



Syllabus

Title of the Course:	Social Welfare, Labor and State in Turkey	Course breakdown	30 teaching hours online 150 hours independent study
Name of instructor	Dr. Onur Can Taştan	Total course hours	180
Language	English	ECTS credits	8
Hosted by	The University of Göttingen	Certificate issued by	The University of Göttingen and <i>Off-University</i>
min. number of participants	5	max. number of participants	20
Weekly class time			

1. About the instructor:

Onur Can Taştan received his Ph.D. from the Labor Economics and Industrial Relations program at Ankara University and worked as a research assistance at the same university between 2005 and 2016. He worked as a post-doc researcher at the Institute of Sociology, Göttingen University between 2017 and 2019 and taught on-line courses on social policy and industrial relations in Turkey. Dr. Taştan is currently working on workers' search for alternative organizations and new forms of struggles against the ongoing crisis of trade unionism in Turkey, with a focus on the relations between the changing welfare regime, the crisis of trade unionism, and rising authoritarianism.

2. Course description:

This course covers the social welfare and labor relations dimensions of the ongoing transformation in Turkey. Neoliberal restructuring in Turkey since the 1980s has led to a fundamental transformation of social policies and labor relations. In addition to the state's changing form of presence in the worlds of labor and welfare, Turkey's deepening integration to global capitalism have also created fundamental shifts in the labor force structure in terms of its spatial, sectoral, occupational and employment-status distribution. Today, an increasing number of people who depend on paid-employment for their livelihood

are forced to experience this transformation in an increasingly flexible, unregulated, unorganized, and insecure labor market settings.

This course aims to familiarize students with the basic features and the dynamics of social welfare and labor relations in Turkey. As the deep-rooted transformation mentioned above has been deepened and consolidated during the consecutive governments formed by the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP), the focus of the course will be on the post-2002 period; a period described as “authoritarian flexibilization.”

The main focus of the course will be the changing state regulations in the areas of social welfare and labor relations during the JDP period. To develop a well-grounded and comprehensive understanding of the relevant dynamics in Turkey, this course will cover both the changes in the institutional setting of and state regulations, and also the impacts of these changes on the different segments of the population and the labor force, like women and migrants. Another focus of the course will be on the impacts of religion and ethnicity on the emerging social policies and labor relations in Turkey. Although this selection of topics covered in this course is just one of the many domains in Turkey that are undergoing a radical change, understanding the main aspects, dynamics and contradictions in this transformation will undoubtedly contribute to the students’ understanding of contemporary Turkey.

3. Upon the successful completion of the course students will be able to:

- 3.1. have a well-grounded understanding of the general trajectory of neoliberalism in Turkey and its significant social and political implications,
- 3.2. identify the most crucial policy areas regarding the social welfare and labor relations throughout this transformation,
- 3.3. critically discuss the relations between identity problems and welfare politics and labor relations,

5. Course requirements

Students are expected to participate in discussions actively and read the relevant paper(s) before each online class session. Apart from the in-class participation, students are also expected to participate through two main tools: a discussion forum and a course-specific wiki.

Students’ grades have three components:

- 1) **Participation** (% 10),
- 2) **Weekly Annotations:** Students are expected to write weekly-annotations for four weeks. These weeks should be selected from the weeks 5-13. These papers must (i) include a summary of the assigned reading(s), and (ii) also take into account the discussions held during the previous weeks. Weekly-annotations should be no less than two pages (Times New Roman, 12pt., 1,5 lines spacing) (40 %),
- 3) **Term-paper:** Students are expected to discuss one or more of the topics covered in the

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course, with reference to the general transformation in Turkey covered in this course. The topic(s) should be picked from the weeks 5-12. Students are expected to (i) hold an in-depth discussion of the topic(s), (ii) discuss the general transformation in Turkey. A comprehensive list of publications on various topics covered in this course will be provided to students. The term-paper should be minimum of 10 pages long. (Times New Roman, 12pt., 1,5 lines spacing) (50 %).

