

# Two **different** propositions: Neoliberal developmentalism vs. democratic autonomy

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a presentation gathered together from  
a joint working-paper with **Ceren Özselçuk**  
&  
a popular economics research project conducted  
together with **Kaner Atakan Türker**

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# #direngeziparkı

is important, for our concerns, on 2 accounts:

1. Because it demonstrated that democratic autonomy project has urgency not only in Kurdistan but everywhere across the country,
2. Because it crystallized the contradictions unleashed by the neoliberal developmentalist “Corporate/CEO” model of Justice and Development Party.

# Corporate Model

1. Imagines and designs the country as a corporation that is governed in a top-down, vertical and hierarchical manner by a **CEO** (or CEOs) (It is possible to consider the proposed Presidency model in this light);
2. Considers citizens either as **customers** who are supposed to consume in the (domestic) markets or as **entrepreneurs** (not only in the traditional sense but also as in being an entrepreneur of one-self);
3. Presumes that social antagonisms that are of ethical and political nature can ultimately be resolved through “**economic growth**” (which is also assumed to be unbounded).

# Corporate Model as a modality of Capitalist Modernity

Unity of Capitalism	Unity of Nation-State
Totality of Capitalism	Totality of Nation-State
Uniqueness of Capitalism	Uniqueness of Nation-State

capitalism ≠ democracy

capitalism ≠ economy

capitalism ≠ greed / human nature

capitalism ≠ markets / abstraction

capitalism ≠ private property

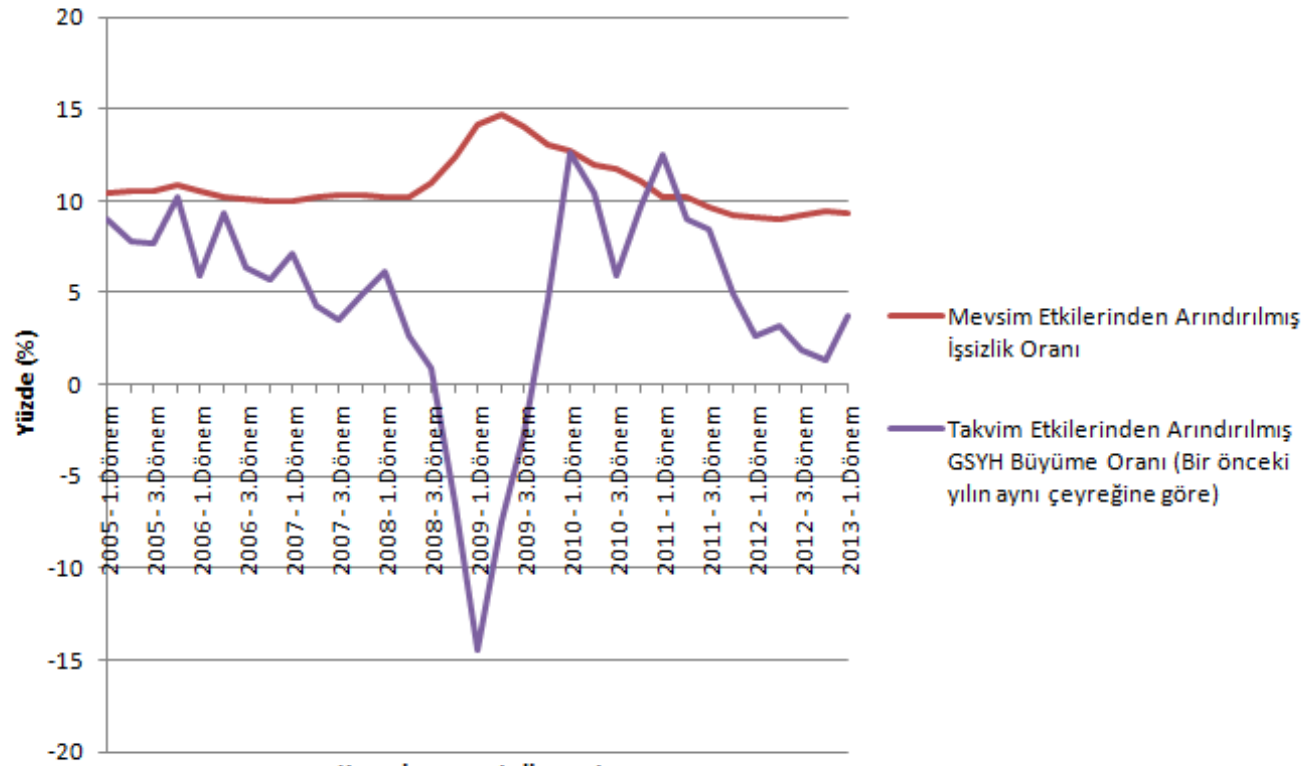
capitalism ≠ nation (state)

capitalism ≠ class (processes)

