstaining stances of political parties, and the international context characterized by the Gulf War, the military found a fertile ground to further institutionalize its privileged and autonomous position within the political structure (Özcan, 1998, p. 80). As such, high-ranking military personnel started to make comments, give speeches and briefings about Turkey’s bilateral relations with various countries, alongside their indisputable influence over the National Security Policy Document, which has been prepared without the participation of the parliament at any stage (Özcan, 2010; Özcan, 1998). Özcan argued that the participation of the military, an unelected body not answering to other civilian institutions, in security and foreign policy making showed an adverse condition for Turkey’s democracy.

To summarize, Özcan, throughout his various works, argued that the influence of the military over the formulation, decision-making, and execution stages of national security and foreign policy has been continuing since the 1960s. The military has had a strong constitutional and legal basis for intervening into these policy areas, but it did not stay confined to these. Özcan showed that the military was able to carve out increasingly more room for maneuver for itself in security policy-making over time through emphasizing the security threats that Turkey faced, which could only be tackled through strengthening the armed forces.

Utilizing the national security concept and exercising control over the policy-making processes through the NSC, the military, for nearly four decades, shaped the course of Turkey's security and foreign policy, according to Özcan.

Tanel Demirel, a scholar of civil-military relations, democratization, and Turkish politics, has studied how the relationship between civilians and military officers have affected Turkey's democratization. In his article "Soldiers and Civilians: The Dilemma of Turkish Democracy" that was published in 2004, Demirel looked at how the military has been able to "isolate" itself from civilians and exert influence over politics by virtue of its tutelage. Demirel traced Turkish military's "guardianship" to historical roots. Demirel argued that military's political power might be tied to the "privileged" position of the military in the Ottoman Empire, which also continued through the Republican era (Demirel, 2004, p. 128). During the late years of the empire, Demirel argued, the military's advent and development were seen as the cure to heal the ills of the state. Military officers who played important roles during the war of independence later became the founders of the Republic. The centrality of the military during the Ottoman era, according to Demirel, was one of the continuities that made its way through the newly founded republic. The ruling Republican People's Party and its leadership attributed great significance to the presence of a strong army if the nation was to be protected, which eventually elevated the soldiers to being the guardians of the nation (Demirel, 2004, p. 129). In the following years and under different governments, argued Demirel, the military continued to act with a tutelary attitude to enforce its "guardianship" role. For Demirel, the military's tutelary

attitude over civilian politics was not related to militarism, but to a centuries-long state tradition.

Demirel also paid attention to the military's direct and indirect interventions into politics. Demirel argued that after the coups of 1960 and 1980, the military created new constitutions which authorized it with vast powers. According to Demirel, each military intervention resulted in greater political, constitutional and institutional privileges for the military. The point that deserves attention, for Demirel, is that the civilians were hesitant to alter the existing state of affairs because a sense of "powerlessness vis-à-vis the military permeated *Weltanschauung* of the civilian world" (Demirel, 2004, p. 128). The inaction of the civilians was coupled with a high level of public support for the military's actions. The military, for a long time, was believed to be the defender of Turkey's long-term national interests. For Demirel, the image of civilians as being corrupted, self-interested, and imprudent contributed to the military's ongoing ability to enjoy its custodian role (Demirel, 2004, p. 139). In addition to civilian image, the absence of a resistance on the side of both civilians and the masses against the military's overt role in politics was another factor making it possible for the military to perpetuate its role in politics. Differently from the militaries of other Third World countries, for Demirel, Turkish military have not had praetorian tendencies to prolong its ruling. On the contrary, the military has valued democracy but has been worried about its consequences for the secular and unitary structure of the state (Demirel, 2004, p. 128). Herein the dilemma of democracy lies, according to Demirel. The scholar argued that the sense of

“powerlessness” of the civilians and the public, which led to a lack of a negative view of the military intervention, created an uneasy situation for the application of a fully-fledged democracy in Turkey (Demirel, 2004; Demirel, 2005).

Demirel referred to “militaristic culture of Turkish society” when discussing the unwillingness and inability of civilians to resist the authority of the military.

