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Journal of Global Analysis

RESEARCH NOTE:

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE EMERGING MARKETS?

By Teufik Murat Yildirim
University of Missouri

What do we know about the emerging markets? Do they follow different trends than any other country in the West? Is what scholars found in the Western cases compatible with the emerging markets? And finally, is it the economy what makes them 'emerging'? It is no easy task to answer all these questions since there are different approaches point of views, most of which have yet to provide any consensus over multiple issues such as political economy of development, democratization and growth. Yet, optimistically, increasing attention is currently being paid to the emerging markets particularly under the field of international political economy.

Scholars from the developing world, especially those who took part in graduate research in the developed world, have taken the lead in this increasing trend of the study on the emerging markets. One study shows that there is a sharp increase in the number of doctoral dissertations on China, Russia, Korea and Mexico in the United States in the last two decades, with the most popular topics being transition to a market economy, democratization and economic reforms.¹ The same study also points out that roughly 25% of the dissertations in the field of comparative politics focus on political economy, which is an important fact showing that political economy of the developing world is widely studied by the students of comparative politics as well.

1. Maldonado, Claudia, C. Gutierrez and E. Urquhart, *Dissertations in Comparative Politics 1985-2004*, APSA, 2005.



The political economy of the developing world has attracted increasing attention from many disciplines including economics, political science, sociology and public policy. However, this positive fact is not as positive as it sounds for a couple of reasons: methodological and conceptual divide between and within the aforementioned disciplines. One branch of scholars, for example, has looked at the macroeconomic performance of the emerging markets, more specifically export and import, foreign direct investment, currency problems and technology transfers.² Excluding the social dimension, scholars strived to predict the economic future of emerging markets where the development is assumed to be achieved through 'macroeconomic success'. Omitting the socioeconomic factors in these countries such as economic inequality, extreme poverty, corruption, authoritarianism,³ we will be left with a mistaken assumption: The emerging markets will pass through a similar development process that the developed world has passed a century ago. However, fixing these problems especially in China and India probably will not be as easy as it was in the West, a continent where the countries have positively influenced each other. Also, the establishment of the European Union has contributed a lot to individual countries' political and economic developments. Therefore, the emerging markets are not likely to follow a similar development path unless they overcome the problems that social cleavages and weak civil society may pose for political and economic stability.

The scholars of international relations, especially international political economy, focused more on geopolitics with a focus on the rise of the BRICS. The BRICS countries have received particular attention since their economic activities have spread all over the world after the globalization. For example, Brazil, India and China pursue particular policies in Africa to maximize their influence over the continent and it is no exaggeration to expect the BRICS to follow more aggressive foreign policy as their economies and export capacities grow very fast. That said, we could expect to see more about foreign policy of the BRICS in the following decades.

Another branch of international relations focused on the law and reforms especially in the BRICS countries.⁴ For example, according to Lo and Tian, the private sector in China was able to develop only after certain policies were adopted.⁵ Therefore, the development of the BRICS, and more generally the emerging markets, depends not only on the 'international' (such as trade) but also on the 'domestic' (such as economic reforms and laws).

Perhaps comparative politics and public policy fields are the ones that most frequently ignore the developing world due in part to the limited data on certain issues that help us better understand how the decisions are made, how the electoral behaviour is shaped and how

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2. Some examples include: Blalock, G. and Gertler, P. J., "Welfare gains from Foreign Direct Investment through technology transfer to local suppliers", *Journal of International Economics*, Vol. 74, No 2, March 2008, p. 402–421; Frankel, J. A. and Rose, A. K., "Currency crashes in emerging markets: An empirical treatment", *Journal of International Economics*, Vol.41, No 3–4, November 1996, p. 351–366; Sachs, J., Tornell, A. and Velasco, A., *Financial Crises in Emerging Markets: The Lessons from 1995*, NBER Working Paper No 5576, 1996; Wacziarg, R. and Welch, K. H., *Trade Liberalization and Growth: New Evidence*, NBER Working Paper No 10152, 2003.
 3. Becker's edited work covers many of these omitted factors. Becker, U. (ed.), *The BRICS and Emerging Economies in Comparative Perspective: Political Economy, Liberalization and Institutional Change*, London, Routledge, 2014.
 4. Lo, I. V. and Hiscock, M., *The Rise of the BRICS in the Global Political Economy: Changing Paradigms?*, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014.
 5. Lo, V. I. and Tian, X., "Property rights, productivity gains and economic growth: The Chinese experience", *Post-Communist Economies*, Vol.14, No 2, 2002, p.245-58.

responsive is the government outside the West. For example, there is a good deal of research on the policy agendas and the media,⁶ legislative and party behaviour.⁷ However, the existing research in comparative politics and public policy fields on the developing world has been unable to present a comprehensive understanding of how the developing world is different from or similar to the developed world in terms of political behaviour and communication, which may well explain the macroeconomic outcomes.

It is imperative to also consider the impact of future research. Most studies⁸ that have been done on the developing world so far were either single case or few country-case studies in which the main focus was often the country-specific features. This means that we know a great deal of the emerging markets; particularly China, Russia, India, Brazil, Mexico and Turkey, without having the opportunity to quantitatively test how the emerging markets resemble to and differ from the developed world. For example, how decisions are made and what determines particular policy choices in the emerging markets are the questions that social scientists have long been ignoring to ask. Institutional features such as reforms, and perhaps more radically, constitutional changes regarding economy and politics newly received attention from scholars, while most of these studies adopted a single-case method. It is just as important to explore the idiosyncratic features of countries as to test whether particular theories hold also true in other emerging markets. Generalizability of the findings is a necessary condition that we have to take into account.

The emerging markets will doubtless receive much more attention in the following decade, with a particular focus on trade and production. This increasing importance of economic activities of the developing world will probably lead us to do what we have been doing in the last decades: ignoring the socioeconomic outcomes such as inequality. The largest emerging markets, Russia and China, are still far from meeting the standards of a democratic state and there is no sign of change in it. It would be unrealistic to assume that the emerging markets will soon catch up with the major developed countries unless democratization and modernization processes are completed and socioeconomic problems are alleviated. Strong socioeconomic conditions and democracy will be the features that secure the stability and that make the emerging markets more resistant to political and economic shocks in the long run.

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6. See Baumgartner, F. and Jones, B., *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993; Jones, Bryan and Baumgartner, F., *Politics of Attention*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2005; John, P., Bertelli, A., Jennings, W. and Bevan, S., *Policy Agendas in British Politics*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013; Farrall, S. and Jennings, W., "Policy Feedback and the Criminal Justice Agenda: an analysis of the economy, crime rates, politics and public opinion in post-war Britain", *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 26, No 4, 2012, p.467-488; Chaqués-Bonafont, L. and Baumgartner, Frank R., "Newspaper attention and policy activities in Spain", *Journal of Public Policy*, Vol.33, No 1, 2013, p. 65-88.
 7. See Stratmann, T. and Baur, M., "Plurality Rule, Proportional Representation, and the German Bundestag: How Incentives to Pork Barrel Differ Across Electoral Systems", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46, No 3, 2002, p. 506-514; Ordeshook, P. C. and Shvetsova, O. V., "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol.38, No 1, 1994, p.100-123.
 8. Exceptions may be seen in democratization and political development studies. Some of these works include Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M., Cheibub, J. A., Limongi, F., *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000; Cheibub, J. A., "Political Regimes and the Extractive Capacity of Governments: Taxation in Democracies and Dictatorships", *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No 3, 1998, p.349-376; Cheibub, J. A. and Limongi, F., "Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered", *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol.5, No 1, 2002, p.151-179; Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., Robinson, J., "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation", *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 91, No 5, 2001, p. 1369-1401.



This omitted factor, the social dimension, points out a normative argument: scholars studying on the developing world should capture the broad picture, by not only focusing on macroeconomic facts. Cooperating with other disciplines, economists, political scientists and sociologists will be more able to explore the facts about the developing world that economists have swept under the carpet for a long time.

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Journal of Global Analysis

Understanding the Nature of Local-Global Interactions in Istanbul's Retail Property Market

By Dr. Fatih Eren*

Abstract

Today, capital, people and information flows have increased more than ever before among different regions in the world. Every flow creates a different local-global interaction in its own social environment. One of social environments in which this kind of interactions occurs is property markets. There are some theories to explain the nature of local and global interactions in social sciences literature. However, the success of these theories in explaining the nature of local-global interactions in a property market became subject to a research very few. This research aims to make a contribution to this area. The study also intends to find general answers to some important questions emerge in the internationalization process of property markets. The study focuses on the three well-accepted interaction theories of social sciences, which are imperialism, globalisation and glocalisation. The validity of the assumptions of these theories in the case of Istanbul's retail property market is questioned in this research. The emergence of social structures and the specific behaviours of these structures in local property markets may be understood better when true point of view is found out about interactions. A qualitative methodology is followed; interview and document analysis methods are used in the study. Findings show that the nature of local-global interactions experienced in Istanbul's retail property market is very unique so it is not possible to explain this unique nature using the perspective of only one settled theory.

Keywords: Istanbul, retail property market, imperialism, globalisation, glocalisation

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Understanding the Nature of Local-Global Interactions in Istanbul's Retail Property Market

Introduction

The Turkish government embraced a liberal economic policy after 1980. The change in the economic policy has started an internationalization process in the Turkish economic markets. This process is strongly supported by Turkey's membership process to the European Union. The internationalization process required to redesign all laws and institutions which structure the Turkish commercial life as a consequence of the entrance of global players to Turkey in the new liberal period. One of the markets which became subject to a severe internationalization was Istanbul's retail property market (IRPM). International retail and property companies became involved into IRPM after 1980 and invested in many shopping centre development projects in Istanbul. Although a wide range of interactions occurred in the market, interactions were mainly experienced between local and international companies during the process.

The internationalization process of IRPM became a highly controversial topic among local market players. Some local players gave support to this process; some others not. Supporters defended that internationalization is good for IRPM. They claimed that IRPM would solve its chronic structural and cultural problems and would grow and modernize itself with the help of global players. According to the supporters, local resources and local investment opportunities in IRPM would not be exploited by foreign companies; in contrast, local players would turn the growth of the market into their advantage. They asserted that the market would not be a foreign-dependent market at the end. Some other local players stood up to the development of IRPM into a western form. These players claimed that international retail and property companies came to Istanbul to exploit local resources and to seize local investment opportunities. According to them, local trade culture was also subject to an assimilation. IRPM should rise over traditional cultural values and for this, local players had to have an affirmative action in the Turkish retail property market. Opponents also wanted from the government to bring some limitations to the activities and investments of foreign companies to make IRPM a strong freestanding market. After long debates, the legal and institutional structure of IRPM was changed by the Turkish government with the support of some local players and the market then became an international market. In fact, similar debates were opened in the property markets of many developing countries in the last 30 years. These debates are based on some common assumptions and perspectives. It is possible to find these assumptions and perspectives in certain stereotyped theories in social sciences literature. The most common ones are imperialism, globalisation and glocalisation theories. These theories have some different assumptions about the nature of local and global interactions. This study aims to question the success of these theories in explaining the nature of local-global interactions in IRPM and to find general answers to some important questions which emerged in the internationalization process of the market.

Research Aim, Methods and Context

There are three settled theories in the literature which allow to understand the nature of local-global interactions in open social systems: imperialism, globalisation and glocalisation theories. These three theories have been examined in this study. Istanbul's retail property market is selected as the case study for this research. Interview and document analysis methods are used to acquire an in-depth knowledge. Academic books and journals, property news portals, national newspapers, sectoral association's websites, ministerial websites, published books, sectoral magazines and property market reports related to IRPM were scanned. A fieldwork was carried out in Istanbul. Seventeen face-to-face interviews with the managers of the most active companies and nine face-to-face interviews with the directors of the most important public authorities and associations of IRPM were conducted.¹

The study consists of seven sections. In Section 1 and Section 2, debates which came into the agenda in the internationalization process of IRPM and the aim, context and method of this research are provided. Section 3 explains how the institutional approach, which allows to examine local-global interactions in a property market, defines a property market. Imperialism, globalisation and glocalisation theories are introduced in Section 4. The different perspectives of these theories towards local-global interactions are explored in this section. In Section 5, the basic assumptions of selected interaction theories are summarized in a table and seven research questions, which may offer an insight into debates emerged in IRPM, are formulated based on these assumptions. In fact, these are the most thought-provoking questions for local actors during the internationalization process of the market. Section 6 considers debates in IRPM's internationalisation process and seeks convincing answers for the research questions. The final section explores the nature of local-global interactions and discusses the success of theories in explaining interactions' nature in IRPM.

Local-global interactions occurred in a property market are examined in this study so the conceptual definition of a property market should be given at the beginning of this research. The institutional approach (the cultural economy version) allows researchers to examine local and global interactions in a particular city's specific property market so it is decided to use the conceptual framework of this approach in this study. The next section explains what is a property market from institutional approach's perspective.

What is a Property Market: The Institutional Approach

The institutional approach sees a property market as a separate and independent entity from other economic markets.² It mentions the connection of a property market with other property markets as well as with all social actors and institutions in an economy via varied social relations.³ In this approach, social relations hold an important and large place. A property market is perceived as a social construct.⁴ As a social construct, a property market is identified

1. This paper has been produced from the PhD thesis of the author, which is titled: "Local-Global Interactions In The Evolution of Istanbul's Retail Property Market". For more and detailed information about the theoretical framework of the research, research design, the selected method for data collection and analysis, the list of interviewees and the rationale of interview questions, please see Chapter Six pages 123-146 in this thesis.
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and formed by the perceptions and activities of social agents. A property market is not a product of automatic transaction activities but a social institution which is created by some specialized and capable actors.⁵ According to this approach, a property market is part of a social relations network, broadly defined. A property market also includes an internal social relations network in itself. Many institutions which display activity on local, regional or international level for varied purposes may be effective in a local property market.⁶ This perspective that social relations (and also social institutions) can be established at all level from global to local acknowledges that global players may involve in local property markets and moreover they may move together with local players. Since the institutional approach focuses on local-global actors, on local-global institutions and on social relations between all actors and institutions, it allows the examination of local and global interactions in a property market.

The involvement of global players into a local property market inevitably causes a change in the legal, institutional and industrial structure of that market. The institutional approach is closely interested in structural changes in property markets. Changes in a property market are considered as a process which is dependent on various temporal and spacial factors.⁷ It provides a sophisticated and a detailed perspective on the change processes of property markets. This was the only approach to consider 'the fact of change' in a property market in industrial, legal and institutional terms. It considers market changes as evolutionary and it gives a special importance to the timing and order of developments or events in a market.⁸ The institutional approach has a sophisticated and rich analysis of market changes. This feature also allows the examination of global and local interactions and the analysis of the process of change in a property market.

