

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

**ADM.5154 Theories of State**  
**Fall 2011**  
**Instructor: Dr. Galip Yalman**

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. The Methodological Debate: Positivism, Methodological Individualism, Realism and Beyond.**

- Barry, N. (1989): **An Introduction to Modern Political Theory**, Second Edition, Macmillan, pp.3-28.
- Bhaskar, R. (1979): "On the Possibility of Social Scientific Knowledge and the Limits of Naturalism" in Mepham & Ruben (eds) **Issues in Marxist Philosophy**, Vol.III, Harvester.
- Dean, K. et al. "Critical Realism", **New Foundations**, No.56.
- Hodgson, G. M. (2007) "Meanings of Methodological Individualism", **Journal of Economic Methodology**, 14: 2.
- Hollis, M. (1994): **The Philosophy of Social Science**, Cambridge UP, pp.94-114.
- Keat, R. and J. Urry (1982): **Social Theory as Science**, RKP, pp.27-45.
- McLennan, G. (1989): **Marxism, Pluralism and Beyond, Polity**, pp.165-197.
- Levine, A., E. Sober, E.O.Wright (1987): "Marxism and Methodological Individualism", **New Left Review** 162.
- Lukacs, G. (1971): **History and Class Consciousness**, pp.1-24.
- Ollman, B. (1993): **Dialectical Investigations, Roudledge**, pp.23-81.
- Sayer, D. (1979): "Science as Critique: Marx vs Althusser" in Mepham & Ruben (eds), **Issues in Marxist Philosophy**, Vol.III.
- Williams, R. (1977): **Marxism and Literature**, Oxford UP.

**II. Major Influences on the Contemporary Debates:**

**a) Liberal/Conservative Tradition(s)**

- Barry, N. (1989): **An Introduction to Modern Political Theory**, Second Edition, Macmillan, pp.58-80.
- Dean, M. (2002) "Liberal government and authoritarianism", **Economy and Society** 31:1, February: 37-61.
- Eccleshall, R. (1992): "M. Oakeshott and Sceptical Conservatism" in Tivey & Wright (eds), **Political Thought since 1945**.
- Gray, J. (1995): **Liberalism**, Second Edition, Open University Press.
- Hampton, J. (1997): "Modern Social Contract Theories" in Hampton, **Political Philosophy**, Westview, pp.39-67.
- Kymlicka, W. (1990): **Contemporary Political Philosophy**, pp.94-155.
- Mannheim, K. (1953b): "The History of the Concept of the State as an Organism" in **Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology**, RKP.
- Sciabarra, C. (1995): **Marx, Hayek and Utopia**, pp.11-51.
- Waldron, J. (1987): "Theoretical Foundations of Liberalism", **The Philosophical Quarterly**, Vol.37.

**b) Hegel**

- Cohen, J. & A. Arato (1992): **Civil Society and Political Theory**, p.83-116.
- Harris, R. (1987): "Socialism and Democracy: Beyond State and Civil Society", **Radical Philosophy**, 45.

- Pelczynski, Z. (1971): "The Hegelian Conception of State" in Pelczynski (ed) **Hegel's Political Philosophy**, Cambridge UP, pp.1-29.
- Iltting, K. (1971) "The Structure of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'" in Pelczynski (ed), pp.90-110.
- Heiman, G. (1971) "The Sources and Significance of Hegel's Corporate Doctrine", in Pelczynski (ed), pp.111-135.

**c) Marx**

- Bobbio, N. (1987): **Which Socialism**, pp.121-138, 179-196.
- Colletti, L. (1975): "Introduction" in **Karl Marx: Early Writings**, p.28-56.
- Jessop, B. (2008) **State Power**, Cambridge: Polity, pp.83-100.
- Sayer, D. (1991): **Capitalism and Modernity**, pp.56-91.

