

Index

- Abdullah Cevdet, 84–85
 Abdülaziz, 72, 74, 77
 Abdülhamid II, 62, 79, 193, 214, 260
 Hamidian Islamism, 79–84
 ties with the Kaiser, 91
 Abdülmecid I, 70, 72
 Abrahamic faiths, 64
 Agamben, Giorgio, 249
 Ağaoğlu, Ahmet, 105
 agonistic pluralism, 244
 Agos (Turkish-Armenian newspaper),
 169, 286
 Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, 73, 82
 Ahmet, Rıza, 85
 Akçura, Yusuf, 90
 AKP (Justice and Development Party),
 142
 2003 reform packages, 167
 in 2011 general elections, 135
 AKP–Gülenist relationship, 220–223,
 260
 AKP–MHP alliance, 255
 emergent Euro-skepticism, 154–156
 ethno-nationalist resistance, 162–165
 EU-oriented reforms, 151
 first term in government (2002–
 2007), 146–151
 in municipal elections, 269
 neoliberal developmentalism, 228–232
 populist Islamism, 223–227
 and postcolonialism, 227–228
 in presidential elections, 2007–8,
 173–176
 Sunni majoritarianism, 156–161
 Akşener, Meral, 256
 al-Assad, Bashar, 203
 al-Din al-Afghani, Jamal, 82, 219
 Alevis
 and AKP, 182–185
 and CHP, 120, 136, 285
 and HDP, 285
 and MHP, 122
 massacres of, 123, 184
 radical, 122
 women, 157
 youth, 275
 Alevism, 183
 Ali Paşa, 72
 Ali Suavi, 76
 Ali, Muhammad, 228
 Allied invasion
 at the Battle of Gallipoli, 259
 occupation, 93
 Alparslan Türkeş, 119
 al-Sisi, Abdel Fattah, 226
 alternative modernities, 19
 Altınordu, Ateş, 55
 ANAP (Motherland Party), 127, 133,
 175
 Anatolia, 86, 128, 168, 183, 192, 256,
 258
 Anatolian Islam, 100, 227
 Anatolian Islamic Socialism, 227
 Anatolian Orthodox Christians, 37,
 98
 Ottoman lands, 69
 Anscombe, Frederick, 72
 anti-pluralism, 35
 at the polls, 290–298
 (anti-)pluralist
 alignments, 2000s, 177
 alignments, 2013–2016, 252
 factions, 103
 Arab nationalist “revival”, 92
 Arafat, Yasser, 233
 Arat, Yeşim, 116
 Arıncı, Bülent, 211, 221
 Assyrian Christians, 166
 ATA alliance, 297
 Atalay, Zeynep, 231