After the specification of the conceptual framework regarding property markets, it is now time to examine local-global interaction theories in social sciences literature. The next section introduces three conventional interaction theories, which are imperialism, globalisation and glocalisation. This introduction is necessary to find out the assumptions of these theories associated with the research subject.

Theories of Local and Global Interactions

Local and global interaction ideas have been evolved in time developing cumulatively. During this process, definitions of local and global concepts and the nature of relations between them have been changed. Theories of local and global interaction may be grouped under three general titles – 'Imperialism', 'Globalisation' and 'Glocalisation' – in the social science literature. Each theory emerged taking nourishment from the one before so these three theories should be considered as the historical development of ideas of local-global interaction like sequencing series. These three theories are reviewed in turn in this section.

5. Sayer, A., *Realism and Social Science*, London, Sage, 2000; Abolafia, M. Y., *Making markets: Opportunism and restraint on Wall Street*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1996.
6. Amin, A., "An institutionalist perspective on regional economic development", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.23, 1999, p.265-278.
7. Edwards, M., "Agents and functions in urban development", *Materiali di Laboratorio di Progettazione Ecologica degli Inseguimenti, Facolta di Architettura, Universita di Firenze*, Vol.1, No 95, 1995, p. 126-136; Healey, op. cit.
8. Henneberry, J. & Roberts, C., "Calculated Inequality? Portfolio Benchmarking and Regional Office Property Investment", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 45, No 5-6, 2008, p. 1217-1241; De Magalhaes, C., "Economic instability, structural change and the property markets: the late 1980s office boom in Sao Paulo", *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 30, 1998, p. 2005-2024.

Imperialism Theory

This is the earliest theory about local - global interactions in the social science literature. Some other theories in the literature such as 'Westernization', 'Americanization', 'Cultural Synchronization' and 'Colonization' may be considered in the context of the imperialism theory because of their similar theoretical origins. All the theories mentioned are based on the idea of the hegemony of the Western world over other societies or countries.⁹ In other words, local and global interactions are seen as a hegemonic issue in all these theories.

The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds.¹⁰

The imperialism theory can be defined as the spread of modern America's social structures (capitalism, rationalism, industrialism and bureaucracy) all over the world. This spread is an imperialist spread; so sub-cultures and local identities are destroyed slowly and gradually during this expansion.¹¹ This expansion process has also been described as 'the McDonald/Hollywood/CNN Imperialism' by some scholars.¹² According to this theory, global and local interactions will, in time, bring a universal synchronization and homogenization to the world; in other words, everywhere (countries) and everything (cultures) will gradually become the same and a single structure and culture will then emerge in the world.¹³ The creation of this single world structure and culture will be carried out through the medium of consumerism, mass media and the English language. The theory looks at local-global interactions from a negative/pessimistic perspective and therefore evaluates an interaction process as an absolute imperialist process. According to this theory, imperialism blocks the emergence of new and alternative structures and cultures in the world. As a consequence of this blockage, humankind will not find effective and creative solutions in the face of future political and economic challenges because of the destruction of cultural diversity and local resources.¹⁴

The imperialism theory assumes that countries, cities and markets are managed remotely from one imperial centre. Some scholars assert that Western countries still carry on a global imperialist process in independent developing countries through international investments and trade relations.¹⁵ Transnational corporations are very effective tools in this process. Western-based transnational companies' commercial activities on a global scale play a key role in the transfer of Western practices, objects and ideas to new regions. In this way, local landscapes,

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9. Taylor, P., "Izations of the World: Americanization, Modernization and Globalization", C. Hay & D. Marsh, (eds.) *Demystifying Globalization*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000, p. 49-70; Spybey, T., *Globalization and World Society*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996.
 10. Nandy, A., "Colonization of the mind", *The Postdevelopment reader*, London, Zed Books, 1997, p.170.
 11. Ritzer, G., *The McDonaldization of Society: An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Pine Forge Press, 1996.
 12. Gowan, P., *The Global Gamble: Washington's Faustian Bid for World Dominance*, London, Verso, 1999; Barber, B., *Jihad vs. McWorld*, New York, Ballantine, 1996; Schiller, H., "Not Yet the Post-Imperialist Era", *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, March, Vol. 8, No 1, 1991, p. 13-28.
 13. Norberg-Hodge, H., "Shifting direction: from global dependence to local interdependence", J. Mander & E. Goldsmith, (eds.) *The Case against the Global Economy and For a Turn Towards the local*, San Francisco, CA, Sierra Club Books, 1996, p. 393-406; Tomlinson, J., "Homogenisation and Globalisation", *History of European Ideas*, February, Vol. 20, No.4-6, 1995, p. 891-897; Hamelink, C., *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications*, New York, Longmans, 1983.
 14. Golding, P. & Harris, P. (eds.), *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order*, London, Sage, 1997; Petras, J., "Cultural Imperialism in the Late 20th Century", *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol.23, No 2, 1993, p.139-148; Tomlinson, J., *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*, London, Pinter, 1991.
 15. Harvey, D., *The new imperialism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003; Young, R., *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2001.



identities and ideas are developed into Western forms.¹⁶ The theory assumes that imperialistic attempts can be made anywhere at anytime. Lester states that imperialism may have one single form or many different forms.¹⁷

This theory's one-way and subjective perspective (hegemonic and imperialist) towards local - global interactions was criticized strongly by many scholars in the 1980s and the 1990s.¹⁸ As a consequence of these criticisms, it started to lose its popularity in social sciences at the end of the 1990s. In those years, the globalisation theory, which takes the basic assumptions of the imperialism theory into consideration while approaching local - global interactions in a more realistic way, started to gain power in social sciences.

Globalisation Theory

Globalisation is a concept which is often used and discussed by social science scholars today. The word 'global' has been used for more than 400 years in the literature. However, the 'globalisation theory' in social sciences emerged after the 1960s; it started to be used frequently after the 1980s. Globalisation is defined as a process which emerges as a result of the increasing flows of capital, commodities, services, people, information and culture among different regions in the world (Held, 1999; Giddens, 1991).¹⁹ This process gains power in proportion to the degree of mobility of these elements. In parallel to Held²⁰, Albrow²¹ defines globalisation as the spread of technologies, practices and values all over the world, which may affect the everyday life of humankind. This process is also described as the over-development of world-wide social relations. In this context, the theory is defined as the geographical extension of social processes. The integration of national economies with other world economies in terms of trade, finance and macro-economic policies is also defined by some scholars as a process of globalisation.²² In fact, the globalisation process can be defined as a comprehensive change in the nature of social space.²³ In sum, it may be said that the basic feature of globalisation processes is that they have a transnational character.

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16. Ogborn, M. *Indian ink: script and print in the making of the English East India Company*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2007; Legg, S. *Spaces of colonialism: Delhi's urban governmentalities*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2007; Lambert, D., *White creole culture, politics and identity during the age of abolition*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2005; Clayton, D., *Islands of truth: the imperial fashioning of Vancouver Island*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2000; Driver, F. & Gilbert, D., *Imperial cities: landscape, display and identity*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999.
 17. Lester, A. J., *Imperial networks: creating identities in nineteenth-century South Africa and Britain*, London, Routledge, 2001.
 18. Pettman, R., "Anti-Globalisation Discourses in Asia", C. Eschle & B. Maiguashca, (eds.) *Critical Theories, International Relations and the Anti-Globalisation Movement*, London, Routledge, 2005, p. 77-86; Kraidy, M. M., "Glocalisation: An international communication framework?", *Journal of International Communication*, Vol.9, N 2, 2003, p.29-49; Castells, M. & Himanen, P., *The Information Society and the Welfare State: the Finnish Model*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002; Conti, S. & Giaccaria, P., "Globalization and Geography", *GeoJournal*, Vol. 45, No 1-2, 1998, p. 17-25.
 19. Held, D., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Cambridge, Polity, 1999; Giddens, A., *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991.
 20. Held, op. cit.
 21. Albrow, M., *The Global Age: state and Society Beyond Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996.
 22. Gilpin, R., *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987.
 23. Walker, G., "Connecting the national to the global", M. Hayden & J. Thompson, (eds.), *International schools and international education*, London, Kogan Page, 2000.

The globalisation theory perceives the world on a very large scale, which is a 'global scale'.²⁴ The 'global' is a well-defined concept but the 'local' is not a concept which is defined specifically and clearly in this theory.²⁵ The idea of globalisation is based on the hegemony of global homogenization versus heterogenization; so this theory looks at the 'local' from above and outside and assesses the 'global' and the 'local' as two opposite facts. In line with this, the theory argues that the global assimilates the local in time.²⁶ The dualism of universalism and particularism does not have a place in this theory. In other words, the globalisation theory accepts that there is only a one-way flow in a local -global interaction process, from the global to the local; it ignores possible flows from the local to the global.²⁷

The globalisation theory claims that local entities are assimilated by global entities, and, as a result, a homogenized global structure and culture emerge at the end of this process. However, some globalisation scholars have recently noticed the fact that heterogenized (hybrid) structures are emerging together with homogenized structures in local - global interaction processes. These scholars then started to consider that 'globalisation' is a process running between heterogeneous cultures, and globalisation processes emerge as a result of interactions between different cultures. This new consideration stresses the fact of 'locality' in interaction processes, and this is an important breakthrough in the globalisation concept.

The emphasis on localities in the globalisation theory entails the re-interrogation of the importance of space in global and local interaction processes. At this stage, it is necessary to understand how the globalisation theory perceives 'space'. Some globalisation scholars have claimed that 'time' and 'space' have become meaningless, so geography has come to an end in this new global age. They assert that a flat, limitless, transnational and supra-territorial global landscape has emerged in the world; this situation is named 'flat world'.²⁸ Some other globalisation scholars have not shared these views.²⁹ These scholars have focused on the American Empire's global place-making attempts and the dynamics of this work; they have mainly explored how American companies and institutions use space. In this context, they have analysed some global institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to discover the geopolitics of America's global governance.³⁰ Studies on how product

24. Swyngedouw, E., Neither Global nor Local. K. Cox, (ed.) *Glocalization and the politics of scale*, New York, The Guilford Press, 1997.
25. Ferguson, M., "The mythology about globalization", *European Journal of Commuciation*, Vol.7, No 1, 1992.
26. Giddens, A., *The Third Way: the Renewal of Social Democracy*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1998.
27. Giulianotti, R. & Robertson, R., "Glocalization, Globalization and Migration: The Case of Scottish Football Supporters in North America", *International Sociology*, Vol.21, No 2, 2006, p.171-198; Said, E. W., *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the orient*, London, Penguin, 1995; Hall, S., "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies", L. Grossberg, (ed.) *Cultural Studies*. London, Routledge, 1992.
28. Friedman, T. L., *The world is flat: a brief history of the twenty-first century*, New York, Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2005; Scholte, J. A. *Globalization: a critical introduction*, London, Palgrave, 2000; Hardt, M. & Negri, A., *Empire*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2000; Appadurai, A., "Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy", Appadurai, A. (Eds). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press, 1996, p. 27-47; Ohmae, K., *The end of the nation state: the rise of regional economies*, New York, The Free Press, 1995.
29. Harvey, D., *Limits to capital*, London, Verso, 1999; Harvey, D., *The new imperialism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004.
30. Anderson, K., "Thinking 'postnationally': dialogue across multicultural, indigenous, and settler spaces", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 90, No 2, 2000, p.381-91; Peet, R. *Unholy trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO*, London, Zed Books, 2003; Pieterse, J. N., *Globalization or empire?*, New York, Routledge, 2004; Smith, A., "Regions, spaces of economic practice and diverse economies in the 'new Europe'", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, Vol. 11, 2004, p. 9-25; Sparke, M., *In the space of theory: postfoundational geographies of the nation-state*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2005; Agnew, J. A., "Globalization has a home address: the geopolitics of globalization", D. Conway & N. Heynen, (Eds.) *Globalization's contradictions: geographies of discipline, destruction and transformation*, New York, Routledge, 2006.



chains re-organize geographies and on how production, trade, allocation and consumption businesses operate on the global economic stage have increased in the last decade.³¹ The exploration of the existence of an unstable and irregular economic map of the world has shifted the interest of globalisation scholars to global and local relations. Because of this shift, globalisation scholars have moved away from ideas like 'the end of states' or 'the end of geography'.³² The global capitalism perspective suggests that global capitalists enter every country and region easily and give a global structural shape to these countries and regions, removing all local character from these areas. However, Eric Swyngedouw states that this process does not progress as simply as stated in the common 'global capitalism' perspective. He asserts that local actors play an active role in global processes and give a direction to these processes. He also asserts that local geographies are re-created and re-scaled because of the involvement of local actors in these processes.³³ Some other social theorists who are interested in the development of contemporary cultural hybrids³⁴ have conducted some studies on the different forms of global cultural differences. New findings in globalisation studies have recently brought popularity to a new local -global interaction theory in social sciences. This is 'glocalisation theory', which approaches local and global interaction processes as two-sided and which takes local elements (actors, identities, culture and so on) into consideration much more than any other theory.

Glocalisation Theory

The 'glocalisation' theory is used in social sciences for explaining several social phenomena as being dependent on local-global interactions. It should be stated here that 'hybridization' and 'creolization' theories may be considered in the same context as the glocalisation theory because all these theories approach local and global interaction processes as two-sided and they believe that hybrid (heterogenized) products may emerge at the end of these processes. 'Glocalisation' is defined as the interpenetration of global and local cultures, resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas.³⁵ This theory is used in the literature for understanding and explaining complex relations and connections between global and local entities.³⁶ Glocal theorists claim that global and local structures and cultures benefit from each other. According to them, a glocalisation process starts after a global activity meets a local activity. This theory assumes that global and local facts are interpenetrated at a specific time in a particular space. A third culture is born from the blending and interpenetration of global and local cultures under suitable conditions. This third culture is not described as the equalization of global and local cultures. It is characterized as a different, independent and new cultural form.³⁷

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31. Dicken, P., *Global Shift: Reshaping the Global Economic Map in the 21st Century*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications, 2003; Mittelman, J., *The globalization syndrome: transformation and resistance*, Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press, 2000.
 32. Swyngedouw, E., "Globalisation or 'glocalisation'? Networks, territories and re-scaling", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol.17, No 1, 2004, p. 25-48.
 33. Swyngedouw, op. cit.
 34. For example, Featherstone, M., *Undoing culture: globalization, postmoderism and identity*. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage, 1995.
 35. Robertson, R., *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London, Sage, 1992.
 36. Robertson, R., "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity", M. Featherstone, S. Lash & R. Robertson, (eds.) *Global Modernities*, London, Sage, 1995, p. 25-44.
 37. Ibid.