**d) Weber**

- Giddens, A. (1995): **Politics, Sociology and Social Theory**, Polity, pp.15-56.
- Holton, R. & B. Turner (1989): **Max Weber on Economy and Society**, Roudledge, p.1-67.
- Sayer, D. (1991): **Capitalism and Modernity**, pp.93-155.

**e) Durkheim**

- Bellamy, R. (1992): **Liberalism and Modern Society**, Polity, pp.58-104.
- Giddens, A. (1995): **Politics, Sociology and Social Theory**, Polity, pp.78-135.

**III. Contemporary Debates in Liberal Political Theory and/or Political Economy**

**A. Statist-Institutionalist Approach**

- Cammack, P. (1990): "Statism, New Institutionalism and Marxism", **Socialist Register**.
- Evans, P., D. Rueschemeyer, and T. Skocpol (1985a): "On the Road Toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State" in P. Evans et al. (eds), **Bringing Back the State In**, Cambridge UP.
- Jessop, B. (2001) "Bringing the State Back in (Yet Again): Reviews, Revisions, Rejections, and Redirections", Paper presented to IPSA Conference, Quebec, 2000.
- Kohli A. & V. Shue (1994): "State Power and Social Forces" in J. Migdal et al. (eds), **State Power and Social Forces**, Cambridge UP.
- Mann, M. (1984): "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results", **Archives europeenes de Sociologie**, 25: 2.
- Miliband, R. (1983): "State Power and Class Power" *New Left Review* 138.
- Skocpol, T. (1985): "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research" in P. Evans et al. (eds).
- Yalman, G. (2009) **Transition to Neoliberalism: The Case of Turkey in the 1980s**, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, ss.50-54.

**B. Economic Theories of the State**

- Cammack, P. (1992): "The New Institutionalism: Predatory Rule, Institutional Persistence, and Macro-Social Change", **Economy and Society**, 21: 4.
- Campbell, J. and L. Lindberg (1990): "Property Rights and the Organisation of Economic Activity by the State", **American Sociological Review**, Vol.55.
- Chang, H. (2002) "Breaking the Mould: An Institutionalist Political Economy Alternative to the Neoliberal Theory of the Market and the State", **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Vol.26, pp.539-559
- Grindle, M. (1991): "The New Political Economy", in G.Meier (ed.), **Politics and Policy Making in Developing Countries: Perspectives on New Political Economy**, ICS Press, SanFrancisco.
- Jessop, B. (2000) "Institutional (Re)Turns and the Strategic-Relational Approach" Department of Sociology, Lancaster University.
- Milonakis, D. & B. Fine (2007) "Douglas North's Remaking of Economic History: A

- Critical Appraisal” **Review of Radical Political Economics** 39: 1.
- North, D. (1990): **Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance**, p.27-68.
- North, D. (1990): “A Framework for Analysing the State in Economic History” in J. Hall (ed), **The State: Critical Concepts**, Vol.II.
- Vandenberg, P. (2002) “North’s Institutionalism and the Prospect of Combining Theoretical Approaches”, **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Vol.26, pp.217-235.
- Yalman, G. (2007) “Economic Theories of State or ‘Economics Imperialism’: Rent-Seeking Analysis as an Exemplar” **METU Studies in Development** 34 (December).

### C. Theoretical Roots of the New Right: From Oakeshott to Hayek

- Barry, N. (1987): **The New Right**, Croom Helm.
- Dunleavy, P. & B. O’Leary (1987): “The New Right” in **Theories of State: The Politics of Liberal Democracy**, Macmillan, pp.72-98.
- Gamble, A. (1996): **Hayek: the Iron Cage of Liberty**, Polity.
- Gray, J. (1993): **Beyond the New Right**, Routledge.
- Gray, J. (1989): **Liberalisms**, Routledge, pp.89-101, 199-215.
- Hall, S. (1979) “The Great Moving Right Show”, **MARXISM TODAY**, January.
- Kelly, P. (2006) “Political Theory – The State of the Art”, **Politics**, 26: 1.
- Letwin, S. (1978): “On Conservative Individualism”, in M. Cowling (ed), **Conservative Essays**.
- Mouffe, C. (1993): **The Return of the Political**, Verso, pp.60-73.
- Yalman, G. (2009) **Transition to Neoliberalism: The Case of Turkey in the 1980s**, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, ss.54-80.