# Three moments of neoliberal developmentalism in Turkey

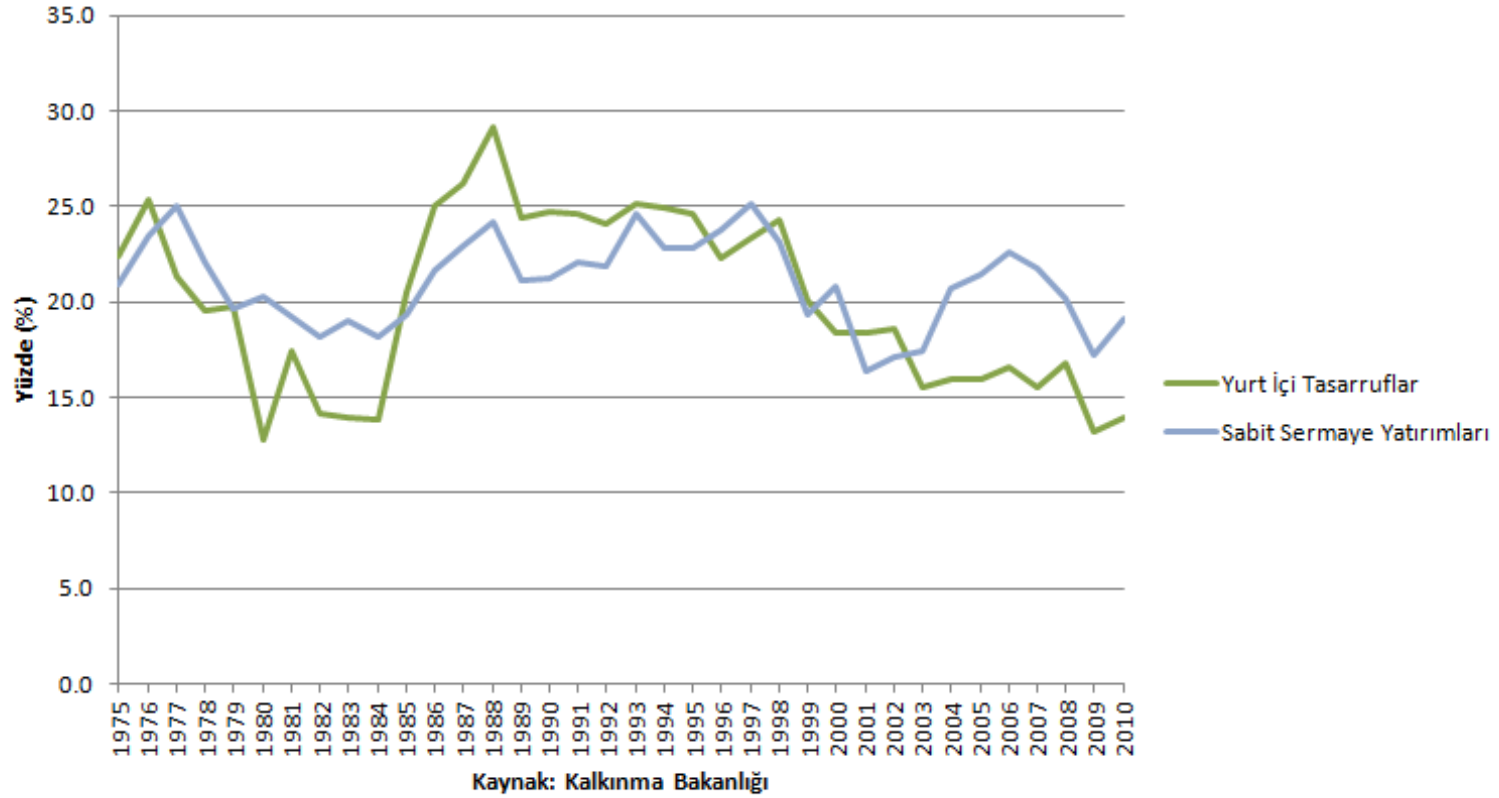
1. Increased integration with the world financial markets, making it possible for Turkey to sustain a **current account deficit**;
2. **State-led construction expansion** (e.g., housing projects, highways, squares, airports) through public as well as private financing as an field of investment (**dispossession through displacement**), a mechanism of indebtedness (**dispossession through interest**) and an sector of employment (**exploitation**);
3. Ecologically unsound (or disastrous) **energy investments** ranging from hydro-power to nuclear.

