

**PERSPECTIVES ON OCCURENCE OF
POLITICAL INSTABILITY:
AN ANALYSIS OF GERMANY AND TURKEY**

by

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

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ABSTRACT

Political instability has a significant place in the literature which is studied by economists and political scientists. Political instability has been thought to be reflected by regime changes or different leanings regarding political parties. The main cause of those reactions is thought to be ‘change’ within the society. Several theories studied political instability from the perspective of ‘change’. The main theories identified are economic, modernization, economic norms, and regime type theories. However, the explanatory strength of the theories varies and they should be studied on cases in order to see the causal relationship better. The explanations of the theories are applied on the cases of Germany and Turkey for seeing the application of the theories on concrete events. Those cases have similar points yet with an important difference which enables identification of pattern of stability. Germany is considered as a stable country in terms of political instability whereas Turkey may live conflict in its transition period of stabilization. So, under the light of the theories searching for the causes of instability and ways to stabilize, an answer can be found if the theories work for the cases in a comparative manner.

Keywords: change, political instability, conflict, economy, modernization, economic norms, regime type, Germany, Turkey

ÖZET

Siyasi istikrarsızlık, literatürde ekonomistler ve siyasal bilimciler tarafından çalışılan önemli bir yere sahiptir. Siyasi istikrarsızlığın rejim değişimleri veya farklı siyasi parti eğilimleri ile yansıtıldığı düşünülmektedir. Bu tepkilerin temel nedeninin toplumdaki ‘değişim’ olduğu düşünülür. Birçok teori siyasi istikrarsızlığı ‘değişim’ bakış açısından bakarak araştırmıştır. Ekonomik, modernleşme, ekonomik norm ve rejim tipleri teorileri belirlenen esas teorilerdir. Ancak, teorilerin açıklama gücü değişir ve neden sonuç mekanizmasını daha iyi görebilmek için vakalar üzerinde çalışılmalıdır. Teorilerin uygulamalarını somut olaylar üzerinde görebilmek için teorilerin açıklamaları Almanya ve Türkiye vakalarına uygulanmıştır. Bu vakaların istikrar düzeninin belirlenmesine imkan veren önemli bir fark dışında benzer noktaları vardır. Almanya siyasi istikrarsızlık açısından düzenli bir ülke sayılırken, Türkiye dönüşüm döneminde çatışma yaşayabilir. Böylece, istikrarsızlığın nedenleri ve düzenleme yollarını araştıran teorilerin ışığında, teorilerin, karşılaştırmalı vakalar üzerinde çalışıp çalışmadığı sorusuna cevap bulunabilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: değişim, siyasi istikrarsızlık, çatışma, ekonomi, modernleşme, ekonomik normlar, rejim tipleri, Almanya, Türkiye

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union)
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria)
CUP	Committee of Union and Progress
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei (German Democratic Party)
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German National People's Party)
DP	Democratic Party
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei (German People's Party)
FDP	Free Democratic Party
FRP	Free Republican Party
JDP	Justice and Development Party
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (The Communist Party of Germany)
NSC	National Security Committee
NTP	New Turkey Party
PRP	Progressive Republican Party
RPNP	Republican Peasant's National Party
RPP	Republican People's Party

SPD Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (The Social Democratic Party of Germany)

USPD Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (The Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

What is political instability, how can it be defined and what causes political instability? The political instability and its causes are very widely discussed in the literature. Modernization theory has long been arguing that changes in the institutional (Morrison et al., 1972; Sofranko et al., 1973), political (Welch, 1967) and economic (Black, 1960) arena lead to political instability because they disturb the social settings within a society. Similarly, regime type theorists (Auvinen, 1997; Ellingsen, 2000; Hegre et al., 2001; Sambanis, 2001; Reynol-Querol, 2002) focus on impact of change in political regimes on occurrence of political instability. The main argument of the regime type theorists is inverted U curve relationship between regime type and political instability where the conflict peaks at transitory regimes. On the economic arena, economic changes are also discussed as the causes of political instability. It can either be development or decline of the economy such as industrialization or occurrence of economic crises. They can lead to political instability by changing the ongoing functioning of economy. From another perspective, economic norms theory (Mousseau, 2000; 2002-2003; 2008-2009; unpublished manuscript) also deals with change of norms within society as causes of political instability

where the norms are related with functioning of the economy. The political instability is argued to peak at transitions where the norms and values of new economic setting are mixed and misperceived.

Whether the discussions are about political or economic arena, the discussions concentrate around 'change'. Economic theories stress the importance of economic changes as political arena discusses how the changes in the regime type influence political instability. So, in order to search for causes of political instability, the 'change' lies at the heart of the research question. It is defined by political and economic changes which are operationalized accordingly. To sum up, modernization theory will be the main framework of the theoretical part as the economic, economic norms and regime type theories will be complementary for discussion.

This thesis studies political instability in two cases: Germany in the 19th and early 20th centuries and Turkey in the 20th century. Germany is considered as a democratized and modernized state where political instability has been largely settled since 1945. It is Germany's 1848- 1945 period that is reviewed. For Turkey, the establishment of the Republic in 1923 is taken as the point of shifting to modernization, so the historical review of Turkey begins in this year and reaches till today. Indeed, the reflection of the modernization movements at the last years of the Ottoman period is also taken into consideration. Turkey is considered as a modernizing and democratizing country whose development has been an ongoing process. So, Turkey's review is up to date. Despite the difference of time period between the two cases, those periods are parallel in many ways.

First of all, the two countries have had a period of modernization, including rapid industrialization and migration to the cities. Urbanization and changing social structure created conflicts in both of the countries though the type of social reactions differed. Both of the countries had economic crises that disturbed the well being of people. On the political arena, Germany passed through its democratization period which Turkey is now passing. According to Polity IV Project, which scores democratic status, Germany has had a score of 10, which denotes consolidated democracy, since 1946. Turkey has scored no higher than 9, and has had several democratic interruptions. This suggests that Turkey's democracy is not fully consolidated. Also, the role of external actors is important for both countries. Both of the countries allied with US liberal hegemony and this influenced the liberalization of economy for both countries. After World War II, the USA played an important role for democratic consolidation in Germany. Similarly, the EU's stand is significant for the development of democracy in Turkey.

In order to explore the questions that are asked within the scope of this thesis, primary and secondary resources are used. For theory, books and articles discussing the variant points of theories are taken as the basis. Similarly, historical developments in Germany and Turkey are reviewed in line with explanations of historians. Rather than relying on theoretical explanations of historians, only historical facts are taken into consideration. For definition and operationalization of the concepts; Polity IV data (Marshall and Jagger, 2007), GDP per capita, iron/steel production per capita, and election results are used as primary resources.

There is a vast amount of literature regarding theories of political instability and historical research on Germany and Turkey. Also, there are comparative studies on Germany and Turkey about economic policies. However, this study is the first that combines the theory and those cases, identifies the similarities in the light of theories of modernization, economic and regime type.

Under the light of above mentioned explanations, this thesis is composed of seven main chapters. Chapter 2 reviews theories of political instability; including modernization, economic, economic norms theory and regime type theory. Chapter 3 is explanation of how the concepts are operationalized by indicators. Chapter 4 and 5 offer the historical reviews of Germany and Turkey, respectively. Both chapters are sub-divided according to political, economic, and social developments of the periods reviewed. Chapter 6 is the main analysis chapter, where the theories and the relationship between the variables are debated. In the discussion part of the same chapter includes my commenst regarding the outcomes of the research. Chapter 7 concludes.

CHAPTER 2

MAIN THEORIES OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY

2.1 Introduction

The thesis is searching for political instability and impact of political and economic change on occurrence of political instability. The main theory in the literature which focuses on ‘change’ is modernization theory that explains the impact of the institutional (Sofranko et al., 1973; Morrison et al., 1972), political (Welch, 1967), psychological (Apter, 1970; Ake, 1974) and economic (Black, 1960) change on a society. In that sense, the main framework of the thesis is set by the modernization theory. However, the scope of explanation of modernization theory is so wide that some of the scholars criticize modernization theory as being too inclusive (Tipps, 1973).

In order to focus on the economic and political change the literature review includes economic (Parvin; 1973; Collier and Hoeffler, 1998; Fearon, 2003), economic norms (Mousseau, 2000; 2002-2003; 2008-2009; unpublished manuscript) and regime type (Auvinen, 1997; Ellingsen, 2000; Hegre et al., 2001; Sambanis, 2001; Reynol-Querol, 2002) theories as well. As the first two

form the theoretical part for economic change, the latter is for impact of political change in a detailed manner.

This chapter is organized into four parts. In the first part modernization theory is reviewed together with its critics. In the second part economic theories are reviewed which is followed by economic norms theory as the third part. As the last, regime type theory is reviewed.

2.1 Modernization Theories and Political instability

Modernization has been a debated concept in the literature. By some it is explained as ‘...changes in the structure of nations that produce institutional arrangements like those found in industrial societies’ (Morrison et al., 1972:88); or as ‘...set of related changes among institutional sectors and the sectors can be viewed as interconnected and mutually dependent...’ Sofranko et al. (1973: 52). By those explanations; institutional changes caused by modernization are emphasized.

On the other hand, modernization is characterized as ‘...change of norms and values...’ Ake (1974: 576). Apter (1970) defines modernization as ‘spread of roles originating in societies with an industrial infrastructure, serving functional purposes in the industrial process to systems lacking an industrial infrastructure’ (Apter 1970; cited in Ake, 1974: 577). Though the scholars point to different impacts of the modernization phenomenon; they commonly emphasize “change” caused by economic modernization. In that sense, Huntington summarizes the explanations regarding modernization as follows:

‘Modernization is a multifaceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity’ (Huntington, 1968; cited in Tipps, 1973: 201).

As it is explained above, ‘change’ is focal point of modernization theory. Thus, explaining the political instability by utilizing from modernization theory, the changes brought by it take precedence. Yet, the specific arguments for the causal mechanisms that trigger movements to subsequent stages vary among modernization theories. Among these are psychological, political and economic changes brought by modernization process in the transitory period. Below, the causal mechanisms are attempted to be explained separately. However, it should not be forgotten that the mechanisms are interconnected with each others, so it is difficult to elaborate on isolated causal mechanism of each.

First, the roots of the instability related with modernization were explained by psychological changes. The relationships with economic modernization are shaped according to functions the person have within the society and impersonal ties rather than the family relations of the traditional society (Welch, 1997). New relations lead to change of roles in society. Traditional, accommodationalist (partly traditional, partly new) and new (industrial) roles take place in developing states and the clash of them create political instability (Ake, 1973). Similarly, the anomie feeling leading to conflict is thought to be derived from the change of the living settings of people by industrialization, migration and urbanization during this period (Ake, 1974). Anomie is argued to be one of the causes of political instability since it changes the roles in society which stresses people (Ake, 1974). The stress is reflected by

upheaval and instability. In this sense, it is similar to breakdown theory which argues that the change of political ties and re-establishment period of those ties leads to political instability (Oberschall, 1978).

Another perspective on changing roles resulting in political instability is offered by Kautsky (1972). Modernization and industrialization are argued to occur either from within the society or imposed from outside by colonialism. For both alternatives, conflict is expected to occur since it brings change in social roles which create political demands. For the former case, the conflict occurs as new industrial class emerges and threatens the settled roles of the peasantry, aristocracy and townspeople. In the latter case, colonialism incites the modernization period and they support the role of aristocracy. However; workers, intellectuals, peasants and townspeople become discontented as a result of this period. According to Kautsky (1972), conflict occurs for both cases because of the change of roles brought on by the modernization process. Yet, the mechanisms for conflict change for two approaches (Kautsky, 1972; reviewed by Kuthiala, 1973).

Lastly, the changing roles are considered with the effect of modernization on the education. Education influences the roles because education increases the demand of people for political participation and brings together people who were politically isolated in pre-modern societies (Weiner and Hoselitz, 1961 cited in Ake 1973). The argument is similar to that articulated later as “political participation crisis” by Huntington (1968, cited in Jenkins et al., 1992). According to this view, when political demands outrun the capacities of the political system, which is assumed to change slowly, they

spilling over into non-institutionalized political action (1968, cited in Jenkins et al., 1992: 170).

Second, political changes occurs during modernization which are explained as ‘...new forms for the organization of political power’ (Welch, 1967:31). New organization of political power is also discussed under formal institutional changes (Huntington, 1968; O’Donell, 1973; cited in Geller, 1982). Lack of institutional setting can result in conflict because they are inadequate for mediating and moderating increasing political action (O’Donell, 1973; cited in Geller, 1982). Imbalanced development of institutions under modernization period is also argued to lead to political instability (Sofranko et al., 1973). In a study of seventy-four nations, Sofranko et al. examined changes in political, economic and educational institutions and their impact on political stability. Political modernization was measured by freedom of press, freedom of group opposition, interest articulation of associational groups, and the character of government bureaucracy. Economic modernization was measured by the level of energy consumption, percentage of population economically active, percentage of GNP originating in industry, percentage of population urban, and economic development status. Educational modernization was measured by percentage of population enrolled at first level of education, percentage of population enrolled at the second level of education, females at the third level of education, students per capita enrolled at the third level and level of literacy. The overall modernization is measured by social welfare development measures and communication development measures (Sofranko et al., 1973: 57-60). The study showed that societies that have overmodernization (development of

institutions over overall economic modernization) or undermodernization (underdevelopment of institutions compared with the overall economic modernization) —unequal institutional changes in those areas—tend to have more political instability than the countries that have relatively more balanced institutional modernization in those three realms.

Lastly, functioning of economy is argued to differ as a result of modernization. Modern economies are argued to have central fiscal and monetary policy, investment of capital, and increase in mobilization of capital and people, investment of capital and development of technology (Black, 1960: 6). The last development of technology leads to mass production, division of labor and growth in per capita income (Black, 1960: 6). The change from traditional economic functioning to modern one necessitates migration, urbanization and change of social relations (Welch, 1967). The change of social relations as a result of change of economic functioning is argued to lead to above- mentioned psychological problems which in the end can cause political instability.

To sum up, the causal mechanisms put forward by modernization theorists are interconnected in their explanation for political instability. Change of economic and political settings end up with different social relations. Traditional family, clan or tribe relationships leave their place to relations determined by functioning of economic and political relations.

However, modernization theory is argued to be discredited for most of its arguments. It is seen problematic in terms of methodology, ethnocentrism and empirical support. Explanation of modernization by replacing it with

another concept is one of the methodological criticisms. Modernization is explained as industrialization or rationalization which is argued to be replacing it with the synonym rather than explaining the concept (Tipps, 1973). Another criticism regarding the concept is for explanations which claim modernization as change of traditional societies towards modern societies by getting the attributes of it. The conceptualization is seen vague and so inclusive that the concept does not appear to have an explanatory strength. Also, the latter explanation faces the criticism of ethnocentrism. The traditional and modern societies, their attributes and the changes are evaluated by looking from the perspective of 'modern' societies. Empirically, modernization theory is argued to be deficient as well. When the cases are evaluated, it is seen that the traditional societies are taken into consideration as static societies where social dynamics and changes do not occur (Tipps, 1973). The counterargument appears as the change takes place within the traditional societies and/or by connection with other traditional societies. Moreover, the traditional societies are not thought to have changes in time and place. As an example, critics argue that two traditional societies China and Japan are considered within the same camp though they have very different temporal and spatial dynamics which cannot be considered under the group of 'traditional' society.

To sum up, despite its popularity in 1960s, modernization theories are highly discredited by the criticisms regarding methodology, ethnocentric view and lack of empirical support.

2.2 Economy and Political Instability

General economic development is thought to be important indicator for the occurrence of political instability. In its causal mechanism, the theory utilizes from various rational choice, and state weakness assumptions. The explanation for causal mechanism depends on the different perspectives of the scholars. As some resort to utility theory (Collier and Hoeffler, 1998) some explain the causal mechanism by state strength (Fearon, 2003).

Collier and Hoeffler's (1998) study on the political instability (civil war in their study) and wealth relationship is based on a cost- benefit approach. According to this theoretical basis, rebels act rationally and calculate the costs and benefits of rebellion, and conflict occurs when the benefits of the rebellion exceed its costs. Per capita income is argued to be an important indicator for rebel motive and opportunity (Collier and Hoeffler, 1998). According to this point of view, individuals prefer stability if they are living in better conditions because the aim of rebellion is to abdicate existing conditions for a better one. If the existing conditions are satisfactory enough, it will not create motivation for rebellion because rebellion has a cost. The opportunity cost of rebellion is argued to be disruption of economic activity. Costs remain high if it is a prosperous country—measured in Collier and Hoeffler's (1998) study with gross political product (GDP) per capita—since they have to give up more to rebel. In the study, the arguments are tested on 98 countries, 27 of which had civil war. The most significant indicator for the occurrence of civil war was found per capita income (Collier and Hoeffler, 1998: 569).

On the other hand, according to Fearon and Laitin (2003), the causal mechanism is not in wealth but state capacity. They argue that ‘economic variables such as per capita income matter primarily because they proxy for state administrative, military and police capacities’ (2003:76). In this way, even if there is a relationship between wealth and civil war occurrence; the main causes are political. There is a Hobbesian-like argument: ‘where states are relatively weak and capricious, both fears and opportunities encourage the rise of would be rulers who supply a rough local justice while arrogating the power to ‘tax’ for themselves and, often, for large cause’ (2003: 76). Low levels of wealth are indicators of weak state structure, since financially weak central governments are not able to set institutional structures necessary for stability.

Most case studies that have examined the issue find an association of poverty with political instability. For instance, the conflict between Maoist guerillas and state in Nepal show that ‘regions in which the conflict originated having a higher incidence of absolute income poverty and lower levels of human development compared with other regions.’ (Deraniyagala, 2005: 48). Moreover, economic indicators like high inequality, low productivity, unemployment leading to economic decline and causing political instability in Algeria is also supported by Testas (2001). ‘The decline in per capita consumption growth, following decreases in productivity and per capita income growth, reached its bottom in 1988. This coincides with the Black October riots of that year which, according to some estimates cost nearly 1000 lives’ (Testas, 2001: 129).

To sum up, wealth is studied as significant indicator of political instability. It utilizes from structural approaches like economic development and state strength. As some case studies support the theories, there are also challenges to them.

2.3 Economic Norms Theory

Economic norms theory questions how economic settings influence norms and values in society which can be a function of political instability (Mousseau, 2000; 2002-2003; 2008-2009; unpublished manuscript). According to the theory, functioning of an economy can be clientelist or contract-intensive—where the contracts are defined as ‘...agreements among individuals to cooperate and modify their behavior for mutual gains’ (Mousseau, 2000: 476)—or hybrid which includes some properties of each. The clientelist societies are claimed to have societies consisted of groups and group loyalty is more important than individual interests. Moreover, the patrons or leaders of the economy are obeyed who, in turn, provide economic and physical security to the loyalist (Mousseau, 2002-2003: 10). In this kind of patron-client relationship, the parties are not equal; but the relationship is hierarchical. It is formed by ‘reciprocity or gift-giving’ (Mousseau, 2002-2003: 10). The in-group linkages are also formed by kinship, ethnic ties, family relations, tribes or clans. The role of the state in clientelist economies is downgraded in terms of regulating the relationships. Since the relationships are based on informal ties; the state can take neither the role of a party nor a referee.

On the other hand, in contract-intensive societies, economic relationship is managed between strangers thanks to the contracts. The parties have economic relationships which are framed by the lines of the contract. By this type of relationship, the parties not only become equal but also the state has a role in the relationship as well. Impartial state is seen as the protector of the rights of the parties which are set by the rules of the contract.

