

## International Political Economy in Turkey: The Evolution and Current State of a Maturing Subfield

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# International Political Economy in Turkey: The Evolution and Current State of a Maturing Subfield

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## ABSTRACT

Since its emergence in the 1970s, international political economy (IPE) has been one of the main subfields of International Relations (IR) in North America and Britain. The past two decades have witnessed a growing academic interest in IPE among Turkish IR scholars. This study explores the emergence, evolution and the current state of IPE studies in Turkey. Based on an original dataset, it examines the research dimension of Turkish IPE and presents a comprehensive overview of the thematic, theoretical and methodological orientations of the publications of Turkish IPE scholars. It also offers implications on the sociology of IPE in Turkey.

**Keywords:** International Political Economy, International Relations, Dataset, Turkey

## Türkiye’de Uluslararası Politik Ekonomi: Alt-disiplinin Gelişimi ve Mevcut Durumu

## ÖZET

Uluslararası politik ekonomi (UPE), 1970’lerde ortaya çıkışından bu yana Kuzey Amerika ve Britanya Uluslararası İlişkiler (UI) disiplininin temel unsurlarından birisi olagelmıştır. Geçtiğimiz 20 yılda, Türkiye’deki UI akademisyenleri arasında giderek artan bir UPE ilgisi gözlemlenmektedir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye’de UPE çalışmalarının doğuşunu, evrimini ve güncel durumunu incelemektedir. Orijinal bir veri setine dayanan bu çalışma, Türkiye’de UPE’nin araştırma boyutunu ele almakta ve Türk UPE akademisyenlerinin yayınlarının tematik, teorik ve yönetsel eğilimlerinin kapsamlı bir değerlendirmesini sunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, Türk UPE’sinin sosyolojisine yönelik çıkarımlarda bulunmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Uluslararası Politik Ekonomi, Uluslararası İlişkiler, Veri Seti, Türkiye

## Introduction

Since its emergence in the 1970s, international political economy (IPE) has been a core subfield within the discipline of International Relations (IR) alongside IR theory and international security. What emerged as a response to the debates concerning the hegemonic decline of the United States (U.S.) in the 1970s has gradually undergone a massive expansion to include international finance and money, trade, institutions, foreign direct investment, regional integration, environment, migration and many other issue areas. While the emergence of this field of inquiry can be traced back to the publications of Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye, Robert Gilpin and Stephen Krasner in American Political Science in the 1970s, the British tradition has been laid out by Susan Strange and Robert Cox for what is today unanimously referred to as IPE.<sup>1</sup> Over decades, IPE has gone beyond the American-British divide, and assumed a more pluralistic form with multiple research communities embracing a diverse set of theoretical, thematic, and methodological interests.<sup>2</sup> This paper seeks to trace the progress of Turkish IPE through an examination of its scholars, these scholars' publications, its scholars and these scholars' publications.

IR discipline has matured in Turkey over the past few decades. Turkish IR is now a vibrant research community, which encompasses hundreds of researchers who have produced a large body of scholarship on international politics. However, IR scholars in Turkey have been rather late in addressing research questions that lay at the intersection of politics and economics at the international level. Over the past few decades, several "state-of-the-art" articles have been published on the study of IR in Turkey. In these pieces, Turkish IR scholars have so far explored the field's teaching,<sup>3</sup> scholars,<sup>4</sup> historical development,<sup>5</sup> and current state.<sup>6</sup> Various other pieces have examined specific subfields such as security studies,<sup>7</sup> terrorism studies,<sup>8</sup> regional studies,<sup>9</sup> and even the possibility of the emergence of a Turkey based-IR school.<sup>10</sup> However, there is no study that addresses the historical development and the current state of IPE studies in Turkey. Based on an original dataset that we have compiled, this

- 1 Robert Cox was from Canada but was recognized as a representative of British IPE in North America. See Benjamin J. Cohen, "The Transatlantic Divide: Why are American and British IPE so Different?", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 14, No 2, 2007, p. 197-219.
- 2 Leonard Seabrooke and Kevin Young, "The Networks and Niches of International Political Economy", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 24, No 2, 2017, p. 288-331.
- 3 Fuat Keyman and N. Esra Ülkü, "Türkiye Üniversitelerinde Uluslararası İlişkiler Ders Müfredatı", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 4, No 13, 2007, p. 99-106; Hakan Övünç Ongur and Selman Emre Gürbüz, "Türkiye'de Uluslararası İlişkiler Eğitimi ve Oryantalizm: Disiplin Eleştirel Pedagojik Bakış", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 16, No 61, 2019, p. 23-38.
- 4 Mustafa Aydın *et al.*, "Türkiye'de Uluslararası İlişkiler Akademisyenleri ve Alana Yönelik Yaklaşımları Üzerine Bir İnceleme: TRIP 2014 Sonuçları", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 12, No 48, 2016, p. 3-35.
- 5 Boğaç Erozan, "Türkiye'de Uluslararası İlişkiler Disiplininin Uzak Tarihi: Hukuk-ı Düvel (1859-1945)", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 11, No 43, 2014, p. 53-80; Duygu Bazoğlu-Sezer, "Türkiye'de Uluslararası İlişkiler Çalışmalarının Bilim Dalı Olarak Gelişmesine Güncel ve Tarihsel Bir Bakış", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 2, No 6, 2005, p. 87-105.
- 6 Pınar Bilgin, "Uluslararası İlişkiler Çalışmalarında 'Merkez-Çevre': Türkiye Nerede?", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 2, No 6, 2005, p. 3-14.
- 7 Nil Şatana and Burak Bilgehan Özpek, "A.B.D ve Türkiye'de Geçmişten Günümüze Güvenlik Çalışmaları", *Orta Doğu Etütleri*, Vol. 2, No 2, 2010, p. 75-114.
- 8 Korhan Cenker Demir and Engin Avcı, "Turkish Terrorism Studies: A Preliminary Assessment", *All Azimuth*, Vol. 7, No 1, 2018, p. 21-44.
- 9 Elem Eyrice Tepeciklioğlu, "African Studies in Turkey", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 13, No 50, 2016, p. 3-19.
- 10 Ersel Aydın and Julie Mathews, "Periphery Theorising for a Truly Internationalised Discipline: Spinning IR Theory out of Anatolia", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 34, No 4, 2008, p. 693-712.

article aims at filling this gap by offering a comprehensive overview of the evolution and current state of IPE research in Turkey.