Demirel argued that the collective identity of the Turkish people would not be understood without analyzing the exaltation of military values. According to Demirel, the “militaristic culture” had become embedded within the Turkish society, which left no room for a discussion of the military’s privileged place in the political system (Demirel, 2004, p. 140). The “nationalist imagination” of “nation-in-arms” became ingrained in the public and the cultural importance of military service provided the military with a special position within politics, Demirel argued (Demirel, 2004, pp. 139-140). Thus, for Demirel, the lack of attempts to restructure the civil-military relations was partly due to the ingrained militaristic values prevalent at the level of masses, which was also reflected in the *weltanschauung* of the civilians as being powerless compared to the military elite, who has traditionally being regarded as the benevolent protector of the republic.

To summarize, the premise that the military is the guardian of the nation and its founding principles is underscored by the scholars who study militarism from a civil-military relations perspective. These scholars analyzed the autonomy of the military, the influence of the military in policy-making processes and how the way in which civil-military relations has been organized in Turkey have affected

Turkey's democratization. What they put forward is a discussion of how the military has been an active player within the Turkish political system.

3.5. The study of militarism as a sociological-historical phenomenon

According to Stavrianakis and Selby, although sociological and historical understandings of militarism are varied, the unifying premise of them is “their focus on the embeddedness of militaries, and war making and preparation in society” (Stavrianakis & Selby, 2013, p. 13). Different from the previous four definitions, the sociological approach to militarism analyzed various aspects of militarism by explaining it as a socio-historical process that encloses all social forces and social relations in a society.

In Turkey's scholarship, sociological approaches to militarism emerged only during the 1990s. Taha Parla was the first scholar who problematized militarization from a political economy perspective during the 1990s. Parla studied militarism as a sociological process by looking at the militarization of the Turkish economy since the 1960s throughout the end of the 1980s. After Parla, however, Turkey's scholarship did not produce any sociological critique of militarism to explain the roots and consequences of militarism well until the 2000s. In 2004, Ayşe Gül Altınay analyzed militarism as a socially embedded practice from the perspective of gender, nationalism, and citizenship. Following the line of feminist scholarship on militarism, Altınay has shed light on the everyday cultural practices and functioning in militarism since her earliest works in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Pınar Bilgin problematized the embeddedness of militarism in society through analyzing geopolitics as a

privileged perspective on statecraft and the military's usage of geopolitical discourse (Bilgin, 2007). This section will analyze studies by these scholars.

Taha Parla, a political theorist, presented an analysis of how the military has been able to generate a place for itself in the economic structure of Turkey.

Parla's 1998 article "Mercantile Militarism in Turkey, 1960-1998" examined the impact of the military on political economy. This study is important in two senses. Firstly, Parla was the first scholar who used the term "militarism". In this sense, Taha Parla is the precursor of an explicit discussion of militarism in Turkey's scholarship. Secondly, this article showed that militarization of the economy was rendered possible not only through the culture of the military elite but also the "civilian ruling classes" (Parla, 1998, p. 50). This work of Parla was a pioneering study in the sense that it problematized militarism as a process in a novel way through explicitly using the concept of militarism.

In "Mercantile Militarism", Parla analyzed a case of mercantilist militarism in Turkey as embodied by two institutions, which were OYAK (*Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu*, Armed Forces Trust and Pension Fund) and TSKGV (*Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerini Güçlendirme Vakfı*, Foundation for Strengthening the Turkish Armed Forces). OYAK was created after the 1960 coup with special legislation with the aim of providing members with "pensions, death and accident insurance services, loans, housing credits" (Parla, 1998, p. 30). TSKGV, on the other hand, became operational in 1987. Defining the armed forces as the protector and perpetuator of the national unity and integrity, TSKGV aimed to develop the

Turkish war industry by contributing the armed forces' war making capacity through "purchasing arms, war instruments and equipment" (Parla, 1998, p. 45).

Parla's research has showed that both institutions' activities did not remain confined to their initial goals. Both institutions, by establishing close ties between the state, military, and capital, came to represent a case of "military-industrial complex" in Turkey, Parla argued (Parla, 1998, p. 49). According to Parla, by late 1990s, OYAK and TSKGV "already had investments in 55 joint-ventures and employed nearly 40,000 people" (Parla, 1998, p. 49). Besides being significant economic forces, Parla argued, OYAK and TSKGV increased their presence in economy with the aim of bringing about growth, which was to be attained through enhancing the war industry (Parla, 1998, p. 48). Through establishing close ties with the state both financially and legally, Parla wrote, OYAK and TSKGV attained shares in various industries such as automotive, services, and finance. For Parla, OYAK entered the market "as a military capitalist, then the TSKGV was the militarizer of the economy" (Parla, 1998, p. 49). Military capital was merged with private capital, which blurred the divisions between the military, the economic, and the political, Parla concluded.