The above-mentioned types of economic functioning are argued to create different social values. The clientelist societies do not develop trust towards strangers since they engage in relationships within groups. On the other hand, in contract-intensive societies, the parties develop trust against the strangers because their relationships are set by contracts. Another value that is developed in contract-intensive societies is respect for rule of law. The rule of law necessitates equity in front of the laws, what actually the contracts manage (Mousseau, 2002-2003: 11). To sum up, ‘...markets develop and the liberal values of individualism, universalism, tolerance and equity emerge concurrently with the rule of common law...’ (Mousseau, 2002-2003: 11).

Up to now, the properties of clientelist and contract-intensive societies are put forward looking from the perspective of economic norms theory. Since the occurrence and theoretical explanations for occurrence of political instability is within the scope of this part, now, economic norms theory will be discussed by this perspective.

Economic norms theory emphasizes the occurrence of political instability in transition economies which include some characteristics of both clientelist and contract-intensive economies. First, the changing values during

the transitory periods are argued to lead to people in clientelist economies to perceive the change as valueless-ness. During this period, not only out group members are seen untrustworthy but also in-group individuals are perceived selfish who downgrade the group values. Mousseau (2002-2003) explains the perception during transition periods as follows: ‘...individuals with deeply embedded in clientelist values have difficulty grasping new market norms; they perceive that those who are driven by self-interest not only lack strong social ties but have no values at all’ (Mousseau, 2002-2003: 15).

Second, it is argued that during transition periods, the patrons of clientelist economies who provide economic and physical security in turn of loyalty leave their places to political entrepreneurs. Political entrepreneurs can entrench their stand as long as there is threat from out-group and need for security which can be provided by them. For this aim, fear of outsiders is emphasized in order to increase the need for the entrepreneurs. As a result of this, Mousseau argues that ‘This may explain why societies in civil anarchy or in transition between clientelism or advanced capitalism— when high unemployment rates often coexist with clientelist traditions in large cities— tend to give rise to extremist dogmas that fit in-group worldviews, such as nationalist, Marxist, fascist and militant Islamic ideologies’ (Mousseau, 2008-2009: 5).

To conclude, economic norms theory is discussed after modernization theory, since both of them focuses on ‘change’ while explaining political instability in transitory societies. Yet, economic norms theory is distinct from the modernization school in at least three important ways. First,

unlike the modernization theorists, Mousseau makes no teleological, monotonic, evolutionary, path-dependent, diffusionist or ethnocentric assumptions. For him, economic conditions promote related habits through processes of bounded rationality. Second, unlike the modernization theories, Mousseau specifically traces the path of causation from the economy to culture and institutions. The specificity of the theory allows Mousseau to avoid the pitfalls of ethnocentrism and teleology, because 'modern' values are deduced theoretically rather than assumed as a given a priori. Third, there is a great deal of evidence for economic norms theory.

2.4 Regime Types and Political Instability

The literature on political instability covers the regime types and regime changes for explaining occurrence of political instability. Most of the studies in the literature attempt to find an answer to what kind of regime type causes more political instability: democracies, autocracies or transitory regimes. Most of the studies argue that there is an inverted U curve relationship between regime types and political instability where consolidated democracy and autocracy are the end points of the regime types. Political instability peaks at the middle level showing the relationship between transitory regimes and conflict (Auvinen, 1997; Ellingsen, 2000; Hegre et al., 2001; Sambanis, 2001; Mousseau, 2001; Reynol-Querol, 2002). However, the theoretical explanation for this relationship varies. On the other hand, there are oppositions to this relationship (Fearon and Laitin, 1999). Level of democracy is argued not to have an impact on occurrence of conflict as long as the economic conditions are controlled.

A high level of conflict in transitory regimes is argued by some as a consequence of the unconsolidated of democratic institutions. People are not accustomed to seeking political channels for making their demands heard, as they normally do in consolidated democracies. Nor is there a repression over them, preventing reaction, as it is in autocracies. For some, conflict stems from executive branch of semi-democracies because the executive is elected by a small electorate and their political participation is very limited (Hegre et al., 2001). For others, a little freedom is needed for groups to organize whereas total openness decreases political instability (civil war in his study) because it increases the opportunity cost of rebellion (Reynol-Querol, 2002). In open regimes, using democratic institutions for demands or elections are less costly than rebellion. However, in semi-democracies there is enough space to organize, but reaching unconsolidated institutions is costly, leading people towards conflict. Similarly, semi-democracies or transition economies are argued to to be more conflict-prone because people are more frustrated in transitory regimes (Ellingsen, 2000). Frustration is argued to occur by discrimination, where discrimination is explained as ‘...difference between economic and political rights of group members compared to other groups’ (Ellingsen, 2000: 243). So, it occurs when the access to political and economic rights are distributed in an unequal way. The distribution of rights is highly related with the type of political regime. Ellingsen argues (2000: 235) ‘A democratic regime will normally accord greater political and economic rights to the people and therefore reduce the likelihood of frustration’. In the autocracies, on the other hand, even the frustration may be higher; it is not possible to mobilize for a

collective action due to repression. In this search of political instability in all countries where the data is available between the period of 1946 and 1992, it is concluded that political instability is especially prevalent in semi-democracies (Ellingsen, 2000:243). Mousseau also supports the inverted U curve argument by logit regression analysis on 126 nations between the periods 1948- 1982 (Mousseau, 2001). Similarly, the argument is supported by study which searches the causes of political instability in 70 less developed countries between the period of 1981 and 1989 (Auvinen, 1997). Political instability is argued to peak at 'middle level of political authoritarianism' (Auvinen, 1997).

Looking from another perspective, O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986) and Przeworski (1991; cited in Zielinski, 1999) argue that democratization is a bargaining process. Reformers in the government and moderates in the opposition bargain with the hard liners in the government and radicals in the opposition on democratic reforms. If the two groups cannot negotiate, the latter undermine the democratization process by political violence. Zielinski (1999) finds support for his theoretical argument with comparative case studies on Hungary and Poland, by considering intervention of Soviets as military intervention.

In conclusion, regime type literature generally focused on transitory regimes for explaining the causes of political instability. Semi-democracies are considered more prone to political instability due to unconsolidated institutions, unequal distribution of political rights and relatively free environment compared to autocracies.

CHAPTER 3

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS

3.1 Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of the thesis is set as political instability. Political instability is a very wide concept in the literature so its dimensions are framed in order to define the borders of the research. Political instability denotes the institutional change that arises as a result of social reactions. The institutional changes are operationalized by major movements in Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers, 2007) polity scores and major changes of the political parties. As the major movements in the Polity IV form the basis of the dependent variable; major changes of the political parties are complementary.

To start with, Polity IV is a coding system which enables to see the characteristics of the authority of ruling regime or 'polity'. Every country in the Polity has a polity score which ranges between -10 and +10 where the former means strongly autocratic as the latter means highly democratic. The scores are derived from eleven-scale indicators which are competitiveness of political participation, the regulation of participation, the openness and competitiveness of executive recruitment, and constraints on the chief executive. The polity

score is get by subtracting the democracy points from autocracy points. This means as the score of the polity is near to +10; it is more democratic as it is near to -10; it is more autocratic. The scores are listed according to years and enable to see if there is an abrupt or gradual change in the characteristics of the ruling regime during the period. That's why one dimension of the political instability is operationalized by Polity scores since it may show the major changes in the political regime which is set as an indicator of political instability.

Second, political instability is operationalized by major changes in the political parties. Rise of new political parties or existing extremist parties are thought to be indicators of political instability. In order to see the major changes of the political parties, the number of seats of the political parties that they get as a result of elections is utilized. The data in the history books are applied for the political party changes of the cases. The election results of Germany between 1871 and 1890 is taken from Williamson (1998), 1893–1907 is taken from Berghahn (1987) and Simpson (1995). For the election results of Turkey data in Shaw (1976) is used for 1961–1969 period; results in Sayarı and Esmer (2002) is used for 1983- 1999 period and data in Çınar (2006) and Balkır (2007) are used for 2002–2007 election results.

3.2 Independent Variables

3.2.1 Economic Change

Economic development or downturns are argued to have an impact on political instability. Industrialization is one of the indicators of economic development and argued to have a significant impact on political instability. In order to see the

impact of the industrialization on political instability; iron/steel production per capita (Singer, 1987) is used. Iron and steel production is argued to be a dimension of state capability (Singer, 1987: 117). Not only the economic development but also economic downturns are argued to have a role for political instability. Main indicator of the economic downturn can be economic crises which create abrupt changes in economic life. In order to operationalize the economic crises the data of economic crises is operationalized by negative economic growth. The years with negative economic growth will be treated as economic crisis years.

3.2.2 Political Change

In the political instability literature the main discussion on political change and instability is the inverted U curve relationship between the regime type and instability. The instability is argued to peak in transitory regimes as it declines in autocratic or consolidated democracies. In order to see the impact of political change on political instability, regime score in the Polity IV is taken as the reference. In other words, political change is operationalized by regime score of the Polity IV. ‘The score is an additive eleven-point scale (0–10)’ (Marshall and Jaggers, 2007: 13) which is coded by competitiveness of political participation, openness and competitiveness of executive recruitment and constraints on chief executive. The important point of operationalizing the political change by this score is treatment of it as a variable rather than a constant. That’s why; the change of the regime score can be an indicator of political change which is also

in line with the discussions in the literature regarding regime type and instability relationship.

It should be recognized that the Polity scores are used both as an indicator of dependent and independent variable. Rather than creating confusion, this leads to more fruitful discussion of political instability. By that way, it is recognized that regime changes are a function and a result of political instability. On one hand, regime change can lead to political instability as it sometimes happens in democratization processes. On the other hand, political instability can cause regime changes as well. A good example for this relationship can be military interventions which took place in order to end political instability but by creating an important change of regime.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN GERMANY: 1848-1945

4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers historical developments in Germany from 1848 till the post 1945 period. The aim of the chapter is to identify political instability; extremist political party tendencies, demonstrations military interventions and revolutionary movements during this period. Furthermore, economic and political conditions are also studied in order to reveal the relationship between those conditions and political instability. Before the causal relationships are mentioned according to different views of authors, facts about political unrest are indicated and when available, views of historians are reviewed.

This chapter is studied under six main time periods, which are in line with structuring of most historians. Those time periods are the 1848 revolution, the 1871-1890 Bismarck era, the 1890-1914 Wilhelm era, the 1918- 1933 Weimar Republic and the post 1945 period. Only the Weimar Republic period is further divided into subtitles because of its divergent developments. All those areas are studied under political developments, economic conditions and social

reactions sub-titles during the periods. World War I and World War II are purposely excluded from historical research since they do not focus on political but foreign relations.

4.2 1848 Revolution

1848 was a difficult year for governors in states within the German Confederation. 149 food riots took place just during 1847 (Gailus, 1994: 162). Economic concerns, industrialization and modernization, development of a railroad network, amelioration of liberal thinking among intellectuals, and democratization movements in France had an interrelated relationship for 1848 revolutionary movements. The above-mentioned events can be explained as long term causes. The potato plight was the short term event that inflamed the movements. In order to understand the events of these years and the 1848 revolution and counterrevolution, the period preceding 1848 should be taken into consideration in a wider perspective.

Long term internal and external events have an important influence on 1848 revolution together with short term influences of economic difficulties. One of the main long term internal developments is Germany's path of industrialization and modernization. In the 19th century, though later than other leading European countries, Germany started to industrialize and mechanize the agricultural sector that changed the organization of the economy. The first and main outcome of industrialization and mechanization of agriculture was unemployment in the rural areas. The unskilled people in the rural areas had to migrate to industrial cities in order to find jobs. Migration of the unemployed

people was at a slow pace at the first half of the century due to transportation deficiencies. It increased as the railway network was developed after 1840. This contributed to the increase of unemployed people in the cities in the coming years (Orlow, 1991:84). Moreover, agrarian reform which is also called peasant emancipation took place in pre 1840 period. Agrarian reform can be explained as relief of peasants from serfdom and proletarianization of them by paying the dues to landowners. It also caused an incentive for people living in the rural areas to migrate to urban areas. Another long term internal cause of the revolution was demand for liberalization coming from students and intellectuals.

The liberalization demands were also fed by external revolutionary movements, especially in France, which ended up with overthrow of the government of King Louis Philippe (Orlow, 1991:12). Calls for liberalization also combined with a nationalism discourse. Nationalism was also dominant in Europe in those years and Germany was influenced by this way of thinking. People were calling for unification of German nation under state of Germany. Unlike the intellectuals, the guilds were criticizing the governance for liberal policies. They were seeking mercantilist and protectionist policies in order to maintain their economic well being. The intellectual backing was influencing the university students for liberal policies whereas artisans and journeymen remained in the conservative camp most of the time. The two main groups had different reasons for coming against the state.

The transformation period, the problems it brought and its intellectual thinking might not have ended up with revolutionary movement, if in 1848

Germany had not have potato blight which caused economic hardship, the death of sixteen thousand people and infection of another of eighty thousand with typhoid (Orlow, 1991: 12). During this transformation period, state had a repressive stand towards the social resentment. 'Trials for sedition, control of intellectual life in the universities, and above all press censorship (publicly demonstrated on a daily basis by large white spaces in the newspapers) characterized a system that had lost its credibility' (Orlow, 1991:11). The social unrest peaked as journeymen and artisans used violence in urban areas, destroying new machinery that they felt hurting their incomes. The upheavals had a reflection on the governance. In almost every state, conservative governments were replaced by ones with more liberal outlooks. Free elections were arranged for constitutional convention, and as a demonstration of unity of Germans three color flag was recognized, Jews are emancipated legally, the princes were bounded for use of power, and economic activity became freer.

However, the revolution did not have the results it aimed. Liberal governments could not improve economic conditions. Guilds and artisans were not glad with the liberal policies since they were in favor of restriction on economic activity and protection. Counterrevolutionary demonstrations took place in the cities against the liberal governments and the administrations turned to conservative rulers. Conservative rulers ordered the troops to enter the cities against the liberal governments. The masses were demanding for autocracy to sustain stability and well being. This counterrevolution was also contravened by liberal leaders who were decisive to stay in the political realm. The events went on till 1849 as street demonstrations occurred. This period was dominated by terror,

turmoil and ambiguity. The liberalization and democratization attempts retarded during this period.

The liberal constitutions which came to force were either suspended or replaced by three class system of voting which is a voting system based on amount of taxes that are paid. It is seen as the main obstacle to the democratization attempts of the period. Although this period undermined the democratization and liberalization of the politics and society, bourgeoisification, which can be defined as increase in middle class merchants especially in the cities, of the German society continued (Orlow, 1991: 20, explanation of bourgeoisification added).

The 1850s went on as a continuation of economic and political developments of the previous decade. The difference was that discussions on parliament settled down in political realm and agriculture and industry were recovering from its recession period. Industrialization, urbanization and migration to cities continued. The upheavals were settled and the economy was developing as well. Still, Germany cannot be considered as a totally industrial state but it was very rapidly changing its economic structure. Beside economic developments, according to Orlow (1991) one important phenomenon of 1850s was creation of class consciousness among middle class bourgeoisie in the cities. Together with this class consciousness, anti-Semitism was also thriving among the middle class. The main reason of anti-Semitism was seeing Jews as supporters of mere materialism, since anti-materialist thinking was common among middle classes. Materialism was thought together with the values which were influential for intellectual thinking of the time. Despite anti-Semitism

rooted in this period, 1850s were relatively stable than the previous period in terms of social unrest.

4.3 Bismarck Era

Germany entered another historical phase that covers the period from the 1871; unification of German states to the 1890; end of chancellery of Bismarck and start of Wilhelm era. It is named differently by authors according to significant events of the period. It is called as the founders' generation (Orlow, 1991: 35), the period of Great Depression (Mommsen, 1995: 103) since this period lived long term recession except some short term recovery or 'German Empire' (Holborn, 1969: 233) especially due to dominant expansionist foreign policy over colonies. Also, this period is identified with Bismarck, the chancellor, who had great influence over politics and economics (Williamson, 1998).

4.3.1 Political Arena

During this period, the political realm was shared by parliament (*Reichstag*), whose members were elected by universal male suffrage a Federal Council (*Bundesrat*) whose members were appointed by state governments, the Chancellor and the Emperor. Although there was a parliamentary structure, elected by universal male suffrage, its legislative power was very limited and the Chancellor was accountable to the Emperor rather than *Reichstag*. Also, the chancellor of the time, Bismarck, was a very important statesman of the period whose political actions were determinant in political realm. Bismarck had highly conservative, anti Catholic and anti socialist political outlook, so he was always

near to conservative parties. Therefore, despite the existence of parliament, this period cannot be considered democratic period due to weak position of parliament and strong authoritarian stand of Bismarck.

Election results of the period reveal the effects of above-mentioned economic and political developments. Reichstag elections of 1871 ended up with the triumph of National Liberals having 125 seats out of 397. They were followed by the *Reichspartei* (*Reichspartei* was called Free Conservatives before 1871), the Center Party and the Conservatives. But number of deputies of the National Liberals was twice as many as the deputies of other parties. In 1874 elections, triumph of the National Liberals continued. It is followed by the Center Party, Progressives and the *Reichspartei*. Number of deputies of the Center Party in this election increased from 63 to 91. 1877 election denotes decline for the National Liberals. Although it was the first party in the elections, their number of deputies decreased compared to the previous elections. It was ensued by the Center Party, the Progressives and the Conservatives respectively. 1878 elections was a clear manifestation of the coming years regarding the fall of National Liberals and rise of conservative camp. The National Liberals were the first party with 99 deputies and the Center Party had 94 deputies. Conservatives and *Reichspartei* were the two following parties. Surprisingly, in 1881 elections the Progressives was the first party as a result of the combination of 46 deputies of the Liberal Union and 9 of *Volkspartei*. The Center Party was the second with 100 deputies and the Conservative Party followed it with 50 deputies. It was a total loss for the National Liberals with 47 deputies. They lost more than half of the votes compared to the previous elections. The Center Party

became victor of 1884 elections, followed by the Conservatives, the Progressives and the National Liberals. Once again the National Liberals became the first party in 1887 elections with a slight difference with the Center Party. The Conservatives and the *Reichspartei* were following. 1890 elections ended with the triumph of the Center party and Progressives, Conservatives and National Liberals come after it respectively. Besides those, although the Social Democrats could not take place within the first four parties, its votes increased in overall perspective. As it had 2 deputies in 1871 elections, it had 35 in 1890 elections. In the political realm, anti-Semitism found ground by establishment of anti-Semitic political party of Anti Semitic German Social Party by combination of anti Semite organizations. However, they did not find expected support. This was due to incorporation of anti-Semitic views in Center Party frame. For support of Center Party, especially in terms of anti Semitism, Bismarck also had a great influence by reflecting his anti Semitic views (Wehler, 1985: 109).

Table 1: Reichstag Election Results between 1871-1890

Reichstag Election results								
	1871	1874	1877	1878	1881	1884	1887	1890
	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats
National Liberals	125	155	128	99	47	51	99	42
Reichspartei	67	36	38	57	28	28	41	20
Center Party	63	91	93	94	100	99	98	106
Conservatives	57	22	40	59	50	78	80	73
Progressives	47	50	52	39	115*	74	32	76
Social Democrats	2	9	12	9	12	24	11	35

*Includes 46 seats of the Liberal Union and 9 of Volkspartei

Source: Williamson, 1998:112-113.

4.3.2 Economic Conditions

In economic terms, those years were facing depression except the boom between 1871 and 1873 and a slight recovery in mid 1880s. Boom period at the beginning of the Empire was due to French reparations. As a result of failure in 1870 Franco-Prussian War, France had to pay reparations to Germany. It caused an upswing of German economy since it supplied huge amounts of liquid capital. However, in 1873 crash of Vienna stock market disturbed all the economic balances in Europe which combined with economic hardship in the USA. French reparations came to an end in those years as well. Moreover, overvalued small companies as a result of 1871 boom went into bankruptcy. Economic downturn not only shifted concerns of people from political realm to economic area but created reaction against thriving *laisse faire* environment. People tended to support protectionism in economic terms since they were suffering from cheaper goods coming from abroad. Together with reflections on the political realm towards conservatism, Jews were seen responsible of economic hardship. They were seen as people following materialistic liberal trade.