### D. How to Theorise the State/Civil Society Relations: Liberal Conceptualizations of Civil Society

- Calhoun, C. (2001) “Civil Society/Public Sphere: History of the Concept” in **International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences**.
- Cohen, J. & A. Arato (1992): **Civil Society and Political Theory**, pp.17-176.
- Chambers, S. (2002) “A Critical Theory of Civil Society”, in S.Chambers. & W. Kymlicka (eds.), **Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society**, Princeton University Press.
- Edwards, M. (2004) **Civil Society**, Polity.
- Gellner, E. (1996) **Conditions of Liberty**, Penguin.
- İslamoğlu, H. (2001) “Civil Society, Concept and History of” in **International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences**.
- Lomasky, L.(2002) “Classical Liberalism and Civil Society”, in Chambers & Kymlicka (eds).
- Mardin, Ş. (1995) “Civil Society and Islam”, in J. Hall (ed), **Civil Society**, Polity.
- McLaverty, P. (2002) “Civil society and Democracy”, **Contemporary Politics**, 8: 4.
- Pietrzyk, Dorota I. (2003): “Democracy or Civil Society?” **Politics**: 23: 1, 38–45.
- Seçkinelgin, H. (2002) “Civil Society as a Metaphor for Western Liberalism”, **Global Society**, 16: 4
- Seligman, A. B. (2002) “Civil Society as Idea and Ideal”, in Chambers & Kymlicka (eds.).
- Tester, K. (1992) **Civil Society**, Routledge, pp.4-27, 52-75, 124-147.
- Walzer, M. (2002) “Equality and Civil Society”, in S.Chambers & W. Kymlicka (eds.).

### E. From Liberal-Individualism to Multiculturalism

- Balibar, E. (2008) 'Historical Dilemmas of Democracy and Their Contemporary Relevance for Citizenship', **Rethinking Marxism**, 20:4, 522 – 538.
- Barry, B. (2001a) “Muddles of Multiculturalism”, **New Left Review** 8, pp.49-71.
- Barry, B. (2001b) **Culture & Equality**, Polity, pp.112-154.
- Donati, P. (2009) “Beyond the Dilemmas of Multiculturalism: Recognition through 'Relational Reason'” **International Review of Sociology**, 19:1.
- Hall, S. (1992) “The Question of Cultural Identity” in K.Nash (ed.2000) **Contemporary Political Sociology**, Blackwell, pp.115-122.
- Kukathas, C. (2003) **The Liberal Archipelago**, Oxford University Press.

- Kymlicka, W. (1989) "Liberalism in Culturally Plural Societies" in W.Kymlicka, **Liberalism, Community and Culture**, Oxford UP, pp.135-161.
- Kymlicka, W. (1989) "Liberalism in Culturally Plural Societies" in W.Kymlicka, **Liberalism, Community and Culture**, Oxford UP, pp.135-161.
- Kymlicka, W. (2003) "Immigration, Citizenship, Multiculturalism: Exploring the Links", **The Political Quarterly**.
- Laclau, E. (1995) "Universalism, Particularism, and the Question of Identity" in J.Rajchman (ed.) **The Identity in Question**, Routledge, pp.93-107.
- Mouffe, C. (1995) "Democratic Politics and the Question of Identity" in J.Rajchman (ed.) **The Identity in Question**, Routledge, pp.33-45.
- Offe, C. (2000) "Homogeneity and Constitutional Democracy: Can We Cope with Identity Conflicts through Group Rights?" in R.Ericson & N.Stehr (eds), **Governing Modern Societies**, University of Toronto Press, pp.177-210.
- Parekh, B. (2000) **Rethinking Multiculturalism**, Palgrave, pp.179-238.
- Taylor, C. (1994) "The Politics of Recognition" in C.Taylor et al. **Multiculturalism**, Princeton UP, pp.25-73.
- Walzer. M. (1994) "Comment", in C.Taylor et al. **Multiculturalism**, pp.99-103.
- Zizek, S. (2006) 'Multiculturalism or the cultural logic of multinational capitalism', **The Universal Exception: Selected Writings**, Volume Two, eds.Rex Butler & Scott Stephens London, New York: Continuum, pp.151-183.

