

Abstracts (İngilizce özetler)

A conceptual discussion on non-ideological and non-programmatic party-voter linkages in Turkey: Populism, personalism, patronage

TOYGAR SİNAN BAYKAN

This study develops a conceptual discussion regarding the non-ideological and non-programmatic party-voter linkages in Turkey. No doubt that the ideological, social and economic policy preferences of voters along the left-right axis and their preferred identities with regards to the secular-religious divide have important consequences with respect to electoral behaviour in Turkey. Nevertheless, many studies on our political practice based on field research have demonstrated that the linkages between parties and voters in Turkey have always been much more intense and multi-dimensional. The vivid, multi-dimensional, and complex nature of party politics, and more precisely party-voter linkages, in Turkey have pointed out to the fact that we need rather more nuanced conceptual tools and discussions in order to understand this reality. By following the studies addressing and implying this complexity of party-voter linkages in Turkey, this study has focused on the modes of relationships between parties and voters in Turkey other than those based on left-right or secular-religious divides. In order to understand these modes of relationships in a systematic fashion this study examines the concepts of "populism", "personalism" and "patronage" alongside other relevant concepts. The examination of the convergences as well as divergences among these three concepts (in the context of their relationship with the ideological and programmatic party-voter linkages) has pointed out to the limitations of investigating party-voter linkages in Turkey from the perspective of dichotomous cleavage structures such as centre-periphery and secular-religious divides.

Keywords: Ideological and programmatic party-voter linkages, populism, personalism, charisma, patronage, clientelism.



Neoliberal populism, authoritarianization and crisis in Turkey

ÜMIT AKÇAY

This article aims to engage into the current public debate on populism and the political economy of Justice and Development Party (AKP) rule in Turkey by introducing a labor-centered perspective. The arguments of the article can be summarized in three bullet points. First, the AKP governments have followed a mainstream neoliberal agenda since 2002 with two crucial amendments: (i) the introduction of a new neoliberal welfare regime and (ii) increasing the financial inclusion. The article also argues that formation of an authoritarian labor regime has been a key component of the neoliberal populism of the AKP. Second, it suggests that once neoliberal populism was established, it changed the nature of the political conflict and the struggles within the ruling bloc became the main driver of the political scene. Third, the crisis of Turkey's capital accumulation model, which has been more visible since 2013, was accompanied by the crisis of neoliberal populism. This crisis conjuncture caused an increase in authoritarian tendencies of the AKP governments and finally brought about the political regime change towards one-man-rule.

Keywords: Neoliberal populism, financialization, neoliberal welfare regime, crisis of capital accumulation model, authoritarianism.



Right-wing populist representation of social memory in 21st century

ZEYNEP ÖZEN BARKOT

One of the distinctive features of the right-wing populism in 21. Century can be seen in its strategy for social memory. This article discusses the relationship between right-wing populist discourse, which has risen in the last decade, and social memory with reference to the representation. It explains why social memory needs to the representation with its constructive lack: the representation is a way of signification which always contains the absence in itself, and thus allows to make a narrative of the loss. From this point of view, the article examines how right-wing populism enclose the possibilities of the representation in terms of social memory. Populism manipulates the present with a fictive and mythical past while it make the imaginary reproduction of the past in compliance with the present require-

ments. The aim of this article is to bring into question populist strategy of social memory which has no room for the trauma, and what it takes risks.

Keywords: Populism, social memory, representation, trauma.



Making law on the border of pragmatism: Judicial populism

AYDIN ATILGAN

That judicial function relies upon interpretation, frequently leads to a conflict of judicial acts with the principles of independence and impartiality, the *raison d'être* thereof. Against this background, it is not likely to understand judicial action from a formalist perspective. One issue that impairs autonomy of the judiciary from other powers is the populist rhetoric that is observed in court decisions from time to time. How should this type of interpretation –which directly determines the character of interpretation– be linked with the current rising populist ideology? In this regard, how should judicial populism be perceived in terms of the division of labor introduced by the principle of separation of powers? While seeking answers to these questions, this article will discuss the historical and actual dynamics of the populist rhetoric in court decisions, and will endeavour to conceptualize judicial populism.

Keywords: Judiciary, separation of powers, pragmatism, populism, rule of law.