The structure of the paper is as follows. We begin by introducing the Turkish IPE dataset, which this article is mainly built upon. The second section offers a snapshot of the historical evolution of the IPE sub-field in Turkey. The third section examines the publications of Turkish IPE scholars in national and international peer-reviewed journals with a specific focus on thematic diversity, methodological orientation and regional/country concentration. The final section summarizes our findings and discusses their implications. Based on its findings, the paper also reflects on the sociology of the IPE sub-field in Turkey.

## **The Turkish IPE Dataset**

In order to trace the development and explore the current state of IPE in Turkey, we built a comprehensive Turkish IPE dataset. The dataset includes information on Turkish IPE scholars' educational backgrounds, areas of expertise, and scholarly publications. For the purposes of this article, we were most interested in IPE articles published in leading national and international peer-reviewed journals. We also examined the main platforms through which Turkish IPE scholars disseminate their scholarly views and findings. Our dataset includes 57 scholars who are academically active (i.e. publishing articles, teaching at universities or attending conferences) and who have published on topics that are within the boundaries of IPE. While the majority of these scholars are Turkish citizens, we have also included in our dataset foreign citizens who teach at universities in Turkey. We have also included those Turkish scholars, who teach outside Turkey, if they taught in Turkey at any period in their careers. Conversely, we left out any Turkish citizen who has never taught or been affiliated with an academic institution in Turkey. Finally, we had to exclude researchers who have not yet received their Ph.D. degrees for practical reasons.

In addition, we have examined IPE articles that have been published in leading international IR and political science journals, regional studies journals and Turkey-based IR journals. For the former we have included several leading political science and international relations journals covered in Thomson Reuters Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI). As for domestic journals, we covered two journals covered in SSCI, *New Perspectives on Turkey* and *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, and *METU Studies in Development*, a leading interdisciplinary journal that focuses on developmental issues since the early 1960s. This has enabled us to have an overview of subject distribution among IPE articles written by Turkish scholars. For a scholarly work to be considered to be an IPE piece, it must have an international scope and incorporate political as well as economic dimensions. In other words, we followed Benjamin J. Cohen's definition of IPE to address "the complex linkages between economic and political activity at the level of international affairs."<sup>11</sup> We have therefore excluded many articles that are political and economic in nature, but do not have an international angle. We have also excluded articles that examine the international economy, and therefore fall within the sub-field of international economics, but lack a political dimension. One of our most important findings is that no Turkish IR scholar publishes solely in the subfield of IPE. Therefore, we decided not to filter articles exclusively, but rather include all articles with any IPE subject published in leading national and international

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11 Cohen, "The Transatlantic Divide", p. 197.

journals, regardless of whether their authors were scholars of IPE or not. Finally, our dataset includes scholars of Turkish IPE, who have published articles in journals that are not covered in this article.<sup>12</sup>

## Development and Evolution of IPE in Turkey

As leading IPE scholar Benjamin J. Cohen argued, “in the United States, during the first decades after World War II, almost all work on international political economy had come from leftist economists. Most focused on dependency theory, emphasizing the uneven development and inequalities of the world capitalist system.”<sup>13</sup> Similarly, we can trace the origins of IPE in Turkey back to studies by developmental economists. IPE was introduced to Turkish academia mainly by Marxist economists, who examined world affairs through the “Core-Periphery” dichotomy during the Cold War. These scholars largely dealt with a series of IPE issues such as the international division of labor, redistributive policies,<sup>14</sup> economic development,<sup>15</sup> and liberalization in the age of neoliberalism.<sup>16</sup> In these years, prominent Marxist-oriented economists, who taught at the Middle East Technical University (METU) and *Mülkiye* (Faculty of Political Science at Ankara University), were the pioneers of publishing and teaching in the subfield of IPE.<sup>17</sup>

Recent decades, however, have witnessed a shift from the dominance of Marxist economics to non-paradigmatic political science and IR research. Today, no theoretical school is dominant, and Turkish IPE is thematically oriented and mostly puzzle-driven.<sup>18</sup> The majority of Turkish IPE scholars are affiliated with departments of International Relations, although there is also a considerable number of scholars from political science and to a lesser extent, economics departments. This shift from economics-dominated IPE towards IR-dominated IPE in Turkey is also consistent with the evolution of the field in core countries such as the U.S. and UK. With regard to the development of the American school of IPE, Cohen points out that “economists effectively abdicated after the baby’s birth, leaving custody to the political scientists. Despite the fact that much of the earliest work in the field was actually done by economists, IPE to this day remains a peripheral interest in most economics departments.”<sup>19</sup> However, while this development took place in the U.S. and Britain as early as the 1970s, Turkish IR scholars caught up with this trend only about two decades ago.

The main reason why Turkish IPE followed the evolutionary steps of IPE in the core countries, but with a considerable time lag, was that an increasing number of Turkish scholars received their

12 Therefore, the two components of our dataset (scholars and articles) do not perfectly match each other.

13 Benjamin J. Cohen, *International Political Economy: An Intellectual History*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 38.

14 Korkut Boratav, *1980’li Yıllarda Türkiye’de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm*, İstanbul, Gerçek, 1991.

15 Korkut Boratav and Oktar Türel, “Notes on the Current Development Problem and Growth Prospects of the Turkish Economy”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Vol. 2, No 1, 1988, p. 37-50.

16 Fikret Şenses, “An Assessment of Turkey’s Liberalization Attempts since 1980 Against the Background of Her Stabilization Program”, *METU Studies in Development*, Vol. 10, No2, 1983, p. 271-321; Fikret Şenses, “An Overview of Recent Turkish Experience with Economic Stabilization and Liberalization”, T.F. Nas and M.Odekon (eds.), *Liberalization and the Turkish Economy*, Westport, Ct., Greenwood Press, 1988, p. 9-28.

