POLS 309: CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TURKEY FALL 2018

Course schedule: MWW, 7, 7 8 NH 401 IB 301 IB 301
Instructor: Professor Mine Eder
Office hours: IB508  Mondays: 16-18:00 Wednesdays: 17:00-18:00,
Tel extension: 6525
Email: eder@boun.edu.tr
Assistant for the course: Erdem Demirtaş erdemirtas1903@gmail.com

Course description:
This course essentially uses Turkey as an example of a semi-industrialized, developing country in the world economy. Why is Turkey still an un(der)developed or semi-developed country? What are some of the barriers to its development? These questions will be discussed within the larger context of what development and economic growth. The first part of the course starts with some of the theoretical considerations and a brief review of the development literature. The fundamental debates and issues will be reviewed. The second part of the course is reserved for an overview of the major problems and prospects in Turkey’s political economy. Here we will review major policy shifts and focus on persistent/lingering problems. The third section goes back to the origins of these problems and provides a historical overview. We start the single-party era and etatisme and Kemalist era, move on to “agrarian populism” and the DP era in the 1950s and the import-substitution era in the 1960s. The fourth section is reserved for an anatomy of the neoliberalism and export-led growth in the 1980s and 1990s. Here we will focus on several important questions: What are the consequences of premature liberalization? What were the reasons behind the financial crises? What is the position of labor unions? Who are the winners and losers in Turkey within a so called globalized economy? Why do regional and income inequalities increase continuously?

Academic Honesty

The Department of Political Science and International Relations at Boğaziçi University has the following rules and regulations regarding academic honesty.

1. Copying work from others or giving and receiving answers/information during exams either in written or oral form constitutes cheating.
2. Submitting take-home exams and papers of others as your own, using sentences or paragraphs from another author without the proper acknowledgement of the original author, insufficient acknowledgement of the consulted works in the bibliography, all constitute plagiarism.
3. Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and will result in:
   a) an automatic “F” for the assignment or the exam
   b) an oral explanation before the Departmental Ethics Committee
   c) losing the opportunity to request and receive any references from the entire faculty
   d) losing the opportunity to apply in exchange programs
   e) losing the prospects of becoming a student assistant or a graduate assistant in the department
The students may further be sent to the University Ethics committee or be subject to disciplinary action.

Readings:

All the readings will be available electronically. I will be sending the electronic link.

Requirements of the course:

• Your participation and class attendance are crucial. There are two scheduled quizzes and a midterm in the course. Depending on the class performance, there can also be unannounced quizzed. These quizzes will be based entirely on the readings. The readings and the lectures do not correspond, so this is not a course where you can just take notes and expect to pass. Completing the relevant readings before coming to the class is absolutely crucial. Some of the readings are more difficult than others. If at any time, you need further readings, please do not hesitate to contact me. More than three absences in the class will lower your participation grade.

• Here is how you will be evaluated.
  Midterm: % 30
  Final: % 40
  Class participation and quizzes: % 30

• There is also the option of writing a term paper for this course. If you choose this option, you will have to give me a topic by October 24th and hand in a literature review by November 14th, and hand in your paper by December 19th. If you choose the paper option, you will have a different grade distribution.

• If you write a paper your grade distribution will be:
  Midterm: %25
  Paper: %20
  Final % 30
  Class participation and quizzes: %25

Those of you who plan to pursue graduate work are highly advised to write term papers as I only write recommendations for those good students who have written solid term papers.

SYLLABUS

PART 1: UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT

Week 1: September 24-26th: Introduction

Why is economic growth not necessarily development?

**Week 1-2: Oct. 1-3:** Pondering on method and classic debates: How do we study reasons of underdevelopment?

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Part 1


**PART II: CURRENT PROBLEMS IN CONTEMPORARY TURKISH ECONOMY**

**Week 3: October 1-3-8:** Identifying problems in current Turkish political economy: An overview

Ayşecan Terzioglu, Maral Erol, Umut Türem and Ayşen Terzioglu “Introduction” in the *Making of Neoliberal Turkey* Ashgate, 2016

Şevket Pamuk 2008 “Economic changes in the twentieth century Turkey: Is the glass more than half full?” in Reşat Kasaba ed. *Cambridge History of Modern Turkey*.  


Fikret Adaman et al. 2017 *Neoliberal Turkey and its discontents*. Introduction.