## İşsizlik ve GSYH Büyüme Oranları



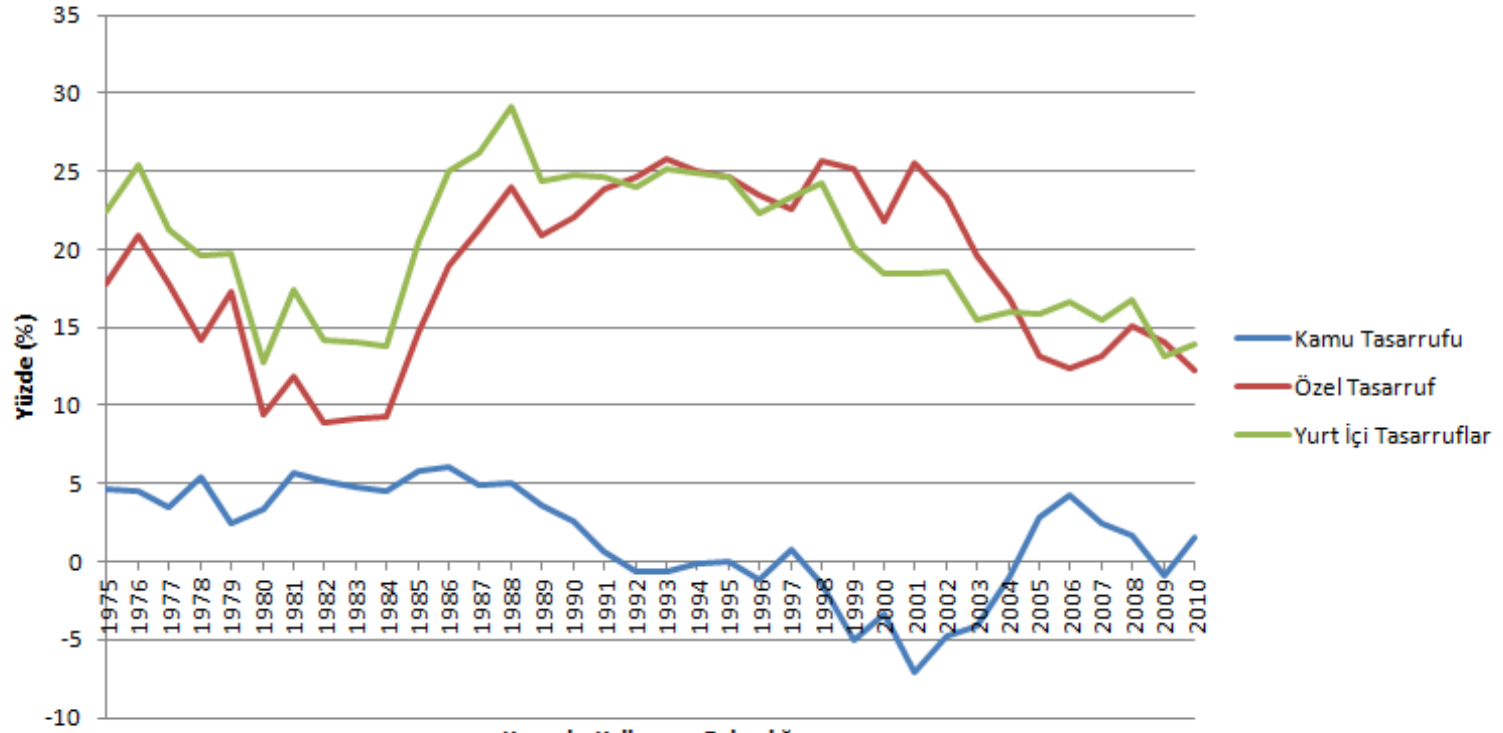
Kaynak: [www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr)

