

Summer Term 2021/22

Dr. Düzgün Arslantaş

Module: SM Vertiefung Politikwissenschaft (1335BSVPW1, 6 ECTS) /
Specialization Module Seminar Political Science II (1335SMSP02, 9 ECTS)

Course Title: The Political Economy of Turkey

Time: 18 May, 10:30-13:30; 19 May, 17:45-19:15; 20 May, 14:00-17:00; 25 May, 10:30-13:30; 27 May, 17:45-19:15; 24 June, 12:00-18:00

Room: **IBW Building / Lecture Hall Room 3.40**

First Session: **18 May 2022**

Contact:

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Office hours: Tuesdays, 14:00-16:00

Office: IBW Building, Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2, Room 1.13b

Course description: The course is an advanced introduction to the political economy of Turkey. Students who complete this course are expected to acquire advanced knowledge of Turkey's political-economic structure, the key actors, the processes, and the major issues. The course is divided into four parts. The first part overviews the critical phases of Turkey's political economy, with special emphasis on the Justice and Development Party (AKP) period. The second part analyses the structure including the state-class relations and welfare policies. The third part highlights the key issues such as clientelism and corruption. The last part locates Turkey in a comparative perspective and features its external relations.

Relevance for study programs: The course is open to bachelor students of the WiSo-Faculty with an interest in political science and political economy.

Requirements: The participants are expected to:

- ⇒ regularly **attend** to the classes (course in block format)
- ⇒ **actively participate** in discussions by reading assigned papers
- ⇒ make an oral **presentation** (15 mins. max) on a jointly selected topic + Q&A (15 mins)
- ⇒ hand in a **term paper** (max. 3500 words for 6 ECTS; max. 6000 words for 9 ECTS) on covered issues

Grading

Presentation	30%
Paper	70%

Main textbooks

- Keyder, C. (1987). *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*. London: Verso.

- Bugra, A. (1994). *State and Business in Modern Turkey: A Comparative Study*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Boratav, K. (2018). *Turkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*. Istanbul: Imge Kitabevi.

PART 1: CRITICAL STAGES

May 18, Wednesday 10:30-12:00

1. From etatism to neo-liberalism (1930s-2002)

Required Readings:

- Birtek, F. (1985). The Rise and Fall of Etatism in Turkey, 1932-1950: The Uncertain Road in the Restructuring of a Semiperipheral Economy. *Review*, 8(3), 407-438.
- Pamuk, Ş. (2008). Economic Change in Twentieth Century Turkey: Is the Glass More than Half Full?. In R. Kasaba (Eds.), *Cambridge History of Modern Turkey* (pp. 266-300). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Cizre-Sakallioglu, U., & Yeldan, E. (2000). Politics, Society and Financial Liberalization: Turkey in the 1990s. *Development and Change*, 31(2), 481–508.
- Onis, Z. (2004). Turgut Ozal and His Economic Legacy: Turkish Neo-Liberalism in Critical Perspective. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40(4), 113–134.

May 18, Wednesday 12:00-13:00

2. Late neo-liberalism (AKP period)

Required Readings:

- Bedirhanoglu, P., & Yalman, G. L. (2010). State, Class and Discourse: Reflections on the Neoliberal Transformation in Turkey. In A. Saad-Filho & G. Yalman (Eds.), *Economic Transitions to Neoliberalism in Middle Income Countries* (pp. 107-127). London: Routledge.
- Bozkurt, U. (2013). Neoliberalism with a Human Face: Making Sense of the Justice and Development Party's Neoliberal Populism in Turkey. *Science & Society*, 77(3), 372-396.

Recommended Readings:

- Adaman F., Akbulut, B. & Arsel, M. (2017). Introduction. In F. Adaman, B. Akbulut & M. Arsel (Eds.), *Neoliberal Turkey and its Discontents: Economic Policy and the Environment under Erdogan* (pp. 1-17). London: IB Tauris.

May 19, Thursday 17:45-19:15

3. Financial and economic crises

Required Readings:

- Akyuz, Y., & Boratav, K. (2003). The Making of the Turkish Financial Crisis. *World Development*, 31(9), 1549–1566.
- Aydin, Z. (2005). The Political Economy of Turkey. London: Pluto Press, 105-137.

Recommended Readings:

- Cizre, U., & Yeldan, E. (2005). The Turkish Encounter with Neo-liberalism: Economics and Politics in the 2000/2001 Crises. *Review of International Political Economy*, 12(3), 387–408.
- Onis, Z. (2010). Crises and Transformations in Turkish Political Economy. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 9(3), 45-61.