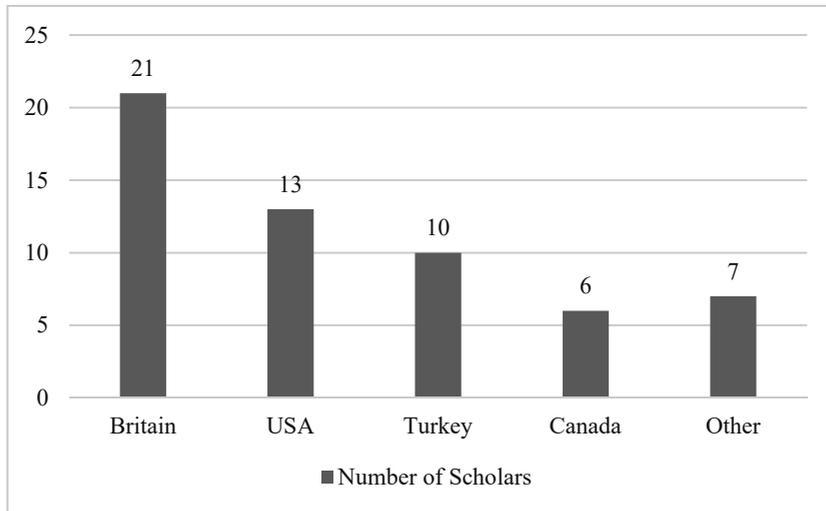
17 According to Erinç Yeldan, these scholars do not self-identify as scholars of IPE. Authors’ conversation with Erinç Yeldan, Ankara, May 2018.

18 In contrast to IPE research, Marxist analyses have sustained their salience in explaining neoliberalism and the political economy of authoritarianism in Turkey. For a recent example, see Ismet Akça, Ahmet Bekmen and Barış Alp Özden (eds.), *Turkey Reframed: Constituting Neoliberal Hegemony*, London, Pluto Press, 2014.

19 Cohen, “International Political”, p. 37.

PhD degrees from abroad in the past two decades. What is striking about the educational background of Turkish IPE scholars is that the vast majority of them have PhD degrees from foreign universities. As Figure 1 shows, 47 out of 57 scholars in our dataset hold foreign PhDs, while the remaining 10 scholars received their degrees from Turkish universities, mostly from the Middle East Technical University (METU) and Koç University. As the chart below indicates, British universities have been at the forefront in awarding doctoral degrees to Turkish IPE scholars as more than one third of the scholars in our dataset (21/57) hold their PhDs from British institutions.

**Figure 1:** Countries from which Turkish IPE Scholars Hold their PhDs



As this chart implies, the development of IPE in Turkey is closely associated with studying abroad and bringing knowledge back home. Rather than having homegrown characteristics, IPE in Turkey owes much to this phenomenon for its historical development as well as its current state. Even more interesting is the figures that emerge when we examine scholars of Turkish IPE, who received their degrees in the 1980s and the 1990s, the infant years of the subfield in Turkey. All 13 Turkish IPE scholars, who obtained their doctoral degrees in the 1980s and the 1990s, hold foreign PhDs, and again overwhelmingly from British and American universities. Interestingly, 5 of these 13 scholars have PhD degrees in economics. Starting in the early 1990s, those who hold foreign PhDs had contributed to the field by both introducing IPE-related courses to their respective universities and supervising graduate dissertations in the sub-field of IPE.

This brings us to another very interesting dynamic that is not observed in American or British IPE but is specific to Turkish IPE. Our dataset reveals that no scholar in Turkey solely specializes on matters confined exclusively to the study of IPE. Contrarily, Turkish IPE scholars devote their scholarly efforts to publishing in other areas such as comparative political economy, Turkish foreign policy, and Turkey's domestic politics to name a few.<sup>20</sup> The recent years have witnessed that several

<sup>20</sup> One remarkable example is Kemal Kirişçi, whose article "The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy: The Rise of the Turkish Trading State", published in 2009, is the highest-cited article as of writing. In May 2019, Kirişçi's seminal article had 155 citations in the Scopus database. In a conversation with authors, Kemal Kirişçi stressed that he did not

graduate students, with degrees from Turkish universities, emerged as scholars of IPE. This may be interpreted as a sign of the growing educational opportunities in this sub-field in Turkish academia, and of the relative increase in the number of IPE scholars with PhDs from Turkish universities, particularly, compared to the foreign-PhD-dominated 1980s and 90s.

The last decade has also witnessed the emergence of several academic communities with expertise on international or comparative political economy (CPE). The most institutionalized among these is the Turkish (International) Political Economy Society, TPES, (Türk Siyasi Ekonomi Topluluğu). Established in 2013, TPES organizes annual workshops that brings together scholars from the fields of IPE, CPE, and comparative public policy. Respectively, the themes of the TPES workshops have been as follows; “The Political Economy of Contemporary Turkey” in 2015, “Politics in Hard Times: Emerging Markets after the Global Recession” in 2016, and “Political Economy, Governance and Policymaking in Tumultuous Times: Turkey in Comparative Perspective” in 2018. To our knowledge, there is no research center devoted to the study of IPE or the global economy in Turkey. The Center for Research on Globalization, Peace and Democratic Governance (GLODEM), located at Koç University in Istanbul, hosts academic workshops and seminars with IPE content. Recently, GLODEM has become a partner of the Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute, a leading academic research center located at the University of Sheffield in the UK.<sup>21</sup> The Marxist-oriented Karaburun Science Congress (*Bilim Kongresi*), which has gathered since 2006, has also addressed IPE issues such as labor, class, capital, and technology in its panels and discussions.

Finally, we would like to note that the percentage of women in our dataset is well below that of their male colleagues, corresponding to 33.3 percent (19 scholars out of 57). Among Turkish IPE scholars who received their PhDs before 2000, the representation of women was the same (4 scholars out of 13). It is worrying that we have not witnessed a change over time for the better in terms of gender balance. Moreover, the percentage of women IPE scholars’ publications in international journals is proportionate with their gender representation; however, only 8 (20%) out of 39 IPE articles published in Turkey-based journals have been authored or co-authored by women.

## Publications of Turkish IPE Scholars

This section examines the peer-reviewed publications of Turkish IPE scholars. Our dataset includes IPE articles published by scholars of Turkish IPE in leading international and Turkey-based, peer-reviewed academic journals. For the former, we covered journals in the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) from the date they started to be covered in the Web of Science or Scopus databases to the end of 2018. Of the international journals we have covered, *New Political Economy* and *Review of International Political Economy* are the two most well-known IPE journals. Other international journals that we have included in our dataset are the following in alphabetical order: *Comparative European Politics, Development and Change, Europe-Asia Studies, Foreign Policy Analysis, Globalizations, Global Governance, Government and Opposition, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of European Public Policy, Middle Eastern Studies, Pacific Review, Review of International Studies, South European Society and Politics, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies,*

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see himself as a scholar of IPE. Throughout his academic career, Kirişci mentioned he has never taught IPE courses, and extensively published on international migration, refugee issues and Turkish foreign policy.

