

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF TURKISH POLITICS

The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics pulls together contributions from many of the world's leading scholars on different aspects of Turkey.

Turkey today is going through possibly the most turbulent period in its history, with major consequences both nationally and internationally. The country looks dramatically different from the Republic founded by Atatürk in 1923. The pace of change has been rapid and fundamental, with core interlinked changes in ruling institutions, political culture, political economy, and society. Divided into six main parts, this *Handbook* provides a single-source overview of Turkish politics:

- Part I: History and the Making of Contemporary Turkey
- Part II: Politics and Institutions
- Part III: The Economy, Environment and Development
- Part IV: The Kurdish Insurgency and Security
- Part V: State, Society and Rights
- Part VI: External Relations

This comprehensive *Handbook* is an essential resource for students of Politics, International Relations, International/Security Studies with an interest in contemporary Turkey.

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Hamid Akin Unver - Kadir Has University - 5/10/2019

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Edited by Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting

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12

ENERGY SECURITY AND POLICY

Between bandwagoning and hedging

H. Akin Ünver

Introduction: a brief history of Turkey's bid for energy security

Turkey's energy security policy in the last decade has been driven by three primary objectives: securing energy for an ever-increasing consumption portfolio driven by an average 5 per cent economic growth, reducing natural gas import dependence on Russia, and diversification both of energy sources and types in the national import portfolio (MENR 2014). Despite sustained campaigns to maximise domestic exploration and production, Turkey's oil and gas production has remained low, leading to a complete dependence on external sources (IEA 2016).

To remedy long-term energy import requirements and growing demand, Turkey gradually opened up its energy sector to private investment throughout the late-1980s and 1990s, followed by efforts at market liberalisation between 1999 and 2001. These were largely driven by Turkey's EU candidacy status, which took on a stronger momentum with the Helsinki Summit of 1999, and were modelled after the EU's 1996 electricity and natural gas reform. In 1999, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, TBMM) passed Law No. 4446 in order to radically improve trade and investment regulations. This was intended to hasten infrastructure projects such as power plants, pipeline networks, and refineries (Erdoğan 2007). In the same year, Article 47 of the Turkish Constitution was amended to lay down the basic parameters of privatisation, opening up a large swathe of state companies to foreign investment, as well as Article 155, which set the parameters of the country's Council of State (*Danıştay*) involvement in foreign contracts. The Turkish Pipeline Corporation (BOTAS) was the first to be privatised in 2001. The Electricity Market Law and Natural Gas Market Law of the same year, providing guidelines for a gradual reduction of state involvement in the electricity-generation and energy distribution market (Çanka Kılıç, and Kaya 2007) were also intended to complement this privatisation process, offering foreign and domestic companies a rapid decision-making body on licensing. was also intended to complement this privatisation process, offering foreign and domestic companies a rapid decision-making body on licensing.

The resultant restructuring has led to three new modes of energy project financing and operation that have become the primary options for both foreign and domestic investors since 2001: 'Build-Operate-Transfer' (BOT), 'Build-Own-Operate' (BOO), and 'Transfer