

Abstracts (İngilizce özetler)

Justice, practical reason, action: A reading of Sophocles' *Antigone*

SERDAR TEKİN

This essay reads Sophocles' *Antigone* as a play that negotiates the complicated relationship between "action" and "meaning". What is it that makes an action "meaningful" and renders it "intelligible"? This is a question that we must especially ask in reading *Antigone* since the meaning of the heroine's action remains opaque both for herself and for others. How are we to interpret this confusion that runs like a red thread throughout the play? My short answer is that the meaning of an action is context-bound. Antigone's deed lacks a stable meaning in the play precisely because it defies the fundamental assumptions of the very context in which it is performed. In other words, it is the kind of action that creates its own conditions of intelligibility. The deed becomes meaningful only in retrospect, that is, not in the context of Thebai as it stands, but from within the perspective of a new (post-*Antigone*) Thebai that Antigone's action helps bring about.

Keywords: Sophocles, *Antigone*, Hegel, tragedy, action.



'Fair and independent' market policy: An inquiry on the 1970s' leftist populism

ÖZGÜR BURÇAK GÜRİSOY

This study examines the emergence and development of the leftist populist discourse and policies on Turkish tobacco market during the pre-1980 period. The article first presents an overview of the tobacco market in the period under discussion

with an analysis of both economic indicators and legal-institutional framework. The overview hints at the socio-economic and political background for the development of the “exploitation in tobacco production” discourse, which was predominantly used by all different leftist groups. Then, the perspective of left-of-center RPP on the tobacco issue is discussed by showing how the new RPP encountered with the tobacco merchants as a result of its position and policies both before and under the 1974 coalition government. The article further explains the diversification of political practices that the tobacco producers used to push their demands in the 1970s. The proliferation of ways of protesting included the emergence of the first unionization experience in Turkish agriculture, successive and influential demonstrations under the slogan “Stop Exploitation in Tobacco Production,” and a few cases of workshop occupation. The primary historical sources are provided from the Prime Ministry Republican Archives, parliamentary minutes, sector reports, brochures, the newspapers *Milliyet*, *Yeni Asır* and *Devrimci Yol*, and personal archives of Orhan Özet, an ex-TEKEL manager. Depending on these extensive documents, the article shows the peculiarities of the leftist populist discourse and policies regarding the socio-economic relations in a market subjected to state intervention. By doing so, it contributes to the historiography of the 1970s’ Turkey.

Keywords: 1970s, leftist populism, tobacco, RPP, union, exploitation.



Subcontracting in Turkey

ALPKAN BİRELMA

This article scrutinizes the impacts of subcontracting on Turkish labor movement and labor’s response. Following its expansion in 1970s in the core countries, subcontracting began growing in Turkey in the next decade mainly due to the same reason, namely the will of capital to reduce the labor costs. The crucial function of subcontracting at this point is to decisively reduce labor’s power to struggle and bargain. Accordingly subcontracting grew at first in the large scale, mostly unionized firms and expanded further. In this paper I will first examine the meaning of subcontracting in the context of other growing forms of flexible employment. After an ensuing short summary of global outlook of subcontracting, I will present the situation in Turkey within the historical context of broader industrial relations. Later different forms of struggle of Turkish workers against subcontracting will be analyzed. Subcontracting is a field of class struggle by definition. Labor’s response has recently led to a new bargain, which materialized in the form of a new law, numbered 6552, enacted in September 2014. As a conclusion I will discuss the changes made by this law related to subcontracting and argue that there are important improvements, which are mainly due to the different forms of years-long struggles of subcontract workers.

Keywords: subcontracting, flexible employment, casualization, labor movement, labor history, industrial relations, neoliberalism.



The Boundaries of Gezi: Notes on the economic and social relations in the urban neighborhoods

DEMET DİNLER

During Gezi Park resistance the vivid demonstrations in the urban neighbourhoods, most of which face the threat of urban renewal projects creating new forms of dispossession and dislocation, were not followed by strong and permanent fora of debate and participation. This paper attempts to seek one reason behind this silence in the social and economic relations deeply embedded in the daily life of the urban neighbourhoods undergoing a drastic transformation for the last thirty years. Against the background of the changing construction economy, power and class relations, it aims to make a microscopic analysis of the attitudes, behaviours, habits and aspirations of individuals in their everyday practices. Both the secondary literature and ethnographic data based on the author's research and organising experience are used to suggest how certain modalities of power we protest take their roots from our own reality. A self-reflexive recognition that we are both the limit and possibility of our own emancipation in capitalist society is suggested to inform both our everyday struggles and utopian perspective.

Keywords: Gezi, neighborhood, power, interest, construction, urban regeneration, pragmatism, desire.