#### F. Feminist Contribution to the State Theory

- Fraser, N. (2009) "Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History", **New Left Review**, 56.
- Freeden, M. (1998) **Ideologies and Political Theory**, Oxford UP, pp.488-525.
- Grant, J. (2005) "Gender and Marx's Humanism in the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", **Rethinking Marxism**, Vol.17, No.1
- Jackson, S. (1999) "Marxism and Feminism", in A.Gamble et al. (eds.), **Marxism and Social Science**, London: Mc Millan.
- Jessop, B. (2008) *State Power*, Cambridge: Polity, pp.157-177
- Kymlicka, W. (1990): **Contemporary Political Philosophy**, pp.238-292.
- Philips, A. (1991): "So What's Wrong with the Individual? Socialist and Feminist Debates on Equality" in P. Osborne (ed) **Socialism and the Limits of Liberalism**, pp.139-160.

### IV. Debates within Marxist Tradition

#### A. How to Theorise the State/Class Relations

- Badiou, A. (2008) "The Communist Hypothesis", **New Left Review**, 49.
- Colletti, L. (1974): "Lenin's State and Revolution" in R. Blackburn (ed), **Revolution and Class Struggle**, pp.69-77.
- Hoffman, J. (1995): **Beyond the State**, Polity, pp.76-93.
- Hunt, A. (1980): "Introduction" in Hunt (ed), **Marxism and Democracy**.
- Lenin's The State and Revolution, [www.marxists.org](http://www.marxists.org).
- Mills, C. W. (1962): **The Marxist**, pp.213-226.
- Wood, E. M. (1995): **Democracy Against Capitalism**, Cambridge UP, pp.49-75.

#### B. How to Theorise the State/Civil Society Relations: The Question of Hegemony

- Anderson, P. (1977): "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", **New Left Review**, 100.
- Bobbio, N. (1979): "Gramsci and the Conception of Civil Society" in C. Mouffe (ed), **Gramsci and Marxist Theory**, RKP.
- Buci-Glucksmann, C. (1979): "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci" in Mouffe (ed).
- Buci-Glucksmann, C. (1980) **Gramsci and the State**, London: Lawrence & Wishart, pp.47-115, 174-195.
- Burawoy, M. (2003) "For a Sociological Marxism: The Complementary Convergence of

- Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi”, **Politics & Society**, 31:2, June, 193-261.
- Demirovic, A. (2003): “NGOs, the State, and Civil Society: The Transformation of Hegemony”, **Rethinking Marxism**, Vol. 15 No. 2 April.
- Ghosh, P. (2001) “Gramscian Hegemony: An Absolutely Historicist Approach” **History of European Ideas** 27.
- Gray, R. (1977): “Bourgeois Hegemony in Victorian Britain” in J. Bloomfield (ed), **Class, Hegemony and Party**, Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, S. et al. (1977): “Politics and Ideology: Gramsci” in **on Ideology**, pp.45-73.
- Kim, S. (2001) “Hegemony: Cultural” in **International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences**.
- Jessop, B. (2008) **State Power**, Cambridge: Polity, pp.101-117.
- Morton, A. (2011) “The Limits of Sociological Marxism?”
- Mouffe, C. (1979): “Introduction: Gramsci Today” in Mouffe(ed).
- Poulantzas, N. (1965) “Preliminaries to the Study of the Hegemony in the State” in J. Martin (ed.2008) **The Poulantzas Reader**, London: Verso, pp.74-119.
- Sassoon, A. (ed. 1982): **Approaches to Gramsci**, pp.94-147.
- Texier, J. (1979): “Gramsci, Theoretician of the Superstructures” in C. Mouffe (ed).
- Thomas, P. (2009) **The Gramscian Moment**, Brill, Leiden, pp.159-240.
- Urry, J. (1981): **The Anatomy of Capitalist Societies**, pp.10-25.
- Williams, M. (1988) “Competition Subjects, State and Civil Society”, in M. Williams (ed.) **Value, Social Form and the State**, Macmillan, pp.96-114.
- Wood, E. M. (1995): **Democracy Against Capitalism**, Cambridge UP, pp.238-263.