4.3.3 Social Reactions

Social reactions of the period are inseparable from the political and economic developments of the period. Except from some anti-Semitic riots; social unrest of the period manifests itself in the political party tendencies. Economic conditions, effects of industrialization, modernization, urbanization and

changing social classes are thought to be main determinants of the votes. Nevertheless, influence of Bismarck in political, social and economic areas cannot be underestimated in German history. Bismarck was forerunner of *Kulturkampf*, which was a campaign against the Catholic Center Party. Moreover, he was obviously against the Social Democrats. Development of social security law for workers was a strategy of Bismarck to curb the support for the Social Democrats. Shift towards conservatism, rise of support for the Social Democrats and rising anti-Semitism were main points of political instability during Bismarck era.

Under the light of those developments, election results manifest that; in the long term there was a tendency towards conservatism within society and a shift away from National Liberalism. However, this trend occurred in a gradual way. Here, influence of Bismarck was important. He was in favor of protectionist economic policies which increased the votes of conservative parties. 'Measured in economic terms the depression may indeed have been mild, but it irreparably damaged Liberalism and rallied behind the Conservatives strong anti-modernist forces, which equated Liberalism and democracy with a Jewish conspiracy'(Pulzer, 1964 cited in Williamson, 1998: 52). The reason for a mild depression was that there was no decrease in real incomes; on the contrary, it increased. It was due to declining prices stemming from overproduction (Holborn, 1969:381).

On the other hand, support of industrial workers in cities for Social Democrats was increasing. They were also suffering from economic downturn and unemployment, so they increased their demands by political channels.

Though representation of Socialist party in *Reichstag* increased in time, the Social Democrats were in a weaker position than conservative and liberal parties especially due to social policies of Bismarck to curb the support for Socialist party. 'Bismarck's insistence on compulsory workers' insurance against illness, accidents, invalidity and the insecurity of old age, with the financial aid of the state, was under Caprivi —Caprivi became Chancellor after Bismarck— supplemented by the regulation of working conditions through the Industrial Code of 1891, aimed at the establishment of manageable social equilibrium'(Rosenberg, 1943: 69, explanation for Caprivi is added).

During the imperial period, anti-Semitism became another important source of social unrest. Anti-Semitic riots took place in Berlin, West Prussia and in Pomerania. In December 1881, there was a social demonstration organized by gangs in Berlin, preventing Jews entering cafes and they had fierce behaviors like breaking windows (Wehler, 1985: 106). Devastating events occurred in Pomerania, town of Neustettin, province of Posen and several places of West Prussia against Jewish community in the same year, (Hoffman et al. 2002: 67, online copy).

4.4 Wilhelm Era

The Bismarck era ended in 1889 when Wilhelm II came to throne. Wilhelm II was different from the previous emperors of Bismarck era. He was not in line with Bismarck in most of the policies. Wilhelm II had a character of extremes. 'He had many gifts- energy, imagination, charm- and projected himself initially as a 'social emperor', expressing paternalistic concern for

striking coalminers in 1889 and rejecting Bismarck's demand for renewal of antisocialist law' (Blackburn, 1998: 402). On the other hand, he had inappropriate claims and he was defined as petty and narcissistic (Blackburn, 1998: 402). His different approaches in the political area had different influences on political parties, mass mobilization of people and democratization of Germany.

On the economic arena, the depression period of Bismarck came to an end. Between 1890 and 1914, there was an economic recovery except for slight recessions between 1900-1902 and 1907-1908 (Wehler, 1985: 41). Economic development continued and strengthened by increasing population of Germany since it constituted work force for industrializing economy. Moreover, in agriculture Germany was one of the most productive producers in the world (Porter and Armour, 1996: 21). During this period, real wages rose as working hours decreased (Blackburn, 1998: 354).

On the political arena, people tended to attend interest groups, political parties and made their voices heard through political channels. In these terms, Haffner (1989: 66) argues that, Wilhelm period cannot be considered as an age of democratization however, it created an environment of politicization for future democratization. Those developments had effects on society as well. Wilhelm era can be considered as a happy time and political social and political instability did not aggravate during this period (Haffner, 1989: 67). Haffner (1989: 67) defines the period in his words as follows: 'politically the Wilhelm age was a happy time, perhaps the best ever in the brief life of the German Reich.'

4.4.1 Political Arena

To start with; in political realm Wilhelm era ended *Kulturkampf*, constitutional conflicts and anti Socialist law, which was put into action in Bismarck era, (Haffner, 1989: 63). Those developments had an influence on party policies and election results. Moreover, not only state based approach changes or party policies but also interest groups influenced political area during this period. Among the several interest organizations in industrial area; most important ones can be stated as Central Association of German Industrialists that were supporting interests of heavy industry, Confederation of Industrialists which was pro small firms, Hansa Bund which was representer of exporters and shipping (Blackburn, 1998: 338). Agrarian League was union for peasants and it was following Junker interests. For middle classes, all different organizations for small business were aggregated under Imperial German Mittelstand Confederation (Blackburn, 1998: 338).

Those interest groups were also identifying themselves with political parties. Agrarian League was supporting Conservative Party; small manufacturers, exporters and merchants were in favor of Left liberals; SPD was taking its base from working class; National Liberals and Catholic Center were not directly under the support of a certain group but they were moderating different clashing groups (Blackburn, 1998: 340). Those groups had an important influence over the political parties because of financing the elections and reaching to the voters. On the other hand, he also mentions the negative

consequences of the interest groups since they created social distaste because of their prioritization of interests (Blackburn, 1998: 341).

The election results of the period are also different from previous period of the Imperial Germany. In 1890, 1898 and 1907 elections, the Center Party was the first party and had an overwhelming majority over other parties. Liberal parties (National Liberals and Left Liberals) had a gradual decrease of their votes during this period. As Bismarck's support for the German Conservatives had come to an end, during twenty two years period, votes of German Conservatives declined steadily. One important election result was 1912 elections. The Social Democrats had a triumph with 110 seats in the *Reichstag*. From 1890 elections onwards, except a slight decline of seats in 1907 elections, they increased their votes in a gradual way. According to Fairbairn (1996:315, ed. Chickering), increase of votes of the SPD was a result of class consciousness of people who are framed by economic conditions of workplace and have an antagonistic view of outside classes. Increase of labor votes is argued to be achieved as follows: ' This milieu was held together by occupational identity, class awareness, secular rituals and symbolisms, the hostility of the rest of society, and a diffuse socialist ideology' (Fairbairn, 1996: 315, ed. Chikering). Also, the mobilization strength of the SPD was stemming from its organizational structure; which is separated as central, regional and local institutions, using newspaper as a way to reach voters and having the ideological backing of Marxism.

According to Orlow (1991: 97) those election results are argued to be a manifestation of non-violent political modernization. Also, he (1991: 97) claims

that ‘the extreme Right and Left were losing strength among voters; most Germans clearly supported the moderate Center and Left.’ In that sense, Wilhelm era had little social unrest that may be due to existence of political channels like political parties and interest groups.

Table 2: Reichstag Election Results between 1893- 1907.

Reichstag Election Results				
	1893	1898	1903	1907
	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats
Center Party	96	102	100	105
National Liberals	53	46	51	54
Left Liberals	48	49	26	49
Conservative Party	72	56	54	60
Social Democrats	44	56	81	43

Source: Berghahn, 1987:300; Simpson, 1995: 77.

4.4.2 Economic Conditions

The economic indicators of this period show that there was a huge transformation from agrarian to industrial society (Mommsen, 1995: 102). However, industrialization with great pace and success did not signify disappearance of agricultural sector (Blackburn, 1998: 313). Census of 1907 shows that; 35% of population was still employed in fishing, forestry and agriculture (Blackburn, 1998: 313). However; migration of rural population into towns, becoming net importer of grain and fall of agricultural sector from 42% to 35% as industry rose from 36% to 40% in economic area indicates that the German Empire was becoming an urban-industrial state (Blackburn, 1998: 318).

During this period, as all the social groups improved economically, workers improved more than other groups due to the rise of real wages and social insurance applications (Mommsen, 1995: 112).

Another economic characteristic of Wilhelm Germany was development of different sectors. There were banking sector, heavy industry, consumer goods industry and agriculture.

4.4.3 Social Reactions

Lastly, political influence of this period was huge although it did not create a serious social unrest. Main political issue of the period was whether German society was bourgeoisie society or it remained aristocratic features (Mommsen, 1995: 114). The reason for this ambiguity can be that the Imperial Germany was still in the transformative period of industrialization. Political impact of transformation is highly interrelated with above-mentioned political and economic changes.

First of all, as the social mobilization increased during the industrialization period; values became mixed, new opportunities are realized and class structures became more evident according to economic lines.

Moreover, Berghahn (1987: 1) argues that ‘...the Industrial Revolution also had a profound effect on social structures, on the life-styles and political behavior of people as well as on their perceptions of the world around them.’ This happened for Germany as well. The political tendencies of people are shaped by the class lines and economic conditions that created those lines. In Germany, social classes consisted of middle class, labor class, agricultural

class and traditional upper class. Middle class had two fractions which is new *Mittelstand* which arose as a result of technological developments and old *Mittelstand* in which artisans can be counted. New *Mittelstand* developed its social aspirations in new economic conditions whereas for old *Mittelstand* it was difficult to preserve their places in dynamic economy (Berghahn, 1987: 8). Industrial working class was also better off and as its number was increasing, the well being was increasing too. Agricultural class was decreasing as a result of opportunities created by industrial sector.

Those classes and politics interact with each other on political parties and interest groups. People who identified themselves within economic sectors took place in certain social camps and represent themselves by political views (Mommsen, 1995:111). Looking at the relation between economy and politics, the followers of political parties and interest groups can be identified with their economic status in society. This identification dates back to 1860s. According to the observation of Karl Twesten ; ‘the landed interest calls itself conservative, the money interest liberal, the labor interest democratic’ (Blackburn, 1998: 339). Industrialist had fractions as well. As banking sector was supporting liberal wing, heavy industrialists were in favor of right wing imperial policies (Mommsen, 1995: 110). Middle classes were distancing themselves from liberal camp and they were becoming antagonistic towards modernization and industrial growth (Mommsen, 1995: 114). Socialist movement was supported by labor class (Lidtke, 1996: 273, ed. Chickering). In other words, as the society is divided according to class lines, political arena is divided in a parallel manner. In line with this, Berghahn (1987: 12) argues that ‘ In short, what, by 1914,

determined social and political behavior and interaction much more than religious upbringing or regionalism were the perceptions of 'them' and 'us' in terms of class and status.'

Since economic conditions were getting better off for all part of society- though conditions were still difficult for bottom classes- political instabilities that arose during this period were stemming from discontents about materialist thinking. Orlow (1991: 88) explains political unrest of the period as follows: 'A more serious threat to the official culture came not through class antagonism, but from a generational conflict in the ranks of the Wilhelm bourgeoisie.' This kind of unrest, which incarnated as Youth Movement was basically critical of the existing materialist thinking and Jews who were identified with materialism. Instead, they focused on idealism and nationalism as a part of idealism, democracy and equality. While, previously their ideas were defined as informal lifestyle, equality among youngsters and consuming natural food; later they focused on alternative values to basic values of Wilhelm period. They came together at a national festival in 1913 in Hessen where their organization became visible and their ideals became widespread among public (Orlow, 1991: 89).

To sum up Wilhelm period was politically less repressive than Bismarck period, but it cannot be argued that it had a democratic regime. However, interest groups and political parties seem to be more influential in political realm. Those groups were interacting with class lines. So, it can be claimed that Wilhelm period was reflecting class based political structure of the Imperial Germany. Another important political development of the period was

gradual but significant rise of support for the Social Democrats. Economy during the period was booming except for two slight recessions. Increasing well being of the society was also reflected in the political arena. As it is mentioned before, people tended to be more moderate than supporting extremist political parties. Political relations of the period were a reflection of and in interaction with the political and economic developments. Class society was evident; however social unrest was not between class lines but within bourgeoisie youth who were criticizing existing materialist mentality. In short, as Orlow (1991: 97) explains, in this period, 'Even the path toward non-violent political modernization seemed to have been cleared.

This pattern could have continued if World War I did not break out. Since war period was an extraordinary time span in terms of politics and economics, they will not be mentioned within the scope of this chapter. The developments after the war; party tendencies and political turmoil, political unrest and economic conditions will be dealt. Post war period will also be considered in terms of its influence on democratic transformation of Germany.

4.5 Weimar Republic

Weimar Republic is established in 1919 and functioned till 1933 as the Nazis came to power. This part is studied under three periods by historians: 1918/1919 revolutionary period, turmoil period till 1923 when economic hardship and political instability endured, stability between 1924 and end of 1928 and first years of 1930s. Disintegration and destruction of Republic came with the world

economic crisis of 1929 and rise of Nazis (Berghahn, 1987; Orlow, 1991; Kolb, 2005).

4.5.1 1918/1919 Revolutions

Revolutions of 1918/1919 started on 4th November 1918 with uprising of sailors in Kiel who refused to obey the command for attacking British Navy in the World War I. As a result of this uprising, ‘The naval authorities gave in easily with the result that by afternoon the city was in the hands of sailors, who elected a soldiers’ council, and of the dockyard workers, who elected a workers’ council’ (Holborn, 1969: 511). Those events spread quickly to other cities like Hamburg, Brunswick, Hanover, and Cologne and calmed down with signing of Armistice. Unrest of soldiers was stemming from unending war and it was a reflection of demand for peace. Although event of Kiel was not related with the uprisings in other cities especially by workers (Holborn, 1982: 512) their institutional organizations provided an example for other revolutionary authorities (Orlow, 1991: 125). On November 7, revolutionary movement broke out in Munich. This blow of uprising affected almost all cities and reached to Berlin on November 9. A general strike of workers was planned in Berlin for November 11. According to Haffner (1989: 125) ‘It was a leaderless yet unstoppable process, a spontaneous mass movement.’ Mass movements slowed down as William II declared his abdication. ‘In the evening of November 10, a meeting of all the workers’ and soldiers’ councils of Berlin elected a council of “people’s commissars” as the new government’(Holborn, 1982: 515). All

movements were in favor of ending the war followed by social or political change but it brought immediate change to the ruling system.

The revolutionary period continued after the Armistice, with sailors' revolt that broke out in Berlin on December 23 which was actually motivated by payments rather than political demands (Holborn, 1982: 525). As the demands of sailors were met, the radical left was in suspicion that the Social Democrats were acting in coordination with generals for a counterrevolution. Mass demonstrations took place in Berlin by Spartacists who were supporters of radical left and socialist revolution. They captured some newspaper buildings, a government printing office and the Silesian railroad station (Holborn, 1982: 527). Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the Independent party, lost their authority over the masses even they wanted to end the demonstrations. In order to end the demonstrations, the council of people's commissars appealed to the members of old army and volunteers to form a Free Corps (*Freikorps*), which would be armed against the demonstrators. The Free Corps were formed for emergency situation to hold the stability. Soon, they took the control of Berlin. However; 'In the evening of January 15, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by the officers who were charged with delivering them to prison'(Holborn, 1982: 530). This took reaction from workers' councils and they formed a general strike especially for extermination of the Free Corps. The strike was abused by communists by using armed force. This brought communists and the Free Corps against each other which ended up with more than a thousand deaths (Holborn, 1982: 530).

The revolutionary period of Germany is considered by many as a civil war (Holborn, 1982: 532). The elections of the National Assembly took place on 19 January 1919 and authority of central council shifted to the National Assembly. With this development extraordinary revolutionary period of Germany can be said to have come to an end. However, in no sense were the coming four years easy for the new Republic. It is disturbed by *putsches*, internal conflicts and economic hardship. In order to explain this period; party policies, political tendencies for political parties and economic conditions will be elaborated.

4.5.1.1 Political Arena

The first elections for the Assembly ended up with majority of reformists. The Social Democrats took the majority of the votes; the Center Party and Democrats (DDP) followed it. This election was a failure for conservative parties. Radical left KPD did not attend to the elections. However, the picture was different in 1920 elections. Increasing economic difficulties and political turmoil led to decrease of votes for the Social Democrats and coalition parties as it increased for right and radical left parties. The SPD had the majority of the seats but its influence in the chamber decreased from 163 to 102. The second party was the USPD which quadrupled its votes compared to 1919 elections. The DNVP and DVP were coming after them as they increased their votes dramatically. Similar to the loss of the SPD, 1920 election was a failure for the Center and the DDP (Kolb, 2005: 224). Till 1923, economic conditions, its

political effects and attacks from left and right to the democratic system defined the period.

4.5.1.2 Economic Conditions

Economic hardship hit all parts of society except entrepreneurs with productive assets and factories. Middle class suffered from hyperinflation and income tax (Holborn, 1982: 578), workers had to lower their life standards as prices rose, professional soldiers became jobless as a result of derogation of army, businessmen, landlords and officers lost their charismatic stand in society. Berghahn (1997) makes calculation of fall of real wages of skilled and unskilled workers taking 1913 as starting point and wages as 100. As wages were 92.2 in 1919, they had a dramatic fall in 1920 and became 66.7 (Berghahn, 1997:289). Agriculture benefited from war economy for a while but the structural problems concerning agriculture was not resolved (Berghahn, 1987: 70).

4.5.1.3 Social Reactions

Democratic regime was attacked by both right and left wing. Right wing had an anti-Republican stand and they wanted continuation of monarchy as anti-Republicanism of left wing was due to their demands for revolution rather than parliamentary system. Also, economic difficulties and anti-Republicanism appeared not only in 1920 Reichstag elections but also as street demonstrations, military interventions and military intervention attempts.

On the left wing, the first uprising occurred in first half of 1920 when strikes and mass demonstrations took place. Kolb (2005: 36) explains the

situation as follows: 'In January 1920, however, fresh unrest threatened with a rail strike and miners' demands for a six-hour shift, as well as a mass demonstration by the USPD in Berlin followed by an attack on the Reichstag building (13 January 1920).' The aim of the latter was to show reaction against the law, which would limit role of factory councils (Holborn, 1982: 578). The harsh suppression by police created resentment of working class for Social Democrats (Holborn, 1982: 579). As the uprising from the left was suppressed, a new threat to democracy came from right wing. On 13 March 1920, Kapp Putsch occurred whose governance lasted four days. Organizers of Kapp Putsch were mainly against limitation of army as a result of peace treaty, dissolution of the Free Corps, and they were strongly in favor of monarchy. It ended by general strike of workers that crippled economy together with bureaucratic slow down.

The above mentioned developments had an influence in 6 June 1920 *Reichstag* elections. Increasing economic difficulties and political turmoil caused decrease of votes for the Social Democrats and coalition parties as it increased for right and radical left parties. Similar to the loss of the SPD, 1920 election was a failure for the Center and the DDP. (Kolb, 2005: 224)

In other words, in this election, coalition parties were punished by public and people had more extremist tendency. 'The German Nationalist party emerged from the elections of 1920 not only stronger but also more radical than in 1919....Even within the Center party a shift toward the right was beginning after the elections, although it was still a slow and cautious move' (Holborn, 1982: 594). According to Holborn (1982: 593), those results were revulsion

from democracy. He argues that after the war, democracy was seen as the best system to sustain stability and stand against Bolshevism. However, it lost its credibility as the Free Corps were successful in maintaining stability rather than democratic institutions. Moreover, economic difficulties could not be overcome by the government which also contributed to criticism of people.