21 GLODEM is directed by Caner Bakır, a scholar of IPE and public policy.

*Third World Quarterly*, and *Turkish Studies*. The three Turkey-based journals we have included in our dataset are *New Perspectives on Turkey*, *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, and *METU Studies in Development (ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi)*. In total, we found 108 articles published in 22 journals. Table 1 demonstrates the number of IPE articles that have been published in each journal.

**Table 1:** IPE articles written by Turkish scholars in international and national journals

<b>International Journals</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Number of articles that examine Turkey</b>
<i>Turkish Studies</i>	14	14
<i>New Political Economy</i>	10	5
<i>Review of International Political Economy</i>	8	6
<i>Third World Quarterly</i>	5	5
<i>South European Society and Politics</i>	5	3
<i>Middle Eastern Studies</i>	3	3
<i>Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies</i>	3	2
<i>Government and Opposition</i>	3	2
<i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>	3	2
<i>Comparative European Politics</i>	3	1
<i>Development and Change</i>	3	1
<i>Journal of Public Policy</i>	2	1
<i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i>	1	1
<i>Globalizations</i>	1	1
<i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>	1	0
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	1	0
<i>Global Governance</i>	1	0
<i>Review of International Studies</i>	1	0
<i>Pacific Review</i>	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>National Journals</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Number of articles that examine Turkey</b>
<i>Uluslararası İlişkiler</i>	22	6
<i>METU Studies in Development</i>	11	4
<i>New Perspectives on Turkey</i>	6	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>16</b>

It is worth elaborating on the journals in our database that either are Turkey-based (*METU Studies in Development*, *Uluslararası İlişkiler* and *New Perspectives on Turkey*) or publish articles that are exclusively on Turkey (*New Perspectives on Turkey* and *Turkish Studies*). Although *Uluslararası İlişkiler* gives much greater weight to mainstream IR subjects and *METU Studies in Development* is overwhelmingly dominated by articles on economics, IPE articles have still been able to find a place in these journals. Nevertheless, the share of IPE articles in both journals are miniscule. For example, we found 22 articles with IPE content in *Uluslararası İlişkiler* from 2004 to 2018, which corresponds to a mere 4% of the entire number of research articles that appeared in the journal in this time period. In *METU Studies in Development*, among the 318 articles published between 2000 and 2018, we found 11 IPE articles, which accounted for 3.45% of all articles. Turning to international peer-reviewed journals,

we were especially curious about publications by scholars of Turkish IPE in *Turkish Studies*. From among the 372 articles of *Turkish Studies* that are covered in the Web of Science database from 2008 to 2018, only 14 fell within the ambit of IPE. This accounted for only 3.7% of the articles published in this time range in *Turkish Studies*.

We have found that Turkish IPE scholars are more prone to write in English than in Turkish, even in national journals. Of the two national journals (*Uluslararası İlişkiler* and *METU Studies in Development*) that publish articles in both languages, articles written in English constitute around 70% of the total. Although the disposition to write in English might at first glance seem to be related to the dominance of scholars who hold foreign PhDs, we have noticed that homegrown IPE scholars also prefer to publish in English. This is an inevitable trend as getting published in journals that are listed in SSCI or are indexed in databases, such as the Web of Science and Scopus, become an integral part of the promotion process in leading research universities in Turkey. Writing in English can also be associated with greater international recognition and reputation regardless of promotion concerns.

In terms of collaboration among Turkish IPE scholars, we have found that the corresponding percentage for the co-authored articles by Turkish IPE scholars in international journals is around 36%, whereas the co-authored articles by Turkish IPE scholars in national journals constitute 20% of the total number of 39 articles in our dataset. Even though the underlying dynamics in which Turkish IPE scholars are more encouraged to collaborate in international journals than in national journals are unknown to us, we believe that there is room for improvement in the co-authorship networks in Turkish IPE. That being said, the fact that prominent IPE scholars in Turkey increasingly co-author with graduate students and young scholars of the subfield is a positive trend.

### ***Thematic Distribution and Methodological Orientation of Articles***

In constructing the dataset, we also aimed to find out the thematic distribution of the IPE articles published in SSCI journals written by Turkish or Turkey-based scholars. In order to do that, we coded each article according to its main themes, to a maximum of three themes. As Figure 2 below demonstrates, the political economy of finance has been the most popular theme explored by scholars of Turkish IPE. Accordingly, 20 articles addressed financial crises, while 11 articles dealt with matters related to finance/monetary policy beyond financial crises. While the financial crisis of 2001 in Turkey sparked the surge of this literature, the global financial crisis of 2008-09 solidified this trend. Scholars who wrote on crises were mainly interested in exploring the international and domestic sources of Turkey's financial crisis of 2001. The 2001 financial crisis was mainly interpreted as a consequence of Turkey's rapid, but unsuccessful integration into the global economy in the age of global neoliberalism.<sup>22</sup> Turkish IPE scholars have also scrutinized the consequences of the 2001 financial crisis for the restructuring of the Turkish economy within the neoliberal paradigm led by the World Bank, the IMF and the European Union.<sup>23</sup> As for the global financial crisis of 2008-09, however, the literature mainly focused on the consequences of the crisis for Turkey's macroeconomic

22 Ziya Öniş, "Domestic Politics vs. Global Dynamics: Towards a Political Economy of the 2000 and 2001 Financial Crises in Turkey", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 4, No 2, 2003, p. 1-30; Ümit Cizre and Erinc Yeldan, "The Turkish Encounter with Neoliberalism: Economics and Politics in the 2000/2001 Crisis", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 12, No 3, 2005, p. 387-408.

23 Ziya Öniş, "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, No 3, 2009, p. 409-432.

performance and policy space for structural reforms.<sup>24</sup> The divergence of Turkey's response to the crisis from other emerging market economies was a phenomenon studied in detail.<sup>25</sup>

Articles on financial crises were followed by 19 articles on development. We found that there was no specific thematic concentration of the articles that fell within the larger theme of development. While scholars of the IPE of development have focused on a wide range of issues, there is convergence around the question of how the neoliberal paradigm has shaped developmental policies in Turkey. For instance, Şenses analyzed the role of international institutions in designing poverty alleviation policies throughout the globe, and the effective remedies for structural poverty in Turkey.<sup>26</sup> Turkish scholars have also focused on the origins and promises of the post-Washington Consensus<sup>27</sup> as well as its rather puzzling decline after the global financial crisis.<sup>28</sup> More recently, in line with the intensifying critique of the neoliberal paradigm that was coupled with the renewed importance of the state for attaining national developmental goals, Turkish IPE scholars have examined neo-developmental policies that governments in Argentina<sup>29</sup> and Turkey<sup>30</sup> have implemented.