### C. How to Theorise the State/Capital relation

- Clarke, S. (1991): “The State Debate” in S. Clarke (ed), **The State Debate**, Macmillan.
- Holloway, J. ad S. Picciotto (1978): “Introduction: Towards a Materialist Theory of the State” in Holloway & Picciotto (eds), **State and Capital: A Marxist Debate**, Edward Arnold.
- Jessop, B. (1982): **The Capitalist State**, Martin Robertson, pp.32-141.
- Jessop, B. (2002) **The Future of the Capitalist State**, Polity, pp.11-54.
- Offe, C. (1975): “The Theory of the Capitalist State and the Problem of Policy Formation”.
- Offe, C. (1996a): “The Theory of the State in Search of its Subject Matter”, **Modernity & the State**, Polity, pp.61-71.
- Offe, C. (1996b): “State Action and Structures of Collective Will Formation: Elements of a Social Scientific Theory of the State”, **Modernity & the State**, Polity, pp.105-120.

### D. From Structuralist Marxism to Post-Marxism

#### i. Antinomies of Structural Marxism

- Bertramsen, R. et al. (1991): **State, Economy & Society**, Unwin Hyma, p.1-34.
- Bratsis, P. (2002) “Unthinking the State” in S.Aronowitz & P.Bratsis (eds), **Paradigm Lost: State Theory Reconsidered**, University of Minnesota Press, pp.247-264.
- Carillo, S. (1977) **‘Eurocommunism’ and the State**, Lawrence & Wishart, pp.11-76.
- Hirst, P. (1977) “Economic Classes and Politics”, in A. Hunt (ed), **Class & Class Structure**.
- Geras, N. (1977) “Althusser’s Marxism : An Assessment” in **Western Marxism: A Critical Reader**, NLB, pp.232-272.
- Jessop, B. (2008) **State Power**, Cambridge: Polity, pp.118-139.
- Martin, J. (2008) ‘Introduction’, in J. Martin (ed.) **The Poulantzas Reader**, London: Verso.
- Poulantzas, N. (1975) “The Problem of the Capitalist State” in R.Blackburn (ed.) **Ideology in Social Science**, pp.238-262.
- Poulantzas, N. (1978): **State, Power, Socialism**, Verso, pp.11-27.
- Poulantzas, N. (1965) “The Political Crisis and the Crisis of the State” in J. Martin (ed.2008) **The Poulantzas Reader**, London: Verso, pp.294-322.
- Thomas, P. (2002) “Bringing Poulantzas Back In” in S.Aronowitz & P.Bratsis (eds), **Paradigm Lost: State Theory Reconsidered**, pp.73-85.

- Thomas, P. (2006) "Conjuncture of the integral State? Poulantzas's reading of Gramsci" paper presented at Historical Materialism Annual Conference 2006.
- Thompson, E.P. (1977) **The Poverty of Theory**, Merlin Press, pp.193-397.
- Wood, E.M. (1986) **The Retreat from Class**, Verso, pp.25-46.