To sum up, Germany's democratic system came with a movement from below but the consolidation of it was not that easy. One main reason for this was the aim of people while demanding for democratic regime. Frankly, they were against monarchy not because they were supporting democracy but because they perceived a positive relationship between ending of war and monarchy. This was the perspective of society. Looking from the political perspective, neither right wing nor left wing was supporting the system. Right wing was in favor of continuation of monarchy or an authoritarian system, left wing was seeking for a revolution and they were feeling a kind of resentment for Social Democrats for their support of democracy rather than workers' revolution. The perceptions of two camps were reflected in society by general strikes and demonstrations on the left and by military interventions and military intervention attempts on the right. Although those attempts were suppressed by government forces and the Free Corps, the coalition parties, which were moderate parties, lost their support. In political realm, people tended to defend more extremist parties in 1920 elections.

Those sensitive developments in political realm intermingled with collapsed economy after the war. Hyperinflation and unemployment were main suffering areas for all parts of society. As economy was deteriorating, people

were becoming more critical about coalition parties and democratic system. Those became apparent in 1920 elections. As coalition parties lost most of their seats, especially extreme right and left parties gained power.

4.5.2 1923- 1930 Stability Period

Despite all of those negative conditions for sustainability of Weimar Republic, it managed to survive. It entered a stabilization period in 1923 as economy gained strength due to the US loans. The period between 1923 and 1930 is considered to be stabilization period of the Weimar Republic. It did not face political instability and economic hardships as the previous period however in no sense it was a totally stable period, it was 'relatively stable period'.

4.5.2.1 Political Arena

In the political realm, this period denotes rise and decline of extremist parties as moderates gained strength. In May 1924 elections, 'The parties of the moderate center-SPD, DDP, Center Party, and DVP- suffered substantial losses, while the extremists gained' (Orlow, 1991: 157). The KDP had 62, and the Nazi Party had 24 seats in May 1924 elections, though the former only had 4 and the latter had none in 1920 elections. But in December 1924 elections, support of extreme parties shifted to moderate ones. Nazi Party lost votes to the DNVP as the KDP voters supported Social Democrats (Orlow, 1991: 157). Another development in political realm was the growth and strength of paramilitary groups and local level institutional setting of the parties. Although at national level, there was

moderation of party majorities; at local level, extremist groups were quite effective in organization and gaining support (Orlow, 1991: 157, 161).

4.5.2.2 Economic Conditions

In economic area, slight improvement was due to currency stabilization and execution of Dawes Plan in 1924. Currency stabilization was achieved by Gustav Streseman who stopped issuing money which exacerbates inflation. He also came up with new currency: the Rentenmark which was more valuable than paper money. Dawes plan provided Germany with ease for payments of reparations. These two developments at the beginning of 1923 are two main causes for the stability of Weimar Republic. Though during the period, a recession was lived in the fall of 1925, it was overcome by unemployment insurance in 1927, (Holborn, 1982: 640) and increasing mechanization of economy and production methods (Holborn, 1982: 636, 637). Though mechanization brought positive results at the beginning; it was also the main cause of increasing unemployment of the period. This would also cause problems in the coming decade for workers' discontent. Yet, this illusionary economic improvement unleashed political stress. As economy deteriorated by 1929 with stock market crash in New York as investors withdrew their money from Germany on whose economy was strongly dependent.

4.5.2.3 Social Reactions

Looking at the social relations of the period, which is highly related with economic and political developments, there was stabilization in terms of social

unrest as well. As a result of the abovementioned economic developments and improvement of German economy, there was flow of hot money to Germany especially from the USA. Number of workers' strikes decreased from 2046 to 353 between 1923 and 1930 (Berghahn, 1987: 304).

4.5.3 1929- 1933 Crisis Period

From 1929 to 1933- rise of Hitler to power- is a very different period in German history. Economic, political and social developments of the period led to rise of the Nazi Party, which was an extremist party that took support from all parts of society. This period was a difficult time especially in economic terms. This part will be discussed with a special emphasis on economic developments.

4.5.3.1 Political Arena

The crisis situation led to end of democratically elected government in Weimar Republic. Throughout the crisis, president Hindenburg was declared supreme *arbiter* of the nation (Orlow, 1991: 175). He decided alone who the chancellors of the country would be. Brüning and Papen became chancellors respectively not as a result of support of parliamentary majority but as a result of president's choice. Brüning government and its successor Papen government also had a role in ending parliamentary system. According to Berghahn (1987: 116) their deflationary economic policies had non economic causes. Deflationary economic policies necessitate decrease of government spending and increase of state revenues by extra taxes. They aimed 'the transformation of the Weimar Constitution to a point where a return to parliamentarism would be impossible'

(Berghahn, 1987: 116). Also, Papen's purpose was to diminish power of labor class. So, for these two chancellors, it was not logical to follow expansionary economic policy which is incompatible with their political aims.

Their policies created resentment of people towards the 'system'. This situation worsened with the SPD's policies against moderate left rather than extremist right. The SDP was thinking that this economic hardship was the last phase of capitalism. So, they did not prevent deterioration and downfall of bourgeois- capitalist state by attacking extremist right. Nicholls (1991: 158) explains this view by a quotation of left-liberal journalist Anton Erkelenz: 'The Republic and the Republican parties which are all sacrificing themselves to secure the state and the Republic, are being forced by the deflationary policies of the government to work for Hitler.'

4.5.3.2 Economic Conditions

1929 crisis hit Germany more than any other state in Europe. Germany was highly dependent on American loans for fiscal adjustments. City governments were investing in infrastructure by the money of the US and private sector had investments as well. As the US investors withdrew their money, production and consumption declined and unemployment increased (Orlow, 1991: 174). Government had to cut unemployment payments and Müller government fell as a result of economic crisis and Brüning government succeeded it. Brüning's economic policy exacerbated suffering of people and he was called as Hunger Chancellor because of his economic policies. He followed deflationary

economic policy that aimed budget balancing. Depending on this policy, government spending was cut as state revenues increased by additional taxes. 'Between December 1930 and the end of 1932 the amount of money in circulation fell from 5 billion (milliard) RM to 3.7 billion-a cut over 25 per cent' (Nicholls, 1991: 155). Civil servants were highly influenced by salary cut.

4.3.3.5 Social Reactions

All parts of society— young people, civil servants, middle class, workers and peasants— were influenced by economic hardship and economic policies of the government. Young people were seeking for jobs where no jobs were available. Civil servants were suffering from wage cuts, middle classes' investments collapsed with the withdrawal of cash money to the US. Workers lost their jobs and unemployment payments. 'By the start of 1930, unemployment had jumped from about 650.000 to 1500.000. By the end of the year it stood at 2.500.000' (Mitcham, 1996: 131). The agricultural sector, hit before the crisis, suffered further.

As a reaction to suffering of the people, National Socialists stayed in power till the end of Second World War (1945), when they were toppled down by the Allied armies of the UK, US and USSR. The war period 1933-1945 will not be taken into account since it is dominated by totalitarian rule of Hitler who crushed all political apparatus.

4.6 Post 1945 Period

New movements and political party formation continued after the war, under influence of Allied powers within their occupation zones. Since in the Soviet part of Germany, the formation of political parties was under the influence of Soviet rule, it cannot be considered developing in a democratic way. For this reason, the developments in the Western zone will be taken into account in the following part.

4.6.1 Political Arena

The political party formations after the war were seen as a continuation of the Weimar politics (Orlow, 1991: 241; Berghahn, 1987: 188; Kettenacker, 1997: 125). Main parties were the SPD (Socialist Party), the CDU (Christian Democratic Union) and its Bavarian counterpart the CSU, the FDP (Free Democratic Party) and the KDP (Communist Party). Social Democrats' voters were coming from old working class and educated class and the party under the leadership of Schumacher was supporting democratic nationalism in political realm and private enterprise combined with nationalization of some industries in political area. They were mainly against nationalism and communism. The CDU and its Bavarian branch the CSU were a combination of Center Party of the Weimar period with some Protestant ideas. By that way, the CDU managed to combine Catholic and Protestants within the same frame. They were against communism and social democracy. The FDP was favoring centralized and democratic Germany together with free capitalist economy following private ownership and excluding state planning in economic arena. They were standing on the right of political spectrum (Berghahn, 1987: 188). In the 1946-47

elections, the distribution of votes regarding those parties were as follows: CDU/CSU took the lead by taking 37.6% of the votes; it is followed by the SPD that gained 35% of the votes and the KPD and the Liberals were behind the former two by taking 9.4% and 9.3% of the votes respectively (Berghahn, 1987: 191).

4.6.2 Economic Conditions

Development of the economy did not occur in a sudden way after the war. Though 1945- 49 were hard in terms of economy; Germany was not in a desperate situation in economic means. First of all, there due to internal migration to the industrial areas, external migration and existence of women as labor force, labor in the market was sufficient. Also Kettenacker (1997: 85) argues that though Germany was out of war, its capital stock was not totally waned. Another factor was the Marshall Plan which was coming from the USA. The US supplied \$ 1.4 billion to Germany for its economic recovery and economic growth increased by 50 % (De Long and Eichengreen, 1993:197). The Marshall Plan also had psychological contributions. The investors were more confident since the economy is expected to grow by the help of Marshall Plan.

4.6.3 Social Reactions

There was a radical tendency in the very first years after the war, especially among the young. Support for Adenauer and Schumacher is seen as incarnation of authoritarian tendency in the public. Prowe (1991) argues that ‘Strong leaders

continued to appeal to postwar Germans: as late as 1956, over a quarter of the population still favored choosing "the best politician to lead the country and giv[ing] him all powers of government" (Noelle et al., 1967)'. Also, conservative groups, networks that define political ground in Germany stayed in power during the consolidation of democracy. They had a supervisory role in this period (Prowe, 1991). However, support of society for democracy increased in time. Weil (1987: 312) explain general perspective on political arena and attitudes of society up to mid 1960, which is considered as a period of establishment of consolidated democracy, as follows: 'On most indicators, sympathy for the old Nazi regime declined- and support for the new democratic regime systematically rose- by about one percentage point per year over the whole post war period'.

4.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter long history of Germany that ended up with consolidated democracy is tried to be covered. Germany's long modernization, industrialization and democratization period was disturbed by political instabilities, extremist political movements, and authoritarian governance, economic hardship and stopped by two World Wars. However, as a result of nearly hundred years of development, Germany managed to become a country of stable social relations, democratic institutions and economic leadership. This chapter aimed to analyze political instability during transformation periods and stabilization.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN TURKEY: 1923-2009

5.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the historical developments in Turkey starting mainly from 1923, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and reaches today. The aim of the chapter is to identify political instability in Turkey during this period while focusing on attempts on democratization and modernization. In order to understand those developments and their interaction, the economic, political and social developments are taken into consideration separately.

This chapter is composed of three main parts: The 1923- 1938 period of Kemal Atatürk, the 1938–1950 İnönü years, and the 1950- 2009 multi party period. While explaining the last part, the military interventions of 1960, 1971, and 1980 will be included together with the 28 February 1997 military warning and e-memorandum to the JDP government. Also, developments in Ottoman Empire in the last century are taken into consideration to put a light on the Republican period.

5.2 The Ottoman Period

Western style developments in state institutions started as a result of realization of military backwardness in the Ottoman Empire against European powers in the 18th century. Military reform was followed by some administrative and educational reforms. Administrative reforms and educational reforms led to Western style training. Subsequently, trained in Western style, Young Turks were to launch further reform movements. Political changes and social reactions occurred during this period.

In the political arena, the first reform movement called *Tanzimat* took place in 1839. It aimed at the reorganization of educational, legal and administrative bodies. It is followed by the first Constitutional era, which started in 1876 and endured almost two years. During this period, the *Kanuni Esasi* (Basic Law) was put into action that was prepared by Young Turks. It continued till 1876 when the parliament was closed by the Sultan due to war with Russia. The second Constitutional era began with a military intervention of Young Turks in 1908 for restoring the old constitution. However, stability in the new era was difficult to sustain. The main political party, whose members achieved the military intervention, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), faced resistance from liberal opposition party Liberal Union (LU).

Moreover, social reactions from conservative and religiously driven groups took place because of the economic and political changes. Workers went on strike due to economic hardship and high inflation. There were more than one hundred strikes in İstanbul within six months in 1908 (Zürcher, 2003: 140) Hasan Fehmi, who was a liberal journalist, was killed by a supporter of the

CUP and at his funeral there were many protesters against the CUP. The most striking opposition came from the conservative and religious people. 31 March incident was an uprising that was provoked by some sheikhs. The CUP forces managed to suppress it, but it showed the political unrest for modernization and weakness of the CUP governance. The parliament and Second constitutional era had a break when the parliament was closed due to the start of the Balkan War.

The common point of reform period of the Ottoman Empire was that it always came from above, not from society. The first reform attempt that was accepted by the Sultan was to prevent separation of different ethnic groups as a result of nationalism that was dominant in those periods. The reforms of CUP were started by intellectuals and soldiers for constitutional and more democratic governance. They were highly influenced by Western style education and ideological approaches of the time that was stemming in France. Reform movements sometimes created uprisings from society, strikes and opposition from other parties.

Due to the abovementioned developments, some writers claim that modernization started in the Ottoman Empire and continued with the establishment of the Turkish Republic. On the other hand, some authors argue that the change of relations between society and state started after World War I with the Atatürk period (İnalçık, 1995: 123). According to the second camp (Zürcher, 2003: 252), the main and abrupt change at the state level and social level occurred with the establishment of the Turkish Republic after 1923.

This chapter will continue with the developments after 1923. The war years will not be taken into account since it was already turmoil period.

However, it should be mentioned that the CUP leaders and Mustafa Kemal were influential during the war period and they continued their policies afterwards.

5.3 The 1923-1938 Atatürk Period

The Republic of Turkey was established in 1923 by the Independence War. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, this period faced changes in state, society, education and law. In that sense, the establishment of a new state under new rule with the end of Ottoman Empire was a revolutionary movement. This period faces changes in state structure, party politics and democratization attempts, economic conditions and social reactions against those changes.

5.3.1 State Structure and Political Parties

The Republic of Turkey was proclaimed in 1923 based on sovereignty of the people. The Grand National Assembly represents people at the level of the state. The state is shaped by six fundamental and unchanging principles that were declared on 20 April 1931. They were Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Revolutionism, Secularism and Statism. According to Shaw (1976, 374-375), those principles set the core of Kemalist ideology as four of them sets the ideological basis of the new structure; two are defining the philosophical frame respectively. By the establishment of the Republic ‘the safeguarding and stabilization of the Republic, the creation of a unified national system of education, and the need to ‘cleanse and elevate Islamic faith, by rescuing it from the position of a political instrument, to which it has been accustomed for centuries’ (Speech cited in Lewis, 1968: 264) are aimed. The following reforms

for modernization were shaped within the framework of those ideologies and aims.

The Atatürk period, within the abovementioned framework, can be argued to have authoritarian tendencies. The People's Party was the ruling party according to defined principles and ideology and opposition parties were not allowed. Because of this, some authors define the Atatürk period as an autocratic state. For some others, opposition party attempts that were supported by Atatürk are seen as an indication of democratization attempts. The first attempt was the establishment of the Progressive Republican Party in 1924. It differed from Republican People's Party in economic views. It was supporting 'free enterprise and foreign capital investment' and its main criticism was that the RPP and state had merged. They were thinking that the RPP should also be a political party, not part of the state structures. The party discourse found substantial public support and this was seen critical for the continuation of the Republic. It was dissolved in 1925 by the order of Atatürk (Geyikdağı, 1984: 56; Shaw, 1976: 380).

Another political opposition occurred in 1930. Like the PRP, Free Republican Party (FRP) supported an 'end to state monopolies and the encouragement of free enterprise and foreign investment, lower taxes, closer ties with Turkey's Balkan neighbors and League of Nations, and a freer political climate' (Weiker cited in Shaw, 1976: 382). Also like the PRP, the FRP was dissolved due to accusations regarding support from different parts of society that were aiming at undermining basic principles of the Republic. Their supporters are argued to have religious and communist leanings (Geyikdağı;

1984: 57). Similarly, communist support was also curbed from the very beginning of the Republic. 'In 1922 Rauf's government banned Communist propaganda; in 1925 the last semi-legal vestiges of the Turkish Communist Party were finally outlawed' (Tunaya, 1959 cited in Lewis, 1968: 284).

To sum up, state structure and party policies throughout Atatürk period can be argued to have autocratic applications. Opposition could not develop and improve mainly because opposition parties were seen as a channel for some parts to undermine basics of the Republic.

5.3.2 Economic Conditions

When the Republic of Turkey was established, it was out of a severe war and economically devastated. The country lost a huge amount of population because of land losses, migration and deaths in the war. State revenues were very low, the price index increased more than tenfold and foreign trade declined a lot. Economic policy of this period was shaped under those circumstances.

Economic policy is reviewed within two periods. The 1923- 1930 period is considered as an open economy and the state was encouraging private enterprise. The 1930- 1932 period denotes a shift towards state intervention, protectionist measures and import substitution to protect infant industries. One cause of those measures was the impact of the 1929 New York stock market crash and subsequent world wide Great Depression. Another was giving affiliation with Soviet Union for expertise in order to be protected from the collapsed capitalist system. In this way, a five year plan was put into action.

Also, the year 1929 marked the end of sanctions from the Laussane Treaty, which unable the protection of political industries.

Under those circumstances, in order to develop the economy, the Ministry of Agriculture was established to train peasants for mechanization of agriculture; The Agricultural Bank and Agricultural Credit Cooperatives were set up for agricultural loans and credits; İş Bankası was instituted for supporting business entrepreneurs; and the Law for the Encouragement of Industry was promulgated. Under this law, ‘...industries received numerous tax exemptions, state subsidies, and a discount on rates for transportation by sea and rail’ (Howard, 2001:101).

As a result, those economic developments ended up with increases in financial reserves, the value of the Turkish lira, net national income and foreign trade surpluses.

5.3.3 Social Reactions

The Atatürk era had revolutionary changes in the state system and the modernization of society in terms of religious applications, education and clothing, which subsequently faced social reactions. The events of the period are seen as reaction of religious *tarikats* to the hat reform, and the use of Turkish for call for prayer and sermons in stead of Arabic. Also, for some writers, some mass movements had an ethnic identity base together with religious sentiments like Şeyh Sait rebellion that occurred in Piran in 1925.

The main events that are documented throughout Atatürk era were collective actions that took place in Kayseri, Maraş, Erzurum and Rize in 1925; in Menemen in 1930 and Bursa in 1933.

The events of Kayseri, Maraş and Erzurum were reactions initiated by sheiks against hat reform. The hat reform was banning of the wearing fez, which was seen as religious symbol, and its replacement with the hat. Demonstrators' rhetoric to gather masses were not to leave turban and fez since they had religious origin.

Another main event of the Atatürk period in terms of social unrest was the Şeyh Sait rebellion, guided by Şeyh Said who was a Nakşibendi sheikh, which broke at 13 February 1925 in Piran, and then shifted to Elazığ and Diyarbakır. For some authors (Shaw, 1976: 381; Howard, 2001: 95), it was a Kurdish rebellion that took support of conservatives and the Communist party of Russia. Akşin (2007: 195) argues that it was a revolt for the caliphate and sheirah. That is why, it can be considered as counter revolutionary, religious and a feudal movement. This event was suppressed harshly and the leaders were sentenced to death.

In 1930, the Menemen incident occurred though it may not be considered as a collective action. In this event, six people came to the village of Menemen who claimed to be members of Nakşibendi tarikat. They began to call for people to join them by using speeches against the state. They also claimed that an army was waiting outside of the village for bringing sheriah back. In order to maintain the stability, state officer lieutenant Kubilay took the charge.

The protagonists first shot Kubilay on the foot and then cut his head off by a small knife. His head was put on the mosque's flag and showed around.

Those events ended up with authoritarian sanctions for stability. The Law on the Maintenance of Order was put into force in 1925 and Independence Tribunals were set in order to judge and persecute rebellions who came against the basics of the Republic. The main protagonists of those events were sentenced to death by Independence Tribunals or given life long prison sentence.

