Turkish Neoliberalism under Pressure from above? The Impacts of legal Nihilism.

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The rationality of the Copenhagen Criteria

„Membership requires that candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.“ (Presidency Conclusions, Copenhagen European Council 1993, 7.A.III)
Laking legal and (macro) economic stability – The neoliberalism of the 80’s and 90’s

Accumulation of external debts and internal contradictions led to collapse of developmentalism in 1979 when international donors to continue financing external deficits

Neoliberal turn impossible in a climate of widespread social unrest

12.09.1980 military coup & neoliberal turn

Weakly regulated Turkish neoliberalism

Wild financialisation + neoliberal populism

Frequent and deep economic crisis

State & large holding companies

Searched for stability, tried to keep popular demands out.

Post Washington Consensus: IMF + EU
The legal Anchor of Turkeys regulated Neoliberalism

IMF

Structural Adjustment Program(s)

IMF Stand-By Agreement(s)/2001 Transition Programme

EU-Ties

Led (indirectly) to

Turkey-EU Customs-Union

Preconditions for fulfilling

Economic Copenhagen Criteria

Copenhagens double rationality

“Membership requires that candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy (...).”
Islamisms Marriage with European Liberal-Conservatism

Reconstruction of hegemony after 1980

Popular participation in commodification/consumerism

Liberal-Conservative discourse on civil society

Islamist discourse on civil society

EU Project

Against the "despotic Jacobinism" of the Kemalist centre

Material interests of leading class actors
From Islamist Liberal Conservatism to Decisionism

Gezi-Uprising 2013 marked a new wave of uprisings

Crisis of AKP and the state

Decisionist politics

Regulated neoliberalism (Copenhagen Agenda)

Populist neoliberalism (Erdoğanism)

Competition between paradigms and tensions in the power bloc
Legal nihilism and EU’s response(s)

**Gezi/June-Uprising 2013**

Conflict between people and power bloc

*Officially positive EU-Turkey Progress Reports: Encouraging Turkey to undertake a new wave of liberal reforms*

**Decisionist politics 2013ff.**

Conflict between people and power bloc and within the power bloc

*EU-Turkey Progress Reports turn to express negative tendencies and negative expression of concerns*

**Decisionist form of state 2016ff.**

State further radicalises and transnationalises the conflicts

*EU-Turkey Progress Reports are becoming politically obsolete. National actors are pushing their interests regarding Turkey*
Conclusion (1): Pressure from above?


What is discussed within EU?

Suspending the update of the (1995) Customs Union Agreement

Stopping the accession talks

No impact

No impact

Note: There is even no agreement on what is discussed. Particularly EU-Commission stands for continuing integration efforts. 8 of 10
Conclusion (2): Pressure from above: The special case in summer 2017

Background: Transnationalised decisionism – Turkey placed German companies on "terror lists"

German government changed its travel guidelines and decided to review its export policies toward Turkey

Turkey withdraw the list immediately

No relation to EU project

Measures with significant legal or material impacts are played on the national (levels)

EU’s rationality is preserve the legal anchors of Turkeys (regulated) neoliberalism
Thank you for listening.