## Türkiye'de Tasarruflar ve Yatırımlar



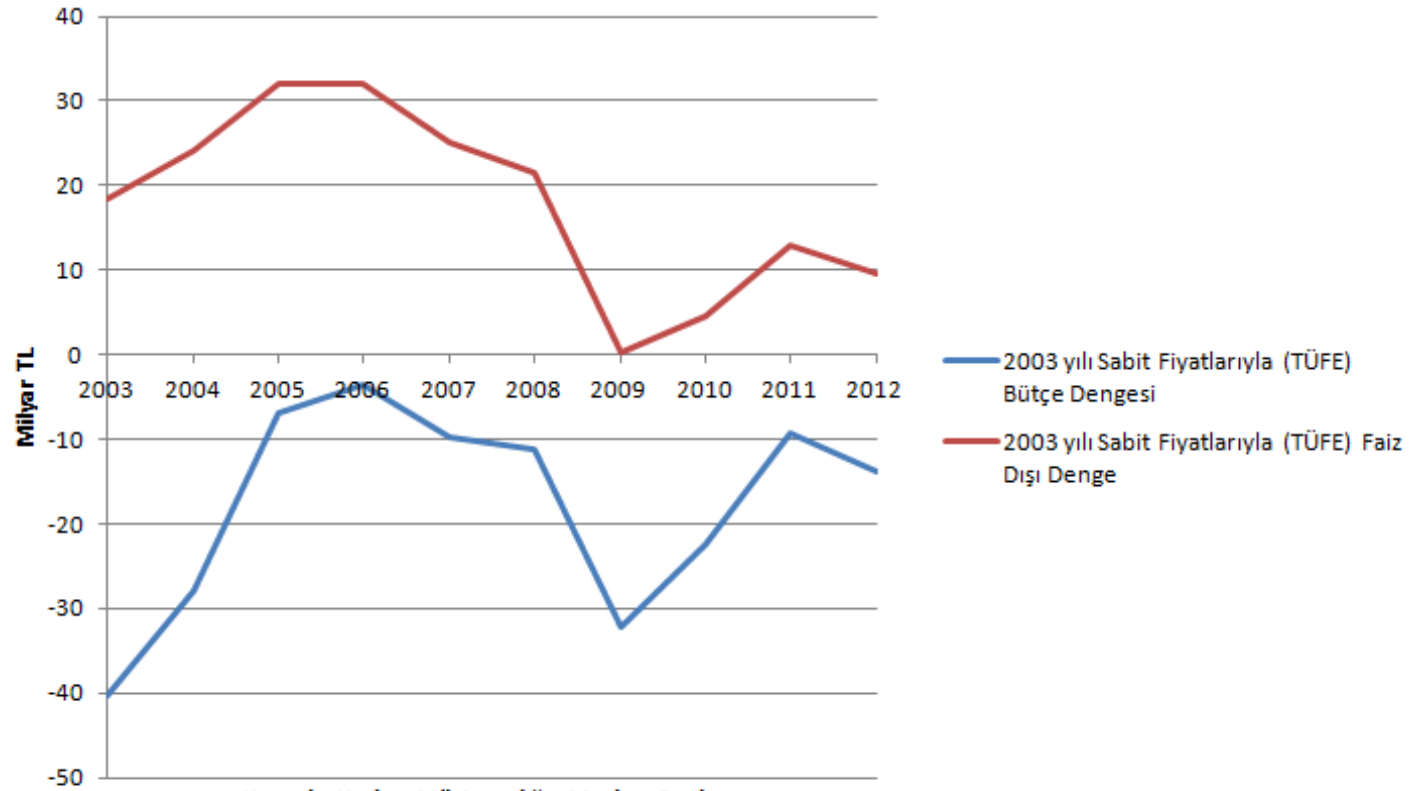


## Türkiye'de Tasarruflar



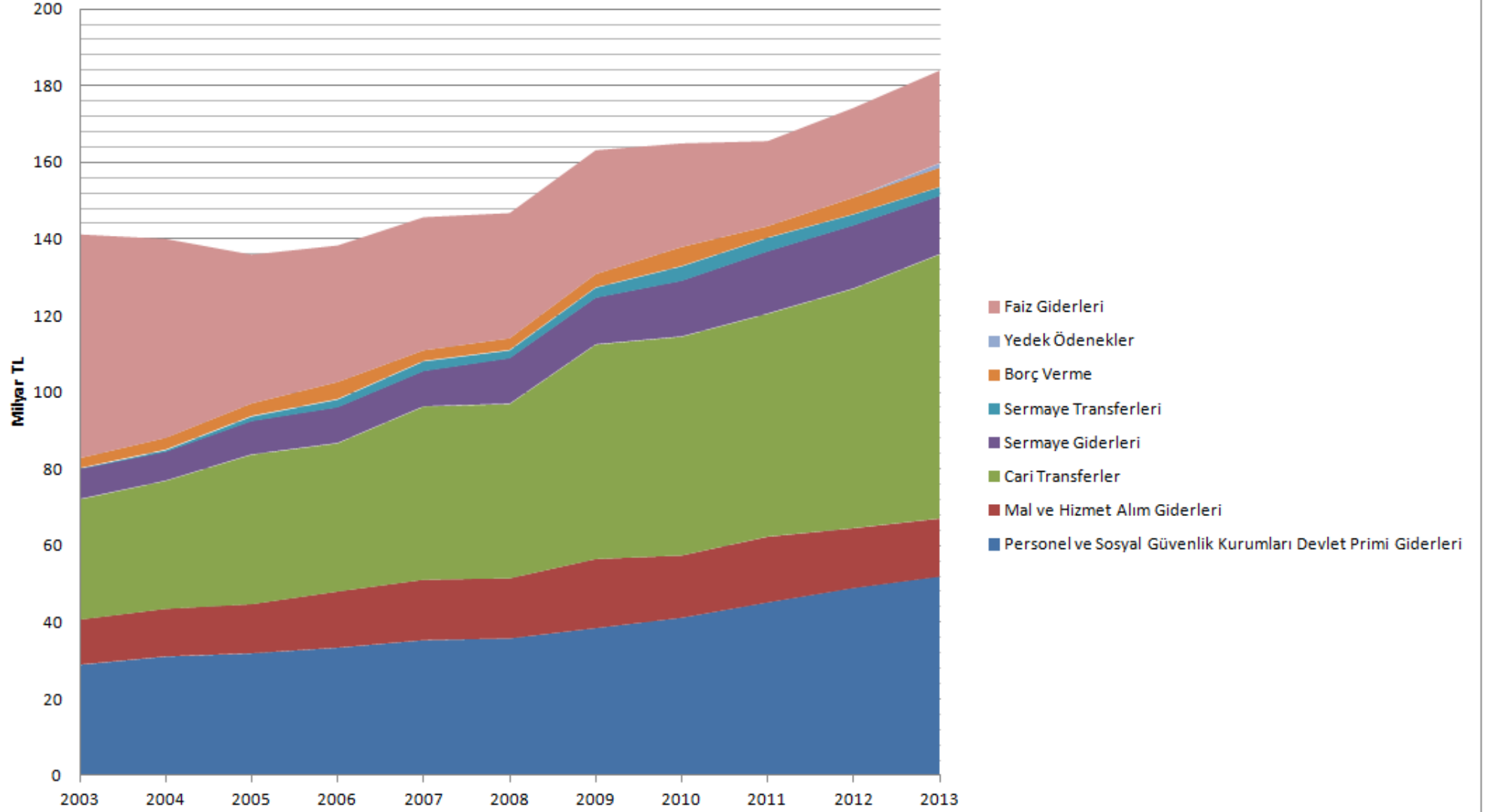
Kaynak: Kalkınma Bakanlığı

## Türkiye'de Bütçe Dengesi ve Faiz Dışı