In opposition to the ideas of globalisation theorists, glocal theorists do not regard the global and the local as two competing notions. Robertson points out that the global and the local may include some complementary processes.³⁸ The glocalisation theory looks at interaction processes from an optimistic and positive perspective. It mentions mutual cooperation between local and global entities. According to the glocalisation theory, both local and global entities undergo a change, and, as a result, hybrid structures and cultures emerge in the world. The glocalisation theory argues that sub-cultures and local identities will increase, be diversified and gain power at the end of interaction processes.³⁹ The theory talks about flows from local to global and vice versa and it focuses on gradually empowered and interconnected social relations at both local and global levels. The description of both local and global entities are a requirement in this theory. It looks at local entities closely from inside and a special emphasis on space and time exists in the glocalisation theory.⁴⁰

So far, imperialism, globalisation and glocalisation theories have been reviewed. The next section summarizes the assumptions of these theories associated with the research subject in a table and develops research questions starting from these assumptions. These are the most engaging questions for local actors during the internationalization process of the market.

The Assumptions of Interaction Theories and The Most Debated Questions in The Internationalization Process of IRPM

The assumptions of the interaction theories are presented in the table below.

Table 1: The assumptions of the interaction theories associated with the research subject

Local-global interaction theories	Assumptions
The Imperialism Theory	The social structures of western modernity (capitalism, rationalism, industrialism and bureaucratism) will spread all over the world.
	Countries, cities and markets in independent developing countries are managed remotely from one western imperial centre.
	Investment opportunities in developing countries are exploited by western-based transnational companies.
The Globalisation Theory	Nation-states have inefficient role and function in local-global interaction processes.
	A synchronization process will be experienced dependent on the assimilation of local elements by global actors and a single homogenized global structure will then emerge in the world.
	Flows in local and global interactions are one-way, that is only from global to local.
The Glocalisation Theory	Global and local interactions are two- sided; local and global entities can move and work together under fair terms.
	The global and the local may include some complementary processes; both local and global entities are actively involved in an interaction process and they benefit from/contribute to each other during the process.
	Global and local facts are interpenetrated after an interaction has started so a separation like local and global is meaningless in interaction processes.

38. Ibid.

39. Featherstone, op. cit.

40. Swyngedouw, op.cit.



Starting from these assumptions, seven research questions have been developed. These are also the most debated questions in the internationalization process of IRPM so the answers of them have a character to shed light on debates in the market.

- Have the social structures of western modernity been embraced and internalized by IRPM's local players? (an assumption of the imperialism theory)
- Has the Turkish Government had an efficient role in the start and progress of local-global interactions in IRPM? (an assumption of the globalisation theory)
- Has a structural homogenization and synchronization been experienced in IRPM? (an assumption of both the imperialism and the globalisation theories)
- Is IRPM controlled by western-based transnational companies? Are investment opportunities seized by foreign companies in the market? (an assumption of the imperialism theory)
- Do flows in interactions progress only one-way which is from global to local? (an assumption of the globalisation theory)
- Are there cooperation more than conflicts between local and global players in IRPM? (an assumption of the glocalisation theory)
- Does a separation like local and global in the market meaningless? (an assumption of the glocalisation theory)

A specific theoretical framework and research design developed for this study helped to find some general but convincing answers to these hard research questions.⁴¹ A summary of answers to these questions is sought in the next section.

Discussions

- Have the social structures of western modernity been embraced and internalized by IRPM's local players?

The Turkish government has gradually brought Turkish retail and property laws into conformity with European Union retail and property laws in line with Turkey's vision of full membership of the EU after 1980. As a consequence of the enactment of liberal laws in the context of EU reforms and as a consequence of the preparation of a suitable working environment for foreign companies in the country, many American and European companies became involved in IRPM between 1980 and 2010. The involvement of Western companies in the sector ensure that local market players have little difficulty in learning and internalizing most of the social structures of Western modernity such as capitalism, rationalism, industrialism and bureaucratism. First, the desire of local retailers to become a global brand by opening chain stores and the desire of local property developers to develop chain shopping centres all over the world are evidence that capitalist ideas have been embraced by local market players. Second, in contrast to the pre-2004 period, the start of research activities and the use of quantitative techniques for property developments and investments after 2004 are evidence that local players have abandoned their intuitive-based approach and started to display rational economic behaviour in the market. Third, in contrast to past experiences, the

41. For more evidence and comprehensive discussions on these questions, please see Chapter Seven, Eight and Nine pages 147-252 in author's PhD thesis.

start of the development of a diverse range of shopping centre projects in series, the emergence of a social and economic system which runs the shopping centre production cycle, and the permanent employment of many people as constructors, developers, investors, consultants or retailers in this system are evidence that industrialization has taken place in IRPM. Finally, the existence of many laws, regulations and institutions which regulate market operations is evidence that sectoral bureaucracy has increased in IRPM. These empirics show that IRPM's local players have embraced and internalized the social structures of western modernity in the local-global interaction process.⁴²

- Has the Turkish Government had an efficient role in the start and progress of local-global interactions in IRPM?

The issue of how a local - global interaction starts is discussed in the theories. It is found that interactions do not begin suddenly and accidentally. Interactions in IRPM started after the Turkish government, as the main authority in the country, gave permission for them to start. In the case of IRPM, the decisions of 24 April 1980 were made by the government, and as a result Turkey adopted a free market economic system. In line with these decisions, a legal and an institutional foundation on which interactions might occur and free market mechanisms might run was prepared by the government. The enactment of the Securities Exchange Act (91) and the Capital Markets Law (2499), the establishment of the Capital Markets Board of Turkey and the opening of the Istanbul Stock Exchange may be given as examples of the preparation of a legal and institutional foundation for the start of free market mechanisms in IRPM. The preparation and equipping of the interaction environment were time-consuming and challenging for the government. The government decided to introduce the liberal economic system in 1980 but the start of the operation of free market mechanisms with proper laws and institutions and without problems became possible in the country after 1994. Therefore, the preparation of the interaction environment continued for about fourteen years. This finding shows that interaction processes progress step by step under state control.⁴³

Some scholars also emphasize the role and function of states in the development of interactions between local and global entities.⁴⁴ Indeed, liberal economic reforms and regulations which were introduced by the Turkish government from the 1980s onward were the basic reason for the start of interactions between global and local companies in IRPM. Every legal arrangement started a different global trend and process in the market. For example, Turkey passed to a free market economy through the enactment of new liberal laws and through the establishment of new public institutions in 1988. Just after these developments, the first international hypermarket chains became involved in the property market. Partnerships between local property companies and international retail chains started

42. For more and detailed information about the comprehensive evaluation of the pre and post deregulation status of the property market and the mental changes of local actors in IRPM's internationalization process, please see Chapter Three pages 53-74 in author's PhD thesis.

43. For more and detailed information about roles undertaken during the internationalization process and legal/institutional changes done by the Turkish government in order to start and progress this process, please see Chapter Seven pages 147-194 in author's PhD thesis.

44. Brenner, N., *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004a; Brenner, N., "Urban governance and the production of new state spaces in Western Europe:1960-2000", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 11, 2004b, p.447-488; Jessop, B., "The crisis of spatio-temporal fix and the tendential ecological dominance of globalizing capitalism", *Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 24, 2000, p. 323-360.



and continued increasingly in the next years. The Turkish government revised the FDI Law in 2003 to allow foreign companies and foreign capital to enter the Turkish property market. The government then started negotiations with the European Union for full membership. These developments caused foreign investors to enter IRPM in large numbers after 2005. Looking at these facts, it is easy to say that the Turkish government has played a very important role in the progress of local - global interactions in IRPM.

- Has a structural homogenization and synchronization been experienced in IRPM?

Global theorists claim that a universal structural homogenization and synchronization is experienced gradually in the world, whilst glocal theorists claim that a universal structural heterogenization and diversification is experienced gradually in the world. Findings show that global theorists' claim is true for IRPM because laws and institutions which are very similar to Western countries' laws and institutions emerged as a result of thirty years of intensive local - global interactions in the market. Most of the laws and institutions emerged as a result of the examination of Western laws and institutions [especially European laws and institutions] by Turkish legislators and policy-makers in the market. In other words, American and European laws and institutions became a model for Turkish laws and institutions. For example, the Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs) Law, Foreign Direct Investments Law and Mortgage Law were inspired by Western laws, so their aims and content are very similar to related Western laws. Again, it is possible to find institutions similar to the Investment Support and Promotion Agency (ISPAT), which was established by the government to attract foreign capital in Turkey, in most countries; or Urban Land Institute (ULI), which display non-governmental organizational activities using the same name, in many countries. Even though some laws (for example, 4926-The Law for fighting illegal trade) and institutions (for example, Registered Brands of Association) emerged because of particular conditions in Turkey, they all played a role in bringing market actors in Turkey into line with Western practice. These examples are evidence that a strong structural homogenization and synchronization process is experienced in IRPM. Even though Turkey has long-standing relations with some other international organisations like OECD, UN, NATO, WTO, IMF and World Bank, Turkey's EU vision mainly lies at the bottom of this structural homogenization and synchronization because the membership of Turkey to EU is a process which directly changes Turkey's laws and institutions and forces Turkish people into adapting new legal and institutional environment.

- Is IRPM controlled by western-based transnational companies? Are investment opportunities seized by foreign companies in the market?

The imperialism theory assumes that states or markets and their globalisation processes are controlled and managed either remotely from a Western country or from inside by Western companies. Indeed, findings show that Turkey's restructuring and internationalization process is directly managed and monitored by the European Council in the context of Turkey's full membership negotiations with the EU. However, IRPM is a market which is controlled and managed directly by local professionals from the beginning to the end; the management of the market and its internationalization process have never passed to the control of any Western state or any Western company. The government's EU vision and governmental initiatives towards the realisation of this vision stimulated IRPM's first retail and property professionals; local professionals considered EU reforms as an opportunity to grow and

restructure the Turkish property market with new modern laws and institutions. That's why all associations which were established by these professionals fully supported the government's EU vision. Local professionals gained a strong and a clear opinion about the future possible structure of the Turkish property market because of the EU vision. Thanks to this strong and clear opinion, local professionals who know the sophisticated structure of European property markets very well found a chance to manage the internationalization process of IRPM. From the beginning of the internationalization process, local professionals moved consciously, knowing what they were doing and knowing the future final structure of IRPM. Associations which were established by these professionals worked for the removal of IRPM's traditional legal and institutional structure and then for the installation of an efficient and organized structure in IRPM. Local professionals considered that IRPM's new structure might be very similar to the structure of European cities' property markets inevitably when Turkey became a member of the EU. Through the attraction of foreign capital into IRPM, local professionals aimed to realize the large-scale property development projects which they were planning in Istanbul and Anatolia; aimed to be the first people to seize all investment opportunities in IRPM; aimed to benefit as much as possible from the growth of the market; and more importantly aimed to develop into global players. It is seen that local professionals managed this process in a planned and programmed way. The dominance and hegemony of local players over IRPM are felt strongly even today. The numbers of local players and their projects are much higher than the numbers of global players and their projects in Istanbul. In the last thirty years, 90 of 116 shopping centres in Istanbul were developed by local companies. Similarly, today, 113 local property companies display activity in the market while only 76 foreign property companies are active in IRPM. In short, the number of local property companies is much higher than the number of foreign companies today in the market. Not only in IRPM but in the Turkish property market, local players are more dominant than global [foreign] players; global players could not achieve dominance over the market. Until today, \$35 billion has been invested in shopping centres in Turkey; \$12 billion of this is foreign direct investment (AYD, 2008). These numbers show that local players seized investment opportunities much more than global players in the Turkish retail property market during the internationalization process. More importantly, most of global companies which display activity in IRPM have a local partner company with local finance capital. Local professionals predominantly undertake managerial roles in the management of these both local-/global-capital joint venture companies. In addition, local professionals work as managers in most of global companies in Istanbul whose capital is solely foreign. This fact firstly shows that almost all property development and investment decisions are still taken by local professionals in IRPM even today. Thanks to local professionals' active and organized behaviour, the control of IRPM has remained in the hands of local players and the internationalization process has resulted in local players' favour. In other words, local players benefited from the growth of IRPM much more than global players in the process.⁴⁵

Global property companies that expect to seize all investment opportunities everywhere in the world came to Istanbul. They seized shopping centre investment opportunities in this city, sometimes alone and sometimes with the help of a local partner, and became sharers of profitability in the market. This attitude of global players may be considered as 'an imperialist

45. For more and detailed information about how local actors managed the internationalization process of IRPM and what they gained at the end, the list of local and global actors in IRPM, the types of local-global relationships and resource transfers between these actors, please see Chapter Eight pages 195-236 in author's PhD thesis.



attempt' from this perspective. However, findings show that the local -global interaction process in IRPM may not easily be named 'an absolute imperialist process'. Imperialists simply consider that outsiders go to a locality, exploit local resources there and take profits to another place (to their homeland); imperialists believe in a one-way utilization. However, in the case of Istanbul, while Western companies were seizing shopping centre investment opportunities and taking a share of the profitability of IRPM, at the same time they brought some necessary resources to Istanbul. For example, global companies provided investment capital, international shopping centre know-how, corporate management and research systems as resources to the local players of IRPM. These were very necessary and important resources for the growth and development of the sector, according to local players. Global companies transferred their international experience to local market players through local-global partnerships. More importantly, thanks to resource transfers from global to local, many local companies expanded overseas and developed into global players in this process. In summary, local players also benefited from global players and IRPM's investment opportunities have been exploited by both local and foreign companies in the process.

- Do flows in interactions progress as one-way which is only from global to local?

IRPM's experience cannot easily be named a one-way globalisation process which is only from global to local. The transition of Turkey's economy from planned to liberal was a decision taken by the Turkish government in order to make Turkey a part of the world economic system. Turkey's economic liberalization process was not started under external coercion by the initiatives of Western states. Again, Turkey's application to the European Union (EU) was not enforced by the EU; this application was made as a consequence of the Turkish government's intensive initiatives and strong desire. Next, the involvement of the first global companies in IRPM also occurred as a result of the intensive initiatives and strong desire of local market players [For example, the involvement of the first hypermarket chain (Carrefour) and the first supermarket chain (Swiss Migros); the involvement of the first property service companies (Healey&Baker, DTZ); the involvement of the first property development and investment companies (Corio N.V., Multi Corporation)]. Finally, most of associations associated with IRPM were established by local players who wanted to modernize the market in a Western style. It is clear that the Turkish government and local market players were actively involved in the internationalization process of Turkey. This empiric shows that local players have power to route the interaction process as much as global players.