- Atatürk, *see* Mustafa Kemal
 Atsız, Nihal, 118–119
 Aydın, Cemil, 83
 Aydıntaşbaş, Aşlı, 241
 Azeri Turks, 125
- Babacan, Ali, 148, 289
 Babaoğlu, Haşmet, 212
 Baghdad Pact 1955, 112
 Bağış, Egemen, 205
 Bahçeli, Devlet, 145, 162, 221, 256, 296
 Balbay, Mustafa, 171
 Balkan Muslim refugees, 79
 Balyoz (“Sledgehammer”) trial, 143, 172–173, 187, 220
 Bank Asya, 222
 Bargu, Banu, 264
 Barkan, Ömer Lütfi, 190
 Battle of Manzikert 1071, 258
 Bayar, Celal, 110
 Baykal, Deniz, 163, 182
 Bekaroğlu, Mehmet, 290
 Berkes, Niyazi, 14
 Bodin, Jean, 65
 Bookchin, Murray, 235
 Bozkurt, Mahmut Esat, 108
 Brexit referendum, 262
 Brockett, Gavin, 113
 Brussels (as EU capital), 155, 175
 Bulaç, Ali, 159, 250
- caliphate, abolition of, 100
 Campbell, David, 32
 Çandar, Cengiz, 130
 Cannadine, David, 81
 canonical law (Şeriat), 63
 capitulations, 67
 Cavit Bey, 89, 103
 Cebesoy, Ali Fuat, 110
 Çelik, Hüseyin, 233
 Chamber of the Holy Mantle, 71
 Chief Rabbi, 65
 CHP (Republican People’s Party), 102, 119, 143, 163, 173, 221
 and İYİ Party, 266
 and MHP, 120, 221–222, 246, 270–272
 Christian bias, 85
 cihanşümul (encompassing the world), 62–67
- Çınar, Alev, 259
 “circle of justice”, 67
 citizenship
 and Article 88, 109
 cancellation, 166
 multicultural, 62, 78
 civic solidarity post earthquake, 144
 civil society
 1999–2002, 144
 EU-oriented, 150
 liberal, 251
 in Özal’s era, 128
 pluralizing, 287–290
 political parties rooted in, 104
 pro-religious, 104, 159, 202
 pro-secular, 220
 and religion, 111, 126, 149
 suppression of, 137
 clergy (ulema), 63, 72, 78, 87
 elimination of, 100
 reformist, 72
 Clinton, Hillary, 228
 coalitions for and against pluralism
 alignments, 2013–2016, 234–239, 252
 alignments, anti-pluralist, 2000s, 161
 factions, 103
 mapping, 39–44
 overview, 95–97
 pluralizers and anti-pluralism in the single party era, 97–110
 pluralizers and anti-pluralism in the multi-party era, 110–124
 at the polls, 272, 289, 293
 post-1980 era, 124–133
 coercion, 187, 247
 collective identity, 91–92, 127, 234, 242
 collective mourning, 170
 Turkish/Muslim, 92
 collective rights, 165
 Committees for the Defense of the Nation, 259
 complex systems. *See also* political systems
 actors, 50–52
 emergent properties, 54–55
 ideas and ideologies, 47–50
 initial conditions, 46
 political systems, 45
 structures, 52–54

Index

325

- system parameters, 46
- transformative junctures, 55–57
- complex systems theory, 54
- Comte, Auguste, 85
- Conference on Security and
 - Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 126
- Connolly, William, 32
- consent-building, 230
- conservative Youth ambivalence, 274–279
- Constitution, *see also* Ottoman
 - Constitution
 - 1924, 102, 109, 125, 169–172
 - 1961, 116
 - 1982, 162
 - postcoup, 125
 - reforms in, 185–186
- Constitutional Court, 175
- constitutionalism, 89
- co-option, 65, 106, 187, 231, 288, 304
- Correa, Rafael, 227
- Council of Europe (CoE), 126
- coup of 1980, 123
- coup of February 28, 1997, “post-modern”, 133
- coup of July 15, 2016
 - conflicting accounts, 5–7
 - emergency rule, 249–251
 - overview, 247–249
- Crimean War, 72
- cross-camp cooperation, 39–44
- cultural difference, 17–21
- cultural identity, 91
- cultural incompatibility, 160
- cultural revolution of the 1920s, 16, 98–101
- Cumhur alliance, 255–258, 260–264, 272, 296
 - and executive presidency, 264–267
 - and municipal elections March 2019, 268–274
- Cumhuriyet* (newspaper), 171
- CUP (Young Turk Committee of Union and Progress), 85, 87, 91
 - collapse and defeat, 93
 - military wing, 88
 - positivism, 101
- curricular changes, 197–198
- Cypriot Turks, 125
- Cyprus, EU accession, 155
- D’Estaing, Valéry Giscard, 154
- da Silva, Luiz Inacio Lula, 228
- Dalacoura, Katerina, 158
- Danforth, Nicholas, 113
- dar al-Islam (abode of Islam), 63
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet, 201, 215, 224, 241, 289
 - on foreign policy, 200–204
 - on Gezi Park protestors, 212
- Strategic Depth* (book), 200
- death penalty, moratorium on, 130
- Declaration of Güllhane, 70
- Demirel, Süleyman, 117, 145
- Demirtaş, Selahattin, 242–244, 246, 250, 267, 271, 294
- Democracy and Progress (DEVA Partisi) Party, 289
- Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti [DP]), 110–116, 133, 135
- Derviş, Kemal, 146, 180
- Dev-Genç (Revolutionary Youth), 122
- Dink, Hrant, 143, 169–172, 187
- Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), 100
- disillusionment, 22, 161, 270
- Diyarbakır Bar Association, 245
- Doğan Group, 187
- DP, *see* Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti [DP])
- Dündar, Can, 164
- DYP – True Path Party (Doğru Yol Partisi), 133
- Ebüzziya, 83
- Ecevit, Bülent, 119, 145–146
- economic populism, 291, 298
- economic privatization, 129
- education
 - Islamization of, 275
 - in minority languages, 166
 - religious, 63, 126
- Egypt, 11
- Ekim, Sinan, 264
- Elçi, Tahir, 245
- Elekdag, Şükrü, 163
- Eliaçık, İhsan, 206
- El-Sisi, Abdel Fattah, 262
- embedded liberalism, 101–104, 109, 111, 164, 267