In addition to providing a political economy perspective on militarism, Parla also pointed to the sociological components of militarism in Turkey. According to the author, the social embeddedness of the military might have allowed for more room for the military to enhance its influence over the economy. For Parla, the militarization of politics in Turkey has almost unfolded within a "larger context of a highly militaristic national political culture" (Parla, 1998, p. 50). The civilians of

Turkey, Parla argued, have been socialized into various discourses and practices of militarism through myriad channels such as educational system, press media, and the hegemonic Kemalist state ideology (Parla, 1998, p. 50). While the culture of militarism embedded at the mass level and in the minds of civilians provided a fertile ground for military's activities, for Parla, the "successes of militarization of the economy" helped to "reproduce that basic cultural ideological militarism" (Parla, 1998, p. 50). The already privileged status of the military within the constitutional and institutional structure of the state was elevated gradually as the military became ingrained in the capitalist economy, argued Parla. For Taha Parla, legally and financially state-backed militarist capitalism was supported by the "militaristic national political culture", which fed into the sociological processes in which militarism has become ingrained in the society.

Anna Agathangelou and Barış Karaağaç, in their co-authored article "Turkish Armed Forces as Entrepreneurial Venturist Masters" studied OYAK as a case study of states being "collective capitalists" (Akça, 2006 as cited in Agathangelou & Karaağaç, 2011, p. 103). They argued that OYAK had become an "entrepreneurial capitalist institution seeking new opportunities for profits," meaning that, as operating on the economic front of the military, the armed forces embedded itself within the socio-economic capitalist power structures within the country (Agathangelou & Karaağaç, 2011). What Agathangelou and Karaağaç have underscored in line with Taha Parla is the argument that military's institutionally and constitutionally enhanced position in politics has

gone hand in hand with the military's profit-oriented economic activities and capital accumulation which were "state-backed and state-protected" (Parla, 1998, p. 49).

Ayşe Gül Altınay was another scholar who adopted the sociological-historical approach to study militarism. Altınay explicitly studied militarism and militarization in Turkey as sociological processes. Altınay defined militarism as a perspective that is centered on the elevation of values and processes belonging to military (Altınay, 2003, p. 138). Although at first sight, Altınay's definition may evoke the ideological definition of militarism, the author's detailed analyses of the intricate relationships between militarism, military service, gender and education in her works showed that Altınay analyzed militarism as a sociological-historical process which produces and reproduces itself through daily practices.

Altınay's 2004 book *The Myth of the Military Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* has been a groundbreaking work. Differently from scholars of Turkey who have studied militarism as an ideology, Altınay has put forward a critique of militarism by uncovering its relationship to nationalism. She historicized and politically contextualized how militarism as an ideology has come to be adopted through social processes, practices, and mechanisms such as compulsory military service and education. Additionally, Altınay looked at how the relationship between militarism and nationalism has shaped culture, politics, and identities in Turkey. Among Turkey's scholars, Altınay was the first to distinguish between militarism and militarization. The scholar defined militarism

as “a set of ideas and structures that glorify practices and norms associated with militaries” (Altınay, 2004a, p. 2). Militarization, on the other hand, is a process in which a person or a thing gradually adopts militaristic ideas or becomes controlled by the military (Altınay, 2004a, p. 2). Altınay understood militarization as a sociological process in which militarist practices, values, activities become prevalent and increase their influence over everyday lives of people and their interactions with each other and with other institutions, such as the state.

In her book chapter entitled “Militarization of Education: The Compulsory National Security Course” Altınay reemphasized her differentiation between militarism and militarization. In that work, she defined militarism as an ideology involving norms, values, and practices of the military subculture and militarization as a process in which the militarist perspective is put into practice and rendered prevalent (Altınay, 2004b, p. 180).

Altınay has showed the workings of militarism as an ideology and militarization as a process in Turkey by looking at the national education system, compulsory military service, and conscientious objection. In many of her works, Altınay analyzed the close relationship between education and militarism by analyzing the course textbooks. Her characterization of “the army as a school” and “the school as an army” in the book *The Myth of a Military Nation* indicated that the blurring of the boundaries between military and civilian spheres was attained through providing students in schools with military knowledge taught by officers-in-uniforms (Altınay, 2004a, p. 139).