- Are there cooperation more than conflicts between local and global players in IRPM?

Some scholars assert that local and global entities conflict with each other, whilst some others assert that they cooperate with each other. Findings show that local and global companies cooperated with each other during IRPM's internationalization process so partnerships rather than conflicts were seen between local and global players in IRPM. For example, local companies have established industrial partnerships with global companies, local associations have admitted global players to membership, and local associations have established many institutional partnerships with international associations. Most of local players saw the existence of global players in the market as very valuable; so they invited them to Istanbul through their associations with great insistence. Local companies expected to cooperate with

global companies under fair terms or wanted to compete with them in a fair and balanced way in a free and well-structured market environment.

- Does a separation like local and global in the market meaningless?

Findings show that after the beginning of interactions between local and global companies in a property market, 'local' and 'global' concepts lose their meaning because global companies have a potential to develop into local companies and local companies have a potential to develop into global companies easily in a market. In other words, transformations from global company to local and from local company to global are possible and very common in property markets. For example, the establishment of new local companies by international companies and the partial/full acquisition of local companies by international companies are examples of the fast development of global companies into local companies in IRPM. Even though their capital is foreign, these kinds of global companies are perceived as local companies in IRPM because of their local partner companies or because of their local managers. Again, when a local property service company starts to use the name of a global company as a franchise, this local company with local capital is perceived as a foreign company. This study shows that local players had an effort to appear as global players and global players had an effort to appear as local players in IRPM's internationalization process. This is because both parties gain some advantages from looking like the other party. That effort is the main factor of the removal of the local/global division in interaction processes.

Conclusion

This research shows that it is not possible to understand and explain the nature of local-global interactions fully using only the perspective of one formulaic theory in IRPM because the market has experienced a very unique internationalization process. It is found that interactions began and progressed mainly from the hands of local actors more than global actors. Nevertheless, a structural synchronization and homogenization has been experienced in IRPM. Although western-based international companies were not very effective in the management of the property market, the social structures of western modernity have strongly been embraced by the local actors of IRPM. International companies were in an endeavour to seize investment opportunities in the market but the Turkish government had power to control all interactions occurring in its state boundaries. Findings also show that local actors preferred to work and move together with global actors rather than being in conflict. This is because cooperation provided varied benefits to both parties. Local-global partnerships between property companies made local and global division meaningless in IRPM.



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Journal of Global Analysis

Women Labour in Call Centres:
Understanding Characteristics of Work

By **Gulten Dursun*** & **Hale Butun Bayram****

Abstract

This paper is concerned with the work experiences of women employees in info-service-based offices as telephone call centres. Call centres have grown rapidly in Turkey in recent years, creating a large number of new jobs. In particular, it is concerned with the question of whether call centre jobs are offering women new opportunities for career progression, or whether a more common bias is taking place in which women are being drawn into highly routinized jobs. The collection of data was carried out sourcing a heterogeneous plurality of instruments. Our research confirms that work processes in call centres are close association of surveillance technologies (technologic panopticon), exploitation and high levels of discipline, highly repetitive and heavily monitored, and that the association with the assembly line and Taylorism have dominated much of the rhetoric on call centres. In addition, we have observed that, the structure of women's employment in the call centre industry tends to polarise.

Keywords: Call centres, women labour, electronic panopticon, Taylorism, characteristics of work

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Women Labour in Call Centres: Understanding Characteristics of Work

Introduction

Call centres in Turkey have developed rapidly over the last fifteen years compared to many other countries. Call centres provide an important source of employment for women in most of the countries. They are defined as offices providing remote Telesales, telemarketing and information services.¹ At the beginning, the feminization of increasing employment with the manufacturing industry has gradually expanded in the fields requiring mainly call centres and data input along with the internationalization of the service sector.² The call centre business is one that provides the services offered face to face in the past through telephone and computer systems with the development of information and communication technologies since the mid-1980s. The studies revealed that 70% of the total number of employees working in call centres are women. This is because women have high social and emotional skills and they work at low wages and have flexible hours, more women are employed in this field.

The lack of studies conducted in Turkey regarding the role and position of women in this rapidly-growing sector is remarkable. This new service sector draws attention since it is seen to focus on the "Taylorist" work method on one hand and "technological panopticon" on the other hand, because of women's status as "modern slaves", their working conditions and their being unorganized. This study aims to find evidence supporting this hypothesis. The basis of study is to investigate characteristics of work for women call centre workers. More specifically, this study addresses four main questions: Are call centres a new job process offering a career opportunity to women? Or is it one of the highly routinized businesses? How does the continuous supervision mechanism affect call centre employees? Do call centre employees develop any type of resistance during this process? All these questions will be provided with probable answers and some directions for future research will also be proposed.

The study has three parts. Following the discussion about "Taylorism", and "Technological Panopticon" work methods presented after the introduction part; the changing situation of the service sector taking examples from call centre activities and women labour will be discussed, and the analysis conducted will be presented. The findings will be evaluated in the concluding part.

Approaches Towards Understanding Labour Processes in Call Centres

Call centres began to take place in the centre of the discussions related to economical geography, labour markets, business organization and women studies in academic literature.

1. Ranald Richardson and J. Neill Marshall, "The Growth of Telephone Call Centres in Peripheral Areas of Britain: Evidence from Tyne and Wear", *Area*, Vol. 28, No 3, 1996, p. 308.
2. Marcela Miozzo and Luc Soete, "Internationalization of Services: A Technological Perspective", *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, Vol. 67, No 2-3, 2001, p. 159-185.

The Call centre sector is defined as one of the labour intensive sectors, of which most of its employees are not qualified; also at the same time have low wages. Call centres mainly reflect the approach of mass production to its customer services.³ The main distinctive property of such a study is that call activities of employees are monitored by a means of Automatic Call Distributer (ACD) system during their working hours. This system determines the time at which employees are included in the system and whether they make any calls when they are in the system. It then allows for inbound calls or outbound calls to be routed to the first free agent. Therefore, employees do not have a time break between two calls. All employees, except those having a break are on the phone during their 8 hours of work. When this situation tagged "low discretion, high commitment" is considered in terms of management strategies, it indicates tension arising from a conflict between service quality and efficiency provided for customers. This tension between control and loyalty has been the issue of various studies regarding call centre practices.

"Electronic Panopticon" Approach to Call Centres

The concept of "Electronic Panopticon"⁴ was first used by Fernie and Metcalf while evaluating the labour processes evident in call centres.⁵ Panopticon, which was suggested as an ideal prison model by Jeremy Bentham, a philosopher, 200 years ago, was then named by Foucault, a historian/philosopher as "a cruel, ingenious cage".⁶ Foucault defines it as an instrument of disciplinary application and a means of defining power relations in daily life. According to Fernie and Metcalf, Bentham's Panopticon model showed by Foucault for the workplace application is an archetypical organization for call centres.⁷ With regard to these authors, the employees under continuous surveillance in call centres carry out their duty without external pressure even if they are not monitored after a while, since they think they are being monitored.⁸

Electronic panopticon is the internalization of power relations and the fulfilment of behavioural rules determined by employers without any pressure. Employees know that they are continuously monitored just as it is in panopticon type prison. All transactions carried out through the ACD system can be electronically observed in details and recorded. Fernie and Metcalf argue that perfection in the management processes will be provided and performance evaluation can be carried out via computer surveillance monitors.⁹ Electronic panopticon provides call centre managers with "full control".¹⁰ Such a full control mechanism is important

3. Rosemary Batt, "Work Organization, Technology, and Performance in Customer Service and Sales", *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol 52, No 4, 1999, p.539-564; Maeve Houlihan, "Tensions and Variations in Call Centre Management Strategies", *Human Resource Management Journal*, Vol. 12, No 4, 2002, p. 67-85.
4. "Bentham envisioned the Panopticon as consisting of a central watchtower surrounded by a circular row of cells permanently exposed to the unseen inspector in his lodge" Afrouz Yari and Shahram Afrougheh, "Franz Kafka's The Castle: A Foucaultian Reading", *International Journal of Literature and Arts*, Vol. 1, No 3, 2013, p. 63-67; and for a detailed description of the Panopticon, see Janet Semple, *Bentham's Prison: A Study of the Panopticon Penitentiary*, Clarendon Press, 1993.
5. Sue Fernie and David Metcalf, "(Not) Hanging on the Telephone: Payment Systems in the New Sweatshops", *Centre for Economic Performance London School of Economics and Political Science WP*, No 390, 1998, p. 2.
6. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1977.
7. Sue Fernie and David Metcalf, *op. cit.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. Sue Fernie and David Metcalf, *op. cit.*, p.9.
10. Sue Fernie and David Metcalf, "Ricky Don't Lose That Number....Payment Systems, Monitoring Systems, Monitoring and Performance in Call Centres", *Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics WP*, No 1047, 1999, p. 14.



in terms of economical performance of these call centres. Bain and Taylor criticize the approach of “electronic panopticon” from two aspects.¹¹ Firstly, this approach suggests an insufficient framework with regard to the simplification of labour processes in call centres. Secondly, this approach underestimates a possible potential to resist and even make a possible resistance impossible due to “full control”.

“Taylorist” Approach to Call Centres

Taylorism resulted from the works of “scientific revolution” in the capitalist production organization conducted by Frederick Taylor in USA in the early 20th century. Taylor, with an approach he developed in his work titled “Principles of Scientific Management” in 1911, had an influence on the organization and control of capitalism during the labour process. Taylorism provides a structure aiming to establish a performance-based wage system, and eliminate all the elements causing loss of time by increasing work division in production and an increased work performance. In other words, the basic factors of cognitive management include division of work units, standardization and increasing productivity.

According to Taylor, an employee’s greatest obstacle is “natural laziness”. More importantly, it is the process of “systematic soldiering” which is a conscious behaviour carried out by employees, thereby trying to hide the actual duration of their work.¹² Taylor argues that what lies behind these behaviours of employees is the thought of a conflicting interest with their employers, but both parties would be able to gain the highest possible profit with the implementation of the “principles of scientific management”.¹³ As for the control issue, it was argued that a good management must be able to dictate to its employees the best possible means of carrying out their tasks.

The call centre business in existing literatures is defined as a combination of Taylorism, emotional labour and supervision mechanism.¹⁴ At the same time, call centres which includes a new style in customer relations are known as stressful workplaces due to information technology.¹⁵ Many researchers indicated that the thesis stating Taylorism as a type of production organization had important resources which explain labour processes in call centres.¹⁶ Accordingly, “labour processes in call centres represent a new development in the Taylorisation process of the white collars”.¹⁷ When the nature of work type is properly examined, the labour supervision style Taylorism describes to be valid. When a typical call centre employee logs into the system, he/she is identified by the system and starts to work

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11. Peter Bain and Phil Taylor, “Entrapped by the ‘Electronic Panopticon’ Worker Resistance in the Call Centre”, *New Technology, Work and Employment*, Vol 15, No 1, 2000, p. 1-17.
 12. Frederick W. Taylor, *Shop Management*, New York and London: Harper&Brothers&Publishers, 1911, p. 32-33.
 13. Frederick W. Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, Five Edition, USA: Greenwood Press, 1977, p. 10.
 14. J. Wickham and G. Collins, “The Call Centre: A Nursery for New Forms of Work Organisation?”, *The Services Industry Journal*, Vol. 24, No 1, 2004, p. 1-18.
 15. Fernie and Metcalf, 1998, *Op. cit.*
 16. Gloria Lankshear et al., “Call Centre Employees’ Responses to Electronic Monitoring: Some Research Findings”, *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 15, No 3, 2001, p. 595-605; Michael Fisher, “The Crisis of Civil Service Trade Unionism: A Case Study of Call Centre Development”, *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 18, No 1, 2004, p. 157-177; Phil Taylor and Peter Bain, “An Assembly Line in the Head’: Work and Employee Relations in the Call Centre”, *Industrial Relations Journal*, Vol. 30, No 2, 1999, p. 101-117; Peter Bain et al., “Taylorism, Targets and the Pursuit of Quantity and Quality by Call Centre Management”, *New Technology, Work and Employment*, Vol. 17, No 3, 2002, p.170-85.
 17. Peter Bain et al. *Op. cit.*, p.172.

and gets 30 calls per hour on average. An important point here is the control of employees' work rhythms, the people they talk to, the words they use during the calls and their break times by the ACD system. In this sense, call centres "with major reference to management in the past, explains the final point of efforts casted while separating work units."¹⁸ The ACD System allows for inbound or outbound calls to be routed to the first free agent. Employees do not have a time of rest between two calls. Therefore, they are on the phone during their 8 hours of work all thanks to the ACD system. Another characteristic of the ACD system is the standardization of the content of the phone calls. When the employees have a call or make a call, they enter the necessary information found on their screen in the standardized phone calls.

The division of job into small pieces, standardization of the procedures and supervision process in the call centres provide an advantage. By making the procedures simpler, the management eliminates the burdens such as qualified staff recruitments and in-service trainings. However, high employment circulation is an acceptable situation due to difficult working conditions.

Call Centres and Gender

One of the issues reflecting the basic characteristic of today's knowledge-based society is the feminization of labour force. Capitalist production needs more cognitive capacity and brain power (mass intelligence) when compared to the past. Money, information and people move around the world very fast.¹⁹ Harvey expresses this situation as "time and place compression" whereas McDowell²⁰ says "factories, goods and labour seemed to have melted into air or, more prosaically, into the glass fiber cables of telecommunication." The nature of Post-Fordist study prefers a big skill pool (non-manual skills) and women labour flexibility. In fact, "workforces are offered up to the international capitalist as educated, liable and compliant 'social capital'".²¹ For example, one reason for the feminization of labour in England in 1980s was the belief that women had the social skills required by the employers in the service-based economy.²² Particularly, "interactive services" are major fields that require face to face or voice communication with people. The main point to be emphasized is that these services are the ones that require expertise and the principles of the Taylorist method are used.

Call centres became feminized from the beginning as a new style of workplace during the change in service processes. The evidence obtained by means of the qualitative method show that most of the employees in this sector are women and this situation is not coincidental.²³ It is due to a conscious recruitment strategy. It is assumed that social and communicative skills women have can be used to manage the labour process. Behavioural characteristics such as patience, empathy and emotional labour are more natural characteristics of women as against

18. James Wickham and Gráinne Collins (2004), "The Call Centre: A Nursery for New Forms of Work Organisation?", *The Services Industry Journal*, Vol. 24, No 1, p. 3.

19. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell Pub, 1989, p. 285.

20. Linda McDowell, *Capital Culture, Gender at Work in the City*, Blackwell Pub., 1997, p. 1.

21. Ronaldo Munck, *Globalization and Labour: The New 'Great Transformation'*, Zed Books, 2002, p. 66.

22. Vicki Belt et al., "Women, Social Skill and Interactive Service Work in Telephone Call Centres", *New Technology, Work and Employment*, Vol. 17, No 1, 2002, p. 20-34.

23. Vicki Belt, "A Female Ghetto? Women's Careers in Call Centres", *Human Resource Management Journal*, Vol. 12, No 4, 2002, p. 51-66.



that of men.²⁴ De-skilled Tayloristic factory conditions of the business organization which is fully monitored were first used conceptually by Stanworth.²⁵ Labour turnover in this sector is quite high and women are able to transfer the natural skills they have. Qualifications like time management, multiple business order, international business experience, communication, performances in mutual interviews are among the transferable experiences. Women face a lot of obstacles in progressing in their careers except for being a team leader. Vicki Belt said that call centres, one of the businesses using information and communication technologies in the service sector, changed into a "female ghetto".²⁶ According to Kumar, "As far as Taylorism remains the master principle, information technology has a greater potential for proletarianization rather than professionalization".²⁷

Call Centres Profile and Employment in Turkey

It is estimated that the number of call centres in Turkey in 2011 increased at a rate of 4% approaching 1100 when compared to the previous year. 23% of this increase evolved from an increase in the number of outsourcing service providers. The most important factor affecting this increase apart from the company's merger in outsourcing call centres is the newly-established outsourcing call centres' growth rate (by increasing the number of seats and by making investments).²⁸ When the sectoral distribution is considered, it is seen that the biggest share belongs to the sector of wholesale and retail sales. Additionally, one of the fields with the most important increase is public services. The number of call centres in the public sector showed an increase at a rate of 31% when compared to the total number of call centres, and it is estimated that in 2012, it increased from 3.2% to 4.1%.²⁹

When the gender distribution of call centres is considered, 70 % of its total employment is constituted by women. A decrease is seen regarding the age distribution when compared to the previous years. Accordingly, the number of employees aged between 25-29 and 30+ has decreased, whereas there has been a 77% increase between the ages 18-24. Especially the economic slowdown in the world caused a decrease in the age of young population to start working.³⁰

Research Methodology

The analyses are based on a field study of 38 call centre employees from various companies located in İstanbul, Kocaeli and Erzincan. This research included face-to-face interviews with call centre employees and one call centre manager in an insurance company. The interviews focused on work organisation, skills and involved call centres in a range of industry sectors,

24. Vicki Belt, *Op cit.*; Vicki Belt at al., *Op. cit.*; Susan Durbin, "Gender, Skills and Careers in UK Call Centres" pp.117-136 in Burgess, John and Connell, Julia (eds), *Developments in The Call Centre Industry: Analysis, Changes and Challenges*, London: Routledge, 2006; Kate Mulholland, "Gender, Emotional Labour and Teamworking in a Call Centre", *Personnel Review*, Vol. 31, No 3, 2002, p. 283-303.

25. S. Stanworth, "Women and Work in the Information Age", *Gender, Work and Organization*, Vol. 7, No 1, 2000, p. 29.

26. Vicki Belt, *Op. cit.*

27. Krishan Kumar, *From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society: New Theories of the Contemporary World*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1995, p. 51.

28. NeT Research, *Turkey Call Centres Market 2012*, NeT Research Report, 2012.

29. IMI Conferences, *2012 Turkey Call Centres Research Report*, <http://www.callcentrelife.com.tr/?p=5285&lang=tr> (Accessed 5 January 2013)

30. VodaSoft, *Turkey Call Centres Summary Report*, 2008.

<http://www.vodasoft.com.tr/spage.php?prm1=151&prm2=152&prm3=275> (Accessed 15 December 2012)

including financial services, banking, and telecommunications. Call centres in the public sector have also been studied. The data reported were collected over a period of three months between October 2012 and December 2012. Each interview was scheduled for thirty-five minutes with the longest interview exceeding sixty minutes.

The paper also draws on the results of a detailed study of the nature of work and women employment in call centres. The collection of data was carried out by insourcing and outsourcing a heterogeneous plurality of instruments. The case study organizations were chosen to include examples of "good practice" in the employment of women (in terms of training, working conditions and career opportunities), and were selected after a thorough research of documentary evidence and interviews with industry agents. The case studies involved a survey application and face-to-face interviews with call centre employees. Extensive documentary evidence has also been collected, including literatures and publications by industry specialists. Sample size is relatively low (38) because it is very difficult to come in contact with call centre workers due to the working conditions in their workplace. For this reason, this study was examined using known friends as a means of getting across to other call centre workers.

The General Profile of Call Centres as Part of the Research

When we investigate the sectoral distribution of the people working in call centres, we see that 47.4 % work in finance, communication, banking and insurance companies; 28% in public institutions, 7.9 % in communications, and 15.8 % in other sectors such as food, white goods, etc. The demographic information of 38 participants is presented in Table 1. The average age of the participant is 26.

Table 1: The demographic information of participants

		N	%
Sex	Female	25	65.8
	Male	13	34.2
Education	Elementary	4	10.5
	High School	8	21.1
	Graduate	18	47.4
	Graduate Student	7	18.4
	Post Graduate	1	2.6
Marital Status	Single	19	50.0
	Married	18	47.4
	Divorced	1	2.6
Work Experience	None	8	21.1
	1 year<	8	21.1
	1-3 year<	16	42.1
	3-5 year<	4	10.5
	5 year >	2	5.3
Working Time in Call Centres	1 year<	9	23.7
	1-3 year<	16	42.1
	3-5 year<	4	10.5
	5-7 year<	4	10.5
	7 year >	5	13.2
Occupation	Inbound	22	57.9
	Outbound	8	21.1
	Other	8	21.1



65.8 % of participants in this study were female. This rate is consistent with the fact that 70 % of call centre workers in Turkey are female and 47 % are university graduates. Also, that 18.4% of university students work in the call centre sector shows that there exists an increase in the sector's need for highly qualified staff. The boom in the call centre sector in recent years also makes the sector highly competitive so it is understood that women and men having a university degree are preferred. 50 % of the workers are single and 47.4 are married. 63 % have a work experience of less than three years. It is also seen that most of them have some work experience and this makes them preferred by the call centre managers.

It is a known fact that there is a really high amount of labour turnover in call centres. Our survey results confirm this fact. 23.7 % of these call centre workers have worked or been working in the sector for less than a year and 42.1 % between one or three years. The percentage of people working for the sector for more than five years is 23.7 %. This rate results from the public sector's call centre workers included in our study. Almost all of the people in this rate work for the public sector. In Turkey, people have more chance of security in the public sector than in private ones. About 60% of call centre workers included in this study handle inbound calls. The inbound customer service is a kind of support service where the calls are handled, the scripts are followed and the length of speech is controlled strictly. 21 % of the participants chose the outbound customer service option and 21 % chose the other option (post-sales services etc.) in the survey. Outbound customer service is a kind of service making outbound calls where you don't have to follow the script strictly, and there are more flexible talking times.

When we look at the daily working hours, we see that 52% of the workers work for 6-8 hours a day, 34 % work for 9 hours or more, 13% of them, especially the part-time workers, work for 4-5 hours a day. It is understood that the wages of call centre employees, whose working conditions are quite difficult, are not satisfying. Only 44.7% of the employees get \$800 and over, 47.7% of them get a salary varying between \$400 - \$800, 7.9% get less than \$400. When we look at the sector in general, more than half of them pay a salary of less than \$800. The wage system is usually based on performance. While she was evaluating the performance system, a manager of a call centre in the insurance sector said these:

Telephone calls made by operators during the control period are evaluated as part of the accepted call centre criteria. After these evaluations, they have the right to get extra monthly or annual wages. The criteria such as the quality of the call, the number of incoming/outgoing calls, the period of the calls, the period of answering a call, the rate of missing calls are the basis of the salary (A female call centre manager).

Another finding is that 68.4% of call centre employees find their social rights adequate. 31.6% of the employees think that their social rights are not adequate and their main reasons are getting low salaries or wages and the limited coverage of their private health insurance. That most of the participants find their social rights adequate results from the fact that most of them work full time and at insourcing call centres. Especially the part-time employees of the outsourcing call centre firms express that their rights are violated mostly because they do not have social security. 92.1% of the participants work full time. It is a new phenomenon for call centres to have full-time employees instead of part-time ones. Mital Research puts forward few reasons for the change in the nature of part-time labour.³¹ First of all, the labour market

31. Mital, *European Location Study: Call Centres in the UK, Republic of Ireland, Belgium and the Netherlands*, Mital Research: London, 1998.

boom after 1990 meant that less number of people are ready for part-time jobs. Secondly, due to the high rate of labour turnover in call centre industry, the employers have to pay more wages per hour in order to keep their staff. Thirdly, education costs and other human capital investments can become more effective with full time employment. It is also possible to add a fourth reason. In an interview we had with a call centre manager, we realized that they think "full time employees have a higher performance in terms of efficiency". The outsourcing service providers in Turkey are really new (23%), and especially when it is taken into consideration that the employees in this sector work part-time, it seems quite reasonable that this rate turns out to be low (7.9%).

Work environment in call centres can cause work-related stress. Possible risk factors for stress can arise from either work content or work context. When we investigated the physical and psychosocial risk factors in call centres, we couldn't categorize them as most of them chose more than one option. It is seen that they mostly complain of depression, gastritis, straightening of cervical spine, and herniated discs. Physical problems such hearing loss, vocal cords, dizziness, musculoskeletal disorders, obesity were also present. Psychological problems included disruption in social life, sleep disturbances, mental stress and anxiety.

As a result, when we look at the general profile of the employees working in the sector with respect to the survey and face-to-face interviews, we see that they are mostly women, educated and they usually work for 8 hours or more. Except the ones in the public sector they also have less than three years of work experience; they find their social rights adequate, but generally have stress and physical illnesses and ask for better working conditions.

The Organization of Call Centre Work and Women Labour

In this study we have conducted about call centres, we have determined the fact that all the organizational structure of business is based on increasing automation and monitoring. Surveillance systems and technologies are the central parts of 'late capitalism' or information age capitalism. ACDS (automated call distribution system), which is used in call centres, is applied to all business processes. "At the heart of every call centre is the (ACDS). The ACDS receives customer calls and automatically routes them to the appropriate agent, in line with a set of programmed instructions. The ACDS is connected to a range of databases, in what is known as Computer Telephony Integration (CTI). With CTI, not only is the call automatically transmitted to the agent, but so too are the records of the customer, often along with a flashing message instructing the agent to try and sell a particular product during the call, based on a computer generated individual customer profile".³²

During our study, we realized that in general they are uncomfortable with this system. For example, in the inbound service study done in a call centre in the white goods sector, the computer gives just a five seconds break between two calls. A master's degree student working in this sector says that:

98 talks out of 100 should be positive. When you fall below this limit, they give you a written warning. If this happens a second time, they make you redundant/lay you off. The quality control specialists constantly record and then listen to your calls. There is a very tight control. I have no career expectations in this sector (A male call centre agent).

32. R. Richardson at al., "Taking Calls to Newcastle: The Regional Implication of the Growth in Call Centres", *Regional Studies*, Vol. 34, No 4, 2000, p. 363.



One of the issues they are most uncomfortable with is that the breaks are too short to even meet their personal needs (10 minutes in every two hours or in some places only 20 minutes a day). There are no breaks in between two calls and the job becomes a routine so the staffs have the opinion that after some time they feel terribly fed up. On the other hand, it is in our findings that the record of talks in call centres does not bother 94 % of the employees. We think this situation shows that the employees are non-resistant to power without a request from it. It is understood that the managers try hard to convince the employees that they have control and monitoring not because they want to give harm to the employees but because they use it for benefit, profits and efficiency. The employees see this situation as the necessity of the job itself, but prefer more flexible working conditions where they can be more creative about the frequency, time and content of the telephone calls and where there are breaks between two calls. A university student carrying out a telephone survey on the control of talk times says these:

One of the issues that really drove me crazy was our supervisor standing beside us and constantly showing the time and putting pressure on us in order to make us complete the survey while we were having extremely high-level conversations with the finance managers of several companies. We were getting warnings from them, but they also immediately came close to us when we exceeded the time limit of thirty minutes, and this was a factor that really stressed me out. Throughout the day, we had to fill in at least 20 questionnaires and the maximum time limit was 30 minutes. ...Once I encountered my ex-boyfriend, I had just started work and I had to do that survey. Of course he realized that it was me from the tone of my voice and I felt terrible. But still I think that this is a good job for students. Instead of doing surveys in the street, despite all its negativities I prefer sitting in a warm office (A female call centre agent).

As it is seen, both in inbound and outbound calls, besides recording calls in terms of security or reliance of the customers, the application of a strict system such as dependence on the full text and control of talk time puts pressure on the employees. According to a master's degree student who worked in a call centre for a very short time and quitted afterwards as she couldn't stand this stressful pace:

Knowing that you're constantly being listened to causes so much stress as you try hard not to make sentences other than the ones the management wants you to say. Also, I haven't encountered even one woman customer so far. Male employees had women customers and women employees had male customers and although the management tried hard to convince us that this was definitely coincidental, none of the employees believed it. Some of us even got unprincipled offers. In such situations, we had to say "If you continue to speak like this, I will have to end the call" three times and we couldn't do anything else. This situation was really not bearable (A female call centre agent).

When it is evaluated from the point of the call centre management, according to the woman manager we interviewed:

By means of this software used, both the performance of the call centre is measured and these data are used while planning for the future. Also, through the reports taken from this software, the defective parts are determined and some precautions can be taken to improve them (A female call centre manager).



In conclusion, by means of ACD system, call centre employees, in the changing nature of call centre work organization, do not have, in this new system, the “relative initiative” said to have been given to the workers before. The main points such as the frequency, time and content of the telephone calls, and when the breaks will be taken have been made automatic.