## ii. Post-Marxism

- Arditi, B. (2003) "The becoming-other of politics: A post-liberal archipelago" **Contemporary Political Theory**, 2 (3).
- Boucher G. (2000) "Hegel and Postmodern Discourse Theory", Hegel-Marx-Derrida Seminar, Melbourne 18th February 2000.
- Butler, J. (1993) "Post-Structuralism and Post-Marxism", *Diacritics*, 23:4, pp.2-11.
- Geras, N. (1987): "Post-Marxism", **New Left Review**, 169.
- Geras, N. (1988): "Ex-Marxism Without Substance", **New Left Review**, 169.
- Laclau, E. and C. Mouffe (1985) **Hegemony & Socialist Strategy**, Verso.
- Laclau, E. and C. Mouffe (1987): "Post-Marxism Without Apologies" **New Left Review** 166.
- Laclau, E. (2000) "Identity and Hegemony" in J.Butler et al. **Contingency, Hegemony, Universality**, Verso, pp.44-89.
- Laclau, E. (2001) "Democracy and the Question of Power", **Constellation**, 8:1.
- Laclau, E. (2005) "Populism: What's in a Name?" in Francisco Panizza (ed.), **Populism as the Mirror of Democracy**, Verso, London.
- Wood, E.M. (1986) **The Retreat from Class**, Verso, pp.47-75.
- Zizek, S. (2000) "Class Struggle or Postmodernism? Yes, please!" in J.Butler et al. **Contingency, Hegemony, Universality**, Verso, pp.90-135.

## E. Contemporary Attempts for a non-Reductionist Marxist Theory of the State

- Balibar, E. (1994): **Masses, Classes, Ideas**, Routledge, pp.125-149.
- Bonefeld, W. (1992): "Social Constitution and the Form of the Capitalist State", in Bonefeld, et al. (eds), **Open Marxism**, Vol.1, Pluto Press.
- Corrigan, P. et al. (1980): "The State as a Relation of Production" in P. Corrigan (ed.), **Capitalism, State Formation and Marxist Theory**, Quartet Books.
- Denis, C. (1989): "The Genesis of American Capitalism: an Historical Inquiry into State Theory", **Journal of Historical Sociology**, Vol.2, No.4.
- Gerstenberger, H. (1992): "The Bourgeois State Form Revisited" in Bonefeld et al. (eds), **Open Marxism**, Vol.1.
- Holloway, J. (1994): "Global Capital and the National State", **Capital & Class**, No.52.
- Jessop, B. (1990): **State Theory: Putting Capitalist States in Their Place**, Polity, pp.338-367.
- Jessop, B. (2008) **State Power**, Cambridge: Polity, pp.21-53.
- Marsden, R. (1992): "'The State'", **Journal of Historical Sociology**, Vol.5, No.3.
- Sayer, D. (1987): **The Violence of Abstraction: The Analytic Foundations of Historical Materialism**, Basil Blackwell.
- Wood, E. M. (1995): **Democracy Against Capitalism**, Cambridge UP, pp.19-48.

## F. The State Debate Revisited

### i) Debate on Globalisation and the State

- Bromley, S. (1999) "Marxism and Globalisation", in A.Gamble et al. (eds.), **Marxism and Social Science**, London: Macmillan.
- Bull, M. (2006) "States of Failure", **New Left Review** 40, July-August.
- Callari, A. (2008) 'Imperialism and the Rhetoric of Democracy in the Age of Wall Street', **Rethinking Marxism**, 20:4,700 — 709
- Evans, P. (1997) "The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalisation", **World Politics**, Vol.50, pp.62-87.
- Gill, S. (2000) "The Constitution of Global Capitalism", [www.theglobalsite.ac.uk](http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk).
- Harvey, D. (2003) **The New Imperialism**, Oxford UP, pp.87-212.

