Political Science
Concepts, Institutions, Ideologies
Kudret Bülbül

ISBN: 978-975-2500-69-3

Adres Publications® / 63

© 2025, Adres Publications®
3rd Edition: September 2025; 1st Edition: October 2020

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the Publisher.

Publishing Editor: **Özlem Çağlar Yılmaz**
Coordinator: **Emre Turku**
Page Design: **Liberte Publications**
Revision: **Büşra Sönmez**
Cover: **Mesut Koçak**
Printed at: **Bizim Büro Printing**
Adres: Zübeyde Hanım Mahallesi, Sedef Caddesi 6/A, Altındağ, Ankara
Telefon: (312) 229 99 28 | Faks: (312) 229 99 29 | Sertifika No: 42488

LiBeRtE
yayıngrubu

Address: GMK Boulevard No: 108/16, 06570 Maltepe, Ankara
Telephone: (312) 230 87 03 | *Fax:* (312) 230 80 03
E-mail: info@liberte.com.tr | *Web:* www.liberte.com.tr | *Certificate No:* 52155

Adres Publications® is a registered trade mark of Liberte Publishing Group.

Kudret Bülbül

He was born in 1970 in Konya. He graduated from Istanbul University, Faculty of Political Sciences in 1991. He received his master's degree from the same university for his study titled Prince Said Halim Pasha as a Political Thinker. He completed his doctorate in 2004 with the thesis titled Globalization, Culture, and Politics: Globalization Approaches in Turkish Intellectual and Political Life at Ankara University, SBE, Department of Political Science, in 2004. He became Associate Professor in 2007. Bülbül, who stayed in London for one year in 1995 for academic purposes, was a Visiting Scholar at the University of Kansas in the USA between 2000-2002. He worked at Kirikkale University and Ankara University, later at Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University where he had also served as Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. Currently, Prof. Bülbül Is teaching at Ankara Medipol University.

Bülbül held various positions in the bureaucracy. He served as Deputy Undersecretary for the Undersecretariat of Public Order and Security for nearly four years and acting Undersecretary for a period. He was President of Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities under Prime Ministry; Counselor for Prime Ministry, and later Head of the Foreign Relations and Protocol Department In the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

In his bureaucratic positions and beyond in the academy, he focused on raising the level of democracy and freedom in Türkiye, balance of freedom and security, parliamentarian diplomacy, strengthening Türkiye's diaspora, restoring lost relations with kin

and related communities, assessment of human rights violations in the West, protecting the rights of Muslim communities, supporting international students in Türkiye, and contributing to conflict resolution, regional and global peace.

Bülbül wrote weekly articles translated into 35 languages for TRT and made weekly programs for TRT Radio Voice of Türkiye in 2018 and 2019.

Taking an active role in many non-governmental organizations and think tanks throughout his student and professional life, Bülbül conducts academic studies on globalization, freedom, identity, belonging, youth, bureaucracy, and Turkish political thought in the Constitutional era. He has numerous books and articles published in the mentioned fields.

He is married with three children.

For contact kudretbulbul@yahoo.com

CONTENTS IN SHORT

Preface 17

PART I | POLITICS AS A SCIENCE

1) Political Science: Definition, Qualifications, Emergence, and Development 23
2) Basic Study Area of Political Science: State 43
3) Basic Actor of Political Science: Political Power 61
4) Legitimacy Problem of Political Power 73

PART II | BASIC POLITICAL CONCEPTS: DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITARIANISM, TOTALITARIANISM

5) Basic Political Concepts: Democracy, Authoritarianism, Totalitarianism 91
6) Impossibility of Democracy? Class, Elite, and Pluralist Approaches 110

PART III | POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

7) Political System 123
8) Classification of Political Systems 137

PART IV | FUNCTIONING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEMS

9) Political Participation 159
10) Political Parties and Party Systems 176
11) Pressure Groups 196
12) Public Opinion, Media, Political Communication 211
13) Elections, Electoral systems, and Voter Behaviour 222

PART V | INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM

14) Constitution 241
15) Legislation and Judiciary 252
16) Executive and Government Systems 272

PART VI | POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

17) Ideology, Liberalism, and Conservatism 289
18) Socialism, Fascism, Anarchism 315
19) Islamism, Islam, and Politics 338
20) Recent Debates: The End of History, The Clash of Civilizations, Mcworld versus Jihad, Consumerism 360

PART VII | POLITICAL IDEALS AND ASSUMPTIONS

21) Freedom 388
22) Justice 414
23) Traditionality, Modernity, Postmodernity 451

PART VIII | NATIONS, GLOBALIZATIONS, AND IDENTITIES

24) Seek for a New Order: Globalization and Politics 469
25) Globalization, Nation State, and Politics 493
26) Identity, Culture, and Politics 529