The Nature of Call Centre Work and Women

When the nature of call centre work is taken into consideration, it is seen that the main problem of the working women is the workload and its being limited and repetitive. The repetition of standard sentences is one of the internal control methods as it makes the internalization of company values and creating a customer-oriented work environment easy.³³ Even though the education (based on repetition) they get sometimes provokes resistance, generally it is not individual. Individual resistance was most commonly seen among the workers in outsourcing companies. Some examples of this kind of resistance are “speaking reluctantly” or “extending the break”. Also, the tension they feel during their talks with the customers has an important role in increasing their stress at work. As one of the agents expresses:

We are expected to be cheerful at all times; however, after a tense talk with a customer, we have so much difficulty in continuing this way. We have to continue working this way because the recordings are being listened to at the end of the day and the number of calls we get an hour is calculated. This becomes a criterion in the assessment of performance. ...They even interfere with our personal lives just to make sure our performance is not affected negatively. They contact the families of the employees. It seems that the belief that the problems in our personal lives might in the end affect both our patience and dialogue with the customers makes these interventions necessary. However, this situation puts us under more pressure (A female call centre agent).

As it is all around the world, the most common feature of employees working in call centres in Turkey is that most of them are women. In the interviews we have had, it seemed that the most important factor for this situation is women having a non-threatening tone of voice and behaviour in customer services. The answer we got from a manager to the questions “Why are there lots of women employees in this sector? Are you planning a career for them?” was as follows:

The main reason why there are so many women employees in this sector is that they express themselves more comfortably. Due to their gender, women customer agents are more advantageous in complaint management issues than men. In career planning, gender discrimination is out of the question. All our employees can equally benefit from the career opportunities given to them (A female manager in the insurance sector).

Nearly all of the participants have the opinion that women are preferred due to some reasons such as their tone of voice, being patient, ability of persuasion and diction. Besides all of these reasons, one participant voiced his criticism about the tone of voice by emphasizing that it is a stereotyped idea. Another agent mentioned the fact that women are “more manageable”. In a

33. Raffaella Valsecchi, “Visible Moves and Invisible Bodies: The Case of Teleworking in an Italian Call Centre”, *New Technology, Work and Employment*, Vol. 21, No 2, 2006, p. 123-138.



brief note, women are preferred because of their inborn characteristics. To Holman et al., women are more trustworthy and better at using the keyboard.³⁴ According to a call centre employee:

Most of the employees at our workplace are women. It is believed that women have a more effective tone of voice. Even if it is not clearly expressed, there is also the opinion and presupposition that 'men would rather talk to women agents' (Male call centre agent).

This situation shows that the women labourers in call centres are always subject to "control devices based on gender". In other words, with a gender mainstreaming approach, it comes into question that some traits of women such as sentimentalism, passiveness, philanthropy, servility and naivety can be used as a control device. Thus, it is quite obvious why women agents are generally preferred mostly by the employers. Today the nature of call centre work involves traits such as 'knowledge and skills', 'not worrying about customer requests', 'service friendliness', 'being hard-working' and 'embracing the job'. The personal feelings of the employees have now become a part of the service they provide.³⁵ "Affective labour is labour that produces or processes feelings such as well-being, sensation, excitement or passion, etc. different from the traditional mental labour, this labour category is seen as a component of capital".³⁶

Skill and Career Progression for Women

One of the issues we have dealt with in our research is whether women can progress in their careers in call centres. Although call centres are technology intensive places, most call centre employers have the opinion that their staffs don't need to have detailed technological knowledge or ability.³⁷ There is only a need for agents specialized in after sales technical support. What the others need to have is the 'soft skills' such as communication, customer relations and teamwork.

In this regard, 55.3% of the participants said 'No', whereas 44.7% said 'Yes' when they were asked if there had been any job, authority or level changes in their positions/duties. This situation shows that there are limited opportunities for the employees who want to build a career in the call centre sector. The call centre hierarchy has four levels: agents, team leaders, supervisors and managers. According to the study we conducted, the vacant positions are usually for the call centre agents. As a call centre employee says, for instance:

I have a good command of English. However, I cannot use it in any way. I am at the complaint management department now. The only thing I want is to work in the sales department. For now, it seems impossible. I already encountered much difficulty in finding this job. I neither have time nor energy searching for another job (Female call centre agent).

The few people who have career chances can become a team leader or a supervisor. And in their career plan, they usually want to become a 'manager' or a 'call centre instructor'. They

34. David Holman et al., *The Global Call Centre Report: International Perspectives on Management and Employment*, Report of the Global Centre Network, 2007. www.ilr.cornell.edu/globalcallcentre/.../GC (Accessed 22 December 2012)

35. Ayşe Akalın, "Duygulanım ve Duygulanımsal Emek Üzerine Notlar", *Birikim*, No.217, 2007, p. 119.

36. Haluk Yurtsever, *Kapitalizmin Sınırları ve Toplumsal Proleterya*, İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2011, p.267.

37. Randal Richardson et al., "Taking Calls to Newcastle: The Regional Implication of the Growth in Call Centres", *Regional Studies*, Vol. 34, No 4, 2000, p. 364.

also emphasized that the company itself needs to build a career plan for them. This situation leads to a polarization between the ones working at the lowest level of the hierarchy and the ones who are on a higher level with their status and income.

Conclusion

The call centres provide a lot of job opportunities for women. But the findings of this study give support to studies indicating that call centres are the contemporary incarnation of the principles of scientific management developed by Taylor. The study we have documented here has several important implications on our understanding of women labour in call centres. Consequently, women labour has become the predominant factor of call centres both in public and private sectors. In other words, the call centres work has gained a sector character where labour is popularised, has become unqualified and where women labour is predominant. Especially, we realised that in lower-skilled call centres, part-time work plays a crucial part in the gendering of flexibility. That is to say, women labour in the call centre industry are working longer hours, earning lower wages and are employed in a disorganized sector.

Our finding gives the idea that the criticism of Bain and Taylor needs to be evaluated in two contexts. Our first finding is about the full time insourcing labour. In sectors such as insurance, finance and banking, the institutionalized company employees do not have any idea or efforts towards individual or mass resistance at all. The biggest factor for this can be that, on one hand, they have social security and on the other hand, they work full time and their relative income is high. In outsourcing labour, however, we have observed that there are individual and mass strike actions. Working relatively part time, insecurely, under too much supervision and monitoring, and having a low relative income are the most important reasons for this resistance. It is also remarkable that this resistance does not have the characteristics of the ones claiming union rights. It is possible to say that the existing control and supervision mechanisms in call centres obviously show the characteristics of the 'panopticon' approach that Foucault expressed. However, the problem here is the assumption that the resistance is impossible. As Callaghan and Thompson mentioned, despite the strict monitoring and supervision mechanism coupled with the bureaucratic control style in call centres, it is possible to have a resistance.³⁸ Therefore, the 'technological panoptican' approach can be used as an assisting metaphor in explaining the existing monitoring and control style in call centres. This point of view seems important in appreciating the reality experienced.

In our study, monitoring, having face-to-face and thorough interviews instead of having a survey greatly assisted in understanding the nature of women labour in call centres. It is understood that 'Taylorism' is an important approach in explaining the nature of women labour in call centres. It is seen that Taylorism is a dominant approach in the tendencies to simplify, standardize the job and make it unqualified. Call centres, in this respect, are a modern symbol of scientific management. As Alfred Sohn-Rethel expresses "Labour in Taylorism is the human labour that has turned into a technological mass; it is homogeneous with machines, can directly be applied to machines, a part of it can easily be or completely turned into a machine."³⁹ Here, labour doesn't only go under the dominance of capital in terms of the

38. G. Callaghan and P. Thompson, "Edwards Revisited: Technical and Call Centres", *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, Vol.22, No 1, 2001, p. 34.

39. Alfred Sohn-Rethel, *Zihin Emeği Kol Emeği, Epistemoloji Eleştirisi (Intellectual and Manual Labour A Critique of Epistemology)*, İstanbul: Metis Yay., 2011 [1978], p.166-167.



economy but it also becomes dependent on capital that is, physically and technologically. According to Kumar, "as long as Taylorism remains the master principle, information technology has a greater potential for proletarianization rather than professionalization."⁴⁰ Within this period, preferring a better educated woman labour in call centres is really only consistent with their getting a limited career opportunity. Finally, in understanding the nature of labour, especially women labour in call centres, the 'electronic panopticon' and 'Taylorism' approaches should be addressed together. It is hoped that this study can also enhance a proper understanding of the work processes that produce patterns of stress.

Our results suggest that in order to improve working conditions, job demands should be reduced and break at work lengthened. The responsibility of the call centres is to provide a career opportunity, job security and job satisfaction in the workplace. Stress management programmes can help to sustain a stress free workplace environment in call centres. Above all we should recognize the fact that call centre workers are also a part of the working class.

40. Krishan Kumar, Op. cit., p. 39.

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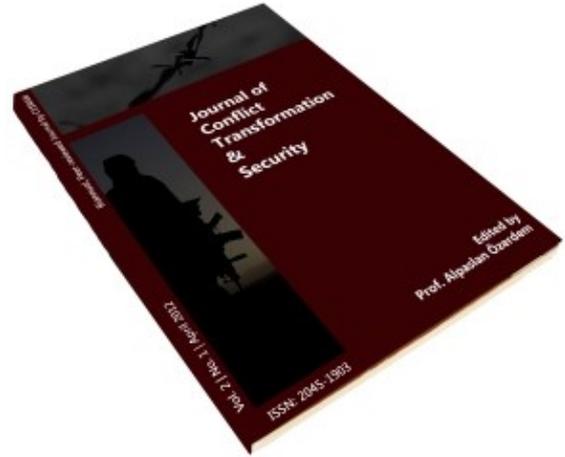
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Adrian Van Deemen and Agnieszka Rusinowska (eds.)

Collective Decision Making: Views from Social Choice and Game Theory,

(Milton Keynes: Springer, 2010, ISBN 978 3642028649, 266 pp., £90.00 hb.)

The study of decision-making processes lies at the heart of the social sciences, and political sciences in particular. From Montesquieu to Condorcet, from the federalists, to the elitist school, how decisions are taken was the leading question for scholars studying power and human societies in the past centuries. In the second half of the 20th century the seminal works of Kenneth J. Arrow (*Social Choice and Individual Values*, 1951) and Robert Dahl (*Who governs?*, 1961) revived this field, and still represent the two opposite paradigms about the study of decision-making – the logical-deductive and the empirical-inductive. This field then reached its apogee in the '70s and the '80s, where authors like Theodore Lowi and Charles Lindblom consolidated the field of public policy analysis, and, with it, the theoretical debate about actors, decisions and decisions' outcomes. In the '90s and in the new millennium, however, this kind of studies suddenly declined.

Since then political science has taken a different path: the current mainstream approach, in fact, sees structural factors and institutions as the core elements of the analysis, and this led in turn to a corresponding growth in the literature of econometric models based on regression analysis. As a consequence, the study of decision-making –which is also and foremost the study of the actual actors taking decisions– have been neglected and regarded as an ideographic exercise, whose validity is questionable: the predominance in the analysis of institutional determinants, imply the irrelevance of who is acting in a specific setting.

Game theorists and social choice theorists, though, continued studying the patterns of decision-making, with an approach directly derived from the economic reasoning, following the path trodden by Arrow. As a consequence utility-maximising players and their mutual interactions became the foundations of a vast literature centred on decisions. Still, the shift operated by these scholars from the classical approach to the study of decision-making is sharp.

First of all, the specificities of the actors involved tend to be overlooked in favour of more abstract, but clearly quantifiable, pay-offs. Second, the institutional rules governing the interaction are not a stake in the process, a core assumption of public policy analysis, but are exogenous to it. Third, the aim of this literature is highly normative, more than descriptive. Finally, accepting the premises of the economic analysis, these scholars adopt a logical-deductive approach, more than an empirical-inductive one. This results also in a predominantly formalized literature, where the logic-mathematic notations oust the thickness of descriptions. It is not questionable that game theory and social choice has given a priceless contribution to the social sciences, but the more formal and abstract it became the less transferable are its findings, since they lack an apparent and immediate link with empirical observations.



The book *Collective Decision Making* belongs to this latter stream of literature, and it consists of 16 different articles covering social choice and game theory. This contribution is a collection of papers written by members of the Social Choice Theory Group, a network of scholars, predominantly based in The Netherlands, founded by the mathematician Harrie de Swart (to whom the book is dedicated). The book is intended to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the formal creation of the Group.

The range of topic covered in the 16 chapters is impressive. Some chapters address the classical issues of social choice literature: the Arrow's Theorem is addressed in the first chapter, one of the most interesting in the book, while chapter two and five deal with the probabilities of having a Condorcet winner in different situations and chapter three covers an aspect of spatial voting studies. Other chapters deal with more recent, yet crucial for modern social sciences, topics: exceptionally fascinating are the discussion about networks in chapter 13 and 14. The former, in particular, is worth reading for all social scientists interested in network analysis. In fact, it is not only an extensive overview of the influence among actors in complex decision-making situations, but it also sets a number of future research plans. Chapter 11, *Voting Weights, Thresholds and Populations Size: Member State Representation in the Council of the European Union*, tries to link formal analysis and empirically observable situations in a specific setting, while the following chapter, *Stabilizing Power Sharing*, tries to give a highly abstract explanation of power sharing agreements adapting the mathematical explanation of duels. Virtually all other relevant topic of social choice literature about collective decision-making are covered in the remaining chapters. Yet, this is by no means a comprehensive book about the topic, as it is a patchwork of advanced discussions about these themes.

What can we say about this book? The first, general, annotation is that we hardly find a reason to publish such kind of books. In fact, as it is increasingly popular, the chapters of the book are loosely related one to the other. They are, indeed, very interesting and qualitatively outstanding, but they do not consist of different views about one topic, which would make the publication of an edited book more comprehensible: they simply cover different topic with a similar approach. In this case, the reason to publish this book is the tenth anniversary of the creation of a work group, as we have seen, but there is no compelling coherence in the contributions collected. In the end it looks like a journal, more than a book.

On the other hand, the content of the book is particularly interesting on two respects: first, the approach adopted links the elegance and thriftiness of logical-mathematical reasoning, to the richness of social sciences. Second, it studies the mechanisms of social interactions, an increasingly neglected field, which has been abandoned in favour of more simplistic causation relations, as we tried to underline in the first paragraphs of this review.

However, for social scientists the critical point of this approach lies in its strong formal nature: how much can we learn from this? Considering the premises, usually quite strict, of this literature, can we really use these studies to investigate social reality? Or, on the contrary, do we risk creating sterile logical-analytical exercises with no usable relation to empirical research? Of course, there is no single answer to these questions.