Denge



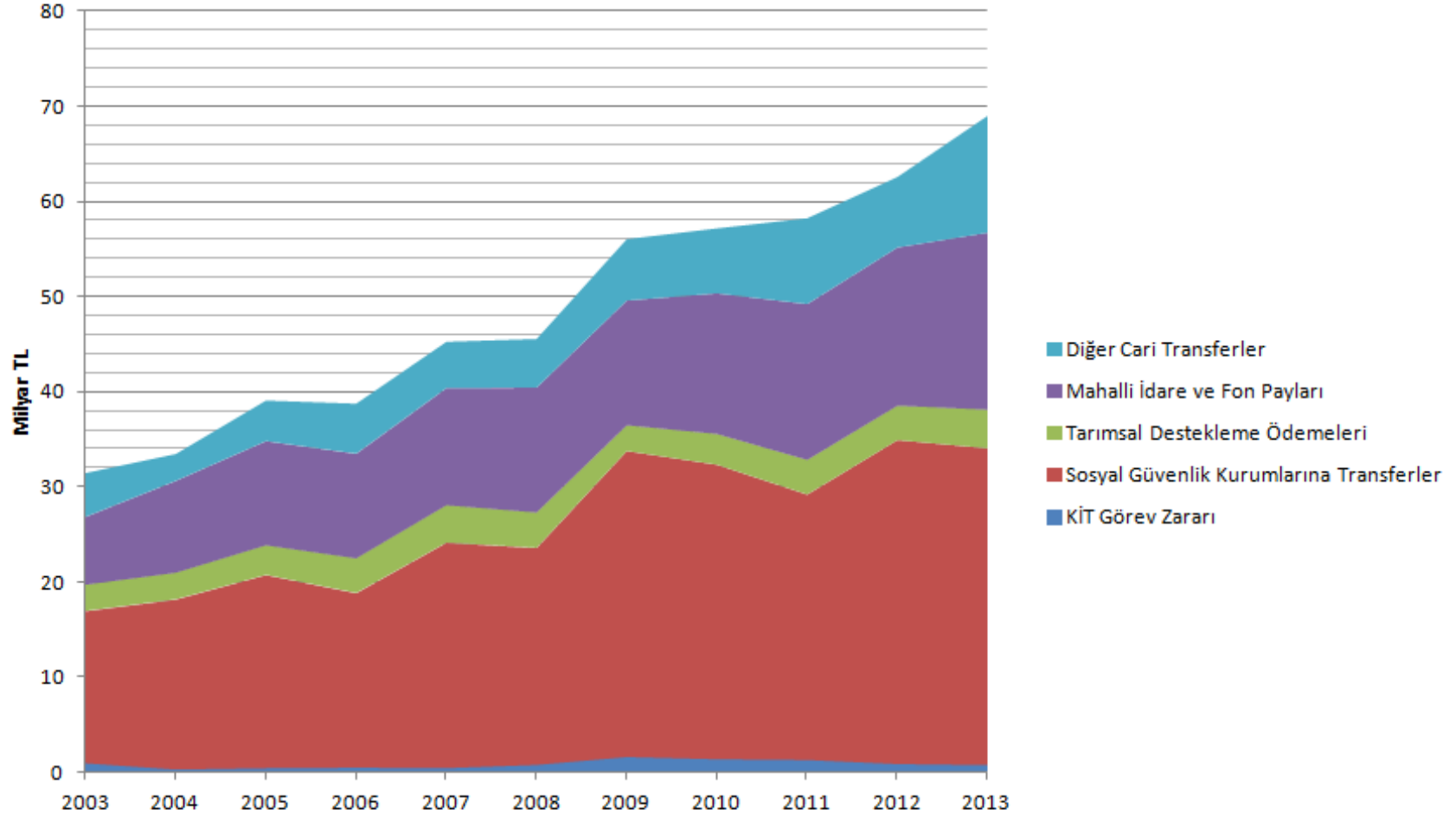
Kaynak: Hazine Müsteşarlığı, Merkez Bankası

## 2003 Sabit Fiyatlarıyla (TÜFE) Bütçe Giderleri



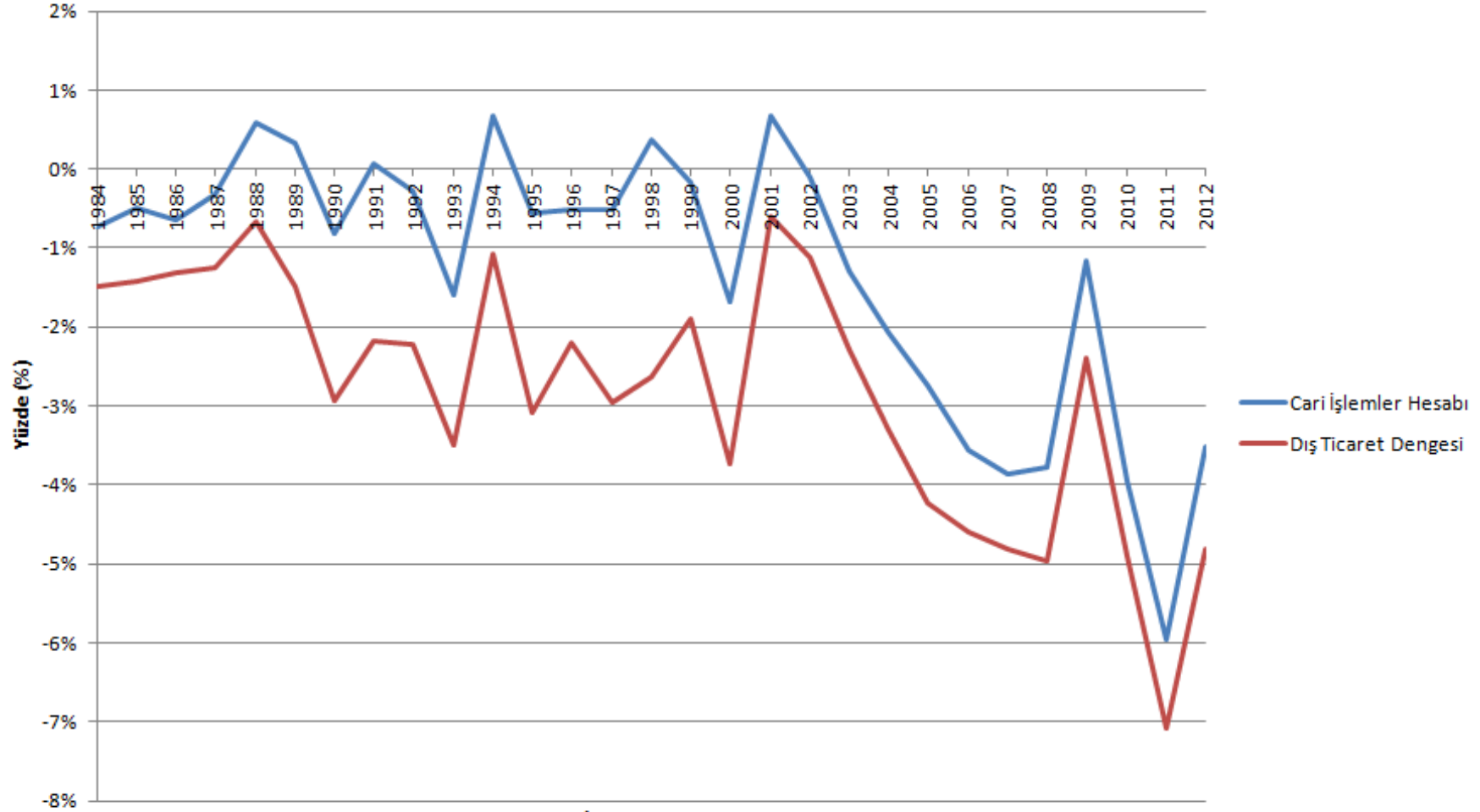
Kaynak: Maliye Bakanlığı, Merkez Bankası

