

**Middle East Technical University**  
**Faculty of Economics & Administrative Sciences**  
**Department of Political Science and Public Administration**

**Adm 5174 Political Economy of Turkey**  
**Spring 2010-2011**

**Purpose of the Course**

After a brief introduction to the different methodological approaches in the field of political economy, this course is intended to provide an in-depth analysis of the different dimensions of the relations between the state, capital and labour in Turkey within an historical and comparative framework. It will attempt to examine the development processes and policies from a political economy perspective. Special emphasis is to be given to changes in the international environment and their effects on the policies and prospects of the countries of the South in Latin America, South and East Asia, Africa in terms of alternative strategies of capitalist development and/or modes of integration into the world economy.

**Requirements of the Course**

Students are expected to make presentations and submit their presentations as term-papers at the end of the term; in addition, every student will have to function as a discussant of someone else's presentation. There will also be a final (take-home) exam.

**Organisation of the Course and the Reading List**

**I. What is Political Economy?**

Chandhoke N. (1994) "Marxian Political Economy as Method", **Economic and Political Weekly**, January 29, 1994.

Yalman, G. (2008) "Aydınlanmadan Günümüze Siyasal İktisat", mimeo.

**II. Strategies of Industrialisation and Modes of Integration with the World Economy**

Amsden, A. (1989): "Getting Relative Prices 'Wrong': A Summary", in **Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialisation**, Oxford UP, Chap. 6, pp.139-155.

Amsden, A. (1990): "Third World Industrialisation: 'Global Fordism' or a New Model", **New Left Review**, 182.

Balassa, B. (1989) "Outward Orientation" in Chenery, H. and T.Srinivasan (eds) **Handbook of Development Economics**, Vol.II, Elsevier Science Publishers.

Bruton, H. (1989): "Import Substitution" in H. Chenery & T. Srinivasan (eds.), **Handbook of Development Economics**, Vol.II.

Felix, D. (1989) "Import-Substitution and Late Industrialisation: Latin America and Asia Compared", **World Development**, Vol.17, No.9.

Hirschman, A. (1968): "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialisation in Latin America", **Quarterly Journal of Economics**, Vol.82, No.1.

Jenkins, R. (1991): "The Political Economy of Industrialisation: A Comparison of Latin American and East Asian Newly Industrialising Countries", **Development and Change**, Vol.22, No.2.

Yalman, G. (1984) "Gelişme Stratejileri ve İstikrar Programları: Bazı Latin Amerika Deneyimleri Üzerine Gözlemler", İlhan Tekeli ve diğerleri, **Türkiye ve Dünyada Yaşanan Ekonomik Bunalım**, Yurt Yayınları Ankara, ss.83-164.

### III. Debating the Turkish State

- Arıcanlı, T. & Thomas, M. (1994) "Sidestepping Capitalism: On the Ottoman Road to Elsewhere", **The Journal of Historical Sociology**, Vol.7, No.1.
- Gülalp, H.(1994) "Capitalism and the Modern Nation-State: Rethinking the Creation of the Turkish Republic", **The Journal of Historical Sociology**, Vol.7/2
- Haldon, J. (1991) "The Ottoman State and the Question of State Autonomy: Comparative Perspectives" **Journal of Peasant Studies**, Vol.18, No.4.
- Heper, M. (1980) "Center and Periphery in the Ottoman Empire", **International Political Science Review**, Vol.1, No.1.
- İnsel, A. (2007) 'The Praetorian State and Its Owners'. Online, available at: [www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim/article.aspx?mid=512&article=The%20Praetorian%20State%20and%20Its%20Owners](http://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim/article.aspx?mid=512&article=The%20Praetorian%20State%20and%20Its%20Owners).
- Kazancıgil, A. (1994) "High Stateness in a Muslim Society: The Case of Turkey" in M.Doğan and A.Kazancıgil (eds), **Comparing Nations**, Blackwell.
- Mardin, Ş. (1969) "Power, Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire", **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Vol.12.
- Mardin, Ş. (1973) "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics" **Daedalus**, Winter.
- Sunar, İ. (1996) "State, Society and Democracy in Turkey" in V.Mastny & C. Nation (eds), **Turkey Between East and West**, Boulder: Westview.
- Toprak, B. (1996) "Civil Society in Turkey" in A.R.Norton (ed), **Civil Society in the Middle East**, Leiden: E.J.Brill.