- Emre, Akif, 129, 160, 194
 “enlightened Islam”, 101
 environmentalism, 286–287
 Erbakan, Necmettin, 117–118, 120, 128, 132–133, 149, 191
 Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, 5, 51, 54, 184, 294–296
 and 2023 elections, 296–298
 chief architect of “authentic” modernization, 229
 communication strategies, 225
 on executive presidency, 264–267
 first term in government (2002–2007), 146–151
 framing peace process with Kurds, 234–239
 invoking multiculturalism under Ottoman-Islamic revivalism, 234–239
 and municipal elections March 2019, 269
 and Putin, 263
 performing populist Islamism, 223–227
 pulling out of the “Istanbul Convention”, 280
 religious populism, 211–215, 228
 Ergenekon Trials, 143, 172–173, 187, 220, 257
 Ergün, Nihat, 188
 Ersoy, Mehmet Akif, 106, 189, 199
 Ertuğrul Gazi, 192
 Esayan, Markar, 183
 Esen, Berk, 266
 ethnic and religious minorities
 as new pluralizers, 284–286
 ethnic pluralism, 232
 ethno(-religious) nationalism, 119
 and Eurasianism, 258–260
 ethno-nationalism, 41, 107, 162–165
 unitary strand of, 107–110
 EU accession
 amid emergent Euro-skepticism, 154–156
 Eurasianism and ethno-religious nationalism, 258–260
 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), Article 9
 definition of “EU-universal” rights, 156
 European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), 130, 156
 European Economic Community (EEC), 127, 145
 European encounters with the Ottoman Empire, 9
 European peace project, 130
 European Union (EU) and Turkey, 128
 Euro-skepticism, 154–156
 Evren, Kenan, 123
 executive presidency, 264–267
 faith-based NGOs, 231
 Fanon, Frantz, 202
 fez, 101
 Fidan, Hakan, 221
 Filip Efendi, 76
 films, for building narratives, 192
 Findley, Carter, 15
 first coup 1960, 116
 postcoup framework, 116
fitne (strife/disorder), 260
 Freeden, Michael, 49
 freedom of religion, 156–161
 headscarf ban, 156–161
 Freely, Maureen, 169
 Fuad Paşa, 72
 Fukuyama, Frances, 200
 Furman, Ivo Ozan, 277
 Future (Gelecek) Party, 289
 Galston, William, 48
 gazi frontier warriors, 63
 Germany and Ottoman Empire, 91
 Gezi Park Protests, 56
 and coalition, 205–211
 Erdoğan’s counter-strategy after, 211–215
 overview, 204–205
 Ghannouchi, Rasheed, 203
 Gladstone, William, 9, 83
 Gökalp, Ziya, 91
 Goltz Paşa, 91
 Görener, Aylin, 148
 Greece, 69, 103, 145, 168
 Greek Cypriots, 114, 156
 Greek nationalist movement, 69, 72
 Grey Wolves, 118, 122, 206
 group rights, 165