PART IX | SECURITY AND POLITICS

27. Security, Freedom, and Politics 569

References 599

CONTENTS IN DETAIL

Preface 17

PART I | POLITICS AS A SCIENCE

1) POLITICAL SCIENCE: DEFINITION, QUALIFICATIONS, EMERGENCE, AND DEVELOPMENT 23
Identification Efforts 24
A Definition Attempt 27
The Scope of Politics 28
Conditions That Make Politics Possible 33
The Emergence and Development of Political Science 35
Is Politics Just a Western-Centered Science? 37
Summary 41
Names/Concepts 42

2) BASIC STUDY AREA OF POLITICAL SCIENCE: STATE 43
What is The State? 44
Elements that Create a State 45
States According to Their Authorities 48
Approaches to the Role of the State 51
Approaches to the Emergence of the State 54
Summary 58
Names/Concepts 60

3) BASIC ACTOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE: POLITICAL POWER 61
Power and Types of Power 62
Qualifications of Political Power 64
Political Power-Authority 66
Political Power and Sovereignty 66
Limits of the Concept of Classical Sovereignty 67
Founding Power-Established Power 69
Summary 71
Names/Concepts 72

4) LEGITIMACY PROBLEM OF POLITICAL POWER 73
Regime 75
Legitimacy 76
Legality 76
Legitimacy-Legality Relationship 77
Is Legitimacy Universal? 78
Political Legitimacy 78
On the Importance of Political Legitimacy or the Root of the Revolutions 79
Classic Theory of Legitimacy 81
Classification of Political Power According to the Bases of Legitimacy: Weber's Typology 84
Summary 87
Names/Concepts 88

PART II | BASIC POLITICAL CONCEPTS: DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITARIANISM, TOTALITARIANISM

5) BASIC POLITICAL CONCEPTS: DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITARIANISM, TOTALITARIANISM 91
History of Democracy 91
Definition of Democracy 92
Minimum Conditions of Democracy 94
Application forms of Democracy 96
Relationship Between Democracy and Republic 96
Boundaries of Democracy 97
Authoritarianism 100
Totalitarianism 102
Summary 108
Names/Concepts 109

6) IMPOSSIBILITY OF DEMOCRACY? CLASS, ELITE, AND PLURALIST APPROACHES 110
Marxist Dominant Class Approach 110
Weber's Social Status 112
Classic Elitist Approaches: Mosca and Pareto 113
Mosca and Ruling Class 114
Approaches of Mosca and Marx 114
Pareto and the Ruling Elite 115
Democratic Elitism 116
Summary 119
Names/Concepts 120

PART III | POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

7) POLITICAL SYSTEM 123
Political System 123
The Functioning of Political Systems 127
Outputs of the Political System 130
After output? 132
Summary 135
Names/Concepts 136

8) CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS 137
Are the Political Order, Political System, Political Regime, Government Systems the Same Things? 138
Aristotle's Classification 140
Contemporary Political Systems 141
Democratic Political Systems 142
Military Regimes 143
Guardianship or Tutelage Democracies/Regimes 145
Legitimate kingdoms 150
Dictatorships 151
The Others 152
Summary 156
Names/Concepts 157

PART IV | FUNCTIONING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEMS

9) POLITICAL PARTICIPATION 159
What is Political Participation? 160
Political Participation forms 162
Factors Determining Political Participation and Participation Styles 165
Depoliticization 170
Political Participation in Different Regimes 172
Summary 174
Names/Concepts 175

10) POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS 176
The Birth of Political Parties 176
Functions of Political Parties 178
Types of Political Parties 183
Party Systems 186

On Political Parties 190
Summary 194
Names/Concepts 195

11) PRESSURE GROUPS 196
Pressure group: Definition and Characteristics 197
Functions of Pressure Groups 199
Type of Pressure Groups 201
Factors that Determine the Effectiveness of Pressure Groups 203
Influence Methods of Pressure Groups 205
Summary 210
Names/Concepts 210

12) PUBLIC OPINION, MEDIA, POLITICAL COMMUNICATION 211
Public Opinion 211
What is Public Opinion? 212
How is public opinion formed? 213
Political Systems, Agenda, and Public Opinion 214
Media 215
Social Media, E-Politics 217
Political Communication 218
Elements of Political Communication 219
Public Opinion Surveys 220
Summary 221
Names/Concepts 221