Right-wing populism and women in Turkey

GÜLÇİN ÖZGE TAN

As one of the highly disputed issues of the recent years, populism although finding place in a widespread geography, in practice has not been used in the same meaning in almost nowhere. Populism whether a tool and a strategy of the left or right wing politics, refers to the rise of the right-wing policy with its different examples as an answer to whether a populist authoritarian government has replaced liberal democracy. The rise of this right-wing policy which has shown a significant echo in Turkey as well, reflects a populism –a right-wing populism– that has established a relationship between the leader and the follower, that has become authoritarian and that has raised patriarchy. Women are one of the basic components of this populist politics folk construction. Within the scope of this article, the political activities of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) towards this important electoral fraction will be examined and the discourses and political tools used by this conservative right-wing party in order to convince the women voters will be discussed.

Keywords: Right-wing populism, women, conservatism, organization, motherhood.



The structural transformation of collective bargaining structure in labor and employment relations in the U.S.: The 2008 financial crisis and its effects

EVREN DİNÇER

Collective bargaining as an institution regulating the world of work moved to the center of socio-economic systems in the U.S. and Europe after the World War II. However its manifestations in the latter, which relied on governments as key and major actors, were qualitatively different than the former, which retained the role of private sector at the center. Identified as employer-centered welfare by sociologist Arne Kalleberg, this system emerged as something unique to the U.S. and underwent significant changes over time until its major overhaul during the crisis of 2008. This article offers a historical and analytical approach to this overhaul in three sections. First, it offers a historical account of the rise and demise of the collective bargaining as an institution. Second, it focuses on the 2008 crisis to assess its direct and indirect effects. And third, it offers perspectives on its current state under Trump administration. Following this thorough analysis of the transformation of collective bargaining institution I historicize the world of work in the U.S., one of the most important epicenters of global capitalism today.

Keywords: Collective bargaining, structural transformation, the 2008 crisis, the auto industry, sociology of work.



Financial inclusion of women: Proliferation of microcredit as a banking activity in Turkey

ELİF KARAÇİMEN

This study examines how banking activities for encouraging women entrepreneurship has become a part of financialisation by drawing on the case of Turkey. Under the Post-Washington Consensus, international institutions have adopted the idea that benefiting from untapped potential of women is important for development. Accordingly the emphasis on the importance of supporting women entrepreneurship via bank credit has increased. Nevertheless, since women lack regular income and sufficient collateral, banking activities towards women correspond to a risky area for the sector. Financialisation, under which finance has become more important for the production and social reproduction relations, created room for introduction of new financial tools for including women into the market system.

Microcredit is an important one of these financial tools, the functioning and aim of which has changed over time. While previously distributed via NGOs and aimed at preventing poverty, in this new phase microcredit has been introduced as a tool for including poor women into the financial system with the increased participation of capital. Apart from microcredit, banks have designed other financial products with the aim of providing credit to women who lack regular income and sufficient collateral. Benefiting from profit opportunities in this risky realm required collaboration with NGOs, state support and low-risk funds obtained from international financial institutions (IFIs) such as IFC and EBRD. It is by the fulfilment of these requirements, banks' provision of credit to women entrepreneurs has become a part of financial inclusion of women in the late capitalist economies over the last decade. In this context, banks in Turkey have also oriented their activities towards women who lack sufficient collateral from 2012 onwards. While including women into the financial system via issuing IFIs-funded credit, banks also redesigned their services such as credit cards, pension and health insurances according to attitudes and requirements of women in order to enlarge their market shares. As such, banking activities towards women have become a part of financialisation in Turkey by creating new profit opportunities for banks.

Keywords: Financial inclusion, international financial institutions, banking sector, women, development.



Toward a political labor category with Arendt and Marx

SEVAL ÜNLÜ

In the contemporary political theory, while quests of reappropriation of politics gain strength, the problematic of labor has been ignored gradually. Hannah Arendt's critique of Karl Marx provides a very important ground to discuss the theoretical and practical implications of such a separation that labor and politics are exposed to. Arendt criticizes Marx for reducing human abilities to labor that she accepts as a category related to necessity. By this, she is one of the main reference points for who defends the thesis that labor is not central to social life. On the contrary, the approach according to which labor is central, points out the basic role of labor in quest of emancipation by looking at Marx's labor conception. The tension that reveals in Arendt's critique of Marx invites us to think about the various interpretations of Marx's labor conception, and makes it possible also to reconsider the relationship between emancipation from labor/necessity and emancipated labor. This article aims to examine the possibility of an integrated consideration of labor and politics which have been the subject of mutually exclusive theories, in the basis of Arendt's critique of Marx which focuses on labor category. In the article, we

will also discuss the relationship between politics as the ability of acting together and labor as an emancipatory practice.