Index

327

- Gül, Abdullah, 148, 173, 175, 201, 211, 221, 237
 Gül, Hayrünnisa, 173
 Gülen, Fethullah, 6, 10, 149, 219–223
 Gülenists, 196, 220–227, 250, 257
 Gülhane Edict, 71, 79
 Gümrükçü, Selin Bengi, 288
 Gumuscu, Sebnem, 266
- Hagia Sophia, 292
 Hakan, Ahmet, 249
 Hanefi jurisprudence, 63, 71
 Mecelle coded, 73
 HDP (Peoples' Democratic Party), 234–235, 242–244, 283
 coalition with MHP–CHP, 244
 headscarf ban, freedom of religion and, 64, 156–161
 Hearth of the Enlightened (Aydınlar Ocağı), 125
 Hekimci, Dilara, 22
 Herder, 91
 heterodox religiosity, 285
 heterodox Sufi brotherhoods (tarikât)
 elimination of, 100
 Hikmet, Nazim, 189
 Hilmi, Filibeli Ahmed, 87
Hizmet (Service) organization, 149, 219, *see* Gülenists
 Hourani, Albert, 75
 human rights jurisprudence, 130
Hürriyet (newspaper), 76
- Ibn Khaldun, 66
 İbrahim Paşa, 69
 İbrahim Şinasi, 74
 iconography, 191, 224
İctihād (newspaper), 85
 ideational elements, 46
 identity. *See also* Muslim identity; *see also* national identity
 categories at Gezi, 210
 collective, 91, 127, 234, 242
 cultural, 91
 hyper-masculinist, 41
 linguistic, 91
 politics, 170
 racial, 91
 religious political, 79–84, 105
 İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin, 221
 İlcak, Nazlı, 250
 illiberal populism, 110–116
 İmam Hatip religious school, 126, 147, 198
 İmamoğlu, Ekrem, 255, 270–274, 294
 Imperial Reform Edict 1856, 73
 İncılık, Halil, 16, 190
 İnan, Afet, 107
 Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (MÜSİAD), 149
 industrial modernity, 117
 information blackout, 272
 “inner hijra”, 105
 İnönü, İsmet, 109–110, 119
 International Convention on the Prevention of Torture, 130
 intra-camp difference, 39–44
 Islamic brotherhoods (tarikât), 247
 Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), 210
 Islamism, emergence of
 Hamidian (Pan-)Islamism, 79–84
 positivism and liberalism, 84–86
 Young Turk revolution(s), 87–89
 Islamist Felicity (Saadet) Party, 266
 Islamization of education, 275
 Islamo-liberal synthesis (1999/2002–2007)
 2002 national elections, 146–151
 challenging the post-1980 order, 151–161
 discursive strategy, 85
 Ergenekon and Balyoz Trials, 172–173
 ethno-nationalist response, 162–165
 Hrant Dink's assassination, 169–172
 initial conditions, 1999–2002, 144–146
 introduction, 141–144
 minority rights, Article 301, 165–169
 presidential elections and AKP, 173–176
 Islamo-liberalism, emergence of
 disenchantment and resentment, 73–75
 in Özal's era, 127–129
 Tanzimat Reforms, 70–73

- Islamo-liberalism, emergence of (cont.)
 Young Ottomans, 75–79
 Islamophobia and Sunni
 majoritarianism, 226
 Istanbul Convention, 280
 İYİ Party, 256, 266, 271, 285

 judiciary, changing, 185–186
 “justice”, 147
 Justice Party (Adalet Partisi AP), 117

 Kadro movement, 257
 Kafadar, Cemal, 63
 Kaftancıoğlu, Canan, 272, 295–296
 kairotic political spectacle, 51, 53, 56,
 116, 170
Kanal İstanbul, 229
 Kaplan, Yusuf, 198
 Karabekir, Kâzım, 100
 Karpat, Kemal, 16
 Kavala, Osman, 251
 Kaya, Ayhan, 182
 Kayalı, Hasan, 87
 Kemalism, *see* CHP (Republican
 People’s Party)
 embedded liberalism, 101–104
 on headscarf ban, 159
 ideas, actors, structures, 97–98
 laiklik, 111, 174
 realizing “contemporary
 civilization”, 98–101
 religious, liberal, and nationalist
 responses, 104–110
 Keringşiz, Kemal, 162
 Kılıçdaroğlu, Kemal, 182, 184,
 209, 221, 255, 266, 271, 290,
 294
 in 2023 elections, 296–298
 Kınalızâde, 67
 Kirişçi, Kemal, 151, 264
 Kısakürek, Necip Fazıl, 18, 106, 189,
 199
 Kıvrıkoğlu, Hüseyin, 145
 Kobani, 245
 Koçunyan, Aylin, 78
 Köprülü, Fuat, 107, 110
 Koran courses, 126
 Kotku, Mehmet Zahid, Sheik, 128, 190
 Küçük Kaynarca Treaty, 65
 Küçük Said Paşa, 82