Through analyzing the teaching and course textbooks of the “National Security Knowledge” course since 1926, Altınay demonstrated that national education and national defense were coupled as two realms of state making and nation building. Since the inception of the republic, Altınay argued, the founding cadres characterized the Turkish youth as future’s soldiers who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the nation if necessary because the young citizens of the nation valued the military, the guardians of the youth’s ideals (Altınay, 2004a, pp. 122-123). There is no better case to exemplify the togetherness of education and defense as two fronts of the nation than the National Security courses, Altınay claimed. This compulsory course taught at schools by military officers educated the students into the heroic past of the Turkish military-nation and provided them with a template as to “not only how to think but also how they should live their lives” (Altınay, 2004a, p. 139). According to Altınay, the characterization of Turkey as a country surrounded by threats and the consequent need to maintain a strong army to tackle those threats normalized and elevated the military’s position in politics (Altınay, 2004b, p. 198). The elevation of the military and values belonging to it was a process of militarizing the lives of citizens through mechanisms such as education and military service, Altınay argued.

In another co-authored book chapter entitled “Militarized and Gendered Citizenship in Course Books”, Altınay and Kancı analyzed the impact of militarism over the citizenship regime in Turkey. The authors argued that due to close association of military service with masculinity, status of females as citizens have been demoted to a secondary position. For Altınay and Kancı,

female citizens' roles and functions within the nation have been kept separate from male citizens. The latter were treated as the primary members of the nation by virtue of their readiness to sacrifice themselves for the nation (Altınay & Kancı, 2011, pp. 56-57). According to authors, women and men had not been seen as equal citizens because even when women displayed heroic actions and sacrificed themselves for the nation, their contributions have been viewed as "support" at best because they do not perform military service (Altınay & Kancı, 2011, p. 56). The direct relationship between citizenship and military service has led to a gendered and militarized citizenship understanding in Turkey, for Altınay and Kancı.

Altınay's analysis of conscientious objection in Turkey is also significant in the sense that conscientious objection challenged the idea of militarized citizenship. In *The Myth of the Military Nation*, Altınay showed that conscientious objectors have not only rejected compulsory military service due to various convictions, but they also contested everyday forms of militarism in different corners of life and the idea of "citizen-soldier". They did so by imagining and seeking an alternative form of citizenship regime and politics (Altınay, 2004a, p. 116). Altınay argued that conscientious objection was an act of resistance against militarism, which permeate social life all together, not only the barracks. For Altınay, the challenge posed by conscientious objectors to military service was a challenge posed to militarism and militarization, as conscientious objectors often defined themselves as anti-war activists and anti-militarists (Altınay, 2004a, p. 91).

The third scholar I analyze here is Pinar Bilgin. Bilgin is one of Turkey's scholars who studied militarism from a sociological and historical perspective. In her 2007 article "Only Strong States Can Survive in Turkey's Geography": The Uses of "Geopolitical Truths" in Turkey", Bilgin analyzed the uses of geopolitical discourse initially by the military and then by civilians to shape not only foreign policy but also domestic political processes. Differently than other scholars who analyzed the impact of the military on foreign policy of Turkey, (such as Gencer Özcan), Bilgin utilized the sociological-historical approach to study militarism. While Özcan analyzed the influence of the military over certain policy areas, Bilgin examined the processes through which this influence came to be introduced, accepted and normalized. Bilgin argued that rather than a pre-given culture of militarism, the portrayal and use of geopolitics as a privileged perspective on statecraft allowed military's central role in politics and normalized it (Bilgin, 2007). In this article, Bilgin analyzed the production and dissemination of geopolitical discourse by the military officers and how geopolitics as a perspective on statecraft was utilized to shape foreign and domestic policies. In addition, Bilgin looked at how geopolitical discourse was circulated and reproduced at schools by analyzing the compulsory National Security course textbook taught by military officers.

Bilgin showed that in the aftermath of the Second World War, Turkey's military elite increasingly resorted to geopolitics firstly for instrumental reasons (Bilgin, 2007, p. 742). Initially, even though there were many who doubted the scientific status of geopolitics, it was seen by some military officers, such as Suat İlhan,

as inevitable to formulate valid foreign policies against the *fait accomplis* of the geography in which Turkey resided (Bilgin, 2007). Turkey was characterized as possessing an invaluable geographical location by those officers, which in turn led them to follow policies that commanded Turkey to be cautious.