## 2003 Sabit Fiyatlarıyla (TÜFE) Cari Transferler



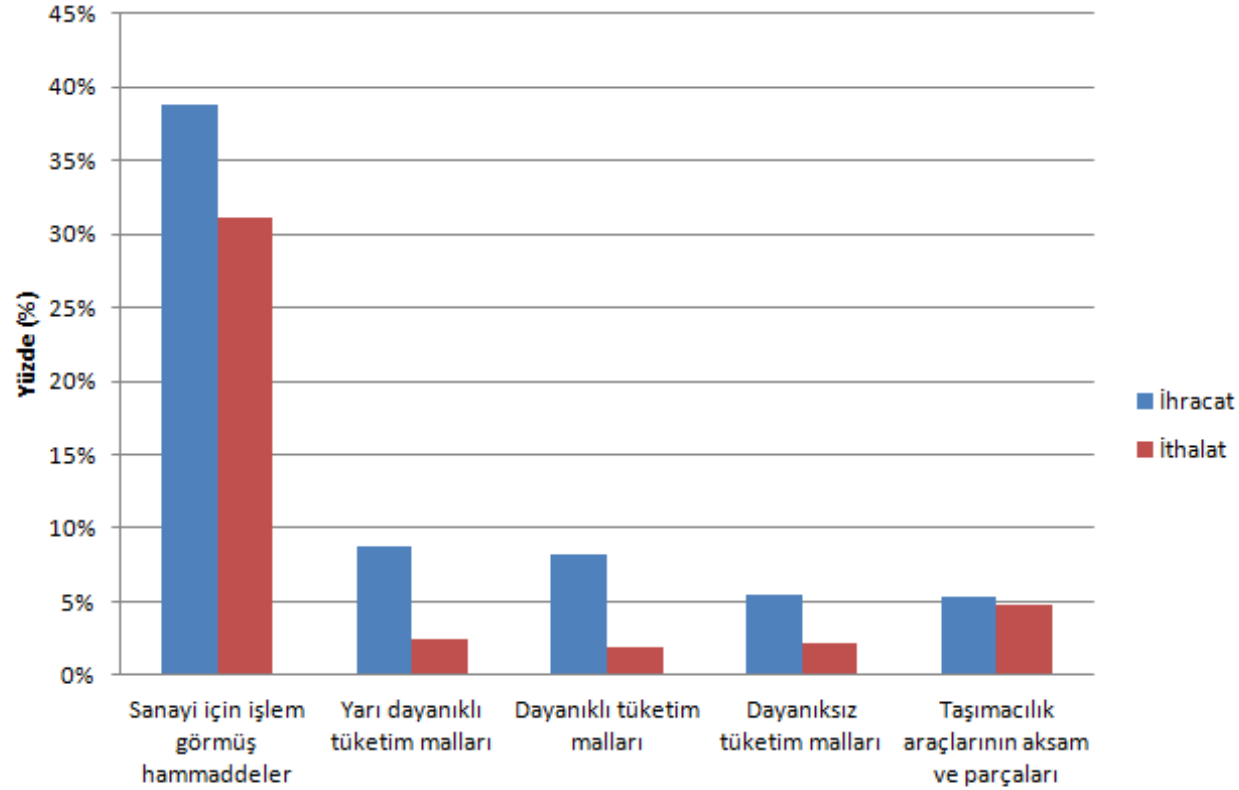
Kaynak: Maliye Bakanlığı, Merkez Bankası