 Kurdish Democratic Union Party
 (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat, PYD),
 239–242
 Kurdish leftist nationalism, 42
 Kurdish militancy, 83, 162
 Kurdish rebellion, 1925, 104
 Kurdish Regional Government (KRG)
 of northern Iraq, 240
 Kurdishness, public expression of, 131
 Kurdistan Workers’ Party. *See* PKK
 (Kurdistan Workers’ Party)
 Kurds in peace process negotiations
 Demirtaş, Selahattin, role of, 242–244
 framing peace, 234–239
 overview, 232–234
 regional dimension, 239–242
 Kütük-Kuriş, Merve, 289

 Lausanne Treaty, 93, 102, 108, 166
 Law on Foundations, 167
 Laz, 108, 271
 Leezenberg, Michiel, 236
 legal pluralism, 36–37, 63, 65
 Lerner, Daniel, 15
 Lewis, Bernard, 16
 LGBTQ+ activism, 283–284
 liberalism, 85–86
 defined, 48
 linguistic approach to nationalism, 91,
 108
 Lüküslü, Demet, 278

 mahalle baskısı (neighborhood
 pressure), 161
 Mahçupyan, Etyen, 183
 Mahmud II, 67, 69, 72
 Makdisi, Ussama, 23
 Maoist Turkish People’s Liberation
 Front (DHKPC), 122
 Mardin, Şerif, 16, 161, 190
 Maritato, Chiara, 281
 Mashaal, Khaled, 203
 mass trials, 130
 Mazlumder (Association for Human
 Rights and Solidarity for the
 Oppressed), 202
 meaning-making role of ideas, 48
 Mecelle coded Hanefi jurisprudence, 73
 media
 bias, 223

Index

329

- campaign, 108
- control of, 186–189
- in Gezi Park protests, 204–205
- pluralism, 115–116, 123
- pro-AKP, 212
- pro-religious, 150
- Mehmed Ali Paşa, 69
- Mehmet the Conqueror, 192
- Menderes, Adnan, 110, 114–115, 224
- Meriç, Cemil, 18
- Merkel, Angela, 155
- meso-structures, 52–54
- Metternich, 70
- MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), 119, 122, 125, 143, 146, 163, 219, 221, 255
 - openness to public displays of religion, 175
 - support for EU-oriented reforms, 161
- microstructures, 52–54
- Midhat Paşa, 77
- migration, between 1950 to 1980, 120
- military reform, 67–70
- Millet Alliance, 266, 272
- millet-i hakime, 90
- Milli Görüş movement, 117, 128, 133, 146, 189–190, 211, 229
- Mithat Paşa, 79
- Morales, Evo, 227
- Morsi, Mohammed, 203, 226
- Motherland Party. *See* ANAP (Motherland Party)
- MSP (National Salvation Party), 118
- Mufti, Malik, 112
- Muhammed Abduh, 219
- Muhbir* (newspaper), 76
- multicommunitarian tolerance, 64
- multicultural citizenship, 62, 78
- multiparty era, pluralizers and anti-pluralism in, 110–124
- municipal elections, March 2019, 268–274
- Muslim Brotherhood protestors, 203, 226, 246
- Muslim identity, 42, 105–107, 113, 117, 125, 147, 162, 258
- Muslim resentment (Ottoman), 74
- Muslim unity as governance strategy (Ottoman), 82
- Mustafa Kemal, 13–17, 95, 100, 102, 107–110
- Mustafa Reşid Paşa, 71
- Nakşibendi religious brotherhood, 117
- Namık Kemal, 76, 78
- national elections 2002, 146
- national identity, 103, 106, 132, 137, 152
 - civic definition of, 102
 - tension in pluralistic and unitary visions of, 109
- National Pact 1919, 99
- National Security Council, 117
- nationalism, emergence of (Pan-)Turkism, 89–93
- neo-Ottomanism, 186–189
 - commodification of urban spaces, 197
 - constitutional referendum, 185–186
 - cultural and economic resources for revivalism, 191–193
 - as foreign policy, 200–204
 - historical sources, 189–191
 - initial conditions, 180–182
 - minority “openings”, 182–185
 - as multiculturalism, 193–197
 - as national storybook, 192
 - as paternalism, 129–131
 - as Sunni Majoritarianism, 197–199
- Netanyahu, Benjamin, 262
- new pluralizers
 - (pro-secular and conservative) youth, 274–279
 - environmentalists as, 286–287
 - ethnic and religious minorities, 284–286
 - LGBTQ+ Activism, 283–284
 - and municipal elections of March 2019, 268–274
 - student and faculty activism, 284
 - women as, 279–283
- Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order), 67
- non-Muslims, 83, 98, 168
 - Armenians, 37, 63, 169–172
 - dhimmi (minority) status, 64
 - groups, 86
 - Jews and Wealth Tax of 1942, 108
 - minority rights, 73, 90, 165–169, 268, 284–286