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Taylan Özgür Kaya,

The Middle East Peace Process and the EU: Foreign Policy and Security Strategy in International Politics

(London: I.B.Tauris, 2013, ISBN: 978-1-84885-982-1, 266 pp., £59.50 hb.)

Since the nine members of the European Community issued the Venice Declaration in 1980, the European Union (EU) has been actively involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Venice Declaration marks the shift in the political discourse of the European Community member states as they tried to carry declaration policies of 1970s one step further for more active involvement in the Middle East Peace Process (MEPP). Yet, despite the consistent and growing efforts of European involvement in the region, the corruption of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) executives, political division of Palestinians, escalating violence, the US and Israeli attempts to slide the EU in political arrangements concerning Israeli and Arab conflict undermined the efforts of the EU in the Middle East. All these developments that weakened the efforts of the EU in the MEPP requires extensive reflection on where EU political discourse has met the objectives and expectations or fallen short.

In *The Middle East Peace Process and the EU*, Kaya highlights the complex historical background of the European involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict while attempting to answer whether there is a congruity/incongruity between the EU's self-identified role conceptions and its actual role performance in the MEPP between 2001 and 2006. Unlike many foreign policy analyses about the EU, Kaya used role theory in order to assess 'effectiveness, efficiency and credibility' (p. 25) of the EU as a foreign policy actor. The selected period reflects the change in the international system and the response of the EU to these changes. Like the end of the Cold War, 9/11 incidents have had important consequences on the EU's role conception, as EU endeavored to react as a sole foreign and security policy actor with their member states. Kaya highlighted the foreign policy speeches of the principal EU executives, who were responsible for security and foreign policy matters, to analyze the self-identified role conceptions of the EU. Moreover, Kaya evaluated the EU's self-identified role conceptions and its actual role within the framework of role theory. Even though the book is concerned with the post 9/11 era, it also gives extensive information about the EU's stance on the MEPP before 9/11 era and provides strong analyses that were proven right with the events in the post 2006 period.

In the first chapter, structure of the book is neatly explained. To make an analysis and connection to the research questions that will follow up about the EU as a foreign and security policy actor in the post 9/11 context, the author gives us a brief historical context.

In the second chapter, Kaya makes a detailed literature review to frame theoretical basis of the book. Since the book is based on Kaya's PhD thesis, the literature review on the role theory is very rich and can be used as a reference for both undergraduate and postgraduate students. In this detailed literature review, it had been suggested that role theory has great advantages in linking micro to the macro unit of analysis as content analysis based on the speeches of executives that establishes role conception of the EU, a broader body. This linkage provides readers a critical reading of what the EU committed and performed in the context of the Middle East.

Chapter three starts with the definition of the 'EU's role set in the post-9/11 era'. Kaya distinguishes seven roles for the EU from content analysis which are force for good, force for international peace, security and stability, promoter of its values and norms, promoter of



effective multilateralism, partner of the UN, builder of effective partnership with key actors. The most important finding of this chapter is the relation between the role conceptions, as they are not separate from each other rather they are firmly intermingled.

Throughout the fourth chapter the author analyzes the involvement of the EU in the Arab-Israeli conflict and MEPP thoroughly to make sense of the EU's foreign policy. The chronological structure of the chapter helps readers to understand and evaluate the progress of the EU's foreign policy and the role performance in the peace process. During this historical review Kaya aimed to uncover change and continuity in the EU's foreign policy. After losing their prominent role to the US and Soviet Union in the Middle East, major European powers tried to form a united foreign policy as a joint entity in order to re-engage in the Arab-Israeli conflict. European states chose declaratory policies towards the conflict from 1970s to 1990s, and they took Israeli-Palestinian issue as the core of the regional conflicts and announced multiple declarations to solve this issue. These early declarations form the basis of the EU's stance in the MEPP. These declarations show that the EU has a consistent and progressive foreign policy towards the MEPP. Since then, in every declaration the EU had been highlighting that the self-determination of the Palestinian people as the major problem in the region. Finally, the critical point that can be implied from this chapter is the EU's supplementary role as they were sidelined from the major political talks by the US and Israel and the growing EU influence in the economic and technical aspects in the MEPP after the 1990.

After 9/11 the EU became one of the pivotal actors together with the US, Russia and the UN as part of the Quartet on the Middle East. With its huge financial assistance to the PLO and its membership to the Quartet, the EU became a key actor and played more assertive role in the every dimension of the peace process. In the first part of the chapter five, Kaya outlines the involvement of the EU in the MEPP to analyze the congruity between the role conceptions and actual role performance of the EU. In the second part of the chapter, he analyzes congruity/ incongruity between the role conceptions derived from the content analysis and the actual political action in the MEPP context. Even author argued that there had not been an 'apparent conception-performance gap' (p.228) in the EU's foreign and security policy, he criticizes the EU's inability to 'balance its material interest and ethical considerations, act as coherent actor and speak with one voice' (p.222-223).

Overall the book is clearly structured and in-depth searched piece that provides valuable historical overview of the progress of the EU's foreign policy stance in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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Brink Lindsey

Human Capitalism: How Economic Growth Has Made Us Smarter--and More Unequal

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013, ISBN: 9780691157320, 144 pp., £10.95pb.)

Brink Lindsey's insightful new book *Human Capitalism* argues that the rich world's rise in income inequality has been caused largely by a rise in productivity inequality: Workers are getting paid in some kind of proportion to the value of their production, it's just that some of us are becoming vastly more productive than others. The rise in productivity inequality is in turn caused partly by changes in technology and in culture:

The sharpening of class differences in recent decades is driven by two different forms of polarization... In the labor market, the progress of globalization and the information revolution... In the cultural sphere, the material security of mass affluence has encouraged the rise of a more permissive attitude toward sex and family life (p. 69).

The next sentence points toward Lindsey's key causal channel:

Both trends have worked to widen the divide between those who are fluent with abstraction and those who aren't.

Technological change makes "fluency with abstraction" more important for productivity, while mass affluence makes "fluency with abstraction" less appealing than a day of Snapchat and Xbox. Clearly, much turns on this concept of "fluency with abstraction" and indeed Lindsey spends quite some time discussing what he believes this fluency is and what it isn't, how this fluency might be boosted and how it might be made less crucial.

First, what it is and isn't: It's partly the set of mental skills measured (imperfectly) by standard intelligence tests. By Lindsey's own account, standard psychometric intelligence captures some of the skill he calls "fluency with abstraction" and he devotes some time to discussing IQ's role in this fluency, the (partial) genetic transmission of IQ-related skills from one generation to the next, and the crucial role of a good environment in helping children to develop their full cognitive potential. Like nearly all writers who discuss IQ for a popular audience, Lindsey discusses the Flynn Effect, the well-documented long-term increase in IQ scores found in rich countries over the past few decades. Discovered by the philosopher (*sic*) James Flynn, the Flynn Effect was given its name by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein in their book *The Bell Curve*. Whether the Flynn Effect is a "real" increase in actual average cognitive skills, a "nominal" increase in narrow test-taking ability, a "relative" skill change away from informal thinking left off of IQ tests and toward the "fluency with abstraction" often emphasized by IQ tests, or some combination of the three is still widely debated in the academic psychology literature.

In Flynn's recent book on the topic (*Beyond the Flynn Effect*) the philosopher takes the "relative skill change" position: Life has become more like the IQ test, and from childhood onward people in the rich countries tend to categorize and synthesize and abstract much more than they used to. We've always been thinkers, collecting and using practical information, it's just that people in the OECD tend to be more "fluent with abstraction" than before. Lindsey embraces Flynn's position, but it's not clear whether he embraces it fully--and indeed there's no need to take a strong position on a topic still widely debated in the academic literature.



But to balance the scales just slightly, let's note that people are, on average, taller, healthier, and longer-lived today than they were in the mid-twentieth century, so it certainly appears that on average our bodies are better functioning than they were a few decades ago. It would be surprising to say the least if these improvements to overall health didn't also tend to improve brain health: The brain is, after all, an organ of the human body. If the rise in public health has improved average brain functioning in the rich countries, then at least some of the Flynn Effect is likely a "real" rise in average cognitive skills. Testing this hypothesis would be difficult since country-level, decades-long randomized experiments are (mercifully) difficult to come by, but the nutrition hypothesis receives substantial attention in the academic literature, and some micro-level randomized experiments and public health studies provide short run evidence that in some settings better nutrition and healthier environments improve those brain functions measured by standardized tests (G. Jones, "IQ and National Productivity", *New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*). Lindsey places great weight on changing the culture of non-elites in order to boost their average "fluency with abstraction" but the possibility of old-fashioned health interventions still can't be overlooked.

Lindsey's emphasis on "fluency with abstraction" isn't just limited to conventional mental tasks --math problems, vocabulary tests, and the like. From the beginning, he notes that social fluency (playing well with others, one might say) and fluency with the future (greater forward-looking behavior, i.e., low rates of time preference) are also central to this overall fluency. It is worth noting that according to mainstream psychologists both "social intelligence" (a measure of social fluency) and low rates of time preference are correlated with a person's conventional IQ score. So on average these forms of fluency with abstraction are positively correlated: There are enough studies documenting the correlation between IQ and patience that there's been a meta-study of the results (Shamosh and Gray, *Intelligence*), and since the 1930's psychologists have documented a moderate positive relationship between conventional IQ scores and social intelligence (E. Hunt, *Human Intelligence*). Indeed, people who are better than average on one mental skill tend to be better than average at other mental skills: This is the near-universal finding of the "positive manifold" of cognitive skills. There are certainly other dimensions to patience and social intelligence than the mere psychometric intelligence dimension, but Lindsey's fluencies, on average, travel together.

Lindsey recognizes where his ideas lead: His fifth chapter is entitled "Inequality as Culture Gap." If Lindsey is correct, then cultural change is an important channel for reducing inequality. Economists have become modestly successful as health researchers, education researchers, and political researchers: Is our next assignment to bring the power of randomized trials, local average treatment effects, and structural estimation methods to the field of cultural anthropology? If culture is as central to economic success as Lindsey claims, the answer is an emphatic yes.

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Globalisation and Labour Struggle in Asia: A Neo-Gramscian Critique of South Korea's Political Economy

(London: I.B. Tauris, 2007, ISBN: 978-1-84511-378-0, 237 pp., £25.00pb.)

This book examines the relationship between globalization and labour struggle in Asia within the framework of international political economy. It specifically focuses on the neo-Gramscian and neo-Coxian approaches and re-conceptualization of hegemony, passive revolution and *trasformismo* in the case of South Korea. The book distinguishes itself from positivist and post-positivist orthodox theory of IR by looking at IR theory with neo-Coxian application of the structural characteristics of hegemonic forces, namely material capabilities, ideas and institutions as well as three levels of structures: social forces, forms of state and world orders. The main theme is the analysis of the South Korean case as a semi-peripheral nation with Gramscian theory and concepts. The book moves from the study of theoretical and analytical approaches to the case study of South Korea's political economy.

The book is basically looking into a specific international political economy, neo-Gramscian and neo-Coxian approach. It can be divided into two sections each of which focuses on four Gramscian concepts and a case study of South Korea's historical journey about globalization and labour relations. It also introduces new concepts and ideas into the BHNs such as gender, power and ethics. It mingles the past and present with future concepts, ideas and theories.

In the book, there are 6 chapters. In the introduction, the author explains why Gramsci is used for understanding Korean economic development and the historical restructuring of the production, and provides an analytical framework with an emphasis on Cox's framework of matrices that is derived from Gramsci's concept of hegemonic historic blocs. Also, this chapter highlights the research method of the study which uses a multi-method approach with historical analysis and semi-structured interviews.

In the first chapter of the book, orthodox IR theories such as realism, idealism and neo-Marxist dependencia and world system theories (WST) are critiqued in order to prepare the reader about why neo-Gramscian IPE provides necessary tools for the Korean case. Three important neo-Gramscian concepts, hegemony, class identity and solidarity what the author call the transnational capitalist class network (TCCN) and passive revolution which involves the practice of *trasformismo*. Chapter 2 basically studies historical periods of capitalist expansion or world orders within the framework of global hegemonic leadership struggles from the post-Mercantilist period to onwards. This chapter uses Cox's matrices of social forces, forms of state and relations of production by applying the matrix into four historical periods: Pax Britannica (1845-1875), Mixed Imperialism (1875-1945), Pax Americana (1945-1965) and Neo-Liberalism (1965-present).

Chapters 3 and 4 discuss Korea's history of passive revolution and *trasformismo* from the Japanese colonialist government to the recent democratization and the 1997 economic crisis and IMF restructuring. The elite-led production restructuring especially via education system reform and vocational education training (VET) is the main tool to re-design labour relations. Many different *trasformismos* have been explained in the book to keep workers from a complete revolution that destroys the capitalist system and Korean elites, namely government and *chaebols* management.

In the conclusion chapter, the author summarizes all the chapters of the book. Also, it gives the next research questions regarding South Korea in the global knowledge economy with the foresight analysis about the Korean workers future. This book is innovative because it looks at the experience of globalization and hegemony within Gramscian framework in the eye of a semi-peripheral nation: South Korea. Second, it presents a rare opportunity for application of hegemony, passive revolution and *trasformismo* in a case that covers a history from colonization to democratisation and from occupation to military ruling. Third, it exquisitely summarizes not only general IR theory but also the Gramscian understanding of hegemony, passive revolution, historical blocs, transnational capital network (TCN). One of the concepts, hegemony, is explained by realist, neo-liberal and neo-Marxist concepts and theories such as *dependencia* and world system theory (WST). Fourth, it is a valuable contribution to the historical period of capitalist expansion or four world orders, namely Pax-Britannica, Pax-Americana, Mixed Imperialisms and Neo-Liberalism with different levels of analysis from a Coxian matrix that forms state, relations of production and emerging social forces.

This book is interesting to read because some chapters can be used as theoretical and conceptual foundations for a course of international political economy. I have been intrigued by this book since I have read and written about the Neo-Gramscian and Coxian idea of hegemony. Also, this book is a good attempt to explain the neo-Gramscian and Coxian concepts and ideas to the 21st century audience using South Korea as a case study. In addition, the book is applicable to semi-peripheral nations such as the South Africa, Turkey, Brazil, India, etc. Another strength of the book is the use of interviews and data collection for labour relations in South Korea.