## Cari İşlemler Hesabı ve Dış Ticaret Dengesinin GSYH'ye Oranı



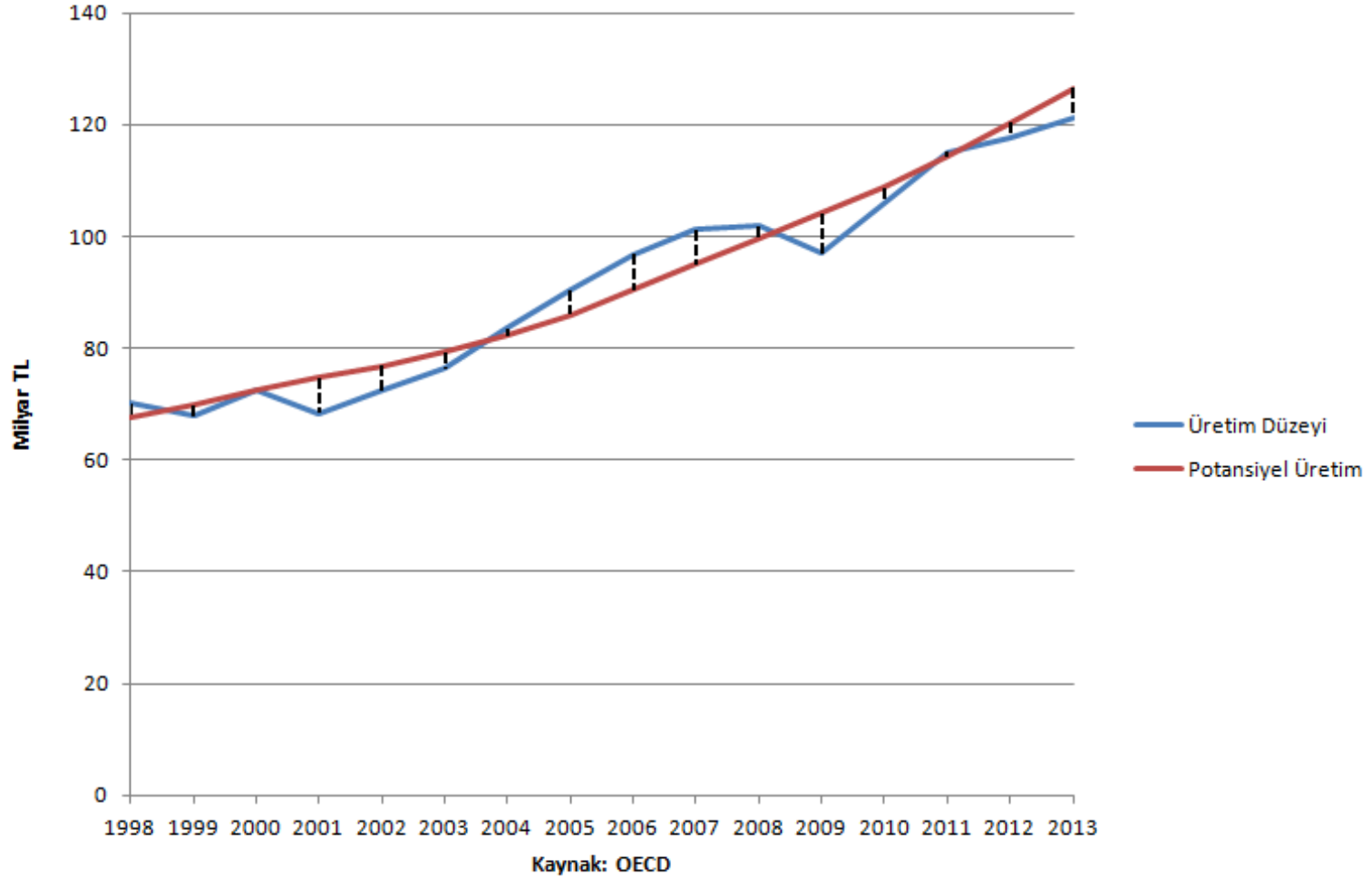
Kaynak: TCMB, OECD.Stat

## 2012'nin En Yüksek İhracat Malları ve İthalat Karşılıkları

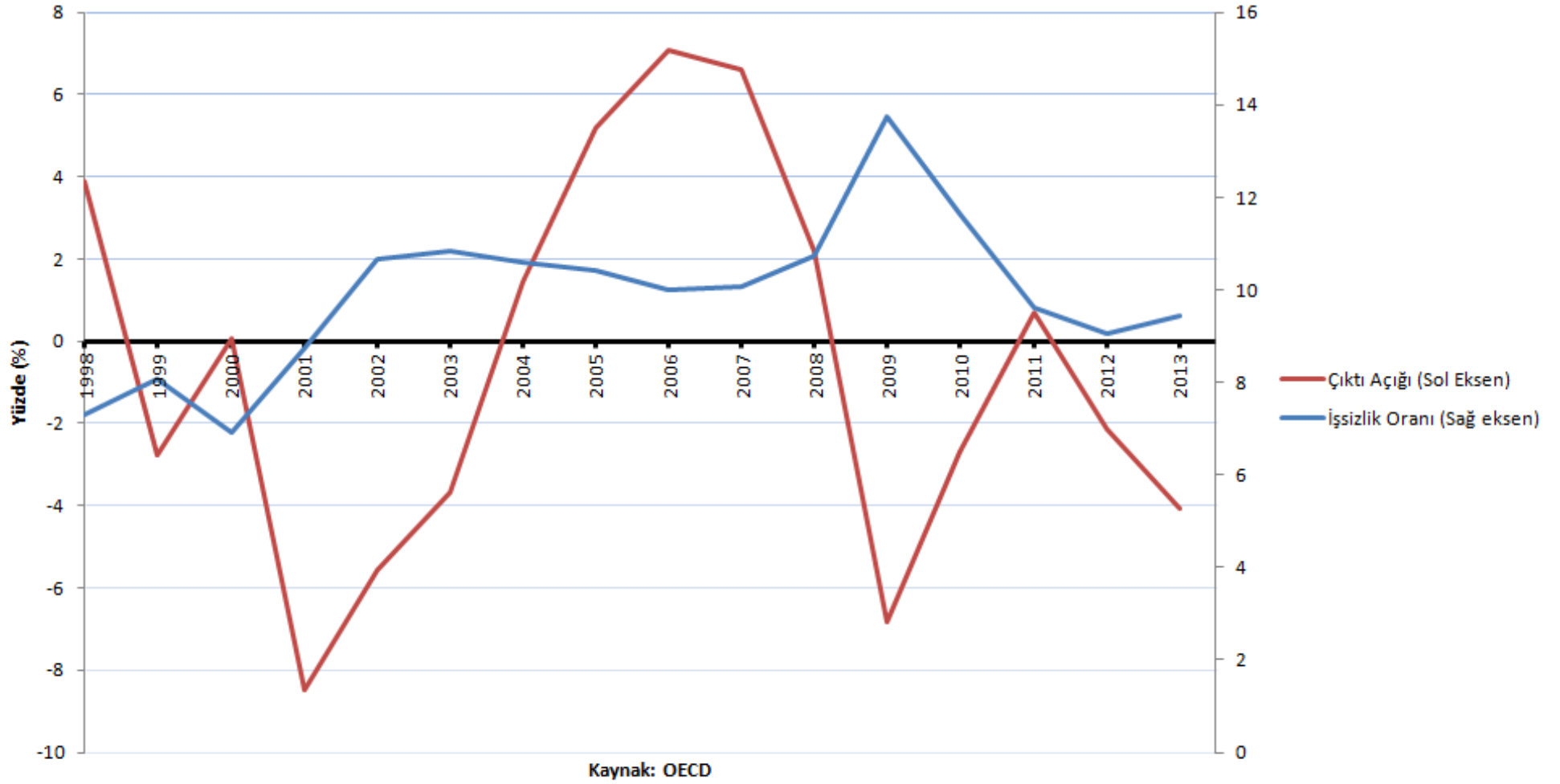


Kaynak: [www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr)

## Üretim Düzeyi ve Potansiyel Üretim



## İşsizlik Oranı ve Çıktı Açığı





# Economic politics of democratic autonomy

The economic politics of democratic autonomy entails a new way of relating to the economic space.

This new way of relating implies

- I. ...in addition to practicing anti-capitalist politics, it is necessary to devote time and energy to **re-imagining the economic field**. This means imaging the economic field as something that continually needs to be constructed (therefore can always be re-constructed in new ways) rather than being fully and totally captured, saturated and enclosed by Capitalism;
2. ...(strategic and tactical) recognition (rather than disavowal) of the constitutive **diversity of economic practices** and the constitutive **ineradicability of economic antagonisms**;
3. ...institution of key areas of economic decision making as ethical and political sites.

property

exchanges

work

enterprise

finance

<p><b>private</b></p> <p>Contested forms of property?</p>	<p><b>market</b></p> <p>Franchise system</p>	<p><b>wage</b></p> <p>divisions within working classes</p>	<p><b>capitalist</b></p> <p>divisions within capitalist classes?</p>	<p><b>mainstream markets</b></p> <p>Financial reform and regulations</p>
<p><b>alternative private</b></p> <p>State-owned land,</p>	<p><b>alternative market</b></p> <p>“fair trade” alternative currencies, local exchange systems underground markets, informal markets, barter</p>	<p><b>alternative paid</b></p> <p>Self-employment, reciprocal labor, in-kind payment, social work</p>	<p><b>alternative capitalist</b></p> <p>State-Owned Enterprises Green Capitalists Socially responsible Capitalists Non-profit enterprises</p>	<p><b>alternative market</b></p> <p>Cooperative Banks Credit Unions, Community-based financial institutions, Micro-finance,</p>