- non-Muslims (cont.)
 - population of eastern Anatolia, 92
 - Rum (Greek) community, 115, 183
 - treatment as fifth columns, 166
 - universal rights, 102
 - vakıf* (religious foundation), 168
- non-religious customary law (*yasa*), 63
- North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO), 110, 112
- Nurcu movement, 105, 219
- Nursi, Said, 105, 219
- Nutuk* (speech), 118, 193
- Obama, Barack, 226
- Öcalan, Abdullah, 144, 162, 233–239
- occidentalism, 11, *see also* orientalism/occidentalism
- Oğan, Sinan, 193, 297
- Okyar, Fethi, 106
- Önder, Sırrı Süreyya, 210
- Öniş, Ziya, 127
- Oran, Baskın, 152, 296
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE), 265
- Organization of Islamic States (OIS), 221
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 121
- orientalism/occidentalism, 81, 163, 167, 263
 - first wave: pursuit of parity, 13–17
 - second wave: recognition of difference, 17–21
 - third wave: making sense of complexity, 21–24
- Örs, İlay Romain, 196, 214
- Orthodox Patriarch, 65
- Oslo peace accords, 233
- Osman I, 62
- Ottoman Balkans, 86
- Ottoman census, first, 64
- Ottoman Constitution
 - 1878 first, 62
 - drafting of first, 78
 - lithograph celebrating, 88
 - restoration of, 87
- Ottoman Empire
 - cihanşümül* or “encompassing the world”, 62–67
 - legal pluralism in, 36
 - military reform, 67–70
 - Muslim press and polemics, 76, 91
 - Ottoman Levant, 92
 - Ottoman-Muslim solidarity, 99
- Öymen, Onur, 163, 171
- Özakman, Turgut, 164
- Özal, Turgut, 127–129, 147, 174, 191, 224, 229, 271
 - Islam-liberalism embodiment by, 127–133, 149
 - neo-Ottomanism of, 129–131
- Özbudun, Ergun, 37, 185
- (Pan-)Turkism
 - and emergence of nationalism, 89–93
- Pamuk, Orhan, 116, 169, 171, 196
- Paris Treaty, 73
- patrimonial governance, 65
- Patriotic (Vatan) Party, 257
- patriotism, 79, 87
- Peker, Recep, 107
- Peoples' Democratic Party, *see* HDP (Peoples' Democratic Party)
- Peres, Simon, 201
- Perinçek, Doğu, 257
- PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), 122–124, 131, 144, 233
 - led violence, 244–247
- pluralism
 - concept, 31–35, 303
 - context, 35–39
 - cross-camp cooperation, intra-camp difference, 39–44
 - defined, 37
 - variants of, 33
- pluralizers and anti-pluralism in the multiparty era
 - between pluralization and radicalization, 116–124
 - from democrat party to illiberal populism, 110–116
- pluralizers and anti-pluralism in the single-party era
 - embedded liberalism, 101–104
 - Kemalism, 97–98