Another collective reaction took place in Bursa in 1933. Bursa was the pilot city where call to prayer and sermons should have been done in Turkish instead of Arabic. When a *muezzin* called to pray in Arabic, this event was reported to state officials. They were criticizing that Muslims should have the right to pray in Arabic since it is the custom as non Muslims could worship in the language they want. In order to reflect their reactions, people had protests in front of government building and some entered into the government buildings. Unlike the abovementioned incidents, this one had a more moderate response from the state. Although some protestors and leaders were imprisoned, their penalty was not as harsh as the previous ones. Brockett (1998: 51) argues that 'Although the government remained uncomfortable with the public expression of discontent by Muslim Turks, its response to the Bursa protest signaled the advent of a more moderate approach to collective action, even that invoking Islamic legitimation.'

Those events are seen as religious reactions against the moderation attempts during the period that came from above. The above-mentioned social

unrest had effects on the political area as well. Two opposition party attempts succumbed to unstable environment. The Progressive Republican Party was dissolved after the Şeyh Sait event and the Free Republican Party ended as a result of Menemen incident. Those uprisings also undermined the democratic development of the Republic. Moreover, population exchange between Orthodox Christians in Turkey and Muslims in Greece as a result of 1923 Lausanne Convention Concerning Exchange of Greek and Turkish Minorities led to migration of 1.2 million Orthodox Christians and 35.000 Muslims (Gürsoy, 2008:95). This not only led to creation of more homogenous society but also led to entrenchment of authority of military and political elites. ‘Most of the economic elites of the Ottoman Empire were obligated to migrate to Greece in accordance with the convention signed in Lausanne. Partly because the military officers and the politicians (which were sometimes fused into one group) were the strongest factions in Turkish society, they were also able to establish an uncompetitive system’ (Gürsoy, 2008: 95).

5.4 The 1938- 1950 İnönü Period

When Atatürk died in 10 October 1938, his successor was almost certain; İsmet İnönü. İnönü was Atatürk’s life long friend and they shared the same political views regarding the Republic. İnönü was the president of the Republic till 1950 which is denoted as the İnönü period. Continuing with the one party system, the İnönü period was important in terms of entrenchment of the principles of the Republic despite the death of Atatürk. Moreover, the İnönü period is important

due to World War II, the joining of the West, and social change coming afterwards and political reflection of this change in a multi party system.

5.4.1 State Structure and Political Parties

After the death of Atatürk, İnönü became the president on 11 November 1938. This period covers two main events in the political arena; the outbreak of World War II and Turkey's transformation into a multiparty regime. Though Turkey was neutral during most of the war, precautions and military mobilization in case of an attack caused tightening of the budget and heightened state control over economic life (Ahmad, 1977: 8). Second, although the İnönü period started with the RPP's single party regime which equates party with the government (Ahmad, 1977: 1), it continued with a multiparty regime and democratization after 1946. Democratization of Turkey in this period is seen as a reform process that denotes continuation rather than rapture from previous structures of the state (Özbudun, 2000: 18; Lewis, 1968: 294). Three main effects played a role for this change.

The first one was İnönü's decisiveness for a multi party regime by encouraging dissidents in RPP to establish a new party.

Second, the international environment influenced the political issues of Turkey. In order to be protected from threats of the Soviet Union, it preferred to take part in Western alliance. In the Western world, especially by the influence of the US, democratic regimes triumphed and Turkey attempted to internalize political values of the West. Also, economic aid, which will be evaluated in the following part, had a role in this transformation.

Lastly, Turkey's changing socioeconomic conditions, lead to thriving middle class which started to demand a role in political arena and this was undermining the bureaucratic state structure of the previous periods.

5.4.2 Economic Conditions

The economic conditions of the İnönü period were specified by two main events. The first one was World War II and the second was economic aid supplied by the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine.

Turkey was neutral till 1945 when it declared war on the side of Allies. Though it was not active in the war, troops had to be mobilized towards the borders and the number of people taken under military service increased. This not only increased military spending but also decreased available labor. Moreover, import export activities came to standstill as agricultural production decreased (Shaw, 1976:398). Also goods could not be purchased from abroad. Those circumstances influenced the economy of Turkey harshly. Inflation increased dramatically, the price index rose from 101.4 in 1939 to 354.4 in 1945; per capita income dropped from 431.53 to 316.22 liras within the year (Shaw, 1976: 398). Since this period was also difficult to deal both for the state and people, the state came up with the Capital Levy which was 'a single tax on the capital of all property owners, businessmen, farmers, corporations, and others liable to pay the annual profits tax' (Shaw, 1976: 399). It supplied money from the capital owners and landowners. However, it created unsatisfied people that would lead to changes in the political realm in the coming periods.

Second, Turkey joined the Western world at the end of the World War II. It declared war against Germany at the end of the war and got financial help from the US. Later, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, Turkey began receiving substantial military and economic aid from the USA. As a result of this alliance and assistance; Turkey entrenched its existence in the West by joining the UN force in Korea in 1950 and NATO in 1952. Alliance with the Western world not only offered Turkey a substantial improvement in its external security environment; also it also encouraged further economic and political liberalization.

5.5 The Democrat Party Period

The end of World War II had economic and political influences on Turkey combined with internal factors. On the economic part, Turkey got economic aid under the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine which encouraged liberalization of economy. Politically, Turkey entered the democratization period as it had first multi party elections in 1946. Though the RPP got the majority in this election, the Democrat Party was the first party in every election from 1950 till the 1960 military intervention. This period is often denoted as the democratization period.

5.5.1 State Structure and Political Parties

The single party period ended with the 1946 elections. After the 1950 elections, the DP became the first party and RPP remained in opposition until the 1960 military intervention. This period was seen as first steps of democratization in

Turkey and shaped by DP's ideological thinking which was different than the RPP. Another point in the political arena in this period was fierce rivalry between DP and RPP, which would end up with autocratic policies of DP (Shaw, 1976: 405). One of the main reasons behind the rivalry was the pasha factor, which means overwhelming influence of İnönü in the political realm that scared DP leaders. This factor led to an understanding of political opposition as hostility by the DP leaders.

Table 3: Election Results of Turkish Assembly between 1950- 1957.

Election results of Turkish Assembly	1950	1954	1957
	No. Of seats	No. Of seats	No. Of seats
Republican People's Party	63	31	178
Democrat Party	420	505	424
Nation Party	1		
Peasant's Party		-	

Source: Shaw, 1976: 406-407.

Beside those developments in the political arena, the support from the public gave DP overconfidence. It was thought that society was supporting DP totally. They were thinking that though the public was supporting them, state institutions were in the hands of the RPP supporters. State institutions were perceived as if they were on the side of the RPP and against the DP. This position would cause harsh reactions from DP towards RPP especially at the end of the DP rule which undermines its democratic attitude.

First, though the DP had an overwhelming majority in the Assembly, İnönü, being one of the main followers of Atatürk and an active participant in

the Independence War, created political stress over Menderes, who was the leader of the DP. The 'Pasha Factor' led to undermining of confidence within the DP. The party had oppressive measures against press and universities. Moreover, state institutions were seen as supporters of the RPP and ruling party distanced itself from the press, judiciary, civil bureaucracy army and universities (Ahmad, 1977: 60).

Second, the RPP was in opposition but their criticisms directed to the DP were harsh and sometimes out of the real points. When the National Party was closed by the DP government's decision, the RPP claimed to be against this decision since it undermined civil liberty. However, as it will be discussed below, the decision was in favor of Atatürk's reforms.

Besides contention between RPP and DP, the political realm had two more parties during the period. One was National Party that was founded in 1948 as a result of separation of extremists from the DP. They were criticizing the DP claiming that the DP was lacking opposition to the government that was held by RPP (Lewis, 1968: 308). This party had a conservative stand and it was argued that it had anti secularist thinking as well. Its closure was on 8 July 1953, as the DP was in power. 'The pronouncements at the Nation Party's Fourth Congress were considered a threat to the Atatürk reforms and the party was accused of exploit Islam for political ends' (Ahmad, 1977: 47). Another split from the DP occurred in 20 December 1955 with the formation of the Freedom Party. This separation was a reaction of deputies against Menderes' one man party attitude. This party later merged with RPP in 1958.

To sum up, the political arena of the time became tense as democratic practices were curbed by the stand of Menderes and disturbed by harsh criticisms of the RPP. Though contentions in the political arena could be covered by the success of the economy, they came to the light as economy deteriorated with crisis of 1955. Moreover, distance between the government and state institutions and oppression on them contributed to the crisis in political realm that ended up with military intervention in 27 May 1961.

5.5.2 Economic Conditions

The economy of the Democrat Party (DP) period can be studied under two parts. The first part includes liberal, expansionist policies by increasing the supply of money in the market, which restricts state control over the economy, encourages private enterprise and perceives individuals as consumers who can improve economic conditions by consumption. This period lasted till 1956. The second period started as a result of an economic recession in 1956 that ended up with a new economic program from the IMF that would restrict the expansionist policies of the DP government. Yet, as a general perspective, most of the society benefited from the economic policies of DP which returned as political success for the party.

As they came to power after the 1950 elections, the DP relaxed statist economic policies and control over economy, and supported development of private enterprise (Shaw, 1976: 408). This economic policy led to growth of economy which was mainly managed by increase in investment and production

in industry and agriculture. Foreign capital investment was also highly encouraged though it did not get expected response from abroad. So, the Law to Encourage Foreign Investment in Turkey was further liberalized in 1951 and in time, restrictions on vital industries were also shifted. Foreign investment liberalization was applied to oil, by lifting controls almost totally (Ahmad, 1977: 131).

Economic measures indicate the extent of this expansion and growth. The index of production in industry increased from 100 to 250 between 1948 and 1960 as manufacturing, food industry and electrical power indexes rose to 279, 311 and 390 respectively (Hershlag, 1963: 361, cited in Shaw, 1976: 408). Production of electricity quadrupled between 1950 and 1960 (Çavdar, 1996: 61). Road building increased from 9093 km in 1948 to 23826 km in 1961 as the number of private cars and other transportation vehicles rose.

Agricultural production developed as well. The mechanization of agricultural production managed especially by Marshall Aid supplied by the USA. Use of the tractor in agricultural production had an important place as it was used as a transportation vehicle too. Moreover, the amount of agricultural land almost doubled by 1960, compared to 1940s (Shaw, 1976: 409). This was mainly achieved by distribution of land by government. Also, credit cooperatives were extended and they supplied cheaper agricultural input and credit to cultivators (Çavdar, 1996: 60). As a result of the mechanization of agriculture and the extension of cultivated lands, the index of agricultural output doubled from 1950 to 1960 and dramatically increased peasants' purchasing power.

As a result of those developments in industry and agriculture, per capita income was 96 Turkish lira in 1938, it became 428 Turkish lira in 1950 and reached 1598 Turkish lira in 1960 (Shaw, 1976: 408). However; this growth and expansion was achieved with a growing budget deficit which became uncontrollable by 1960. In order to sustain spending, the government became a debtor to the Central Bank though it could not pay the money back. Those developments caused high inflation and increase in the cost of living that could not be counterbalanced by increase in per capita income for most of the population (Çavdar, 1996: 62).

Due to the budget deficit and inflation, the government had to accept an economic stabilization program from the IMF. This program was preventing expansionist policies of the DP government because it brought in constraint to finance the deficit and restrictions on credit supplies. Moreover, the Turkish lira was devalued; price controls ceased (Weiker, 1970: 13, cited in Shaw, 1976: 413). As a result of the IMF program by 1960, the crisis appeared to be over though still created hardship in the society.

5.5.3 Social Reactions

It is argued that DP's triumph in 1950 elections was a sign of demand of democracy from below. According to Özbudun (2000: 14), it was not rapture but a reform movement that came against single party governance. On the other hand, Lewis (1968: 318) claims that it was a bloodless revolution. The DP got support from almost every part of society but mainly from landowners, peasants, labors, and small merchants. The large range of voters is argued to

indicate that the DP was more than an ideological based party; its political leadership was based on economic grounds (Heper and Landau, 1991: 125). Despite those changes, social reactions of the period were mainly shaped by the rivalry between the RPP and the DP and the economic developments. Criticisms between the RPP and the DP were reflected as clashes between the partisans. On the economic realm, some authors see a direct relationship between economic deterioration and social unrest during the latter part of this period, for some others the economic recession had an indirect role by influencing the political arena. For the latter camp, as the economy worsened, opposition of the RPP increased and pressure of the DP increased over press and universities that seem supporting the RPP. Social unrest stemming from those reasons will be considered below. Moreover, unique social unrest due to the Cyprus problem and the bombing of Atatürk's house in Greece will be mentioned.

The social reactions related with political developments start with authoritarian precautions taken by the DP in order to prevent the RPP actions before the 1957 elections. Those measures led to social uprisings when the crowd composed of the RPP supporters wanted to march to Çankaya after İnönü's speech in Ankara (Çavdar, 1996: 68). During İnönü's trip the Aegean region, the DP partisans protested near Uşak and İnönü was hit by a stone on the head in those events (Çavdar, 1996: 73; Zürcher, 2003: 324). After the 1957 elections, uprisings occurred in Gaziantep when it was declared at first that the RPP was the winner but as a result of second count it was declared the DP was the victor. Some events occurred in Kayseri due to Tarım Kredi Kooperatifi (Agricultural Credit Cooperative) election results in the same year. As RPP-

oriented people won the elections, the DP supporters attacked them. As İnönü wanted to visit Kayseri because of the events, he was prevented by public officials and could go into the city only after a long wait (Çavdar, 1996: 75). The harsh rivalry between the RPP and the DP in the political arena found a ground among the partisans as well. The clash between the supporters of the two parties can be counted as the social unrest stemming from the political developments of the period.

Lastly, independence movements in Cyprus occurred in 1950s, which was under governance of England. Those movements had social reactions in Turkey as well. *Türk Talebe Federasyonu* (Turkish Student Federation) and *Milli Türk Talebe Birliği* (National Turkish Student Union) organized protest meetings to support the Turkishness of Cyprus (Çavdar, 1996: 50). Though separated and having nationalist roots, the so called '6-7 September incidents' broke out in 1955 (Zürcher, 2003: 334). This incident occurred as a reaction to explosion of a bomb near Atatürk's house in Şişli. Angry mobs plundered shops of non-Muslims in Beyoğlu, the central commercial district of İstanbul. The last events of the period occurred in Istanbul and Ankara in 27-28 April and 29 April 1960 respectively. Demonstrations formed as a reaction to government's decision to set up *Tahkikat Komisyonu* in order to investigate opposition and press' destructive actions (Çavdar, 1996: 78). In other words, those events were against anti democratic application of the government. Moreover, in 2 May 1960 university students protested NATO Council of Ministers meeting despite high security precautions. Three days later, there was

a demonstration in Ankara that was called 555K, which denotes 5th of May at 5pm in Kızılay.

5.6 27 May 1960 Military intervention and 1961- 1971 Period

In 1960, social unrest manifested itself as street demonstrations. The RPP's criticisms were continuing as economic conditions were worsening. Economic deterioration was also influencing military officials. Their life standards were decreasing not only because of general economic recession but also specific economic policies of DP that undermined the economic well being of civil servants.

Moreover, the DP was discontented about the RPP military relationship. The DP leaders were thinking that İnönü was influential on military due to his status as an ex pasha and fighter of the Independence War. In order to get the support of the military, the DP leaders tried to be near to generals too. However, lower ranking military officers were not supporting the DP and were not glad with the economic situation they were in.

Under the economic recession and rising stress in the political realm, in 27 May 1960, military took the power and DP deputies were arrested for trial. The public declaration regarding takeover was that the military intervention was to prevent internal insecurity of the country and the governance would be given to democratic forces after stability was sustained. Though the military intervention was expected to continue for three months, it took a year for democratic forces come to power. During this period; state, economy and society were affected as follows.

5.6.1 State Structure

Temporary constitution was established for military in power and it came to force in 12 June 1960. During the period, National Union Committee (NUC) took the governance and according to constitution, as a result of gathering of Grand National Assembly, the NUC would be dissolved.

5.6.2 Economic Conditions

Economic policies were developed to eliminate negative effects of the DP period. Inflation, salaries of civil servants, and revenues of the state were the primary topics in economic realm. For decreasing inflation, ‘...large constructions and city rebuilding projects were stopped, the banks were closed, personal accounts of leading businessmen and politicians were frozen and loans suspended’ (Shaw, 1976: 415). Price controls applied on food in order to decrease the prices which were good for people in the cities though it created dissatisfaction among farmers. Moreover, land, building and income taxes were increased in order for increasing state revenues. To support the economic conditions of military officers, not only salaries were increased but also army stores were opened which sold goods below market prices. Moreover, a planning bureau that would turn out to be the State Planning Organization was established in order to increase GNP and achieve a more equal distribution of wealth (Ahmad, 1977: 269). However, merchants, industrialists and big landowners were not glad with the planning; stagnation continued during 1960-61.

5.6.3 Social Reactions

As National Union Committee came to power, almost 4.000 military staff was retired as a result of decision taken by the NUC, 147 university members were dismissed (Shaw, 1976: 420; Çavdar, 1996: 93) and 55 landowners in Southeastern region were relocated in Western cities (Çavdar, 1996: 93). Moreover, some regulations were applied to universities which prevented members of universities deal with political issues.

Especially limitations and dismissal in the universities created unrest among university members and students. They were feeling indignation because of the applications of NUC.

5.7 Revival of Democracy

This period covers the political, economic and social developments within ten years period that starts with assignment of democratic government in 1961 till military memorandum in 1971. This period is mainly influenced by 1961 Constitution which was aiming to create democratic and liberal Turkey. Under the provisions of the constitution, there were some political and social openings like establishment of the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT) and right to strike for workers. However, economic difficulties leading to political unrest undermined the liberal environment was attempted by the constitution.

5.7.1 State Structure and Political Parties after the Revival of Democracy

After the free elections of 15 October 1961, governance returned to civilians as political party leaders had the task to shape a coalition government. Moreover, number of political parties increased as a result of dissolution of the DP. Different than previous period, the National Assembly was composed of two assemblies. The first one was senate and the second was assembly. Legislation had to be accepted both by assembly and senate. Aim of the senate was to prevent unfair legislation of the majority in the assembly (Çavdar, 1996: 104).

The RPP continued its existence as a political power as the DP was dissolved and their politicians were prohibited to take place in political arena. Though DP was dissolved, its place was filled by some other parties that took votes from social base of the DP. They were the Justice Party (JP), which was on the right of the center supporting both private and state enterprise (Shaw, 1976: 422); the New Turkey Party (NTP), the Republican Peasant's National Party (RPNP), and the Nation Party (NP) (Çavdar, 1996: 111-112). Besides, the Turkish Workers' Party (TWP) was established which was on the left of political spectrum.

The first half of the ten years period continued with coalition governments till the JP came to power as single party in 1965. There were three coalition governments. After 1961 elections, RPP-JP coalition was formed under the prime ministry of İnönü. It lasted less than a year and second coalition government was set up with RPP-NTP-RPNP and Independents. When coalition partners of the RPP retained from the coalition due to their failure in local elections, the second coalition was dissolved. The last coalition government of

the period consisted of the RPP and Independents. 1965 elections changed this situation as the JP came to power with majority by taking 52.9% of the votes.

Coalition governments and the JP's single party government shaped political, economic and social developments as well. Those will be discussed below.

Table 4: Election Results of Turkish Assembly between 1961-1969

Election Results of Turkish Assembly	1961	1965	1969
	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats
Justice Party	158	240	256
Republican People's Party	173	134	143
New Turkey Party	65	19	6
Turkish Workers' Party	-	14	2
Nation Party	-	31	6
Republican Peasant's National Party	54	11	-

Source: Shaw, 1976: 406-407

5.7.2 Economic Conditions

Reluctance of private sector for investment due to planning attempts of interim government during 1960–61 led to stagnation and recession in the economy. Moreover, tax burdens aimed at increasing state revenues and cut the inflation discouraged businessmen. As a consequence, most of the parties after interim government based their party policies on decreasing taxation and support of the businessmen.