13) ELECTIONS, ELECTION SYSTEMS, AND VOTER BEHAVIOUR 222
1. Electoral systems 223
2. Electoral Thresholds 232
3. Factors Affecting the Behaviour of Voters 233
Summary 238
Names/concepts 239

PART V | INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM

14) CONSTITUTION 241
Birth and Development of the Concept of the Constitution 241
Definition and General Characteristics of a Constitution 243
Meaning of Constitution 246
Types of Constitution 248

Summary 250
Names/Concepts 251

15) LEGISLATION AND JUDICIARY 252
A. Legislation 254
B) Judiciary 263
Summary 270
Names/Concepts 271

16) EXECUTIVE AND GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS 272
The Executive 272
Government Systems 277
Summary 285
Names/Concepts 287

PART VI | POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

17) IDEOLOGY, LIBERALISM, AND CONSERVATISM 289
A. Ideology 289
B. Liberalism 298
C. Conservativism 305
Summary 312
Names/Concepts 314

18) SOCIALISM, FASCISM, ANARCHISM 315
A. Socialism 315
B) FASCISM 323
C. Anarchism 330
Summary 336
Names/Concepts 337

19) ISLAMISM, ISLAM, AND POLITICS 338
Birth, Development, and Definition of Islamism 339
Islam, Islamism and Political Islam 342
Does Islam as a Religion Prescribe a form of Political Organization? 345
Are There Any Fundamental Principles in Islam that Governments must abide by? 350
Relationship Between Islam and Democracy 354
Islam and Ideologies 356
Summary 358
Names/Concepts 359

20. RECENT DEBATES:
THE END OF HISTORY, THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS,
MCWORLD VERSUS JIHAD, CONSUMERISM 360
A.The End of History 361
B. Clash of Civilizations 364
C. Mcworld versus Jihad 370
D. Consumerism 376
Summary 380
Names/Concepts 382

PART VII | POLITICAL IDEALS AND ASSUMPTIONS

21) FREEDOM 388
A. Historical Development 388
B. Negative-Positive Freedom 396
C. Negative Freedoms 398
D. Positive Freedoms 402
On Liberties 404
Summary 410
Names/Concepts 413

22) JUSTICE 414
Definition and Scope 416
Reflections/Manifestations of Justice 417
A) Justice in Western Thought 419
B) Islam and Justice 430
C) The Circle of Justice 443
Summary 447
Names / Concepts 450

23. TRADITIONALITY, MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY 451
Traditionality and Traditional Society 453
Modernity and Modern Society 455
Postmodernity, Postmodern Society 457
Postmodernity-Globalization 459
On Traditionality, Modernity, and Postmodernity 461
Summary 465
Names/Concepts 466

PART VIII | NATIONS, GLOBALIZATIONS, AND IDENTITIES

24. SEEK FOR A NEW ORDER: GLOBALIZATION AND POLITICS 469
Birth of Globalization Concept 471
Identification Efforts 472

A Definition Attempt 474
Qualifications of Globalization 479
Can Globalisation be Resisted? 485
Evaluation: Introverted West, Globalising World 488
Summary 491
Names/Concepts 492

25. GLOBALIZATION, NATION STATE, AND POLITICS 493
Globalization and Political Area 494
"The Invention of Nationality" 495
The End of the Nation-State? 500
Globalization, National-state, Democracy, and Freedoms 518
Evaluation – Globalization and Politics:
A Multi-Dimensional Transformation of Nationality 521
Summary 526
Names/Concepts 528

26. IDENTITY, CULTURE, AND POLITICS 529
A. Identity and Politics: Identity Politics, Identitarian Politics 529
B. Culture and Politics 547
C. Assessment: National Culture and Identity Debate and A Suggestion 554
Summary 563
Names/Concepts 566

PART IX | SECURITY AND POLITICS

27. SECURITY, FREEDOM, AND POLITICS 569
The coast is clear? or On the Security Concept 569
Can security be provided without a state? Or why does political science deal with the security issue? 571
Primary References of Maximum Security 573
Securitized Politics 579
Freedom-Security Balance 581
Civilian Oversight and Supervision of Security Units 583
Global Security 585
Summary 595
Names/Concepts 598

References 599

Preface

Why is there a need to write a new political science book when there are enough political science books in Turkish and other foreign languages in the literature already? Undoubtedly, the answer to this question may be different for everyone.

When I returned to academia after seven years having left a bureaucratical career in 2017, I thought that, in parallel with the ongoing developments in Türkiye, more political science books would have been written and would have given more contribution towards furthering Türkiye's civilization. However, it was enough for me to take a brief look at the political science books in Türkiye to see that this expectation was not fulfilled. On the contrary, Western political science books, translated into Turkish or in Western languages, became much more widespread than they were when I had left academia.