Index

331

- reaching “contemporary civilization”, 98–101
- religious, liberal, and nationalist responses, 104–110
- pogrom, 1955, 166
- political identity. *See* religious political identity
- political pluralism, 266
- political systems, 45, *see also* complex systems
 - actors, 50–52
 - emergent properties, 54–55
 - ideas and ideologies, 47–50
 - initial conditions, 46
 - structures, 52–54
 - system parameters, 46
 - transformative and critical junctures, 55–57
- positivism, 84–85
- post-1980 era
 - Islamo-liberal response, 127–129
 - the “lost” 1990s, 131–133
 - nascent neo-Ottomanism, 129–131
 - Turkish-Islamic Synthesis (TIS) triumphant, 124–127
- post-9/11 zeitgeist, 154
- “post-Islamist” movement, 148
- presidential elections, 2023, 290–298
- Progressive Republican Party in 1924, 102
- pro-religious civil society
 - business and creatives, 191
 - on headscarf ban, 159
 - media, 150
- proto-nationalism, 90–91, 93
- Putin, Vladimir, 10, 257
- Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (QMMR) toolkit, 44
- Rabaa massacre, 226
- race and racism, 91, 107–109
- Radikal* (newspaper), 150
- Refah Party (Welfare Party), 149
- reflexivity, 56
- reformist clergy, 72
- Rehn, Olli, 174
- religious disenchantment, 62, 73–75, 84
- religious education, 63, 126, 197
- religious governance, 62–67, 100, 197, 207
- religious identity. *See* Muslim identity; *see also* religious political identity
- religious minority rights, 165–172. *See also* non-Muslims
- religious nationalism, 41, 118, 146, 197, 246, 250, *see also* Turkish-Islamist Synthesis (TIS 2.0, post-2015)
- religious political identity, 79–84, 105
- religious populism, 231
 - Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, 212–215, 228
- religious soft power, 209
- religious websites, 279
- religiously demarcated legal pluralism, 65
- “renewal of order”, 67
- Republic of Turkey, founding of, 95
- Reşid Paşa, 72
- revisionism, 168
 - “Eastern”, 256
 - cultural, 113
 - Islamist, 106
 - Islamo-liberal, 165
 - liberal/leftist, 189
 - pro-religious, 143
 - religious, 150
- Rodrik, Dani, 187
- Rojava, 240
- Rumi, 193
- Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, 79
- Rustow, Dankwart, 15
- Sabah* (newspaper), 212
- Sabahattin, Prince, 85
- Sadri, İbrahim, 225
- Şafak, Elif, 169, 171
- Şahin, Leyla, 159
- Said, Edward, 22
- San Stefano Treaty, 79
- Saraçoğlu, Şükrü, 108–109
- Sarkozy, Nicolas, 154
- Savaş, Vural, 171
- Sayyid, Bobby, 100
- Schmitter, Philippe, 37
- Schoolman, Martin, 32
- Schwedler, Jillian, 32
- secessionism, 68, 90, 104, 145, 261