The military institution tapped geopolitics to emphasize the need for a strong unitary state in Turkey and casted a privileged role for itself in the application of this perspective on statecraft, Bilgin argued. Bilgin also noted that although after World War II geopolitics was stigmatized in the West due to its links to “Nazi expansionism”, Turkey continued to make use of geopolitics as a science and introduced geopolitics to the curriculum of the Military Academy (Bilgin, 2007, p. 741). Beginning by 1926, National Security courses taught at schools by military personnel reproduced and emphasized the idea that Turkey being located in a difficult geography and a “strong state” being needed, which framed the military as the capable actor (Bilgin, 2007, p. 746). In time, the military portrayed geopolitics as a necessary policy-making tool, not only for foreign but also domestic policies. Bilgin noted that the portrayal of geopolitics as science and the military as the actor possessing superior knowledge over geopolitics went hand in hand with the military’s discrediting of civilian input into policy making. The military regarded civilians and civilian politics as unscientific, irrational, and subjective, which skewed the civil-military balance in favor of the military (Bilgin, 2007, p. 745). The use of geopolitics marginalized alternative perspectives on statecraft, for Pinar Bilgin (Bilgin, 2007, p. 751).

Bilgin wrote that Turkey's civilians eventually started to display interest in geopolitics and geographical determinism, which remained confined to military circles until the 1960s (Bilgin, 2007, p. 746). Especially during the 1960s, when myriad actors sought to have a say in foreign policy, civilians increasingly resorted to geopolitics as discourse and used it as a foreign policy tool by adjusting some of its notions. Civilians, both conservative politicians and those calling for a change in foreign policy, began to evoke Turkey's geographical location while talking to domestic and foreign audiences (Bilgin, 2007, pp. 750-751).

In another article named "Turkey's Changing Security Discourses: The Challenge of Globalization", Bilgin showed that the military resorted to geopolitics as a foreign policy tool during Turkey's accession process to the European Union (Bilgin, 2005, pp. 186-187). In cases where a reform on the agenda was seen as jeopardizing the military's central role and place in statecraft, as Bilgin showed, Eurosceptics argued that "Turkey's geopolitics does not for more democracy" (Belge, 2003, p. 203, as cited in Bilgin, 2005, p. 187). Bilgin showed that geopolitics as discourse both normalized the military's role in politics and depoliticized foreign policy by framing Turkey as merely responding to threats surrounding it (Bilgin, 2005; Bilgin, 2007). The author emphasized not only the "centrality" of the military's role in political processes but also the "weakness" of other actors, who have been unable to offer alternative perspectives, especially on matters relating to national security (Bilgin, 2005, p. 196). Both civil societal actors and civilian representatives seem uninterested in

security issues, Bilgin argued. The author showed that civil society and their representatives who were expected to challenge the unquestioned assumptions about Turkey's security did not seem to escape from the "traditional discourse on security", which had been shaped by the military (Bilgin, 2005). The idea that Turkey's security needs and interests have been for the military to decide and shape seem to be ingrained at the societal level.

Bilgin analyzed militarism as a sociological phenomenon in her studies. Her analysis of the use of "geopolitics as science" by the military and its proposal of itself as the master of geopolitical knowledge showed the processes through which the military had been able to assert its claim to centrality in Turkish politics. What distinguishes Bilgin from other scholars who studied the relationship between the military and foreign and security policy making is Bilgin's analysis of the military disseminating its dominant role in politics through instruments such as education. Bilgin demonstrated that the military's self-attributed mastery over foreign policy found its repercussions at the level of society and the military has been able to reproduce its centrality in politics as the "actor licensed to craft state policies" (Bilgin, 2007).