Though the RPP's rhetoric was slightly different than the JP and other parties in terms of economic policies, in the first coalition set up by İnönü, it had a support of businessmen and declared that the state would be in cooperation with private sector. Similarly, second coalition had a supportive

stand towards private entrepreneurs by proclaiming that the state would retreat from inessential interference in economic realm. After 1965, which denotes the fall of İnönü and rise of Demirel as prime minister, who was the leader of the JP, capitalist interests were prioritized more than before. However, those policies which were undermining inflationary policies of the previous period caused deterioration of conditions for wage earners. Also, the economy was highly dependent on foreign capital and aid that could influence internal stability as a result of decisions of foreign investments (Ahmad, 1977).

Table 5: Economic Indicators in Turkey between 1962- 1970

Economic Indicators 1962- 70	Increase by %
Current prices	109
Agricultural Production	117
Construction	81
Industrial Production	9 annually
Trade	92
Per Capita Income	35.3
Income From Turkish Workers and Sales Abroad	634
Total National Product	64.8

Source: Shaw, 1976: 427

5.7.3 Social Reactions

Social unrest of the period can be classified under two headings. The first one is worker strikes and the second is student demonstrations.

The 1961 Constitution gave workers the right to syndicate and strike. Moreover, economic conditions were deteriorating for wage earners because of the inflationary economic policies of the government. As a result, number of strikes rose from 7 in 1963 to 111 in 1970 with an increasing number of

participant workers and working days on strike (Çavdar, 1996: 127). The biggest worker strike took place in 15–16 June 1970 because of proposal of the bill that would remove constitutional right to strike. Strikes took place in İstanbul, Ankara, Kocaeli and İzmir that ended up with declaration of martial law. This event brought the military and workers in opposition.

Moreover, the university students were politicized and they were reacting against repressive policies towards left wing tendencies, for a more democratic university and anti-imperialism (Howard, 2001: 147). According to Ahmad (1977: 197) street demonstrations were seen as normal in the mid sixties and they were part of political life. Main student events of the period were protests against American 6th fleet arriving at İstanbul in 1969, burning of the car of American ambassador Kommer at METU in 1969, and bank robberies that took place in 1971. In those events, university students took the head and the reason for reactions against the US was due to incarnating it with imperialism. Moreover, those events reflects the radicalization of left and right within the society. ‘When the rightists staged demonstrations in 1966 and 1968 to “condemn communism” leftists, reacted with demonstrations to “condemn the United States” ...’ (Criss, 2003:62).

Social unrest and worsening economic conditions put the government in a difficult situation that would lead to military intervention in 1971.

5.8 1971-1980 Period

This period covers two different periods. The first one lasts two years, from 1971 to 1973, which was governed by “above-parties” cabinet as a result of

military memorandum of 1971. The second is the governance by coalition parties that started with democratic elections of 1973 and lasted till military intervention of 1980. Those two periods are discussed under the same heading since transition between two periods did not change a lot on political and social grounds.

5.8.1 State Structure and Political Parties

On 12 March 1971, military forced Demirel government to resign, substantiating the internal turmoil, political unrest, street violence and inability of the government to sustain the stability. As a result of this memorandum, Nihat Erim formed the cabinet that was above the parties. Although first reaction of the RPP and the JP was critical towards this takeover, İnönü supported it later as Erim became the prime minister, who was politically near to RPP.

The aim of the Erim cabinet was to achieve the reforms that were set by the 1961 constitution. Moreover, the government aimed at nationalizing natural resources, modernizing agriculture, increasing taxes for getting more revenue and sustaining social justice (Ahmad, 1977: 298). However, those reform aims were opposed by businessmen and landlords. Also, though Erim, initially supported by the intelligentsia, because of decelerating socio economic reforms led the intelligentsia to move opposition. Erim government resigned once and formed another cabinet on 11 December 1971. The second cabinet was supporting business community. 'It stressed a return to parliamentary democracy, protection of the interests of the private sector, encouragement of

foreign capital investment, and support for NATO' (Ahmad, 1977: 302). When the second cabinet resigned on 17 April 1971, almost no reforms of the constitution were achieved. Ferit Melen cabinet replaced it and prepared the country for general elections without solving any of the problems and reform of the constitution.

Another development about the political parties was replacement of İnönü by Bülent Ecevit who would change the stand of the RPP in the following elections.

This period is also denoted with coalition governments and sometimes, political contentions ending up with deadlock.

5.8.2 Economic Conditions

During this period, Turkey had been in economic crisis that gained severity after 1977. The main reasons of the crisis were increasing demand for foreign currency due to import substitution, increasing oil prices because of oil crisis of 1973 and 1979, rising military spending because of Cyprus issue, strikes and lockouts. Together with the decrease in production and high inflation (Şahin, 1998: 170; Zürcher, 2003: 388), unemployment increased from 12.7% in 1978 to 15.4% in 1980 (Şahin, 1998: 176).

Economic conditions were by no means apart from political issues. Weakness of the coalition governments prevented application of a useful economic program. As Turkey found itself in a deep crisis, the Demirel government accepted the IMF program for stabilization which is known as 24 January 1980 decisions. That stabilization package had short term and long term

changes in the economy that had neo liberal approach. According to this approach, state would not intervene in the economy and would leave place for private entrepreneurs. Also, rather than import substitution, industrialization for export was supported. Furthermore, during this period Turkish lira was devalued and real wages decreased. These conditions had a burden on wage earners. Another point of the IMF package was its exclusion of social conditions. Those applications in the economic realm such as budget balancing made life for society more difficult for wage earners due to tightening of budget.

5.8.3 Social Reactions

Main events of the period can be grouped under three headings. The first was clash between syndicates and state forces on demonstrations, strikes and public meetings in order to maintain law and order. The second was clashes between extremist rightist and leftist groups. The last was assassinations of well known moderate politicians.

In 1978 Kahramanmaraş incident took place as conflict occurred between Alevis, leftist and ultranationalists. 15.000 people gathered on the streets (Gürel, 2004: 178) and as a result of the conflict 100 left dead. This was a big social event of the period; that reflects the internal unrest between radical leftist and ultranationalist groups. Those events are argued to be flamed by deteriorating economic conditions of the region and by the changes as a result of capitalist modernization (Gürel, 2004). During the same period, Nihat Erim

and Kemal Türkler (previous head of Revolutionary Workers Syndicates Confederation) were assassinated in 1972 and 1980 respectively.

Those events, not only showed the internal unrest but also the inability of authority in handling the situation. Martial law had to be declared in eleven provinces. The last event that triggered military intervention in 1980 was ineffectiveness of the assembly to elect a president for months.

To sum up, economic downturn, political stalemate, political unrest including Kurdish population, Alevis and Sunnis, politically different groups and fragmentation between civilian institutions led to military intervention on 12 September 1980.

5.9 1980 Military intervention and Its Implications

As a result of the abovementioned conflicts in political, economic and social realm, military took the power on 12 September 1980. This intervention was different than other military interventions on various grounds. First of all, 1980 military intervention was achieved by generals and middle level officers which is different than previous one which was succeeded by middle level officers. Second, although it did not dissolve the political parties at first, later it banned the JP and the RPP. In that sense, it differs from other military interventions which had strengthened the role of the RPP. Third, this military intervention was more organized and thoroughly thought than the others, in terms of constitution and actions during military rule. Thus, its implications with the end of the military rule and after re-establishment of civilian rule have continued. Also, with this step ‘modernism’ understanding has also changed (Karpat, 1988:

156). High level of economic, technological development and improvement in the material area were taken within modernization concept as cultural and political part of the modernization process was excluded (Karpas, 1988: 156). The private realm which was influenced by the modernization project was left out and only the political and economic developments were considered within the new modernization understanding.

During three year period, as military was in power, National Security Council (NSC) took the power and the cabinet would be responsible to the NSC rather than parliament. The parliament was dissolved.

5.10 1983 Revival of Democracy and Motherland Party

5.10.1 State Structure and Political Parties

In 1983, National Security Council led to general elections with some limitations. Party leaders before the military intervention were prohibited to set up a party and five generals in the NSC held the right to veto party founders (Çavdar, 1996: 273). Under those circumstances, first general elections were held in 1983. From 1983 to 1991, Motherland Party was in power as a single party.

Table 6: Election Results of the Turkish Assembly 1983 and 1987

Election Results of Turkish Assembly	1983	1987
	No. of Seats	No. of Seats
Motherland Party	211	292
Populist Party	117	-
Nationalist Democracy Party	71	99
Socialist Populist Party	-	-
True Path Party	-	59

Source: Sayarı and Esmer, 2002: 191

5.10.2 Economic Conditions

1983-1990 period covers domination of the Motherland Party's economic policies. The Motherland Party was prioritizing economic liberalization, encouraging private sector, foreign capital, opening to international markets, restricting public investment, promoting exports and expansionist economic policy (Dodd, 1990; Şahin, 1998). Due to these liberal policies, money supply was not controlled and state chose to become indebted in order to continue expansionist policies.

Those developments had positive and negative impacts on economic conditions. On the positive side, between 1983- 1991, Turkey had increasing growth rates, exports, rising trade rates with Middle East and EEC countries (Dodd, 1990: 101). On the other hand, those policies were achieved at the expense of high inflation. During the period, annual inflation rate was around 70%. Moreover, opening to international markets and increasing exports led to bankruptcy of small local firms. Budget deficit also increased in this period. Causes of the deficit were seen as waste, corruption and poor return from taxation (Dodd, 1990: 100).

Table7: Economic Indicators of Motherland Party Period

	1983	1990	Unit	% Change
GDP per capita	3.693	5.744	\$	56%
Imports of Goods	9,18	22,30	billion \$	143%
Export of Goods	5,73	12,96	billion \$	126%
Total tax Revenue	12,78	14,90	billion \$	17%
GDP	176,78	322,83	billion \$	83%
Inflation	26,26	58,26	%	122%

Source: OECD

5.11 1991- 2001 Coalition Governments

Single party governance of the Motherland Party came to an end with 1989 election. Starting from this time till single party governance of the Justice and Development Party in 2002, coalition governments dominated political realm. In economic area, neo- liberal policies continued, as 1994 and 2001 economic crisis hit the country. Economic hardship, unstable political arena led to instability in society as well. Moreover, rise of political Islam and overt conflict between PKK and Turkish military forces are other social events that denotes political unrest of the period.

5.11.1 Political Parties

Motherland Party could not endure its dominant position in 1991 elections due to harsh effects of neo-liberal policies which caused high inflation that led to erosion of party's lower class voters. However, no parties could get enough votes to form single party government. This part covers period of coalition governments where instability endured in political arena. Between 1991 and 2002, nine coalition governments were set up and dissolved. This not only led to inconclusiveness and stalemate in political decisions but also ineffective economic policy.

During the period, most important figure in the political arena was Tansu Çiller. She was the first woman prime minister of Turkey and entered into politics with great hopes from True Path Party. However, corruption and unsolved issues about her wealth undermined her credibility. Moreover, though both being right of center parties, she and Mesut Yılmaz, head of the

Motherland Party, were unable to form stable coalition government. Coalition governments with left wing or right wing party leaders had to be formed that succumbed to dissolution due to different views on economy and politics.

Main political event of the period was ending of Erbakan-Çiller coalition government by military that was called ‘soft military intervention’. Erbakan-Çiller government had an important place in Turkish history because Erbakan was the first political leader in government whose political rhetoric included overtly religious content. As a result, soft military intervention occurred and led to dissolution of government as a result of recommendation of military generals. Military does not have the control of the government but directs it. Reason for the soft military intervention was military’s discontent about Erbakan— the leader of the Welfare Party— and his party’s religious stand. In February 1998, Constitutional Court dissolved the Welfare Party claiming that it was using religious symbols for political aims. Necmettin Erbakan and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan were forced out of political arena. The Virtue Party was established in stead of the Welfare Party but in the absence of influential leadership of Erbakan led to loss of votes.

Rise of Islamic parties had an important place in political agenda of the period that reaches till today. Political Islam had political connotation that will be mentioned in coming section.

Table 8: Election Results of the Turkish Assembly between 1991-1999

Election Results of the Turkish Assembly	1991	1995	1999
	No. of Seats	No. of Seats	No. of Seats
Motherland Party	115	132	88
Nationalist Populist Party	-		126
Democratic Socialist Party	7	76	134
True Path Party	178	135	83
Welfare Party	62	158	-
Socialist Populist Party	-	88	-
Virtue Party	-	-	102

Source: Sayarı and Esmer, 2002: 191

5.11.2 Economic Conditions

Neo liberal policies of the 1980s continued in this period. Inflow of short term capital because of the liberalization process increased openness of the economy and led to growth. However, illusionary growth caused by inflow of capital ended up with economic crisis of 1994, which was caused by outflow of capital as a result of speculations and structural weakness. When speculations combined with crisis of confidence because of weak state structure (Heper and Keyman, 1998: 269); outflow of capital came as fast as it flew in (Öniş and Aysan, 2000). This was tried to be overcome by becoming indebted which caused budget deficit.

Another economic crisis hit in 2001 which was severer than the previous one. The crisis stemmed from international economic fluctuations combined with weakness of Turkish economy especially in banking sector. As a result of crisis, economy contracted by 3.5% and unemployment rose by 11.8% in official records (Miller, 2006). Unemployment doubled and food poverty

precipitated for urban poor between 1994- 2002 (Miller, 2006: 459). On the government side, it had to cut education expenditures. The government had to get assistance from IMF that helped recovery of the economy yet society had the burden of the economic restructuring. The impact of the crisis was harsher for middle classes and the poor. However, rather than reacting against the government, Turkish society tended to use their informal ties-like family relationship- to overcome the crisis (Öniş, 2003:15). That is why; serious social reactions were not seen in Turkey. However, it is argued by some writers (Miller, 2006) that 2002 general election was a reflection of the society to incapable political leaders of the time. Neither government nor opposition parties could exceed 10% threshold for having seat in the parliament.

Table 9: Economic Indicators of Crisis periods

	1993	1994	%	2000	2001	2002	%	2007	%
GDP (Billion \$)	404	390	-3,4	589	561	572	-4,6	960	67,8
Central Govern- ment Debt (Million \$)	24692	20640	-16,4	94502	122686	147634	29,8	284832	92,9
Unempl- oyment %	9	8,6	-4,4	6,5	8,4	10,3	29,2	9,8	-4,8

Source: OECD

5.11.3 Social Reactions

Three main social events took place in this period. The first one was Sivas incident (1993), the second was Susurluk accident (1996) and capture of Abdullah Öcalan (1999).

Sivas incident occurred in 1993 in Sivas where 33 intellectuals were burnt to death by religious mobs. They were shouting outside the hotel of intellectuals who were there for Pir Sultan Abdal festival. Number of angry mobs outside the building was around 20,000 and military officials did not take any step against the crowd. As this was a tragic and unique event, it created a breach in society between secularists and religious people.

The second event of the period was Susurluk accident. In 1996, near Susurluk, a Mercedes had a traffic accident which was carrying silencers and pistols. The passengers were Sedat Bucak, who was deputy of True Path Party; Abdullah Çatlı, right wing gunman and his girlfriend Gonca Us; Hüseyin Kocadağ, former deputy captain of anti terrorist Special Operations Department (Meyer, 1999: 492-493). Only Sedat Bucak stayed alive after the accident but the relations behind the scenes were never cleared (Meyer, 1999: 493).

The events of the period were reacted by the public by non-conflictual public protests. As a reaction, “1 minute of darkness for everlasting enlightenment” campaign carried on 1 February 1997. People were turning the lights off and on at 9 p.m. in order to protest corruption (Hale, 1999; Beyerle, 2006). ‘Each day the numbers grew, and after two weeks, approximately 30 million people participated throughout the country’ (Beyerle, 2006: 7) .

Last event of the period was capturing of Abdullah Öcalan, which can be perceived as a political event, yet caused social reactions. After this event, general elections showed that nationalism increased in Turkey and votes of Nationalist Populist Party and Democratic Left Party increased. Öcalan was not hanged but imprisoned that also caused reactions from society, especially from the families of martyrs and *gazis*, who are believed to die or injured for the sake of existence of the country.

5.13 Justice and Development Party Period

2002 general elections ended up with triumph of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) by having 34% of the votes. Beside this, only the RPP managed to take seats in parliament though half of the seats gained by JDP. The important point of this election was that neither coalition nor opposition parties of the previous period could take place in the parliament. None of them could have 10% of the votes which is threshold for sending representatives to the parliament.

This was seen as a reaction of society to politicians of the previous period because of sufferings of economic crisis and political corruption.

In 2007 elections, JDP came out with an enormous percentage of votes that enabled it with a power to change the constitution. As a result, the six year period since 2002 was covered by the JDP and its impact on political, economic and social realms.

In the light of abovementioned introduction, this part is consisted of three main headings. The first part will evaluate the reasons of triumph of JDP

in the 2002 elections. Second, economic conditions of the period and economic policies pursued by the JDP will be considered with data and economic indicators. Lastly, social reactions will be substantiated especially by focusing on demonstrations regarding the clashes between secularists and pro Islamists. Since this period denotes the domination of the JDP, the party structure and its political view will be mentioned when necessary.

5.13.1 Political Parties

2001 economic crisis left most part of the society in a suffering condition as unemployment rate increased, factories were closed and Turkish lira was devalued. All the parties in the parliament, especially coalition parties were seen guilty for management of the crisis. The JDP was considered as a chance for people to get out of economic constraints (Çaha, 2003; Çınar, 2006). In the analysis of Başlevent et al. (2005) regarding the JDP, strong relationship was found between economic conditions and voting behavior of Turkish society.

Second factor for rise of the JDP is related with political change and the JDP's response to those demands. The rising new Anatolian industrialists and bourgeoisie were supporting the JDP who have traditional values in private life whereas they are in favor of liberalism in the economy. The rise of the new bourgeoisie with conservative views overlapped with the discourse of the JDP. So, the JDP got high support from them.

In line with that, the JDP had a different modernization understanding than Kemalists. According to modernization understanding of the JDP, changes should take place in economic and political arena, about human right issues,

democracy, civil liberties and free market but leaving traditional values out of this change (Çınar 2003; Çaha, 2006).

Fourth, though the JDP cadres come from reformist wing of the Virtue Party (Çaha, 2003: 103), they defined themselves as ‘conservative democrats’. They rejected linkage between religious parties of the previous period. This character of the party attracted center right voters who previously voted for the Motherland Party or the True Path Party. In other words, the JDP covered a large spectrum of voters with its moderate discourse unlike its extremist predecessor parties.

Table 10: Election Results of the Turkish Assembly 2002 and 2007

Election Results of the Turkish Assembly	2002		2007	
	% of votes	No. of Seats	% of votes	No. of Seats
JDP	34.2	363	46.6	341
RPP	19.4	178	20.9	112
NPP	-	-	14.3	71
Independents				26

Source: Çınar, 2006; Balkır, 2007.

5.13.2 Economic Conditions

When the JDP came to power, Turkey was trying to overcome the effects of 2001 financial crisis. Under the supervision of the IMF, economic policies were followed in order to sustain structural changes. As a matter of fact, the JDP is in favor of neo liberal policies and openness. In that sense, the JDP supported the EU integration process and IMF supervision that derives economic liberalization.