Fourteen articles in our dataset examined the political economy of energy through varying conceptual and thematic perspectives, such as asymmetric interdependence, energy security, climate change, and pipeline politics. We noticed that the articles on energy overwhelmingly dealt with geopolitical or foreign policy issues. Several scholars approached the issue from a global perspective and focused on the effects of the transformation in the energy order on geopolitical rivalry in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> Scholars of Turkish IPE have also explored the importance of natural resources and pipelines in the Middle East<sup>32</sup> and the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>33</sup> regions for Turkish foreign policy and energy security. This body of literature has been particularly interested in uncovering the causes of, and prospects for, conflict and cooperation emanating from the rivalry over access to, and the delivery of, energy resources.

Fourteen articles, on the other hand, addressed globalization, mostly with respect to its impact on Turkey in various issue areas. For example, Uzgören has explored the strategies that labor

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24 Caner Bakır, "Wobbling but Still on its Feet: The Turkish Economy in the Global Financial Crisis", *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 14, No 1, 2009, pp. 71-85; Ziya Öniş and Ali Burak Güven, "Global Crisis, National Responses: The Political Economy of Turkish Exceptionalism", *New Political Economy*, Vol. 16, No 5, 2011, p. 585-608.

25 Öniş and Güven, "Global Crisis".

26 Fikret Şenses, "Missing Links in Poverty Analysis in the Age of Neoliberal Globalization: Some Lessons from Turkey", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Vol. 38, 2008, p. 61-81.

27 Ziya Öniş and Fikret Şenses, "Rethinking the Emerging Post-Washington Consensus", *Development and Change*, Vol. 36, No 2, 2005, p. 263-290.

28 Ali Burak Güven, "Whither the Post-Washington Consensus? International Financial Institutions and Development Policy before and after the Crisis", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 25, No 3, 2018, p. 392-417.

29 Hilal Gezmiş, "Argentina's Neo-developmental Turn: A New Approach towards Integration with Mercosur", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 13, No 51, 2016, p. 63-80; Hilal Gezmiş, "From Neoliberalism to Neo-Developmentalism? The Political Economy of Post-crisis Argentina (2002-2015)", *New Political Economy*, Vol. 23, No 1, 2018, p. 66-87.

30 Mustafa Kutlay and Hüseyin Emrah Karaoğuz "Neo- Developmentalist Turn in the Global Political Economy? The Turkish Case", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 19, No 2, 2018, p. 289-316.

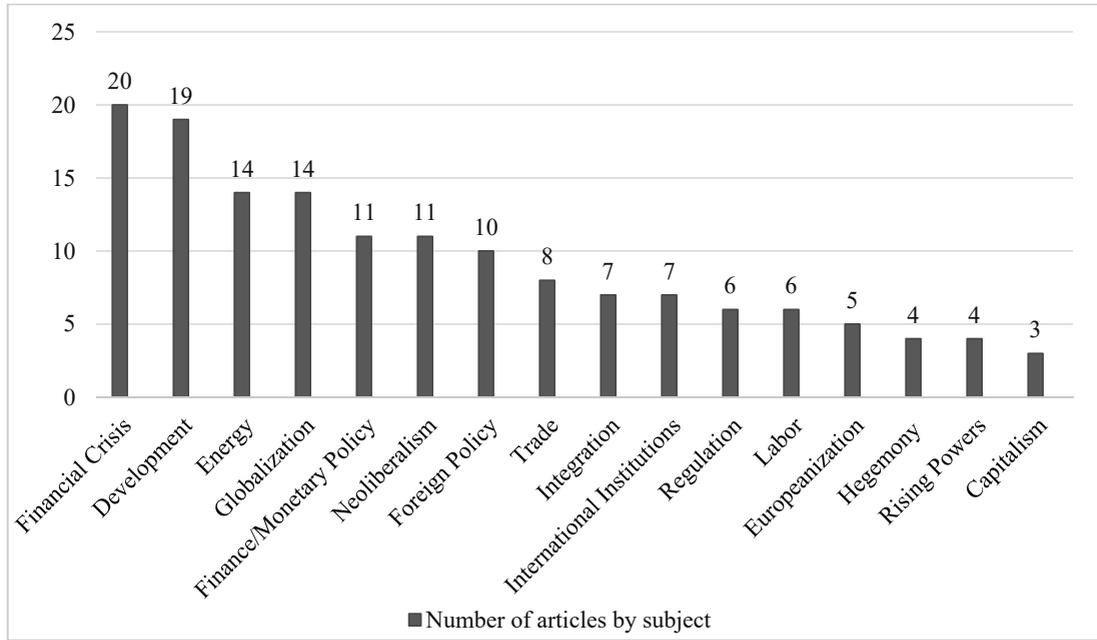
31 Deniz Ülke Arıboğan & Mert Bilgin, "New Energy Order Politics *Neopolitics*: From Geopolitics to *Energeopolitics*", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 5, No 20, 2009, p. 109-132.

32 Pinar Ipek, "Oil and Intra-State Conflict in Iraq and Syria: Sub-state Actors and Challenges for Turkey's Energy Security", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 53, No 3, 2017, p. 406-419.