Ayşe Bugra and Caglar Keyder 2006 “Turkey's welfare regime in transformation” *Journal of European social policy* 16.3.

Highly recommended: Ziya Öniş and İsmail Emre Bayram 2008 “Temporary Star or emerging tiger? Turkey’s recent economic performance in a global setting” New Perspective on Turkey 39:47-84.

PART III: PROBLEM OF STATE FORMATION?

Week 4: October 10-15: A question of state tradition? What is wrong with Turkey’s etatisme?


Şevket Pamuk “Intervention during the Great Depression: Another look at Turkish experience” pp.321-339.

Çağlar Keyder “Populism and Democracy” in Keyder State and Class in Turkey 117-140.


October 17: REVIEW AND FIRST QUIZ IN CLASS.

Week 5: October 22-24: Turkey’s agriculture and roots of agrarian populism during DP era.


October 24: Last day to hand in your proposals for your paper (OPTIONAL).

Week 6: October 29-31: Failed industrialization attempts: What went wrong with Turkey’s ISI?


Henri Barkey 1990 State and Industrialization Crisis in Turkey cp.5


OCTOBER 31ST: 17:00 MIDTERM EXAM PLEASE PLAN ACCORDINGLY (MID TERM EXAM NOT ON CLASS TIME)

PART IV: ANATOMY OF TURKEY’S NEOLIBERALISM

Week 7-8: November 5-7: Özal years and beyond

Fikret Şenses “ Turkey’s experience with neoliberal policies since 1980s in retrospect and prospect” in Ozbay, Maral, Türem and Terzioğlu eds. The Making of Neoliberal Turkey, 2016.


Ziya Öniş 2012 Crises and Transformations in Turkish Political Economy *Turkish Policy Quarterly*


Highly recommended: Öniş, Ziya 2004 “Turgut Özal and his economic legacy: Turkish neoliberalism in critical perspective” *Middle Eastern Studies* 40:113-20 V.

Necla Geyikdagi and M. Yaşar Geyikdagi 2009 “Liberalization in Turkey: Does History Repeat itself?” *Middle Eastern Studies* vol. 45.1. 71-86

**Week 9: November 12-14: The debt crises of Turkey: The lost decade of 1990s.**

The role of the IMF and the World Bank: What role do international institutions play in Turkey’s political economy? The question of international finance: Why the debt crises?


Ziya Öniş and Ali Burak Güven (2011) “Global Crisis, National Responses: The Political Economy of Turkish Exceptionalism” *New Political Economy*


**November 14th**: Deadline for handing in literature review for your papers (optional)

**Week 10: November 19-21: What is wrong with premature liberalization? Leading up to 2000/2001 crisis**


**PART V. EXPLORING POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AKP**

**Week 11: November 26-28 Dec. 3: AKP and neoliberalism**


Basak Kus and Isik Ozel 2010 "United we restrain, divided we rule: Neoliberal Reforms and Labor Unions in Turkey and Mexico" *European Journal of Turkish Studies*. Pp.1-18

Yeşim Arat “Politics and Big Business: Janus-Faced Link to the state” in Metin Heper ed. Strong State and Economic Interest Groups pp.135-149


DECEMBER 5: REVIEW AND SECOND QUIZ IN CLASS

PART V: VOICES FROM BELOW: WORKERS, PEASANTS and POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES.

Week 12: December 10-12-17: Winners and losers of neoliberalism and review


Murat Somer (2016) Understanding Turkey’s democratic breakdown: old vs. new and indigenous vs. global authoritarianism, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, 16:4, 481-503, DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2016.1246548

Yusuf Sarfati (2017) How Turkey’s slide to authoritarianism defies
modernization theory, Turkish Studies, 18:3, 395-415, DOI: 10.1080/14683849.2017.1315304


Fikret Şenses 2008 “Missing Links in Poverty Analysis at the age of neoliberal globalization: Some lessons from Turkey” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 38


Aytac, S. Erdem; Onış, Ziya “Varieties of Populism in a Changing Global Context: The Divergent Paths of Erdoğan and Kirchnerismo “ Comparative Politics, Volume 47, Number 1, October 2014, pp. 41-59(19)


**FINAL EXAM TIME TO BE ANNOUNCED IN THE UNIVERSITY CALENDAR**

December 19: Review ALL PAPERS DUE IN CLASS, HARD COPY (OPTIONAL).