- Hay, C. (2001) "What Place for Ideas in the Structure-Agency Debate? Globalisation as a 'Process Without a Subject'" [www.theglobalsite.ac.uk](http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk).
- Jameson, F. (2000) "Globalisation and Political Strategy", **New Left Review** 4, July-August.
- Jessop, B. (2002) "The Political Economy of State Rescaling" in B. Jessop, **The Future of Capitalist State**, pp.172-215.
- Jessop, B. (2002) "Globalisation and the National State" in S.Aronowitz & P.Bratsis (eds), **Paradigm Lost: State Theory Reconsidered**, pp.185-216.
- Jessop, B. (2008) **State Power**, Cambridge: Polity, pp.178-197.
- Poulantzas, N. (1974) "Internationalisation of Capitalist Relations and the Nation-State" in J. Martin (ed.2008) **The Poulantzas Reader**, London: Verso, pp.220-257.
- Radice, H. (2000) "Responses to Globalisation: A Critique of Progressive Nationalism", **New Political Economy**, Vol.5, No.1.
- Rosenberg, J. (2005) "Globalisation Theory: A Post Mortem", **International Politics**, Vol.42, No.1.
- Panitch, L. (2004) "Transcending Imperial Neoliberalism: Reflections on Strategies of Change amidst Reaction", Paper prepared for the Workshop on 'Common Defense Against Neoliberalism', Istanbul, February 21-22.
- Tabb, W. (2005) "Capital, Class and the State in the Global Political Economy", **Globalizations**, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 47-60.
- Tsoukalas, K. (2002) "Relative Autonomy and Its Changing Forms", in S.Aronowitz & P.Bratsis (eds), **Paradigm Lost: State Theory Reconsidered**, pp.221-244.
- Wood, E. (2003) "Globalisation and the State: Where is the Power of Capital?" in A.Saad-Filho (ed), **Anti-Capitalism**, Pluto Press.
- Yalman, G. (2006) "Kapitalizm ve Devlet: Kuram ve Hegemonya", **İktisat, Siyaset, Devlet Üzerine Yazılar, Prof.Dr.Kemali Saybaşılı'ya Armağan**, Bağlam Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2006, içinde, ss.35-48

## ii) Transnational State/Class and Competition State

- Budd, A. (2007) "Transnationalist Marxism: a critique", **Contemporary Politics**, 13:4, 331 – 347.
- Cerny, P. (2000) "Restructuring the Political Arena : Globalisation and the Paradoxes of the Competition State", R.Germain (der.), **Globalisation and Its Critics**, Macmillan.
- Embong, A. (2000) "Globalization and transnational class relations: some problems of conceptualization", **Third World Quarterly**, 21: 6, pp 989-1000.
- Hirsch, J. (2003) "Internationalisation of the State: A Challenge for Materialist State Theory", Universität Frankfurt, July, mimeo.
- Jessop, B. (2003) "Globalization: It's about Time too!" Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, January.
- Radice, H. (1999): "Taking Globalisation Seriously", **Socialist Register**.
- Robinson, W. (2002): "Globalisation as a Macro-Structural-Historical Framework of Analysis: The Case of Central America", **New Political Economy** 7: 2.
- Sklair, L. (2000) "The Transnational Capitalist Class and the Discourse of Globalization", [www.theglobalsite.ac.uk](http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk).
- Van Apeldorn, B. (2005) "Transnational Business: Power Structures in Europe's Political Economy", Kaiser & Starie (eds), **Transnational European Union**, Routledge.
- Van der Pijl, K. (2005) "Feature Review: A Theory of Global Capitalism: Production, Class and State in a Transnational World" **New Political Economy**, 10: 2.