33 Tolga Demiryol, "Between Security and Prosperity: Turkey and the Prospects of Energy Cooperation in the Middle East", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 19, No 3, 2019, p. 442-464.

movements in Turkey have pursued in the face of globalization<sup>34</sup> as well as the impediments for a united front vis-a-vis globalization and EU membership.<sup>35</sup> Beyond the Turkish case, Tsarouhas and Ladi looked at the relationship between globalization and Europeanization through the interaction between the EU and the International Labor Organization.<sup>36</sup>

**Figure 2:** Thematic Distribution of Articles written by Scholars of Turkish IPE



It is also worth evaluating the non-salience of several crucial issue areas for the study of IPE in Turkish academia. One surprising finding was the low number of articles published on international trade. Alongside international finance, monetary policy and foreign direct investment (FDI), international trade is one of the cornerstones of IPE in North America and Britain. In the past three decades, various aspects of international trade such as the world trade regime, protectionism, non-tariff barriers, and domestic interest groups on trade policy have constituted the core of IPE research worldwide. As Figure 2 highlights, we found only 8 articles that addressed international trade in our dataset. These articles mostly focused on Turkey's trade policy, or the effect of trade on Turkey's relations with its neighbors or the EU.<sup>37</sup> One exception in this regard is Aydın's piece on Turkish citizens' attitudes towards free trade and globalization.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, we found very little interest on FDI

34 Elif Uzgören, "Globalization and Trade Unions in Turkey: Two Class Strategies in Countering Neo-liberal Restructuring", *METU Studies in Development*, Vol. 41, No 3, 2014, p. 441-464.

35 Elif Uzgören, "Countering Globalization and Regionalization: Is There a United Front within Turkish Labour and Disadvantaged Groups", *Globalizations*, Vol. 15, No 3, 2018, p. 347-361.

36 Dimitris Tsarouhas & Stella Ladi, "Globalisation and/or Europeanisation? The Case of Flexicurity", *New Political Economy*, Vol. 18, No 4, 2013, p. 480-502.

37 Kirişçi, "The Transformation of"; Özlem Tür, "Economic Relations with the Middle East under the AKP – Trade, Business Community and Reintegration with Neighboring Zones", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 12, No 4, 2011, p. 589-602.

38 Umut Aydın, "Who is Afraid of Globalization? Turkish Attitude toward Trade and Globalization," *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 15, No 2, 2015, p. 322-340.

and transnational/multinational corporations (TNCs) among scholars of Turkish IPE.<sup>39</sup> The very few examples in this body of literature have focused on the motivations and behaviors of Turkish multinational corporations (MNCs) in international markets.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, and more worryingly, we found that Turkish IPE has not developed a big interest on climate change, global warming or environmental politics. While a good body of literature has addressed the issue from a domestic political economy perspective,<sup>41</sup> Turkey-based scholars are yet to explore the international dimensions of the 21<sup>st</sup> century's most pressing environmental issues. One exception to this trend is a special issue published in *Uluslararası İlişkiler* in 2017 dedicated to the Paris Climate Agreement.<sup>42</sup> As the looming climate crisis will continue to shape the intellectual and academic debate globally, we can expect an increase in Turkish IPE's attention to the issue.

All in all, our findings on the thematic distribution of IPE publications from Turkey demonstrate that scholars of Turkish IPE focus on a wide range of issues. We found that financial crises and developmental issues have attracted the biggest attention in Turkish IPE scholarship. This, we believe, shows that context matters in shaping the priorities and research agendas of scholars. In other words, crises and developmental issues have constituted Turkish IPE's *problematique*. Having gone through several severe financial crises since the 1990s, it is only normal for Turkey to have an academic community that accumulates scholarly expertise on this theme. Similarly, Turkey's growing energy consumption and demand, and its geopolitical repercussions might have pushed Turkish scholars to explore the various dimensions of Turkey's energy security. At the same time, it is rather surprising that Turkish scholars of IPE are yet to explore deeply themes such as trade, FDI, TNCs as well as IPE of gender and climate change. It is beyond the purposes of this article to find out the reasons behind this puzzling observation. In addition to these themes, newly-emerging topics in IPE such as sovereign wealth funds, knowledge, internet gambling, water, sports, and health have also been largely ignored by Turkish IPE scholars so far.

In terms of methodological orientation of the publications, our findings were even more surprising. Out of the 108 articles in our dataset, only 3 relied on quantitative tools.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, no quantitative article has been published in Turkey-based journals in our dataset. Besides, no article in our dataset applied formal modeling techniques, such as game-theoretic models or computational models. It is also interesting that even scholars with PhD degrees from American universities mostly rely on qualitative methods in their publications. Further scrutiny is needed to uncover the reasons behind this trend in Turkish IPE.

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39 The only Turkish IPE scholar who has concentrated on this theme is Caner Bakır from Koç University.

40 Caner Bakır, "Bargaining with Multinationals: Why State Capacity Matters", *New Political Economy*, Vol. 20, No 1, 2014, p. 63-84.

41 See for instance, the various contributions in Fikret Adaman, Bengi Akbulut & Murat Arsel (eds.), *Neoliberal Turkey and its Discontents: Economic Policy and the Environment under Erdoğan*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2017

42 See H. Akın Ünver, "Paris İklim Anlaşmasına Teorik Yaklaşım: Neo-Neo Tartışması, Eko-Marksizm ve Yeşil Kapitalizm", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 14, No 54, 2017, p. 3-19; Volkan Ş. Ediger, "Enerji Jeopolitiğinin Uluslararası İklim Değişikliği Girişimleri Üzerindeki Etkisi", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 14, No 54, 2017, p. 45-70.

43 Alper H. Yağcı and Kevin Young, "Status Quo Conservatism, Placation, or Partisan Division? Analyzing Citizen Preferences Toward Financial Reform in the United States", *New Political Economy*, Vol. 24, No 3, 2019, p. 313-333; Alper H. Yağcı "The Great Recession, Inequality, and Occupy Protests Around the World", *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 52, No 4, 2017, p. 640-670. Among Turkish IPE scholars, Alper Yağcı is the only scholar who predominantly conducts quantitative research.

## Countries and Regions Covered

We were also interested in understanding the regional concentration and country focus of the articles published by Turkish IPE scholars. We found that Turkish IPE scholars have overwhelmingly studied Turkey as a case in their respective articles. Out of the 108 articles we have in our dataset, 63 articles, which correspond to 58.3%, were either single-case studies on Turkey or a comparative analysis with Turkey as one of the two cases (see Table 1). That was followed by 19 articles (17.6 %) that covered the EU countries or a region that is part of the EU, such as Southern Europe or Central Europe. Most of the EU-related articles have put the EU-Turkey relations at the center, approaching relations from the perspective of integration,<sup>44</sup> financial globalization,<sup>45</sup> and core-periphery relations.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, there are only five IPE articles on the Middle East, which examine widely varying topics such as energy,<sup>47</sup> bilateral economic relations,<sup>48</sup> trade,<sup>49</sup> and gender.<sup>50</sup> Most likely due to lack of regional expertise, concentration on regions such as East Asia and Latin America has been quite limited. Eurasia/post-Soviet space has also received little attention, despite the region's geographical proximity to, and increasing political and economic interaction with, Turkey.