<p><b>open access</b></p> <p>atmosphere, international waters commons, common lands, open source</p>	<p><b>non-market</b></p> <p>household sharing, gifts, government transfers, istimlaklar, gleaning, hunting, fishing, collecting, theft</p>	<p><b>unpaid</b></p> <p>house work, care labor, voluntary labor, neighborhood organizing, self-sustenance, organizing work work for food and shelter slave labor</p>	<p><b>non-capitalist</b></p> <p>Coops Independent Commodity Producers Community enterprises, Feudal forms, Slavery</p>	<p><b>non-market</b></p> <p>family and community sweat , non-interest bearing credit, donations</p>

	<b>Neoliberal Developmentalism</b>	<b>Democratic Autonomy</b>
<b>NEEDS</b>	Growth: The ultimate solution of political economy to all the problems of society from poverty alleviation to government of social antagonisms	What are our needs? Do we really need them? Questioning the need to grow. What about satisfaction of diverse needs with redistribution of social wealth
<b>ENCOUNTERS</b>	Through new controllable and taxable markets (spaces of encounters as areas of investment)	Preservation of old spaces and publics of encounter as well as invention of new ones
<b>CONSUMPTION</b>	Emerging middle classes, demands for more, movement from rural to urban	Cultivation of new, ecologically sustainable forms of consumption, beginning to think about sufficiency as a new mode of being
<b>COMMONS</b>	"Optimum" use	Replenishing of old ones and cultivation of new ones; recognition of various forms of its appropriation
<b>SURPLUS</b>	Its capitalist form of extraction is not questioned but a slow redistribution is a foot: From whom to who?	Forms of social organization of surplus from exploitative to non-exploitative; limiting the range of former by expanding range of the latter
<b>INVESTMENT</b>	Areas dictated by the structure of the society: Energy, construction	Areas that will occasion shifts in the structure of society