Social dynamics of Gezi protests

ERDEM YÖRÜK - MURAT YÜKSEL

This article empirically investigates the class composition and social and political characteristics of the 2013 Gezi protestors and their supporters by using three different survey data and a newspaper-based protest event dataset. After presenting a portrayal of the larger economic and political context within which the Gezi protests took place and then exploring the existing arguments in the literature on Gezi protests, the article presents the following argument based on an analysis of available empirical evidence: Contrary to the widespread assumption in the existing scholarship and in the public opinion, Gezi protests was neither a "new middle class" nor a "working class" uprising. Gezi cannot even be considered as a class uprising. All classes joined the Gezi protests in proportion to their presence in the society. What differentiates Gezi protesters and their supporters from the rest of the society is not their class background but their political orientations and choices. In

this sense, more than anything else Gezi protests needs to be regarded as a politically motivated and mobilized “popular unrest.”

Keywords: Gezi protests, class, Justice and Development Party (JDP), social movements.



The Formation of social orders through the lens of New Institutional Economics: an Alternative approach to the Late Ottoman - Republican Turkey history

FİKRET ADAMAN - AYÇA AKARÇAY GÜRBÜZ - KIVANÇ KARAMAN

The article aims at evaluating the formation of social orders based on the New Institutional Economics (NIE) approach, which defines institutions as the rules of the social game. This approach classifies institutions as formal and informal, and argues that this distinction has been crucial in understanding the rise of rule of law and democracies in the West. Accordingly, formal institutions gradually replaced informal ones and also improved economic performance. However, with a closer reading of the workings of the institutions and histories of non-Western societies, the interactions between formal and informal institutions become much more complex and their implications for economic performance turns out to be not easily predictable. In the light of this complex interaction, the article proposes an alternative reading of the late Ottoman - Republican Turkey period.

Keywords: New institutional economics, formal and informal institutions, political economy, late Ottoman Empire, Republican Turkey.



JDP's discourse on 'Congregation' through anti-communist strategy in the March 2014 elections

İSMET PARLAK - ARMAĞAN ÖZTÜRK

This article analyses the perception of the 'Congregation' (a key-word for Fethullah Gülen's religious community), by the leader cadre of AKP. The study rests upon Erdoğan's public speeches during the campaign for elections in March 2014 and argues that the style that alienates the 'Congregation' reminds the anti-communist propaganda techniques. This discourse, which condemns Congregation morally and ethically, accuses the supporters of Congregation as being immoral traitors. This strategy followed by AKP during these elections also led to the raise of a specific king of 'fear politics'.

Keywords: JDP, Investigation of 17-25 December, anti-communism, Congregation, internal enemy.



'A strange story': Adnan Hoca and representations of gender

H. BAHADIR TÜRK

Adnan Oktar, known as Adnan Hoca, is undoubtedly one of the most controversial figures in Turkey. Oktar is a "cult leader" –although he prefers not to be called so– who sees himself as the archenemy of Darwinism. Under the pseudonym Harun Yahya, he is the author of many books about *creation versus evolution* debate. Oktar has transformed himself into a social media phenomenon thanks to his TV shows which feature women with heavy make-up ("the kittens") and handsome men wearing expensive suits ("the lions"). This article is an attempt to discuss Adnan Hoca through the problem of representations of gender. The article consists of two main parts. In the first part of the article, I will focus on the rise of Adnan Hoca alongside with Turkey's transformation in the 1980s and the 1990s. In the second part, I will try to analyze Adnan Hoca and his female and male followers through how masculinity and femininity are represented on Adnan Hoca's TV shows.

Keywords: Adnan Oktar (Adnan Hoca), gender, representation, masculinity, social history of Turkey.



Cultural omnivores: Just middlebrow! An analysis of the taste of audiences in the television field in contemporary Turkey

ÖZGÜR ARUN

Beyond discussing its use as a device for conveying messages to the audience and its impact or reception, analysis of the role of television in the construction of reality and of social classes is needed. In this paper, within the framework of Bourdieu's theory of taste, while cultural consumption practices in the field of television in Turkey are addressed, a detailed analysis of the symbolic conflict between the concepts of taste and enjoyment and highbrow and lowbrow classes are discussed. As a result of the analysis, it can be concluded that taste is not simply divided into two distinct sides, namely highbrow or lowbrow. Rather, there is strong evidence of omnivore and univore thesis in the theory of taste in the field of Turkish television.

Keywords: taste, field, television, Bourdieu, Turkey.



University in exile: The problem of provincial universities

MESUT YÜCEBAŞ

In recent years universities, faculties and colleges constituted in any city and town certainly change the idea of university as well as its identity. Universities founded in provinces seem to be undertaken of religious view of province and its closure or quickness and craftiness of grabbing the centrum rather than evaluating the province. Moreover, this evaluation is to be understood as a reality of not only universities in provinces but also of any university in Turkey. The phenomenon of the provincialism of university is becoming evident day by day where the marketing and entrepreneurship identify with sales logic and the indigenous competition for getting a share from the power designates relationships in academic fields (corridors). In this essay, the phenomenon of the provincialism of university is tried to be understood by getting to the source of the problem, in other words examining the university in province.

Keywords: province, university, science, city, conservatism.

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 üste 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.

Harvey, D. (1985b) *Consciousness and Urban Experience*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Derleme kitaplar:

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

Dergilerdeki makaleler:

Johnson, L.C. (1994) "What future for feminist geography", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 1(1): 103-113.

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

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