

Indirect praetorianism: a case of Turkey military-industrial complex

The research problem or question investigated. The confrontation between Turkey and Greece in the Aegean has brought forward both the political problems of the region and the issues of military-industrial superiority. According to many experts, the technological progress in the Turkish defense industry determines the impending "war" between the two countries. The processes of waging and preparing for war have always been associated with production methods. In turn, globalization, industrialization, and preparation for war have created new, specific, and complex forms between militarism and the processes of capitalist capital accumulation, the corporate architecture of the state, and the sphere of public relations.¹ The growth of the military-industrial complex, which is largely controlled by the military in the Republic of Turkey, is causing another imbalance in the civil-military relationship that pervades the Turkish political system. According to İsmet Akça, a researcher of the Turkish military economy and civil-military relations, Turkey's military-economic structure is based on three main pillars: the military holding company (the Armed Forces Trust and Pension Fund (OYAK)); the military spendings, which is under the almost absolute control of the military; the military industry, marked by its fast-paced development and leads to the militarization of the whole of the Turkish industry.² In turn, according to the scientist, the military-economic structure of Turkey is the source of praetorian militarism, which one of the striking features of is that, because militaries exercise their "relatively" autonomous power between other social and political actors.³

The autonomy of the army and its violation, in the concept of praetorianism by E. Nordlinger, A. Perlmutter, are sources of intervention motives. The concept of praetorianism is characterized not only by the autonomy of the armed forces, it is much broader if considering the reasons for the intervention of the military in the political system of the country. Therefore, following the approaches of E. Nordlinger, A. Perlmutter and the approach of praetorian militarism proposed by İsmet Akça (2010), this research explains how the growth of the military-industrial complex changes the structure of interaction between society and the army, and expands the concept of praetorianism allowing to include new indirect methods of intervention. The aim of the article is to highlight the mechanisms of indirect praetorianism through the example of the growing influence of Turkish military controlled military-industrial sector in the state economy.

The basic design of the study, including sources and methods. The basic study design is based on a qualitative research approach to the concept of praetorianism. To achieve the aim, the article uses the method of case analyses. The identified factors and means will improve the existing conceptual structure of praetorianism and highlight the mechanisms of indirect praetorianism in the case of Turkish army.

The major findings of your study. The major findings of the study are the definition in the concept of praetorianism of the phenomenon of indirect praetorianism and its interventional mechanisms. The result of the study of indirect praetorianism is evaluating the expansion of the influence of the military-industrial complex, the practices of clientelism, hidden financing of parties, and universities, allow implicitly influencing decisions not only in the field of politics but also in the field of finance and education.

A summary of your interpretations and conclusions. This article is based on the analysis of the military-industrial complex, which is controlled the Turkish army to highlight the mechanisms of indirect praetorianism. Indirect methods of intervention allow formulating a more precise conceptual structure of praetorianism, taking into account the importance of the elements

¹ Akça I. Military-economic structure in turkey: present situation, problems, and solutions, *TESEV PUBLICATIONS*, 2010, p. 6.

² Akça I. Military-economic structure in turkey: present situation, problems, and solutions, *TESEV PUBLICATIONS*, 2010, p. 7.

of the phenomenon in political life. The extension of the concept of praetorianism allows a different perspective on the armed forces, which have corporate interests in the state economy. This is especially true in the case of the armies of the Middle East and Central Asia countries. Due to given nature and degree of democracy and economic development, the military entrepreneurship in such states can be assessed by the loss of civilian control and the emergence of manifestations of praetorianism.

The relevance of your work for the specific audience and wider community of practice. This study will be relevant for military sociologists, political economists, because the article presents conceptual and practical results of military-industry complex analyses. Studies of general and special aspects of civil-military relations are also relevant for decision-makers in the political, economic, and social spheres.