During the period of the JDP, economy had recoveries though there are still challenges to be dealt with. During the period of 2002-2006, the growth of economy was 8% average annually, per capita income rose from \$6700 to \$8400 and FDI flows increased from \$1.7 billion in 2003 to \$20 billion in 2006 (Kiefer, 2007). On the other hand, problem of inflation still exists and the Central Bank could not achieve its target inflation rate of %5 in 2006. The actual inflation rate was recorded as %9.6. Also, although unemployment had a slight decline in official documents, its rate is still %9.9. Kiefer (2007) points that because of unofficial unemployment in Turkey; this does not reflect the real unemployment rate. Another challenging part of economy is about income distribution. The gap between poor and rich enlarged. As there were 6 billionaires in 2002, it rose to 26 in 2006 (Kiefer, 2007: 2).

To sum up, during the period of JDP governance, despite the positive developments in economic realm, there are still problematic areas like inflation, unemployment and income distribution.

5.13.3 Social Reactions

Social reactions during the JDP government were mainly framed by reactions against political Islam.

The social reactions against political Islam were reflected towards JDP government. The general cause of those reactions was the former status of the founders of the party. The founders were coming from the cadres of traditional Islamist parties all of which were banned by the Constitutional Court for using religious discourse in political realm. The reactions peaked as the JDP proposed

Abdullah Gül as the candidate for presidency. The wife of Abdullah Gül; Hayrūnisa Gül is wearing headscarf which is seen as a religious and political symbol especially by the secularists. This got reactions from military, civil society organizations and the public (Posch, 2007. 29).

Military's reaction against the JDP came up with the e-memorandum in 27 April 2007. As the protests against candidacy of Abdullah Gül increased and the parliament stayed in standstill for electing a president; military intervened by an e-memorandum. An explanation regarding the ongoing situation was declared at the web site of the military and it warned those who come against secular Turkish state (Balkır, 2007: 415).

Reactions of civil society organizations and the public went hand in hand. The gatherings of the masses were organized by civil society organizations like Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği (*Kemalist Thought Association*) and Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (*Association for the Support for Contemporary Lifestyle*). Four main protests took place in main cities of Turkey, all of which had the discourse of protection of and support for secular Turkey. The first public protest occurred in 14 April 2007 at Tandoğan Square and Mausoleum of Atatürk in Ankara. The second was in 29 April Çaglayan Square meeting in İstanbul. It is argued that almost one million people attended at those protests. (<http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr2007/04/29/B460999A6BDD4988A57861611A140053.html>). The third and the biggest meeting was in İzmir in 13 May 2007. Nearly 1.5 million people are argued to attend at this protest. Another one occurred in Samsun in 20 May 2007. Those

were followed by some smaller protests in Çanakkale, Denizli, Marmaris and Manisa.

Despite public demonstrations, reactions of civil society organizations and e-memorandum of the military; Abdullah Gül was elected president by nation wide referendum.

In conclusion, those were main social reactions which took place during the JDP governance. The main cause of the protests is argued to be between secular part of society and supporters of political Islam. The theoretical explanation for those developments will be evaluated in analysis part.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSING THE THEORIES ON CASES AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

The main question that was searched in this thesis was to identify the causal relationship between economic, political changes and political instability. Throughout the literature, the change in economic and political areas is argued to have an impact on social relations that may end up with political instability. Political instability can be reflected by major changes in regime type of state and abrupt changes in political party leanings. So, the dependent variable is operationalized by those dimensions. The independent variable, political change, can be seen by regime score of a state because in the literature the regime is argued to be a significant indicator of political instability. The other independent variable, economic change, can be indicated by economic crises and industrialization. Those two indicators can be operationalized by negative economic growth and iron/steel production per capita.

Second, in order to understand the impact of the ‘changes’ on political instability; they are tested on two cases: Turkey and Germany. It is true that two cases are different from each other if they are compared contemporarily. However, within certain time periods, they share very similar political, social and economic developments which enable comparison. For this reason, Germany’s historical review start from 1848 and lasts till 1945 as Turkey’s history is reviewed within 1923- 2009 period. Those time periods are set on purpose since during the period, the two countries have had modernization, rapid industrialization and migration to cities as a result of those developments.

Political instability of two cases will be avaluated below by the framework of the theories that were discussed.

6.2 Germany

Germany’s historical review starts from 1848 and continues till 1945. During the period, Germany had economic and political changes like industrialization and democratization. Iron and steel production per capita in 1950s is thirty times more than the level of 1850s. Moreover, democracy score of Germany had a ten point shift in the Polity score and reached consolidated democracy level after 1945. From the perspective of the theories that were discussed in this thesis, Germany is expected to have political instability during the period because of the changes that were lived. Abrupt changes in the regime type and political party leanings are searched as an indicator of political instability.

The historical review of Germany starts with Bismarck era where political parties existed though the regime was not democratic. The chancellor was accountable to the emperor rather than the *Reichstag*. The regime score of the period was -4 which manifests that the period was highly autocratic. Throughout the period no major shifts occurred in the regime type score of Germany. However, political party leanings had changes. During the period the Conservatives (*Deutsche Konservativ Partei*) and Conservative Nationalists (*Deutsche Reichspartei*) increased their votes as liberals (*National Liberal Partei*) succumbed to decline. Moreover, Social Democrats increased their votes as well. Despite the continuity of autocratic regime the political party leanings can give a hint of political instability.

Economic conditions of the period manifest that there was not a clear economic development and in 1873 economic crisis driven by Vienna stock market crash hit the economy. Both *irstpc* and economic growth declined that year.

The linkage between changes in the political party leanings and economic decline can be observed during Bismarck era. In that sense, the developments of the period regarding political instability find a ground when the economy is taken into consideration. After the crisis took place, economically more protectionist political parties are preferred. Looking from the perspective of political changes; the period did not have major change in terms of regime. Indeed, this development supports the arguments of regime type theories. Political instability is not expected in autocratic regimes because of the pressure of the authorities on society. This can be seen in Germany as

well. During Bismarck period, no major shift occurred in regime score. However, political party leanings cannot be framed by economic changes. The autocratic figure of Bismarck and his open support for conservatives contributed to the increasing votes of conservative parties. In other words, this period not only manifests the impact of economy but also the impact of regime type. Autocracy might prevent occurrence of political conflict yet autocratic figure of Bismarck and his impact on party politics cannot be underestimated. The role of Bismarck on prevention of political conflict cannot be known but it is clear that his role influenced the leanings of parties which are discussed as a reflection of political instability.

Bismarck period can be counted as the period when the economic developments had an important influence on society. The new settings started to develop in terms of economy which also had reflections on society. Especially industrialization of the period can be regarded as an indicator of development of new contract-intensive values. However, this period was not fully contract-intensive. Since the period can be regarded within transition, the reactions against the new values are expected. The historians denote that during the period not only youth movements occurred against material thinking but also Jews were incarnated with material values and became target of reactions. Jews might have adapted to contract-intensive society much easily and consider the contracts not as materialism but a way commercial transaction which they have been doing for centuries. That is why; the Jews can be seen as the part of the society who internalized the new values of developing economy as the rest of

the society evaluated the values as pure materialism that undermines the old value systems that they built.

The period followed Bismarck was Wilhelm period which lasted till World War I. Economic conditions of the period was better than the previous one as firstpc increased except declines in 1903 and 1907 as the economic growth declined in those years as well. Except those years, Wilhelm period was not difficult economically. In terms of regime type, the period was still autocratic though the regime score increased 5 points and stayed at the level of 1 throughout Wilhelm period. This score means that Wilhelm period was more democratic than Bismarck period. Moreover, during the period no significant political party had an abrupt increase or decrease of votes except rise of votes for SPD especially after 1903 and 1907. The developments of the period denote that no abrupt economic or political change occurred which may lead to political instability. And the comments of the historians regarding the period as a happy time find ground here. Similar to Bismarck period, despite the increasing level of regime type, the period was still autocratic which might have prevented occurrence of political instability. Yet different than the political party tendencies of Bismarck era, no significant increase of any political party can be observed. This can be explained by two dimensions. The first is the role of Wilhelm which was different than Bismarck. Bismarck was a very influential figure on political life and was strong supporter of conservatives. By the start of the Wilhelm period, the conservatives lost this support. Second, the economic development level of Wilhelm period was higher than Bismarck era. This might contribute to the general stability of Wilhelm period.

Beside those; one of the main issues of the period was whether Germany had become a bourgeois society or it remained aristocratic features (Mommsen, 1995). Despite the economy was industrialized with great pace, society could not catch up with it. As some part of the society gained bourgeois features, some part continued to have aristocratic ones. One of the main discussions of the period was on the identification of society. Was Germany a bourgeois society or an aristocratic society? The social classes incorporated into political parties and the support for political parties shaped according to the classes. Economic norms theory may argue that the individualistic values had partly developed in Germany during the period, but people went on identifying themselves with certain groups which is expected in transitory regimes. The group identification creates perception of 'them' and 'us' (Berghahn, 1987), which is a function of political instability. Moreover, youth movements and their reaction against materialist thinking continued during the Wilhelm period similar to Bismarck era.

Wilhelm period ended by World War I and the developments in economic, political arena and their reflections on political instability are influenced by it. After the war, the emperor was overthrown and Germany became republic. Accordingly, the polity score of Germany reached 6 which is an important indicator of democratization. Till 1931, the score remained 6 and did not have any changes. Yet, the period of Weimar Republic had ups and downs in terms of economy and political life. Those developments influenced occurrence of political instability. Weimar Republic is studied under three periods by historians. 1918- 1919 revolutionary period, 1920-1923 turmoil

period and 1923-1930 stability period. During the turmoil period of Germany the political party tendencies shifted to more radical counterparts of the parties in the previous period. For instance, in 1920 elections, as support for Center, SDP and DDP decreased, KDP, DVP and USDP increased their votes. Moreover, before 1920, due to the war period, economic indicators show that firstpc declined significantly and economic growth rate declined very sharply. So, deteriorating economic conditions might reflect the impact on leanings of political parties. In terms of occurrence of political instability, economic conditions seem to have role during the period. In 1923, new economic plans came into force. The first one was Dawes Plan which eased reparation payments. The other was currency stabilization which controlled inflation by preventing issuing money. Also, a new currency, Rentenmark was issued which was more valuable than paper money. Those undertakings helped economic improvement till 1929 when New York stock market crash hit the entire world. Before the crisis, implications of economic improvement could be seen on political and social arena. Political party tendencies moved towards more moderate ones. SDP and DNVP increased their votes as KDP decreased. Similarly, as the number of worker strikes was 2.046 in 1923, it was 353 in 1930 (Berghahn, 1987).

However, the stability period ended as the German economy was hit by world wide Great Depression in 1929. When the Great Depression hit GDP per capita was around 4.000 \$, which could reach at the same level after six years. During the crisis years production and consumption decreased as unemployment rate quadrupled (Orlow, 1991; Mitcham, 1996). Government

policies exacerbated the sufferings of the people as they followed deflationary economic policies. Deflationary economic policy aims at budget balancing by increasing taxes and cutting government spending. The economic crisis influenced political arena as well. The free elections were continuing yet, the chancellors were assigned by the president Hindenburg rather than being elected by the parliament. Since the free elections were held, the political reactions of the society could be seen. In 1930 elections there was great jump of the votes for Nazi Party and KDP both of which can be counted as extreme parties. SDP lost votes as rate of Center party's votes did not have a significant change. As the economic conditions deteriorated, people tend to vote for more radical parties. As the Nazi Party came to the governance, polity score of Germany declines to -9 which is the lowest point it get within the historical period of this thesis. The developments of the previous period not only brought Nazi Party to governance but also led to significant decline of regime score.

After the World War II, the democracy score of Germany reached point of 10 and consolidated democracy was set up thanks to the contributions of the USA. Since then, Germany is considered as a democratic country in terms of regime type. On the economic arena, GDP per capita increased and Germany is considered as politically stable state.

Figure 1: Polity of Germany

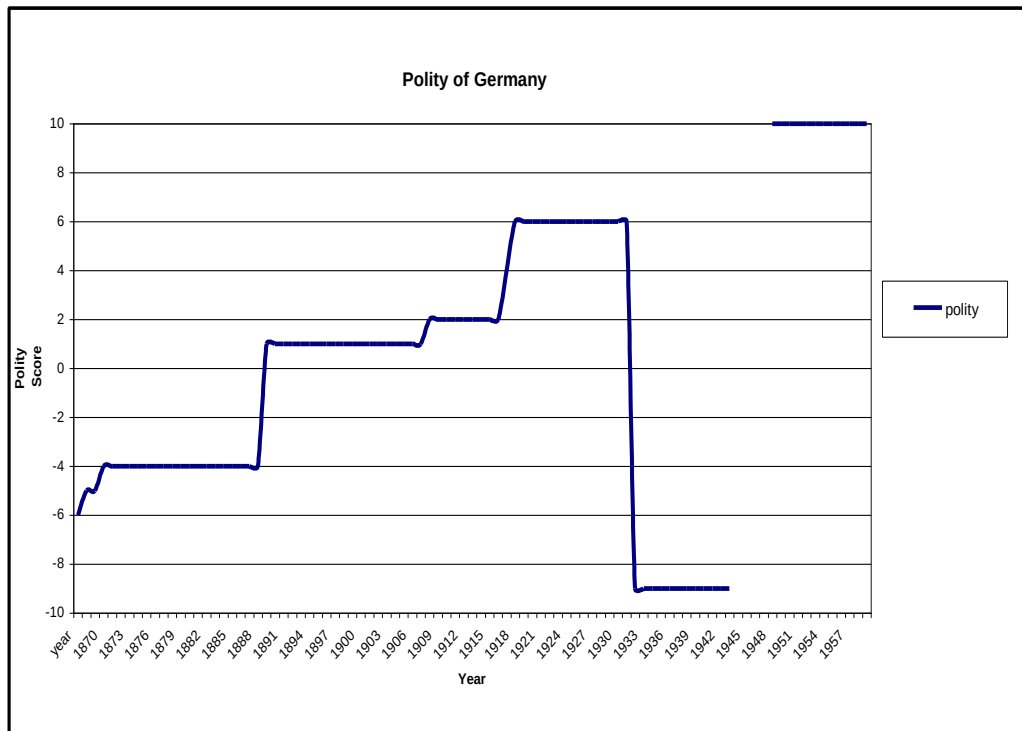
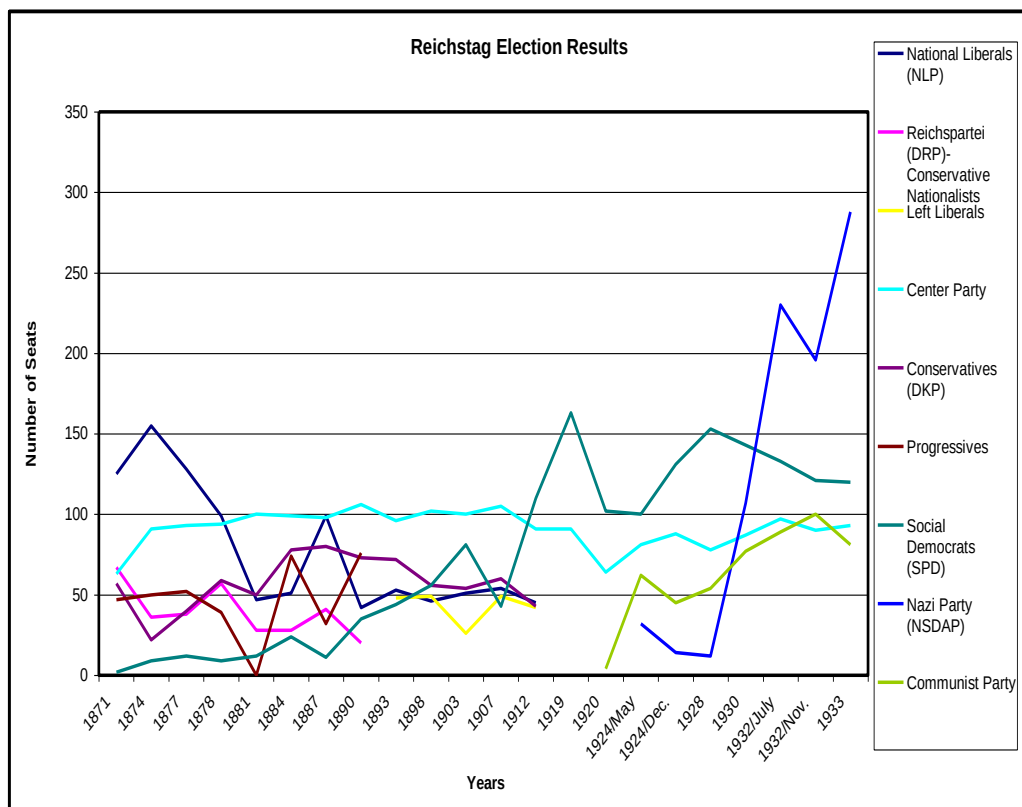


Figure2: Reichstag Election Results



6.3 Turkey

From the establishment of Republic of Turkey till multiparty period of 1950s, Turkey's polity score did not have major shift but had a stable trend. The score was -6 which means the regime was near to full autocracy. This period covers single party governance of RPP under the leadership of Atatürk and İnönü after death of Atatürk. During the period there were reactions against the new regime like *sheikh* Sait rebellion or Menemen incident however, since the regime was highly autocratic they were suppressed. Throughout the period, the political party tendencies cannot be observed as well because of the single party governance.

On the economic arena the life standards were very low and the country had GDP per capita around \$ 1.500. Similarly, iron and steel production could start in 1937 with the establishment of new production plant. In line with the economic indicators of the period, political instability is expected but the autocratic nature of the regime mitigated the impact of economy on occurrence of political instability.

With the impact of shift to multiparty period in 1946, polity score of Turkey had a great shift from -6 to +7. In this democratization period, the RPP had a very sharp decline as the DP gained great strength by getting 86% of the votes in 1950 elections. The DP was by no means an extremist party but its voter base was composed of people from rural areas who were not considering themselves within the scope of modernization project of Atatürk. The party's voter base was composed of small merchants, landowners and peasants who

preferred more traditional world view. In that sense abrupt rise of the DP can be counted as a manifestation of political instability which found a democratic environment to reflect the discontent.

Economic indicators of the period are not much different from previous period in terms of instpc however impact of World War I should be counted. GDP per capita declined steadily between 1939- 1945 which led to economic crisis.

The following period till the end of 1960s, votes of the DP declines as the RPP increased. In 1954 a major decline occurred in Polity IV because of Menderes' single-man governance. The regime was democratic yet, as the historians reported repression was high during the governance of the DP. The party had oppressive measures against press and universities. Moreover, decline in the economic arena may contribute to political instability as well. Economic growth was negative that is an indicator of economic crisis in 1957 and 1958.

After 1950s and multiparty period, polity of Turkey did not have major shifts except military intervention periods which led to decline in regime scores. The military intervention periods of Turkey coincides with negative growth years just before intervention. 1970 and 1979 had negative growth scores which ended up with military intervention for the sake of stability.

As 1980 military intervention left the place to the democratic governance, Motherland Party had the majority of votes in 1983 elections and governed the country for seven years as single party. During the period of Motherland Party, Turkey got the highest polity of its history and reached at score of 9. During the period, economic conditions were developing. Instpc

increased and Turkey reached at one of the highest growth rates during the period. However, those economic developments could be achieved at the expense of budget deficit. During the period no significant political instability is reported by the historians. Moreover, sustainability of single party governance can be considered as an indication of stability in society.

After the Motherland party governance, coalition governments governed the country till 2001 which is not only a manifestation of political instability in society but also in political arena. The political parties could not get enough support to become single party government and they could not maintain stability as coalition governments. During the period votes of Welfare Party and Democratic Socialist Party increased as Motherland Party and True Path party lost votes. The common ground of the rising parties was their stand regarding the economic politics. Both of the parties were in favor of more protectionist economic policy. Similarly, Motherland Party and True Path Party were on the side of economically liberal policies. As economic conditions deteriorated, political party tendencies shifted to more radical and protectionist ones. Last economic downturn of 2001 led a significant changes not only in economic but also in political arena. ‘During the year 2001, GNP fell by 5,7% in real terms, consumer price inflation soared to 54,9%, and the currency lost 51% of its value against the major foreign monies. The burden of adjustment fell disproportionately on the laboring classes as the rate of unemployment rose steadily to 10% and the real wages were reduced abruptly by 20% upon impact in 2001...’ (Yeldan, 2008: 1). As a result, not of the political parties mismanaging the economic crisis could get enough vote to get into parliament.