Undoubtedly, these studies from Western literature were beneficial, as they contained valuable information from the political science literature. However, these books were mostly centered

upon their own societies. These books rarely included information about the history and civilization of non-Western societies (naturally Türkiye's), and their contribution to the literature of political science. When these books are taught in their original language or translated into Turkish as is seen in our universities, we have taught our students a sense of partiality and a sense of rootlessness that their civilization is nonexistent in history and that it has never contributed towards the political science literature. I can say that this is one of the main motives that pushed me to write a new book of political science. In this context, while transferring the universal political science literature, I tried to include the contribution of our civilization to this literature as much as possible. In this study, I tried to address the issues that are not seen in the West but ones we often face. I have stressed and criticized the Eurocentrism of Western political science literature from time to time.

Undoubtedly, these are not ventures that can be completed with one or more types of studies. Such searches can only find a response in the literature over time if they are continuous.

I tried to use a language that is as understandable as much as possible while writing this book of political science. I do not know how successful I was because writing in an easy-to-understand manner requires a lot of meticulous professionalism.

In preparing this book, I aimed to make the reader aware of the contemporary, intellectual and future topics that will continue to be discussed, while still giving a place for the classical topics of political science. I took care to prepare the course curriculum for universities by designing the contents for a two-semester course.

In this study, I followed a concrete-to-abstract order, without breaking the integrity of the book, to gain a better understanding of political science issues. I began the first chapters on concrete

subjects that are more easily understood as the backbone and skeleton of political science. I tried to leave the second part of the book to more abstract and deeper subjects that were a little more difficult to understand. These sections were dealt with in a slightly more detailed and analytical manner, as their scope and content are relatively more recent and on more controversial issues.

Discussion questions were put at the beginning of each chapter in the book to prepare the readers for the relevant topic and to make them think about it. At the end of the chapter, a summary, and the names/concepts related to that chapter were added. Thus, it was aimed that both the readers and the teachers who would utilize this book as a textbook should have a better understanding of the relevant sections.

The target audience of the book is undoubtedly not just for students from different departments. Apart from students, its target is primarily for politicians, bureaucrats, scientists, researchers, private and civil society workers, those interested in politics, those trying to understand politics, and anyone else who seeks for a better understanding of various political mechanisms.

Undoubtedly, such a comprehensive book will have imperfections and inaccuracies. The Mecelle rule is always a guide in this regard: "if the whole of something cannot be achieved, the whole is not abandoned." I hope that these possible imperfections will decrease over newer editions with the generous contribution of its readers.

Finally, I would like to state that it is very pleasing that the first edition of this study in Turkish was sold out in a short period of 3-4 months. We can interpret from this demand that the issues discussed and the perspective that this book addresses are greatly needed. Thus, the study for the 2nd edition has been revised. An

essay on the definition of politics that was not encouraged in the first edition is then presented within the second edition.

The first edition of this study triggered two additional studies. The first is the publication of the book Political Science in English (now in your hands). Translation work that is underway to be finished in 2020. The second is to write a "Political Science Dictionary" from the perspective of the Political Science book. The Dictionary work is finished, and may be published in the coming months.

I would like to thank research assistants Emrah Ayhan, Ilyas Balci, Mustafa Kemal Sağlam, and Dr. Başak Akar, Nazmul Islam, Numan Bülbül, Adres Yayinlari, and everyone who contributed to this study. My special thanks is for Büşra Sönmez, working at Ankara Haci Bayram Veli University, for reading this work from the very beginning, and making necessary corrections, while making the text easier to understand.

Kudret Bülbül

Çukurambar, August 2020

PART I
POLITICS AS A SCIENCE

1) POLITICAL SCIENCE: DEFINITION, QUALIFICATIONS, EMERGENCE, AND DEVELOPMENT

Discussion Questions

1. What is politics? How can it be defined?
2. Why do individuals and communities need politics? Why do they make politics?
3. The German statesman Bismark defines politics as "the art of the possible." In this case, are the revolutionary activities and/or the things not done artistically outside the scope of politics?
4. Where does the challenge of defining politics arise? Why do the definitions made by political scientists contain certain deficiencies?
5. What methods can be followed to understand politics?
6. Sal Kalvador President Alsano Salvaro explains that he has been running his country in the "best way" for years and that his people are extremely "happy" and "peaceful" under his rule. He states that the "external powers" who want to divide their country are some "defeatists" who want to bring "mischief" inside their nation to disrupt the "unity and solidarity" of the country. Therefore, according to him, there is no need for politics in his country. Evaluate the views of Salvaro by specifying the basic conditions that make politics possible.
7. Political Science students from Türkiye, France, Somalia, Pakistan, and Mexico are taking a History of Political Thought course which begins with Plato and ends with Weber. Except for the French student, the others feel alienated and rootless due to the content of the course. Please, explain and evaluate the reason for this alienation by touching upon whether Political Science is a Western centered science or not?