### IV. Etatism, Planning and Import Substituting Industrialisation

- Boratav, K. (1982) **Türkiye'de Devletçilik**, İkinci Baskı, Ankara.
- Boratav, K. (1983) "Türkiye'de Popülizm 1962-1976", **Yapıt**, No.1.
- Birtek, F. (1985) "The Rise and Fall of Etatism in Turkey, 1932-1950", **Review**, Vol.8, No.3.
- Ebiri, K. (1980) "Turkish Apertura", **METU Studies in Development**, Vol.7, Nos.3&4.
- Eralp, A. (1990) "The Politics of Turkish Development Strategies" in A.Finkel and N.Sirman (eds), **Turkish State, Turkish Society**, Routledge.
- Gülalp, H. (1980) "Türkiye'de İthal İkamesi Bunalımı ve Dışa Açılma", **METU Studies in Development**, Vol.7, Nos.1-2.
- Günçe, E. (1981) "Türkiye'de Planlamanın Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını", **METU Studies in Development**, Special Issue.
- Keyder, Ç. (1979) "The Political Economy of Turkish Democracy", **New Left Review**, 115.
- Keyder, Ç. (1984) "İthal İkameci Sanayileşme ve Çelişkileri" K.Boratav vd. **Krizin Gelişimi ve Türkiye'nin Alternatif Sorunu**, Kaynak Yayınları.
- Kuruç, B. (ed.1993) **Belgelerle Türkiye İktisat Politikası**, Vol.2 (1933-1935), SBF, Ankara.
- Küçük, Y. (1981) "Türkiye'de Planlama Kavramının Gelişimi Üzerine", **METU Studies in Development**, Special Issue.
- Milor, V. (1990) "The Genesis of Planning in Turkey", **New Perspectives on Turkey**, No.4.
- Türel, O. (2011) **Geç Barbarlık Çağı 2: Planlama, Kurumsal Yapıda Dönüşüm ve Sanayileşme**, İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 54-93
- Yalman, G. (1985) "Popülizm, Bürokratik-Otoriter Devlet ve Türkiye" **Onbirinci Tez Kitap Dizisi 1**, Uluslararası Yayıncılık, İstanbul, ss.20-70.
- Yalman, G. (2002) "State and Bourgeoisie in Historical Perspective: A Relativist Paradigm or A Panoply of Hegemonic Strategies ?" in N.Balkan & S. Savran (eds), **The Politics of Permanent Crisis : Class, State and Ideology in Turkey**, New York: Nova Science Publishers.

## V. State and Business in a Comparative Perspective

- Buğra, A. (1987) "Review Article: The Late Coming Tycoons of Turkey" **Journal of Economics and Administrative Studies**, Vol.1, No.1, Boğaziçi University Publications.
- Buğra, A. (1991) "Political Sources of Uncertainty in Business Life" in M. Heper (ed). **Strong State and Economic Interest Groups**, de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Savaşkan, O. & A. Buğra (2010) "Yerel sanayi ve bugünün Türkiye'sinde iş dünyası" **Toplum ve Bilim**, 118, pp. 92-123.
- Schneider, B.R. (2009) "A Comparative Political Economy of Diversified Business Groups or How States Organise Big Business", **Review of International Political Economy**, Vol.16, Issue 2.
- Yalman, G. (2009) **Transition to Neoliberalism: The Case of Turkey in the 1980s**, İstanbul Bilgi University Press, pp.265-298.
- Yalman, G. & P. Bedirhanoglu (2009) "Neoliberal Küreselleşme Sürecinde Türkiye'de 'Yerel' Sermaye: Gaziantep, Denizli ve Eskişehir'den İzlenimler" **Praksis** 19.