Despite its rising status, China has been addressed in only four articles in our dataset. While Bulut and Lane compare the labor rights and standards in China and Turkey, Yağcı and Akçadağ Alagöz, in separate pieces, examine China's Belt and Road Initiative and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank from a soft power and smart power perspective, respectively.<sup>51</sup> Greece has been covered by four articles, followed by three articles on Argentina.<sup>52</sup> Despite the growing ties between Turkey and Russia, we found only two articles on the latter.<sup>53</sup> The two articles on the U.S. have focused

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- 44 Galip Yalman and Asuman Göksel, "Transforming Turkey? Putting the Turkey-European Union Relations into a Historical Perspective", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 14, No 56, 2017, p. 23-37.
- 45 Ziya Öniş and Caner Bakır, "Turkey's Political Economy in the Age of Financial Globalization: The Significance of the EU Anchor", *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 12, No 2, 2007, p. 147-164.
- 46 İnan Rüma, "The Economic Crisis of 2008: Reproduction of the Core-Periphery Relations between the European Core and the Balkans", *METU Studies in Development*, Vol. 41, No 3, 2014, p. 297-322; Oktar Türel, Turkey vis-à-vis the Periphery of the EU: An Economic Assessment", *METU Studies in Development*, Vol. 41, No 3, 2014, p. 389-413.
- 47 Ahmet Kasım Han, "Turkey's Energy Strategy and the Middle East: Between a Rock and a Hard Place", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 12, No 4, 2011, p. 603-617; Pınar İpek, "Oil and Intra-State Conflict in Iraq and Syria: Sub-State Actors and Challenges for Turkey's Energy Security", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 53, No 3, 2017, p. 406-419.
- 48 Mustafa Aydın, "Ortadoğu'da Ekonomik İlişkilerin Siyasi Çerçevesi; Türkiye'nin İran, Irak ve Suriye ile Bağlantıları", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 1, No 2, 2004, p. 103-128.
- 49 Özlem Tür, "Economic Relations with the Middle East Under the AKP-Trade, Business Community and Reintegration with Neighboring Zones", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 12, No 4, 2011, p. 589-602.
- 50 Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör, "Convergence between Theoretical Perspectives in Women-Gender and Development Literature Regarding Women's Economic Status in the Middle East", *METU Studies in Development*, Vol. 28, No 1, 2001, p. 111-130.
- 51 Tuğçe Bulut and Christel Lane, "The Private Regulation of Labour Standards and Rights in the Global Clothing Industry: An Evaluation of Its Effectiveness in Two Developing Countries", *New Political Economy*, Vol. 16, No 1, 2011, p. 41-71; Mustafa Yağcı, "Rethinking Soft Power in Light of China's Belt and Road Initiative", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 15, No 57, 2018, p. 67-78; Emine Akçadağ-Alagöz, "Creation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank as Part of China's Smart Power Strategy", *Pacific Review*, Vol. 32, No 6, 2018, p. 951-971.
- 52 See Hilal Gezmiş, "From Neoliberalism to"; also see Dimitris Tsarouhas, "Structure, Agents and Discourse in Managing Economic Crises: The Case of Greece, 2009-2017", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 15, No 58, 2018, p. 9-19.
- 53 Seçkin Köstem, "Different Paths to Regional Hegemony: National Identity Contestation and Foreign Economic Strategy in Russia and Turkey", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 25, No 5, 2018, p. 726-752; Ziya Öniş and Şuhnaz Yılmaz, "Turkey and Russia in a Shifting Global Order: Cooperation, Conflict and Asymmetric Interdependence in a Turbulent Region", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No 1, 2016, p. 71-95.

on, respectively, the U.S. hegemony<sup>54</sup> and financial regulations.<sup>55</sup> Given their importance to the study of IPE in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the U.S. and China do not seem to be sufficiently covered in publications of the Turkish IPE scholars.

On the other hand, the share of articles in which Turkey was used as a case has been considerably low in Turkey-based journals. To put it more bluntly, among 69 articles published in international journals, 47 (68%) articles have dealt with Turkey, whereas only 16 (41%) out of 39 articles published in Turkey-based journals studied Turkey as a case (see Table 1). This fits an observation that Bilgin and Tanrısever made about a decade ago; in their domestic publications, IR scholars in Turkey tend to “tell Turkey about the world”, while in their international publications, they “tell the world about Turkey”.<sup>56</sup> In this sense, Turkish IPE scholars follow a general trend in IR scholars in Turkey; having found themselves in a disciplinary division of labor and increasingly encouraged to publish in internationally peer-reviewed journals, Turkish IPE scholars concentrate on Turkey as a case study in internationally peer-reviewed journals as well as in their book projects. While this is in and of itself not a negative phenomenon, this still demonstrates that the majority of Turkish IPE scholars lack expertise on different regions of the world. The causes as well as remedies for this seeming weakness fall beyond the scope of this paper.

### ***International Scholars and Turkish IPE***

In order to have a fuller picture of the current state of Turkish IPE, we have also looked at the international scholars working in Turkish universities.<sup>57</sup> We observed that international scholars in Turkish IPE have been following a similar pattern as their native counterparts in focusing on themes such as globalization and neoliberalism,<sup>58</sup> Europeanization,<sup>59</sup> and Turkey’s bilateral economic relations.<sup>60</sup> In addition to solo-authored pieces, non-native scholars in Turkey have also co-authored articles with native colleagues.<sup>61</sup> In addition to international scholars who work in Turkey, there are also foreign scholars who work outside Turkey, but have co-authored with Turkish IPE scholars. Twelve journal articles in our dataset have been authored or co-authored by foreign scholars, most of whom are affiliated with universities outside Turkey. Nevertheless, they contribute to the field of IPE in Turkey by either publishing in Turkey-based journals, examining Turkey as a case from an IPE perspective, or collaborating with native IPE scholars. All in all, foreign scholars who are based in Turkey, and hence are part of the Turkish IPE community, as well as foreign scholars who collaborate with their Turkish colleagues, have contributed to the internationalization of Turkey’s higher education, which is an integral aspect of the success recorded by several Turkish universities in the past few decades.

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54 Emre İleri, “Beyond American Petrodollar Hegemony at the eve of Global Peak Oil”, *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 5, No 20, 2009, p. 133-154.