Identification Efforts

Politics can be seen in all societies where a social life had existed since the ancient times. However, when it comes to "what is politics?" it cannot be said that the citizens in the streets, or even the scientists, or the professionals in this field, could reach a common definition.

We may come across the concept of politics in daily life, sometimes singularly, and sometimes with its many extensions such as: politics, entering into politics, the political arena, political parties, the political system, political participation, political sphere, political culture, political power, political psychology, sociology, philosophy, etc. are the first to come to mind.

For the people on the street, families often make the following warning to their children who had won entrance to a university: "My dear son/daughter, never involve yourself in politics. From home to school, just follow your coursework, and nothing else." In this warning, there is an assumption that politics is a bad thing that they should not be involved in. If the children reply to their parents who had warned them in such way as: "My dear Mom/Dad I want to be the Prime Minister or President in the future, and then I want to solve our country's problems that you constantly complained of," families will probably be happy with this response. However, is it possible to become the prime minister or president "without getting involved in politics?"

Remarkably, one of our examples then speaks of Adnan Menderes, one of Türkiye's former prime ministers, saying that he was a very good person but "his only fault was to get involved in politics" (Ozankaya, 1971: 140).

One of the most colorful figures of Turkish politics, the National Party Chairman Osman Bölükbaşi, was once asked: "What

Politics is?" The answer he gave is quite instructive: "The roads are mud, the oxen are deaf, the baby is small, but you shout and shout" (yollar çamur, öküzler sağir, bebek sagir, bağir Allah bağir). With this gnomic sentence, Bölükbaşi maybe wanted to emphasize that politics is the activities carried out aloud going through the mill of an environment that involves challenges in the roads to read in politics, stolidity of the political/bureaucratic mechanisms, people's unawareness of the developments.

Undoubtedly, the above approaches given by these leaders may have a certain consistency and explanatory value. As mentioned in the statement that "Statesmen think of future generations; and politicians think of future elections," the above approach may not see politics as something positive because they perceive politics as being related to election affairs rather than state affairs. As can be seen in the following lines, scientists draw attention to different dimensions of politics in their own unique definitions.

In the western tradition of thought, the Ancient Greek Thinker Aristotle (384-322 BC), is seen as the founder of political science. Aristotle sees politics as a "superior science," the most comprehensive of human activities. He defines man as a "political animal"(zoon politon). This definition includes the assumption that the main feature that naturally distinguishes man from animals is his/her political activities.

Although Aristotle strikingly reveals the value attributed to politics, his approach does not include a general definition of politics.

American political thinker Harold Laswell defines politics as "a series of activities that determine who gets what and when." This definition given by Laswell is meaningful in that it points out that politics is a distribution mechanism, but can we see every distribution activity as a political activity? For example, is this

considered to be a political activity when a lecturer, determines which student will get what grade according to his/her accumulated success during the semester? If the lecturer has made his/her evaluation according to students' success, and far away from political influences as one would expect, this activity cannot be defined as a political activity.

Canadian political scientist David Easton defines politics as "the distribution of material and spiritual values based on authority." Easton's definition makes sense for its inclusion of spiritual values. However, this definition does not give enough explanation in case of the absence of authority. Simply said it does not define politics in a situation where there is no authority.

For the prominent French social scientist Maurice Duverger, politics is "a struggle for conflict and power, as well as a struggle to create an order that can benefit all members of society." Duverger (1964) sees politics as a "struggle to create order" by pointing to the very basic two dimensions of politics, the dimension of conflict and power, and raising an ethical meaning between them. In this case, the question of whether the struggle for the demolition of order is out of politics' interest, then comes to mind.

Inspired by the German Statesman Otto Von Bismarck (1815-1898), politics is defined as "the art of the possible." I frequently use this definition in terms of emphasizing consensus, not wanting the impossible, and searching among the possible alternatives. It is an elegant approach towards seeing politics as seeking possibilities and solutions among certain opportunities in an artistic way. However, I wish this sentiment had reflected reality. In this case, there would be no need for revolutions, wars, deadly rivalries, ambitions, and the victimization and tears of millions of people. The definition is also incomplete because it hides this harsh aspect of politics.