One of my critiques is that the book could include a chapter comparing of South Korea to another semi-peripheral state such as Turkey which may have followed similar historical footsteps of Gramscian ideas of hegemony, passive revolution, TCN, i.e. IMF and the World Bank bailout, etc. Another shortcoming of the book is the lack of analysis of the 2008 global crisis. Although the book covers the 1997 Asian economic crisis, it has not included the influence of the 2008 global economic crisis on South Korea. It may elaborate more on whether the passive revolution and *trasformismo* in South Korea may have positive effects to escape from the bad effects of the 2008 crisis.

This book helps to apply the neo-Gramscian and neo-Coxian theories of IPE more comprehensively and deeply on most international case studies especially for the economic crisis periods. The Neo-Gramscian and neo-Coxian theories still offer great opportunities for both theorists and practitioners of the IPE.

This book is strongly recommended for both current and past students of IPE as well as interdisciplinary students who study international relations, peace studies, conflict resolution and economics. It definitely is a major addition to the IPE literature and opens new doors for future scholars and case study method users.

To sum up, Korea is not a hegemonic nation and has never been a hegemonic nation but passive revolution and *trasformismo* are still relevant and useful concepts for the Korean case.

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Daanish Mustafa,

Water Resource Management in a Vulnerable World. The Hydro-hazardscapes of climate change

(London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013, ISBN: 978 1 84885 536 6, 245 pp., £56.00 hb.)

Until the last three decades, the study of water resources has suffered from its treatment as a technical subject led by engineers and physical scientists. The enormity of humanity's ambition and power to exploit our freshwater environment for irrigation, hydropower and domestic and industrial supplies, while increasing shortages by spreading pollution, has attracted social scientists to analyse the economics of scarcity and the politics of water resource development. Mustafa has brought to bear a synthesis of modern insights from social sciences for which he proposes a neologism 'hydro-hazardscapes', a term which dramatizes the challenges faced by humanity in a future of changing climate. The concept of hazardscape is defined as 'simultaneously, an analytical way of seeing, which asserts power, and a social space where the gaze of power is contested and struggled against to produce the lived reality of hazardous places' (p.22). Study of the responses to extremes of droughts and floods today provides grounding for increasing resilience in the future.

The hydro-hazardscape concept is introduced in Chapter 1 and the claim is made that this approach increases understanding of a variety of contests over water resources. As illustration, Chapter 2 looks afresh at the Indus Waters Treaty which the author suggests should be reformed 'to bring it in line with contemporary international water course law, Helsinki Rules and emerging concerns with water quality and principles of equitable sharing' (p. 45). Co-operative sharing of the Indus waters has been stunted by lack of trust and technical objections fuelled by security concerns. Tensions between India and Pakistan and discords between provinces within Pakistan are exacerbated by major droughts and floods. Conflict resolution over inequitable distribution of the benefits of the water engineering and inefficiencies of usage of irrigation water demands analysis of more social institutions than in a conventional, modernist discourse.

The next chapter considers critical legal geographies, illustrated by the Canal and Drainage Act 1873 governing water resource management in Pakistan. This Act is shown to have geographical influences and impacts which make power relations concrete in space. The Act perpetuates colonial relations with a hierarchical bureaucracy more dedicated to policing than to encouraging equity in access.

Chapter 4 explores the role of social power in differential vulnerability to flood hazard and in inequity of access to water in the canal colonies of central Pakistan. A field study of 38 in-depth interviews and 154 household questionnaires revealed the social reality on the ground so often absent from technical discussions of irrigation planning. A lack of participatory water management and contemptuous distance between the governing bureaucracy and those governed makes the bureaucracy itself vulnerable to meddling by powerful political interests and its consequent failure to protect the weak.

Chapter 5 is based on another major social survey in Pakistan; this time in an urban area subject to periodic flooding. The twin cities of Islamabad Capital Territory and Rawalpindi experience flooding from the Lai. In 2001, a major flood caused 74 deaths and damage officially estimated at US \$250m. Technocratic top-down planners are trying to evict flood plain residents and to create a hydrologically-controlled stream but are frustrated by

resistance, poor understanding of the need for management of the watershed as a whole and by a lack of institutions to foster co-operation.

Groundwater development in Balochistan and Azerbaijan is the focus of the next chapter 6, which debates the relative merits of modern tube wells 'with enormous environmental costs and serious implications for social equity' (p 162) and ancient *karez (qanat)* irrigation systems which have been used for two millennia. The author's enthusiasm for the *karez* system leads him to recommend 'restoration and preservation of this wonderful system' (p. 164).

In Chapter 7, the narrative of the book then jumps, with little overt justification, from Pakistan and its neighbours to an investigation of 'Globalisation and water privatisation in Belize'. However, this evidence-based analysis is a useful addition to the many accounts of the problems besetting privatisation of water utilities in many parts of the world. A social survey revealed how popular narratives in Belize about this failed attempt at privatisation involved their sense of nationalism, identity, good governance and interlinkages between national and global power structures.

Chapter 8 adds to another popular debate in the growing literature on water governance 'Thou shalt not optimize or share: a critical view of the prior appropriation doctrine in the American West!' A restricted legal definition of beneficial use (solely agricultural, mining and municipal use) does not protect environmental flows for instream uses such as fishing, particularly important for native American tribes. Here, the themes of equity versus efficiency, private property versus collective goods and definitions of the benefits gained from rivers are clearly exposed.

The brief concluding chapter 'Mapping the contours of hydro-hazardscapes in a climate change future' reaffirms the importance of recognising water's value for community, spirituality, aesthetics, identity and culture in addition to its value for livelihoods and economic gain.

Mustafa's book is a masterly and original contribution to understanding of water governance. The book is well-referenced and draws on literature, mostly from academic journals, which may be relatively inaccessible to a wider readership in policy circles. The analyses are grounded in thorough case studies, which bring out the attitudes of both the powerful and the powerless. The central argument is convincing: water governance would be improved by seeking, and responding to, multidisciplinary information from a wider range of people. Narrow viewpoints lead to imposition of authoritarian regimes which lack the necessary flexibility to circumvent the challenges of climate change and its increased hydro-hazards.

Introduction of the neologism 'hydro-hazardscapes' is a risky business: I fear linkage of three concepts in one cumbersome word may not catch on! Most of the arguments are soundly based in evidence but occasional arguments, such as the desirability of restoration of *karez*, appear somewhat romantic, neglecting counterarguments concerning the high cost of maintenance of this system in human and financial terms.

Numerous illustrations are useful although colour would have been helpful. Figure 9 shows a greater percentage of women than men thought levees would be a solution to flooding yet the text states 'Although many of the men wanted levees for flood protection...' (p.112). Differentiation of shading has been lost in Figures 6, 26 and 27. Kalabagh Dam mentioned in the text does not appear on the map. There are also some typos which have escaped editorial gaze. A glossary might have helped non-social scientists.



These niggles aside, this well-written book is a stimulating read and it deserves to reach a wide public both inside and beyond academia.

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Michael L. Ross

The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations,

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012, ISBN: 978 0691145457, 296 pp., £19.95pb.)

Natural resources have long been thought to be an important factor in economics and politics. No doubt that these resources have remarkable influence over the fate of resource rich countries, in which political stability and democratization are often attributed to resource wealth. The world has been more democratic and more peaceful for decades; however, the oil states in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America constitute a great exception to this.

Resource wealth, which was believed to bolster countries and their economies, started to be seen as a disadvantage especially to the countries blessed with oil wealth, shortly after the oil crisis in 1970s. Going beyond the conventional wisdom, social scientists strive to find the link by combining multiple incidents such as; insurgencies, civil war, gender gaps engendered by resource-related activities that took place in oil-rich countries. Although the causality seems not to be robust enough in the existing literature, there is some clear evidence showing the links between oil and socio-political development. Extending the issue of oil and democracy, the author questions the petroleum effect on countries by taking into account multifarious factors.

The answer given to the question "why does petroleum have such strange effects on a country's political and economic health" (p.4) points out two factors to be attributed for this negative causality: 1) foreign powers readily intervene in oil-rich countries; and 2) oil companies operating in international arena.

Expanding the argument in the following chapters, the author challenges these claims with a strong argument: most oil industries have been nationalized in the early 1970s, so that "if foreign companies were the source of the problem, then nationalization should have been the cure" (p.4). On the other hand, the domestic facts such as how a government uses its oil revenues appear to be more determinative in countries politics. Government revenues grew substantially as the foreign oil companies were nationalized, giving omnipotence to the rulers. Therefore it is no surprise that "from 1980 to 2011, the democracy gap between the oil and non-oil states grew ever wider" (p.63).

The scale of oil revenue, government size and the government's dependence on taxes are significantly correlated, which fosters authoritarian and populist politics. In the very first chapters, Professor Ross takes up the issue by starting from a short history of natural resources and rent, following this, carrying out a cross-national analysis of oil revenues and government. Multivariate regressions showing the statistical relationship between oil and democracy occupy an important role in the following chapter, where 'less democracy' and failures in transition to democracy are attributed to oil wealth. Another regression analysis shows that two variables, petroleum income and the likelihood of civil wars, are significantly correlated particularly among countries with a lower income. This becomes more visible when two hypotheses drawn by the author get on the same page in a country:

"The greater a country's oil income per capita is, the greater the likelihood that a civil war will begin".

"The lower a country's income per capita is, the larger the impact of oil on the likelihood of conflict"(p.179).



The book, as the author states, “takes a comprehensive look at the political and economic consequences of petroleum wealth” (p.3), and is an important attempt to include the points that were overlooked in the previous works. The scope is limited only to petroleum as a natural resource, for petroleum along with its products has occupied a considerable part of the world’s commodity trade for decades. From oil income analysis to women’s opportunities in oil-rich countries, *The Oil Curse* covers various issues and provides both quantitative and qualitative evidences for the given arguments. The links between multiple variables are successfully presented when it is possible, and missing links due to hard-to-quantify variables or the lack of robustness are admitted in a roundness manner. In this sense, *The Oil Curse* presents a great value to those who would like to examine politics and economics of oil wealth. Analyzing half a century of data and covering multidisciplinary issues, this work offers much to those who are interested in political transformation, economic and political development, and security studies.

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Jenny White

Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks

(Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013, ISBN: 978-0-691-15518-0, 241 pp., £16.95 pb.)

Who is a Turk? What does it mean to be a member of the Turkish nation? This fundamental question is at the heart of many of the most tense and divisive debates in present day Turkey. This question is also at the heart of Jenny White's book *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks*.

White, an anthropologist at Boston University, over the last four decades has been a keen observer of the shifting political discourse and cultural norms in Turkey. Her ability to connect relationally and allow individuals to express their own feelings of identity adds a powerful dimension to the work. The combination of narrative with academic analysis makes this a valuable read for both the newcomer and the seasoned student of Turkey.

The book does not attempt to resolve the issue of Turkish identity, but provides an incisive and thorough investigation of the various formulations prevalent within Turkish society. The Turkish Republic, founded in 1923, emerged during an era of ethnic nationalism as empires gave way to newly emerging states. The definition of who the Turks were that would occupy the Republic of Turkey was - and remains - a hotly debated concept.

In Third Republic Turkey (the descriptive term used by academics to refer to the period following the 1980 coup; the Second Republic coming in the wake of the 1960 coup) the concept of Turkish identity is facing multiple challenges and again going through a process of revision. These challenges include issues of gender roles, ethnic minorities, and the place of religion. Some would posit that the challenge to identity could be portrayed as Islam versus Secularism. This binary, however, fails to adequately grasp what is taking place as traditional lines of definition are being blurred.

Among the many ways White demonstrates the changing categories, she parses ten different Turkish terms of what it means to be a national subject, each possessing minute differences of ideology. Even those specific labels are shifting as what was a "known" characteristic of an ideology in the 1970s may mean something quite different in 2010 (64-65). These labels have taken on overlapping and sometimes paradoxical meanings, they are not fixed concepts and identity markers. As White shows through her conversations with a wide range of groups and survey data there are multiple and overlapping identities that each citizen possesses.

"Today, it is not so much Islam that has challenged the status quo, I suggest, but rather what Islam has become in the postcoup urban, modern, globalized environment where, for many, religious and national identities, like commodities, have become objects of choice and forms of personal expression" (p.4).

This idea of personal expression and a choice of identity is quite interesting within Turkey. Globalization in many places worldwide has resulted in growing liberal freedoms and individualism, but in Turkey this is most often expressed in allegiance or membership in a group but perhaps one of your own choosing. The narrative articulated to citizens through society, from the earliest school days, is one where group membership remains essential for survival and also social identity. However, "the economic, political, and social revolution of the Third Republic has nurtured a new generation with greater freedom of choice that can be expressed through new media, civic activism, and consumerism. Individualism, however, is



framed within a collective logic, so the emphasis on choice means that people, especially young people, are actively searching for arenas of belonging beyond social identities inherited from family, community, and the Kemalist nation" (p.90).

Groups such as the youth wings of the ruling Justice and Development Party (*AKP, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) or the Islamic *Hizmet Movement*, inspired by the teachings of Fethullah Gülen, are examples of some of the groups that have benefited from the collective logic that offers identification and opportunities for the individual. Seeing youth turning towards Islamic groups in their search for identity is troubling to those who are proponents of the secular Kemalist idea of the nation, who are comfortable with religion so long as it remains in its assigned place and perhaps as a useful tool of the state when necessary.

White clearly articulates how this interplay between the individual liberties, on the one hand, and the collective logic, on the other, requires an extensive negotiation process for the individual and also creates a sometimes paradoxical mixing of ideologies.

Take for example the well-meaning secularist who sees veiling as a form of oppression of women, and thus is in support of a ban that excludes covered women from universities and government buildings, limiting education, employment and political representation. White also points to the AKP which articulates support for universalist principles of human rights and at the same time, as has been repeatedly observed, curtails freedom of speech, freedom of the press, holds restrictive views towards women and expresses opposition to lifestyles that are not consistent with its preferred conservative worldview.

"Muslim nationalism" is the term White employs to describe the newly emerging Turkish identity. She sets this off against "Secular nationalism" which she feels has increasingly migrated toward Turkish exceptionalism, isolation, and a narrative of the West as a threat to the purity of the Turkish state. Muslim nationalism on the other hand is based on a personal "Muslimhood" and a national history based more on its Ottoman than Republican roots. This blurs traditional lines as it is progressive in promoting many liberal freedoms but with elements of traditional gender and cultural norms. Muslim nationalism offers a Muslim alternative vision of the nation, of what it means to be Turkish, and a challenge to the Kemalist tradition.

Whether one or the other of these nationalisms will win out or if some new concept of Turkish citizenship will emerge remains to be seen. White's book succeeds marvellously as a descriptive and analytical work. It brilliantly captures the contemporary debate of what it means to be Turkish.

J. Paul Barker

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