5. Organization of the course and course schedule

Week 1		Introduction
Week 2		
Week 3		
Week 4		
Week 5		Begin to consider topics for the reading reflections and term paper
Week 6		
Week 7		
Week 8		
Week 9		
Week 10		
Week 11		
Week 12		
Week 13		Reading reflections due
Week 14		Long essay due



6. Reading List

Week 1: Introduction

Week 2: Remembering the Soma Mining Disaster: What can a mining accident tell about social policy and the fate of labor?

Adaman F., Arsel, M., Akbulut, B. (2018): Neoliberal Developmentalism, Authoritarian Populism, and Extractivism in the Countryside: The Soma Mining Disaster in Turkey, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, DOI: 46:3, 514-536.

Week 3: A Brief History of the Neoliberal Transformation in Turkey

Eder, M. (2009), "Retreating State? Political Economy of Welfare Regime Change in Turkey", *Middle East Law and Governance*, 2, 152-184.

Week 4: Understanding the Main Political Actor: Rise of the AKP

Özden, B. A., Akça, İ, Bekmen A. (2017), "Antinomies of Authoritarian Neoliberalism in Turkey: The Justice and Development Party Era", in *States of Discipline: Authoritarian Neoliberalism and the Contested Reproduction of Capitalist Order*, (ed. Tansel, C. B.), Rowman & Littlefield Oxford, 189-209.

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.

Week 5: Changing the Welfare Regime: Social Security System and Commodification

Yılmaz, V. (2013), "Changing Origins of Inequalities in Access to Health Care Services in Turkey: From Occupational Status to Income", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 48, 55-77.

Week 6: State in the Labor Market: Flexibilization and Regulation of the Labor Market

Çelik, A. (2015), "Turkey's New Labour Regime Under the Justice and Development Party in the First Decade of the Twenty-First Century: Authoritarian Flexibilization", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 51:4, 618-635

Week 7: Politics of Flexibilization: Industrial Relations and the State

Bozkurt-Güngen, S. (2018), "Labor and Authoritarian Neoliberalism: Changes and Continuities Under the AKP Governments in Turkey", *South European Society and Politics*, 23/2, 219- 238.

Çelik, A. (2018) "Industrial Relations in Turkey: Still Waiting for a Strong and Modern System", in *Industrial Relations in Emerging Economies*, (ed. Susan Haytor and Chang-Hee Lee), Edward Elgar Publishing, 182-219.



Week 8: Understanding the Silence of Organized Labor or Never-Ending Crisis of Trade Unionism

Koçer, R. G. (2007), ““Trade-Unions at Whose Service?” Coercive Partnership and Partnership in Coercion in Turkey’s Metal Sector”, *Industrielle Beziehungen*, 14(3), 245-269.

Öztürk, A. (2018), “Islamists Against the Class Cleavage: Identity Formation and Interest Representation in the Case of Hak-İş in Turkey”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 54:3, 459-474.

Week 9: Women: Trapped Between the Conservative Family and the Market

Yazıcı, B. (2012), “The Return to the Family: Welfare, State, and Politics of the Family in Turkey”, *Anthropological Quarterly*, 85/1, 103–140.

Dedeoğlu, S. (2011), “Gendering Industrial Subcontracting Work: A Qualitative Study of Garment Ateliers in İstanbul”, *Asian Women*, 27/3, 25-51.

Week 10: Religion, Welfare, and Labor Relations

Doğan, E. A., Durak, Y. (2014), “The Rise of the Islamic Bourgeoisie and the Socialisation of Neoliberalism: Behind the Success Story of Two Pious Cities”, in *Turkey Reframed: Constituting Neoliberal Hegemony*, (ed. Akça, İ., Bekmen, A., Özden, B. A.), Pluto Press, 219-233.

Week 11: Ethnicity, Welfare, and Labor Relations

Yörük, E. (2012), “Welfare Provision as Political Containment: The Politics of Social Assistance and the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey”, *Politics & Society*, 40, 517–547.