In this section, I analyzed the works of Taha Parla, Ayşe Gül Altınay and Pınar Bilgin. These scholars have studied militarism in Turkey from a sociological and historical perspective. Parla looked at the militarization of economy in Turkey through analyzing institutions such as OYAK and TKGSV. Altınay examined militarism as a sociological phenomenon in connection with nationalism, gender, and education. Bilgin analyzed the uses of geopolitics in Turkey by the military

and civilians and the ways through which the military had been able to construct itself as the primary actor to formulate state policies. These scholars, by going beyond the civil-military balance, looked at the mechanisms by which militarism was rendered embedded in the society and economy in Turkey. What has been taken as “cultural” or “historical” by scholars of civil-military relations, such as Ümit Cizre and Tanel Demirel, is historicized and politicized by Parla, Altınay and Bilgin. These scholars pointed to the processes, mechanisms and practices through which militarist assumptions have come to be adopted.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter analyzed Turkey’s scholarship on militarism by categorizing along Stavrianakis and Selby’s lines. It showed that there is a vast scholarship on civil-military relations. The chapter showed that authors such as Murat Belge and Etyen Mahçupyan understood militarism as an ideology. Some other scholars, such as Taha Parla, Ayşe Gül Altınay, and Pınar Bilgin, recognized the ideological components of militarism yet delved into it to explain its social, economic, and political workings. Rather than viewing it as a mere ideology, these scholars analyzed how militarism as a process becomes embedded in society through looking at the economy, culture, and geopolitics respectively. There are also scholars who studied militarism as military build-ups, such as Gülay Günlük-Şenesen. This group of studies analyzed militarization as a quantitative increase in spending and production pertaining to the military.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

This thesis examined how militarism has been studied in world scholarship and in Turkey's scholarship. While doing so, the five definitions of militarism identified by Stavrianakis and Selby were utilized. Chapter two looked at the studies on militarism in the world scholarship in different historical periods. I did this by paying attention to which definition of militarism was prevalent at the time. Chapter three looked at Turkey's scholarship, but this time by focusing on which definition of militarism was adopted by scholars. This allowed me to see the areas of concentration and oversight in scholarship. The final chapter of this thesis seeks to juxtapose the world scholarship and Turkey's scholarship on militarism.

The first thing to observe is the rather late emergence of studies on militarism in Turkey. While militarism had first entered discussions in the seventeen century and has attracted interest since the late nineteenth century, in Turkey initial studies on militarism started to emerge during the 1980s (Karpas, 1988; Tachau & Heper, 1983; Karaosmanoğlu, 1993).

Secondly, these two bodies of scholarship did not follow a similar pattern of development. In the world, the early works studied militarism as an ideology.

Studies that understood militarism as civil-military relations emerged during the 1950s. The 1970s and 1980s were the years when militarism was studied as the tendency to use force to resolve conflicts and as military build-ups. Beginning in the 1990s, sociological and historical approaches to militarism emerged. In Turkey, however, it was only during the 1980s that studies on civil-military relations emerged. The literature began to diversify much later, from the late 1990s and especially early 2000s onwards.

Third, while all the five definitions of militarism were found in world scholarship, only four of them were found in Turkey's scholarship. The second definition, which understands militarism as the disposition to use force to resolve conflicts, is not found in Turkey's scholarship. While scholars in the world have used this definition while looking at countries of the Third World during the Cold War, Turkey's scholars did not make use of militarism as the tendency to use force to resolve conflicts.

Fourth, among studies which understood militarism as an ideology in both world scholarship and in Turkey, there are commonalities as to how they characterize militarism and criticize it. In both bodies of scholarship, authors defined militarism as the glorification of war and values belonging to the military. Furthermore, studies in both bodies of scholarship identified connections between militarism and nationalism. Scholars in the world mostly looked at the German case in which militarism was in close relation with nationalist ideas such as expansionism. In Turkey's scholarship, on the other hand, militarism was

seen as a component of Turkish nationalism, which glorified the past as filled with heroic narratives and military victories.

Fifth, there is a similarity between the world scholarship and Turkey's scholarship in terms of their quantitative and statistical approach in measuring military build-up. In Turkey's scholarship, one scholar in particular utilized this definition and looked at military build-up in Turkey (Günlük-Şenesen, 1994). By analyzing Turkey's arms imports, arms production, and military spending, she measured the share of the military in Turkey's budget and its implications for Turkey's economy. Although these studies offered analyses of the patterns in military spending and armaments and military's modernization program, they were not contextualized in terms of militarism or militarization.

Six, in Turkey's scholarship, studies centered on civil-military relations did not identify the phenomenon they studied as "militarism". Scholars such as Cizre and Demirel, even though they recognize the presence of elements of militarism in Turkey's culture (Cizre, 2003; Demirel, 2004), leave that concept out. While the militarization of the political structure and policy-making is identified as a reality of Turkish politics, the scholarship focuses on the civil-military relations without necessarily inquiring into the sociological roots and consequences of these relations. What they offer is a discussion of how the military has been an active player within the Turkish political system who often influenced and sometimes changed the rules of the political game by virtue of its status as the custodian and guardian of the nation.