55 Yağcı and Young, “Status Quo Conservatism”.

56 Pınar Bilgin and Oktay F. Tanrısever, “A Telling Story of IR in the Periphery: Telling Turkey about the World, Telling the World about Turkey”, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol. 12, No 2, 2009, p. 174.

57 Our dataset includes 2 non-Turkish scholars who have taught at Turkish universities.

58 Tore Fougner, “The State, International Competitiveness and Neoliberal Globalisation: Is There a Future beyond the Competition State?”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 32, No 1, 2006, p. 165-185.

59 Ladi & Tsarouhas, “Globalisation and/or Europeanisation?”.

60 Dimitris Tsarouhas, “The Political Economy of Greek-Turkish Relations”, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 9, No 1-2, 2009, p. 39-57.

61 See for instance, Ayşe İdil Aybars, Paul Copeland & Dimitris Tsarouhas, “Europeanization without Substance? EU-Turkey Relations and Gender Equality in Employment”, *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 17, No 5, 2018, p. 778-796.

## **A Glance at Books and Edited Volumes**

While this article has primarily focused on articles published in peer-reviewed journals, Turkish IPE scholars have also published books on a wide variety of themes. At a very quick glance, we found that similar to articles, books have also mostly focused on financial crises. A volume edited by Öniş and Şenses, for instance, includes a collection of chapters on Turkey's neoliberal restructuring and integration into the global economy after the 2001 financial crisis.<sup>62</sup> A highly-read volume in Turkish, edited by Şenses, Öniş and Bakır, examines various country responses to the global financial crisis.<sup>63</sup> More recently, Kutlay offered a comparative analysis of the impact of financial crises on the success and failure of reforms in Greece and Turkey.<sup>64</sup> A volume co-edited by Tsarouhas addresses financial crisis in Greece, Spain, Ireland and Portugal.<sup>65</sup> A forthcoming volume, edited by Parlar Dal, on the other hand, offers a broader view with chapters addressing Turkey's foreign aid, economic relations with Africa, the Middle East and the Asia-Pacific, and position in the global political economy as an emerging power.<sup>66</sup>

## **Conclusion: Summary and Reflections on IPE in Turkey**

This article has demonstrated that Turkish IPE has evolved into a mature subfield with a large number of researchers who specialize on a wide range of themes in the contemporary international/global political economy. What emerged as a subfield dominated by Marxist development economists in the 1970s has evolved into a non-paradigmatic and mostly puzzle-driven one with a wide range of thematic interests. This is in parallel to the evolution of IPE in core countries, such as the U.S. and the UK. Unlike their American and British colleagues, however, Turkish scholars do not limit their research interests to study IPE exclusively, but also publish on other sub-fields such as security studies, foreign policy analysis or comparative politics. Our research does not shed light on the causes of this phenomenon, but we believe it needs to be studied in detail to better understand the sociology of the IR discipline and its sub-fields in Turkey.

Our examination of the articles published in leading international and national peer-reviewed journals encouraged us to explore the leading scholars of Turkish IPE. Ziya Öniş emerges as the leading figure in this regard. We found that Öniş was either the single author or co-author of 16 out of 108 articles in our dataset, corresponding to 14.8% of our pool of articles. Öniş's articles were published in both of the leading international IPE journals, *Review of International Political Economy* (RIPE) and *New Political Economy* (NPE). Öniş has been an agenda setter for Turkish IPE, starting from the 1990s. While the majority of his articles have had a political economy dimension, Öniş has also published on a wide range of topics such as globalization, political Islam, the European Union, Turkish foreign policy, populism and emerging powers. Throughout his academic career, Öniş has also published or edited numerous books on various dimensions of Turkey's political economy. Moreover, Öniş has

62 Ziya Öniş and Fikret Şenses (eds.), *Turkey and the Global Economy: Neo-Liberal Restructuring and Integration in the Post-Crisis Era*, London and New York, Routledge, 2009.

63 Fikret Şenses, Ziya Öniş and Caner Bakır (eds.), *Ülke Deneyimleri Işığında Küresel Kriz ve Yeni Ekonomik Düzen*, 3rd edition, İstanbul, İletişim, 2018.

64 Kutlay, "The Political Economies".

65 Owen Parker & Dimitris Tsarouhas (eds.), *Crisis in the Eurozone Periphery: The Political Economies of Greece, Spain, Ireland and Portugal*, London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2018.

66 Emel Parlar Dal, *Turkey's Political Economy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2020.

played a crucial role in the teaching of IPE as well as raising IPE scholars by supervising master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations, or by co-authoring articles with young academics.

Another remarkable finding of this study is that Turkish IPE scholars rely overwhelmingly on qualitative methods; of the 108 articles in our dataset, only 3 were based on quantitative methods. We have also demonstrated that scholars of Turkish IPE follow a general pattern that is also visible in other subfields of IR; while writing for English-language outlets, they mostly focus on the case of Turkey. One major reason for this is that scholars of Turkish IPE can best get accepted for publication in core international journals if they remain loyal to the division of labor in international academia that expects scholars from non-core countries to write exclusively on their own countries or regions.<sup>67</sup> In addition, regional expertise in Turkish IPE is rather limited with the exception of EU studies. Turkey's economic and political problems and priorities seem to have shaped the Turkish IPE community's research agenda to a significant extent. This is how we explain the salience of financial crises, developmental issues and energy in the articles and books that we have covered.

Our findings demonstrate that Turkish IPE should strive to widen its focus to mainstream IPE issues, such as trade and investment, as well as newer IPE issues, such as gender and climate change. Secondly, we believe the methodological imbalance that favors qualitative methods should be remedied by training graduate students to use the tools of quantitative inquiry. Thirdly, graduate students and junior scholars of IPE should be encouraged to explore countries and regions outside Turkey. That could help ameliorate the rather excessive focus on Turkey in IPE scholarship and contribute to the much-needed accumulation of regional expertise in Turkish academia. Fourthly, it might be too early to expect the emergence of a journal dedicated solely to IPE in Turkey. At the same time, our extensive overview of the current state of IPE shows that the share of IPE articles in Turkey-based journals, which is around 4% of the total number articles, is well below the potential. Finally, despite the mounting pressure on publishing in English and in international journals, Turkish IPE scholars should publish books and articles in Turkish.

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67 Aydınli and Matthews, "Periphery theorizing for", p. 711.