## VI. Faces and Phases of Neoliberal Transformation in Turkey

### i) Structural Adjustment in the 1980s

- Arıcanlı, T. & D. Rodrik (1990) "An Overview of Turkey's Experience with Economic Liberalisation and Structural Adjustment", **World Development**, Vol.18, No.10.
- Boratav, K. (1991) **1980'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm Gerçek**, İstanbul.
- Boratav, K. (1994) "Contradictions of Structural Adjustment : Capital and the State in Post-1980 Turkey" in A.Öncü et al. (eds), **Developmentalism and Beyond: Society and Politics in Egypt and Turkey**, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Boratav, K., A.H. Köse and E. Yeldan (2001) 'Turkey: Globalization, Distribution and Social Policy', in Lance Taylor (ed.) **External Liberalization, Economic Performance and Social Policy**, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Celasun, M. (1986) "Income Distribution and Domestic Terms of Trade in Turkey 1978-1983", **METU Studies in Development**, Vol.13, No.1&2.
- Celasun, M. and D. Rodrik (1989) 'Turkish Experience with Debt', in J. Sachs (ed.) **Developing Country Debt and the World Economy**, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 193-211.
- Celasun, M. & A. Tansel (1993) "Distributional Effects and Saving-Investment Behaviour in a Liberalising Economy : The Case of Turkey", **METU Studies in Development**, Vol.20, No.3.
- Derviş, K. & S. Robinson (1978) **The Foreign Exchange Gap, Growth and Industrial Strategy in Turkey: 1973-1983**, World Bank Staff Working Paper, No.306.
- Derviş, K. & P. Petri (1987) "The Macroeconomics of Successful Development : What are the Lessons ? " **NBER Macroeconomics Annual**.
- Ekinci, N. (1990) "Macroeconomic Developments in Turkey: 1980-1988", **METU Studies in Development**, Vol.17, Nos.1-2.
- Kirkpatrick, C. and Z. Öniş (1991) "Turkey" in P.Mosley et al. (eds), **Aid and Power: The World Bank and Policybased Lending**, London: Routledge, Vol.II.
- Krueger, A. and İ. Turan (1993) 'The Politics and Economics of Turkish Policy Reforms in the 1980s', in R. Bates and A. Krueger (eds) **Political and Economic Interactions in Economic Policy Reform**, Oxford: Blackwell.

- Tünay, M. (1993) 'The Turkish New Right's Attempt at Hegemony', in Atila Eralp, M. Tünay and Birol Yeşilada (eds) **The Political and Socioeconomic Transformation of Turkey**, Westport: Praeger, 11–30.
- Türel, O. (2011) **Geç Barbarlık Çağı 2: Planlama, Kurumsal Yapıda Dönüşüm ve Sanayileşme**, İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 94-126, 140-180.
- Waterbury, J. (1992) "Export-Led Growth and the Center-Right Coalition in Turkey" in T.Nas & M.Odekun (eds) **Economics and Politics of Turkish Liberalisation**, Lehigh University Press.
- Wolff, P. (1987) **Stabilisation Policy and Structural Adjustment in Turkey, 1980-1985**, German Development Institute, Berlin.
- Yalman, G. (2009) **Transition to Neoliberalism: The Case of Turkey in the 1980s**, İstanbul Bilgi University Press, pp.235-265.
- Yeldan, E. (1994) "The Economic Structure of Power under Turkish Structural Adjustment: Prices, Growth and Accumulation", in F. Şenses (ed). **Recent Industrialisation Experience of Turkey in a Global Context**, Greenwood Press.

## ii) The Neoliberal Hegemony in Economic Policy-Making in the 1990s

- Altinkemer, M & N. Ekinci (1992) "Capital Account Liberalisation: The Case of Turkey", **New Perspectives on Turkey**, No.8.
- Ersel, H. (1996) "The Timing of Capital Account Liberalisation: The Turkish Experience", **New Perspectives on Turkey**, 15.
- Köse, A.H. and E. Yeldan (1998) 'Turkish Economy in the 1990s', **New Perspectives on Turkey**, 18, Spring.
- Öniş, Z. (1992) 'The East Asian Model Development and the Turkish Case: A Comparative Analysis', **METU Studies in Development**, 19: 4.
- Öniş, Z. (2004) "Turgut Özal and his Economic Legacy: Turkish Neo-Liberalism in Critical Perspective", **Middle Eastern Studies**, Vol.40, No.4, pp.113 – 134.
- Fanelli, J.S., R.Frenkel, G. Rozenwurcel (1990) **Growth and Structural Reform in Latin America: Where We Stand**, CEDES, Buenos Aires.
- Williamson, J. (1990) 'What Washington Means by Policy Reform', in J. Williamson (ed.), **Latin American Adjustment: How Much has Happened?** Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.
- World Bank (1999) **Turkey: Economic Reforms, Living Standards and Social Welfare Study**, Vol. 1, April.
- World Bank (2005a) **The World Bank in Turkey: 1993–2004**, An IEG Country Assistance Evaluation, World Bank, December.
- Yalman, G. (2003) "Neo-Liberal Hegemony ve Siyasal İktisat: Latin Amerika Dersleri", A. H. Köse, F. Şenses, E. Yeldan, (der.) **Küresel Düzen: Birikim, Devlet ve Sınıflar**, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, içinde ss.453-474.