PART 2: STRUCTURE

May 20, Friday 14:00-15:30

4. State, capitalism, and class

Required Readings:

- Keyder, C. (1987). *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*. London: Verso, 25-48.
- Boratav, K. (2016). The Turkish Bourgeoisie under Neoliberalism. *Research and Policy on Turkey*, 1(1), 1–10.

Recommended Readings:

- Bugra, A., & Savaskan, O. (2012). Politics and Class: The Turkish Business Environment in the Neoliberal age. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 46, 27–63.
- Pamuk, S. (2018). *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey since 1820*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 158-173.

May 20, Friday 15:30-17:00

5. Social policy and welfare

Required Readings:

- Bugra, A., & Keyder, C. (2006). The Turkish Welfare Regime in Transformation. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(3), 211–228.
- Eder, M. (2010). Retreating State? Political Economy of Welfare Regime Change in Turkey. *Middle East Law and Governance*, 2(2), 152–184.

Recommended Readings:

- Gursel, S., Uysal, G., & Delibasi, T. T. (2020). Turkish Labor Market: Complex Dynamics and Challenges In E. P. Dal (Eds.), *Turkey's Political Economy in the 21st Century* (pp. 85-114). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

PART 3: ISSUES

May 25, Wednesday 10:30-12:00

6. Corruption

Required Readings:

- Bedirhanoglu, P. (2007). The Neoliberal Discourse on Corruption as a Means of Consent Building: Reflections from Post-crisis Turkey. *Third World Quarterly*, 28(7), 1239–1254.
- Gurakar, E. C., & Bircan, T. (2016). Redistribution or Crony Capitalism?: Favoritism in Public Procurement Contract Award Processes. In E. C. Gurakar (Eds.), *Politics of Favoritism in Public Procurement in Turkey* (pp. 67-106). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Recommended Readings:

- Adaman, F. (2011). Is Corruption a Drawback to Turkey's Accession to the European Union? *South European Society and Politics*, 16(2), 309–321.

May 25, Wednesday 12:00-13:30

7. Clientelism

Required Readings:

- Sayari, S. (2014). Interdisciplinary Approaches to Political Clientelism and Patronage in Turkey. *Turkish Studies*, 15(4), 655–670.
- Arslantas, D., & Arslantas, S. (2020). How Does Clientelism Foster Electoral Dominance?: Evidence from Turkey. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057891120920718>

May 27, Friday 17:45-19:15

8. Inequality and poverty

Required Readings:

- Senses, F. (2008). Missing Links in Poverty Analysis in the Age of Neoliberal Globalization: Some Lessons from Turkey. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 38, 61–81.
- Ilkcaracan, I. (2012). Why so Few Women in the Labor Market in Turkey? *Feminist Economics*, 18(1), 1–37.

Recommended Readings:

- Elveren, A., & Ozgur, G. (2016). The Effect of Informal Economy on Income Inequality: Evidence from Turkey. *Panoeconomicus*, 63(3), 293–312.
- Bahce, S., & Kose, A. H. (2017). Social Classes and the Neo-liberal Poverty Regime in Turkey, 2002–2011. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47(4), 575-595.

June 24, Friday 12:00-13:30

9. Democracy

Required Readings:

- Keyder, C. (1979). The Political Economy of Turkish Democracy. *New Left Review*, 42(115), 3-44.
- Guven, A. B. (2016). The Political Economy of Turkish Democracy. In C. Erisen, & P. Kubicek (Eds.), *Democratic Consolidation in Turkey: Micro and Macro Challenges* (pp. 184-203). London: Routledge.

June 24, Friday 13:30-15:00

10. Islam and capitalism

Required Readings:

- Gulalp, H. (2001). Globalization and Political Islam: The Social Bases of Turkey's Welfare Party. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 33(3), 433–448.
- Bugra, A. (2002). Labour, Capital, and Religion: Harmony and Conflict among the Constituency of Political Islam in Turkey. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 38(2), 187-204.

Recommended Readings:

- Beinun, J. (2004). The Political Economy of Islamist Social Movements in Egypt and Turkey. Conference on French and US Approaches to Understanding Islam (pp. 111-139).
- Gumuscu, S. (2010). Class, Status, and Party: The Changing Face of Political Islam in Turkey and Egypt. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(7), 835–861.

