

Fall 2020

University of Cologne

Faculty of Management, Economics, and Social Sciences

Cologne Center for Comparative Politics

Title of the Course: The Political Economy of Turkey

Lecturer: Dr. Düzgün Arslantaş

Office hours: By appointment; please send an e-mail in advance to:

duzgun.arslantas@uni-koeln.de

PhD Course in the Young ECONtribute Program (YEP) of the Excellence Cluster ECONtribute: Markets & Public Policy. Supported by the Cluster of Excellence ECONtribute through Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC-2326/1– 390838866.

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 situates Turkey's political economy in comparative perspective and features its external relations.

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

Credits:

For MA Students: Basismodul Seminar Politikwissenschaft I (9 ECTS)

For PhD Students: 6 ECTS

Requirements: The participants are expected to:

- ⇒ regularly **attend** to the classes since the course will be conducted 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
- ⇒ hand in a **term paper** (6.000 to 8.000 words) on covered issues

The composition of the final grade (%):	Active participation	MUST
	Presentation**	30
	Paper	70

**** Date of Presentations: November 23, 2020, 16:00-19:00**

****Because of the current pandemic (COVID-19), the course will take place online via Zoom. Participants will receive further information (including links for the Zoom-Meetings) via ILIAS.**

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

November 16, Monday 12:00-13:30

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

- 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.
- 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.

November 16, Monday 16:00-17:00

1.2. Late neo-liberalism (AKP period)

- 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.
- 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.

November 16, Monday 17:00-18:00

1.3. Financial and economic crises

- 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.
- 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

November 17, Tuesday 09:00-10:00

2.1. State, capitalism, and class

- Keyder, C. (1987). *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*. London: Verso, 25-48.
- Pamuk, S. (2018). *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey since 1820*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 158-173.
- Bugra, A., & Savaskan, O. (2012). Politics and Class: The Turkish Business Environment in the Neoliberal age. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 46, 27–63.
- Boratav, K. (2016). The Turkish Bourgeoisie under Neoliberalism. *Research and Policy on Turkey*, 1(1), 1–10.

November 17, Tuesday 10:00- 11:00

2.2. Social policy and welfare

- 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.
- 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

November 17, Tuesday 11:00-12:00

3.1. Corruption

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

November 19, Thursday 16:00-17:00

3.2. Clientelism

- 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>

November 19, Thursday 17:00-18:00

3.3. Inequality and poverty

- 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.
- 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.

November 19, Thursday 18:00-19:00

3.4. Democracy

- 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.

November 20, Friday 16:00-17:00

3.5. Islam and capitalism

- 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.
- Bein, 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

November 20, Friday 17:00-18:00

4.1. Which model?

- 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.

November 20, Friday 18:00-19:00

4.2. The political economy of foreign policy

- 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.
- 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.

Further 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.
- Dörlach, 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., & Oğuz, 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.