## iii) Financial Crises and the Restructuring of the State:

- Akyüz, Y. and K. Boratav (2003) 'The Making of the Turkish Financial Crisis', **World Development**, 31: 9, 1549–66.
- Balkan, E. and E. Yeldan (2002) 'Peripheral Development under Financial Liberalisation: The Turkish Experience', in N. Balkan and S. Savran (eds), **The Ravages of Neoliberalism: Economy, Society and Gender in Turkey**, New York: Nova Science Publishers, 39–54.

- Erdem, N. (2007) ‘A Hot Debate: Financial Crises in Turkey, Mexico and South Korea’, in A.H. Köse, F. Şenses and E. Yeldan (eds) **Neoliberal Globalisation as New Imperialism**, New York: Nova Science Publishers, 129–51.
- Öniş, Z. (2003) ‘Domestic Politics versus Global Dynamics: Towards a Political Economy of the 2000 and 2001 Financial Crises in Turkey’, in Z. Öniş and B. Rubin (eds) **The Turkish Economy in Crisis**, London: Frank Cass.
- Öniş, Z. (2009) “Beyond the 2001 Financial Crisis: The Political Economy of the New Phase of Neo-Liberal Restructuring in Turkey” **Review of International Political Economy**, Vol.16, Issue 3.
- Öniş, Z. and İ. Bayram (2008) ‘Temporary Star or Emerging Tiger? Turkey’s Recent Economic Performance in a Global Setting’, **New Perspectives on Turkey**, 39, 47–84.
- OECD (2002) **OECD Reviews of Regulatory Reform, Regulatory Reform in Turkey Enhancing Market Openness Through Regulatory Reform**, Paris: OECD.
- Yalman, G. L. & P. Bedirhanoğlu (2002) “Neo-Liberalizmin Açmazları ya da Arjantin Fiyaskosunu Tartışmanın Önemi” **Birikim**, Şubat, ss. 18-23.
- Yalman, G.L. (2004) “Responding to Financial Crisis With or Without IMF: A Comparative Analysis of State – Capital Relations”, **METU, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Working Papers**, No.1, April.
- Yalman, G. L. & P. Bedirhanoğlu (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**, London: Routledge.

#### iv) Dilemmas of Labour and the Trade Unions

- Boratav, K. (1990) "Inter-class and intra-class relations of distribution under structural adjustment : Turkey during the 1980s", in Arıcanı & Rodrik (eds).
- Buğra A., F.Adaman, A. İnsel (2005) “Çalışma Hayatında Yeni Gelişmeler ve Türkiye’de Sendikaların Değişen Rolü”, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Politika Forumu.
- Buğra A., F.Adaman, A. İnsel (2009) “Societal Context of Labor Union Strategy: The Case of Turkey”, **Labor Studies Journal** Vol. 34, No. 2, June, 168-188.
- Sazak, F. (der.2007) **Türkiye’de Sendikal Kriz ve Sendikal Arayışlar**, Epos.
- World Bank (2005) **Turkey Labor Market Study**. Chapter 1. Overview of the Labor Market in Turkey, Chapter 4 Labor Market Regulations and Institutions.