For instance, Ümit Cizre does not term the phenomenon she analyzed as militarism. According to Cizre, Turkey's problem has been with establishing a proper civil-military balance. Cizre has been interested in the causes of the military's active and overt role in Turkey's politics and ways of ensuring civilianization. Furthermore, Cizre's analyses of the military always remained at the elite level. According to the scholar, high societal support for the military's guardianship has rendered it with the ability to legitimize its actions and intervention into politics. For Cizre, then, civilianization would be attained through placing the military institution under civilian control (Cizre-Sakallıoğlu, 1997). Cizre did not look at the sociological components of militarism, meaning that, how militarism has been embedded in the Turkish society.

The only instance of Cizre using the word militarism is in her article "Liberalism, Democracy, and the Turkish Center-Right", published in 1996, where Cizre analyzed the relationship between the True Path Party (the TPP) and the military during the 1980s. In this article, Cizre argued that the TPP followed an anti-militarist agenda. According to Cizre, anti-militarism meant the TPP's efforts to curb the legacy of the military. As Cizre suggested, for the TPP, Turkey had a problem with militarism for which the left was responsible. To overcome militarism, according to Cizre, the TPP suggested civilianizing and democratizing the military. However, for Cizre, the anti-militarist discourse could not be translated into politics because civilians were reluctant to arouse the antagonism of the military. Cizre understood militarism in terms of the

relationship between the civilians and the military and exerting democratic control on the armed forces.

Aforementioned oversight is not isolated to one or two scholars. Indeed, the wide scholarship on civil-military relations in Turkey has analyzed the military as an institution, its interactions with other state institutions, its impact over policy-making, military interventions into politics, and civilian control over the armed forces. These studies focused on the Turkish military's episodic direct and indirect interventions into civilian politics, democratization and demilitarization and democratic control over the armed forces. There were studies that looked into the military's "special" role in Turkish politics in terms of its influence over security, foreign, and domestic policy-making processes.

Finally, when the two bodies of scholarship are juxtaposed, it is observed that there is a contemporaneousness in terms of the time periods and the focus of analyses, especially since the early late 1990s and early 2000s. In Turkey, Parla provided a political economy analysis to uncover the economic, political and social relations that allowed for militarization (Parla, 1998). Altınay followed the feminist scholarship in the world to study militarism and its sociological and cultural roots and consequences (Altınay, 2004a). Bilgin, by moving beyond binaries such as military-civilian and inside-outside, shed light on how the military and civilians have made use of geopolitical discourse to influence domestic and foreign policy making processes (Bilgin, 2007). Thus, Turkey's scholarship on militarism as a sociological phenomenon emerged around the same time as the rest of the world. Scholars who analyzed militarism as a

sociological and historical phenomenon studied the processes and mechanisms through which militarism comes to be regarded as “normal” and “desirable”. They have historicized and politicized militarism to see how militarist prerogatives and practices are adopted.

This thesis aimed to contribute to the literature on militarism by showing that although in world scholarship, during different periods, diverse definitions of militarism were prominent, Turkey’s scholars focused on civil-military relations for a long time until the late 1990s and early 2000s. It is only then that other definitions were adopted in Turkey’s scholarship. Arguably, the military’s increasing influence on politics might have framed and shaped the emergence of a vast literature on civil-military relations. The diversification of studies on militarism from the late 1990s and early 2000s onwards might be due to the development of political science and international relations disciplines in Turkey (Erozan & Turan, 2004). Social sciences in Turkey increasingly started to open up and connect with the rest of the world in terms of analysis and theory in the 1990s (Bilgin & Tanrısever, 2009). These factors might have contributed to the years-long focus of Turkey’s scholarship on civil-military relations, leaving other definitions less studied and focused on.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Breakdown of studies on civil-military relations by scholars of Turkey, with respect to topic and number

Topic of article	Number of articles published by scholars of Turkey in years between 1996-2019
(1) Civil-military relations in Turkey	13
(2) Military, democratization and the European Union	19
(3) Military tutelage, coups, and interventions	12
(4) Transformation of the Turkish armed forces	3
(5) Comparative civil-military relations analysis	1
(6) Military influence in policy-making	3

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