Week 12: Migrant Labor and Precariousness

Danièle Bélanger & Cenk Saracoglu (2018): The governance of Syrian refugees in Turkey: The state-capital nexus and its discontents, *Mediterranean Politics*, 1-21

Kavak, S. (2016), “Syrian Refugees in Seasonal Agricultural Work: A Case of Adverse Incorporation”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 54: 33–53.

Week 13: New Terrain of Social Welfare, Labor and Politics

Özden, B. A. (2014), “The Transformation of Social Welfare and Politics in Turkey: A Successful Convergence of Neoliberalism and Populism”, in *Turkey Reframed: Constituting Neoliberal Hegemony*, (ed. Akça, İ., Bekmen, A., Özden, B. A.), Pluto Press, 157-173.

Işık D. Özel & Kerem Yıldırım (2019), “Political Consequences of Welfare Regimes: Social Assistance and Support for Presidentialism in Turkey”, *South European Society and Politics*, 1-27.



Week 14: Recent Trends and Prospect for Labor in Turkey

Extra readings:

Week 2: Remembering the Soma Mining Disaster: What can a mining accident tell about social policy and the fate of labor?

Gündüz, Z. Y. (2015), "The 'New Turkey': Fetishizing Growth with Fatal Results", *Monthly Review*, 67/2.

Week 3: A Brief History of the Neoliberal Transformation in Turkey

Buğra, A., Savaşkan, O. (2014), "The Changing Place of the Economy and Religion in Turkish Society Since 1980", in *New Capitalism in Turkey: The Relationship between Politics, Religion and Business*, (Ayşe Buğra, Osman Savaşkan), Edward Elgar, 49-75.

Week 4: Understanding the Main Political Actor: Rise of the AKP

Somer, M. (2016), "Understanding Turkey's Democratic Breakdown: Old vs. New and Indigenous vs. Global Authoritarianism", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Published Online: 01.11.2016.

Week 5: Changing the Welfare Regime: Social Security System and Commodification

Buğra, A., Candas, A. (2011), "Change and Continuity under an Eclectic Social Security Regime: The Case of Turkey", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 47/3: 515-528.

Week 7: Politics of Flexibilization: Industrial Relations and the State

Doğan, M. G., (2014), "The Deradicalisation of Organized Labor", in *Turkey Reframed: Constituting Neoliberal Hegemony*, (ed. Akça, İ., Bekmen, A., Özden, B. A.), Pluto Press, 188-202.

Erol, M. E. (2018), "State and Labour under AKP Rule in Turkey: An Appraisal", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 1-5.

Week 8: Understanding the Silence of Organized Labor or Never-Ending Crisis of Trade Unionism

Öngel, F. S. (2014), "Flexible and Conservative: Working-Class Formation in an Industrial Town", in *Turkey Reframed: Constituting Neoliberal Hegemony*, (ed. Akça, İ., Bekmen, A., Özden, B. A.), Pluto Press, 203-218.

Week 9: Women: Trapped Between the Conservative Family and the Market

Toksöz, G. (2016), "Transition from 'Woman' to 'Family' An Analysis of AKP Era Employment Policies from a Gender Perspective", *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik*, 32/1-2, 64-83.

Öztaş, E. (2014), "Domesticity of Neoliberalism: Family, Sexuality and Gender in Turkey", in *Turkey Reframed: Constituting Neoliberal Hegemony*, (ed. Akça, İ., Bekmen, A., Özden, B. A.), Pluto Press, 174-185.

Week 10: Religion, Welfare, and Labor Relations

Göçmen, İ. (2014), "Religion, Politics and Social Assistance in Turkey: The Rise of Religiously Motivated Associations", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 24/1, 92-103.

Week 11: Ethnicity, Welfare, and Labor Relations

Keyder, Ç., Yenal, Z. (2011), "Agrarian Transformation, Labour Supplies, and Proletarianization Processes in Turkey: A Historical Overview", *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik*, XXVII/1: 44-71.

Week 12: Migrant Labor and Precariousness

Seyhan E. (2018), "Syrian Refugees in Turkey and Trade Union Responses", *Globalizations*, 15/6, 838-853.

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