Rise of the JDP became a result of political instability and it is thought as a political remedy for economic problems.

After the management of crisis by the help of IMF, Turkish economy can be counted as entering a stability period as first time and GDP level increased though unemployment could not be managed. Though single party governance and IMF economic package are a function and an indicator of stability, rise of the JDP can be counted as a reflection of political instability. Its roots are argued to be based on economic and political changes of Atatürk period. Industrialization of Turkey started with Atatürk period with great emphasis on heavy industry in order to develop the country. New industrialists are supported by the state in order to create the bourgeoisie and capital accumulation. The industrialists of the period have been strong supporters of the Atatürk principles and integrated into the modernization project.

Although industrialization and functioning of liberal economy started in Atatürk period; they gained pace in 1950s and 1960s with expansionist economic policies of the DP government. From that time onwards, Turkey faced with migration to cities where rural population gathered in outer areas of the big cities and created their communal groups. They neither integrated into cities in physical and cultural means nor lost their rural value settings. Moreover, the communities became a place for late comers to the cities. They created in-groups where the relationships are based on solidarity and group ties which supplied security, job opportunities and protect them from alienation. The formation of in-groups brought creation of an out-group which was secular state in this case. That is why political parties which have conservative and religious tendencies

gain most of the votes from those suburb areas or squatter towns. ‘The squatter town environment has become a breeding ground for radical ethnic and religious ideologies’ (Yavuz, 2003: 89).

Another group that arose as a result of the change in the economic settings was Anatolian industrialists. Different than the big industrialists that have their roots in Atatürk period, Anatolian industrialists gained their economic power during the period of economic liberalization of 1960s and 1980s. Moreover, their value orientations remained conservative and they became one of the voter bases of Islamic and conservative political parties. Though those groups were integrated in the economic arena, they did not internalize the values of liberal economy. According to economic norms theory, economic transactions are made between strangers in liberal economies where the impartial state maintains the application of the contract. However, the new bourgeoisie continued their ‘Islamic organizational networks’ (Yavuz, 2003: 91) for their economic transactions. In other words, they continued in-group relations in economic area as well.

Economic norms theory may explain those developments by those arguments. First, Turkey is still in the transformation period so, it maintains the values of both clientelist and contract-intensive economies. The group relations could not be left and individual values are not internalized. Second, in-groups create out-groups which are, in this case, the big industrialists and the state which supported them for years. Since the state is not perceived as impartial to maintain the contracts, the new bourgeoisie stay within own networks and have economic relations within it as well.

The political instability of the economic transition period and rise of political Islam led to rise of the JDP which enabled the party to form single party government. The economic change in Turkey led to transformation and the rise of political instability as the theory expects. It can be settled down as long as the liberal values are internalized and impartial state perception is entrenched.

Figure 3: Polity of Turkey

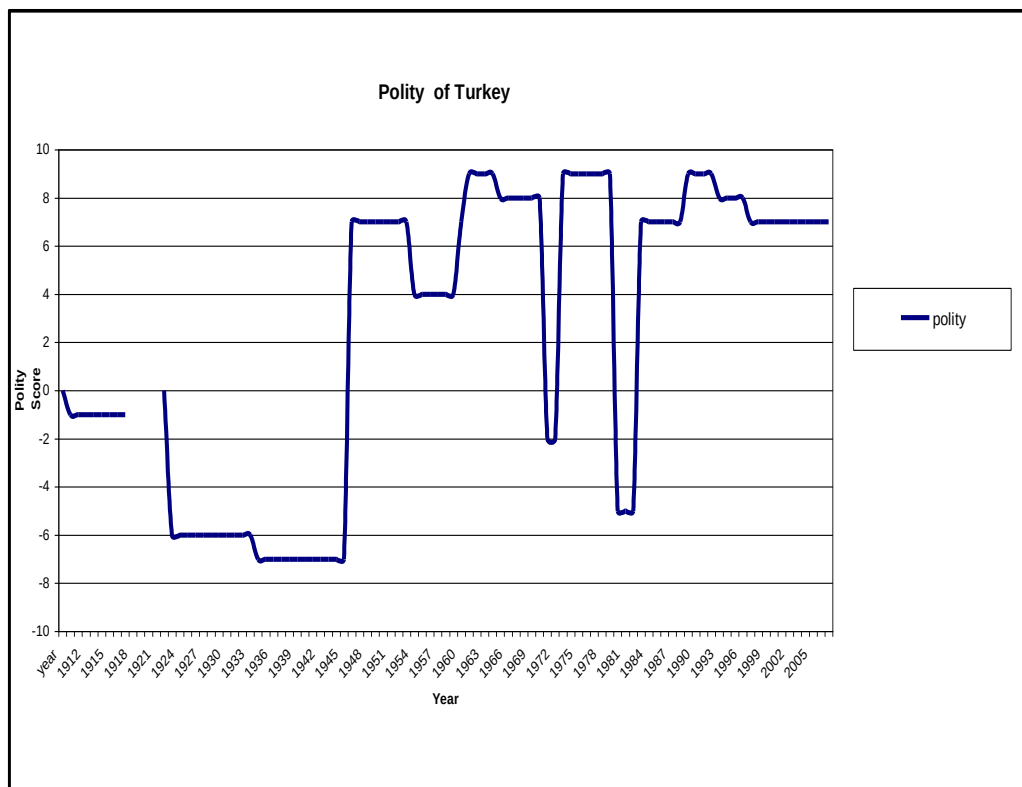
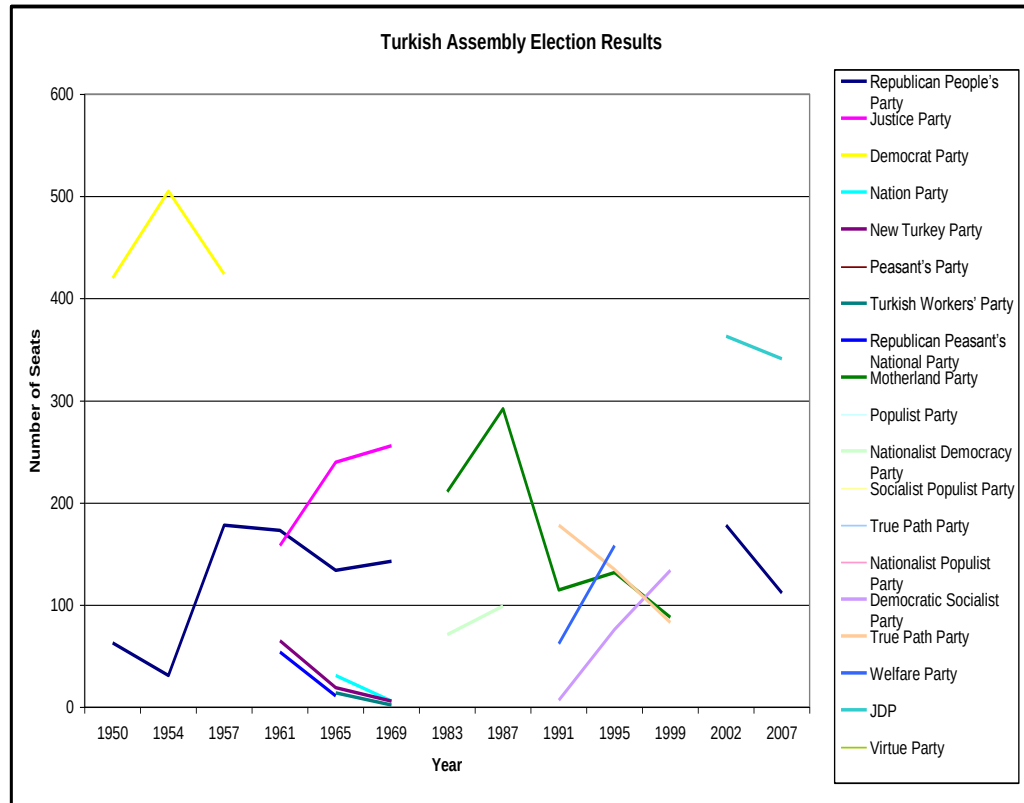


Figure 4: Turkish Assembly Election Results



6.4 Discussion

In the previous part, the two cases are evaluated from the perspective of the theories. In the discussion part, this evaluation will be considered in a comparative manner.

To start with, Germany's modernization and industrialization period started at late 1800s as Turkey's process started at the last years of Ottoman Empire and peaks by establishment of Republic of Turkey. During those periods, both countries had important political figures who were influential role in shaping the process. In Germany, Bismarck was influential in driving the

modernization process as he had influenced the political arena. During this period, Germany had a conservative leaning in society partly because of Bismarck's support for conservatives. In Turkey, on the other hand, Atatürk period was very important in terms of modernization. However, unlike Germany, in political arena no political parties except RPP existed. In that sense, political party tendencies cannot be observed till multiparty period in Turkey. Indeed, as a similarity of regime type during Bismarck era in Germany and Atatürk period in Turkey, the polity score were -6 for both countries which denotes the autocratic nature of the regime.

This period continued in Germany during Wilhelm period though the regime became nearer to democracy as it reached at score of +1. In Turkey, the regime during İnönü period remained at -6 but as Turkey started multiparty period in 1946, the score shifted to +7 which denotes a significant change of regime score. A similar regime change occurred in Germany at the end of World War I and overthrow of emperor. Though in Turkey the governor was not emperor during republic period, the scores are very parallel with Germany's imperial period because of single-man and single-party governance of Turkey.

The economic conditions in Germany during imperial period did not have abrupt changes but it had a development trend. Iron/steel production per capita had an increasing trend though by a slow pace. Also, GDP per capita had an increase of 51 % from 2.025 \$ in 1881 to 3.059 \$ in 1914 (Maddison, 2004). Iron and steel production in Turkey could start at 1937. Turkey's GDP per capita increased from 712\$ in 1881 to 1814\$ in 1939 and had 155% increase.

Although Germany and Turkey had similar regime patterns and developing economy, Turkey's development level was lower than Germany.

Throughout the period, political instability can be expected for both countries due to the political, economic and social changes. Economic downturns, especially in German economy, may be argued to have a role in increase in conservative party leanings. However, the influential stand of Bismarck and his support for conservatives had a role as well. So, for Germany, it is not very clear if the change of political party tendencies stemmed from economic decline or impact of authoritarian regime. The regime played a significant role for pressing the instability so; economic conditions may not show the real effect on occurrence of political instability.

After 1919 in Germany and 1945 in Turkey, political party tendencies may be more accurate indicators of political instability because of end of imperial period and beginning of multiparty period respectively.

After World War I, the Weimar Republic had short term turmoil period where more radical parties are preferred as economy deteriorated. Yet, till the rise of Nazis in 1933, Germany was quite stable in terms of regime. It had a polity score of +6 and economic indicators of GDP per capita and iron/steel production per capita had a gradual increase. During the period, Germany had political stability as well. Not only more moderate political parties had more seats in the parliament like DNVP and SDP; radical ones like KDP lost votes. However, in line with the discussions in the literature and economic indicators, rise of Nazis, which is a highly radical party, had a linkage with impacts of Great Depression of 1929. Iron/steel production declined by 64% from 16 million

tons in 1929 to 5 million tons in 1932. Similarly, GDP per capita declined by 17% from 4.051\$ to 3.362\$ between 1929 and 1933.

Turning back to Turkey, its polity scores fluctuates during multiparty period which means regime was more prone to change. The abrupt changes in polity scores were mainly due to military interventions in Turkey. Though the military interventions in Turkey was made in order to end political instability in society, they created an important break for development of democracy in Turkey. Interestingly, the periods before military interventions, economy contracted in Turkey except 1980 military intervention. Before 1960 and 1971 military interventions decline in iron/steel production per capita and GDP per capita can be observed. Moreover, political party tendencies indicate the political instability. However, unlike Germany, rather than preferring more radical parties, Turkish voters had a tendency to vote for 'new' parties. Rise of Democrat Party after World War II, rise of Justice Party after 1960s and rise of Motherland Party after 1980 are important indicator of those tendencies. Even Justice and Development Party is argued to be a reflection of political instability stemming from 2001 crisis.

The political instability of the two countries seems to have similar points when economic and political indicators are taken into consideration. However, explanation of political instability by 'change' of those indicators would be deficient because the change in society influences the value settings as well. Economic norms theory has an explanation for value changes.

For Germany during Bismarck era, industry developed that necessitated migration to cities and liberal and *laissez-faire* economic

environment started to develop. Those economic changes might have ended up with questioning of the values that were thriving during the period. For instance, historians denote the resentment within the society towards materialist thinking of the period. Not only youth movements occurred against materialist thinking but also the Jews were incarnated with material values and became a target of reactions. It can be argued that youth perceived materialist thinking of the period as values-ness rather than the new values that are gained as a result of economic development. Similarly, Jews might have adapted to contract-intensive society much easily and consider the contracts not as materialism but a way of commercial transaction which they have been doing for centuries. That is why; the Jews can be seen as the part of the society who internalized the new values of developing economy as the rest of the society evaluated the values as pure materialism that undermines the old value systems that they built.

Main issue of the Wilhelm period was whether Germany had become a bourgeois society or it remained aristocratic features (Mommsen, 1995). Despite the economy was industrialized with great pace, society could not catch up with it. As some part of the society gained bourgeoisie features, some part continued to have aristocratic ones. One of the main discussions of the period was on the identification of society. Was Germany a bourgeoisie society or an aristocratic society? The social classes incorporated into political parties and the support for political parties shaped according to the classes. Economic norms theory may argue that the individualistic values had partly developed in Germany during the period, but people went on identifying themselves with certain groups which is expected in transitory regimes. The

group identification creates perception of ‘them’ and ‘us’ (Berghahn, 1987), which is a function of political conflict. Moreover, youth movements and their reaction against materialist thinking continued during the Wilhelm period similar to Bismarck era.

When the occurrence of political conflict during transition period of Germany and their causes are explained by the perspective of economic norms theory; it can be seen that there is supportive evidence for the causal mechanism set by the theory. Not only the new values are reacted but also in-group/out-group identification shaped political and social behavior.

In Turkey, similar reactions regarding value settings occurred as well. Although industrialization and functioning of liberal economy started in Atatürk period; they gained pace in 1950s and 1960s with expansionist economic policies of the DP government. From that time onwards, Turkey faced with migration to cities where rural population gathered in outer areas of the big cities and created their communal groups. They neither integrated into cities in physical and cultural means nor lost their rural value settings. Moreover, the communities became a place for late comer to the cities. They created in-groups where the relationships are based on solidarity and group ties which supplied security, job opportunities and protect them from alienation. The formation of in-groups brought creation of an out-group which was secular state in this case. That is why political parties which have conservative and religious tendencies gain most of the votes from those suburb areas or squatter towns. ‘The squatter town environment has become a breeding ground for radical ethnic and religious ideologies’ (Yavuz, 2003: 89).

Another group that arose as a result of the change in the economic settings was Anatolian industrialists. Different than the big industrialists that have their roots in Atatürk period, Anatolian industrialists gained their economic power during the period of economic liberalization of 1960s and 1980s. Moreover, their value orientations remained conservative and they became one of the voter bases of Islamic and conservative political parties. Though those groups were integrated in the economic arena, they did not internalize the values of liberal economy. According to economic norms theory, economic transactions are made between strangers in liberal economies where the impartial state maintains the application of the contract. However, the new bourgeoisie continued their 'Islamic organizational networks' (Yavuz, 2003: 91) for their economic transactions. In other words, they continued in-group relations in economic area as well.

Economic norms theory may explain those developments by those arguments. First, Turkey is still in the transformation period so, it maintains the values of both clientelist and contract-intensive economies. The group relations could not be left and individual values are not internalized. Second, in-groups create out-groups which are, in this case, the big industrialists and the state which supported them for years. Since the state is not perceived as impartial to maintain the contracts, the new bourgeoisie stay within own networks and have economic relations within it as well.

The political conflict of the economic transition period and rise of political Islam led to rise of the JDP which enabled the party to form single party government. The economic change in Turkey led to transformation and

the rise of political conflict as the theory expects. It can be settled down as long as the liberal values are internalized and impartial state perception is entrenched.

To sum up, in a comparative perspective economy, economic norms and regime type theories seem to have explanatory power for both of the countries. As regime type and economic norms theory had explanatory strength for more long term issues; economic theories may explain political instability which may be caused by abrupt changes like economic crisis.

When the indicators are taken into consideration, it can be seen that for Germany after 1945, the polity score is 10 which denotes consolidated democracy and GDP per capita and iron/steel production per capita had an increasing trend. Moreover, after 1960s, Germany is considered as contract-rich country where the values are expected to settle as well.

In Turkey, polity score reached at the point of 7 which means it meets most of the necessities of consolidated democracy. GDP per capita reached at 12.993 \$ as iron/steel production per capita has an increasing trend as well. Yet, Turkey is still in the transformation period of contract-intensity and settlement of values.

Considering the similarities and differences of Turkey and Germany, Germany had more time for settlement and an important catalyst of the US for economic and political development and entrenchment of liberal and contract-intensive values. In that sense, Turkey may need more time and role model like the US which may give pace to those developments and lower political instability.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7. Conclusion

This thesis reviewed the economic, political and social developments in Germany and Turkey within the periods of 1848-1945 and 1923- 2009 respectively. By doing that the attempt was to answer two main questions. The first is to investigate the compatibility of the theories with the cases. The above mentioned theories are the main theories in the literature which explains political instability. However, when applied on the cases, some theories may have more explanatory power than others. The first aim of the thesis is to question the theories on occurrence of political instability in Germany and Turkey.

The explanations for causes of political instability have a special focus on ‘change’. Political, economic or social changes are argued to have an impact on occurrence of political instability. For this reason modernization theory shapes the framework of thesis. Within this framework it can be seen that for both countries problems arose as a result of modernization have explanatory

strength. Increasing industrialization, urbanization and migration and increasing political instability correlation finds ground during 19th century in Germany.

In Turkey, modernization process is still continuing. Urbanization, industrialization endures and as a result of this it can be claimed to cause political instability. Yet, modernization theory can be criticized for its over-inclusive conceptualization. For this reason some more theories are evaluated which have special focus on economic, regime and value changes.

First, wealth and political instability relation is studied by scholars. Two variables are claimed to have reverse relationship. The more the wealth of a country is, the less the probability of political instability. The wealth is measured by GDP per capita. When the time periods are taken into consideration on separate cases, it seems to be appropriate. The decline of GDP per capita during certain periods coincides with the political instability.

Regime type theory is also reviewed which argues that countries are more prone to political instability at the transition periods because of lack of functioning of democratic institutions and unequal distribution of political rights which create frustration. The causal mechanism of regime type theory found support of the cases yet it should be noted that the developments of the period of regime change cannot be separated from the economic developments.

Economic norms theory investigates the values gained by changing economic functioning and in-group identifications which create an out-group that may end up with political instability. I think that the theory plays an important role of bridging the values and economy.

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In conclusion, in the light of those theories I think that all of the theories have an explanatory strength for a period of time. Modernization, economic conditions and regime type theories are successful to explain certain periods in Turkey and Germany. None of them can be ignored for explaining the occurrence of political instability in those cases. However, taking the data and historical development of those cases, I think that Germany reached at economically more developed and consolidated democracy level by the catalyst of the US which fastened moving towards political stability .Similarly, Turkey is on the path of stabilization in terms of regime, economy and economic norms. For Turkey, a similar catalyzing actor can be the EU which may be an issue of future studies.

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