PART 4: TURKEY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

June 24, Friday 15:00-16:30

11. Which model?

Required Readings:

- Onis, Z. (1992). The East Asian Model of Development and the Turkish case: A Comparative Analysis. *METU Studies in Development*, 19(4), 495-528.
- Kuran, T. (2004). Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18(3), 71–90.

June 24, Friday 16:30-18:00

12. Foreign policy

Required Readings:

- Onis, Z., & Bakir, C. (2007). Turkey's Political Economy in the Age of Financial Globalization: The Significance of the EU Anchor. *South European Society and Politics*, 12(2), 147–164.
- Yilmaz, K. (2011). The EU–Turkey Customs Union Fifteen Years Later: Better, Yet not the Best Alternative. *South European Society and Politics*, 16(2), 235–249.

Recommended Readings:

- Tur, O. (2011). Economic Relations with the Middle East Under the AKP-Trade, Business Community and Reintegration with Neighboring Zones. *Turkish Studies*, 12(4), 589–602.

Optional readings

- Adaman, F., Arsel, M., & Akbulut, B. (2019). Neoliberal Developmentalism, Authoritarian Populism, and Extractivism in the Countryside: The Soma Mining Disaster in Turkey. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 46(3), 514-536.
- Alper, C. E., & Onis, Z. (2003). Emerging Market Crises and the IMF: Rethinking the Role of the IMF in Light of Turkey's 2000–2001 Financial Crisis. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue Canadienne D'études Du Développement*, 24(2), 267–284.
- Aricanli, T., & Rodrik, D. (1990). An Overview of Turkey's Experience with Economic Liberalization and Structural Adjustment. *World Development*, 18(10), 1343–1350.
- Atalay, Z. (2019). Partners in Patriarchy: Faith-based Organizations and Neoliberalism in Turkey. *Critical Sociology*, 45(3), 431-445.
- Atasoy, Y. (2008). The Islamic Ethic and the Spirit of Turkish Capitalism Today. *Socialist Register*, 44, 121-140.
- Boratav, K. (1981). Kemalist Economic Policies and Etatism. In E. Ozbudun, & A. Kazancigil (Eds.), *Ataturk: Founder of a Modern State* (pp. 165-191). Hamden: Archon Books.
- Boratav, K., Yeldan, E., & Kose, A.H. (2001). Turkey: Globalization, Distribution and Social Policy. In L. Taylor (Eds.) *External Liberalization, Economic Performance and Social Policy* (pp. 317-363). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bolukbasi, T. H. (2012). Political Economy. In M. Heper and S. Sayari (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey* (pp. 341-351). New York: Routledge.
- Bugra, A., & Adar, S. (2008). Social Policy Change in Countries without Mature Welfare States: The Case of Turkey. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 38, 83–106.
- Dorlach, T. (2015). The Prospects of Egalitarian Capitalism in the Global South: Turkish Social Neoliberalism in Comparative Perspective. *Economy and Society*, 44(4), 519–544.
- Ercan, F., & Oguz, Ş. (2015). From Gezi Resistance to Soma Massacre: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle in Turkey. *Socialist Register*, 51(1), 114-135.
- Gurakar, E. C. & Bircan, T. (2016). *Political Connections and Public Procurement in Turkey: Evidence from Construction Work Contracts* (Working Paper No. 1053). Economic Research Forum.

- Onis, Z., & Senses, F. (2007). *Global Dynamics, Domestic Coalitions and a Reactive State: Major Policy Shifts in Post-war Turkish Economic Development. Domestic Coalitions and a Reactive State* (Working Paper No. 2007/7). Turkish Economic Association.
- Onis, Z. (2011). Power, Interests and Coalitions: The Political Economy of Mass Privatisation in Turkey. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(4), 707–724.
- Onis, Z. (2019). Turkey under the Challenge of State Capitalism: The Political Economy of the Late AKP Era. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 19(2), 201–225.
- Senses, F. (2012). Turkey's Experience with Neoliberal Policies since 1980 in Retrospect and Prospect. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 47, 11-31.
- Yalman, G. L., & Topal, A. (2017). Labour Containment Strategies and Working Class Struggles in the Neoliberal Era: The Case of TEKEL Workers in Turkey. *Critical Sociology*, 45(3), 447–461.
- Yeldan, A. E., & Unuvar, B. (2016). An Assessment of the Turkish Economy in the AKP Era. *Research and Policy on Turkey*, 1(1), 11–28.