## iii) From Regulation to Governance

- Bonefeld, W. (1987): "The Reformulation of State Theory", **Capital & Class**. No.33. Reprinted in Bonefeld & Holloway (1991) **Post-Fordism and Social Form**, Macmillan.
- Brandt, U. (2005) "Order and Regulation: Global Governance as a Hegemonic Discourse of International Politics?" **Review of International Political Economy** 12:1 February.
- Coen, D. & M. Thatcher (2005) "The New Governance of Markets and Non-Majoritarian

- Regulators”, **Governance**, Vol.18, No.3.
- Gamble, A. (2000) “Economic Governance” in J.Pierre (ed) **Debating Governance**, Oxford UP, pp.110-138.
- Jessop, B. (1988): “Regulation Theory, Post-Fordism and the State”, **Capital & Class**, No.34. (Reprinted in Bonefeld & Holloway eds).
- Jessop, B. (1990): **State Theory: Putting Capitalist States in Their Place**, Polity, pp.307-320.
- Jessop, B. (1995) “The Regulation Approach, Governance and Post-Fordism: Alternative Perspectives on Economic and Political Change” **Economy & Society** 24(3):307-33.
- Jessop, B. (1999) “Narrating the Future of National Economy and the National State: Remarks on Remapping Regulation and Reinventing Governance” in G. Steinmetz (ed.) **State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn**, Cornell UP.
- Jessop, B. (2000) “The crisis of the national spatio-temporal fix and the ecological dominance of globalizing capitalism”, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research** 24(2):323-60.
- Jessop, B. (2001) “Capitalism, the Regulation Approach, and Critical Realism” in A. Brown, S. Fleetwood & J. Roberts (eds), **Critical Realism and Marxism**, Routledge.
- Jessop, B. ve Ngai-Ling Sum (2006) *Beyond the Regulation Approach*, Edward Elgar.
- Kenny, M. (1999) “Marxism and Regulation Theory”, in A.Gamble et al. (eds.), **Marxism and Social Science**, London: Mc Millan.
- Weiss, T. G (2000) “Governance, good governance and global governance: conceptual and actual challenges” **Third World Quarterly**, Vol 21, No 5, pp 795–814.

#### iv. From Developmental State to Neoliberal State

- Bernard, M. (1999): “East Asia’s Tumbling Dominoes”, **Socialist Register**.
- Bonefeld, W. (2010) “Free Economy and the Strong State: Some Notes on the State” **Capital & Class**, 34:1.
- Boron, A. (1999): “State Decay and Democratic Decadence in Latin America”, **Socialist Register**.
- Burkett, P. & M.Hart-Landsberg (2001): “Crisis and Recovery in East Asia”, **Historical Materialism**, No.8.
- Cammack, P. (2007) “Class Politics, Competitiveness and the Developmental State” Manchester Metropolitan University, Papers in the Politics of Global Competitiveness, No. 4, February.
- Chibber, V. (2003) **Locked in Place**, Princeton UP, pp.51-84, 222-243.
- Jessop, B. (2010) “The ‘return’ of the national state in the current crisis of the world market” **Capital & Class**, 34:1.
- Kamrava, M. & F.Mora (1998) “Civil Society and Democratisation in Comparative Perspective: Latin America and the Middle East” **Third World Quarterly**, Vol.19, No.5, pp 893-916.
- O'Donnell, G. (2001) “Reflections on Contemporary South American Democracies” **Journal of Latin American Studies**, Vol.33.
- Phillips, N. (2005) “The State Debate in Political Economy” **New Political Economy**, 10: 3
- Plant, R. (2009) “The Nature of the Neo-liberal State and the Rule of Law” in **The Neoliberal State**, Oxford UP., pp.5-28.
- Radice, H. (2009) “The Developmental State under Global Neoliberalism” **Third World Quarterly**, 29:6.
- Song, Hae-Yung (2010) “The Developmental State and the Neoliberal Transition in S.Korea” in Alfredo Saad-Filho & G.Yalman (eds), **Economic Transitions to Neoliberalism in Middle-income Countries**, Routledge, 141-153.
- Tedesco, L. & J.Barton (2004) **The State of Democracy in Latin America**, pp.14-38, Routledge.
- Tsoukalas, K. (1999): “Globalisation and ‘the Executive Committee’: Reflections on the Contemporary Capitalist State”, **Socialist Register**.