#### v) Social Policy in the Context of Neoliberalism

- Akyüz Y. (2006) “From Liberalization to Investment and Jobs: Lost in Translation” Geneva, February.
- Koyuncu M. & F. Şenses (2004) “Kısa Dönem Krizlerin Sosyoekonomik Etkileri: Türkiye, Endonezya ve Arjantin Deneyimleri” ERC Working Paper, 04/13.
- Saad-Filho, A. (2007) “Life beyond the Washington Consensus: An Introduction to Pro-poor Macroeconomic Policies” **Review of Political Economy**, Vol. 19, No. 4, October.
- Sarıca, S. (2010) “Sosyal Hakların Emekgücünün Meta Niteliği Üzerindeki Etkileri’ne Dair Düşünceler”, **Tülay Arın’a Armağan: İktisat Yazıları**, (der. S. Sarıca) içinde İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, s. 391-418.
- Şenses, F. (2003) “Yoksullukla Mücadelenin Neresindeyiz?: Gözlem ve Öneriler”, **İktisat Üzerine Yazılar I, Küresel Düzen: Birikim, Devlet ve Sınıflar**, (der.A. H. Köse, F. Şenses ve E. Yeldan) içinde, İletişim: İstanbul, , s. 319-356.
- World Bank (2005) **Turkey Labor Market Study**, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Yalman, G. (2007) “Sosyal Politika: Refah Devletinden Sosyal Risk Yönetimine”, **Cahit Talas Anısına: Güncel Sosyal Politika Tartışmaları**, AÜ, SBF, Yayın No.595, içinde, ss.653-671.

#### **vi) Agriculture**

Aydın Zülküf, 2010, “Neo-liberal Transformation of Turkish Agriculture”, **Journal of Agrarian Change**, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 149-187.

Buttel, Frederick H., 2001, “Some Reflections on Late Twentieth Century Agrarian Political Economy”, **Cadernos de Ciência & Technology**,18(2): 11-36

Friedmann, Harriet, McMichael Philip, 1989, “Agriculture and the State System: The rise and decline of national agricultures, 1870 to the present”, **Sociologia Ruralis**, Vol. XXIX, no. 2

Günaydın, Gökhan, 2009, “Türkiye Tarım Politikalarında Yapısal Uyum”, **Mülkiye**, Vol. 33, pp. 175-222.

Keyder, Çağlar and Zafer Yenil, 2011, “Agrarian Change under Globalization: Markets and Insecurity in Turkish Agriculture”, **Journal of Agrarian Change**, 11(1): 60-86.

Oyan, Oğuz, 2004, “Tarımsal Politikalardan Politikasız Bir Tarıma Doğru”, in Neşecan Balkan and Sungur Savran (eds) **Neoliberalizmin Tahribatı 2000’li Yıllarda Türkiye 2**, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, pp. 44-67.

Seddon, David and Ronnie Margulies, 1982, “The Politics of the Agrarian Question in Turkey: Review of a Debate”, **Journal of Peasant Studies**, Vol. 11, no. 3.

Yenil, Zafer, 1999, “Food TNCs, Intellectual Property Investments and Post-Fordist Food Consumption: The Case of Unilever and Nestlé in Turkey”, **International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food**, Vol. 8, pp. 21-34

#### **vii) Europeanisation as a Dimension of Neoliberal Transformation:**

Aydın, S. and E. Fuat Keyman (2004) “European Integration and the Transformation of Turkish Democracy”, CEPS, **EU-Turkey Working Papers** No. 2, August, [www.ceps.be](http://www.ceps.be)

Eder, M. (2004) ‘Populism As A Barrier To Integration With The EU: Rethinking The Copenhagen Criteria’, in Mehmet Uğur and Nergis Canefe (eds) **Turkey’s Europe: An Internal Perspective On EU-Turkey Relations**, London: Routledge, 49–74.

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Tocci, N. (2004) “Anchoring Turkey to the EU: The Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges Ahead”, in A.Evin & N.Tocci (eds), **Towards Accession Negotiations: Turkey’s Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges Ahead**, Proceedings from the Third Annual EU-Turkey Conference, Siena, 20-21 October, 2003.

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### **viii) Political Islam and Neoliberalism:**

- Atasoy, Y. (2007) 'The Islamic Ethic and the Spirit of Turkish Capitalism Today', **Socialist Register** 2008.
- Aydın, S. and R. Çakır (2007) 'Political Islam in Turkey', **CEPS Working Document**, 265/April. Online, available at: [www.ceps.eu](http://www.ceps.eu).
- Bayat, A. (2007) 'Islamism and Empire', **Socialist Register** 2008.
- Gülalp, Haldun (2005) "Enlightenment by Fiat: Secularization and Democracy in Turkey", **Middle Eastern Studies**, 41:3, 351 - 372
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- Öniş, Z. (2009) "Conservative Globalism at the Crossroads: The Justice and Development Party and the Thorny Path to Democratic Consolidation in Turkey" **Mediterranean Politics**, Vol.14, Issue 1.

#### **The following will be used as reference material:**

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