- Second Constitutional Era, 62, 87–88
 sectarian pluralism, 296
sela prayer, 5
 Selçuk, Orçun, 22
 Selim I, 210, 235
 Selim III, 67
 Şener, Abdüllatif, 149, 211
 Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Free Republican Party in 1930), 102
Şeriat (Islamic law), 63, 73, 100
 Sèvres Treaty 1920, 132, 259
 Sezer, Ahmet Necdet, 146, 159, 163, 173
 Sheik Said rebellion, 104
 single-party era, pluralism and anti-pluralism in the, 97–110
 Skinner, Quentin, 48
 social conservatism, 111, 207, 231
 social Darwinism, 91
 social media
 in 2023 elections, 298
 mobilizing power of, 222
 social plurality, 31–39, 267
 Sohrabi, Nader, 89
 Soyulu, Süleyman, 284, 296
 Sözen, Yunus, 279
 state feminism, 208
 state television (TRT), 247
Strategic Depth (Davutoğlu), 200
 Streeck, Wolfgang, 54
 student and faculty activism, 284
 Subotić, Jelena, 167
 Sufi derviş (mystic), 128
 Sufism, 63, 80, 104
 Suleiman, 193
 sultanate, 100
 Sunar, İlkay, 36, 113
 Sunni Muslims, 19, 36, 63, 156–161
 supra-identity, 152
 Syrian refugees, preferential treatment to, 291
 systemic racism, 154
 Tahir, Kemal, 18
takiyye, 163
 Talat Paşa, 92
 Tambar, Kabir, 32, 286
 Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi, 190
 Tanzimat Reforms, 62, 70–73, 133
Taraf (newspaper), 150
 tarikat, abolition of, 105
 Taş, Hakkı, 259
 Thelen, Kathleen, 54
 Tocci, Nathalie, 155
 Topal, Alp Eren, 66
 Topçu, Nurettin, 227
 Topkapı Palace, 71
 Toynbee, Arnold, 14–17
 traditional seminaries (medrese)
 elimination of, 100
 transformative junctures, 55
 Truman Plan, 110
 Trump, Donald, 262
 Tulip Period, 193
 Turam, Berna, 284
 Turanism, 109
 Türesay, Özgür, 71
 Turkish Communist Party, 120
 Turkish Cypriots, 156
 Turkish History Thesis, 107, 110
 Turkish identity, 41, 102, 106, 119, 125, 152, 162, 169, 171
 and ethnicity, 162
 Turkish Industrialists and Businesspeople's Association (TÜSİAD), 151, 238
 Turkish-Islamic Synthesis (TIS, post-1980), 119, 124–127, 131, 147, 162
 Turkish-Islamist Synthesis (TIS 2.0, post-2015)
 (multi-)regional context, 261–264
 overview, 254–255
 unitary ethno-religious nationalism, 255–267
 Türkkan, Reha Oğuz, 118–119
 Ucal, Meltem, 148
 ulema. *See* clergy (ulema)
 Ülkücüler (right-wing nationalists), 122
Ulus (newspaper), 113
 Ulusalçı (secular nationalist), 164
 ümmet ideal (universal Islamic community), 126
 universal citizenship, 101
 Vahideddin, Mehmed VI, 193
 Vámbéry, 82
 veiling in public institutions, 101, 143, 156

Index

333

- Vingas, Laki, 183
 Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi FP), 149
 von der Goltz, Colmar Freiherr, 91
 Vural, Oktay, 162
- Washington Consensus, 126
 Weber, Max, 73
 Western gaze, 101
 Western governments
 on Gezi Park protests, 213
 response to the failed coup, 10
 White Turks, 163
 White, Jenny, 260
 women, 207
 in failed coup of July 15, 2016, 247
 as new pluralizer, 279–283
 political rights to, 102
 Worker's Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi), 283
 World War I and Turkey, 9
- Yabancı, Bilge, 281, 288
 Yahya Kemal, 190
 Yakış, Yaşar, 149
 Yanık, Lerna, 167
 Yavaş, Mansur, 270
- Yavuz, Hakan, 147
Yeni Şafak (newspaper), 150, 212
 Yenigün, Halil İbrahim, 41, 206
 Yıldırım, Binali, 247, 269–274
 Yıldız, Taner, 241
 Yön movement, 257
 Young Ottomans
 and Islamo-liberalism, 75–79
 reforms, 62
 Young Turk army, 214
 Young Turk Committee of Union and Progress. *See* CUP (Young Turk Committee of Union and Progress)
 Young Turk Revolution, 62, 87–89, 101, 167–168
 advocacy for liberalism, 85
 embracing positivism, 84
 Young Turk Triumvirate, 98, 315
 Yüksekdağ, Figen, 250
 Yunus Emre, 193
- Zafer* (newspaper), 113
Zaman (newspaper), 150, 211, 223
 Zencirci, Gizem, 289
 Ziya Paşa, 76