Keywords: Labor, emancipation, necessity, Hannah Arendt, Karl Marx.

Yazarlara not

Toplum ve Bilim'e gönderilen yazıların başka bir yerde yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanması amacıyla başka bir yere iletilmemiş olması gereklidir. Yazarlar, yazıları ile birlikte bir sayfayı geçmeyen İngilizce-Türkçe birer özet, açıklayıcı nitelikte anahtar sözcükler/keywords iletmelidirler. Ayrıca yazarlar, isimlerinin başına bir asteriks koyarak makalenin ilk sayfasının altında kendilerini ünvanlarıyla tanıtmalıdır.

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Biçim: Makalede diğer kaynaklara yapılacak göndermeler, ana metin içinde uygun yerlere parantez içinde yazarın soyadı, yayın tarihi ve sayfa no belirtilerek yapılmalıdır. Metin içinde aynı kaynaklara tekrar gönderme yapıldığında da aynı yöntem izlenmeli ve "age.", "agm." gibi kısaltmalar kullanılmamalıdır. Eğer yazarın adı metnin içinde geçiyorsa, yalnızca yayın yılını parantez içinde vermek yeterlidir; örneğin, "... İnalçık'ın (1985) belirttiği gibi...". Eğer yazarın adı metin içinde geçmiyorsa, hem yazarın adı, hem de atıfta bulunulan kaynağın yayın tarihi parantez içinde verilmelidir; örneğin, (İnalçık, 1985). Eğer sayfa numarası vermek gerekiyorsa, yazar adı ve yayın tarihinden sonra iki nokta üstüste konulmalı ve sayfa numaraları yazılmalıdır; örneğin, (İnalçık, 1985: 23-27). Eğer atıfta bulunulan kaynak iki yazar tarafından kaleme alınmışsa, her ikisinin de soyadları kullanılmalıdır; örneğin, (Lash ve Urry, 1987: 125-128). Eğer yazarlar ikiden fazlaysa, ilk yazarın soyadından sonra "vd." ibaresi kullanılmalıdır; örneğin, (İnalçık vd. 1985: 23-27). Eğer gönderme yapılan kaynaklar birden fazlaysa, aynı parantez içinde yazarların soyadları ve yayın tarihleri, aralarında noktalı virgül olacak şekilde sıralanmalıdır; örneğin, (İnalçık, 1985; Mardin, 1989; Poulantzas, 1979). Buradaki sırlama yazarların soyad-

larına göre alfabetik olmalıdır. Metin içinde kaynak göstermek için dipnot kullanılmamalı, dipnotlar sadece ana metin içinde yer alması uygun görülmeyen notlar için kullanılmalıdır. Dipnotlarda yapılacak göndermelerde de yine ana metin içinde kullanılan yöntem izlenmelidir. Ana metinde ve dipnotlarda atıfta bulunulan tüm kaynaklar, yazının sonuna eklenecek "Kaynakça" içerisinde yer almalıdır.

Kaynakça: Kaynakçada sadece yazıda atıfta bulunulan eserler yer almalı ve bu eserler, yazarların soyadına göre alfabetik olarak sıralanmalıdır. Bir yazarın birden fazla eserinin kaynakçada yer alması halinde, her seferinde yazarın soyadı ve adının baş harfi tekrarlanacak ve sıralama, yazarın en son yayınlanmış çalışması en üstte gelecek şekilde yapılacaktır. Yazarın aynı yıl içinde yayınlanmış birden fazla çalışması kaynakçada yer alacaksa, yayın tarihinden sonra "a, b, c" gibi ibareler kullanılmalı ve metin içinde de bu şekilde atıfta bulunulmalıdır. Kaynakçada yer alabilecek örnekler aşağıda belirtilmektedir:

Kitaplar:

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Harvey, D. (1985a) *The Urbanization of Capital*, Blackwell, Oxford.

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Derleme kitaplar:

Gregory, D. ve Urry, J. der. (1985) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, Macmillan, Londra.

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Urry, J. (1989) "Sociology and geography" Peet, R. ve Thrift, N. (der.) *New Models in Geography* içinde, Unwin, Londra, 795-317.

Tezler, yayınlanmamış çalışmalar:

Şen, M. (1992) *Development of the Big Bourgeoisie in Turkey*, Yayınlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi, ODTÜ Sosyoloji Bölümü, Ankara.

Ayrıca kaynakçada yer alan çalışmalar Türkçe yayınlanmış ise, parantez içinde mutlaka belirtilmelidir.